

Xuanzang à Paris: The European Reception of the Japanese Buddhist World Map

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Abstract: This chapter examines the significance of the Japanese Buddhist cartography of Xuanzang's *Great Tang Record of [Travels to] the Western Regions* for the origins of the academic study of Buddhism in Europe. It traces the intellectual and material history of views of the Buddhist world produced in eighteenth-century Japan by monastics, intellectuals, and publishers as well as the transmission, translation, and reproduction of these views by the founding figures of the academic disciplines of Buddhist Studies and Sinology in nineteenth-century Paris. In doing so it seeks to reveal the unrecognized contributions of Japanese Buddhist cartography to the European understanding of the geography of Buddhism in China, Central Asia, and India and to the development of Buddhist Studies in the West.

Keywords: Xuanzang, Hōtan, Terajima Ryōan, Abel Rémusat, Julius Klaproth, Stanislas Julien

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Kyoto, in the year 1710, saw the publication of a map unlike any other. Titled ‘Nansenbushū bankoku shōka no zu’ 南瞻部洲萬國掌菓之圖 [Handy Map of the Myriad Lands of Jambudvīpa], it was the largest and most detailed Buddhist map of the world ever printed. Designed by the Kegon 華嚴 monk Hōtan 鳳潭 (1659–1738), it remained in print for over a century and spawned numerous simplified and reduced format editions, issued both as large single-sheet prints and as small book illustrations. It was notably the first Buddhist map of the world to include Europe and the Americas within its western and eastern borderlands. Yet it was also, like all other Buddhist world maps before it, deeply Indo-centric: rooted in the classical geography of Xuanzang’s 玄奘 (602?–664) *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Great Tang Record of [Travels to] the Western Regions], the written account of the Chinese monk’s seventh-century pilgrimage to the Buddhist holy land.

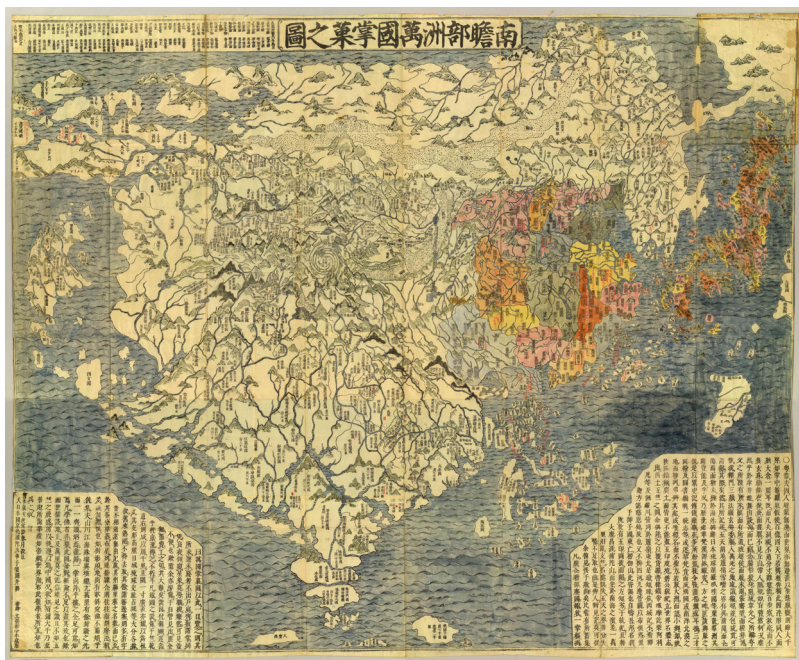


FIG. 1 Hōtan, *Handy Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa*, 1710. Woodblock print with hand colouring, 121 × 144 cm. David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA.

More than one century later, three different versions of Hōtan's map were published in Paris. The first version—a French engraving based on a simplified and reduced-format edition of Hōtan's map that appeared in a popular Japanese encyclopedia of 1712—was produced by Heinrich Julius von Klaproth (1783–1835) in 1826.¹ Ten years later, in 1836, Klaproth included a second version of the map, also drawn from the Japanese encyclopedia of 1712, in the first European-language edition of an account of the earlier pilgrimage to India by the fifth-century Chinese Buddhist monk Faxian 法顯, *Foguo ji* 佛國記 [Record of Buddhist Kingdoms], which was translated by the French savant Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832).² The third version appeared some twenty years later, in 1857, in the first European-language edition of Xuanzang's *Record*, translated by Rémusat's student and successor, Stanislas Julien (1797–1873).³ Unlike the relatively crude maps drawn from a secondary source and published two decades earlier, Julien's map was much larger, far more detailed, and—perhaps most significantly—copied directly from Hōtan's original. Julien's translation of Xuanzang's *Record*, which contained his expanded version of Hōtan's Buddhist world map, marked a watershed moment in the study of Buddhism in Europe. It would guide the critical reconstruction of Xuanzang's pilgrimage by the geographer Louis Vivien de Saint-Martin (1802–1897) and the pioneering exploration, excavation, and plunder of Buddhist sites in India and Central Asia later undertaken by Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893) and Marc Aurel Stein (1862–1943).

Klaproth, Rémusat, and Julien—founding fathers of Sinology and Buddhist Studies in Europe—transformed the study of East Asian Buddhism in the West. They were directly responsible for establishing the learned societies, the scholarly journals, the academic positions, the university curricula, the library collections, and the cartographic archives which provided the conditions of possibility for Sinology and Buddhist Studies as modern academic disciplines. These three

¹ Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte Chinoise et Japonaise'.

² Rémusat, trans., *Foe Koue Ki ou Relation des Royaumes Bouddhiques*.

³ Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*.

scholars produced some of the earliest translations and critical studies of Chinese texts in Europe and their attention to the written records of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims provided the textual foundation for the European study of the Buddhism of India, Central Asia, and East Asia. Their work revealed the records of Faxian and Xuanzang to be more than secondary or supplemental to Indian evidence. Not only did the records of Chinese pilgrims confirm, correct, and complete Indian Buddhist sources; they served as the basis for a spatial and archeological history of Buddhism that had heretofore eluded European scholarship.⁴ This chapter traces the paper trail of this little-known cartographic example of the transmission of Buddhism to ask what the European reception of the Japanese Buddhist world map can tell us about the birth of Sinology and Buddhist Studies in the West.

Hōtan's *Handy Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa* did not arise fully-formed from the mind of a single eighteenth-century scholar-monk. It was the result of a thousand years in the East Asian study and veneration of Xuanzang's pilgrimage and of hundreds of years of transcription, experimentation, and innovation in Japanese Buddhist worldmaking long before it served as the midwife to the birth of Buddhist Studies in Europe. To fully appreciate the significance of this cartographic object we need to follow two temporal trajectories: backward from the eighteenth century to uncover the map's East Asian past and forward into the nineteenth century to explore its European future. We must consider not only how a seventh-century Chinese account of Buddhist India was envisioned in eighteenth-century Japan but also the implications of this Japanese vision for the understanding of Buddhism in nineteenth-century Europe.

⁴ Max Deeg has addressed this issue in a far more extensive manner. See Deeg, 'The Historical Turn'. My contribution to Deeg's larger project is to consider the role of a particular Japanese cartographic intervention in the process he has identified.

From Xuanzang to Hōtan

Stretching well over a meter in each direction, Hōtan's *Handy Map* is more than twice the size of previously published Japanese world maps. It resembles a wall map in scale and format and may have been intended for didactic display at temples and other sites of religious education. But if the map was produced to be studied and taught in monastic environments, the eighteenth-century boom in literacy and commercial printing meant that it reached a far wider audience and propelled the Japanese Buddhist vision of the world from the cloistered realm of the temple to the popular world of Edo print culture. In the preface to his map, Hōtan explicitly celebrates the power of mechanical reproduction, proudly announcing: 'woodblock printing has been used so that it may be propagated forever!'

Hōtan, who restored the Kyoto temple of Kegonji, played an active role in the doctrinal debates of the period and was a prolific author of Buddhist treatises and commentaries. His interlocutors included not only Buddhist scholiasts, but also leading figures from Confucian, Neo-Confucian, and Nativist schools of thought. His published writing, which number thirty-one titles in seventy-five volumes, included studies of such fundamental texts of the Kegon (Ch. Huayan) tradition as Fazang's 法藏 (643–712) commentary on the *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 [Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna], Fazang's *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齋章 [Essay on the Five Teachings of Huayan] and Yuanhui's 圓暉 (eighth century) commentary on Vasubandhu's encyclopedic *Treasury of Abhidharma* (Skt. *Abhidharmakośa*; Ch. *Jushe lun song shu lun ben* 俱舍論頌疏論本).



FIG. 2 Hōtan, *Map of Jambudvīpa*, in *idem.*, *Kanchū kōen kusharon jushakusho*, 1707. Monochrome woodblock book illustration. Author's collection.

Hōtan signaled his interest in the cartographic representation of the Buddhist world by including an earlier *Map of Jambudvīpa* in his 1707 edition of Yuanhui's commentary on Vasubandhu's great work. The Buddhist world map that Hōtan included in Yuanhui's commentary was far smaller and simpler than the large and detailed map he was to publish three years later yet it bears significant points of similarity to the more expansive map of 1710. Both maps, for example, are oriented around the central lake and spiraling waterways distinctive to the classical Buddhist world picture. Both of Hōtan's maps of Jambudvīpa—the book illustration of 1707 and the large-format print of 1710—follow Vasubandhu's geography as it is described in the opening fascicle of Xuanzang's *Record*:

At the center of Jambudvīpa is Lake Anavatapta. ... from the mouth of a silver ox at the east side of the lake flows the Ganges River, which, after encircling the lake once, enters the Southeast Sea; from the mouth of a golden elephant at the south side of the lake flows the Indus River, which, after encircling the lake once, enters the Southwest Sea; from the mouth of a lapis lazuli horse at the west side of the lake flows the Oxus River, which, after encircling the lake once, enters the Northwest Sea; and from the mouth of a crystal lion at the north side of the lake flows the Sītā River, which, after encircling the lake once, enters the Northeast Sea. 則瞻部洲之中地者, 阿那婆答多池也 [...]是以池東面銀牛口流出殢伽河, 繞池一匝, 入東南海; 池南面金象口流出信度河, 繞池一匝, 入西南海; 池西面瑠璃馬口流出縛芻河, 繞池一匝, 入西北海; 池北面頗胝師子口流出徒多河, 繞池一匝, 入東北海。⁵

Like all earlier Japanese Buddhist world maps—which were produced, transcribed, and circulated in manuscript since the fourteenth century—Xuanzang’s itinerary is the sole source for all of the Indian and Central Asian place-names inscribed on the map. Indeed, Hōtan’s attention to the route of the Tang pilgrim is underscored by the straight printed lines which connect each toponym following the sequence of Xuanzang’s itinerary. So inspired was Hōtan by the account of the Tang pilgrim that he sought to retrace Xuanzang’s journey in person but was forced to ‘console himself’, in the words of Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 (1866–1945), ‘by bathing his feet in the seawater at a beach in the province of Kii and by indulging in the thought that the water extended to the shore of the motherland of Buddhism’.⁶

The sources for Hōtan’s later, larger, and more detailed map of 1710, however, far exceed Xuanzang’s *Record*. A box printed to the left of the map’s title lists more than one hundred textual references consulted. Notably absent from this bibliography, however, is the

⁵ *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 869b.

⁶ Takakusu, ‘India and Japan’, 36.

direct source for Hōtan's geography of China and the Americas: Wang Junfu's 王君甫 (fl. c. 1650–1680) *Daming jiubian wanguo renji lucheng quantu*/Jp: *Daimin kyūhen bankoku jinseki rotei zenzu* 大明九邊萬國人跡路程全圖 [General Map of the Ming and All of the Surrounding Countries], originally published in China in 1663 and reprinted in Kyoto by Umemura Yuhaku 梅村弥白 (d.u.) sometime before 1706.⁷ The topography and toponym North and South America on Wang's Chinese map was itself informed by elements of Jesuit cartography, in particular, the maps of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and Giulio Aleni (1582–1649). But if the names and forms of the Americas are drawn ultimately from Jesuit cartography in China, Hōtan's representation of Europe is copied directly from one of the many simplified versions of Ricci's world maps printed in Japan since the middle of the seventeenth century, known by the generic title, 'Bankoku no zu' 萬國之圖 (Map of the Myriad Countries).

Hōtan's map may best be understood as a work of cartographic hybridity, scholarly polemic, and innovative Buddhist worldmaking. The title, *A Handy Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa*, combines the nomenclature of two cartographic traditions that had heretofore remained distinct. It is both a *Map of Jambudvīpa* (*Nansenbushū no zu* 南瞻部洲之圖) and also a Map of the Myriad Countries (*Bankoku no zu* 萬國之圖). At its core is Jambudvīpa, centered on Lake Anavatapta and the geography of Xuanzang's pilgrimage. But at its periphery it incorporates lands never mentioned in the *Record of Western Regions*: the Americas and Europe. Hōtan's portmanteau of a title reveals a project at once both classical and radically innovative. He appropriates the vocabulary and cartography of Ricci into a view of the world that the Jesuit father adamantly rejected.⁸

⁷ The Japanese publication is not dated but the title and publisher are listed in a bookseller's catalogue of 1706. See Muroga & Unno, 'Nihon ni okonowareta Bukkyōkei sekaizu', 139, note 28.

⁸ In the preface to his 1602 *Complete Map of Myriad Countries* (*Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* 坤輿万国全圖) Ricci ridicules Buddhist claims about the loca-

Translated more literally as a *Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa Seen Like a Fruit Held in the Hand*, the title also deploys a religious vocabulary to denote not only a Buddhist vision of the world, but also the very quality of Buddhist vision itself: discriminative knowledge attained through meditative insight. In the preface to his map, Hōtan identifies ‘a fruit held in the hand’ (*shōka* 掌菓) as an object of omniscient Buddhist vision. He writes: ‘The wisdom eye of the sage is far more powerful than the human eye and sees the boundless ten-thousand-fold world just like a fruit held in the hand’. The phrase, ‘fruit held in the hand’, enjoys a long history in Buddhist scriptural and commentarial literature. In the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, the Buddha asks Anuruddha, his disciple foremost in divine sight, ‘How far can this heavenly eye of yours see?’ Anuruddha replies, ‘I can see the boundless ten-thousand-fold world as though I were looking at a fruit in the palm of my hand’.⁹ The *Guan Wuliangshoufo jing yishu* 觀無量壽佛經義疏 [Commentary on the Sutra on Contemplation of Buddha Amitāyus], by Yuanzhao 元照 (1048–1116), similarly states that the ‘heavenly eye sees the

tion of Jambudvīpa and the height of Sumeru: ‘All countries north of the equator are governed by the north pole and are thus in the northern hemispheres, while countries south of the equator are governed by the south pole and are thus in the southern hemisphere. Thus, the Buddhist claim that the Middle Kingdom is located in the southern continent of Jambudvīpa is false, as are their claims about the height of Mount Sumeru’. Translated in Akin, *Printed Maps in Late Ming Publishing Culture*, 219–220.

⁹ The phrase ‘demonstrable in the palm of the hand’ (Ch. *zhizhang* 指掌) also appears in the titles of Chinese maps from the twelfth century. de Weerd, ‘Maps and Memory’, 164, note 1. A similar phrase, ‘all places in the palm of the hand’ is used by Ruan Taiyuan 阮泰元 (d. after 1603) in his preface to the 1603 edition of Ricci’s map. D’Elia, ‘Recent Discoveries’, 144.

thousand-fold world like a fruit in the hand'.¹⁰

As innovative as Hōtan's map may be, it is also deeply indebted to a centuries-long tradition in Japan of manuscript maps that traced and re-traced the route of Xuanzang's pilgrimage. Indeed, the earliest extant Japanese map of the world—produced in the fourteenth century by a monastic scribe and painter associated with the Nara temples of Hōryūji and Kōfukuji—is based exclusively on Xuanzang's *Record*. Painted in colors on paper and measuring over a meter and a half square (close to the dimensions of Hōtan's print), the map is similarly overwhelming in scale, scope, and detail. Known as 'Gotenjiku no zu' 五天竺之圖 [Map of the Five Regions of Tenjiku], it unfurls the diachronic narrative of Xuanzang's *Record* and translates a discursive sequence into a synchronic visual projection: a totalizing and encyclopedic display of spatial knowledge, cosmic order, historical demography, and ethnographic description, which memorializes the epic journey of the fabled Chinese saint and venerated patriarch of Japanese Buddhist traditions. A bright red line winds throughout the continent marking the serpentine route of Xuanzang's pilgrimage. The names of each kingdom and city through which the pilgrim passed are all dutifully listed—as is their size, their number of monasteries and monks, their climate and agriculture, and the customs and characteristics of their inhabitants—just as they appear in Xuanzang's text. To read the map is a dynamic and performative act, it is to follow the narrative of Xuanzang's pilgrimage step-by-step, and in doing so to be interpolated into the journey.

¹⁰ *Guan Wuliangshou jing yishu*, T no. 1754, 37: 290b11. The expression is also found in Zhiyi's 智顗 (538–597) *Miaofa lianhua jing wenju*, T no. 1718, 34: 15c16–17; Zixuan's 子璇 (965–1038) *Shoulengyan yishu zhu jing*, T no. 1799, 39: 848b9–17; Dharmakṣema (385–433) and Narêndrayaśas' (517–589) *Da fang-deng daji jing*, T no. 397, 13: 136a9, and elsewhere.



FIG. 3 Jūkai, *Map of the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, 1364. Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper, 177 × 166.5 cm. Hōryūji, Nara.

The fourteenth-century *Map of the Five Regions of Tenjiku* is framed by panels of text, most of which transcribe passages from the first two fascicles of Xuanzang's *Record*. But one of these panels identifies and celebrates hagiographic subject of the map itself:

According to the *Record of the Western Regions*, [Xuanzang] took to the road in the autumn of the third year of the Zhenguan Era [629] and returned to Changan on the first month of the nineteenth year [645] with 657 Buddhist texts and began to translate them in mid-summer. ... According to [Huili's] *Life of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Cī'en Monastery*, the Master often regretted that the books obtained and used by ancient sages contained miswritten words that lead to erroneous interpretations, and that previous scholars heard and taught dubious points that gave rise to confusion. ... He therefore defied a myriad of deaths, to cross the Pamirs and the Ganges, and travel to the Āmravana Garden. On Vulture Peak, he visited the holy sites and saw the wonderful views. At the Deer Park he sought for remnant texts among moth-eaten books. Living through spring and autumn seasons, of cold and hot weather, he spent seventeen years traveling through or hearing about one hundred and eight countries.¹¹

¹¹ Because only part of the quoted text inscribed on the map corresponds to *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuàn*, T no. 2053, 50: 221a8–19.

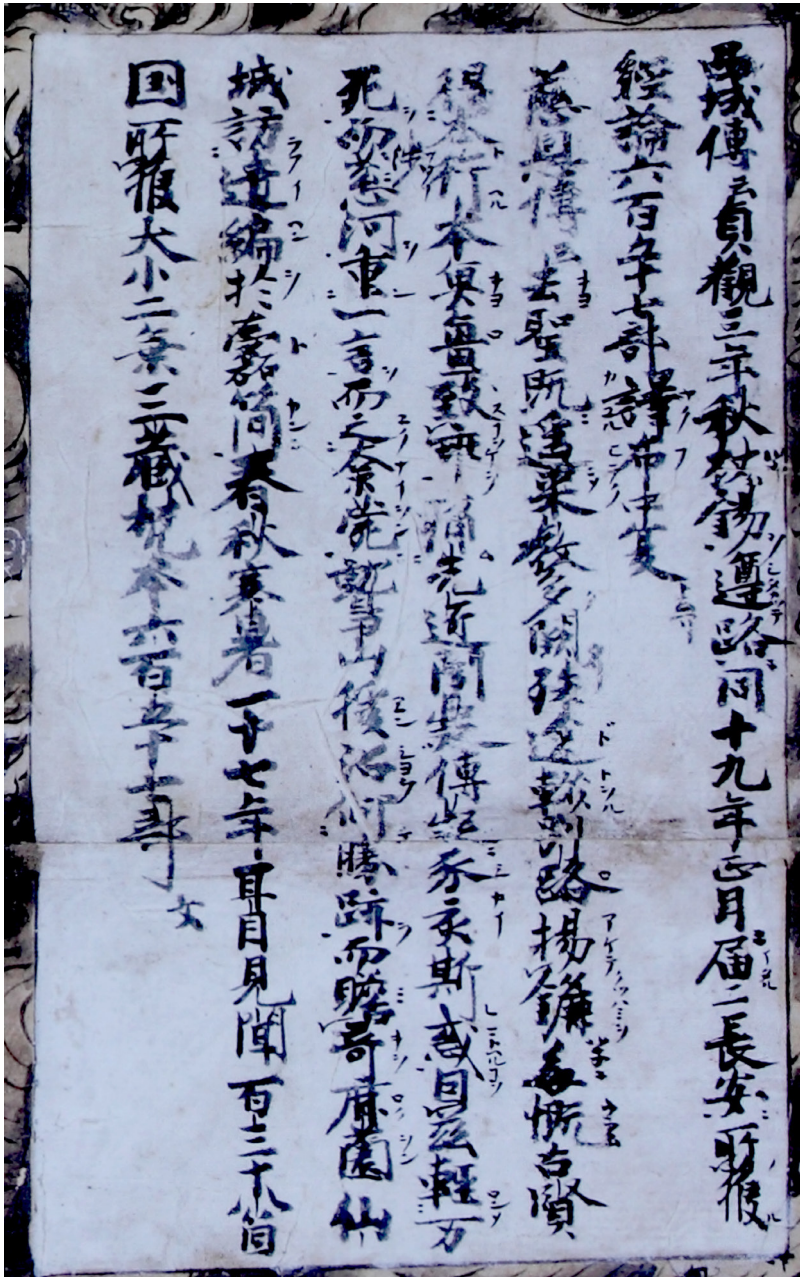


FIG. 4 Cartouche describing Xuanzang's pilgrimage. Detail from Jūkai, *Map of the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, 1364.

This fourteenth-century map of Xuanzang's travels continued to be reproduced into the late-nineteenth century, in manuscript copies made by Buddhist monks both within and beyond the temples of Nara. The Buddhist temples which served as sites of production and reproduction suggests the work's ritual context. One of the later copies, also owned by Hōryūji, is signed by an otherwise unidentified monk named Zenjō 禅成, who writes, in an inscription along the right-hand edge: 'making this copy, I feel as if I myself have traveled through Tenjiku'. By tracing the route of Xuanzang's pilgrimage, a Japanese monk living a thousand years after the Tang pilgrim felt as if he too had traveled to the Buddhist holy land. It was for him, and for other monastics who copied and venerated the map in various temple contexts, both a devotional object and a ritual means of re-enacting, by quite literally retracing, Xuanzang's journey.

Hōtan's map of 1710, however, is something more than a cartographic transcription of Xuanzang's *Record*. Unlike the map published three years earlier in his commentary on the *Kośa*, and unlike all earlier Japanese Buddhist world map produced in manuscript, Xuanzang's itinerary is not included. The celebrated route of the great Tang pilgrim—the ostensible subject of every earlier Japanese Buddhist world map—is notable absent. Although Hōtan has clearly based his work on the manuscript maps that take Xuanzang's journey as their subject, he also recognizes their limits. In the preface to his map of 1710, printed in the lower corners of the sheet, Hōtan writes:

This world reaches beyond the distances travelled by such wise men of the past as Tai Zhang 太章 (d.u.) and Shu Hai 豎亥 (d.u.) or the remote regions explored by Ban Chao 班超 (32–102) and Zhang Qian 張騫 (?–114 BC). Not even the famous Buddhist monks Faxian and Xuanzang, who risked their lives traveling to Tenjiku and other distant lands in search of the Tripiṭaka, tell of it all. Although they describe the Five Regions of Tenjiku, the realms of the Barbarian Tribes, the Pamir Mountains, and the Land of Snows, they know nothing of the foreign lands overseas. They did not even visit Korea, Japan, the Ryūkyūs, Siam, or Java—countries as minor as scattered millet-seeds. Not even the successive generations of

Indian and Chinese writers describe the entirety of this world.

Hōtan specifically criticizes the very manuscript maps of Xuanzang's journey, transcribed for centuries in Japanese temples, that served as the basis of his own cartographic efforts:

Many errors are to be found on *Maps of the Five Regions of Tenjiku*. Such errors are not found in textual sources such as Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions*, Huili's *Life of Xuanzang*, or [Daoxuan's] *Shijia fangzhi* 釋迦方誌 [Account of the Regional Spread of Buddhism]. ... In the past, *Maps of the Five Regions of Tenjiku* have been venerated in famous temples throughout Japan. I have examined these maps, but I have found them to be inferior to those in [Zhipan's 志磐] *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 [Complete Record of Buddhas and Patriarchs]. They have even confused Mount Potalaka with Mount Putuo and have thus located Potalaka at the edge of China, rather than along the shores of the southern seas, a discrepancy of some ten thousand *li*! The place names of China and India are in disarray and the boundaries of the Five Regions of Tenjiku are obscured. It is inexpressibly lamentable. Such maps are worthless.

Hōtan asserts that Buddhist cartography is necessary not simply for an accurate and complete understanding of the scriptures, but also for the very survival of the Buddhist tradition. If Japanese Buddhist intellectuals were to compete successfully in the marketplace of ideas, then their geographic knowledge would have to equal, or surpass, that of their intellectual competition. He concludes his preface with a warning, a call to action, and a gesture toward the larger cosmic vision of the Buddhist tradition:

If Buddhist scholars do not examine this map when they consult the scriptures, then their investigations will be incomplete. Confucian scholars have debated geography and discussed distances for generations. [If Buddhist intellectuals fail to do the same] our knowledge will be as insufficient as that of a frog in a well. There is so much still unknown about the Five Regions of Tenjiku. We must seek as much understanding of distant lands as we do our own, and even

more so, of Mount Sumeru at the center of the universe and the vast trichiliocosm itself, just as Sudhana sought the Flower Realm and the vast world of Indra's Net.

For Hōtan, cartographic knowledge was not only the necessary foundation for Buddhist scholarship. It also assured the relevance of the Buddhism in the contemporary world and offered a path to Buddhist enlightenment and the visionary tradition of Hōtan's own Kegon lineage.

From Hōtan to Terajima

If Hōtan's map represented the critical culmination of centuries of Japanese Buddhist cartography produced in manuscript that extended back to China, it was also the point of origin for printed maps that circulated throughout Japan and were later published in Europe. The reproductions began almost immediately. Less than two years after its initial publication, Hōtan's map was redrawn and reprinted in book format in what was to become the most popular and important encyclopedia of eighteenth-century Japan: Terajima Ryōan's 寺島良安 (1654–?) *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 [Japanese-Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms]. First issued in 1712, Terajima's 107-volume compendium was studiously modeled on a Chinese prototype published a century earlier: Wang Qi's 王圻 (1530–1615) *Sancai tubui* 三才圖會 [Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms] of 1609. Terajima's expanded update of Wang's encyclopedia derived its title, structure, entries, and illustrations from its Chinese model. For example, Terajima reproduced the very same map of the world—a simplified edition of Matteo Ricci's 'Complete Geographic Map of the Mountains and Seas'—which had appeared in Wang's encyclopedia a century earlier.

Terajima, however, chose not to follow Wang's cartographic choices in every respect. Rather, allowing for a multiplicity of world maps, he opted to supplement the Jesuit's image of a spherical earth

with Hōtan's flat Buddhist world. Volume sixty-four of Terajima's encyclopedia reproduces the central section of Hōtan's Buddhist world, redrawn and retitled 'Saiiki Gotenjiku no zu' 西域五天竺之圖 [Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku], to accompany Terajima's entries on the Western Regions and Tenjiku. From Muscovia in the northwest to Mount Lanka in the southeast, Terajima's map of Asia relies entirely on Hōtan's map of Jambudvīpa. The divisions of the Five Regions of Tenjiku, the names and size of its many kingdoms, and the four great rivers spiraling from its center all derive from the classical account of the Tang pilgrim.



FIG. 5 Terajima Ryōan, *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, in idem., *Japanese-Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms*, 1712. Monochrome woodblock book illustration. Author's collection.

Even Terajima's entry for Tenjiku opens with a citation from Xuanzang's *Record*. Indeed, Terajima cites Xuanzang even before quoting from Wang's encyclopedia, to whose authority he appeals at the start of nearly all of his other entries: 'According to the *Record of the Western Regions*, the Great Snow Mountains lie at the center of the southern continent. China lies to the east, Tenjiku to the south, Persia to the west, and the Barbarian realm to the north. Tenjiku is comprised of five regions—east, west, north, south, and central—consisting of sixteen great countries'.¹² Only then does Terajima cite Wang, noting that Tenjiku encompasses 'the Land of the Diamond Throne in Magadha in Central India where Śākyamuni attained enlightenment'. From there he quotes passages from the *Gaosen zhuan* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks] and the fourteenth-century *Xiyu zhi* 西域志 [History of Western Regions] to describe the climate and calendar of the region.

Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, however, represented only one part of Hōtan's world. Terajima included other sections of Hōtan's map but in a segmented and sequential manner, interleaved throughout the following pages of the volume. A second map appears eight pages later, following the conclusion of Terajima's entry on Tenjiku. Titled 'Kitaji Shoteki no zu' 北地諸狄之圖 [Map of the Barbarian Countries of the North], it too is drawn from Hōtan's *Handy Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa* and extends the territory covered in Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, from Europe in the west to Japan in the east. The central section of the map, comprising India and Central Asia, is rendered with minimal place names and chorographic detail. But if Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of India* is oriented vertically and laid over his *Map of the Barbarian Countries of the North*, it produces a composite map that agrees with Hōtan's cartography in every respect. Across the two pages that follow, a third map, titled *Seinan shoban no zu* 西南諸蠻之圖, depicting the islands of South East Asia, provide the final piece of the cartographic puzzle.

¹² Terajima, *Wakan sansei zue*, vol. 64: 15a.

It was thus in the form of a partial, simplified, retitled, and redrawn book illustration, buried in the middle of a 107-volume encyclopedia, that Hōtan's expansive vision of the Buddhist world reached European readers. But how did a Frenchman and a German living in Paris more than a century later get their hands on a copy of the Japanese-Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms? And more importantly, how did they understand the significance of Terajima's version of Hōtan's world map? The answer to these questions lie in the early history of Sinology and Buddhist Studies in Europe.

Hōtan in Europe

In 1815 Rémusat was appointed to the first chair in Chinese Studies in Europe as Professor of Chinese and Manchu Languages at the Collège de France.¹³ The following year, on the recommendation of Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, King Friedrich-Wilhelm III of Prussia appointed Klaproth to the second such chair.¹⁴ Both Klaproth and Rémusat were prodigious auto-didacts, pioneering bibliographers, vigorous and contentious linguists, and founding members of the *Société Asiatique*. They shared an abiding interest in Central Asia and they produced some of the earliest and most significant European studies and translations of Chinese Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian texts. It is the collaborative efforts of these two foundational Asianists that led to the European debut of the Japanese Buddhist world map.

Klaproth was perhaps the more colorful of the two. Described by Peter Kornicki as 'a noisy linguist and aggressively competent' and by his contemporaries as someone known to pilfer Chinese volumes

¹³ 'Mémorial de Rémusat', 79.

¹⁴ 'Mémorial de Klaproth', 257. Klaproth, however, was permitted to remain in Paris for purposes of study. Klaproth had previously been made a member of the Academy of Sciences and Professor of Asiatic Languages and Literature at St. Petersburg in 1808 and later Professor at Vilnius University at the request of Prince Czartoryski. 'Mémorial de Klaproth', 219, 256.

from the Bibliothèque du Roi to supplement his personal library but 'was feared [as] a man who was said to be expert with his sword', Klaproth was a close friend of Goethe, visited Napoleon on Elba, and travelled from St. Petersburg to Peking with Count Golovkin's embassy.¹⁵ Klaproth taught himself Chinese at the age of fourteen from Chinese books and dictionaries in the Royal Library in Berlin and went on to gain expertise in Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, Japanese, Sanskrit, Uighur, Persian, Kurdish, Turkish, Russian, Georgian, and Armenian, in addition to most of the European languages. Klaproth's cartographic efforts were equally prodigious. He published more than forty maps of Central Asia using both Chinese and Jesuit sources and drew nearly four hundred maps in manuscript.¹⁶ In 1802, at the young age of eighteen, he penned his first study of Chinese Buddhism, which appeared in *Asiatisches Magazin*, a journal he founded and published in Weimar.¹⁷ He later wrote the first European-language biography of the Buddha in 1823 and lectured on Xuanzang's travels at the Geographical Society of Berlin in 1834.¹⁸

Rémusat, whom Stendhal called 'the most learned man in France', taught himself Chinese at the age of eighteen after encountering Wang's *Sancai tuihui*, the Ming prototype for Terajima's later work, among the Chinese books in the collection of Abbé Charles Phillippe Campion de Tersan (1736–1819).¹⁹ At twenty, he had compiled his own manuscript glossary of Chinese words.²⁰ And after another three years of study, still without access to any Chinese-European language dictionary, he published a scholarly monograph on the language and literature of China.²¹ At twenty-five, he received his

¹⁵ Kornicki, 'Julius Klaproth and his Works', 81.

¹⁶ Walravens, 'Julius Klaproth', 183–184.

¹⁷ Klaproth, 'Ueber die Fo-Religion in China'.

¹⁸ Klaproth, *Leben des Buddha*.

¹⁹ Lundbaek, 'Notes on Abel Rémusat', 217 and idem. 'Establishment of European Sinology', 36.

²⁰ Lundbaek, 'Establishment of European Sinology', 39.

²¹ Rémusat, *Essai sur la langue et la littérature chinoise*.

doctorate in medicine with a dissertation on the Chinese diagnosis of disease through the inspection of the tongue.²² After his university appointment in 1815, Rémusat would publish another thirty studies on the languages, literatures, religions, history, and geography of East Asia. Yet for our purposes the most significant result of his new academic position was that the young professor was tasked with cataloguing all of the East Asian books in the Bibliothèque du Roi (later the Bibliothèque Impériale and now the Bibliothèque Nationale).²³ This commission introduced him to Terajima's *Japanese-Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms*, which had entered the royal library from the personal collection of Isaac Titsingh, the Dutch scholar, merchant, and ambassador who served as the senior officer of the Dutch East India Company in Nagasaki from 1779–1784.²⁴ In Titsingh's copy of the *Japanese-Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms*, which Rémusat had catalogued in the Bibliothèque du Roi, Rémusat and Klaproth first encountered Terajima's reproduction of Hōtan's map.

Rémusat's relationship with Terajima's encyclopedia may have been even more consequential than his initial encounter with Wang's compendium, which had first inspired his study of Chinese. Rémusat filled nearly 900 manuscript pages with his transcription, annotation, and study of simply the names of mountain herbs listed in a single volume of Terajima's encyclopedia.²⁵ In 1817, he published a brief introduction to the copy of the encyclopedia in the Bibliothèque du Roi and compared it to its Chinese prototype.²⁶ Ten years later, in 1827, he published a detailed 187-page description of every entry,

²² Rémusat, *Dissertatio de glossemeiotica*. Rémusat's source was a Chinese text included in Michael Boym's 1682 *Specimen Medicinae Sinicae* as 'De Indicis morborum ex Linguae coloribus & affectionibus'. See Kajdański, 'Traditional Chinese Medicine', 393.

²³ 'Mémorial de Rémusat', 79; Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, iv.

²⁴ Rémusat, 'Notice sur l'Encyclopédie japonaise', 133.

²⁵ Rémusat, *Table de l'encyclopédie japonaise*.

²⁶ Rémusat, *Mémoire sur les livres chinois de la Bibliothèque du roi*, 14.

illustration, and map in the compendium's 107 volumes. In his description of volume sixty-four, Rémusat included Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, which he referred to as *Carte des regions occidentales et du pays de Thian-tchou [l'Hindoustan]*, and listed as well the other sections of Hōtan's map that Terajima had excerpted, segmented, and reproduced throughout the volume. He even noted that one of the maps which Terajima had excerpted from Hōtan, the *Map of the Barbarian Lands to the North*, included 'all of northern Asia and even Europe'.²⁷ Rémusat was thus quite familiar with Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku* as well as of Hōtan's cartography of Europe as represented in the Edo encyclopedia.

In 1826, one year before Rémusat's comprehensive description of the Terajima's encyclopedia, Klaproth published a finely detailed version of Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku* followed by twenty pages of geographic analysis.²⁸ Titled 'Carte des Pays occidentaux et des cinq Thian tchu' [*Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Thian-tchu*], the first French edition of Terajima's version of Hōtan's map appeared in Klaproth's *Memoirs relatifs a l'Asie*, as a four-fold quarto-sized lithograph produced by the Parisian printers, Brégeaut & Cie. The French edition represents every landform, mountain, desert, border, waterway, lake, inlet, ocean, and island that appears on Terajima's earlier woodblock-printed map with the name, size, and distance of each geographical location translated or transliterated from the Chinese characters.

²⁷ Rémusat, 'Notice sur l'Encyclopédie japonaise', 247.

²⁸ Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise'.



FIG. 6 Julius Klaproth, *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Thian-tchu* (*Carte des regions occidentales et du pays de Thian-tchu*), in idem., *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, 1826.

In his accompanying essay, Klaproth identifies the map's bibliographic source, its title in both Chinese and Japanese, and his colleague Rémusat's forthcoming study of Terajima's encyclopedia. 'This curious map', Klaproth writes, is inserted into the forty-sixth volume of the great Japanese encyclopedia, *Wakan sansai zue*, published in 1714. I refrain from giving a more ample description of this important work, because the detailed analysis that Mr. Abel Rémusat has made about this work will soon appear in the eleventh volume of *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*. The title of the map in Chinese is Xiyu Wu Tianzhu zhi tu 西域五天竺之圖, and in Japanese, *Saiiki go Tenjiku no zu*, that is to say, 'Map of the Western Lands and of the Five Regions of India'.²⁹

Klaproth, moreover, posits a Chinese origin for the Japanese map and notes that the representation of India dates from the Tang:

This map must have been composed in the fifteenth century, after the Mongols had been expelled from China, because we find terms which before this period do not appear in Chinese texts. However the source materials for this map are older and date, for India at least, to the seventh century.³⁰

Ancient sources notwithstanding, Klaproth celebrates the map's superiority to even Hellenistic knowledge. He notes 'that the Chinese of the time had a better understanding of Central Asia and India than did Ptolemy and the Greek geographers'.³¹ In support of this claim, Klaproth fills the following twenty pages of his essay with the identification, analysis, and comparison of the map's toponymy and topography with Chinese, Arabic, Sanskrit, and Greek sources, reproducing the names of significant sites in the scripts of each language.

In this early publication of 1826, however, Klaproth had not yet identified the subject of the map as the geography of Xuanzang. Rémusat later confirmed—in his 'Essai sur la Cosmographie et

²⁹ Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise', 411.

³⁰ Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise', 412.

³¹ Ibid.

la Cosmogonie des Bouddhistes, d'après les Auteurs Chinois' posthumously published in 1843—it was not until after Klaproth's publication and analysis of Terajima's map, and of his own study of Terajima's encyclopedia, that he and Klaproth understood the map to represent the geography Xuanzang's pilgrimage. 'This curious map has been published by M. Klaproth in his *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, vol. 2', Rémusat reveals, 'but when Klaproth undertook his explanation we did not yet understand that it mapped the journey of Xuanzang, which I only discovered in 1831'.³² Klaproth nevertheless views the map through the optics of Xuanzang and repeats verbatim the following passage from Terajima:

One reads in the *Xiyu ji*: 'In the middle of the southern world continent are the highest peaks of the Great Snowy Mountains; to the east of these peaks is the empire of Shindan, or China; to the southeast, Tianzhu, or India; to the west, the kingdom of Persia; and to the north, the land of nomadic barbarians. Tianzhu is divided into five regions: east, west, south, north, and central. There are five parts, sixteen great kingdoms, and numerous small countries'. Our map shows these major divisions, without specifying their respective borders.³³

Although he does not refer to Xuanzang's description of Lake Anavatapta in his essay, Klaproth has little difficulty identifying the unusual swirling pattern at the center of the map:

One reads in Sinhalese works that the great Lake Anavatapta is in a vast desert, and that the four principal rivers of the world leave it by four fountains: one of which forms the mouth of a lion; another, that of an elephant; a third, that of a horse; and a fourth, that of an ox.³⁴

³² Rémusat, 'Essai sur la Cosmographie', 76.

³³ Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise', 420. Cf. Terajima, *Wakan sansei zue*, vol. 64: 15a.

³⁴ Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise', 419.

Rémusat was equally well versed in classical Buddhist geography. As he explains in his ‘Essai sur la Cosmographie et la Cosmogonie des Bouddhistes’.

The four rivers of the southern continent of Jambudvīpa are the Ganges, flowing from the east; the Indus flowing from the south; the Oxus flowing from the west, and the Sītā flowing from the north. These four rivers flow from a square lake named Anavatapta, whose four sides are marked by animals, each made of a precious material: the Ganges flows from the mouth of a silver ox; the Indus, from the mouth of a golden elephant; the Oxus, from the mouth of a sapphire horse; and the Sītā, from the mouth of a rock crystal lion. Each of the rivers circle the lake seven times and then flows into the sea: the Ganges to the southeastern sea, the Indus to the southwestern sea, the Oxus to the northwestern sea, and the Sītā to the northeastern sea. Some also claim that the Sītā flows underground and emerged to form the Yellow River of China. Lake Anavatapta, the source of the four great rivers of Jambudvīpa is 800 li (about 80 leagues) in circumference. Its banks are adorned with gold, silver, sapphire, crystal, copper, iron and other precious materials. It is located north of the Great Snowy Mountains, that is the Himalayas, and south of the Incense Mountains, the source of fragrant substances.³⁵

Klaproth also notes, as does Rémusat, the presence of Europe on Terajima’s map, yet he ascribes its toponymy to Terajima rather than Hōtan. Of the four islands in the northwest corner of the map, Klaproth writes, ‘it is obvious that the Japanese publisher of the map was mistakenly attempting to establish a correspondence between some Chinese names of Western countries with those of Europe, which he might have learned from the Dutch and Portuguese’.³⁶ Klaproth spells out the place names, in both Chinese characters and in the Japanese syllabary, and identifies the European countries as

³⁵ Rémusat, ‘Essai sur la Cosmographie’, 78–79.

³⁶ Klaproth, ‘Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise’, 418.

Denmark, Poland, Turkey, Muscovia, and Friesland.³⁷

The version of Terajima's map that Klaproth published in 1826, however, differed significantly from the one he would later include in the 1836 publication of Rémusat's translation of Faxian's *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*. The geographer Louis Vivien de Saint-Martin (1802–1896) confirms the fact that 'Klaproth had access to the map in the Japanese encyclopedia and had it reproduced as a lithograph in the *Foguo ji*', although Saint-Martin finds it 'too roughly executed to accurately represent' the geography of the region.³⁸ Unlike the finely drawn map of 1826, with its mountains, rivers, and seas rendered with the delicate linear and contour hatching characteristic of European printmaking, the map of 1836, produced by the Parisian lithographer Charles Auguste Albert Racinet, replicates the thick carved lines and the distinctive fan-shaped wave patterns (*seigaiha* 青海波) of the Japanese wood-block print.³⁹ Such formal adherence to the style of the map in the Japanese encyclopedia notwithstanding, Klaproth's map of 1836 marks a radical departure from the efforts of both Terajima and Hōtan. On the map he inserted in Rémusat's translation of Faxian's *Record*, Klaproth inscribed the route of Xuanzang's pilgrimage that was missing from both Hōtan's *Handy Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa* and Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku* and retitled it: *Map of India, after the Chinese [in which] the Itinerary of Xuanzang is indicated with a dotted line* (*Carte de L'Inde, d'après les Chinois. L'itinéraire de Hiuan thsang est indiqué par le pointé*). With this singular and unprecedented cartographic intervention—marking 'the itinerary of Xuanzang with a dotted line'—Klaproth, an explorer and cartographer who dedicated years of expeditions and research to the geography of Central Asia, who had lectured and written on the route of Xuanzang's *Record*,

³⁷ Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise', 417. Klaproth supplies the European names, however, only for the countries of Denmark, Poland, and Turkey.

³⁸ Saint-Martin, 'Note sur la Carte de L'Asie Centrale et de L'Inde', 576.

³⁹ Racinet was the father of the more famous Parisian lithographer, also named Charles Auguste Albert Racinet (1825–1893).

and who had produced most detailed maps of Central Asia heretofore published in Europe, laboriously overlaid Xuanzang's route onto Terajima's map. Thus was Xuanzang's itinerary—the central subject of the manuscripts maps of the Five Regions of Tenjiku, but absent from Hōtan's map of 1710, and Terajima's version thereof—supplied by the German sinologist and his Parisian lithographer.



FIG. 7 Julius Klaproth, *Map of India, after the Chinese* [in which] the Itinerary of Xuanzang is indicated with a dotted line (*Carte de L'Inde, d'après les Chinois. L'itinéraire de Hiuan tshang est indiqué par le pointé*), in Rémusat, *Foe Koue Ki*, 1836.

Klaproth had already suggested the implications of Xuanzang's pilgrimage for an historical cartography of Buddhist Asia at a meeting of Geographical Society of Berlin on November 15, 1834.⁴⁰ In a lecture titled, 'A Survey of the Journey of Xuanzang, a Chinese Buddhist Monk, in Central Asia and India', Klaproth introduced his learned audience to the written accounts of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims and described his role in completing Rémusat's translation of Faxian's *Record Foguo ji*:

Since the introduction of Buddhism in China, in the year 64 CE, many members of this religion have journeyed to India, by land across Central Asia, or by sea via Siam and other kingdoms of the trans-Gangetic region. The aim of these journeys was to visit with devotion the places where Śākyamuni and prior Buddhas had lived and dwelt and, especially, to obtain sacred texts in their original languages to translate into Chinese.

Many of these journeys have been recorded by the travelers themselves. Among such works is the *Foguo ji* or *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, of which [Joseph] De Guignes [1721–1800] has provided a short notice of the copy in the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris. Upon my arrival in Paris, I wanted to see the copy but because it was not included in the [1737] catalogue of Chinese books in the library compiled by [Étienne] Fourmont [1682–1745], it was difficult to locate among the many Chinese books that had been acquired since Fourmont's time.⁴¹ It was not until 1816, when the late [Louis-Mathieu] Langlès [1763–1824] invited me to catalogue [the Chinese books that been acquired since Fourmont's time], that

⁴⁰ Klaproth was deeply committed to the cartographic reconstruction of the historical geography of Asia. In 1826, the same year he produced his first version of Terajima's map, he published a 300-page historical atlas of Asia for which he drew nineteen folio maps detailing the historical geography of the continent from 530 B.C.E. to 1000 C.E. See Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*.

⁴¹ For this catalogue, see Fourmont, 'Sinicorum Regiae Bibliothecae librorum catalogu'.

I was happy to find the *Foguo ji* included in several volumes of the *Jindai bishu* 津逮祕書 [Secret Books to be Obtained by Crossing the Ford].⁴² I had planned to translate the *Foguo ji* but other projects intervened and I left the task to my late friend, Abel-Rémusat. Unfortunately Rémusat was only able to translate, and provide an excellent and extensive textual commentary, up to the twenty-fourth chapter. After Rémusat's death, the state press of France resolved to have it printed and paid for by the government, with any profit from the publication to go to Rémusat's widow. I was tasked with completing the translation and commentary of the remaining twenty chapters. The printing of the *Foguo ji* is almost complete and the work will appear, at the very latest, next February.

After describing his role in the completion and forthcoming publication of Rémusat's translation, which included his second version of Terajima's map, Klaproth introduces Xuanzang's 'even more important account':

I discovered, at the same time that I found the *Foguo ji*, another even more important account of a journey to Central Asia and India, by the Chinese monk Xuanzang. Chapters of this text have been inserted into the geography sections of the great Chinese encyclopedia, *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 [Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times]. But because Xuanzang's text was inserted wherever the country in question was discussed in the encyclopedia, it would have been impossible for me to reconstruct the sequence of the selected fragments were I not to have found his itinerary listed in another Chinese work. Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1323) had described Xuanzang's *Record* in his famous literary encyclopedia, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 [Comprehensive Investigations of Records and Documents], the subject of a detailed article I published last year.⁴³ With the help of such later bibliographic

⁴² A collection of more than 130 volumes compiled by scholar Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599–1659).

⁴³ Klaproth, *Notice de l'encyclopédie littéraire*.

materials, I have been able to reproduce Xuanzang's book in its original form.⁴⁴

Reconstructing Xuanzang's itinerary through the triangulation of secondary sources, Klaproth accomplished far more than what Saint-Martin described as simply republishing a 'roughly executed ... map from a Japanese encyclopedia'. Not only did Klaproth redraw every line, transliterate every place name, and translate every annotation (including the distances recorded by Xuanzang) from Terajima's version of Hōtan's map. He added something absent from both Terajima's copy and Hōtan's original. By superscribing the itinerary of Xuanzang's pilgrimage on Terajima's map, a route that Hōtan had included on his 1707 *Map of Jambudvīpa* but chosen to remove from his more detailed map of 1710, Klaproth had returned his nineteenth-century printed map to the earlier function of the medieval manuscript tradition on which it was based. The map once again offered the contemporaneous viewer access to the distant landscape of the Buddhist past and the opportunity to retrace the route of China's most celebrated Buddhist pilgrim. Reprinted as a cartographic appendix to a scholarly translation of an earlier Chinese Buddhist pilgrimage account, Hōtan's Buddhist world map was restored to its earlier status as a map of Xuanzang's journey to the west.

Julien's Advance and Hōtan's Return

In his 1834 'Survey of the Journey of Xuanzang' ('Aperçu du Voyage de Hiouan Thsang'), Klaproth claimed 'to have been able to reproduce Xuanzang's book in its original form', yet the earliest European-language translation of Xuanzang's *Record* was not published until 1857 by Rémusat's student and the successor to his chair at the Collège de France, Stanislas Julien. However, when Julien published his translation of Xuanzang's *Record* in 1857, rather than including

⁴⁴ Klaproth, 'Aperçu du Voyage de Hiouan Thsang', 35–37.

Klaproth's map of Xuanzang's itinerary which had appeared in his teacher's translation of Faxian's *Record*, he included an entirely new edition of Hōtan's original map instead.



FIG. 8 Stanislas Julien, *Reduced Map of Central Asia and India Published in Japan in 1710 after the voyages of Faxian and Xuanzang* (*Carte de L'Asie Centrale et de L'Inde, Publiée au Japon en 1710, d'après les voyages de Fa-hien et de Hiouen-thsang réduite à moitié*), 1857.

Julien's version of Hōtan's map, titled 'Carte de L'Asie Centrale et de L'Inde, Publiée au Japon en 1710, d'après les voyages de Fa-hien et de Hiouen-thsang réduite à moitié' [Reduced Map of Central Asia and India Published in Japan in 1710 after the voyages of Faxian and Xuanzang], contains the central section of Hōtan's map, now redrawn and printed by the French cartographer P. Bineteau. In the preface to the second volume of his translation, Julien explains how Hōtan's map, unknown to either Rémusat or Klaproth, had entered the state library of France and how it came to be included in the first Western language translation of Xuanzang's *Record*. Julien begins with an apology,

I had promised, in my Notice to the Reader, to give two small maps of ancient India, one published in the Buddhist encyclopedia *Fozu tongji*, printed in 1269, and the other one from a collection titled *Tushu bian*, which dates from the last century. But, when I had traced and transcribed them, I learned of a better map, more scholarly and richer in detail, which drew on approximately one hundred works, whose titles are listed in the margin, based mainly on the accounts of Faxian and Xuanzang. It was a great map of Central Asia and India, measuring 116 cm high and 142 cm wide, published in Japan in 1710, that M. Guillaume de Sturler, son of the last Dutch ambassador to the court of Edo, had just offered, with a collection of Japanese books, to the Bibliothèque imperiale in Paris.⁴⁵

Thus, before he had discovered Hōtan's 'better map, more scholarly and richer in detail', Julien had planned to reproduce maps included in two important Chinese compendia: Zhipan's great Buddhist encyclopedia, *Complete Record of Buddhas and Patriarchs* (*Fozu tongji*), published in 1269, and Zhang Huang's 章潢 (1527–1608) illustrated encyclopedia, *Tushu bian* 圖書編 [Compilation of Illustrations and Writings], published in 1613. Both works are included among the 'approximately one hundred works, whose titles', Julien writes, 'are listed in the margin' of Hōtan's map. As already noted, Hōtan reserved

⁴⁵ Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, vol. 2, ix-x.

the highest praise for Zhipan's cartography in the preface to his map of 1710.

The map from Zhipan's work, titled 'Xitu wuyin zhi tu' 西土五印之圖 [Map of the Western Lands and the Five Regions of India], is the earliest extant Chinese map based on Xuanzang's *Record*.⁴⁶ Although produced at the end of the Song dynasty, the sources for Zhipan's map date mainly from the Tang. Cartouches in the upper right and the lower left identify Xuanzang's *Record* as the map's principal textual source and claims to include more than 'one hundred and thirty countries and seventy-five regions' visited by the famous pilgrim. Zhipan's description of the Buddhist world continent opens with a now familiar passage lifted directly from Xuanzang's *Record*:

At the center of Jambudvīpa is Lake Anavatapta. The Ganges River flows from the mouth of a silver ox on the east side, which, after circling the lake once, enters the Southeast Sea. The Indus River flows from the mouth of a golden elephant on the south side, which, after circling the lake once, enters the Southwest Sea. The Oxus River flows from the mouth of a lapis lazuli horse on the west side, which, after circling the lake once, enters the Northwest Sea. And the Sītā River flows from the mouth of a crystal lion on the north side, which, after circling the lake once, enters the Northeast Sea. 則瞻部洲之中地者。阿那婆答多池也 [...]是以池東面銀牛口流出殑伽河，繞池一匝，入東南海；池南面金象口流出信度河，繞池一匝，入西南海；池西面瑠璃馬口流出縛芻河，繞池一匝，入西北海；池北面頗胝師子口流出徙多河，繞池一匝，入東北海。⁴⁷

The map included in Zhang Huang's *Tushu bian* is equally significant to the history of Buddhist cartography in East Asia. Just as the Japanese encyclopedist include the Christian world

⁴⁶ On the *Fozu tongji* map, see Park, 'A Buddhist Woodblock-printed Map'.

⁴⁷ *Fozu tongji*, T no. 2035, 49: 314a2–9. Cf. *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 869b.

map of Ricci and the Buddhist world map of Hōtan, his Chinese predecessor included both Jesuit and Buddhist views of the world.⁴⁸ In addition to a European-style world map based on those of Ricci, Zhang Huang included another, titled ‘Sihai Huayi zongtu’ 四海華夷總圖 [A Comprehensive Map of Chinese and Barbarians of the Four Seas].⁴⁹ In a textual insert, Zhang notes that the map is not of his own devising but rather copied from another, titled, ‘Si dahai zhong Nan zhanbu zhou zhi tu’ 四大海中南瞻部洲之圖 [Jambudvīpa Amidst the Four Great Seas], which he found in an unspecified Buddhist source. Although Hōtan does not celebrate Zhang’s map in his preface, as he does with the maps of Zhipan, it had a more visibly explicit influence of the map included in Julien’s translation of Xuanzang’s *Record*. The convoluted perimeter of the continent represented in Huang’s map is markedly similar to that of Hōtan’s map. And in Zhang’s map as in Hōtan’s the rivers that flow from Lake Anavatapta follow increasingly meandering patterns and seem to fissure the continent into multiple realms, divided by bodies of water and desert regions, such that the world seems to resemble a vast archipelago.

Julien choose to replace these simpler, smaller, and earlier Chinese maps with Hōtan’s map of 1710, which he must have discovered, much like his teacher had discovered Terajima’s map, when cataloging the East Asian books in the French state library. In 1853, Julien compiled a four-volume catalogue consisting of more than one thousand manuscript pages. In the second volume of this catalogue, inscribed in Julien’s own hand, is item #1842, to which he gives the abbreviated title of ‘Bankoku shōka no zu’ 萬國掌菓之圖 and describes as a ‘Map of Central Asia and India Published in Japan in 1710’.⁵⁰ As Julien notes in the preface to his 1857 translation, the ‘son of the last Dutch ambassador to the court of Edo, had just offered’ Hōtan’s map,

⁴⁸ On the Riccian maps in the *Tushu bian*, see Ptak, ‘The Sino-European Map’.

⁴⁹ *Tushu bian*, vol. 29: 50b–51a, with explanatory text on Jambudvīpa and Buddhist cosmology continuing to 51b.

⁵⁰ Julien, *Catalogue des livres chinois*, vol. 2, 65.

together ‘with a collection of Japanese books, to the Bibliothèque imperiale in Paris’. Thus the personal libraries of two senior officers of the Dutch East India Company—Isaac Titsingh, who served from 1779 to 1784, and Johan Willem de Sturler, who served from 1823 to 1826—were the ultimate source for the maps of both Terajima and Hōtan acquired by the state library of France.

Julien’s map reproduces every detail of the central section of the Japanese map of 1710, from Mount Potalaka and Mount Lanka in the south to the Gobi Desert in the north, and from the Chinese coast and Southeast Asia in the east to the margin of Europe in the west. The hundreds of place names that Hōtan rendered in tiny Chinese characters are here each phonetically transliterated (into Chinese rather than Japanese), and every landform and waterway that appears in the Japanese print is precisely rendered in the French lithograph. It omits none of Hōtan’s characteristic landmarks: Lake Anavatapta, at the center of Jambudvīpa, is represented by the four animal heads—ox, elephant, horse, and lion—from which flow the four great rivers encircling the lake and extending to the four corners of the world. Julien’s map includes the land forms that Hōtan identifies as Turkey, Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy, but does not transliterate their names. Nonetheless, there are some adaptations: The Oxus, which flows from the mouth of the lapis lazuli horse, is shown in Julien’s map to empty into the Mediterranean Sea.

Julien notes that ‘although far from having the scientific accuracy of European maps’, Hōtan’s map

was of great interest to M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, whose learned works on the geography of India are highly esteemed by the Institute, and who constituted the best judge among us in such matters. On the recommendation of this expert, I had this curious monument of Japanese geography reproduced in a reduced format, by a skillful artist, in dimensions compatible with the format of the book’.⁵¹

⁵¹ Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, vol. 2, x.

In his own commentary, included in the second volume of Julien's translation, Saint-Martin explains the reasons for his 'great interest' in Hōtan's map:

All those interested in eastern geography will appreciate the value of the gift that Stanislas Julien gives them by attaching to his translation of the *Memoirs* of Xuanzang a reduced, but scrupulously exact, copy of this beautiful Japanese map. We say Japanese map, because it is in Japan that it was published; but it is in fact a purely Chinese product, of Chinese origin and writing. Even if the title does not convey it expressly, it is clear to see that it was mainly, if not exclusively, composed based on the records of Buddhist pilgrims, and particularly on those of Xuanzang, from which all of the textual information is drawn. It is a graphic representation of the way in which Western countries were understood and represented by the geographers of the Celestial Empire. Better than any other extant Chinese map known in Europe, it can give us an exact picture of the level of geographical knowledge and cartographic skill of the Chinese; that is to say, it is a perfect specimen of Chinese cartography prior to any European influence. This is what gives it a particular interest, apart from its direct relationship with Xuanzang's route. ... The map combines the author's own ideas about the central regions and those that the Buddhist tradition have provided for the geography of India, not only on the course of the rivers, the location of the cities, and the boundaries of kingdoms, but also on certain distinctively Indian geographic notions, such as, for example, that of the common source of the four great rivers of the world.

Saint-Martin may be forgiven his description of Hōtan's map as 'a perfect specimen of Chinese cartography prior to any European influence'. He could not have known that it was, in fact, a perfect specimen of a Japanese Buddhist critique of European cartography. His observation, however, that 'the map combines the authors own ideas about the central regions and those that the Buddhist tradition have provided for the geography of India' reveals a notable interest in a cultural rather than a purely positivist history of cartography. Saint-Martin had produced his own highly detailed map of Xuanzang's

geography, measuring 60 x 40 cm, for Julien's translation as well as a 177 page 'learned geographic essay for the understanding of the beautiful map of Central Asia and India he had prepared'.⁵² The decision by Saint-Martin and Julien to include two radically different maps of Xuanzang's geography—one map, produced by the foremost French scholar of Indian geography using the latest techniques of European cartography and the another, produced a century and a half earlier by a Japanese Buddhist monk as a critical response to European mapmaking—signals a rare sort of cartographic pluralism, one that is encyclopedic yet not relativistic. It suggests an understanding of cartographic history disaggregated from teleological expectations, one that allows for multiple cultures of knowledge and ways of seeing.

A similar cartographic pluralism was already evident in the maps that Klaproth included in Rémusat's translation of Faxian's *Foguo ji*. In addition to his amended edition of Terajima's version of Hōtan's map, Klaproth produced four more pages of cartographic supplements. Immediately preceding his version of Terajima's map is another, more than twice the size, in which Klaproth offers his own meticulously precise global projection of Asia, from Arabia to Japan, complete with degrees on longitude and latitude, and marked with Faxian's itinerary.⁵³ Following Terajima's map are two more fold-out pages containing seven additional larger-scale maps of Northern India, Middle India, the kingdoms of Puruṣapura, Kapilavastu, Kosala, Kāśī, and Gaya in which Faxian's itinerary is also marked and in which all of the sacred sites, stupas, mountains, rivers, and groves that he mentions are named, depicted, and measured in *yojanas*.

Julien and Saint-Martin, Klaproth and Rémusat, like the Ming and Edo-period encyclopedists who served as their guides to Buddhist sources, acknowledged multiple modalities of mapping and recognized that a variety of cartographic practices could contribute

⁵² Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, vol. 2, x. Saint-Martin's map appears at the end of volume one. His analytic essay on pp. 251–428 of volume 2.

⁵³ The full title of the map is *Carte pour servir à l'intelligence des voyages entrepris par Chy Fa Hian, Prêtre Bouddhiste, entre 399 et 414 de notre ère, rédigée par M. Klaproth. Dessinée par Berthe, 1835.*

to reconstructing the lost landscape of Buddhist Asia. Thus, for the founding figures of Buddhist and Asian Studies in Europe, Hōtan's *Handy Map of the Myriad Lands of Jambudvīpa* was more than a cartographic novelty of purely antiquarian interest. Rather than dismiss it for not 'having the scientific accuracy of European maps', Rémusat, Klaproth, Julien, and Saint-Martin understood its cultural and historical significance to the academic fields they were seeking to establish. Hōtan's Japanese Buddhist map of the world, in both its abridged and expanded versions, was welcomed among the manifold guides followed by our academic forefathers. It found a place among the growing repertoire of sources—maps of European and Asian origin, reports of geographers ancient and modern—which contributed to a larger project of cultural history and exploration: a process to which other contemporary scholars, explorers, and archeologists would also contribute and from which they too would draw.

If the manuscript maps of Xuanzang's journey allowed Japanese monks to travel back, across time and place, to a Buddhist holy land they could not otherwise access, Hōtan's printed map of Xuanzang's world seems have offered early European scholars a similar opportunity. In identifying, tracing, transcribing, translating, and annotating the cartographic efforts of a Kegon monk whom they never knew, living in Kyoto a century before their time, a small group of Parisian savants retraced the journey of the Tang pilgrim on paper. In doing so, they helped to uncover a long-buried Buddhist past and create the condition for a Buddhist Studies of the future. They seem to have taken up Hōtan's proclamation printed in the lower corners of his map. 'There is so much still unknown about the Five Regions of Tenjiku', Hōtan concluded in his preface. 'We must seek as much understanding of distant lands as we do our own, and even more so, of Mount Sumeru at the center of the universe and the vast trichiliocosm itself, just as Sudhana sought the Flower Realm and the vast world of Indra's Net'.

Such well-trod pathways and shared approaches serve to remind us that the transmission of Buddhism is always multiple and multidirectional; its trajectory neither unitary nor universal. The European ancestors of Buddhist Studies may have led us, much like Xuanzang's journey, full circle. After all, the founding figures of our

field were—like Xuanzang—travelers, translators, and teachers as well, whose intellectual paths charted new territory and opened new vistas in the study of Buddhism for those who came after. The Buddhist pilgrim and the Buddhist scholar may, in the end, be two sides of the same coin and the academic study of religion may lead not to the disenchantment of the world but rather to its rediscovery.

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Abbreviation

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe et al., eds.

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