



BRILL

Social Sciences and Missions 25 (2012) 1–23



brill.nl/ssm

Timothy Richard, World Religion, and Reading Christianity in Buddhist Garb¹

Gregory Adam Scott

Columbia University, New York, USA
gas2122@columbia.edu

Abstract

This article examines some of the published works of the missionary Timothy Richard (1845 - 1919), and analyzes how his mission experience played a foundational role in his study of religion. It argues that his work and his approach to Chinese religions challenged established views of the relationships between the world religions held by his contemporaries. The latter section focuses on his studies of Mahāyāna Buddhism and how they sought a familiar religious revelation clad in foreign clothing. Finally it suggests that his experience might complicate our picture of orientalist scholarship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Résumé

** French translation of the abstract will be provided by the editor**

Keywords

orientalism, Buddhism, China, world religions, comparative religion

Mot-clés

** French translation of the keywords will be provided by the editor**

The discipline of comparative religion coalesced in the mid to late nineteenth century through the work of academics, missionaries, religious professionals, colonial officials and others engaged in the study of religious

¹) Research for this article was supported by a Columbia Faculty Fellowship, a Daniel and Marianne Spiegel Fund Grant, and a C. Martin Wilbur Fellowship. Thanks are due to my colleagues who participated in the graduate colloquium on Comparative Religion from

traditions other than their own. One of the early watershed events for the field was the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago, which aimed to bring together religious representatives from around the globe for the sake of mutual understanding. The event sought to encompass all of the 'World Religions', a sentiment reflected by its chairperson John Henry Barrows (1847 - 1902) when he proclaimed that "Christianity *is* one of the faiths of the world, competing for the conquest of mankind."² Yet in spite of this ecumenical spirit, it is important to note that American Protestant Christians made up the majority of the participants, and Barrows himself also maintained that "in Christ all that is good and true in these faiths has been embodied and completed by a special revelation."³ Evidently, not all manifestations of religion were seen as having equal claims to the truth, and indeed the authority to determine who was to be included as a 'world religion' was securely in the hands of the organizers.⁴

With this context in mind, we may consider a review of a scholarly work published about a decade after Barrows wrote his remarks. In examining *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism* by the missionary Timothy Richard (1845 - 1919), the reviewer William Brenton Greene, Jr., praises the book for its presentation of Mahāyāna or "Higher" Buddhism to the Western world. Greene agrees with Richard's assertion that within Buddhism lie great truths, but his piece closes with a sharp rebuke:

[Higher Buddhism] needs the Gospel to reveal the "only name under heaven among men whereby we must be saved." The doctrine of the Amitabha Buddha may be a reflection of the preaching of "Christ crucified," but it is very vague. It needs, not only

which this article emerged, the two anonymous reviewers for *Social Sciences and Missions*. I must especially thank Professor John Stratton Hawley of Barnard College, without whose careful supervision this project would never have been completed. Any errors or omissions are my own.

²) Eric J. Ziolkowski, *A Museum of Faiths: Histories and Legacies of the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 137. Emphasis in original.

³) *Ibid.*, 142. Consider as well the paper by the French Protestant minister Albert Réville, who asserted that "Man is by nature a religious being," but also "what will change the religious complexion of humanity will be the civilization intellectually and morally dominant over the others." *Ibid.*, 85-88.

⁴) Notably, however, several other groups also asserted their own positions of primacy within the parliament. See, for example, the essays by Bartholomeusz, Ketelaar, Ziolkowski, and King in the Ziolkowski volume.

to be discriminated from error, but far more to be replaced by the reality itself. The reflection of a truth does not always reflect the truth.⁵

Greene felt that Richard went too far in suggesting that this Buddhism may itself “reflect the truth”; like Barrows, he is prepared to allow non-Christian religions to sit at the table, but it is clear which of the ‘World Religions’ sits at its head. Evidently Timothy Richard’s portrayal of Mahāyāna Buddhism represented something of a challenge to the structure of the ‘world religions’ as embodied by both the Parliament and by early scholars of comparative religion.⁶

This article is an attempt to describe how Richard was able to generate these understandings of Buddhism in the context of his close association with Chinese religious practitioners, his mission strategy during his long residence in China, and his vision of a common genealogy for all religious truth and a utopian future of global peace and religious unity.⁷ While some facets of Richard’s beliefs were, as noted above, controversial to established opinion, he was nevertheless drawing upon and informing a larger community of missionaries and scholars who were then attempting to come to terms with understanding ‘world religions’ in a comparative context. I would also like to suggest some ways in which Richard’s work may challenge how we understand the history of comparative religion as an

⁵ William Brenton Greene, Jr., Review of *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism* by Timothy Richard, *Princeton Theological Review*, Vol. IX, no. 1 (January, 1911): 474-475. The reference is to Acts 4:12. George Evans Moule (1828 - 1912) also criticized Richard’s position in a 1908 paper. See *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Vol. 42 (June, 1911): 347-357.

⁶ Richard translated the essay on Confucianism that was presented during the proceedings. See Rev. John Henry Barrows, ed., *The World’s Parliament of religions: an illustrated and popular story of the World’s first parliament of religions, held in Chicago in connection with the Columbian exposition of 1893* (Chicago: Parliament Publishing Company, 1893), 596-604.

⁷ I also hope that this article will complement recent work on Richard by Lai Pan-Chiu and Gong Jun. See, for example: Lai Pan-Chiu, “Timothy Richard’s Buddhist-Christian Studies”, *Buddhist-Christian Studies*, Vol. 29 (2009): 23-38; Gong Jun, “Yijingzhong de zhengzhi - Li Timotai yu Dasheng qixinlun” (The Politics of Translation: Timothy Richard and *The Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*), in Sun Jiang, ed., *Xinshixue - gainian-wenben-fangfa* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009).

academic discipline, in particular the orientalism that characterized its earliest phases.

Critical scholarship has built upon Edward Said's pioneering work on orientalism to attend to how relationships of power structured approaches to the study of religion. One example of this is Philip C. Almond's argument that Victorian-era British scholarship on Buddhism produced a reified category of 'Buddhism', one that reflected Victorian Christian society instead of what Buddhists of the time actually practiced and believed.⁸ While this is a valuable insight, it is also important to note that the European study of Buddhism was not solely a conversation with itself about itself. Charles Hallisey has drawn our attention to the important role played by native informants in the production of European knowledge about Buddhism, using the term "intercultural mimesis" to denote the influence of particular native viewpoints on the knowledge produced by Western scholarship.⁹ Hallisey suggests that in some cases colonial subjects were in fact able to contribute to the Western archive of knowledge, even if these contributions were later obfuscated in the scholarly reports themselves. This approach is also supported by Richard King, who argues that without an attempt to uncover subaltern viewpoints within the discourses of orientalism, one "effectively erases the Oriental subject from history."¹⁰ This thread of scholarship seeks not to overturn Said's basic description of the hegemonic relationship between orientalists and the object of their study, but rather to uncover the places where intercultural communication and influence occurred despite it.

Hallisey and King focus their studies on colonial South Asia; the colonial dynamic was quite different in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century China. Ruth Rogaski has used the term "hypercolony" to describe the city of Tianjin 天津 during this period, a term that might equally be applied to

⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Philip C. Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 4-6, 139-141 and *passim*.

⁹ Charles Hallisey, "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravāda Buddhism" in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 33.

¹⁰ Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion: Post-colonial Theory, India and the Mystic East* (New York and London: Routledge, 1999), 149.

the rest of the handful of ports where a sizable population of foreign residents lived in zones established through international treaties.¹¹ Although the foreign influence emanating from these zones was certainly significant, it was also fragmented among several national and denominational groups, and did not fully penetrate into the Chinese hinterland. Scholarly orientalist representations of China and of Chinese religion could still rely on a position of power, yet there were vast geographical and cultural areas available to scholars and missionaries in the field where that power did not extend.¹²

Timothy Richard's mission philosophy led him away from zones of colonial power toward participants in Chinese religious culture, seeking to comprehend how they understood and practiced their own religious traditions. While the structure of his understanding was strongly informed by Christian theology and by Western scholarship, he diverged from the orientalist mainstream in several respects; drawing upon the latest scholarship of his day, particularly comparative philology, he produced a theory of an ancient nexus of revelation to which all global expressions of religion could be traced. He also identified Mahāyāna Buddhism as the most authentic and developed form of Buddhism during a time when the academic study of Buddhism in Europe and North America was largely focused on the early Pali and Sanskrit texts of South Asia. Such a divergent approach suggests how some Westerners made use of different rubrics and produced alternative means of understanding Asia. This was especially true in the case of missionaries and scholars in the field, who could often have much more direct contact with their subjects than those of, say, academics interpreting a text. Following Hallisey and King, I would argue that we can find in these mission encounters tantalizing glimpses of those otherwise absent subjects. For Richard, his

¹¹ Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 10–13. See also Arif Dirlik, "Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism" in *Genealogies of Orientalism: History, Theory, Politics*, edited by Edmund Burke III and David Prochaska (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2008): 384–413.

¹² Even so, missionary accounts of Chinese religion tended on the whole to reproduce Western images and ideas. See Eric Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

personal encounter with Chinese religion was possible thanks to his early training and his adoption of an unconventional approach to the mission field.

Timothy Richard's Education and Early Mission Philosophy

The main published resources available on Richard's early life and education are his own memoir published in 1916 and two biographies written by William Soothill in 1924 and E. W. Price Evans in 1945.¹³ Timothy Richard was born on October 10, 1845 to a Baptist family of farmers and tradespeople in the south of Wales. The 1851 census records a much higher number of places of worship per capita, a higher rate of church attendance, and a Nonconformist majority in Wales compared to England.¹⁴ Baptist places of worship made up nearly seven percent of the total number of Established, Nonconformist, and Catholic religious institutions, implying that in Wales there was a significant Baptist presence. This was also the era of the Second Evangelical Awakening, a period when between eighty and one hundred thousand people in Wales alone are said to have taken on church membership.¹⁵

Richard would later recall that it was after his baptism in 1859 that he first felt the mission call. His early education took place in local schools including one held in a Congregational chapel, and at eighteen he secured work as a schoolmaster at a school in Conwil Elvet. In 1865, the same year that Richard preached his first sermon, he entered Haverfordwest Baptist

¹³) Timothy Richard, *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1916). William E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China: Seer, Statesman, Missionary & The Most Disinterested Adviser the Chinese Ever Had* (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Limited, 1924). E. W. Price Evans, *Timothy Richard, A Narrative of Christian Enterprise and Statesmanship in China* (London: The Carey Press, 1945.)

¹⁴) Glanmor Williams et al., *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment, 1603-1920* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 310-315.

¹⁵) E. Wyatt-Edgell, "On the Statistics of Places of Worship in England and Wales, Founded on a Table Compiled by the Rev. T. Blisse," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Dec., 1851), 343. Paul Richard Bohr, *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 1. Evans, 15.

College in South Wales to study theology.¹⁶ In general the level of student ability in nonconformist higher education during this period was not high; piety and preaching ability were the main requirements for entry, and many students dropped out because of doctrinal disagreements, though the Baptists appear to have exhibited more unity on these types of issues than other denominations. While a student Richard pushed for the study of living languages rather than Greek and Latin, a course in the history of the world, and a greater emphasis on the study of science rather than “barren metaphysical and theological studies.”¹⁷ Language, history and science would later emerge as key foci of his mission work in China.

It was during this period that he met George Henry Rouse (1838 - 1909), a former missionary who had given up his work in India because of poor health, and whom Richard admired greatly.¹⁸ The final impetus that motivated Richard to pursue missionary work came in 1868, when he attended a lecture by Fanny Guinness on the China Inland Mission (CIM).¹⁹ In that year the CIM had just dispatched its first missionaries to China, led by its charismatic founder Hudson Taylor (1832 - 1905), and they would prove to be pioneers in the field. They established stations in the hinterland far from the treaty ports, and pioneered the strict use of Chinese clothing and hairstyles as a “spiritual passport” with which they could move among the people, although this was met with criticism from other missionary groups.²⁰ While his application would be rejected because of his Baptist faith and he would be urged to join the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS)

¹⁶) Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 22. Evans, 16.

¹⁷) Kenneth D. Brown, *A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales, 1800-1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 77-79. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 25-26. When Richard visited the school fifteen years later, he found that these changes had been reversed. Soothill, 26.

¹⁸) Dr. Rouse had gone to Calcutta under the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1861. Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998), 580. Rouse and Richard remained in touch after the latter had left for China. See Evans, 17.

¹⁹) On Fanny's husband Henry Grattan Guinness (1835 - 1910), see Alwyn Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2007), 96-97. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 29. Evans, 18-19.

²⁰) Austin, 107-120. On Chinese clothing, see *Ibid.*, 1-3; 136-138; 120-123.

instead, Richard's early missionary work in China would be closely related to that of the CIM.

Applying to the BMS, Richard expressed his wish to be posted to China, reasoning that since "the Chinese were the most civilized of non-Christian nations, they would, when converted, help to carry the gospel to less advanced nations...."²¹ Although at that time Protestant missions in China were concentrated in Hong Kong and the treaty port of Shanghai, Richard chose to work in the north of the country, believing the climate to be more similar to that of Europe. Richard was accepted into the BMS in 1869 and departed for China in the same year, arriving in Shanghai on February 12, 1870, having learned the radicals of written Chinese from Rev. George Evans Moule (1828 - 1912) en route.²² His first posting was to the city of Yantai 烟台 in Shandong 山東 province, where R. F. Laughton (1833 - 1870), then the sole representative of the BMS in China, had established a small church of about thirty-five members. Laughton supported the creation of financially independent and self-governing Chinese churches, in part to disassociate Christian missions from other aspects of the Western presence, such as opium-trafficking, that had turned popular sentiment against them. By June of 1870 Laughton had died of typhus, and after his replacement, Dr. William Brown, was recalled in 1874 for refusing to preach in addition to doing medical work, Richard served as the sole representative of the BMS in China until March 1877.²³

Richard found himself unsatisfied with mission prospects in Yantai, which like many treaty ports had no shortage of missionaries, and over the next few years made several trips into the "unoccupied" hinterland of China, once traveling over 600 miles through Manchuria to the border with Korea.²⁴ Upon his return to the city in 1872 he devoted himself to research, studying the language, literature, and religious beliefs of China. Evans describes Richard's work during this period as setting Chinese religious beliefs within a context of "Comparative Religion," but notably this

²¹ Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 29.

²² Evans, 20. On Moule see Anderson, 477.

²³ Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1992* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 180. On Laughton's death, see *The Chinese Recorder*, August 1870, pp. 83-84. On Brown see Evans, 22; Stanley, 181.

²⁴ Bohr, 6. The journey through Manchuria is described in Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 37-48.

term was not used by Richard himself. Instead, Richard recalled that his studies were part of a move to “seek the worthy” in China. The inspiration of this path he credits to the “apostolic method of missionary work” as described in a sermon given by Edward Irving (1792 - 1834) before the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1824, of which Richard possessed a well-worn printed copy.²⁵

Irving was a Scottish Presbyterian minister who had worked in London from 1822 until his death. His speech before the LMS accused the church of having drifted from its ancient roots, and described the ideal missionary as an independent traveler who operated without the support of mission institutions such as the LMS itself.²⁶ For his part Richard was primarily interested in Irving’s instruction that missionaries seek out the “worthy” as described in Matthew 10:11.²⁷ Richard’s understanding was that he should cultivate relationships with educated and powerful people in Chinese society, especially those who had already shown an interest in religious matters and who would thus be more open to a Christian message.²⁸ Brian Stanley notes that Richard had in mind two particular segments of society: “the devout teachers of the different religions (especially the leaders of the reforming sects), and the highly educated scholar-officials who formed the imperial civil service.”²⁹ Though these two social groups were for the most part mutually exclusive, ~~both of them were~~ intimately involved in the religious culture of China.

Richard was not alone in attempting to reach the elite; American missionaries had long cultivated ties with the Chinese gentry, but negative impressions brought upon by their perceived anti-foreignism and a lack of mutual understanding prevented much progress on this front.³⁰

²⁵) Evans, 24-26. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 48. Stanley, 182. Richard also published Irving’s sermon and distributed it to missionaries in East Asia in 1887. Evans, 27.

²⁶) Arnold Dallimore, *Forerunner of the Charismatic Movement: The Life of Edward Irving* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1983), 62-63.

²⁷) “And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go thence.” KJV.

²⁸) Evans, 27-28.

²⁹) Stanley, 182.

³⁰) Sidney A. Forsythe, *An American Missionary Community in China, 1895-1905* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 1971), 34-40.

Richard believed that in order to reach the social elite of China he would first have to become well acquainted with the language, history, culture, and religious teachings that constituted their conceptual world. Indeed in retrospect this enterprise does appear to be similar to that of comparative religion, a field which at that time was only reaching maturity with the work of F. Max Müller (1823 - 1900). Richard was aware of this field through reading English books on Buddhism, but he rarely mentions particular scholars who might have influenced his thinking. We do know, however, that in the early part of the 1880-s he ordered a number of theological books from all denominations, as well as a complete set of Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*.³¹ As his primary work was proselytization, Richard's interest in comparative religion was motivated by the difficulties he found making Biblical messages connect with a Chinese audience. He is said to have realized that since the teachings of the Bible were originally directed toward the Jews, these same messages would have little effect on a people with a radically different religious background, and he blamed this disconnect for the low number of conversions in China.³² His biblical and Chinese studies from this point onward would seek to establish a basis of Christian faith rooted in the universal rather than in Western culture, and studying the religions of China served as a means of determining points of contact upon which such a basis could be constructed.

“Seeking the worthy” thus took on an investigative, even anthropological aspect, as Richard sought out people from whom he could learn about Chinese religious culture. Just outside of Yantai he met a sixty-year old salt manufacturer who reportedly recognized the Christian scripture Richard had brought with him, and whom Richard suspected of being a

³¹ See for example his mention of reading Ernest J Eitel's *Buddhism: Its Historical, Theoretical and Popular Aspects* (Hong Kong: Lane, Crawford, 1884) and Eitel's *Hand-book of Chinese Buddhism: being a Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary of Buddhist terms, words and expressions; with vocabularies of Buddhist terms in Pali, Singhalese, Siamese, Burmese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Japanese*. (London, Trübner & Co., 1888). On the theological works and Müller's series, see Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 159. The *SBE* series was a landmark in the development of the discipline now called the 'history of religions'. See the review of the 1962 paperback reprint by Joseph M. Kitagawa, *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Oct., 1964), p. 354.

³² Bohr, 6.

“lost Nestorian”.³³ He also attended a large festival on Huilong Mountain 迴龍山 in the southeast of Shandong province, intending to preach to the large crowd that was assembled for the event.³⁴ While there he had an opportunity to speak with a local elite man whose great-grandfather had been a provincial governor, and whose sons were studying for the civil service. Richard learned as much as he could from his informants about their own traditions, attended a local religious ritual service, and tried his hand at preaching to the assembled crowds. On later visits to the region he discussed religious topics with Buddhist priests and a scholar, and is said to have converted a man named Liu who had already been using a copy of the New Testament in his worship.³⁵ These early travels exposed him to the diversity of local religious belief and practice in the area, and appear to have established “seeking the worthy” in his mind as an effective means of mission work.

Still feeling constrained in Yantai, in late 1874 Richard decided on the prefecture of Qingzhou 青州府, two hundred miles inland, as a suitable new field for his mission work. At the time it was the most prosperous prefecture in Shandong, and as Richard put it, there were several religious sects there who were seeking “higher truth than was to be found in the three great religions of China.”³⁶ After a harrowing winter journey Richard went to work in Qingzhou, distributing medical aid and attempting to help the local Treasurer to quit smoking opium in order to cure the latter’s childlessness.³⁷ Not long after his arrival Richard shaved the front of his scalp, tied his hair in a queue, and began to wear Chinese clothes. According to his reports, he elicited much less of a hostile reaction in these garments and was better able to move about without causing a sensation.³⁸

³³) Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 48-49. Evans, 28-29, quotes from Richard but adds additional detail. Nestorian Christianity (*Jingjiao* 景教) had reached China as early as 635 CE, and survived in small local religious communities until about the fourteenth century, when these were dispersed by the new Ming government. Christian scholars and missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made much of this historical precedent.

³⁴) Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 49-52.

³⁵) Evans, 29-30.

³⁶) Bohr, 10-11. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 76. Richard is referring to Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism.

³⁷) Evans mentions that the region suffered from cholera and malaria. Evans, 40.

³⁸) Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 78-81.

When the Tongzhi emperor 同治帝 died in January 1875, he followed the people in leaving his head unshaven as a sign of mourning.

In Qingzhou Richard continued his program of reading Chinese literary and religious texts along with seeking personal encounters with local religious and social elites. In addition to the Confucian classics as translated by James Legge (1815 - 1897), he read *Qingxin Lu* 清心錄 (Records to Clarify the Mind) written by Zhang Deyi 張德彝, an official and diplomat of the mid- to late-nineteenth century.³⁹ Richard valued it as the most important of the popular religious books used by contemporary sects. Asking a Chinese friend which of the Buddhist books was the most important, he was presented with a copy of the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Jin'gang bore poluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經), a relatively short text within the Perfection of Wisdom genre of Buddhist scriptures yet one of the most important in the East Asian tradition. One of Richard's aims in these studies was to assemble "a vocabulary of religious terms that was intelligible to the Chinese," in part to avoid the suspicion of all things foreign that still troubled his stay in Qingzhou. Using this lexicon of Chinese religious terminology Richard began work on a Chinese catechism, avoiding foreign names as much as possible. Soothill describes this task, invoking the example of Matteo Ricci, as an attempt to "clothe Christian ideas in Chinese dress," a textual counterpart to the literal donning of Chinese garb as practiced by both Richard and the CIM.⁴⁰

Continuing to follow Irving's interpretation of Matthew 10:11, Richard sought out the "worthies" in the region of Qingzhou, meeting first with the principal of the local Muslim theological college, an event he cites as an "epoch-making step" in his life.⁴¹ Though he was impressed with his host's preaching to the assembled professors of the college and the leaders of the smaller country mosques, Richard soon realized that he was unable to convince the Muslims of the truth of Christianity, for they could match every prophecy and miracle he might describe with "a similar one of their own."

³⁹) Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 86. Soothill, 76. *Qingxin lu* is better known as *Xingmu Qingxin Lu* 醒目清心錄 (Records to Awaken the Eyes and Clarify the Mind).

⁴⁰) Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 86. His troubles with an "anti-Foreign ex-Magistrate" are narrated on pp. 84-85. Soothill, 76.

⁴¹) His meetings with Muslims are described in Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 86-89. Also see Soothill, 80-82.

He therefore composed a reply with reference to English studies of Islam, including the Qur'anic translations of George Sale (1697 - 1736), and John Medows Rodwell (1808 - 1900), and while the content of this sermon has unfortunately gone unrecorded, we do know that after it was delivered the principal asked him never to return.⁴²

Yet the “worthy” in Richard’s eyes did not only follow established traditions such as Islam and Buddhism. Richard narrates how he went out to find those engaged in local, popular religious practices, and despite a mostly hostile reception managed to have a “hallowed time” in private conversation with one person. Witnessing a “midnight gathering of women at a [Daoist] temple”, he was evidently impressed by their devotion in praying for sons, but disappointed that in spite of this they were offered no instruction by their priest, and so were left “like sheep without a shepherd.”⁴³ These activities of worship, and even the seclusion of a Daoist hermit in the mountains, all appear amenable to Richard’s quest to connect with the local religious culture of Qingzhou; in nearly every case his message to the local people is that though they are striving after worthy things, Christianity can explain their problems “more fully and clearly.”⁴⁴ Out of this period of study, translation, and encounters with local people, Richard developed a willingness both to express Christian teachings in a Chinese idiom and to listen to local religious elites to see how they might share in what he considered to be universal religious truths. It was precisely this type of communication through cross-cultural and interlingual nexus points that would, he believed, ultimately lead more Chinese people to Christianity.

In the years that followed not only did Richard continue to learn about the religion and culture of China, he also attempted to influence its future through a series of Chinese-language books and articles that influenced the short-lived political reforms of 1898. Around the same time he began to formulate a theory of a common genealogical heritage for all the world’s religions, postulating that the “worthy” elements he found in Chinese

⁴²) Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 88. Sale’s *The Koran: Commonly Called the Alcoran of Mohammed* was first published in 1734. Rodwell’s *The Koran* was published in London in 1861.

⁴³) Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 89-93.

⁴⁴) *Ibid.*, 94.

religions were in fact relics of a period of Christian influence in the Near East. Building on this, and continuing to take seriously the contemporary lived religion he observed in his mission field, Richard embarked on a series of published studies of Chinese religion. Before long these works would become focused on Mahāyāna Buddhism as a special and, as he put it, ‘higher’ form of religion in China.

Christianity in Buddhist Garb

The earliest monographic work by Richard on Chinese religion is his *Calendar of the Gods in China*, published in Shanghai in 1906. Written for missionaries as a practical guide to the religious schedule of China, it is based on a Chinese work entitled *Yueling Cuibian* 月令粹編 (Select Compilation of the Months and Seasons), to which it adds Sanskrit translations for Chinese deities, general translations for Chinese terms, and material from other unspecified sources. This use of Chinese-language sources would continue to be a distinctive feature of Richard’s later work on Chinese religion. He viewed the calendar as representative not only of the contemporary state of religious belief in China, but also of an earlier phase of religious belief characterized by polytheism and the lack of a supreme deity such as Jupiter, Brahman or Shangdi 上帝.⁴⁵

Yet this view of Chinese religion as a fossil from an earlier developmental period is also joined by Richard’s description of the “three religions” of China and their strengths and affinities with Christianity. Confucianism is said to be best at teaching the art of government, Buddhism at promoting self-sacrifice through its doctrine of transmigration and of unity with the One Mind, while Daoism excels in its investigation of the secret laws of nature and of the means to attain immortality. Vegetarians are singled out

⁴⁵ Timothy Richard, *Calendar of the Gods in China* (Shanghai: Methodist Publishing House, 1906), i-iv. The Chinese text that Richard consulted was likely the one by Qin Jiamo 秦嘉謨 (fl. 1812 - 1818) and published in Jiangdu, Jiangsu province in 1812. Two major sources were Ernest J Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, and Justis Doolittle, *Vocabulary and handbook of the Chinese language. Romanized in the Mandarin dialect*. (Fuzhou: Rozario, Marcal and company; 1872.)

as the “most devout and sincerest people in the land,” the conversion of which would be worth twenty of those from other classes, for

in addition to their vegetarianism a large number of them have secretly imbibed much of the mystic teaching of Christianity which the bigoted persecuting Confucianists would not tolerate. The Christian truth brought to China by the Mahayana Buddhism, by Nestorians and by early Catholics is found deeply imbibed in their secret teaching. It only needs the sympathetic spiritual eye to see it under a heathen garb.⁴⁶

Here we find the earliest indications that Richard was starting to conceptualize a theory of religious development through global history and of crypto-Christian elements in Chinese religions, a scheme that would prove to be one of the most striking and controversial elements of his scholarship.

Five years before he published his *Calendar*, Richard had already translated another Chinese religious text, which was published in 1907 as *Guide to Buddhahood, Being a Standard Manual of Chinese Buddhism*. It was presented as a companion to Ernest J. Eitel’s 1883 Sanskrit-English dictionary, but whereas that work claimed to be a “Hand-book on Buddhism”; Richard wondered rhetorically whether an English dictionary could properly be called a handbook for Christian civilization, and thus saw this volume as the missing half of Eitel’s work.⁴⁷ His *Guide to Buddhahood* was a translation of *Xuanfo pu* 選佛譜 (A Manual for Selection of Buddhas) originally compiled by the Chinese Buddhist monk Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599 - 1655).⁴⁸ In contrast to the alphabetical arrangement of Eitel’s dictionary, in his text Richard presents Buddhism arranged “in a definite and regular order,” ranging from the lowest levels of existence to the highest heavens.⁴⁹ The text does indeed open with a chart of cosmological features such as the six realms of existence and the different types of evil and good acts,

⁴⁶) Richard, *Calendar of the Gods*, viii.

⁴⁷) Timothy Richard, *Guide to Buddhahood: Being a Standard Manual of Chinese Buddhism* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1907), i.

⁴⁸) Richard’s cited source is referred to as a reprint edition in two volumes. It is likely Zhixu, *Chongke xuanfo pu* [Reprint of *Manual of “Selection of Buddhas”*], 6 fascicles ([Nanjing]: Jinling kejing chu, Guangxu 17 [1891]).

⁴⁹) Richard, *Guide to Buddhahood*, i.

designed to draw people in to the Buddhadharmā, who should “first pay obeisance to a Buddha, then make several selections [from the chart]” if they wish to give rise to a reverential and respectful mind.⁵⁰ In fact the chart was part of a Buddhist board game, which Richard describes as being played with dice inscribed with the six syllables of the phrase “Praise to the Amita Buddha” (*Namo Amitufo* 南無阿彌陀佛).⁵¹

As both play and religious allegory, the source chosen by Richard for his guide to Buddhism was notably not an ancient scripture or treatise, but rather a part of the lived religious culture of China that was then being actively reprinted and consulted. Such a decision was not made by accident. In his introduction Richard distinguished between the “old” Hīnayāna Buddhism with its “primitive atheistic views,” and the “Advanced Buddhism” of the Mahāyāna, which has the “God of endless age” Amitābha at its root, likening the relationship between the two to that of the Old and New Testaments, with Mahāyāna differing from Hīnayāna as much as Christianity differs from Judaism, “with its repulsive slaughter houses in the tabernacle and temple.” Trying to get at Buddhism through Hīnayāna texts is compared to studying the Old Testament in order to understand Christianity, whereas in fact “the most able students of Buddhism in the Far East” find it impossible to reconcile that earlier teaching with the Mahāyāna, which Richard reports they call “New Religion” or “New Buddhism.” Elsewhere he asserts that Zhixu’s *Manual* and two other texts provide a “bird’s eye view” of the whole of Buddhism.⁵² The first of these texts is *Guanyin jidu benyuan zhenjing* 觀音濟度本願真經 (The Sacred Book of the Goddess of Mercy), described as a Buddhist “Pilgrim’s Progress” that

⁵⁰) Zhixu, second page of unpaginated frontpiece. The caption is credited to one Lingcheng 靈晟 (d.u.), a disciple of Zhixu. See *The Complete Works of Master Ouyi*, Chronology of Master Ouyi, <<http://www.baus-ebs.org/sutra/fan-read/010/000/000-1.htm>>.

⁵¹) Richard, *Guide to Buddhahood*, xxi-xxiii. See Carole Morgan, “The Chinese Game of *Shengguan tu*,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 124, No. 3 (Jul.-Sep., 2004): 517-532. Also see the chapter on “Playing with Karma: Ouyi’s ‘Selecting a Buddha’ Board Game” in Beverly N. Foulks, “Living Karma: The Religious Practices of Ouyi Zhixu (1599-1655),” Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2009.

⁵²) Richard, *Guide to Buddhahood*, iii-iv. Hīnayāna meaning “small vehicle” is a pejorative term used by Mahāyāna Buddhists and has little meaning other than within this Mahāyāna-defined dichotomy.

narrates the story of Princess Miaoshan 妙善.⁵³ The inclusion of this text is remarkable because it is non-canonical and apocryphal, which Richard would have known having read Nanjō Bunyū's 1883 catalog of Buddhist scriptures.⁵⁴ Richard is thus not only rejecting the orientalist mainstream focus on South Asian Buddhist texts in favor of newer Mahāyāna sources, but he is even incorporating texts outside of the East Asian Buddhist canon that were nonetheless very popular and widespread.

The second text cited as part of Richard's "bird's eye view," *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (The Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith), was to be the focus of his most comprehensive monograph on Chinese Buddhism, *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*, published in 1910. This was his last major publication before he resigned from the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge in 1915 and retired to Britain a year later. Although his previous works had all been published in China either privately or by a missionary press, *Higher Buddhism* was published by T&T Clark, an Edinburgh-based publisher with historic ties to the Free Church of Scotland.⁵⁵ Richard was now addressing not the missionary in the field but rather an audience of British Christians, and his message was less concerned with practical knowledge of Chinese religion on the ground than with the relationship between Christianity and these traditions. The bulk of the text is made up of translations of *The Awakening of Faith*, *Essence of the Lotus Sūtra*, *The Great Physician's Twelve Vows*, and what Richard calls the "Creed of Half Asia" (*The Heart Sūtra*). The first two he cites as being more illuminating than the scholarship of Max Müller, Nanjō Bunyū, and Takakusu Junjirō 高楠 順次郎 (1886 - 1945).⁵⁶ Since *The Awakening of Faith* is the longest

⁵³ Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin: the Chinese transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 317-320.

⁵⁴ Nanjio Bunyiu [Nanjō Bunyū], *A catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka...* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1883.)

⁵⁵ This translation of the title follows that of the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, "大乘起信論" (Article by Charles Müller), but subsequent references will use that used by Richard: *The Awakening of Faith*. Soothill, 321-323. John A.H. Dempster, *The T&T Clark Story: A Victorian Publisher and the New Theology* (Edinburgh: Pentland Press, 1992.)

⁵⁶ Timothy Richard, *New Testament of Higher Buddhism* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1910), 2-3, 129. The "Essence of the Lotus Scripture" is based on extracts from the Kumārajīva translation; on the "Great Physician" see T 1748.37.150; *The Heart Sūtra* appears as T 8.251. Richard's title was perhaps based on *The Creed of Half Japan* by Rev. Arthur Lloyd

translated text included in the volume and is Richard's best-known translation, the discussion that follows will focus on it.

For Richard, *The Awakening of Faith* is significant as one of the great religious texts of the world, with the number of its adherents standing fifth after those of the Bible, the Koran, the Confucian Classics and the Vedas. A similar concern with religious populations can be found in many Western studies of religion, such as T. W. Rhys Davids' *Buddhism* of 1894, something that reflects not only greater awareness of non-Christian religions, but also a degree of anxiety regarding their scale.⁵⁷ As in his *Guide to Buddhahood*, here we find the Mahāyāna teaching superseding the Hinayāna, this time by introducing the doctrines of

the One Soul immanent for good in all the universe, that of a Divine Helper of men, of individual immortality and growth in the likeness of God, of the importance of faith in God to produce good works, and that of the willingness of the best spirits to make sacrifices to save others....⁵⁸

Here as elsewhere Richard uses what, to our eyes, appears to be a distinctively Christian terminology in his description of a Buddhist text, but this was a conscious decision and one intimately related to how his translation was produced.

Richard's first encounter with *The Awakening of Faith* had come as a result of meeting the lay Buddhist Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (1837 - 1911).⁵⁹ Yang himself had reportedly been turned toward Buddhism through reading a copy of *The Awakening of Faith*, and he had met Richard in 1884 when the latter was in Nanjing 南京 searching for Buddhist books. Yang's Jinling Scriptural Press (*Jinling kejing chu* 金陵刻經處), likely the source of

(1852-1911) of the China Missionary Society (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1911). See Soothill, 292. Takakusu Junjirō was one of the editors of the Taishō Canon.

⁵⁷ T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism: being a sketch of the life and teachings of Gautama, the Buddha* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: E. & J.B. Young & Co., 1894), 4-5. Richard also offers some estimates of religious populations in his *Calendar of the Gods in China*, ix.

⁵⁸ Richard, *Higher Buddhism*, 37-38.

⁵⁹ On Yang see Gabriele Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle. Yang Wenhui (1837-1911), réformateur laïque et imprimeur* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 2001.)

Richard's copy of *Manual for Selection of Buddhas*, had been reprinting Buddhist texts in vast numbers throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was not by chance that such a meeting occurred; as described above Richard had long been "seeking the worthy," and Yang was exactly the sort of person that would attract Richard's attention, since he was a holder of a civil service degree and had traveled to Europe where he had met Müller and his student Nanjō Bunyū at Oxford.⁶⁰ This educated, elite member of Chinese society had turned to Buddhism through the power of *The Awakening of Faith*, and upon reading this text Richard was so surprised to find such a familiar message that he called it a Christian book, inviting Yang to come to Shanghai to help with an English translation in 1894.

The text remained unpublished until Richard learned of D. T. Suzuki's translation of 1900, and discovered within it what he believed was a major fault: that Suzuki had not translated the key term of *zhenru* 真如 (*tathatā*; suchness or thusness) as "God", as Richard had done. Richard writes that he based this interpretation on that of a work entitled *Wanfa guixin lu* 萬法歸心錄 (The Myriad Dharmas Return to the Mind).⁶¹ While the core of this text seldom mentions the term suchness (*zhenru*), it does appear in the preface, which explains that the mind is the essence of suchness and the dharmas are the function of suchness, with the meaning of 'suchness' glossed as "to be unmoving" (*budong* 不動).⁶² This conceptual scheme of essence and function is one often encountered in Daoxue 道學 (Neo-Confucian) thought, and its application here to Buddhist doctrine appears as part of a broader mission in the work to resolve differences between Buddhist and Confucian teachings by pointing out the essential unity of the two systems.⁶³ Evidently Richard has drawn upon this exegetical

⁶⁰ Richard, *Higher Buddhism*, 44.

⁶¹ Richard, *Higher Buddhism*, 46, 47. Suzuki's translation is Aśvaghosha, *Aśvaghosha's Discourse on the awakening of faith in the Mahāyāna...* (Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co., 1900.) Richard's translation was first published in Shanghai by the Christian Literature Society in 1907. *Wanfa guixin lu* was written by Zuyuan Chaoming 祖源超溟 (fl. 1676), and a one-fascicle edition was printed in 1889.

⁶² *Wanxu zangjing* 卍續藏經, Vol. X65, No. 1288: 398c02-04. The preface is by Deng Jitai 鄭際泰 (1642 - 1726), a *jìnshi* 進士 degree holder and Hanlin scholar.

⁶³ Lin Yizheng, "Ru-Fo huitong fangfa yanji" (A Discussion of Confucian-Buddhist Methods of Understanding), *Foxue yanjiu zhongxin xuebao* (Vol. 7, Sept. 2002), 201.

tradition, one which itself was attempting to reveal points of contact between religious systems, to make his own connection between suchness as unmoving and 'God' as supreme deity. Not only does this allow him to reject Suzuki's "philosophical" interpretation of the core teaching of *The Awakening of Faith* in favor of a theistic one, but he also presents it as another example of how Christian ideas are present in Mahāyāna teachings, albeit hidden by a "Buddhistic nomenclature" that requires research and interpretation to decipher and penetrate.⁶⁴ Richard goes on to suggest that Mahāyāna Buddhism should not be considered a form of Buddhism proper, but rather a version of the Christian gospel.

This assertion is possible thanks to his genealogical theory of religion. In his 1907 *Guide to Buddhahood* Richard describes Mahāyāna as an Asian parallel to the New Testament, placing it within a historical framework of religious supersession. By 1910 and his *Higher Buddhism*, this framework is expanded to encompass the whole of global religious experience. Richard describes how the East and West were not always as isolated as they might seem, but in fact had been linked by ancient trade routes connecting the empires of Babylon, Egypt, India and China. It was in Babylonia, he argues, that the cultures of East and West intermingled, and where Western notions of the Kingdom of God and messianic teachings must have filtered into Indian civilization.⁶⁵ Around the time of Jesus, Mahāyāna teachings were establishing the Buddha as a deity, a development that allowed it to spread across Asia. Richard compares the role of Aśvagoṣa (1st - 2nd centuries CE), the putative author of the *Awakening of Faith*, to that of the Apostle Paul, and the theology of the Mahāyāna is affirmed to be "Christian in everything almost but its nomenclature." Later developments in world religion, including the Protestant reformation in Europe, the Confucian movement against Buddhists and Jesuits in China, and the Tokugawa victory over Catholic and Buddhist power in Japan are all seen as part of a grand historical narrative of religious progress.⁶⁶

This narrative, though grandiose in scope, is firmly based in certain scholarly trends that enjoyed considerable popularity at the time. The history of

⁶⁴) Richard, *Higher Buddhism*, 47; 39.

⁶⁵) *Ibid.*, 49.

⁶⁶) *Ibid.*, 26-27; 7-8.

Nestorian Christianity in Asia had long fascinated Christian scholars and missionaries alike. In 1907 the British scholar George A. Grierson (1851 - 1941) presented a paper crediting Nestorian influences with the development of *bhakti* in South Asia, citing parallels between it and Christian devotion.⁶⁷ Richard draws upon the historical presence of Nestorian Christianity in China to bolster his claims that Mahāyāna had absorbed Christian doctrines, and like Grierson, he urged further research into religious texts and their linguistic histories to uncover further evidence of these links.⁶⁸ The study of historical linguistics – known at the time as comparative philology – promised to lay bare a shared genealogy not only for all modern languages, but also for religious systems. Max Müller, for example, had earlier noted links between Persian and Indian religions that paralleled their shared linguistic heritage, as well as the influence of Semitic religious ideas on both.⁶⁹

For Richard to have postulated an early and as-yet undocumented Christian influence on Mahāyāna Buddhism was thus by no means a radical proposition in the context of his time. This historical commonality between Mahāyāna and Christian doctrine not only provided a hermeneutic for properly understanding the former, but also a basis for Richard's vision of global progress. Untangling the terminologies that obscured the essential unity of religious truths would help advance humankind toward a "religion of the future," something that Richard saw as "not a monopoly of one of these religious but a federation of all," composed of the best aspects

⁶⁷ George Abraham Grierson, "Modern Hinduism and its Debt to the Nestorians," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907: 311-335. Cited in John Stratton Hawley, "The Bhakti Movement - From Where? Since When?", India International Centre, Occasional Publication 10. My thanks to Professor Hawley for bringing this source to my attention.

⁶⁸ See Lauren Pfister, "Re-thinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard," Position paper, University of Cambridge, North Atlantic Missiology Project, no. 68. (Cambridge: North Atlantic Missiology Project, 1998), 24-25. Though Pfister asserts that this trend was short-lived, works such as Müller's mentioned below indicate a longer history.

⁶⁹ Max Müller, "The Last Results of the Persian Researches in Comparative Philology" in Christian Karl Josias Bunsen, *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History Applied to Language and Religion* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854): 110-127; also see the subsequent chapter in that volume on Sanskrit and South Asian religion.

of each.⁷⁰ This is a perennial theme in Richard's works, from his pamphlets of the late 1890-s, through his *New Policies* where he blames misunderstandings for the friction between China and the West, to his studies of Mahāyāna Buddhist texts.⁷¹

The depth of his commitment to this idea can be seen, among other places, in his response to a 1910 committee that sought opinions on how the mission enterprise might be improved.⁷² Richard's unpublished report criticizes the notion that Jews and Christians have a monopoly on divine revelation, claiming instead that this arrogance backed up with military might had harmed missionaries' standing in China. He writes that no form of Christianity, including the Protestant, had the ability to win over everyone in the globe, and since present mission methods were failing a new theology was required to replace the old. Richard argues that revelation, like science, is never final, but although ancient knowledge has given way to modern science, ancient ideas of religion have not yet been made modern. Finally, he repeats his call for a federation of the world and the regeneration of society by means of the positive and divinely inspired aspects of all faiths.⁷³ This remarkable critique, never published, implicates not only the Protestant mission enterprise, but also the very theological basis that elevated Christianity above all other religions in the world, whose differences appear to Richard to be merely superficial in the face of a grander, universal revelation.

Conclusion

The compiler of Yang Wenhui's *Collected Works* included a note to the effect that Yang had been very disappointed with Richard's translation of the *Awakening of Faith*, because the latter had read his Christian ideas into

⁷⁰) Richard, *Higher Buddhism*, 33-34.

⁷¹) Richard, *Xin zhengce*, 233.

⁷²) The committee was part of that year's World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland.

⁷³) Timothy Richard, "Commission IV: The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions, Correspondent of the Commission Complete Report", MRL 12: World Missionary Conference, 1910, Series 1, Box 15, Folder 1, The Burke Library Archives at Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

the text and had not allowed Yang to contribute anything of his own.⁷⁴ Though apocryphal, this story is emblematic of how Richard's Buddhist studies have most often been understood: as intentional mistranslations into an artificial Christian nomenclature. As noted above, many fellow Christians were dismayed by the degree to which Richard credited Mahāyāna with religious truth, and yet archival evidence indicates that his studies of Buddhism were endorsed by at least some missionary organizations.⁷⁵ By taking an encompassing view of Richard's work as I have attempted to do here, I think it is clear that his studies and translations were an inextricable part of a grand historical narrative of humankind, one that described a linked religious past, a fractious and violent present, and the potential of a future of religious reunion and peace. Throughout Richard emphasized themes of science, progress, and new revelations superseding the old, and a field of truth where no nation or religion held a monopoly.⁷⁶ This appears to me to be a very different position from that usually associated with missionaries or, for that matter, 'orientalists' in general. Early scholars of comparative religion like Müller sought impartiality by positing a universal religiosity common to all of humankind, yet the field still has to reconcile religious claims to ultimate truth with a recognition of a diversity of views both among different religious traditions and within traditions themselves.⁷⁷ Richard's seeking the worthy led him not only to elevate Mahāyāna doctrines as expressing religious truth but also to relativize Protestant Christianity and alienate both Chinese Buddhists and Western Christians, an effort that should remind us not only of the variety of approaches represented by orientalist and missionary scholarship, but also the continuing tensions and contradictions inherent in the discipline of 'comparative religion.

⁷⁴ Cited in Goldfuss, 118. Yoshito S. Hakeda raised a similar critique, cited in Pfister, 25.

⁷⁵ His *A Mission to Heaven, New Testament of Higher Buddhism, and Guide to Buddhahood* were all included on a list of recommended reading for missionaries to prepare themselves for work among Buddhists. See National Christian Council of China, *National Christian Council of China: Annual Report, 1923-24*, in MRL 6: NCC of China, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1, The Burke Library Archives at Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

⁷⁶ See, for example, his "Conversion by the Million", *The Chinese Recorder*, Vol. 38, Oct. 1907: 540-542.

⁷⁷ J.J. Clarke, *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter Between Asian and Western Thought* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 133-134.