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# Positioning the East in Orientology

## *Looking for the Other and the Self in Dunhuang Studies*

The discovery of the »Caves of A Thousand Buddhas« or *Qianfo Dong* in Dunhuang in 1908 captivated the world. Situated at the eastern gateway of the Silk Road and essentially marking the western edge of China's agricultural civilization (Figure 1), a cluster of caves contained an astounding wealth of manuscripts, paintings, frescoes, as well as sculptures. While most of the manuscripts were Buddhist texts written in Chinese, the caves also housed sacred scriptures of other religions across Eurasia (including Confucianism, Taoism, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, and Nestorianism), written in about twenty languages from about the third to the tenth centuries. They kept variant editions of Chinese classics with their medieval commentaries as well as folk literature, medical texts, and other genres of works that were of a popular or practical nature. These texts, sealed behind a wall in a depository in Dunhuang, had remained unknown to the outside world since probably the tenth century. Although discovered by the locals by accident in 1900, their scholarly significance was not revealed until two European explorers, Aurel Stein (1862-1943) and Paul Pelliot (1878-1945), visited the caves in 1908.

This discovery of Dunhuang was in general the result of two overlapping forces: the heated »Great Game« or competition for influence between Russia and Britain in Inner Asia, and the ever-eastward explorations of European powers. Russia annexed the area in Inner Asia that was later known as Western or Russian Turkestan in the mid-1860s.[1] Having formally colonized India in 1858, Britain further expanded its interest northward into Inner Asia and Tibet. European adventures had intensively explored the interiors of the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and Western Turkestan in the eighteenth century. In the next century, expeditions became competitions for national glory and personal fame. Sven Hedin (1865-1952), for example, explored Persia, Mesopotamia and the Caucasus in the 1880s. In the next decade he received Swedish funding to cross the Pamirs three times into the Tarim Basin in what was then known as Chinese Turkestan, or today known as Xinjiang (a »New Territory« that was acquired by the Qing empire in the mid-eighteenth century). Hedin's success inspired Stein, also a famed explorer, to conduct two expeditions, funded by India's colonial government, to Xinjiang in the 1900s, eventually reaching Dunhuang in 1908. Their expeditions were made internationally well-known by their public lectures, popular travelogues, and media coverage. They motivated German and French scholars to organize their scientific expeditions in the 1900s. Then for the first time, an Asian country – Japan – joined an activity previously reserved for European powers.[2] These

1 Daniel Brower, Imperial Russia and Its Orient: The Renown of Nikolai Przhevalsky, in: The Russian Review 53, 1994, no. 3, pp. 374-75.

2 See, for example, Jack Autrey Dabbs, History of the Discovery and Exploration of Chinese Turkestan, Mou-




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expeditions were made at a time the host country was severely weakened by military defeats on its Eastern coasts and by internal political unrest that outlasted the demise of the Qing Empire.

These expeditions developed in tune with the expansion of Oriental philology. Europe's scholarly interest in the Orient started with the biblical languages and extended to the study of Islam and the languages of Muslim states.[3] Europe's outward advances in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries rapidly increased the number of »Oriental languages«. Williams Jones (1746-1794), an English judge in India, introduced Sanskrit and its relations to European languages in the late eighteenth century. European powers' expeditions into North Africa and West Asia led to the discovery and decipherment of hieroglyph and cuneiform languages, such as ancient Egyptian, Sumerian, and Akkadian.[4] The rapid colonization of sub-Saharan Africa after 1870 brought in more »Oriental« languages, though many of the Sub-Sahara languages were spoken languages without writing. By 1900, Orientology covered all languages in Asia, Africa, and even Oceania, as revealed in reference works such as ›Orientalische Bibliographie‹.[5] German scholars developed an enthusiasm in Sanskrit as they projected their Romantic longing for pristine culture to the land of the Vedas and later imagined the origin place of the Indo-European languages to be the root of the Aryan race. This enthusiasm gave rise to a sizeable number of professorships, a small army of motivated junior scholars, and solid scholarship that surpassed their peers in Britain and France.[6]

This paper traces the development of Oriental philology in the wake of explorations of Chinese Turkestan, including Dunhuang. There is already a vast body of literature on Dunhuang studies. Some of the literature examines Dunhuang studies in individual countries, while other works approach it comparatively.[7] Few, however,

ton 1963; Peter Hopkirk, Foreign Devils on the Silk Road: The Search for the Lost Treasures of Central Asia, Univ. of Massachusetts Press 1980.

3 Pablo Kirtchuk, Hebrew Studies in Universities, in: Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics Online, ed. by Geoffrey Khan, Brill 2013, https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-hebrew-language-and-linguistics/universities-hebrew-studies-in-EHLL_COM_00000438.

4 Peter T. Daniels, The Decipherment of Ancient Near Eastern Languages, in: A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Languages, ed. by Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee, Wiley 2020.

5 See, for example, the 1904 edition of Lucian Scherman, Orientalische Bibliographie, H. Reuther 1904.

6 Pascale Rabault-Feuerhahn, Archives of Origins: Sanskrit, Philology, Anthropology in 19th-Century Germany, Harrassowitz 2013, pp. 18-23, 126-32, 146, 161-63.

7 Note the International Dunhuang Project that was started in 1994. Some of the participating countries maintain websites that host digitized Dunhuang materials and updated bibliographies. Only a few of the works on Dunhuang studies can be listed here: KANDA Kiichiro, Tonko gaku gojunen (Fifty years of Dunhuang studies), Nikkensha 1960; RONG Xinjiang, Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang, trans. by Imre Galambos, Brill 2013; Susan Whitfield, International Dunhuang Project, in: Encyclopaedia Iranica, February 20, 2015, https://iranicaonline.org; LIU Shiping and MENG Xianshi, Dunhuang mengxun: Qiannian baozang de jusan yu lihe (Seeking Dunhuang in the dream: The gathering and dispersing of a-thousand-year-old treasures), Zhonghe 2021; Jinbao LIU, The General Theory of Dunhuang Studies, trans. by Ming Chen and Meng Wang, Springer 2022. Tamara Chin's The Silk Road Idea: Ancient Contact in the Modern Human Sciences, 1870-1970 (forthcoming with Univ. of Chicago Press) promises to be a great addition to the literature.


*Figure 1. Dunhuang on the Silk Road, and Khara-Khoto. Adapted by the Center for Digital Cultures, Academia Sinica Taiwan, from an online source available via license CC BY 4.0*

have treated the topic as an international history of Oriental philology, a history that started well before these explorations.[8] Even fewer had studied the introduction of Oriental philology to East Asian countries.[9] Dunhuang was unique in that it brought together the studies of the Far East and Central Asia (or what may be called the »Central East«), two branches of Orientology that had previously been quite distant from each other and from traditional areas of Oriental philology. While the study of Near Eastern languages and literature had been institutionalized in early modern Europe, no academic position was created for the study of the Far East until the Chair of Chinese and Manchu-Tartar Languages and Literature was established in the Collège de France for Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788-1832) in 1814. Inner Asia remained largely unexplored until the expeditions in the late nineteenth century.[10] The discovery of Dunhuang catalyzed Inner Asian philology, and, in some countries, created a close bond between Sinology and Inner Asian philology.

This paper also analyzes the different ways in which the East was positioned in Dunhuang studies across several national scholarly communities. Although Dunhuang is a clearly defined geographical location, it is striking that there was no single, unified positioning of the East within the field. There were different layers of

The East Asian practice is to place the family name before the given name, though some authors, when publishing in European languages, may reverse this order. To avoid confusion, I capitalize the family name when referring to an East Asian figure for the first time in this paper.

8 A notable exception will be Tamara Chin (fn. 7).

9 See my Dongfang Xue: European Philology in Republican China, in: Geschichte der Germanistik: Historische Zeitschrift für die Philologien 49/50, 2016, pp. 5-22.

10 Edward H. Schafer, What and How Is Sinology?, in: Tang Studies 8, 1990, no. 1, p. 31.

positioning. First, it concerned the position of Central Asian studies (the »Central East«) in relation to Sinology (the Far East). It also involved the relationship between the scholarly community and its object of study. Japan, for example, considered the study of China (which lay to its west) as its Orientology (*toyo* studies). Finally, it involved each scholarly community's conception of itself and the Other. Russia insisted that it was part of the West, whereas Japan situated itself within the Orient. Japan, however, had advanced to the status of an Orientalist power and, like its Western counterparts, exercised a mode of scholarly dominance over China as its Other. China, also an Oriental country, viewed Chinese studies as Orientology (*dongfang xue*). The scholarly communities engaged in Dunhuang studies thus positioned the East in remarkably diverse ways, often in relation to their own notions of Self and Other.

In this paper »Dunhuang studies« serve as shorthand for the scholarly work focused on sites and languages unearthed in these expeditions to western China. Dunhuang was not the only site where Chinese and Inner Asian manuscripts and artifacts were found at the turn of the twentieth century. Russians, Swedish, British, Japanese, and German explorers excavated historical ruins buried in the sands in today's Inner Mongolia, and nearby oasis cities on the Silk Road in Xinjiang, including Turfan (or Turpan in today's transliteration), Khotan, Hami and Kucha (see Figure 1). Dunhuang lies east of Xinjiang, in what is today's Gansu province. This broad area, including Dunhuang, has long been known as the Western Regions (*xiyu*) in Chinese history, though it was ruled at various times not only by China, but also by nomadic states, Tibet, and the Mongols. The Germans referred to their explorations as the »Turfan expeditions«, named after the site where they made their most significant finds. This region is often referred to in today's literature as Inner Asia, though the term encompasses areas west of the Pamirs. Inner Asia is distinct from the Near East (typically including the Ottoman Empire and Persia) and the Far East (China, Korea and Japan). Situated between the two, this region might have been called the »Middle East«, had the term not later come to replace the Near East. In this paper I refer to it as the »Central East« when appropriate.

Likewise, »Inner Asian languages« or »Inner Asian philology« is used as shorthand. This part of Asia has long served as a crossroads of China, the Near East, and India, bringing together diverse peoples, religions, and languages, many of which left written traces in historical ruins excavated by expeditions. These languages, numbering around twenty, included extinct and extant Indo-European, Turkic, Sino-Tibetan, and even Semitic languages. The Indo-European group included medieval Iranian languages and others , such as Sogdian and two varieties of Tocharian, that do not fit into established lineages. Around the turn of the twentieth century, a term »Altai languages« emerged to categorize several of these languages, though Tibetan, Sanskrit, Arabic, Hebrew, and Chinese did not originate in this region.[11] For this reason, the term »Inner Asian languages« is preferred.

11 See the category of Altai peoples or languages in Scherman (fn. 5), pp. 63-77. Modern Altai languages,

This paper traces, in sequence, the scholarly and political contexts for Dunhuang studies in four European countries (Britain, Germany, France, and Russia) in the 1910s and '20s. It then examines those contexts for Japan, a country that was both an Oriental and Orientalist. It next analyzes Dunhuang studies in China, with particular attention to the Chinese notion of *dongfang xue* (literally the study of the East, or Orientology). Sweden is omitted, as Hedin's expeditions neither produced a collection comparable with the Dunhuang holdings nor gave rise to a sustained national tradition. This paper shows the different configurations of Dunhuang studies in these countries, analyzes the complex positions of the East in their Orientology, and explicates the reasons why France and Japan came to be regarded – especially by Chinese scholars – as the leading centers of Chinese studies.

## *1. Britain*

The leading colonial power, the British empire financed Stein's travel to Dunhuang and obtained a great part of its riches. Stein made four trips to Inner Asia – in 1900-01, 1906-08, 1913-1916, and 1930, and discovered the treasures in Dunhuang on his second trip. He published travelogues that were well-illustrated with maps, photos, and drawings shortly after his first two trips. They won him immediate international attention, both for himself and for his sponsor country, Britain.[12] While he was young, Stein published philological analyses on manuscripts he found on his trips.[13] He continued to publish popular accounts of his heroic travels, but essentially ended his scholarly work after giving his finds to the British Museum.

Britain's contribution to Dunhuang studies was slow despite Stein's early success. Though solidly trained in Oriental philology (including Sanskrit, for example), Stein lacked knowledge of Chinese. Unable to assess the quality of the Chinese documents in Dunhuang, he left behind many of the finest, making them available to Pelliot. The timing of his return with the Dunhuang finds was not ideal. Britain had just lost its greatest Sanskrit scholar Max Müller (1823-1900). Though born German, Müller had made his chair in comparative philology at Oxford world famous. The occupants of the chairs in Sanskrit and comparative philology at Oxford and Cambridge in the first few decades of the twentieth century, Arthur MacDonell (in office 1899-1926) and Joseph Wright (in office 1901-1925), knew no Chinese and had little interest in Inner Asian languages. Professors of Sinology at British universities at the time were

such as Manchu and Mongolian, had not developed written languages before the tenth century and are thus not preserved in the Dunhuang repository.

12 Marc Aurel Stein, Preliminary Report on a Journey of Archaeological and Topographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan, Eyre & Spottiswoode 1901; Marc Aurel Stein, Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan: Personal Narrative of a Journey of Archaeological and Geographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan, Fisher Unwin 1903.

13 Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇnī, a Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr. Translated, with an Introduction, Commentary, and Appendices by M. A. Stein, Westminster 1900.

not very active and took no part in the study of the Stein Dunhuang collection.[14] Stein turned to Edward Denison Ross (1871-1940) for the study of Turkic materials, while the latter was in India.[15] Stein in addition asked French scholars, particularly the sinologist Édouard Chavannes (1865-1918), to study the Chinese materials on his behalf.[16] Thus, the Stein Dunhuang collection generated little engagement between Sanskrit studies (or Indology), Sinology, and Indo-European comparative philology within British academia.

Dunhuang studies in Britain, therefore, remained isolated from other established fields. The study of the Stein collection was mostly left to the curators of the Sinology Department at the British Museum, Lionel Giles (1875-1958) and Arthur Waley (1889-1966). Giles and Waley published their major works as catalogues of the paintings and Chinese manuscripts in the museum collection in 1931 and 1957.[17] They did little to integrate Dunhuang materials into broader academic discussions.

The relative lack of investment in Dunhuang studies stemmed from two causes. First, Britain's interest was primarily in trade. British scholars' Sinological work served little purpose beyond the country's commercial dealings in China. »If commercial treaties can be signed and official documents can be deciphered, there is no need for further study« – this was a comment on the scholarship of the greatest Sinologist of his generation, Herbert Giles (Lionel's father, 1845-1935), professor of Chinese at Cambridge for 35 years.[18] Second, Britain made an »imperial retreat from China« during the interwar decades. As the dominant imperial power in China, Britain faced intensifying Chinese nationalism and anti-imperialism, along with the rise of rival powers in East Asia, particularly Japan and the United States. It gradually shifted its focus towards other parts of its empire and global affairs. At home, the growing influence of liberal, pacifist and missionary opinion – combined with periods of Labour governments – contributed to the retreat policy.[19]

14 T. H. Barrett, Singular Lassitude: Some Historical and Comparative Perspectives on Chinese Studies in the United Kingdom, in: Chinese Studies: Papers Presented at a Colloquium at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 24-26 August, 1987, The British Library 1988, pp. 40-41.

15 Jeannette Mirsky, Sir Aurel Stein: Archaeological Explorer, Univ. of Chicago Press 1998, pp. 342, 353.

16 Hopkirk (fn. 2), pp. 173-75.

17 Lionel Giles, Tun Huang Lu: Notes on the District of Tun-Huang, in: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1914, pp. 703-28; Lionel Giles, A Census of Tun-Huang, in: T'oung Pao 16, 1915, no. 4, pp. 468-88; Arthur Waley, A Chinese Portrait, in: The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs 31, 1917, no. 175, pp. 130-131; Arthur Waley, Chinese Temple Paintings, in: The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs 41, 1922, no. 236, pp. 228-31; Lionel Giles and Eric D. Grinstead, Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum, The British Museum 1957; Arthur Waley, A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-Huang by Sir Aurel Stein, The British Museum 1931.

18 Quoted in Barrett (fn. 14), p. 42.

19 Phoebe Chow, Britain's Imperial Retreat from China, 1900-1931, Routledge 2016.

## *2. Germany*

Germany's expeditions into inner Asia, led by Albert Grünwedel (1856-1935) and Albert von le Coq (1860-1930), are known as Turfan expeditions (1902-03, 1904-05, 1905-07, 1913-14). They represented a continuation of Germany's archeological outreach to the East. German archeologists started excavations in Greece and Asia Minor in the 1870s and moved into Mesopotamia in the 1890s. The excavations in these regions yielded astonishing finds, and motivated museum staff to find archeological sites even further in the East. They arrived in Turfan and other cities in Xinjiang in 1902, and returned home with extraordinary artifacts.[20]

Grünwedel and Le Coq were scholars as well as adventurers. They first published their reports as scholarly monographs and journal articles, following the norms of archeological work in Germany at the time. Their popular travelogues came much later.[21] As a scholar, Grünwedel was primarily an art historian, while Le Coq was a philologist as well as an art historian. The former reproduced Buddhist objects in 678 line-drawings in a single volume.[22] Le Coq published seven volumes (six before his death) of photographs in »Buddhist Late Antiquity in Central Asia«.[23] A reader of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Sanskrit, Le Coq also published analyses of Manichean manuscripts and fragments in several historical Turkic languages.[24]

What distinguished the German Turfan studies from their counterparts in other countries were their close ties to Indo-European and Turkic philology – or Oriental philology for short. Grünwedel, Le Coq, and the scholars entrusted with studying the Turfan materials had little interaction with Sinologists or Chinese scholars. Once the first expedition brought back documents, Friedrich W. K. Müller (1863-1930), a curator in the Ethnographical Museum in Berlin, quickly identified a fragment as a Manichean text written in Middle Iranian. Müller also recognized Manichean literature written in Parthian, Sogdian, Early New Persian, and Old Turkish.[25]

20 On Germany's archeological enterprise in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Suzanne L. Marchand, Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970, Princeton Univ. Press 2003.

21 Examples of the scholarly reports are Albert Grünwedel, Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902-1903, Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1905; Albert von Le Coq, Reise und Ergebnisse der zweiten deutschen Turfan-Expedition, in: Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in München 5, 1910, pp. 175-88. Popular travelogues include Albert von Le Coq, Chotscho, Reimer 1913.

22 Albert Grünwedel, Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan: Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten von 1906 bis 1907 bei Kuca, Qarasahr und in der Oase Turfan, de Gruyter 1912.

23 Albert von Le Coq, Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien: Ergebnisse der Kgl. preussischen Turfan-Expeditionen, 7 vols., D. Reimer 1922.

24 B. A. LitvinskiĬ, Excavations IV. in Chinese Turkestan, in: Encyclopaedia Iranica, Online Edition, January 20, 2012, https://iranicaonline.org; Peter Zieme, Albert von le Coq und die manichäischen Studien, in: Acta Orientalia 63, 2010, no. 1, pp. 1-8.

25 Suzanne L. Marchand, German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship, Cambridge Univ. Press 2010, p. 420; Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Müller, Friedrich W. K., in: Encyclopaedia Iranica, Online Edition, July 20, 2004, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/mueller-friedrich-w-k.

The expeditions even uncovered previously unknown languages. Two (or three) were quickly deciphered: Sogdian by Müller and Friedrich Carl Andreas (1846-1930), and two variants of Tocharian by Emil Sieg (1866-1951) and Wilhelm Siegling (1880-1946).[26] Richard Pischel (1849-1908), Berlin's chair of Ancient Indian Languages, and his successor Heinrich Lüders (1869-1943) joined the effort to study Buddhist fragments. These German philologists were most concerned with scholarly recognition within the community of Oriental philology focused on Indo-European and Turkic languages and literature.

Two additional features of German Turfan studies were its philhellenism and its interest in religion. Le Coq repeatedly connected the significance of his work to the Hellenistic discoveries from German excavations in Greece and Asia Minor. Indeed, his primary motive was to show that Hellenism had spread across West Asia to Inner Asia.[27] This philhellenism was not particular to Le Coq. It had been a strong theme in German culture since the Neo-Humanism of the early nineteenth century.[28] The religious dimension was reflected in the excitement of German theologians and orientalists over Müller's identification of Manichaean scriptures, which confirmed the existence of the long-lost religion. Buddhism was another central focus. Both Grünwedel and Le Coq made Buddhism the centerpiece of their accounts of the expeditions.[29] Pischel also supported the Turfan expeditions as he hoped to trace the dissemination of Buddhism along the Silk Road. Lüders worked on Buddhist dramas and sutra fragments found in the Turfan materials.[30] Their interest in Buddhism focused on the connection of Inner Asia with Europe, rather than with the Far East.

A related feature of Germany's Turfan Studies was the relatively marginal role of Sinologists. Chinese manuscripts did not constitute the majority of the Turfan finds, and their total was smaller than that of the Dunhuang collection in France or Britain. Nevertheless, the Turfan discoveries motivated the German government to reestablish the chair of Sinology at Berlin. The chair was awarded to J. J. M. de Groot (in office 1912-1921), primarily for his work on Buddhism. His book on the stupas in Chinese Buddhism may be said to be built on the result of Turfan studies, though it

26 Yutaka Yoshida, Sogdian Language I. Description, in: Encyclopaedia Iranica, Online Edition, November 21, 2016, https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/sogdian-language-01; Michaël Peyrot, Tocharian Language, in: Encyclopaedia Iranica, Online Edition, July 27, 2015, https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tocharian-language.

27 This is the theme of Albert von Le Coq, Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan; Berichte und Abenteuer der II. und III. deutschen Turfan-Expedition, J. C. Hinrichs 1926.

28 See, for example, Manfred Landfester, Griechen und Deutsche: Der Mythos einer ›Wahlverwandtschaft‹, in: Mythos und Nation: Studien zur Entwicklung des kollektiven Bewußtseins in der Neuzeit, ed. by Helmut Berding, Suhrkamp 1996, S. 198-291.

29 Grünwedel (fn. 22); Le Coq (fn. 23).

30 Marchand (fn. 25), p. 420; Werner Sundermann, Turfan Expeditions, in: Encyclopaedia Iranica, Online Edition, July 20, 2004, https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/turfan-expeditions-2; Rabault-Feuerhahn (fn. 6), p. 236; Hans Heinrich Schaeder, Heinrich Lüders. 25. juni 1869-7. Mai 1943, in: Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen 68, 1944, no. 3/4, p. 224.

did not directly analyze Turfan materials. His other work, on the Huns or *Xiongnu* in pre-Christian times, concerned a period prior to the Turfan materials.[31] De Groot's successor, Otto Franke (in office 1923-1931), contributed even less to the study of the Turfan materials. His main interests lay first in contemporary China and then the history of the Chinese heartland. Though Müller knew some Chinese, his contribution to the study of Chinese manuscripts from the Turfan collection was minimal, if not nonexistent.

Moreover, de Groot, Franke and Müller all had little contact with their Chinese colleagues. Few Chinese (and Japanese) scholars visited Berlin for the Turfan collection, especially compared with the frequent visits they made to London and Paris for the Dunhuang collections. Lacking knowledge of Chinese, the Turfan scholars in Germany seldom travelled to China. Despite his contributions to Turfan studies, Müller was known to Chinese scholars only through his student CHEN Yinke (1890-1969), who helped him gain an appointment as a correspondent research fellow at the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica – an honor shared by only two eminent Sinologists (Pelliot and Bernhard Karlgren).[32] Müller, however, remained distant from other Chinese scholars. This was even more true for his German colleagues. Germany's Turfan studies connected Inner Asia with the West (through Hellenism), but not with the Far East.

### *3. France*

Dunhuang studies thrived together with Sinology in France, for Paris was particularly well-prepared. Sinology was institutionalized early in France, thanks to the tradition of French Jesuits who spent their lives in China. The Royal Library in Paris had a strong collection of Chinese materials sent back by the Jesuits. This Jesuit heritage kept alive interest in Chinese and Manchu until the early nineteenth century, when the Chair of Chinese and Tartar-Mancu Langauges and Literature at the Collège de France was established for Abel-Rémusat. It was the first chair of Sinology in Europe.

Rémusat himself created a lasting tradition in the study of medieval Chinese monks' travels to India. He translated the ›Fo-kuo Ji‹ (An account of Buddhist countries, 416 CE) by Faxian (337-422). Rémusat's immediate successor at the Collège de France, Stanislas Julien (1797-1873), and a later successor Éduoard Chavannes (1865-1918)

31 Ernst Haenisch, Die Sinologie an der Berliner Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in den Jahren 1889-1945, in Studium berolinense: Aufsätze und Beiträge zu Problemen der Wissenschaft und zur Geschichte der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, ed. by Hans Leussink et al., de Gruyter 1960, p. 554-566; Hartmut Walravens, Zur Geschichte der Sinologie im deutschsprachigen Raum (s. d.), https://dmg-web.de/page/studiengaenge_de/Sinologie.pdf; Hans van Ess, History of Pre-Modern Chinese Studies in Germany, in: Journal of Chinese History 7, 2023, no. 2, pp. 491-524.

32 Ku-ming (Kevin) Chang, Philology yu Shiyusuo: Chen Yinke, Fu Sinian, yu zhongguo de ›dongfang xue‹ (Philology and the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica: Yinke Chen, Sinian Fu, and China's dongfang xue), in: Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 87, 2016, no. 2, pp. 433-34.

also translated the travel accounts of Xuanzang (602-664) and Yijing (635-713). Inevitably translations of these works required the knowledge of the regions these monks travelled, including Inner Asia. Thus, even before the discovery of Dunhuang, French Sinologists had prepared themselves in the history, languages and geography of medieval India, Inner Asia and China. Stein had good reason to seek Chavannes' help for his Dunhuang collection.

France's imperial and scholarly interest in Asia intensified from the 1880s onward. It formally colonized Vietnam, or French Indochina, in 1889, giving France a position to compete with Britain, which ruled India. To aid its rule in Indochina, France established l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, the French School of the Far East, in 1900. Among its first *pensionnaires* was Pelliot.[33]

A few years later, Pelliot was appointed to lead an expedition to western China, organized and funded by the French government and French Academy of Sciences. He attended the School of Political Sciences and Oriental Languages (École libre des sciences politiques et aux langues orientales), a school that trained diplomats for the French Empire. He studied Chinese with Chavannes, Sanskrit with the leading French Indologist Silvain Lévi (1863-1936), and Asian history and geography with Henri Cordier (1849-1915). His expedition began in 1906. He was already in western China when Stein discovered the manuscripts in Dunhuang and arrived in the Dunhuang caves a few months after the India-funded explorer's departure.[34]

Thanks to his discovery and introduction of Dunhuang materials, Pelliot was given the Chair of the Languages, History and Archeology of Central Asia at the Collège de France (1911), a position created for him. In his inaugural speech, he summarized the significance of Dunhuang materials and outlined the future of his research. He first pointed out the discovery of three extinct Indo-European languages in the materials. The first was Sogdian, a key medium of medieval Buddhism in Inner Asia. The second was Tocharian, one of the oldest Indo-European languages, and the most easterly of the family. The third, another Eastern Iranian language but unrecognized at the time of Pelliot's speech, was later identified as Khotanese. Pelliot then elucidated the importance of Dunhuang materials for world religions, including Buddhism, Nestorianism, Manicheanism, Zoroastrianism and Islam. He underscored the instrumental role played by Iranian peoples and languages in spreading Buddhism from India across Inner Asia to East Asia, and their parallel role in spreading Islam through the Mongol Eurasian empire. He also indicated Dunhuang's contribution to art history.[35]

Thanks to Pelliot, by the 1920s, Paris had become the center of Chinese studies in the eyes of many Chinese scholarly elite, even surpassing any Chinese individual or in-

33 Philippe Flandrin, Les sept vies du mandarin français: Paul Pelliot, ou, La passion de l'Orient, Rocher 2008, p. 15; Pierre-Étienne Will, French Sinology, in: Journal of Chinese History 7, 2023, no. 2, p. 544.

34 SANG Bing, Guoxue yu hanxue: jindai zhongwai wenxue jiaowang lu (National Learning and Sinology: Contacts between Chinese and foreign academia in modern times), Zhejiang renmin chubanshe 1999, p. 119; Flandrin (fn. 33), p. 157-78.

35 Paul Pelliot, Les influences iraniennes en Asie Centrale et en Extrême-Orient, in: Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, n. s. 3, 1912, pp. 97-119.

stitution.[36] It owed a great deal to Pelliot's prolific output on Dunhuang materials in the 1910s and 20s. Rigorously speaking, Pelliot did not publish a single work that revolutionized Chinese studies. However, he had published over 240 titles by the end of 1923 and 400 by 1928.[37] Some of them were substantial, such as the six-volume photo series of paintings and sculptures in 186 Dunhuang caves (1914), though these contained little analysis.[38] Many others were shorter pieces covering a vast range of topics: ›A Manichean Treatise Retrieved in China, Translated and Annotated‹ (1911), ›Two Buddhist Titles carried by Religious Nestorians‹ (1911), ›The Sexagenary Cycle in Tibetan Chronology‹ (1913), ›The Most Ancient Monuments of Arabic Writing in China‹ (1913), ›Proper Names in the Chinese Translations of Milindapanha‹ (1915), ›The Chou King in Ancient Characters‹ and the ›Chang chou che wen‹ [a text on the Confucian Book of Documents]› (1915), ›The Sutra of Causes and Effects of Good and Evil, Edited and Translated according to Sogdian, Chinese and Tibetan Texts‹ (1920).[39] The number of his publications and the great variety of these examples demonstrate the breadth of Pelliot's linguistic, historical and geographical knowledge.

Pelliot's mastery of spoken and classical Chinese gave him a significant advantage. His knowledge of classical Chinese enabled him to identify and acquire the most valuable Chinese manuscripts at Dunhuang. His spoken Chinese impressed East Asian colleagues. He displayed remarkable bibliographical knowledge of historical sources and of the latest Chinese, Japanese, European, and American scholarship, either in his conversations with East Asian scholars, or in his prolific book reviews, mainly published in ›T'oung Pao‹, a journal he co-edited.

Thanks to his extraordinary linguistic talent, Pelliot incorporated Sinology, Inner Asian philology, and even Sanskrit studies in his work. He quickly acquired proficiency in a considerable number of Inner Asian languages. For example, in 1920 he published two volumes of a Buddhist sutra written in Sogdian. This linguistic knowledge empowered him to work directly on many non-Chinese Dunhuang materials. He also taught himself Mongolian and Arabic, applying them to his study of the correspondence between the Mongols and the Papacy, and to his analysis of Marco Polo's travels.[40] His work was almost universally praised by his peers in Oriental philology and Sinology.

Pelliot also distinguished himself by cultivating personal relationships with East Asian scholars, a practice uncommon among his German and British counterparts. After ensuring that the bulk of his Dunhuang finds had been safely transported out

36 Sang (fn. 34), p. 139.

37 Hartmut Walravens (ed.), Paul Pelliot (1878-1945): His Life and Works. A Bibliography, Indiana Univ., Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies 2001, pp. 47, 66.

38 Paul Pelliot, Les grottes de Touen-Houang: peintures et sculptures bouddhiques des époques des Wei, des T'ang et des Song, 6 vols., Mission Pelliot en Asie centrale, Librairie Paul Geuthner 1914.

39 See Walravens (fn. 37).

40 Samuel Lieu, Pelliot, Paul, in: Encyclopaedia Iranica, Online Edition, July 20, 2022, https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/pelliot-paul.


*Figure 2. The Chinese »business cards« that Pelliot collected. Courtesy of Musée Guimet, Paris*

of China, Pelliot brought a few select documents with him during his 1909 visit to leading literati in Beijing. He collected »business cards«, so to speak, from those he visited (or who visited him) (Figure 2). He generously shared the documents with his hosts and even organized a public exhibition. Although the meetings were cordial, they prompted the Qing court to relocate all remaining Dunhuang texts to Beijing (though some were secretly kept by defiant locals). Pelliot allowed Chinese literati to copy or photograph the manuscripts. One of them, LUO Zhenyu (1866-1940), quickly published facsimiles.[41] Back in Paris, Pelliot received waves of visiting Japanese scholars. Together with his Japanese colleagues, he catalogued Dunhuang manuscripts, resulting in such works as ›Tonko isho‹ (Manuscripts of Dunhuang 1926), a two-volume publication in Tokyo by HANEDA Toru (1882-1955).[42] Though Chinese scholars were slower to visit Paris, Pelliot corresponded with prominent figures. When HU Shi or Hu Shih (1891-1962), a major Chinese intellectual, visited in 1926, Pelliot graciously supported his research. He regularly reviewed Chinese and Japanese publications in Chinese and Inner Asian studies, including every issue of leading aca-

41 Kanda (fn. 7), pp. 4-9.

42 LIU Zheng, Jingdu xuepai hanxue shigao (A draft history of the Sinology of the Kyoto School), Xueyuan Chubanshe 2011, pp. 144, 313-14.

demic journals from both countries.[43] He publicly praised Chinese scholars for their contributions, which contrasted with his reputation in Western academia as a ruthless reviewer of submissions to the ›T'oung Pao‹.[44] Pelliot nominated Academia Sinica's Institute of History and Philology to the L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres for the *Prix Stanislas Julien*, a prize sometimes compared to a Nobel in Chinese studies. When the prize was indeed awarded to the institute, Chinese academics were deeply grateful for this international recognition that came at a time when the country suffered low morale from the loss of Manchuria. Pelliot stood in stark contrast to Aurel Stein, who once claimed that there was no scholarship in China. When Pelliot returned to China in late 1932, he was warmly welcomed and celebrated as the foremost Sinologist and Orientalist.[45] Unlike German Turfan scholars and Stein, Pelliot was highly regarded by Chinese and Japanese scholars, as well as by Western Sinologists, even though his chair at the Collège de France was in Central Asian studies.

Pelliot did not work alone. His mentor, Chavannes, also made important contributions, collaborating with Pelliot on the Chinese Manichean text, for example. Chavannes worked with Lévi on Buddhist documents written in Chinese and South Asian languages.[46] Their colleagues Paul Gauthiot (1876-1916) and Émile Benveniste (1902-1976) reconstructed Sogdian grammar from Dunhuang materials.[47] Cordier published ›The Book of Ser Marco Polo‹, based on Henry Yule's edition, in 1903, followed by an annotated edition in 1920. Marco Polo's ›Travels‹, of course, was rich in Inner Asian languages, cultures and geography.[48] Pelliot's contemporaries Henri Maspero (1883-1945), Marcel Granet (1884-1940), and Paul Demiéville (1894-1979) were also eminent Sinologists.[49] Yet none engaged their East Asian colleagues as closely with East Asian scholars, or were as well known in East Asia, as Pelliot.

Paris became the global center of Chinese studies in the 1920s and 30s. Its strength consisted of bridging Sinology (the study of the Far East) and Inner Asian studies (the study of the »Middle East«), and of connecting European scholars in the West and their peers in the East.

43 Walravens (fn. 37).

44 Edward Schafer spoke of an »anti-Pelliot dogma« in European and American academia, upheld by victims of Pelliot's harsh criticisms. Schafer (fn. 10), p. 34; SANG Bing, Boxihe yu jindai Zhongguo xueshu jie (Pelliot and modern Chinese academia), in: Lishi yanjiu 5, 1997, p. 127.

45 Schafer (fn. 10), p. 25; Sang (fn. 34), p. 135; Sang (fn. 44), p. 125.

46 Edouard Chavannes and Sylvain Lévi, Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois, 3 vols., E. Leroux 1910.

47 Lieu (fn. 40).

48 Paul Pelliot, Henri Cordier (1849-1925), in: T'oung Pao 24, 1925, no. 1, p. 7.

49 Will (fn. 33), pp. 548-53.

## *4. Russia*

Russia has long had an ambivalent identity. It was a formidable imperial power, seeking to take up territories in East Europe, the Near East, and Inner Asia. Located east of major European powers, it experienced movements from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century that sought to Westernize the country. West Europeans at times regarded Russia as part of the Orient. Russians, however, rejected being seen as Orientals. They were firm in asserting that Russia belonged to Europe, albeit Eastern Europe. The development of Indo-European philology in the nineteenth century further confirmed that Russian was indeed an Indo-European language, and consequently that Russians were genuinely Europeans.[50]

The investigation of Turkestan, Eastern and Western, was Russia's ongoing study of »its own Orient«.[51] St. Petersburg, hosting a university, the Russian Academy of Sciences, and the Russian Geographical Society, was the center of Orientology in Russia, though the study of the Orient began at the University of Kazan, the easternmost university in the Russian Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century.[52] Led by its dean Viktor Romanovich Rosen (1849-1908), St. Petersburg's faculty of Oriental philology taught languages associated with traditional Orientalists in Europe: Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. It also studied Caucasian languages (such as Armenian and Georgian), spoken by ethnic minorities in Russia's East. The curriculum was expanded to include Syriac, Sanskrit, and eventually further to Chinese, Manchu, Japanese, Mongolian.[53] The goal of Russia's Orientology was to study cultural and political interactions between peoples of different ethnic origin, languages, and religious beliefs, to integrate the peoples to the east of Urals into the European core of the empire. The breadth of St. Petersburg's teaching in Oriental philology might well have been the broadest in Europe, thanks to the vast expanse of the empire and the large number of linguistic and ethnic communities it had annexed.[54]

Though a relative latecomer in Oriental philology, Russia had a particular strength in the study of languages in western and northern China. Franz Anton Schiefner (1817-1879) specialized in Tibetan, Mongolian, as well as languages of Russia's eth-

50 Igor V. Podberezsky, Between Europe and Asia: The Search for Russia's Civilisational Identity, in: Russia and Asia: The Emerging Security Agenda, ed. by Gennadij Illarionovič Chufrin, SIPRI 1999, p. 34; David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, The Curious Fate of Edward Said in Russia, in: Études de Lettres 2014, nos. 2-3 (September), pp. 81-94.

51 Vera Tolz, Russia's Own Orient: The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods, Oxford Univ. Press 2011, p. 13-14.

52 Richard N. Frye, Oriental Studies in Russia, in: Russia and Asia: Essays on the Influence of Russia on the Asian Peoples, ed. by Wayne S. Vucinich, Hoover Institution Press 1972, p. 39.

53 Irina F. Popova, Russian Explorations in Central Asia at the Turn of the 20th Century, in: Russian Expeditions to Central Asia at the Turn of the 20th Century, ed. by Irina F. Popova, Slavia 2008, p. 180.

54 Mikhail Dmitrievich Bukharin and Irina Fedorovna Popova, A History of Oriental Studies in Russia, Based on the Correspondence of V. V. Bartol'd and N. F. Petrovskii Between 1893 and 1908, from Archival Collections in the Russian Academy of Sciences (in Russian), in: Journal of Modern Russian History and Historiography 10, 2017, no. 1, pp. 127-28, 180.

nic minorities.[55] Wilhelm Grube (1855-1908) successfully deciphered Jurchen, a historical language from the Jin Dynasty (1115-1234), which ruled over North China.[56] They resulted from, and further prepared for, Russia's imperialist interest in extending its research eastward into western China.[57]

Russia was the first European country to gain access to western China, which was made easier by its geopolitical position. It had acquired Siberia in the late seventeenth century, thus sharing a long border with China. Russia's conquest of Western Turkestan in the mid-nineteenth century brought its force eastward to Eastern Turkestan, then ruled as Xinjiang by China (Figure 3). In 1881, Russia signed a treaty with China that confirmed its right to open consulates in cities across Xinjiang.[58] It thus gained official access to Eastern Turkestan, which shared common peoples, languages and religions with Western Turkestan, then governed by Russia. While the explorers of other European countries had to cross the hazardous Pamirs from the West to enter China, Russia could access it from the northwest and the north.

From the mid-nineteenth century onward, Russia dispatched several expeditions to Xinjiang and Mongolia. These expeditions systematically carried out topographic and cartographic surveys, and mapped the ruins of ancient temples and fortresses.[59] Russian consuls and staff members in Xinjiang also sent antiquities, manuscripts, ethnographic and folkloric materials to St. Petersburg.[60]

Russian exploration of western China came into international attention in the late nineteenth century. Two members of the Russian Academy of Sciences presented findings of ancient Uighur and runic monuments by a Russian expedition to Turfan in the International Congress of Orientalists in Rome in 1899. This led to the Congress's resolution to establish the International Association for the Historical, Archeological, Linguistic, and Ethnographical Exploration of Central Asia and the Far East (l'Extrême Orient). This association was formally established after the charter was approved in the next Congress in 1902 in Hamburg. In this context German explorers heard of the archeological riches in Xinjiang and dispatched their first expedition to Turfan. The following year, Russia organized its own Committee for the Exploration of Central Asia and the Far East, coordinating resources in the empire. This committee oversaw several expeditions to western China in the first two decades of the twentieth century.[61]

From its expeditions to western China, Russia made contributions to the study of Tangut, a historical language in western China, and to Dunhuang studies. The 1908-09 expedition, led by Pyotr. K. Kozlov (1863-1935), found a deserted fortress of the Western Xia Kingdom (1038-1227) in Khara-Khoto (see figure 1). It unearthed a

55 Hartmut Walravens, Franz Anton Schiefner, in: Neue deutsche Biographie, ed. by Otto Stolberg-Wernigerode, vol. 22, Duncker & Humblot 2005.

56 Édouard Chavannes, Nécrologie: Le Professeur Wilhelm Grube, in: T'oung Pao 9, 1890, no. 4, pp. 593-95.

57 Bukharin and Popova (fn. 54), pp. 127-28, 180.

58 Bukharin and Popova (fn. 54), pp. 129-30.

59 Bukharin and Popova (fn. 54), pp. 129-30; Popova (fn. 53), pp. 18-19.

60 Popova (fn. 53), p. 25.

61 Popova (fn. 53), pp. 29-30.

great number of Buddhist documents written in Tangut. The language was deciphered by Aleksei Ivanonich Ivanov (1878-1937), who later became a leading authority on this language.[62]

Once Hedin and Stein made their treasure hunts in Chinese Turkestan famous, Russian explorers also arrived in Dunhuang. Led by Sergey F. Oldenburg (1863-1934) in 1914, the Russians surveyed all caves at the site, and produced 3-D depictions. They also photographed or sketched its sculptures, paintings, and frescoes.[63]

Russia's Orientology on western China was characterized by several traits. First, Russian scholars sought to catch up with their Western European counterparts by making their work »scientific«. Many Russian academics received advanced training in Europe, especially in Germany. Even as late as the 1910s, they looked to West Europe as a model of scientific research. They argued to their government and the public that »without scholarship there can be no powerful Russian state«, linking scientific investment to national strength. Aware of the East-West divide, some Russian Orientalists thought of themselves as bridging the two parts of the world.[64] Second, Russian scholars were critical of their European colleagues' sense of superiority and blindness to the »great and exciting culture of the East«. They accused Western archeologists of damaging precious monuments in the East to enrich their museums at home. After World War I, the anti-colonial Soviet Union positioned itself in opposition to imperialistic European powers and supported the peoples of its borderlands.[65] Third, paradoxically, Russian Orientalists also pursued imperial interests, much like their Western peers. They viewed expeditions to the East as a legitimate form of competition with other imperial powers.[66] Though Oldenburg prided himself on being more scientific, and more committed to preservation than other expeditions, he too removed frescoes and took them back to St. Petersburg.[67]

Fourth, Russian scholarship was not very well-known to Chinese scholars. Oldenburg, who led the Russian expedition to Dunhuang, was professor of Sanskrit at the Russian Academy of Science and served as its permanent secretary from 1903 to 1929. Kozlov, who led the expedition to Khara-Khoto, was a military officer unaffiliated with academic institutions.[68] Neither of them knew Chinese. Ivanov was an exception – a Tangut scholar trained in Manchu and Chinese studies. He spent several years on a study mission in China, later taught Manchu and Chinese at St. Petersburg

62 Imre Galambos, Translating Chinese Tradition and Teaching Tangut Culture: Manuscripts and Printed Books from Khara-Khoto, de Gruyter 2015, pp. 17-29, 63-67.

63 Liu and Meng (fn. 7), pp. 93-96.

64 Bukharin and Popova (fn. 54), pp. 127-28; Tolz (fn. 51), pp. 11, 13-14, 17, 59, 73, 92-93; Galambos (fn. 62), pp. 64, 66-67. Quote from Tolz, p. 73.

65 Tolz (fn. 51), pp. 32, 41, 54-55, 97, 110.

66 Tolz (fn. 51), pp. 73.

67 Liu and Meng (fn. 7), pp. 93-96.

68 Alexander I. Andreev and Tatiana I. Yusupova, Pyotr Kuz'mich Kozlov, 1863-1935, in: Geographers: Biobibliographical Studies 34, 2015, pp. 138-41; David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration, Yale Univ. Press 2010, p. 193.

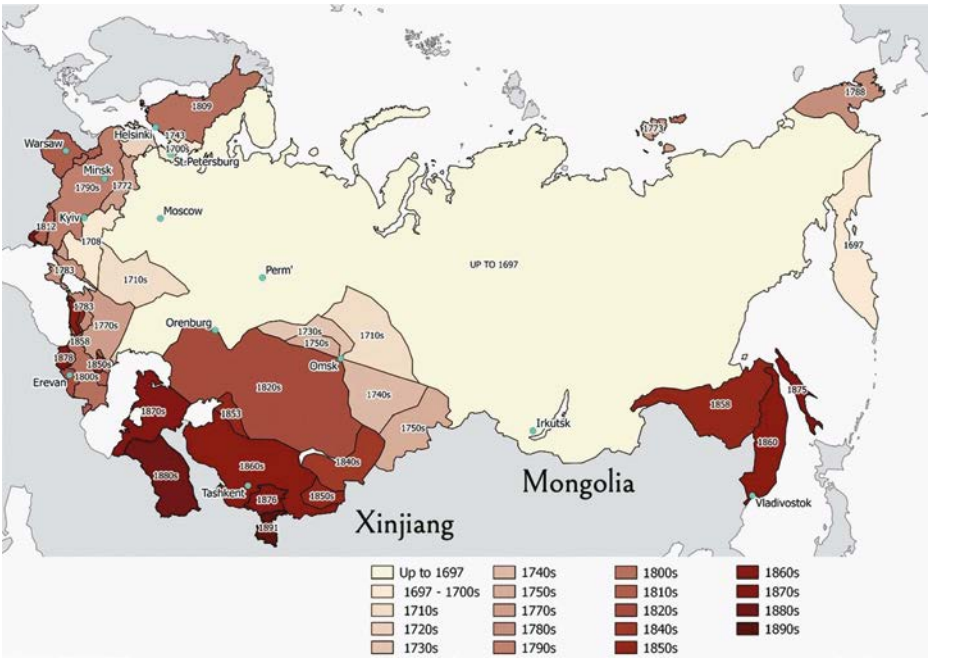


*Figure 3. Xinjiang, Mongolia, and Outward Expansions of Russia, adapted from Stephen Broadberry and Elena Korchmina, Catching-Up and Falling Behind: Russian Economic Growth, 1690s-1880s, in: The Journal of Economic History 84, 2024, no. 4, p. 1002.*

University, and returned to China as an interpreter at the Soviet Embassy in Beijing in the 1920s. He thus spoke Chinese and engaged personally with Chinese scholars. Unfortunately, he was executed during Stalin's purge in 1937. His death prevented the publication of his Tangut dictionary, and limited Russia's impact on Dunhuang studies.[69] Another significant figure was Alexander Staël-Holstein (1877-1937). He studied Sanskrit at Halle (Germany), taught at St. Petersburg, and became a member of Russia's Committee for the Exploration of Central Asia and the Far East. As a member of a noble family, he was stranded on an academic visit to China when the Bolshevik Revolution took place, and remained there as a refugee until his death. Though maintaining close ties with some Chinese colleagues, he no longer officially represented Russia.[70]

69 Alexey Ivanovich Ivanov, Professor, Doctor of Philological Sciences (3. 28. 1878-10. 8. 1937) [In Russian], in: IVR RAS (Saint Petersburg) Personalia 2024, https://www.orientalstudies.ru/rus/index.php?option= com_personalities&Itemid=74&person=21. p. 47; Sergey Dmitriev, Tangut (Xi Xia) Studies in the Soviet Union: Quinta Essentia of Russian Oriental Studies, in: Mongolian Journal of International Affairs 19, 2015, pp. 178-96.

70 On Staël-Holstein, see Qilong WANG and Xiaoyong DENG, The Academic Knight Between East & West: A Biography of Alexander von Staël-Holstein, Cengage Learning Asia 2014.

Thus, Russia's study of western China was a study of its own Orient in the context of its catchup with its European counterpart. Its Orientology was driven by its national or imperial interest in the study of the growing number of Asian peoples, cultures and languages within its expanding borders. In competition with Britain for influence and resources across Central Asia, Russia's Orientology extended beyond its borders into Mongolia and Manchuria. Though a latecomer to Orientology, Russia launched expeditions to western China before its European rivals. Playing catchup, Russian scholars were far more eager to gain recognition from their European colleagues than to engage with their East Asian colleagues. Though they studied their Orient, they looked to the West.

## *5. Japan*

Since its forced opening to Western powers in the mid-nineteenth century, Japan had been reconsidering its own identity. Japanese intellectuals were certain that they belonged to the East, or *toyo* (literally »Eastern Ocean«), in contrast to the West, or *seiyo* (»Western Ocean«). They spoke of *toyo* Culture, *toyo* philosophy, *toyo* thought, or *toyo* ethics, when they were actually discussing Japanese culture, philosophy, thought, or ethics. They clearly saw themselves as Orientals – or, rather, they self-orientalized.[71]

A central theme in the discussion of the Oriental was Japan's relationship with China. For Japanese intellectuals, it was clear that they inherited an Oriental culture composed of Chinese Confucianism, Indian Buddhism, and Japanese Shintoism. They, however, had to redefine Japan's relationship with China following Japan's Westernization and subsequence rise as a great power, especially after its victories over China (1894-1895) and Russia (1904-1905). While Japan had long relied on Confucianism for moral and scholarly teachings, Japanese intellectuals began working hard to highlight Japan's difference. FUKUZAWA Yukichi (1835-1901) emphasized the half-civilized status or stagnation of Chinese civilization. Some, like TAKAKUSU Junjiro (1866-1945), viewed Buddhism as the spiritual backbone of the Japanese nation in a new global order. Others, such as SHIRATORI Kurakichi (1865-1942), the influential *toyo* historian at Tokyo University, looked past China into Inner Asian for the ethnic roots of the Japanese nation.[72] These perspectives motivated the study of Buddhism at its source in ancient and medieval India, and the study of Inner Asia as the birthplace of the Japanese people and the route of Buddhism's transmission to Japan.

71 CHEN Weifen, Ziwo de ketihua yu pupian hua: Jindai Riben de ›Dongyang‹ lunji yinmi qizhong de ›Xiyang‹ yu ›Zhina‹ (The objectivization and universalization of the self: A critical look at the Japanese Touyou discourse and the ideas of Seiyou and China Implied Therein), in: Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu qikan (Journal for the Study of Chinese Literature and Philosophy) 8, 2001, pp. 367-419.

72 Stefan Tanaka, Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History, Univ. of California Press 1993, pp. 77-79, 130, 180; Orion Klautau, Nationalizing the Dharma: Takakusu Junjirō and the Politics of Buddhist Scholarship in Early Twentieth-Century Japan, in: Japanese Religions 39, 2014, p. 55.

Three Japanese expeditions reached Xinjiang in 1902-1904, 1908-1909, and 1910-1914.[73] Rather than being sponsored by the state or universities, these expeditions were privately organized and funded by Count ŌTANI Kozui (1876-1948), the abbot of a wealthy Buddhist monastery in Kyoto that had more than ten million followers. Since Meiji Japan's opening to the world, successive abbots of the monastery had taken an active interest in Buddhist studies abroad. Impressed by Western Orientalists' approach to Buddhist texts by accessing its original Sanskrit and Pali, they supported monks in pursuing Buddhist studies in Britain and France. Ōtani was studying in Europe when he heard about the discoveries of Hedin and Stein in Chinese Turkestan. He made efforts to meet Stein in Europe and tried to visit Hedin. As a leader of Japanese Buddhism, Ōtani felt it was his duty to study the Buddhist ruins along the Silk Road, the route by which his faith had entered Japan. Upon returning to Japan, Ōtani organized and led the first expedition to Chinese Turkestan. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904 and 1905 might have further motivated him to explore Russia's backdoor.[74] The second and third expeditions overlapped or followed those of Stein and Pelliot to Dunhuang, which had caused an international sensation. In 1911, the Japanese expedition first arrived in Dunhuang.

The Japanese explorers were not professional scholars. Ōtani studied in Europe not to be an academic, but to ponder on the future of his monastery. The monks he hired to lead the expedition, such as TACHIBANA Zuichō (1890-1968), were even less educated. Lacking archeological training, they failed to measure or photograph the sites of their excavation and frequently damaged them in a rush to retrieve manuscripts and artifacts. They also lacked the ability to analyze their findings.[75]

Ōtani, however, worked closely with Japanese and Chinese scholars. He invited leading Sinologists at Kyoto, including NAITŌ Konan (1866-1934) and KANO Naoki (1868-1947), to study the antiquities brought back by his team. These two scholars received rigorous training in Japan's longstanding tradition of Chinese studies, and later pursued further study in China. As a result, they had strong command of classical and spoken Chinese. Ōtani also invited eminent Chinese scholars LUO Zhenyu, discussed above, and WANG Guowei (1877-1927), who relocated to Kyoto following China's 1911 revolution. These scholars had been profoundly interested in Dunhuang materials ever since Pelliot showed them to Chinese literati in Beijing in 1909. Luo sent photographs of these materials to his Japanese colleagues. The next year, Japanese scholars organized a delegation to view the manuscripts transported to Beijing by the Chinese government. In 1911, 1912, and 1914 Ōtani displayed the expedition's artifacts in Kyoto, while Japanese scholars published intensively on his collection. Ōtani

73 Imre Galambos and Kitsudō Kōichi, Japanese Exploration of Central Asia: The Ōtani Expeditions and Their British Connections, in: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 75, 2012, pp. 190-91.

74 Liu and Meng (fn. 7), pp. 68-70, 72-73; Galambos and Kōichi (fn. 73), pp. 114-15.

75 Liu and Meng (fn. 7), pp. 69-71.

was forced to resign from his abbacy in 1914 due to a financial scandal. His collection was subsequently dispersed and became unavailable for scholarly study.[76]

The scholars in Kyoto quickly made groundbreaking contributions to Dunhuang studies. Kano, for instance, published an analysis in 1915 of a manuscript copy of a Tang-dynasty glossary of the ›Book of Documents‹, a key Confucian classic. This manuscript revealed errors in the edition that later became standard. The following year, Kano published an article that significantly revised the chronology of Chinese popular literature. Drawing on evidence from Dunhuang materials, he demonstrated that novels (*xiaoshuo*) and dramas (*qu*) were already available in the tenth century, three to four centuries earlier than previously believed.[77] Kyoto scholars like Kano thus outpaced French and Chinese scholars in showing that manuscripts preserved in China's western frontier held the keys to the core of Chinese scholarly and literary history. Rather than being peripheral, Dunhuang materials could be central to Chinese history.

Japanese scholars maintained close ties with their Chinese and European counterparts. Their close communication with Luo and Wang has already been noted. They went to China in 1910 for Dunhuang materials. Starting in 1912, professors of Tokyo and Kyoto visited London and Paris to study their Dunhuang collections. They actively published catalogues and analyses of Dunhuang materials stored in London, Paris, Kyoto, and Beijing.[78] Even in the 1920s and 30s Japanese scholars continued to follow Chinese and European publications on Dunhuang (and in fact, all fields of Chinese studies) with great attention.

Around 1890 Japanese academia began institutionalizing *toyo* studies (Orientology). As noted above, Japanese intellectuals had spoken of *toyo* culture, philosophy, or ethics as encompassing Japan. However, Japanese academia divided world history into three parts: Western history, *toyo* (Oriental) history, and national history. Japan's history was carved out as national history, separate from *toyo* history, which centered on China. The division was first established in a history textbook for secondary schools authored by NAKA Michiyo (1851-1908).[79] Though this framework was not legally binding, it was widely adopted across Japanese academia. It provided a convenient way to separate Japan from China, thereby resolving the ambiguity in *toyo* discourses. Though *toyo* in other contexts referred to East Asia broadly, *toyo* his-

76 Galambos and Kōichi (fn. 73), p. 114.

77 RONG Xinjiang, KANO Naoki yu WANG Guowei: Zaoqi Dunhuangxue shang de yiduan jiahua (KANO Naoki and WANG Guowei: A nice story in the early history of Dunhuang studies), in: Dhunhuang Xue Jikan 44 (203 AD), p. 125.

78 Jinbao LIU, The General Theory of Dunhuang studies, trans. by Ming CHEN and Meng WANG, Singapore: Springer 2022, pp. xix-xii, 240, 299; XIU Bin and CHEN Linlin, Dagu Guangrui yu Riben Dunhuangxue (Ōtani Kozui and Japan's Dunhuang Studies), in: Xinsilu xuekan 2018, no. 3, p. 110.

79 TANAKA Asami, Nake Tongshi (NAKA Michiyo), in: Jindai Riben hanxuejia: Dongyangxue de xipu (Modern Japanese sinologists: The genealogy of toyo studies), ed. by EGAMI Namio, trans. by LIN Ching-chang, Wanjuanlou 2015, pp. 2-3.

tory mainly came to mean Chinese history, a restriction that extended to general *toyo* studies (*toyogaku*).

*Toyo* or Oriental history in Japan soon included Inner Asian studies alongside Chinese history. Shiratori, professor of *toyo* history at Tokyo, expanded the category to include Korea, Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan, and Tibet with his research in the 1890s and 1900s, partly to support his hypothesis on Japan's ancestral roots.[80] Kyoto University established three chairs in *toyo* history, all of which studied both Chinese and Inner Asian history, not least because their establishment coincided with the arrival of manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan in Kyoto.[81]

From early on, Japan was able to train specialists in key languages and emerging subjects. Japan had a long tradition of Chinese learning. *Kanji*, Chinese characters adopted into the Japanese writing system, form a core component of written Japanese. These factors gave Japanese scholars of Chinese studies significant advantages. By the late 1880s, two Japanese, NANJO Bunyu (1849-1927) and the aforementioned Takakusu, had studied Sanskrit under Max Müller at Oxford. Takakusu later earned a doctorate at the University of Leipzig, became chair of philology at Tokyo, and eventually held the first chair of Sanskrit there.[82] SAKAKI Ryozaburo (b. 1872) studied Sanskrit at Tokyo, and then pursued further education in Europe for three years and was appointed as professor of Sanskrit at Kyoto in 1910.[83] The aforementioned Haneda, mentored by Shiratori at Tokyo, aspired to study the languages and history of northern and western China. After graduation he joined Kyoto University, where he became Japan's leading authority on Inner Asian languages.[84] Two other scholars, TAKI Seiichi (1873-1945) and HAMADA Kosaku (1881-1938), studied Dunhuang materials in London and Paris on government scholarships and were later appointed as the first professors of art history (Tokyo) and archeology (Kyoto). The study of Inner Asia played a major role in shaping Japan's Sinology and related disciplines.

Japan's scholars of Inner Asia had at least two non-academic motives. The first was nationalistic. They were aimed to demonstrate Japan's genealogical difference from China and to surpass Chinese scholars in mastering Western scholarship. They also strove to be the equals of European scholars in the study of Inner and East Asia. This aspiration was explicitly articulated by Shiratori at Tokyo and shared by his colleagues at Kyoto.[85] Japanese academia worked diligently to stay abreast of European and Chinese scholarship, acquire books and manuscripts, and organize the publication or re-

80 Tanaka (fn. 72), pp. 77-79, 92-93.

81 Chang (fn. 32), pp. 395-97.

82 Klautau (fn 72), pp. 57-58.

83 SATO Yoshiyuki, Shoki no hakugengaku-ka sotsugyōsei: Meiji Taishō no gengo-gaku sono 3 (The early graduates of the department of philology: Meiji and Tasho linguistics, Part III), in: Gakuen: Sōgō kyōiku sentā tokushū 775, 2005, pp. 37-38.

84 SUGIYAMA Masaaki and SHŌGAITO Masahiro, Tōyō shigaku: Haneda Tōru (Toyo history: Haneda toru), in: Kyōdai tōyō-gaku no momotose, ed. by TONAMI Mamoru and FUJII Joji, Kyōto Daīgaku gakujutsu shuppan-kai 2002, pp. 141-45, 164-65.

85 MATSUMURA Jun, Bainiao Kuji (SHIRATORI Kurakichi), in: Jindai Riben hanxuejia: Dongyangxue

publication of key materials. The second motivation was imperialistic. In the 1920s, when Japan's interest in Manchuria and Mongolia intensified, Japanese scholars collaborated with Chinese scholars close to deposed Qing emperor to form *Dongfang Xueshe* (Society of Orientology). Though framed as a scholarly endeavor, it is often seen as facilitating Japan's imperialist ambitions.[86] Thus, well ahead of their Chinese counterparts, Japanese scholars, senior and junior, were sent abroad for advanced study, closely followed international scholarship, and extended their research to regions and languages beyond China's borders.

It is important to note that *toyo* (Oriental) history in Japan effectively became the study of its Near West. When Japan was removed from *toyo* history, what remained were China, and secondarily Korea, Manchuria, Tibet, and Inner Asia, that is, regions located to Japan's west. Thus, ironically, Japan's Orientology came to focus on the history of its Western neighbors.

Also important to note is that *toyo* studies became Japan's version of Orientalism. Like European Orientalists, *toyo* scholars did not study their own society. Instead, they investigated Japan's significant Other, China, a civilization, though with a glorious history, that had lost its former luster. Though Japanese scholars might not surpass their Chinese peers in the broader field of Chinese history, their contributions to Dunhuang studies were far ahead. They engaged in international Dunhuang research earlier than their Chinese counterparts and produced works that rivaled those of European Orientalists in both quantity and quality. The Orient of *toyo* studies, however, was located to Japan's west.

## *6. China*

When coming to contact with Western powers, China accepted its status as part of the East or the Orient. Like the Japanese, the Chinese also self-orientalized. Yet China differed from Japan in two important respects. First, in the Chinese self-image of the Orient, Buddhism played little role, whereas it was integral to Japan's Oriental identity. Second, China had its long and proud scholarly tradition and had viewed itself as superior to any other civilizations. As a result, Chinese discussions of the Orient consistently placed China and Confucianism at the center, rarely acknowledging the relevance of its eastern neighbor, Japan, or its Southwestern neighbor, India. This changed only after China's defeat by Japan in 1895.

Awakened by defeats at the hands of Western powers and Japan, an increasing number of intellectuals called for the reform of traditional scholarship. They advocated, for example, a revolution in historical writing – what they called »New History«. This New History was to remedy the shortcomings of classical historiography, which, in

de xipu (Modern Japanese sinologists: the genealogy of toyo studies), ed. by EGAMI Namio, trans. by LIN Ching-chang, Wanjuanlou 2015.

86 Chang (Fn. 32), pp. 401-403; GE Zhaoguang, Hewei Zhongguo: Jiangyu, minzu, wenhua yu lishi (What is China: Territories, ethnicities, culture and history), Oxford Univ. Press 2014, pp. 88-89.

the eyes of reformers, was overly focused on emperors, biographies, antiquated values, and the accumulation of dry facts. For them, traditional history had ignored the nation, society, new ethical values, and interpretive approaches.[87] In seeking to produce modern histories, they looked primarily to Japan. Their eastern neighbor had emerged as a successful model of modernization and had, in fact, produced the first modern history of China, NAKA Machiyo's ›Shina tsūshi‹ (General History of China). New histories written by Chinese authors often followed Naka's framework, if not incorporating large portions of his narrative directly.[88]

The Chinese scholarly elite in Beijing first became aware of the significance of Dunhuang when Pelliot displayed his finds in Beijing (as seen above). Luo Zhengyu and Wang Guowei quickly registered and transcribed these documents (all written in Chinese), and published them in the subsequent years. Though the Qing court transported the remaining manuscripts in the Dunhuang repository to Beijing, China was soon engulfed by the Revolution of 1911 and the resulting political and military turmoil. Over a decade later, Peking University launched the ›National Learning Quarterly‹ (*Guoxue jikan*) as a part of a broader effort to study China's past using modern methods. The journal's opening issue featured a translation of Pelliot's inaugural speech at the Collège de France – translated by none other than Wang himself.[89]

Though traditionally the Chinese intellectual elite cared little about the country's peripheries, the case of Dunhuang appalled, outraged, and humiliated them in at least three ways. First, they were made aware that their country failed to protect astonishing treasures in a region to which they had regrettably paid little attention. Second, aside from the documents written in Chinese – though there were many – the other historical languages found in Dunhuang were unintelligible to the country's scholars. They had to rely on their European and Japanese colleagues to point out their importance. The historian CHEN Yinke, receiving rigorous training in Oriental philology at Berlin then, lamented finding numerous errors in the Chinese translation of a well-known Buddhist sutra. He figured that no Chinese since the Tang dynasty (618-907 CE), had been able to correct them.[90] Indeed, since the Song dynasty (960-1279) Chi-

87 The most influential early reformer was LIANG Qichao (1873-1929). See his Xin Shixue (New History) [1902], in: Yinbingshi heji, Zhonghua shuju 1936, vol. 4, pp. 3-5. See also Wang Q. Edward, Zhongguo jindai ›Xinshixue‹ de Riben beijing: Qingmo de ›Shixue geming‹ han Riben de Wenming shixue (Modern Chinese Historiography and Its Japanese Connection: The ›Historiographical Revolution‹ of the Late Qing and the ›Civilizational History‹ in Modern Japan), in: Taida lishi xuebao 2003, no. 32, pp. 191-236.

88 LU Yang, Shiyu zhi ronghe: Chen Yinke Tangshi yanjiu tedian yu gongxian de zaikaocha (The fusion of horizons: A reappraisal of Chen Yinke's contributions to the study of Tang history), in: Beijing Daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehuikexue ban) 57, 2020, no. 4, p. 81.

89 Paul Pelliot, Jinri dongfang guyuwenxue ji shixueshang zhi fangming jiqi jielun (translation of Les influences iraniennes en Asie Centrale et en Extrême-Orient [1912]), trans. by Wang Guowei, in: Guoxue jikan 1, 1923, no. 1, pp. 146-59.

90 CHEN Yinke, Yu mei shu (Letter to Sister, 1923), in: Chen Yinke xiansheng quanji (Complete Works of Chen Yinke), Liren shuju 1979. For Chen's training and research in Oriental philology, see Chang (fn. 9), pp. 13-16.

nese intellectual elite had been selected through the Civil Service Examinations, which tested only the Chinese language. They had no incentive to study foreign languages. Even when China was ruled by »barbarian« conquers such as Mongols (1278-1368) and Manchus (1644-1911), Chinese intellectuals still believed that they only needed Chinese to access the truth in the Confucian classics.

Third, since the discovery of Dunhuang, the Chinese had been slow to study the materials. Chen wrote a preface to the catalogue of the remaining Dunhuang manuscripts removed to Beijing. This catalogue had a significant title, ›Dunhuang jie yu lu‹. The character *jie* meant pillage, disaster, or, with a strong Buddhist connotation, apocalypse (as *jie* stood as the translation of *kalpa*, the cyclic apocalypse of the world). Chen indicated that Dunhuang studies had become a prominent scholarly field worldwide. Sadly, for him, very few Chinese were able to take part.[91] Luo and Wang were the most accomplished, and the only two who could match the achievements of European and Japanese scholars, though their working language was Chinese alone. Chen himself, at the beginning of his academic career, was the only Chinese who was able to access Dunhuang materials written in Inner Asian languages in the 1920s. He was joined by Staël-Holstein, the Russian refugee scholar, in Beijing. Staël-Holstein, however, did not represent Chinese scholarship.

It was in this context of humiliation that FU Ssu-nien (or FU Sinian, 1896-1950) proposed to reestablish the center of *dongfang xue* (literally Orientology) in China by founding a new research institute in China. Fu was painfully aware that European and Japanese scholars had produced works in Chinese studies that were both admirable and humiliating to the Chinese. Upon the foundation of his institute at Academia Sinica, Fu declared in the inaugural statement for his institute: »We want *zhengtong* of scientific *dongfang xue* in China.«[92]

The term *zhengtong* is noteworthy. It is composed of two characters: *zheng*, meaning correct, upright, righteous, legitimate, and *tong*, meaning system, succession, tradition, or unity. The term thus refers to a righteous hold of, or succession to, power. This term has traditionally appeared in the discussion of dynastic successions, especially in times of competing claims to the throne, or when China was divided between rival regimes. These discussions emphasized not only bloodline and power, but also the moral legitimacy of the claimant, typically judged through Confucian ethics. In official Chinese historiography, several non-Han dynasties were excluded from the orthodox dynastic succession because of their »barbarian« ethnic origins, and rulers who seized power unlawfully were omitted. Conversely, a ruler who was considered to possess *zhengtong* gained legitimacy or orthodoxy. The concept of *zhengtong* was later extended beyond politics to fields such as philosophy or religion. Across all

91 CHEN Yinke, Dunhuang jie yu lu xu (Preface, After the disaster of Dunhuang), in: CHEN Yinke xiansheng quanji (Complete Works of CHEN Yinke), Liren shuju 1979, p. 1377.

92 FU Sinian, Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo gongzuo zhi zhiqu (Objectives of the work at the Institute of History and Philology), in: Fu Ssu-nien yizha (The Letters of Ssu-nien Fu), ed. by Fan-sen WANG et al., Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 2011, vol. 1, p. 258.

such discourses, four themes are central, namely, possession of power, lineage, legitimacy, and often ethnicity.[93] By invoking the political term *zhengtong*, Fu implied the illegitimacy of Paris's leadership in sinology. For Fu, Chinese Studies was legitimate only if China was its leading power.

Curiously, Fu used *dongfang xue* to refer to Chinese studies at his inaugural statement. I have identified three layers of meaning in the term *dongfang xue* before.[94] The first and the narrowest referred to Western scholarship that dealt with China's peripheries.[95] The second layer added the study of the Chinese heartland by foreign scholars to the first. This sense of *dongfang xue* is reflected in several reference books published in Republican China.[96] These two senses were the most common then in China. Orientology was Western scholars' work on the Orient. Thus, the Chinese already had a sense of Orientalism. The third layer of *dongfang xue* was even broader. It retained the previous two senses, while adding all works on China by the Chinese. This was what Fu meant by making his institute as the center of *dongfang xue*.

Four further points must be added to understand Fu's reference to *dongfang xue*. First, the use of the term to refer to Chinese studies was uncommon. Chinese academia typically preferred terms such as »national learning« or »national studies« (*guoxue*). For example, in 1922, Peking University, China's flagship institution, established a Department of National Learning as its first research department, and in the following year launched the aforementioned ›National Learning Quarterly‹.[97] One of the few other references to *dongfang xue* came from the director of that department, SHEN Jianshi (1887-1947), who said: »Oriental culture has centered in China since antiquity. It is thus an indispensable task of the Chinese to contribute to the world by organizing *dongfang xue*.«[98] In the same year, Luo, who had worked very closely with Japanese scholars, established the Society for Orientology, funded by money diverted from China's Boxer indemnity payment to Japan. Luo wrote the society's bylaws, stating that »This society aims to study Oriental culture in the past three thousand years, focusing on philosophy, history, literature, and art.«[99] Fu's 1928 statement came after these two references. Though rare, these examples show that the term *dongfang xue* held some appeal to Chinese scholars at the time.

93 Endymion Wilkinson, Chinese History: A New Manual, Harvard Univ. Asia Center 2013, pp. 8-9; RAO Zongyi, Zhongguo lishi shang de zhengtong lun (The Discourses on orthodoxy in Chinese history), Yuandong chubanshe 1996.

94 Chang (fn. 9), pp. 19-20.

95 Fu (fn. 92), p. 250.

96 See for example Chang (fn. 32), p. 404, n. 128.

97 CHEN Yi-ai, Zhongguo xiandai xueshu yanjiu jigou de xingqi: Yi Beida yanjiusuo guoxuemen wei zhongxin de tantao (The rise of the modern Chinese institutions for academic research: a study of the »national learning« program of the graduate school of Peking University), Jiangxi jiaoyu chuban she 2002, pp. 99-102.

98 JIANG Meng, ›Ba hanxue zhongxin duohui Zhongguo‹: 20 shiji 20 niandai zhongguo xiandai wenshizhixue de xingcheng licheng (›Taking the Center of Sinology Back to China‹: The Making of Modern Chinese History and Literature Study in the 1920s), in: Shicue yuekan 10, 2017, p. 125.

99 Quoted in Chang (fn. 32), p. 401.

Second, the *dongfang xue* that Shen, Luo, and Fu meant, however, was, in practice, nothing more than Chinese studies. It was not Orientology in its entirety. It is not immediately clear if Luo's Orientology only applied to China, for he was collaborating with Japanese scholars. Yet since his Japanese peers reserved *toyo* studies for the study of China and its peripheries (see above), it is reasonable to infer that Shen also meant Chinese studies. Fu's interpretation was more inclusive and broader than the other two. He wanted to study Inner Asia, first because European Orientalists had demonstrated its importance, but also because Chinese had historically been active in this region. He also wished to investigate Southeast Asia (*nanyang*), presumably due to the settlements of overseas Chinese there.[100] After all, the *dongfang xue* that Fu envisioned primarily traced the historical footsteps of the Chinese. Fu, having studied in Germany, was well aware of the richness and heterogeneity of Oriental philology. Yet what he meant by *dongfang xue* did not include the studies of, for example, Arabic, Hebrew, Egyptian and Babylonian literature.

Third, this created a significant difference between China and Japan. Excavating in Inner Asia, studying Sanskrit, and traveling to China and Europe for manuscripts, Japanese academia was outward-looking. This approach was motivated by Japan's search for its own cultural roots, its enduring interest in Buddhism, and the wealth that came from its industrialization. It coincided with Japan's colonization of Korea and Manchuria. Chinese academia, in contrast, was inward-looking. China's *dongfang xue* was defensive, seeking to protect things that the Chinese considered their own. It showed little interest in, and lacked the resources for, studying regions beyond its borders.

This leads to the fourth point. Fu's *dongfang xue* inverted the West's study of the Other, but in an ironic sense. Orientology began as Western project that studied the Orient as its Other. When the Chinese claimed to make China the center of Orientology, the field was ironically transformed into the study of China's self.

So Fu's assertion was more symbolic than practical: if the Orientalists in Paris were seen as champions of Chinese studies, then the Chinese wished to make themselves the rightful leaders of Orientology. But it was obviously an overreach to claim that China should lead Orientology in its entirety, when few Chinese scholars had the linguistic expertise on Inner and South Asian languages (let alone Arabic, Turkish, or Egyptian).

It was not just European Orientalism, but also Japan's advanced position in its »Orientology«, that made Chinese scholars uncomfortable. Chen, speaking to students of Tsinghua, a leading Chinese university, remarked that »our neighbor country to the east [namely Japan] has made rapid scholarly progress in the past thirty years, and their works on the history of our country advanced so far that our countrymen could not catch up.« Chen then noted that the »independence of Chinese scholarship« was a »matter of life and death« for the nation.[101] Fu also made a similar point in his inau-

100 Fu (fn. 92), p. 256.

101 CHEN Yinke, Wuguo xueshu zhi xianzhuang ji Tsing Hua zhi zhize (the condition of our country's scholarship and the task for Tsinghua), in: Chen Yinke xiansheng quanji (the Complete Works of Chen Yinke), Liren, 1979, pp. 1489-90.

gural statement.[102] The inaugural manifesto of ›National Learning Quarterly‹ echoed this concern: »Western scholars' methods of studying the past have long influenced Japanese academia. We [Chinese] are still walking blindfolded.«[103]

Japan's advances in Sinology were so significant that Chinese scholars began to discuss whether the center of Sinology was in Kyoto or Paris. It was first asked by CHEN Yuan (1880-1971), an eminent scholar known for his studies of Chinese sources on the peoples and religions of western China.[104] He later repeated this question to Hu Shi in 1931. Fu also regarded Paris and Kyoto as two centers of Sinology in a letter to Pelliot in 1931.[105] Implicit in their anxiety was an awareness that Japanese scholars had joined European peers to become superior Orientalists in the study of China.

Chinese scholars responded by building new infrastructure, methods, and visions for Chinese studies. Peking University's Department of National Learning and its journal were efforts to support modern scholarship. Fu's new institute at Academia Sinica was another. Fu acknowledged that the strength of Western Sinologists lay in their »Barbarian Studies« (*luxue*), that is, their studies on the non-Han peoples and cultures in China's peripheries. They mastered Inner Asian languages, and explored new materials to study new subjects, such as religions, rituals, ballads, folklore, and decorative patterns. By »Barbarian Studies« Fu implicitly referred to Dunhuang studies. He wanted his institute to catch up with these developments. In addition, he wanted it to promote ethnological, linguistic and archeological studies across China – not just in the west of the country. These studies no longer just focused on the Han, as traditional scholarship did, but included ethnic minorities.[106]

This multi-ethnic inclusion was crucial not just intellectually but also politically. Intellectually, Chinese scholars had come to recognize the importance of studying the many peoples and languages of China. Politically, although Republican China lacked the power to protect its multi-linguistic, multi-ethnic treasures in Dunhuang, its elite still sought to defend the territorial and cultural integrity of the lands inherited from the Qing dynasty. They felt obligated to compete with European and Japanese Orientalists in the studies of non-Han languages and peoples in Chinese history.[107]

Though often driven by nationalism, Chinese scholars like Fu and Chen also exhibited a strong sense of scholarly cosmopolitanism. Fu rejected the concept of »national learning«. For him, good scholarship in Chinese studies meant applying modern disciplines such as history and philology to Chinese sources. Such applications

102 Mark C. Elliott, Abel-Rémusat, la langue mandchoue et la sinologie, in: Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris, France), Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 2014, p. 981.

103 HU Shi, Fakan xuyan (Inaugural statement), in: Guoxue jikan (National learning quarterly) 1, 1923, no. 1, p. 16.

104 JIANG Meng, Chen Yuan »Ba hanxue zhongxin duohui Zhongguo« kao (A Study on CHEN Yuan's wish to take the center of Sinology back to China), Dongyue luncong, 3, 2014, p. 182.

105 Sang (fn. 34), pp. 139, 181; Jiang (fn. 98), p. 131.

106 Fu (fn. 92), pp. 250, 256-57.

107 Chang (fn. 9), p. 20.

did not make Chinese history (or philology) a uniquely Chinese discipline. His institute was therefore dedicated to history and philology (though it expanded to include ethnology), not to national learning.[108] European Dunhuang scholars such as Pelliot showed Chinese scholars that China was never a self-contained, isolated Middle Kingdom. Instead, it had taken shape in the broader context of Asia. This vision, never popular in Chinese history, was shared by Chen Yinke. In his history of the Tang dynasty, Chen argued that China's rise and decline were closely tied to the strengths of the nomadic states to its west.[109] Fu once wrote: »We must take Europe's history as our history, Europe's heritage as our heritage. … Europe has a civilization that we can take over as our own.«[110]

## *Conclusion*

Philology figured prominently in Dunhuang studies. German scholars deciphered Sogdian and two variants of Tocharian from their Turfan finds, astonishing the community of Indo-European philology. In his inaugural address, Pelliot regarded philological discovery as the greatest contribution of his expedition. The manuscripts found in Dunhuang and neighboring regions were entrusted to philologists for analysis. In some cases, the explorers themselves were skilled philologists. Stein had solid philological training. Pelliot was an extraordinary philologist, proficient in numerous historical and modern languages. Le Coq was also an accomplished philologist, fluent in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Sanskrit. Other philologists, such as Chavannes, Friedrich K. M. Müller, and Ivanov, won (or elevated) their fame by their work on Dunhuang, Turfan, and Khara-Khoto manuscripts. Japanese and Chinese Dunhuang scholars – including Kano, Haneda, Luo, Wang, and Chen – distinguished themselves through philological studies on Dunhuang manuscripts written in Chinese. Haneda and Chen even studied Oriental philology abroad and applied it to Inner Asian languages.

This is not to suggest that Dunhuang studies was limited to philology. The field was also enriched by contributions from geography, archeology, and art history, for example. The explorers, Hedin, Stein, Pelliot, and Kozler, were either trained in geography or travelled with a surveyor, since they had to navigate the desert and survey lands unknown to their sponsor countries. They contributed to archeology with their excavations of artifacts, monuments, or fortresses. They made contributions to art history with their presentation and analyses of the discovered murals, reliefs, and sculpture. They were almost always equipped with a camera, a tool not easily available to researchers a generation earlier.

Britain was slow to develop its Dunhuang studies, even though it supported Stein's expedition that discovered the manuscript repository in the desert city. Its Sinology was lackluster in the early twentieth century, and its Sanskrit scholars and Inner Asian

108 Fu (fn. 92), p. 254.

109 Chang (fn. 32), p. 418.

110 FU Sinian, Manuscript, loose leaf, Institute of History and Philology Library, n. d., FU Sinian Papers.

philologists did not cooperate with their colleagues in Sinology. Stein first had to rely on French scholars to study his collection. Most of Britain's Dunhuang studies consisted of cataloguing, which progressed slowly within the British Museum.

Among the three great Orientalist powers, France was the leader in Dunhuang studies. Paris had a long tradition of research on traffic between India and China, laying the groundwork for Inner Asian studies. Sinologists, Indologists and Inner Asian philologists worked closely, in part because Pelliot himself was able to work in all three fields. Pelliot's command of Chinese allowed him to engage his colleagues in China and Japan much more closely than any of his European peers. France's success relied on its ability to connect the »Central East« with the Far East, and connect Western academia with its counterpart in East Asia through Dunhuang studies.

Germany stood as a contrast to France. Though productive with important discoveries, German scholars worked largely within the field of Indo-European and Turkic philology, in which Germany had held a commanding position since the nineteenth century. Its Turfan scholars showed little interest in connecting the »Central East« with the Far East (*Fernost* in German). Instead of looking eastward, German Turfan scholars looked west, linking Buddhism in the Central East to Greek art in the West. They connected Inner Asia with Europe, thus making little impact in the Far East.

Russia, a Eurasian empire, had conflicting feelings about its place in the world. West Europeans often saw Russia as part of the Orient. Russians, however, saw themselves as Europeans, and looked for the Orient in the territories they had recently acquired or hoped to acquire. Dunhuang studies, combining Russia's young Sinology with its Inner Asian research, extended the empire's investigation of »its Own Orient«, even as its Orientalists constantly looked to the West for recognition.

Japan was both an Oriental and Orientalist country. Paradoxically, though Japan regarded itself as Orient, it carved Japanese history out of its *toyo*, or Oriental, history. Its study of the Orient focused on China, and secondarily Korea, Mongolia, and Inner Asia – regions all lying to Japan's west. Japan's Dunhuang scholars, occupying chairs in *toyo* history, primarily at Kyoto, earned both respect and apprehension (especially from Chinese) by surpassing Chinese and even European efforts in the study of Dunhuang materials, while also adeptly connecting with European and Chinese peers. By the 1920s, Chinese scholars already saw Kyoto as a world leader of Chinese studies, thanks to their research that demonstrated the importance of the »Central East« for the intellectual and literary history of the Middle Kingdom, a country that was Japan's »Near West«.

Common among all these countries above was the outward gaze of their Orientology. Dunhuang and Turfan scholars in these countries explored places beyond their borders, driven in no small part by their imperialist interests. Indeed, all these countries had acquired colonies or leaseholds in China's port cities. Other motives, religious for example, also played a part. They were Orientalists who studied the Other in the Orient, though for Japan, its Orient lay physically to its West.

China differed by looking inward. Repeated defeats by Western powers and Japan and the consequent indemnities impoverished the country. The political turmoil that

preceded and outlasted the 1911 revolution further paralyzed the state. The paramount concern of the Chinese political and intellectual elite was the survival of their country. For China's elite, the loss of Dunhuang materials simply continued the pillaging of the country's cultural wealth by foreign powers. Rather than reaching outward, Chinese scholars prioritzed defending what remained at home, while reforming Chinese scholarship to assert the country's sovereignty over its historical West, for which Dunhuang held a symbolic role.

China's *dongfang xue* inverted what Orientology meant in Europe. Scholars of Republican China usually saw their work as national learning or national studies, though they regularly saw themselves as Orientals. In a few dramatic cases, Chinese scholars proposed doing Orientology within China. In doing so, they orientalized not only the Chinese people, but also Chinese studies. This was not to suggest that they wanted to study the Near East or India. Rather, it was a symbolic move. If Orientalists in Paris were seen as the champions of Chinese studies, then Chinese scholars wanted to make China the center of Orientology. Thus, while European (and Japanese) Orientology studied the Other, China's Orientology studied its Self.

In the eyes of Chinese scholars, France and Japan were the leaders of Dunhuang studies in the 1920s. The scholarly communities in Paris and Kyoto were so productive and influential in Dunhuang studies in specific and Chinese studies more broadly that some Chinese wondered whether the center of Sinology was in Kyoto or Paris. Their motivation, however, was to take the center of Sinology, or *dongfang xue*, in Fu's emphatic term, back to China. For them, only China had the moral legitimacy, or *zhengtong*, to lead Sinology.

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