

Gardizi's History: Sanskrit Terms and Expressions of Hinduism

Daryoosh AKBARZADEH and Narayan S. SHUKLA

Introduction

Relations between India and Iran date back to ancient times. Historical relations between Iran and India seem to have begun in prehistoric times although it is very difficult to determine the date. Since it is not possible to determine a specific time for this relationship based on archaeological and historical texts, there has been a real debate among scientists. Therefore, the term “*Indo-Iranian Languages*”, as one of the most important groups in “*Indo-European*” languages, is witness to a specific claim. Due to this relationship, the Vedas and Gāhān (in Avesta) have privileged positions among all Indo-European languages.

Iranian languages belong to the “Indo-Iranian” group of languages which, in turn, are affiliated to “Indo-European languages” (Kent 1953: 6). The interrelationship between Old Indian and ancient Iranian languages is helpful for understanding ancient myths and has been confirmed frequently by researchers. Many studies have been carried out on similarities among such mythological entities as gods, goddesses, and other characters in Avesta and Vedic (Macdonell 2004: preface). Obviously, written and oral traditions have been instrumental in transfer of ancient Iranian myths and beliefs. Oral tradition, which was sacred in ancient Iran, played a great role in transfer of ancient myths and beliefs (Akbarzadeh 2004: 24). The effect of that tradition can be studied from pre-Islamic eras up to Firdowsi's *Shahnameh* in Islamic times, especially the eighth and ninth centuries. It is clear that data related to other cultures is one of the most important heritages from Middle Persian period (oral or written) to Post-Sasanian period.

India is one of the most commonly referred-to places in Middle Persian texts (Akbarzadeh 2007: 152). Khosrow I—as is famously known—was interested in philosophy and sciences, especially in Indian sciences and literature. Many Indian texts were translated into Pahlavi language under “translation movement” in this period (Tafazzoli 1997: 296ff). It is obvious that Sasanian oral and written heritage enriched Post-Sasanian (Arabo-Persian) texts such as

Shahnameh Firdowsi, Goshtasp-nameh, Framarz-nameh, Tarikh-e Tabari (Akbarzadeh 2013: 225).

For this reason, Post-Sasanian texts are crucial to understand India where Muslim writers combined old knowledge with the advent of Islam. These texts are of particular value due to the unavailability of the Sasanian texts (Pahlavi texts). In fact, Post-Sasanian texts have preserved important information on various topics such as toponyms, cults, religions, history, geography and anthropology related to India replete with Sanskrit terms and words. Some Iranian scholars like Biruni and Masudi knowingly used Indic terms and words in their works (Naini and Shukla 1973: introduction).

Zayn-al-Akhbar

Zayn-al-Akhbar (Rezazadeh-Malek 2005) is one of the most important books of the Post-Sasanian era; the author of this book is Abu Saed Abdol-Hay ibn Zayn ibn Mahmud Gardizi Ghaznavi. He wrote his great work in 443 Hegira (=1051 AD) and it contains events of the years 389–443 (Hegira). The book provides important information about Iranian kings, feasts, festivals and holidays of Muslims, Jews, Nazarene Christians, Persians and Indians/Hindus. He not only has used many ancient sources in this book, but he has also referred to great scholars such as Ibn Khordadbeh, Ahmad Jihani, Ibn Moghafa' and Biruni. It seems Biruni was his master. The author has also written his observations of the Ghaznavid kings. It is very clear that this valuable book and its sources were influenced by oral and written heritage of the Sasanian period (Ibd. xxxvi ff.).

At present, this book has only two surviving copies, one of which is in the Bodleian Library (no. Ouseley 240, on 1782 AD) and the other in the King's Library (no. 213, with various dates listed by scholars: 903, 930, 1093 AD). Barthold explains that the Cambridge University copy is the original version (Ibd. xxii).

Chapters related to India and Hinduism

Two main sections, 24 and 28, are devoted to India, Hindu rituals and festivals. *Zayn-al-Akhbar* explains the Hindu festivals in chapter 24; chapter 28 deals with beliefs of Indians (Hindus). The author emphasizes that "as I found the information, I clearly wrote [it] here" (Ibd. 366, 409, 428). These two sections explain not only Hindu festivals and Indian religious sects, but have also preserved a treasury of Sanskrit and Hindu terms.

An editor of this text, the late Prof. Rahim Rezazadeh-Malek, with much effort has tried to give the exact *Hindi* equivalents of the terms (with Persian characters) but he has refrained from citing Sanskrit equivalents and references; also no standard transliteration for the terms has been used. We are of the view that the translation of such parts can be help-

ful to Indologists; we have also corrected some errors of the editor. As a sample incorrect translation by the editor of the text (i.e. P. 360 under Mahānfahmi):

“It happens that if someone may have nothing to offer, he “killed” himself in front of the idol.”

Nevertheless, we translated it as below where we replace “kill” with “offer.” It seems that they offered themselves to the idol as a servant:

“It happens that if someone may have nothing to offer, he offers himself to the idol.”

We have also written the exact standard equivalents for each term and have added Sanskrit and Hindi terms and the references of other Post-Sasanian texts (especially Biruni’s work). We have also tried to explain the names of specific individuals and toponyms. Furthermore, we have tried to show that some words are from other languages such as Kashmiri.

Gardizi has preserved a series of Hindi and Sanskrit terms (Persian forms) between pages of the two chapters, 24 and 28. We explain the terms of the first chapter and the second as following. Sanskrit and Hindi terms, Hindu rituals and festivals of the chapter 24 (pp. 358–366):

Akdūs

Skr. ekādaśa-, Hindi: gyaras “the eleventh day of the month”. Biruni: agdūs “A Kashmiri celebration, the second day of caitra” JSh¹: 1973, 27

It is a celebration of Kashmiris celebrating their king *Mati* who defeated the Turks who had invaded India.

Indians believe that *Mati* is the king of the kings of the world and they apply this to all their other kings; they consider the *Mati* period to be very significant; but what they say is not true.

If the world can be conquered by a Persian (an Iranian), a Turk, an Arab or a Roman, it would not be surprising if a Hindu did the same. There is nowhere mentioned in the books that a Hindu has conquered the world; they don’t regard anywhere but India as the world and if someone conquers all India, in their opinion, that person has conquered the entire world.

Hindulī

Skr. hindola- “swing”, Hindi: palna. Biruni: Hindulī-caitra; JSh 284.

This day is called *Hindulī*² and people gather around Div-Har-Bās-Div (*Har-bas-deva*>*Skr.*

¹ We used this abbreviation for Jalali-naini & Shukla. We have presented our explanations, interpretations and standard equivalents and shown Hindi and Sanskrit terms in “Italic”; this is beside the footnotes. This article is based on Persian translation by R. Rezazadeh Malek.

² The original text is *Hindubli* but the translator has used *Hindulī* (See P. 358).

harivasudeva- “Vishnu”; cf. *Biruni: Bās-div, JSh 47*) and they put it in a swing³ and they are swayed in it as is customary. They celebrate the swing ceremony in their homes, which they call Bahand (*Hindi: bhent* “women get- together for happiness”; *Biruni: Bahand=vasanta JSh 83*); it is a women’s day. Women embellish themselves and come to their husbands and ask for gifts.

Čitar Jašt

Skr. caitra-, Hindi: cheait and “Jašt (Cf. *NP. Jašn from Av. yaz-, Skr. yaj-* “to worship”). *Biruni: caitra-caṣati* “the 22th day of the Caitra to celebrate Bhagavatī”; *JSh124*.

This day is called Čitar Jašt and worshippers (=women) celebrate this day in the name of Bhagbat (*Skr. bhagavat* “the first month of Hindus”; *Biruni: ~ JSh 81*). They wash their heads and give alms.

G(a)urtar

Skr. gan-gaur- “Shiva’s wife”. *Biruni: Gaurī* “Himalaya’s daughter and Maha-deva’s wife”; *JSh: 241*.

This day is for women’s celebration as it is named after *Gur* (<*gauri*, cf. *Hindi: Parvati*), Hamajal mountain’s (*Skr. himachal-, Hindi: Himachal* “Maha-deva’s wife”) daughter who was Maha-deva’s wife. To celebrate this day, women wash their heads, embellish themselves for this day and regularly repeat her name; they also light incense sticks, fast, play all day (and night) and give alms.

Vādij

Dialectical word (?)

Vādij is a big swing of ropes tied to a beam or a branch of tree with a plank or a small cushion in the center. Sometimes men and women also sit on it to swing. This is called Gāz (“poplar”, Dehkhoda⁴) in Persian.

Basant

Skr. vasanta, Hindi: basant “Spring”; *Biruni: ~ JSh 66*.

Basant is on the tenth (day) of Bisāk (*Skr. vaiśākha, Hindi: baisākh* “the second month of Hindus”. *Biruni: Bīśak* “the second month of year”; *JSh 90*). Brahmins along with the king go out of the city and light the fire (in order to worship). They make four fires in four places. This is considered a charity to four Brahmins.

They return on the sixteenth day (on the first day of the forthcoming fortnight) when

³ The original text is Dārso/ax but translator has used: Vādij, see under Vādij.

⁴ See: www.loghatnaameh.org.

day and night are equal, and a feast is held for Brahmins.

Rup-panjami

Skr. ruṣaṣaṅchamī, Hindi: ruṣ-panchami; Biruni: Rūṣaṣanca (also: rūṣapūrṇimā) “15th day of the Jyeṣṭha, Women’s ceremony”; JSh 157.

This is the beginning of Jirt/Jirat (>*Jyeṣṭha* “the third month, 18th zodiac”; JSh 124) which is called a meeting day. On this day of ceremony, they put the first product of agriculture into water for consecration and feel happy⁵.

In fact, *Rup-Panjami* is a kind of welcome (ceremony) to *Jyeṣṭha* (month) and it is a women’s ceremony.

āhārī

Skr. āṣāḍha, Hindi: asāḍh “the month of Asāḍh”. Biruni: ~ “the fourth month”; JSh 8, 11, 22.

It takes place in āṣār (<*asāḍh*⁶) month. They (Hindus) give alms every day during this month and this is called as āhārī. They make new homes (clean and paint) and (buy new) vessels; Brahmins meet for a feast.

Mahānfamī

Skr. mahānavamī, Hindi: mahānaumī “the eighth day of Ashuj month”. Biruni: ~, the ninth day of āśvayuja”; JSh 267.

It means the eighth day of Aśvajaj⁷ (*Skr. aśaucha, Hindi: aśocha “ten special days (mourning). During this time Hindus do not eat and do not touch things”; Biruni: ~, asvajaj; JSh 22*)⁸ when Moon is in the Mūl (*Skr. mūla-, Hindi: mūl; Biruni: ~ JSh 264*) zodiac, 19th zodiac which means Śūl (*Skr. śūla, Hindi: śūl “forbidden”; cf. Biruni: śūla “Shiva’s weapon”, JSh 197*). At first people eat sugar; Mahānfamī is Bāsdeva’s sister. They add sugar with dates and offer it to the idol of Bhagavat; they give lots of alms and they sacrifice a small goat. If someone has nothing to offer, he offers himself to the idol.

⁵ It can remind us of Hindu ritual where they put fruits on the ground and spray water around it to be clean for God/Goddess who comes to earth and eats them. This is what Hindus believe at present.

⁶ āṣār can be a simple scribal error for asāḍh because of similarity between “r/ṣ” and “d/ṣ” in Persian texts.

⁷ The original text is āśuj/āsvaj but translator has used Aśvajaj. āśuj/āsvaj can be a dialectical form of the Skr. *aśaucha*-

⁸ According to Hindu traditions, if a family member dies, the remaining can not go to the temple or touch God(s) for ten days.

Pahāy

cf. prathmā, Hindi: paḍhvā “first day of the fortnight”. cf. Biruni: bay “the sixth zodiac”, JSh 85.

The sixteenth day of the month is Pahāy. Hindus say that it is Bāsdeva’s name when his uncle called him, Bāsdeva (Vasudeva), one who did not accept the challenge of wrestling. At present, the tradition is that they (Hindus) wrestle with each other and meet for a feast.

āsūk Festival

Skr. aśoka-, Hindi: aśok “happiness, joyful”. Biruni: āśuk; JSh 9.

The festival day is the twenty-third of the month; people offer alms to Brahmins. They call this day as āsūk, as well as āhūy, when the moon arrives in the seventh zodiac. They play and have fun on this day.

Pitar-pakṣ

Skr. pīṭṛpakṣa-, Hindi: pitar-pakṣh “ancestor”. Biruni: ~ “a festival in Bhādarpat (6th month) fortnight for ancestors”; JSh 97.

The festival day takes place in the month of Bhādarpat⁹ (*Skr. bhādarpada “the sixth month”; Biruni: ~ JSh 77*) when the moon arrives in Mag¹⁰ (*Skr. maghā-, Hindi: māgha “the 10th zodiac”; Biruni: ~ JSh 259*), which is the tenth zodiac. People worship during Pitar-pakṣ, which means (fortnight for) ancestors; they worship them for half of the month. During this time the moon will enter in the zodiac (māgha). They give alms for ancestors for fifteen days.

Hi/arbāli

Skr. harabali-, Hindi: harabali. Biruni: ~ “a festival on the third day of Bhādarpat”; JSh 282.

This day is known as *Hirbāli* and that is third day of Bhādrapat. This day is a women’s day. They plant different seeds in animal (mostly cow) dung and celebrate when the offshoots are still green. Women embellish themselves with perfume and adorn themselves with flowers and play during the whole night. They go on to bathe next morning.

Gābhat

Cf. Hindi: kāragāra “jail” “a dialectical word”. Biruni: Gāihat “a festival day which takes place on the 6th day of Bhādarpat and people give gifts to prisoners”; JSh 237.

It is the sixth day of the month. People give food to prisoners on this day.

⁹ The original text is Bhādarb (passim, see P. 361) but translator has used Bhādarpat.

¹⁰ The original text is “Pak” but translator has used Mag (P. 361).

Dorūb-har

“*dialectical term(?)*”. *Biruni: dhruvagr̥ha* “*Women’s celebration, Pregnant celebration, the 8th day of Bhādarpat*”; *JSh 138*.

This day is the eighth day of the month when there is a half moon. People bathe on the day and then cook a delicious meal with broken grain; they eat and do not give¹¹ the same dish to the children. Women celebrate this day to beget children.

Barbat

“*dialectical term (?)*”. *Biruni: pārvatī* “*the 11th day of Bhādarpat*”; *JSh 57*.

It is fifteenth day of Bhādarpat. They make a long rope of the height of the idol and they call this colored rope Barbat. Then they offer this rope to the servant of the idol and tell him: this rope is graceful for Bāsdeva, and put it on the serving priest’s neck which reaches his feet. They celebrate this day and have a feast.

Karāreh

“*dialectical term (?)*”. *Biruni: ~* “*a festival on the 16th day of Bhādarpat*”; *JSh 209*.

It is on the 16th day of Bhādarpat and festivities continue for seven days. People dress up their children, anoint them on this day and play with animals. Men adorn themselves, give alms to Brahmins and do good deeds.

Gū-nālhīd

“*dialectical term (?)*”. *Biruni: gunālahīd* “*Moon’s arrival to the fourth zodiac which is called as Rohiṇī*”; *JSh 243*.

They (Hindus) celebrate three days for this feast when the moon arrives in the fourth zodiac, Rohinī (*JSh 159*). The fourth zodiac means Dabrān which is called as Gū-nālhīd. They (Hindus) enjoy on this day as they celebrate it as the birthday of Bāsdeva¹².

Abu Saed Zahhak, the author of this book, says: I heard from Abu-Rayhan Biruni that: *Jibšarm* (*Skr. jīvaśarman, Biruni: Jibšarm, Chibšarm; Ibid. 124, 129*) of Hindu (Sindh) says: Kashmir’s people celebrate the 26–27th of the month as Bhādarpat festival. On these days, water of Bhat (river; cf. *Biruni: bihat* “*a district in the north of India*”; *JSh 79*) brings a small piece of wood which is called Goneh (*Hindi: Gona>Kashmirian Dialectical word; Biruni: Gana* “*trunk*”; *JSh 240*) to Addaṣtan (cf. *Skr. adhiṣṭhāna-* and cf. *Pratiṣṭhānapura* “*name of a place*”. *Biruni: adhiṣṭhāna* “*a place in Kashmir in bank of Jilam River*”; *JSh 16*) a village which is the capital of Kashmir. They believe that this piece of wood is sent by Bas-div and

¹¹ It is clear that a woman and her husband should eat this food which is related to their wishes to have a child.

¹² Cf. Krishna’s birthday.

its nature is such that no one can touch it. Some Kashmiris believe that this wood originated from a pond called Kudi-šahr (cf. *Skr. kuṭī*¹³ “helmet”. *Biruni: kudaisarovara* “name of a pond in Kashmir, Headstream of Jilam; Vernag now”; *JSh 230*) and this pond is located on the left bank of Bahat-river. Kashmiris believe that this happened in the middle of Bisāk (Baisākh month). This is very similar to a ceremony held in Gorgan.

Jibšarm also says: in Swat valley, in Giri¹⁴ Mountain (*Biruni: giri* “a district in the north of India”; *JSh 238*), there is a place where there are 53 streams and it is called Turanjay¹⁵ (cf. Hindi: *tūrnataya*, dialectical word). Water becomes white in color on these days and believers say that this is because Maha-deva washes himself in this water.

Dīwālī

Skr. dīpāwali, Hindi: diwali

This day is called Dīwālī, which is in the beginning of Kārtak¹⁶ (*Skr. kārttika, Hindi: kartak* “name of the 8th month”; *Biruni: Kārtak; JSh 202*) and this day comes up in the libra (symbolized by a scale) zodiac. People wash themselves on this day and offer Tambul (*Skr. tānbūla-, Hindi: pān; Masudi: 2008, 205*) and Fufal (*Skr: pūghala, Hindi: pūphala* “betel nut”) as gifts to each other; they visit temples, give alms, enjoy and play on this day till night; they set up fire in the night and there are lights everywhere. The reason for this is that they believe that Lačmī (*Skr. Lakṣmī* “Vishnu’s wife”; *Biruni: Lakṣmī, JSh 246*), Basdiv’s wife, appears on this day with Bal (*Skr. Bali, Hindi: Bal* “supreme king of the lower world, the middle world and the upper world; *Biruni: ~ JSh 71*) *ibn Birujen ibn Bar-halad* who is being held on the seventh stratum of the earth; in fact he returns to this world and this day is called as “Bal Raj” which means “Bal’s (<Bali) Kingdom” (*Biruni: ~ JSh 72*). It is also said that he has been in “Sat-Jak” (*Skr. Satyuga-, Hindi: sat-jak* “age of righteous”; cf. *Biruni: sat* “the world”, *sat-lok* “spiritual world”; *JSh 166-7*) which means “age of righteous”. Thus, we become happy and offer food and on this day women embellish themselves.

Govān-Bātrīj

Skr. gowardhanatrīja; Biruni: ~ JSh 240.

It is the third day of Manghar (cf. *Hindi: agahan; Biruni: ~ JSh 263, 257*) and it is a women’s festival by the name of Gor¹⁷ (*Biruni: ~ JSh 241*). They go to homes of rich people

¹³ Cf. Dashtestani (a dialect in Bushehr province): kote “dates cap”, see Akbarzadeh: 2000, 120.

¹⁴ The original text is Kiri but translator has used: Giri (see, P. 363).

¹⁵ The original text is Turtajay but translator has used: Turanjay (Ibd.).

¹⁶ The original text is Kātak but translator has used: Kārtak.

¹⁷ It is also the name of a month before Diwali. Meanwhile the original text is Kura but translator has used: Gor.

(to perform this ceremony), gather around Gauri's idol made of silver; they put the idol on a pedestal and offer perfume (incense); they celebrate all night and give alms in the morning. There is also a welcome day for Manghar.

Puhaval

Skr. paṣa, puṣya; Hindi: puhaval

Puhaval day is the fourth day of Puš¹⁸ (*Biruni: ~ JSh 107; Hindi: paush*). They (Hindus) have many feasts (ceremonies) during this month. They prepare sweets and eat them during the day.

Aštak

Skr. aṣṭakā, Hindi: aštak "eight"; Biruni: ~ JSh 22.

This is called as Aštak festival and it is the eighth day of Puš (<pauš). They invite Brahmins and prepare meals with Bāst¹⁹ (kind of spinach) which is Sar(a)me²⁰ and give these to Brahmins to eat; they behave very respectfully with them.

Sāgārotam

Skr. saṃkrāntī, Hindi: sankarāt "The sun moves from south to north during the changing season"; Biruni: sāgārtam; JSh 162.

It is on the 23th day of Puš (pauš month) and this day is called *Sāgārotam*; they eat varieties of foods, as well as turnip.

Hatrīj

Skr. haratrīj, Hindi: haratreej "third day of Shiva"

This day is Hatrīj and it is the third day of Mag (*Skr. maghā; Biruni: ~ JSh 259*); it is a women's feast (ceremony) in the name of Gaur. They visit their elders, sit near G(a)uri's idol, put precious cloth around it and offer incense and prepare delicious food. They put (hot) water in a container with which then they wash themselves four times after it cools down. They give alms and organize marriage ceremonies next day. Women wash themselves in this month with cold water. At the end of this month, on the 29th day, one hour before the night is over, they dip themselves in water seven times.

¹⁸ The original text is Pus (passim, see P. 364) but translator has used: Puš. It is obvious that the "s" and "š" can replace each other in Persian language i.e. "most" and "mošt" (hand, handle), "mahist" and "mahišt" (great).

¹⁹ It seems that this plant was imported to Iran from Central Asia and then from Iran it was exported to India.

²⁰ The original text is: Sarāme.

Mānsartag

Skr. Mānasarovara taḍāga “proper name of a place”; (*Skr. mānsartaku, mahātan; Biruni: ~ JSh 252*).

This Mānsartag is the 23th day of Mag (magha) and it is called Māhānan (<mahātan). They arrange parties and prepare meals with meat and big black lentils.

Purārtag

Skr. purārthak, Hindi: purarthak

This day is called Purārtag as the eighth day of Pālgon (*Skr. phālguna-, Hindi: phagun* “the 12th month of year”; *Biruni: ~, pākon; JSh 95*). They give meals to Brahmins which is made of flour and cow’s clarified butter; they give them several dishes it is considered auspicious.

Odad

cf. Sanskrit: dolā; Biruni: ~ JSh 39.

This day is called Odad as welcome day of Pālgon and it is women’s festival; it is also called Holī (*Skr. holikā-, Hindi: holī*). They set a great bonfire in pits and call it čāmāha (*cf. cāmāha* “the 15th day of māgha”; *JSh 125*). Then, they light fires in other households.

Šivarātor

Skr. śivarātri, Hindi: shivarāt “the 15th day of Pālgon and Hindus worship Shiva on this day; Shiva’s night”. *Biruni: ~ JSh: 197.*

The night after the Odad day is called Šivarātor. They remain awake on this night and worship Maha-deva all night.

Puyattana

Skr. punyāyatana

This day is called as Puyattana which is the 23th day of Pālgon. On this day, they eat rice which is mixed with cow’s clarified butter and sugar.

The author says that he discovered the number of feasts that he has mentioned.

Bibliography

1. Akbarzadeh, D: 2000, Dashtestani Dialect (notes and comparative studies), Tehran.
2. Akbarzadeh, Daryoosh and M. Tavusi: 2007, Middle Persian (Sasanian Inscriptions), Tehran.
3. Akbarzadeh, D: 2004, *The Demon of Wrath and the Ayādgār ī Zarērān*, The Spirit of Wisdom, in Essays in Memory of Ahmad Tafazzoli, Daryae and Mahmud Omidsalar

GARDIZI'S HISTORY: SANSKRIT TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS OF HINDUISM

- (eds.), PP. 24–31, California.
4. Akbarzadeh, D: 2013, *A term for Rome and Byzantium in the Persian texts*, Journal of Byzantion Nea Hellás, no. 32, PP. 225–232, Universidad de Chile.
 5. Kent, Roland G: 1953, *Old Persian (Grammar, Texts, Lexicon)*, 2nd edition, New Haven.
 6. Macdonell, Arthur A: 2004, *Vedic Grammar Students*, New Delhi.
 7. Masudi, A. Ali ibn Hossein: 2008, *Moruj-al- Zahhab va Ma'dan-al- Johar*, Vol. I–II, 8th edition, Translator: A. Paynadeh, Tehran.
 8. Naini J. and N. Sh. Shukla: 1973, *Sanskrit terms of Al-India of Biruni*, Tehran.
 9. Rezazadeh-Malek: 2005, see; *Zayn-al-Akhbar*.
 10. Taffazoli, A: 1997, *Tarikh-e Adibiyat Iran-e Pish az Islam*, by Zh. Amuzegar, Tehran.
 11. Zayn-al-Akhbar: 2005, *Abu Saed Abdol Hay ibn-al- Zahhak ibn M. Gardizi (1051-1052)*, Edited by R. Rezazadeh-Malek, Tehran.

An Unforgettable Enterprise by Forgotten Figures

The Making of the Zhaocheng Canon 趙城藏 in North China
under the Jurchen Regime

Dewei ZHANG

Master Hongjiao has practiced all kinds of asceticism, taking the carving of a Buddhist canon as her fundamental vow. Those who assisted her in soliciting donations, consisting of Liu Fashan (d.u.) and more than fifty others, all cut off their arms, burned their arms or fingers, gouged out their eyes, or took their lives. There were even cases in which people donated their family possessions or sold their daughters or sons to support the great enterprise of carving the canon. It took as long as thirty years to complete [the project]. Alas, this task was truly difficult. 然今弘教大師備修苦行,以刊鏤藏板為本願。於是協力助緣劉法善等五十餘人,亦皆斷臂,燃臂燃指,剜眼割肝。至有捨家產、鬻男女者,助修經板勝事,始終三十年之久,方得成就。嗚呼,可謂難也哉。¹

The canon mentioned here refers to the Zhaocheng 趙城 canon,² one of the earliest printed Chinese Buddhist canons that still exist. The Zhaocheng canon was lost in history for several hundred years, and its rediscovery in 1932 caused a sensation and has since attracted much attention.³ Short but awe-inspiring, this passage tells what happened over the course of making the Zhaocheng canon, but some questions are raised. Why did Master Hongjiao devote herself to the carving of the canon? Who was Liu Fashan? Who were the others among the fifty-plus persons? Why did they conduct so many self-immolations, one of the

The author wishes to thank Professors James Benn, Jinhua Chen, and Funayama Toru for their comments. This article is part of a project generously sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). Two early drafts of it were presented, one in the Department of Religious Studies at McMaster University in March 2012, and the other in the 2012 AAR (American Academy of Religion) Annual Conference in Chicago in November 2012.

¹ This paragraph is quoted from Li Jining 李濟寧, "Jinzang xing ziliao kao" 金藏新資料考, in *Zangwai fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文獻, ed., Fang Guangchang (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1997), vol. 3, p. 450.

biggest sacrifices that humans could make? How could it be possible for so many cases to occur? Were they necessary for the project? Few of these questions have been answered to date, and this result is not surprising. So far, studies on the Zhaocheng canon have been focused on its content and its relationships with other editions of the Chinese Buddhist canon,⁴ but paid little attention to the dynamics and mechanism of its creation.⁵ We would find there are more questions if we know that the Zhaocheng canon in its entirety was a huge reposit-

² The Zhaocheng canon examined in this paper is based on the *Zhonghua da zangjing: hanwen bufen* 中華大藏經: 漢文部分, ed. Zhonghua da zangjing bianji ju, 106 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984–1996) [hereafter cited as the Zhonghua canon], which was compiled on the basis of the Zhaocheng canon by taking all of its surviving texts, with only a few exceptions that were mistakenly thought missing. It is worth noting that there was another discovery of Buddhist texts belonging to the Zhaocheng canon in Northern Shajiasi 薩迦寺 in Tibet in 1959. This copy was originally printed in 1256 and placed in Great Baoji monastery 大寶集寺 in Beijing. It has 555 existing fascicles of texts. Except the texts overlapped with those found in Guangshengsi, the rest of this discovery have all been included in the Zhonghua canon. For the close relationship between the Zhonghua canon and the Zhaocheng canon, see Tong Wei 童瑋, *Zhaocheng Jin zang yu Zhonghua da zang jing* 趙城金藏與中華大藏經 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989). For the Shajiasi copy, see Su Bai 宿白, “Zhaocheng Jin zang he Hongfa zang” 趙城金藏和弘法藏, *Xiandai foxue* 現代佛學 2(1964): 13–22.

It also deserves to be known that there is the *Zhaocheng Jin zang* 趙城金藏, which was printed in 122 volumes by Beijing Library Press in 2008. I do not use this new edition because, as Fang Guangchang 方廣錫 has implied, it is an illegal duplication of relevant parts of the Zhonghua canon. Moreover, when compared with it, the Zhonghua canon has detailed notes revealing the textual variants between the Zhaocheng and seven other editions of the Chinese Buddhist canon, and is thus more convenient for use. For the problem in the Beijing Library Press edition, see Fang Guangchang, “Zhonghua da zangjing (shangbian) de bianzuan yu jiantao” 中華大藏經(上編)的編纂與檢討, a lecture that he delivered at Fuguang university in November, 2011 and is available at http://hk.plm.org.cn/e_book/xz-31103.pdf (accessed on December 25, 2012).

³ Ironically, the attention that the Zhaocheng canon drew in Japan made it almost looted a few years later when Japanese armies occupied Shanxi. For the eventful history of the Zhaocheng from its rediscovery in the 1930s to its reprinting in the 1980s, particularly its narrow escape from the seizure of Japanese troops, see Hu Shixiang 扈石祥 and Hu Xinghong 扈新紅, “Zhaocheng Jinzang shiji kao” 趙城金藏史跡考, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 2000 (3): 38–48; Li Wanli 李萬里, “Zhaocheng Jinzang babainian cangsang ji” 趙城金藏八百年滄桑記, *Fayin* 12 (1988): 32–37.

⁴ Most scholars believe that the Zhaocheng canon duplicated the Kaibao 開寶藏 in content and format in the most precise way, but Tong, *Zhaocheng Jinzang yu Zhonghua da zang jing*, pp. 1–2, contends that although the Zhaocheng is mostly identical to the Kaibao, it includes about forty fascicles taken from the Khitan canon 契丹藏. The importance of this debate lies in the fact that it will decide the pedigree of the Zhaocheng among the three systems, which scholars have recently identified among those printed editions. For these three distinct but related systems, see Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章, *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū* 宋元佛教文化史研究 (Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin, 2000), pp. 271–311.

tory of about 7,000 fascicles of Buddhist texts,⁶ and that the formidable task of carving it was completed in areas which had been lost by the Northern Song (960–1127) to the hands of the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234). Did people other than those mentioned become involved in the project? If yes, what was the social status of these people? How did they participate in the project during the thirty years? And, in a broader view, to what extent does the process of carving this canon reflect the state of Buddhism in general?

These questions concern the dynamics and mechanism behind the creation of the Zhaocheng canon, a significant aspect which has been generally overlooked in current studies on the Chinese Buddhist canon. The translation of Buddhist texts from Indic and central Asian languages into Chinese can be traced back to the second century.⁷ In the subsequent thousand years, the enterprise of translation continued. As the number of translated texts kept increasing over time, there were many attempts to organize them in a meaningful and systematic way. In 730, drawing on previous efforts, Zhisheng 智昇 (669–740) compiled the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (A catalogue of Buddhist texts compiled in the Kaiyuan period) which, after the mid-ninth century, finally became the foundation to standardize the Chinese Buddhist canon.⁸ By the late tenth century, with the adoption of printing technology,

⁵ For example, Li Fuhua 李富華, ed., *Jinzang: mulu huanyuan ji yanjiu* 金藏: 目錄還原及研究 (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2012), so far the newest study on the Zhaocheng canon, is primarily to recover its catalogue. This book collects twelve important articles that were written by mainland Chinese scholars from 1934 to 2008. We can see that their main concern is with the content of the Zhaocheng and its status in the history of printed Chinese Buddhist canon. This is also the case with *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu* 漢文佛教大藏經研究, eds., Li Fuhua and He Mei 何梅 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2003), pp. 91–118. Japanese scholars had a strong interest in the Zhaocheng canon shortly after its rediscovery, and a similar tendency can be detected from their research. See, for example, Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙, ed., Yang Baiyi 楊白衣, trans., *Bukkyō kyōten sōron* 仏教經典總論 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi, 1983), pp. 692–725; Ocho Enichi 横超慧日, “Shinshutsu Kimban zōkyō o mite” 新出金版藏經を見て, *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 (Tōkyō), 5 (1935), supplement, pp. 283–307; Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, “Kinkoku Daizōkyō no hakken to sono kankō: Saikin Shina Bukkyō kai no nidai hakken” 金刻大藏經の發見とその刊行: 最近支那佛教界の二大發見, *Nikka Bukkyō Kenkyūkai nenpō* 日華佛教研究會年報 1(1936): 167–91.

⁶ In addition to Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, the Chinese Buddhist canon also includes works by East Asian authors, which increased in number over the time.

⁷ For the early Chinese translation of Buddhist scriptures, see Mizuno Kōgen 水野宏元, *Buddhist Sutras: Origin, Development, Transmission* (Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing, 1982), pp. 41–52. This enterprise of translation was thought to have started with *Sishier zhang jing* 四十二章經 in the first century, but modern scholars have reached a consensus that this text is actually a collection of excerpts from other Buddhist scriptures and that its appearance cannot be earlier than the fourth century. See, for example, Lü Chen 呂澂, *Zhongguo foxue yuanliu luejiang* 中國佛學源流略講 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), pp. 276–82.

a revolutionary moment came in the history of the Buddhist canon. This marked the end of the era of handwritten sutras, making it possible to produce the canon at a much faster speed and at much lower expense.⁹ The carving of the Kaibao canon 開寶藏, the first printed Chinese Buddhist canon, was finished in 983.¹⁰ After that, more than twenty printed editions of the Chinese Buddhist canon were produced in major countries and regions in East Asia, including China, the Khitan Liao, the Jurchen Jin, Korea, and Japan.¹¹ Their circulation was even wider, including today's Vietnam. Consequently, the formation and diffusion of this canon remarkably encouraged the domestication of Buddhism and profoundly shaped its contours in the pre-modern East Asian context. In this process, woodcarving the canon was absolutely the decisive part. The creation of the Chinese Buddhist canon was one of the biggest print projects taking place in the pre-modern world. To make it required the carving of a great number of woodblocks, ranging from about 80,000 to nearly 170,000,¹² necessitated sustained efforts over several decades and involved vast human and material resources.¹³

⁸ For the formation and development of the Chinese handwritten Buddhist canon, see Fang Guangchang, *Zhongguo xieben da zangjing yanjiu* 中國寫本大藏經研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), pp. 39–118. It was the Huichang persecution of Buddhism, launched by Emperor Tang Wuzong (r. 841–846) during the period from 842 to 846, which facilitated the standardization of the Chinese Buddhist canon. See Fang, *Zhongguo xieben da zangjing yanjiu*, pp. 317–402. In a lecture delivered at Leiden University on March 19, 2012, T. H. Barrett also suggests that restocking Buddhist literature after the massive losses caused by the persecution formed a strong motive for the adoption of printing, despite lack of dynastic support for the new technology. This lecture is entitled “The Last Gentleman: The Huichang Persecution of Buddhism as a Stimulus to the Spread of Printing.”

⁹ After the appearance of the Kaibao canon, hand-written Buddhist canons were still produced occasionally, primarily as devotional acts or artificial work. See Huang Qijiang 黃啟江, *Sizhou dasheng yu Songxue daoren: Songyuan shehui jinyin de fojiao xinyang yu fojiao wenhua* 泗州大聖與松雪道人—宋元社會菁英的佛教信仰與佛教文化 (Taipei: Xueshen shuju, 2009), pp. 235–388.

¹⁰ Only the main body of the Kaibao canon, compiled according to the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, was completed by 983. In the following one hundred years, this canon would continue to take in newly-translated texts. Now, only twelve fascicles of the Kaibao canon exist, and they have been printed together under the title the *Kaibao yizhen* 開寶遺珍 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2010).

¹¹ For so far the most comprehensive and detailed study of different editions of the Chinese Buddhist canon, see Fang, *Zhongguo xieben da zangjing yanjiu*; Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*; Chikusa, *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, pp. 271–360. For a survey of the printed Chinese Buddhist canon, see Daizōkai 大藏會, *Daizōkyō: seiritsu to henssen* 大藏經: 成立と変遷 (Kyōto: Hyakkaen, 1964); He Mei, “Hanwen da zangjing gaisu” 漢文大藏經概述, *Faying* 法音 3(2005): 30–37.

¹² The numbers of the woodblocks changed vastly with different editions of the canon. For example, the Kaibao canon was carved on more than 130,000 woodblocks, while the second Korean canon 再雕高麗藏 on 81,340. The Zhaocheng canon doubled the number of the Korean, up to 168,113, even before it was supplemented in Beijing.

So, it would be natural to ask questions like the motivations behind people's engagement in this challenging project and the ways in which they manage to finish it. The answers to these questions concern not only the canon itself. They also concern the people and elements working behind its creation, enabling us to take a close look at the interplay of Buddhism and society where it existed and could mobilize the resources. This point is particularly true for those editions carved under the sponsorship of individual common people rather than the state.¹⁴ Unfortunately, our knowledge on these questions proves limited and often incorrect.

Based on newly-discovered epigraphic and textual materials, this paper will thus examine some significant problems concerning the production of the Zhaocheng canon. It starts with a reconstruction of a more reliable and more complete history of the Zhaocheng. In the following three sections, centering on the carving of this canon, it moves on to explore why people became involved in the project, how the leaders set out to mobilize resources and how common sponsors responded to their appeal, and how and to what extent timing and regional elements affected the result of the project. In the process, such elements as charismatic characteristics of the project leaders, public self-immolation, the *she* 社 Buddhist society, and local powerful families are all examined. To carry out such a huge project was a visible comprehensive test of the vitality and mobilization ability of Buddhism. In addition to improving our understanding of the Zhaocheng canon itself, tracing and analyzing the process will also help reveal the dynamics and mechanisms which made it possible to create other canons and drive the evolution of Chinese Buddhism as a whole.

1. New Evidence and New History

The Zhaocheng canon is legendary and, for centuries, little about this canon and its history was known. In the 1580s when the carving of the future Jiaying canon was being planned, the organizers did mention the Zhaocheng for inspiration, but what they knew was little more than an ambiguous story that the nun Cui Fazhen 崔法珍 (?–1183+) had cut off her arm to sponsor its production.¹⁵ A turning point came in 1932 when 4,957 fascicles

¹³ In the case of the Jiaying canon 嘉興藏 that was produced in the seventeenth century, for example, the carving expense was an estimated 100,000 taels of silver.

¹⁴ According to the major patrons backing its production, the Chinese Buddhist canon can be generally divided into two categories, individually-sponsored and imperially-sponsored. These two types are different in contents, format, and distribution. Individually-sponsored printed editions include such canons as the Zhaocheng, the Chongning 崇寧藏, the Pilu 毗盧藏, the Yuanjue-Zifu 圓覺-資福藏, the Qisha 磧砂藏, and the Jiaying. The Buddhist canons that were imperially sponsored include the Kaibao, the Khitan, the court canon of the Yuan 元官藏, the Hongwu Southern canon 洪武南藏, the Yongle Southern and Northern canons 永樂南/北藏, and the dragon canon 龍藏 of the Qing dynasty.

of Buddhist texts were rediscovered in Guangshengsi 廣勝寺 in Zhaocheng, Shanxi. The Zhaocheng canon surfaced as a result, after having been lost to history for several hundred years.¹⁶ Shortly after the discovery, Jiang Weixin 蔣唯心 checked all existing texts of the copy before they suffered further loss and published an article, which remains the most important one in this field.¹⁷ Jiang did not obtain much useful information about the making of the canon, however. He pointed out that it was Cui Fazhen who had taken charge of the carving project and brought the wood blocks to Beijing in 1183, but this was not a firm conclusion because it was made only on fragmentary records. Sixty years later, Jiang's deduction found evidence in an essay collected in the Qisha canon 磧砂藏. That essay, originally carved on a stele (cited as Stele A hereafter),¹⁸ was composed in 1199 by Zhao Feng 趙颯 (?–1201), Vice Director of the Palace Library (*mishu cheng* 秘書丞) and Senior Compiler (*xiuzhuan* 修撰) of the Hanlin Academy in the Jin dynasty. It expressly claims that the canon was made by Cui Fazhen and describes in detail the circumstances of the canon in Beijing, and thus seems to have ended the controversy over who led the project.

This clear image, however, is challenged by another stele that was rediscovered around 2002 (cited as Stele B hereafter). This stele, “The Epitaph concerning the Rebuilding of Taiyinsi by the Managers of Carving the Canon” (雕藏經主重修太陰寺碑), was first erected in Taiyinsi 太陰寺, Shanxi, in Dade 1 (1298) in celebration of a rebuilding of the temple.¹⁹ When tracing the history of the temple, this stele recounts a history of the Zhaocheng canon

¹⁵ Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, pp. 94–95, 300–302.

¹⁶ The current copy of the canon was shipped to Zhaocheng in Zhongtong 3 (1262) of the Yuan dynasty.

¹⁷ Jiang Weixin 蔣唯心, *Jinzang diaoyin kao: fu jingmu* 金藏雕印始末考: 附經目 (Nanjing: Nanjing zina neixue yuan, 1935). This pamphlet was originally published as an article in *Guofeng zazhi* 國風雜誌 in 1934. Jiang Weixin was a scholar devoting his life to the study of the Buddhist canon. When he went to Guangshengsi to check the Zhaocheng canon in October, 1934, he fell into water when crossing the Yellow River and suffered from eye disease since then. Later, on the way to Shanggusi 上古寺 of Chongqing county, Sichuan, to check the Hongwu Southern Canon, he was kidnapped by bandits and killed.

¹⁸ Stele A quoted in this paper is from Li, “Jinzang xing ziliao kao,” pp. 449–52.

¹⁹ This epitaphic inscription is quoted from Wang Zeqing 王澤慶, “Xiezhou ban Jinzang muke de zhongyao wenxian: diao zangjing zhu chongxiu taiyinsi bei kaoshi” 解州版《金藏》募刻的重要文獻: 雕藏經主重修太陰寺碑考釋, *Wenwu shijie* 文物世界 4(2003): 16–17. I have corrected some wrong characters according to the stele itself.

To my knowledge, it was Yang Mingzhu 楊明珠 who first mentioned Stele B in “Xishi zhibao Zhaocheng Jinzang yu ‘Xiezhou Tianningsi’” 稀世之寶《趙城金藏》與“解州天寧寺”, *Wenwu shijie* 6(2002): 29–31. After that, several papers studying the stele were published in local journals, but they failed to bring the stele to the attention of mainstream scholars. Both the *Jinzang: mulu huanyuan ji yanjiu* and *The Zhaocheng Jinzang* are ignorant of this stele, although they were published in February 2012 and 2008 respectively.

prior to its delivery to Beijing. This is more a challenge than a supplement to Stele A, however. It tells in great detail about how Yin Shi 伊寔 (ca.1100–1176),²⁰ Cui Fazhen’s master, led the carving project and about how Wang Ciyun 王慈雲 (?–1180+), her Dharma-brother, made significant contributions to it. But previously we did not even know of the existence of these two key figures.

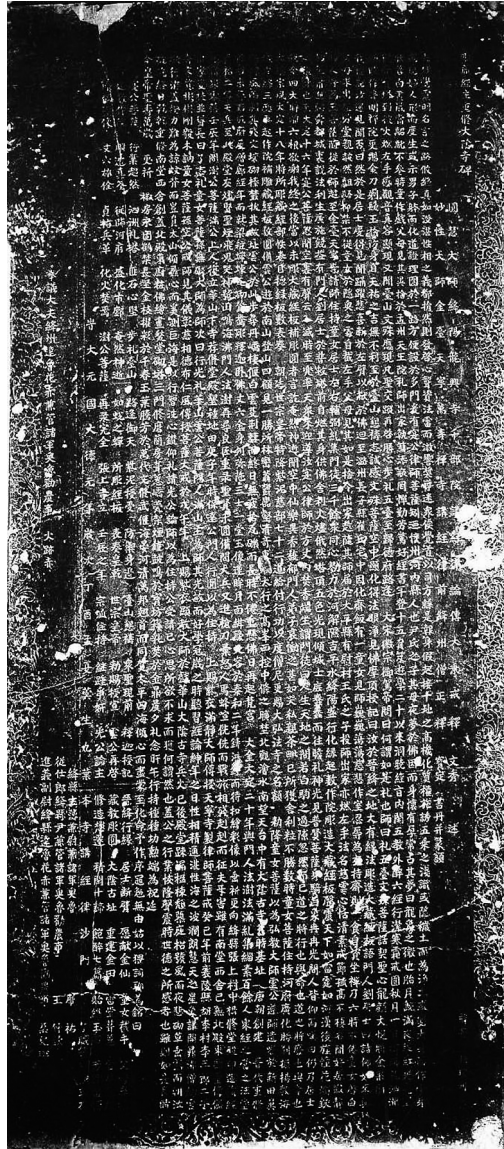
Given that Stele B was erected one hundred years after the project had been completed in Shanxi, we have to first take a close look at it before going into detail. Stele B was composed by Shi Baoding 釋寶定 (d.u.) in Tianningsi 天甯寺 of Jintai 金台 on the basis of what was recounted by Shi Wenxiu 釋文秀 (d.u.) in Longxingsi 龍興寺 of Jiangyang 絳陽 county.²¹ Nothing is known about these two masters except that Shi Baoding was the Buddhist Superior (*sengzheng* 僧正) in Jiangzhou 絳州 (present-day Xinjiang, Shanxi), but due to Jiang Weixin’s reminder we do know that Tianningsi was certainly the headquarters of the carving project. Stele B contains some hagiographic elements in recounting Yin Shi’s stories. Although this is not unusual in the genre, it becomes necessary for us to check its authenticity against other evidence. Fortunately, some materials, which make little sense when used separately, form a complete chain of evidence for Stele B.

1) In another stele (cited as Stele C hereafter) that was erected in front of Taiyinsi in the third month of Dading 17 (1177), there is a phrase “Ciyun, a disciple of Master Shi, a Bodhisattva, who was the Chief Contributor (*gongdezu* 功德主) for carving the canon” (開雕大藏經都功德主實公菩薩門人慈雲).²² This phrase is important for two reasons. (1) Since the Zhaocheng was the only canon produced in Shanxi during the period under discussion, it confirms that the leading role in the Zhaocheng project was taken by a Master Shi, whose surname we now know from Stele B is Yin. The character 寔 in this epitaph looks different from Stele A, but they are actually interchangeable.²³ (2) Master Shi had a

²⁰ Xian Zhenqiang 咸增強 wrongly claimed that the name of Master Shi was Yin Shinai 尹矧迺. See his “Yizuo burong fushi de chuban shiliao bei: cong *Diao zangjing zhu chongxiu taiyinsi bei kan Jinzang muke de zhuyao renwu*” 一座不容忽視的出版史料碑：從《雕藏經主重修大陰寺碑》看《金藏》募刻的主要人物, *Yuncheng xueyuan xuebao* 運城學院學報 28.3 (2010): 19.

²¹ Zhang Deguang 張德光 erroneously attributed the erection of Stele B to Wang Ciyun, who had already died about one hundred years before the event. See his “Guanyu Zhaocheng Jinzang yankao zhong jige wenti de shangque” 關於趙城《金藏》研考中幾個問題的商榷, *Wenwu shijie* 1 (2006): 34.

²² Yan Fengwu 閻鳳梧, ed., *Quan Liao Jin wen* 全遼金文 (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe, 2002; 4 vols.), vol. 4, p. 4043. Xian, “Yizuo burong fushi de chuban shiliao bei,” p. 21, wrongly punctuates the relevant sentence, saying that “the carving of the canon started on the nineteenth day of the third month of Dading 10 of the great Jin.” (大金大定十年三月十九日, 開雕大藏經.) He Mei 何梅 has rightly pointed out that this project started no later than Huangtong 9 (1149). See her “Zhaocheng Jinzang de jige wenti” 趙城金藏的幾個問題, *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中國典籍與文化 3(2008): 31–32.



Stele B: “The Epitaph concerning the Rebuilding of Taiyinsi by the Managers of Carving the Canon” (雕藏經主重修太陰寺碑) (Quoted from Wang Zeqing, “Xiezhou ban Jinzang muke de zhongyao wenxian: diao zangjing zhu chongxiu taiyinsi bei kaoshi”)

disciple called Ciyun and, similarly, his surname, Wang, was unknown until we read Stele B. At the end of Stele C, we see that Wang Ciyun was the abbot of Taiyinsi around Dading 17 but is mentioned only as Wang Xingzhe 王行者.²⁴

The authenticity of Stele C is beyond question. (1) It was erected to memorize the rebuilding of Taiyinsi in Dading 10, and the project was finished not only by Wang Ciyun but also by at least thirty other disciples of Yin Shi. Those people would have not kept silent had Wang Ciyun made a wrong claim. (2) The chance is high that Cui Fazhen also participated in the project in a certain way. In fact, she was very likely the second abbot of the rebuilt Taiyinsi, even earlier than Wang Ciyun taking up the post, and was mentioned as Cui Xingzhe 崔行者 in Stele C.²⁵ Given the stele was erected one year before Cui left for Beijing, she would not have let any mistakes appear on it.

- 2) That Wang Xingzhe in Stele C refers to Wang Ciyun can be substantiated by more reliable evidence, an official document carved on a stone pillar (Cited as Stele D hereafter).²⁶ Starting from the early Dading period (1161–1189), the Jin government began to prohibit people from building temples privately, but a temple could be legalized if it had Buddhist murals or statues and paid a fee for an official permit.²⁷ In the eleventh month of Dading 20 (1180), after investigating on the spot, local authorities issued official credentials, which had been certified by the Ministry of Rites. The document says that “There is a Buddhist building that is three bays [in width] and eleven beams [in depth] in Zhangshang village of Jiang County. Its overseer is Wang Xingzhe.” (絳縣張上村佛堂舍三間一十椽，看管人王行者。) This confirms a claim made by Stele B that Wang Ciyun and his disciples built a Buddhist building in Dading 20. More importantly, since the name Wang Xingzhe appeared even in official documents, it seems safe to assume that Wang Ciyun was usually called Wang Xingzhe and that Wang Xingzhe, when associated with the carving project, refers to Wang Ciyun.
- 3) Once we identify Wang Xingzhe as Wang Ciyun, we can easily find that he was actively engaged in the carving from the very start. For example, the earliest existing *fayuan wen* 發願文 (record of vows) in the Zhaocheng canon shows that it was Wang Ciyun, men-

²³ I have no chance to check this epitaph in person, but a possibility exists that the character 寔 is actually used in the epitaph but was replaced with 實 when the editor transcribed the epitaph.

²⁴ Xingzhe 行者 has several meanings, and here it refers to a monk or nun who does not shave his or her head. Stele C lists a “Wang lao xingzhe” 王老行者 (old Wang Xingzhe) as the abbot of Taiyinsi, but he had died before the stele was erected.

²⁵ According to Stele A, Cui Fazhen did not shave off hair and received full ordination until Dading 18 (1178).

²⁶ Yan, *Quan Liao Jin wen*, vol. 4, p. 4008.

²⁷ For this policy, see Nogami Shuujō 野上俊静, “Kin no zaiseisaku shyūkyō kyōdan” 金の財政策と宗教々團, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 4.6(1939): 485–502.

tioned as Wang Xingzhe, who mobilized residents in Xiwu village 西毋村 in Puzhou 蒲州 (present-day Yongji, Shanxi) to carve the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. The *fayuan wen* also shows that Wang obtained full cooperation from a person who, as seen from his surname, very likely belonged to the leading family in the village. This case, dated in Huangtong 9 (1149), was not an exception because similar records repeatedly appeared in the following years.²⁸ In this sense, Stele B's claim about Wang's great contribution to the carving project is unquestionable.

The emphasis of Stele B is on what happened to the Zhaocheng canon while it was created in South Shanxi, and now all important points of it are validated. So, combining this stele with other materials and Stele A, which offers important information about Cui Fazhen's activities in Beijing, we are now in a better position to understand how the Zhaocheng canon was made and distributed.

- 1) Although for centuries people have attributed the making of the Zhaocheng canon to Cui Fazhen, who was mentioned as the virgin Bodhisattva (*Tongnü pusa* 童女菩薩) in Stele B, it was in fact Yin Shi who initiated and took charge of the project. Yin Shi started to design the plans in the Northern Song-Jin transition, and reportedly received blessings from Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai at the very start.
- 2) Cui Fazhen did cut off her arm, but not directly for the canon-carving project. She met Yin Shi at her early age, but her request to become his disciple was rejected by her parents. So she acted in this radical way to show her resolution, which finally persuaded her parents to let her go.
- 3) Shortly after, Wang Ciyun also became Yin Shi's disciple.
- 4) Cui Fazhen and Wang Ciyun worked with Layman Liu, probably Yin Shi's earliest follower, and were great assistance to Yin Shi. They attracted a huge number of supporters and built several workshops (*zuoyuan* 作院) to cut the woodblocks for the canon.
- 5) Yin Shi was later invited to Tianningsi in Xiezhou 解州 (today's Xiezhou, Shanxi) to be its abbot. In the monastery they established the *da zangjing banhui* 大藏經板會/*zangjing hui* 藏經會 (The Board for Carving the Buddhist Canon),²⁹ and through it organized and supervised the whole project. Yin Shi was its Chief Contributor.
- 6) When Yin Shi died in 1176, he entrusted his disciples with the task of completing the carving project. Two years later, Cui Fazhen brought a copy of the canon to Yanjing (present-day Beijing), the imperial capital of the Jin dynasty during the period from 1153 to 1214. The canon received a major welcome and was then stored in Great Sheng'an monastery 大聖安寺. In this visit, Cui Fazhen also promised to present the wood blocks

²⁸ For the earliest extant *fayuan wen* in the Zhaocheng, see *Zhonghua da zangjing*, vol. 1, p. 810. The *fayuan wen* with similar content could be seen in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 856, 883.

²⁹ *Zhonghua da zangjing* vol. 10, p. 37; vol. 76, p. 27.

AN UNFORGETTABLE ENTERPRISE BY FORGOTTEN FIGURES

to the court. In 1181, she did transport all the wood blocks to Yanjing, with financial support from the emperor and the court.

It is unclear how many wood blocks were brought to the capital. Stele A says that it was 168,113, that is, all 6,980 fascicles of the canon. But as to be discussed in 8) below, the carving of the canon was not completed by then. Since Stele B says that Cui Fazhen submitted to the court a complete catalogue of the canon in her first visit to Yanjing, very likely the figures cited in Stele A reflect the planned rather than finished wood blocks.

- 7) The wood blocks were first examined and corrected by five knowledgeable monks, who were led by Daozun 導遵 (d.u.). In Dading 23 (1183), these woodblocks were transferred to Great Haotian monastery 大昊天寺 in Beijing, and henceforth were used for printing.
- 8) After the carved blocks were brought to Yanjing, Wang Ciyun built three new workshops, in Xintian 新田 (present day Xingjiang, Shanxi), Yicheng 翼城 (present-day Yicheng, Shanxi), and Gujiang 古絳 (present-day Jiangxian, Shanxi) respectively, in the hope of finishing carving the canon. During this period, Wang moved the carving center from Tianningsi to Taiyinsi, which was originally built in Yongzheng 1 (650) in the Tang and most recently rebuilt in Dading 10 (1170).³⁰ By Taihe 2 (1202), Taiyinsi had already become a beautiful temple, with all facilities ready. It even had a grand wooden statue of the Buddha entering parinirvāṇa, which is surrounded by murals and still extant.³¹ Wang Ciyun and his disciples also constructed a building in Zhangshang village nearby to make and print the canon. According to Stele D, this building received an official permit in Dading 20 (1180).
- 9) Wang Ciyun and his disciples attempted to finish the carving, but their efforts were repeatedly disrupted by wars taking place during the ending years of the Jin dynasty. In Zhenyou 2 (1214) when Mongol army attacked this region for the first time, buildings in Taiyinsi and the wood blocks that they had carved were burned. Then, Fa Shu 法澍 (d.u.), one of Wang Ciyun's major disciples, made a new effort, but wars broke out once again before he could bring an end to the project. This time the wars destroyed more

³⁰ As for the rebuilding of Taiyinsi in the Jin, Stele C says that it took place in Dading 10 while Stele B in Dading 20. They are not necessary contradictory because, according to Stele D, it was in Dading 20 that Taiyinsi was officially acknowledged. In other words, what Stele C means is the physical rebuilding of the temple, while what Stele B refers to is the official recognition.

³¹ When discussing the question as to what made the Buddha hall in medieval China a distinctly symbolic space, Eugene Wang pointed out that, in addition to ceremonial practices held there, "just as important, if not more, were the statues and wall painting that made the presence of the Buddhist deities more palpable and transported the devotee to other imaginary realms." See Wang, "Pictorial program in the making of monastic space: from Jing'aisi of Luoyang to Cave 217 at Dunhuang," in *Buddhist Monasticism in East Asia: Places of Practice*, eds. James Benn, et al. (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 65.

buildings of the temple, and monks living there were forced to disperse. This experience proved fatal to the project. Taiyinsi would be rebuilt in the early Yuan dynasty, but no additional efforts are recorded to have resumed the project.

Jiang Weixin pointed out that the Zhaocheng canon was repaired or supplemented in the early Yuan, probably under the direction of Yeli Chuchai 耶律楚材 (1190–1244), an outstanding politician who was a devoted Buddhist.³² This surmise has been accepted by all other scholars. According to the analysis above, however, this follow-up project, at least partly, was not to replace those blocks destroyed in wars but to complete the unfinished project.

- 10) Evidence shows that the Zhaocheng spread to Dunhuang and Turfan,³³ but there is no consensus about the fate of those woodblocks after they were taken to Beijing. Most scholars believe that they were later stored in Hongfasi 弘法寺 and thus referred to as the “Hongfa canon.”³⁴ In 2005, He Mei further contended that the making and circulation of the Zhaocheng went through three stages: it was first finished as a complete canon in Shanxi under the leadership of Cui Fazhen, which we now know is incorrect. From Zhiyuan 22 to 26 (1285–1289), on the orders of Emperor Yuan Shizu (r. 1260–1294), this canon was collated and supplemented, increasing in size to seven hundred plus cases and 7,100 fascicles. It was since then called the Hongfa canon in reference to where its woodblocks were preserved. About thirty years later, it was recompiled and called the Yanyou 延祐 canon, which was in circulation until the end of the Yuan dynasty.³⁵ However, Li Fuhua was not convinced, arguing that there is little relationship between the Zhaocheng canon and the Hongfa canon.³⁶

2. Charisma, Self-immolation, and the leaders

According to Stele B, when Yin Shi arrived at Mount Wutai, with the purity of the dharma-

³² Jiang, *Jinzang diaoyin shimo kao*, pp. 13–14. This point has since been accepted by other scholars. See, for example, Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, pp. 101–103. As for Yeli Chuchai, his official biography can be seen in Song Lian 宋濂 et al., eds., *Yuanshi* 元史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 146: 3455–64.

³³ For Dunhuang, see Li Jining, *Fojing banben* 佛經版本 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2002), pp. 114–18. For Turfan, see Dang Baohai 黨寶海, “Tulufan chutu Jinzang kao: jianlun yizu Tulufan chutu fojing canpian de niandai” 吐魯番出土金藏考: 兼論一組吐魯番出土佛經殘片的年代, *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 4(1999): 103–25.

³⁴ For the Hongfa canon, see Jiang, *Jinzang diaoyin shimo kao*, pp. 13–16; Su Bai, “Zhaocheng Jin zang he Hongfa zang”; Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, pp. 103–108.

³⁵ He Mei, “Beijing Zhihuasi Yuan ‘Yanyou zang’ ben kao” 北京智化寺元延祐藏本考. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 4(2005): 29–32.

³⁶ Li, *Jinzang*, pp. 8–11.

eye (*fayan jing* 法眼淨) he obtained on the spot, he saw Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī touch his head and predict that he would make a canon in the Jin 晉 and Jiang 絳 regions. Although we cannot take this story as a historical fact, it is not surprising to see that Yin Shi would design the carving project during the Northern Song-Jin transition. The Chinese Buddhist canon appeared in a relatively mature form in the late sixth century and then, in handwritten form, was in a widespread circulation. In Taipingxingguo 8 (983), the first printed version of it appeared as the Kaibao canon. With the circulation of the Kaibao, emulators appeared quickly, first in areas outside the boundaries of China, and the results were the Khitan canons and the Korean canons.³⁷ Within China, similar acts did not happen until Xining 4 (1171) when the government transferred the woodblocks of the Kaibao to Xianshengsi 顯聖寺 and no longer paid costs for its printing.³⁸ This change in policy triggered a wave of canon-carving in local societies, which would continue until the thirteenth century.³⁹ In particular, during the one hundred years from the 1080s to 1180s, south China saw the production of three printed canons, the Chongning 崇寧, the Pulu 毗盧, and the Yuanjue-Zifu 圓覺-資福.⁴⁰ It was against this background that Yin Shi took the initiative to produce a new canon, although in north China. In fact, Yin may have consciously intended to fulfill the need for a new Buddhist canon in this area, for the Kaibao had been snatched from Kaifeng by Jin troops in 1126 and then disappeared forever.⁴¹

How Yin Shi was able to lead the project is a major problem. No records exist about

³⁷ Two editions of the Buddhist canon were carved during the Khitan Liao dynasty, one from the Tonghe period (983–1012) to Xianyong 4 (1068) and the other from Chongxi 11 (1042) to Xianyong 6 (1070). See Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, pp. 127–42. It is controversial as to how many editions of the Buddhist canon were produced in Korea. In 989, the Kaibao canon was sent to Koryo (i.e. Korea) for the first time. In 1011, Koryo started its first effort to carve the Buddhist canon, which was completed about twenty years later. Later, one or two more editions, on which scholars have not reached a consensus, were created. The last edition of the Korean edition is well-known for its good quality, largely because it was created by using the Khitan canon to collate with the Kaibao. For a brief introduction to the Korean canons, see Lewis R. Lancaster & Sung-bae Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. ix–xvii; Lewis R. Lancaster, Kikun Suh, and Chai-Shin Yu, eds., *Buddhism in Koryō: A royal Religion* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California, 1996), pp. 173–92.

³⁸ For the moving of the woodblocks of the Kaibao canon from Yinjing chapel 印經院 to Xianshengsi and its consequence, see Li Jining, *Fojiao da zangjing yanjiu lungao* 佛教大藏經研究論稿 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2007), pp. 143–45.

³⁹ When compared with Fangshan 房山 stone canon and the Jiaying canon, it seems that these canons were made not so much to prepare for the coming of the end of the dharma (*mofa* 末法) as to enhance the status of the host temples and monks. Notably, it was also around this period that the *Zhenghe wanshou daoze* 政和萬壽道藏, the earliest Daoist canon, was published in Fuzhou. See Kristofer M. Schipper & Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 28–29.

the overall cost of the Zhaocheng project, but we know that donating one mule afforded enough to make seven fascicles while thirty bolts (*pi* 匹) of cloth would pay for one fascicle.⁴² Since the canon included nearly 7,000 fascicles, in total it was worth about 1,000 mules or 210,000 bolts of cloth. This carving project, as we shall see soon, was supported by soliciting contributions. Its leaders thus faced a huge challenge, and their abilities and strategies to mobilize resources decided the fate of the project. Jiang Weixin already found out that the Zhaocheng project was carried out under the direction of *da zangjing banhui*, but he complained that little was known about its project leader, including its *du quanshou* 都勸首/緣主 (the Chief Convener).⁴³ The *du quanshou*, together with the *du gongdezu* 都功德主 (the Chief Contributor),⁴⁴ were the decisive roles in the donation-based project of this kind and usually assumed by celebrities who were influential, wealthy, or held high status.⁴⁵ Now, since Yin Shi has been identified as the Chief Contributor of the Zhaocheng, we have to ask what kind of figure Yin Shi was and how he led the carving project and bring it to success.

It seems that Yin Shi lacked a prominent status in both the secular and sacred worlds. He was a Vinaya-master, born in Huizhou (present-day Xinyang, Henan). As with miracles that happened to other Buddhist masters,⁴⁶ it was said that his mother became pregnant because she dreamed of the Buddha. This implies that he had an inborn connection with Buddhism. Later, Yin distinguished himself from other children by not playing with them. So his parents sent him to Tianwang temple 天王院 in Mengzhou 孟州 (present-day Mengzhou, Henan), a place not far away from his hometown. After he turned twenty, Yin Shi became versed in

⁴⁰ The relationship between the Yuanjue and the Zifu canons remains controversial. After studying some sutras which has been recently collected by Beijing library, Li Jining argued that the so-called Zifu canon is not an independent edition but a supplement to the Yuanjue canon. I agree with him. For a summary of those debates, see Li, *Fojiao da zangjing yanjiu lungao*, pp. 179–80; Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, pp. 233–36.

The Chongning canon was cut in Dongchansi 東禪寺 in Fuzhou from Yuanfeng 3 (1080) to Zhenghe 2 (1112), which was followed by the carving of the Pilu in Kaiyuansi 開元寺 of the same city from Zhenghe 2 (1112) to Shaoxing 21 (1151). Like the Pilu, the Yuanjue-Zifu canon was also produced in the Northern-Southern Song transition period. For a brief introduction of these canons, see Kenneth Chen, “Notes on the Sung and Yuan Tripitaka.” *HJAS* 14 (1951): 208–14; Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, pp. 179, 207, 233–34.

⁴¹ For the looting of the Kaibao woodblocks by the Jin army, see Zhang Xiumin & Han Qi, *The History of Chinese Printing* (illustrated) (Paramus, N.J.: Homa & Sekey Books 2009), p. 102.

⁴² For mule, see *Zhonghua da zangjing*, vol. 44, p. 15. For cloth, see *Zhonghua da zangjing*, vol. 76, p. 151.

⁴³ Jiang, *Jinzang diaoyin shimo kao*, p. 7.

⁴⁴ These two roles could be assumed by the same person.

⁴⁵ See, for example, the Chief Conveners of the Chongning, the Yuanjue-Zifu, the Qisha, and the Puning in Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, pp. 164–65, 228–29, 264–65, 317–19, respectively. These Chief Conveners were either high-ranking officials or influential monks.

both Buddhist teachings and Confucian classics, and at the same time observed the precepts perfectly. The fact that little is mentioned about his parents and his masters may imply that they were all insignificant figures. In this sense, Yin Shi belonged to the type of monks who were active in rural areas but disappeared from the historical record. His being forgotten is not unusual. In fact, the genre of *Biographies of Eminent Monks* constitutes a major resource for us to find monks in traditional Chinese society, but most monks they collect were those active in urban areas or those who had close relationships with the court.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, Yin Shi was a charismatic figure whose life was full of miracles. When Yin Shi visited Sizhou 泗州 (today's Xuyi, Jiangshu) to pay reverence to Bodhisattva Guanyin, he indeed saw the Bodhisattva in the sky.⁴⁸ Then Yin Shi made a pilgrimage to Mount Wutai. Upon arriving, he prayed with great sincerity and, finally, Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī appeared. One day in Dading 16 (1176), music came from the sky, and a voice proclaimed that they came to fetch Yin Shi from *Tuṣita* Heaven, the home of the future Buddha Maitreya. Yin Shi then gave his last instructions to his disciples, and died with ease and peace. Over the course of his dying, music continued and rare fragrance filled the house. After being cremated, his body produced numberless relics. Without denying the hagiographic nature of these stories, there is evidence showing that Yin Shi was surely a charismatic figure. For example, on the way to Mount Wutai, Yin Shi met Emperor Song Huizong (r.1100–1125). After a short conversation, the emperor was so impressed that he decided to assign him a temple, which was accompanied with other precious gifts.⁴⁹ This seems to have been an event that took place in Xuanhe 8 (1126): that year, Emperor Huizong, who had abdicated the throne in favour of his son in the preceding year under the pressure of the invasion by the army of the Jurchen Jin, retreated to Sizhou.⁵⁰ This emperor was well-known for his enthrallment with religious Daoism,⁵¹ but a frustration with the failure of Daoism to help him to resist the invasion seems to have made him seek assistance from Buddhism.⁵² No matter what the reason, this imperial

⁴⁶ For miraculous stories appearing in the lives of eminent monks, see Koichi Shinohara, “Biographies of Eminent Monks in a Comparative Perspective: The Function of the Holy in Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 7(1994): 479–498; John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997).

⁴⁷ For the difference between rural and urban monks, see Hattori Katsuhiko 服部克彦, *Zoku Hokugi Rakuyō no shakai to bunka* 続北魏洛陽の社會と文化 (Kyōto: Mineruva Shobō, 1968), pp. 100–105. For the limitation of the Biographies of Eminent Monks as the primary source, see Erik Zürcher, “Perspectives in the Study of Chinese Buddhism,” *JRAS* 1(1982): 161–76.

⁴⁸ On Bodhisattva Guanyin in Sizhou, see Huang, *Sizhou dasheng yu Songxue daoren*, pp. 13–79.

⁴⁹ There was a pun embedded in their conversation: The emperor asked Yin Shi, “Why do you make obeisance like this?” The master replied, “[I] am paying respect to Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī at Mount Wutai.” Yin Shi was revealing the intent of his trip, but his words, when said face to face with Huizong, may have made the latter think that he himself was Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.

favor should have advanced Yin's reputation.

Notably, Yin Shi and his major disciples had a particular connection with different forms of self-immolation, which in turn is closely related to relic veneration.⁵³ As mentioned above, Yin Shi burned his left hand in Sizhou after having seen Guanyin in the sky. This act must have had much to do with the cult of Sengqie 僧伽 (628–709). Sengqie, a Buddhist master coming to China from the Western Regions around the year 661, spent more than fifty years in China. In the last years of his life, Sengqie was respected as the state master by Emperor Tang Zhongzong (r. 684; 705–710), who personally became his disciple.⁵⁴ Shortly after his death, Sengqie was viewed as the transformation of Guanyin, very likely the eleven-faced Guanyin, who, in turn, might have been the one Yin Shi saw in Sizhou. A cult surrounding Sengqie rapidly took shape by taking as its center Puguangwangsi 普光王寺 in Sizhou, which was built by the monk in Wansuitongtian 1 (696) and then had his mummified body worshiped in a pagoda within.⁵⁵ Benefiting from the status of Sizhou as a prosperous city with strategic importance, this cult expanded rapidly, first southward and northward along the Grand Canal and then westward along the Yangtze River. By the early Northern Song, the cult of Sengqie had entered mainstream belief of folk religion, and secured strong sup-

⁵⁰ For Emperor Huizhong's retreat to Sizhou, see *Hongzhi Chanshi guanglu* 宏智禪師廣錄, *Taishō shinshi daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, ed. Takakusu Junjirō, et al., 100 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–32) [hereafter *T*], 48: 9.120a. Also see Hu Shunshen 胡舜申, *Yisi Sizhou lu* 乙巳泗州錄, in *Yuzhao xinzhì* 玉照新志, ed. Wang Mingqing 王明清 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 48–50.

⁵¹ For Emperor Huizong's strong interest in religious Daoism and his anti-Buddhism, see Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), pp. 34–38; Michel Strickmann, "The Longest Taoist Scripture," *History of Religions* 17 (1978): 346–50; Miyakawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志, "Sō no Kisō to dō kyō" 宋の徽宗と道教, *Tōkai daigaku kiyō*: *Bungakubu* 東海大学紀要. 文学部 23 (1975): 1–10.

⁵² In another case in the same year, Emperor Huizong ordered the recovery of Puguangwangsi 普光王寺 in Sizhou, which had been converted into Shenxiaoyuqing abbey 神霄玉清宮. See Wang, *Yuzhao xinzhì*, 3.50.

⁵³ In this paper I use the term self-immolation in a wide sense as defined by James Benn in *Burning for the Buddha: Self-immolation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 8–10, including "all religious practices that involved doing things to or with the body."

⁵⁴ Li Yong 李邕, *Li Beihai ji* 李北海集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), 3.25–27, offers the earliest account of Sengqie's life. Zanning 贊寧, *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, *T* 50: 18.822a–823b, also records some stories that took place surrounding Sengqie and his disciples.

⁵⁵ It seems that the rapid spread of the cult of Sengqie benefited its close relationship with the Huayan School and Manicheism, the latter of which was first introduced into China in 695. See Cai Xianghui 蔡相輝, "Yi Li Yong (673–742) 'Sizhou Linhuai xian Puguangwangsi bei' wei hexin de Sengqie (628–709) xinyang kao" 以李邕 (673–742) 〈泗州臨淮縣普光王寺碑〉為核心的僧伽 (628–709) 信仰考, *Kongda renwen xuebao* 空大人文學報 14(2005): 49–93.

port even from the emperors.⁵⁶

The Sengqie cult was closely associated with relic veneration and self-immolation. Puguangwangsi already had a grain of Buddha's finger relic even in the Tang dynasty.⁵⁷ In the early Song, a nun claimed that she saw the miraculous monk at the top of the Sengqie pagoda, and then jumped down from it in homage to him.⁵⁸ In 983, the Sengqie pagoda was reported to shine in daylight.⁵⁹ In response, Emperor Song Taizong (r.976–997) had eunuchs take new Buddha's relics to the monastery and store them underneath the pagoda on the eighth day of fourth month, the birthday of the Buddha. That same day, Huaide 懷德, a monk otherwise unknown, burned himself in homage to the relics.⁶⁰ Moreover, other accounts even say that “people who burn their heads and fingers and cut off their arms number several thousand, and officials could not stop them.” (民燃頂及焚指斷臂者數千人, 吏不能禁)⁶¹ Evidently, Yin Shi's self-immolation, although taking place later, was conducted in this context.

Yin Shi's self-immolation set up an inspiring example, which was imitated by an astonishing number of his disciples. After leaving Mount Wutai, Yin's trip took him to Changzi county 長子縣, Shanxi, where he begged food from the Cui family. His behavior moved a thirteen-year-old girl, later known as Cui Fazhen, to such a degree that she wanted to become his disciple. She cut off her arm when refused by her parents and finally obtained their permission. After that, Yin Shi continued his travels, probably with Cui Fazhen. When he arrived in Taiping county 大平縣, Wang Ciyun burned his own left hand and became his disciple. Later, more self-immolations were conducted in this group and finally, as cited in the introductory paragraphs, as many as over fifty leading figures cut off their arms, burned their arms or fingers, or even gouged out their eyes and cut out their livers.

The presence of self-immolation was not unusual in the making and distribution of the

⁵⁶ For example, in Taipingxingguo 7 (982), Puguangwangsi was rebuilt with government fund. Later, when the Japanese monk Jōjin 成尋 (1011–1081) visited China in Xining 5 (1072), he noticed that in Qisheng Chan chapel 啟聖禪院, which had been built by Emperor Song Taizong in Taiyuan in Taipingxingguo 5 (980), had a Hall named after Sengqie (泗州大師堂). See Hirabayashi Fumio 平林文雄, *San Tendai Godaisan ki: kōhon narabini kenkyū* 參天台五臺山記: 校本並に研究 (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1978), p. 131.

⁵⁷ Ennin 圓仁, *Ru Tang qiufa xunli xingji* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), 4.137.

⁵⁸ Zanning, *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T 50: 18.823a.

⁵⁹ Zhipan 志磐, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, T 49: 43.399a, claims that this miracle occurred in Taipingxingguo 8 (981).

⁶⁰ For a more detailed account of this event, see Zanning, *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T 50: 23.860c–861a. It was discussed in Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, p. 145, 226.

⁶¹ *Taizong shilu* 太宗實錄 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980), 27.34. Also see Zhipan, *Fozu tongji*, T 49: 43.398a, 399a.

Buddhist canon,⁶² partly because the latter is seen as Dharma relics and thus has a “natural” and deep relationship with Buddhist bodily relics.⁶³ Nonetheless, that more than fifty such cases appeared in a single project is still unprecedented and cannot be fully understood without relation to the time and region of the creation of the canon.

South Shanxi was under a strong influence of relic veneration, which helps explain the appearance of other immolations. Relic veneration appeared in India shortly after the Buddha entered nirvana, and was introduced into China in the third century. Afterwards, it gained prevalence quickly. In order to worship Buddha’s relics, for instance, Emperor Liang Wudi (r. 502–549) announced two nation-wide amnesties. In addition to personal belief, relic veneration was also used for political causes, particularly the justification of a new regime. In Renshou 1 (601), for example, Emperor Sui Wendi (r. 581–604) launched a relic-distribution campaign and constructed nineteen pagodas all over China. In the following three years, two more movements were launched and more pagodas built.⁶⁴ These campaigns sparked intense enthusiasm for relics, which was further encouraged by relic veneration conducted by the Tang House surrounding Famensi 法門寺 in Chang’an (today’s Xi’an).⁶⁵ A huge number of common people were drawn to relic veneration, and were very active in making donations on such occasions.⁶⁶ In Huichang 4 (844), Emperor Tang Wuzong (r. 841–846), who was launching a fierce suppression of Buddhism, issued an edict in an attempt to curb this enthusiasm,⁶⁷ but his efforts were invalidated after his death two years later and the passion for relics continued.⁶⁸ Shaanxi, where the capital of these two dynasties was located, was a natural center of these campaigns. And Shanxi, separated from Shaanxi only by the Yellow

⁶² A variety of self-immolation was characteristic of the Fangshan stone canon, for example. A stele, erected in Tonghe 23 (1005), says that “each year, there are always several people, either the clerics or laypersons, who burn their fingers [in an attempt to] continue the lamp, who do moxibustion on their heads with Artemisia tinder in place of burning incense, who jump off cliffs to abandon their lives, and who pile up pyres to cremate themselves.” (所燃指續燈者, 所鍊頂代香者, 所墜岩捨命者, 所積火焚軀者, 道俗之間, 歲有數輩.) See Chen Yanzhu 陳燕珠, *Xinbian buzheng Fangshan shijing tiji huibian* 新編補正房山石經題記彙編 (Taipei: Jueyuan chubanshe, 1995), p. 12.

⁶³ For the two kinds of Buddhist relics and the merit collected from the worshipping of them, see *Yufo gongde jing* 浴佛功德經, T 16: 1.800a. Modern scholars have further categorized Buddha’s relics into three groups, say, “bodily relics,” “contact relics,” and “reminder relics.” The remains of the Buddha’s physical body, such as the cremated bone, hair, and teeth, belong to “bodily relics,” and scripture and images are “reminder relics.” See Phyllis Brooks, trans., Bernard Faure, *Visions of Powers: Imaging Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 158–163.

⁶⁴ In addition to Emperor Sui Wendi’s personal interest, these campaigns also reflected his ambition of becoming wheel-turning sage king in imitation of King Aśoka (r.ca 269 BC–232 BC). For an excellent study of these campaigns, see Jinhua Chen, *Monks and Monarchs, Kinship and Kingship: Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and Politics* (Kyoto: Scuola italiana di studi sull’Asia orientale, 2002).

River, was under the influence of the same Buddhist culture.⁶⁹ In fact, three of the nineteen pagodas Emperor Sui Wendi built for Buddha's relics were in Shanxi: one was in north Shanxi and two in south Shanxi, say, Pujiusi 普救寺 where, as we will discuss, Layperson Liu made the auto-cremation for the Zhaocheng project, and Guangshengsi, where the extant Zhaocheng canon was rediscovered.⁷⁰ As a result, the relic veneration was a well-entrenched practice in Shanxi, particularly in Southern Shanxi. It is only a short distance between relic veneration and self-immolation. So, we can find that self-immolations, including auto-cremation, occurred in Shanxi before, simultaneously, and after the production of the Zhaocheng.⁷¹

The timing also contributed to the occurrence of so many self-immolations. Religiously, although doctrinally supported by some important sutras, self-immolation, particularly auto-cremation, was not accepted by Chinese people for centuries. Even in the Tang dynasty, Yijing 義淨 (635–713), a famous monk who had first-hand knowledge of Indian Buddhism through his visit to India, criticized the practice as against the precepts. But this practice

⁶⁵ For imperial veneration of Buddha's relics in the Tang, see Jinhua Chen, "Śarīra and Scepter: Empress Wu's Political Use of Buddhist Relics," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25.1-2 (2002): 33–150; Huang Chi-chiang, "Consecrating the Buddha: Legend, Lore, and History of the Imperial Relic-Veneration Ritual in the T'ang Dynasty," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 11 (1988): 483–533.

⁶⁶ For example, in Huichang 1 (841), the Japanese monk Ennin 圓仁 (794–864) attended an assembly held in homage of the Buddha's tooth relic at Jianfusi 荐福寺 in Chang'an. He left us with a vivid record about how pious common people were on the occasion and how active they were in making donations. See Ennin, *Ru Tang qiufa xunli xingji*, 3.119.

⁶⁷ In Huichang 4 (844), Emperor Tang Wuzong (r. 841–846) issued an edict prohibiting people from worshipping Buddha's tooth relics, including those preserved in Puguangwangsi. If they made donations, both the donators and the receivers would be punished severely. This prohibition was part of Wuzong's suppression of Buddhism. See Ennin, *Ru Tang qiufa xunli xingji*, 4.137.

⁶⁸ A famous instance happened on the eighth day of fourth month of Xiantong 14 (873/5/8), when the Buddha's finger relic was welcomed into Chang'an. Emperor Tang Yizong (r. 859–873) personally paid homage to it in Anfusi 安福寺 and shed tears. One soldier cut off his left arm in front of a Buddha's statue, held it with another hand, and made a bow each step, with blood spraying on the ground. See Su E 蘇鶚, *Duyang zhibian* 杜陽雜編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 3.25; Huang, "Consecrating the Buddha," pp. 515–22.

⁶⁹ For the close relationship of Buddhism in Chang'an area and south Shanxi, see Yamazaki Hiroshi 山崎宏, *Shina chūsei Bukkyō no tenkai* 支那中世佛教の展開 (Tōkyō: Shimizu Shoten Shigenoi, 1942), pp. 237–73, 380–409; Shizuka 滋野井恬. "Juichi seiki igo Chūgoku no bukkyō kyōsen no gaikyō" 十一世紀以後中國の仏教教線の概況, *Ōtani nenpō* 大谷大學研究年報 19 (1967): 255–312.

⁷⁰ For the three pagodas in Shanxi, see Daoxuan 道宣, *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄, T.52: 1.406a–b; 408a; 409a. The two pagodas in south Shanxi are both extant. Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, p. 147, mentions a case of self-cremation conducted by the monk Pujing 普靜 (887–955) in Guangshengsi.

obtained more justification in the early Northern Song, and thus continued in the subsequent times.⁷² Politically, self-immolation was often a deliberate public show, and local authorities were thus in a dilemma: on the one hand, they hesitated to stop it because self-immolation was usually conducted by respectable masters; on the other hand, they had to keep on high alert for the enthusiasm it aroused among Buddhist followers and the great influence it created for the monk and the temple involved. As a result, although self-immolation has continued throughout the history of Chinese Buddhism, there was a tendency for the government to discourage this practice in the hope of avoiding its potential threat to the social order.⁷³ In the case of the Zhaocheng, however, we have to consider an awkward situation facing Southern Shanxi: this region was recently grabbed from the Northern Song, but it received little attention from its new ruler the Jurchen Jin, whose political and cultural center was first in Shangjing 上京 (present-day A'cheng, Heilongjiang) and then in Beijing. Such a slack control over local societies thus became a significant variable, leaving sufficient room for the conduct of self-immolations. In reality, what happened in the Zhaocheng project was not an isolated event. In Taihe 8 (1208), for example, a Buddhist master in Fufeng 扶風 (present-day Fufeng, Shaanxi) burned himself in public. Two years later, its magistrate wrote an essay in praise of this auto-cremation. On a stele that was established on that occasion but is now broken, there are two hundred and seventy-one names listed as patrons, with fifteen civilian or military officials included.⁷⁴ The presence of so many people shows how deeply the passion for self-immolation was still rooted in north China, and suggests a high chance of its eruption in a favorable situation.

These miracles and self-immolations have proven crucial in solving a central problem for the leadership of the Zhaocheng project. The success of a project as ambitious as the Zhaocheng requires strong and effective leadership, but leadership does not originate from nowhere. When examining other individually-sponsored canons, we can always find some particular advantages that guaranteed their success. For example, the Chongning, the Pilu, the Qisha, and the Jiaying 嘉興 all received strong support from high-ranking officials and

⁷¹ For example, an auto-cremation took place in Songling Chan temple 松嶺禪院 of Zhejiang in the Qingli period (1041–1048) of the Song. See Yan, *Quan Liao Jin wen*, vol. 2, pp. 2051–52. An auto-cremation occurred in Falun Chan temple 法輪禪院 in Taihe 6 (1206) of the Jin. See Hu Pinzhi 胡聘之, *Shanyou shike congbian* 山右石刻叢編 (Rpt. 1901), 23.25–28.

⁷² For the protracted and sometime fierce controversy within the Buddhist society over burning the body in medieval China, see James Benn, “Where Text Meets Flesh: Burning the Body as an Apocryphal Practice in Chinese Buddhism,” *History of Religions* 37.4 (1998): 312–18.

⁷³ For the tension between self-immolation and the state, see Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, pp. 1–6, and Chapter 3.

⁷⁴ Li Baiqing 李百勤, ed., *Hedong chutu muzhi lu* 河東出土墓誌錄 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1994), pp. 94–101.

influential monks.⁷⁵ The Yuanjue-Zifu and the Puning 普寧 canons were even more particular: the former was backed independently by the family of a retired official (ranked 5a), and the latter was completely supported by the White Cloud sect (*Baiyun zong* 白雲宗) which was then in its heyday.⁷⁶ In sharp contrast, Yin Shi had none of these advantages: 1) He carried out the Zhaocheng project in a completely strange region, which implies that he had little connection with the locals when starting the project; 2) Due to his obscure background, he had no existing sectarian forces to rely on; 3) While the project was carried out in south Shanxi, very clearly officials were reluctant to get themselves involved. In fact, the highest (also the only) official, whom we know from Stele C, was a Case Reviewer (*pingshi* 評事) ranked 8a. Obviously, these factors made it even more challenging to mobilize sufficient sources for the Zhaocheng project. In this particular context, it is hard to overemphasize the significance of both miracles and self-immolation because they proved very powerful in provoking enthusiasm among common people to back the carving project.⁷⁷

An exemplary case was Layman Liu, who was very likely the Liu Fashan mentioned in Stele A. Liu witnessed the miracles that Yin Shi stimulated at Mount Wutai, and cut off his/her left hand as a form of worship. In the following years, he/she assisted Yin Shi with the carving project. Finally, he/she decided to burn his/her body before the pagoda in Puzhou in Puzhou, where Buddhist relics had been worshipped since the Sui dynasty. On the scene of his/her self-immolation, it was said that five-coloured lights appeared at the top of the pagoda, and that Bodhisattva Samantabhadra on a white elephant rose up in the miraculous light. People from the Puzhou city and nearby rushed to the site. After witnessing what happened, they all considered that Layman Liu was an embodiment of the Bodhisattva and had even stronger enthusiasm for Buddhism. This act must have provided stronger momentum for the Zhaocheng project.⁷⁸

In the case of the Zhaocheng, therefore, it seems safe to suggest that the appearance of over fifty immolation cases must have greatly enhanced Yin Shi's appeal to the public, and helped him to attract not only his major disciples but as many as over 3,000 followers. It was

⁷⁵ For the major patrons of the Qisha and the Jiaying canons, see Footnote 45.

⁷⁶ For the development of the White Cloud sect during the Yuan dynasty and its carving of the Puning canon, see B. J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp. 72–113; Chikusa Masaaki, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū* 中國佛教社會史研究 (Kyōto: Dōhōsha Shuppan, 1982), pp. 293–319.

⁷⁷ The Zhaocheng project was not the only case in which the clergy combined miraculous stories and asceticism to boost their appeal to common people. For a very similar instance taking place about Taiping 5 (1025) of the Liao, see Chen Shu 陳述, ed., *Quan Liao wen* 全遼文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 6.134–35.

⁷⁸ For the psychological and religious motives of laypeople witnessing an auto-cremation and a similar auto-cremation conducted by Huishao 慧紹 (424–451), see Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, pp. 35, 45–48.

the concerted efforts of these people that finally made it possible to complete the main part of the project during a relatively short period of time.

3. The Buddhist *she/yi/hui* Associations and Mass Mobilization

Yin Shi, although ignored for centuries, is fortunate enough to have been rediscovered in Stele B, but this is not the case for thousands of his followers and supporters. These people have disappeared from the historical record and, at best, leave only a few names. Who were those people? How and why did they engage in this enterprise? The answer to these questions concerns the dynamics behind the evolution of Chinese Buddhism.

Let us first check the *fayuan wen*, a genre frequently attached to the end of a text by the sponsor. Usually they are no more than a few dozen words, but they reveal beliefs, intentions, and motivations of those engaged in a project and provide us with a rare chance to hear the voice from those forgotten. In the case of the Zhaocheng, among all donations that we can currently identify, the largest was made by Wang De 王德 (d. u.) in Xiezhou and his wife in Zhenyuan 3 (1155). The relevant *fayuan wen* reads:

For our deceased grandparents, living parents, relatives of many generations, our deceased boy Wang Zhen, newly-married daughter-in-law Madam Hu, grandson named Qiseng, and Madam (?), [we wish that] their minds soar in the lotus-treasure world and realize the ultimate truth. [We wish that they] cultivate the Samantabhadra's six kinds of perfect causes, and match Vairocana's particularizing karma of ten bodies. [We wish that the merits] give our family happiness and realize our wishes. [We wish] the four kinds of compassion, three kinds of existence,⁷⁹ and sentient beings in the dharma-realm all achieve Buddhahood. 奉為先亡祖父祖母, 生身父母, 久遠宗親, 亡男王珍, 新婦胡氏, 孫男乞僧, [?]氏, 伏願神游華藏, 心悟真常, 修普賢六位圓因, 契毗盧十身滿果. 保自身家眷如意吉祥, 願四恩三友, 法界生靈, 同成佛果.⁸⁰

We know nothing about Wang De. Ostensibly, the appeal of sponsoring the carving of Buddhist sutras to Wang and his family lies not so much in the doctrinal teachings of the latter; instead, they deemed it an act of piety through which they could amass merit. The *fayuan wen* comprises an inventory of their concerns. Their major concerns, generally speaking, were with posthumous blessings of deceased family members, the health and safety of the living, and the realization of enlightenment of all sentient beings.⁸¹ Judging from existing

⁷⁹ The term *sanyou* refers to things that exist in the realm of desire, the realm of form, and the formless realm.

⁸⁰ *Zhonghua da zangjing*, vol. 1, p. 591; vol. 10, p. 37.

fayuan wen in the Zhaocheng canon, these wishes are representative for all participants.⁸²

When compared with other canons, the Zhaocheng edition shares common motivations with them but at the same time is distinct because of its clear silence on some important issues. Those motives mentioned above demonstrate a combination of Confucian filial piety and the cultivation of field of virtue advocated by Buddhism, and reveal the urgent need of Buddhists for salvation. So they are frequently seen in other canons,⁸³ and in other devotional acts, such as building stone caves and relic pagodas, erecting *dhāraṇī* pillars, and distributing Buddhist scriptures.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the Zhaocheng canon shows no explicit wishes directed towards the emperor and the state, which, in sharp contrast, was one of the most important agendas to pray for in the cases of other editions.⁸⁵ This may reflect the reluctance of the participants to express loyalty to the Jurchens, who had seized south Shanxi from the Northern Song twenty or so years previously.

Reading the *fayuan wen* and colophons in the Zhaocheng canon also provides us with much information about the composition of its sponsors. We see both male and female sup-

⁸¹ This kind of economy of merit is not unique to Buddhism in East Asia. For similar motives appearing in Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, see Richard H. Robinson et al., *Buddhist Religions: A Historical Introduction* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson, 2005), pp. 143–46.

⁸² For example, see *Zhonghua da zangjing*, vol. 44, p. 112; vol. 61, p. 479; vol. 68, p. 761.

⁸³ For instances in the Pilu, the Yuanjue-Zifu, and the Qisha, see Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, p. 221, 227, 272, 273, and 276.

⁸⁴ Chen Yanzhu, *Fangshan shijing zhong Liaomo yu Jindai kejing zhi yanjiu* 房山石經中遼宋與金代刻經之研究 (Taipei: Jueyuan wenjiao jijinhui, 1995), p. 170, discussed the desire for salvation behind the sponsorship of Fangshan stone canon. Liu Shufen 劉淑芬, *Miezui yu duwang: Fodingzunsheng tuoluoni jingchuang zhi yanjiu* 滅罪與度亡: 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經幢之研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), pp. 200–208, summarized the motivations behind the erection of *dhāraṇī* pillars. These motives included circulating the canon, atonement for wrongdoings, protection from calamities, praying for longevity, and repayment for others' favor.

⁸⁵ For the explicit wishes for the prosperity and stability of imperial order in the Chongning, the Pilu, the Yuanjue-Zifu, and the Qisha, see Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, pp. 167–68, 180–81, 209–13, 228, 287; 291–93.

A little more explanation is needed for the use of the term “si'en” 四恩 in the *fayuan wen*. The meaning of this term, although slightly different in different sutras, includes the compassion of rulers (guowang en 國王恩). But its inclusion in the *fayuan wen* of the Zhaocheng does not necessarily mean that the sponsors had wishes directed to the rulers. Similarly, the *fayuan wen* was written in medieval China to commemorate the creation of Buddhist statues. And the patron often expressed in them the wish to transfer his merits to “si'en” or even claimed that he accomplished the project for the interest of the emperor or the state. Liu Shufen convincingly pointed out that they reflected more the Buddhist idea of repaying favors than a genuine wish to the emperor or the state. See Liu, “Xianghuo yinyuan: Beichao de fojiao jieshe” 香火因緣: 北朝的佛教結社, in *Zhongguo shi xinlun: Jichen shehui* 中國史新論·基層社會, ed. Huang Kuanzhong 黃寬重 (Taipei: Nianjing chuban gongsi, 2009), pp. 225–28.

porters who, judging by their names, were all Han people. They lived in rural villages and towns, with most in villages. In many cases, families made contributions as a whole, including father, mother, husband, wife, sons, sister-in-law, and daughters who were already married. And in some cases people donated together merely because they were neighbors or lived in the same village. In addition to laypersons, the clerics were active as well. Some directly donated money, and some worked as carvers or as mentors to train the carvers.⁸⁶ Notably, no evidence shows that officials or the local government became involved in the project in any way. Such absence may partly result from the insufficiency of *fayuan wen* as a genre, but it is still safe to say that the carving project was primarily sponsored by commoners of the Han people.

Such a composition of the donors entails a limited ability for most supporters to support the project. Usually, they each donated enough to carve no more than ten fascicles, most one fascicle, but in some cases only one or a few woodblocks.⁸⁷ It was rare to mention the amount of donated money.⁸⁸ In addition to money, people also donated trees, animals, or Buddhist statues to back the project.⁸⁹ Some of the ways cannot be found elsewhere.

Since the capability of a single supporter was rather restricted but carving the Zhaocheng was a massive project involving vast human and material resources, we must ask how these people maximized their limited strength. Let us first see the *fayuan wen* recorded in Huangtong 9 (1149), the earliest in the extant canon. It says

Xiwu village in the fourth district (*du*) of Hejing county of Puzhou,
 Make donations to carve (?) volume(s) of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.
 Chief Conveners (*du weina* 都維那): Wu Jian. Convener (*weina* 維那):
 Wang Xingzhe.
 Assistant Convener (*zhuyuan weina* 助緣維那): Wu You, Xue Jin ...
 (Twenty-nine persons in total)
 蒲州河津縣第四都西毋村
 施雕大藏般若經 卷
 都維那毋戩、維那王行者
 助緣維那等毋憂、薛謹……(共29人)⁹⁰

⁸⁶ For monks' donations of money, for example, see *Zhonghua da zangjing*, vol. 43, p. 939; vol. 65, p. 839. For monks as trainers of carving, see *ibid.*, vol. 30, p. 254.

⁸⁷ For example, see *ibid.*, vol. 39, p. 307; vol. 92, p. 442.

⁸⁸ One was thirty and the other twenty. See *ibid.*, vol. 45, p. 807, 859.

⁸⁹ For pear trees, see *ibid.*, vol. 44, p. 684. For the donation of the Buddhist statue, see Jiang, *Jinzang diaoyin kao*, p. 9; Zhou Bokan 周伯勸, "Ji guojia tushuguan shuochang sanjian Jinzang fojing" 記國家圖書館所藏三件金藏佛經, *Foxue yanjiu zhongxin xuebao* 佛學研究中心學報 8(2003): 213–228.

The format of the record is important as it clearly shows that it was the whole village as a unit that made the donations. Judging from the recurrence of *fayuan wen* with similar contents in the following few years,⁹¹ those people belonged to a stable organization. These *fayuan wen* texts disclose little information about the organization, but its mention of the posts of *du weina*, *weina*, and *zhuyuan weina* brings our attention to the Buddhist *she/yi/hui* 社/邑/會 association, which was widely used in medieval China in support of major Buddhist projects.

Chinese people in the medieval period were active in participating in a variety of Buddhist associations. The *she* association first appeared in ancient China as a secular organization for mutual aid and official rituals held by local societies, and then persisted throughout the imperial period. In the fourth century, modeled on this kind of organization, the Buddhist society started creating the Buddhist *yi* and *hui* to organize its adherents and to extend its influence. Starting in the Sui-Tang period, these two kinds of organizations, although distinct in origin, assumed many similarities in their activities, organizational methods, and composition of participants.⁹² The Buddhist *she/yi/hui* association was usually hosted by one or a few eminent monks, who directed its members to recite the Buddha's name, perform Buddhist services, chant sutras, and study Buddhist teachings. Those members, consisting of laypeople and monks, were linked with the temples to which those monks serving as the leaders belonged. Over the time, there was a tendency that the Buddhist association was administered according to written regulations, stipulating how people should conduct themselves and the penalties for violating the rules.⁹³ Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001), a leading monk in the early Northern Song, pointed out that “currently, [people] organize the [Buddhist] *she*

⁹⁰ *Zhonghua da zangjing*, vol. 1, p. 810.

⁹¹ For example, see *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 856, 883; vol. 7, p. 376; vol. 10, p. 37; vol. 14, p. 341.

⁹² For a survey of the formation of different kinds of the *she* association and their development in pre-Song China, see Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 259–77. It was Japanese scholars who set the foundation for the study of the Buddhist association, particularly those in Dunhuang. See, for example, Moriya Mitsuo 守屋美都雄, “Sha no kenkyū” 社の研究, *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 59.7 (1950): 19–52; Chikusa Masaaki, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū*, pp. 447–557; Naba Toshisada 那波利貞, “Tōdai no sha nitsukite” 唐代の社邑に就きて, *Shirin* 史林 23.2(1938): 15–57; 23.3 (1938): 71–110; 23.4 (1938): 93–157; Nogami Shunjō, *Ryō Kin no Bukkyō* 遼金の佛教 (Kyōto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1953), pp.121–42. In recent years, scholars in mainland China and Taiwan have greatly advanced the study in this field. See, for example, Hao Chunwen 郝春文, *Zhonggu shiqi sheyi yanjiu* 中古時期社邑研究 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chubanshe, 2006); Liu Shufen, “Wu zhi liu shiji huabei xiagcun de fojiao xinyang” 五至六世紀華北鄉村的佛教信仰, in *Lishu yu zongjiao* 禮俗與宗教, ed. Lin Fushi 林富士 (Beijing: Zhonguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 2005), pp. 216–61; *idem.*, “Zhonggu fojiao zhengce yu sheyi de zhuanxing” 中古佛教政策与社邑的转型, *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe) 13(2007): 233–91.

associations in the hope of creating advantageous causes. Their regulations are stricter and more impartial than the official law. Their members encourage each other and work hard for cultivating [themselves] and realizing [Buddhahood]. Thus, the [Buddhist] association is great in advancing goodness.” (今之結社，共作福因。條約嚴明，愈於公法。行人互相激勵，勤于修證，則社有生善之功大矣。)⁹⁴ This advertised effectiveness in maximizing religious achievements greatly enhanced the attractiveness of the Buddhist associations. As a consequence, they gained popularity in medieval China, especially in north China. The numbers of their participants varied from dozens to tens of thousands, among which the so-called *qianren yi* 千人邑 (The association consisting of one thousand people) was common.⁹⁵

Generally speaking, there were two sorts of the Buddhist *she/yi/hui* association, both organized hierarchically. The first kind was organized for the religious cause on a stable basis. The monks who directed it religiously were *yishi* 邑師 (Master of the Association).⁹⁶ The head of the association was called *yizhang/weina* 邑長/維那 (Head),⁹⁷ who may have his assistants with titles like *fu yizhu* 副邑主 or *yizheng* 邑正. At the bottom of the hierarchy were *yizi* 邑子 (common members). Some temples had more than one *yi/she/hui* association, with each having their own Heads. When these associations worked together for a major project, one or several *du yishou* 都邑首 (Chief Head) might be assigned. In addition, the *she* association could be temporarily established for a specific project. When compared with the former, they were comparatively looser, less sacred, and less selective. *Weina/jiushou/quanshou/huazhu*

⁹³ Hao, *Zhonggu shiqi sheyi yanjiu*, pp 169–70. Chikusa, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū*, pp. 495–515.

⁹⁴ Zanning, *Da Song sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略, T 54: 3.250c. Interestingly, in the same text Zanning also launched an attack on the Daoist association.

⁹⁵ For studies on *qianren yi*, see Wang Jilin 王吉林, “Liaodai ‘qianren yi’ yanjiu” 遼代“千人邑”研究, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 35.5(1967): 16–18; Jiang Wuxiong 蔣武雄, “Liaodai qianren yi de tantao” 遼代千人邑的探討, *Kongda renwen xuebao* 8(1999): 143–52; Chen Zhijian 陳志建, “Zhangwu Jindai Youxian yuan wei Fujian zangjing qianren yi bei kao” 彰武金代佑先院碑为复建藏經千人邑碑考, *Liaohai wenwu xuekan* 遼海文物學刊 1(1996): 104–107.

⁹⁶ Hao, *Zhonggu shiqi sheyi yanjiu*, pp. 143–46, points out that the *yishi* appeared in about one-third of the *she/yi* associations during the Eastern Jin and Southern and Northern dynasties. According to Liu, “Zhonggu fojiao zhengce yu sheyi de zhuanxing”, p. 245, the title *yishi* no longer appeared in stone inscriptions after the Sui dynasty. It is worth noting that the titles of the leaders of the Buddhist *she/yi/hui* association decreased over the time, which reflects both the change in people’s devotional activities and the maturity of these associations.

⁹⁷ *Weina* (Skt. *karma-dāna*), literally meaning duty-distributor, refers to the monk second in the command of a monastery who directed the general affairs of a monastery. *Weina* was also called *yuezhong* 悅眾, a term used as a title of the monastic official during the Latter Qin (384–417). During the Northern Wei (386–557), *weina* was a post assigned for monastic officials on the local level, and there was a post of *du weina* in the capital. See Wei Shou 魏收, ed., *Weishu* 魏書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 114.3040–43.

AN UNFORGETTABLE ENTERPRISE BY FORGOTTEN FIGURES

維那/糾首/勸首/化主 (Conveners) were their main organizers. Above these persons were the *du weina/du jiushou* 都維那/都糾首 (Chief Convener), who could be more than one person, and under them were *fu/zhuli weina* 副/助理維那 (Assistant Convener). In many cases we find that each village had one convener, and it was these conveners who directly faced *shizhu/gongde zhu* 施主/功德主 (donator) and accumulated donations from them.⁹⁸ Besides, there was one or a few of *du gongdezu* 都功德主 (Chief Contributors), who made major contributions to the project and who may have simultaneously served as the Chief Convener.⁹⁹

Such structure of the *yi/she/hui* association combined flexibility with strength, giving the project leader huge advantages to carry out their plans. In a major project, different kinds of organized forces frequently appeared side by side. It was also possible for the Buddhist associations led by different temples to act in cooperation. Thus, the basic organizational structure of collecting donations for a Buddhist project appears as follows:

Obviously, such an organization had the advantage of adjusting itself easily to the situation. Moreover, the *yi/she/hui* associations always asked its participants to pay regular fees and to make additional contributions on special occasions.¹⁰⁰ This made them an effective avenue for the host temple or monks to garner resources for some major projects. Zanning thus com-

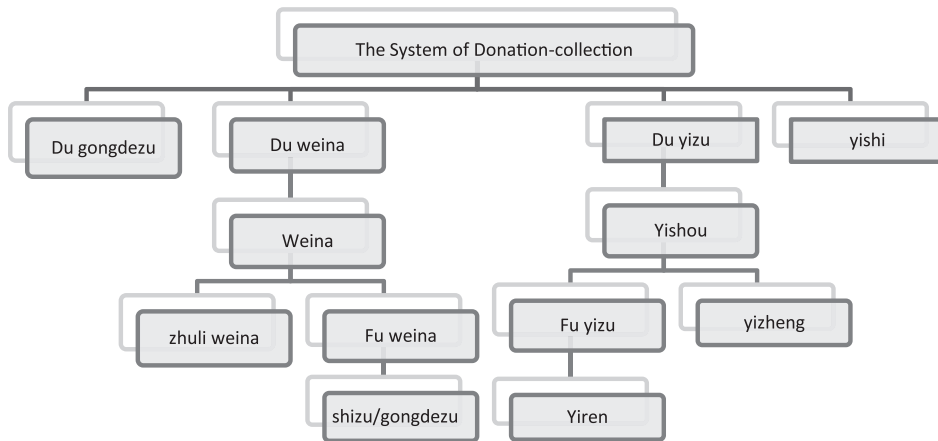


Chart 1: The System of Donation-collection

⁹⁸ The ability of these conveners to collect donations largely decided the fate of the project involved. So, they were aggressive sometimes. To rebuild a branch temple of Guangshengsi, for instance, an essay written in Zhenyuan 1 (1153) says that in the past thirteen years “all people in the temple went out to solicit contributions, and there is no house they did not visit.” (全寺抄化, 家無不到). See, Li Yongqi 李永奇 & Yan Shuanghong 嚴雙鴻, eds., *Guangshengsi zhenzhi* 廣勝寺鎮志 (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe, 1999), p. 210.

mented, “The way of the *she* association is to accomplish a huge task through gathering a lot of small [contributions]. To accomplish an enterprise, there is no method more successful than organizing the *she* association.” (社之法, 以眾輕成一重. 濟事成功, 莫近於社.)¹⁰¹

A variety of the Buddhist *yi/she/hui* associations are thus found backing many major Buddhist projects. Starting in the Southern and Northern dynasties, organizing Buddhist associations already proved efficient in supporting such time- and money-consuming projects as building stone caves or making Buddha statues.¹⁰² In the Tang dynasty, some restrictions were imposed on the Buddhist associations an intention of placing them under the surveillance of the government.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, such practice carried over to the Song-Liao-Jin period, and was particularly popular in north China. This was the case with south Shanxi, where the Zhaocheng was carved, no matter it was ruled by the Han or minority regimes. For example, in Huangtong 4 (1144) of the Jin dynasty, Xiangji temple 香積院 in 汾陽 rebuilt a *niepan hui* 涅槃會 (Association for reciting the *nirvāṇa* sutra), which had more than five hundred members and was originally founded in the Northern Song.¹⁰⁴ Another case is even more special. The *fayuan wen* of a sutra preserved in Guangshengsi read:

Due to the illness of his mother Madam Jie, Li Huiji in Dongyi village of Hongdong county, with a sincere heart, convened multiple people to print and supplement the *Lotus sutra* for Guanyin chapel of our county in the hope of completing a Buddhist canon.... With the merits [collected] from supplementing the canon, [we] wish that people live

⁹⁹ The post of Chief Contributor was usually taken up by a single person, but it was also possible by a few. When a Buddha hall was rebuilt in Dingxiang 定襄 county in Zhiyuan 29 (1292), for example, there were two *gongdezu* and three *du weina* 都維那. See Li Xiusheng 李修生, et al, eds., *Quan Yuan wen* 全元文 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998; 61 vols.), vol. 28, p. 66.

¹⁰⁰ Hao, *Zhonggu shiqi de sheyi yanjiu*, pp. 172–74, identifies a shift in the contribution of the *she* members from voluntary to relatively mandatory.

¹⁰¹ Zanning, *Da Song sengshi lie*, T 54: 3.250c. To rebuild Yunjusi 雲居寺 in Beijing, for example, Qian Feng 謙諷 (d.u.) organized a *qianren yi* in Yinli 15 (965) of the Liao dynasty, pointing out that “It has the precedents of making contribution and the fixed days of paying [the fee]. [All donations] are preserved in a storehouse to meet the need of the temple.” (施有定例, 納有常期, 貯于庫司, 補茲寺缺.) See Chen, *Quan Liao wen*, 4.81. In Dading 7 (1167), Sanxuesi 三學寺 in Xingzhong 興中 prefecture organized a *qianren yi*, stipulating that each member turn in two hundred copper coins and one *dou* 斗 (bushel) of rice to the temple on a fixed day each year. See Wang Jingchen 王晶辰 & Wang Juer 王菊爾, eds., *Liaoning beizhi* 遼寧碑誌 (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 2002), pp. 120–21.

¹⁰² See, for example, Yan Juanying 顏娟英, *Beichao fojiao shike tapian baijin* 北朝佛教石刻拓片百品 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishisuo, 2008). Yamazaki, *Shina chūsei Bukkyō no tenkai*, pp. 767–78.

¹⁰³ Liu, “Zhonggu fojiao zhengce yu sheyi de zhuanxing,” pp. 256–60; 271–77.

¹⁰⁴ Hu, *Shanyou shike congbian* 19, pp. 33–35.

AN UNFORGETTABLE ENTERPRISE BY FORGOTTEN FIGURES

longer and their good fortune continues forever, and that sentient beings in the Dharma realm all land on the shore of enlightenment. The carving was finished on the seventeenth day of the sixth month of Tianjuan 2 (1139/7/14). The Convener of Sutra-carving Li Huiji, the Treasurer Jie Yu, Yin Wei and his mother Madam Shi donated together to print seven fascicles, and Jie Run in Beibo village printed one fascicle. 洪洞縣東尹村李惠濟伏為母吉氏患安，謹發誠心，糾化多人，印補當縣觀音院法華經，欲成壹藏者…翼補經良因，人增福壽，各保遐昌；法界含識，俱登覺岸。天眷貳年己未六月一十七日印畢。印經維那李惠濟、知庫人吉遇、尹威共母師氏印施經一部計七卷，北柏村吉閏印一卷。¹⁰⁵

We know nothing about these people involved, but judging from their surnames, very likely Jie Yu and Jie Run both belonged to the maiden family of Li Huiji's mother Madam Jie. The presence of posts like *weina* and *zhiku ren* indicates that Li Huiji convened people by means of the *yi/she/hui* association and this carving project can thus be viewed as an act of a family. Specifically, it deserves special attention that this project was carried out exactly in the same region and during the same period time as the Zhaocheng was created.

Apparently, the carving of the Zhaocheng canon was supported by the people organized in the form of *she/hui/yi* association. Although material accessible is fragmentary, we now know that the Association for Carving the Canon was established in Tianningsi as the headquarters, through which resources were first collected from different places and then distributed to carry out the carving project. Yin Shi was the Chief Contributor and, probably, simultaneously served as the Master of the Association. He had more than 3,000 followers, all active in soliciting contributions in an area as wide as South Shanxi and West Shannxi. Wang Ciyun was one of the followers. As shown before, he served as a Convener in a village for at least three years. Above him was the Chief Convener, who probably belonged to the dominant family of the village, and below him were Assistant Conveners, which were up to twenty-nine in number. After 1180, Wang Ciyun moved the headquarters from Tianningsi to Taiyinsi, where he resumed the carving. His influence was obviously less than that of his master, but it seems safe to assume that he would keep the organizational structure unchanged. Finally, as a result of these concerted and organized efforts that extended over three decades, the major portion of the Zhaocheng canon was completed in south Shanxi.

Finance was not the only important concern, however; and there must have been other working sections behind the Zhaocheng project. Unlike such Buddhist ventures as building temples or erecting pagodas, producing a canon as a more intellectual activity had its special requirements. In most cases, the Association for Carving the Canon (*zangsi/jingju/*

¹⁰⁵ This quotation is from He, "Zhaocheng Jinzang de jige wenti," p. 31. The sutra involved is now preserved in Shanghai library.

jingsi 藏司/經局/經司) was established as the headquarters, under which there was a clear division of labor. In addition to the donation-related part, which we have examined, there should have three other sections, with corresponding posts: Collation-related: *Du duizheng* 都對證 (collator-in-chief), *duijing* 對經/*xiang dujing ren*/詳對經人 (collator), *Zhangjing* 掌經/*du goudang zangzhu* 都句當藏主/*jingtou* 經頭 (manager of scriptures). Carving-related: *du goudang jingban* 都句當經板/*gan diaojing* 幹雕經/*diaojing zuotou* 雕經作頭 (coordinator of sutra-carving), *xiegong* 寫工 (transcriber), *kegong* 刻工 (block-cutter). Printing-related: *yinzhao gong* 印造工 (printer), *yinjing zuotou* 印經作頭 (printer-in-chief).¹⁰⁶ Thus, the complete organization leading a canon-carving project was organized as follows.

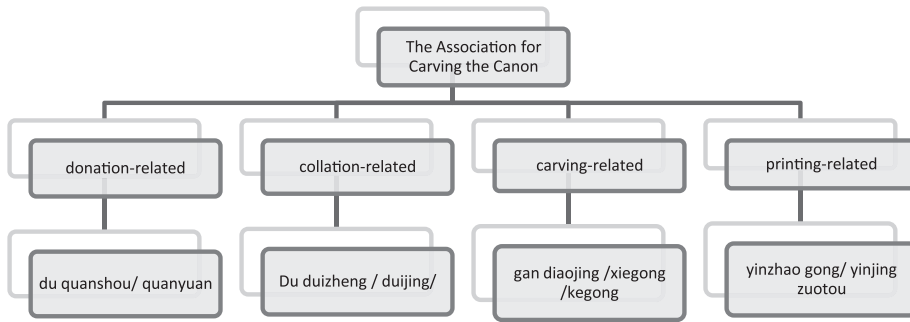


Chart 2: The Association for Carving the Canon

Evidently, the success of a carving project depended on the collective efforts of all these four sections. Although a detailed description of its organizational structure, which may have appeared in its first fascicle, is missing, the Zhaocheng project should also have had this division of labor. For example, although mostly identical to the Kaibao canon, the fact that the Zhaocheng canon corrected some mistakes of the latter suggests the existence of its collation-related section.¹⁰⁷

The process of producing the Zhaocheng shows how highly the project was dependent on a well-organized structure, and there were lessons to be learned. Yin Shi's death appears to have dissolved the leader team which kept the project operating smoothly and effectively. With the relocation of the carved blocks, despite Wang Ciyun's repeated efforts, there was

¹⁰⁶ For the organizational structure within the leader teams who accomplished the Chongning, the Pilu, and the Yuanjue-Zifu projects, see Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, pp. 164–67; 203–206, 228–231, respectively.

¹⁰⁷ For the Zhaocheng's correction of mistakes included in the Kaibao, see Li Jining, "Jin sanshi nian xin faxian de fojiao da zangjing jiqi jiazhi" 近三十年新發現的佛教大藏經及其價值, in *Dier jie shijie fojiao luntan lunwenji* 第二屆世界佛教論壇論文集, eds. Zhongguo fojiao xiehui, et al. (2009), pp. 91–117.

little progress in the following forty years or so. Finally, the involvement of the Yuan government brought an end to the project, but its distribution of the job to ten monasteries in several provinces made things hard to control.¹⁰⁸ Accordingly, this later portion of the canon is much inferior in quality to that completed earlier in Shanxi.

4. Printing Industry, Salt, and Local Societies

South Shanxi was where in Stele B Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī predicted that Yin Shi would complete the canon. This point is confirmed by Jiang Weixin's survey, which says that most of the donors of the Zhaocheng project surely lived in south Shanxi, centering on Xiezhou.¹⁰⁹ However, current evidence shows that Yin Shi never visited Shanxi before his heading to Mount Wutai. So, his taking an unfamiliar area as the base for the project should have been a deliberate choice and requires explanation.

Several local factors may have contributed to Yin Shi's decision, the foremost of which should be the printing industry that was then flourishing in south Shanxi. In the handwritten period, the Buddhist canon already densely concentrated in this area. For example, when Kehong 可洪 (d.u.) compiled the *Xinji zangjing yinyi suihsan lu* 新集藏經音義隨函錄 (Newly-compiled pronunciations and meanings attached in each case of the [Buddhist] canon) from Changxing 2 of Later Tang (931) to Tianfu 5 of Later Jin (940), he took advantage of at least ten copies of the Buddhist canon. These canons were all located in Hezong Prefecture and around,¹¹⁰ the region exactly where the Zhaocheng canon was created. More importantly, south Shanxi started to print books no later than the early tenth century. During the Northern Song-Jin transition, repeated wars in central China drove some skilled workers from Kaifeng 開封 to south Shanxi, thereby further enhancing its ability in this respect.¹¹¹ Quickly, south Shanxi grew into a major printing center in Northern China during the Jin dynasty,¹¹² as represented by the so-called "printing in Pingshui" (*pingshui ke* 平水刻).¹¹³ Besides, this area had a tradition of making paper, which could be traced back to the third century. By the Song dynasty, paper already became a representative local product there. Under the Jin, its paper was so well that it was used to print paper currency.¹¹⁴ In addition, there were factories that produced ink.¹¹⁵ All of these met the technical need of a printing project as huge as the Zhaocheng.

¹⁰⁸ Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, pp. 102–103.

¹⁰⁹ Jiang, *Jinzang diaoyin shimo kao*, pp. 8–9. Li & He, *Hanwen fojiao da zangjing yanjiu*, p. 97.

¹¹⁰ Zhong Chong 鐘翀 et al., trans, Takata Tokio 高田時雄, *Dunhuang, minzu, yuyan* 敦煌、民族、語言 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), pp. 404–405.

¹¹¹ For the printing industry in Kaifeng during the Northern Song dynasty, see Su Bai, *Tang Song shiqi de diaoban yinshua* 唐宋時期的雕版印刷 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), pp. 12–71.

Financially, Xiezhou and nearby areas like Anyi 安邑 had a unique advantage: they produced salt and obtained considerable income from it.¹¹⁶ Xiezhou had natural deposits of salt (*yanchi* 鹽池), which were as large as one hundred and twenty square *li*,¹¹⁷ and salt produced there was called Xiezhou salt (*Xiezhou yan* 解州鹽). As far back as the Spring and Autumn period (B.C.770–476), Xiezhou salt was already transported to and consumed by the entire North China. Xiezhou salt was monopolized by the central government starting in the Han dynasty, and the policy continued in the subsequent dynasties. In the Northern Song,¹¹⁸ the government sold Xiezhou salt at a price about four times its production cost.¹¹⁹ As Xiezhou fell in the hands of the Jin army in Tianhui 5 (1127), however, things changed greatly: the government paid little attention to salt there, which left opportunities for the locals to benefit from it. It was until 1163 that the Jin government attempted to impose control over Xiezhou salt and to prohibit private persons from producing it, but to what extent this order was enforced is questionable. In fact, judging from the reiteration of the same prohibition in the following years, we can see that local people and corrupt officials were still manipulating the production and trade of Xiezhou salt. People in the area were fond of worshiping gods.¹²⁰ With money relatively easily accumulated from salt, even though these people may have become poor due to the wars, they would not feel too difficult to support the Zhaocheng project financially. In this sense, it may not be a coincidence that the majority of the carving project was carried out when Xiezhou salt was subject to little control by the government, and that Wang De, the biggest donor of whom we now know, was a native of Xiezhou.

Powerful clans in local societies may have had a great contribution to the carving project

¹¹² This region maintained such a status even after the Yuan dynasty reunited China. The Xuandu Daoist canon 玄都寶藏 of about 7,800 fascicles, for example, was carved in Pingyang from 1237 to 1244. For this Daoist canon, see Judith Boltz, “*Da Jin Xuandu baozang* [Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis of the Great Jin], in *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio (London; New York: Routledge, 2008) vol. 1, pp. 291–292.

¹¹³ Pingshui refers to Lingfen 臨汾. As a printing phenomenon, the concept of Pingshui print is usually used in a broader sense and refers to the whole south Shanxi, including Xiezhou and Xinjiang, where the majority of the Zhaocheng was carved.

¹¹⁴ For paper making in the area, see Zhang & Han, *The History of Chinese Printing*, pp. 102–103.

¹¹⁵ Tuotuo 托托, et al., eds., *Jinshi* 金史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 26.629.

¹¹⁶ Yan Rusi 言如嗣, ed., *Xiezhou Anyi xianzhi* 解州安邑縣志 (1764; Rpt. Taipei: Chenwen chubanshe, 1976), 2. 2, 6.

¹¹⁷ Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031–1095), *Yuankan Mengxi bitan* 元刊夢溪筆談 (Rpt. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1975), 3.9.

¹¹⁸ As for the state monopolization of Xiezhou salt, see *Songshi*, 181.4413.

¹¹⁹ Under the reign of Emperor Song Renzong (r. 1023–1063), the government collected Xiezhou salt at 6 to 8 copper coins a *jin*, and then sold at a price of thirty-six coins a *jin*. See *Songshi*, 183.4469.

¹²⁰ Li Yumin 李裕民, *Shanxi gu fangzhi jiyi* 山西古方志輯佚 (Taiyuan: Shanxi sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bangongshi, 1985), p. 510.

as well. For Cui Fazhen's meeting Yin Shi for the first time, Stele B says that it occurred in *cuishi zhai* 崔氏宅, that is, the house of the Cui family. Given the character 宅 means not only a house but a mansion, the term *cuishi zhai* suggests that the Cui was probably a powerful family in that area. Moreover, in Stele A Cui Fazhen was introduced as "a daughter of Cui Jin in Changzi county of Luzhou" (潞州長子縣崔進之女). In contrast, both Yin Shi and Wang Ciyun were described only in the form of "a son of the x family," without identifying their parents. No information about Cui Jin is available now, but that his name deserves an explicit mention still suggests a relatively high status that he might have had. This may not be that surprising if we consider that south Shanxi was far from a region of the nouveau riche; instead, it was home to some most reputable and influential "great houses" (*shizu* 世族), which had remarkably persisted throughout medieval China. The Cui family in Changzi County originated from the Boling 博陵 (present-day Anping, Hebei) Cui clan, one of the most powerful "great houses" of this kind.¹²¹ The rise of the Boling Cui clan started around the first century. As time passed, their influence extended from local society to the central government. They were so successful in officialdom that this clan, together with another branch of the Cui clan living in Qinghe 清河, Shandong, was called "the family of prime ministers" (宰相之姓). With the introduction of the civil examination system in the Tang dynasty and the purposeful control of the royal house, the Boling Cui clan gradually lost dominance in the political life. Nonetheless, before the founding of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), it appeared that their influence remained in local societies, probably to a lesser extent.¹²²

Although the success of the Boling Cui clan was largely based on their mastery of Confucianism, they also showed increasing interest in Buddhism since the fourth century.¹²³ Such a tendency grew even stronger in the Tang dynasty, and some of its members most successful in the secular life maintained a close relationship with Buddhism.¹²⁴ Notably, Buddhism already became part of the family tradition in some cases. Such belief displayed in the Boling Cui family in a various forms, including chanting sutras and reciting Buddha's name, copying sutras, building Buddha's statues, observing the precepts, donating resi-

¹²¹ For a detailed study of the Boling Cui family, see Patricia Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China: A Case Study of the Po-ling Ts'ui Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For an insightful review of this book, see Zhou Yiliang 周一良, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi lunji xubian* 魏晉南北朝史論集續編 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1991), pp. 191–201.

¹²² Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China*, pp. 112–15, noticed that "there is so little reference to Po-ling Ts'uis (i.e. the Boling Cuis) after about 940." She tried to explain the phenomenon from several perspectives, but did not discuss to what extent the Cui family still remained influential in local society.

¹²³ The Boling Cui clan even produced two important Buddhist masters, Baogong 保恭 (543–622) and Huishun 慧順 (488–577), who have biographies in *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, T 50: 11.512c–513 and T 50: 8.484b, respectively.

dences as Buddhist temples, taking Buddhist terms as their names, and burying underneath pagodas.¹²⁵ It is worthwhile to know that women played a crucial role in forming this kind of family tradition. A case in point was Madam Cui 崔氏, the mother of Wang Wei 王維 (699–759) who was one of the most famous Chinese poets. Madam Cui was born in the Boling Cui family, and moved to Puzhou in south Shanxi after getting married. Her husband died young. During a period as long as thirty years, she took as her personal master Puji 普寂 (651–739), a native of Hedong and the seventh patriarch of the Northern Chan Buddhism. Under her influence, both Wang Wei and his younger brother Wang Jin 王縉 (700–781), who once served the prime minister, were well known as devout lay Buddhists.¹²⁶

By the early Jin dynasty, Changzi County seemed to be such a location where the Cui family remained influential and Buddhism part of its family tradition.¹²⁷ For example, when an essay was written in Dading 10 (1170) in praise of Wu Tang 烏塘 (d.u.), the magistrate of Changzi County, his chief achievement, in the eyes of the author, was his curbing of the interference of powerful lineages (強宗大族) in local affairs.¹²⁸ Probably, the Cui family was one of these powerful lineages. Moreover, these families should not have felt unfamiliar with the Buddhist canon and relics. From Xianheng 4 (673) on, Faxingsi 法興寺, thirty *li* southwest of the seat of Changzi county, had started to worship thirty-seven Buddhist relics and a set of handwritten Buddhist canon which were up to 3,000 fascicles.¹²⁹ Obviously, Cui Fazhen's strong belief in Buddhism and her cutting off an arm could be better understood in relation

¹²⁴ Some cases of this kind are recorded in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*. The people involved include Cui Xuanwei 崔玄暉 (638–705), Cui Lingqin 崔令钦 (fl. 713), Cui Huan 崔涣 (?–769), and Cui Hang 崔沆 (?–881). A similar trend occurred in the Qinghe 清河 Cui clan, another important branch of the Cui family, as evidenced by the experiences of Cui Qun 崔群 (772–832) and of Cui Shenyou 崔慎由 (fl. 856).

¹²⁵ Chen Jianping 陳建萍, “Tangdai Boling Cui si ge'an yanjiu” 唐代博陵崔氏個案研究 (Hebei Normal University, M.A. thesis, 2006), pp. 12–16.

¹²⁶ Wang Wei was a disciple of Shenhui 神會 (684–758), the seventh patriarch of southern Chan Buddhism. After the death of his mother, Wang Wei submitted a memorial requesting a permission from the emperor to convert his residence into a monastery in memory of her, which was approved. For Madam Cui, see Peng Jiqing 彭際清, *Shan nüren zhuan* 善女人傳, *Wanzi xuzang jing* 讖藏經 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi 新文豐出版公司, 1968–1970), 88:1.401c–402a. For Wang Wei's memorial to the emperor, see *Wan Youchengji jianzhu* 王右丞集箋注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1961), 17.320–21. For the biography of Wang Jin and his belief in Buddhism, see Liu Xu 劉昉, *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 150.3416–18.

¹²⁷ The Cui family seemed to concentrate in Changzi area until the early Ming, when the government forced Shanxi people to move out to other areas to offset the great loss of population caused by the late Yuan wars. In some genealogical books of the Cui family currently living outside Shanxi, Changzi County is still taken as the cradle land. Even now, there are still two villages named after the Cui family in Changzi County: the first is the 崔家莊村 and the other 崔莊村.

¹²⁸ Guo Shoubang 郭守邦, et al., eds., *Changzi xianzhi* 長子縣誌 (printed in 1705), 6b: 28–29.

to the family tradition and local surroundings.

Such an assumption about Cui Fazhen's family cast new light on some significant puzzles in the Zhaocheng project. Shown above, Stele A and Stele B are supplementary, with the former recording Cui Fazhen's activities in Beijing and the latter recounting what happened in Shanxi before and after the delivery of the woodblocks.¹³⁰ This result seems reasonable because Zhao Feng was in Beijing when composing Stele A, while Shi Wenxiu was in Shanxi when dictating Taiyinsi-related stories. But questions still arise in the blank between the two: Why did Cui Fazhen transport the woodblocks to Beijing and present it to the court before the project was completed? Since in the following years Wang Ciyun made repeated efforts in Shanxi to finish the carving, it is hard to imagine that he would agree with Cui to do so. Furthermore, why were Yin Shi and Wang Ciyun not even mentioned in Stele A? There were only a few years between Zhao Feng's composing Stele A and the arrival of the woodblocks in Beijing. More importantly, Zhao expressly indicated that what he wrote is only a record of what he was told by Cui Fazhen's disciple.¹³¹ And, given this stele was erected in Hongfasi, where Cui Fazhen resided while in Beijing and where the Zhaocheng canon was stored, Zhao had little if any chance of making any major mistake. So, it is safe to assume that Stele A exactly reflects what Cui Fazhen and her disciples wanted other people to know about the canon. In other words, the omission of Yin Shi and Wang Ciyun was not by accident but on purpose. Why did they do so?

A speculation I would like to make is that the Cui family was a significant supporting force behind the carving project, or even the *du quanyuan* who is missing from current material.¹³² They made great contributions to the project and, during the process, acquired the power of controlling and manipulating it for their own sake. Yin Shi, the soul of the project, could counterbalance their influence while living, but his death made lost the balance among the project leaders in favor of the Cui family.¹³³ Against this background, as far as Cui

¹²⁹ Ji Zaipu 紀在譜 & Huang Lishi 黃立世, eds., *Changzi xian zhi* 長子縣誌 (printed in 1778), 15.31.

¹³⁰ Stele B uses two sentences to summarize Cui Fazhen's activities in Beijing but, according to Stele A, it clearly makes some mistakes. For example, it does not distinguish Cui Fazhen's two visits to Beijing and says that the woodblocks were transported to Beijing in Dading 18.

¹³¹ Stele A is cited in a piece of prose currently contained in the Qisha canon. The prose was written by the monk Bao Shanhuai 鮑善恢 (?–1411+) of Xianlinsi 仙林寺, Hangzhou, who was then fixing destroyed woodblocks of the Qisha canon. Immediately after the citation, Bao had comments explaining why he fixed the canon. Li Jining was the first who discovered and studied this important essay, but he made a mistake when explaining it. For the sentence “己門人慧仁等，具言刊經本末，謁文於東平趙颯述記，時歲次己丑，” Li said that Bao Shanhuai had a disciple called Huiren, who first read the stele written by Zhao Feng and then told Bao about the content. In fact, Huiren was Cui Fazhen's disciple, and Stele A was composed by Zhao Feng based on what Huiren and Cui's other disciples told him.

Fazhen's presenting a copy of the canon and its woodblocks to the court are concerned, a high chance is that she was acting on the behalf of her clan in the hope of linking it with the imperial court of a minority regime.¹³⁴ Nobody exactly knows how successful the strategy was to the Cui family. What we know is that, when the copy of the canon was presented to the court, Cui Fazhen was summoned into a nunnery in the inner court and met the emperor, who arranged her to be ordained with full precepts. When the woodblocks arrived in Yanjing, they were welcomed by highest monastic officials. Two years later, Cui Fazhen was granted a purple robe and the title *Hongjiao dashi* 弘教大師 (Master of Glorifying the Teaching). Seventy-two of her disciples were all ordained, and the woodblocks were placed in the most prominent monastery in the capital for printing. On the part of Wang Ciyun and those remaining in Shanxi, they seem to have been simply ignored and obtained no reward. In this sense, Cui Fazhen's activities related to Beijing and the court were not so much religious as political, and Wang Ciyun's subsequent effort in Shanxi had the implication of resisting the influence of Cui Fazhen and her family.

The interruption caused by the moving of the woodblocks to Beijing turned out to be a major blow to the project, preventing the Zhaocheng canon from being finished in time and with good quality.¹³⁵ Such a high price reveals how profoundly local societies could exert influence on the making of the canon, positively and negatively, and how sensitive the project was under the external pressure. The Zhaocheng was not an exception in the making of the Buddhist canon, however. Another instance is the Jiaxing canon, which was started carving at Mount Wutai in 1589 but would not be finished until more than one hundred years later.¹³⁶

¹³² Jiang, *Jinzang diaoyin shimo kao*, p. 8, says that there were five cases which include the *fayuan wen* by Changzi people. Unfortunately, all of them are missing now.

¹³³ It is not surprising to see that the secular power a clan secured had a favourable effect on the religious careers of its members. For some remarkable case studies related to Shanxi, see, for example, Chen, *Monks and Monarchs, Kinship and Kingship*, pp. 34–40; Otagi Hajime 愛宕元, “Tōdai Katō Bunki no Hashi to bukkyō shinkō-Chūken no Haishi Sangaikyō wo chūshi toshite” 唐代河東聞喜の裴氏と佛教信仰—中眷裴氏の三階教を中心として—, in *Tōdai no shūkyō* 唐代の宗教, ed. Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫 (Kyōto: Hōyū Shoten), pp. 35–62; Shengkai 聖凱, “Lun Wei Jin Beichao shiqi Taiyuan Wangshi yu fojiao zhi guanxi” 論魏晉北朝時期太原王氏與佛教之關係, *Hualin* 華林2(2002): 69–86.

¹³⁴ For example, Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China*, p. 117, points out that “to argue that the aristocratic families were dependent on the privilege of access to office, one could note that from the Northern Wei on, having tasted the prestige and influence of high office, the Ts'uis (i.e., Cui's) made great efforts to continue to hold office, bowing to whatever new demands were placed on them by the court.”

¹³⁵ According to Jiang Weixin's survey, about one-fourth of the existing Zhaocheng were carved in places other than Shanxi.

5. Concluding Remarks

This article has examined the making of the Zhaocheng canon, with an emphasis on a variety of forces and elements that were working behind the process. The experiences of this canon bear on many characteristics of the regions involved and of the time, but what has been learned from it has an implication for our understanding of the making of other canons, Buddhist and non-Buddhist alike, and the carrying out of other Buddhist projects.

First, we have seen a more complete and more reliable picture about how the Zhaocheng canon was created. The main body of this canon was finished during the Jin dynasty, but it was first planned in the late Northern Song and finally completed in the early Yuan dynasty. It was the result of the concerted efforts of Yin Shi, of his disciples of several thousands, and of even more participants responding to their appeal. South Shanxi, particularly Xiezhou, was where the headquarters was and where people made the most contributions. We also see participation from a bigger region, including west Shanxi and north Henan where Yin Shi came from. These people, no matter what roles they played in the project, in the following eight hundred years, shared the same fate of being forgotten in history. Henceforth, except those discussed above, the majority of them will remain unknown.

Second, in order to find some most potent ways to establish their authority and to attract their supporters, Yin Shi and his major disciples all paid a considerable price, as suggested by the appearance of as many as over fifty self-immolations. The majority of those patrons had only an obscure background, which made it more of a challenge for them to mobilize support from clerics and laypersons. As a result, over the course of making the canon, we see that both the relic veneration and miracles played a unique role and were immensely helpful. The appearance of so many miracles and self-immolations is not universal in the making of other editions of the Buddhist canon; in other successful cases, the involvement of high-ranking officials and influential monks could play a similar leading role.

Third, the conflict between Cui Fazhen and Wang Ciyun, although not ultimately substantiated, frustrated the carving project from being completed in time. It has also misled us for centuries about the origins and making of the canon. This is a good reminder that we should not assume that project leaders always worked together in a harmonious way. The Buddhist canon means differently to different audience, a sacred thing for devout Buddhists but a tradable commodity for ambitious others. This situation increases the intricacy of history and, at the same time, its attractiveness. Conflict among leaders is actually part of

¹³⁶ For the donors of the Jiaying project on Mount Wutai, see Zhang Hongwei 章宏偉, *Shi liu-shi jiu shiji Zhongguo chuban yanjiu* 十六—十九世紀中國出版研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe), pp. 175–240. The Jiaying project was deeply influenced by court politics and conflicts within the Buddhist society, which I will discuss in detail in a paper I am now working on.

the reality of many projects. Seeing things from this perspective will help us to tackle some puzzles in the history of Chinese Buddhist canon, such as why it took much longer time than planned to complete the carving of some other editions.

Fourth, although easily neglected, both local elements and the timing exerted profound effects on the process of making the Zhaocheng. A professional, mature and flourishing printing industry explains, to a large part, why south Shanxi was chosen to carry out the project. Constant incomes from Xiezhou salt also enhanced the ability of the locals to back the project. Such a strong technical and financial support has proven crucial to the success of any major carving projects. In this sense, it is not surprising to see that most editions of the Buddhist canon were carved in the Jiangnan region, the area which could meet those requirements relatively easier than other places. In time, a slack control over south Shanxi taking place during the early Jin contributed to the success of the Zhaocheng project in two ways. It revived the passion for Buddhist relics, which had somewhat abated in the Northern Song. Moreover, it made possible the appearance of as many as over fifty self-immolations. The Zhaocheng may not be an exception in this regard if we recognize that most versions of the Buddhist canon were made either in the early or ending years of a dynasty, but this point awaits more research.

Fifth, judging from its rise and fall over about one hundred years, the Zhaocheng project showed a considerable reliance on well-organized participants, and was highly vulnerable to external influence, social and political alike. This result comes as no surprise if we consider that making such a canon by individual people usually required efforts that extended several decades and involved vast human and material resources. This observation can be applied to the making of other canons.

Finally, in the Zhaocheng project, on the part of common participants responding to the appeal, the motivations behind their involvement are kind of universal. Not only did those aspirations appear in the creation of other editions of the Buddhist canon, but they are frequently detected on occasions when people engaged in other kinds of devotional acts, like building a stone cave, erecting a *dhāraṇī* pole, or renovating a temple. Moreover, those people organized themselves to maximize their efforts in a way that combined strength and flexibility, and that had been widely used for centuries and would continue to be used throughout the imperial China. These constants show continuities in the history of Chinese Buddhism. On the other hand, the design and launch of the Zhaocheng project, although benefiting from the relic veneration, reflects kind of an undergoing shift in the focus of the devotional act from those in vogue in medieval China to the cult of the book. Such a change, although not a replacement,¹³⁷ still reveals the vitality and creativity of Chinese Buddhism.

¹³⁷ James Benn has convincingly argued that relic veneration did not abate in late imperial China. See his *Burning for the Buddha*, chapter 6.

Soi-même comme un autre : Rousseau et la crise du droit naturel moderne

Céline SPECTOR

Si la théorie rousseauiste du droit naturel exposée dans le second *Discours* ou dans le *Manuscrit de Genève* a fait l'objet d'une exégèse précieuse¹, l'analyse de l'*Emile* est jusqu'ici restée dans l'ombre. Or après la démystification du second *Discours* et l'accusation portée par Rousseau d'avoir confondu l'*origine* avec le *résultat* (la loi naturelle n'étant qu'une projection rétrospective destinée à légitimer l'ordre hiérarchique), l'*Emile* propose une surprenante réhabilitation : l'ouvrage esquisse une théorie originale de la loi naturelle dans ses rapports avec la conscience — *voix du cœur* qui serait seule susceptible de suppléer au défaut d'un fondement rationnel de la morale.

De cette voix du sentiment intérieur, il faut mesurer au juste la fonction : quel rôle lui incombe dans le processus de rationalisation de la croyance et de la pratique morales ? La difficulté consiste à penser le « retour à la morale », après le congé impérieusement donné dans le second *Discours* : les arguments contre la connaissance de la loi naturelle, qui permettent d'invalider les sophismes de Hobbes, de Locke et des autres jurisconsultes, ne valent-ils pas au même titre contre la connaissance issue du cœur ou de la conscience ? Se pourrait-il que la conscience accède dans l'évidence immédiate à la nature et à sa loi — celle de la Règle d'or, du principe de réciprocité, reformulé dans la figure empathique de l'échange de places (« soi-même comme un autre ») ? A juste titre, Leo Strauss avait perçu dans l'œuvre rousseauiste une nouvelle figure de la « crise du droit naturel moderne »². En plaçant la focale sur un

¹ L'espace interprétatif est polarisé entre deux extrêmes : le magistral *Cours sur Rousseau* d'Althusser (1972) récemment publié par Y. Vargas (Paris, Le Temps des cerises, 2012), le précis *Diritto naturale e volontà generale* de Gabriella Silvestrini (Turin, Caludiana, 2010). Entre les deux, on renverra aux belles analyses de G. Radica, *L'Histoire de la raison. Anthropologie, morale et politique chez Rousseau*, Paris, Champion, 2008 et de B. Bernardi, *Le Principe d'obligation: une aporie de la modernité politique*, Paris, Vrin, 2007.

² Voir L. Strauss, *Droit naturel et histoire*, Paris, Flammarion, 2008. Nous nous permettons de renvoyer à notre ouvrage *Au prisme de Rousseau : usages politiques contemporains*, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2011, chap. 3.

très court texte issu du livre IV³, je souhaiterais montrer comment Rousseau, ayant rompu avec l'universalisme rationnel des jusnaturalistes modernes et recherchant ici l'équivalent du « droit naturel raisonné » invoqué dans le *Manuscrit de Genève*⁴, esquisse le passage à un « universalisme sensible » dont la conscience serait le socle.

I. Le refus de l'universalisme abstrait

Au livre IV de l'*Emile*, l'entrée dans le monde moral s'opère avec l'apparition de la puberté, qui ouvre le sujet, jusqu'alors resserré sur son utilité propre, aux relations intersubjectives⁵. L'ambition de Rousseau est de concevoir un sujet pratique doté d'une sensibilité morale, alors même qu'il n'existe pas d'obligation naturelle⁶, alors même que la « froide » raison est impuissante ou ne peut être pratique par elle-même (elle ne fournit pas de raison d'agir⁷). Il s'agit de former l'adolescent, au terme du temps de l'innocence, en profitant de sa sensibilité naissante pour jeter dans son cœur les « premières semences de l'humanité »⁸. La difficulté bien connue, dès lors, est de concevoir l'extension de la sensibilité morale d'abord bornée aux attachements proches à l'humanité tout entière, sachant que l'idée du genre humain ne donne lieu à aucune obligation réelle⁹. L'auteur de l'*Emile* tente de mettre à jour un fondement « plus solide » et « plus sûr » que la loi naturelle, qu'il va découvrir non dans la raison ni dans la prudence mais dans le cœur ou dans la conscience :

³ *Emile*, in Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, t. IV, 1969, p. 522–523. Cette contribution est issue d'une conférence donnée à l'occasion de Journées d'agrégation et de commémoration du tricentenaire de la naissance de Rousseau, organisées par J.-P. Anfray et I. Saurin à l'Ecole Normale de la rue d'Ulm le 17 février 2012, dont le principe était de proposer un commentaire d'un court texte.

⁴ Voir A. Charrak, « Du droit naturel au droit naturel raisonné », *Cahiers philosophiques de Strasbourg*, 13, septembre 2002, p. 107–118.

⁵ Voir A. Bloom, *L'Amour et l'Amitié*, trad. P. Manent, Paris, Fallois, 1996 ; F. Worms, *Emile ou de l'éducation, livre IV*, commentaire, précédé d'un essai introductif : « Emile, ou la découverte des relations morales », Paris, Ellipses, 2001.

⁶ Voir B. Bernardi, *Le Principe d'obligation*, *op. cit.*, p. 288, et p. 295–305.

⁷ Comme le stipulait la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, « la froide raison n'a jamais rien fait d'illustre », *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, t. II, p. 493.

⁸ *Emile*, p. 502. Il est également très précieux de se reporter à l'édition annotée d'A. Charrak, Paris, GF-Flammarion, 2010.

⁹ Selon Rousseau, les semblables d'Emile ne sont pas des inconnus, des étrangers, des *prochains* quels qu'ils soient qu'il faudrait respecter et aimer, « mais ceux avec lesquels il a des liaisons, ceux que l'habitude lui a rendus chers ou nécessaires, ceux qu'il voit évidemment avoir avec lui des manières de penser et de sentir communes » etc. (*ibid.*, p. 520).

Si c'en était ici le lieu, j'essayerais de montrer comment des premiers mouvements du cœur s'élèvent les premières voix de la conscience ; et comment des premiers sentiments d'amour et de haine naissent les premières notions du bien et du mal. Je ferais voir que justice et bonté ne sont point seulement des mots abstraits, de purs êtres moraux formés par l'entendement, mais de véritables affections de l'âme éclairées par la raison, et qui ne sont qu'un progrès ordonné de nos affections primitives¹⁰.

Rousseau esquisse ici une véritable *généalogie de la morale* : du point de vue empiriste qui est le sien, ce qui est premier n'est pas le concept ou l'idée mais le mouvement (celui du cœur), mouvement qui donne lieu aux sentiments puis aux notions, selon une progression à laquelle l'*Emile* nous a rendu sensible¹¹. Rousseau se présente tout au long de l'*Emile* comme un critique des mauvaises abstractions ou des faux universaux qui ne sont que *flatus vocis*. L'opposition réside ici entre les « purs êtres moraux » et les « véritables affections ». Non qu'il faille renoncer à penser la vertu et la justice comme des « notions », issues de la réflexion ; mais il est impossible de commencer par le concept, qui ne peut être que le résultat d'un lent processus d'abstraction et de généralisation. L'affection de l'âme, qui est première¹², devra être *a posteriori* « éclairée par la raison ».

En guise de généalogie de la morale, Rousseau suggère donc l'idée d'une gradation affective et spéculative à partir de l'amour de soi. Cette gradation s'opère également par anticipation de la notion de conscience, dont il faut noter qu'elle ne s'exprime pas par une voix mais par « des voix » issues du cœur. Deux questions se posent dès lors : 1) Comment interpréter le terme de « premières » (les premières voix de la conscience qui s'élèvent à partir des premiers mouvements du cœur) ? S'agirait-il de penser la conscience comme processus plutôt que comme principe (principe de la vérité morale, organe de cette vérité) ? L'ordre de primauté est-il ordre génétique et chronologique (la conscience serait issue d'une genèse) ou ordre de découverte, prise de conscience d'une disposition déjà présente, « innée » mais attendant les connaissances pour s'actualiser (ce qui permettrait de comprendre le « s'élèvent » : la voix de la conscience se faisant entendre à partir du moment où les pulsions apparaissent, préci-

¹⁰ *Emile*, p. 522.

¹¹ *Emile*, III, p. 481 : « Notre élève n'avait d'abord que des sensations, maintenant il a des idées ; il ne faisait que sentir, maintenant il juge. Car de la comparaison de plusieurs sensations successives ou simultanées, et du jugement qu'on en porte, naît une sorte de sensation mixte ou complexe que j'appelle idée. (...) Les idées simples ne sont que des sensations comparées. Il y a des jugements dans les simples sensations aussi bien que dans les sensations complexes que j'appelle idées simples. Dans la sensation, le jugement est purement passif, il affirme qu'on sent ce qu'on sent. Dans la perception ou idée, le jugement est actif ; il rapproche, il compare, il détermine les rapports que le sens ne détermine pas ».

¹² OC IV, p. 493.

sément pour les réguler et éviter leur contradiction qui met l'homme « hors de la nature » ? La seconde hypothèse doit sans doute être privilégiée, par référence notamment à un passage du livre II invoquant la « loi de conscience » comme un « principe inné qui n'attend pour se développer que les connaissances auxquelles il s'applique » (OC, II, p. 334). 2) Comment comprendre cette anticipation de la notion de conscience dans ce texte programmatique, qui semble contrevvenir à la règle d'or que Rousseau s'était assigné (ne jamais anticiper) ? Dans la Profession de foi, le Vicaire fera surgir l'instance de la conscience, ou des principes inscrits en son cœur par la nature en caractères ineffaçables, instance opposée à une « haute philosophie » qui ne conduirait *in fine* qu'au scepticisme moral. La conscience sera ramenée à un *sentiment* du bien et du mal¹³. Or peut-on projeter sur le passage à expliquer ici l'idée qu'il existe un « instinct » de l'âme, sentiment susceptible de faire aimer le bien et de se détourner du mal ?

Le texte précédemment cité, en réalité, permet plutôt de jeter un jour plus ambigu sur le passage de la Profession de foi sur la conscience. Car si l'amour du bien est inné, sa connaissance ne l'est pas ; la prise de conscience (spéculative) de l'existence de la conscience (morale) procède d'une histoire, histoire de la subjectivité et des passions qui en constituent la trame. La conscience fait son épiphane sous la forme de « voix » destinées à réguler les mouvements du cœur ou les impulsions qui la précèdent et l'appellent (la rendent nécessaire, parfois pour les contredire). Le pluriel, à cet égard, est révélateur : si la conscience était un instinct divin (comme chez le piétiste suisse Béat de Muralt, auquel on sait que le Vicaire emprunte certaines formules), pourrait-elle se donner dans plusieurs voix, dans *des* voix peut-être susceptibles de variation ou d'évolution (« premières voix ») ? Rousseau, sans doute, ne conçoit pas ici une nature humaine inaltérable, dont il a récusé le modèle dans le second *Discours*. Il élabore un modèle d'émergence ou de genèse : ce sont « des sentiments d'amour et de haine » que naissent « les premières notions du bien et du mal ». L'amour et la haine sont primordiaux, quoiqu'ils *dérivent* eux aussi d'une réflexion de l'amour de soi, devenu transitif : l'*amour* naît lorsque l'on impute à autrui l'intention et plus encore la volonté de nous faire du bien, la *haine* à l'inverse lorsqu'on lui attribue la volonté de nous nuire¹⁴. Comme chez Spinoza, nous nommons d'abord bon ce qui nous est utile et mauvais ce qui disconvient à notre nature ; *a posteriori*, le bien et le mal objectivent ces relations issues du désir ou de l'amour.

Rousseau récuse donc tout « réalisme » des valeurs : le bien et le mal ne peuvent être éprouvés et connus que par rapport à nous. Si le problème moral n'est pas de connaître le bien pour ensuite le vouloir (bien juger pour bien faire, selon un modèle intellectualiste) mais d'emblée de s'y sentir *attaché* à mesure qu'on le sent, seule la conscience peut donner cette

¹³ *Emile*, p. 594–601.

¹⁴ « Ce qui favorise le bien-être d'un individu l'attire, ce qui lui nuit le repousse ; ce n'est là qu'un instinct aveugle. Ce qui transforme cet instinct en sentiment, l'attachement en amour, l'aversion en haine, c'est l'intention manifestée de nous nuire ou de nous être utile » (OC IV, p. 492).

impulsion : c'est la conscience qui révèle que nos dispositions naturelles, pour être satisfaites, doivent s'ordonner — la conscience n'étant même, selon certains commentateurs, que cette aspiration à un ordre satisfaisant des dispositions, qui les rend compatibles entre elles. La dynamique morale est celle d'une rationalisation du désir¹⁵. Le « progrès ordonné » l'est de manière immanente, en suivant la dynamique irréversible des passions¹⁶. Nul critère extrinsèque, nulle loi extérieure ici ; l'imagination détermine la pente des passions et doit être convenablement orientée par le gouverneur grâce au choix des situations. Ce faisant, la morale rousseauiste tente d'éviter deux écueils : l'écueil du *rationalisme pur* ; l'écueil des théories du *sens moral* qui critiquaient l'anthropologie égoïste en affirmant l'existence en l'homme d'affections sociales *désintéressées*¹⁷. Pour autant, Rousseau conserve bien l'idée d'un *sentiment moral* opposée à la froideur de l'obligation : si la bienveillance pour le genre humain n'est pas à l'origine de la bonté et de la justice, celles-ci ne peuvent résulter que d'une instance distincte de la passion et de la raison mais vouée à rendre possible leur accord, et cette tierce instance qui permet de réaliser l'*universalisation des sentiments moraux* du proche au lointain (le « soi-même comme un autre ») prend le nom de conscience.

Ce qui est congédié est donc une certaine théorie de l'obligation fondée sur le droit naturel : « tout le droit de la nature n'est qu'une chimère, s'il n'est fondé sur un besoin naturel au cœur humain ». Dans le sillage d'un texte inédit du Manuscrit de Genève¹⁸, Rousseau critique le mauvais cosmopolitisme, qui prétend que la justice doit être universelle sans s'apercevoir qu'il faut un lien social (et donc politique) pour fonder la justice : le Christianisme anticipe une forme de société mondiale ou de « fraternité commune » qui n'existe pas, ou du moins pas

¹⁵ G. Radica, *L'Histoire de la raison. Anthropologie, morale et politique chez Rousseau*, op. cit., p. 439, 633, voir p. 520–524.

¹⁶ On se reportera à un texte précédent qui convoque le sommaire de la sagesse dans nos rapports aux passions : « Voulez-vous mettre l'ordre et la règle dans les passions naissantes ? Étendez l'espace durant lequel elles se développent, afin qu'elles aient le temps de s'arranger à mesure qu'elles naissent. Alors ce n'est pas l'homme qui les ordonne, c'est la nature elle-même » (*Emile*, p. 500).

¹⁷ Leibniz fixe les termes de la controverse qui fonde l'école du sens moral. Selon Philalèthe, les règles morales ont besoin d'être prouvées, donc elles ne sont pas innées. Ainsi de cette règle qui est la source des vertus sociales : *ne faites pas à autrui ce que vous ne voudrait pas qu'il vous soit fait à vous-même* (*Nouveaux Essais*, I, 2, GF-Flammarion, 1966, p. 74). Théophile répond qu'il existe des instincts moraux, qui peuvent être obscurcis mais jamais effacés. Ici apparaît une conception dynamique de l'innéité, non comme stock d'informations mais comme orientation d'un développement — ce que poursuivra Shaftesbury (voir L. Jaffro, « La formation de la doctrine du sens moral : Burnet, Shaftesbury, Hutcheson », in L. Jaffro éd., *Le Sens moral*, Paris, PUF, 2000, p. 11–46).

¹⁸ Voir C. Spector, « De Diderot à Rousseau : la double crise du droit naturel moderne », in Rousseau, *Du contract social, ou Essai sur la forme de la République (Manuscrit de Genève)*, B. Bachofen, B. Bernardi, et G. Olivo eds., Paris, Vrin, 2012, p. 141–153.

encore¹⁹. Dans le manuscrit de Genève, Rousseau prolongeait cette réflexion au chapitre 4 du livre II, dans une page qui disparaîtra dans le *Contrat social*²⁰ — page qui renvoie la morale cosmopolite et le « droit naturel raisonné » à un horizon au-delà de l'Etat-nation :

C'est un beau et sublime précepte de ne faire à autrui que ce que nous voudrions qu'il nous fût fait ; mais n'est-il pas évident que loin de servir de fondement à la justice, il a besoin de fondement lui-même ; car où est la raison claire et solide de me conduire étant moi, sur la volonté que j'aurois si j'étois un autre ? Il est clair encore que ce précepte est sujet à mille exceptions dont on n'a jamais donné que des explications sophistiquées²¹.

Or ce passage sera réinvesti non dans le *Contrat social*, mais dans l'*Emile*. Dans l'*Emile*, Rousseau entend penser l'universalisation de la pratique morale, sachant que ce passage ne s'opèrera au plan des idées qu'après qu'il se sera opéré sur le plan des affections. De ce point de vue, seule l'expansion de l'amour de soi, considéré comme une *force* dynamique, peut fonder l'amour de l'humanité — car il est exclu que je puisse « préférer à moi ce qui m'est étranger ».

II. Congédier le jusnaturalisme ? La réfutation de Cumberland

A cet égard, la note qui accompagne le texte précédemment cité issu du livre IV de l'*Emile* tente de surmonter l'aporie du fondement de l'obligation²². Qu'un texte d'une telle importance apparaisse en note pourra surprendre ; mais il s'agit en quelque sorte d'un *scrupule de conscience* face à l'objection que ne manqueraient pas de faire les partisans d'un « droit de la nature » moins chimérique que ne veut bien le dire Rousseau :

Le précepte même d'agir avec autrui comme nous voulons qu'on agisse avec nous n'a de vrai

¹⁹ B. Bernardi, *Le Principe d'obligation*, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

²⁰ B. Bernardi évoque un « recentrage » entre le *MsG* et le *CS*, *Le Principe d'obligation*, *op. cit.*, p. 300. Voir aussi *La Fabrique des concepts*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 2006, p. 467–471.

²¹ *Manuscrit de Genève*, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

²² Selon B. Bernardi, Grotius a pour la première fois posé ce problème à la modernité et l'a résolu sans le secours divin : par la grâce de la droite raison, le devoir devient obligation. Mais cette thèse singulière ne pouvait que susciter une querelle d'envergure : pour Pufendorf, la volonté d'un supérieur, via la sanction, est seule source réelle de l'obligation. Enfin, Burlamaqui considère que la loi naturelle ne peut elle-même trouver son fondement que dans la volonté divine. Que faut-il répondre, dès lors, à la question structurante de la modernité politique (comment obliger de libres volontés ?) ? Selon B. Bernardi, Rousseau apparaît comme le fossoyeur du jusnaturalisme et celui qui a surmonté cette crise constitutive de la pensée moderne de l'obligation (*Le Principe d'obligation*, *op. cit.*).

fondement que la conscience et le sentiment ; car où est la raison précise d'agir, étant moi, comme si j'étais un autre, surtout quand je suis moralement sûr de ne jamais me trouver dans le même cas ? et qui me répondra qu'en suivant bien fidèlement cette maxime, j'obtiendrai qu'on la suive de même avec moi ? Le méchant tire avantage de la probité du juste et de sa propre injustice ; il est bien aise que tout le monde soit juste, excepté lui. Cet accord-là, quoi qu'on en dise, n'est pas fort avantageux aux gens de bien. Mais quand la force d'une âme expansive m'identifie avec mon semblable, et que je me sens pour ainsi dire en lui, c'est pour ne pas souffrir que je ne veux pas qu'il souffre ; je m'intéresse à lui pour l'amour de moi, et la raison du précepte est dans la nature elle-même qui m'inspire le désir de mon bien-être en quelque lieu que je me sente exister. D'où je conclus qu'il n'est pas vrai que les préceptes de la loi naturelle soient fondés sur la raison seule, ils ont une base plus solide et plus sûre. L'amour des hommes dérivé de l'amour de soi est le principe de la justice humaine. Le sommaire de toute la morale est donné dans l'Évangile par celui de la loi²³.

Pour Rousseau, le précepte de réciprocité (agir avec autrui comme nous voudrions qu'il agisse avec nous) est fondé sur la « conscience » ou sur le « sentiment », et non sur la prudence : « car où est la raison précise d'agir étant moi comme si j'étais un autre, surtout quand je suis moralement sûr de ne jamais me trouver dans le même cas ; et qui me répondra qu'en suivant fidèlement cette maxime j'obtiendrai qu'on la suive de même avec moi ? ». Dans ce passage qui reprend les acquis du *Manuscrit de Genève*, Rousseau reste donc fidèle (comme Hume) à la recherche d'une véritable « raison d'agir » sans quoi la loi naturelle demeurerait lettre morte. De ce point de vue, l'accord entre amour de soi et sociabilité n'a rien d'évident. S'il n'y avait rien d'autre dans la morale que l'intérêt éclairé, je ne pourrais me livrer à l'échange de place (agir *comme si* j'étais un autre) et être incité par prudence à agir vertueusement qu'en espérant une réciprocité future, et donc en ayant la certitude que le secours que je procure pourra m'être rendu plus tard (que le gage que je donne aura un équivalent, ou que je serai « payé(e) de retour »). Or tel n'est certes pas toujours le cas, et il existe même des cas où je suis « moralement sûr » que le noyé auquel je prête secours, fût-ce au risque de ma vie, ne me portera jamais secours en personne. Autrement dit, il ne suffit pas de pouvoir échanger les places, encore faut-il pouvoir échanger les circonstances ou les situations ; or il se peut fort bien que je ne sois jamais dans ce cas (prenons l'exemple d'un étranger que je n'aurais aucune chance de revoir : la prudence à elle seule ne pourrait me dicter une conduite morale, car je risque toujours d'être dupe). Le second argument donne une autre façon d'invalider le fondement de la morale sur la prudence : rien ne m'assure non plus que, quand bien même je serais dans ce cas (d'avoir à demander à autrui du secours), cet autrui singulier me l'accorderait ; telle est la seconde indétermination qui ruine la maxime de la prudence, car elle suppose d'autrui une

²³ *Emile*, p. 523.

conduite soucieuse de réciprocité, ce qui n'a rien d'assuré.

Rousseau s'interdit donc les espoirs idéalistes : « Le méchant tire avantage de la probité du juste et de sa propre injustice ; il est bien aise que tout le monde soit juste excepté lui ». La conduite immorale se veut une exception et ne pourrait réussir si tout le monde en faisait autant (le méchant ordonne tout à soi). Comment éviter que la morale, autant que la politique, ne soit par conséquent un *pacte de dupes* ?

En posant cette question dans doute sa rigueur, Rousseau critique certains jusnaturalistes naïfs comme Richard Cumberland. Une phrase biffée du manuscrit indique à cet endroit que « tous les longs sophismes de Cumberland n'en imposent à personne »²⁴. Cette phrase importe, quelles que soient les raisons qui ont finalement conduit à l'exclure : célèbre critique de Hobbes, Cumberland postule dans le *Traité sur les lois naturelles* une véritable force obligatoire de la loi naturelle liée à un système de récompenses et de sanctions immanentes, quoiqu'instituées par Dieu²⁵. Il confesse une position proche des Stoïciens : c'est au fond l'alliance de l'honnête et de l'utile, réinterprétée dans le cadre de la religion naturelle, qui offre le meilleur fondement à l'obligation. Le soin d'avancer le bien commun sert à avancer le bien de chacun en particulier car l'homme ne jouit véritablement que de la bienveillance universelle et du perfectionnement de ses facultés. Le chapitre V de son *Traité*, intitulé « De la loi naturelle et de l'obligation qui l'accompagne » n'a de cesse de le montrer en réfutant le conventionnalisme hobbesien en politique et son relativisme en morale : « la Loi naturelle est une proposition assez clairement présentée ou imprimée dans nos esprits par la nature des choses, en conséquence de la volonté de la cause première ; laquelle proposition indique une sorte d'action propre à avancer le bien commun des agents raisonnables, et telle que, si on la pratique on se procure par là des récompenses, au lieu que, si on la néglige, on s'attire des peines, les uns et les autres suffisantes, selon la nature des êtres raisonnables »²⁶ — peines et récompenses telles qu'il est manifestement plus utile pour la félicité de chacun qu'il travaille

²⁴ *Emile*, p. 523.

²⁵ Dieu aurait attaché certaines peines et récompenses naturelles à la violation ou à l'observation des maximes qui deviennent lois naturelles, ce qui fait « la source et le fondement de toute leur autorité » (R. Cumberland, *Traité philosophique des Lois naturelles*, trad. J. Barbeyrac, Caen, PUC, 1989 (reprint de l'édition de 1744), p. 6). Contre les Platoniciens, il faut éviter de postuler des vérités innées gravées dans l'esprit ; mais contre les épicuriens (contemporains), il ne saurait être question d'entériner l'idée selon laquelle les lois naturelles ne sont que des artifices inventés par les ecclésiastiques et les politiques pour mieux duper le genre humain. Sur Cumberland, le commentaire rousseauiste est resté étrangement lacunaire — R. Derathé pense que l'auteur n'a exercé quasiment aucune influence sur Rousseau, bien que celui-ci l'ait lu, Goldschmidt le mentionne sans aller plus loin, G. Silvestrini le laisse dans l'ombre (R. Derathé, *Rousseau et la science politique de son temps*, rééd. Paris, Vrin, 1995, p. 99, note ; V. Goldschmidt, *Anthropologie et Politique. Les principes du système de Rousseau*, Paris, Vrin, 1983, p. 167).

²⁶ R. Cumberland, *Traité philosophique des Lois naturelles*, *op. cit.*, p. 207–208.

au bien public. Tel est le genre de proposition optimiste que Rousseau qualifie à bon droit de « sophisme ». Il faut donc dépasser Hobbes autrement.

Comment fonder la morale si ce n'est sur le principe de réciprocité, et si l'on refuse de postuler une vertu « désintéressée » ? La solution de Rousseau constitue un véritable tour de force : il ne s'agit pas de récuser l'intérêt, seule motivation véritable²⁷, mais de l'étendre. Seule l'expansion dynamique de l'intérêt peut fonder la morale ; le soi sensible s'élargit par un processus d'identification : « quand la force d'une âme expansive m'identifie avec mon semblable et que je me sens pour ainsi dire en lui, c'est pour ne pas souffrir que je ne veux pas qu'il souffre ; je m'intéresse à lui par amour de moi ». La pitié entre en jeu comme dérivé de l'amour de soi : comme le disait Rousseau quelques pages plus haut, « comment nous laissons-nous émouvoir à la pitié, si ce n'est en nous transportant hors de nous et nous identifiant avec l'animal souffrant ? En quittant *pour ainsi dire* notre être pour prendre le sien ? »²⁸. La conscience, à cet égard, ne serait rien d'autre qu'une forme plus développée de l'amour de soi.

Seule source de la morale, l'amour de soi est ordonné par la *fuite du mal* qui constitue le cœur du désir de bien-être (« la raison du précepte est dans la nature elle-même qui m'inspire le désir de mon bien-être en quelque lieu que je me sente exister »²⁹). La nature apparaît ici comme la seule source possible de nos raisons d'agir ; mais cette nature ne relève pas d'un autre droit que celui du désir. Comme l'avait vu Leo Strauss, Rousseau ne substitue donc pas une théorie du droit naturel à une autre ; il met en crise le droit naturel moderne au point de renoncer au concept normatif de « loi naturelle » que Hobbes ou Locke avaient maintenu³⁰.

*

En dernière instance, la surprise n'est pas mince : Rousseau réinvestit dans le champ moral la thèse qu'il avait d'abord récusee dans le champ politique. Si l'avenir du droit naturel il y a, ce ne saurait être à l'échelle des relations internationales (les principes du droit de la guerre

²⁷ B. Bernardi, « La notion d'intérêt chez Rousseau : une pensée sous le signe de l'immanence », *Cahiers philosophiques de Strasbourg*, 2002, p. 149–173. Cette théorie suppose néanmoins le recours à la religion naturelle. Voir C. Spector, « Y a-t-il un gardien des promesses ? L'hétéronomie de la conscience dans l'*Emile* », in *Penser l'homme*, C. Habib et P. Manent éd., Paris, Classiques Garnier, « L'Europe des Lumières », 2013, p. 167–182.

²⁸ *Emile*, p. 505.

²⁹ G. Radica évoque une thèse spinoziste (*L'Histoire de la raison*, *op. cit.*, p. 484–5). Dans son *Essai de métaphysique*, Boulainvilliers avait en effet traduit le *conatus* en désir de conservation et de bien-être, et il est fort possible que Rousseau l'ait lu. Voir aussi A. Charrak, « Nature, raison, moralité dans Rousseau et Spinoza », *RMM*, 2002, n° 3, p. 411–426.

³⁰ Sur Locke, voir C. Lazzeri, « Locke et les raisons de l'action », *Philosophie*, n° 53, mars 1997, p. 111–134.

sont purement politiques³¹). Le *Manuscrit de Genève* fournit le point de transition entre une théorie politique du « droit naturel raisonné » et une théorie morale que l'*Emile* tentera d'établir sur de nouveaux fondements. Le droit naturel est un droit issu de l'amour de soi, qui ne peut s'universaliser par la raison. Le seul droit naturel qui vaille est un droit à l'existence, voire au bien-être ; mais (*contra* Hobbes), la moralité ne peut être fondée sur la raison ; elle ne peut l'être que sur la conscience.

Il reste que cette voie du rousseauisme, dont la postérité sera d'envergure³², semble laisser dans l'ombre un problème majeur : le *soi-même comme un autre* suppose non seulement la force expansive du soi et l'empathie spontanée — dont on voit mal pourquoi elle se porterait *in fine* sur tout homme, sur l'étranger qui n'est pas toujours *mon semblable, mon frère* — mais aussi la réalité de la conscience, voix du cœur qui dans sa pureté serait préservée de l'aliénation et de la dénaturation. Après Rousseau, L. Althusser nous a rendu sensibles à la perte de la nature et à son oubli : la nature est oubliée parce que l'on ne peut plus se la rappeler ni la rappeler. La nature est recouverte par toute l'histoire de ses modifications, par tous les effets de son histoire ; elle est « défigurée » par l'histoire de ses progrès ; elle est dénaturée. Comme l'écrit Althusser, « la nature est aliénée », ce qui revient à dire qu'elle n'existe plus que dans l'autre que soi, c'est-à-dire dans les passions sociales et dans la raison elle-même soumise aux passions sociales : la nature est aliénée dans son histoire réelle³³. Or comment prémunir la conscience de toute dénaturation ? Quelles que soient les raisons qu'en donne Rousseau après l'épisode corrosif du *Manuscrit de Genève*, il semble difficile de comprendre pourquoi sa voix — celle de la « vraie nature »³⁴ — pourrait jouir d'un état d'exception.

³¹ Voir la contribution de B. Bachofen dans Rousseau, *Principes du droit de la guerre, Ecrits sur le Projet de Paix Perpétuelle de l'abbé de Saint-Pierre*, B. Bachofen et C. Spector dir., B. Bernardi et G. Silvestrini éd., Paris, Vrin, 2008.

³² J. Rawls, « Le sens de la justice », trad. V. Nurock révisée par B. Guillarme, *Les Cahiers philosophiques*, n° 110, 2007, p. 72–92, ici p. 72 ; *Théorie de la justice*, trad. C. Audard, Paris, Seuil, 1997, chapitre 8 ; ainsi que l'introduction de V. Nurock, « Le sens de la justice selon John Rawls », p. 65–71 ; S. Mestiri, *Rawls. Justice et équité*, Paris, P.U.F., 2009, p. 35–41 ; C. Spector, *Au prisme de Rousseau : usages politiques contemporains, op. cit.*, chap. 4.

³³ Voir L. Althusser, *Cours sur Rousseau, op. cit.*, p. 68–69. Et la belle analyse de K. Ohjo, « Nécessité/Contingence. Rousseau et les Lumières selon Louis Althusser », in « Modernités de Rousseau », *Lumières*, n° 15, premier septembre 2010, p. 89–112.

³⁴ Voir les arguments donnés contre Montaigne dans la Profession de foi, qui valent aussi contre Helvétius (*Emile*, p. 598–599).

Du *Capital* à la philosophie de la reproduction : le matérialisme chez Althusser¹

Yoshiyuki SATO

Dans *Pour Marx et Lire le Capital* (1965), Althusser a présenté *une nouvelle lecture de Marx*. Il s'agit de refuser l'hégélianisme (la téléologie de la dialectique des contradictions et la causalité expressive) et d'introduire, dans la lecture de Marx, des concepts structuralistes comme la surdétermination et la causalité structurale.

Par contre, dans *Sur la reproduction* (1969), manuscrit de l'article fameux sur « Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d'État », il a essayé, non pas de présenter une nouvelle lecture de Marx, mais d'établir *une nouvelle théorie matérialiste de la reproduction des rapports de production*.

Dans « Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d'État », Althusser propose, comme le remarque Étienne Balibar, deux analyses « fondamentalement discontinues » : l'analyse de la « reproduction des rapports de production » et celle du « mécanisme de l'idéologie »². Cette impression de « discontinuité » a fait en sorte que deuxième analyse de l'article retienne l'essentiel de l'attention. Cependant, en consultant *Sur la reproduction*, la continuité entre des deux moments de l'analyse est évidente.

Dans *Sur la reproduction*, c'est la *reproduction des rapports de production* qui joue un rôle décisif pour reproduire la formation sociale capitaliste. La reproduction des rapports de production signifie la reproduction des rapports d'exploitation, garantie par l'appareil répressif d'État (comme la police, l'armée, et la loi) et par les appareils idéologiques d'État (surtout la famille et l'école) qui assujettissent les individus.

Cette théorie de la reproduction de la formation sociale est rendue possible par une lecture singulière du *Capital* de Marx, ainsi que par un développement original de la théorie psychanalytique freudo-lacanienne. Dans cet article, nous allons élucider ce que la théorie de

¹ Communication au colloque international « Les ontologies matérialistes et la politique », Université de Poitiers, le 3 décembre 2010.

² Cf. Etienne Balibar, « Althusser et les "Appareils Idéologiques d'État" », in Louis Althusser, *Sur la reproduction*, version augmentée, PUF, 2011.

la reproduction des rapports de production, qu'Althusser a extraite du *Capital*, a apporté à la théorie marxiste, voire au matérialisme lui-même.

1 Reproduction des rapprts de production

Nous commençons par une analyse de la théorie de la reproduction des rapports de production. Dans « Avertissement aux lecteurs » placé au début de *Sur la reproduction* — ce livre aurait du avoir pour titre « La reproduction des rapports de production »³ —, Althusser explique ainsi le but du livre :

J'ai pensé qu'il pouvait être utile de rappeler les principes fondamentaux de la théorie marxiste-léniniste sur la nature de l'exploitation, de la répression, et de l'idéologisation capitalistes. Il m'a semblé surtout qu'il était indispensable de bien montrer quel était le système qui assurait la reproduction des conditions de la production capitaliste, laquelle n'est que le moyen de l'exploitation capitaliste, puisque, en régime capitaliste, la production des biens d'usage obéit à la seule loi du profit, donc de l'exploitation.

Il eût fallu traiter 1/ de la reproduction des Forces productives et 2/ de la reproduction des rapports de production⁴.

Pour réfléchir au système qui assure les conditions de la production capitaliste, il faut envisager, en premier lieu, la reproduction des forces productives, et en deuxième lieu, la reproduction des conditions de la production. La première signifie la reproduction des forces productives (analysée dans le Livre I du *Capital*) et celle des moyens de production (analysée dans le Livre II du *Capital*). Et la deuxième a un rapport étroit avec la reproduction des forces productives. Dans le Livre I du *Capital*, Marx définit ainsi la reproduction des forces productives : « La valeur de la force de travail, pareillement à celle de tout autre marchandise, est déterminée par le temps de travail nécessaire à la production donc à la reproduction de tel article spécifique. [...] La force de travail existe uniquement comme une disposition de l'individu vivant. Sa production présuppose donc l'existence de ce dernier. L'existence de l'individu étant donnée, la production de la force de travail consiste en sa propre reproduction de lui-même ou encore en sa conservation. Pour se conserver, l'individu vivant a besoin d'une certaine somme de moyens de subsistance. Le temps de travail nécessaire à la production de la force de travail se résout donc dans le temps de travail nécessaire à la production de ces moyens de subsistance, ou encore la valeur de la force de travail est la valeur des moyens de subsistance nécessaire à la conservation de celui qui la possède »⁵. La reproduction des forces

³ Louis Althusser, *Sur la reproduction*, PUF, 1995, p. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

⁵ Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Bd. 1, *Marx-Engels Werke*, Bd. 23, Dietz, 1962, pp. 184–185; *Le Capital*, Livre I, trad. fr., PUF, coll. « Quadrige », 1993, pp. 191–192.

DU CAPITAL À LA PHILOSOPHIE DE LA REPRODUCTION

productives est réalisée par le paiement du salaire juste nécessaire à la conservation de la vie des travailleurs. Ce qui est évident ici, c'est que cette reproduction comprend aussi celle des rapports d'exploitation. Autrement dit, la reproduction des forces productives présuppose celle des rapports de production capitalistes. En ce sens, l'essence du capitalisme consiste, pour Althusser, à reproduire les rapports d'exploitation. Sur ce point, Althusser affirme ainsi que :

Marx a montré qu'à l'inverse de la plupart des modes de production antérieurs, pour lesquels cette explication est peut-être valable, le capitalisme est un mode de production qui a pour objectif n° 1 non pas la production des objets d'utilité sociale, mais la production de la plus-value et la production du capital lui-même. C'est ce qu'exprime l'expression courante : le moteur du régime capitaliste est la « recherche du profit ». Il faut dire plus rigoureusement : le moteur du capitalisme est la production de la plus-value *par le moyen* de la production des objets d'utilité sociale, c'est l'accroissement *ininterrompu donc élargi* de l'exploitation *par le moyen* de la production.

[...] Tout ce qui passe dans une formation sociale capitaliste, y compris les formes de la répression d'État dont elle s'accompagne [...] *est enraciné dans la base matérielle des rapports de production capitalistes, qui sont les rapports de l'exploitation capitaliste, et dans un système d'exploitation où la production est elle-même subordonnée à l'exploitation, et donc à la production élargie du capital*⁶.

Ainsi, la thèse fondamentale de *Sur la reproduction* est que le premier principe du capitalisme n'est pas la simple production de la plus-value, mais la reproduction des rapports d'exploitation pour produire la plus-value. De là, Althusser discutera, dans ce livre, *de la reproduction des rapports d'exploitation, et de la reproduction des rapports de production comme rapports de classes*.

Pour analyser le mécanisme de la reproduction des rapports d'exploitation, Althusser convoque le concept de « division sociale du travail » que Marx utilise dans *Le Capital*. Il écrit ainsi dans le chapitre II de *Sur la reproduction* :

1/ Les rapports de production déterminent radicalement *tous* les rapports apparemment « *techniques* » de la division et de l'organisation du travail.

2/ En vertu de ce qui a été dit précédemment, les rapports de production étant les rapports de l'exploitation capitaliste, les rapports de l'exploitation capitaliste déterminent radicalement, non pas en général et indistinctement, mais *sous des formes spécifiques*, tous les rapports apparemment « techniques » qui interviennent dans la production matérielle elle-même.

Autrement dit, les rapports d'exploitation ne se traduisent pas seulement par l'ex-torsion de la plus-value, consacrée par le salaire et tous les effets de l'économie de mar-

⁶ *Sur la reproduction*, pp. 57–58.

ché. C'est dans le salaire que l'exploitation exerce son effet n° 1, mais elle exerce d'autres effets spécifiques dans la pratique de la production même, sous les espèces de la division du travail.

Pour faire apparaître l'existence de certains de ces effets, nous avons naguère introduit, dans un sens différent du sens où Marx l'emploie, le concept de *division sociale* du travail, en l'opposant à la division technique du travail. Marx emploie en effet dans *Le Capital* le terme de « division sociale du travail » pour désigner ce que nous proposons d'appeler la *division du travail social*, à savoir la division de la production sociale entre différentes branches : agriculture et industrie, puis différentes branches de l'industrie. Pour la commodité du terme, qui nous semble très « parlant », nous proposons de retenir l'innovation terminologique que nous avons introduite, et nous désignerons donc par *division sociale* du travail l'effet des rapports de production en tant que rapports d'exploitation au sein même de procès de production⁷.

Les rapports de production capitalistes déterminent les rapports apparemment « techniques » tel la division du travail. Autrement dit, les rapports de production capitalistes signifient les rapports d'exploitation qui se manifestent comme la division sociale du travail, à savoir la division en classes sociales entre les travailleurs, les cadres moyens ou supérieurs, et les directeurs⁸. Ce qu'Althusser appelle « la division sociale du travail » est cette division du travail qui constitue les rapports d'exploitation. Par le terme de « division sociale du travail », Marx désigne la formation du système de la division de travail dans la société⁹. Par contre, Althusser l'utilise, pour sa part, pour désigner la formation des rapports d'exploitation et de la division en classes sociales.

Alors, qu'est-ce qui établit la division sociale du travail comme division en classes sociales ? Althusser pense que c'est le système de l'éducation qui s'en charge. Le niveau d'éducation des individus détermine leur classe sociale : « La division en classes sociales est donc présente dans la division, l'organisation et la direction du procès de production, par la distribution des postes en fonction de l'appartenance de classe (et la "formation" scolaire plus ou moins "courte" ou longue correspondante) des individus qui les occupent »¹⁰. De plus, une

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 58–59.

⁸ Si on tient compte du capitalisme néolibéral contemporain, il faudrait ajouter une autre division sociale du travail : celle entre les travailleurs stables et les travailleurs précaires.

⁹ *Das Kapital*, Bd. 1, *Marx Engels Werke*, Bd. 23, p. 57; *Le Capital*, Livre I, trad. fr., p. 48. « Dans une société dont les produits prennent généralement la forme de marchandises, c'est-à-dire dans une société de producteurs de marchandises, cette différence qualitative entre les travaux utiles, qui sont effectués indépendamment les uns des autres comme autant d'affaires privées de producteurs autonomes, se développe en un système aux articulations multiples, en une division sociale du travail ».

¹⁰ *Sur la reproduction*, p. 61.

fois que la classe sociale de l'individu est déterminée, elle ne change jamais à vie¹¹. D'où cette affirmation d'Althusser :

1/ Les rapports de production capitalistes sont les rapports de l'exploitation capitaliste. Cette exploitation s'exerce par l'extorsion de la plus-value qui est consacrée dans les limites du salaire. Le salaire est concédé en contrepartie d'un travail qui a lieu dans les entreprises de production.

2/ À l'intérieur de cette production, les rapports de production se traduisent par des effets, qui, recoupant et redoublant des effets de classe et de lutte de classe, aboutissent à ce résultat massif : la domination irréductible de la division sociale sur la pseudo-division « purement technique du travail ». Cette division sociale, qui est un effet de la répartition des individus en classes, aboutit à une double et conjointe démarcation, dans l'entreprise même, entre le *monopole de certains emplois* (liés à certains « savoir ») réservée à une partie du « personnel », et le « *parcage* » dans les emplois *subalternes* (et l'interdit de « savoir ») pour l'autre partie du « personnel », les ouvriers¹².

La production et la reproduction de la division en classes sociales (« la division sociale du travail ») ont un rapport étroit avec le monopole ou l'interdit de certains savoirs, établi par le système scolaire. D'où le fait qu'Althusser accorde une grande importance à l'appareil scolaire comme agent de la reproduction des rapports de production. Il écrit en fait dans le chapitre III de *Sur la reproduction* :

Comment cette reproduction de la qualification (diversifiée) de la force de travail est-elle assurée en régime capitaliste ? A la différence de ce qui se passait dans les formations sociales esclavagistes et servagistes, cette reproduction de la qualification de la force de travail tend (il s'agit d'une loi tendancielle) à être assurée non plus « sur le tas » (apprentissage dans la production même), mais de plus en plus en dehors de la production : par le système scolaire capitaliste, et par d'autres instances et institutions [...]¹³.

La reproduction des rapports de production n'est pas assurée « sur le tas », mais « en dehors de la production », c'est-à-dire par l'appareil scolaire. D'après Althusser, on apprend à l'école le « savoir-faire » (les techniques comme la lecture, l'écriture et le calcul, et les connaissances

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63. « En effet, pas de division, d'organisation et de direction du travail, sans *rapports hiérarchiques d'autorité*. Or l'autorité est toujours du même côté, et ce sont toujours les mêmes qui l'exercent, et toujours les mêmes qui la subissent, *pratiquement à vie* ».

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 65–66.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 77. Marx présente le même point de vue dans le Livre I du *Capital*. Cf. *Das Kapital*, Bd. 1, *Marx-Engels Werke*, Bd. 23, p. 186; *Le Capital*, Livre I, trad. fr., p. 193. « Si l'on veut modifier la nature humaine générale de telle sorte qu'elle acière habileté et savoir faire dans une branche de travail déterminée, qu'elle devienne une force de travail développée spécifique, il faut une formation ou une éducation déterminée qui, à son tour, coûte une somme plus ou moins grande d'équivalents marchandises ».

comme les éléments de culture scientifique et littéraire), et en même temps « les “règles” du bon usage, c’est-à-dire de la convenance que doit observer, selon le poste qu’il est “destiné” à y occuper, tout agent de la division du travail : règles de la morale professionnelle, de la conscience professionnelle, ce qui veut dire, en clair, règles du *respect* de la division sociale-technique du travail, et en définitive règles de *l’ordre établi par la domination de classe* »¹⁴. En un mot, ce qu’on apprend à l’école, ce n’est pas simplement le « savoir-faire », mais les règles de l’ordre établi par la domination de classe. Autrement dit, *l’appareil scolaire reproduit les rapports d’exploitation*. D’où est établie une théorie proprement althussérienne selon laquelle la reproduction des rapports de production est la reproduction de l’assujettissement à l’idéologie dominante :

Pour énoncer ce fait dans une langue plus scientifique, nous dirons que la reproduction de la force de travail exige non seulement une reproduction de sa *qualification*, mais, en même temps, une reproduction de sa soumission à ces règles du respect de l’ordre établi, c’est-à-dire une reproduction de sa soumission à l’idéologie dominante pour les ouvriers, et une reproduction de sa capacité à bien manier l’idéologie dominante pour les agents de l’exploitation et de la répression, afin qu’ils assurent « par la parole » la domination de la classe dominante. [...] La reproduction de la force de travail fait donc apparaître, comme sa condition *sine qua non*, non seulement la reproduction de sa « qualification », mais aussi la *reproduction de son assujettissement* à l’idéologie dominante, ou de la « *pratique* » de cette idéologie¹⁵.

La reproduction des rapports de production n’est pas la simple reproduction du « savoir-faire » ou de la qualification, mais la reproduction de l’assujettissement à l’idéologie dominante ou de la « pratique » de cette idéologie. Ce fonctionnement est rempli par les appareils idéologiques d’État comme l’appareil scolaire, l’appareil familial, l’appareil religieux, l’appareil politique, l’appareil syndical, etc. Cependant, l’appareil dominant dans la société capitaliste réside dans l’appareil scolaire, puisque « aucun appareil idéologique d’État ne dispose pendant *autant d’années* de l’audience obligatoire (et c’est bien la moindre des choses, gratuite...), 6 jours sur 7 à raison de 8 heures par jour, de la totalité des enfants de la formation sociale capitaliste »¹⁶. L’appareil scolaire assujettit, en vertu des longues années de l’audience obligatoire, les individus à l’idéologie dominante et reproduit les rapports d’exploitation. Ainsi, ce qui réalise l’appareil scolaire comme appareil idéologique d’État, c’est la reproduction de la « division sociale du travail » en tant que reproduction des rapports d’exploitation, et la reproduction de l’assujettissement à l’idéologie dominante.

¹⁴ *Sur la reproduction*, p. 78.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 78–79.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 175–176.

2 Théorie de l'idéologie

Nous allons ici relier la théorie de la reproduction des rapports de production à la théorie de l'idéologie. Il s'agit d'élucider le mécanisme de l'assujettissement à l'idéologie dominante, qui constitue une base pour reproduire les rapports de production. Dans le chapitre XII « De l'idéologie », Althusser formule ainsi ce mécanisme d'assujettissement :

[...] nous parlerons d'actes insérés dans des pratiques. Et nous remarquerons que ces pratiques sont réglées par des rituels dans lesquels ces pratiques s'inscrivent, au sein de l'existence matérielle d'un appareil idéologique, fût-ce d'une toute petite partie de cet appareil : une petite messe dans une petite église, un enterrement, un petit match dans une société sportive, une journée de classe dans une école, une université, une réunion ou un meeting d'un parti politique, de l'Union Rationaliste, ou tout ce qu'on voudra¹⁷.

D'après Althusser, l'assujettissement à l'idéologie dominante est réalisé par la pratique des « rituels » dans les appareils idéologiques d'État. La pratique des rituels signifie celle qui inculque l'idéologie dominante aux individus. En guise d'exemple, Althusser cite une formulation pascalienne : « Mettez-vous à genoux, remuez les lèvres de la prière, et vous croirez »¹⁸. D'après cette formulation, c'est la pratique des rituels qui inculque l'idée, en l'occurrence l'idéologie dominante. Cette formulation élucide ainsi le primat de la pratique sur l'idée. Alors, quel effet idéologique produit-elle ? Althusser continue ainsi :

Comme le disait admirablement Saint-Paul, c'est dans le « Logos », entendons dans l'idéologie, que nous avons « l'être, le mouvement et la vie ». Il s'ensuit que, pour vous comme pour moi, la catégorie de sujet est une « évidence » première (les évidences sont toujours premières) : il est clair que vous êtes un sujet (libre, moral, responsable, etc.) et moi aussi. Comme toutes les évidences, y compris celles qui font qu'un mot « désigne une chose » ou « possède une signification » (donc y compris les évidences de la « transparence » du langage), cette « évidence » que vous et moi sommes des sujets — et que ça ne fait pas problème — est un effet idéologique, l'effet idéologique élémentaire¹⁹.

La pratique des rituels forme, comme effet idéologique, l'évidence idéologique dans le sujet. Cette évidence consiste à reconnaître l'idéologie dominante et à méconnaître ce qui s'y oppose²⁰. La pratique des rituels forme ainsi le mécanisme de reconnaissance/méconnaissance idéologique et reproduit l'assujettissement à l'idéologie dominante.

La théorie de la reconnaissance/méconnaissance idéologique est une théorie proprement althussérienne, bien qu'elle soit influencée par la théorie freudo-lacanieuse (notamment par

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

²⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

celle de la formation du sujet et de la reconnaissance/méconnaissance imaginaire). Néanmoins, on pourrait dire en certaine mesure que *Le Capital* de Marx préfigure cette théorie de la reconnaissance/méconnaissance idéologique. Dans *Le Capital*, Marx critique ainsi la théorie selon laquelle les marchandises différentes sont équivalentes parce qu'elles contiennent la même sorte de travail :

Ce n'est donc pas parce que les produits de leur travail vaudraient pour eux comme simples enveloppes matérielles d'un travail humain indifférencié que les hommes établissent des relations mutuelles de valeur entre ces choses. *C'est l'inverse*. C'est en posant dans l'échange leurs divers produits comme égaux à titre de valeurs qu'ils posent leurs travaux différents comme égaux entre eux à titre de travail humain. *Ils ne le savent pas, mais ils le font pratiquement* [Sie wissen das nicht, aber sie tun es]²¹.

D'après Marx, les marchandises différentes sont équivalentes parce que les hommes les posent comme égales dans l'échange. « Ils ne le savent pas, mais ils le font pratiquement ». Dans cette thèse marxienne, on peut trouver à la fois le caractère matérialiste et psychanalytique. D'un côté, on peut interpréter cette thèse du point de vue du primat de la pratique sur l'idée (le caractère matérialiste), puisque c'est *la pratique* comme l'échange qui pose les travaux différents comme égaux. D'un autre côté, on peut aussi interpréter cette thèse comme une esquisse de la reconnaissance/méconnaissance idéologique (« Ils ne le savent pas, mais ils le font pratiquement » : le caractère psychanalytique). Nous pourrions donc affirmer que cette thèse de Marx résume le mécanisme de l'idéologie.

Revenons à Althusser. De quoi s'agit-il dans le mécanisme de l'idéologie comme reconnaissance/méconnaissance idéologique ? Althusser répond : « La réalité dont il est question dans ce mécanisme, celle qui est méconnue dans les formes mêmes de la *reconnaissance*, laquelle est donc nécessairement *méconnaissance*, c'est en dernier ressort la reproduction des rapports de production, et des autres rapports qui en dérivent »²². Ainsi, l'assujettissement à l'idéologie dominante que réalise la pratique des rituels n'est rien d'autre que le mécanisme de la reproduction des rapports de production en tant que rapports d'exploitation.

Conclusion: superstructure et base économique

Pour conclure, nous allons réfléchir sur le rapport entre la superstructure et la base économique chez Althusser. Dans *Pour Marx*, Althusser a réfuté le marxisme traditionnel en posant deux thèses apparemment contradictoires : l'autonomie relative de la superstructure par rapport à la base économique, et la détermination en dernière instance par la base éco-

²¹ Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Bd. 1, *Marx-Engels Werke*, Bd. 23, p. 88; *Le Capital*, Livre I, trad. fr., pp. 84–85. Traduction modifiée.

²² *Sur la reproduction*, pp. 234–235.

DU CAPITAL À LA PHILOSOPHIE DE LA REPRODUCTION

nomique. Alors, si nous prenons en considération la théorie de la reproduction des rapports de production que nous avons analysée jusqu'ici, comment pourrions-nous redéfinir ces deux thèses althussériennes ?

Dans *Sur la reproduction*, Althusser analyse ainsi le rôle des rapports de production dans la base économique :

Si on considère un mode de production, dans l'unité Forces Productives / Rapports de Production qui le constitue, cette unité possède une base matérielle : les Forces Productives. Mais ces forces productives ne seraient rien si elles n'étaient mises en état de fonctionner. Or elles ne peuvent fonctionner que *dans* et *sous* leurs Rapports de Production. Ce qui conduit à dire que, sur la base et *dans les limites* des Forces Productives existantes, *ce sont les Rapports de Production qui jouent le rôle déterminant*. [...]

Il ne faut pas confondre cette dernière Thèse, qui concerne l'élément déterminant dans l'unité Forces productives / Rapports de production, donc dans la « base » ou « infrastructure » économique, avec une autre Thèse classique, qui affirme que dans une autre unité très complexe, celle qui unit la Superstructure (Droit, État, Idéologies) à l'Infrastructure (unité des Forces productives et des Rapports de production), c'est l'Infrastructure économique qui est « *déterminante en dernière instance* ».

La troisième Thèse que je viens d'exposer s'inscrit donc elle-même sous la présente Thèse. La troisième Thèse peut alors s'énoncer ainsi : dans l'Infrastructure, qui détermine en dernière instance tout ce qui se passe dans la Superstructure, dans l'Infrastructure, c'est-à-dire dans l'unité Forces productives / Rapports de production, ce sont les Rapports de production qui, sur la base et dans les limites matérielles des Forces productives existantes, sont déterminants²³.

D'après Althusser, la base économique consiste dans l'unité des forces productives et des rapports de production, et ce sont les rapports de production qui sont déterminants au niveau de la base économique. Si nous relions cette thèse à cette autre thèse sur la détermination en dernière instance par la base économique, nous pouvons déduire que les rapports de production déterminent la superstructure en dernière instance. La superstructure est-elle alors simplement soumise aux rapports de production ? Bien sûr que non. Les appareils idéologiques d'État assurent la reproduction des rapports de production. Sur ce point-là, Althusser écrit ce qui suit :

Ce sont donc les appareils idéologiques d'État qui assument la fonction fondamentale de la reproduction des rapports de production — et des rapports qui en dérivent [...]. Or nous venons de voir que cette fonction, tout en dépassant largement la fonction purement intérieure à l'exercice normal du jeu des rapports de production, s'exerce au sein même du jeu des rapports de production. Nous avons vu que le « Droit » était un appareil

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

idéologique d'État spécialisé avant tout dans la garantie du fonctionnement des rapports de production. Nous apercevons maintenant qu'il nous faut étendre cette proposition, et dire que *les autres appareils idéologiques d'État n'assurent la reproduction des rapports de production qu'à la condition d'assurer en même temps, pour une part de leur propre intervention, le jeu même des rapports de production.*

Il suit de là que l'intrication, non pas générale et vague, mais extrêmement précise, entre la Superstructure et l'Infrastructure, s'exerce avant tout par les appareils idéologiques d'État, qui ne figurent dans la superstructure que dans la mesure où la plus grande partie de leur « activité » s'exerce dans le jeu même des rapports de production, pour assurer la reproduction des rapports de production²⁴.

Les appareils idéologiques d'État garantissent le fonctionnement des rapports de production et reproduisent la base économique elle-même. Ainsi est démontrée ici la thèse althussérienne sur l'autonomie relative de la superstructure par rapport à la base économique. De plus, on peut en déduire une toute nouvelle thèse selon laquelle les appareils idéologiques d'État assurent le fonctionnement de la base économique (ou des rapports de production) et le reproduisent. Dans *Sur la reproduction*, Althusser appelle cette thèse « action en retour » de la superstructure par rapport à la base économique. D'où sa formulation des thèses fondamentales marxistes : « 1/ il y a une "autonomie relative" de la superstructure par rapport à la base, 2/ il y a une "action en retour" de la superstructure sur la base »²⁵. La première thèse signifie une « autonomie relative » des appareils idéologiques d'État par rapport à la base économique. Et la deuxième désigne la reproduction des rapports de production (ou de la base économique) assurée par les appareils idéologiques d'État. En ce sens, ce qu'Althusser a apporté à la théorie marxiste ou au matérialisme lui-même, c'est la théorie de l'« autonomie relative » de la superstructure par rapport à la base économique et l'« action en retour » de cette superstructure sur la base économique, en un mot, la théorie de la reproduction des rapports de production assurée par les appareils idéologiques d'État. Ce qui nous autorise à affirmer ceci : si la reproduction des rapports de production assurée par les appareils idéologiques d'État n'existe pas, le mouvement du capital, voire la logique du marché n'existera jamais. Autrement dit, si le politique ou la superstructure n'existe pas, l'économique n'existera jamais²⁶.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁶ Par exemple, dans le régime néolibéral d'aujourd'hui, l'État intervient dans l'instance économique au moyen de la législation et de l'institutionnalisation pour produire le système de « concurrence ». Le marxisme classique sous-estimait cette fonction de l'État qui assurait la logique du marché ou celle du capital. Sur ce point, voir l'analyse de la gouvernamentalité néolibérale par Michel Foucault. Cf. Michel Foucault, *Naissance de la biopolitique, Cours au Collège de France, 1978–1979*, Gallimard/Seuil, 2004.

Beyond Interpreter of English Maladies: Wiener's Thesis Revisited

Noriko WATANABE

'I've been in pain in eight years. I was hoping you could help me feel better,
say the right thing. Suggest some kind of remedy.'
(Jhumpa Lahiri, 1999, 'Interpreter of Maladies')

Introduction

Jhumpa Lahiri's 'Interpreter of Maladies' is a story about a middle-aged man in India. Mr Kapasi once aspired to become an interpreter in the field of international affairs, but he now works as an English tour guide. While guiding the Indian American Das family during their visit to their ancestral land, he tells them about his other job as an interpreter in a doctor's office, where he bridges the language gap between an Indian doctor and his Gujarati patients. His two jobs meet when Mrs Das asks him to 'interpret' and alleviate a malady arising from her past love affair, thereby breaking the romantic illusions he held with regard to her from across the ocean after her returning to the United States. Throughout this novel, Jhumpa Lahiri, a London-born, New York-based writer with Bengali heritage, illuminates post-colonial situations, also playing the role of cultural interpreter/translator for her Anglophone readers.

Likewise, scholars have played a significant role as interpreters of both their own and others' societies, striving to offer better understandings of or prescriptions for social maladies. A notable case is the British 'decline' debate, which has attracted scholars of modern Britain from across disciplines. Britain was the first industrialised country and remained the leading industrial economy till the middle of the nineteenth century. Since then, Britain's decline has become a recurring subject of public and political debate in Britain. Many scholars have sought to answer the question, 'Where did we go wrong?'¹ Among such works, Martin

¹ Gordon Roderick and Michael Stephens (eds.), *Where Did We Go Wrong?: Industrial Performance, Education and the Economy in Victorian Britain* (London, 1981). For the summary and updates of the debate, see Richard English and Michael Kenny (eds.), *Rethinking British Decline* (London, 2000).

Wiener's thesis, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980*, is of great significance.

This monograph was published in 1981, with a paperback edition appearing the next year and Italian and Japanese translations several years later. It was also reprinted as a Penguin Books edition and portions of it have appeared in edited volumes. Published amid the depressed atmosphere of Britain's economic crisis, this eloquent account has enjoyed a wide readership. However, it has also provoked controversy among scholars and was used by British politicians during the years of Thatcherism. Over two decades later, a new edition was published in the context of an optimistic national attitude towards the country's economy. In the preface to the new 2004 edition, Wiener responds to the debate surrounding his work by evading it, re-defining his work for and in a new context.

In this paper, I will revisit this much-debated question of whether, as suggested by Wiener, English culture cultivated through education was at fault for a century of British decline or its *incomplete* development.² However, I do not aim to answer the question itself as has been done by his critics, but rather examine some problems with the debate, considering both the limitations and possibilities of Wiener's thesis. First, I will examine the ways in which Wiener's thesis was produced and received in order to illuminate some problems with Wiener's and his critics' theses as well as gaps in the frameworks and approaches adopted therein. Second, drawing from Gamble's more comprehensive approach to decline, I will show limitations with their framework and analysis and then explore a new interpretation of the materials provided by Wiener. Third, noting the absence of feminist scholarship on and a gender perspective in the decline debate, I will challenge views found in Wiener's and his critics' theses from a gender perspective. Finally, I will critically look at the ways in which Wiener's thesis has been re-defined by Wiener himself in response to criticisms as well as changes in the context of his thesis over the past two decades.

In summary, I hope to show that there are limitations to the analytical framework of Wiener and his critics, and also that they have failed to adequately incorporate into their analysis the political. They have offered two contrasting, polemical views of modern British history that fail to understand the dynamic and complex processes of socio-cultural transformation as well as its transnational context. However, while his approach has been hitherto dismissed by his critics, Wiener's work, with its presentation of a rich variety of cultural materials, can have validity in a new context in which Wiener adopts a new, ambiguous role

² This paper is based on an essay I wrote during my MA studies at the University of London. I am grateful for Professor Yasuko Takezawa and the editors for giving me an opportunity to revise and develop my argument after a decade. I also would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for his or her comments and suggestions for improving this paper. Finally, I would like to thank Dylan Luers for his careful proofreading and suggestions.

beyond that of an interpreter of English maladies.

Production: Wiener's cultural analysis

English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980 is a very ambitious work covering a wide range of domains that brings in rich cultural materials from a variety of sources and scholarship from various disciplines and fields. It consists of four main parts—‘The Setting’ (PART I), ‘A World View’ (PART II), ‘Towards Behaviour’ (PART III), and ‘Industrialism and English Values’ (PART IV), with parts PART II and III comprising the book’s core. While the title indicates that the volume covers from 1850 to 1980, in fact it mostly focuses on the historical period from the mid-nineteenth century to early twentieth century. Wiener starts his monograph by declaring, ‘The leading problem of modern British history is the explanation of economic decline. It has not always been thus’.³ He then goes on to explore ‘sentiments, attitudes, and values among the English élite’ as the most important ‘key to unlocking the puzzles of modern British history’.⁴

Wiener justifies such a novel approach in a discussion of works by economists in the monograph’s first chapter titled ‘The Janus Face of Modern English Culture’ and its appendix titled ‘British Retardation—The Limits of Economic Explanation’. Rubinstein suggests ‘cultural critique’ like that of Wiener’s thesis entered the decline debate as a consequence of historians’ search for explanations of economic decline that were wider and more fundamental than those derived from pure economic analysis.⁵ The cultural critique or cultural thesis addresses the ‘English disease’, in other words, problems peculiar to or inherent in English culture and psychology, namely the ‘conservative’ attitudes and behaviour of political élites which stood in contrast to the ‘modern’ industrialists, businessmen, and manufactures in Germany and the United States. Wiener has become the best-known cultural critic in this regard, an interpreter of English maladies *par excellence*.

Wiener’s argument is that, by the late nineteenth century, the ‘re-formed and cohesive English elite’ was composed of those who had received a liberal education in public schools⁶ and the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge (collectively called Oxbridge).⁷ These

³ Martin Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980* (Cambridge, 1981), 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix–x.

⁵ W. D. Rubinstein, *Capitalism, Culture, and Decline in Britain, 1750–1990* (London and New York, 1993).

⁶ In Britain, ‘public schools’ refer to a specific group of private, independent schools while ‘state schools’ refer to schools for all children that are funded by the government. Boys’ boarding schools, such as Eaton College, Rugby School and Harrow School, have historically catered to the sons of the élite classes.

schools and universities saw vocational preparation through the lens of ‘the stigma of utility’, and leading them to promote ‘traditional’ studies that were an ‘imitation of the leisured landed gentleman’ who forsakes ‘the modern role of the professional as expert’.⁸ Thus, the newly formed middle class, with its aspirations of upward mobility, was gentrified or absorbed into an aristocratic culture with little interest in careers in industry. According to Wiener, one consequence of this anti-industrial culture was the economic decline of the world’s first industrial nation.

In examining Wiener’s thesis, it is first necessary to look at the ways in which it was produced. His work was produced during Britain’s economic crisis in the 1970s, a time in which he spent a year in London. Wiener, perhaps finding continuity between the past and the present in the discourse of decline, attempts to explain current problems and dilemmas in Britain from a historical point of view. In doing so, he was influenced by the then prevalent assumption of modernisation theory that sees the characteristics of ‘traditional’ societies as being a hindrance to the process of modernisation.⁹

This basic assumption can easily be seen in Wiener’s references to the work of development economists and Talcott Parsons, and the comparisons he draws between Britain’s decline and Japan’s success. He unquestioningly accepts the prevailing view of the time which argued that Japan was able to succeed economically because of the ‘peculiar’ and ‘tribal’ characteristics of its society and culture.¹⁰ This exceptionalist view came into existence and gained wide acceptance because Japan’s experience of modernity could not be explained in terms of the ideal model of modernisation/development,¹¹ due to the model’s tendency to define ‘modern’ as ‘Western’ and simplistically contrast the ‘modern’ West and the ‘backward’ non-West. It is from such a standpoint that Wiener asks, ‘How, then, has English middle- and upper-class culture affected the nation’s economic development?’¹²

In tackling this question, Wiener, who was originally trained as an intellectual historian,

⁷ Wiener, *English Culture*, 22–24. Emphasis is original.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁹ Shyama Charan Dube, *Understanding Change: Anthropological & Sociological Perspectives* (New Dehli, 1992).

¹⁰ Wiener, *English Culture*, 5. For the role the ‘language of Confucianism’ played in Japan’s modernisation, see Roger Goodman, ‘Ideology and Practice in Japan: Towards a Theoretical Approach’, in Roger Goodman and Kirsten Refsing (eds.), *Ideology and Practice in Modern Japan* (London, 1992), ch. 1.

¹¹ For example, Michio Morishima, in his 1982 volume *Why Has Japan ‘Succeeded?’: Western Technology and the Japanese Ethos* (Cambridge), makes this exceptionalist claim specifically with regard to the Japanese Confucian tradition. In order to explain Japan’s post-1990 economic decline, Morishima published *Japan at a Deadlock* (Basingstoke, 2000). Wiener turns from Japan to ‘Asian tigers’ (Southeast Asian countries) in the new preface to the 2004 edition of his work.

¹² Wiener, *English Culture*, 5.

takes an approach distinct from that of development economists. Drawing from Raymond Williams' remarks on cultural analysis, Wiener attempts to find some 'patterns of a characteristic kind' and to illuminate some of their 'relationships and consequences'.¹³ As Wiener himself notes, his approach was pioneering in scholarship on British history; before the publication of his work, it was uncommon for British scholars to focus on such a 'vague' area, since they made a clear distinction between ideas/imagination (intellectual, literary, and cultural history) and material 'reality' (economic, social, and political history) in history scholarship.¹⁴ Wiener's approach is based on the belief that ideas are 'real' and have consequences.¹⁵ He also makes a distinction between cultural history and literary history or criticism; as the former attempt, he sees himself as illuminating the 'public reception and public image of writers and their work' or 'what they most share with the widest audience'.¹⁶

We can point out various problems with Wiener's initial assumption. Assuming that the 'gentrified' bourgeois culture fostered by education had characteristics that constrained Britain's economic development, Wiener defines English culture and education as a factor behind the economic decline. However, this 'culture' is, as the social and economic historian and recent critic of Wiener points out, a 'so fickle guide, so flexible, anxious to please, and so easily moulded to suit any one of a range of preconceptions'.¹⁷ This criticism need not lead us to question the enterprise of cultural analysis itself, but rather it can draw our attention to the fact that Wiener was experimenting with a new approach to history that went beyond the traditional material/cultural divide before cultural history scholarship flourished through a *marriage* with literary and anthropological approaches.¹⁸

Also, pointing to Britain's 'relatively smooth' transition to modernity that took place with 'no political upheaval', Wiener assumes that 'that very mildness' limited Britain's development, concluding that the nineteenth-century transformation of Britain, as a 'peaceful accommodation', led to the continuation in modern society of 'premodern elements' such as certain values and patterns of behaviour, thus legitimizing 'antimodern sentiments'.¹⁹ Such

¹³ *Ibid.*, x.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, x.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, x.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, x.

¹⁷ F. M. L. Thompson, *Gentrification and the Enterprise Culture: Britain, 1780–1980* (Oxford, 2001), 160. Wiener also quotes this part in the introduction for the new edition of the volume.

¹⁸ Lynn Hunt, 'Introduction: History, Culture, and Text' in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History: Essays* (Berkeley, 1989). For a critical examination of historians' rediscovery and reception of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz's work including *Interpretation of Culture*, see Stuart Clark, 'Thick Description, Thin History: Did Historians Always Understand Clifford Geertz?' in Jeffrey C. Alexander, Philip Smith and Matthew Norton (eds.) *Interpreting Clifford Geertz: Cultural Investigation in the Social Sciences* (New York, 2011), ch. 10.

¹⁹ Wiener, *English Culture*, 7.

a view of a linear process of development from the traditional to the modern has been challenged by many studies which have shown that 'tradition' is constantly being made and re-made, if not an entirely modern 'invention'.²⁰ Stuart Hall also points out that Wiener is under the influence of a normative view of polity formation based on the French experience of the bourgeois revolution and development, a result of his reliance on the scholarships of Perry Anderson and Tom Nairn.²¹ In fact, while classical scholarship argued that the process of making 'peasants into Frenchmen' or French citizens by means of the *mission civilatrice* (universal education) took place over the *longue durée*, more recent scholarship has challenged the ideal view of French polity formation, showing that it is still incomplete, contested, and negotiated on the periphery, such as rural areas.²² Before further examining limitations and possibilities of Wiener's thesis, I would like to consider criticisms of Wiener in the below section.

Reception: Empiricist works challenging Wiener

Wiener's widely read thesis, whilst attracting much acclaim,²³ has also attracted much criticism in the form of empiricist counter arguments. Scholars have shown scepticism regarding the methodology he uses to uncover the influences of anti-industrial culture on people's behaviour, attitudes, and thus economic development.²⁴ The historian Michael Sanderson, in his article 'The English Civic Universities and the 'Industrial Spirit', 1870–1914' that focuses on the development of civic college universities in England from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, argues that Wiener ignores the fact that science courses as well as vocational and technical subjects in English schools and universities were considerably

²⁰ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983). A more moderate view compared to their modernist one has been offered by Anthony D. Smith, who argues that 'the invention of tradition' is in fact the re-interpretation and re-articulation by intellectuals or élites of more complex pre-modern ethnic foundations. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986), 13–18.

²¹ Stuart Hall, (interviewed by Michael Kenny) in English and Kenny (eds.), *Rethinking British Decline*, ch. 8, 107.

²² See Eurgen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914*, (Stanford, Calif., 1976); Deborah Reed-Danahay, *Education and Identity in Rural France: The Politics of Schooling* (Cambridge, 1996).

²³ Wiener was awarded the prestigious Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize of the American Historical Association as the best American book on Britain or the Commonwealth.

²⁴ This can be attributed to the fact that many of his critics are economic and social historians who place value on 'hard facts' and 'reality', while Wiener was primarily trained as an intellectual historian, and thus he is familiar with using written expressions of thought as his sources.

²⁵ Michael Sanderson, 1988, 'The English Civic Universities and the "Industrial Spirit", 1870–1914', *Historical Research*, 61 (1988), 90–104.

developed at the time.²⁵ Sanderson criticises Wiener's 'powerful polemic' for its narrow scope that is limited to Oxbridge, and presents statistical data showing that civic universities were the strongest at the time among English universities in terms of student numbers. Then, to support his argument, he provides evidence that these civic universities received considerable financial assistance from local business communities and emphasises that they contributed to British industry both in terms of research and scientific manpower. Combining data, several biographical accounts of notable individuals associated with civic universities, and summaries related educational philosophies. Sanderson further shows that civic universities generated an 'industrial spirit' as well as 'modern' ethos 'linked with, and not divorced from, those of capitalism, science and the economy'.²⁶

The economic historian W. D. Rubinstein offers a substantial critique of Wiener in his work, *Capitalism, Culture, and Decline in Britain*.²⁷ Rubinstein directly challenges the most fundamental assumption of Wiener's 'cultural critique' that seeks to understand the decline of the industrial and manufacturing economy. Referring to Cain and Hopkins' thesis on 'gentlemanly capitalism' and some other statistics, Rubinstein argues that Britain was never fundamentally an industrial and manufacturing economy, but rather essentially a 'commercial, financial, and service-based economy whose comparative advantage always lay with commerce and finance'.²⁸ Therefore, what was perceived as Britain's decline was rather Britain's realistic transformation into a service-based economy. Thus, Rubinstein rejects Wiener's cultural critique as 'misconceived', seeing it as being based on a fundamentally inaccurate conception of the nature of the British economy.

Such a view of Britain's 'true' economic position leads Rubinstein to characterise culture and education as pro-industrial and pro-business. In Rubinstein's comparative view, Britain's high culture, as distinct from mass culture, was the least hostile to entrepreneurship and business life in Europe and perhaps in the world. From 1850 onwards it started to become 'more rational and positivistic'.²⁹ Rubinstein, therefore, argues that the British public school system was a 'rational' fit for Britain's economy of the time, which was not in decline. Compared with English middle-class education, he points out that that of Germany focused 'excessively on the classics', and from his social analysis of students' family origins and destinations, contends that the intergenerational shift in occupation among students attending public schools does *not* indicate gentrification of the business class, stating that public schools 'did not act as an intergenerational sieve to eliminate future businessman'.³⁰ Providing evidence that

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 96. There are other empirical studies considering the development of vocational and technical education, but examining them lies beyond the scope of this paper.

²⁷ Rubinstein, *Capitalism*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 25

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 127–128.

shows few sons of entrepreneurs entered a public school, Rubinstein argues that if students failed to choose business occupations, it cannot be attributed to public schools. They, coming from the professional class, just followed in ‘their father’s footsteps’ rather than choosing unfamiliar business professions.³¹ Furthermore, he notes that the majority of the British élite did not consist of graduates of public schools and Oxbridge as Wiener suggests.³²

These critics may have contributed to a better understanding of some aspects of modern Britain through thoroughly empiricist research. On the other hand, a division of labour in history scholarship seems to have prohibited the emergence of a substantial critique of Wiener’s study. For example, Sanderson should be commended for developing an empirical, alternative view to that of Wiener by shining a light on the development of civic universities, uncovering in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century and onwards more diversity than Wiener allows. But what he presents is a parallel story to that of Wiener’s thesis, limiting himself to a social group different from that found in Wiener’s work. The real historical situation might not have been so simple; for example, Goldman gives an example of an aristocrat who was considerably involved in the promotion of science education as well as business pursuits.³³ Also, other studies have shown that the distinctive ‘civic’ ethos flourished only for a short period; civic colleges eventually came to alter their mission from ‘modern’ high technical training to that of ‘traditional’ universities, reflecting the superior social status of Oxbridge in the hierarchical higher education system that was consolidated by 1914.³⁴ Furthermore, Wiener and Sanderson fail to recognise national differences within the British education system, such as the distinctive Scottish tradition where professional training was actively undertaken.³⁵

Similarly, Rubinstein’s material analysis of socio-economic factors offers a view opposite from that of Wiener—that the actual state of British economy might have been sound. When comparing Wiener’s thesis to that of Rubinstein, we can see that while they adopt different views of the state of the economy in Victorian Britain, in the end they simply offer two different and one-sided arguments that contrast the characteristics of ‘traditional’, ‘anti-industrial’ culture, education, and society with those of their ‘modern’, ‘pro-industrial’ versions, explaining economic and social transformations in terms of people’s either ‘rational’ or ‘irrational’ choice. This shows that the analytical frameworks of Wiener and his critics

³¹ *Ibid.*, 135.

³² *Ibid.*, 137–139.

³³ Lawrence Goldman, ‘A History with the Politics Left Out. Cambridge 1870–1990’, Review Article, *Oxford Review of Education*, 23(2) (1997), 229–234.

³⁴ See Roy Lowe, 1987, ‘Structural Change in English Higher Education, 1870–1920’ in Detlef Muller, Fritz Ringer and Brian Simon (eds.), *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction, 1870–1920* (London, 1987), ch. 7; R. D. Anderson, *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800* (Cambridge, 1995).

³⁵ Anderson, *Universities and Elites*, 22–30.

are limited because they are based on modernisation theory. Wiener's initial question is thus problematic; embracing a modernisation paradigm, he searches for a primary cause of Britain's decline and *incomplete* modernisation, which he uncritically assumes are facts. Following this assumption, he defines culture as simply primary determinants of decline without offering any contextual and relational accounts of colonialism and imperialism or the world political economy, to which we now turn.

Beyond the limitations in framework and analysis

There is a fundamental limitation in Wiener's framework. It is nation-state bound and fails to sufficiently examine the political context of the time. In contrast to the accounts of Wiener and Rubinstein, Andrew Gamble, a political scientist who has been described as the 'author of one of the best exciting books on decline',³⁶ provides a more comprehensive picture of the topic. In his *Britain in Decline: Economic Policy, Political Strategy and the British State*, Gamble emphasises the political dimension that lay behind British economic decline. Gamble is basically sceptical that there was something called the 'British national economy' that formed part of the worldview of the British political élite during the era of national protectionism.³⁷ Gamble suggests that we should understand it as political perception rather than an objective reality, and reminds readers that the discourses of British decline obscure the reality that Britain remained and remains one of the wealthiest countries in the world.³⁸ It is therefore necessary to understand decline in two ways: first, as a discourse constituted by 'the particular ideas and assumptions of those participating in it', and, second, as a historical process that operates by both emphasizing the *absolute* decline in British imperial power and the *relative* decline of British economic competitiveness in comparison with the other countries, namely, Western Europe and Japan.³⁹

This indicates that the context of the discourse of British decline is much wider than Wiener allows, as well as that it also differs between pre-war and post-war times.⁴⁰ Until the end of the Second World War, Britain retained an Empire where 'English gentlemen' were

³⁶ Richard English and Michael Kenny, 'Preface and Acknowledgements' in English and Kenny (eds.), *Rethinking British Decline*, x.

³⁷ Andrew Gamble, *Britain in Decline: Economic Policy, Political Strategy and the British State*. 4th edn (London, 1994; 1st edn, 1981), xi.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, xv, 9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, xvii–xviii.

⁴⁰ Gamble identifies three different stages for the discourse of decline: the first stage between the 1880s and the 1920s, the second stage between the aftermath of the Second World War and the 1960s, and the third stage between the 1960s and early 1970s. See, Gamble, 'Theories and Explanations of British Decline' in English and Kenny (eds.), *Rethinking British Decline*, ch. 1, 5–6.

sent. Recent studies have shown that the Empire not only influenced on the construction of class and gender at home, but it was also lived through everyday practices.⁴¹ Wiener later identifies the need to include Britain's experience of empire, as it shaped education into being a training ground for moral imperial administrators.⁴² In his thesis, Wiener relates a story found in a letter from Fredrick Lugand (1858–1945), the great colonial administrator, to his sister, which describes how one young man preferred the civil service in India over a business job, describing the former as a 'gentlemanly occupation'. However, Wiener mentions this merely to illustrate the existence of bias against industry.⁴³

On the other hand, it is evident that, as Wiener shows, there *was* certainly a discourse of decline, which his critics have neglected. The problem is that Wiener fully believes in Britain's economic decline; he documents the discourses of decline formulated by the 'articulate' classes⁴⁴ while treating them as if they *reflect* reality rather than *constitute* it. In this way, he fails to identify the real workings of these discourses. From documents such as the 1906 pamphlet *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire*, we can see how a sense of crisis was constructed for its readers. The text's author adopts the voice of a Japanese historian who is sharing with Japanese children the fictive historical lesson of how the British empire met its downfall; in doing so, he is urging British readers to realise the decadent state of their own Empire in a way that evokes Edward Gibbon's monumental historical work on the Roman Empire.⁴⁵ Gamble notes that discourses of both the decline of Empire and the economy influenced policy formation, which led to a 'modernisation' of institutions through the mimicking of other successful countries.⁴⁶ Furthermore, as Wiener's work suggests, the mid-nineteenth century also witnessed the beginning of comparisons with others by influential British thinkers, writers, journalists and mass media, coupled with the emergence and development of various comparative disciplines.

What we need to do is critically examine rather than trace and reproduce such a comparative perspective, as has been done by Wiener and his critics.⁴⁷ In the discourses presented

⁴¹ Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006).

⁴² Martin Wiener (interviewed by Michael Kenny) in English and Kenny, (eds.), *Rethinking British Decline*, ch. 2, 30.

⁴³ Wiener, *English Culture*, 130.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, ix.

⁴⁵ This pamphlet was published a year after the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was originally signed in 1902. Probably due to the alliance, the author points out some resemblances between the English and the Japanese, such as them both being an 'Island race on the verge of a great Continent' as well as having 'the same sturdy physique'. Vivian Gray [Elliot E. Mills], *The Decline and Fall of the British Empires* (Oxford, 1906), reprinted in Yorimitsu Hashimoto (ed.), *Yellow Peril: A Collection of Historical Sources* (Tokyo, 2005), 3, ch. 25, 60.

BEYOND INTERPRETER OF ENGLISH MALADIES

by Wiener, we can trace the articulation of 'English' identity that was based on a revived and revised élite culture and articulated in comparison with emerging empires.⁴⁸ As Stuart Hall points out, 'the notion of decline is caught up with the question of embattled national identity.'⁴⁹ It is very likely that such a comparative perspective influenced the political, especially by redefining in a nationalist way Englishness as 'moral', 'civilised', and 'rural' vis-à-vis 'modern', 'material', and 'urban' Americans and continental Europeans. Thus, moving beyond narratives of decline, we need to re-interpret the ways in which Britain has gone from representing itself as the 'world factory' to 'the green garden' and 'the country of Shakespeare and Milton, of Wordsworth and Sherry, of Tennyson and Browning'⁵⁰.

According to Michael Sadler, the first Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports and a keen observer and interpreter of foreign education systems, this Englishness was to spread, beyond private school students, 'more widely and systematically, throughout all classes of the community' through the cultivation of love for nature and literature in the state schools.⁵¹ Indeed, although schooling had been conducted under voluntary auspices

⁴⁶ Gamble, 'Theories and Explanations', 17.

⁴⁷ Also in the 2000 interview, Wiener reproduces such a comparative perspective by pointing out the underdevelopment of technical education in Britain with no equivalent of MIT in Britain (Wiener interviewed by Kenny), 32).

⁴⁸ Rebecca Langlands, 'Britishness or Englishness?: The Historical Problem of National Identity in Britain,' *Nations and Nationalism*, 5 (1) (1999), 53–69.

⁴⁹ Stuart Hall (interviewed by English and Kenny), 109.

⁵⁰ William Ralph Inge, *Our Present Discontents* (1938) quoted in Wiener, *English Culture*, 113.

⁵¹ Quoted from J. H. Hogginson (ed.), *Selections from Michael Sadler: Studies in World Citizenship* (Liverpool, 1979), 49–51. Sadler played an influential role in the formulation of education policies. In 1900, he gave a famous lecture titled 'How Far Can We Learn Anything of Practical Value from the Study of Foreign System of Education?' to an audience of teachers at the Guildford Educational Conference. In this lecture, which uses Germany as a comparative reference point, he stressed the importance of 'efficiency' in education (the national efficiency movement was active at the time) and also suggested cultivating love of nature and literature in both town children and country children. In 1903, seeking for autonomy from politics, Sadler resigned from the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports and then held important positions at universities, such as vice-chancellorship at Leeds and Master of University College, Oxford. Sadler also contributed to university extension movement while at Oxford, and was appointed to inquire into the affairs of Calcutta University from 1917 to 1919 (Calcutta University Commission), resulting 13 volume Calcutta University Report. With these distinguished achievements, he is regarded as the founding father of British comparative education. For a brief biography, see J. H. Hogginson, 'Michael Ernest Sadler', *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, 24 (3/4) (1994), 455–469. Reproduced by UNESCO in 2002 at <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/publications/ThinkersPdf/sadlere.pdf>. Also see J. Sislian, *Sir Michael Sadler 1861–1943: England's Interpreter and America's Admirer* (New York, 2002); *State and Education in England and Germany: a Sadlerian Perspective* (New York, 2005).

in Britain, this period saw gradually growing state intervention in education in both the private and state sector after the creation of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools in 1839. For example, the inquiry commission pressured public schools to introduce science into the curriculum, a fact that Wiener mentions to argue that there was reluctance on the part of public schools to embrace the sciences, which instead favoured Greek and Roman classics as the basis of liberal education.⁵²

Also, through education reforms, notably the Education Act of 1902, the state and local authorities promoted curriculum reform in state schools.⁵³ Wiener sees this reform as the 'molding of the state system' 'in line with the ideals of the education of the gentry' in public schools.⁵⁴ However, it needs to be understood as the state's attempt to shape education in response to its modern needs, such as sharing 'Englishness' in its citizenry regardless of class and gender, at a time when the Aliens Act of 1905, the first act for immigration controls and regulation was about to be put into effect.⁵⁵ Interestingly, such a modernity project was preceded in its Empire, notably India. Macaulay's Minute of 1835 famously discusses the formation of 'a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect' shaped through selective higher education in English that would serve as 'interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern' in maintaining British rule.⁵⁶ Until then, the Indian élite class had been educated in and through Sanskrit or Arabic language and literature, which Macaulay found useless. His vision of 'Brown Englishmen'—'an almost but never quite complete project'⁵⁷—suggests that education reforms at home were influenced by and in line with those in the colonies.

In contrast to Wiener's view, which presents this kind of redefinition of Englishness as a 'wrong path' that led to decline, these discourses and reforms suggest that Englishness was

⁵² Wiener, *English Culture*, 17–19.

⁵³ Linda Simpson, 'Imperialism, National Efficiency and Education, 1900–1905', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 16 (1) (1984), 28–36, 35.

⁵⁴ Wiener, *English Culture*, 21–22.

⁵⁵ It was specifically targeted at the increasing number of Jewish immigrants who were fleeing persecution in Russia and East Europe.

⁵⁶ 'Minute of the 2nd of February 1835' in *Speeches: with his Minute on Indian Education by Lord Macaulay*, selected with an introduction and notes by G. M. Young (New York, 1979), 359. Thomas Babington Macaulay was appointed for President of the Committee of Public Instruction in 1834. Macaulay's Minute was influential on the formulation of the English Education Act of 1835, which was enforced to reform education in India. See, Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven and London, 2012), 225–230. Problematising the ignorance of the common people, Macaulay also argued for state intervention in education in England at the House of Commons in 1847. For the full text, see 'A Speech Delivered in the House of Commons on the 19th of April, 1847' in Young (ed.), *Speeches*, 300–326.

⁵⁷ Hall, *Macaulay*, 229.

being re-articulated by these intellectuals or élites. This comparative project was a driving force for modernisation in Britain that, while being the first industrialised economy and then an unparalleled imperial power, was facing competitions from rival powers.⁵⁸

Shifting the perspective to gender

This section seeks to use a gender perspective to explore an alternative view of the practice and role of education in late Victorian Britain. It should be first pointed out that decline debate has remained gender-blind and male-dominated to date. For example, *Rethinking British Decline*, published in 2000, updates the debate for the new century by presenting the new works and reflections of some influential contributors to the debate including Wiener, but again, a gender perspective is missing.⁵⁹ Wiener and his critics have ignored the dimension of gender, only focusing upon social class. This may stem from the fact that the decline debate has centred on ‘gentleman’ culture and economy, assuming women as an irrelevant and non-articulate class. Furthermore and more strikingly, although feminist scholarship has contributed to a shift in perspective from one based on the classical preoccupation of class struggle to one concerned with gender, there is a lack of such works that challenge Wiener and his critics. Perhaps such neglect is partially a result of feminist historical scholarship being traditionally concerned with heroic accounts of women’s ‘achievements’, such as feminist struggles for women’s rights to vote and access to education in Britain and elsewhere from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.⁶⁰

This is a fatal omission, since the period when the discourse of British decline emerged in the mid-nineteenth century also saw a florescence of the women’s movement followed by the gradual development of secondary and higher education for women. For example, the first women’s college that offered a liberal higher education, Bedford College (London), opened in 1849 in response to the demands of young women from better-off families and their parents.⁶¹ Later, the university extension movement for the working classes and women

⁵⁸ According to Satoshi Mizutani, this practice of the ‘imperial politics of comparison’ has also been pointed out by the historical anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler. ‘*Anne Stoler no Shokuminchi Kenkyu to Higashi Ajia karano Ôtokanôsei*’ (Ann Stoler’s Call for a Refiguring of Colonial Studies and a Possible Response from East Asia), *The Zinbun Gakuhô* (Journal of Humanities), 100, 49–75 (in Japanese).

⁵⁹ There is a chapter by two female scholars, but it examines British decline in relation with European integration. See Marie-Therese Fay and Elizabeth Meehan, ‘British Decline and European Integration’ in English and Kenny (eds.), *Rethinking*, ch. 13.

⁶⁰ See Jill Ker Conway, ‘Rethinking the Impact of Women’s Education’ in Jill Ker Conway and Susan C. Bourque (eds.), *The Politics of Women’s Education: Perspectives from Asia, Africa, and Latin America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996), 245–258.

from the 1850s to the 1870s led to the founding of women's colleges in Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin, allowing women to attend lectures and take examinations.⁶²

These changes suggest the existence of a rather 'modern' education movement in response to social demands, which led even ancient universities to create new spaces and time for women. But this could also be part of the process of accommodation and absorption of the new bourgeoisie into the old class that Wiener documents. In studying education, therefore, we should look beyond access to education, focusing on questions like, what was taught and *actually* learned at these schools and universities? What values and mentalities arose due to the education offered at them? What career paths were followed by their graduates? What consequences did educational expansion and reforms bring to the existing gendered power relations as well socio-cultural values?

Indeed, feminist historians have argued that education prepared men for productive labour and women for consumption and the reproduction of a family defined by new Victorian ideals for the new middle class, which articulated separate spheres for men and women as a result of the development of capitalism.⁶³ Howarth and Curthoys have documented the gender divisions in the curriculum in public schools and universities in England from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. What is interesting here is that, while male students studied 'dead languages and outmoded sciences', women 'suffered no such pressure to acquire knowledge that was "useless, absurd or fantastical"'.⁶⁴ Adam Smith thought that privileged women should only be taught what was judged 'necessary or useful for them to learn' by their parents and guardians.⁶⁵ The existence of such practices is confirmed in Burstyn's study: for an affordable price, middle-class girls were educated by governesses

⁶¹ Janet Howarth and Mark Curthoys, 1987, 'The Political Economy of Women's Higher Education in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *Historical Research*, 60, 208–231.

⁶² While University of London degrees were opened to women in 1878, it took more time for women to become able to obtain a university degree in the ancient universities. In 1878, the University of London became the first university in Britain to admit women to its degree program. In 1881, two women obtained a BSc, and by 1895 over 10 percent of the graduates were women, a figure that reached 30 percent by 1900. Oxford admitted women as degree-seeking full university members in 1920. Cambridge was considerably late, with women being admitted to its degree program only in 1949. After this change, women who had attended these universities earlier came to be regarded as holding the corresponding degree. <http://www.london.ac.uk/history.html>; <http://www.admin.cam.ac.uk/univ/newsletter/1998/aug-sep/3.html> (accessed on 2nd of September 2013).

⁶³ Joan N. Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (Totowa, N.J., 1980); Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge, 1992). According to Hall, Evangelicals provided the dominant view that claimed the existence of natural differences and inequality between men and women, convinced of the necessity for a national reform of morals and manners (*Ibid.*, 83).

⁶⁴ Howarth and Curthoys, 'The Political', 208.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 208.

BEYOND INTERPRETER OF ENGLISH MALADIES

at their homes or in small private schools so that they would learn social skills rather than intellectual or domestic ones.⁶⁶

Education was also viewed as a symbol of social status and social mobility, reflecting the presence of a social ideal of self-improvement at the time. Howarth, in her article on girls' schools and social mobility from 1880 to 1914, identifies considerable diversity in the social backgrounds of female students and the ways in which they used their college educations.⁶⁷ While some climbed the educational ladder to pursue their professional and intellectual ambitions, for many girls from 'genteel or middle-class families', college education was *not* a means of upward mobility but rather 'insurance against downward mobility'.⁶⁸ College education gave way to 'professional or quasi-professional employment' for 'single women whose fathers could not make adequate long-term provisions for their support'.⁶⁹ Furthermore, female students in Oxbridge, London colleges, and medical schools before 1914 were not necessarily from residential public schools: there were other types of schools recognised as places that produce academically successful students who attend Oxbridge and other colleges. They included other kinds of less expensive schools such as public day schools.⁷⁰ Thus, the path from public schools to Oxbridge that Wiener suggests did not necessarily apply to young women.

Howarth further questions whether girls' schools were the 'Tom Brown's Universe' (as described in the novel *Tom Brown's Schooldays*)⁷¹ that boys' public schools were seen as being at the time.⁷² While recognizing the existence of a public school consciousness that transcended individual public schools for boys, Howarth identifies special characteristics which inhibited the growth of a common public school consciousness in girls' schools; students were from a more varied set of socio-economic classes and there was limited interaction between schools through sports.⁷³

⁶⁶ Burstyn, *Victorian Education*, 22–23.

⁶⁷ Janet Howarth, 'Public Schools, Safety-nets and Educational Ladders: the Classification of Girls' Secondary Schools, 1880–1914', *Oxford Review of Education*, 11 (1) (1985), 59–71.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁶⁹ Howarth shows that about one in five female students in Oxford before 1914 were orphans or fatherless daughters 'at risk of downward mobility' (*Ibid.*, 67).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁷¹ This Thomas Hughes novel, which is set in Rugby School, is quoted in Wiener's thesis to illustrate the attitude cultivated in these schools that looked down upon 'working to get your living' and money-making in favour of 'doing some real good in the world' (Wiener, *English Culture*, 20).

⁷² This was because their schools catered to a more varied set of socio-economic classes with their modest fees, interaction between them was geographically limited, and doubt existed within them regarding the value of incorporating sports in the ways that boys' schools did (Howarth, 'Public Schools', 63).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 63–64.

As we have seen, a gender perspective reveals a different story than that of Wiener's, highlighting the differences in the practice and role of education between men and women. These studies suggest that education for English middle-class men and women was basically responding to the needs of the new normative gender roles and gendered divisions of labour of the new middle classes, which is a process of *modern* social transformation in response to dynamic political and economic changes. Wiener later admitted that he concentrated too much on public schools and should have looked at the education throughout society.⁷⁴ Certainly he should have done so, but a gender perspective alone can illuminate such diversity, and it would also assist in the development of new exciting studies on the Empire across the metropole and the colonies that would go beyond the standard focus on boy's experiences.⁷⁵ It is therefore necessary to explore the meaning that such gendered practices and experiences of education had for men and women in a wider transnational context, such as Britain's imperial expansion and competition, beyond conventional disciplinary practices.⁷⁶

Transformation: Wiener's thesis in and for a new context

This section critically looks at the ways in which Wiener's thesis has been re-contextualised and thus re-defined by Wiener himself in the new edition of his monograph that was published in 2004 as well as in an interview published in 2000 in the edited book titled *Rethinking British Decline*. Until then, despite the existence of such a heated debate over the decades, Wiener has neither explicitly defended nor developed his thesis, instead choosing to embark on a new area of study, crime and punishment, while keeping his interests in Victorian England.⁷⁷

While accepting some of the criticisms regarding the insufficiency of the evidence avail-

⁷⁴ Wiener (interviewed by Kenny), 32.

⁷⁵ See, for example, Hall and Rose (eds.), *At Home*, in particular the following chapters: James Epstein, 'Taking Class Notes on Empire' (cha. 12), Keith McClelland and Sonya Rose, 'Citizenship and Empire, 1867–1928' (cha. 13).

⁷⁶ There are gaps in historical studies on education among specialist historians. Sanderson also points out such gaps between historians of education and economic historians who study education, economic, and social change. The former tend to stress the achievements and development of education, while the latter takes a cooler view that is biased towards formal economics and interested in the topic of growth (Michael Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society in England, 1780–1870*, Studies in Economic and Social History. 2nd edn (London, 1991).

⁷⁷ In his new area of study, Wiener has again received acclaims, winning prizes and having his books published in both hardcover and paperback editions. Martin Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England 1830–1914* (Cambridge, 1990); *Men of Blood: Violence, Manliness and Criminal Justice in Victorian England* (Cambridge, 2004); *An Empire on Trial: Race, Murder and Justice under British Rule, 1870–1935* (Cambridge, 2009).

able at the time of writing as well as his privileging of ideas over reality, Wiener problematises the ways in which his thesis was received by his critics. He states that they *wrongly* suggested it was a 'complete explanation of British decline' and thus his 'position became exaggerated in "translation" by others', while, in fact, he intended it to explain a change or development 'that did not occur as it might have' after the mid-nineteenth century.⁷⁸ It is likely that Wiener is attempting to defend his thesis in this way by shifting the focus because he has come to adopt the accepted view on decline. But even if it is so, by considering educational reforms and practice⁷⁹ that were coupled with articulations of gender, class, nation and race, we arrive at a different picture of modern Britain; it appears that the historical process of social transformation did take place with gradual state intervention, albeit not as drastically as the case of latecomers like Japan, where the central government played a very active role in initiating modernisation through education.⁸⁰ In order to see how far this process of social transformation, which includes the formation of gendered middle class, is an 'English peculiarity', it is necessary to re-imagine comparative studies without relying on the ideal model of development.

Furthermore, Wiener tactically re-defines and thus legitimatises his thesis by re-contextualising it in the introduction to the new edition of his book. In other words, he provides a new political context for his thesis: the end of empire, resurgence of nationalisms in Scotland and Wales, and a changed economic context characterised by Britain's loss of economic superiority vis-à-vis its European neighbours.⁸¹ Then, without any single revision or update, he claims that it remains 'a vivid portrait of one face of modern British history' and a 'founding text of the study of national identities' that preceded a wealth of literature on this subject.⁸² As we have seen, this is not what Wiener originally intended his work to be; he was primarily concerned with Britain's economic decline which is closely linked with the question

⁷⁸ Wiener (interviewed by Kenny), 31, 35. Stuart Hall also offers a similar view to Wiener; there is a certain 'real' way of dealing with and entering modernity, which Britain did not do (Hall, interviewed by English and Kenny, 108).

⁷⁹ For the development of university reforms in the nineteenth century, see Michael Sanderson, *The Universities in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1971).

⁸⁰ Compared with France and Japan, the process of centralisation of education in Britain has been more gradual. As for Japan's political discourse on education, see Byron Marshall, *Learning to Be Modern: Japanese Political Discourse on Education*, New Perspectives on Asian History (Boulder, Colo., 1994).

⁸¹ Martin Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980*. 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2004), xiii.

⁸² This trend in scholarship was sparked by Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

⁸³ See Wiener, 'Some Leaders of Opinion and Economic Growth in Britain, 1918–74', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13 (1979), 353–368.

of Englishness.⁸³ Yet, seeing how most of his volume, in particular the core parts of PART II and PART III, is dominated by descriptive accounts rather than analysis of shared values, mentality, anxieties, he is able to re-interpret and re-define his thesis in this way with the rich cultural materials he provides from a wide range of sources. This is why and how portions of his thesis have kept appearing in edited volumes in various fields of study to date.⁸⁴ His thesis is thus likely to survive with some validity in a new context, despite the claims of his critics who see ‘the rise and fall of cultural explanations of economic performance’⁸⁵ and the decline of declinist discourse itself.⁸⁶

Indeed, a distinction needs to be made here. To date, Wiener’s critics with pragmatic or empiricist views have overtly questioned the validity of his cultural analysis by problematising his selective, random use of cultural, literary materials vis-à-vis their objective, empirical evidence.⁸⁷ In my view, however, while he misinterprets English culture as a result of his adoption of modernisation theorists’ insights as a framework of analysis, his methodology has rather enabled him to describe the *imaginaire social* and *mentalité* of the English élite class. This kind of study has been neglected in the field of cultural studies and anthropology, which have been more concerned with non-dominant class or minority groups in Britain. In doing so, he has made important points such as the parallel nature of English country life and the open-air life in overseas possessions was portrayed vis-à-vis the ‘decadent life of modern cities’, which were associated with the U. S. and Germany.⁸⁸ This suggests an interesting way of imagining a community—the British Empire, across the metropole and the colonies, and racial boundaries—that needs to be understood beyond the binary framework of the West and the Other.⁸⁹ Moving from intellectual history scholarship to cultural history

⁸⁴ According to Wiener, parts of his thesis have appeared in the following volumes: Anita Cross and Robert McCormick, (eds.), *Technology in Schools* (London, 1986); Mark Casson, (ed.), *Entrepreneurship* (London, 1989); Youssef Cassis (ed.), *Business Elites* (London, 1994); Patrick Joyce (ed.), *The Oxford Reader on Class* (Oxford, 1995); Judy Giles and Tim Middleton (eds.), *Writing Englishness 1900–1959: An Introductory Sourcebook*. (London, 1995); Rohan McWilliam and Kelly Boyd (eds.), *The Victorian Studies Reader* (London, 2007). ‘Martin J. Wiener Curriculum Vitae’ at <https://history.rice.edu/uploadedFiles/Faculty/Bios/Wiener%20Sept%202013%20.pdf>, Accessed on 10th of September 2013.

⁸⁵ This is taken from the subtitle of the conclusion of Thompson’s monograph, ‘Conclusion: The rise and fall of cultural explanations of economic performance’ (*Gentrification*, ch. 7).

⁸⁶ Gamble argues that ‘on a larger view, the discourse of decline seems likely to fade away’ and that it will not be ‘the dominant framework of interpretation in the twenty-first century’ (‘Theories and Explanations’, 19).

⁸⁷ As for the recent critique on Wiener’s ‘cultural critique’, see Thompson, *Gentrification*.

⁸⁸ Wiener, *English Culture*, p. 56.

⁸⁹ The latter approach was experimented with by Edward W. Said, in his influential work, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

BEYOND INTERPRETER OF ENGLISH MALADIES

scholarship, Wiener was developing a new way of doing history.

It is also worth noting that while he has changed his area of study, Wiener has continued to develop a new methodology that incorporates a variety of fields of study in order to provide a new cultural interpretation. This is explicitly expressed in his review essay titled 'Treating "Historical" Sources as Literary Texts: Literary Historicism and Modern British History', where he argues that historians should adopt literary approaches as their methods rather than literary theories, as is often done.⁹⁰ While such an approach is no longer unusual after the 'cultural (interpretive) turn' in mid-1990s, it was during the time of Wiener's thesis was produced. Since then, a new generation of cultural historians have produced stimulating works by appropriating literary and anthropological theory and approaches in their historical studies, hence subverting the existing hierarchy within historical scholarship in which cultural history was undervalued relative to social and economic history.⁹¹ I therefore think it necessary to re-evaluate Wiener's work in terms of methodological innovation and re-interpret, revise, and develop the thesis, setting aside its declinist agenda as well as the analytical framework and ideal model Wiener relies on.

We should not overlook another aspect of Wiener's thesis: as a result of its wide reception, it has been appropriated in and for politics and has become a popular history/ethnography of English culture. As Sanderson notes, his theme 'directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, has speeded into the received wisdom of public life'.⁹² It is well known that Wiener's argument was used by Thatcherite ministers, notably Keith Joseph, who claimed that a radical change in enterprise culture and popular attitudes towards economic modernisation was necessary to rebuild its economy.⁹³ Wiener later revealed that he felt 'very ambivalent' and 'a little horrified' for being 'the typical academic' who had not thought his work would influence political debate.⁹⁴ The education sector was one of the main targets of this 'radical' change or 'modernisation'. Comparing it to its German equivalent as was done a century ago, it was found to be lacking, and technical, vocational and curricular reforms were implemented through the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) of 1988. The same year saw the introduction of the 'National Curriculum' through the Education Reform Act of 1988, enforcing 'a standard language, a definitive canon of English literature and a single shared narrative of the nation's history',⁹⁵ an attempt to stifle the growing trend of

⁹⁰ Martin Wiener, 1998, Review Article, 'Treating "Historical" Sources as Literary Texts: Literary Historicism and Modern British History', *Journal of Modern History*, 70, 619–638.

⁹¹ Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge, 2004); Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History*.

⁹² Sanderson, 'The English', 103–104.

⁹³ Gamble, 'Theories and Explanations', 11.

⁹⁴ Wiener (interviewed by Kenny), 29.

⁹⁵ R. D. Grillo, *Pluralism and the Politics of Difference: State, Culture, and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford and New York, 1998), 202.

multicultural education. These reforms suggest that the discourses of decline worked again as a force to 'modernise' institutions such as schools and universities as well as to promote an élitist and conservative vision of a national past and identity.

Beyond its immediate influence on contemporary politics, Wiener's thesis probably also contributed to a cultural movement in line with these reforms. His portrayal of English culture overlaps with that found in 'heritage films' that have flourished since the early 1980s—the time of depressed British economic climate. These films are typically based on canonical English literature, one example of which can be found in Merchant-Ivory's adaptations of E. M. Foster's works such as *A Room with a View* (1985). These films were criticised for re-presenting a nostalgic Englishness directed towards a culturally conservative élite,⁹⁶ though, according to Wiener, this vision of English country life, which was romanticised by those influential literati such as E. M. Foster, William Morris, George Gissing, D. H. Lawrence, Thomas Hardy and Alfred Tennyson, was not necessarily conservative and imperial in nature but was related to the rural populist myth of the idealised 'peasant' cultural tradition.⁹⁷

In fact, the 'heritage' industry, which has grown to attract public interest in Britain, was officially promoted by the creation of the Department of National Heritage in 1992 during the Major administration which succeeded that of Thatcher. The department was replaced by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) during the following 'New Labour' administrations led by Blair and Brown. Advocating 'Cool Britannia', New Labour attempted to reinvent and re-define 'Britishness' in the context of late 1990s by shifting the focus to contemporary culture and cultural diversity.⁹⁸ However, it is questionable whether it has succeeded in challenging dominant Englishness; the government has supported and protected films which supposedly depict 'Britishness' in the face of the globalising force of the Hollywood films. It can be said that this New Labour policy has rather led to the popularisation of English high culture through a series of film adaptations of canonical English literature whilst accommodating social, racial and sexual diversity to some degree.⁹⁹

Together with these cultural texts and heritage sites, Wiener's thesis might serve as the basis for a politics that seeks to re-construct national identity based on white, middle-class,

⁹⁶ Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (Cambridge, 2008), 211–212.

⁹⁷ Wiener, *English Culture*.

⁹⁸ For example, an academic conference on 'Re-inventing Britain' was held in London on 21 March 1997 by the British Council and chaired by Stuart Hall. Hall suggested reinventing Britain with contributions by creative art practitioners from ethnic minority communities. For more details, *British Studies Now*, 9, 'Re-inventing Britain: Identity, Transnationalism and the Arts'.

⁹⁹ For example, lesbian relationships are depicted together with the upper-class life in the film adaptations of (Virginia Woolf's) *Mrs. Dalloway* (1998) and *The Duchess* (2008). On the heritage film phenomenon, see Andrew Higson, 2002, *English Heritage, English Cinema* (Oxford, 2002).

BEYOND INTERPRETER OF ENGLISH MALADIES

male heritage, despite his intention to re-define his thesis as an alternative or counter narrative to the 'master narrative' called 'Whig' history.¹⁰⁰ As *The Economist* reports, 'Perhaps because it is so flattering, implying that the British are just too civilised to waste themselves on mindless materialism, the "cultural critique" remains popular in Britain.'¹⁰¹ Wiener's interpretation of maladies, though not offering definitive remedies, seems to have made some readers feel better about their English identity. In such a way, his thesis might be read either with nostalgia or trauma in Britain or as a negative lesson or ideal model of 'postindustrial society' in another country¹⁰² depending on the political, economic, and social context. This topic deserves further study. As Wiener says elsewhere, 'the life of texts only begins with their fashioning' and 'texts are continuously "re-presenting" (...) in the act of reception'.¹⁰³ This would give Wiener an ambiguous, or, to use his words, 'Janus faced' role beyond that of an interpreter of English maladies.

Conclusion

The preoccupation with Britain's decline has generated many studies on the subject across disciplines, with Wiener's thesis serving as a focal point for the debate that has taken place therein. This paper has examined the ways in which Wiener's thesis has been produced, received and re-defined. In doing so, I have, in contrast to the approaches of many of Wiener's critics that problematise his cultural analysis with an empiricist view, identified some problems, limitations with and gaps between Wiener's and his critics' theses, in terms of their analytical frameworks, approaches and perspectives.

This paper has also looked at the ways in which Wiener defends and re-defines his thesis in response to criticisms as well as new contexts, suggesting himself as having gone beyond being an interpreter of English maladies. Thus, it has brought to light the possibilities of re-interpreting Wiener's thesis for and in a new context as an academic history on and popu-

¹⁰⁰ According to Wiener, the Whig has positively presented British history as 'the inexorable rise of the world's most civilised society, humane and balanced, successful even in giving up an empire so peacefully' (interviewed by Kenny, 35).

¹⁰¹ 'British economy: Buck up Chaps', Anonymous, *The Economist*, July 17, 1993, 85.

¹⁰² For example, the translator of the Japanese edition expresses sympathy with anti-industrialism among the English élite and how such a view placed value on the 'quality' rather than the 'quantity' of life. He states that he was lead to this view after experiencing the drastic social change in Japan over the past three decades. The translator suggests readers learn from the British case in order to move to a mature stage of society. Tsuyoshi Hara, '*Yakusha Atogaki*' (Translator's Notes) in Martin Wiener, *Eikoku Sangyo-seishin no Suitai* (English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit) (Tokyo, 1984), 332.

¹⁰³ Wiener, 'Treating', 620.

lar history/ethnography for the re-construction of Englishness, as well as the perils of popularisation especially in the context of a resurgence of debates on the question of Britishness. Indeed, Wiener's text provides us an interesting case for examining the public reception or consumption of an academic historiography that does not necessarily follow the intentions of the author.

I have suggested that it is important to re-evaluate Wiener's thesis in terms of its innovative methodology that accumulates rich cultural materials and critically re-contextualises and re-interprets them. Looking at Wiener's depiction of the mentalities, values, and anxieties expressed by the articulate classes, it is possible to see the ways in which the comparative perspective prevalent in these discourses has articulated Englishness while at the same time working as a driving force for 'modernisation' and reinforcing state intervention in such domain as education. Though insufficiently done, Wiener has also shed light on debates surrounding education reform as well as their wider cultural effects by using literary sources and examining them in a wider historical context, a hitherto neglected area and approach in the specialist field of history of education.¹⁰⁴ We need to re-examine the reforms, practice and role of education in the *modern* social and cultural process with a gender perspective and an eye to its transnational political context.

Revisiting Wiener's thesis in this way has shown that there are many tasks remaining that would enable us to find new possibilities for research arising from his thesis. Learning and unlearning from Wiener, it is necessary to take on these tasks, filling gaps in existing scholarship and in doing so challenge the grand narratives of modern British history and Englishness/Britishness.

¹⁰⁴ The historian of education Harold Silver has pointed out that studies on the history of education neglect educational realities, the impact of education, and education's role in cultural and social process in Victorian Britain. Such neglect has led to 'the imposition of narrow and inappropriate models of social structure, social interaction and social change on nineteenth-century experience.' Harold Silver, *Education as History: Interpreting Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Education* (London, 1983).

La Prévention du Décrochage Scolaire en France

Nicolas TAJAN¹

En France, chaque année est marquée par une « grande cause nationale » : en 2011, la « lutte contre la solitude », en 2012 « l'autisme » et en 2013 « l'illétrisme ». Ces thématiques orientées vers le repli sur soi et l'isolement social indiquent les inquiétudes des Français concernant, par exemple, l'absentéisme scolaire et le retrait social des jeunes adultes. Dans la mesure où il est un mot-clé des politiques françaises actuelles en matière d'éducation mais aussi des rapports de l'OCDE, nous nous concentrerons ici sur le décrochage scolaire. Notre contribution tentera d'éclairer le rôle des psychologues cliniciens au sein du système d'aide aux élèves.

I. Aperçu de la situation actuelle en France

Le 11 septembre 2012, le Journal *Le Monde* titrait un de ses articles « Le décrochage scolaire en France préoccupe l'OCDE ». En effet, concernant le décrochage scolaire et l'insertion professionnelle des jeunes, la France est considérée comme un pays atypique (OCDE 2012). En 1995, 89% des 15–19 ans étaient scolarisés mais ils n'étaient plus que 84% en 2010. « Or en France, 71% des jeunes déscolarisés de cette tranche d'âge sont sans emploi ou inactifs, contre 57% en moyenne dans les 34 pays membres de l'OCDE. » (Le Monde 2012) Dans le cadre de la concertation sur la refondation de l'école de la République, le ministère de l'Éducation Nationale français s'est montré déterminé à lutter contre le décrochage scolaire, notamment auprès des 18–24 ans². Cette lutte n'est pas seulement française mais aussi européenne. En effet, « l'Union européenne a pour objectif de réduire la proportion des sorties précoces, en la ramenant à 10% d'ici à 2020. » (ministère de l'Éducation 2012b) D'après un recensement réalisé en France en mars 2012, « 138.000 jeunes de plus de seize ans étaient

¹ Nicolas TAJAN est psychologue clinicien, chercheur associé au Centre de recherche, médecine, sciences, santé, santé mentale, société (CERMES3, université Paris Descartes), au Laboratoire de cliniques psychopathologique et interculturelle (LCPI, université de Toulouse) et à l'équipe Éducation enfance et société dans le Japon contemporain (EESJC) du Centre d'études japonaises de l'Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (CEJ, INALCO).

considérés comme “perdus de vue”, c’est-à-dire sortis sans diplôme du système éducatif et laissés sans solution. » (ministère de l’Éducation 2012a) Selon le ministère de l’Éducation, les causes sont multiples mais relativement bien identifiées : « les sorties précoces du système éducatif ne sont que la partie visible de l’échec scolaire et du décrochage progressif qui commence souvent dès l’école primaire. Le traitement de fond de ce problème relève donc des chantiers principaux inscrits dans la concertation pour refonder l’école de la République. » (ministère de l’Éducation 2012a)

Un système de prise en charge des difficultés scolaires existe en France. Selon nous, il pourrait permettre de prévenir à court terme, le décrochage scolaire, et à moyen terme, le retrait social. Un dispositif central de cette prévention est le système de psychologues scolaires, qui s’inscrit dans une continuité depuis le lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale jusqu’à aujourd’hui. Aussi, ce système est présent de façon homogène sur l’ensemble du territoire et définit clairement le statut des psychologues scolaires. Si ces derniers sont réservés à l’école primaire, il existe au collège et au lycée des Conseillers d’orientation-psychologues (COP) que nous n’aborderons pas ici. Dans un premier temps nous retracerons l’histoire de la psychologie à l’école (II et III) et dans un second temps nous décrirons les dispositifs d’aide psychologique en dehors de l’école (IV, V et VI).

II. Éléments pour une histoire de la psychologie scolaire

Concernant la psychologie à l’école, deux grands psychologues français doivent être ici mentionnés. D’abord René Zazzo (1910–1995), considéré comme le fondateur de la psychologie scolaire en France. Il est également l’auteur de la nouvelle échelle métrique de l’intelligence (NEMI) publiée en 1966, échelle qui se situe dans le prolongement du test de Binet-Simon (1911). Ensuite, Henri Wallon (1879–1962), élève de Pierre Janet, médecin, auteur d’une thèse sur le délire de persécution (1908) mais aussi psychologue, auteur d’une thèse consacrée à « l’enfant turbulent » (1925), fondateur du « laboratoire de psychobiologie de l’enfant » à l’École pratique des hautes études (EPHE) et professeur au Collège de France. Henri Wallon est resté célèbre pour la notion de stade du miroir qui sera ensuite reprise et approfondie par Jacques Lacan. Il est aussi le premier (après Alfred Binet) à avoir implanté un laboratoire dans une école. Enfin, on retiendra également chez celui-ci la co-rédaction du

² En effet, le décrochage scolaire se mesure à partir d’enquêtes sur les 18–24 ans (ministère de l’Éducation 2012a). Plus précisément, « l’indicateur communautaire de “sorties précoces” ou “décrochage scolaire” ou encore “déscolarisés précoces” est le pourcentage de jeunes âgés de 18 à 24 ans qui n’étudient plus et n’ont pas terminé avec succès un enseignement secondaire de second cycle (niveaux 0 à 2 de la classification internationale de l’éducation). En France, ces niveaux regroupent les personnes qui ne possèdent ni CAP, ni BEP, ni Baccalauréat et sont au mieux, titulaires du Brevet. » (ministère de l’Éducation 2012b)

LA PREVENTION DU DÉCROCHAGE SCOLAIRE EN FRANCE

« Plan Langevin-Wallon » (1946–1947), projet global de réforme de l’enseignement et du système éducatif français élaboré à la Libération.

Pour mieux comprendre le début de la psychologie scolaire en France (Cognet et al. 2007 : 18–23) il faut se remettre dans le contexte de la fin août 1944, quelques jours avant la Libération et l’entrée dans Paris du général De Gaulle. Dans le Gouvernement provisoire du conseil national de la Résistance (GPNRF), Henri Wallon est secrétaire à l’Éducation Nationale et il charge René Zazzo de la Jeunesse et des Sports. Le 15 octobre René Zazzo obtient qu’un diplôme de pédagogie soit inscrit au programme de l’Institut de psychologie. En octobre 1946, Monsieur David, directeur de l’enseignement dans le département de la Seine, nomme sept instituteurs à des postes de psychologues scolaires afin d’aider les enfants en difficulté et participer à l’orientation scolaire : chacun est chargé de six cents à huit cents enfants. En 1948, ils sont présents dans huit lycées parisiens. Ils sont pédagogues, enseignants et ont une formation universitaire. Cependant, l’expérimentation parisienne de René Zazzo est supprimée par le nouveau directeur de l’enseignement le 13 septembre 1954 en raison des engagements communistes de René Zazzo. Les psychologues scolaires — qui avaient conservé leur statut d’enseignants — retournent dans les classes et certains intègrent les nouveaux Centres psycho-pédagogiques (CPP) ou les Centres médico-psycho-pédagogiques (CMPP) que nous évoquerons ensuite. Un nouvel élan est donné à la psychologie scolaire lors de la réforme de l’Enseignement de 1958, ce qui est confirmé par une circulaire du 8 mai 1960 qui définit le statut du psychologue scolaire. En 1970 sont créés les Groupes d’aide psycho-pédagogiques (GAPP) et les classes d’adaptation avec une influence grandissante de la psychologie : c’est à ce moment que se répandent les Centres médico-psychologiques (CMP) et les CMPP (loi relative aux établissements sociaux et médico-sociaux du 30 Juin 1975, n° 75–535).

En 1975, les psychologues scolaires sont 1.500 et à la fin des années 1980, ils atteignent un chiffre resté stable pendant plus de vingt ans : 3.000. Le 25 Juillet 1985, la profession de psychologue est protégée par une loi. Le 18 septembre 1989 est créé le Diplôme d’État de psychologie scolaire (DEPS). Le 9 avril 1990, les psychologues interviennent dans le cadre du réseau d’aide à l’enfance en difficulté (RASED). Aujourd’hui, le « psychologue scolaire » est devenu « psychologue de l’Éducation Nationale » c’est-à-dire qu’il est officiellement reconnu comme un psychologue à part entière, travaillant au sein de l’école primaire. Au niveau populaire, on l’appelle toujours « psychologue scolaire » mais son statut est celui de « psychologue de l’Éducation Nationale ».

III. La psychologie au sein de l’Éducation Nationale aujourd’hui

Les psychologues scolaires doivent être enseignants du premier degré depuis au moins trois ans et être titulaires de la licence de psychologie. Pour le moment, les psychologues scolaires sont tous des enseignants titulaires d’une licence de psychologie et ont soit un DEPS,

soit un master.

A partir de la rentrée 2012–2013, le nombre de centres dédiés à la formation des psychologues scolaires a été divisé de moitié. Il s'effectue aujourd'hui dans trois universités, Bordeaux, Paris V et Lyon qui dispensent la formation dans un Institut universitaire de formation des maîtres (IUFM) en collaboration avec le département de psychologie de l'université. Par exemple, la formation dispensée à l'université Paris Descartes est composée de cours magistraux, travaux dirigés, travaux pratiques dans les écoles, mémoire et travaux personnels et enfin stage en situation, l'ensemble étant réparti sur deux semestres du lundi au jeudi avec stage le vendredi (DEPS 2013). Les résultats d'une enquête menée au sein de cette même université méritent notre attention. Selon cette enquête (Cognet et al. 2007), le secteur d'un psychologue scolaire comporte 2.000 enfants. La demande qu'un enfant consulte le psychologue scolaire vient à 80% des enseignants et à 30% des parents et près de 20% sont conjointes. Sept enfants sur dix sont reçus au premier entretien avec les parents. Trois enfants sur dix ne le sont donc pas mais l'accord des parents a été obtenu au préalable et ils sont reçus ensuite au compte-rendu du bilan. Dans quatre situations sur cinq c'est à la demande de l'école que les parents initient une démarche de consultation. Les trois expressions symptomatologiques réactionnelles les plus fréquentes sont : angoisse de séparation, perte d'appétence pour les nourritures scolaires, refus scolaire (Cognet et al. 2007 : 57). Pour l'année 2003–2004, chaque psychologue scolaire « a été saisi, est intervenu, s'est impliqué dans la compréhension de 97 cas singuliers. » En moyenne, il y a 27 examens psychologiques avec rapport écrit, par an et par psychologue. Au total, 90.000 expertises sont produites et l'on estime à environ 310.000 le nombre de situations de difficultés d'apprentissage et de souffrances psychiques traitées chaque année en France (Cognet et al. 2007 : 60–62).

Les psychologues scolaires travaillent en collaboration avec les enseignants spécialisés (aide spécialisée à dominante pédagogique ou éducative) : maîtres E (psychopédagogues) et maîtres G (rééducateurs). Leur charge de travail par semaine est de vingt-quatre heures. Les actions avec l'enfant sont toujours pendant le temps scolaire mais les entretiens avec les parents, les enseignants et les autres partenaires peuvent se dérouler en dehors du temps de présence des élèves. « Le dépouillement des tests et leur interprétation, l'analyse des entretiens, la rédaction des comptes-rendus, les courriers, la préparation des réunions, la formation personnelle sont effectués en dehors de ce temps de service. » (Cognet et al. 2007 : 72) Lors des bilans psychologiques, l'on utilise des tests évaluant l'intelligence³, ou la personnalité⁴ et

³ Il s'agit principalement de la troisième version révisée et de la quatrième version du *Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children* (WISC III-R et WISC IV) destinées aux enfants et adolescents (de 6 à 16 ans).

⁴ On distingue notamment les tests dits « thématiques » tels que le *Child apercption test* (CAT) et le *Thematic apercption test* (TAT), mais aussi des tests dits « projectifs » tels que le Rorschach.

l'on pratique d'autres activités telles que le « dessin du bonhomme », le dessin de la famille, le dessin libre, les entretiens avec la famille et l'enfant. Cependant, « le psychologue de l'Éducation Nationale ne dispose pas du cadre adéquat pour conduire de véritables psychothérapies avec l'enfant, les membres de sa fratrie ou l'un ou l'autre de ses parents. » (Cognet et al. 2007 : 92) Il est le médiateur entre l'école et les établissements sanitaires et médico-sociaux où peuvent être conduites les psychothérapies. Il s'agit respectivement des Centres médico-psychologiques (CMP) dépendants de l'Hôpital public et des Centres médico-psycho-pédagogiques (CMPP) dépendants d'associations médico-sociales.

IV. Les transformations de la pédopsychiatrie française

Avant de détailler notre présentation des CMPP, nous devons souligner qu'ils sont les précurseurs des CMP. Voici un complément chronologique à ce que nous avons évoqué dans la partie précédente. Le 18 février 1963, « les Annexes 32 » définissent un vocable unique pour les établissements de soins ambulatoires non-hospitaliers : CMPP. Dix ans plus tard (1972–1973), est créé le secteur de psychiatrie infanto-juvénile principalement pour les enfants de six à douze ans. Il y aura ensuite une extension progressive des prises en charge vers les enfants de zéro à six ans et les adolescents de douze à vingt ans. En 1975, est votée la loi d'orientation des handicapés qui situe les CMP dans le champ sanitaire et les CMPP dans le champ médico-social. En 1982, paraît la loi « d'intégration scolaire ». Enfin, en décembre 1992, paraît une circulaire qui dresse le tableau d'organisation de la pédopsychiatrie française qui comporte aujourd'hui 450.000 enfants en file active (Bridier 2013).

En avril 2014 se tiendront les états généraux de la pédopsychiatrie, mais l'on connaît déjà les trois grands enjeux de la pédopsychiatrie française. Premièrement, il est nécessaire de diminuer le temps d'attente pour la première consultation. Deuxièmement, il y a un problème de démographie médicale : « en effet, il est prévu dans les dix ans à venir que le nombre de psychiatres diminue de près de 40% et ceci impose une réflexion sur d'éventuels transferts de tâches vers d'autres professions. » (Rouillon 2013) Troisièmement, s'il existe des départements bien pourvus, l'on déplore la présence de déserts médicaux notamment en milieu rural.

Du point de vue de considérations plus concrètes, on observe d'autres difficultés. Comme le relève Bernard Golse (2013), depuis la loi sur le handicap (2005) les enfants autistes doivent être inclus dans une classe ordinaire, mais les moyens alloués par l'État demeurent insuffisants. Les auxiliaires de vie scolaire (AVS), par exemple, ne seraient pas suffisamment formés et devraient être présents sur le long terme afin d'assurer une continuité dont les enfants autistes ont besoin. De fait, s'il y a deux enfants autistes dans une classe ordinaire sans les moyens adaptés, l'enseignant et les autres élèves peuvent rencontrer des difficultés supplémentaires dans le travail et l'étude. L'ensemble des professionnels des champs éducatif, sanitaire et médico-social se sentent aujourd'hui fragilisés par la réduction des moyens. A

ceci s'ajoute un phénomène qui a pris de l'ampleur : l'augmentation du pouvoir de certaines associations d'usagers. Si la constitution progressive de ces associations est une évolution repérée dans un grand nombre de sociétés démocratiques, les associations de parents d'enfants autistes ou atteints de troubles du développement occupent une place singulière. En effet, ces associations sont de petits groupes qui ne sont représentatifs ni de l'ensemble des parents d'enfants handicapés, ni des enfants handicapés eux-mêmes, mais leurs actions contribuent à infléchir les décisions du ministère de la Santé. Si les associations de parents d'enfants autistes doivent être écoutées, il serait « anti-démocratique » que les autorités ministérielles prennent en compte une minorité au détriment de la majorité des parents et des professionnels du sanitaire et du médico-social. Certaines études en sciences sociales ont déjà apporté des éléments de réflexion sur ce thème (Chamak 2008 ; Lloyd 2008), mais demanderaient à être approfondies dans le cadre de plus amples investigations.

Concernant les bouleversements du champ de la santé mentale en France, citons à nouveau Bernard Golse qui souligne le problème de la réduction trop importante des lits d'urgence pédopsychiatriques. Alors qu'un rapport ministériel du psychiatre Boris Cyrulnik avait déjà mis en valeur l'augmentation du suicide et de ses tentatives chez les pré-adolescents, le constat du professeur Golse abonde dans ce sens. A l'hôpital Necker dans les années 1980 et 1990, les tentatives de suicide d'enfants entre huit et dix ans étaient exceptionnelles. Aujourd'hui, dans son service, il en observe au moins une par semaine (se jeter du haut d'un immeuble, par exemple). Selon lui, c'est un nouveau problème socio-culturel auquel s'ajoute un changement de culture médicale : désormais, certains médecins prescrivent du Prozac®⁵ à des enfants de deux ans (Golse 2013). Si la France est en effet un gros consommateur de psychotropes depuis de nombreuses années, il faut rappeler que ce sont surtout les médecins généralistes qui prescrivent les psychotropes. Sur la totalité de psychotropes vendus, seulement 20% sont prescrits par les psychiatres (Rouillon 2013). Les médecins et les psychiatres avaient jusqu'à présent résisté à une prescription pour les jeunes enfants, mais l'on commence, là aussi, à observer des changements révélateurs des transformations de la société française.

Passons désormais aux établissements médico-sociaux qui sont co-dirigés par des pédopsychiatres.

V. Les centres médico-psycho-pédagogiques (CMPP)

Selon un ancien président de la fédération nationale des CMPP, les premiers CMPP ont été influencés par un centre de consultation Rockefeller à Lyon, lui-même inspiré d'un centre

⁵ Le Prozac® est un médicament antidépresseur et un Inhibiteur sélectif de recapture de la sérotonine (ISRS).

LA PREVENTION DU DÉCROCHAGE SCOLAIRE EN FRANCE

de guidance créé à Chicago après la crise de 1929, pour traiter la délinquance. Ils sont aussi issus d'une volonté du général De Gaulle de confier à des associations (de loi 1901) la charge des jeunes en difficultés et de l'alliance des gaullistes avec des communistes et des psychanalystes au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale (Ohayon 2006). C'est dans ce contexte qu'en 1946 ont été créés des CPP à Paris, puis à Strasbourg, Bayonne, Le Mans et Tours. A l'époque, ils étaient financés par le ministère de la Santé Publique et de la Population, les services de l'Enfance et de l'Hygiène Sociale mais aussi l'Éducation Nationale qui fournit les locaux et les personnels, puis la sécurité sociale nouvellement créée. C'est donc le général De Gaulle qui nomme George Mauco secrétaire général du Haut-Commissariat à la Famille et soutient l'ouverture par celui-ci du premier centre psycho-pédagogique, « le CPP Claude Bernard » à Paris. Si Georges Mauco en est le directeur pédagogique, Juliette Favez-Boutonnier assume la direction médicale. Parmi les psychanalystes du centre Claude Bernard, on trouve Françoise Dolto, Maud Mannoni et Didier Anzieu. C'est à ce moment que le conflit entre médecin et pédagogue prend de l'ampleur. En effet, le neuropsychiatre Georges Heuyer veut que les enseignants se bornent à enseigner et il crée « l'institut Claparède » à Neuilly en 1949, dirigé par Henri Sauguet. La démarche de Georges Heuyer s'inscrit en opposition avec le centre Claude Bernard où plusieurs non-médecins conduisent des psychanalyses d'enfants, et notamment Didier Anzieu, titulaire d'une licence de psychologie, agrégé de philosophie, assistant de Daniel Lagache et — à l'époque — en analyse avec Jacques Lacan. Cette période est donc marquée par la rivalité du courant de la neuropsychiatrie infantile (l'institut Claparède) *versus* l'alliance de la psychanalyse et de la pédagogie (centre Claude Bernard).

Les CMPP portent l'héritage de la psychanalyse mais aussi de cette tension entre médecine et pédagogie dans la mesure où ils ont toujours une double direction : direction médicale et direction administrative et pédagogique. La direction médicale est assurée par un psychiatre et la direction administrative et pédagogique par un ancien instituteur détaché de l'Éducation Nationale. On comprendra que selon les particularités locales et les personnalités des directeurs, le fonctionnement des CMPP diffère. Néanmoins, la constante reste une référence commune à la psychanalyse au sein du personnel (psychiatre, psychologue, psychopédagogue, orthophoniste, psychomotricien, assistante sociale). Aujourd'hui, les CMPP sont au nombre de 306 auxquels on doit rajouter leurs annexes ce qui porte à 420 le nombre de lieux de soins (Horowitz 2013). Cela représente 7.800 Salariés — soit 4.700 Equivalents temps plein (ETP), (Phillips 2008) — répartis de la manière suivante : médecins, psychiatres, psychanalystes (8% du personnel) ; psychologues, psychopédagogues, orthophonistes, psychomotriciens (58%) ; assistantes sociales (4%), personnels administratifs (dont directeurs) et d'entretien (30%). 200.000 enfants seraient suivis en CMPP chaque année, soit environ 653 enfants par CMPP. Leurs diagnostics se répartissent de la façon suivante : 39% de troubles névrotiques, 18% de troubles du développement et des fonctions instrumentales, 16% de pathologies limites, 5% de troubles de la personnalité, psychoses ou déficiences mentales. Le

budget de l'ensemble du système des CMPP au niveau national est évalué comme étant similaire au budget d'un centre hospitalier universitaire soit 3.500.000 euros par an (Phillips 2008).

Selon les chiffres de la Direction de la recherche, des études, de l'évaluation et des statistiques du ministère de la Santé (DREES), 92% des enfants suivis viennent du département et 70% de la commune. 35% des enfants sont adressés par l'école, 25% des familles viennent d'elles-mêmes, 14% sont orientées par le secteur sanitaire ou médico-social et 11% par des praticiens libéraux. La file active a doublé en quinze ans : elle est aujourd'hui estimée à 140.000 enfants et l'on observe davantage de troubles du développement : 12 à 18% à Paris selon une enquête non publiée (Horowitz 2013). Avant de conclure évoquons brièvement une initiative récente née en complément des CMPP et des CMP : les Maisons des adolescents (MDA).

VI. La création des MDA et la place des psychologues cliniciens en France

Les Maisons des adolescents (MDA) se développent progressivement depuis une dizaine d'années et reçoivent entre 50.000 et 60.000 adolescents par an. Actuellement il y en a une par département (85% des départements sont couverts) mais il y a des grandes disparités en fonction des moyens alloués et des particularités locales. À la MDA de Paris, sur les 1.700 jeunes reçus par an, un quart ont eu une consultation psychiatrique. La demande est souvent la suivante : « il ne va pas bien, il souffre, il faut qu'il voit un psy. » Derrière cette demande, il y a quelquefois des pathologies psychiatriques lourdes qui émergent (schizophrénie, psychose), des diagnostics qui n'ont pas été faits dans l'enfance (autisme, troubles du développement), des difficultés scolaires, familiales ou amoureuses. Selon le président de l'association nationale⁶ des MDA « un de nos soucis est de faire arriver à la consultation psychiatrique uniquement ceux qui doivent y arriver, et donc de réserver, si j'ose dire, les autres consultations à d'autres professionnels que nous avons fait "monter en compétence". » (Fuseau 2013) La majorité des psychiatres entendus dans le cadre des commissions parlementaires portant sur le thème de la pédopsychiatrie de la mission santé mentale lancée par le gouvernement français en 2013, semblent s'accorder sur un fait. Il apparaît clair que la diminution continue du nombre de psychiatres va devoir être compensée par de plus grandes responsabilités attribuées à certains personnels — infirmiers, cadres de santé et psychologues cliniciens — qui auront suivi une formation complémentaire. En d'autres termes, et dans le contexte démographique que connaît la France, le déclin du nombre de psychiatres et l'augmentation du nombre de psychologues va inévitablement précipiter la renégociation du rôle de ces acteurs du champ sanitaire et médico-social. Le principal enjeu du développement des MDA

⁶ Pour plus de détails sur l'Association nationale des maisons des adolescents (ANMDA), consulter leur site internet : <http://www.anmda.fr/>

à l'échelle nationale reste de donner aux acteurs les moyens de fonctionner afin que leur réseau et leurs actions soient efficaces. C'est déjà le cas dans certaines villes, mais c'est loin d'être le cas sur l'ensemble du territoire⁷. Enfin, concluons cette partie avec les mots d'une adolescente française : « aller voir une assistante sociale c'est stigmatisant, “ça fait cas social” mais aller voir un psychologue non, car même les grands patrons vont voir un psychologue. » (Coutant 2013) Si ces mots indiquent une représentation positive de la consultation avec un psychologue, il serait nécessaire qu'une enquête approfondie soit menée sur la représentation des psychologues et des psychiatres. Les recherches ultérieures dans ce domaine pourraient notamment bénéficier, dans le contexte d'une « santé mentale » mondialisée, de comparaisons internationales.

Conclusions

Dans notre étude, nous avons dressé un portrait du système d'assistance aux élèves en difficulté en France. Les acteurs de ce système se consacrent davantage à traiter les difficultés psychologiques des élèves et de leur famille, plutôt qu'à prévenir le décrochage scolaire. L'idée sous-jacente est que le traitement de ces difficultés contribue à la prévention du décrochage scolaire. Pourtant, les chiffres montrent le contraire. Comme on l'a rappelé, en 1995, 89% des 15–19 ans étaient scolarisés mais ils ne sont plus que 84% en 2010. Aujourd'hui, nous faisons un triple constat. D'abord, dix-huit millions d'euros vont être débloqués par la Haute autorité de santé (HAS) dans le cadre du « Plan Autisme ». Ensuite, les MDA sont, quelques soient les gouvernements, en expansion. Enfin, une politique de prévention du décrochage scolaire, rendue nécessaire par la posture de « mauvais élève » attribuée par l'OCDE à la France, a toutes les chances de se poursuivre.

Si les acteurs des systèmes sanitaires, médico-sociaux et éducatifs français se plaignent sans arrêt depuis les années 1990 de la réduction des moyens, une étude supplémentaire serait nécessaire afin d'examiner plus en détails l'évolution des politiques et leurs conséquences concrètes durant cette période. Par ailleurs, il serait opportun de reprendre les réflexions engagées par Michel Foucault dans son cours au Collège de France sur le « pouvoir psychiatrique » (1973–1974), à la lumière des bouleversements récents de l'autorité des psychiatres. De ce point de vue, les ouvrages du sociologue Alain Ehrenberg (2010) et de l'anthropologue Samuel Lézé (2010) offrent des perspectives rigoureuses dans le champ des études en santé mentale et société. Aussi l'impératif de la « réduction des coûts » — réduction qui serait d'autant plus impérieuse qu'elle serait légitimée par la crise européenne — réclame notre attention. Cet impératif peut-il constituer, à lui seul, un horizon ? D'une certaine manière, les jeunes qui « décrochent » ne questionnent-ils pas l'horizon de sens que nos sociétés pro-

⁷ Par exemple, la MDA de Bordeaux a été inaugurée le 7 octobre 2013.

posent aux individus ? Nos systèmes éducatifs permettent à ceux qui construiront le monde de demain une accumulation de connaissances : mais ne sont-ils pas aussi pourvoyeurs d'un horizon qui puisse motiver la participation des individus à la vie sociale ? De ce point de vue, la formulation du soutien aux jeunes en difficulté en termes de « lutte contre le décrochage scolaire » reflèterait, dans un sens, la difficulté des Européens à réinventer ce qui pourrait constituer leur avenir commun.

Notes

Nos recherches ont été financées par une bourse de recherche de la Fondation du Japon [2010] et la Société japonaise pour la promotion de la science [*JSPS Post-Doctoral Fellowship (short-term) for North American and European Researchers, through a Nominative Authority* (CNRS), 2012].

Bibliographie

- Bridier François. 2013. “Intervention aux auditions sur le thème de la pédopsychiatrie du jeudi 16 mai 2013”, Commission parlementaire de la mission santé mentale du gouvernement français, Assemblée Nationale.
- Chamak Brigitte. 2008. “Autism and Social Movements : French Parents’ Associations and International Autistic Individuals’ Organisations”, *Sociology of Health and Illness* 30(1): 76–96.
- Cognet Georges, et François Marty. 2007. *Introduction à La Psychologie Scolaire*. Les Topos. Paris : Dunod.
- Coutant Isabelle. 2013. “Intervention aux auditions sur le thème de la pédopsychiatrie du jeudi 16 mai 2013”, Commission parlementaire de la mission santé mentale du gouvernement français, Assemblée Nationale.
- Foucault Michel. 1973. *Le Pouvoir Psychiatrique. Cours au Collège de France. 1973–1974 (édition établie sous la direction de François Ewald et Alessandro Fontana, par Jacques Lagrange, publiée en 2003)*, Hautes Études. Paris : Gallimard Seuil.
- Fuseau Alain. 2013. “Intervention aux auditions sur le thème de la pédopsychiatrie du jeudi 16 mai 2013”, Commission parlementaire de la mission santé mentale du gouvernement français, Assemblée Nationale.
- Golse Bernard. 2013. “Intervention aux auditions sur le thème de la pédopsychiatrie du jeudi 16 mai 2013”, Commission parlementaire de la mission santé mentale du gouvernement français, Assemblée Nationale.
- Horowitz Richard. 2013. “Intervention aux auditions sur le thème de la pédopsychiatrie du jeudi 16 mai 2013”, Commission parlementaire de la mission santé mentale du gouverne-

LA PREVENTION DU DÉCROCHAGE SCOLAIRE EN FRANCE

- ment français, Assemblée Nationale.
- Le Monde. 2013. “Le décrochage scolaire en France préoccupe l’OCDE.” *Journal Le Monde*, édition du 11/09/2012. http://www.lemonde.fr/ecole-primaire-et-secondaire/article/2012/09/11/le-decrochage-scolaire-en-france-preoccupe-l-ocde_1758570_1473688.html.
- Les Cahiers du DEPS. 2013. “DEPS-formation.” *Les cahiers du D.E.P.S. ~ Revue en ligne du diplôme d’État de psychologie scolaire de l’université Paris Descartes*. <http://lescahiersdudeps.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/deps-formation-1.pdf>.
- Lézé Samuel. 2010. *L’autorité des psychanalystes*. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France.
- Lloyd Stéphanie. 2008. “Morals, Medicine and Change: Morality Brokers, Social Phobias, and French Psychiatry”, *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, 32: 279–297.
- Ministère de l’Éducation.
- . 2012a. “La prévention du décrochage scolaire”. http://www.education.gouv.fr/archives/2012/refondonslecole/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/la_prevention_du_decrochage_scolaire.pdf
- . 2012b. “Lutter contre le décrochage scolaire : éléments de comparaison internationale”. http://www.education.gouv.fr/archives/2012/refondonslecole/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/consulter_la_comparaison_internationale_sur_le_decrochage_scolaire1.pdf
- OCDE. 2012. *Regards sur l’éducation 2012 : Les indicateurs de l’OCDE*. OECD Publishing.
- Ohayon, Annick. 2006. *Psychologie et psychanalyse en France. L’impossible rencontre (1919–1969)*. Paris : Editions La Découverte.
- Phillipps Antoine. 2008. “Mémoire de Master”. Paris: Ecole des Hautes études en santé publique.
- Rouillon Frédéric. 2013. “Intervention aux auditions sur le thème de la pédopsychiatrie du jeudi 31 janvier 2013”, Commission parlementaire de la mission santé mentale du gouvernement français, Assemblée Nationale.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN HUMANITIES

STAFF AND SEMINARS

April 2012–March 2014

ACADEMIC STAFF

Department of Humanities

Professors

- FUJII, Masato, Ph.D. (U. of Helsinki), *Indology/Vedic Studies*
KAGOTANI, Naoto, D.Econ. (Osaka City U.), *Economic History of Modern Japan*
MIZUNO, Naoki, D.Litt. (Kyoto U.), *Political and Social History of Korea under Japanese Rule*
OKADA, Akeo, D.Litt. (Osaka U.), *Musicology* (Apr. 2013–, formerly Associate Professor)
OURA, Yasusuke, Ph.D. (U. of Paris-VII), *Literary Theory*
TAKAGI, Hiroshi, D.Litt. (Hokkaido U.), *Modern Japanese Cultural History* (Apr. 2012–, formerly Associate Professor)
TAKEZAWA, Yasuko, Ph.D. (U. of Washington), *Anthropology/American Studies*
TANAKA, Masakazu, Ph.D. (U. of London), *Social Anthropology/Gender and Sexuality Studies*
TOMINAGA, Shigeki, D.Litt. (Kyoto U.), *Sociology of Knowledge*
YAMAMURO, Shinichi, LL.D. (Kyoto U.), *History of Japanese Political Thought*

Associate Professors

- FUJIHARA, Tatsushi, Ph.D. (Kyoto U.), *Reconstruction of agricultural history* (Apr. 2013–)
ISHII, Miho, Ph.D. (Kyoto U.), *Social Anthropology*
ITO, Junji, D.Litt. (Kyoto U.), *History of Transcaucasia*
IWAKI, Takuji, D.Litt. (Kansai U.), *Early Modern Japanese History*
KOSEKI, Takashi, Ph.D. (Hitotsubashi U.), *Social History of Victorian Britain and Ireland*
OHJI, Kenta, D.Litt. (U. of Paris-Ouest), *Intellectual History of Early Modern Europe*
SETOGUCHI, Akihisa, D.Litt. (Kyoto U.), *Biological Sciences and Nature in East Asia* (Apr. 2013–)
TAKASHINA, Erika, D.Litt. (U. of Tokyo), *Modern Japanese Arts and the West*
TSUIKI, Kosuke, Ph.D. (U. of Paris-VIII), *Psychoanalysis*

Assistant Professors

- OGAWA, Sawako, D.Litt. (Waseda U.), *The Study of Early Cinema* (Feb. 2013–)
ONO, Yasuteru, D.Litt. (Kyoto U.), *The Korean National Movement and East Asia in the Modern Era* (Mar. 2013–)
KIKUCHI, Akira, D.Litt. (Osaka U.), *History of Modern Japanese Ethnography*
KOIKE, Ikuko, Ph.D. (Kyoto U.), *Cultural Anthropology/African Diaspora Studies*
KUBO, Akihiro, Ph.D. (U. of Paris III), *Literary Theories* (–Mar. 2013)

KUROIWA, Yasuhiro, D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *History of Modern Japanese Culture and Society* (–Mar. 2013)
KUSAKA, Wataru, Ph.D. (Kyushu U), *Political Science and Philippine Studies* (–Mar. 2013)
FUJII, Toshiyuki, *German Literature*.
TANAKA, Yuriko, Ph.D. (U. of Tokyo), *History of Modern Medicine and Philosophy of the Body*

Department of Oriental Studies

Professors

ASAHARA, Tatsuro, *History of Ancient China*
FUNAYAMA, Toru, *Scholastic Tradition and Practice in Indian and Chinese Buddhism*
IKEDA, Takumi, *Sino-Tibetan Dialectology* (Apr. 2013–, formerly Associate Professor)
INABA, Minoru, *History of Early Islamic Expansion to the East*
INAMI, Ryoichi, *Cultural History of the Qing Period*
ISHIKAWA, Yoshihiro, D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *History of the Chinese Communist Party* (Aug. 2013–, formerly Associate Professor)
IWAI, Shigeki, D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *History of Chinese Institutions*
KIN, Bunkyo, *Chinese Literature*
MUGITANI, Kunio, *History of Chinese Thought* (–Mar. 2013)
OKAMURA, Hidenori, D. Litt. (Kyoto U), *Archaeological Study of Ancient China*
TAKATA, Tokio, Ph. D. (E.H.E.S.S., Paris), D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *History of the Chinese Language* (–Mar. 2014)
TAKEDA, Tokimasa, *Intellectual history of Chinese Science*
TOMIYA, Itaru, D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *Legal History of China*
WITTERN, Christian, Ph.D. (Goettingen U.), *A Knowledgebase for Buddhist Studies—With a Focus on Chan-Buddhism* (–Apr. 2012, formerly Associate Professor)

Associate Professors

INAMOTO, Yasuo, *History of Buddhist art in East Asia* (May 2012–)
KOGACHI, Ryuichi, D.Litt. (U. of Tokyo), *History of Commentary on Classics in China*
MIYAKE, Kiyoshi, D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *History of the Qin and Han Dynasties*
MURAKAMI, Ei, D.Litt. (U. of Tokyo), *Socio-Economic History of Modern China*
NAGATA, Tomoyuki, D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *Literary Theory in Medieval and Early Modern China* (Apr. 2013–)
YAGI, Takeshi, D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *Medieval and Early-Modern History of Korea*
YASUOKA, Koichi, D.Eng. (Kyoto U), *Character Encoding Methods*

Assistant Professors

ANDO, Fusae, *Buddhist Cave Temples in the Northern Wei dynasty*
FUJII, Noriyuki, D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *History of the Bureaucratic System in Ancient and Medieval China*
KIM, Jihyun, D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *History of Religions in China, Daoism* (–Mar. 2013)
MIYA, Noriko, D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *Politics and Culture during the Mongol Period*
MORIOKA, Tomohiko, Ph.D. (JAIST), *Multilingual Computing*
ONODERA, Shiro, Ph.D. (U. of Tokyo), *History of Modern China* (–Mar. 2014)
TAKAI, Takane, *History of Chinese Furniture*
TUCHIGUCHI, Fuminori, D.Litt. (Kyoto U), *A Study of the Territorial Control in Ancient China*

YAMAZAKI, Takeshi, D.Litt. (Kyoto U.), *Socio-Political History of Late Imperial China*

Visiting Scholars

VITA, Silvio, D.Litt. (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli), *History of Ideas, Chinese and Japanese Buddhism* (Jul. 2007–)

JACQUET, Benoît, D.Eng. (Kyoto U.), Ph.D.Arch. (U. of Paris-VIII) *History and Theory of Modern and Contemporary Japanese Architecture* (Aug. 2008–)

VOGELSANG, Kai, Ph.D. (U. of Hamburg), *Research on the Japanese versions of the Book of Documents. Chinese Studies* (Jan.–Jul. 2012)

FANSELOW, Frank, Ph.D. (LSE), *Reflexive Relationships between the Ethnic Conflicts and their Representations in Asia* (May.–Sept. 2012)

RAVINA, Mark, Ph.D. (Stanford U.), *Early modern and Modern Japanese history* (Aug. 2012–Jan. 2013)

SA, Rina, Ph.D. (U. of Tokyo), *A Study on the Reception of Western Mathematics in East Asia* (Nov. 2012–Feb. 2013)

BLUSSÉ van Oud-Alblas, Leonard Johan, Ph.D. (Leiden U.), *A Study on the making the social order under the Asian commercial networks* (Nov. 2012–May 2013)

CHEN, Wei, Ph.D. (Wuhan U.), *Comparative Research on the Study of Wooden Strips in Japan and China* (Jan.–Jul. 2013)

MOORE, Oliver James, Ph.D. (U. of Cambridge), *Ritual and Art in East Asia* (May.–Nov. 2013)

SCHMIDT, Jan, Ph.D. (Ruhr U.), *Research on the First World War in Japan and East Asia* (Jul. 2013–Jan. 2014)

ZHU, Yuqi, Ph.D. (Beijing Normal U.), *Studies on the Spread of Chinese Classics in Sino-Japan Communication in Modern Times* (Dec. 2013–)

LIU, Hengwu, Ph.D. (Bukkyo U.), *The interaction between China and Japan in Pre Modern China* (Feb. 2014–)

RESEARCH SEMINARS

Joint Research Center

A PLATFORM FOR CREATING NEW WISDOM ON LIFE
(Coordinated by Tadashi KOBAYASHI, July 2010–March 2013)

The study of biology has been moving since the 1970s, from an investigation with a natural philosophical flavor that takes place in closed laboratories, to life science research which brings concrete results on people's ordinary conception of life and death. In facing such structural changes to science, it is necessary to reconsider life science research in society, and to comprehend it as a new type of "knowledge" or "wisdom" with a highly social function: that is what we call "life knowledge". To create a platform for this "life knowledge", scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers and historians will work together to provide further insights.

THE MULTILAYERED CONTACTS AMONG GLOBALIZING INTELLECTUAL THOUGHT AND RELIGIONS WITH REGARD TO THE POSSIBILITY OF THE HUMANITIES

(Coordinated by Naoji OKUYAMA, July 2010–March 2013)

As contemporary society moves towards globalization, what characteristics define the distribution and consumption of intellectual thought and religions? In this project, we approach this question from the viewpoint of multilayered contacts through various cultures. The goal is to analyze and speculate not just on the present day, but also to look at this question in the span of the past 150 years. As one such theme, we take up religion and evolution theory, in order to investigate their spread aspects across various branches of the humanities. Within this framework, the topic of religion has inherited an awareness of the problems as laid out in “The Humanities in Contact Zones of Various Cultures,” the core project led by the International Center of Humanities under Kyoto University’s Institute for Research in Humanities. Thus, by identifying such contact zones of various cultures, we go on to discuss the acculturation processes in each territory of religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. The argument of social and biological evolution is seen as one example of modern thought. From its propagation across Asia, we can locate evolution theory as an example of contact between traditional societies and modern thought. Mostly from a humanities perspective, this topic investigates the relationships between evolution theory and religion, as well as the influence of evolution theory on societies and cultures.

WHAT INFORMATION CAN BE EXTRACTED FROM KANBUN TEXTS WITH COMPUTATIONAL METHODS?—A CONTRIBUTION TO FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH IN DIGITAL HUMANITIES

(Coordinated by Naoki YAMAZAKI, July 2010–March 2013)

This research project attempts to use a number of different information processing techniques to contribute to the machine readable analysis of texts written with Chinese characters. The techniques proposed include but are not limited to processing of structured text, processing of the results of morphological and structural analysis of Japanese, data mining using n-gram techniques, classification and distance calculation of textual relationships, networked structure extraction and visualization.

EUROPEAN CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS

(Coordinated by Yoshihiko ICHIDA, April 2011–March 2015)

This research project aims at rethinking the relations between European contemporary philosophy and politics. A variety of intellectual currents, also known as *postmodernism* or *post-structuralism*, emerged in France around 1968, in parallel with the awakening of the “New Left”: Althusser, Foucault, Deleuze or Derrida were central figures of these currents. Since the 1990s, when the communist bloc collapsed in Eastern Europe and the EU appeared on the scene in Western Europe, the heirs of these currents have been engaged in formulating renewed reflections on politics, notably by the works of Negri, Badiou, or Rancière. What is “political”, properly so called, in their philosophy? How could we understand this political turn in contemporary history? If we ask more generally: in which term has “politics” been defined, and what kind of practical or theoretical relations has it been supposed to entertain with “philosophy” after 1968? By asking these questions, we hope to make a critical intervention on political reflexions in our time.

ENVIRONMENTAL INFRASTRUCTURES: COMPARATIVE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY ON NATURE, TECHNOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE
(Coordinated by Atsuro MORITA, April 2013–March 2016)

The Environmental Infrastructures project aims at exploring complex interfaces between environmental knowledge (both scientific and indigenous) in proliferating international attempts to achieve sustainable management of global environmental changes. Mainly drawing on anthropology and science and technology studies (STS) and based on international collaboration between Japanese and Danish scholars, among others, project members are developing a comparative basis for the analysis of the intersections of a variety of practices in the making of infrastructures for knowing and managing environmental change. The range of our empirical studies varies from watershed management projects in Thailand and Ethiopia, to a wave energy industry in western Denmark, the construction of an indigenous knowledge database in India, and the reconstruction of the areas affected by the Great East Japan Earthquake.

RE-EXPLORATION OF WEB FOR RESOURCES OF THE HUMANITIES
(Coordinated by Kikyonori NAGASAKI, April 2013–March 2016)

As development of Web technology, Web service for resources of the humanities has been increased its possibilities regarding interoperability of various services and so on. However, it is still difficult to solve several problems such as improvement of legacy systems and data. As a result, it has become difficult for humanities scholars to use them easily among the mixed environment of legacy and advanced services. Under such circumstances, we aim to re-explore Web for resources of the humanities based on surveying ideal implementations and current various Web services which managed mainly by ourselves in order to clarify ways of realizing better Web services for resources of have been the humanities.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EAST ASIAN EXEGETICAL TRADITION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RELIGIOUS TEXTS
(Coordinated by Jun FUJII, April 2013–March 2016)

This project explores the historical development of East Asian exegetical tradition(s) by carefully comparing translations and interpretations of religious texts produced in the East Asian cultural sphere with those produced in other regions. In exploring the transmission, interpretation, and transformation of the East Asian classics over time, the history of Buddhism provides a particularly effective avenue of inquiry, because Buddhist textual materials are such a rich resource, both in terms of quality and quantity. They have, as a result, inspired a long history of productive research. In the case of medieval China, for example, when exegetes commented on the meanings of terms, they often based their interpretations on the orthodox Chinese exegetical tradition, which sometimes led to the replacement of specific characters with either homophonous or (near-)synonymous ones. This led to an evolution in the interpretation of the original terms, whose connotations and denotations were transformed by these borrowings and substitutions. This research project aims to offer both a diachronic investigation of the exegetical approaches taken to the classics in the East Asian cultural sphere, and, an exploration of the idiosyncratic modes of thought and expression that have arisen in East Asian cultures due to their mode of literary expression: namely, Chinese characters.

Department of Humanities

REPRESENTATIONS OF DIFFERENCES IN JAPAN AND ASIA

(Coordinated by Yasuko TAKEZAWA, April 2010–March 2015)

Our project examines representations of race in Japan and Asian by taking an inter-disciplinary approach that bridges the humanities and natural science.

Recent genetic studies have uncovered that race does not have any biological reality. Nevertheless, this concept persistently reproduces race as a social reality in various arenas such as medical treatments, social systems and aesthetics. What continues to generate such social reality of race? The project sheds light on the mechanism of racial representations as a key to understand such persistence.

In contrast to the abundant literature on visual representations of race, especially in Europe and the United States, non-visual representations of “invisible races,” such as “Burakumin” or Koreans in Japan, and their counterparts in Asia have received little attention in race studies. This project primarily focuses on racial representations of these “invisible races.”

TRANS-DISCIPLINARY STUDIES OF ORGANIZING TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES AND MEMORIES—FROM NARRATIVES TO MONUMENTS

(Coordinated by Masakazu TANAKA, April 2010–March 2015)

Trauma was caused by instances of childhood abuse, domestic violence, schoolyard bullying, acts of violence, wartime experiences, crime, accidents, or natural disasters. In this project, trauma is viewed in the larger sense of “pain” and “suffering.” This five-year-long project pursues how people have responded to this suffering, and whether they were eventually able to overcome their trauma, a process known as “organizing.”

Although trauma generally falls under the field of psychology and psychiatry, the process of “organizing” goes beyond this field. By examining trauma from various other angles, our purpose is to show a new vision of social studies.

Medical terms such as “trauma” and PTSD have long since made their way into the common tongue. The popularization of psychology and psychiatric terminology shows how our everyday world has been medicalized. Thus, reflecting upon trauma in such an environment will contribute to a better understanding of contemporary Japanese society.

THE ENLIGHTENMENTS AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (I): A STUDY ON THE YEAR 1793; (II): A STUDY ON THE “TERROR”

(Coordinated by Shigeki TOMINAGA, April 2010–March 2012/April 2012–March 2015)

Widely developed in the 18th century Europe, diverse trends of the Enlightenment encountered a decisive crisis with the French Revolution. In this seminar, we shall examine the reciprocal interference between theoretical elaborations and political actions during the Revolution, with a special focus on the *Montagnards*—e.g., Robespierre, Saint-Just, Billaud-Varenne—political discourses in the period of *Terror*. How and why the movements of the Enlightenment converged into the ideas of these revolutionaries? How in turn the experiment of the Revolution transformed the philosophy of the Enlightenment? And what sorts of questions are left to us from this historical experience of the French Revolution? Neither accusing the Enlightenment of engendering the Revolution as a violent rupture

in the European history, nor justifying the Revolution by the ideas of the Enlightenment, this research aims to explore political dimensions contained in philosophy.

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY ON THE FIRST WORLD WAR

(Coordinated by Shin'ichi YAMAMURO and Akeo OKADA, April 2010–March 2015)

The First World War marks the end of the long 19th century as well as the beginning of the contemporary history. We are still living in the post-World-War I era, which is characterized by the total mobilization, the globalization of the war, the threat of technologization, and so on. The aim of research project is to examine the historical impact of the First World War as a worldwide and intercultural phenomenon, with special emphasis on its influence in non-European world and the fields of culture/arts, and on its interconnections with the Second World War. In addition to having about 20 workshops in a year, we have already held several open lectures and published booklet series.

THEORIES OF LITERATURE AND ARTS IN JAPAN

(Coordinated by Yasusuke OURA, April 2011–March 2015)

Our concerns fall into the following two questions: 1) What are the literary and/or artistic theories which have been taught in Japan (especially in universities)? 2) If there are any “vernacular” theories of this kind in Japan, what can they be?

The first question is, in large part, that of the “importation” in Japan of Anglo-American, German or French theories since the Meiji period. The second one will lead us to sound the Japanese tradition in literature and arts from classics to modern works, in order to discover some theoretical elements on poetry, narrative, drama, performing arts, etc., and examine them in comparison with Western theories. This seminar is meant to be a large collaboration between specialists in Western studies and those in Japanese studies.

UNCTION AND CORONATION

(Coordinated by Masato FUJII, April 2011–March 2014)

This seminar succeeds to the seminar “Kingship and Ritual” (April 2005–March 2011). While the preceding seminar dealt with kingship and its related rituals in general, this seminar focuses on unction as a central ritual act of coronation and initiation in ancient India and other areas. The seminar aims to investigate the basic form and variants of unction, together with its evolution, transmission, and contact with other cultures through the cultural historical approach. As unction prevails in vast areas and ages, the research will cover unction performed in various rituals such as the royal coronation in Vedic India, Hindu initiation in medieval India, Buddhist initiation in India, China and Japan, and further the imperial coronation in medieval Japan.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON KOREA DURING SINO-JAPANESE AND ASIA-PACIFIC WARS (1937–1945)

(Coordinated by Naoki MIZUNO, April 2012–March 2015)

This research project aims to survey the basic documentary materials of wartime Korea, such as

newspapers, magazines and unpublished documents, and to use these to analyze various aspects of politics and society in Korea under Japanese colonial rule. During wartime (1937–1945), the colonial government of Korea implemented a number of dramatically transformative policies, such as the so-called “Policy of Making Koreans Imperial Subjects” and “Policy of Integrating Japan and Korea into One Body.” There are few existing academic studies that focus on the wartime period, despite its importance for Korean history. With that in mind, this project is intended to clarify the political and social aspects of wartime Korea.

A STUDY ON THE MAKING THE SOCIAL ORDER UNDER THE ASIAN COMMERCIAL NETWORKS

(Coordinated by Naoto KAGOTANI, April 2012–March 2015)

This research project aims to examine the dynamism of Chinese merchants and people in tropical Southeast Asia, with a special reference to public records and archival sources of their activities in Java. Our main discussions will concentrate upon the social order created by Chinese merchants and people in order to acclimate themselves to a tropical natural environment and institutions of colonial powers.

THE MODERN EMPEROR SYSTEM AND JAPANESE SOCIETY

(Coordinated by Hiroshi TAKAGI, April 2012–March 2016)

Recently, there has been a decline in historical research that considers the emperor system in relation to the state and society in Japan. Instead, recent work has focused on images of the emperor on Japanese emperors as individuals. In our research, rather than thinking in terms of simple political processes, we aim to examine modern Japan itself by making the modern emperor system and Japanese society an object of study. For example, approaching the progression from the Meiji Restoration to the Asian Pacific War through the framework of Japanese society and the modern emperor system allows us to rethink what is unique and what is universal about modern Japan. Focusing on the transition from the early modern to the modern period, we explore the emperor system in relation to society, broadly defined to include local areas such as towns and villages and diverse elements such as culture, religion, thought, education, social movements and folk customs. Of course, we also don't deny the importance of politics within our research group, which includes researchers specializing in diverse fields of historical study such as political history, educational history, cultural history, intellectual history, social movement history, art history, colonial history, folklore studies and regional history.

Department of Oriental Studies

SOURCES OF ANCIENT CHINESE HISTORY

(Coordinated by Tatsuro ASAHARA, April 2010–March 2016)

This is an introductory seminar for interested members who wish to study Ancient Chinese history, especially of the pre-Qin period. By reading basic articles or historical sources, participating members will be able to develop their understanding and increase their knowledge on the topic. They are also expected to help each other to this end.

STONE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTHERN DYNASTIES (II)

(Coordinated by Ryoichi INAMI, April 2010–March 2015)

In this seminar, we will analyze the rubbings of inscriptions in the Northern Dynasties, which our Institute possesses. At first, we check Chinese characters on the rubbings precisely, and then comment on it based on a traditional method. About missing parts, we refer to precedent studies. The rubbings of inscriptions will be digitalized and on-loaded to the following website:

http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/db-machine/imgsrv/takuhon/t_menu.html

DEEP STRUCTURE OF THE MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY CHINESE CULTURES

(Coordinated by Yoshihiro ISHIKAWA, April 2010–March 2015)

In recent years, the cultural situation in China has attracted greater attention around the globe with the rise of China's international economic and strategic status. We know, however, that the various fields of China's contemporary culture, i.e. art, literature, idea etc. involve many traces and memories of history. Some of them, for instance, collective memories of the Cultural Revolution and the pro-democratic movement in 1989, undoubtedly constitute Chinese culture in depth, although they have been long buried officially. These examples indicate that deep structure of the contemporary Chinese cultures should be understood in connection with the historical aspects of modern China. In this research seminar, we shall investigate various aspects of the modern and contemporary Chinese cultures, which includes such as the spread and acceptance of new ideas of Western origin in the 20th century China as well as the formation of the political culture of the Chinese Communist Party, mainly from the historical perspective. Considering historical elements in culture would also be very helpful in discussing Chinese culture in a global context.

INFORMATION EXCHANGE IN INTER-REGIONAL RELATIONS OF EAST ASIA

(Coordinated by Shigeki IWAI, April 2010–March 2013)

The East Asian in the sixteenth century experienced a great transformation in its society and economy, mainly caused by increase in silver production and activities of the European voyagers. Although the Ming empire endeavoured to maintain the tribute system and the prohibition of overseas trade, there appeared signs of upheaval in China-centred order caused by the private traders and inhabitants in peripheral zone eager for commercial activities.

The strong oppressive policy by the Ming government forced some maritime merchants to commit piracy. The Mongols who had not been allowed to tribute or to trade chose to plunder instead and brought pressure on the Chinese government and the Emperor. At the same time, peoples of various ethnics outside the official rule formed communities seeking profits and collided repeatedly with the authorities. The early modern states in the East Asia emerged out of these crises.

In this period, the need to get knowledge about external areas was raised and there appeared some variable writings highly precise and rich in information. In 1550's and 1560's Zheng Ruozen born in Jiangnan area compiled volumes about Japan, the pirates, the military tactics and technology. Our project focusing on the writings Zheng Ruozen and the others of that time explicates the circulation and the accumulation of knowledge of the outer region and investigates into the features of the inter-regional exchange of materials and information.

A STUDY OF THE TANG DAOISM

(Coordinated by Kunio MUGITANI, April 2010–March 2013)

This study aims to research the doctrine of the Tang Daoism which was formed under the strong influence of Buddhism. At first, We study Wang Xuanlan's "Xuanzhulu" which is one of the typical Buddho-Daoistic articles by preparing its translation with annotations. We also plan to make annotated translations of several similar doctrinal articles in Tang dynasty.

A STUDY OF EARLY BUDDHIST TEMPLES IN EAST ASIA

(Coordinated by Hidenori OKAMURA, April 2010–March 2013)

The Yungang Caves, located near the city of Datong in Shanxi province in China, are a group of Buddhist cave-temples excavated in the latter half of the fifth century by the Northern Wei dynasty. Between 1938 and 1944, following on from investigations of the Xiangtangshan Caves in Hebei province and the Longmen Caves in Henan province, the Research Institute of Oriental Culture, the predecessor of the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, carried out investigations of the Yungang Caves and neighboring sites. A report of these investigations was published in the form of the voluminous *Yunkang* (1951–1956) in 16 volumes and 32 fascicules by Mizuno Seiichi and Nagahiro Toshio.

This research seminar set about researching on the visual materials and field notes collected from such investigations with the goal of systematically digitizing and actively promoting the further use of these research resources, and making them available to the public.

STUDY ON SHUSHU: SCIENCE AND DIVINATION IN CHINA

(Coordinated by Tokio TAKEDA, April 2010–March 2015)

Natural science in East Asia formed a unique field of study called the study of shushu, which is composed of natural science and divinations derived from Yijing. Though the study of shushu is a field peculiar to East Asia, if one wants to evaluate the essence of the scientific culture of East Asia properly, it seems indispensable to grasp its structure and historical development.

The aim of our study group is to reveal the outline of the study of shushu and its theoretical structure. In order to examine this problem from various points of view, our workshop is consisted of researchers in various fields, such as astronomy, medicine, botany, philosophy, religion, linguistics, art, folklore and so on. We read the *Wuxing Dayi* (The General Principles of the Five Phases) in turns and the member and the guest speaker give presentation on new topics.

PUBLICATION OF THE DICTIONARY ON HAN WOODEN SLIPS

(Coordinated by Itaru TOMIYA, April 2010–March 2015)

The purpose of our research is to edit and publish the dictionary on the vocabulary in Han wooden slips excavated from Ju Yan and Dong Huang district in Inner Mongolia.

The publisher has been decided and we have to publish it by the end of 2013. The dictionary including all of technical terms of the administration in the Han Dynasty should make a huge contribution to the research of Chinese ancient history.

REGIONALIZATION OF BUDDHISM: NEW PERSPECTIVES AND POSSIBILITIES

(Coordinated by Toru FUNAYAMA, April 2011–March 2013)

No one can deny that Buddhism has exerted a considerable influence in East Asian history. In this study group, we do not limit “Buddhist history” to doctrinal studies or historical studies. Instead, we focus on the role played by “regions” within Buddhism and other Asian religions as a means to holistically and dynamically grasp Buddhism as a single cultural system. Regions each have their own regional characteristics and flavors. We take this as our basis for exploring the interactions between different regions. The relations between regions such as India and China or China, the Korean peninsula, and Japan, are surely important, but we also contend that it is necessary to explore micro-regions, such as those within the Chinese interior. Our focus on regionalization allows us to assess problems such as the so-called “Sinification” of Buddhism in China and the “Japanization” of Buddhism in Japan, as well as the interaction, conflict, and assimilation between other religions such as Confucianism, Daoism, Shintō, and Hinduism.

A STUDY ON ZAJU DRAMA IN YUAN DYNASTY

(Coordinated by Bunkyo KIN, April 2011–March 2014)

This year we examined *Gengzhi Zhangqian tishaqi in Yuankan Zaju Sanshizhong*. We translated it into Japanese and made its notes and lexicon. We also arranged notes and translations of *Guhang Xinkan Guanmu Diben Li-TaibaiBian Yelang* and *Xinbian Guanmu Jimwengong Huoshao Jiezitui* which led to the publication of *Studies on Zaju drama in Yuan dynasty 2: Bian Yelang and Jiezitui* (Kyukoshoin, May 2011) with their bibliographical introductions and indices.

A STUDY OF THE MEDIEVAL CHINESE MANUSCRIPTS

(Coordinated by Tokio TAKATA, April 2011–March 2014)

This study is a continuation in substance of the last research seminar “A Study of the Chinese Manuscripts Discovered in Dunhuang and Chinese Turkestan”. In addition to the Dunhuang manuscripts and the like, the new seminar will give attention also to the old Chinese manuscripts kept in Japan and attempts of comparative study between these two materials will be made as well. A collection of the articles of the members is to be published every year as an annual report.

REORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS IN MODERN CHINA

(Coordinated by Ei MURAKAMI, April 2012–March 2015)

The economic development in China during the last 30 years has attracted many foreigners, including Japanese, seeking business opportunities. As contact between foreigners and Chinese people increased both in and out of China, various conflicts arose because of cultural and behavioral differences between the native Chinese and foreigners. Thus, it became important to properly understand Chinese society and economy in order to solve these problems.

On the other hand, recent scholarship from the English-speaking world tends to hold that the economic standard in China’s core regions is almost the same as that in Western Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. However, these studies do not fully explain the rapid economic growth in China during the last 30 years or the “small divergence” between China and Japan since the mid-

nineteenth century. Therefore, in order to fully understand these issues, it is important to investigate the institutions directing social and economic changes in China in the modern period.

In this study, we examine the transformation of institutions such as customs, common sense, rules, orders, and behavioral patterns, which have directed Chinese society and its economy from the 17th century to the modern period.

TO THE EAST OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD, TO THE WEST OF THE CHINESE WORLD: VARIOUS ASPECTS OF CULTURAL INTERACTION IN THE PRE-MODERN EURASIA.

(Coordinated by Minoru INABA, April 2012–March 2015)

To the east of the Islamic world and to the west of the Chinese world lie Central Asia and South Asia which have established close relationships with the Islamic and Chinese civilizations and maintained various interactions with them. It is well known that both civilizations took great interest in each other's world and left fascinating descriptions about their counterpart.

Already from the 19th century, European Orientalists and Japanese Sinologists who utilized those western and eastern materials to develop the scholarships on the history of the East-West relations in pre-Modern world. The works of those pioneers have been criticized by the following generations and much of those early views have been revised. In the second half of the 20th century, however, the remarkable progress in the researches on the history of Central Asia and South Asia is shedding new light on the early views and frameworks of the research.

This research seminar is organized to examine the perspectives offered by the pioneers through the latest unearthed materials and to reconsider the aspects of long-term cultural interaction and acculturation in pre-Modern Eurasian world.

STUDIES ON TEXTBOOKS OF THE INTERPRETER IN EAST ASIA

(Coordinated by Yukio FUJIMOTO, April 2013–March 2015)

In the East Asia world, China, Korea, and Japan, the interpreter was trained mainly for diplomatic activities traditionally. Therefore, the textbooks of many foreign languages were edited for the purpose. They are not only important to inquire the actual condition of the language of each time, but also the precious data to know the social situation of those days. In this workshop, these foreign language textbooks edited in East Asia are studied synthetically. Especially we read *Pak-Tonsa* 朴通事, Chinese textbook edited in Korea in the 14th century, and aim to make the translation and annotation of this book.

APPLICATION RESEARCH IN DIGITAL CORPUS OF CLASSICAL CHINESE TEXTS

(Coordinated by Koichi YASUOKA, April 2013–March 2016)

In this research, we research a method to retrieve keywords from classical Chinese texts, based on our original morphological analyzer and our digital corpus of classical Chinese texts. In other words, we develop a keyword-retrieving system that can fragment continuous strings of characters of classical Chinese texts into phrases, that can divide classical Chinese phrases into words, and that can classify classical Chinese words under proper word-classes, which we design to describe detailed behavior of the words in the phrases.

A STUDY OF THE YUN-GANG BUDDHIST CAVE-TEMPLES

(Coordinated by Hidenori OKAMURA, April 2013–March 2015)

The Yungang Caves, located near the city of Datong in Shanxi province in China, are a group of Buddhist cave-temples excavated in the latter half of the fifth century by the Northern Wei dynasty. Between 1938 and 1944, following on from investigations of the Xiangtangshan Caves in Hebei province and the Longmen Caves in Henan province, the Research Institute of Oriental Culture, the predecessor of the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, carried out investigations of the Yungang Caves and neighboring sites. A report of these investigations was published in the form of the voluminous *Yunkang* (1951–1956) in 16 volumes and 32 fascicules by Mizuno Seiichi and Nagahiro Toshio.

This research seminar set about researching on the visual materials and field notes collected from such investigations with the goal of systematically digitizing and actively promoting the further use of these research resources, and making them available to the public.

FUNDAMENTAL TOPICS IN DIGITAL HUMANITIES

(Coordinated by Christian WITTERN, April 2013–March 2016)

Digital Humanities has become a hot topic in recent years as a catch-all designation for research in the Humanities that somehow employs digital data or methods. This research project takes a rather different approach, it attempts to apply methods developed in philological and textual studies to texts transformed into the digital realm, and thus to create a firm basis support traditional research in the fields of East-Asian Studies using the methods of the 21 century. The current work focuses on protocols and infrastructure for a shared repository of pre-modern texts and research material.

TYPOLICAL ANALYSIS OF CHINESE AND NEIGHBOR LANGUAGES

(Coordinated by Takumi IKEDA, April 2013–March 2015)

This research project aims to investigate aspects of development in language structures and in history of Language contact between Chinese and neighbour races from typological perspective. Major languages in China are: Altaic & Tungus as the northern neighbours, Korean & Japanese as the eastern neighbours, Tai & Hmong-mien as the southern neighbours, and Tibeto-Burman as the western neighbours. From Ancient time to now, the Chinese language has influenced to such languages and also has accepted various elements from the languages contacted with or from substratum languages. Consequently, the Chinese language has promoted so many changes in all aspects according to their historical and areal circumstances.

Our research group mainly focus on the exchanges among the races and languages in China, and expand positive researches in descriptive study on morphology, syntax, typology, historical changes, propagation of words, and cultural backgrounds. Our research activity consists of the small meetings to exchange research information with academic opinion, and the workshops on specific issues. On 2013, the first year of our research project, we held workshops on “Noun Phrases in TB Languages” and another workshop on “TB languages and Old Chinese”, with research members and some other specialists in the related fields.

CENTER FOR INFORMATICS IN EAST ASIAN STUDIES

47 Higashiogura-cho, Kitashirakawa, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto 606-8265 JAPAN

<http://www.kita.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/>

The Center for Informatics in East Asian Studies (CIEAS) was established in April 2009 by a reorganization of the former Documentation and Information Center for Chinese Studies. The overall mission of the CIEAS is to carry out information science research on East Asian languages and to make accessible to researchers historical East Asian materials through new media. A variety of databases, including Old Chinese Book Catalog in Japanese Libraries, are being constructed. The Annual Bibliography of Oriental Studies, which has long been published in book form, is now also available through WWW.

RESEARCH CENTER FOR MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY CHINA (RCMCC)

<http://www.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/~rcmcc/index.htm>

The Research Center for Modern and Contemporary China (RCMCC) was established in April 2007 by an arrangement between Kyoto University and the National Institutes for the Humanities (NIHU), which is part of the Inter-University Research Institute Corporations. The main mission of the RCMCC is to do research on the fundamental structure of modern and contemporary China from the point of view of humanities. Research activities of the RCMCC consist of two research groups: Research Group 1 “Deep Structure of the Modern and Contemporary Chinese Culture”; Research Group 2 “Social Foundation of the Modern and Contemporary Chinese Politics”. Moreover, the RCMCC, as one of the 6 research bases which was selected by the NIHU program “Contemporary Chinese Area Studies”, conducts joint research in association with other five research bases.

Submission Guidelines for ZINBUN

Requirements for Submission

1. ZINBUN is an academic journal issued once a year in March by the Institute for Research in Humanities of Kyoto University; it publishes articles, documents, and book reviews in the various fields of the humanities. All contributions are to be written in English, French, or German and published for the first time in that language.
2. All researchers who have or had an institutional affiliation to the Institute for Research in Humanities are qualified to submit to ZINBUN, including members of its research seminars and its hosted researchers. Furthermore, the Editorial Committee may accept submission of papers from other researchers whenever considered appropriate.
3. Submitted manuscripts are examined by a peer review of specialists designated by the Editorial Committee, which takes responsibility for the final decision for publication. The Editorial Committee should inform contributors of the result of the peer review within 2 months after submission. The manuscripts will be evaluated as (A) Publish as is, (B) Publish with required revisions, or (C) Not accepted. If the revisions of the manuscript ranked as (B) have not adequately fulfilled the corrections indicated by the Editorial Committee within 1 month after the peer review, it may be subject to rejection.
4. Those who wish to submit their manuscript should notify the Editorial Committee of ZINBUN of the provisory title before 31 May. The submission period is closed at the end of July. Though no limit is assigned to the number of pages, articles should count more than 2,000 words and book reviews more than 1,000 words. In consideration to other papers, contributors could be requested to adjust their manuscripts; they also could be asked to incur any additional printing costs.
5. Contributors are prohibited from submitting the same manuscripts to other journals.
6. In preparation of manuscripts, contributors should follow the 'Guidelines for Contributors', cited below.
7. To reproduce any kind of material, contributors are required to secure permission previously.
8. Contributors should submit their manuscripts to the Editorial Committee in the form of (i) a text file or a word-processor file, (ii) a PDF file, and (iii) three sets of hard copies in A4. Submission of electronic data should be made by an attachment to an e-mail or by a data storage device.
9. Authors are allowed to proofread twice.
10. Authors will not be remunerated for their contribution. However, they will be provided 1 copy of the journal and 50 copies of offprint free of charge.

11. Concerning the manuscripts published in ZINBUN, authors are considered to have conceded reproduction rights (right of digitalization) and public transmission rights (right to release publicly) to the Institute for Research in Humanities. In order to facilitate distribution, the Institute can release published papers in the form of images or PDF files through Kyoto University Research Information Repository (KURENAI)*.
*KURENAI: <http://repository.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/dspace/>

Guidelines for Contributors

1. Manuscripts are to be written in English, French, or German, on A4 paper.
2. Articles should be accompanied with a resume (about 200 words) and 5 keywords in the same language as they are written.
3. Notes should take the form of footnotes. References to footnotes should be indicated in the text as superscript and numbered sequentially in the format 1), 2), etc.
4. There is no precise indication for the format of texts, citations, footnotes, etc. Contributors may follow the styles commonly adopted in their own field.
5. The submitted articles should be divided into sections and each section heading should be preceded by an Arabic number.
6. Contributors who wish to insert figures, graphs, or photographs in their text should submit them in a separate PDF file in the case of figures and graphs or an appropriate electronic format in the case of photographs. In all cases, the submitted documents should be accompanied by a number, a caption, and an indication of source (when applicable); the place of insertion should be clearly indicated by the numbering.
7. A book review should indicate, at the head of the text, name of author, title (including subtitle, name of collection, number of volume, etc.), place of publication, publisher, number of pages, price of the book in question.
8. If the submitted manuscript is already published in another language, contributors should note this clearly as a footnote at the beginning of the text.
9. Further questions concerning the preparation of manuscripts may be addressed to the Editorial Committee.

Address of the Editorial Committee of ZINBUN
Institute for Research in Humanities,
Yoshida Honmachi, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto, 606-8501, Japan.
jreur@zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp

『ZINBUN』 投稿規定

- (1) 『ZINBUN』は、京都大学人文科学研究所が年1回3月に刊行する学術誌で、人文科学諸領域に関する論文・資料紹介・書評などを掲載する。投稿原稿は英語・フランス語・ドイツ語のいずれかによって書かれ、その言語で初めて公刊されるものとする。
- (2) 本誌に投稿する資格を持つのは、共同研究班員や受け入れ研究者を含め、京都大学人文科学研究所に制度的に所属する者、および所属した者とする。ただし、編集委員会が適切と判断した場合には、これら以外の執筆者からの投稿も可とすることがある。
- (3) 投稿原稿の本誌掲載の可否は、編集委員会が指名した専門家による査読にもとづいて、編集委員会が責任をもって最終判断する。編集委員会は、原稿受領後、2ヶ月以内に査読結果を投稿者に通知する。投稿原稿は、(A)そのまま掲載、(B)修正のうえ掲載、(C)不可のいずれかに判定される。(B)の判定を受けた投稿原稿が、その後1ヶ月以内に編集委員会の要請を満たす加筆修正を行っていないと判断された場合は、掲載不可となることがある。
- (4) 投稿希望者は、5月末までに編集委員会に仮タイトルを申告する。投稿〆切は7月末日とする。投稿原稿は『ZINBUN』編集委員会宛に送付する。とくに枚数の制限を設けないが、論文は2000語以上、書評は1000語以上を目安とする。ただし、他の掲載論文との関係から調整を求めたり、制作実費を申し受ける場合がある。
- (5) 他雑誌への二重投稿についてはこれを禁ずる。
- (6) 原稿執筆にあたって、投稿者は後述の『『ZINBUN』執筆要領』にしたがう。
- (7) 図版、写真などを掲載する場合は、投稿者の責任において、あらかじめ著作権者から許諾を受けるものとする。
- (8) 投稿者は、最終原稿の①テキストファイルないしワープロソフトによる文書ファイル、②PDFファイル、③A4の用紙に印刷されたハードコピー3部を編集委員会に提出する。電子データの提出は、電子メールへの添付ないし電子記憶媒体によって行うことができる。
- (9) 著者による校正は2回とする。
- (10) 原稿料は支払われない。ただし、著者には本誌1部と抜き刷り50部が無料で提供される。
- (11) 『ZINBUN』の掲載原稿について、著者は複製権（電子化する権利）と公衆送信権（公開する権利）に関する許諾を人文科学研究所に与えたものとする。人文科学研究所は頒布の便をはかるために、京都大学学術情報リポジトリ（KURENAI）*を通じて掲載論文等を画像あるいはPDFなどの形式で送信することができる。

* 京都大学学術情報リポジトリ（KURENAI）：

<http://repository.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/dspace/>

『ZINBUN』執筆要領

- (1) 使用言語は英語・フランス語・ドイツ語のいずれかとし、原稿はA4サイズとする。
- (2) 論文には使用言語による要旨（200語程度）を添付し、その言語でキーワードを5つ記す。
- (3) 注は脚注とする。本文中の注番号は字肩に上付きで、1), 2)などと記す。
- (4) 本文・引用・脚注などの書式は各専門分野の慣行にしたがうこととし、特に規定しない。
- (5) 論文はいくつかのセクションに分け、各セクションの見出しにはアラビア数字で番号を付す。
- (6) 図表や写真の掲載を希望する際は、図表に関してはPDFファイルを、写真に関しては典拠となる電子データを別途提出する。それぞれに通し番号、表題、出典（該当する場合）を明記し、本文中の挿入箇所を通し番号で指示する。
- (7) 書評の場合は、対象となる著書の著者名、書名（副題、シリーズ名、巻名なども含む）、刊行地、出版社、頁数、定価を冒頭に記す。
- (8) 他の言語ですでに発表したものと内容が重なる場合は、その旨、冒頭の脚注で明記する。
- (9) 執筆に関して質問があれば、編集委員会に問い合わせる。

『ZINBUN』編集委員会の宛先

606-8501 京都市左京区吉田本町 京都大学人文科学研究所『ZINBUN』編集委員会
jreur@zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp