

A historical study of Tenjiku (天竺) recognition in Japan

Dr. Takahiko Ishizaki

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo, Japan
hitachisosya@gmail.com

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to historically examine Tenjiku recognition in Japan. Tenjiku started to be known as the birthplace of Buddhism with its introduction to Japan in the 6th century. The medieval and early modern worldview of Japanese people is called Sangoku-Sekaikan (三国世界観), or ‘three country worldview’. In this framework, the whole world consisted of three countries, Honcho (本朝, Japan), Shintan (震旦, China), and Tenjiku. This worldview changed with the introduction of new geographical information from Europe, beginning with the arrival of the Portuguese and Jesuit missionaries in the 16th century. This new information caused the Japanese to reconsider the whole world as consisting of Godaishu (五大州) or five continents, Asia (亜細亜), Europe (欧羅巴), Livia (利未亜, Africa), America (亜墨利加), and Magallanica (墨瓦蠟泥加). This change caused people to abandon the concept of Tenjiku, and this word is still known as the ‘old name of India’. When we consult a Japanese dictionary, one can find an explanation of Tenjiku like this.

Tenjiku: the old name of India

Definitely it is true that the place Japanese people had understood as the birthplace of Buddhism by the word Tenjiku is now called Indo (インド, India). In that sense, one could suggest that old name Tenjiku was replaced by the new name Indo. However, when we carefully examine historical records of Tenjiku, and trace the evolution of Tenjiku on world maps, it is not correct to simply identify Tenjiku with India. In other words, one could argue that the place associated with Tenjiku gradually became identified as the place called India today, rather than the old name Tenjiku simply being equivalent to today’s India and acquiring the new name Indo.

In order to study the historical change of Tenjiku, firstly Sangoku-Sekaikan will be argued. Secondly, I am going to focus on the arrival of Jesuit missionaries because it is the turning point of Tenjiku recognition. Thirdly, the important example of world map will be examined, which played important role to combine two concepts, Tenjiku and India. Fourthly, I am going to investigate the alternative of Sangoku-Sekaikan, the concept of Godaishu.

Tenjiku and Sangoku-Sekaikan

Although the origin of the word Tenjiku is still unclear, it is thought to be the corruption of the Sanskrit term ‘Sindh’, meaning ‘watershed of Indus River’ (Sugimoto, 1956, p.637). When we examine ancient Chinese records, we can find several expressions such as Indo (印度) in *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* (大唐西域記) by Xuanzang (玄奘), Shindo (身毒) in *Shiji* (史記), Tentoku (天竺) in *Book of Han* (漢書) etcetera, and ancient Chinese people seemed to understand that the roots of those expressions were the same. The expression “Tenjiku” (天竺) firstly appeared in *Book of Later Han* (後漢書) in China. In Japan, Tenjiku concept was introduced with Buddhism. The historical records of first arrival of Buddhism are numerous, and there are two understandings about it. Although one of those records *Gangoji-Garanengi-narabini-ryukishizaicho* (元興寺伽藍縁起并流記資材帳) contains the description about arrival of Buddhism, we cannot find any reference to Tenjiku. The other source of first arrival of Buddhism *Nihon-shoki* (the oldest chronicles of Japan, 日本書紀), which was compiled in 720 A.D., contains the description of Tenjiku. According to *Nihon-shoki*, we can understand that Japanese people had known that Buddhism was introduced from Tenjiku through China, and Korea. In 736, Bodhisena, popularly

known as first person to have come from India to reach Japan. The primary source of Bodhisena is *Minamitenjikubaramonsojohi* (南天竺婆羅門僧正碑) written in 770. There is no description of Tenjiku in main text of it and we can find Tenjiku in the title, however it can be possible that this title was added later. After arrival of Bodhisena we can find numerous texts referring Tenjiku mainly in Buddhist text such as *Naishobupposoujyoketsumyakufu* (内証仏法相承血脈譜) by Saicho (最澄), the founder of Tendai sect, in 820.

In ancient and medieval Japan, Tenjiku was admired as the birthplace of Buddhism, and this recognition was similar to the concept of Saihojodo (西方浄土) or Western Pure Land (Amitabha's Buddhist paradise). In that situation, the person who firstly decided to visit Tenjiku was Takaokashinno (高丘親王, 799 ~ ??) who was the third prince of 51th Heizei-Tenno. He left Japan in 861 and visit to China, however could not reached to Tenjiku and died in Raetsu-koku (羅越国), which was seemed to be near Singapore. Lots of Buddhist monks had desire to visit Tenjiku, but they could not. In place of that desire, they studied Buddhism in China. However, after Northern SonDynasty, which promoted Buddhism on a large scale, the possibility to visit Tenjiku was disappeared. Although Buddhist monks had been using both names, Tenjiku and Indo (印度) because they understood that these two words had the same meaning, gradually Tenjiku had become dominant. It was because Tenjiku was used in huge amount of Buddhist texts. Buddhism in India disappeared in the 12th century, so its religious position as a holy place might have had declined. Rather, people had been keeping this recognition only in their idea, and its meaning was becoming more religious and less scientific to people.

In 11th century, later Heian period, *Konjakumonogatarishu* (今昔物語集) was compiled which consists of three chapter Honcho、Shintan, and Tenjiku. Because of this structure, *Konjakumonogatarishu* was considered a good example of Sangoku-Sekaikan. Along with lots of texts referring Tenjiku, we can find Tenjiku in historical map as well. *Gotenjikuzu* (五天竺図, five Tenjiku map), is widely considered the oldest world map in Japan, and one type of map showing an example of *Sangoku-Sekaikan*. (Map1) Generally, *Gotenjikuzu* is categorised as a Buddhist world map (仏教系世界図), as it is based on the Buddhist world view (Muroga and Unno, 1957, p.67.) This view is typically illustrated in *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (阿毘達摩俱舍論、俱舍論), a text written in the 5th century AD.

The concept Go-tenjikufinds its origins in the geographical division of ancient India. Originally, there was no geographical conception of *Tenjiku* in the Buddhist worldview, as Tenjiku was an ancient Chinese name. However, there are five variants of Tenjiku on each part of *Gotenjikuzu*, divided by curved lines: Kita Tenjiku (北天竺, North Tenjiku), Higashi Tenjiku (東天竺, East Tenjiku), Minami Tenjiku (南天竺, South Tenjiku), Nishi Tenjiku (西天竺, West Tenjiku), Naka Tenjiku (中天竺, Central Tenjiku). One explanation for the appearance of Go-tenjiku on the *Gotenjizuzu* map is the geographical information brought by travellers, such as the Buddhist monk Hsuan-Tsang (玄奘) between East and West. As the latter wrote in the *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* (大唐西域記), the concept of Go-tenjiku had travelled to Japan during the ancient or medieval period, and had become a popular name to refer to Tenjiku.

In *Gotenjikuzu*, Nansembushu (南瞻部州, Jambudvīpa) is at the centre of the whole picture. China appears in the northeast under the name Shintanand Daitoukoku (大唐国), and Japan under the names Akitsushima (秋津嶋), Kyukoku (九国、九州), and Shikoku (四国) on the far northeast of the map. Thus, *Gotenjikuzu* arguably displays a medieval Japanese worldview characterised by Sangoku-Sekaikan (Ouji, 1996, p.141). The country which dominates the world is the huge Nansenbushu, representing the idea of Go-tenjiku. In other words, the theme of this map is the Buddhist world, where Tenjiku holds a dominant position..



Nara National Museum and Asahi Shinbunsha (奈良国立博物館・朝日新聞社) (eds.). 2011. *Tenjiku e Sanzohoushi Sanman kiro no tabi* (天竺へ三蔵法師3万キロの旅), Tokyo:Nara National Museum and Asahi Shinbunsha (奈良国立博物館・朝日新聞社), p.192.

Tenjiku and Jesuit missionaries

The turning point of Tenjiku in the 16th century was the arrival of Jesuit missionaries, such as Francisco Xavier. Although it is known that the Portuguese were called Nanbanjin (南蛮人、Nanban people), they were also called Tenjikujin (天竺人), literally Tenjiku people, because they came from places other than Honcho and Shintan of Sangoku-Sekaikan.

Interestingly, Christianity was considered to be one sect of Buddhism and named Tenjiku-shu (天竺宗), literally Tenjiku-sect because it was considered to come from Tenjiku. Missionaries had a conventional concept of India that had grown in the European world. Both, the Jesuit missionaries and Japanese people in the 16th century could not understand that India and Tenjiku meant the same place, so the concepts were not united.

The Portuguese brought world maps which had been produced in Europe in the late 16th century. Unfortunately, the maps have not been discovered to this day. However, there exists an historical account of the earliest world atlas, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (世界の舞台), produced by the mapmaker Abraham Ortelius in Antwerp, and first published in 1570 (Map 2). This atlas is said to have been brought by Tensho Keno Shisetsu (天正遣欧使節), who was on the Boys' Mission to Vatican(Europe) in the Tensho era (1573–1593) dispatched by Christian Daimyo such as Otomo Sorin (大友宗麟)、Arima Harunobu (有馬晴信), Omura Sumitada (大村純忠).

Obviously, Tenjiku does not feature in the maps of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, because they all are written in Roman alphabet. The names written on the Indian subcontinent, such as *INDOSTAN*, *DELLI*, and *ORIXA* seem to have been unfamiliar to the Japanese at that time.

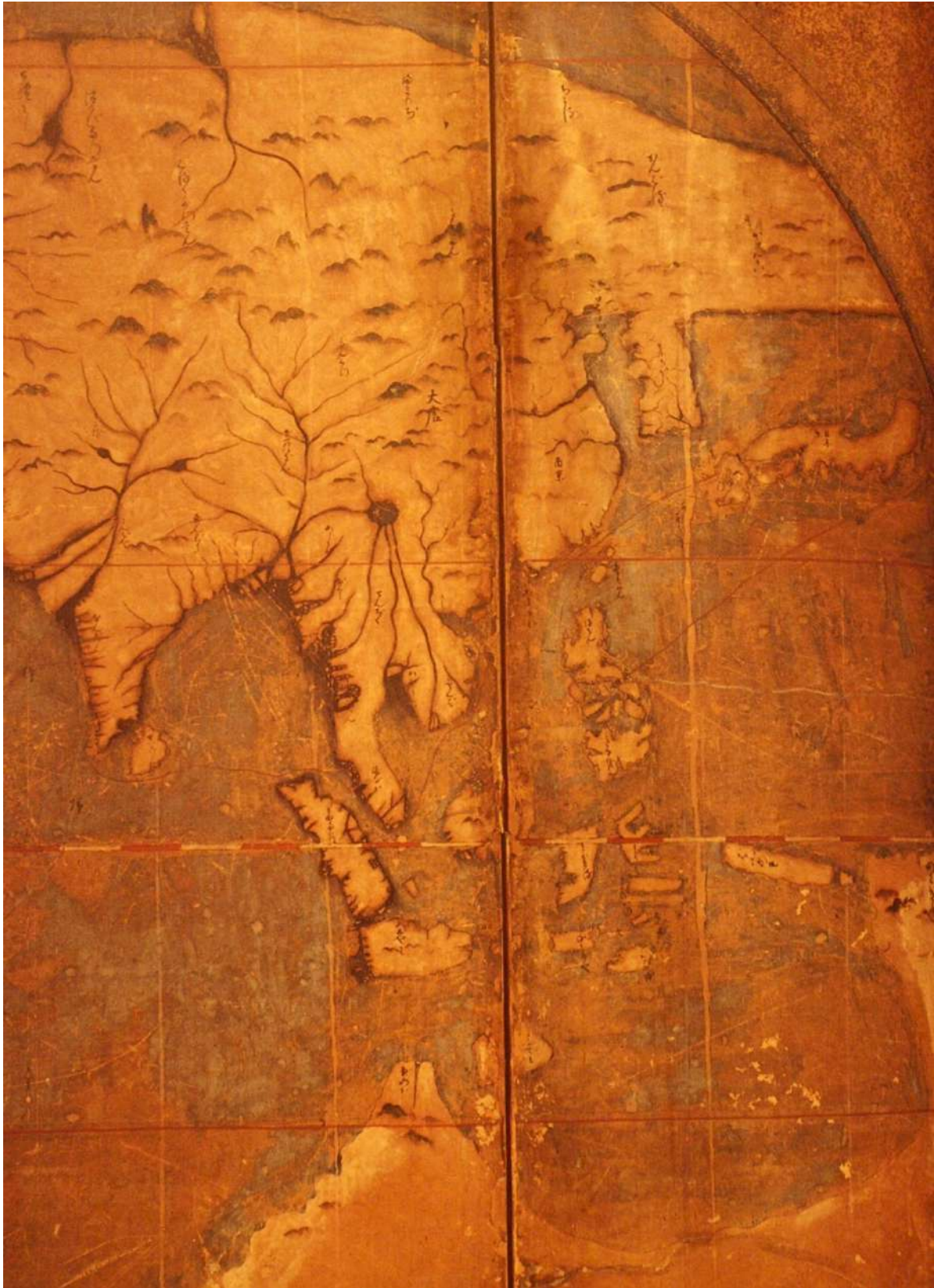


Ortelius, Abraham. 1991. *Sekaichizucho-Leiden daigakutosyokan zo*-(世界地図帳—ライデン大学図書館蔵—), Kyoto: Rinsensyoten (臨川書店).

World maps in Japan started to be modelled on those that had been introduced from the West. It is pointed out that Jesuit missionaries had been concerned with the earliest production of the world map in Japan. The earliest examples are Nanban Sekaizu Byubu (南蛮世界図屏風) or Nanban Byobu Sekaizu (南蛮屏風世界図) and Nanbankei Sekaizu (南蛮系世界図), which were painted on byobu (屏風, portable folding screens). Nowadays, we can verify the existence of twenty copies (Kawamura, 2003, p.18).

Although these world maps were not made from only one original and opinions are divided as to which example is older, almost all scholars agree that a collection of Yamamoto Hisashi (山本久) in Sakai is the oldest one (*Yamamotoshi-zu*, 山本氏図, Map3).

Map3. *Yamamotoshi-zu*



Oda takeo / Muroga Nobuo / Unno Kazutaka (織田武雄・室賀信夫・海野一隆)(eds). 1975. *Nihon kochizu taisei sekaizu hen*, (日本古地図大成世界図編) Tokyo: Kodansha (講談社), p.69.

With the exception of Kanji characters, the geographical names are transcriptions of Latin in Hiragana characters, which means that this map is based on information from Portugal or Spain. Although it is unclear

when the map was drawn, it could be dated to the aftermath of the 1592–1593 of Bunroku campaign (文禄の役) by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉).

There are many more geographical names than on other Nanban Sekaizu Byobu. Indian sucontinent is depicted in almost the same way as it would be on today's world maps with the name Nanban.

Tenjiku is written in Hiragana in the middle of the Indochinese Peninsula, not on the Indian subcontinent. ちゃんば (Champa/占城), かほうちゃ (Cambodia/柬埔寨), and まるか (Mallaca) also appear on the Indonesian Peninsula. These country names quite often feature on Western world maps made in the same period. On this map, however, there is no sign of シヤム/シヤム口/暹羅 (Siam, which is often depicted as SIAM or SIAN on maps of the same period). However, てんじく are written in the place of Siam, which suggests that Siam was considered to be *Tenjiku* itself.

Why was Siam, among many places, designated as Tenjiku? The Japanese who had moved to Southeast Asia with the trade of Syuinsen (朱印船, shogunate-licensed trading ships), recognised this place as Tenjiku or a part thereof. A description on the Ema (絵馬, wooden plate dedicated to a Shinto shrine), which was dedicated to the Shizuoka Sengen Jinja shrine by the famous samurai Yamada Nagamasa (山田長政, 1590–1630), testifies to this:

奉挂御立願
諸願成就
令満之所当国生
今天竺暹羅国住居
寛永三丙寅歳二月吉日
山田仁左衛門尉長政
(Emphasis by the present author)

*I pray my several wishes would be accomplished.
I was born in this country and am living in Tenjiku Siam land.
On a propitious day in February, Kanei 3.
Yamada Jinzaemon no jyo Nagamasa
(Translation by the present author)*

Nagamasa describes himself as living in 天竺暹羅国 (Siam land in Tenjiku). Supposing that Nagamasa is a fictional person and this Ema was written under the name of Nagamasa by someone else, Nagamasa was imagined to be the person who was living in Tenjiku Siam land. Meanwhile, another historical source, *Syamukoku ni oite Yamada Jinzaemon no jou risshin no koto* (於暹羅国山田仁左衛門立身之事) in *Syamkoku Yamada shi Koubouki* (暹羅国山田氏興亡記) chronicles the achievements of Nagamasa, circa 1700.

天竺国ハ、甚大国而、東西南北中央ト五郡二分テ、其一郡ノ内ニモ亦数部有テ、大国相分テ、一国二国又ハ十ヶ国二十ヶ国二分テ国王タル者多シ。暹羅国ハ其内ノ大国也。中華ノ西南、交趾 (コウチ) 国、占城 (チヤンパ) 国、柬埔寨 (カンボチヤ) ヲ経テ行所也。日本ヲ去ル海上二千余里 (但三十六丁ヲ以テツモリタル詞也) 南天竺ノ東南ニ有ルノ国也東ハ柬埔寨国ニ隣リ、西ハ弁喝喇 (ベンカラ) 海ト云フ大入海ノ隔テ、向ハ孟留 (モウル) 国ニテ是モ南天竺ノ内ナリ。

Tenjiku-koku is an enormous country which was divided into five districts namely east, west, south, north and centre. Each part has several divisions, so that whole country is divided into dozens of states and there are numerous kings. Siam-koku is one of the larger states. We can reach it through the southwest of China, Kouch, Champa, Cambodia. It is two thousand li from Japan by sea (Li is thirty six chou). It is located to the southeast of South-Tenjiku. The east of the state is Cambodia next to it. To the

West, there is Mouru-koku on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, which is one of the states of South-Tenjiku. (Translation by the present author)

This article also explains that Japanese merchants were visiting, moving and building a Japanese town there. In other words, this historical source, shows that the Japanese maintained a relationship with Tenjiku through trade, and a significant number of Japanese people were moving there.

For the Japanese people of that period, Tenjiku was definitely recognised as the place of Sakyamuni (Buddha) and Buddhism. In other words, it can be said that Yamada Nagamasa was considered to have succeeded in the holy place of Buddhism. From the above, one could argue that *Siam* was considered as the large state in Tenjiku, because Buddhism was flourishing there.

Moreover, in an account written in 1550 by the Jesuit missionary Luis Frois we find a case where Tenjiku and Siam, the large state of Tenjiku are identified.

司祭は一人の身分の高い貴人に対し、自分が国主の前に罷り出られるように、そしてさらに自分が説く教えを聞いた後、(国主)がその国で布教する許可を与えてくれるように国主に働きかけてもらいたいと懇情した。そしてこの(貴人)が国主に、かの人物(フランシスコ)は、天竺、すなわち仏の出身地であるシヤムから来た者だと告げると、(国主)はその人に会ってみたい、と言った。

(中略)

国主は上機嫌で彼らと語り、彼らの(日本までの)航海やインドならびにヨーロッパのことについて幾つかのことを質問した後に、彼らが自領で説きたがっている新しい教義についてどのようなことを言(おうとするの)か聞きたがった。(emphasis by the present author)

The priest asked one of the noble persons to appeal to the king for an audience, and convince him to grant him a permission of missionary work after listening to his sermon. When the noble man told the king that the person (Francisco) was from Tenjiku, namely Siam the birthplace of Buddha, the king said that he wanted to see him. ... The king talked to them in good spirits. After questioning him about the voyage to Japan and India and Europe, he wanted to listen to what kind of thing they were going to talk about in the new dogma which they had a hope to preach in their territory.

(Translation and emphasis by the present author)

From this description, the king, namely Ouchi Yoshitaka (大内義隆) granted an audience to the missionaries because they were from Tenjiku or Siam. Just after writing about Tenjiku and Siam, Frois refers to India. Although Frois writes that Yoshitaka questioned Francisco Xavier about India and Europe, it is possible that not only Yoshitaka, but also Francisco, did not notice that India was the same as Tenjiku in its original meaning. India, in the European worldview represented the ‘eastern frontier’ or the ‘world’s end where grotesque monsters are living’ from the time of Herodotus and Alexander the Great to the 16–17th century (Iyanaga, 1994, p.172). Moreover, it was long after the downfall of Buddhism that Jesuit missionaries gained a foothold in India. According to Charles Allen, in the early 19th century, European people started to notice that the origin of Buddhism would be in India. (Allen, 2002, p.256). Therefore, one could conceivably argue that it took a considerable length of time to notice that the place called Tenjiku where the Buddhism Japanese people believed in was born was the same as the place they called India. In other words, Tenjiku may not have meant the conflation of India and Siam, but the birthplace of Buddha and Sakyamuni. Therefore, no one could have readily understood it then, as meaning the same as the present India.

A marriage of Tenjiku with India

It has become clear that for some time when western oriented world maps began to be produced in Japan, Tenjiku was dissociated from the Indian subcontinent. However, in the 17th century a world map appeared which deeply influenced the Japanese world view. This was *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (坤輿万国全

图, A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World) first published in Beijing in 1602 by the Italian Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (1552–1610). By the command of Alessandro Valignano, Ricci visited China for missionary work in 1583, where he produced several world maps (Unno, 2005, p.101). Among these, the most famous is *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* which is considered to have been shipped soon after it was published, so that it would have had great influence on the Japanese worldview at the time.

Kunyu Wanguo Quantu shows detailed geographical names, and the Indian subcontinent is no exception. The landform almost conforms to today's world maps, to the extent that the geographical features of the Indian subcontinent are recognisable. The location of the borderline between India and other places is debateable. To elucidate this, I have created a table with some place names (Table 1). The borderline is the mountainous region which stands in the place of the Sulaiman Range or Hindu Kush stretching east to west, 北高海 and 蒲昌海 flowing east from there, 安義河 which is depicted as plural rivers flowing 榜葛刺 to the coastline. The number of geographical names in this area is 68, and one name, '應帝亞' (India), seems to indicate the subcontinent as a whole.

Table 1: Geographical names written in Indian subcontinent of *KunyuWanguoQuantu*(坤輿万国全图).

							私大蠟					何加入	打喇巴		
				加私	得力利大伯里私且		回回				耶塞援	大革里思且	淡善士	貌力南客尔	海昌蒲
	波斯	亜的伯讓	色姆利						闊悉多	喝盤陀	地布蠟	朱俱波	大葱嶺		干闥
沙勿私				惹西斯突		鐵門闥	親貨羅			山婆葛高		細			
					甘打喝	伊西帝宜入				懸度山	小天竺	伐刺弩			
	溪尔曼	赤蠟蓋亜		哥蠟作泥	身毒河	梧作刺得	葛步尔	莫臥尔	敖羅	葛刺尔	加尔且且	詔納僕兒			
						吳茶蠟	西天竺國	印度斯當			孟道	亜蠟敢			
						隋	替夷巴坎			何里沙			榜葛刺		
						也利客	利兀尔	巴辣瓦得	阿利沙彈						
								應							
							伊達尔幹		毘私那亜						
						臥亜		帝	斯襪羅巴						
						葛正		麻辣襪尔	那心瓦國						
						哥爛		亜							
				萬島					錫狼島						

Two geographical names directly relate to Tenjiku on the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*, namely 小天竺 and 西天竺. As mentioned above, until then no western oriented world map had featured Tenjiku. *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* is the first western world map in history in which geographical names are written in Chinese characters. Thus, one might contend that it was the first world map in which western people used the name Tenjiku. One could surmise that it was between the early and mid-17th century that *Tenjiku* became connected with Indian subcontinent. It is thought that the use of the word Tenjiku of 小天竺 and 西天竺 in *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* played an important role in this ‘marriage’.

However, there are descriptions of 應帝亜 and 印度斯當 in *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*. Both of these geographical names seem to be transliterations generally designating India. In other words, two geographical names meaning ‘India’ coexist on a map. 應帝亜 is written in the southern part of the Indian subcontinent, vertically with large characters. いんぢあ in *Yamamoto-shi-zu* seems to be the transliteration of India into Hiragana characters. In other words, it is possible that on the one hand, the producer of *Yamamoto-shi-zu* transliterated India into いんぢあ, and on the other hand Ricci transliterated the same description into 應帝亜. Of course, the original maps they used were different, and therefore, they both transliterated the description of India.

The description written by Ricci seems to be destined for the people who would have consulted *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*. Some experts have suggested that he did not apply 應帝亜 but 印度 because he took prioritised names used by the European world over Chinese names and transliterated them. Moreover it can be thought that he did not recognise that 印度 and 應帝亜 were originally different names for the same place.

印度斯當 seems to be the transliteration of Indostan. ‘Stan’ is a Persian suffix which means ‘state’ or ‘country’, so that its literal translation gives ‘the state of Indo’. Consequently, the information becomes complicated, since the names inherited from Persia or the Islamic world and 應帝亞, which have the same meaning, coexist on the same field. In some cases, 應帝亞 was given the pronunciation インテア (‘Intea’) in Kana characters. Someone had probably written it believing there was a place called ‘Intea’, who did not know that 印度斯當 was Ricci’s transliteration of Indostan. Thus it is by no means certain that at all times 應帝亞 was pronounced ‘Intea’.

Therefore, firstly, there was a ‘plural India’ compiled from different sources of information in *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*. Although the direct roots of 小天竺 and 西天竺 are still unclear, it is obvious that they translated a Chinese perspective. Additionally, 應帝亞 is the European denomination of India, while 印度斯當 is the Persian because it is the transliteration of Indostan. In this context, then, one could plausibly argue that the names in *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* emerge from three different points of view, namely Chinese, European, and Persian. As the names derived from a representation of the place called India from different perspectives, their individual natures are different. Although Ricci’s understanding of their etymology and origin must be examined more carefully, this coexistence is one of the factors that greatly complicates information on India in the world map or geographical books in later periods. This could also represent the limitations of world maps at that time, of which Ricci’s was arguably the newest and the most detailed.

Godai-shu and Tenjiku

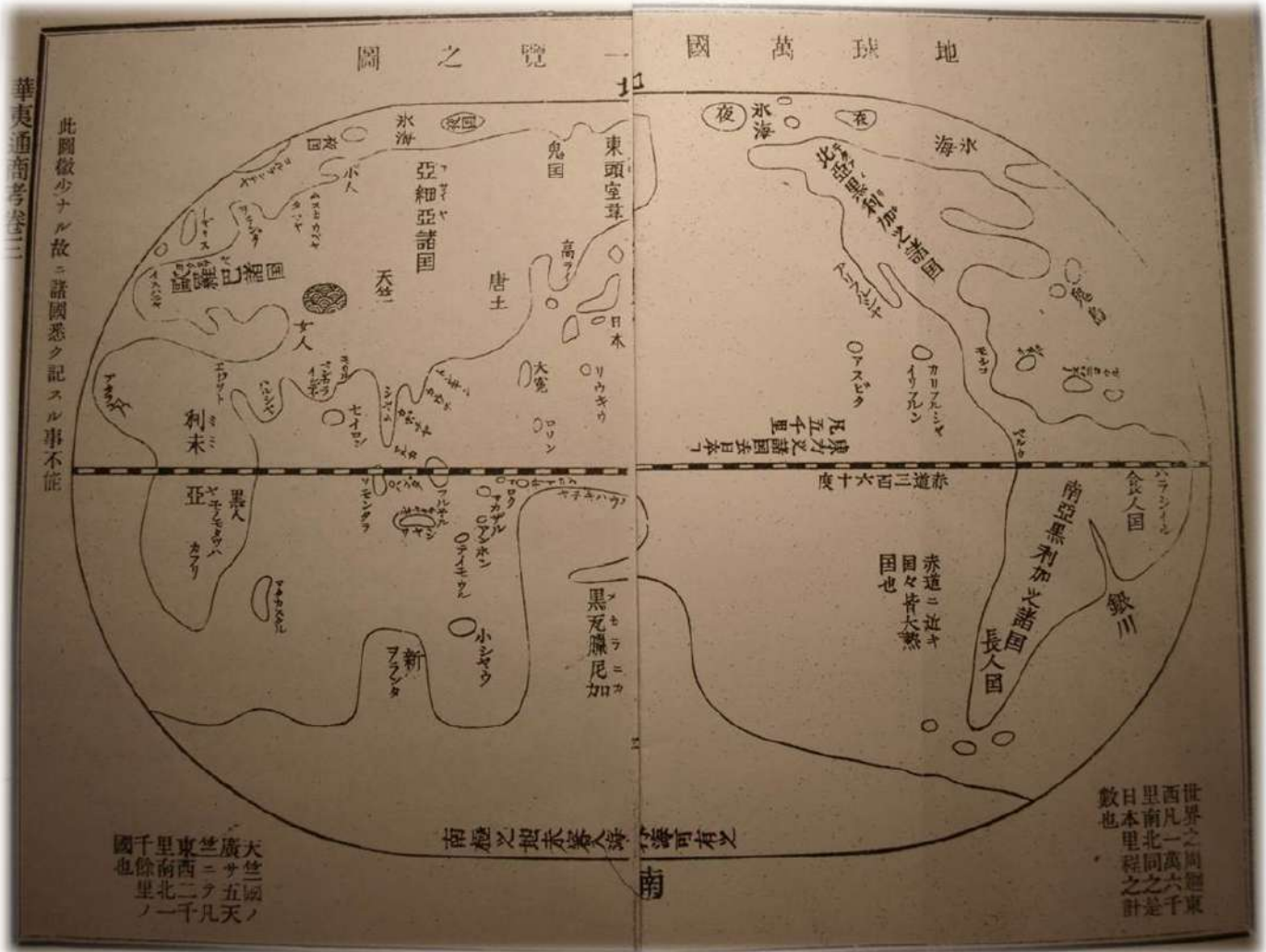
In the Edo period, Sangoku-Sekaikan gradually declined, and a new understanding was developed. According to this new understanding, which was called Godai-shu (五大州), the world consisted of five parts: Asia (亞細亞), Europe (歐羅巴), Libya (利未亞, Africa), America (亞米利加), and Megaranica (墨瓦蠟泥加, the ‘terra incognita’ in the south) (Arano, 1994, p.213).

There was being written and published several books containing new understanding of the world in Edo period. I am going to pick up *Zouho-Kaitsushoukou* (增補華夷通商考, 1708) by Nishikawa Joken (西川如見), Nishikawa Joken is an astronomer who was born in Nagasaki, a city that had been considered the only open entrance to the world for many years during the so-called Sakoku period. In reality, Japan had been interacting and trading with Korea through Tsushima, with China through Ryukyu, and with Russia through Ezo during this period. Although the term ‘Sakoku’ is still being used today, this interaction was very broadly understood. *Zouho-Kaitsushoukou* was one of his representative works and was used instructively as a book of world geography (Kaikoku hyakunen kinen bunkaji gyokai, 1978, p.17). It contains world maps and lists 98 countries along with some description of their climate, people, direction from Japan, products, etc. Volumes 1 to 4 were sourced from the book *Ikokufudoki* (異国風土記), believed to have been written using collected information circulating in Nagasaki (Ayusawa, 1952, p.50). Volume 5 was an enlarged part that was based mainly on the *Shokuhougaiki* (職方外紀), a work by Gulio Alleni, an Italian missionary in China written in 1623 in Hangzhou (Inden, 2003, p.58).

This book had a large influence on Japanese people of that time in terms of their worldview. Joken was in the forefront of those who acknowledged Godai-shu framework. However, when we consider the works of Joken, it becomes clear that they continued to prefer Sangoku-Sekaikan.

In *Zouho-Kaitsushoukou*, we can see the world map called *Chikyu bankoku ichiran no zu* (Map of the globe and whole world, Map 4).

Map 4. Chikyubankokuichirannozu (地球萬國一覽之図).



Nishikawa, Tadasuke (西川忠亮) (eds.). 1899. "Zouho-Kaitsuhokou (増補華夷通商考)". in *NishikawajyokenIsho vol.4*, Tokyo: NishiawaTadasuke (西川忠亮).

Although it is quite rough, especially along parts of the coastline, the names of Godaishu were described on each part of every continent. Although the name Tenjiku was on the Eurasian Continent or in the middle of Asian countries, it is unclear where it is specifically. There is only a small peninsula where the Indian subcontinent must have been, on which there are names such as Mouru (モウル, Moor, Moghul), Bengala (Bengal), and Indeya (India). In the view of Sangoku-Sekaikan, Tenjiku is a huge country that encompasses most of the world. However, when we see this map, it is clear that Tenjiku is only one of many other Asian countries. What I would like to emphasize here is that the worldview is changing from old one to new one but we can still see the name of Tenjiku as well as India. In another words Tenjiku and India are coexisting. It may be because Joken was not quite sure that India was as same as Tenjiku. India was only a small country in great Asia, but Tenjiku should have been huge country covering greater part of the world. That is why Tenjiku could not go to anywhere but here where is quite obscure place.

When we examine the 98 countries listed in *Zouho-Kaitsushoukou*, we can find China. It could be said that the other 97 countries were all called Tenjiku, because Tenjiku had been a blurred concept to refer to every country other than China, rather than a single united region. Although the Japanese had a notion of Tenjiku being the country where Buddhism started, they had no idea where exactly it was. This is why Tenjiku became a kind of pronoun for the "the other", representing the places they did not know, in comparison with China and their own country, which they were geographically familiar with.

According to Joken, other 97 countries can be divided into two categories: gaikoku (外国, foreign countries) and gaii (外夷, foreign barbarians). Gaikoku includes countries under the Chinese tributary system, namely Korea, Ryukyu, Taiwan, Kochi, and Tonking. Ikoku covers the rest that are not in Gaikoku (Table 2).

Table 2. Tenjiku in counties list of *Zouho-Kaitsushoukou*

China	1						
Gaikoku	5						
Gaii	92	27 including the word "Tenjiku"	Champa (占城)	Kambojia (柬埔寨, Cambodia)	Tani (太泥, Patani)	Rokkon (六甲, Ligor)	Siam (暹羅)
			Jagatara (咬吧, Jakarta)	Jawa (哇哇)	Bantan (番旦, Banten)	Moraka (母羅伽, Malacca)	Mouru (モウル, Moghal?)
			Somondara (ソモンダラ, Smatra)	Pegu (ヘグウ)	Arakan ((アラカン)	Bengara-koku (ベンガラ国, Bengal)	Saraata (サラアタ, Surat)
			Marumaru (マルマアル, Malabar)	Seiron (セイロン, Ceylon)	Harusia (ハルシヤ国, Persia)	Santome (サントメ国, Sao Thome)	Indeya (インデヤ国, India?)
			Rau (ラウ国, Laos)	Kafuri (カフリ国, East Africa?)	Ciyau (チャウ国, West India?)	Kowa (コワ, Goa)	Arabiya (アラビヤ, Arabia)
			Judeya (ジュデヤ, Judea)	Ejitto (エジツト国, Egypt)			
		Other Gaii					

When we examine the countries that make up *ikoku*, we find the word *Tenjiku* in several places. Among *Gaii*, there are 27 countries that contain the word *Tenjiku* in their explanation in some way. The most numerous occurrence is *Minami-Tenjiku* (南天竺, South *Tenjiku*), or *Minami-Tenjiku-no-uchi* (in South *Tenjiku*), which encompasses countries such as Champa, Siam, Ceylon, Indeya, and Goa. Of those 27, we can say that 16 of them were recognized by *Joken* as being located within *Minami-Tenjiku*. Noticeable as well are the expressions *Hi-Tenjiku* (非天竺, not *Tenjiku*) and *Nishi-Tenjiku* (west *Tenjiku*). Countries described as *Hi-Tenjiku* include Jawa and Patani; Persia and Saint Thomas were said to be in *Nishi-Tenjiku* and Judea in the west of *Nishi-Tenjiku*.

Although there are some countries that are located in present-day India or South Asia—for example, Indeya, Bengara (Bengal), and Ceylon—in reality *Tenjiku* was used as a vague conception covering present South Asia and Southeast Asia as well. At the same time, the word *Asia* (亜細亞) was used as a conception containing many countries such as China, Arabia, Cambodia. *Asia* is a part of *Godaishu*, meaning that *Tenjiku* was only a part of the place that is only one fifth of whole world.

Let us consider some concrete examples of each explanation. In the case of Champa (占城), *Joken* describes this place as follows.

四季東京ヨリ大ニ熱國也。此國ノ邊ヨリ南天竺ノ内也ト云。此國交趾國ノ内ニテ交趾ヨリ仕置スル所モ有之トゾ。大佛ト云所モ此國ノ内也。唐人往来ノ津也。此國ノ者日本へ船仕出シ来ル事ナシ。唐人此处ニ往テ諸色ヲ調へ日本ニ来也。人物甚賤ク常ニハダカニテ往来ス。詞蠻語ニ似テ曾テ通ズ各別也。

The climate of this country is much hotter than Tonkin. The area is said to be around in South-Tenjiku. It is said that this country is located in Kochi, and is governed by it. The place called Daifutsu is also in

this country. Chinese people are coming and going around the port. People of this country have never sailed to Japan. Before going to Japan, Chinese people load cargo at this place. People are quite humble, always coming and going naked. Their language resembles Dutch and we can communicate with them very easily.(Translation by the present author)

The explanation of the other places agree that Tenjiku or Minami-Tenjiku have a climate that is generally warm or sometimes (extremely) hot. People were often said to be humble. Interestingly, the name Indeya is also on the list. The explanation follows.

南天竺ニテ四季アル暖國也。海邊ニ及タル大國也。インデヤト云ハ印度國ト云事ニテ、印度ハ則天竺ノ名也トゾ。モウル國ト此國トハ南天竺ニテ第一ノ國ナリ。此國ノ人ノ色ハ皆紫色ナリト云。人物風俗モウル人ニ同じ。唐人ヲランダ人ハ此國ニ往來スル事之レ無シ。土産他國ヘ交易スルヲ調ヘ來ルトゾ。

This is South-Tenjiku, a warm place with four seasons, overlooking the sea. Indeya means Indo-koku, Indo is the name of Tenjiku. Mouru-koku and this are the number one countries in Minami-Tenjiku. The color of the people living there is purple. The people, as well as their manners, are the same as the Mouru. The Chinese and the Dutch have never visited this place. They conduct produce trade with others.(Translation by the present author)

As this description says, Joken understood that Indeya, Indo, and Tenjiku were names for the same place. Tenjiku, however, was used as an umbrella term covering a plurality of countries, as well as being a specific place. Sangoku-Sekaikan traditionally understood that places other than China or Japan were part of Tenjiku. That is why Joken had to connect Tenjiku with real places whose other geographical information had accumulated gradually.

According to academic predecessor, Mouru refers to the Mughal Empire, since the language known as Mouru-go is a version of Persian with considerable vocabulary borrowed from Hindi (Nagashima, 1986, p.133). However, Mouru is still a controversial term because it is unclear whether it originally meant 'language' or 'people'. It could be said that there was merely some language called Mouru-go, which is linguistically Persian and used by the people visiting Nagasaki in the early Edo period; gradually people might have begun calling the Mouru-go-speaking foreigners the Mouru-jin (Mouru people). Regardless, the Mouru-jin was important foreigners from mainly Southeast Asia, or Minami-Tenjiku, and it was known to citizens of Nagasaki in the Edo period.

When we consider the Joken's work, it becomes clear that Japanese people continued to prefer the more traditional understanding of the world, which is Sangoku-Sekaikan containing the existence of Tenjiku (Ishizaki, 2010, p.499). This demonstrates the importance of Tenjiku for premodern Japanese people, including intellectuals. The reason that this intellectual would do so was the cultural strength of Tenjiku for the Japanese people.

Conclusion

As I have been argued above, Tenjiku was not only the old name of India but also the meaning of the concept that had been changing throughout history. Since Tenjiku is the mother country of Buddhism, which is the major religion for the Japanese people, we can find vast number of historical records which are concerned to it. The concept of Tenjiku might have played a larger role to redesign self-consciousness of Japanese people as one part of Sangoku-Sekaikan. When we consider Tenjiku or India historically, it is particularly important to clarify when and whose Tenjiku or India it had been. The recognition of Tenjiku had not been changing independently but was connected to the perception against China and Japan itself.

The historical situation which first Christian missionaries were called Tenjikujin have been overlooked because it have been considered to be ignorance or immaturity originated from lack of right information. However, it must be considered to the turning point of Tenjiku recognition. After the arrival of Portuguese, the Japanese people gradually acquired new information of the world thorough communication with them or

world map which they brought. Although Tenjiku had been considered mother country of Buddhism until 16 century, no one knew where exactly it was. However, after the contact with Portuguese, Tenjiku had gradually identified to India. Examining this situation, we can understand that it was not correct to presume Tenjiku as only the old name of India.

After the marriage of Tenjiku and India, Tenjiku had still played an important role to explain world geography. As in the case of Nishikawa Joken, we can notice Tenjiku was used as keyword to explain new information of the world. Particularly, ordinary people tended to continue using Tenjiku as the word to express something exotic. Because of the trade of Syuinsen, people had memory to trade with Tenjiku, which was southeast asia in reality, Tenjiku was dramatized to Kabuki, Joruri, and other public media throughout Edo period, so that the image of Tenjiku was spread through that kind of story. The popular example of such situation is Tenjiku Tokube story in which Tenjiku is depicted as quite imaginative place.

In later Edo period, this kind of imaginative Tenjiku gradually disappeared because of the new geographical knowledge. As in the case of *Indo-Zoushi* (『印度蔵志』) by Hirata Atsutane (平田篤胤), who was a significant Shinto scholar, by quoting the latest knowledge about geography through Western information, Intellectuals deconstructed the image of old imaginative Tenjiku and redefined the place as real India. Since Tenjiku was huge “other” for Japanese people, it played an important role to draw self-portrait of new modern Japan as new nation state. In another words, the Japanese had to abandon old and traditional concept of Tenjiku to locate their new country, Japan to new world order in Meiji era.

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