

Japanese-South Asian Buddhist Interactions: Yamakami Sōgen, Kimura Nichiki, and Masuda Jiryō at the University of Calcutta

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As I demonstrate in my recently published book, *Seeking Śākyamuni: South Asia in the Formation of Modern Japanese Buddhism*, in first third of the twentieth century, South Asia, particularly India, served as an important nexus and contact zone for Japanese Buddhists.¹ Japanese Buddhist outreach to the world was facilitated by Japanese contacts with South and Southeast Asian Buddhists and native scholars, who provided opportunities for the Japanese to expand their participation in global Buddhist scholarship through Japanese written English-language scholarship published in South Asia. In addition, Japanese English-language journals, for example, the *Young East*, served as a venue for the exchange of Buddhist ideas across Asia, drawing together Japanese scholars with a wide range of South and Southeast Asian Buddhist authors. The *Young East* and other Buddhist-studies English-language publications published in Japan thus helped create a shared transnational Buddhist culture in Asia. During the same period, Buddhist visitors to Japan from across the globe contributed to Japanese Buddhist efforts to disseminate Japanese teachings to a non-Japanese-speaking or -reading audience and augmented Japanese Buddhist scholarship concerning such languages as Pali, Sanskrit, and Tibetan. To cite one example, the temple of Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭 (1872–1933), Saikōji 西光寺 in Shinagawa where work on the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 took place, was frequented by such important figures as

¹ This paper is an adapted excerpt of portions of Richard M. Jaffe, *Seeking Śākyamuni: South Asia in the Formation of Modern Japanese Buddhism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).

Nyanatiloka, the Chinese cleric Milin 密林, and Rash Behari Bose.² The extent to which these foreigners assisted Japanese work on the *Daizōkyō* has yet to be fully investigated, but as I show in *Seeking Śākyamuni*, during the first part of the twentieth century Japan increasingly functioned as an Asian Buddhist metropole.

The biographies of many of the actors involved in these inter-Asian exchanges underline the importance of India and Southeast Asia as a training ground for Japanese Buddhists and Buddhist scholars and a doorway for the Japanese to the world of global Buddhist scholarship. The flow of people, ideas, and material culture moved in multiple directions. Numerous Japanese Buddhist overseas students sent to South Asia returned to Japan to serve not only as university teachers but also as liaisons between the Japanese and visitors from across Asia. Other long-term Japanese Buddhist overseas students in South Asia served as guides for other Japanese travelers in the region. Some even became university instructors in India, thus contributing to the renaissance in Buddhist studies in that region as well. Although it is not well known, for a good portion of the first three decades of the twentieth century, three Japanese clerics taught Buddhist studies at the University of Calcutta. It is these clerics who are the focus of this article.

The first Japanese cleric to serve at the University of Calcutta was the Sōtō cleric, Yamakami Sōgen/Tensen 山上曹源 / 天川 (1878–1957).³ Following his graduation from the Sōtōshū University (Sōtōshū Daigaku, later Komazawa University) in 1906, Yamakami headed to India as a Sōtōshū overseas student. Yamakami first studied Sanskrit in Colombo with the famous Sri Lankan *bhikkhu*, Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala, for a year, before moving to the University of Calcutta. At the University of Calcutta,

² Okuyama Naoji 奥山直, *Hyōden Kawaguchi Ekai* 評伝河口慧海 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2003).

³ His surname also is rendered Yamagami, but I have followed the spelling used in his English-language monograph, *Systems of Buddhist Thought* and *Zengaku Daijiten Hensanjo* 禅学大辞典編纂所, ed. 1985. *Zengaku daijiten* 禅学大辞典 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten), 1238, where it is Yamakami.

Yamakami studied English, Sanskrit, Indian philosophy, and literature. Yamakami worked with Harinath De, who was interested in reviving Pali studies in India. De had been a professor of English at Presidency College in Calcutta before moving to the University of Calcutta, where he became one of the founding members of the Linguistics Department. De progressed in his study of Pali under the tutelage of the Indian *bhikkhu* and pioneering scholar of Buddhism Dharmanand Kosambi.⁴ Over the course of his career, De edited and translated a variety of Buddhist texts, including an edition of the text of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and a translation published serially of Tāranātha's history of Indian Buddhism (*Rgya gar chos 'byung*). In addition, Yamakami assisted De with the translation of a series of selections from Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārika* (Verses on the Middle Way) and Āryadeva's commentarial treatises on the former text.⁵ Given that some of Āryadeva's treatises are extant only in Chinese and are accompanied by a rich commentarial tradition in East Asia, Yamakami probably was a valuable aid to De in his work on those texts.

In 1910, Yamakami was appointed a reader of Buddhism by Ashutosh Mookerjee (1864–1924), the vice-chancellor and president of the Post-Graduate Council of University of Calcutta.⁶ Mookerjee was vice-chancellor of the university from 1906 to 1914 and again from 1921 to 1923, while simultaneously serving as president of the Mahābodhi Society from 1911 to 1924.⁷ Inspired by the activities of the Bengal Buddhist Association and his close work with the Association's founder, Kripasaran Mahathera,

⁴ Kosambi, Dharmananda, and Meera Kosambi. *Dharmanand Kosambi: The Essential Writings*. (Ranikhet, Bangalore: Permanent Black, 2010), 187–89.

⁵ Sunil Bandyopadhyay, *Harinath De, Philanthropist and Linguist* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, India), 1988, 54–56.

⁶ Sōgen Yamakami, *Systems of Buddhist Thought* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1912), iv.

⁷ Ober, "Reinventing Buddhism," 174. Although according to Ober Mookerjee was not serving as president in 1915–21, Kimura refers to him as "President Asutosh Mookerjee" in the preface to a 1920 book, thanking Mookerjee for his support. See Ryukan Kimura, *The Original and Developed Doctrines of Indian Buddhism in Charts* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1920), v.

Mookerjee worked to assemble a coterie of scholars studying Pali and Buddhism at the university. An adroit judge of scholarly talent and commitment to Buddhism, over the course of the early twentieth century Mookerjee hired such notable Indian Buddhist scholars as Beni Madhab Barua and Dharmanand Kosambi. Under Mookerjee's tenure, the University of Calcutta also established the first department for Pali in India.

During his time at the University of Calcutta, Yamakami taught courses on the development of Buddhist doctrine. He also published his course lectures through the University of Calcutta Press for use as a textbook in the course. In the preface to the monograph *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, Yamakami thanked De and Mookerjee while commenting that “his [De's] linguistic gifts would have proved of invaluable service in what I consider to be the most important task which lies before Indian scholarship, namely, the rediscovery of ancient Buddhistic Works, lost in the original Sanskrit and now to be found in Chinese and Tibetan [sic] versions.”⁸ Yamakami taught at the University of Calcutta until 1913, when he returned to Japan. In 1914, he became a professor at Sōtōshū University, where he taught Sanskrit, Indian religions, and Buddhist studies. Like many other Buddhists returned from extended periods of study in South Asia, in addition to writing works on Buddhism, Yamakami wrote on conditions in India, for example, publishing in 1915 *Konnichi no Indo 今日の印度* (India Today), a work that surveyed Indian social life, politics, military affairs, and religious life.⁹ Yamakami rose through the ranks of Sōtōshū higher education, becoming president of Komazawa University from 1943 to 1945, while continuing to publish works on Zen and in support of the war effort.¹⁰

⁸ Yamakami, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, v. Spelling and capitalization as in the original.

⁹ Yamakami Sōgen 山上曹源, *Konnichi no Indo 今日の印度* (Tokyo: Genkōsha, 1915).

¹⁰ Biographical information is found in Yamagami Tadashi 山上貞, ed., *Suirō zuiha* (Tokyo: Kanagawa Shinbun Sha, 1957), 217–21. During the Fifteen Years' War, Yamakami published at least one work to bolster loyalty and the spirit of sacrifice in Japan. See Yamakami Sōgen, *Hagakure bushi no seishin 葉隠武士の精神* (Tokyo: San'yū Sha), 1942.

Two years after Yamakami arrived in South Asia, he was followed to the subcontinent by Kimura Nichiki/Nikki Nichiki/Nikki 木村日紀 (1882–1965). Born in Fukui Prefecture, Kimura Shōzaburō 木村庄三郎 was ordained as a Nichiren cleric in 1896 and went by the name Ryūkan 竜寛 until 1931, when he changed his name to Nikki/Nichiki 日紀.¹¹ Kimura studied at several sectarian academies and an English-language school prior to entering Tōyō Daigaku 東洋大学 in 1906. In 1908, having completed the preparatory course and one year of university study at Tōyō, Kimura headed to India as a Nichirenshū overseas student. Kimura first studied at a Sanskrit academy in Chittagong, a city that by the nineteenth century was one of the few in India with a significant number of Buddhists. As Kimura recalled, “I went to India as a resident student to study Buddhism in that country and stayed in Chittagong—the only centre of the Southern Buddhism (Hīnayāna) that remained in India.”¹² In the mid-nineteenth century, Chittagong became a center of Buddhist revival activity in India when the Arakanese *bhikkhu* Saramitra Mahasthavir established the Sangharāja Nikāya in 1855.¹³ Graduating from the Sanskrit academy in Chittagong in 1911, Kimura then moved to Calcutta, where until 1914 he studied with Bidhushekhari Shastri (1878–1957), who served as the librarian at Rabindranath Tagore’s center, Santiniketan. Kimura also studied at the Asian Studies Department of the Sanskrit College. After graduating in 1914, Kimura then studied Buddhist

¹¹ Biographical information is based on the chronology in Kimura Nikki, “Hokeyō Kōwa: Nichiren Shōnin to Hokeyō” (Tokyo: Kimura Nikki, 1966), 97–99, and Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten Hensan Inkaikai 日本仏教人名辞典編纂委員会, ed. *Nihon Bukkyō jinmei jiten* 日本仏教人名辞典. (Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 1992), 162.

¹² Nikki Kimura, “My Memory about the Late Rash Behari Bose,” in *Rash Behari Basu, His Struggle for India’s Independence*, ed. Rash Behari Bose, Radhanath Rath, and Sābitri Prasanna Chatterjee (Calcutta: Biplabi Mahanayak Rash Behari Basu Smarak Samity, 1963), 38.

¹³ On the revival of Buddhism in Chittagong, which produced a number of important Indian Buddhist scholars and *bhikkhu*, see Gitanjali Surendran, “‘The Indian Discovery of Buddhism’: Buddhist Revival in India, c. 1890–1956.” (PhD, History, Harvard University, 2013), 125–26; and Douglas Fairchild Ober, “Reinventing Buddhism: Conversations and Encounters in Modern India, 1839–1956” (PhD, Asian Studies, University of British Columbia, 2016), 120–28.

Sanskrit and ancient Indian epigraphy with Haraprasad Śāstri. In addition to learning Sanskrit, Kimura became proficient in Bengali as well as other Indic languages and, in 1915, he received the honorific title of Vidya Ratna from the Eastern Bengal Sanskrit Society as well as a gold-medal prize from the Literary Association of Bengal for his monograph on the philosophy of the Madhyamaka School.

While in Bengal, Kimura, like Okakura Kakuzō 岡倉覚三, who had resided in the region in 1901–2, was drawn into the orbit of the famed Bengali poet and intellectual, Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941). When Tagore began planning a trip to Japan in 1915, he wrote to Kimura, who was still at the University of Calcutta, asking him to head back to Japan to lay the groundwork for his visit. Tagore wrote,

Instead of starting for Japan immediately my intention is to wait a few months longer. Meanwhile sending you there to make necessary preparations. I want to know Japan in the outward manifestation of its modern life and in the spirit of its traditional past. I also want to follow the traces of ancient India in your civilization and have some idea of your literature if possible. I doubt not that you will be able to protect me, while I am there, from pressure of invitations and receptions and formal meetings. I want to live very simply and quietly.¹⁴

Tagore's trip to Japan roused some suspicion among the British authorities, probably in part because in 1915 the revolutionary Rash Behari Bose had fled to Japan disguised as a member of Tagore's family. In addition, the ship that took Tagore to Japan, the *Tosa Maru*, had previously been used by a group of Bengali revolutionaries in an effort to smuggle arms into India.¹⁵ Like other Japanese company officials and travelers who

¹⁴ Letter cited in Stephen N. Hay, *Asian Ideas of East and West; Tagore and His Critics in Japan, China, and India*, Harvard East Asian Series. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 53.

¹⁵ Hay, *Asian Ideas of East and West*, 56.

were suspected of working against British interests in India, Kimura was considered by some, including his Indian colleagues, to be a Japanese spy.¹⁶

At Tagore's request, Kimura returned to Japan in 1915 to help prepare for the poet's visit, which took place as a stopover while Tagore was en route to the United States. At a formal reception for Tagore on June 13, 1916, Kimura translated Tagore's remarks from Bengali into Japanese for the crowd of approximately 250 clerics, government officials, and others who gathered at the temple Kan'eiji. During the two-year Japan interlude, Kimura published a book concerning the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, *Upanishaddo monogatari* ウパニシャッド物語, and was promoted to the rank of *gonsōzu* 権僧都 (lower-ranked bishop) in the Nichiren denomination.¹⁷ He also met for the first time Rash Behari Bose, who was in hiding in Tokyo at that time. Kimura was impressed with Bose, recalling that after meeting Bose in Tokyo, "I paid my highest respect to his sincerity and knew the high value of his true heart. After the interview, I became his intimate friend."¹⁸

By 1917, with the permission of his denomination, Kimura was back in India, where he studied Indian Buddhist history under Haraprasad Śastri. The next year, he began lecturing at the postgraduate level in the Department of Arts at Calcutta University, thus becoming the second Japanese cleric to teach Buddhist thought at the university. Kimura was given the title of lecturer in Indian Buddhist History and Mahayana Philosophy. At the university he taught "Buddhist philosophy and Buddhist history." In 1924, the University of Calcutta administration even sent Kimura back to Japan to establish ties with every Japanese university. Kimura also presented the major Japanese universities with the University of Calcutta's

¹⁶ Hay bases this assertion on a 1960 interview with a former staff member of Calcutta University. The individual mentioned that Kimura had been reputed to be a spy while he resided in Calcutta. Hay, *Asian Ideas of East and West*, 347.

¹⁷ Kimura Ryūkan 木村竜寛, *Upanishaddo monogatari* 優波尼沙土物語 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1916).

¹⁸ Kimura, "My Memory about the Late Rash Behari Bose," 40.

various publications.¹⁹

During his time teaching at the University of Calcutta, Kimura produced a series of articles and books in Japanese and English concerning South Asian Buddhism. The Japanese publications published prior to his return to Japan were mostly articles in sectarian journals that reported on Indian Buddhism.²⁰ As noted above, he also published a book concerning the Upaniṣads in 1916. The English publications Kimura produced were more substantial works based on his lectures and published by the University of Calcutta. In the prefatory material in several of those publications, Kimura thanked Ashutosh Mookerjee for his supportive leadership and Indian colleagues such as B. M. Barua and Sailendranath Mitra, while also acknowledging the assistance of his students, particularly those at the graduate level.²¹ The books published by Kimura included *The Original and Developed Doctrines of Indian Buddhism in Charts* (1920); *Introduction to the History of Early Buddhist Schools* (1925); and *A Historical Study of the Terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (1927). Kimura made it a point to distribute at least one of the books, *Introduction to the History of Early Buddhist Schools*, to multiple libraries, where signed copies of the book remain to this day.²²

Kimura saw these publications as a unified effort to present in a systematic way the relationship between various schools of Indian Buddhism and their doctrines, while clarifying the use of the terms

¹⁹ Kimura, “My Memory about the Late Rash Behari Bose,” 40.

²⁰ For example, Kimura Ryūkan 木村竜寛, “Indo kenmon dan” インド見聞談, *Hokke* 法華 2, no. 5 (May 1915); and “Nichiren shugi o shiru mae ni Hokekyō o shirubeshi, Nichiren Shōnin o shiru mae ni Buddha o shirubeshi” 日蓮主義を知る前に法華経を知る可し, 日蓮聖人を知る前に仏陀を知る可し, *Hokke* 7, no. 3 (March 1920).

²¹ See for example, Ryukan Kimura, *A Historical Study of the Terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (Patna: Indological Book Corp., 1978), originally published 1927, xi–xii.

²² Separate signed, dedicated copies of the book are found in the Komazawa University Library in Tokyo and the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago, Illinois.

Hinayana and Mahayana. Since the late nineteenth-century penetration of European Buddhological scholarship into Japan, Japanese had wrestled with the perception that East Asian Buddhism—the so-called “Northern Buddhism”—was a deviation from the Buddha’s original teachings that reflected superstitious interpolations into the tradition. According to Perreira, Japanese Buddhists like Shaku Sōen contributed to the global discussion of the relationship between the streams of Buddhism based on the Pali-language textual tradition and those that took Sinitic or Tibetan materials as foundational. Perreira writes,

As a consequence of, and in direct response to, the implication of the above findings [dividing Buddhism into “Southern” and “Northern” schools]. beginning in the 1870s there emerged in Meiji-era Japan a new historical consciousness concerning Buddhism that profoundly transformed not only the way the Japanese approached the study of Buddhism but, in turn, led to a new conceptualization of Japanese Buddhism itself that was, by the turn of the century, hugely influential and directly responsible for redefining the very terms by which the study and conceptualization of Buddhism was carried out in Asia and the West from this period forward.²³

Perreira notes the importance of the Japanese delegation’s presentations at the World’s Parliament of Religion and of subsequent English-language publications of Shaku Sōen and D. T. Suzuki, for example, in his groundbreaking work *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism* (1907), as contributing to the dissemination of these ideas about Hinayana and Mahayana from Japan to Europe and the United States. In addition, Buddhist English-language journals published in Japan, in particular the *Mahayanist* and the *Eastern Buddhist*, attempted to disseminate a more

²³ Todd LeRoy Perreira, “Whence Theravāda? The Modern Genealogy of an Ancient Term.” In *How Theravāda is Theravāda?: Exploring Buddhist Identities*, edited by Peter Skilling, et. al., 443–571. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, 2013), 458.

favorable view of the Japanese Mahayana tradition. Kimura's work, along with that of Yamakami Sōgen and Masuda Jiryō, all of which were published in India, can be seen as part of the same effort to spread the Japanese perspective on Buddhist history to an Anglophone audience. In the process, Kimura was able to provide through lectures the Japanese Mahayana perspective to a rising generation of Indian Buddhist scholars while also addressing Buddhist scholars outside Japan through his English-language writings published in India. Along with publications by Japanese scholars in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* and other journals, Indian academic publishing became an important venue for addressing a wider audience outside Japan.

Kimura's *A Historical Study of the Terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism* drew the attention of several prominent British scholars who expressed reservations about the work. In one review, William Stede criticized Kimura for not having sufficient grasp of Pali Buddhism, which Stede wrote was the essential foundation for truly understanding the nature of Mahayana Buddhism. Urging Kimura to take "up the study of Pali more thoroughly," Stede admitted that some "promising work in this respect is getting done by the 'middle generation' of Japanese Buddhist scholars, and I wish we had a few more Indian and European ones to join them."²⁴ Kimura's effort to describe the filiation of Buddhism into Hinayana and Mahayana from the latter perspective by characterizing Mahayana as the expression of "ontological" teachings implicit in Buddha's post-awakening understanding sparked criticism from C. A. F. Rhys Davids. Although praising Kimura's detailed genealogy of the terms Hinayana and Mahayana, the reviewer objected that

he, teaching, among other things, Pali in India, comes to take up the lower lying strata of Indian Buddhology. And he approaches it from

²⁴ W. Stede, "Review of a Historical Study of the Terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism by Ryukan Kimura," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 4 (1928): 952.

the Mahāyānist standpoint. Or at least from his own standpoint, but under the *dominating* influence of Mahāyānist tradition. Now this is, for pure disinterested historical criticism of the inception of Buddhology in India, something approaching what the world of sport calls “disqualification.”²⁵

Like Stede, however, Caroline Rhys Davids saw value in Kimura’s efforts, despite disagreeing with some of the author’s assertions. “But the substance of this thesis and its historical value lies in a detailed inquiry into how the terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna arose. Readers who have to meet with the terms full blown have here an opportunity of learning how much and how little is known as to that, and will have reason to be grateful for the painstaking research put before them.”²⁶

In 1929, Kimura returned to Japan and assumed a position as professor at Risshō University. He did not formally give up his position at Calcutta University, however, until 1931, by which time he had become head of the Vocational Studies Division (Senmonbu Buchō 専門部部長) at Risshō Daigaku 立正大学 and achieved the rank of higher-ranked bishop (*daisōzu* 大僧都) in the Nichiren denomination.²⁷ Kimura continued to produce a small number of publications in English, but with his return to Japan, the bulk of his work was in Japanese. In those works, Kimura focused on providing what he believed was the foundational knowledge required for understanding Nichiren Buddhism as well as a number of works concerning Indian thought.²⁸ According to information for the years 1938–41, at Risshō

²⁵ C. A. F. Rhys Davids, “Review of a *Historical Study of the Terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism* by Ryukan Kimura,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London)* 4, no. 4 (1928): 856–57. Diacritics as in the original.

²⁶ Rhys Davids, “Review of a *Historical Study*,” 857.

²⁷ Kimura, *Hokekyō kōwa*, 98.

²⁸ For example, Kimura Ryūkan, “Indo no saishi girei ni tsuite” 印度の祭祀儀礼に就いて, *Ōsaki gakuho* 大崎学報30 (November 1930): 74–80; Kimura Ryūkan, “Konpon Bukkyō yori Hokekyō made” 根本仏教より法華経まで, *Ōsaki gakuho*, Nichiren Shōnin roppyaku gojū onki kinen tokushū gō 日蓮上人六百五十遠忌記念特

University Kimura taught courses on advanced Sanskrit, Indian philosophy, history and philosophy of Indian Buddhism, and the Lotus Sūtra.²⁹

In addition to teaching at Risshō following his return to Japan, Kimura became a permanent trustee (*jōnin riji* 常任理事) of the Kokusai Bukkyō Kyōkai 国際仏教協会 (International Buddhist Society), which had begun in 1933.³⁰ Founded in order to promote the international dissemination of Buddhism, the society published a Japanese journal, *Kaigai Bukkyō jijō* 海外仏教事情, and two English-language serials aimed at an international audience, the *Young East* and *Studies on Buddhism in Japan*. In order to promote the society's mission, members would gather information about overseas Buddhism, do translation work, and support students studying overseas Buddhism. In 1937, as full-scale war in China broke out, Kimura became the third head representative of the permanent trustees (*daihyō jōnin riji* 代表常任理事) of the society.

While teaching at Risshō and serving as a trustee for Kokusai Bukkyō Kyōkai, Kimura served as an intermediary for some South Asian Buddhists coming to Japan. Perhaps it was in his capacity as an officer for the Kokusai Bukkyō Kyōkai that Kimura brought V. E. P. Pulle (later, Soma Thera) and G. S. Prelis (later, Kheminda Thera) to Risshō in the mid-1930s. Kimura, hosted the Sri Lankans, Pulle and Prelis at Risshō and introduced them to Ehara Ryōzui 江原亮瑞, his student. Subsequently the Sri Lankan Buddhists traveled to Ehara's temple, Jōzaiji 常在寺, in Kawatana 川棚 near Nagasaki, where with Ehara they translated the *Gedatsu dōron* 解脱道論 into English.

Although it is unclear when the Sri Lankans arrived in Japan, it is

輯号 (December 1931): 229–302; Kimura Nikki, “Daijō Shōjō to iu meimeigi no rekishiteki kenkyū” 大乘小乗といふ名名義の歴史的研究, *Ōsaki gakuho* 81 (1932): 76–114; “Aiku Ō no kyōhō” 阿育王の教法, *Ōsaki gakuho* 83 (1933): 113–40; and *Indo gendai shichō* 印度現代思潮, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1935).

²⁹ Courses on Buddhism taught in Japanese universities are listed in International Buddhist Society, “Studies on Buddhism in Japan,” 4 vols. (Tokyo: International Buddhist Society, 1939–1942).

³⁰ Ōsawa Kōji 大澤広嗣, *Senjika no Nihon Bukkyō to Nanpō chiiki* 戦時下の日本仏教と南方地域 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2015), 60–64.

clear that the Sri Lankans became involved in Risshō University activities by 1935, as Pulle published a cursory article on Ceylonese Buddhism in English in a Risshō academic journal that year.³¹ At the conclusion of the article, Pulle, as did many of the Japanese who worked in India and Ceylon, points to the importance of Buddhism for Asia's future. "Also, the study of Ceylon's history and people and its great archaeological remains is essential to the proper understanding of the religion of the future, Buddhism [sic], which has made our Asia great, noble and strong in the past and which will make it greater, nobler and stronger in the future."³² In addition to the two Sri Lankans, a Bengali Buddhist *bhikkhu*, Rastrapala Sandilyāyana, studied at Risshō with Kimura. Sandilyāyana published an article in the *Young East* as well as the pamphlet, *A Short History of Japanese Buddhism*, which was published by the Kokusai Bukkyō Kyōkai.³³

Along with Yamakami and Kimura, the University of Calcutta employed one other long-term Japanese Buddhist overseas student as a lecturer, the Shingi Shingonshū 新義真言宗 cleric Masuda Jiryō 増田慈良 (1887–1930) (1887–1930). Sent as an overseas student by Buzan University (Buzan Daigaku 豊山大学), which was affiliated with the Shingonshū, Masuda toured Buddhist sites in India and Nepal in the company of Kawaguchi Ekai and Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 in the winter of 1912.³⁴ Masuda studied in Baroda and Pune, where the Maharaja of Baroda State, Sayajirao Gaikwad III (1863–1939), was a keen patron of Buddhist scholarship and Sanskrit studies.³⁵ Masuda's time in Pune and Baroda (today, Vadodara) occurred when such great scholars of Buddhist languages

³¹ V. E. P. Pulle, "Buddhism in Ceylon," *Ōsaki gakuhō* 87 (December 1935): 2–6 (Left-Right).

³² Pulle, "Buddhism in Ceylon," 6.

³³ Rastrapala Sandilyayana, *A Short History of Japanese Buddhism* (Tokyo: International Buddhist Society, 1940).

³⁴ These biographical details are drawn from the scattered mentions of Masuda in Okuyama, *Hyōden Kawaguchi Ekai*, 238; 270, ff.

³⁵ Some details of Masuda's time in India are provided in Izumi Hōkei 泉芳環, "Meiji jidai ni okeru toin no Bukkyōto" 明治時代に於ける渡印の仏教徒, *Gendai Bukkyō* 105 (1933): 168.

as R. G. Bhandarkar (1837–1925) and Dharmanand Kosambi, whom the Maharaja had lured from his post at the University of Calcutta to Baroda State, were promoting the study of Sanskrit and Pali. During the six years Masuda was in Baroda and Pune, Kosambi was teaching Pali at Fergusson College in Pune and Bhandarkar, as vice-chancellor of Bombay University, had introduced Pali into the curriculum. In addition, the Deccan Education Society was offering four scholarships for students of Pali at Fergusson College.³⁶ Ober mentions that in 1913 the Maharaja installed with fanfare a Japanese Buddha image that had been presented to him by a “Japanese visitor.”³⁷ Although Ober does not provide a name for the visitor, the event occurred while Masuda was studying in Pune and Baroda, so, perhaps, he had given the image to the Maharaja. In any case, Masuda’s residence in Pune and Baroda overlapped with the efflorescence of Buddhist studies in that region. As we have seen in the cases of a number of Japanese Buddhists studying in South Asia, what at first glance appears to be a rather random set of destinations—Baroda, Chittagong, Pune—along with major urban areas like Benares, Bombay, and Calcutta turns out to be a list of centers where the renaissance in Indian Buddhist studies that was being led by Das, De, Kosambi, and other Indian pandits was underway.

In 1918, Masuda moved to Calcutta, where he became lecturer for ancient Indian history and culture in the postgraduate department of the university at the same time Kimura Nichiki was lecturing there. While at the University of Calcutta, Masuda published an English translation of the *Yibuzonglun lun* 異部宗輪論 (*J. Ibushūrin ron*; S. *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*) by Vasumitra (C. Shiyou 世友; J. Seu), a valuable work preserved in Chinese that details the fissiparous history of the early Buddhist Sangha that resulted in the formation of a number of separate *nikāya* (schools). Masuda’s early work on the text was published in the University of Calcutta’s *Journal*

³⁶ On the activities of the Maharaja in Baroda, see Ober, “Reinventing Buddhism,” 78–79, 284–85. On Kosambi’s activities to promote Pali in Baroda, see Kosambi, *Dharmanand Kosambi*, 6–7, 22–23, 199–205.

³⁷ Ober, “Reinventing Buddhism,” 284, n. 16.

of the Department of Letters, but his father-in-law's death in Japan forced him to leave India in 1921 before completing the translation. According to Ishigami Zen'nō 石上善応, who wrote an afterword for a posthumous volume of Masuda's essays, "the ten years of overseas study in India had a great effect on Professor Masuda. Probably more than anything, this was being able to touch the soil of India, directly experience the customs of India's diverse people (*minzoku*), and learn the complexity of society in living India. It is no exaggeration to state that unlike a one or two-year period of overseas study, he came to know completely the outside and inside of things."³⁸

During his subsequent overseas study in Heidelberg, Germany, which lasted from late 1921 to 1925, Masuda worked with Max Walleser. In Germany, Masuda completed the English translation and published it in *Asia Major*.³⁹ In addition, Masuda published one work in German concerning *Yogācāra* Buddhism. In 1927, Max Walleser published his own German translation of the *Yibuzonglun lun*, thus making the important work more widely available in Europe.⁴⁰ In 1925, Masuda returned to Japan, where he assumed a post as professor at Taishō University, which recently had been founded. At Taishō, Masuda also served in the Sanskrit Studies Research Office (Bonbungaku Kenkyūshitsu 梵文学研究室) with Ogiwara Unrai 萩原雲来. Better known for his work published overseas than within Japan, Masuda died suddenly in 1930, after just five years teaching at Taishō.⁴¹

Yamakami, Kimura, and Masuda are just three examples of how Japanese Buddhist overseas students in India returned to Japan to take on academic positions in higher education, primarily in the Buddhist sectarian

³⁸ In Ōkubo Ryōjun, ed., *Studies in Indian Buddhist History by Jiryō Masuda* (Tokyo: Taisho University, 1986), 235.

³⁹ Jiryō Masuda, "Early Indian Buddhist Schools," *Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta* 1 (1920): 1–11; and "Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools: A Translation of Hsüan-Chwang's Version of Vasumitra's Treatise," *Asia Major* 2 (1925): 1–78.

⁴⁰ Max Walleser, *Die Sekten Des Alten Buddhismus*. His: Die Buddhistische Philosophie in Ihrer Geschichtlichen Entwicklung (Heidelberg: C Winter, 1927).

⁴¹ Ōkubo, *Studies in Indian Buddhist History*, 235–37.

universities that were formed in the 1920s, when, as part of the boom in higher education in Japan, Ōtani (1922), Ryūkoku (1922), Risshō (1924), Komazawa (1925), Taishō (1926), and Kōyasan (1926) universities were established.⁴² There were a number of other long-term students in India, Ceylon, and elsewhere in South and Southeast Asia who returned to teach in Japan, thus helping to shape Buddhist studies in the twentieth century. In addition to those mentioned in this paper and *Seeking Śākyamuni*—Kawaguchi Ekai, Kimura Nichiki, Yamakami Sōgen, and Masuda Jiryō—the list of those Japanese Buddhists who went on to teach at Japanese universities after studying for extended periods in South Asia also includes such notable figures as Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善 (1885–1937); Aoki Bunkyō 青木文教 (1886–1956); Hasebe Ryūtai 長谷部隆諦 (1879–1928); Oda Tokunō 織田得能 (1860–1911); Ōmiya Kōjun 大宮孝潤; Tada Tōkan 多田等觀 (1890–1967); and Teramoto Enga 寺本婉雅 (1872–1940).

The short-lived serial *Studies on Buddhism in Japan* listed courses taught on Buddhism at major Japanese universities for the period 1938–41.⁴³ Those listings reveal that the aforementioned individuals taught a variety of courses including Sanskrit and Tibetan language, Indian Buddhist doctrine, Indian philosophy, and a variety of courses centered on specific Sanskrit and other Indic-language Buddhist texts. Long-term study in South Asia by Japanese Buddhists clearly left a significant imprint upon Buddhist

⁴² On the boom in Japanese higher education in the Taishō and early Shōwa periods, see Frederick R. Dickinson, *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919-1930. Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 48–49. Concerning the creation of the Buddhist sectarian university system and the role of India and South Asia studies in the formation of twentieth-century Buddhist studies in Japan, see Hayashi, “The Birth of Buddhist Universities,” 11–29; and Makoto Hayashi, “Religious Studies and Religiously Affiliated Universities,” in *Modern Buddhism in Japan*, ed. Makoto Hayashi, Eiichi Ōtani, and Paul L. Swanson (Nagoya: Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, 2014), 163–93.

⁴³ International Buddhist Society, *Studies on Buddhism in Japan*. 4 vols. (Tokyo: International Buddhist Society, 1939–1942): 1 (1939): 207–15; 2 (1940): 186–96; 3 (1941): 155–64; 4 (1942): 139–55.

education in Japan during the twentieth century.

Of course, there also was a coterie of Japanese Buddhists whose main overseas work took place in Europe, for example, Nanjō Bun'yū 南条文雄 (1849–1927), Ogiwara Unrai (1869–1937), Takakusu Junjirō (1866–1945), and Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治 (1873–1949), to name a few. Although their impact on the development of Buddhist studies and the practice of Buddhism—many of them remained involved in Buddhist sectarian affairs—in Japan was enormous, we should bear in mind that South Asia, particularly India, served as an important conduit for the spread of expertise concerning South Asian Buddhism to Japan as well. In this regard, we need to nuance the view that portrays the spread of Sanskrit and Pali studies in Japanese universities solely as resulting from the spread from Europe of “European-style Buddhology.”⁴⁴ At the very least, many scholars of the emerging fields in Japan that became known as “Indian philosophy” (Indo Tetsugaku 印度哲学) and “Indian Studies” (Indogaku 印度学) studied in India and elsewhere in South-Southeast Asia, where they imbibed indigenous perspectives on classical Indic language learning and the colonial experience. If Buddhist studies in Japan is indebted to such scholars as Sylvain Lévi, Max Müller, and Max Walleser, it also owes much to such South Asian scholars as Haraprasad Śastri, Harinath De, and Beni Madhab Barua.

The process by which Japanese Buddhists produced and disseminated English translations of Indic texts only extant in Chinese is a vivid illustration of the circular, global nature of Buddhist-studies scholarship in the twentieth century. Masuda, for example, acquired at least some facility with various Indic Buddhist languages in India, working with Indian scholars, some of whom, like Dharmanand Kosambi, may also have studied in Europe and the United States. The University of Calcutta’s journal then served as a venue for the Japanese scholar’s work to reach an Anglophone audience in India and globally. Traveling to Germany, having spent years studying and teaching in India, Masuda then worked with and, probably,

⁴⁴ Hayashi, “The Birth of Buddhist Universities,” 16 ff.

influenced Max Walleser. Similarly, Japanese Buddhists like Akanuma Chizen and Tachibana Shundō trained in South Asia for substantial periods before studying in Europe, thus enhancing their scholarly expertise and exposing them to two different approaches to Indic language study. These scholars thus shaped Buddhological knowledge in Europe by enhancing the understanding of Sinitic Buddhist texts and their relationship to Indic sources from a Japanese Mahayana perspective. Global flows of people, texts, and ideas thus had far-ranging effects that touched Buddhist studies in Berlin, Paris, Tokyo, Calcutta, and Colombo.