

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix

PART ONE

- Introduction 3
- 1 Linear History and the Nation-state 17
- 2 Bifurcating Linear Histories in China and India 51
-

PART TWO

- 3 The Campaigns against Religion and the Return of the Repressed 85
- 4 Secret Brotherhood and Revolutionary Discourse in China's Republican Revolution 115
- 5 The Genealogy of *Fengjian* or Feudalism: Narratives of Civil Society and State 147
- 6 Provincial Narratives of the Nation: Federalism and Centralism in Modern China 177

7 Critics of Modernity in India and China 205

Conclusion 229

References 237

Index 259

INDEX

- Abedi, Mehdi, 14
Advaita Hinduism, 78
Africa, 18, 23
Akbar, 77, 213
Alitto, Guy S., 210
America: democracy in, 172–73; history departments established in, 22; nation-views of, 10–11; overseas Chinese in, 135–36; racial superiority assumed in, 20–21; religion in, 221; state-building in late nineteenth century, 158–59
American Civil War, 230, 230n.1
American exceptionalism, 30
American Revolution, 31–32
Anagnost, Ann, 112
ancient age: in Chinese history, 35, 38; in historical periodizations, 34
Anderson, Benedict, 51, 52, 53n.1, 54
Andrews, C. F., 223
Anhui province, 99, 106
Annales school, 25n, 233
Anthias, Floya, 11
anti-Christian movement, 103–4
anti-imperialism, 15, 111, 139, 143, 224
Anti-Religious Federation and the Great Federation of Non-Religionists, 99
antisuperstition campaign, 99, 107, 108
Appadurai, Arjun, 218
Army of Great Unity (*Datong jun*), 106, 107, 112, 235
Aryavarta, 62, 63, 71, 78
Asoka, 77, 213
assimilation (*tonghua*), 36–37, 49, 59
Aurobindo, Sri, 77–78, 79. *See also* Ghosh, Aurobindo
autarky, 214, 232
Ayodhya, 78
ba, 200
Balibar, Etienne, 15, 54n, 71
Bancroft, George: *History of America*, 30–31
bandits (*fei*), 116, 120
bang (state), 185
bang (workers association), 179
Banton, Michael, 21n.2
baocun, 169
Baoding, 165
Baoguoahui, 157
baojia, 169
barbarians: barbarism as lack of ritual and civilization, 74; becoming part of the community, 60; Gu Jiegang on, 43; inner and outer barbarians, 58–59; Manchus as, 74, 79; Tao Chengzhang on, 130–31
Barlow, Tani, 11
Bengal Renaissance, 210
Benjamin, Walter, 71, 73
Bergere, Marie Claire, 170
bhakti, 64, 223

- Bharatvarsha, 63
- bifurcation: bifurcated history and community narratives, 66; bifurcated history of the campaigns against religion, 85–86, 107–8, 111; bifurcating linear History in China and India, 51–82; centralism and federalism in Republican China, 177; defined, 5; three moments of bifurcated history, 236; as transactional, 233–34; as unmasking appropriations and concealments, 78–79, 81
- Birla, the house of, 216
- birthplace of Rama, 78
- Bi Yongnian, 134–35, 137
- Bluntschli, Johann, 159, 171, 173
- boundaries: of communities, 65–66; territorial, 70, 71
- Boxer Rebellion: anti-Christian and anti-Western outbreaks, 122; provincial autonomy during, 181; Qing support sought for, 68; *xinzheng* reforms as result of, 160–61
- Boxers, 129
- Brahmanic universalism, 61–62, 77–78
- Brahmanism, 61–62, 218, 222
- Buddha, 109
- Buddhism: campaign against in China, 104–6; and the Ming dynasty, 131; National Buddhist Association, 105
- Cai Shaojing, 117–18
- Cai Yuanpei, 99, 136, 192
- campaigns against religion, 95–110; against Buddhism, 104–6; anti-Christian movement, 103–4; Anti-Religious Federation and the Great Federation of Non-Religionists, 99; antisuperstition campaign, 99, 107, 108; bifurcated history of, 85–86; first phase of, 96–98; Jiangbei uprising, 106, 111, 112; second phase of, 98–110; secret society attacks on Christianity, 121–23; “Standards for Preserving and Abandoning Gods and Shrines,” 108, 109; third phase of, 112; three phases of, 9–96
- Canada, subnationalisms in, 16
- Canton, 103–4, 105
- Cantonese, 69
- Cao Cao, 45–46
- Cao Pei, 45n
- capitalism: Marx on capitalism in India, 23; the nation-state and, 8–9, 231–32; print capitalism, 52, 53; and the public sphere, 148
- centralism, 177–204; Chen Duxiu on, 200; and *fengjian*, 177, 229; Mao Zedong on, 190; power of the centralized imperial state, 179; Yang Duanliu on, 186–87
- Certeau, Michel de, 50, 233
- Chang, Hao, 209
- Chatterjee, Partha, 30n, 213, 216
- Chattopadhyay, Bankim Chandra, 79, 211–12
- Chen, Jerome, 118, 118n, 130
- Chen Baozhen, 154
- Chen Duxiu, 86, 91, 102, 194
- Chen Jiongming, 180n, 193–200, 199n, 202
- Chen Tianhua, 75, 131–32
- Chiang Kai-shek: defeat of Chen Jiongming, 198; New Life movement, 88, 90, 110; on science, 93
- children, 70
- China: ancient period in, 35, 38; Army of Great Unity, 106, 107, 112, 235; assimilation, 36–37, 49, 59; bandits, 116, 120; Baoding, 165; battle of Fei Shui, 41; bifurcating linear History in, 51–82; Canton, 103–4, 105; Cantonese, 69; centralism and federalism in, 177–204; Chinese history as Enlightenment History, 33–48; Chu, 74; civil society in, 147, 148–52; class as constitutive principle of citizenship in, 80n.14; commitment of the state to modernity, 94; Cultural Revolution, 12, 85, 90; cultural universalism in, 57–58, 62; *Datong*, 14, 101, 102, 111, 233, 234–36; dichotomy of East and West in, 29; Eastern Jin, 39, 41, 43, 46; Enlightenment History adopted in, 25–27, 235; first history in Enlightenment mode, 33, 173; five races of, 76, 115, 142, 143; *geming*, 126, 134, 134n, 146, 234; *gong*, 150, 154; group identities in, 13; Hakka, 69; Hegel on, 18–19, 61; historical claims on Korea, 43; historical

models of political community in, 56–61; Hong Kong, 203; Hui Muslims, 65, 144, 203; and imperialism, 23, 182, 202, 224; in Japanese colonial ideology, 224–25; Jin invasion, 57, 58, 67; *junxian* system, 153, 154; khanate of Kokand, 57–58; late imperial period, 25–26; localities, 177, 191; medieval period in, 35; modernity in, 226; modernization in, 206–7; modern period in, 35, 38; Mongol dynasty, 60, 116; Mongol invasion, 57; Mongols, 76, 105, 131; National Essence school, 132, 207, 208; the nation-state's future in, 232; New Armies, 134; north-south division of, 129–30; as only continuous historical nation, 41; Opium War, 206; overseas Chinese, 135–36, 232; periodization of Chinese history, 34, 35, 37–41; Ping-Liu-Li uprising, 134; popular novels, 150; printing press in, 150; Protect the Emperor Society, 74, 134, 135; public opinion, 157, 185; Qin, 38, 43; racial stereotyping of, 21; religion and politics in, 218, 220; remaking the people in, 32; representations of the nation in, 74–77; representation of women in, 11; resurgence of religion in post-Mao China, 112, 221; scientism in, 86, 93; self-strengthening movement, 206, 208; Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, 45; Song dynasty, 59, 131; southern narrative of, 203; state-building in, 159, 160; study societies, 154, 155, 157; Subei, 69; subethnic groups, 69; Sun Yat-sen on, 32–33; Suqian, 106; Taiping Rebellion, 68, 69, 116, 118, 179; Taiwan, 76, 203, 221; Tang dynasty, 187; Tanka boat people, 69; *tankuan* taxes, 166, 167; Ten Great Uprisings, 136; and theory of segmentary communities, 53; Tianjin, 165; Tibet, 76, 142; *ti-yong* thinking, 29, 206, 208; tribute trade system, 57–58; as true alternative to the West, 41; universal kingship in, 217, 222; warlords, 166, 173, 186, 187, 198, 202; Warring States period, 74, 187; as weak state with strong statist discourse, 170–74; Weber on, 24; Wei-Jin

period, 38, 44–45, 47; Western Jin, 38, 130; women as citizens of, 11–12; Wu, 74; Xinjiang, 76; Yellow Emperor, 75, 76, 132; Zhenjiang, 68; *zhongyuan*, 71. *See also* barbarians; Boxer Rebellion; Chinese Communist Party; Confucianism; federal self-government movement; *fengjian*; Han; Kuomintang; May 4th movement; Ming dynasty; provinces, the; Qing dynasty; race; religion; Republican period; Republican Revolution; rural China; secret societies; Sun Yat-sen

China-centered approach, 26

Chinese Communist Party (CCP): in anti-Christian movement, 103; Communists joining the Kuomintang, 202; criticism of federal self-government movement, 201, 229; Mao Zedong, 13, 189–91, 215; Northern Expedition, 203
Christianity: anti-Christian movement in China, 103–4; and imperialism, 104; Roman Catholic Church, 70, 122, 226; secret society attacks on, 121–23

Chu, 74

civil society: in China, 147, 148–52; defined, 148–49; and Enlightenment History, 152; *fengjian* narrative and, 152; hybrid narrative of, 152–60; in late Qing and Republican China, 149–52; and the public sphere, 148–49; and religion, 226; and the state, 147–75; and state-building, 160–70

class: as constitutive principle of citizenship in China, 80n.14; and the nation, 12–13

class nationalism, 12

clerisy, 52

coal miners, 122

Cohen, Paul, 26, 89

Cohn, Bernard, 22–23

colonialism, 23, 223–24, 227

Communist Party, Chinese. *See* Chinese Communist Party

communities: alternative conceptions of as threat to the nation-state, 230–31; believable self-image of the past in the present required for, 71; boundaries, 65–66; closure of, 65–69; culturalist view of, 76; culture as criterion of de-

- communities (*continued*)
 fining, 58; imaginary, 54n; theories of segmentary, 52–53. *See also* political community
- Confucianism: and Cao Cao, 45; and the centralized state, 186; Confucian history as repressive, 47; Confucian patriotism, 60n; cosmopolitanism of, 32–33, 68; culturalism of, 74, 128; disdain for popular religion, 97; on *geming*, 126; Gu Jiegang on, 42; Mencius, 126, 127, 128, 209; nationalist-traditionalist support for, 88; neo-traditional Confucianism, 208; and the New Life movement, 110; representation of political community, 57, 58, 121; and republicanism, 145; and the secret societies, 124–25; and Tao Chengzhang, 128–29, 131; tradition of literati autonomy, 153; as traditional, 89–90; universalism of, 57, 67; *yi* and *zhong* concepts, 119, 120
- Confucius: on barbarians, 74; Liang Qichao's interpretation of, 171–72; on the people as emperors, 126; purported feelings on the Manchus, 127; "Standards for Preserving and Abandoning Gods and Shrines" on, 109. *See also* Confucianism
- Connor, Walker, 9–10
- conservatism, 207
- cosmopolitanism, 32–33, 68
- Crossley, Pamela, 25, 67, 68
- culturalism: and barbarians, 60; complex status of, 58n; Confucian culturalism, 74, 128; nationalism compared to, 56–58, 87–88; as the supplement to revolutionary anti-Manchism, 76
- Cultural Revolution: class attributes extended to the nation in, 12; demand for a break with the past, 90; end of history syndrome in, 85
- cultural universalism, 57–58, 62
- culture: critique of History through, 207; as opposed to evolutionism, 205–6; and politics in India, 212, 213, 214; and *toyoshi*, 224; universalism in discourse on, 233
- cyclical conceptions of history, 28
- Dai Jitao, 99, 184, 208
- Daoism, 109
- Darwinism, social. *See* social Darwinism
- Datong (Great Unity): and individual languages, 101; moral authority of, 233; in radical nationalist discourse, 102; Sun Yat-sen on, 14; and the suppression of religion, 235–36; transformation of meaning of, 234; utopianism of, 111
- Datong jun (Army of Great Unity), 106, 107, 112, 235
- daxiang, 167
- Dazu county, 122
- democracy, 172, 191, 193, 196
- Derozio, Henry Vivien, 211
- Derrida, Jacques, 61n, 72–73, 146, 227
- Deutsch, Karl, 9
- Dewey, John, 192, 208
- Dewoskin, Ronald, 45, 46
- Dikötter, Frank, 75
- Dimock, Peter, 29–30
- Ding county, 97, 98
- Ding Ling, 12
- discent*: in anti-Manchu revolutionaries, 75, 121, 145, 235; defined, 66; in the formation of modern nations, 81; in Hindu nationalists, 78; for replacing *fengjian*, 178; *Researches of Manchu Origins* as, 67; and the self-definition of Hakkas, 69
- Discovery of India* (Nehru), 213
- distentio animi*, 28
- Duan Qirui, 198
- Dumont, Louis, 218
- East Asia: Chinese historical claims on Korea, 43; European colonization of, 22; influence of German theorists of the state in, 159; in Japanese colonial ideology, 224–25; and social Darwinism, 21. *See also* China; Japan
- Eastern Europe, subnationalisms in, 16
- Eastern Jin, 39, 41, 43, 46
- eco-feminism, 217n
- Egypt, 40
- Elder Brothers Society. *See* Gelaohui
- elites, village, 166, 168, 220–21, 222
- Elliot, Mark, 68

- Ellis, Richard, 230n.1
- Embree, Ainslee, 61–62
- end of history, 81, 85, 86–95, 110, 230
- Enlightenment History. *See* History, Enlightenment
- environmental movement, 217, 227
- equality, 131, 133
- ethnic division of labor, 231
- Europe: democratic tradition in, 172; East Asia colonized by, 22; Eastern European subnationalisms, 16; feudalism in, 174; and Greece, 40, 172, 174; narratives of history of, 40; resurgent nationalism and European union, 15; Rome, 40, 172; state-building in, 161; as system of competitive states, 70; Western Europe's classical heritage, 40, 172
- evolutionary history, 4, 22
- evolutionism: in the campaigns against religion, 100; culture as opposed to, 205–6; in Hegelian history, 20, 48; in Kang Youwei, 209; in Liang Qichao, 35, 173; and Marx, 24n; Marxism dislodging social Darwinism in China, 101–2; in Tao Chengzhang, 129; in Wang Fuzhi, 75; of Weber, 24. *See also* social Darwinism
- "Examination of the Origins and Spread of Sects and Societies, An" (Tao Chengzhang), 128–33
- exceptionalism, American, 30
- family, the: children, 70; as embodying national morality, 11–12; the nation as a family, 131–32; as in the private sphere, 148
- Fang Cao, 100, 102, 104, 106
- Fang Xiaoru, 60
- fanshen*, 103
- fanzhen*, 180–81, 187
- farmers' movement (India), 217n
- federalism, 177–204; Chen Jiongming's plan for, 196; and *fengjian*, 177; and the provinces, 178–88; Sun Yat-sen's plan for, 197
- federal self-government movement (*liangsheng zizhi*), 179; Chen Duxiu's use of *liangbang* rather than *liangsheng zizhi*, 200; and Chen Jiongming, 195; Communist opposition to, 201, 229; democracy and provincial autonomy as elements of, 193; Marxists' abandonment of, 199; purpose of, 192; Zhang Taiyan's naming of, 187–88
- fei* (bandits), 116, 120
- Fei Shui, battle of, 41
- Fei Xiaotong, 169
- feminism: Indian eco-feminism, 217n; and relativism, 90n; reshaping the representations of the nation, 13
- Feng Guifen, 153, 163
- fengjian* (feudalism), 147–75; and centralism, 177, 229; as condition of civil society in China, 152; in creating a modern nation, 154; and federalism, 177; feudalism in Europe and Japan, 174, 201; genealogy of, 200–201; and *gong*, 154; in the Hunan reforms, 155; Liang Qichao on, 154, 174–75, 200–201; as paternalistic, 156; as space for autonomy from imperial rule, 153; supplanted by statism, 170–73; transformation of meaning of, 186, 234; in Zhao Erxun's reforms, 163, 164
- Fengsu Gaige* (*Reform of Customs*), 100, 104, 109
- Feng Youlan, 209
- Feng Yuxiang, 167
- Feng Ziyou, 134
- feudalism. *See* *fengjian*
- Fincher, John, 60
- Firdawsi, 14
- Fischer, Michael M. J., 14
- Five Barbarians (*wuhu*), 42, 43
- five races of China, 76, 115, 142, 143
- formal rationality, 87
- Forster, E. M., 223
- Foucault, Michel, 71, 79, 233, 234
- Friedman, Edward, 203
- Fujian province, 195–96
- fundamentalists, 88n
- Furth, Charlotte, 207, 208
- Fu Sinian, 37–40
- Gandhi, Mahatma (Mohandas Gandhi), 30n, 78, 206, 213–17, 222–27

- Gelaohui (Elder Brothers Society): as anti-Manchu, 130; in anti-Western outbreaks, 121, 122; celebrations during 1911 revolution, 134, 236; in late nineteenth-century China, 117; in Ping-Liu-Li uprising, 134; reconciliation with the Qing, 118; Tao Chengzhang on, 129; and Zuo Zongtang, 138
- Gellner, Ernest, 52, 54
- geming* (revolution), 126, 134, 146, 234
- Gemingdang, 135
- gender: incorporated in the body politic, 11. *See also* women
- genealogy, 71
- general will, 149, 160
- Ghosh, Aurobindo, 211, 223
- Gneist, Rudolf von, 159
- Gokhale, G. K., 212
- gong*, 150, 154
- Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, 225
- Great Unity. *See* *Datong*
- Great Unity, The* (Kang Youwei), 209
- Greece, 40, 172, 174
- Green Gang (Qingbang), 117, 118
- Grieder, Jerome, 153
- Guandi, 53, 67, 109, 163
- Guangdong province: antisuperstition drive in, 99, 105; federal self-government movement in, 193–204; *Fengsu Gaige*, 100; Ou Oujia's separatist rhetoric, 181–82; provincial constitution, 193; secret societies in, 116; warlords' attempt to dominate, 188
- Guangdong University, 103–4
- Guangfuhui (Restoration Society), 125, 132, 183
- Guangxi province, 116, 194–98
- Gujarat, 222
- Gu Jiegang, 42–44, 47, 49, 92–93, 132
- guo*, 11, 58, 120
- Guptas, 77, 213
- Gu Yanwu, 59, 153, 154, 163
- Habermas, Jürgen, 148–49
- Hakka, 69
- Han: and assimilation in China, 37; compared with Manchus by Wang Fuzhi, 59; exclusivism of, 59; and the five races, 76; Fu Sinian on, 38–39; Guandi, 53, 67, 109, 163; Gu Jiegang on, 42–43; in Han dynasty and Tang dynasty, 39; and Hui Muslims, 65; Lei Haizong on, 41–42; Lu Xun on, 46; and the Manchus, 67–68; Mazu, 53, 67; opposing the imperialists, 15–16; and racism in Republican ideology, 141, 142–44; Republican revolutionaries on, 75; sense of community among, 53; Sun Yat-sen on the Han as the Chinese nation, 32–33, 35; Tao Chengzhang on, 127, 130. *See also* Ming dynasty
- Handelman, Don, 31
- Hay, Stephen, 222
- Heaven and Earth Society (Tiandihui), 117, 118n, 119n.2
- Hebei province: Xingtai county, 162
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich: aporia of flux and eternity in, 29; on China, 18–19, 61; on culmination of unfolding of the Spirit, 18, 54; on History, 17–20, 86–87; on India, 18–19, 61; legacy in Western scholarship, 23; *Philosophy of History*, 17–20, 24; Ricoeur on History of, 101
- Heidegger, Martin, 28
- Henan province, 106
- Herder, Johann Gottfried, 205–6
- Hevia, James, 23
- Hind Swaraj* (Gandhi), 214
- Hinduism: Advaita, 78; *bhakti*, 64, 223; Brahmanism, 61–62, 218, 222; Chattopadhyay on, 211, 212; and Gandhi, 222; Hindu nationalism, 78, 80; Hindutva, 78; and Muslims, 79; Nehru on, 77; nineteenth-century Hindu renaissance, 222; Roy on, 210; Young Bengal movement on, 211
- Hindutva, 78
- Hinton, William, 103
- Hirayama Shū, 125
- historical time, 28, 87
- history: Annales school, 25n, 233; as continuity, 71; culture and territory related to account for, 40; cyclical conceptions of, 28; the end of, 81, 85, 86–95, 110, 230; evolutionary history, 4, 22; and fiction, 72; historical models of political community, 56–61; mock

- history, 45, 47; objectivity, 48; periodization, 33, 34, 35, 37–41; as retrospective reconstruction serving present needs, 51; Subaltern history, 6; and translation, 73. *See also* bifurcation; History, Enlightenment; past, the
- History, Enlightenment (linear History): the aporia of linear history and the politics of nationalism, 27–33; bifurcating linear History in China and India, 51–82; birth of professional History, 21–22; Chinese adoption of, 25–27, 235; Chinese history as, 33–48; and civil society, 152; and Confucianism, 90; critique of through culture, 207; critiques of, 233; evolutionism in, 20, 48; failure to redress the aporia of time, 91; first history of China in the Enlightenment mode, 33, 173; Gandhi's rejection of, 216, 227; Hegel on, 17–20, 86–87; Liang Qichao on nation-state and, 34; as a mode of being, 17, 19–20, 27; the nation in, 4, 16; the nation as subject of, 27, 29; and the nation-state, 17–50, 229; possibility of subject of, 55; progress, 33, 206, 210, 211; Ricoeur on, 101; schemas of, 34; secular History of India, 77; self-consciousness as telos of, 205
- History of America* (Bancroft), 30–31
- Hobsbawm, Eric J., 21
- Hobson, Marian, 72
- hōken*, 201
- homeland, 71
- Hong Bang (Red Gang), 117
- Hong Kong, 203
- Hongmen, 117, 129, 131, 133, 135, 136
- Hongwu emperor, 131
- Hsieh, Winston, 195, 197, 198
- Huang, Martin, 44
- Huang Shaodan, 100, 102, 103
- Huang Zongxi, 59, 153, 154
- Huang Zunxian, 154, 155, 171
- Huaxia, 41, 43
- Huaxinghui, 183
- Hubei province, 188
- Hu Hanmin, 141, 160
- huiguan*, 179, 183
- Hui Muslims, 65, 144, 203
- huitang*. *See* secret societies
- Hunan province, 155, 180, 182, 187, 188–93, 202
- 100 Days Reform, 154, 156, 207
- Hu Shi, 47, 104, 132, 200, 201
- Husserl, Edmund, 72–73
- identity: defined, 7; Manchu identity, 67–69; political identities, 10, 15, 54. *See also* national identity
- imaginary communities, 54n
- imperialism: anti-imperialism, 15, 111, 139, 143, 224; in China, 23, 182, 202, 224; and Christianity, 104; colonialism, 23, 223–24, 227; Liang Qichao on, 171; national independence movements, 27; social Darwinist justification of, 22–23
- India: Akbar, 77, 213; Aryavarta, 62, 63, 71, 78; Asoka, 77, 213; Ayodhya, 78; Bengal Renaissance, 210; Bharatvarsha, 63; bifurcating linear History in, 51–82; British state-building in, 219–20; Buddhism as cause of passivity in, 105; “colonializing of,” 23; colonial representations of, 223; dichotomy of East and West in, 29–30, 78; Gandhi, 30n, 78, 206, 213–17, 222–27; Gujarat, 222; Guptas, 77, 213; Hegel on, 18–19, 61; historical models of political community in, 61–65; the house of Birla, 216; Indian National Congress, 77; in Indo-European tradition, 41; Kang Youwei on, 209; Liang Qichao on, 156; *Mahabharata*, 62; Maratha kingdom, 63–64; Marx on capitalism in, 23; modernity criticized in, 210–15; Moghuls, 77, 213; Muslims in, 79, 80n.13; nation-state development in, 64n; Nehru, 77, 210, 212–13; new social movements, 217; notion of lack of a state in, 61; pan-Hindu model of political community, 64; pilgrimage, 63; Prithvi Raj II, 63; Punjab, 221; *Ramayana*, 62–63, 78, 80, 80n.13; religion and politics in, 218; remaking the people in, 32; representations of the nation in, 77–80; secular History of, 77; separatist movements in, 13; Sikh kingdom, 63–64; Sikh religious revivalism, 221; Sri Partasarati Svami temple

- India (*continued*)
 (Madras), 217–20; Subaltern history, 6; subcontinental empire, 64, 77; Tagore, 77, 206, 208, 216; and theory of segmentary communities, 53; Turkic invasions of, 63; “unity in diversity” rhetoric of, 64, 77; Weber on, 24; Young Bengal movement, 211. *See also* Hinduism
- Indian National Congress, 77
- individualism, methodological, 87
- industrialism, 214
- Iran: Persian language and nationalism in, 14
- Islam. *See* Muslims
- Israel, 31
- Jansen, Marius, 14–15
- Japan: Buddhism in, 105; Chinese ideas on state-building transmitted by way of, 159; colonial ideology of, 224–25; feudalism in, 174, 201; *hōken*, 201; Meiji period, 159–60, 224; and racial/cultural superiority, 22; and pan-Asianism, 14–15; religion in, 221; Tokugawa Shōgunate, 174, 201; Town and Village Decree of 1888, 160n; *toyoshi*, 224; Yuan Shikai’s reforms influenced by, 164–65
- jia*, 11
- Jiangbei uprising, 106, 111, 112
- Jiang Fangjen, 165
- Jiangsu province, 99, 105, 106, 193
- jiaomen*. *See* religious sects
- Jing-Chu, 189
- Jin invasion, 57, 58, 67
- Judge, Joan, 157n
- junxian* system, 153, 154
- Kang Youwei: Confucian culturalist notion of community of, 74; evolutionism of, 209; and the *fengjian* tradition, 154; *The Great Unity*, 209; on Han identity as threat to other groups, 76; idea of progress in, 33; on India, 209; influence on Mao’s understanding of the will, 215; nationalism justified by the great unity for, 13–14; neo-traditional Confucianism of, 208; and the Protect the Emperor Society, 134, 135; and the Qiangxuehui, 157; and the state, 172; support for reform within Confucian imperial tradition, 207; on the world’s races, 209
- Kataoka Kazutada, 142, 143
- Katō Hiroyuki, 171, 173
- Kawashima Naniwa, 165
- Kedourie, Ellie, 51
- khanate of Kokand, 57–58
- kingship: and religion in India, 218; universal in China, 217, 222
- Kipling, Rudyard, 223
- Kokand, khanate of, 57–58
- Kolb, David, 87
- Kong Rong, 46
- Korea: Chinese historical claims on, 43
- Koxinga, 127
- Kuhn, Philip, 26
- Kuomintang (KMT; Nationalist Party): in anti-Christian movement, 103; in campaigns against religion, 98–100; Chiang Kai-shek, 88, 90, 93, 110, 198; commitment to modernity, 108–9; Communists joining, 202; defeat of Army of Great Unity, 106; defeat of Chen Jiongming, 198; federalism opposed by, 229; left wing loses control of, 99, 108; new representation of tradition produced by, 110; Northern Expedition, 203; on science, 93; *xiangzhen* system, 167
- Kuwabara, Jitsuzō, 37–38, 39
- Kwok, Danny, 93
- Laozi, 109
- Laroui, Abdullah, 12
- Larson, Wendy, 11, 12
- late imperial period (China), 25–26
- Lee, Leo Ou-fan, 44
- Lei Haizong, 40–42
- Levenson, Joseph, 30, 56–57, 87–88, 91n, 203
- Levinas, Emmanuel, 19
- lianbang*, 185, 187, 200
- Liang Qichao, 33–36; antimodernism of, 30n; Confucius interpreted by, 171–72; on Eastern civilization’s responsibility to the world, 207–8; evolutionism in, 35, 173; on the *fengjian* tradition, 154, 174–75, 200–201; on History and the

- nation-state, 34; on the Hunan reform movement, 154–56; on imperialism, 171; on independence for Hunan, 180; on India, 156; "On the Evolution of Autocratic Politics," 173; "On the Principle of Succession of Monarchical and Popular Power," 171; and the Qiangxuehui, 157; on race, 49, 74n, 140, 142; and social Darwinism, 182; statist conversion of, 170–74
- liangsheng zizhi*. See federal self-government movement
- Liang Shuming, 168, 206, 208, 209–10, 216, 226
- Li Dajia, 198
- Li Dazhao, 12, 91, 199n.4, 202
- lieshen*, 168
- Li Hongzhang, 181
- Li Jiannong, 194
- lineage (*zongzu*), 75, 76, 79
- linear History. See History, Enlightenment
- Lin Sheng, 198
- Lin Yu-sheng, 217, 218
- Lin Zengping, 118
- Li Shizeng, 99
- little nationalism, 182–83, 189
- Liu, Lydia, 11
- Liu Bang, 126
- Liu Bei, 126
- Liu Kunyi, 181
- Liu Shiwei, 207
- Li Zongyi, 164
- locality, 177, 191
- Locke, John, 149
- Lo Ergang, 119–20, 125
- "Longhuahui, Rules of the" (Tao Chengzhang), 125–28
- Lu Fangshang, 99
- Lu Xun, 44–47, 93, 206; "The Relationship of Letters and Life-style in the Wei-Jin period to Drugs and Alcohol," 44; *The True Story of Ah Q*, 44
- Madras: Sri Partasarati Temple, 218–20
- Ma Fuyi, 134
- Mahabharata*, 62
- Manchu Association, 68
- Manchus: anti-foreign movement becomes anti-Manchu, 123, 123n.4; anti-Manchism of Republican revolutionaries, 116, 144–45; and assimilation in China, 37; Gelaohui opposition to, 130; Manchu identity, 67–69; Manchus as barbarians, 74, 79; Manchus as one of the five races, 76; Manchus compared with Han by Wang Fuzhi, 59; Qianlong emperor, 22, 67, 68; racial vengeance against, 75; and the secret societies, 128; Sun Yat-sen on, 115, 142; Tao Chengzhang on, 127; Wang Jingwei on, 141. See also Qing dynasty
- Mao Zedong: on centralization, 190; Gandhi compared with, 215; on Hunan independence, 189–91; Kang Youwei's influence on, 215; and Sinification of Marxism, 13
- Maratha kingdom, 63–64
- Marx, Karl: on capitalism in India, 23; on destructive side of the Enlightenment, 23–24; racist stereotypes used by, 24n
- Marxism: on feudalism, 201; Gandhi and, 214; Nehru and, 213; Sinification of, 13; and social Darwinism in China, 101–2. See also Chinese Communist Party
- mass-media, 9
- May 4th movement: anti-Christian movement as extension of, 103; demand for a break with the past, 90–91; end of history syndrome in, 85; and Enlightenment History in China, 235; and federalism, 186; on intellectuals and the people, 92; in the modernization of China, 207; totalistic iconoclasm of, 217, 218n, 222
- Mazu, 53, 67
- McKinnon, Stephen, 165
- McNeill, William, 70
- medieval age: in China, 35; in historical periodizations, 34
- Meiji period, 159–60, 224
- Mencius, 126, 127, 128, 209
- methodological individualism, 87
- Mi Digang, 98
- Ming dynasty: and Chinese universalism, 57; demilitarization of the provinces, 180; Hongwu emperor, 131; Manchus as barbarians during, 74; ori-

- Ming dynasty (*continued*)
 gin of secret societies, 116, 138; and the White Lotus, 131; Zhu Yuanzhang, 126, 127
- mining, 122
- Min Tu-ki, 153, 156–57
- minzu*, 36, 36n.10, 76
- “Minzudi Guomin” (Wang Jingwei), 36–37, 140
- Mitani Takashi, 106, 107
- Mizoguchi Yüzō, 153
- mock history, 45, 47
- modernity: changing meaning of the modern, 86; in China, 226; and colonialism, 227; commitment of the state to, 94; Gandhi’s critique of, 213–17, 222, 223, 224; Indian critiques of, 210–17; the modern subject, 87, 90n; National Essence school’s critique of, 207; Nationalist commitment to in China, 108–9; neo-traditional Confucian critique of, 208–9; realized by the nation-state, 20; and religion, 221; self-consciousness as essence of, 233; and traditional culture, 29–30, 49, 88–90, 111; as unique type of subjectivity, 55n
- modernization: agenda of the Chinese government, 96; in Chinese history, 206–7; in rural China, 165–69; Yuan Shikai’s program, 96–97, 163–66, 221; Zhao Erxun’s reforms, 163–64, 165, 166
- modern period: in China, 35, 38; in historical periodizations, 34
- Mongol dynasty: Fang Xiaoru’s opposition to, 60; origin of secret societies, 116
- Mongolia, independence of, 76, 142, 143
- Mongol invasion, 57
- Mongols: as Buddhists, 105; driven out by the Ming, 131; as one of the five races, 76
- Montesquieu, 149
- Mughals, 77, 213
- Muslims: and Hindus in India, 79; Hui Muslims, 65, 144, 203; as minority in India, 80n.13; as one of the five races in China, 76
- Mutahhari, Murtada, 14
- Najita, Tetsuo, 201
- Nandy, Ashish, 213, 222, 223
- Nanxuehui (Southern Academy), 154, 155, 157
- nation, the: and class, 12–13; as contested phenomenon, 3, 4; defining, 3–4; in Enlightenment History, 4, 16; as a family, 131–32; formation of the modern nation, 81; Gandhi on, 216, 227; gender roles incorporated in body politic, 11; nationalism as the site where representations of the nation contest, 8, 230; and the nation-state, 27, 29, 70–71, 229; nation-views, 10–11, 13, 15; and the people, 31–32, 91–92; problematized by the rejection of the past, 91; and race, 21–23, 36–37, 76–77; representations of in China, 74–77; representations of in India, 77–80; as representing a radical discontinuity with the past, 51; as the subject of History, 27, 29; Wang Jingwei’s definition of, 36. *See also* nation-state
- National Buddhist Association (China), 105
- National Essence school, 132, 207, 208
- national identity: instability of, 13; in network of representations, 7; and the past and modern nation-state system, 71; in premodern times, 54
- nationalism: and anti-imperialism, 111; the aporia of linear history and the politics of, 27–33; and culturalism, 56–58, 87–88; debunking nationalist histories, 51; defining, 3; in Enlightenment History, 4; of Gandhi, 224; great and petty, 35; Hindu nationalism, 78, 80, 80n.13; little nationalisms, 182–83, 189; and mass-media, 9; modern nationalism in the world systems of nation-states, 8; National Essence school in China, 132, 207, 208; as not representing a unitary consciousness, 7–16; as outcome of historical evolution, 171; and political identities, 10; and political science in America, 159; and provincial identity, 178; as radically novel mode of consciousness, 51–53; as a relational identity, 15; as the site where

- representations of the nation contest, 8; transnational vision of, 13–15
- Nationalist Party. *See* Kuomintang
- nation-state: alternative conceptions of community as threat to, 230–31; and capitalism, 8–9, 231–32; and civil society, 147–75; defining, 3; development in India, 64n; in Enlightenment History, 4, 17–50; Gandhi on the modern state, 214; Liang Qichao on History and, 34; mass-media used by, 9; modernity realized by, 20; modern world system of, 8, 56, 69–81; and the nation, 27, 29, 70–71, 229; as only legitimate form of polity, 69; as possessing self-consciousness, 54; as the producer of culture, 52; religion and the state, 226; territorial boundaries, 70, 71; territorial sovereignty, 70, 81. *See also* nation, the; state-building
- nation-views, 10–11; multiplicity of, 15; new nation-views, 13
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 77, 210, 212–13
- Nehru, Motilal, 212
- neo-traditional Confucianism, 208
- New Armies, 134
- New Guangdong*, 181
- New Hunan*, 181, 183
- New Life movement, 88, 90, 110
- New Policy reforms. *See* *xinzheng* reforms
- nihilism, 90n
- Niranjana, Tejaswini, 73, 75
- Northern Expedition, 203
- novels, popular, 150
- Novick, Peter, 22
- Oath of the Peach Garden, 133
- objectivity, 48
- Okakura Tenshin, 224
- “On the Evolution of Autocratic Politics” (Liang Qichao), 173
- “On the Principle of Succession of Monarchical and Popular Power” (Liang Qichao), 171
- Opium War, 206
- Other, the: in campaigns against religion in China, 103, 105; and community closure, 65, 66; domination of, 55; and formation of the modern nation, 81; and History, 19; national self defined in terms of, 15; sense of in the Han, 53; and the totalizing concept of society in the *Ramayana*, 63
- Ou Oujia, 181–83, 189
- Overseas Chinese, 135–36, 232
- Pacific century, 17, 50
- paleonyms, 146
- pan-Asianism, 14–15, 208
- pan-Hindu model of political community, 64
- Parsons, Talcott, 24–25
- past, the: break with the past demanded by May 4th movement, 90–91; the nation as representing a radical discontinuity with, 51; reality of, 72; Sun Yat-sen on, 91; transactions with the present, 76, 101; transmission of, 71–73, 79–81
- patriotism: Chen Duxiu on, 91; Confucian patriotism, 60n
- “Patriotism and Self-consciousness” (Chen Duxiu), 91
- Peng Pai, 199
- people, the: Confucius on the people as emperors, 126, 127, 128; making the people for the end of history, 90–95; and the nation, 31–32, 91–92; remaking of, 32, 111; remaking the people in the campaigns against religion, 95; Sun Yat-sen on, 32–33
- periodization, 33; of Chinese history, 34, 35, 37–41
- Philosophy of History* (Hegel), 17–20, 24
- pilgrimage, 63
- Ping-Liu-Li uprising, 134
- Plaks, Andrew, 120n
- police, 165
- political community: closure in, 65–69; historical models of, 56–65; pan-Hindu model of, 64; religion and race as defining in India and China, 80; representations of in modern nations, 81; visions of Indian and Chinese elites, 217
- political identities: and nationalism, 10; as problematic, 54; shifts between different loci, 15

- politics: the aporia of linear history and the politics of nationalism, 27–33; and culture in India, 212, 213, 214; parliamentary representation, 214; and religion in China and India, 218, 220
- Pollock, Sheldon, 62–63
- Pong, David, 60n
- popular novels, 150
- popular sovereignty, 187
- postcolonialism, 6, 49, 217n, 233
- postmodernism, 49
- poststructuralism, 233
- premodern society, 52, 88
- Price, Donald, 75
- print capitalism, 52, 53
- printing press, 150
- Prithvi Raj II, 63
- progress, 33, 206, 210, 211
- “Proposal for the ‘Revolutionary Government of Hunan’ to Convene a ‘Hunan People’s Convention’ to Enact a ‘Hunan Constitution’ in Order to Establish a ‘New Hunan,’” 190
- Protect the Emperor Society, 74, 134, 135
- provinces, the (China), 177–204; Anhui, 99, 106; *bang*, 179; constitutions established during Republican revolution, 184, 193; demilitarization in Qing dynasty, 180–81; and the federated union, 178–88; Fujian, 195–96; Guangxi, 116, 194–98; Hebei, 162; Henan, 106; Hubei, 188; *huiguan*, 179, 183; Hunan, 155, 180, 182, 187, 188–93, 202; Jiangsu, 99, 105, 106, 193; politicization of, 183; provincial associations, 179; provincial autonomy as heterodox, 185; Shandong, 97, 106, 165, 184, 193, 221; Shanxi, 163, 167; social Darwinism and provincial autonomy, 182, 184, 229–230; *tongxianghui*, 179, 183, 188; Zhejiang, 99, 125, 188, 193, 202; Zhili, 97, 98, 164, 165–66, 221. *See also* Guangdong province; Sichuan province
- public opinion, 157, 185
- public sphere, 148–49, 150, 161
- Punjab, 221
- Pusey, James, 101
- Pyle, Kenneth B., 160n
- Qiangxuehui, 157
- Qianlong emperor, 22, 67, 68
- qiming xuezhe*, 92
- Qin, 38, 43
- Qingbang (Green Gang), 117, 118
- Qing dynasty: and anti-Christian movement, 123; ban on secret societies, 117; civil society in, 149–52; demilitarization of the provinces, 180–81; ethnocentric opposition to rule of, 59; *fengjian* ideas in, 153; Kokand challenge to, 57–58; the 100 Days Reform, 154, 156, 207; and the Manchus, 67; minority communities in, 76; modernization by, 96; Qianlong emperor, 22, 67, 68; support for Boxer Rebellion sought from, 68; *xinzheng* reforms, 150, 160–61, 163–66. *See also* Manchus
- qingyi*, 186
- Qi Sihe, 143–44
- Qiu Jin, 125
- qu*, 165, 167
- race: in Chinese discourse on eugenics, 80n.14; and culturalism, 60–61; defined, 21n.3; five races of China, 76, 115, 142, 143; Kang Youwei on the world’s races, 209; and lineage, 76, 79; and Manchu identity, 67–68; Marx’s use of racist stereotypes, 24n; *minzu*, 36, 36n.10, 76; and nations, 21–23, 36–37, 76–77; Republican revolutionaries’ views, 75–76, 132; secret societies’ racism, 116, 140, 141–42, 143; and social Darwinist ideology, 20–21, 79, 139–44; in Tao Chengzhang, 127; Wang Jingwei on race and nation, 36–37, 140–41, 142; *zhongzu*, 35, 76; *zu*, 75, 79, 234
- Rama, birthplace of, 78
- Ramarajya*, 214–15, 233
- Ramayana*, 62–63, 78, 80, 80n.13
- Rankin, Mary B., 125–26, 150, 151, 154
- rationality, formal and substantive, 87
- Rawski, Evelyn, 26
- rebellion (*zaofan*), 126
- Red Gang (Hong Bang), 117
- Red Spears, 98, 106, 110, 162

- Red Turbans, 129
- Reform of Customs (Fengsu Gaige)*, 100, 104, 109
- "Relationship of Letters and Life-style in the Wei-Jin period to Drugs and Alcohol, The" (Lu Xun), 44
- religion: Buddha, 109; Buddhism, 104–6, 131; and civil society, 226; Daoism, 109; fundamentalists, 88n; Guandi, 53, 67, 109, 163; Laozi, 109; Mazu, 53, 67; and modernity, 221; National Buddhist Association, 105; pilgrimage in India, 63; and politics in China and India, 218, 220; resurgence in post-Mao China, 112, 221; in rural China, 95, 162–63; Sikh revivalism, 221; and the state, 226; and superstition, 99, 107, 108, 221; Tudigong, 163. *See also* campaigns against religion; Christianity; Confucianism; Hinduism; Muslims; religious sects; temples
- religious sects (*jiaomen*), 116; opposition to Yuan reforms, 98; Red Spears, 98, 106, 110, 162; as religious associations, 163; resistance to campaigns against religion, 106–7; secret societies compared with, 145; Small Sword Society, 98, 106–7, 110, 222; White Lotus, 98, 129, 130, 131. *See also* secret societies
- ren*, 119, 209, 215
- Renaissance, 34
- Renan, Joseph Ernest, 3
- renxia*, 117
- renyi*, 120
- representation, parliamentary, 214
- Republican period: civil society in, 149–52; federalism and centralism in, 177–204; flag of the Republic, 142; modernization agenda during, 96; secret societies during, 118
- Republican Revolution (1911), 115–45; anti-Manchuism of revolutionaries, 116; Gelaohui celebrations in Sichuan, 134, 236; massacre of Manchus during, 68; provinces establish constitutions during, 184, 193; racist views of revolutionaries, 75–76, 132, 141; and the secret societies, 125, 133–35, 144–45, 235
- Researches of Manchu Origins*, 67
- Restoration Society (Guangfuhui), 125, 132, 183
- revolution (*geming*), 126, 134, 146, 234. *See also* Republican Revolution
- Ricoeur, Paul: on Hegel's History, 101; on historical time, 28, 29; on history and narrative, 25n, 72; and Husserl's concept of phenomenological time, 73n; on the power of narrative to symbolize, 39; sign-effects, 72, 73
- Rodgers, Daniel, 158–59
- Roman Catholic Church, 70, 122, 226
- Romance of the Three Kingdoms, The (Sanguo Yanyi)*, 117, 119, 133
- romanticism, 214, 216
- Rome, 40, 172
- Ropp, Paul, 150
- Roth, Guenther, 24
- Rowe, William, 150
- Roy, Ram Mohun, 210
- Rudolph, Lloyd I., 64, 77
- Rudolph, Susanne H., 64, 77
- "Rules of the Longhuahui" (Tao Chengzhang), 125–28
- Rulin Waishi (Wu Jongzi)*, 150
- rural China: associational life in, 161–62; *daxiang*, 167; effect of campaigns against religion, 111; *lieshen*, 168; modernization in, 165–69; *qu*, 165, 167; religion in, 95, 162–63; resistance to campaigns against religion, 106; rural reconstruction institutes, 209; *tuhao*, 168; village elites, 166, 168, 220–21, 222; *xiang*, 167; *xiangshe*, 163–64; *xiangzhen*, 167
- rural reconstruction institutes, 209
- Russell, Bertrand, 208
- Sakai Tadao, 109, 120, 130
- Sandianhui (Three Dots Society), 117, 129
- Sanguo Yanyi (The Romance of the Three Kingdoms)*, 117, 119, 133
- Sanhehui (Three Harmonies Society), 117
- Sasagawa Yūji, 191
- Schluchter, Wolfgang, 24
- Schneider, Lawrence, 42, 43, 92–93
- Scholars, The (Wu Jingzi)*, 150
- Schoppa, Keith, 178

- Schram, Stuart, 189–90
 Schwarcz, Vera, 92
 Schwartz, Benjamin, 207
 scientism, 86, 93
 Scott, Joan, 90n
 secret societies (*huitang*): attacks on
 Christianity, 121–23; Boxers, 129; and
 Confucianism, 124–25; fictive brother-
 hood of, 132, 145; founding by Ming
 loyalists, 116, 138; goals of, 118;
 Heaven and Earth Society, 117, 118n,
 119n.2; Hongmen, 117, 129, 131, 133,
 135, 136; ideology of, 119; Kuomin-
 tang opposition to, 110; in late nine-
 teenth-century China, 116–21; and the
 Manchus, 128; oath of, 133; Qing dy-
 nasty ban on, 117; racism of, 116, 140,
 141–42, 143, 145; Red Gang, 117; Red
 Turbans, 129; as religious association,
 163; religious sects compared with,
 145; and the Republican revolution,
 125, 133–35, 144–45, 235; Restoration
 Society, 125, 132, 183; revolutionary
 narratives of, 125–33; rituals of, 117,
 132; social composition of, 117–19;
 and Sun Yat-sen, 129, 135–39, 145;
 Tao Chengzhang on, 129–33; in the
 Ten Great Uprisings, 136; Three Dots
 Society, 117, 129; Three Harmonies So-
 ciety, 117; Triads, 117, 129, 144. *See*
 also Gelaohui; religious sects
 sects, religious. *See* religious sects
 self-consciousness: Chen Duxiu on, 91;
 and the end of history, 86–95, 230; as
 essence of modernity, 233; as the telos
 of History, 205
 self-strengthening movement, 206, 208
 Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, 45
 Shamgar-Hamilton, Lea, 31
 Shandong province, 97, 106, 165, 184,
 193, 221
 Shang, 41
 Shanxi province, 163, 167
 Shuihuzhuan (*The Water Margin*), 117,
 119, 119n.2, 129, 133
 Sichuan province: alliance with Hunan,
 187; anti-Christian outbreaks, 121, 122;
 Dazu county, 122; provincial constitu-
 tion, 193; secret society celebrations
 during 1911 revolution, 134, 236; se-
 cret society membership in, 118; Yun-
 nan militarists attempt to dominate,
 188
 sign-effect, 72, 73
 Sikh kingdom, 63–64
 Sikh religious revivalism, 221
 Sinicization, 58n
 Small Sword Society, 98, 106–7, 110, 222
 Smith, Arthur, 21, 21n.3
 Snyder, Louis, 3
 social Darwinism: in the Chinese intelli-
 gentsia, 48; and Confucianism, 90;
 and imperialism, 22–23; and Marxism
 in China, 101–2; and the nation-state,
 70; and provincial autonomy, 182,
 184, 229–30; racialism of, 20–21, 79,
 139–44; in Tao Chengzhang, 129; *tao-
 tai*, 129; in Wang Jingwei, 36, 37
 society, civil. *See* civil society
 Song dynasty: and barbarian invasions,
 131; ethnocentrism of, 59
 Song Jiaoren, 75
 Southern Academy (Nanxuehui), 154,
 155, 157
 sovereignty: popular, 187; territorial, 70,
 81
 Spivak, Gayatri, 47
 Sri Partasarati Svami temple (Madras),
 217–20
 “Standards for Preserving and Abandon-
 ing Gods and Shrines,” 108, 109
 state. *See* nation-state
 state-building: by the British in India,
 219–20; and civil society, 160–70; in
 China, 159, 161; defined, 161; in late
 nineteenth and early twentieth centu-
 ries, 158–59
 Stocking, George W., 20, 205
 Strand, David, 150, 151, 173
 study societies, 157; Southern Academy,
 154, 155, 157
 Subaltern history, 6
 subcontinental empire, 64, 77
 Subei, 69
 subethnic groups, 69
 subjectivity: modern, 54, 87, 111; uni-
 fied, 55
 substantive rationality, 87
 Sun Yat-sen: and Chen Jiongming,
 193–94, 195, 197–200; culturalist view

- adopted by, 76; on *Datong*, 14; on emancipatory power of modern political technology, 94; federalist plan of, 197; on the five major races, 142, 143; Gemingdang organized by, 135; on the Han as the Chinese nation, 32–33, 35; on the Manchus, 115, 142; and pan-Asianism, 15, 208; on the past, 91; on the people, 32–33; on religion, 99, 100–101; and the secret societies, 129, 135–39, 145; and Tao Chengzhang, 125; “Third Lecture on Nationalism of the Three People’s Principles,” 137; Three People’s Principles, 91, 100, 101, 106; uniting the Han and the minorities against the imperialists, 15–16; Wang Jingwei’s influence on, 140; Xingzhonghui, 134, 183
 superstition, 99, 107, 108, 221
 supplement, the, 61, 230
 Suqian, 106
swaraj, 226
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 77, 206, 208, 216
 Taiping Rebellion, 68, 69, 116, 118, 179
Taiping Yang (journal), 186
 Taiwan: aspirations for independence, 203; popular religion in, 221; religion of Yellow Emperor established in, 76
 Tanaka, Stefan, 224
 Tang Caichang, 134
 Tang Dezhang, 187
 Tang dynasty, 187
 Tang Xiaobing, 30, 173
 Tanka boat people, 69
tankuan taxes, 166, 167
 Tan Sitong, 182
 Tan Yankai, 188–89, 191
 Tao Chengzhang: on barbarians, 130–31; and Confucianism, 128–29, 131; evolutionism in, 129; “An Examination of the Origins and Spread of Sects and Societies,” 128–33; on the Gelaohui, 129; on the Han, 127, 130; on the Manchus, 127; “Rules for the Longhua-hui,” 125–28; on secret societies, 129–33; social Darwinism in, 129; and Sun Yat-sen, 125; and Wang Jingwei, 140, 141; and Zhang Taiyan, 125
 Tao Siju, 144
taotai, 129
 Tao Xingzhi, 226
 Taylor, Charles, 149, 160, 170
 temple associations, 162
 temples: appropriated during campaigns against religion, 96, 97; in post-Mao religious revival, 112; Sri Partasarati Svami temple, 217–20; temple associations in China, 162; in Yuan Shikai’s reforms, 166
 Ten Great Uprisings, 136
 territorial boundaries, 70, 71
 territorial sovereignty, 70, 81
 Tessan Hiroshi, 121, 123nn. 3, 4
 “Third Lecture on Nationalism of the Three People’s Principles” (Sun Yat-sen), 137
 Thompson, Roger, 163, 164
 Three Dots Society (Sandianhui), 117, 129
 Three Harmonies Society (Sanhehui), 117
 Three People’s Principles, 91, 100, 101, 106
 Tiandihui (Heaven and Earth Society), 117, 118n, 119n.2
 Tianjin, 165
 Tibet: during Republican Revolution, 76; secessionist movement in, 142; Tibetans as one of the five races, 76
 Tilak, B. G., 212
 time, historical, 28, 87
ti-yong thinking, 29, 206, 208
 Tokugawa Shōgunate, 174, 201
tonghua (assimilate), 36–37, 49, 59
 Tongmenghui, 134, 135, 143
tongxianghui, 179, 183, 188
 Town and Village Decree (1888), 160
tōyōshi, 224
 traces, 72, 73, 234
 tradition, 29–30, 49, 88–90, 110, 111
 translation, 73, 75
 transmission of the past, 71–73, 79–81
 Trauzettel, Rolf, 59
 Triads, 117, 129, 144
 tribute trade system, 57–58
True Story of Ah Q, The (Lu Xun), 44
 Tudigong, 163
tuhao, 168
 Turkic invasions of India, 63

- United States of America. *See* America
 "unity in diversity," 64, 77
 universalism: Brahmanic, 61–62, 77–78;
 Confucian, 57, 67; cultural in China,
 57–58, 62; in discourse on culture, 233
 universal kingship, 217, 222
- village elites, 166, 168, 220–21, 222
 Vivekananda, Swami, 211
Volkgeist, 205
- Wagle, N. K., 64
 Wakeman, Frederic, 26, 156, 215
 Wallerstein, Immanuel, 8
 Wang Fuzhi, 59, 75, 182
 Wang Jingwei: antireligious movement
 supported by, 99; on assimilation, 36,
 49; on centralism, 182; on the Man-
 chus, 141; "Minzudi Guomin," 36–37,
 140; on race and nation, 36–37,
 140–41, 142; reformulation of the old
 ethnocentrism, 74; social Darwinism
 in, 36, 37; on the spirit of China's
 moral law, 160; Sun Yat-sen influ-
 enced by, 140; and Tao Chengzhang,
 140, 141
 Wang Tianjiang, 120
 warlords, 166, 173, 186, 187, 198, 202
 Warring States period, 74, 187
Water Margin, The (Shuihuzhuan), 117,
 119, 119n.2, 129, 133
 Weber, Max, 24–25, 87
 Wei-Jin period, 38, 44–45, 47
 Western Europe, 40
 Western Jin, 38, 130
 "What Is a Nation?" (Snyder), 3
 White Lotus, 98, 129, 130, 131
 Wildavsky, Aaron, 230n.1
 will, the, 215; general will, 149, 160
 Wo Fang, 109
 women: in ethnic division of labor, 231;
 excluded from public sphere, 148; and
 the family, 11–12; in new social move-
 ments in India, 217n; rejecting nation-
 alist representations of, 11; Roy on sta-
 tus of, 210. *See also* feminism
- Wu, 74
wuhu (Five Barbarians), 42, 43
 Wu Jingzi, 150
 Wu Peifu, 198
 Wu Tingfang, 194
 Wu Tingxie, 163
 Wyman, Judy, 122
- xiang*, 167
xiangshe, 163–64
xiangzhen, 167
 Xiao Hong, 11
 Xiao Yishan, 125
 Xingtai county (Hebei), 162
 Xingzhonghui, 134, 183
 Xinjiang, 76
xinzheng reforms: official status given to
 associations, 150; as state-building,
 160–61; two models of modernization
 during, 163–66
 Xu Xilin, 125
- Yan, Jimmy, 226
 Yan Fu, 140, 172, 182
 Yang Duanliu, 186
 Yang Shouren, 181, 182, 189
 Yan Xishan, 167
 Yellow Emperor, 75, 76, 132
 "Yellow Peril," 21
yi, 119, 120–21, 133, 146
 Yokoyama Hiroaki, 135
 Young, Ernest, 96
 Young, Robert, 19
 Young Bengal movement, 211
 Yuan Shikai: Chen Jiongming's cam-
 paign against, 195; federalist opposi-
 tion to, 184; implementation of Japa-
 nese-influenced state-building goals,
 159, 160n; modernizing reforms of,
 96–97, 163, 164–66, 221; and regional
 autonomy, 181
 Yu Dongchen, 122, 123–24
 Yue Fei, 127
 Yuval-Davis, Nira, 11
- Zailijiao, 129
zaofan (rebellion), 126
 Zeng Guofan, 118
 Zeng Jue, 86, 100–101, 105
 Zhaicheng village (Zhili), 98
 Zhang Binglin, 207. *See also* Zhang
 Taiyan
 Zhang Jingyao, 188

- Zhang Shizhao (Zhang Qiutong), 184–86, 187
- Zhang Taiyan: anti-Manchism of, 74–75; on defense of the Han as criterion of a good ruler, 59; on the *fanzhen* system, 180–81; and the federal self-government movement, 187–88; modern and seventeenth-century influences on, 78–79; and the National Essence school, 132; opinion on Hunan constitution solicited, 192; progress denied by, 206; on racially pure nations, 142; on Sun Yat-sen's federalism, 197; and Tao Chengzhang, 125. *See also* Zhang Binglin
- Zhang Xin, 167n.6
- Zhang Zhidong, 181
- Zhao Erxun, 163–64, 165, 166
- Zhao Hengti, 191, 192, 193, 199
- Zhejiang province, 99, 125, 188, 193, 202
- Zhenjiang, 68
- Zhigongtang, 135
- zhiguai, 45
- Zhili province, 97, 98, 164, 165–66, 221
- zhishi fenzi, 92
- zhong, 119, 120
- zhongyi, 120
- zhongyuan, 71
- zhongzu, 35, 76
- Zhou, 41
- Zhuang Cheng, 137n.11
- Zhu Yuanzhang, 126, 127
- zizhi, 234. *See also* federal self-government movement
- zongzu (lineage), 75, 76, 79
- Zou Lu, 99
- Zou Rong, 75, 141
- zu, 75, 79, 234
- Zuozhuan, 58
- Zuo Zongtang, 118, 138