

Collaborative Translation of Buddhist Scriptures in China

from the 2nd to the 4th Centuries

A Historical Perspective Based on Buddhist Biographies and Catalogs

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Abbreviations

Anlu — 安錄 (*, a.k.a., 綜理眾經目錄 [*Comprehensive Catalog of Scriptures*])*

Aṣṭa — *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*

B — *Dazangjing bubian* 大藏經補編 [*Supplement to the Dazangjing*], ed. J, Lan, Taipei, 1985.

BSJ — *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經

CSZJJ — T 2145 *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 [*A Compilation of Notes on the Translation. of the Tripitaka*]

DTNDL — T 2149 *Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 [*Catalogue of Buddhist Works in the. Great Tang*]

DXJ — *Daoxing jing* 道行經

DZJBL — 敦煌《眾經別錄》[Dunhuang's *Zhongjing bielu*, a.k.a., S.2872 and P.3747]

Fajing lu — T 2146, Chi.法經錄, the *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 composed by Fajing 法經 et al. during the Sui Dynasty

FJJ — T 210 *Faju jing* 法句經

GSZ — T 2059 *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 [*Biographies of Eminent Monks*]

KYSJL — T 2154 *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 [*Record of Śākyamuni's Teachings*]

LBSSJ — *Liaoben shengsi jing* 了本生死經 (Skt. *Śāli-stamba-sūtra*).

LDSBJ — T 2034 *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 [*Records of the Three Treasures Throughout. the Successive Dynasties*]

P. — Pelliot number of Dunhuang manuscript held in the Bibliothèque nationale de. France.

Prati — *Pratyutpannabuddha-saṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra*

Preface to HFGL — *He fangguang fuangzan lüejie xu* 合放光光讚略解序 (the *Preface to the Concise Synoptic Explanation of the Fangguang and the Gangzan*)

Preface to MBBJC — *Mohe boluore boluomi jing chao xu* 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序 [the *Preface to a Collation of (the Translation of) Extracts from the*

Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra]

S. — Stein number of Dunhuang manuscripts held in the British Library.

SLY — *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 [*Sūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra*]

SYJ — *Shi'er yinyuan jing* 十二因緣經 [*Dvādaśaṅga-pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*]

T — *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, Tōkyō, 1924 –1934.

X — *Manji shinsan dainihon zokuzōkyō* 新新纂大日本續藏經, ed. T. Kawamura, Tōkyō, 1975 – 1989.

XAZZL — *Xinji angong zhujing ji zajingzhi lu* 新集安公注經及雜經志錄 [*New Collection of Annotated Scriptures by Master An and Record of Miscellaneous Treatises*]

XTJ — *Xuzhen tianzi jing* 須真天子經 [*Suvikrāntacintā-devaputra-pariprcchā*]

XXSZ — *Xinji xuzhuan shiyi zajinglu* 新集續撰失譯雜經錄 [*Catalog of Newly Continued Compilation of Anonymous and Miscellaneous Scriptures*]

XZJ — T 73 *Xuda zhangzhe jing* 須達長者經 [*Anāthapiṇḍada-sūtra*]

YCJL — *Yichu jinglu* 異出經錄 [*Catalog of Different Translations of the Same. Scripture*]

Youlu — 祐錄 (*Sengyou's Catalog*, a.k.a., 新集撰出經律論錄 [*Newly Compiled Catalog of Issued Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma*])

Chi. — Chinese

Eng. — English

Skt. — Sanskrit

Chapter 1 Introduction

Translation is a *sine qua non* in any trans-/ intercultural exchanges¹ and its significance cannot be emphasized enough, particularly because it has “played a major role in human history from the earliest times” (Bermann and Porter 2014: 1). Without translators as intermediaries, the ideas and thoughts from a foreign civilization cannot be comprehended and would be no better than “cries of birds (όμοίώς ὄρνισι φθέγγεσθαι)”, as Herodotus puts it².

However, the toil of the translators and the accompanying translation process, filled with power imbalances, trials and errors, and repeated modifications, are understudied when investigating Buddhist translations in China. Scholars easily comment on the mistakes and errors made by early translators, often concluding that the “mistakes” in translations were largely due to their linguistic incompetence. Philological comparisons between the quasi-source text and the target text can attribute to the identification of a specific translator, crediting him with certain translations that were historically and traditionally accredited to other translators wrongly.

This is, of course, very important and insightful, especially given the fact that without such a comparison, the translation quality cannot be assessed, and the translation loss will not be identified (Venuti 2013: 110). Nevertheless, the translators and the translation process in historical materials are usually less studied in contrast to the comparatively well-examined translated texts. It is, therefore, the aim of this dissertation to analyze, in a case study format, the cultural and social contexts in which specific translators carried out their translations in collaboration with their assistants. The study focuses on collaborations between the 2nd to the 4th centuries, which is the formative era prior to the larger Buddhist translation projects that started since the fifth

¹ According to Cheung (2014, especially pp. 179–181), a distinction exists between cross-cultural and intercultural—while the former denotes a movement, it “not necessarily involves contact”, emphasizing equivalence. The latter underlies contact and interaction, highlighting “the very special kind of complex communication that translation is” (Cheung 2014). Additionally, Schögler (2022: 29) proposes that, in contrast with “inter-”, “trans-” “transcends binaries” and does not “designate transfer taking place between separate entities but rather emphasizes intricacies and transformations from within”.

² See both the Greek original and English translation in Godley (1975: 344–345). See Rawlinson’s *The History of Herodotus* for another translation (1936: 142).

century.

This chapter, serving as an introduction, will be divided into five sections. First, I will explore some difficulties encountered by translators that could have been overlooked by Buddhist scholars. Simultaneously, I will introduce the widely accepted definitions of translation in Translation Studies (TS), regarding them as the starting point for further reflection. In the second section, I will delve into the translation history as a sub-branch in TS, emphasizing historical methodologies such as micro-historical and histoire-croisée approaches. Through these perspectives, I will analyze historical materials, specifically biographies and prefaces. On a broader timescale (*longue-durée*), a chronological study of translation history could aid in redemarcating periodizations. The third section will revisit the concepts of “translate” and “translator”, examining the current concept of “multiple translatorship”. I will argue that contextualized research based on Buddhist translation can expand the denotational range of these terms. The fourth section will concentrate on the translation process, asserting that the Buddhist translation process is atypical compared to current TS as it constitutes a linear-cyclical process. Lastly, I will provide a general outline of the dissertation’s content.

1.1 The Difficulties of Translators and the Increasing Recognition of Translators in TS

In this section, I will discuss the linguistic and cultural challenges faced by translators, which have long been taken for granted by scholars, as well as how the field of TS has historically overlooked the contributions of translators. Additionally, I will briefly explore the emerging trend of increasing recognition and research focus on translators.

1.1.1 The Difficulties met by Translators and the Linguistical Focus in TS

In a letter dated 1530, Martin Luther commented on the arduous nature of translators’ work, a sentiment that resonates with the challenges inherent in the translation process:

Dear friend — now that it's translated (into German) and ready, anyone can read and comprehend it. Someone now runs their eyes through three, four pages and does not stumble once, yet one does not notice the boulders and blocks that were once there, where now one smoothly passes over as if on a planed board. We had to sweat and distress ourselves before we cleared such obstacles from the path so that one could walk so smoothly. It is good to plow when the field is cleared. But to clear the forest and the stumps, and prepare the field — no one wants to approach that.³ (Bischoff's ed., 1965: 14)

The arduous efforts of translators are often neglected and downplayed, and critics only make a fuss (“machen viel Wesen”) when they find mistakes, as noted by Nossack (1965: 11). Therefore, when scholars define translation and the translation process⁴, translators are either not included in the definitions or are perceived solely as linguistic converters.

Reiß (1986: 11) suggests, for example, that “every translation process is a bipolar procedure fulfilled in the creation of a target language text while constantly referring back to a source language text⁵”. Translators are those who “strive to find optimal equivalences in the target language and consistently orient themselves to the source language text to ensure the adequacy of these equivalences⁶”. In other words, translators are not emphasized in terms of their subjective initiative and creativity but are regarded as transmitter through whom equivalences between the source text (ST) and target text (TT) are managed to correspond with each other.

Likewise, Koller (2004: 12) defines TS as “the research of translating and of translations [die Wissenschaft vom Übersetzen und von den Übersetzungen]” and further construes translation process as “the process that leads from a written source-

³ This is my translation. The original paragraph is “Lieber — nun es verdeutscht und bereit ist, kann's ein jeder lesen und meistern. Es läuft jetzt einer mit den Augen durch drei, vier Blätter und stößt nicht einmal an, wird aber nicht gewahr, welche Wacken und Klötzte da gelegen sind, wo er jetzt drüber hingehet wie über ein gehobelt Brett, wo wir haben müssen schwitzen und uns ängsten, ehe denn wir solche Wacken und Klötzte aus dem Wege räumeten, auf daß man könnte so fein dahergehen. Es ist gut pflügen, wenn der Acker gereinigt ist. Aber den Wald und die Stubben ausroden und den Acker zurichten, da will niemand heran.”

⁴ There are indeed many definitions of translation in TS, which are “as vex[ing] as abundant” (Alevato do Amaral 2019: 240). Here I mainly focus on the definitions before the culture turn, when TS was dominated mainly by linguistic views.

⁵ “Jeder Übersetzungsprozeß ist ein bipolarer Vorgang, der sich in der Gestaltung eines Zielsprachlichen Textes unter ständiger Rückbindung an einen ausgangssprachlichen Text erfüllt“.

⁶ “sich ständig bemühen, optimale Äquivalenzen in der Zielsprache zu finden und sich ebenso konsequent am ausgangssprachlichen Text orientieren, um sich der Adäquatheit dieser Äquivalenzen zu versichern“.

language text (SL-Text) to a written target-language text (TL-Text)⁷”. Toury, also formulates that translation is “regarded as any target-culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture and language, from which it was presumably derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by certain relationships, some of which may be regarded within that culture as necessary and/or sufficient” (1995: 35). Often now and then in current studies, this entrenched notion remains. For example, Muni Toke (2015: 195) defines translation as “a linguistic operation that functions between languages or language varieties that are perceived as different”. This kind of understanding translation was popular before the cultural and sociological turn⁸ in TS where emphasis was given priority to semantic and linguistic features of translation. Kaindl poignantly points out that translators were “being left out of theory formation” and that either the theory or definition “completely omits the human factor” or the translator is merely “acknowledged as an etiological factor” (2021: 3–4).

However, translators should not be neglected, and their significance should not be downplayed. This is especially true if we start to consider the difficulties translators encountered during translation — not only linguistical conundrums, but also trans-/inter-cultural conflicts and cooperative challenges. As one of the representative scholars in linguistics, Jakobson (2021: 158) opines that “all cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any existing language”. Even an optimist like Jakobson has to acknowledge that translating from a language lacking a particular grammatical category into one that possesses it presents a formidable challenge. It is even a “harder” task when we consider the multifarious languages and cultures that were involved in the translation of Buddhist texts — the lingual gap between the source

⁷ “(TS beschäftigt sich einerseits mit) dem Prozeß, der von einem geschriebenen ausgangssprachlichen Text (AS-Text) zu einem geschriebenen zielsprachlichen Text (ZS-Text), der Übersetzung, führt”.

⁸ For discussions regarding turns in TS, refer Zheng et al. (2023) for a general depiction. As for the cultural turn and its future development, see Bassnett (1998); Snell-Hornby (2006; 2009) and Bachmann-Medick (2006; 2009; 2011; 2017) in particular. For the sociological turns, see the initiators’ works: Brisset (1990); Simeoni (1998); Gouanvic (1999); Meylaerts (2008); etc. According to Zwischenberger, “sociological turn [...] has emerged out of the cultural turn as the latter paved the way for an analysis of a social embeddedness of the actors involved in the translation process” (2017: 394).

languages (SL) that were “mostly North-Western Middle-Indic Prākr̄ts...or, later on, Sanskrit” (Deeg 2008: 87–88) and the target language (TL) Chinese which was “an isolating language” that “did not have a clear prefixal and suffixal word-formative and morphological system⁹” (Deeg 2008: 87). This transcultural communication is considered to be “one of the most extraordinary cross-cultural exchanges” (Boucher, 2017: 498) greatly due to the dichotomous heterogeneity of Indian languages (e.g., Sanskrit) and Chinese (Zacchetti 2005: 2). Park (2012: 4) summarizes the difficulty that the translators met:

In order to convey peculiar ideas written in an unfamiliar style, Buddhist translators in China had to handle the differences in language, culture, philosophy and ethics between India and China.

One example would be the translation teams of Dharmarakṣa (Chi. 端法護, ca. 239–316 AD), which will be discussed in Chapter 4. His “truly international¹⁰” (Boucher 2006: 32) cultural transfer¹¹ is a perfect exemplar to demonstrate how texts were “translated by translators of diverse linguistic backgrounds and under varying circumstances” (Mak 2023: 339). The plurality of nationalities not only enriched the number of languages and cultures involved in the translation process, but also added difficulty to the translation endeavor.

After Kumārajīva (Chi. 鳩摩羅什; 344–413 AD) arrived in China, he standardized in a way the SL to Sanskrit and ushered in a new era of translation¹². However, despite some stabilization of the SL, challenges and conflicts derived from the multicultural

⁹ It should be noted down here that comprehension towards Chinese has evolved over the years. Scholars acknowledge that Old Chinese (1300 — 100 BCE) “had a complex syllable structure with consonant clusters in syllable-initial and final position as well as prefixes and suffixes” and that it was during the Han Dynasty that radical changes between the Old Chinese and the Middle Chinese, resulting in “a form of the language we know today” (Baley et al. 2023: 2).

¹⁰ According to Boucher, his collaborators came from Kucha, Parthia, Sogdia, Khotan, Gandhāra/Kaśmīri, India and other (unidentified) western regions (2006: 30–31).

¹¹ As for the concept of cultural transfer, it “highlights forms of mixing (mettre en évidence des formes de métissage)” and “engages the economic, demographic, psychic, and intellectual life of the social groups brought into contact (engage aussi bien la vie économique, démographique, psychique et intellectuelle des groupes sociaux mis en présence)” (Espagne 1999: 1).

¹² According to Zürcher, Kumārajīva and his school whose translations were mostly “highly prosodic” (1996: 12), “created a characteristic type of Buddhist written Chinese that was soon afterwards adopted by all other translators of the early medieval period”. This is regarded as a medium that “by becoming petrified, no longer absorbed new elements from the vernacular and [...] removed from the living language”. Translators before him, however, “experimented in a variety of styles, ranging from pure *wenyan* to semi-vernacular” (p.1).

translation atmosphere persisted. For instance, in the preface to a collated edition of the amended *Baisangai zhenyan* 白傘蓋真言 *White Canopy Dhāraṇī* (Skt. *sitātapatrōṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī*) in the *Śūramgama-sūtra* composed in 1053 AD, two Central Indian (Chi. 中印) monks — Zhi jixiang (*Jñānaśrī) and Tian jixiang (*Devaśrī) brought Sanskrit text into China. They accused former translators of omitting some of the content because these former translators were not Central Indians and came from other kingdoms such as Kucha¹³. It can be discerned that even in the final phase of translating Buddhist scriptures (11th century), issues pertaining to divergent backgrounds and cultures persisted as a central concern. It is plausible to surmise that in preceding eras characterized by heightened linguistic and cultural diversity in both Buddhist scripture languages and the backgrounds of translation personnel, how much more challenges in translation and communication would have arisen due to these disparities in language and culture.

Accordingly, the Buddhist collections of texts are “generally characterized by an impressive range, linguistic diversity, internal differentiation concerning content, structure, and guiding principles, as well as an originally oral transmission¹⁴” (Kollmar-Paulenz 2013: 389), generating a profound impact on Chinese language¹⁵, literature, and culture. This miscellaneous medley certainly requires a thorough examination of both the translators and the translation process in which multiple languages and cultures interacted with and, at the same time, repelled each other¹⁶ — “strongly interconnected and intertwined with each other (stark miteinander verbunden und verflochten)” (Welsch 2010: 43). This was a complicated procedure that incorporated “mobility, migration, contact, networking, and interweaving (Mobilität, Migration, Kontakt, Vernetzung und Verflechtung)”, giving rise to “the emergence or formation of new

¹³ For a fuller story, see B 174 *Can tiantai wutaishan ji* 參天台五台山記 [*Record of Visit to Mount Wutai of the Tiantai School*], in B 174.32.386a7–26.

¹⁴ “[...] zeichnen sich generell durch beeindruckenden Umfang, linguistische Diversität, innere Differenziertheit hinsichtlich Inhalt, Aufbau und Leitgedanken sowie eine ursprünglich orale Tradition aus”.

¹⁵ Many scholars have illustrated how Buddhist translation affected Chinese language, especially the transcription and transliteration (e.g., Pulleyblank 1983; Chen 2000, etc.). However, Funayama (2019: 85–86) considers that “Chinese was not subject to any positive change when it adopted Buddhism. Linguistically, China remained China even after this massive import of Indian culture”.

¹⁶ For a detailed analysis of the resistance to translation and types of resistance in translation, see Glynn 2021.

things (das Entstehen oder die Herausbildung von Neuem)” (Erfurt 2021: 24).

The primary materials (i.e., biographies and catalogs) cited in this thesis originated exactly within this kind of multicultural confluence. By portraying both Chinese and Indic monks/monk translators and their collaborative translation process, not only can the compositional background of these historical materials be reflected, but more importantly, the way of how these composers construed trans-/inter-cultural collaborative translation and how they delineated and constructed the “self” and “others”¹⁷ can be perceived. Therefore, these historical materials could reveal a vast variety of topics including translational questions, many of which still lay wide open, clamouring for attention. As Derrida (1992: 219) purports, “one should never pass over in silence the question of the tongue in which the question of the tongue is raised and into which a discourse on translation is translated”.

1.1.2 The Shift to Translator Studies in TS

As D’hulst observes, translation “varies semantically over time and space” (2012: 141), and so do the foci and topoi of TS. Berman (2014: 288) points out that initially TS drew extensively from linguistics. However, as scholarship progressed, there was a notable shift in TS, moving away from the pursuit of linguistic equivalence “toward a study of individual *acts* of translation and what these *did* in particular contexts”. In TS today, an increasing number of scholars are directing their attention to translators and the translation process. This shift is reflected in the evolving concept of translatorship, which is expanding its conceptual boundaries. This aligns with the call made by Bassnett and Johnston who seek to redefine translation beyond the linguistic sphere and the translation history in order to discover “how attitudes to translation [...] have come to be” (2019: 187).

In opposition to the tendency to “depersonalize the translation by restricting themselves

¹⁷ Schippel (2020: 225) stresses the intricacies of examining identities based “on constructions of the self and the other, the ego and older ego, the WE and THEY (auf Konstruktionen des Eigenen und des Fremden, des Ego und Alter Ego, des WIR und SIE)”.

to the study of a text corpus” (Buzelin 2007: 142), the long-held notion that the translator is a singular noun is being revised and scholars are placing greater emphasis on features more than just the textual level, “portray[ing] active people...particularly the kind of interaction that can string the isolated data into meaningful progressions” (Pym 2017: 23–24). Since Venuti’s influential work — *the Translator’s Invisibility*, which intends to bring invisible translators into the foreground, many scholars have also contributed to the study of translators (Chesterman 2009; Gürçaglar 2011; Guzmán 2013; 2020), aiming at examining every aspect, including “image, status, function, and role” of translators (Hu 2004). These studies have played a pivotal role in enhancing the translator’s visibility and have helped to “retrieve the translator from the academic exile (holen ihn aus der wissenschaftlichen Verbannung zurück)”, shifting translators “from the periphery in the direction of the center (von der Peripherie in Richtung des Zentrums)” (Makarska 2014: 52). In order to study the translators in early China, I will focus on the translation history, the translators, and the translation process, contextualizing them within indigenous translation practice.

1.2 Translation History

Rundle (2022: xxi) proposes a three-dimensional approach to studying translation history. The first-dimension concerns texts, focusing on “how they were translated, and the aesthetic discourse surrounding these texts”. The second dimension involves examining translators, who often play an “unacknowledged role” in history. The third dimension focuses on the context, emphasizing “the premise that any history of translation or interpreting must be contextualized within the history”. This dissertation’s core is the second dimension — the translators — while also considering the historical context. Prioritizing the study of translators necessitates an examination of historical materials through a micro-historical approach, delving into the details of individuals and treating “translation as a social-historical event that exists beyond its textual and linguistic relationship with the source text” (Rundle 2020: 232). In this section, I will first briefly introduce the microhistorical research method, along with histoire croisée

and longue-durée. Second, I will discuss how a focus on translation history could benefit historical research and function as a parameter to demarcate time. Third, I will introduce two main historical materials for my study throughout this dissertation: biographies and prefaces and discuss their importance to the translator studies.

1.2.1 Microhistory, *Histoire-croisée* and Longue-durée

According to D’hulst and Gambier, translation historians aim to either “distinguish periods”, with the short-term dedicated to investigating “microhistories focusing on individuals, events or specific locations” and the long-term tending to “sustain the construction of collective images of translators or the design of translation regimes”; or they aim at “a contextualized reconstruction of the past that avoids simple presentism or anachronism” (2018: 233). Speaking of microhistory, Bachmann-Medick (2004: 154) argues that:

Translation research can break down a solidified narrative history into *a spectrum of individual stories*, countering the assumption of one-dimensional continuities that underlay the overlong focus on the developmental path of national literatures¹⁸. (Italicized by me)

Microhistory, stressing “individual agency rather than seeing people as puppets” (Batchelor 2017: 6), is “the intensive historical investigation of a relatively well-defined smaller object” (Magnússon and Szijártó 2013: 4). Complementing macro-history by stressing historical specificity (Wakabayashi 2018: 251), its foremost task is to recover “the voice of marginal subjects” (Adamo 2006: 94) and “the lives of those who live on the periphery” (Rundle 2018: 239), whose records are “fragmented and apparently minor” (Adamo 2006: 94). By focusing on the lives and works of individual translators, one can understand the “conditions, working methods and habitus¹⁹” of the translators

¹⁸ „Die Übersetzungsforschung kann darauf hinarbeiten, eine verfestigte Verlaufsgeschichte in ein Spektrum von Einzelgeschichten aufzulösen und dabei der Annahme einliniger Kontinuitäten entgegenzuwirken, die der allzulangen Zentrierung auf den Entwicklungsgang von Nationalliteraturen zugrunde lag.“

¹⁹ Richter (2020: 108): “Die Beschäftigung mit dem Leben und dem Werk der Translatoren in Mikrogeschichten ermöglicht es, die Bedingungen, unter denen sie arbeiten, nachzuvollziehen, ihre Arbeitsweisen zu beobachten, den Habitus der Übersetzer zu erkennen und die Beziehungen und Kooperationen mit den anderen am Translationsprozess beteiligten Akteuren”.

as well as “the relationships and collaborations with other actors involved in the translation process²⁰” (Richter 2020: 108). As a “part of a much larger context” (Magnusson 2017: 330), microhistory “does not flatten out the idiosyncratic element in history” (Darton 1984: 262) and does not “dull the color and complexity that is visible on the ground” (Hermans 2022: 58).

Microhistorical elements in this dissertation, i.e., Buddhist translators and translation process, which are “historically constructed (historisch konstruiert)” (Werner and Zimmermann 2002: 611), can serve as two comparing objects to take a histoire-croisée²¹ perspective. They contribute to the formation of a historical perspective that overcomes “the limitations and circularities of a nationally-burdened social history²²” (p. 608) and opens up more possibility to examine the evolution of history.

Speaking of longue-durée (cf. Iggers 1997; Braudel 2009), from which “the underlying cycles of social and environmental change could be made to emerge” (Rundle 2018: 236), the examination of translators’ biographies and the paratexts can demonstrate the shifts and changes in their collaboration modes, translation techniques, translation criteria and the image of a translator according to cultural and social development (Bingenheimer 2010: 23–27), in which “the practice of translation was [...] institutionalized” (Lettere 2015: 384). By setting history of “the micro and macro levels in a necessary interrelation” (Bachmann-Medick 2012: 28), a broader and fuller picture can be painted — “translations are thus inserted into broad views of relations of power and dependency” (Bachmann-Medick *ibid*). This dissertation, focusing mainly on the historical details (microhistory), will also consider the development of the translation modes (longue-durée) through the analysis from both the historical perspectives of the

²⁰ Richter’s original words are “die Beziehungen und Kooperationen mit den anderen am Translationsprozess beteiligten Akteuren”.

²¹ As for the definition of this term, Werner and Zimmermann (2003: 8) roughly defines that “in most cases, it refers, in a vague manner, to one or a set of histories, associated with the idea of an unspecified crossing. It then simply points towards a more or less structured event configuration by the metaphor of crossing (*Dans la plupart des cas, elle renvoie, de manière floue, à une ou un ensemble d'histoires, associées à l'idée d'un croisement non spécifié. Elle pointe alors simplement vers une configuration événementielle plus ou moins structurée par la métaphore du croisement*)”.

²² Their original words are „die Begrenzungen und Zirkelschlüsse einer nationallastigen Sozialgeschichte“.

translators and of the translation process (histoire croisée).

1.2.2 Translation History and Periodizations

The translation history and historiography, containing of facts that are regarded as “*historia rerum gestarum*”, remain comparatively unexplored (“demeurent [...] inexplorés”; D’hulst 2007: 1063). According to Frank and Schultze (2004: 73), there are two sets of questions that can be explored when examining the translation history. The first is the external sphere (Fragen zu äußerer Übersetzungsgeschichte) which asks “what, when, where, how often, under what circumstances and by whom²³” a translation is translated; the other is the inner one (Fragen zu inneren Übersetzungsgeschichte) that concentrates on how translations are managed to be completed (wie sind die Übersetzungen beschaffen). These concentrations of and approaches²⁴ to translation history can also be illuminating when reconsidering the current periodizations of Chinese Buddhist history.

Translation is seldom taken into account when a “grand history” is narrated. In view of this situation, translation historians begin to advocate for a “translation-specific periodization²⁵” (Hermans 2022: 34). Richter specifically mentions that we should not follow the categorizations of the world history to categorize translation history²⁶ (2020: 11) and that translation history tends to reflect historical events from a translation scholar’s perspective, providing the scholar with a unique and insightful perspective²⁷ (p. 54). Wakabayashi (2019: 29) also points out that the tripartite segmentation of ancient, medieval and modern is unstable and ambiguous.

²³ The original words are “was wurde wann und wo wie oft unter welche Rahmenbedingungen von wem übersetzt”.

²⁴ For a matter of regarding translation as an approach to historical studies, there are controversies in the academia. Rundle (2014: 4), for example, advocates to take translation as “an approach to a given historical subject rather than a historical object in itself”. However, scholars such as Schippel considers this viewpoint subjects translation to “a utilitarian view (eine utilitaristische Betrachtung)” and proposes to give “translation and translation history unconditional and unbiased attention (bedingungslose und unvoreingenommene Aufmerksamkeit)” to capture the motivations behind the scenes (2014: 20; 30).

²⁵ “Historical studies of translation therefore tend to follow the broad divisions of time and space made in political and cultural history [...] Ideally, the periodization of translation should be based on changes in translation itself...This does not mean that a translation-specific periodization is impossible.”

²⁶ Richter also proposes a unique way to construct categorization and epoch, what she refers to as “Häufungen bestimmter Translationsmotive können...als Kriterium für die Bildung von Epochen dienen”.

²⁷ “Translationsgeschichte [...] neigt dazu, die Ereignisse der Geschichte aus der Sicht der Translationswissenschaftler herauszudenken. Diese Herangehensweise erscheint sinnvoll, um eine eigene und erkenntnisreiche Perspektive zu gewinnen.”

There have been quite a few attempts to periodize translation history throughout China according to seminal translation movements, within which Buddhist translation is only one constituent²⁸. Some scholars, aligning with what Hermans purports, further segment Buddhist translation subject to the criterion of translation styles or eminent monk translators who are representative of such translation styles. Conventionally, the trio of periodization of translation history pertaining to the translation styles is: Antique Translation/ Old Translation/ New Translation. Squaring with the translation styles, scholars also refer to pre-Kumārajīva's translation as "Antique Translation" and term translations after Xuan Zang as "New Translation", putting these two paragons on the pedestal (Funayama 2010: 236–243; 2013: 21–22; Saitō, 2017).

TS students are often so inured to the "great man history" — or "great translator history" under this circumstance — that they naturally accept the division of time hallmarked by Kumārajīva and Xuan Zang²⁹. However, we need to look at a fuller picture, instead of segments of translation history that were considered to be important by scholars nowadays, or else this will lead us to view history only from a perspective conveniently adaptable to the "modern" (cf. Sueki³⁰ 2020). By focusing on the translation process in Buddhist history, for example, we can construct a "different understanding of time paths and continuity of traditions" (D'hulst 2016: 9–10).

The translation process taking place in translation forums is the carrier and instantiation of the translating act. The examination of this process would doubtlessly be conducive to the periodization of Buddhist history in China from another angle. Nevertheless, it was less-heralded, and it passed greatly unnoticed for long stretches of time. An overarching and comprehensive illustration of the transition of the translation process is understudied. Cao and Wang are two major scholars³¹ who have contributed to the

²⁸ Generally, Chinese translation history is partitioned into three or four main sections: Buddhist translations, translation in the Ming and Qing dynasties, translation in the 20th century [and the translation after 1949] (Ma 2004).

²⁹ As a matter of fact, study on Buddhist translators is so scarce that "Chinese translation society only knows Zhi Qian, Dao'an, Kumārajīva, Xuanzang" (Xu and Mu 2009: 114).

³⁰ In Sueki's book, he discusses the concept "*kosō* 古層 [ancient layer]" and argues that history is the past overlaid and accumulated. He professes that "The discoveries in modern times were the process of creating a convenient "ancient layer" within the past that suited the interests of the modern era (近代になっての過去の発見は、過去の中に近代に都合の良い「古層」を作り出す作業であった)".

³¹ There are of course other scholars who have dealt with this issue (Dissertations: Fan 2013; He 1988; Yee 2013; etc.). However, since their works not primarily deal with periodizations, or simply follow the extant periodization modes (e.g., Yee 2013:17), I shall refer to more relevant works concerning periodizations.

demarcation of Buddhist history focusing on the transition of translating modes. Wang’s theory bisects the translation forum into the “expounding scriptures (講經形式之譯場)” one and the “specialist (專家組成之譯場)” one, whose bisection is also purported by de Jong (1968: 14), Funayama (2010; 2013) and the like. Along the same lines, Cao also divides the translation in terms of procedures into pre-Sui (隋以前) and post-Sui and Tang (隋唐後) sections. He also discusses the transformation of certain positions. Wang and Cao’s works are thought-provoking and perspicacious. However, they treat pre-Sui translation mode as an unprofessional chaos, discussing processes and positions within this time period all together without further differentiation or discussion of the development of translation modes. To reconsider the demarcation of Buddhist history from the development of translation process entails a comprehensive and in-depth research on pre-Sui translation history.

1.2.3 Historical Materials — Biographies and Prefaces as Main Sources

In this section, I will introduce two main sources that I will constantly consult in this dissertation, namely biographies and prefaces. Buddhist biographies and prefaces — paratexts (Gürçaglar 2011) of the translator’s archive³² — are “imbued with tendentious narrative patterns” (Otto et al. 2015: 7) that could reflect “important phenomena of a specific period (wichtige Phänomene eines bestimmten Zeitabschnittes)” (Bumbacher 2010: 94).

1.2.3.1 Biographies

Monk biographies, occupying “a major place in historiographic Chinese records” (Hureau 2015:109), are one of the main sources I will constantly cite to retrieve the image of translators in the past. “Usual” or “contemporary” biographies of translators

³² According to Gürçaglar (2018 i–ii), a translator archive encompasses “texts, paratexts and statements of translators, their work (published and unpublished), in other words, the material traces of a translator (les textes, les paratextes et les déclarations des traducteurs, leurs travaux (publiés et non publiés), autrement dit, les traces matérielles d’un traducteur)”. For more discussions of a translator’s archive, see Guzmán (2013; 2020), etc.

will include elements such as “acquisition of appropriate language and literary competences”, or “reflection on the essence of translation and on their own role” (Eberharter 2021: 73), etc. Scholars such as Neu (2016) and Makarska (2014) dichotomize translators into two main types — pure translators (both Neu and Makarska term them “Nur-Übersetzer”) who almost exclusively engage in translation; and also-translators (Neu terms “vielseitiger Übersetzer” whereas Makarska proposes “Auch-Übersetzer”) who partially can be regarded as a translator but have occupations as well, such as professors or editors, etc.³³ Whether a translator can be categorized as Nur or Auch, he/she is introduced almost unanimously by his/her bi-/multi-lingual abilities, his/her roles and works. This, however, is not the case with Buddhist biographies.

As an important avenue to enhance the visibility of translators (Broomans³⁴ 2016: 261), Buddhist biographies such as *the Biographies of Eminent Monks*³⁵ (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳; hereafter GSZ) are thought to be hagiographies fraught with miraculous depictions whose authenticity and realness are severely doubted. However, following Shinohara’s research method, I, too, treat miraculous stories as a sort of “tradition in medieval Chinese Buddhism” (1998: 142) that constructs a speculative history upon which the image of a translator/ translators was built. As Kleine suggests (2010: 11):

Biography is always selective, and every biographer has a specific idea of the portrait they want to create and what information about the subject’s life will best help complete the desired image.³⁶

In addition, this kind of hagiography full of supernatural narratives and thought to be “a unique cultural phenomenon” (Wei 2012: 39), reflects “specific socio-historical contexts the analysis of which will not necessarily bring us close to ‘the individual’” (Deeg 2019: 914). Nevertheless, the narrative in the hagiography is not consecutive

³³ For convenience, I will refer to the first type as Nur-translators and the latter Auch-translators in this chapter.

³⁴ Broomans thinks biographies contribute to “die Sichtbarmachung vergessener Übersetzer”.

³⁵ On the thorough discussion of GSZ, see Wright 1954; Ji 2009; Kieschnick 1997; Liu 2022, etc.

³⁶ “Biographie ist immer selektiv, und jeder Biograph hat eine bestimmte Vorstellung davon, was für ein Porträt er anfertigen möchte und welche Informationen über das Leben des Dargestellten das gewünschte Bild am besten komplettieren helfen.”

because its religious aspect means that “the construction of [one]’s life’s continuity is periodically cancelled by [one’s] contacts with the sacred” (Davis 2002: 223). As for the religious aspect of a biography, it comprises “individuality and religious functionality or purpose”, representing “a specific aspect — or function [...] of the religious ideals of a certain time and social group” (Deeg *ibid*: p. 915; p.933). Biographies of a religious sort strive to find a space “in a culture that had hitherto been dominated by vitae structured either by bureaucratic values [...] or by their inversion” (Barrett 2002: 2) whose value cannot be determined based on the parameter of authenticity or historical trueness (de Certeau 1975: 317). Keller (2013: 121), through the examination of German-French translators, defines biographies as having “national-ideological function (nationalideologische Funktion)”. However, if we take “bi- and pluricultural life trajectories (bi- und plurikulturelle Lebensläufe)” (Schahadat 2016: 28) of translators into consideration, this definitional range of “biography” and what could be incorporated in a biography can be further expanded. As Kleine (2010: 32) concludes that:

In most cases, the hagiographies in the *Gaoseng zhuan* represent a mixture of biographical information and edifying narrative. The predominant format likely depends on whether the Vita is based more on inscriptions or similar “official” sources or leans more towards miraculous stories. Regardless, **we learn more about the ideals and worldviews of the social group within which the Vita was compiled than about actual historical events**. Contrary to initial appearances, standardized religious biographies have a strongly prescriptive, normative character, which is crucial for assessing their source value.³⁷ (Emphasized by me)

Biographies of monks — of a “somewhat stereotype manner (etwas stereotype Weise)” (Kleine 2009: 165) — sometimes can be regarded as more of a sort of prosopography which depict “not the individual per se, but as part of a larger whole³⁸” (Goch 1992:

³⁷ “In den meisten Fällen stellen die Hagiographien in den *Gaoseng zhuan* eine Mischung aus Biogramm und erbaulicher Erzählung dar. Welches Format überwiegt, hängt wohl im wesentlichen davon ab, ob die Vita eher auf Inschriften oder ähnlich „amtlichen“ Quellen beruht oder eher auf Wundergeschichten. Unabhängig davon erfahren wir mehr über die Ideale und Weltanschauungen des sozialen Verbandes, innerhalb dessen die Vita zusammengestellt wurde, als über tatsächliche historische Ereignisse. Entgegen dem ersten Anschein haben die standardisierten religiösen Biographien einen stark präskriptiven, normativen Charakter, was für die Beurteilung des Quellenwertes von entscheidender Bedeutung ist.”

³⁸ Goch’s original words are „nicht das Individuum an sich, sondern als Teil eines übergeordneten Ganzen“.

93). As Hureau proclaims, “there are different levels of comprehending written biographical accounts, according to the understanding of the reader” (2015: 111; 114), therefore each reader seeks and sees differently in the biographies as hagiographies. In this dissertation, I will take biographies as an indispensable source to trace the image of a translator through the eyes of biographers, who represent to a great extent how scholars in the past viewed translators.

1.2.3.2 Prefaces

Prefaces as one of the avenues to study translators, are one kind of the paratexts that can provide an “explanatory function” (Dimitriu 2009: 195–198), offering information at the extratextual and intratextual level (i.e., “choice of the text” and “choice of strategies”; Schlager 2021: 205). It is another way to increase a translator’s visibility (McRae 2006: 12). However, preface-writers often neglect the crucial role of translators, and translators themselves tend efface their existence by avoiding the use of the first-person pronoun “I” or by placing the introduction of the original work before their narratives on their own translation techniques or policies (cf. Hagemann and Neu 2012, esp. pp. 19–23). Still, prefaces offer “a good starting point — perhaps a key to the translated text or even a window on the world of the translator” (Hartama-Heinonen 1995: 41).

It needs to be noticed that these historical materials possess an intrinsic nature: they are “tied to a situation of power and thus create an inherent imbalance” (Ginzburg 2012: 202). This asymmetrical power imbalance leads to varying degrees of translators’ visibility³⁹ and certainly gives rise to the situation that “the translator as an object of study is not a monolithic entity; even in archives, translators are unequal when it comes

³⁹ See Tashinskiy (2014: 63) that “Examining the „invisibility of the translator”, for example, within the framework of the concept of translation culture. One could [...] illuminate a so-called field, i.e., translational field, in which various actors...have different amounts of symbolic capital, from which power asymmetries arise, explaining the textual asymmetry in the field of reference works (der „Unsichtbarkeit des Übersetzers“ z.B. im Rahmen des Konzepts der Translationskultur untersuchen. Man könnte [...] ein s.g. Feld durchleuchten, dass translatorische Feld, in dem verschiedene Akteure...über unterschiedlich viel symbolisches Kapital verfügen, woraus sich Machtasymmetrien ergeben, durch welche die Textasymmetrie im Bereich der Nachschlagewerke erklärt werden kann”).

to the challenges of historical visibility⁴⁰” (Pickford 2021: 32).

In this dissertation, one important historical material is the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (*Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripitaka*, hereafter CSZJJ), which not only preserves Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518 AD)’s catalog but also contains invaluable prefaces and colophons that inform scholars about the translation process and translators in early China. Just as Hagemann and Neu (2012: 9) concludes that “the voice of literary translators [...] (is) heard in accompanying texts of various kinds, from forewords and afterwords to essays, speeches, and interviews⁴¹”, so can we regard these prefaces and colophons as the conduit to “hear” the voices of translators. Nevertheless, the study of translators and their translation process differs from the prevailing conception that intends to reconstruct a vivid figure “with flesh-and-blood bodies” (Pym 1998: 161). Current TS tries to shed the image of a translator as a “machine- like [...] homogeneous collective” (Kaindl 2021: 11) through comprehensive research on autobiographies, hand drafts, diaries, documentaries, interviews, etc. (cf. Munday 2013; 2014; Guzmán 2013; 2020; Kujamäki 2018 etc.).

Confined only to extant historical materials, it is often hard to argue that we can hear the “voices⁴²” of translators. First, there is a lack of various genres of materials such as diaries or manuscripts from these translators. Secondly, among the total 110 prefaces and colophons⁴³ preserved in CSZJJ⁴⁴, only two were composed by translators with

⁴⁰ “Le traducteur en tant qu’objet d’étude n’est pas un objet monolithique ; jusque dans les archives, les traducteurs sont inégaux face aux enjeux de la visibilité historique”.

⁴¹ “Die Stimme literarischer Übersetzerinnen und Übersetzer [...] (ist) in Begleittexten verschiedenster Art zu hören, von Vor- und Nachworten über Aufsätze bis hin zu Ansprachen und Interviews”.

⁴² For a thorough discussion on the concept of voice in TS, see Folkart 1991; Hermans 1996; Qvale 2003; Pekkanen 2013; Suchet 2013, etc

⁴³ The colophons are usually anonymously composed whereas the prefaces usually indicate the name of the writer. There are in all 72 prefaces in CSZJJ, in which 63 include the writer’s name (I have also counted the *Jianbei jing shizhu huming bing shuxu* 漢備經十住胡名并書敘 [*Foreign Names of the Ten Stages in the Jianbei jing with Letter* (?)]. The first section of this title refers to the “Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* T 285” (Zacchetti 2005: 53); As discussed by Zacchetti, Zürcher considers the latter part — “書敘” to be a letter while Hurvitz and Boucher interpret it as preface] and *Helibamo zhuan* 詈梨跋摩傳 [*Biography of Harivarman*] as a preface). This number will variate under specific circumstances. For example, even the preface to *Faju jing* (法句經序) is anonymous, scholars generally advocate that this is composed by Zhi Qian.

⁴⁴ It needs to be noted down here that the catalogs of CSZJJ and its predecessor — Dao’an’s *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理眾經目錄 *Comprehensive Catalog of Scriptures*, like the biographies discussed above, are not of neutral stance, rather they “related to apologetic intentions for the authentication... of Buddhist texts and scriptures (stehen natürlich im Zusammenhang mit apologetischen Intentionen der Authentifizierung... der buddhistischen Texte und Schriften)” (Deeg 2010: 108).

bilingual ability, i.e., one by Zhi Qian 支謙⁴⁵ (fl. 223–253 AD) and another by Zhu Fonian竺佛念 (fl. ca. 379–413AD). Most authors of the remaining prefaces were scholar monks (義學僧人) with profound knowledge of Buddhist doctrines. This, of course, showcases the “translator’s invisibility” as proposed by Venuti (2018). Venuti analyzes that a tacit acquiescence to invisibility stems from both the cultural mechanisms of authority evaluation, reception, and publishing market, and as a corollary, from the self-annihilation of translators themselves. In addition, not all translators’ names are written on the frontpage of their translations, without which, “(the translator) disappears not only in the text but also as a voice and person (verschwindet er nicht nur im Text, sondern auch als Stimme und Person)” (Schahadat 2016: 19; also cf. Lerner 2019: 225 and Jansen and Wegener 2013: 4–23 for this subject), as showcased by Zhu Fonian and also the monk translator Baoyun⁴⁶. A study based on the prefaces will not only provide invaluable historical accounts, but also retrieve the visibility of translators.

1.3 Translator Studies

In TS, there are two often-cited old sayings that provoke “two inseparable and yet incompatible motifs: fidelity and betrayal” (Weber 2005: 66) of translators, extending the discussion to the master-slave relationship between the ST and the TT (cf. Garceau 2018). One is the Italian phrase “Traduttore, traditore [The translator is a traitor]⁴⁷”; the other is Horace’s “*fidus interpres* [faithful translator]” in his *Ars Poetica* [*The Art of Poetry*]. These premodern discussions on translations, including Cicero’s *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* [*On the Best Kind of Orators*] (which is regarded as “the origination of translation theories”; see Robinson 1992) and St Jerome’s *Epistula Ad Pammachius*

⁴⁵ It should be noted that whether Zhi Qian could be addressed as a bilingual translator during the translation of *Fajujing* for which he composed a preface, is very ambiguous. From this preface, it seems that Zhi Qian “scribed” even though he contested with his collaborators about the style of translation. Nattier, for instance, articulates that Zhi Qian possessed “editorial license” (2023: 243–244).

⁴⁶ For a thorough study of how Baoyun was deprived of being a translator of many of his translations, see Lettere 2019. Scholars have also identified that even though a translation is attributed to one person, the translations were actually “a joint effort between Indian and Central Asian monks who had immigrated to China” (Miyajima 2010: 125).

⁴⁷ Tymoczko (2014a: 201) purports that translators are susceptible to become traitors because they are “too committed to a cultural framework” that “the ideology of translation is indeed a result of the translator’s position”.

De Optimo Genere Interpretandi [Letter to Pammachius on the Best Method of Translating], all emphasize the role of a translator and his function as a mediator through whom translation is done.

The importance of translator gradually receives attention, because “one key function of translator studies may be its resistance to the threat of the dehumanization of translation services” (Chesterman 2021: 244). Pym also (2017: 37) suggests that we should take “points of departure in translators rather than in translations”. Even though scholars admit that a translator “is certainly not the author of the translated text” (Woods 2017: 8), they are aware of the significance of the translator as a non-neutral “active agent in the continuation of the text” (Kearns 2017: 110), who is responsible for the “afterlife” (Überleben; Fortleben⁴⁸) of the original text.

However, most discussions on translators and their relevant concepts have been largely Eurocentric⁴⁹. Many scholars have identified and reflected upon this Eurocentric syndrome since the cultural turn in TS. For example, Wakabayashi (2005: 20), examining translation in the East Asian context, considers this to be a benefit that “does not require taking ‘the West’ as the explicit comparandum”; Similarly, St. André (2010) also uses Chinese collaboration to revisit some entrenched notions in the western TS. It is therefore important to emphasize that “translation” is perceived differently under various cultural and historical conditions, and a broader interpretation of the very definition of translation is necessary (Cronin 2006; 2017). As Israel points out that the English term “translation” cannot be easily translated in other languages (2023: 1), the same applies to its derived noun: the translator. In this chapter, I will revisit the

⁴⁸ Cf. Benjamin (2019: 51–52): “Übersetzbarkeit eignet gewissen Werken wesentlich — das heißt nicht, ihre Übersetzung ist wesentlich für sie selbst, sondern will besagen, daß eine bestimmte Bedeutung, die den Originalen innewohnt, sich in ihrer Übersetzbarkeit äußere. Daß eine Übersetzung niemals, so gut sie auch sei, etwas für das Original zu bedeuten vermag, leuchtet ein. Dennoch steht sie mit diesem kraft seiner Übersetzbarkeit im nächsten Zusammenhang. Ja, dieser Zusammenhang ist um so inniger, als er für das Original selbst nichts mehr bedeutet. Er darf ein natürlicher genannt werden und zwar genauer ein Zusammenhang des Lebens. So wie die Äußerungen des Lebens innigst mit dem Lebendigen zusammenhängen, ohne ihm etwas zu bedeuten, geht die Übersetzung aus dem Original hervor. Zwar nicht aus seinem Leben so sehr denn aus seinem ‘Überleben’. Ist doch die Übersetzung später als das Original und bezeichnet sie doch bei den bedeutenden Werken, die da ihre erwählten Übersetzer niemals im Zeitalter ihrer Entstehung finden, das Stadium ihres **Fortlebens**.“ For an English translation, see Hynd and Valk’s translation (2006). Bermann (2005: 263), following Benjamin’s metaphor, opines that “[a] translation [...] can never repeat the original but, at the most, touch it from the point of a tangent, allowing it to live into the future along a new and different line”.

⁴⁹ Cf., for example, Tymoczko 2007; 2014b; Hermans 2006; Wakabayashi and Kothari 2009; van Doorslaer and Flynn 2013; etc. For a somehow counterargument on this matter, see Chesterman 2013.

prevailing concepts, especially the “translator” and “[to] translate” in TS through the examination of historical materials, thus “re-historicizing” (cf. Coldiron 2012) these familiar notions within the Chinese context.

1.3.1 The Translator’s Visibility

Translators, often referred to as “(inter-) cultural mediators” by many TS scholars (e.g., Casanova 2004; Meylaerts 2013; Broomans 2016; Schippel *passim*), are depicted as experts “possess[ing] a high degree of intercultural competence” (Limon 2010: 29). They played a crucial role in the “significant expansion and differentiation of the Buddhist teachings disseminated in China⁵⁰” (Schmidt-Glintzer and Jansen 1993: 63–64). But the exploration of Buddhist translators (esp. as translators rather than generalized religious figures) remains underdeveloped. Scholars have observed that translators constituted a “traditionally marginalized group” (Schlager 2021: 201), positioned not within the “core area (Kerngebiet)” but often designated as “contributors (Mitwirkender)” in certain contexts (Schippel et al. 2019: 7–8). Translators are unnoticed and invisible even in their own translations as “readers of translations fundamentally do not want to hear the voice of the translator⁵¹” (Cercel 2015: 132). Therefore, translators also try to conceal themselves through a form of self-effacement⁵² (cf., Venuti 2018). Still, translators are “always there (immer da)”, even in prefaces not directly authored by them, with their presence “hidden behind every word (versteckt hinter jedem Wort)” (Cercel 2015: 115–132).

Actually, compared with “government career translators⁵³”, “cultural translators” including Buddhist translators receive more attention and are more visible (Hung 2014:

⁵⁰ The original words are “eine erhebliche Erweiterung und Differenzierung des in China verbreiteten buddhistischen Lehrgutes”.

⁵¹ The original words are “Leser von Übersetzungen wollen grundsätzlich die Stimme des Übersetzers nicht hören”.

⁵² For example, as cited above, Neu and Hagemann discusses how translators try not to make themselves visible even in the preface to the translations they translated. This is also the case of Chinese Buddhist translators. As mentioned above, among 110 prefaces in CSZJJ, only two can be considered to have been composed by bilingual translators. In addition, Indian commentators and translators also do not talk about themselves either, so that Pollock (2015: 118) comments that this kind of silence derived from the “matters of tacit understanding [that] can be found elsewhere in Sanskrit culture [...] and of course is not unique to that culture”.

⁵³ Harbsmeier (2015: 259) observes that the public function of these “governmental career” interpreters was “recognized already in the earliest sources on the idealized Chinese bureaucracy”. Still, barely were their names being recorded. Compared with Buddhist translators, they seemed to be far more invisible.

73). Even for famous and visible Buddhist translators like Kumārajīva and Xuanzang, there is always the question: “to what extent and in what way was he visible as a translator [in welchem Maße und auf welche Weise er als Übersetzer sichtbar war]” (Neu 2016: 234). Interlocking with the above-mentioned binary contrasts between Nur- and Auch-translators, this further complicates the question as there are various degrees of visibility among translators (cf. Cercel 2015; Freeth 2022; etc.). Take GSZ’s narratives as a corpus, for example, if we roughly divide the 65 translators into Nur- and Auch- translators based on Neu’s method — considering those who almost exclusively engaged in translation as Nur-translators and those who also participated in non-translational, or even non-Buddhist activities as Auch-translators — one will find that generally Auch-translators are more visible than Nur-translators in terms of their word counts in GSZ.

Here, I would like to take Kumārajīva as an example. Kumārajīva’s biography is uncontestedly the most voluminous one among the 65 examinees. While others may have only one or two short sentences, approximately 40–50 words in total, Kumārajīva’s biography, in contrast, consists of more than 5,000 words. The depiction of his translation activities accounts for only less than 10% of his lengthy biography. The remaining 4,000 words cover various aspects of his life: his esteemed family background, including even an expatiatory description of his mother; his good rapport with King Yao Xing; his various magical stories, etc. For example, it is said that despite being cremated, his tongue remained intact. Another famous anecdotal story says he broke the monastic rules and had ten concubines. He was also reputed to possess a versatile skill set, capable of telling fortunes and reading horoscopes — aspects that can barely be related to translation activities.

Consequently, a study focuses on the storytelling in biographies such as GSZ, will not only deepen our understanding of how translators were depicted and how were they viewed in the eyes of composers in the past, but can also shed some light on an in-depth analysis of the factors that contributed to the construction of a translator’s visibility.

1.3.2 Multiple Translator (-s/-ship)

In addition to the long-neglected contributions made by translators, there is also an entrenched notion of a translator being univocally singular. Toury (2012: 215) points out that:

As long as it is only pairs of target vs. source texts that are available for study, there is no way of knowing how many different persons were actually involved in the establishment of a translation playing how many different roles. Whatever the number, the common practice has been to collapse all of them into one person and have that conjoined entity regarded as “the translator”.

Many scholars have also identified this issue and purposed the concept of “multiple translatorship”. The notion of “multiple translatorship” takes all kinds of agent, including publishers, critics and readers (Taivalkoski-Shilov 2019: 44) into account because most voices that arise “in the context around the translated text” are enunciated by these actants (Alvstad and Rosa 2015: 4), and these agents and actants are able to shape a translation (Jansen and Wegener 2013; Alvstad et al. 2017) and eventually “may have changed the text before its publication” (Bisiada 2018: 25). It is the multiple voices exuded by these actants that are considered to be the intrinsic nature of translation (Alvstad 2013; Taivalkoski-Shilov and Suchet 2013). This concept has unmistakably taken TS to a new level, as it recognizes the contribution of various agents (or even non-translating agents; cf. O’Brien 2011; Jiménez-Crespo 2017, esp. p.18) in the translation process, considering translators no longer as the “lone originators of translations” (Alvstad et al. 2017: 4) and all actants have a finger in the pie. Still, the image of singular translator persists, and the translator was but one of “the many agents involved in the translation and dissemination of a text” (Bermann and Porter 2014: 10). Although the conceptual range of “translatorship” has changed and enlarged, the singularity of the term “translator” itself has not. However, in contrast, if we examine Buddhist collaboration in China, we could revisit the term “translator” and expand its signifying scope.

Most Buddhist scholars have already noticed that Buddhist translation was mostly a collaborative nature. However, many still seek to identify the “real” translator and try to identify who was actually responsible for the bilingual translation (Nattier 2023: 218, FN18; Boucher 2008: 94). Other scholars shun this discussion by asserting that the “so-called ‘translator’” was only one of the many contributors and was “certainly an important one but by no means the main one” (Baggio 2019: 1, FN1). There are also scholars such as Radich and Anālayo (2017: 216–217) who evince that when tracing a translators’ stylistic evidence for translatorship, one must realize that texts were often “produced by groups” and that they may “bear the imprint of the style or verbal habits of more than one individual” (ibid). Therefore, when discussing translatorship, Radich usually talks about the outcome of a “team” (Radich 2017: 3; 6; 26). Likewise, Salguero (2010: 56, FN3) also realizes that Buddhist texts were translated collaboratively and that even the presiding translator may not be able to be responsible for all translation decisions. Xiao (2024: 12), based on a translator-centred approach⁵⁴, also opines that most research laid too much attention on the presiding-translator, neglecting the collaborative nature of Buddhist translation.

It is therefore necessary to first examine the concept of “translation” and accordingly the image of a “translator” in the eyes of early scholars. There are many characters in Buddhist materials that could denote “[to] translate” and one representative is the term “*yi*譯” and its derivative “*yiren*譯人”. The term “*yi*” in the context of translation can indeed have a broad range of meanings, encompassing basic bilingual translation, scribing, and even denoting all participants in a translation forum.

For example, Dao'an described the action of An Shigao 安世高 as “*yifanweijin*譯梵為晉⁵⁵ [interpret(ing) *fan*⁵⁶/Sanskrit into *jin*/Chinese]”. This also applies to the job description of *yiren*. For instance, Dao'an asked the *yiren* to “*zhuanhuweiqin* 轉胡為

⁵⁴ For translator-centered research, cf. Kaindl 2021.

⁵⁵ T 2145.55. 44c20.

⁵⁶ There are controversies over the meaning of both *fan* 梵 and *hu* 胡. *Fan* can denote Sanskrit, or Indic, Indian whereas *hu* can mean barbarian, Central Asia, or foreign in general. It can also mean Indic or Indian as *fan* does. Discussion on these two terms, see Yang (1998) and Boucher (2000). Throughout this dissertation, the pinyin will be employed to denote these two terms, namely, *fan* and *hu*.

秦⁵⁷ [transpose *hu*/Indic language into *qin*/ Chinese]”。 In these two examples, *yi* roughly corresponds with current bilingual translating and *yiren* matches with the image of a current translator.

However, *yi* or *yiren* could also refer to a *bishou* 筆受 (scribe) or a proofreader. For example, when Kumārajīva translated T223 *Dapin jing* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), as a presiding translator, his job was to “take the *hu*/Indic text at his hand and orally expounded into Chinese”. Sengrui’s role, in contrast, was somewhat that of a proofreader or a scribe, even though “this is not explicitly spelled out” (Felbur 2018: 215, FN74). However, he did mention that when he “*zhibizhiji* 執筆之際 [When I, Sengrui, held the brush]”, he “*jinshouanyi* 謹受案譯 [humbly received draft translation (i.e. translation produced by the translation team on the working table)⁵⁸]”, alluding that he at least scribed the translation to a certain degree. Sengrui also said when he resumed this task, he did not forget the translational tenet proposed by his late Master Dao’an⁵⁹. Dao’an proposed this translation code mainly aimed at regulating the translators to obey the original text and do not truncate the seemingly repeated and redundant original content. Therefore, Sengrui may have also engaged in the proofreading or editing process of this translation. Whatever role he took on, it is almost irrefutable to ascertain that he did not act as a bilingual translator — which was the task of Kumārajīva. However, it is remarkable that Sengrui referred to himself as a translator, as he commented on himself as “*zhudangyiren* 屬當譯任⁶⁰ [took the job as a translator/of interpreting]”. The specific role played by Sengrui remains somewhat enigmatic, but presumably he could have been engaged in intralingual translation. In GSZ, there is a case recording his participation in reviewing and enhancing the clarity of Kumārajīva’s Chinese translations. When Kumārajīva revised Dharmarakṣa’s earlier translation, he encountered a phrase “天見人, 人見天” (devas see the men, men see the devas). While Kumārajīva deemed it faithful to the original text, he thought the wordings were overly literal. Sengrui then proposed his own “translation” – “人天交接, 兩得相見” (men

⁵⁷ T 2145.55. 64c18–19.

⁵⁸ For a discussion of 案譯, see Felbur, p.216, FN 80.

⁵⁹ Sengrui was referring to Dao’an’s *wushibensanbuyi* 五失本三不易 [Five Losses and Three Difficulties]. For a translation and discussion of this term, see Cheung (2010: 79–83).

⁶⁰ T 2145.55.53a28–29.

and devas connect, the two are able to see each other). Kumārajīva expressed satisfaction with this modification. This manifests Sengrui's adeptness in intralingual translation⁶¹. Therefore, in this case, *yi/yiren* expands its connotational sphere to denote a non-bilingual translation act/position.

In one extreme case, *yi/yiren* can even be paralleled to all attendees in a translation forum. In T 2060 *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 繢高僧傳 (*The continued biographies of eminent monks*), there is a sentence:

During the Fu jian and Yao Xing's reigns, there were three thousand scripture-translating scholars; in our great Tang Dynasty, there are no more than twenty *yiren*.

符姚兩代。翻經學士乃有三千。今大唐譯人不過二十。⁶²

Here, the 3,000 “翻經學士 (scripture-translating scholars)” are compared with the less than twenty *yiren* in Prabhākaramitra (Chi. 波羅頗蜜多羅; 564 – 633 AD)’s translation forum, where T 1604 *Dacheng zhuangyanjing Lun* 大乘莊嚴經論 (Skt. *Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra*) was rendered. During the translation process, at least three positions⁶³ — *zhengyi* 證義⁶⁴ (proofread the meaning), *yiyu* 譯語 (interpret) and *zhuiwen* 緜文⁶⁵ (scribe to make readable Chinese) were involved. Therefore, by comparing the twenty contributors with 3,000 attendees, *yi/yiren* here further expands its signifying range, encompassing all participants in a translation forum.

1.4 Translation Process

In this section, the focus is on the translation process of Buddhist translation, aiming at

⁶¹ For the story, see T 2059.50.364b2–6. Sengrui could also have exerted his ability of “領悟標出(outstanding comprehension ability)” when he assisted Kumārajīva’s translation. For discussions on intralingual or intersemiotic translations, see Albachten 2014; Davis 2014; Zethsen 2009; Zethsen and Hill-Madsen 2016; Baker and Saldanha 2020: xx.

⁶² T 2060.50.440b14–15.

⁶³ T 2060 《續高僧傳》卷 3: 「沙門慧乘等證義。沙門玄謨等譯語。沙門慧臘慧淨慧明法琳等緜文。」(T 2060.50.440a27–29)

⁶⁴ For this position, see Wang 1984: 194.

⁶⁵ For this position, see Cao 1990: 46–48 and Wang 1984: 190.

perceiving “how translators [...] negotiate with other actors” (Paloposki 2021: 74).

The formation of Buddhist text was *ab initio* a collaborative activity. The group recitation⁶⁶ of the texts was an essential part of the textual transmissions by the *bhāṇakas* [lit., “speakers” (McGovern 2019: 450); professional reciters] (Allon 2021: 1), who were in charge of the maintenance and circulation of the canons which was edited and redacted (Skilling 2017: 276–277) by the *samgītikāras* [editors/compilers] (Galasek 2016: 204). Unlike traditional author-reader collaboration in the translation process, where the author and the reader usually are not simultaneously present spatially or temporally, the Indian reciter and the audience appeared vis-à-vis within a translation forum, which is more of an “intra-textual realm⁶⁷” (Galasek *ibid*: 56) that substitutes an “actual oral performance” (Anālayo 2020: 2720).

When Buddhist texts made their way into China, the practice of oral recitation was retained and seamlessly integrated into the translation process. However, the written form was crucial for the circulation of texts in China. This implies that, in addition to oral transmission, at least one person was required to transcribe it. Consequently, the role of the “scribe” became indispensable from the very inception of collaboration and later became one of the criteria for distinguishing genuine/authentic scriptures from the apocrypha (pseudo-translations)⁶⁸.

The translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese is considered to be “one of the most extraordinary cross-cultural exchanges” (Boucher 2017: 498) partly due to the dichotomous heterogeneity of Indian languages (e.g., Sanskrit) and Chinese (Zacchetti 2005: 2). Because of the significant linguistic gap between the source languages and

⁶⁶ For a detailed explanation of early oral tradition in Buddhist and other traditions, i.e., Greek, see Cousins 1983; Lord 1986. For a study of *sangīti* [singing together], see Anuruddha thera et al. 2008. For whether the original recitation was improvisation or not, see McGovern 2019.

⁶⁷ It should be noted here that according to Jansen and Wegner (2013: 3), “intra-textual” voices are “the voices speaking within the text” whereas “extra-textual” refer to real persons “located outside the text who all impact the outcome of the text in some way”.

⁶⁸ For example, there is one interrogator who questioned the authenticity of a scripture by asking: “If this scripture was imported into this land, it definitely needed to be translated. I have no idea on what date [it was translated]? In which dynasty [was it translated]? Who recited the *hu*/foreign language? **Who took it down with a brush?** “此經到此土，便須翻譯。未審此經是何年月？何朝代？何人誦胡語？何人筆受？” (T 2061.50.813c1-3).

Chinese, scholars tend to believe that the reason for adopting a collaborative translation mode in China was because of “linguistic problems” (Kornicki 2018: 219; 2019: 12). This is especially the case during the “period of preparation” (65–317 AD) as purported by Wright (1990: 4), when “ways and means of translating the foreign religion into language, metaphor, and patterns of behavior” developed (p.4)⁶⁹. The collaborative endeavors to translate scriptures of this period were “complex, smaller-scale processes” that should not be oversimplified (p. 34). However, research on collaboration during this period received less attention, as most studies focus on post-5th century translation activities when the translation forum was more sophisticated and institutionalized, under the surveillance and aegis of the royal family. Therefore, interlinked with the above Indian transmission process, I will first briefly introduce the early collaborative translation mode in China.

It is a well-established assertion that Buddhist translation activity flourished for nearly one thousand years in China. For this period, a plethora of articles emerged, encompassing contemporary concepts and ideologies such as translation critiques, procedures, collaboration, authorship, etc. These contributions have brought forth various investigative angles for exploration. Buddhist translation was “in many ways a history of collaborative translation” (Neather 2023: 138) where translations carried out by a single individual were “the exception rather than the rule” (Raine 2016: 10). The translations disseminated in China depend largely on “the manner of translators’ interpretation of the original texts (der Art ihrer Interpretation der Originaltexte)” (Held 1972: 13), defying the long-held idea in TS that “translation is essentially a solitary act” (St. André 2010: 72).

According to Fuchs (1930: 86), collaborative translation in the early period usually consisted of two or three “Mittelpersonen [lit. middle persons]” who contributed together to the rendering. The modus operandi was either one foreign monk reciting

⁶⁹ The translation of this period could offer us new perspectives that could “access the original Mahāyānist scriptures” (Karashima 2017: 3) yet “the indigenous Chinese had difficulty understanding the Buddhist doctrines and terminology” (Mizuno 1987: 46). The generally acknowledged “early, imperfect” (Wright, p. 9) translations during this period “made deep inroads into Chinese society and permanently changed the cultural landscape” (Poo and Drake 2017: 3).

and translating the source text while a Chinese monk scribed or one foreign monk reciting, one foreign monk — considered by most Buddhist scholars as the “real translator” — interpreting (Nattier 2023: 218, FN18; Boucher 2008: 94), and a Chinese monk scribing (Li 2011: 3; Lung 2016: 113). It is generally accepted that the language proficiency of early translators was not up to par; that is, foreign translators were not proficient in Chinese while Chinese scribes knew little about foreign languages. As summarized by Lock and Linebarger (2018: 3):

Often, translation involved collaboration between foreign monks, who knew Sanskrit or whatever the language of the source text was and perhaps some colloquial Chinese, and Chinese monks, who were able to write Literary Chinese and knew little or none of the languages of the source text.

It was Dao'an 道安’s guidance on the translation activities in Chang’an (ca. 380–385 AD) that initiated a thriving collaborative translation involving a number of more proficient translators, such as Samghabhadra, Zhu Fonian, etc. Scholars call the translation institution consisting of multiple translators *yichang* 譯場 (translation forum; Wang 1984; Cao 1990) and consider it to be the cradle where both translated scriptures and early Chinese translation theories originated (Yee 2010: 101). The scale of the collaboration continued to evolve. In the fifth century, there were occasions in which translational works were conducted as a social performance, encompassing multiple attendees to engage in the interpretation and explanation of translated texts (Lehnert 2015: 113). These individuals enlarged the scale of the translation forum. Since the Tang and Song dynasties, up to 12 positions (e.g., reciter, scribe, editor) were set in a single translation forum, with multiple people serving in the same role. However, in terms of collaborative translation before the fourth century, “we do not know much about the pre-Sui translators” (Bingenheimer 2010: 26) and that “what we do know is that most translations were produced by teams” (p.27).

However, there is a decisive difference between the Buddhist collaborative translation process and a modern one. Grossman notes that translation can be considered as a kind

of “interpretive performance”. In this context, a translator, exemplified by Ralph Manheim in Grossman’s analysis, interprets the source text for their audience, conveying the voice of the author through their own interpretation (2010: 11–12). In Buddhist translation, this “performance” by a singular translator is subdivided into distinct procedures and undertaken by different actors. In addition, the Buddhist translation process is not a “eindimensionale Linearität (one-dimensional linearity)” (Alhussein 2020: 58) of movements. Ancient Buddhist collaboration unfolded within a translation forum where translators met in person. Discussions, disagreements, and revisions transpired iteratively throughout the translation process, spanning transgeographically or even transpatially⁷⁰. It is thus more of a “hybrid linear-cyclical” proposed by Yu (2022: 86-87) and could be depicted as the following (Wang 2023: 28).

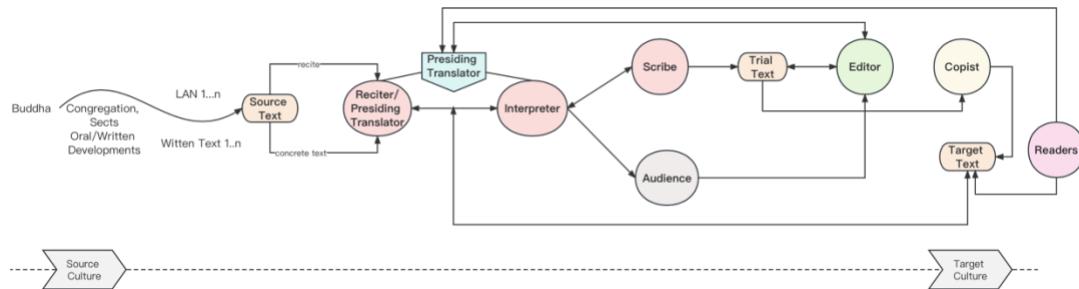


Figure 1.1The Linear-cyclical Collaborative Process

Risku et al. (2016: 990) propose that even small-scale translation projects “involve network of actors and tools”. In most Buddhist collaborative process, this could be slightly altered into “involve a recurrent and cyclical participation of actors and tools”. One example is the translation of T 1543 *Abhidharma-jñānaprasthāna-śāstra* in 383 AD in Chang’an 長安, which has a special “trajectory (Lebenslauf)⁷¹”. The translation took place at a translation forum led by Dao’an and Fahe 法和 (fl. 349–402 AD), who

⁷⁰ A text can be translated and retranslated in different places at different times. See below the collaboration of T1543 *Abhidharma-jñānaprasthāna-śāstra* as an example.

⁷¹ Kremmel (2022: 9) argues that “every translation [...] establishes a **trajectory** that needs to be explored. The **trajectory** can have various publication or translation events as stations where the communicative or editorial function is maintained or altered, where the form changes, where new roles are discovered in the translation process, or where new attributions are made (Jede Übersetzung [...] begründet einen **Lebenslauf**, den es zu erschließen gibt. Der **Lebenslauf** kann verschiedene Publikations- oder Translationsergebnisse als Stationen aufweisen, an denen die kommunikative oder editorische Funktion beibehalten wird oder sich verändert, an denen sich die Form verändert, an denen im Übersetzungsprozess neue Rollen erschlossen werden oder an denen neue Zuschreibungen erfolgen)”.

functioned as editors. According to the *Preface to Abhidharma-śāstra* 阿毘曇序, first the Kaśmīri monk Samghadeva (Chi. 僧伽提婆; fl. ca. 383–398 AD) recited the text, then Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 interpreted, after which two indigenous monks Sengmao 僧茂 (n.d.) and Huili 慧力 (n.d.) took it down in brushes. Fahe then meticulously examined the tenor. All the collaborators had done their jobs⁷². Then, a first round of the cyclical process begun by the reciter Samghadeva checking the meaning with *yiren*. He found that the translation quality was undesirable, after which the tenor-supervisor Dao'an and Fahe stood on the stage again to ask the *yiren* to retranslate it. After the second translation, Dao'an and Fahe deleted four scrolls of content. A second round of the cyclical process started two years later at a different place — Luoyang 洛陽. Realizing that the second rendering was still problematic, Fahe pledged Samghadeva to retranslate the scripture for a third time, assisted by a different translation crew⁷³. This scripture therefore underwent a linear-cyclical translation process. It was translated and retranslated by different translation teams, at different places, during different time spans.

1.5 Contents of the Dissertation

To in line with the discussions above, this dissertation, while paying minute attention to microhistory, translator studies and the translation process, will be divided into three main chapters. The three collaborative groups will be arranged chronologically by “focusing on particular traditions, disciplines, and discourses” (Venuti 2021: 6). The second chapter of this dissertation revolves around the first recorded collaborative endeavor by Lokakṣema 支讖 (fl. 147–186 AD), Zhu Foshuo 竺佛朔 (n.d.) and their assistants at the end of the 2nd century; the third chapter will primarily discuss Zhi Qian, Vighna 維祇難 (n.d.) and Zhu Jiangyan 竺將炎 (n.d.)’s collaborative translation T 210 *Faju jing* 法句經, within which the first extant preface discussing translation

⁷² See T 2145.55.72a26–b4.

⁷³ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 1: 「提婆乃與冀州沙門法和俱適洛陽。四五年間，研講前經，居華稍積，博明漢語，方知先所出經，多有乖失。法和慨歎未定，乃更令提婆出《阿毘曇》及《廣說》眾經。」(T 2059.50.329a3–7).

conundrums and preliminary theories is recorded; the fourth chapter will discuss Dharmarakṣa竺法護 (c.a. 239–316 AD) and his multiple collaborators, who together made Dharmarakṣa the most prolific translator before the 5th century in China.

The discussion and investigation of these translation groups focus on translators and their translation process before the Chang'an translation forum established by Dao'an at the end of the fourth century and Kumārajīva's arrival in Chang'an at the beginning of the fifth century. Since Dao'an and Kumārajīva, royal family began to instill their power in translation forums by either participating in the translation or through financial and political support, formulating gradually the state-sponsored translation forums. This dissertation will center on the pre-state-sponsored translation forums when translators were aided by rulers (e.g., Zhi Qian) or self-sustained by attracting donors and disciples (e.g., Dharmarakṣa). During this formative period, the primitive and initial translation process will be discussed to illustrate how translations were made. However, unlike later periods such as the Tang Dynasty, sometimes the translation process is vaguely depicted and the roles of each participant in a translation forum is not clear-cut. This on one hand accrues the difficulty of differentiating “who did what” exactly; on the other hand, it further clarifies the cultural and historical characteristics of early Buddhist translation in China and expands the conceptual coverage of TS terms such as “translator” and “[to] translate”.

Chapter 2 Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema’s Translaboration

“Translaboration⁷⁴” is a comparatively new conceptualization limning the collaboration of different contributors engaging jointly in a translation activity, focusing on the indissoluble “third hybrid space” where, instead of each contributor’s specific task, it is the inseparable entanglement among individual contributors in the translation process that is underscored. This new concept which emerged in Translation Studies may shed light on novel ways of understanding early Buddhist translation when singling out clearly “who did what” in a translation process is quite a conundrum on account of limited resources⁷⁵.

Despite the meager historical resources, scholars have embarked on analyzing the problematic figures — Zhu Foshuo 竺佛朔⁷⁶ and Lokakṣema 支讖⁷⁷, offering heuristic decipherment of historical materials. An almost entrenched notion has been set forth that these two monks are precursors to have firstly collaborated in translating scriptures, with assistance of other participants, among whom Lokakṣema is the one who presided and took the leading role in this petite translation group.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned generalized notion agreed upon by most scholars, there are controversies over the details of this alleged translaboration between Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema. Accordingly, this chapter is divided into four main parts: 1. The general introduction of Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema; 2. How many scriptures did Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo collaboratively translate, especially whether they have together translated *Aṣṭa* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*); 3. The authenticity of the two

⁷⁴ See Zwischenberger’s article (2020) for a full understanding towards the concept of “translaboration”.

⁷⁵ It needs to be noted down here that as examined in Chapter 1, current concepts of “translation” proposed by TS scholars (e.g., Baker 2018; Holmes 1972/1988; Munday 2008; Pym 2008, etc.) could not wholly describe the translations took place in early China. However, these concepts, as well as Zwischenberger’s translaboration, can offer us with new perspectives in comprehending historical materials.

⁷⁶ This translator is recorded either as Zhu Foshuo or Zhuo Shuofu (?Kṣemabuddha). In CSZJJ, it shows no consistency -- in Fascicle 2 is taken down as 朔佛 (Shuofu) but in other fascicles is the other way around. Paul Harrison (1993) thinks it is not possible to be Shuofu.

⁷⁷ The name of Lokakṣema is as problematic as his collaborator Zhu Shuofu/ Zhu Foshuo. Jan Nattier (2008) thinks the orthography of its Chinese name should be 支讖 (Zhichen) as it is recorded so in CSZJJ instead of the naming of 支婆迦讖 (Zhiloujiachen) appears in GSZ. For the problematic construction of the name “Lokakṣema” see Lancaster 1968: 11–12.

colophons of *Āṣṭa* and *Prati* (*Pratyutpannabuddha-saṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra*) and the role of a peripheral contributor Meng Fu 孟福.

2.1 Lokakṣema's and Zhu Foshuo's Backgrounds

Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo are said to be the first to introduce Mahāyāna Buddhism into China (Harrison 1979: viii) by translating “works of the Prajñāpāramitā corpus” (Mochizuki 2001: 241). Given their importance as “the first” team translating scriptures together and in order to examine the collaboration of Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo, it is necessary first to have a general understanding of these two figures’ backgrounds. I shall introduce Lokakṣema and then Zhu Foshuo through their biographies in GSZ.

2.1.1 Lokakṣema

Lokakṣema (fl. 168–186 AD), whose Chinese names are either written as 支讖 or 支樓 (var. 婁) 迦讖, was active at the end of the Han Dynasty and spearheaded the first translational group recorded in historical materials to produce Buddhist texts. He was “one of the first translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese and first known translator of Mahāyāna sūtras into any language” (Harrison 2019: 700).

Below is the biography of Lokakṣema in GSZ and we shall examine his personal background in detail:

Lokakṣema (Zhiloujiachen), also addressed as Zhichen, was originally a man of the kingdom of the Yuezhi. With deep sincerity of conduct and an open and quick-witted personality, he upheld the Dharma and Vinaya, becoming celebrated for his drive and industry. He recited all kinds of sūtras, and his ambition was to preserve and propagate the Dharma. During the reign of Emperor Ling of the Han Dynasty he arrived in Luoyang, and during the periods of Guanghe (178–184) and Zhongping (184–189), he transmitted and translated Indic ⁷⁸ texts, publishing three sūtras: the *Bore daoxing*

⁷⁸ According to Harrison, Karashima and Falk, Lokakṣema was multilingual. He probably employed Gāndhārī for

(*Astasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*), *Banzhou* (*Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra*) and the *Shoulengyan* (*Śūramgamasamādhi-sūtra*). He also translated more than ten sūtras such as the *Asheshi wang* (*Ajātaśatrukaukrtyavindanā-sūtra*), the *Baoji* (Ratnakūṭa, i.e., Kāśyapaparivarta) and others, which for many years had been uncatalogued. Master An (i.e., Dao'an; 314–385), comparing the old and the new and carefully examining the literary style, said that they resembled translations by Lokakṣema. All these sūtras have carefully captured the original purport without adding any embellishments at all. One can say that here was a man skillful in conveying the essentials of the Dharma and propagating the Way. Of the end of his life nothing is known.⁷⁹

支樓迦讖，亦直云支讖，本月支人，操行純深，性度開敏，稟持法戒，以精勳著稱。諷誦群經，志存宣法。漢靈帝時遊于雒陽，以光和、中平之間，傳譯梵文，出《般若道行》、《般舟》、《首楞嚴》等三經。又有《阿闍世王》、《寶積》等十餘部經，歲久無錄。安公校定古今，精尋文體云：「似讖所出，凡此諸經，皆審得本旨，了不加飾，可謂善宣法要弘道之士也。」後不知所終。⁸⁰

This biography is relatively short compared to other more visible and more famous monk translators such as Kumārajīva and there is little information about him. However, apart from the above information, according to Zhi Qian 支謙's biography, Lokakṣema was the teacher of Zhi Qian's master Zhi Liang 支亮⁸¹. The three were so erudite that it was a tough act to follow⁸².

2.1.2 Zhu Foshuo

Compared with Lokakṣema, even less is known about Zhu Foshuo. The biography of Zhu Foshuo reads as follows:

religious purposes (Harrison 2019: 700) and possibly translated the Gāndhārī texts which were generally composed in kharoṣṭhī. Therefore, possibly Lokakṣema rendered at least some Gāndhārī texts (as shown in Falk 2011's example of comparing Gāndhārī *Asṭa* with Lokakṣema's T 224; and (Attwood 2018: 18) also concludes that "Lokakṣema's 2nd CE translation form a Gāndhārī source-text may well be much closer to the ur-text, and thus more 'authentic'"). However, the original Chinese character is *fan* 梵, referring to brahmic texts based on Boucher (2000)'s proposal. For further discussion of *hu* and *fan*, see Yang (1998), Lehnert (2015), etc. However, Yoshikawa and Funayama (2009: 42, FN 6) point out that in Chinese, there is no differentiation between Sanskrit and other languages such as Prakrit — they were all referred as "fanyu 梵語". This "fan" therefore indicates Indic languages in general.

⁷⁹ This is translated by Harrison (2019: 700–701) with only minor changes. For other translations see Lamotte (2003: 61–62); Yoshikawa and Funayama (2009: 49–51); Wei (2016: 436).

⁸⁰ T 2059.50.324b13–21.

⁸¹ T 2145 《出三藏記集》卷 13: 「初桓靈世。Zhi Qian[謙【大】，讖【宋】【元】【明】]譯出法典。有支亮紀明資學於讖。謙又受業於亮。」(T 2145.55.97b23–24).

⁸² T 2034 《歷代三寶紀》卷 5: 「世稱天下博知不出三支。」(T 2034.49.58c17).

At that time, there was an Indian śramaṇa Zhu Foshuo, who also arrived in Luoyang in the time of Emperor Ling, bringing with him the *Daoxing jing* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*), and he instantly translated from the Indic into Chinese. The translator[s]⁸³ faltered occasionally, but although there is some loss of meaning, nevertheless, nevertheless he [they] has/have sacrificed the wording and kept the substance, and has/have a profound grasp of the sense of the sūtra. In the second year of Guanghe (179), Shuo also issued the *Banzhou sanmei* (*Pratyutpannabuddha-saṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra*) in Luoyang. At that time Lokakṣema transmitted the words, while Meng Fu of Luoyang in Henan and Zhang Lian took it down in writing.⁸⁴

時有天竺沙門竺佛朔，亦以漢靈之時，齋《道行經》來適雒陽，即轉梵為漢。譯人時滯，雖有失旨，然棄文存質，深得經意。朔又以光和二年於雒陽出《般舟三昧》，譏為傳言，河南雒陽孟福、張蓮筆受。⁸⁵

As for the translation quality, Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo are not traditionally famous for their translation, but they are usually praised for being true to the source text and for bringing scriptures into China from afar. For example, in GSZ, Lokakṣema, together with An Shigao, Kang Senghui 康僧會 and Dharmarakṣa, was grouped in contrast to the group consisting Zhi Qian, Nie Chengyuan 翟承遠, Zhu Fonian 竺佛念, Shi Baoyun 釋寶雲, Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭 and Mokṣala 無羅叉, who were appraised by Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554 AD) as “very good at the sounds of *fan* (Sanskrit; Indic) and *han* (Chinese), therefore they could exhaust the extreme of translation (妙善梵漢之音，故能盡翻譯之致)”⁸⁶. As a contrasting group, it seems that Huijiao did not consider Lokakṣema as someone who could “exhaust the extreme of translation”. However, the compiler of CSZJJ, Sengyou, thought differently. He divided An Shigao, Zhu Foshuo, Lokakṣema and Yan Fodiao 嚴佛調 together, evaluating them as “translating and converting *fan* (Sanskrit), making them concord (with the target texts) that were ten

⁸³ Harrison (2019: 701) seems to regard this “*yiren* 譯人 [interpreting person-s]” as Zhu Foshuo. However, *yiren* could refer to different people, ranging from the bilingual interpreter to all attendees, including scribes, in a translation forum (see Chapter 1). If this “*yiren*” refers exclusively to Zhu Foshuo, the author could simply say “佛朔時滯” instead of “譯人時滯”, which obscures the designatum. Therefore, I surmise that this *yiren* alludes to other collaborators of Zhu Foshuo whose names were unrecorded. This will be discussed below.

⁸⁴ This is the translation of Harrison (2019: 701) with some changes.

⁸⁵ T 2059.50.324b21–25.

⁸⁶ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 3: 「爰至安清、支讖、康會、竺護等，並異世一時，繼踵弘贊。然夷夏不同，音韻殊隔，自非精括詁訓，領會良難。屬有支謙、翟承遠、竺佛念、釋寶雲、竺叔蘭、無羅叉等，並妙善梵漢之音，故能盡翻譯之致。」(T 2059.50.345c5–9).

thousand *li* (miles) away. Departing from the texts yet the meanings match, (the meanings are) clarified and illuminating, continuous and connected (飛譯轉梵萬里一契。離文合義炳煥相接⁸⁷)” . Beyond their translation accomplishments, it appears that Sengyou also highlighted the vast distance between the West and China by using the term “*fei* 飛 [fly]” to underscore this great expanse. This later came to be regarded as one of Lokakṣema’s most distinctive contributions.

For example, in T 2089 *Youfang ji chao* 遊方記抄 [*Annotation on the Travelogue*], Huichao 慧超 (ca. 700–780) from Silla documented a stele inscription dedicated to Sengzheng 僧正, where it stated:

(Sengzheng) followed the great example of Lokakṣema and An Shigao, climbed over the icy mountains and traversed the cloudy seas. He risked his life and finally reached the Great Tang.

追支讖之英範。逐世高之逸輶。跨雪峯而進影。泛雲海而飛儀。冒險經遠。遂到大唐。⁸⁸

Also in GSZ and T 2103 *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 [*Expanded Collection on the Propagation and Clarification*], Huijiao and Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667 AD) all asserted that:

Since Kāśyapa-Mātaṅga and Zhu Falan set off from the West Region, and (since) An Shigao and Lokakṣema carried the staff (Skt. *khakharaka*) to Luoyang [...]

自摩騰法蘭發軫西域。安侯支讖荷錫東都。⁸⁹

In the two examples above, Lokakṣema was noted as a forerunner, being among the first Buddhists to travel from the West to China. With the basic backgrounds of Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema introduced, the next step is to examine the number of scriptures translated by them.

⁸⁷ T 2145 《出三藏記集》卷 2: 「安清朔佛之儔。支讖嚴調之屬。飛譯轉梵萬里一契。離文合義炳煥相接矣。」(T 2145.55.5b28–c1).

⁸⁸ T2089.51.987a29–b2.

⁸⁹ T 2103.52.275a13–14.

2.2 Translations of Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema

According to *Youlu* (祐錄, a.k.a., Sengyou's *xinji zhuanchu jinglülun lu* 新集撰出經律論錄 [*Newly Compiled. Catalog of Issued Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma*] in his CSZJJ), Zhu Foshuo rendered one scripture, in all one fascicle, whereas Lokakṣema translated fourteen scriptures, in all twenty-seven fascicles. These translation counts increased in later catalogs such as T 2034 *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 [*Records of the Three Treasures Throughout the Successive Dynasties*; hereafter abbr. LDSBJ] and T 2154 *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 [*Record of Śākyamuni's Teachings*; hereafter abbr. KYSJL], but the focus will remain on the records in CSZJJ and GSZ, as they are the primary sources for discussing Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo in this chapter.

2.2.1 Examination of Zhu Foshuo's and Lokakṣema's Translations

First of all, I shall briefly summarize the translations of Zhu Foshuo in different materials. In *Anlu* (安錄, a.k.a., Dao'an's *zongli zhongjing mulu* 総理眾經目錄 [*Comprehensive Catalog of Scriptures*]), there was no entry for Zhu Foshuo as Sengyou enumerated Zhu Foshuo as the seven new individuals he found and consequently amended his new catalog (i.e., *Youlu*):

Zhang Qian, Qin Jing, Zhu Foshuo, Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan, Bai Yan and Bo Fazu. These in total seven people are appended newly (to my catalog) after I, Sengyou, compared all kinds of catalogs.

張騫秦景竺朔佛維祇難竺將炎白延帛法祖。凡七人是祐校眾錄新獲所附。

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Therefore, in *Anlu* at least, the translations attributed to Zhu Foshuo was zero. Nevertheless, after comparing different catalogs, Sengyou found one scripture, i.e., a one-fascicle translation of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* should be attributed to him. In *Youlu*, the translations of Zhu Foshuo thus added up to one. In GSZ, however, further reports on Zhu Foshuo's collaborative translation of the two-fascicle

⁹⁰ T 2145.55.10a5–7.

Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra could be found. In later catalogs, this number remained, and compilers believed Zhu Foshuo had rendered two texts, in all three fascicles⁹¹.

As for Lokakṣema, things become more complicated. In *Anlu*, there should be twelve texts ascribed to this translator whereas in *Youlu* there are two more — in sum fourteen. As *Youlu* was constructed based on *Anlu*, therefore it is not surprisingly to see that *Youlu* added two scriptures, i.e., a one-fascicle *Guangming sanmei jing* 光明三昧經 [*The Luminous Samādhi Sūtra*] with the interlinear note “recorded in *bielu*”⁹² (other catalogs) but was absent in *Anlu* (出別錄安錄無), and a two-fascicle *Duozhen tuoluo jing* 倦真陀羅經 (T624, *Drumakīmnararāja-pariprcchā*) with a slightly different interlinear note that denoted the same meaning of “absent in *Anlu*” — “別錄所載安錄無”.

However, there is a minor problem with the one-fascicle *Guangming sanmei jing*. In *Youlu*, it claims that there are nine scriptures, from *Gupin* 古品 to T807 *Neicangbaipin* 內藏百品⁹³, that were ascribed to Lokakṣema, surmising that these were “seemingly to be translated by Lokakṣema (似支譏出也⁹⁴)”. However, from *Gupin* to *Neicangbaipin*, there are in all ten texts, with *Guangming sanmei jing* being intermingled within. Therefore, hypothetically there were originally thirteen scriptures recorded in *Youlu*, but later someone inserted this *Guangming sanmei jing* into *Youlu*, resulting in a total number of fourteen scriptures in Lokakṣema’s entry⁹⁵. Should this be the case, the number would be the same recorded in Lokakṣema’s biography in CSZJJ, where it indicates “(Lokakṣema) issued three scriptures: *Bore daoxingpin* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), *Shoulengyan* (*Śūramgama-samādhi-sūtra*), and *Banzhou Sanme* (*Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*). (He) also issued ten other scriptures including T 626 *Asheshiwang* (*Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodana-sūtra*) and *Baoji* (*Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*) (出般若道行品首楞嚴般舟三昧等三經。又有阿闍世

⁹¹ See LDSBJ, T 2034.49.49c14–15; DTNDL, T 2149.55.220c13; etc.

⁹² For a thorough discussion of various catalogs’ names in CSZJJ, see Chapter 4.

⁹³ T 2145 《出三藏記集》卷 2: 「其古品以下至內藏百品凡九經」 (T 2145.55.6b26–27.)

⁹⁴ T 2145.55.6b27.

⁹⁵ Many scholars have identified the problematic *Guangming sanmei jing*, which was not recorded in *Anlu* but was newly added to *Youlu* (Nattier 2008; Fang 2018, etc). Su and Xiao (2017, 84: FN12) suspect a writing error and that the number nine is wrong.

王寶積等十部經)⁹⁶”, pointing out without equivocation that Lokakṣema translated in all thirteen texts. Huijiao, who may have found this inconsistency after reading *Youlu* and the biographical section in CSJJ, revised the short phrase “等十部經” by merely adding a word “*yu* 餘 [more than]” after “*shi* 十 [ten]”, and thus became “more than ten scriptures (等十餘部經⁹⁷)”.

In addition, on the basis of the record of *Youlu*, Lokakṣema rendered three different scriptures in the second year of Guanghe Era (179 AD), which are: the ten-fascicle *Bore daoxing jing*, a one-fascicle *Banzhou sanmei jing* and a one-fascicle *Baoji jing*. These three scriptures comprise 12 fascicles in total, representing nearly 45% of all Lokakṣema’s works documented in *Youlu*. The fact that almost half of his lifetime’s workload was completed in a single year may raise suspicions regarding the accuracy of the recorded dates.

2.2.2 The Collaborative Translations — *Aṣṭa* and *Prati*

Drawn from historical materials, it shows that Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema have jointly rendered T 224 *Daoxing bore jing* 道行般若經 *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (hereafter abbr. *Aṣṭa*) and *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經 *Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra* (hereafter abbr. *Prati*). However, there are perennial disputes over the authorship of *Aṣṭa* and *Prati*, especially the first text. Before delving into the problematic attributions of these two scriptures, a brief introduction to them will be provided.

⁹⁶ T 2145.55.95c26–27.

⁹⁷ T 2059.50.324b17–18.

2.2.2.1 *Aṣṭa*

Aṣṭa is categorized as Prajñāparamitā literature (Vetter 1994: 1256–1257; Vetter 2001⁹⁸; Karashima 2010) and is the smaller version⁹⁹ of *Prajñāpāramitā*¹⁰⁰, which “first appeared and translated” in China (Orsborn 2012: 47). Its corresponding fragment in Kharoṣṭhī composed in either Gāndhāri or “another similar Prakrit dialect” (Schlosser 2016: 257–258), found near the Pakistan-Afghanistan border (Walser 2018: 129), which content resembles much of the current T 224 ascribed to Lokakṣema, is dated to 47–147 AD by Falk (2011: 20)¹⁰¹, making it one of the oldest extant Buddhist manuscripts¹⁰². As many scholars have contested, the *Aṣṭa* underwent expansions and insertions (Lancaster 1968: 1–4; Conze 1973: xi-xii; Schmithausen 1977: 39; Lethcoe 1977: 273) from Hikata (1958: xxviii–xxxv)’s discerned “Ur-text of the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras”¹⁰³. Therefore, when studying Lokakṣema’s translation of this sūtra, i.e., T 224, scholars sometimes find it difficult to evaluate this translation because it is hard to tell whether the translation is “based on a deviating original or merely an inaccurate or mistaken representation [ein abweichendes Original zugrundeliegt oder es sich lediglich um eine ungenaue oder irrtümliche Wiedergabe handelt]” (Schmithausen 1977: 39). Vetter (1994: 1258) compares the differences between Lokakṣema’s translation with the later translated *Aṣṭa*, explaining that the disparities could be attributed to “another Sanskrit or Prakrit manuscript tradition” that Lokakṣema had at his disposal. This is partially corroborated by Lancaster’s dissertation, as he explicitly notes that the

⁹⁸ Vetter (1994) argues that Mahāyāna and Prajñāpāramitā were not identical and that they merged together at a certain time. He continues to study the first chapter of *Aṣṭa* to prove that Mahāyāna and Prajñāpāramitā originated “in separate, distinct environment” (2001: 61).

⁹⁹ Orsborn (2012: 42) groups Prajñāpāramitā texts into three types. He names the 8,000 (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā*)-10,000 ślokas as “smaller”, and the 18,000-25,000 (*Pañcavimśati-sāhasrikā*) as “medium”, the while 100,000 (*Śatasāhasrikā*) one as “larger”.

¹⁰⁰ Karashima (2017: 5) opposes the “common sense” that the counterpart of “般若經典” is “*Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*”. Therefore throughout this chapter, “般若經典” will be rendered as “*Prajñāpāramitā*”, “*Prajñāpāramitā* texts” or “*Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures”, except when citing the original words of other authors.

¹⁰¹ According to Falk, this C14 test was undertaken at the Leibnitz Labor, “with the result of a calibrated aged of AD 74, won though two-sigma ranges from AD 25-43 (probability 14.3%) and AD 47-147 (probability 81.1%)” (2011: 20).

¹⁰² Scholars warrant that even though this manuscript is “even less developed” than the Chinese T 224, “it cannot be taken as representing the ‘original’ Prajñāpāramitā” (Zacchetti 2015: 181).

¹⁰³ Yang (2013: 123) surmises that based on the T 224 translated by Lokakṣema, the 8,000 ślokas Prajñāpāramitā text may have followed two ways of development. One is that it was “revised after the completion of the system of 18,000 ślokas”, the other is that “in the development from the 8,000 ślokas to the 18,000 ślokas, not all of the contents were incorporated”.

source texts were different between T 224 by Lokakṣema and T 227 by Kumārajīva (1968: 14).

Röllicke (2015: 15) considers the translation year of 179 AD in the colophon “seems quite trustworthy”¹⁰⁴. He further warrants that of all seven extant Chinese translations of *Aṣṭa*, even the earliest Lokakṣema’s version is not a primary text, but an already “intracommented, edited, and likely subcommented text within the commentary itself [intrakommentierter, edierter und wohl auch im Kommentar selbst noch einmal subkommentierter Text]” (p.16).

By comparing Lokakṣema’s *Aṣṭa* with extant versions, Walser finds that there are extra sentences that appear only in Lokakṣema’s translations. He offers a possible explanation that these sentences are “explanatory asides (or interlinear notes) of the translator himself that became incorporated into the text” (2018: 140).

The translation of T 224 was so important to perceive how *Aṣṭa* affected the “Buddho-Taoist movement in China” that Lancaster proposes that “the Taoist influences in the translation of T 224 need to be studied” (1968: 318).

This convoluted question concerning the translator of *Aṣṭa* is hard to solve because there are discrepancies in the records of historical materials, giving rise to a second-layer question derived from the translatorship of *Aṣṭa*: the provocative arguments centering on one-fascicle (Chi. 一卷本) versus ten-fascicle (Chi. 十卷本). Traditionally, the one fascicle of *Aṣṭa* is termed as 道行經, while the ten-fascicle version is called *Daoxing bore jing* 道行般若經 or *Bore daoxingpin jing* 般若道行品經.

In Fascicle 2 of CSZJJ, Zhu Foshuo is credited as the translator of the one-fascicle version, while Lokakṣema translated the ten-fascicle one. However, in Fascicle 7, the *Colophon to Daoxing jing* (hereafter abbr. *Colophon to DXJ*) documents a collaborative translation effort involving both Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema, sparking debates surrounding the authorship and authenticity of the one-fascicle.

Tang (2017: 56) proposes that it is unimaginable that Zhu Foshuo translated *Aṣṭa* twice; Furthermore, according to what Sengyou has said, there was no record of one fascicle

¹⁰⁴ The original sentence is “Das Kolophon der Ausgabe datiert Lokakṣemas Übersetzung auf das Jahr 179 AD, was durchaus glaubwürdig sein dürfte”.

in *Anlu*, therefore it should be issued (*chu*, Chi.出¹⁰⁵) by Zhu Foshuo yet translated/interpreted (*yi*, Chi.譯) by Lokakṣema. That is why Dao'an mentioned Zhu Foshuo in his *Preface to Daoxing jing* (hereafter abbr. *Preface to DXJ*) but attributed the translatorship to Lokakṣema in his catalog *Anlu*. It is Sengyou who misunderstood this intention of Dao'an, thinking there were two versions of translated *Aṣṭa*. In conclusion, Tang argues that there was no one-fascicle version at all. Parallelly, Kajiyoshi (1980: 40–54) also argues that there was only a ten-fascicle version, collaboratively translated by Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo. According to his perspective, Sengyou misunderstood Dao'an's intention and inaccurately recorded in *Youlu* that there were two *Aṣṭas* — one translated by Zhu Foshuo (one fascicle) and another by Lokakṣema (ten fascicles). This argument is accepted by Hikata (1958: xxxvi–xxxviii). Similarly, advocating Tang's point of view, Kamata (1994: 153) also thinks that there is no trace of Zhu Foshuo's one fascicle in *Anlu*. He further purports that in later catalogs, Zhu Foshuo's one fascicle was assigned a new entry, but it is evident that there was only one translated *Aṣṭa* named *Daoxing jing* (hereafter DXJ), and this should be attributed to Lokakṣema. Additionally, he contends that the *Aṣṭa* translated by Lokakṣema is the earliest among all Prajñāpāramitā scriptures (1986: 24).

In contrary, Sakaino (1935: 106–107) asserts that Lokakṣema translated the *Aṣṭa* twice: the first time was a collaboration with Zhu Foshuo, and the second time occurred when he acquired a “full version”, prompting him to work on the text again. On the other hand, Fang (2018) thinks uniquely: he objects the assertion that *Aṣṭa* was translated collaboratively by Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema, rather it has been translated twice by Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema respectively: Zhu Foshuo translated the one-fascicle version, while Lokakṣema translated the ten-fascicle version.

¹⁰⁵ The problematic word “*chu* 出 [issue]” together with “*yi* 譯 [interpret/ translate]” has been discussed by many scholars. This verb will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Other scholars do not focus on the one-fascicle vs. ten-fascicle issue, in turn they discuss mainly the collaborative translation of Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo or other aspects of the translation of *Aṣṭa*.

For example, Liang (1999) mentions that Lokakṣema rendered the ten-fascicle DBJ, which was a rare case, because most of his translations usually did not exceed 3 fascicles. He also makes a passing remark that Zhu Foshuo had his own translation version of *Aṣṭa* (p. 3813). This opinion is supported and echoed by Wang (1984: 69).

Zürcher (2007: 35) approves that the translation of *Aṣṭa* was “based on manuscripts brought from India by Zhu Foshuo” and that “the attribution of the first Chinese version [...] to Lokakṣema and Zhu Shuofo seems to be well-established”, stating that Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema collaborated to translate the *Aṣṭa*.

Lancaster (1975: 30–31) shuns the problems concerning collaboration or the attribution of one fascicle/ ten fascicles, only mentions that according to the catalog, it is Lokakṣema who first translated the *Aṣṭa*.

Without mentioning one fascicle, Harrison (1993: 141–142) credits Lokakṣema as the translator of ten fascicles version, defending the authenticity by asserting that there is “no cause to question the traditional attribution”. Believing that the preface written by Dao'an (the *Preface to Daoxing jing*) should pertain to the ten-fascicle version, he contends that this colophon informs us about the collaborative translation by Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema.

Nattier (2008: 75–80), consenting Harrison's interpretation that DBJ can be seen as a benchmark to testify other scriptures that are credited to Lokakṣema, also argues that the T 224 is Lokakṣema's original translation, albeit with later alteration. The source text, assumed from historical descriptions, is the text brought to China by Zhu Foshuo. However, Nattier also notices that the *Colophon to DXJ* was written for the co-translated DXJ by Zhu Foshuo with the help of Lokakṣema (p.78, FN184).

Lehnert (2000: 37) thinks that collaboration of Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo does not negate the possibility of a comprehensive “Auskoppelung [extraction]”, which is one-fascicle and is the first chapter of DXJ.

2.2.2.2 *Prati*

Prati is considered to have been influenced by the Prajñāpāramitā ideas (Harrison 1978: 48–51; Zucchetti 2015: 171) and the *Prati* rendered by Zhu Foshuo, Lokakṣema and two native Chinese scribes is considered to be “the first text dealing with the Buddha Amitābha” translated in China (Mochizuki 2001: 241). Its Gāndhārī fragments are reportedly to have been “found at Bamiyan” (Harrison et al. 2018: 120) and according to the linguistic and paleographic features, they are “characteristic of Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī of the middle period” that ranges roughly “between the first BCE and the second century CE” (p. 121). According to Harrison et al., just as the comparison made between Lokakṣema’s translated *Aṣṭa* and its Gāndhārī fragments, Lokakṣema’s translated *Prati* is also “similarly compact” and even “more compact than the Gāndhārī” (p.120). Harrison et al. also examined that of all four extant Chinese versions of *Prati*, only T 418 of Lokakṣema (translated in year 179) and T416 rendered by Jñānagupta in year 595 are complete (p.118). Harrison also proposes that even though Lokakṣema’s *Aṣṭa* is considered to be “the oldest Mahāyāna sūtra”, however his *Prati* “must at least share this honor with his version of the Pras” (1979: x). The importance of this translated *Aṣṭa* is needless to say.

Things seem simpler when it comes to the translatorship of *Prati* than that of *Aṣṭa*. However, there is one often-discussed question, namely the authorship. In Taishō, there are two versions of *Prati* which are accredited to Lokakṣema — T 417 and T 418. Scholars have discussed the authorship of these texts.

Hayashiya (1945: 544–578) argues that T 417 is only a shortened version of T 418 and T 418 should be accredited to Lokakṣema as the word usages are consistent with that of Lokakṣema’s translated *Aṣṭa*.

Harrison (1978: 40–41) examines this matter elaboratively. After filtering through Taishō, he describes that there are two version of BSJ that can be accredited to Lokakṣema, namely T 417 (one fascicle) and T 418 (three fascicles). T 418 can be further subdivided into redaction a and redaction b, Harrison thinks redaction a has

somehow preserved Lokakṣema's original translation, albeit only for the first six chapters. As for T 417, which is also credited to Lokakṣema, Harrison has discovered that it is an abridgement of redaction b. Likewise, Andrew (1993: 21) also contends that the BSJ is first translated by Lokakṣema (T 418, 3 scrolls) and then summarized into one scroll (T 417).

2.2.2.3 Kajiyoshi's and Fang's Arguments concerning the Chinese Translations of *Aṣṭa*

The importance of the earliest extant Chinese translation of *Aṣṭa* — T 224, is stressed overtly by scholars and is described as “probably the most important witness from a historical point of view” (Zacchetti, 2015: 182). Therefore, it is necessary to examine if there was a one-fascicle DXJ and whether Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo rendered *Aṣṭa* collaboratively.

Concerning the issue of the ever-existence of the one-fascicle DXJ, Kajiyoshi and Fang are two representative scholars whose ideas need to be analyzed. Accordingly, their arguments will be elaborated minutely.

Before we move on to the elaboration of the two scholars' viewpoints, first the historical materials based on which their arguments (and later my own interpretation) extended should be introduced.

One of the powerful pieces of evidence that corroborate the existence of one-fascicle DXJ is an annotation composed by Dao'an for *Daoxing pin* 道行品 [*Chapter of Daoxing*] recorded in *Xinji angong zhujing ji zijingzhi lu* 新集安公注經及雜經志錄 [*New Collection of Annotated Scriptures by Master An and Record of Miscellaneous Treatises*; hereafter abbr. XAZZL] in Fascicle 5, CSZJJ, with an interlinear note written by Dao'an that states:

Daoxingpin (jing) is an abstract of *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*; after Buddha's nirvāṇa an eminent man of the foreign land composed it (by abstracting); its words and phrases are simple (yet redundant), and the beginnings and ends conceal themselves in each other, and so I made a note-book of one fasciculus by collecting the different points [between “*Daoxing*” and the Larger text], and named it “*Jiyi zhu*”.¹⁰⁶

道行品者。般若抄也。佛去世後。外國高明者撰也。辭句質複首尾互隱。為集異注一卷。¹⁰⁷

This note is the same with the interlinear note accredited to Zhu Foshuo in *Youlu* which reads:

Daoxing jing, one fascicle. (Master An said: *Daoxingpin (jing)* is an abstract of *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*; [it was] composed by a wise man of the foreign land.

Master An wrote a preface and an annotation for it).

道行經一卷(安公云: 道行品經者，般若抄也。外國高明者所撰。安公為之序注)。¹⁰⁸

It is evident that the underlined sentences are roughly the same and that Sengyou borrowed contents from XAZZL to complete some interlinear notes in his *Youlu*. DXJ is not a single case. For example, in XAZZL Dao'an annotated *Da daodi jing* 大道地經 (*Yogācāra-bhūmi*) that:

Da daodi is excerpted from *Yogācāra-bhūmi*. [It was] excerpted from the foreign land. [I, Dao'an] composed one-fascicle annotation for it.
大道地者。修行抄也。外國所抄。為注一卷。¹⁰⁹

Then Sengyou copied almost verbatim this information in An Shigao's entry in *Youlu*:

Da daodi jing, two fascicles. (Master An said: *Da daodi jing* is excerpted from *Yogācāra-bhūmi*. [It was] excerpted from the foreign land.)

大道地經二卷(安公云: 大道地經者，修行經抄也。外國所抄)¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ This is translated by Hitaka (p. xxxvii) except for some minor alterations.

¹⁰⁷ T 2145.55.39c6–7.

¹⁰⁸ T 2145.55.6b7.

¹⁰⁹ T 2145.55.39c21.

¹¹⁰ T 2145.55.5c28.

It shows that Sengyou copied Dao'an's notes in XAZZL almost in a word-for-word way. Accordingly, the interlinear note for Zhu Foshuo's one-fascicle DXJ is also highly possible to have been copied from XAZZL where Dao'an said he composed *Jiyi zhu* for the *Daoxingpin jing*¹¹¹. Scholars often combine this short interlinear note with Dao'an's *Preface to Daoxing jing* to examine whether Sengyou misunderstood Dao'an's intention, ascribing or even falsely "made up" a one-fascicle DXJ to Zhu Foshuo.

In order to present the full information, another pivotal historical material — Dao'an's *Preface to Daoxing jing* will be partly presented below:

This scripture [...] The expressions seem verbose, yet each has its own central meaning; the doctrines appear to overlap, yet each has its own main point¹¹² [...]

After the Buddha attained *nirvāṇa*, some foreign scholar of great erudition hand-copied the source sūtra from the ninety chapters¹¹³ and made it *Daoxingpin*. In the Han Dynasty, under Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling, this manuscript was brought by Zhu Shuofu [var. Zhu Foshuo] to the capital [Luoyang] and translated into Chinese. The translation followed the meaning of the source, the sounds were transmitted accordingly, and the sublime words were reverently rendered without any embellishment. But since the source sūtra had been copied by hand and the chapters had been heavily edited, and since the usages and the sounds of the two languages were different, and also since translators did not achieve the three kinds of awareness (*trividyā*), how could the translation obtain the original text in every aspect? As a result, this translation was disjointed in parts, and scholars who commented on it in the past have often been obstructed. Determined to end this sorry state of affairs, Zhu Shixing hunted for the source, found it in Khotan, and had it brought to Cangyuan. There a translation was issued, and this was the *Fangguang jing*. In this translation, the repetitive parts were removed, and abridgements were made to ensure ease of reading. Should the entire text be translated, it would

¹¹¹ Note that Dao'an composed it for the *Daoxingpin jing* 道行品經 instead of *Daoxing jing* 道行經. This is discussed by Kajiyoshi below.

¹¹² This is a translation of Hurviz and Link (1974: 422).

¹¹³ As to which text Dao'an referred to as ninety chapters (九十章) is problematic. Scholars such as Nakajima, Aramaki and Cheung all suppose this was the text Zhu Foshuo had brought to Luoyang, therefore they rendered it more or less as "a foreign erudite excerpted ninety chapters from the original text and this was *Daoxingpin*". However, according to the *Colophon to Fuangguang jing* in fascicle 7, CSZJJ, the "full text" which Zhu Shixing got from Khotan was also ninety chapters, and this was translated by Mokṣala and Zhu Shulan into Chinese into also ninety chapters, so what Dao'an meant by "ninety chapters" should refer consistently in all his three prefaces concerning the original source text of Prajñāpāramitā that consisted of ninety chapters. Therefore, the sentence "外國高士。抄九十章。為道行品" should be interpreted as "a foreign erudite excerpted from ninety chapters and this excerpt was *Daoxingpin*". Osborn (2012: 48) accordingly translates it as "transcribed the Path Practice (道行) from the ninety sections [of the medium sūtra]", which I assume is the right interpretation.

be more than three times as long. The translation was particularly effective in bringing out the Buddhist notion of *nirvāṇa*; it also captured the doctrine of emptiness most skillfully, demonstrating a dexterity in translation that would be very hard to emulate. The two masters illuminated even the remotest parts of the great wisdom. But so did Lokakṣema's full translation¹¹⁴. Why? It is because a *sūtra* that has been excerpted and deleted is bound to suffer distortions. A sutra translator's supreme maxim is to let the text follow the sublime words.

I, Dao An, [...] examine the text I hold fast to this as my principle. By studying the different translations and examining all the details pertaining to their emanation, I have gained great satisfaction, feeling as though I was removing the blemishes from a piece of jade. Without the *Fangguang jing*, how can we understand the meaning of this scripture? We owe our thanks to the early sages from whom we have benefited so much! Gathering together what I have collected, I have appended explanations to the lines so that the beginning and end could become clear, and the disjointed parts could be filled out. In translating a sutra, different interpretations should be noted, and the gains and losses should be annotated. Comparing the translations, I have dared to make additions and deletions.

其經也[...]言似煩而各有宗。義似重而各有主[...]

佛泥曰後。外國高士抄九十章為道行品。桓靈之世朔佛齋詣京師。譯為漢文。因本順旨。轉音如已敬順聖言了不加飾也。然經既抄撮合成章指。音殊俗異。譯人口傳。自非三達胡能一一得本緣故乎。由是道行頗有首尾隱者。古賢論之。往往有滯。仕行恥此。尋求其本。到于闐乃得。送詣倉垣。出為放光品。斥重省刪務令婉便。若其悉文將過三倍。善出無生論空特巧。傳譯如是。難為繼矣。二家所出足令大智煥爾闡幽。支識全本其亦應然。何者。抄經刪削。所害必多。委本從聖。乃佛之至戒也。安[...]檢其所出事本終始。猶令析傷玷缺厭然無際。假無放光何由解斯經乎。永謝先哲所蒙多矣。今集所見為解句下。始況現首終隱現尾。出經見異。銓其得否。舉本證抄敢增損也。¹¹⁵

By comparing Dao'an's short note in XAZZL with this preface, the core concern of scholars is, namely, **did Dao'an's note and preface refer to Lokakṣema's ten-fascicle T 224, or to the one-fascicle DXJ attributed to Zhu Foshuo?**

¹¹⁴ Aramaki (1993:68) construes this sentence as "Lokakṣema's full version is definitely the same; Hurvitz and Link (1974: 423) renders it as Lokakṣema's "complete text must surely also have been like this".

¹¹⁵ T 2145.55.47a28–c3.

① Kajiyoshi's Interpretation

Kajiyoshi tackles this issue first by examining the *Preface to Daoxing jing* 道行經序 composed by Dao'an, which is attached to the current T 224 — the ten-fascicle version. As stated above, Sengyou thought Dao'an wrote this preface for the one-fascicle DXJ rendered by Zhu Foshuo. However, Kajiyoshi thinks differently. He argues that because in the preface there is a short phrase “three hundred thousand words (三十萬言)” and another phrase “*Daoxingpin (jing)* 道行品” instead of “*Daoxing jing* 道行經”, therefore this preface should be referring to the ten-fascicle T 224 by Lokakṣema (p. 46). He then proceeds to discuss the different usages of “*Daoxingpin jing*” and “*Daoxing jing*” by Dao'an and concludes that “pin 品” was employed when Dao'an contrasted the Larger version with the Shorter version of *Prajñāpāramitā* whereas “*Daoxing jing*” could denote both when one of the two is under discussion (p. 48). He explains that Sengyou misunderstood Dao'an's intention and believed there was a one-fascicle DXJ because of the erratic ways of recording scriptures in *Anlu* and Dao'an's ambiguous expressions in the *Preface to Daoxing jing*. Kajiyoshi cites Sengyou's assessment of *Anlu* that “*Anlu* was indeed good, but it was too simple. Dao'an only abstracted scriptures' titles with two characters, and he did not list the fascicle numbers (安錄誠佳。頗恨太簡。注目經名撮題兩字。且不列卷數¹¹⁶; boldened by Kajiyoshi, p.49)”. Kajiyoshi further compares two phrases in the *Preface to Daoxing jing* and the *Preface to the Excerpt of Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, both composed by Dao'an, — “a dexterity in translation that would be very hard to emulate¹¹⁷ (傳譯如是。難為繼矣¹¹⁸)” in the former and “Lokakṣema and An Shigao exercised great caution and captured the source, and it was difficult for those who came later to emulate them¹¹⁹ (支譏世高。審得胡本難繫者也¹²⁰)” in the latter. Because the similarity of these two

¹¹⁶ T 2145.55.16c12–13.

¹¹⁷ This is a translation from Yue and Cheung (2010: 73). Zhu and Zhu (2006: 10) construe this phrase in a similar way, proposing that “this is a tough act to follow for successors because of the high level of translation”. However, Nakajima (1997: 41) renders it differently as “it is hard to pass down the scriptures unless they are translated as such [經典の伝訳はこうでなければ、継承することは難しい]”. I would follow Yue and Cheung's translation here.

¹¹⁸ T 2145.55.47b23–24.

¹¹⁹ This is a translation from Yue in Cheung's book (2010: 80).

¹²⁰ T 2145.55.52c12–13.

short sentences, Kajiyoshi opines that even the former did not explicitly mention Lokakṣema, it should be alluding to Lokakṣema's translation (p. 51). Accordingly, even though Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema appeared separately in the *Preface to Daoxing jing*, but they represent the same translated text — the ten-fascicle T 224. Kajiyoshi then purports that the phrase “the fuller text of Lokakṣema's translation must have been also as such¹²¹ (支譏全本其亦應然¹²²)” does not mean that Lokakṣema's version is complete, but rather it is also an excerpt but is only fuller compared with *Daoxing pin* and *Fangguang pin* 放光品 (p.53).

However, Kajiyoshi's arguments are somewhat problematic and therefore it is inevitable to go through his viewpoints again. First, Kajiyoshi asserts that because of the phrase “three hundred thousand words” in the *Preface to Daoxing jing*, it manifests and proves that this is the preface written for the ten-fascicle version. However, the current word count of T 224 is 92,114 characters, occupying only one third of “three hundred thousand words”. To ascertain the preface is written for the ten-fascicle version solely based on this specific numeric phrase seems questionable. Then what does this “three hundred thousand words” refer to? I assume that it refers to the word counts of the source text of DXJ. It could be the “medium version” of Prajñāpāramitā from which the source text for one-fascicle and ten-fascicle are extracted or the extracted version itself. The reason for this is another unique term “six hundred thousand words (六十萬言)” referring to the source text of both Larger and Shorter versions in Chinese materials. For example, in the *Preface to the Abstract of the seminal Comparison of the Larger and Shorter Versions* 大小品對比要抄序 there is the sentence that shows the original text of Larger and Shorter Versions contains six hundred thousand words: “Larger and Shorter Versions came from this original text, which has six hundred thousand words 夫大小品者出於本品。本品之文有六十萬言¹²³”. In the *Colophon to Fangguang jing* 放光經記, it also shows that “[Zhu Shixing] copied the original brāhmaṇī text, ninety chapters and six hundred thousand words in total 寫得正品梵書。

¹²¹ This is translated by Hitaka (p.xxxvii), with only minor alterations.

¹²² T 2145.55.47b24–25.

¹²³ T 2145.55.56a23–24.

胡本九十章。六十萬餘言¹²⁴”。 Since the source text of Prajñāpāramitā scripture is considered to be of six hundred thousand words, then it is possible to surmise that “three hundred thousand words” refers to a medium version or the extracted version, equaling with the source text of the one-fascicle or ten-fascicle version. Consequently, it is problematic to ascertain that the *Preface to Daoxing jing* is written for the ten-fascicle translation exclusively based on the phrase “three hundred thousand words”.

In addition, it is also far-fetched to assume that Dao'an was alluding Lokakṣema when he commented on the quality of DXJ, because he applied similar word usages (i.e., 難為繼 vs. 難繫). As a matter of fact, Dao'an employed many similar expressions when he described different translators. For example, he articulated that there were obscurities in T 602 *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經 (*Ānāpānasmr̥ti Sūtra) by phrasing that “**The meaning is hidden** and not yet revealed. I, Dao'an, overestimating myself, dare to interpret based on the predecessors to annotate as follows (義或隱而未顯者。安竊不自量。敢因前人為解其下¹²⁵)”。 A similar phrase is used to denote Dharmarakṣa's translation where Dao'an said he “(Dharmarakṣa's translations) have many **hidden meanings**, (therefore I, Dao'an) composed one-fascicle annotation for it [多有隱義。為作甄解一卷¹²⁶]”。 Accordingly, similar assessments do not certify and guarantee that the author (i.e., Dao'an) was referring to the same translator.

② Fang's Interpretation

Fang, on the contrary, offers a succinct conclusion, proposing that Sengyou did not make a mistake and that Lokakṣema rendered the ten-fascicle version whereas Zhu Foshuo translated a one-fascicle version respectively. Based on the same materials, Fang construes them differently from Kajiyoshi's. He discusses the independent entity of Zhu Foshuo's one-fascicle by citing Dao'an's comment in the *Preface to Daoxing jing* — “the fuller text of Lokakṣema's translation must have been also as such (支譏全本。其亦應然)” after Dao'an remarked on Zhu Foshuo's edition. This seems to

¹²⁴ T 2145.55.47c12–13.

¹²⁵ T 2145.55.43c22–23.

¹²⁶ T 2145.55.39c12–13.

Fang that it implies Dao'an's awareness of the separate existence of Zhu Foshuo's version from Lokakṣema's version. He therefore argues that Lokakṣema translated the ten-fascicle version alone, i.e., Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo never collaborated to translate *Aṣṭa*. This proposition could be vouched by *Youlu* Fascicle 2 and Fascicle 5 and the biography of Zhu Foshuo in CSZJJ and GSZ, where it clearly indicates Zhu Foshuo brought the source text of DXJ to Luoyang and then rendered it from *hu* (Indic) language to *han* (Chinese) language. In conclusion, Fang assumes that Zhu Foshuo has rendered one-fascicle DBJ alone while Lokakṣema the ten-fascicle version alone.

2.2.2.4 Rethinking the One-fascicle and the Ten-fascicle Versions

As a matter of fact, there were early scholars who were not cataloguers but who also noticed this question. For example, Xingquan 性權 of the Qing Dynasty recorded in X 980 *Sijiao yizhu huibu fuhong ji* 四教儀註彙補輔宏記 [*The Records of the Auxiliary Compilation Supplements to the Ritual Annotations of the Tiantai Four Teachings*] that:

Daoxing (jing), translated by Zhu Foshuo; the new *Daoxing (jing)*, translated by Lokakṣema.

道行。竺朔譯。新道行。支讖譯。¹²⁷

It seems that since Sengyou recorded this one-fascicle DXJ in *Youlu*, later cataloguers and scholars were consistent in noting this translation in their catalogues and works until the Qing Dynasty.

For as much as the current debate, I will tackle this issue through a three-layer process: First, I will examine Dao'an's comments on Lokakṣema and other translators; Second, I will investigate whether Dao'an's comments on Lokakṣema could allude to the long-debated question in terms of whose translation was Dao'an's *Preface to DXJ* was composed for; Third, I will try to discuss if there was a one-fascicle DXJ and if Sengyou

¹²⁷ X980.57.686c21–22.

misunderstood Dao'an's intention, as suggested by scholars. I aim to argue that the Preface to DXJ was composed for two translations of Asta. One was undertaken by Zhu Foshuo and his collaborators, possibly with Lokaksema acting as the interpreter. The second was translated probably by Lokaksema himself (even though Lokaksema and Zhu Foshuo could have collaborated twice). Sengyou witnessed the one-fascicle DXJ and included it in his *Youlu*. However, he may not have the access to the *Colophon to DXJ*, which is currently preserved in Fascicle 7 in *Youlu*.

① Dao'an's Evaluations of Lokaksema's Translation Styles

Lokaksema's translation quality was traditionally assessed as “*zhi* 質[unhewn]” and in Zhi Qian's *Preface to Fajujing* 法句經, he quoted famous translators' names, i.e., An Shigao, An Xuan 安玄 and Yan Fodiao 嚴佛調, but did not mention his grand-master Lokaksema. According to Zhi Mindu 支慤度's *He shoulengyan jing ji* 合首楞嚴經記 *Memorandum on a Variorum Edition of the Śūramgamasamādhi-sūtra*¹²⁸, Zhi Qian probably corrected some of Lokaksema's translation possibly because “Zhi Qian disliked Lokaksema's translations as the wordings were unhewn and there were many *hu* sounds (transliterations) 越嫌譏所譯者辭質多胡音¹²⁹”. Nevertheless, what were the differences between the translations made by An Shigao, An Xuan, Yan Fodiao and those by Lokaksema? Why did not Zhi Qian name Lokaksema as the predecessor in his preface? The different wordings attributed to them may unveil the conundrum of the translatorship of DXJ.

First, let us see how Zhi Qian evaluated the translations rendered by An Shigao, An Xuan and Yan Fodiao. In the *Preface to Fajujing*¹³⁰, Zhi Qian commented that:

Tianzhu language is very different from Chinese, and the script is called “heavenly script” while the spoken language is called “heavenly language”. As the terms used to denote things are so different, it is difficult to transmit the

¹²⁸ For a discussion of the authenticity of the preface's author, see Nattier (2008: 123, FN34).

¹²⁹ T 2145.55.49b4–5.

¹³⁰ A translation of a fuller excerpt of this preface can be found in the following chapter.

fact. Only the translators in the olden days — An Shigao and An Xuan from Parthia, and Yan Fodiao — who translated the sutras from foreign language into Chinese, **achieved the appropriate form and style, and it is hard to find men who can emulate their achievement.** Later translators could not deliver the same tight reasoning and the full density of meaning, but they were still able to concentrate on the substance and capture the main ideas.

天竺言語與漢異音。云其書為天書。語為天語。名物不同。傳實不易。唯昔藍調安侯世高都尉弗調。譯胡為漢。審得其體。斯以難繼。後之傳者雖不能密。猶尚貴其實。粗得大趣。¹³¹

According to Zhi Qian, translators before him can be grouped into two kinds: 1. An Shigao, An Xuan and Yan Fodiao, whose translations “truly achieved the ST’s style 審得其體” and 2. later translators, who could not “closely [deliver the meaning] 密” but still could “value the content and generally grasped the main meanings 尚貴其實。粗得大趣”¹³².

To succinctly summarize the information, it shows that:

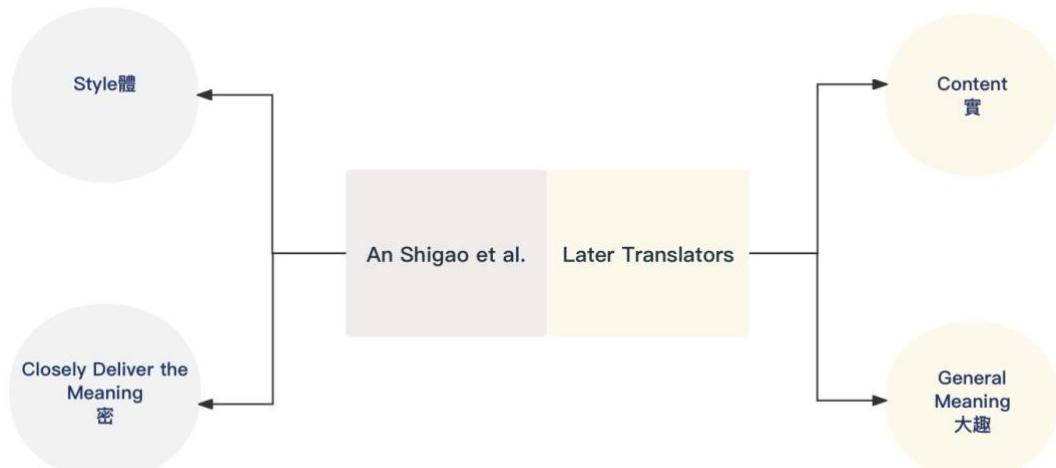


Figure 2.1 Zhi Qian’s Evaluation of the Translation Styles of An Shigao and of Other Translators

Since this is the earliest text that evaluates translators’ qualities, let us examine if this “*ti* 體” and “*mi* 密” concur with other assessments of An Shigao, for whom Dao'an wrote many prefaces. Below is a summary table of Dao'an’s comments.

¹³¹ T 2145.55.50a5–9.

¹³² The translations of 體, 密, 實 and 趣 are based on Cheung’s translation (2010: 59). She renders 體 as “form and style”, 密 as “deliver (the same) tight reasoning”, 實 as “substance” and 趣 as “main ideas”.

Reviewee	Source	Content
An Shigao	摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序	前人出經。 <u>支讖世高</u> 。審得胡本難繫者也。又羅支越。斷鑿之巧者也。巧則巧矣。懼竅成而混沌終矣。 ¹³³
	大十二門經序	此經世高所出也。 <u>辭旨雅密</u> 正而不艷。比諸禪經最為 <u>精悉</u> 。 ¹³⁴
		然世高出經。 <u>貴本不飾</u> 天竺古文。文通尚質。倉卒尋之。時有不達。 ¹³⁵
	人本欲生經序	世高譯為晉言也。 <u>言古文悉</u> 。義妙理婉。 ¹³⁶
	陰持入經序	譯梵為晉。 <u>微顯闡幽</u> 。其所敷宣專務禪觀。醇玄道數。深矣遠矣。 ¹³⁷
	道地經序	音近雅質敦兮若撲。或變質從文。或因質不飾。皇矣世高 <u>審得厥旨</u> 。 ¹³⁸

Table 2.1 Dao'an's Comments on An Shigao's Translation Style

In contrast, Dao'an commented other translators predicated Zhi Qian, including Lokakṣema as:

Reviewee	Source	Content
Zhu Foshuo (and his team)	道行經序	因本順旨。轉音如已。敬順聖言。了不加飾也[...]胡能一一得本緣故乎。 ¹³⁹
Lokakṣema	摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序	<u>支讖世高</u> 。 <u>審得胡本難繫者也</u> 。
	CSZJJ; GSZ	凡此諸經。 <u>皆審得本旨</u> 。了不加飾。可謂善宣法要弘道之士也。 ¹⁴⁰

¹³³ T 2145.55.52c12–14.

¹³⁴ T 2145.55.46b6–8.

¹³⁵ T 2145.55.46b15–17.

¹³⁶ T 2145.55.45a26–27.

¹³⁷ T 2145.55.44c20–21.

¹³⁸ T 2145.55.69b21–23.

¹³⁹ T 2145.55.47b16–17.

¹⁴⁰ T 2145.55.95c29–96a1.

Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳	CSZJJ; GSZ	孟詳出經奕奕流便。足騰玄趣。 ¹⁴¹
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Table 2.2 Dao'an's Comments on the Translation Styles of Other Translators Predating Zhi Qian

It seems that Dao'an's comments towards An Shigao were consistent with Zhi Qian's evaluation. An Shigao was commented by Zhi Qian as maintaining the “*ti* [style]” of the source texts and whose translations had “*mi* [tight reasoning]” as the ST. Likewise, Dao'an also used similar expressions to describe his translation styles such as “the expressions and intentions were elegant and tight (辭旨雅密)” and that they “valued the ST (貴本)”, “exactly maintained (the style and content) of the ST (審得胡本)” that possibly retained the “*ti* (style)” of the original texts as Zhi Qian observed.

Dao'an also complied with Zhi Qian's observations on post- An Shigao's translator — Kang Mengxiang, who was appraised as “enough to highlight the obscure meaning (足騰玄趣)” — an assessment that concords with Zhi Qian's “roughly got the basic meaning (粗得大趣)”).

However, what differentiates Zhi Qian's and Dao'an's comments is on the evaluation of Lokakṣema's translations. Contrasting with Zhi Qian's allusive way of grouping Lokakṣema with the translators postdated An Shigao, whose translations grasped the content and the basic meaning of the ST, Dao'an juxtaposed him next to An Shigao, creating a group represented by the two — “Lokakṣema and An Shigao (支讖世高)”. Dao'an thus applied similar descriptions of An Shigao to the translation styles of Lokakṣema, opining that Lokakṣema also “exactly grasped the original meaning (審得本旨)” and “exactly maintained (the style and content) of the ST (審得胡本)”. In addition to the comment of praising Lokakṣema for adhering to the ST, Dao'an also judged that his translations did not add any flowery ornaments (了不加飾).

¹⁴¹ T 2145.55.96a21–22.

② *Preface to DXJ* — For Whose Translation was It Composed?

It is then compulsory to examine whether Dao'an's comments on Lokakṣema's translation styles could hint the answer to the question: for whose translation was Dao'an's *Preface to DXJ* composed? Sengyou, for example, claimed that the preface was composed for the one-fascicle DXJ as he asserted in the entry of Zhu Foshuo:

Daoxing jing, one fascicle. [...] Master An wrote a **preface** and an annotation for it).
道行經一卷([...]安公為之序注)。

However, if we examine the wordings in Dao'an's preface, we will find that the two above-mentioned characteristics of Lokakṣema's translation styles, i.e., obeyance to the ST (審得胡本) and direct translating without ornaments (了不加飾), could correspond to the translation quality of Dao'an's description to the DXJ in his preface, i.e., “the translation followed the meaning of the source, the sounds were transmitted accordingly and the sublime words were reverently rendered without any embellishments¹⁴² (因本順旨。轉音如已¹⁴³。敬順聖言。了不加飾也)”. The similarities between Dao'an's comments on *Daoxingpin jing* and on Lokakṣema imply that the *Preface to DXJ* was at least partially written for Lokakṣema's translation of *Aṣṭa*. Moreover, the translation technique, namely transliteration and direct translation without embellishments (轉音

¹⁴² This is translated by Yue and Cheung (Cheung 2014: 72).

¹⁴³ This sentence has different connotation especially for “轉音如已”: Nakajima (1997: 41) comprehends it as “梵音を漢語に直しただけ”, which implies the translation style is more of a transliteration way. Zhu and Zhu (2006: 9) also think that this is merely transliteration. Cheung (2010: 72) construes similarly as “the sounds were transmitted accordingly”. However, Aramaki (1993: 66) interprets otherwise. He thinks this should mean “(原文の意味にもとづいて、)もとのままに漢語へおきかえていったのである”, emphasizing on the translators' obedience on following the original words exactly. Nevertheless, in T 2087 *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Record of Travels to Western Lands] where Bianji 辩机 wrote a panegyric to 玄奘 Xuanzang, in which he transposed some words of this sentence, praising Xuanzang as “覽文如已。轉音猶響。敬順聖旨。不加文飾 (T2087.51.946c29–947a1)”. This “覽文如已” is interpreted as “reading the Sanskrit (texts) as if they were his own works (閱讀梵文如同自己的創作)” by Dong (2016: 755); Nevertheless, Mizutani (1979: 308) understands it differently as “when encountering new sentences, (he) endeavored to maintain the essence of the original text by treating them as familiar, responding to the rhythm as if echoing its sound. (He) respected the intention/meaning of the scriptures without embellishing the language, and strived to convey the correct terminology of the scriptures by providing translations that employed the original Sanskrit for terms where dialects would not be appropriate (transliteration), in order to preserve the original character of the scriptures (新しい文に接してもすでに見慣れたものの如く、音を翻するにも響きに応ずるが如くで、經典の趣旨を素直に尊重して文飾を加えることなく、訳語を当てても意のそぐわぬ方言は梵語をそのまま使うなど、努めて原典の趣を残して經典の語辞を正しく伝えるようにしました)”.

如已。敬順聖言。了不加飾) was also the traits of Lokakṣema's translation style that was endorsed by Zhi Mindu, as mentioned above, that his translations replete with *hu* sounds (transliterations). This further backs up the assumption of Kajiyoshi that the preface was composed for Lokakṣema's translation.

Furthermore, in this preface, there is also the sentence, which describes the content that Dao'an saw: Words seem to be repetitive, yet each has its own foundation; Meaning seems to be redundant, yet each has its own main theme (言似煩而各有宗。義似重而各有主¹⁴⁴). Since there was no record suggesting Dao'an's proficiency in Indic languages, therefore this assessment of the content could only be based on his reading of the translated Chinese text. Dao'an evaluated the original Indic sources as:

The *hu*-language scriptures are minutely detailed in terms of chants and gathas. They are repetitive and wordy. They may run three or four times over and over again without being tired of this prolixity [...] Even though one subject of matter is completed and when it is about to take up the next topic, then again it repeats the preceding sentences.¹⁴⁵

胡經委悉至於嘆詠。丁寧反覆。或三或四。不嫌其煩 [...] 事已全成。將更傍及。反騰前辭。¹⁴⁶

Therefore, the foreign Buddhist texts were indeed tediously cumbersome in Dao'an's eyes. To achieve the translation quality characterized by this kind of “repetitiveness” in words (言煩) and “redundancy” in meaning (義重) in DXJ, it is imaginable that translators could only adopt a literal translation, clinging to the original source text. Consequently, Lokakṣema's translation style fits well with and could possibly generate such repetitive and redundant outcomes that were “bedeviled by obscurities” (Harrison 2000: 165).

In addition, in the above-mentioned note in XAZZL, Dao'an commented that he composed the annotation for this translation because “its words and phrases are simple

¹⁴⁴ T 2145.55.47a29–b1.

¹⁴⁵ This is based on the translation of Held (1972: 97); Hurvitz and Link (1974: 427); So (2009: 56); Yue in Cheung's book (Cheung 2010: 80); etc.

¹⁴⁶ T 2145.55.52b28–c2.

(yet redundant), and the beginnings and ends conceal themselves in each other (辭句質複首尾互隱)”。 This sentence also aligns with the description of the quality of DXJ, which also “concealed themselves” and that only by comparing with *Fangguang jing* 放光經 (hereafter FGJ) can Dao'an make the meaning clearer — “the beginning and end could become clear (始況現首終隱現尾)”。 Moreover, this expression concerning the “concealments of the beginnings and ends” can be found in another preface written for Dharmarakṣa, whose translation style resembles Lokakṣema to some extent. In the *Preface to a Collation of (the Translation of) Extracts from the Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序, hereafter *Preface to MBBJC*), Dao'an lamented that:

Yet, whenever I encountered an impenetrable passage, or a place where the beginnings and ends of respective passages were obscured and hidden, and when, as a consequence, I laid the volume down and pondered deeply on it, I always regretted that I had never met such men as the masters Dharmarakṣa and Ch'a-lo. (Hurvitz and Link, 1974: 426–427)

然每至滯句首尾隱沒。釋卷深思。恨不見護公叉羅等。¹⁴⁷

Here we see a similar expression of concealing the beginnings and the ends. More interestingly, Dao'an employed similar expressions to denote Lokakṣema's and Dharmarakṣa's translation styles. Compared with Lokakṣema's “*liaobujishi* 了不加飾”, Dao'an described Dharmarakṣa's translation as “*shibujishi* 事不加飾¹⁴⁸”, both meaning translating without embellishments.

If in Dao'an's mind, the translation style of Lokakṣema resembled that of Dharmarakṣa so that Dao'an applied similar expressions when describing these two translators, would it be possible that by reviewing Dharmarakṣa's translation technique evaluated by Dao'an, can one get an inkling of inspiration to deduce whose translation was the *Preface to DXJ* composed for? In fact, there is a minor indication. In Dao'an's preface, the translator “followed the meaning of the source, transmitted the sounds accordingly and reverently rendered the sublime words (因本順旨。轉音如已敬順聖言)”。 In comparison, Dharmarakṣa was appraised by Dao'an as “(translated) words aligned with

¹⁴⁷ T 2145.55.52b11–13.

¹⁴⁸ T 2145 《出三藏記集》卷 7: 「事不加飾」 (T 2145.55.48a10).

the Indic source text (言准天竺¹⁴⁹)” and “so plain that it was close to the source text (朴則近本)¹⁵⁰”. It could be discerned that again the general meaning of these respective descriptions is very similar.

On account of the pieces of evidence elaborated above, especially concerning the similar accounts regarding the translation style of the translator in Dao'an's *Preface to Daoxing jing* and Lokakṣema, it could be inferred that Lokakṣema engaged to a great extent in the translation of DXJ and thus Dao'an was alluding to his translation style in his preface.

Nevertheless, can we therefore safely conclude that Dao'an's preface was composed only for Lokakṣema's translation? Or is it reasonable to close this case by saying that then there was only a ten-fascicle version and that the one-fascicle version never existed? My answer to these questions is negative. I propose that Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo could have collaboratively rendered another version of DXJ other than Lokakṣema's ten-fascicle version; and that Sengyou did witness a one-fascicle version despite having no access to the *Colophon to DXJ*, which recorded the collaborative effort of co-translators, including Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo.

First of all, in the *Preface to Daoxing jing*, the existence of Zhu Foshuo, or based on the discussions above, Zhu Foshuo's team is clearly indicated, opposing to Lokakṣema and his translation, which was referred to as “*quanben* 全本 [full text]”. Having discussed Zhu Foshuo's and Zhu Shixing's translations, Dao'an summarized that “what these two persons issued was enough to enable Great Wisdom brightly to illumine the cavernous dark (二家所出足令大智煥爾闡幽; translated by Hurvitz and Link, op.cit., p. 423)”. He then proceeded to talk about Lokakṣema's translation. Accordingly, these “two persons” designate Zhu Foshuo and Zhu Shixing, as Hurvitz and Link propose (p. 441, FN 67). In addition, Zhu Foshuo's (and similarly Lokakṣema's) and Zhu Shixing's versions correspond to the “*chaojing* 抄經 [excerpting scriptures]” and “*shanxue* 刪削 [deleting and whittling]” in Dao'an's preface respectively.

¹⁴⁹ T 2145.55.48a10.

¹⁵⁰ T 2059.50.327a10.

Not only in this *Preface to DXJ*, but also in the *Preface to the Concise Synoptic Explanation of the Fangguang and Gangzan* (合放光光讚略解序, hereafter the *Preface to HFGL*) commented Dao'an on the deleting and pruning of *Fuangguang jing*, which was found by Zhu Shixing but was actually rendered by Mokşala 無羅叉 and Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭. Dao'an mentioned the translation as:

The words were few, the subject matter concise, repetition and overlap having been pared away. (Hurvitz and Link, op.cit., p. 424)

言少事約, 則(則【大】, 刪【宋】【元】【明】)削復重。¹⁵¹

Therefore, FGJ correlates with the “*shaxue*” part, leaving naturally the “*chaojing*” part to denote *Daoxing jing*. Since the source text which was an excerpt of the original “sixty thousand words”, possibly consisting of “three thousand words”, was brought to China by Zhu Foshuo, hence this source text could be the original text of both Zhu Foshuo (and his team)’s translation and Lokakşema’s fuller translation. Accordingly, even though Lokakşema’s translation was a fuller one, it was also based on the excerpt of the original source text and could be categorized as a “*chaojing*”. It is “fuller” possibly because it was compared with Zhu Foshuo’s version, as Kajiyoshi asserts above. Henceforth, when Dao'an claimed in the *Preface to DXJ* that he “by resort to the original (I) have verified the excerpts, taking the liberty to supplement the deficiencies¹⁵² (舉本證抄, 敢增損也)”, because he compared the excerpted versions — either Zhu Foshuo’s one fascicle or Lokakşema’s ten fascicles — with the FGJ that was translated based on the non-excerpted original source. Even though translators deleted repetitions in *Fuangguang jing*, it assumably did not affect the general understanding of the source text so Dao'an commented that it was “brightly illuminating the cavernous dark (煥爾闡幽)” in his *Preface to DXJ* and “pellucid, brilliant and easy to behold (煥然易觀; translated by Hurvitz and Link, *ibid*)” in his *Preface to HFGL*. The translations under the names of Zhu Foshuo and Lokakşema, were insufficient in terms of content. Accordingly, the aim of mentioning the FGJ in a

¹⁵¹ T 2145.55.48a7–8.

¹⁵² Rendered by Hurvitz and Link, *ibid*.

preface written for DXJ was precisely because Dao'an amended the content and identified places of excerpts. I consequently surmise that this *Preface to Daoxing jing* was composed for both Zhu Foshuo's and Lokakṣema's renditions.

③ Re-examining *Anlu* and Sengyou's Records

However, if Dao'an knew that Zhu Foshuo participated in the translation process, why didn't he give an entry for Zhu Foshuo in *Anlu*, just as he did to Zhu Shixing 朱士行? It should be stressed here that Zhu Shixing, even though had an entry in *Anlu*, did not actually participate in the bilingual translation process.

As stated in the *Preface to HFGL* written by Dao'an, the *Colophon to Faungguang jing* as well as the biography of Zhu Shixing, Zhu Shixing copied the ninety-chapter original source text and dispatched his disciples including Punyadarśa 分如檀 (var. 弗如檀, 不如檀) to bring this scripture to Cangyuan. Thereafter Mokṣala together with Zhu Shulan translated it. Zhu Shixing was not directly involved in the bilingual translation process.

Nevertheless, Dao'an gave Zhu Shixing an entry in *Anlu* which indicates:

Fangguang jing, twenty fascicles (issued on the fifteenth of the fifth month in the first year of Yuankang Era of the Jin Dynasty, i.e., 291 AD. It has ninety chapters. Also named *jiu Xiaopin*. Absent)

The text on the right is in all twenty fascicles. During the reign of Duke Gaogui of the Wei Dynasty, the śramaṇa Zhu Shixing arrived Khotan in the fifth year of the Ganlu Era (260 AD). He copied nineteen chapters from the original *fan* script of the *hu* text. At the beginning of the Yuankang Era of Emperor Wu of the Jin Dynasty, it was rendered and issued at the Shuinan Monastery in Cangyuan, Chenliu County.

放光經二十卷(晉元康元年五月十五日出 有九十品 一名舊小品 闕)

右一部。凡二十卷。魏高貴公時。沙門朱士行。以甘露五年到于闐國。

寫得此經正品梵書胡本十九章。到晉武帝元康初。於陳留倉恒水南寺譯出。¹⁵³

¹⁵³ T 2145.55.7b7–11. It should be noted that Naitō (1967: 389) thinks this kind of conclusion after the entry was composed by Sengyou and not by Dao'an. He cited the example of Zhu Shixing, arguing that Dao'an was aware that Zhu Shixing was not the translator, therefore he did not write such a conclusion. However, having compared *Anlu* with other catalogs, Sengyou listed seven new persons that were not recorded in *Anlu* and thus inserted them into his *Youlu* — Zhu Shixing was not one of the seven newly found individuals. Accordingly, even though Dao'an may or may have not composed the compact summary after each entry, he did give Zhu Shixing an entry or at least he

The only subject that appears in this paragraph is the monk Zhu Shixing and naturally the readers will assume him as the translator. However, later cataloguers found this very problematic. For example, Fei Zhangfang questioned this attribution by commenting:

All catalogs said that Zhu Shixing translated this text. Perhaps this is a credit that lauded his feat for discovering this text. After my careful examination and collation [...] it was actually rendered by three persons: Mokṣala, Zhu Shulan and so on. Zhu Shixing stayed and died in Khotan, he only dispatched his disciples to send this scripture to China. How can it be said that Shixing translated this text?

衆經並云。朱士行翻此。蓋據其元尋之人推功歸之耳。房審校勘 [...] 乃是無羅叉竺叔蘭等三人詳譯。朱士行身留停于闐。仍於彼化。唯遣弟子奉齋經來到乎晉地。斯豈得稱士行出也。¹⁵⁴

However, Dao'an himself clearly knew that Zhu Shixing was not the actual bilingual translator. In his *Preface to HFGL*, he noted:

Fangguang (jing). The Khotanese śramaṇa Mokṣala held the *hu* text, Zhu Shulan interpreted the words.

放光于闐沙門無叉羅執胡。竺叔蘭為譯言。¹⁵⁵

Also in his *Preface to MBBJC*, he lamented that he could not see Dharmarakṣa and Mokṣala in person to inquire about the Prajñāpāramitā texts they translated (see above). Accordingly, Dao'an was well aware that Mokṣala and Zhu Shulan were the actual bilingual translators for FGJ but he still chose to establish an entry for Zhu Shixing. Since the names of both Zhu Shixing and Zhu Foshuo appeared in his *Preface to DXJ*, if he attributed an entry to the former, why didn't he do so for the latter?

The reasons for this could be twofold: First, Zhu Shixing's FGJ is very special. Multiple contributors, traversing diverse geographical expansion, engaged in its issuing process through a time span of more than thirty years. However, *Anlu*, as discussed by Kajiyoshi

recorded the name Zhu Shixing in his *Anlu*. The only scripture that had something to do with Zhu Shixing is FGJ, therefore Dao'an must have attributed this scripture to Zhu Shixing. For a thorough discussion of the seven newly found individuals in *Youlu*, see the following Chapter 3 and 4.

¹⁵⁴ T 2034.49.65b12–18.

¹⁵⁵ T 2145.55.48a6–7.

and many scholars above, was very concise. Therefore to explain the ins and outs of the issuing process will engender a lengthy paragraph, contradicting the succinct summary in *Anlu*. In contrast, the issuing of DXJ was not that complicated. Second, as Naitō (1967: 390) observes Dao'an would only list one person as the representative translator for a scripture even if it was collaboratively translated. Actually, this observation is partly correct. A more precise conclusion is that Dao'an would only list one representative translator in an entry with multiple scriptures, for example Zhi Qian rendered many scriptures, therefore even if he co-translated with Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan, Dao'an did not specify it or gave the others a new entry as Sengyou did. However, Dao'an would enumerate the collaborators if there was only one scripture in an entry, as manifested by the entry of An Xuan and Yan Fodiao's translation of *Fajing jing* (法鏡經) or Dharmarakṣa (曇摩羅察)'s *Xuzhen tianzi jing* (須真天子經), which was assisted by other collaborators¹⁵⁶. Consequently, a more reasonable explanation is that Lokakṣema translated *Aṣṭa* twice — the first time collaborated with Zhu Foshuo, creating a one-fascicle version; the second time rendered alone, issuing a ten-fascicle one. Dao'an knew the one-fascicle was rendered by the two translators, but he chose to put this scripture in the entry of Lokakṣema which contained multiple scriptures and he chose Lokakṣema to be the representative translator in *Anlu*, probably because Lokakṣema was the one who conducted bilingual transmission.

Next, I will examine Sengyou's accounts to verify that: firstly, Sengyou did witness a one-fascicle DXJ; second, he did not have access to the *Colophon to DXJ* which is now preserved in Fascicle 7 in CSZJJ; and lastly, Sengyou was aware that the one-fascicle DXJ may have not been directly translated by Zhu Foshuo.

Firstly, Sengyou did witness a one-fascicle DXJ. This is also purported by Fang (see above Fang's Interpretation). To recap briefly, if Sengyou did not see the one-fascicle DXJ in person, assuring that it was still available to him, he would mark it with the character “*que* 闕 [absent, inaccessible, missing]” or “*jinque* 今闕 [currently absent,

¹⁵⁶ The issue of Dao'an's failure of recognizing 曇摩羅察 was Dharmarakṣa (竺法護) and the issue of *Xuzhen tianzi jing* will be discussed in Chapter 4.

inaccessible, missing]” beneath the entry¹⁵⁷. However, the current entry of Zhu Foshuo does not have such markers.

Second, according to the *Colophon to DXJ*, Zhu Foshuo collaborated with Lokakṣema:

On the eighth day of the tenth month in the second year of the Guanghe Era (179 AD), Meng Yuansi of Luoyang in Henan received the oral translation of this sūtra from the Indian Bodhisattva Zhu Shuofo. At that time, the interpreter was the Yuezhi Bodhisattva Lokakṣema, the attendants were Zhang Shao'an of Nanyang, Zibi of Nanhai; the donors included Sunhe and Zhou Tili. On the fifteenth day of the ninth month in the second year of Zhengguang Era (521), śramaṇa Foda copied this text at the Pusa Temple in the west of the city Luoyang.¹⁵⁸

光和二年十月八日。河南洛陽孟元士口授。天竺菩薩竺朔佛時傳言者譯¹⁵⁹。月支菩薩支識時侍者南陽張少安南海子碧。勸助者孫和周提立。正光二年九月十五日洛陽城西菩薩寺中沙門佛大寫之。¹⁶⁰

However, Sengyou did not specify that the DXJ was rendered collaboratively by Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema, countering his compilation mode. For example, Sengyou was aware that T 210 *Faju jing* 法句經 (*Dharmapada*) was rendered by Zhi Qian, Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan, and the entry in *Youlu* looks like the following:

Faju jing, two fascicles.

The scripture on the right is in all two fascicles. During the time of Emperor Wen of the Wei Dynasty, Indic śramaṇa Vighna brought the *hu* script [to]¹⁶¹ Wuchang in the third year of Huangwu Era under the reign of the King Sun Quan of the Wu Kingdom. Zhu Jiangyan and Zhi Qian translated and issued it together.

法句經二卷

右一部。凡二卷。魏文帝時。天竺沙門維祇難。以吳主孫權黃武三年齋胡本。武昌竺將炎共支謙譯出。¹⁶²

It can be seen that if a scripture is rendered with other contributors, Sengyou would indicate it clearly. Accordingly, if Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema co-translated the *Aṣṭa*,

¹⁵⁷ For a discussion of *que* and *jinque*, see Chapter 4 for more details.

¹⁵⁸ This is translated by Chen jinhua (2005: 620), except minor corrections.

¹⁵⁹ Su and Xiao (2017) adopt the reading “譯者”. Nanatsudera (七大寺) version shows “者譯”.

¹⁶⁰ T 2145.55.47c5–9.

¹⁶¹ As for the corrected reading of this passage, see Chapter 3.

¹⁶² T 2145.55.6c10–13.

Sengyou would possibly note down their collaboration in the entry of Zhu Foshuo. Besides, it should be emphasized here that both our protagonists in this chapter: Zhu Foshuo and the translators Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan are of the “seven newly found persons” unrecorded in *Anlu*. Sengyou identified these seven persons by searching through catalogs extensively. Presumably, if there is any evidence that could verify that one-fascicle was a collaborated work, Sengyou would have recorded it as he did to T 210. The fact that Sengyou exclusively attributed it to Zhu Foshuo manifests that based on the materials Sengyou had at hand, Zhu Foshuo was the only namable translator. This calls the authenticity of the *Colophon to Daoxing jing* into question, and we will discuss this matter later on. But now we can conclude that Sengyou possibly did not have access to this colophon when he compiled *Youlu*.

Lastly, however, even though Sengyou may have no accessible materials suggesting the one-fascicle was rendered collaboratively, he could have been aware that Zhu Foshuo was not the only translator, or he was not engaged in the bilingual translation process. The reason lies in his way of summarizing each entry. Below is the table of all the summaries after each entry until Faju 法炬 — the watershed of Sengyou’s collation of catalogs based on *Anlu* and his newly compiled catalogs.

張騫、 秦景、 竺摩騰	漢孝明帝夢見金人，詔遣使者張騫、羽林中郎將秦景到西域，始於月支國遇沙門竺摩騰，譯寫此經還雒陽。
安世高	漢桓帝時，安息國沙門安世高所譯出。
竺朔佛	漢桓帝時，天竺沙門竺朔佛齋胡本至中夏。到靈帝時，於雒陽譯出。
支讖	漢桓帝靈帝時，月支國沙門支讖所譯出。
支曜	漢靈帝時，支曜譯出。

嚴 佛 調 、 安 玄	漢靈帝時，沙門嚴佛調、都尉安玄共譯出。
康孟詳	漢獻帝建安中，康孟詳譯出。
維 祇 難 竺 將 炎	魏文帝時，天竺沙門維祇難以吳主孫權黃武三年齋胡本，武昌竺將炎共支謙譯出。
支謙	魏文帝時，支謙以吳主孫權黃武初至孫倅建興中所譯出。
康僧會	魏明帝時，天竺沙門康僧會以吳主孫權孫亮世所譯出。
白延	魏高貴公時，白延所譯出。
朱士行	魏高貴公時，沙門朱士行以甘露五年到于闐國，寫得此經正品梵書胡本十九章。到晉武帝元康初，於陳留倉垣水南寺譯出。
竺法護	晉武帝時，沙門竺法護到西域，得胡本還。自太始中至懷帝永嘉二年以前所譯出。
聶成遠	優婆塞聶成遠整理文偈
曇 摩 羅 察 (竺法 護)	晉武帝時，天竺菩薩曇摩羅察口授出，安文慧、白元信筆受。
竺叔蘭	晉惠帝時，竺叔蘭以元康元年譯出。
帛法祖	晉惠帝時，沙門帛法祖譯出。
法炬	晉惠、懷帝時沙門法炬譯出。其法句喻、福田二經，炬與沙門法立共譯出。

Table 2.3 Summaries of Entries before Faju

Observing the way Sengyou summarized, it can be perceived that most summaries, indicating only one translator, follow the format of “translator’s name + translate (所/共譯出)”, with the verb “translate (所/共譯出)” closely following the translator’s name. The only three anomalies are the protagonist of this chapter: Zhu Foshuo, the above-discussed Zhu Shixing, and Dharmarakṣa.

It can be seen that these three individuals follow the description mode “the translator’s name [period]+Time + Location+ (所)譯出”. In short, the name of the translator was arranged in a separate sentence with the verb “translate” and there are interpolations between the name and the verb. This indicates that Sengyou found it difficult to determine who the actual translator was. Consequently, he separated the subject, i.e., the translator’s name, from the verb “translate”. He started a new sentence with time or place to prevaricate and avoid ascertaining the definite translator. Apart from the discussed Zhu Shixing, who was not the actual bilingual translator of FGJ, there is also a Dharmarakṣa who translated 154 scriptures according to *Youlu* and had collaborated in many cases with his team members. Therefore, Sengyou also avoided indicating Dharmarakṣa as the only translator of the 154 translations by this sentence structure. In a similar vein, by adopting the same structure to delineate the translation of Zhu Foshuo, Sengyou could be aware that the DXJ was not rendered alone by him. However, without access to the *Colophon to DXJ*, Sengyou could not specify who collaborated with Zhu Foshuo, leaving an ambiguous summary of Zhu Foshuo’s entry.

2.3 The Collaborative Translation Process, the Authenticity of Colophons, and the Collaborator Meng Fu 孟福

In this section, I will examine the collaboration of Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo. First, scholars’ viewpoints will be presented to lay a general foundation for further discussion. Second, the authenticity of both the *Colophon to Daoxing jing* 道行經記 and the *Colophon to Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經記 will be examined. Third, the marginalized person Meng Fu 孟福 will be discussed.

2.3.1 Scholars’ Opinions of the Translation Process

Scholars (e.g., Wang 1984; Cao 1992; Hureau 2010; etc.) have contributed to the decipherment of the translation process based on historical materials. Fuchs (1936: 86) summarized that during the initial stage of Buddhist translation, foreign monks would

translate and expound the source text sentence by sentence (“Satz für Satz übersetzte und erklärte”) to indigenous Chinese individuals, who would then transcribe these words into good Chinese (“in gutem Chinesisch”). However, more details could emerge from this generalized summary of the translation process if we take the collaborative translation of Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo into consideration. As the earliest translation team, their collaborations attract various scholars’ attention.

Maspero (1981: 405) describes the translation process as:

The most curious team was that of Chu Shuo-fo, which in 179 AD translated a text entitled [...] *Pratyutpanna-samādhi sutra*. Chu Shuo-fo was a Hindu who knew no Chinese. He recited the original, which was explained in Chinese by the Indo-Scythian Chih Ch’ān to the Chinese Meng Fu, while a second Chinese, Chang Lien, was responsible for putting it into the written language.

Harrison (1993: 142) depicts the translation process from the *Colophon to DXJ* as:

Lokakṣema worked on it together with the Indian śramaṇa Chu Fo-shuo, who had brought the text from India and who on that occasion recited the original (either from a manuscript or from memory); and that Lokakṣema’s oral rendering in Chinese was taken down in writing by several Chinese assistants.

As for the translation process of *Prati*, Harrison (1993: 146) thinks the *Colophon to BSJ* is somehow obscure, so he assumes that the process should be: Zhu Foshuo recited the original text and Lokakṣema translated it orally, “producing, we may suppose, a fairly rough Chinese rendering” and this was converted into readable Chinese by Meng Fu and then Zhang Lian scribed.

Boucher (2017:06) infers that Zhu Foshuo recited the manuscript as he held it in his hand and it is Lokakṣema who translated and transferred the words to Meng Fu and Zhang Lian, who converted “Lokakṣema’s vernacular rendition into the semiliterary Chinese that characterizes these early translations”. Similarly, Chen (2005: 621) argues that depending on the content of the *Colophon to BSJ*, Lokakṣema acted as the

interpreter, Meng Fu was the “recipient of the original text dictated by Lokakṣema” and Zhang Lian acted as the scribe, without specifying what Zhu Foshuo’s role was.

Scholars’ descriptions of the translation process are primarily based on the *Colophon to DXJ* and the *Colophon to BSJ*. Zhu Foshuo’s role is consistently portrayed as “reciting” or “reciting while holding the original text”, while Lokakṣema is consistently credited as the actual “translator/interpreter”. However, some scholars question the source materials’ authenticity, namely, are the two colophons trustworthy? Other scholars have also taken on the topic of discussing the marginalized collaborators, i.e., Meng Fu 孟福, Zibi 子碧, etc. I will discuss these two matters from different perspectives and argue that the two colophons were inserted into CSZJJ afterwards and Sengyou did not have access to them. In addition, I will also focus on Meng Fu, arguing that he was not merely a scribe, if he scribed at all.

2.3.2 The Authenticity of the Two Colophons

As discussed above, scholars describe the collaborative translation process based on mainly two colophons, namely the *Colophon to DXJ* and the *Colophon to BSJ*. In Lokakṣema’s biography in CSZJJ and GSZ, there is also a description of the collaborative translation of BSJ. In total, there are three historical sources.

These three records are listed below:

·*Colophon to DXJ*:

On the eighth day of the tenth month in the second year of the Guanghe Era (179 AD), Meng Yuansi of Luoyang in Henan received the oral translation of this sūtra from the Indian Bodhisattva Zhu Shufo. At that time, the interpreter was the Yuezhi Bodhisattva Lokakṣema, the attendants were Zhang Shao'an of Nanyang, and Zibi of Nanhai; the donors included Sunhe and Zhou Tili. On the fifteenth day of the ninth month in the second year of the Zhengguang Era (521), Śramaṇa Foda copied this text at the Pusa Temple in the west of the city Luoyang.

光和二年十月八日。河南洛陽孟元士口授。天竺菩薩竺朔佛時傳言者譯。月支菩薩支讖時侍者南陽張少安南海子碧。勸助者孫和周提立。正光二年九月十五日洛陽城西菩薩寺中沙門佛大寫之。¹⁶³

·*Colophon to BSJ:*

On the eighth day of the tenth month of the second year of the Guanghe reign period (179), the Indian Bodhisattva Zhu Shuofu issued¹⁶⁴ the text in Luoyang. At that time the one who transferred the words was the Yuezhi Bodhisattva Lokakṣema. He conferred (his oral translation) upon Meng Fu, styled Yuanshi, of Luoyang in Henan and Zhang Lian, styled Shao'an, who served as assistant to the Bodhisattva, (both of whom) took down (the translation) in writing, causing it subsequently to be disseminated. In the thirteenth year of the Jian'an reign period (208), (the translation) was revised and made complete at the Buddhist Monastery. The later copyists all attained Amithāba/ paid homage to the Buddha (namo buddaya?). Another saying indicates that it was collated and completed at a temple in Xuchang on the eighth day of the eighth month in the third year of the Jian'an Era (198).¹⁶⁵

般舟三昧經。光和二年十月八日。天竺菩薩竺朔佛。於洛陽出。菩薩法護。時傳言者。月支菩薩支讖授與。河南洛陽孟福字元士。隨侍菩薩。張蓮字少安筆受。令後普著在。建安十三年。於佛寺中校定悉具足。後有寫者。皆得南無佛。又言。建安三年歲在戊子八月八日於許昌寺校定。

¹⁶⁶

·the Biography of Zhu Foshuo in CSZJJ (including the collaboration of BSJ):

Śramaṇa Zhu Foshuo was an Indian. During the reign of Emperor Huan of the Han Dynasty (fl. 146–168), (he) also brought *Daoxing jing* to Luoyang (and this scripture) was instantly translated from *hu*/Indic language to *han*/Chinese language. Even the interpreters were not fluent (in languages and the meaning of the source text), therefore the translation lost the intention somehow, still (it) abandoned the refined (translation style) and preserved the unhewn (way of translating), deeply grasped the meaning of the scripture.

Zhu Foshuo also interpreted and issued *Banzhou sanmei jing* in Luoyang in the second year of the Guanghe Era under Emperor Ling (fl. 168–189)'s reign

¹⁶³ T 2145.55.47c5–9.

¹⁶⁴ Zacchetti (1996: 138) translates this *chu* 出 as “recite”; when discussing the translation of DXJ and BSJ, Nakamura (1984: 36) also considers Zhu Foshuo as the reciter. The intricate issue of *chu* will be discussed in Chapter 4.

¹⁶⁵ This is a translated rendered by Boucher (2017) and Chen (2005: 622) with redactions. See Zacchetti (1996) for an alternative translation.

¹⁶⁶ T 2145.55.48c10–16.

(179). At that time Lokakṣema transmitted the words. Meng Fu of Luoyang in Henan and Zhang Lian scribed.

沙門竺朔佛者。天竺人也漢桓帝時。亦齋道行經來適洛陽。即轉胡為漢。譯人時滯雖有失旨。然棄文存質深得經意。朔又以靈帝光和二年。於洛陽譯出般舟三昧經。時譏為傳言。河南洛陽孟福張蓮筆受。¹⁶⁷

Scholars have found that the *Colophon to DXJ* is dubious because of the year — the second year of the Zhengguang Era, which is the year 521, postdating Sengyou's death. Some scholars such as Ikeda (1990: 72) presume that the characters *zhengguang* 正光 are writing errors, suggesting the right way could be *zhengyuan* 正元 which turns the year from 521 to the more reasonable 255. Along the same lines, Chen (2005: 621) proposes a different way of construing these two characters: that the *li* 立 is a corrupted *wang* 王, in addition, a character *he* 和 has been dropped out next to the *guang* 光. Moreover, *er* 二 should be corrected into *san* 三. Therefore the ultimate corrected Chinese sentence should look like “勸助者孫和，周提，王立。光和三年 [...]”, meaning “donators Sun He, Zhou Ti and Wang Li. In the third year of the Guanghe Era (180) [...]”. Chen argues that following this correction, the problematic year could be solved. In addition to scholars who argue that this problematic year is only a writing error, there are also scholars such as Fang (2016: 97) who find this colophon dubious, positing that it was forged posthumously after Sengyou's demise and was interpolated into CSZJJ.

As can be seen above, contrary to scholars' suspicions about the veracity of the *Colophon to DXJ*, there are few concerns regarding the credibility of the *Colophon to BSJ*. In this section, I will argue that although there is no concrete evidence proving the two colophons to be dubious, when compiling *Youlu*, Sengyou saw neither of the colophons and that they were inserted into CSZJJ after Sengyou's completion of *Youlu*.

Let us examine the *Colophon to BSJ*. In the preceding section, the examination of Sengyou's not annotating the collaborative efforts of rendering DXJ by Lokakṣema and

¹⁶⁷ T 2145.55.96a4–6.

Zhu Fuoshuo, attributed to his lack of access to the *Colophon to DXJ* containing information about the joint translation by the two individuals, remains pertinent in the context of discussing the collaborative translation of the BSJ. Sengyou did not specify that BSJ was a collaborative outcome in the Lokakṣema's entry. Furthermore, he did not employ the specific sentence structure mentioned above, which would have implied that Lokakṣema was not the exclusive translator of his entry (i.e., Name + Time + Location + Verb translate). Consequently, we can reiterate the inference that Sengyou did not have exposure to this *Preface to BSJ*, which clearly indicates that this scripture was rendered by Lokakṣema, Zhu Foshuo and other assistants. Therefore, the *Colophon to BSJ* should have been inserted posthumously. Strangely enough, Zhu Fuoshuo's biography in CSZJJ, however, states that BSJ was co-translated, and its information concords with the content of the *Colophon to BSJ*. Nevertheless, in the same biography, there is no inkling of evidence that shows Zhu Foshuo co-translated DXJ with Lokakṣema. Consequently, the compiler of the CSZJJ's biographical section could probably have had access to the *Colophon to BSJ*, but no access to the *Colophon to DXJ*. Based on the information above, we can presume that the chronology of the final completion of each section of CSZJJ is: *Youlu* (Fascicle 2) → Biographical Section (under this circumstance, Fascicle 13) → Prefaces and Colophons (under this circumstance, Fascicle 7). The insertion times of the two colophons can be further subdivided, namely, the *Colophon to DXJ* postdated the insertion time of the *Colophon to BSJ*. The reasons for this subdivision will be elaborated below.

2.3.2.1 The Insertion Year of the *Colophon to DXJ*

One may wonder when the *Colophon to DXJ* was included in CSZJJ, the answer is after 519 and roughly before 594 AD.

Firstly, why after 519 AD? The reason is a sentence in GSZ. Huijiao concluded that his compilation included monks from the tenth year of the Yongping Era (67) until the

eighteenth year of the Tianjian Era, which is the year 519¹⁶⁸. If Huijiao had acquired the *Colophon to DXJ*, he would have reflected this new finding and accordingly modified Zhu Foshuo's biography. However, Zhu Foshuo's biography in GSZ reads as the following:

At that time, there was an Indian śramaṇa Zhu Foshuo who also brought *Daoxing jing* to Luoyang during the reign of Emperor Huan of Han Dynasty (fl. 146–168). (This scripture) was instantly translated from *hu*/Indic language to *han*/Chinese language. Even the interpreters were not fluent (in languages and the meaning of the source text), therefore the translation lost the intention somehow, still (it) abandoned the refined (translation style) and preserved the unhewn (way of translating), deeply grasped the meaning of the scripture.

Zhu Foshuo also interpreted and issued *Banzhou sanmei jing* in Luoyang in the second year of the Guanghe Era under Emperor Ling (fl. 168–189)'s reign (179). Lokakṣema transmitted the words. Meng Fu of Luoyang in Henan and Zhang Lian scribed.

時有天竺沙門竺佛朔，亦以漢靈之時，齋《道行經》來適雒陽，即轉梵為漢。譯人時滯，雖有失旨，然棄文存質，深得經意。朔又以光和二年於雒陽譯出《般舟三昧》，識為傳言，河南雒陽孟福、張蓮筆受。¹⁶⁹

In order to compare it with Zhu Foshuo's biography in CSZJJ, I will attach the biography in CSZJJ again despite the redundancy:

沙門竺朔佛者。天竺人也漢桓帝時。亦齋道行經來適洛陽。即轉胡為漢。譯人時滯雖有失旨。然棄文存質深得經意。朔又以靈帝光和二年。於洛陽譯出般舟三昧經。時識為傳言。河南洛陽孟福張蓮筆受。(Eng. translation see above)

By comparing these two Chinese versions, it is evident that regarding the translation of DXJ, the contents are almost the same, except for the position of the character *yi* 亦 [also]. CSZJJ's biography denotes that Zhu Foshuo “also brought (亦齋)” DXJ to China, suggesting that there was someone else who brought the source text of DXJ to China earlier than him. Since the preceding biography is for Lokakṣema, therefore following

¹⁶⁸ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 14: 「始于漢明帝永平十年，終至梁天監十八年」 (T 2059.50.418c21–22).

¹⁶⁹ T 2059.50.324b21–25.

the storyline of CSZJJ, the one who brought DXJ earlier than Zhu Foshuo could be Lokakṣema.

As for GSZ's biography, this character juxtaposes the time, i.e., “during the reign of Emperor Ling (漢靈之時; 168–189 AD)”. This suggests that Zhu Foshuo “also” came to Luoyang during Emperor Ling's reign, meaning that the figure of his preceding biography, i.e., Lokakṣema came to Luoyang at this time. In CSZJJ, the time when Zhu Foshuo came to Luoyang was during Emperor Huan's reign (146–168). Since both biographies agree that Zhu Foshuo instantly rendered DXJ after he arrived in China, therefore postponement of his arrival time to Emperor Ling's reign in GSZ could suggest that Huijiao had some clue or evidence that indicated the translation of DXJ was after 168 AD, i.e., the first year of the reign of Emperor Ling.

Another minor difference between the two biographies is the position of the character “*shi* 時 [at that time]”. In CSZJJ, this character starts the introduction of each role played during the collaborative translation of BSJ in year 179, i.e., “the second year of the Guanghe Era (光和二年)”. It suggests that only in the translation of BSJ in 179 that Lokakṣema interpreted and Meng Fu together with Zhang Lian scribed, alluding that this crew of collaborators does not apply to the translation of DXJ. However, in GSZ, this character is placed at the very beginning of the introduction of Zhu Foshuo and erases this *shi* in the sentence introducing the collaborators. This makes the description more ambiguous, and it seems that the same collaborative crew members were responsible for all the two translations of Zhu Foshuo listed in his biography. Accordingly, I surmise that Huijiao had some clues or at least some materials that could trigger his conjecture regarding Zhu Foshuo's DXJ as a collaboratively rendered translation by the same contributors to BSJ and that it was a text rendered after 168.

Nevertheless, Huijiao may have not witnessed *the Colophon to DXJ*, in which the translation date is clearly stated: the eighth day of the tenth month in year 179 (光和二年十月八日). Huijiao specified the same date of the rendering of BSJ, which he could possibly have copied from CSZJJ's biography. He copies that “Zhu Foshuo issued the BSJ in Luoyang on the eighth day of the tenth month in year 179 (朔又以光和二年於

雒陽出《般舟三昧》)”。If he had read the *Colophon to DXJ*, in which the same date appears, he would have adjusted the wording accordingly. In addition, if he had read this colophon, he would have found that the crew members were not precisely the same as those who rendered BSJ jointly. The fact that he maintained almost the same biography as in CSZJJ after he examined all kinds of biographies and catalogs¹⁷⁰, manifests that not only he had not read this *Colophon to DXJ*, but the vast majority of the sources he consulted also did not contain this colophon or its relevant information.

The next source that mentions the title “*Colophon to Daoxing jing*” is Fajing 法經 (d.u.; Sui Dynasty)’s *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 [T 2146; *Catalog of Scriptures*] that was finished on the fourteenth year of the Kaihuang Era (開皇十四年¹⁷¹), namely 594 AD. In Fascicle 6 of Fajing’s catalog, he recorded a one-fascicle “*Colophon to Daoxing jing* (道行經後記一卷¹⁷²)”。However, no further details are provided. If this colophon is the same as the *Colophon to DXJ* recorded in CSZJJ, then it is safe to assume that this colophon could have been inserted into CSZJJ before 594, so that Fajing, who also consulted CSZJJ¹⁷³, witnessed this colophon and recorded it in his catalog.

However, as a contemporary of Fajing and whose catalog’s completion time only postdated Fajing’s catalog for three years – 597 AD¹⁷⁴, Fei Zhangfang 費長房 (fl. 562 –598) recorded the details of Zhu Foshuo’s DXJ in his LDSBJ, indicating that it was rendered collaboratively by Lokakṣema, Meng Fu and Zhang Lian. However, he specified the translation date not as 179 as recorded in the *Colophon to DXJ*, but rather as 177. The record reads:

¹⁷⁰ According to Huijiao, he had consulted a variety of sources including Sengyou’s CSZJJ. This is listed below. T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 14: 「宋臨川康王義慶《宣驗記》及《幽明錄》、太原王琰《冥祥記》、彭城劉悛《益部寺記》、沙門曇宗《京師寺記》、太原王延秀《感應傳》、朱君台《徵應傳》、陶淵明《搜神錄》[...] 齊竟陵文宣王《三寶記傳》[...] 琅琊王巾所撰《僧史》[...] 沙門僧祐撰《三藏記》[...] 中書郎鄭景興《東山僧傳》、治中張孝秀《廬山僧傳》、中書陸明霞《沙門傳》」(T 2059.50.418b28-c10).

¹⁷¹ T 2146.55.149a26.

¹⁷² T 2146.55.146b23.

¹⁷³ Fajing read CSZJJ and recorded in his catalog as “CSZJJ; sixteen fascicles (三藏集記十六卷)”(T 2146.55.146b3). This contradicts with the current fascicle numbers of CSZJJ, which is fifteen.

¹⁷⁴ T 2034 《歷代三寶紀》卷 15: 「迄今開皇太歲丁巳」(T 2034.49.120b3-4).

The sixth year of the Xiping Era (177 AD) (Zhu Foshuo translated a one-fascicle *Daoxingjing* in Luoyang. Lokakṣema interpreted, Meng Fu and Zhang Lian scribed)

熹平¹⁷⁵[...]六(竺佛朔。於洛陽譯道行經一卷。支讖傳語孟福張蓮筆受)¹⁷⁶

In later catalogs such as DTNDL followed suit, claiming that this one-fascicle DXJ was rendered in 177. It was not until KYSJL, which was completed in the year 730 AD¹⁷⁷, that the records of this one-fascicle DXJ complied with the content of the *Colophon to DXJ*.

According to the KYSJL's compiler Zhisheng 智昇 (669–740), he consulted both the *Colophon to DXJ* and Sengyou's *Youlu*. He summarized that:

Daoxingjing, one fascicle (issued on the eighth day of the tenth month in 179; see the *Colophon to Daoxingjing*, Zhu Shixing's Catalog, *Youlu*, etc)

Śramaṇa Zhu Foshuo. According to the *Colophon (to DXJ)*, Zhu Foshuo was an Indian [...] Śramaṇa Lokakṣema from Yue Zhi who transmitted the words. Meng Fu, styled Yuansi of Henan and Zhang Lian, styled Shao'an, scribed. All (information regarding these persons) can be found in the *Colophon (to DXJ)*.

道行經一卷(光和二年十月八日出 見經後記朱士行漢錄僧祐錄等)

沙門竺佛朔。經後記云。竺佛朔印度人也[...]月支沙門支讖傳語。河南孟福字元士張蓮字少安筆受。並見經後記。¹⁷⁸

Zhisheng's record concords perfectly with the *Colophon to DXJ* in CSZJJ. The year, the contributors, roles of these collaborators all match well with those recorded in the colophon.

Therefore, generally it can be assumed that the *Colophon to DXJ* was inserted into CSZJJ after 519 (GSZ's compilation year) and before 594 (the completion year of Fajing's catalog). However, judging from the content, the latest year could be pushed

¹⁷⁵ LDSBJ records “*Jiaping* 嘉平” instead of “*Xiping* 熹平”. However, this should be a writing error as *Jiaping* is the name of an era of the Jin Dynasty.

¹⁷⁶ T 2034.49.34a8.

¹⁷⁷ T 2154 《開元釋教錄》卷 1: 「自後漢孝明皇帝永平十年歲次丁卯。至大唐神武皇帝開元十八年 (i.e., 730 AD) 壬午之歲」 (T 2154.55.477a21–22).

¹⁷⁸ T 2154.55.482b14–24.

to the limit of 730, when Zhisheng perfectly replicated the content of that colophon. If this is the right decipherment, then the problematic “the second year of the Zhengguang Era (521 AD)” underwent no writing errors or dropping out of words. If it was inserted after 519, it is very reasonable that this colophon contained the year 521. However, it cannot be asserted that, only because the year postdated Sengyou’s death, therefore this colophon was fabricated deliberately. As will be examined not only in this chapter, but the following two chapters, we will see many insertions. We will also find that we should not regard CSZJJ as an inseparable ensemble, but each fascicle could have undergone changes after its first completion, and they merged into the current CSZJJ¹⁷⁹.

2.3.2.2 The Insertion Year of the *Colophon to BSJ*

Let us not forget that the *Colophon to BSJ* was not witnessed by Sengyou when he compiled *Youlu* and it was interpolated into CSZJJ. But unlike the *Colophon to DXJ*, the possible insertion time is between 504 and 519 AD, when Sengyou was still alive.

The latest year that appeared in *Youlu* is 504 AD – “the third year of the Tianjin Era of the Liang Dynasty (梁天監三年¹⁸⁰)”. The fact that Sengyou did not mention the collaborative effort of this BSJ, as discussed above, denotes that Sengyou may have not read the *Colophon to BSJ* when he compiled *Youlu*, therefore this colophon was inserted into *Youlu* later than 504.

However, Zhu Foshuo’s biography in CSZJJ indicates Zhu Foshuo co-translated BSJ with the team members – the number and the roles of these members were identically the same as what was recorded in the *Colophon to BSJ*. Consequently, whoever the compiler of the biographical section in CSZJJ was, he could have read this colophon when composing Zhu Foshuo’s biography. However, the latest monks recorded in

¹⁷⁹ In Chapter 4, there is also evidence showing that at least two versions of CSZJJ were circulating in the past.

¹⁸⁰ T 2145.55.13c10.

CSZJJ's biographies are dated until the collapse of the Southern Qi Dynasty (南齊) in the year 502, predating the latest year 504 appeared in *Youlu*.

Still, no later than 519 was this preface placed in CSZJJ. Because when Fei Zhangfang recorded the BSJ ascribed to Zhu Foshuo, he annotated “see GSZ (見高僧傳¹⁸¹)”. The only record concerning Zhu Foshuo's BSJ is his collaboration with Lokakṣema and the like. Since GSZ was completed in 519, therefore this colophon was inserted into CSZJJ no later than 519.

As will be discussed in the next Chapter 3, I surmise that the bibliographical section may not have been composed by Sengyou, or at least Sengyou did not play a decisive role in compiling the biographies. For example, the numbers of translations recorded in *Youlu* often differ from those recorded in the biographies. Accordingly, it seems that the biographical section and *Youlu* were merged by Sengyou at a specific point, and Sengyou did not check the contents of the biographical section with minute attention as he did to *Youlu*.

If this assumption is reasonable, then it explains why no later than 502AD the compiler of the biographical section already had access to the *Colophon to BSJ*, whereas Sengyou was not aware of this colophon during his compilation of *Youlu*, which was completed in year 504. This colophon was likely to have been incorporated into the prefaces and colophons in CSZJJ after 504.

In conclusion, it is possible that the *Colophon to BSJ* was inserted into CSZJJ after 504, but no later than 519.

2.3.3 The Identity of Meng Fu 孟福

In this section, the identity of the marginalized collaborator — Meng Fu 孟福, styled Yuanshi 元士 will be discussed.

¹⁸¹ T 2034.49.53c7.

Meng Fu is not recorded in other Buddhist materials except the two colophons listed above, and his name was also nowhere to be found in official historiographies. However, Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 identified two stelae that contained his name. I will extend my discussion based on Tang's reasoning and arguments.

Before delving into Tang's arguments, I will briefly recap "who did what" based on the three source materials listed at the beginning of 2.3.2 in the form of a table.

Sources	<i>Colophon to DXJ</i>	BSJ	
		<i>Colophon to BSJ</i>	Biography
Year Attendess	179 AD 光和二年十月八 日	179 AD 光和二年十月八 日	179 AD 靈帝光和二年
Meng Fu/Yuanshi (Henan)	Who had been conferred to (口授)	Conferred to (Mengfu) 授與 (河南雒陽 孟福字元士)	Scribed (河南雒陽孟福)筆 受
Zhu Foshuo (Indian)	Orally Conferred 口授	Issued (於雒陽)出	Interpreted and Issued (於雒陽)譯出
Lokakṣema (Yue Zhi)	Transmitted the Words and Interpreted 傳言者譯	Word-Transmitter 傳言者	Transmitted the Words 傳言
Zhang Lian/Shao'an (Nanyang)	Serving Person 侍者	Acolyte Bodhisattva Zhang Lian Scribed 隨侍菩薩(張蓮字 少安)筆受	Scribed (張蓮)筆受
Zibi (Nanhai)	Acolyte 侍者	/	/
Sun He	Donator	/	/

	勸助者		
Zhou Tili	Donator 勸助者	/	/
Others	Śramaṇa Foda Copied in Year 521 正光二年九月十五日，雒陽城西菩薩寺中沙門佛大寫之	Collated in Year 208 or 198 建安十三年於佛寺中校定，息俱足。後有寫者，皆得南無佛。又言，建安三年，歲在戊子，八月八日於許昌寺校定。	

Table 2.4 Labor Division of DXJ and BSJ

Tang Yongtong correlates Meng Fu with the content of a stele named *Sangong Bei* 三公碑 [The Stele of Three Deities]¹⁸². In the inscription of this stele, there is the short incomplete sentence “處士河□□元士¹⁸³”. Tang surmises that this could refer to Mengfu, who styled Yuanshi 元士 and who came from Henan 河南. If this is the case, the □□ could be filled in and the sentence would read as “處士河南孟元士” which means “the reclusive scholar (*chushi*) Meng Yuanshi of Henan”.

Tang further proposes that the content — “Some may conceal and dispatch, avoiding verbose language; Some may remain tranquil and composed, nurturing magnanimity; Some may breathe, seeking enduring existence (或有隱遣辟語言兮，或有恬淡養浩然兮，或有呼吸求長存兮)” of this stele reminds him of “*shenxianjiayan* 神仙家言

¹⁸² What Tang meant here is not the *Si Sangongshan Bei* 祀三公山碑 which was erected in the fourth year of the Yuanchu Era (元初四年;117 AD), being referred to as “the bigger Sangong (大三公)”, rather he refers to the *Sangongshan Bei* (三公山碑) that was erected in the fourth year of the Guanghe Era (光和四年;181AD), being referred to as “the smaller Sangong (小三公)”. Both steles were found in the Yuanshi Province 元氏縣.

¹⁸³ All the contents of the steles listed in this section can be found in Du, 2002. To reduce redundancy, I will not repeatedly cite his work.

[Sayings of the Daoist]”. Based on this sentence, Fang argues that if Meng Fu really scribed during the translation of Buddhist texts, then this is a piece of evidence that shows the engagement of early Buddhists in Daoist sorcery rituals.

Even though this assumption is further quoted by Zürcher and Boucher, it is problematic in two aspects: firstly, even if the missing information “□元士” refers to Meng Fu, a sentence tinted with the color of Daoism does not efficiently substantiate Meng Fu’s penchant in Daoism or thaumaturgy, though its possibility remains. This stele was established by Fan Wei 樊瑋, styled Ziyi 子義, of the Yuanshi County 元氏縣. He was the Left Commandar (左尉) and he erected the stele to praise the feats of the Deities of Sanshan Mountain ostensibly, but more in a way to fawn his boss — Feng Xun 馮巡, styled jizu 季祖, obsequiously (Du, 2002: 104). In addition to Daoism, the language style assimilated many factors from *the Book of Changes* (易經) and *the Book of Odes* (詩經). For example, the sentence “[...] centering on the Eight Trigrams. The Gen Trigram became the mountain [...] ([...]八卦為主。艮土為山[...])” evidently could be correlated with *the Book of Changes*; In addition, another sentence “mercy me with millets and grains [...] so that I can feed my people (介我穀黍[...]以谷士女)” is a metamorphism of “以介我穀黍，以穀我士女” from the ode name *Putian* in the *Smaller Odes* (小雅·甫田¹⁸⁴). In addition, in this stele, the educational background of Feng Xun has been specifically mentioned – “studying the essentials of the Six Classics (修六經之要)”, indicating that Feng Xun received traditional Confucian education. Therefore, to conclude one’s affection towards Daoism only by inferring from a part of the passage could be dubitable.

Secondly, the title “*chushi* 處士 [reclusive scholar]” may reveal more information. Even though the connotation of *chushi*¹⁸⁵ varied in different times, during the Late Han Dynasty, it referred mostly to people who resided in recluse due to the political turmoil. Li Xian 李賢, who annotated the *Book of the Later Han* (後漢書), defined *chushi* as “*chishi* is an erudite who stayed at home (處士，有道蘄而在家者)”. It indicates that

¹⁸⁴ See Cheng and jiang (1999: 670) for explanations.

¹⁸⁵ See Wang Zijin (2007) for more information about *chushi*.

chushi are intellectually and morally well-behaved people. Moreover, apart from historical records, it can be detected from other resources that *chushi* was in a comparatively venerable position even at the end of the Han Dynasty. For example, there is another stele named *the Stele of Cao Quan* (曹全碑). It was erected in the second year of the Zhongping Era (中平二年; 182 AD), not far from 179 AD which is the presumable issuing year of both BSJ and DXJ. At the back of this stele, it shows the names of the donors, with a *chushi* named Qi Mao 岐茂 (*chushi* Qi Mao, styled Maocai, from the Pi Clan of the Hedong Area “處士河東皮氏岐茂孝才”) being placed at the very beginning, followed by other people with various official titles such as “*xiansanlao* 縣三老 [Thrice Venerable of the County]”, “*xiangsanlao* 鄉三老 [Thrice Venerable of the Country]”, etc. Consequently, it could be deduced that *chushi* was in a relatively high position, at least venerated by people at that time. If this “□元士” is indeed the person who showed up in these two colophons, then the identity of him was more likely to be a “*qingzhu* 請主 [requestor of the issuing of a scripture]” as Fang suspects (2016: 90), instead of what Tang and other scholars have interpreted as “*bishou* 筆受 [scribe]”.

I concur with Fang’s explanation of Meng Fu’s identity as a requester because, it is since the biography of Zhu Foshuo in CSZJJ that he was treated as a scribe, with all subsequent extant biographies and catalogs following suit. If we take a look at Table 2.4, it can be discerned that the role of Meng Fu was consistent in both two colophons, that he was the one who was conferred to by Zhu Foshuo. However, he was being conferred to not in the sense that he would interpret what was conferred to him, because it was the job of Lokakṣema. Then the only possible explanation is that he was the requestor, so venerable that Zhu Foshuo conferred upon him, possibly as a means of begetting merits. This supposition could also be verified through the name’s positioning in the two colophons. Unlike the real scribe Zhang Lian, who was mentioned at the end of the translation process, the name Meng Fu was laid at the beginning and even before Zhu Foshuo in the *Colophone to DXJ*. This would be unimaginable if Meng Fu was a scribe. Consequently, Meng Fu should not be regarded as a scribe, rather he should be viewed as the requestor of the issuing of a scripture.

2.4 Short Summary

In this chapter, I aim to discuss three topics. I first offer a general introduction of Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema, after which I proceed to discuss whether the two translate *Aṣṭa* collaboratively by examining the issue of the one-fascicle version vs. the ten-fascicle version. I conclude that the two may have jointly rendered the one-fascicle version based on Dao'an's *Preface to DXJ*; however, without concrete evidence, Sengyou in his catalog attributed the one-fascicle to Zhu Foshuo and the ten-fascicle to Lokakṣema, respectively. Nevertheless, Sengyou probably was aware that Zhu Foshuo's rendition was the outcome of collaborative translation. Lastly, I examine the authenticity of the two colophons, namely, the *Colophon to DXJ* and the *Colophon to BSJ*, claiming that they were inserted into CSZJJ after Sengyou completed compiling *Youlu*. In addition, I also argue that contrary to scholars' treatment of Meng Fu as a scribe, he was actually the requestor of the issuing of a scripture.

Chapter 3 Zhi Qian, Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan

3.1 Introduction

Among the many translations that have been credited to Zhi Qian (支謙) — the famous upāsaka originally from the Yue Zhi 月氏 clan, there is only one scripture — *Fajujing* 法句經 — that is said to have been translated collaboratively by Zhi Qian and other contributors, i.e., Vighna¹⁸⁶ and Zhu Jiangyan. If we dig deeper into their collaboration, however, many conundrums emerge. Uncertainties in historical materials about the three individuals in the varied descriptions and different conclusions reflected by the tradition and contemporary scholarship.

This chapter will be divided into two parts. First, four major controversial topics about Zhi Qian and his collaborators will be presented in order to generate a more comprehensive picture of Zhi Qian as well as this collaboration group; second, three topics neglected by many scholars will be discussed in order to reach a nuanced depiction of the translative collaboration endeavor.

The first topic of part 1 is the background of Zhi Qian, on which scholars' opinions differ. The second topic is the question of how many scriptures Zhi Qian translated. By presenting scholars' different views, I will argue that the biographical part in CSZJJ (Fascicles 13 to 15) may have been added to the present CSZJJ as Kawano assumes, however we cannot tell for sure whether or not it was inserted into CSZJJ after the first compilation. The third topic is Zhi Qian's translation style. By analyzing the term *Zhizhu* 支竺, which is often thought to refer to Zhi Qian 支謙 and Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (a.k.a., Dharmarakṣa), I will conclude that this may refer to different persons under different conditions and we therefore cannot simply refer to *Zhizhu* when studying Zhi Qian's translation styles. Besides, having examined the different traditional opinions on Zhi Qian, it seems that they, unlike contemporary scholars, were pretty consistent in

¹⁸⁶ This traditionally accepted spelling, i.e., Vighna, is problematic according to Nattier (2008: 113), who proposes that it should be “Vijitananda”.

their assessments of Zhi Qian, whether in a well-meaning or reproachful way, in that they all agreed that his translations were refined and concise.

The last topic of the first section is the question of how many times Zhi Qian translated the *Faju jing* 法句經 (Skt. *Dharmapada*, hereafter abbr. FJJ). By analyzing Sengyou's *modus operandi*, I will suggest that Sengyou witnessed at least two versions of FJJ: one he accredits to the team consisting of Vighna 維祇難, Zhu Jiangyan 竺將炎 (var. Zhu Lüyan 竺律炎), and Zhi Qian, and the other credited only to Zhi Qian.

As for the questions to be discussed in the second part, the first will be related to Zhu Jiangyan's provenance, as this will permit conclusions about his language ability. Secondly, the adjective modifiers “*hu* 胡¹⁸⁷”, “*fan* 梵”, and “*Tianzhu* 天竺” will be examined as these terms appear randomly in materials germane to the portrayal of the collaborative translation process conducted mainly by Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan, and Zhi Qian. This will conduce to the re-comprehension of the content of the *Preface to Faju jing* (法句經序; hereafter *Preface to FJJ*).

The last topic is an examination of the translation process, and I will offer my own interpretation of the “job description” of each position based on the content of the *Preface to FJJ*.

3.2 Polemics surrounding Zhi Qian and his Collaboration with Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan

In this section, problematic aspects centering on Zhi Qian himself and his collaboration with Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan will be discussed.

¹⁸⁷ I will transliterate the character into the lower-case pinyin, i.e., *hu*, if this denotes general meaning and simply means foreign, outlandish, or even barbarian; I will use the upper case — *Hu*, if this refers to a nation, or its ethnicity; The same rule also applies to *fan* and *Fan*.

3.2.1 Zhi Qian's Background

To get acquainted with a translator's translation style and gain a better understanding of his approach, it is first essential to take a closer look at his biography.

3.2.1.1 Zhi Qian's Language Abilities

According to Zhi Mindu's *Colophon to He shoulengyan jing* 合首楞嚴經記 [*Combined Edition of the Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra*], Zhi Qian's father came to China during Emperor Ling (Chi. 漢靈帝)'s reign and Zhi Qian was born in China. According to the biography included in CSJJ, Zhi Qian's grandfather Fadu 法度 led hundreds of people to China and paid allegiance to the Han court. In return, he was rewarded with the title of *shuaishan zhonglangjiang* 率善中郎將 [Commander of Palace Guards of Good Leading]. Ōba (1991: 396) considers the title to be conferred to “barbarians” who paid allegiance to the Han Dynasty, and it seems that Zhi Qian's grandfather was the first foreign leader upon whom this title was bestowed (p. 395). Li (2013: 86) further discusses that this title was used chiefly under circumstances when someone led tribes to pay allegiance to the court and lived in “*neijun* 內郡 [inner county]”; besides, this title also contains the connotation of “*anyangbaixing* 安養百姓 [pacify and take care of the people]”. It is usually bestowed upon the low and middle-class leaders in tribes. After the family settled down in Henan 河南 Prefecture, Zhi Qian was born, who later “at the age of ten began to study scripts [...] and at the age of thirteen, embarked on the study of foreign (*hu*) scripts, mastering the languages of six kingdoms¹⁸⁸ (十歲學書...十三學胡書, 備通六國語¹⁸⁹)”. Tang (2017:105) thinks this represents the complete Sinicization of Zhi Qian's clan¹⁹⁰, as he first learned Chinese¹⁹¹ and then *hu* language. In addition, being the “grand-disciple” of Lokakṣema 支(樓迦)讖, Zhi Qian learned

¹⁸⁸ Translated by Nattier (2019: 820).

¹⁸⁹ T 2145.55.97b22–23.

¹⁹⁰ Tang's original words are: “支謙一族蓋已深被華化矣”.

¹⁹¹ Throughout this chapter, the word “Chinese” is employed to serve as a convenient and expedient correspondent translation for expressions such as *han* 漢, *hanyan* 漢言, and *jinyan* 晉言, which denote the ancient languages spoken in early Medieval China.

from Zhi Liang 支亮, whose master was Lokakṣema. CSZJJ describes Zhi Qian as “believing in the great Dharma (其本奉大法¹⁹²)”, consistent with Tang (2017)’s observation that his re-rendering of Lokakṣema’s translation aligned with his master’s teachings (為學不背師承). This could reflect some aspects of Zhi Qian’s knowledge of Buddhism. Unlike Lokakṣema, who specifically focused on Mahāyāna scriptures, Nattier, by contrast, finds that Zhi Qian’s translations cover many genres, including Āgama to “scholastic (non-Mahāyāna) treatises” (2008: 117).

3.2.1.2 Zhi Qian’s Relationship with the Royal Family

At the end of the reign of Emperor Xian (Chi. 獻帝; fl. 189–220) from the Han Dynasty, Zhi Qian and his countrymen fled to the south and settled down in the Wu Kingdom. There, he was summoned by Sun Quan 孫權, the king of the Wu Kingdom, for his renowned intelligence and erudition¹⁹³. Sun Quan inquired about the hidden meanings in the scriptures, and Zhi Qian perfectly cleared up his confusion. Zhi Qian was then appointed *boshi* 博士 [erudite] and tutor to the crown prince. There have been disagreements among scholars to which crown prince this refers. Tang (2017: 107), Lü (1979: 291–292), Tsukamoto (1979: 149), and Michida (2013: 137–138) think it refers to Sun Deng 孫登, while Nakamura (1984: 43) thinks that it implies Sun Liang 孫亮. Other scholars, such as Lai (2010: 157–158), contest that it should refer to Sun He 孫和, for if Zhi Qian had been Sun Deng’s tutor, he would have stayed at Wuchang 武昌 until the fourth year of the Chiwu Era 赤烏四年 (241AD) when Sun Deng died there; however, Zhi Qian spent most of his time propagating Buddhism and translating scriptures in Jianye 建業. Moreover, GSZ includes one piece of complementary evidence to support Lai’s point of view: GSZ specifically mentions that Zhi Qian “supported and benefited (the crown prince) together with Wei Yao and others (與韋曜

¹⁹² T 2145.55.97b27–28.

¹⁹³ T 2145 《出三藏記集》卷 13: 「後吳主孫權聞其博學有才慧。即召見之因問經中深隱之義。應機釋難無疑不析。權大悅。拜為博士。」 (T 2145.55.97c5–7).

諸人共盡匡益¹⁹⁴”。Wei Yao¹⁹⁵ was one of the supporters of Sun He. No matter which prince Zhi Qian tutored, and despite Inaoka’s suspicion that Sun Quan did not necessarily generate interest in Buddhism (1985: 18), the record that Zhi Qian had a relationship with the royal family still holds true. Some scholars have also demonstrated Zhi Qian’s awareness of the royal family during his translations. When analyzing Zhi Qian’s 大阿彌陀經 (Skt. *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*), Asayama (1988: 82–85) points out that his translation is characteristic of strong morals, and he demonstrates that Zhi Qian translated while paying attention to venerating imperial power. Asayama (1993: 236–238) further substantiates several cases in which Zhi Qian strategically accrued the original meaning through interpolations that projected his awareness of the imperial power¹⁹⁶.

3.2.1.3 Start Time of Zhi Qian’s Translation Career

Nattier proposes that Zhi Qian’s awareness of the royal family is also mirrored in his translation style. According to Nattier, there are twenty-three generally accepted translations rendered by Zhi Qian (2008: 121–122). Some translations tend to rely on transliteration, while others avoid “transcription” and lean towards “translation¹⁹⁷” (p.147). Nattier then concludes that this tendency could interlink with Zhi Qian’s move

¹⁹⁴ T 2059.50.325a26–27.

¹⁹⁵ GSZ implemented a new figure, Wei Yao 章曜, as Zhi Qian’s colleague, and since Wei Yao was one of the supporters of Sun He 孫和, some scholars assume the crown prince was probably Sun He. However, this record of Wei Yao was not included in CSZJJ and may have been added intentionally by Huijiao. Huijiao interpolated an explanation, claiming that Zhi Qian was not recorded in the *Book of Wu* 吳書 because he was a foreigner. Coincidentally, Wei Yao was the compiler of the *Book of Wu*. Huijiao found it confusing that someone as crucial as Zhi Qian, who met and conversed with the king of Wu, honored with the title of “*boshi*” and assigned as tutor to the crown prince, could not be found in historical records—which is the reason why Fei Zhangfang (var. Changfang) later tried to put things right in his LDSSJ. Accordingly, Huijiao may just have written this up and offered an explanation with the name Wei Yao. In sum, it is dubious whether Zhi Qian was really the colleague of Wei Yao and supported Sun He.

¹⁹⁶ For example, in *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra*), where the original Pāli is “*samaggā sannipatanti*”, which means “collaborate and aggregate” according to Asayama, Zhi Qian rendered it into “the monarch and his subjects are in harmonious relationship, it is the staunch and competent one that should hold the post (君臣常和所任忠良)”. This alters the original meaning into the direction that officials should serve the king with piety and harmony (1993: 238).

¹⁹⁷ Nattier seems to confront the issue of “transliteration” versus “translation” here, which, however, is a rare division method in translation studies. “Transliteration”, even in its broadest sense, could be roughly categorized as literal translation—if not as a genre differentiating itself totally from literal translation (see Catford 1965; Newmark 1988; etc.). “Translation” is an even greater register that could encompass everything from transliteration to free translation and even intersemiotic conversion. The terms applied here are indeed baffling, but I would tend to construe that Nattier categorizes everything that is not a “transliteration” as “translation”.

from Luoyang 洛陽 to the Wu Kingdom, and it was after his migration to the south that he started to adopt a more literary translation style (p.148). This is a very tempting assumption, despite minor inconsistencies between her statement and the start time of Zhi Qian's translation activities in his biography. *Youlu* and Zhi Qian's biographies in CSZJJ and GSZ indicate that he started translating in the first year of the Huangwu Era (222 AD). By then, Zhi Qian was already in the old capital of the Wu Kingdom — Wuchang 武昌, instead of the capital of East Han — Luoyang. This kind of evidence shows that Zhi Qian did not start translating until he came to the Wu Kingdom. Therefore, there could be a shift in translation styles, but it all started after Zhi Qian's arrival in the Wu Kingdom. Besides, as the next section will show, most of Zhi Qian's works were translated within a timespan of only eight years. However, the “transliteration” texts and “translation” texts as categorized by Nattier (2008), are all said to have been translated within these eight years. Therefore, there is no concrete evidence that could corroborate such a “shift” in translation styles.

3.2.1.4 The Shift in Zhi Qian's Translating Style

However, the shift in his translation style, as Nattier puts it, or more precisely, the diversity of his translation styles *de facto* does exist.

In *Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (T 2149, *Catalogue of Buddhist Works in the Great Tang*, hereafter DTNDL) compiled by Daoxuan 道宣, Zhi Qian's translations are sometimes dated ambiguously. DTNDL is the only catalog to attribute certain times to Zhi Qian's translations. But Daoxuan was a meticulous historiographer, who “consulted resources such as monk biographies, read and examined them meticulously. (I) further referred to catalogs such as *Youlu* and *Fei Zhangfang's Catalog* (取訊僧傳等文勘閱詳定。更參祐房等錄祐錄徵據¹⁹⁸”, so he must have had his reason for such attribution of time. If we align the tenable translations summarized by Nattier with DTNDL, 17 out of 23 reliable works were rendered by Zhi Qian during the Huangwu

¹⁹⁸ T 2149.55.338a18–20.

Era (222–229 AD). Also, if we take the collaborated work — FJJ — into account, then it is 18 out of 13 — which means that 75% of Zhi Qian’s works were translated during these eight years. According to Nattier’s analysis, some of these translations are more literal and others are more literary. This shift observed by Nattier occurred within only eight years according to the records in DTNDL.

As we will see later in this chapter, it seems as if Zhi Qian did not possess much discourse power (for this concept see Fairclough, 2013) in 224 AD when he had just started his translation career. In the *Preface to FJJ*, the conflict between Zhi Qian, who argued for a more elegant way of translating, and others who were in favor of a more literal word-for-word translation style, is recorded. This dispute ended with Zhi Qian failing to convince others, so he had to take down verbatim what the translator (Zhu Jiangyan) said without ornamenting it (This will be discussed in detail below in the discussion of the *Preface to Faju jing*). It can be inferred that, according to this preface, the translation style of FJJ would be a more literal translation. Nevertheless, if we look at the current T 210 FJJ, it is less “literal” than Zhi Qian himself asserted, namely, only transliterated and translated directly. Actually, some parts are in a more refined, even flowery, style. Later, Zhi Mindu 支愍度 also commented on Zhi Qian’s translation style: “his translation was quite refined and decorous (其出經頗從文麗¹⁹⁹)”. How is it possible that he could produce “refined” translations, having ostensibly been defeated in this debate? What might be the reason that accrued Zhi Qian’s discourse power, enabling him to adopt an elegant way of translating?

The debate during the translation of FJJ will be discussed in the last part of this chapter, where I will propose that Zhi Qian did not concede to Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan’s proposals totally. As a matter of fact, Zhi Qian usually adopted a free and elegant translation style and there are two reasons for this. First, he greatly valued his target readers. Zhi Mindu commented that Zhi Qian’s translation style was “refined and decorous”, and he also provided the reason for this — “because at the end of (the Han

¹⁹⁹ T 2145.55.49a26.

Dynasty), refinement and terseness (of literature) were favored (以季世尚文時好簡略²⁰⁰)” — implying that the recipients’ preference underpinned his way of translating. Another reason leading to Zhi Qian’s elegant translation might hark back to his relationship with the royal family. Zhi Qian’s biography states that Sun Quan heard of his erudition and summoned him, appointing him as a tutor to the crown prince. This probably happened sometime after Zhi Qian’s move to the south, when he had gained some reputation by translating several scriptures. Otherwise, it is unimaginable that the king of Wu Kingdom would instantly appoint Zhi Qian as tutor shortly after he came to the south. During his inchoate translation activities, Zhi Qian thus may not have been directly linked with the royal family and may arguably have gained comparably less influence in the translation and literary field. Later, however, he met Sun Quan and was appointed as an official who could tutor the crown prince, enabling him to choose the elegant way of translating he preferred.

Zhi Qian’s translation activities continued after Sun Deng²⁰¹’s death in 241AD, as CSZJJ tells us he translated until the Jianxing Era 建興 of King Sun Liang 孫亮. Afterwards, he became a hermit and “*bujiaoshiwu* 不交世務 [did not mingle with worldly affairs]”.

3.2.2 Number of Zhi Qian’s Translations and the Compilation of CSZJJ

This section will introduce and examine the dispute over the number of Zhi Qian’s translations. The analysis of the inconsistencies in the records of *Youlu* and Zhi Qian’s biography in CSZJJ may imply that they were based on different resources. However, the two sections had undergone revisions after their establishment, and it is hard to determine which section predates the other.

²⁰⁰ T 2145.55.49a25–26.

²⁰¹ Scholars have different interpretations as to when Zhi Qian stopped translating and became a hermit. Some think it was after Prince Sun Deng’s death, while others believe that this happened at the beginning of the reign of Sun Liang. Hureau (2020: 634–635) offers another reading, interpreting it as “Après la mort de Sun Quan, il quitte la vie active et part à sur le mont Qiong’ai 穩隘山”.

3.2.2.1 Scholars' Arguments on the Number of Zhi Qian's Translations

Modern scholars have devoted a great deal of time to investigating and clarifying how many scriptures should be credited to Zhi Qian, analyzing the translation styles and the frequent expressions coined by him. Based on catalogs such as *Youlu*, *Lidai sanbao ji* as well as a biographical sketch in GSZ, scholars such as Kamata (1994:197–201) opine that only 30 out of the 36 works summed up by Sengyou are reliable, especially because these 30 works were approved by the venerable monk Dao'an. Therefore, the other six pieces added by Sengyou himself should be examined with caution. Kamata also thinks that among the 30 works verified by Dao'an, 27 were translated whereas the other three are Zhi Qian's original compositions (1994: 201). Kamata's argument reflects his considerable effort to align Zhi Qian's biographical data in CSZJJ, which states that “from the first year of the Huangwu Era until the Jianxing Era, he issued twenty-seven scriptures including *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, *Dharmapada* and *Ruiying benqi* (從黃武元年。至建興中。所出維摩詰大般泥洹法句瑞應本起等二十七經)” with *Youlu*'s account that mentions “these thirty-six scriptures listed on the right, in all forty-eight fascicles. At the time of Emperor Wen of the Wei Dynasty, Zhi Qian translated and issued them from the beginning of the Huangwu Era under the reign of Sun Quan, the king of the Wu Kingdom, until the middle of the Jianxing Era under the reign of Sun Liang (右三十六部。四十八卷。魏文帝時。支謙以吳主孫權黃武初至孫亮建興中所譯出)”. He also cautions that these works may include texts that were not translated by Zhi Qian. Similarly, Ono (1983: 36) thinks that, among the 30 scriptures recorded in *Anlu*, 27 were translated by Zhi Qian, while the last three were Zhi Qian's composition.

Ma (2004: 28) considers that, even though *Anlu* recorded 30 scriptures, the biography of Zhi Qian in CSZJJ says that he translated 27 scriptures and that GSZ corrects the number to 49. After scrutiny and examination, there are now 29 remaining texts rendered by Zhi Qian. This assertion seems to be derived from Lü (1979: 291–292)'s opinion, who corroborates that 29 works were translated by Zhi Qian based on materials in *Youlu*, GSZ, and LDSBJ. This viewpoint is shared by Sun (2010: 242).

Ui (1983: 530–532)'s attitude is more clear-cut as he champions *Anlu* to a great extent. He also highly evaluates *Youlu* but belittles LDSBJ as he considers Fei Zhangfang promiscuously and arbitrarily attributed “*shiyi* 失譯 [lost translations]” to other translators²⁰². He accordingly summarizes that there are currently 22 extant Zhi Qian's works stemming from *Youlu*.

Unlike scholars who based their rationale solely on *Anlu* or *Youlu*, Nattier examines scriptures that could be assigned to Zhi Qian through internal and external evidence and concludes that it is widely accepted that there are currently 24 scriptures that are considered to be genuinely translated by Zhi Qian (Nattier 2008, pp. 126–148; p. 821).

3.2.2.2 The Compilation of CSZJJ

However, it is not the intention of this chapter to investigate how many extant scriptures can unquestionably be ascribed to Zhi Qian from a philological perspective. It aims to focus on the different reports concerning the number of Zhi Qian's translations mainly from three sources: *Youlu* in CSZJJ, Zhi Qian's biography in CSZJJ, and his biography in GSZ. By examining the discrepancies in these three sources and also taking other historical materials into consideration, some aspects regarding the compilation of CSZJJ can be discerned.

① Scholars' Perspectives on the Compilation of CSZJJ

As many scholars have pointed out, there are contrarieties among different sources in terms of the number of scriptures translated by Zhi Qian. The mismatch of the records in CSZJJ's biographical part on him and those in *Youlu*, which is also located in CSZJJ,

²⁰² However, this conventional disparagement towards Fei Zhangfang could be mitigated if we consider what Fei himself argued. For example, in the section listing Zhi Qian's translations, Fei explains why his accretion is much higher than those of the previous precursors —“僧祐三藏集記錄載唯有三十六部。慧皎高僧傳述止云四十九經。房廣檢括衆家雜錄。自四十二章已下並是別記所顯雜經以附今錄。量前傳錄三十六部。或四十九經。似謙自譯，在後所獲，或正前翻，多梵語者。然紀述聞見，意體少同，錄目廣狹，出沒多異。各存一家，致惑取捨。兼法海淵曠，事方聚滯。既博搜見，故備之。”(T 2034.49.59a7–14). Therefore, even though judging from the results, Fei may have jumbled the catalog, there is a reason for this that needs to be further explored.

has drawn attention. Apart from Kamata's above-mentioned observation, Nattier has also noticed that *Youlu* credits 36 translations to Zhi Qian, while the biographical part assigns 27 works to him. She then refers to Palumbo's (2003: 197) point of view that "the catalog section was expanded after the biographical section was composed" (2008: 122). Palumbo's assertion is based on the investigation of Dharmarakṣa: According to the biographical part, Dharmarakṣa died in Kunchi 昆池 shortly after Huidi 惠帝's last reigning era (ca. 305 AD), whereas the preface to as well as *Youlu*'s description of *Puyao jing* 普曜經 (Skt. *Lalitavistara*) show that Dharmarakṣa was still conducting translation activities in the second year of the Yongjia Era 永嘉 (308 AD). This could imply that *Youlu* postdated the biographical section. Besides, Palumbo argues that the biographical section in CSZJJ was initially finished around 503 AD. However, the "catalogs and the collection of bibliographical records were revised" (Palumbo *ibid*), probably in 515. Therefore, Palumbo concludes that the biographical section of CSZJJ was Sengyou's earlier work. Wang (1984: 70) also thinks that the disparity of different numbers of translated texts attributed to Zhi Qian is due to "subsequent annotations (後人追記)", implicating that *Youlu* may have come after the biography.

Kawano (2011: 11–12), by contrast, offers a different perspective and comes to a different conclusion on the same issue. On the basis of Fascicle 12 in CSZJJ, Kawano assents to the theory that there were initially two versions of CSZJJ. On top of that, there is one sentence in Fascicle 12 "therefore (this is) attached to the end of this collection of Tripitaka (是以寄于三藏集末)". Accordingly, Kawano presumes that the original version only contained ten fascicles, which should correspond to the current Fascicles 2 to 11. After Fascicle 12 was added, Fascicles 13 to 15 were also included in this book. Lastly, Fascicle 1 was attached as the introduction of this book.

However, the codification of CSZJJ was a complex procedure from the onset. The compilation in GSZ is described as:

When Sengyou finished collecting Tripitaka, (he) let people copy and consummate the synopsis into *Sanzang ji* (i.e., CSZJJ), *Fayuan ji*, *Shijie ji*, *Shijia pu*, and *Hongming ji*, etc. All of them were well received.

初祐集經藏既成。使人抄撰要事。爲三藏記。法苑記。世界記。釋迦譜及弘明集等。皆行於世。²⁰³

This suggests that the composition of CSZJJ was not established by Sengyou alone. Moreover, Kōzen meticulously compares CSZJJ with *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 [*The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*] composed by Liu Xie 劉勰 in ca. 501 AD, concluding that the two share many similarities not only in terms of vocabulary and collocations, but also in the paragraphing and structures of their articles (1982: 138-232). He also reasons that one of the “*ren* 人 [people]” mentioned above in GSZ must be Liu Xie (p.128).

② From the Discrepancy of Translation Numbers to the Compilation of CSZJJ

Notwithstanding these controversies over Zhi Qian’s translation numbers put forth by the scholars, I would like to propose here that (1) examining the inconsistency of the numbers of texts translated by Zhi Qian based on his biography in CSZJJ and *Youlu* from the same compilation may fail to meet particular anticipations, such as the question of which section — biography or catalog — did Sengyou compose first. The reason is that the biographical section in CSZJJ is based on resources more closely related to *Anlu* and prefaces to scriptures that already existed in Dao'an’s time. Hence, the initial biographical section and *Youlu* were not necessarily interlinked with each other as had been presumed. These two parts were not composed by Sengyou alone, as Kōzen purports. Besides, I would also like to surmise that (2) both biographical parts in CSZJJ and *Youlu* were expanded after their original composition. Therefore, it is hard to tell, as Palumbo and Nattier suggest, if one predated the other. This will be demonstrated later with concrete examples. To this end, it is first indispensable to

²⁰³ T 2059.50.402c29–403a2.

reexamine Zhi Qian's oeuvre, using this overview as a basis for collecting contrasting data to reflect these two hypotheses.

A. Reexamination of Zhi Qian's Oeuvre in Different Sources

In *Youlu*, Zhi Qian's oeuvre is partly shown as follows:

(i)

28 佛從上所行三十偈 一卷 闕(Absent)²⁰⁴

29 了本生死經一卷 安公云出生經 祐案五卷生經無此名

30 惟明二十偈一卷

31 首楞嚴經二卷 別錄所載 安錄無 今闕(Recorded in other catalogs but was not recorded in *Anlu*, now missing)

32 龍施女經一卷 別錄所載 安錄無

33 法鏡經二卷 出別錄 安錄無

34 鹿子經一卷 別錄所載 安錄無

35 十二門大方等經一卷 別錄所載 安錄無 今闕

36 賴吒和羅經一卷 別錄所載 安錄無 或云羅漢賴吒和羅經

右三十六部。四十八卷。魏文帝時。支謙以吳主孫權黃武初至孫亮建興中所譯出²⁰⁵

By contrast, the biographical depiction of Zhi Qian's translations is as follows:

(ii)

From the first year of the Huangwu Era until the Jianxing Era. What he issued were twenty-seven scriptures including *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, *Dharmapada*, and *Ruiying benqi*, which all basically were in line with the sacred tenor. Wordings were refined, and the meaning was elegantly expressed. He also imitated *Wuliangshou* (*Skt. *Amitāyuh-sūtra*) and *Zhongbenqi jing* to write in praise of Bodhisattva and produce three consecutive gāthās²⁰⁶. He moreover annotated *Liaoben shengsi jing* (Skt. *Śāli-stamba-sūtra*). These were all well-received back then.

從黃武元年。至建興中。所出維摩詰大般泥洹法句瑞應本起等二十七經曲得聖義辭旨文雅。又依無量壽中本起經製讚菩薩連句梵唄三契。注了本生死經。皆行於世。²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ The boldened character *que* 闕 means absent, unavailable, missing, etc. In addition, the underlined sentences basically mean that a scripture “was recorded in other catalogs but no in *Anlu*”. Detailed discussions on both *que* and “other catalogs” will be presented in Chapter 4.

²⁰⁵ T 2145.55.7a14–24.

²⁰⁶ I translated this sentence based on Rao Zongyi and Huehns’ explanation and interpretation (2022: 75–76).

²⁰⁷ T 2145.55.97c9–13.

As clearly written in (i) and many scholars have demonstrated, the last six texts were not incorporated in *Anlu*. If we take a look at the three texts (No. 28–30) just above these six excluded scriptures (No. 31–36), we may notice that these three could reverberate with the latter part in (ii), namely “write in praise of Bodhisattva and produce three consecutive gāthās (製...梵唄三契)” and “annotated *Liaoben shengsi jing* (注了本生死經)”. This kind of layout—congregating texts that were composed rather than translated as insinuated by Kamata’s perspicacious remark cited above—may imply an insightful remedy to this entrenched problem.

B. Three problematic works of Zhi Qian

(i) Two works concerning *ji* 倶

If we reread the delineation in (ii), it says that Zhi Qian “issued [...] twenty-seven scriptures (出 [...] 二十七經)”. However, “*Focongshang suoxing*, thirty *ji* (gāthās) 佛從上所行三十偈” and “*Weiming*, twenty *ji* (gāthās) 惟明二十偈” are not suited for categorization as “*jing* 經 [scripture]”. Even though later catalogs, such as Fei’s LDSBJ, imply that the character “*jing*” could be left out, none of these catalogs can assure this, so they apply circumlocutions by commenting “或無經字 [or there were no such character ‘*jing*’]” after these two “*ji* 倶”²⁰⁸. Scholars have read the sentence “又依無量壽²⁰⁹中本起經製讚菩薩連句梵唄三契” differently. Kamata (1994: 158), Ma (2004: 73), and Ren (1981: 171) punctuate it in the same way as recorded in *Taishō*, namely that Zhi Qian composed “*lianju* 連句 [consecutive sentences]” and “*fanbai* 梵唄 [Buddhist/Sanskrit gāthās]”, segregating these two phrases, while Lü (1979: 293), Wang (2006: 33), Zürcher (2007: 50–51), and Nattier (2019: 821) read it together as “*zanpusalianjufabai* 讚菩薩連句梵唄”.

Irrespective of the way to read it, Zhi Qian definitely composed *ji* 倶 according to *Youlu* and *fanbai* 梵唄 according to his biography. Would *ji* and *fanbai* have certain relationships?

²⁰⁸ See LDSBJ, T 2034, vol. 49, p. 57; DTNDL, T 2149, vol. 55, p. 228; KYSJL, T 2154, vol. 55, p. 489. Other catalogs chose to concord with *Youlu*, without mentioning the possibility of referring to these two as “經”.

²⁰⁹ There is also the question to which text this “無量壽” refers. In *Youlu*, there is no such scripture prior to Zhi Qian’s time. There is only one “阿彌陀經” ascribed to Zhi Qian that could be related to “無量壽”. Nattier wonders why this “阿彌陀經” was named as such as in Zhi Qian’s rendition he used the word “無量壽” a lot.

Fascicle 13 of GSZ, where Huijiao describes the *fanbai* composed by Cao Zhi 曹植, says “傳聲則三千有餘。在契則四十有二 [it has over three thousand sounds and forty-two *qi*]”. Zhao (1997: 91–92) advocates that “*qi* 契” is a unique classifier that specifically moderates *fanbai*. After examining 13 examples preserved in GSZ, Guo (1960: 244–246) concludes that sometimes “*qi* 契” resembles “*ji* 倍”, and sometimes it refers to the four pādas in a “*ji*”. Sun (2001: 166) surmises that “*qi*” denotes “segmentation of lyrics and poems (曲辭的小節)”. In short, *ji* is intimately linked with *qi*, and, accordingly, *fanbai* based on these scholars’ argumentations.

Besides, the word “*zan* 讚” in the above-mentioned problematic segmentation could also interactively relate with *ji*. For example, FYZL further explains “The West has *bai*, just like the East has *zan*. *Zan* is to compose sounds based on text, *bai* is short *ji* to disseminate *song*²¹⁰ (尋西方之有唄。猶東國之有讚。讚者。從文以結音。唄者短偈以流頌)”. Tang (2017: 109) questions “also do not know which *ji* he extracted to make *zan* (亦不知取何偈為贊)” when Zhi Qian composed *fanbai* based on *Wuliangshou jing*, implying that *zan* derives from *ji*. Wang (2006: 104) demonstrates that in a sūtra, *ji* usually collocates with *zan* and their functions are the same.

Accordingly, even though the association of the section “*zanpusalianjufanbai* 讚菩薩連句梵唄” with “*Focongshangsuoxing sanshi ji* 佛從上所行三十偈” or “*Weiming ershi ji* 惟明二十偈” may seem far-fetched, these two *ji* interlink with *fanbai* and consequently belong to a new genre in Zhi Qian’s translation, segregating from “*er’shiqijing* 二十七經 [twenty-seven scriptures]” in his biography.

(ii) One work of *Liaoben shengsi jing*

Modern scholars have faced another problem regarding T708 *Liaoben shengsi jing* 了本生死經 *Śāli-stamba-sūtra*²¹¹ (hereafter abbr. LBSSJ). The question of whether Zhi Qian only annotated this sūtra or both translated and annotated it has given rise to some

²¹⁰ Hamer (2007: 140, FN4) thinks *ji* 倍 corresponds to the Sanskrit *gāthā*, while *song* 頌 corresponds to *śloka*. Zürcher (2013: 433) proposes that it is unclear whether the “Chinese response to the Indian *gāthās* tradition was a free invention or a borrowing from an unknown native source.” However, since *gāthās* are often called Chinese *songs* 頌, “it would be too far-fetched to regard this as more than coincidental”. He further clarifies that “song, for *gāthā*, obviously just means ‘laudatory hymn’.”

²¹¹ Sakiyama (2022: 51) considers that 了本生死經 was the earliest Chinese translation of *Śāli-stamba-sūtra* rendered by Zhi Qian.

debate. The examination of the translatorship could help to shed new light on the mismatch between the “twenty-seven scriptures” recorded in the biography and the “thirty scriptures” recorded in *Anlu*.

The oldest extant record of Zhi Qian’s translation of LBSSJ is Dao’an’s *Preface to Liaoben shengsi jing* (了本生死經序), in which Zhi Qian was credited not as a translator, but rather an annotator²¹². In LDSBJ, Fei comments “Zhi Qian annotated and wrote the preface (謙自注并制序)” and emphasizes again “He also annotated texts such as LBSSJ and wrote prefaces for them (兼注了本生死等經并序)”. In *Fajing lu* 法經錄 (i.e., *Zhongjing mulu* 眇經目錄 composed during the Sui Dynasty), *Fajing* 法經 seems to regard Zhi Qian as the translator of LBSSJ when he summarized different versions of LBSSJ “LBSSJ, one fascicle, Zhi Qian **translated** in the Huangwu Era of the Wu Kingdom (了本生死經一卷 吳黃武年支謙譯)”. In addition, in Fascicle 2 of KYSJL, 智昇 Zhisheng marked that “the preface (written by Dao’an) says this scripture was issued at the end of the Han Dynasty and Zhi Qian annotated it (序云漢末出 謙注)”. But in Fascicle 13, Zhisheng also remarked “LBSSJ one fascicle, the Yuezhi upāsaka Zhi Qian from the Wu Kingdom **translated**. He also annotated it himself (了本生死經一卷 吳月支優婆塞支謙譯 謙自注解)”²¹³. On account of historical records and Zhi Qian’s rendering of the first chapter of *Daming duwuji jing* 大明度無極經 [Skt. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*], Tang (2017: 109) proposes the possibility that his *modus operandi* was to translate and annotate all by Zhi Qian himself. This opinion is accepted by Fang (2007: 24) and Tu (2018: 7). Having noticed the incongruity between *Anlu*’s record where Zhi Qian is regarded as the translator and the preface written by Dao’an for LBSSJ where Zhi Qian is recorded as an annotator, Hayashiya (1945: 380-382) believes that it is hard to deny that Zhi Qian translated LBSSJ²¹⁴. Lü (1979: 292)

²¹² In Dao’an’s preface, there is the sentence:

At the end of the Han Dynasty, this sūtra came to this land... At the beginning of the Wei Dynasty, there was an erudite Zhi Gongming from Henan, who annotated and illustrated this sūtra. Probing into the arcane, he shed light on the obstruct. He indeed entered the room (has profound knowledge)

漢之季世。此經始降茲土。雅邃奧邈少達其歸者也。魏代之初有高士河南支恭明。爲作注解探玄暢滯。真可謂入室者矣。(T 2145.55.45b20-22).

For a more precise translation, see Zacchetti (2003:211).

²¹³ For a more thorough analysis of remarks on LBSSJ in various catalogs, see Hayashiya (1945: 380-388).

²¹⁴ Even though Hayashiya does not deny the existence of a translated LBSSJ that predated Zhi Qian, he thinks that

considers that Zhi Qian was initially treated as a commentator by Dao'an. However, Zhi Qian may have revised the translations at the end of the Han Dynasty, and this may be the reason why Dao'an listed LBSSJ as Zhi Qian's translation. Ono (1983: 36) purports that it is inappropriate to juxtapose LBSSJ between two *ji* 墍 (see above), therefore LBSSJ should be Zhi Qian's annotation and there possibly was a character “*zhu* 注 [annotate]” under the sūtra's original interlinear note. In response to Hayashiya's research, Zacchetti expresses doubts that Zhi Qian ever translated LBSSJ and holds the view that it is hard to imagine that Dao'an did not mention Zhi Qian's role as a translator in the preface to LBSSJ should Dao'an have had any proof (2004: 210–211). Having examined the text itself, Zacchetti also calls Zhi Qian's involvement in its translation into question, as LBSSJ is prone to direct translation, belying his conventional translation style (2004: 211). Nattier concurs with Zacchetti's observation and purports that the attribution of LBSSJ to Zhi Qian is “apparently an error made by Sengyou himself” (2008: 148), as this should be a Han-period translation that predated traditional catalogs (p. 109). However, Li (2020: 17) refutes this proposal, alleging that since *Anlu* makes it clear that LBSSJ's translator is Zhi Qian, there is no need for over-analyzing. Dao'an only mentions Zhi Qian as a commentator in his preface simply because his intention in writing the preface did not necessitate addressing Zhi Qian as a translator.

This kind of debate prompts us to probe into the structure of *Anlu* and ask the question:

What was incorporated in *Anlu*?

Just because *Anlu* credited LBSSJ to Zhi Qian, can we therefore conclude that Dao'an regarded this text as Zhi Qian's translation? In fact, did *Anlu* only record translations? The answer is no. If we examine the overlapping individuals of *Anlu* and *Youlu*, there are a few discrepancies:

this kind of translation could be “an uncompleted translation (多少不完全な訳出)” (1945: 382). Besides, deducing from Zhi Qian's biography in CSZJJ, Hayashiya also presumes that “this sūtra initially came to this land (此經始降茲土)” in Dao'an's preface could refer to the arriving of *hu* language source text, instead of a translated version.

(A) An Shigao

(In his scriptures there are) *Sidi*, *Koujie*, *Shisiyi*, *jiushibajie*. Master An said: (they) seemed to be composed by Shigao.

其四諦口解十四意九十八結. 安公云似世高撰也²¹⁵

(B) Yan Fodiao (var. Fotiao)

The two texts (listed) on the right, together two fascicles were translated and issued by the śramaṇa Yan Fodiao together with Commander-in-chief An Xuan. *Shihui* was composed by Fodiao.

右二部。凡二卷。漢靈帝時。沙門嚴佛調都尉安玄共譯出。十慧是佛調所撰²¹⁶

(C) Nie Chengyuan

Upāsaka Nie Chengyuan collated texts and *ji* and pruned them into two fascicles.

優婆塞輩承遠整理文偈刪爲二卷²¹⁷

The three cases above all originated from *Anlu*, yet what has been preserved was not only limited to translations²¹⁸. Therefore, it is clear that *Anlu*, as well as *Youlu*, could not be evaluated solely as catalogs for translated texts.

Although there are self-composed and pruned texts in both catalogs, this could not justify LBSSJ being considered a non-translation, at least by Sengyou. As can be discerned from the above three cases, in the summary part after translations being listed, Sengyou would make comments (or had copied comments written by Dao'an) on texts that were no translations, using the words “*zhuan* 撰 [compose]” and “*shan* 刪 [prune]” to specify them. A search for annotators in Fascicles 6 to 11 in CSZJJ shows that none of the texts they annotated would be ascribed to them in *Anlu*. For example, Chen Hui 陳慧 and Kang Senghui 康僧會 annotated *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經. Chen Hui does not have any entry, neither in *Anlu* nor in *Youlu*, while this scripture was not credited to Kang Senghui under his entry in either catalog. Consequently, mere annotation by Zhi Qian would not qualify LBSSJ to get recorded under his entry in

²¹⁵ T 2145.55.6b5–6.

²¹⁶ T 2145.55.6c5–6.

²¹⁷ T 2145.55.9c7–8.

²¹⁸ Hayashiya (1941: 389–406) has attempted to recover *Anlu*, in which (A), (B), and (C) are all preserved.

Anlu and *Youlu*. Still, it is enigmatic, as Zucchetti and Nattier have argued, that, if Dao'an had any clue about Zhi Qian being the translator, he would not mention this in his *Preface to LBSSJ*. On that account, is there any possibility that what Sengyou had seen was not the original *Anlu*? Firstly, the comment under LBSSJ that says it derives from *Sheng jing* 生經 is wrong²¹⁹ and Sengyou had already pointed that out; secondly, as Ono mentions above, it is weird to insert LBSSJ between two *ji*; and thirdly, as Dao'an himself narrated “Because of turmoil the catalog was scattered. (Therefore) there are minor mistakes and incongruities (遭亂錄散 小小錯涉)”, the order or recording of this catalog may be erroneous to some extent.

C. Comparison of *Anlu*, the Biographies in CSZJJ, and *Youlu* regarding the Number of Translations

At any rate, the biography of Zhi Qian states that there are 27 scriptures translated by him and the analysis above surely problematizes three works of Zhi Qian which are either hard to categorize under the category of “scripture” or whose translatorship is questionable. If we eliminate these three questionable works (No. 28, 29, and 30) from the catalogs, then *Anlu* actually listed 27 scriptures rendered by Zhi Qian, which matches the number in Zhi Qian’s biography.

This similarity of the number of scriptures listed in the biography and *Anlu* is no coincidence and not confined to Zhi Qian’s case. My previous chapter, which examined the number of Lokakṣema’s translations, also showed an analogous mismatch in the latter’s biography and *Youlu* — the biography says he issued 13 scriptures while *Youlu* has it as 14, with a remark that *Anlu* has no *Guangming sanmei jing* 光明三昧經, indicating that *Anlu* recorded 13 works of Lokakṣema. Hence Lokakṣema’s biography is also more closely aligned to Dao'an’s record. I therefore would like to illustrate my above-mentioned two hypotheses: 1. the biographical section in CSZJJ shares more similarity with *Anlu* than with *Youlu*, especially concerning the similarity of the number of translated works documented in the two; and 2. I assume that both *Youlu* and the

²¹⁹ Hayashiya (1945) thinks that it was either added by someone else later or this comment was wrongly allocated.

biographies in CSZJJ went through redactions after their first compilations, making it hard to ascertain which part antedated the other originally.

First, let us have a look at the numbers recorded in each section²²⁰:

	Name	Anlu	Biographical Section	Youlu
1	安世高 An Shigao	35	35	34 ²²¹
2	支讖 Zhi Chen (Lokakṣema)	13	13	14
3	嚴佛調 安玄 Yan Fotian and An Xuan	2	2	2
4	支謙 Zhi Qian	30	27 (+fanbai+LBSSJ)	36
5	康僧會 Kang Senghui	2	6 (+3 annotations)	2
6	朱士行 Zhu Shixing	1	1	1
7	竺法護 Zhu Fahu (Dharmarakṣa ²²²)	149	149	154
8	聶承遠 Nie Chengyuan	1	1	1
9	竺叔蘭 Zhu Shulan	1	2	2
10	法炬 法立 Faju and Fali	3	3	4

Table 3.1 The Numbers of Translators' Translations according to *Anlu*, Biographical Section and *Youlu*

²²⁰ *Anlu* is the oldest of the three sections and ends at the entry of Fali 法立 and Faju 法炬. Therefore, the comparison among the three sources is based on the accounts until the records of these two persons. Newly added individuals that were not recorded in *Anlu* would not be listed in this chart.

²²¹ *Youlu* says in a short conclusion that there were 34 texts translated and issued by An Shigao. But it actually contains 35 works of him.

²²² There is one problematic figure, i.e., “Tammoluocha 晏摩羅察”, in both *Anlu* and *Youlu*. This individual is related with Dharmarakṣa. This problem will be discussed in the next chapter on Dharmarakṣa.

As can be seen from Table 3.1, the biography is sometimes totally different from *Anlu* or *Youlu*. Palumbo purports that the biography is Sengyou's early work, and the catalog expanded after the composition of the biography. Nevertheless, the expansions compared to *Anlu* are:

	<i>Anlu</i>	<i>Youlu</i>	Augmentation
2	13	14	1
4	30	36	6
7	149	154	4
9	1	2	1
10	3	4	1
Entries			+13

Table 3.2 Comparisons of *Anlu* and *Youlu* — Augmentation

Compared to the biography (augmentation):

	Biographical Section	<i>Youlu</i>	Augmentation
2	13	14	1
4	27	36	9
7	149	154	5
10	3	4	1
Entries			+16

Table 3.3 Comparisons of Biographical Section and *Youlu* — Augmentation

Compared to the biographical section (decrease):

	Biographical Section	<i>Youlu</i>	Decrease
1	35	34	1

5	6	2	4
2 Entries			-5

Table 3.4 Comparisons of Biographical Section and *Youlu* — Decrease

Anlu vs. the biographical section:

	<i>Anlu</i>	Biography	
4	30	27	-3
5	2	6	+4
9	1	2	+1
3 Entries			+5; -3

Table 3.5 Comparisons of Biographical Section and *Anlu* — Decrease

From Table 3.2 to 3.4, it can be seen that *Youlu* increased in content compared with *Anlu*, and Sengyou paid special attention to *Anlu* when he augmented his own catalog. Sengyou based his *Youlu* on *Anlu* and compared other catalogs with *Anlu*. Instead of rectifying *Anlu*, he would leave short notes for future readers. One example is the moot case of LBSSJ, where *Anlu* may be followed by a comment “*chushengjing* 出生經 [issued from *Sheng jing*]”, whereas Sengyou wrote after this comment in his own catalog that “Master An said this came from *Sheng jing*. I searched and the five fascicles *Sheng jing* and (it) does not contain this name (安公云出生經祐案五卷生經無此名²²³)”. On the other hand, Sengyou commented *Anlu* that “what *Anlu* recorded is not complete (安錄所記則爲未盡²²⁴)” and lamenting that “*Anlu* is indeed great but it is too simple, using only two characters to refer to the name of a scripture. Besides, there is no indication of how many fascicles (each scripture has) [...] this is indeed a black spot in a beautiful jade (安錄誠佳。頗恨太簡。注目經名撮題兩字。且不列卷數

²²³ T 2145.55.7a15.

²²⁴ T 2145 《出三藏記集》卷 2: 「追討支(支【大】，支竺時獲異經安錄所記則為未盡今悉更苞【宋】【元】【明】)舉以備錄體」(T 2145.55.5c4-5).

[...]斯亦璵璠之一玷也²²⁵”。 Thereupon, he intentionally composed his catalog with *Anlu* as a parameter.

Let us then analyze the outcome. To begin with, as can be seen from Tables 3.1 to 3.5, seven out of ten entries of *Anlu*’s and the biography’s records are exactly the same, while the three accounts differ. By contrast, a comparison of the biography and *Youlu* shows only four identical records, leaving six entries with different accounts. Therefore, the incongruity between *Anlu* and the biography is 30%, but doubles to 60% between *Youlu* and the biography. Secondly, the disparity between *Anlu* and the biography could be evened further, making the two even more similar. For No. 9, Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭, *Anlu* recorded that he had one translation: *Yi weimojie jing* 異維摩詰經; the biography says he had two: *Yi weimojie jing* 異維摩詰經 and *Fangguang jing* 放光經; while even though *Youlu* also records two translations, aligning the numbers with the biography, the content is different: *Yi weimojie jing* 異維摩詰經 and *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經. However, Dao’an actually was aware that Zhu Shulan had participated in the translation of *Fangguang jing* 放光經. If Dao’an had ascribed *Fangguang jing* to Zhu Shulan, not only the number but also the names of translated sūtras would be the same as in the biographical section. However, this is not Dao’an’s way of organizing a catalog; as Naitō (1967b: 190) suggests, Dao’an would always credit a scripture to only one person in his catalog even if it was translated collaboratively. Thirdly, the total number of inconsistent scriptures is eight (+5; -3) between the biography and *Anlu*, but 21 (+16; -5) between the biography and *Youlu*.

In short, the biographical section exhibits more similarities with *Anlu* than with *Youlu*, and it is hard to believe that the biography and *Youlu* were composed by the same person. Actually, Naitō also insinuates the possibility that biography was a separate section and later coalesced with other parts of CSZJJ, but he did not have evidence to prove it (Naitō, 1958: 162). Still, it is highly possible after comparing these tables.

²²⁵ T 2145.55.16c12–15.

Throughout this *Youlu*, there are many places where the number in the short summary section after each translator's entry does not match the actual number of scriptures listed in *Youlu*. This is shown below:

	<i>Youlu</i> 's Proclamation	Actual Status
An Shigao 安世高	34 works; 40 fascicles	35 works; 41 fascicles
Dharmarakṣa 竺法護	90/95; 209 [extant numbers]	90; 205
	64; 116 [absent numbers]	63; 105
	154; 309 (should be 322) [in total]	154; 310
Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什	35; 294	35; 297
Dharmakṣema 曇無讖	11; 104	12; 117
佛馱跋陀 Buddhabhardra	10; 67	11; 69
法顯 Faxian	11; 63	12; 64
Total	450; 1867	437; 1874

Table 3.6 Short Summary of Number Inconsistencies

This chart shows that *Youlu* was changed and altered after its compilation. It is hard to ascertain when this took place — before the compilation of CSZJJ or after its circulation. I therefore find it difficult to claim that *Youlu* predated the biography, or some restrictive modifiers must be added before such a claim is made. In fact, in chapter 4 I will also discuss the possibility that at least two versions of CSZJJ, one extant version and one lost, which were quite different from each other were circulating in China until at least the Song dynasty. This will be analyzed in conjunction with the enigmatic figure *Zhi Pusa* 支菩薩 (Bodhisattva *Zhi*). Therefore, all the conclusions I made are based on the extant version of CSZJJ.

In conclusion, the biographical section and *Youlu* were based on different resources. After the two sections were joined into one book, there was no thorough checking of the overall quality, and the discrepancies remained. But both sections have been revised to different degrees. Currently, there is no solid evidence to prove which section predates the other.

3.2.3 Zhi Qian's Translation Style

In this section, the historical materials concerning Zhi Qian's translation style will be examined. First, the question of “Zhizhu 支竺” will be scrutinized as many scholars assume that the Zhi in the term “Zhizhu” denotes Zhi Qian. However, conducting a case-by-case research can unveil different interpretations.

3.2.3.1 The Problem of “Zhizhu 支竺”

When describing Zhi Qian's translation style, one pending question must be answered — who is this “Zhizhu 支竺” who recurs in various Buddhist prefaces and historiographies? Even though many scholars have shared different ideas as to whom Zhizhu exactly refer, I would like to propose that even though it seems to be a general term, the signified content may vary case by case.

(i) *Preface to Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* composed by Sengzhao

The heaven king (Skt. *deva-rāja*) of the Qin Kingdom... regretted what Zhizhu had issued, (in whose translations) reasons were not fully expressed through their wordings. (The king) was always afraid that the magnificent meaning may fall (be destroyed) by interpreters.

大秦天王...而恨支竺所出理滯於文。常懼玄宗墜於譯人。²²⁶

(ii) Kumārajīva's biography in CSZJJ

Most of what Zhizhu had issued was stagnant (not fully expressed) and impeding the meaning.

²²⁶ T 2145.55.58b7–10.

而支竺所出多滯文格義。²²⁷

(iii) Biography of Huiyuan in CSZJJ

(Huiyuan) always thought the old meaning (rendered) by Zhizhu did not exhaust the marvelous existence. Therefore, he wrote Faxing Lun (Treatise on the Nature of Dharma).

常以支竺舊義未窮妙實。乃著法性論。²²⁸

(iv) GSZ

There were people like Zhi Qian, Nie Chengyuan, Zhu Fonian, Shi Baoyun, Zhu Shulan, Mokṣala, and so on. (They were) all good at fan language and Chinese. Hence, they could do the job of translation...Then there is Kumārajīva...(who) regrated what was rendered by Zhizhu. The wordings and styles were archaic and unhewn and could not exhaust the marvelousness and beauty (of the original texts).

屬有支謙聶承遠竺佛念釋竇雲竺叔蘭無羅叉等。並妙善梵漢之音。故能盡翻譯之致...其後鳩摩羅什...恨支竺所譯文製古質未盡善美。²²⁹

(v) *Preface to Shizhao* 釋肇序 composed by Tiqing 體請

(In) the claim that “(in texts) Zhizhu had issued, the reasons were not fully expressed through their wordings”, Zhi refers to Zhi Qian while Zhu refers to (Zhu) Fahu (a.k.a. Dharmarakṣa).

而攝支竺所出理滯於文者。支譯支謙。竺謂法護也。²³⁰

(vi) 淨名經關中釋抄 沙門道液撰集

Copy of the Guanzhong Explication of Jingming jing (a.k.a., *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*), composed and compiled by śramaṇa Daoye

Zhizhu means Zhi Qian, Zhu Shulan²³¹, Zhu Fahu, etc.

支竺者。支謙竺寂蘭竺法護等。²³²

²²⁷ T 2059.50.332a28.

²²⁸ T 2145.55.110a27–28.

²²⁹ T 2059.50.345c8–9.

²³⁰ T 2776.85.438c6–7.

²³¹ The original name reads “Zhu Jilan”. But this is probably a typo and should be 竺叔蘭 Zhu Shulan.

²³² T 2778.85.509b4.

(vii) CSZJJ

(I, Sengyou) traced after (the renditions of) Zhizhu and encountered different scriptures. The records in *Anlu* are therefore not complete. Now (I) list these scriptures to complete the catalog.

追討支擧 (<三>支竺時獲異經安錄所記則爲未盡今悉更苞)以備錄體。²³³

(i) —(vii) are the most pertinent records that may refer to Zhi Qian. The oldest record using the term *Zhizhu* that is available to us would be (i), in which Sengzhao stated that the emperor of Qin deplored *Zhizhu*'s translation. Since this preface was written for the newly rendered *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* by Kumārajīva, it is necessary to check who translated this scripture in order to identify to whom this term refers. From the materials in Fascicle 2, CSZJJ in *Yichu jinglu* 異出經錄, we can derive the following account:

維摩詰經²³⁴ *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*

支謙出維摩詰二卷 **Zhi** Qian issued *Weimojie*, two fascicles

竺法護出維摩詰經二卷 **Zhu** Fahu issued *Weimojie jing*, two fascicles

又出刪維摩詰一卷 also issued a pruned version of *Weimojie*, one fascicle

竺叔蘭出維摩詰二卷 **Zhu** Shulan issued *Weimojie*, two fascicles

鳩摩羅什出新維摩詰經三卷 Kumārajīva issued a new *Weimojie jing*, three fascicles

右一經。四人異出 The sūtra on the right, issued differently by four people

Here, *Zhi* 支 refers to Zhi Qian, while there are two translators with the cognomen of *Zhu* 竺. Having found several examples by comparing Zhi Qian's *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* with Kumārajīva's and Xuanzang's renderings, Chang (2016) propounds that Zhi's translation veritably manifests its character “the reasons were not fully expressed through their wordings (理滯於文)”, so that “what was issued by Zhizhu (支竺所出)” alluding Zhi to Zhi Qian (p. 120, FN 4). Nevertheless, the problem remains as to who is “*Zhu 竺*”?

Ōchō (1958: 3) presumes Zhi is Lokakṣema while Zhu is Dharmarakṣa. However, this claim is not based on (i), but rather on the description (vi) listed above. Opposing

²³³ T 2145.55.5c4—5.

²³⁴ T 2145.55.14a19—21.

Ōchō's opinion but referring to (i), Liang (1999: 3798) concludes that Zhi is Zhi Qian and Zhu is Zhu Fahu (Dharmarakṣa).

Zürcher (2007: 336, FN 138) thinks Zhizhu is Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa. Tsukamoto (1968: 303) argues that this term indicates people in the Wei and Jin Dynasties whose surnames were Zhi and Zhu and well-versed in Chinese, such as translators Zhi Qian, Dharmarakṣa, Zhu Shulan, and the like²³⁵. Therefore Lin (1968: 144–145) summarizes that there are at least three ways of deciphering this crux. One perspective treats them as Lokakṣema and Dharmarakṣa, another regards them as Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa, while the third angle would take them as Zhi Qian, Zhu Shulan, and Dharmarakṣa. Lin himself hypothesizes that “Zhizhu” is a general term that refers to all translators whose surnames were Zhi and Zhu. Nevertheless, Okayama takes a different view. He reassesses the transcripts about Zhizhu, contesting that if this stands for Zhi Qian, Lokakṣema, and Dharmarakṣa, why not address them as “*yizhiliangzhu* 一支兩竺 [one Zhi (and) two Zhu]” (1977: 155). Having subjected the names of sūtras translated by Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva to a meticulous examination, he concludes that, as many sūtras rendered by Kumārajīva—unlike those of Dharmarakṣa—were labelled as “*xin* 新 [new]”, unveiling extraordinary attention towards Dharmarakṣa’s translations, Sengzhao’s mention of “Zhu” must be referring to Dharmarakṣa. In Nakajima (1997: 138)’s translation of (i), he translates this term as Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa. When annotating Kumārajīva’s biography in GSZ, which resembles (ii), Zhu et al. (2014: 86, FN238) imply that even Tang Yongtong denoted this term as Zhi Qian, Dharmarakṣa, or Zhu Shulan, but the later mention of “*geyi* 格義 [matching meanings]” may mean that Zhu refers to Zhu Faya 竹法雅. Shi Guopu (1998: 147–151; 214–215; 221–226) offers an in-depth discussion of this topic. After scrutinizing the Dunhuang manuscript P3006 annotated by Dao’an, Shi sees a high probability that “*zhushi* 竹氏 [the person whose surname is Zhu]” in Dao’an’s annotation refers to Dharmarakṣa since Dao’an

²³⁵ This interpretation is misunderstood to some extent in Lin (see next)’s later article, where Lin thinks Tsukamoto specifically uses Zhizhu for Zhi Qian, Dharmarakṣa, and Zhu Shulan. However, Tsukamoto’s original words are “支竺(おそらく魏晉の支姓竺姓の訳経家支謙、竺法護、竺叔蘭など中国的教養に通じた人々を指すのであろう)”, denoting Zhizhu’s connotations were not confined to these three persons.

greatly venerated this “*zhushi*”. Besides, having compared translation pairs listed in Sengrui’s preface named *Pimoluojetijing yishu xu* 毘摩羅詰堤經義疏序 *Preface to the Commentary of Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, she concludes that what Sengrui thought to be “the impaired versions translated previously (前譯之傷本²³⁶)” were mostly referring to Zhi Qian’s translations. This argumentation is corroborated by Nakajima’s footnote. Shi also illustrates that the first to posit that “*Zhizhu*” was Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa was actually Sengyou (1998: 223). Based on the above findings, she accordingly concludes that the “*Zhizhu*” Sengzhao meant in (i) should either be “*Zhi Qian and Zhu Shulan*”, or “*Dharmarakṣa*²³⁷ and *Zhu Shulan*”.

As for early scholars’ opinions about who *Zhizhu* was/were, (v) and (vi) offer us valuable perspectives that allow us to ponder on this intriguing question. (v) and (vi) are both annotations of (i). Besides, (v) also contains annotations for (vi), as examined by Kanno (2014: 475–476). (vi) imparts that *Zhizhu* denotes “*Zhi Qian, Zhu Shulan, Zhu Fahu, etc. (支謙竺寂蘭竺法護等)*”, which may tally with Lin’s way of thinking. Meanwhile, (v) corrects (vi)’s interpretation and states that *Zhizhu* should mean “*Zhi is Zhi Qian, and Zhu is Dharmarakṣa*”, showing more consistency with other statements.

It is necessary to examine all these materials listed above.

First of all, there is a hidden message in (i) — “whenever (the king) repeatedly appreciated this text (每尋翫茲典)”. As suggested by Shi (1998), this implies that the reason Yao Xing 姚興 asked Kumārajīva to retranslate was that when he looked at this *Virmalakīrti sūtra*, he loathed what *Zhizhu* had rendered. On this ground, the “*Zhizhu*” in (i) could only be translators who had rendered *Vimalakīrti* — *Zhi Qian, Dharmarakṣa*,

²³⁶ T 2145.55.58c26.

²³⁷ Shi Guopu elaborates afterwards in this section that Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese transliteration is not only **Zhu** Fahu 竺法護, but could also be **Zhi** Fahu 支法護. Dao’an’s prefaces address Dharmarakṣa as “*hugong* 護公 [master Hu]”, so there’s no way of knowing Dao’an’s awareness of Dharmarakṣa’s surname being Zhi or Zhu. Nevertheless, since there is “*zhushiyue* 竺氏曰 [Zhushi says]” in P3006, it is possible that Dao’an addressed him with the surname Zhu. Therefore, when Sengzhao used “Zhu” in his preface, this might be Dharmarakṣa. However, a contemporary of Dao’an named Zhi Dun 支遁 still quoted Dharmarakṣa as “*Zhi Fahu 支法護*” when he wrote a eulogy for his portrayal; accordingly there were different ways of addressing Dharmarakṣa during or before Dao’an’s time. Whether or not Sengzhao definitely decided to address “Fahu 法護” with the surname “Zhu” is unclear from the preface (1998: 225).

and Zhu Shulan²³⁸. Even though Shi purports that Zhi Qian's translation was not available to Dao'an²³⁹, this is highly improbable as one of Dao'an's devout disciples, Sengrui, compared Kumārajīva's translation with Zhi Qian's rendering²⁴⁰. Sengrui, who recurrently cited his master Dao'an in many of his prefaces, would have been unable to comment on Zhi Qian's translation if it had already been lost since his master Dao'an's time. Besides, when talking about his study of a sūtra rendered before Kumārajīva, Sengrui mentioned he once “When I first arose the mind of intention to achieve enlightenment (Skt. *bodhi-citta-(sam)utpāda*) at the rudimentary stage, I recited and studied this text, thinking this was the crucial tenet (予始發心啓曇。於此諷詠研求以爲喉衿²⁴¹”). Then, when he saw Kumārajīva's new translation, he started to realize how impaired (傷本) versions the earlier translation(s) was (were). He then compared the old, “impaired” versions with the new one by enumerating different translations of certain words. Since most of the comparisons Sengrui drew as examples were from Zhi Qian's version, it is evident that Sengrui had recited and studied (諷詠研求) Zhi Qian's version previously. That being the case, it is unimaginable that Dao'an, as Sengrui's contemporary and his master, had not had access to Zhi Qian's version and recorded it as “*que* [absent/missing/inaccessible]”. However, if Zhizhu alluded to Zhi Qian,

²³⁸ Shi's analysis moreover showed that there were only two kinds of Vimarakīrti: one rendered by Zhu Foshuo and two other texts translated by Dharmarakṣa (one full version, one revised version) that were accessible to Dao'an at that time. Therefore, even though Dao'an and Zhi Mindu claimed that they had seen three Vimarakīrti's translations, what they meant is not the same. Shi's opinion is tenable only when the problematic character “*que* 罷” in CSJJ indeed appeared in *Anlu*, contrasting *jinque* 今罷 or *jinbingyouqijing* 今並有其經—which were Sengyou's ways of recording the actual status of the perseverance of scriptures at his time. Kamata (1994: 203) also consents that “*que*” reveals *Anlu*'s status, while Tu (2013: 297), Gao (2013: 5), and Li (2020:70) refuted this hypothesis about “*que*”. However, the hypothesis raised by Shi that Dao'an had not seen Zhi Qian's Vimalakīrti and that what Zhi Mindu had seen was different from the version seen by Dao'an, and Zhi Mindu took another version which Dao'an thought was issued by Dharmarakṣa as the translation of Zhi Qian (“支愍度把道安視為法護的另一經本，判為支謙譯出”), can only be substantiated when ① Dao'an indeed marked lost translations with “*que*” in *Anlu* and that way of recording had been faithfully copied by Sengyou; ② Dao'an had indeed recorded a “刪維摩詰經” [pruned version of *Weimojie jing*] issued by Dharmarakṣa. However, since *Youlu* listed this version in the section “經今罷 [sūtra which are currently inaccessible]”, we have no way of determining whether this pruned version was originally marked by Dao'an as “*que*” or Dao'an had read it and it was precisely the one credited to Zhi Qian by Zhi Mindu. This aspect needs to be examined further with more concrete examples.

²³⁹ See the footnote above.

²⁴⁰ Sengrui compared terms rendered newly by Kumārajīva with previous ones. In this comparison, he points out that “(the previous translations were so impaired that they translated) *bulaixiang* [Skt. *an-āgata*] as *rulai*, *buxiangjian* [Skt. *a-drṣṭa(śruta)*] as *xiangjian*, *moyuanfa* as *shishen*, *yuanhefa* (Skt.? *adhyālambana*) as *zhixin* (Skt.? *anupalambha*), etc. (至如以不來相為辱來。不見相為相見。未緣法為始神。緣合法為止心。諸如此比; T 2145.55.58c27–29)”. Of the terms listed by him, three can be found in Zhi Qian's translation of this sūtra. Hypothetically, the unfound “*shishen* 始神” could also be referring to Zhi Qian's version. Nevertheless, this word cannot be found in any of Zhi Qian's translations and cannot be found in any extant scriptures in Taishō either.

²⁴¹ T 2145.55.58c23–24.

Dharmarakṣa, and Zhu Shulan, it is not natural to group them together, because Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa's translation styles were not the same according to early monk scholars' comments. GSZ groups Dharmarakṣa with An Shigao and Lokakṣema, while putting Zhi Qian and Zhu Shulan together into a different cluster²⁴². Besides, Dao'an also differentiated Dharmarakṣa and Zhu Shulan's translation styles when he commented in his Preface to the Concise Synoptic Explanation of the *Fangguang* and the *Guangzan* 合放光光讚略解序:

Fangguang: Khotanese śramaṇa Mokṣala held the *hu* text and Zhu Shulan interpreted it. The words were few, and the subject matters were concise. They deleted repetitions and redundancies to make (the content of) the text pellucid, illuminating, and apprehensible. However, following (the translation style) of terseness, some *Tianzhu* expressions must have been left out. When one projects back again the original words, (one may find that) it is always too simple (compared with the original text). *Guangzan*: Master Hu held the *hu* text, and Nie Chengyuan scribed. (Their translated) words aligned with the original *Tianzhu* version, without adding ornaments to subject matters. Indeed (their translation) was thorough. However, the unhewness of the words won out over the refinement.²⁴³

放光于闐沙門無叉羅執胡。竺叔蘭爲譯。言少事約。削復重事事顯炳煥然易觀也。而從約必有所遺於天竺辭。及(反)騰每本蘭(大簡)焉。光讚護公執胡本。聶承遠筆受。言准天竺事不加飾。悉則悉矣。而辭質勝文也。²⁴⁴

According to this preface, Dao'an scrutinized both Zhu Shulan and Dharmarakṣa's translations, but was not content with the translation quality of either text. He thought that Zhu Shulan's translation was clear and concise, but only because it had left out many of the original words. Dharmarakṣa's version, by contrast, was intact and unabridged; however, the expressions were too coarse to read. Zhi Qian, together with Mokṣala, the co-translator of Zhu Shulan, was appraised as "Mokṣala and Zhi Yue (i.e., Zhi Qian), were adept in hacking and drilling (refining texts). This adeptness, however,

²⁴² "Until (translators) such as An Qing (a.k.a., An Shigao), Lokakṣema, Kang Senghui, and Zhu Fahu (Dharmarakṣa) [...] (Then there were translators) such as Zhi Qian, Nie Chengyuan, Zhu Fonian, Shi Baoyun, Zhu Shulan, and Mokṣala (爰至安清支譯康會竺護等...屬有支謙聶承遠竺佛念釋寶雲竺叔蘭無羅叉等)" (T 2059.50.345c5–7)

²⁴³ This translation is my own, drawing upon the works of Hurvitz and Link (1974: 424) as well as Boucher (1996: 74–75) for reference.

²⁴⁴ T 2145.55.47c29–48b22.

may cause the death of *Hundun* when seven holes are bored²⁴⁵ (又羅支越。斲鑿之巧者也。巧則巧矣。懼竅成而混沌終矣)” by the same commentator — Dao'an. From Dao'an's perspective at least, Zhi Qian and Zhu Shulan could therefore be grouped together in terms of translation style, which should be different from that of Dharmarakṣa. For that reason, it is not customary to pair Zhi Qian's translation style with Dharmarakṣa's, as these two shared similar ways of translating.

However, the illustration that Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa's translation styles differ from each other does not mean that these two could not show up together as *Zhizhu* or that the outcome of their translations does not share other generalities. For example, when describing the outcome of *Zhizhu*'s translations, one phrase is usually employed — “*lizhiyuwen* 理滯於文”. Could this only refer to a single translation style or could it refer to different translation styles with the same outcome, denoting Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa at the same time? Below, I will suggest that “*lizhiyuwen* 理滯於文” could refer either to Zhi Qian's more elegant translation style or Dharmarakṣa's more literal translation style.

To further clarify this, we first need to decode its meaning. Nakajima (1997: 138) translates this phrase as “reasons are not perfectly manifested via expressions (道理が表現の上にうまく出ていない)”; Yue²⁴⁶ (2010: 101) renders it into “the meaning was obscured by the language”. The verb “*zhi* 滯” plays an important role in the comprehension of this phrase, and we shall dig into the meaning of it. In the *Ancient Chinese Dictionary* 古代漢語詞典 (2003: 2030), “*zhi* 滯” is explained as “not moving; stagnant (不流通;停滯)”. Cui and Li (2003: 2023) quote several annotators' explanations of *zhi*, such as Wang Fuzhi 王夫之's explanation that “*zhi*, is like the blocking of water and not unclogging subject matters (滯, 如水之塞阻, 而不通物事也)”. Dong (2012: 123) annotated it as “*zhi*, means water is not flowing smoothly (滯, 水流不通)”. In *Baopuzi* (Chi.抱朴子), there is also the sentence“變化不系滯於規矩

²⁴⁵ For the tale of *Hundun*, which is recorded in the book 莊子 *Zhuang-zi*, see Held (1972: 100, FN 293) and Hurviz and Link (1974: 448, FN 138).

²⁴⁶ See Cheung (2010: 101–102)

之方圓”, of which Zhang and Zhang (2013: 650) explain the part “*xizhi* 系滯” as “obstinate and confinement (固執;局限)”. In either case, the word *zhi* seems to signify stagnant or confinement.

Apart from the above literal and generic explanations, it is important to combine monks’ interpretation of this word. Dao’an used the word *zhi* multiple times in his prefaces to describe the incomprehensibility of translations or annotations.

(a) Preface to *Yinchiru jing*

(My) knowledge is shadow and viewpoint is monotonous, stagnant and not thorough [...] the two scholars are open-minded and sanguine, knowledgeable, and proficient [...] (I) therefore, recurrently unclog the obstacles (in this sūtra) together with (them) and produce this annotation.

陰持入經序

淺識獨見滯而不達...此二學士高朗博通...遂與折槃暢礙造茲注解²⁴⁷。

(b) Preface to *Liaoben shengsi jing*

Zhi Gongming (a.k.a., Zhi Qian) composed an annotation for it, probing into mysteries and unclogging the stagnancies.

支恭明。爲作注解探玄暢滯²⁴⁸。

(c) Preface to *Shi’ermen jing* 十二門經序

(The meaning) is stagnant and not exhausted to perfect status, (I therefore) could not sleep, worrying and being anxious.

滯而未究寤寐憂悸²⁴⁹

(d) Preface to *Daoxing jing*

Therefore, this *Daoxing jing* has many (incomprehensible parts that) blur the beginnings and endings. When early saints discuss it, there are always stagnancies.

²⁴⁷ T 2145.55.45a7.

²⁴⁸ T 2145.55.45b21–22.

²⁴⁹ T 2145.55.46a9–10.

由是道行頗有首尾隱者。古賢論之。往往有滯²⁵⁰

(e) *Preface to MBBJC*

However, when it comes to stagnant (incomprehensible) sentences that blur the beginnings and endings (the beginnings and endings do not correspond to each other), (I, Dao'an) would put down the fascicle and contemplate, chagrining that (I) could not meet Dharmarakṣa and Mokṣala and their companions.

然每至滯句首尾隱沒。釋卷深思。恨不見護公叉羅等²⁵¹。

Also, there is another record in the biography of CSZJJ:

(f) *Biography of Lokakṣema*

The interpreters/translators at that time were stagnant (did not fully comprehend the source texts) and there was indeed a loss in tenor. However, they abandoned the refined (way of translating) and preserved the unhewnness (of the source texts), grasping the profound meaning of the scriptures.

譯人時滯雖有失旨。然棄文存質深得經意²⁵²。

Especially in (e), where Dao'an read about Dharmarakṣa's and Mokṣala's translations, disturbed by their “stagnant sentences”, which were characteristic of “*shouweiyanmo* 首尾隱沒 [the beginnings and the ends do not correspond to each other]”. In consequence, Dao'an believed that a translation was *zhi* 滯 if it was unclear, i.e., *shouweiyanmo*. This could be verified by (d) as well, where Dao'an thought “*youzhi* 有滯 [having stagnancies]” was because of “*shouweiyan* 首尾隱 [the beginnings and ends were blurry]”. Correspondingly, Sengzhao, as Dao'an's disciple who had also employed this character in many of his prefaces, should more or less share the same understanding as Dao'an did. Hence in (i), the verb *zhi* may have the same undertone as Dao'an's noun form of *zhi* in the above examples. Also because Dao'an implied this word to refer to Mokṣala — the co-translator of both Zhu Shulan and Dharmarakṣa — accordingly, “*lizhiyuwen*” in (i) was not depicting their translation styles, but rather the outcome of their translations — incomprehensibility due to their translations. What (i) mentions as

²⁵⁰ T 2145.55.47b19–20.

²⁵¹ T 2145.55.52b11–13.

²⁵² T 2145.55.96a3–4.

Zhizhu could thus be denoted as Zhi Qian, Zhu Shulan, and Dharmarakṣa, whose translations, either more *wen* 文 [refined] or *zhi* 質 [unhewn], were opaque and blurry to some extent.

As for Zhizhu in (ii), Shi (1998: 224) thinks this refers to Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa; while Tsukamoto (1968: 303) expresses the view that this means translators such as Zhi Qian, Dharmarakṣa, and Zhu Shulan whose surnames were Zhi and Zhu. Neither scholar has offered reasons on which their assertions are grounded, therefore a thorough discussion is needed to justify whose opinion is more probable and tenable.

In fact, (ii)'s reference to Zhizhu has a context. It delineates the background when Kumārajīva started to translate. His biography includes the following sentence shortly after the appearance of (ii): Now since Kumārajīva came and resided (in Chang'an), (he was) invited to interpret and issue all kinds of scriptures in Xiaoyao Tower or Xiaoyao Garden (什既至止。仍請入西明閣逍遙園譯出衆經). It is therefore natural to think that Zhizhu is the contrasting phrase with Kumārajīva and the composer of Kumārajīva's biography tended to paint the picture that, after the arrival of Kumārajīva, there was no “*zhiwengeyi*” anymore. Besides, the author did not use any generic terms such as “previous translators [...]” but specifically mentioned “Zhizhu” instead. Therefore, it is more likely that Zhizhu refers to the translators who had prepared translations that Kumārajīva re-translated later. With such a filter, YCJL includes the following sūtras that have been rendered both by translators whose surnames were Zhizhu and Kumārajīva.

1.般若經	<i>Bore jing</i>
2.法華經	<i>Fahua jing</i>
3.首楞嚴經	<i>Shoulengyan jing</i>
4.維摩詰經	<i>Weimojie jing</i>
5.無量壽經	<i>Wuliangshou jing</i>
6.賢劫經	<i>Xianjie jing</i>
7.彌勒成佛經	<i>Mile chengfo jing</i>
8.小品	<i>Xiaopin</i>

In the above-mentioned eight sūtras²⁵³ that were re-translated by Kumārajīva, the frequency of translators' appearances can be summarized as follows:

Name	Occurrence Frequency
Dharmarkṣa (Zhu Fahu)	8
Zhi Qian	3
Zhi Chen (Lokakṣema)	2
Zhu Shulan	2
Zhu Foshuo ²⁵⁴	1

Table 3.7 The Summary of Occurrence Frequency of Translators Whose Name started with Zhi/Zhu

The translation quality of all five translators can be described as “*zhi* 滯”, as outlined above. That being so, Zhizhu in (ii) should be the above-listed five translators, neither confined only to Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa nor referring to all translators whose surnames were Zhi and Zhu. Analogously, Zhizhu in (vi), which also involves a comparison with Kumārajīva, should share the same designation.

As for Zhizhu in (iii), the context is that Hui Yuan despised Zhizhu's translation, so he composed a treatise — *Faxing lun* 法性論 [*Treatise on the Nature of Dharma*] — to illuminate the tenor of this scripture. According to Huiyuan's biography, Kumārajīva read *Faxing lun* and extolled that this treatise “*anyulihe* 閣於理合 [secretly matches the reasoning (with the sūtra)]”. Tang (2017: 289) quotes X 866 *Zhaolun shu* 肇論疏 [*Commentary on the Treatise composed by Sengzhao*]’s sentence “Only after Master Yuan finished writing two chapters of *Faxing Lun*, had he procured the *Dapin jing* translated by Master Shi (Kumārajāva) as a tenable verification, testifying his previously written meaning” (遠師法性論成後二章。始得什師所譯大品經以為明

²⁵³ The last one — *Xiaopin* — overlaps with the first group — *Bore jing* — and should be part of the first group. So there might be seven rather than eight scriptures that were rendered by both Zhizhu and Kumārajīva. However, since the author's original intention is no longer traceable, I would like to list the original recordings from CSZJJ here, without changing them deliberately.

²⁵⁴ As discussed above, the biographical section may have been added to CSZJJ. Nevertheless, this dissertation tends to treat the biographical section, i.e., Fascicles 13 to 15 as an integral part. Any inner inconsistencies within the biographical part will not be taken into consideration. The biography clearly depicts Zhu Foshuo's life. Therefore, this chart will also take Zhu Foshuo into account, even though this figure does not appear in *Anlu*.

驗。證成前義²⁵⁵”。The Zhizhu in Huiyuan’s biography should thus have translated other versions of *Dapin jing* 大品經 [Skt. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*]. As can be seen above in YCJL, Lokakṣema (Zhi Chen), Dharmarakṣa, and Zhu Foshuo all rendered this sūtra. Therefore, Zhizhu in (iii) represents Zhu Foshuo, Lokakṣema, and Dharmarakṣa.

Regarding the last Zhizhu in (vii), Sengyou said that he found more different translations under the surname Zhizhu when he “traced down Zhizhu (追討支竺)²⁵⁶”. The verb “zhuitao 追討 [trace down and recover]” implies that this Zhizhu had already been recorded in *Anlu*, but Sengyou found more scriptures that should be credited to them.

It is thus necessary to check who had been already listed in *Anlu* and who had not added more scriptures under the name of Zhizhu before Sengyou. Translators whose surname was Zhizhu but who were not recorded in *Anlu* are not our target — only those who already existed in *Anlu* and whose oeuvre was expanded by Sengyou should be taken into consideration. They are highlighted in the table below:

²⁵⁵ This is a sentence from X 866 *Zhaolun shu* 肇論疏 [Commentations on Sengzhao’s Treatise *Zhaolun*] (X 866.54.68b19-20)

²⁵⁶ It must be noticed that there was once a hidden “支菩薩 Bodhisattva Zhi” in *Youlu*, as quoted by Fei Zhangfang in his LDSBJ. Fei says:

Also (according to) *Liguo’s Catalog* and *Miscellaneous Catalog*, *Bie Catalog*, (they) all have Bodhisattva Zhi’s translation, (which were) six scriptures and (in all) sixteen fascicles. Sengyou’s catalog says, the number of translations rendered by the Tianzhu (Indic) Bodhisattva is the same as all other catalogs, only the titles of scriptures are different. Besides, Sengyou annotated beneath (these six scriptures, indicating they were) translated together by Bodhisattva Zhi and Zhu Fahu (i.e., now universally accepted as Dharmarakṣa). (I) checked the translator named Tanmoluocha, which is Fahu 法護 in the *Jin* Language. However, the six scriptures of Bodhisattva Zhi were all incorporated into Fahu’s catalog. It is because of the difference between the cognomen Zhi 支 and Zhu 竺. To call (the translator) Bodhisattva 菩薩 is only an accolade. (I) filtered through all catalogs (and found) Bodhisattva Zhi is actually Zhu Fahu. They are not different persons. CSZJJ recorded them separately, because (Sengyou) didn’t examine them meticulously.

又李廓錄及雜別錄。並云支菩薩譯經六部一十六卷。僧祐錄云。天竺菩薩譯經。數同群錄。唯名不同。而祐下注支菩薩共竺法護譯。檢上翻名曇無羅察。晉言即是法護。然支菩薩六部經目並入法護錄中。支竺姓乖始末異耳。言菩薩者蓋美其號。究檢群錄其支菩薩即竺法護。無別兩人。出三藏記便成二舉。小非詳審 (T 2034.49.64c14-65a7)

Therefore, according to Fei’s record, there was once a “Bodhisattva Zhi” in *Youlu*. Nevertheless, there is no such “Bodhisattva Zhi” in the current CSZJJ. Accordingly, this enigmatic “Bodhisattva Zhi” will not be discussed as one of the translators whose surname is “Zhi” to avoid confusion. But this matter will be shortly discussed again in Chapter 4.

	Zhi 支	Zhu 竺	Others 其他	Existence in <i>Anlu</i> 安錄有無	Number added by Sengyou 祐錄追加譯經 部數
			張騫秦景	✗	
		竺摩騰		✓	0
			安世高	✓	0
		竺朔佛		✗	
	支讖			✓	1
	支曜			✓	0
		安玄嚴佛 調		✓	0
			康孟祥	✓	0
		竺將炎	維祇難	✗	
	支謙			✓	6
			康僧會	✓	0
			白延	✗	
			朱士行	✓	0
	(支法護)	竺法護		✓	4
		竺叔蘭		✓	1
			帛法祖	✗	
			法炬法立	✓	1
<i>Anlu</i>	3/(4)	3/(2)	8		
Total	3/(4)	5/(4)	13		

Table 3.8 General Comparisons of Zhi and Zhu

For the translators already recorded in *Anlu*, Sengyou added and revised the number of translations for four translators whose surname began with Zhi or Zhu: Lokakṣema (+1), Zhi Qian (+6), Dharmarakṣa (+4), and Zhu Shulan (+1). This chart illustrates that

Sengyou probably meant these four individuals when he used the term “Zhizhu”. However, only one work each was added to the dossiers of Lokakṣema and Zhu Shulan, therefore Sengyou may have alluded more to Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa — who took up the greatest share — when he composed his introduction (vii).

In sum, Zhizhu may have different implications under different circumstances, so we should not presuppose that all Zhizhu are the same.

No matter how Zhizhu’s undertone may vary from case to case, the above examination shows clearly that Zhi Qian is definitely included in the short compound “Zhizhu”. All cases listed above, from (i) to (vii) (except (iii)), are germane to Zhi Qian. With this in mind, I will examine Zhi Qian’s translation style next. First, I will discuss premodern scholars’ perspective of Zhi Qian’s translation style; second, contemporary scholars’ points of view will be taken into account.

3.2.3.2 Descriptions of Zhi Qian’s Translation Styles

Currently, there are several sources that could imply Zhi Qian’s translation or annotation style. These historical materials are listed below under three categories: Biography, Prefaces and Colophons, and Other Materials.

·Biography

(1). CSZJJ

Basically grasped the sacred tenor. Wordings were refined and the meaning was elegantly expressed [...] These were all well-received.
曲得聖義辭旨文雅 [...] 皆行於世。²⁵⁷

(2). GSZ

There were (translators such as) Zhi Qian... (They were) all good at *fan* language and Chinese. Hence, they could translate to the utmost. They would check three times (the meaning) of one word; their wordings and meanings are clear-cut and pellucid.

²⁵⁷ T 2059.50.325b2-4.

屬有支謙...並妙善梵漢之音。故能盡翻譯之致。一言三復詞旨分明。²⁵⁸

·Prefaces and Colophons

(3). *Colophon on He shoulengyan jingji* (合首楞嚴經記)

There was also a Zhi Yue (Zhi Qian), whose courtesy name is Gongming [...]because at the end of (the Han Dynasty), it was terseness that was favored. Therefore, his translation was quite refined and decorous. However, his writings and recordings, his reasonings of matters, were elegant yet not transcending (pompous), concise yet making the meaning stick out... This version has the most terse and expedient wordings among all versions. Besides, there were fewer *hu* sounds and it was well-received. This is the one collated by Yue (Zhi Qian).

又有支越字恭明 [...]以季世尚文時好簡略。故其出經頗從文麗。然其屬辭析理。文而不越。約而義顯...此一本於諸本中辭最省便。又少胡音。偏行於世。即越所定者也。²⁵⁹

(4). *Preface to MBBJC*

Mokṣala and Zhi Yue (i.e., Zhi Qian), were adept at hacking and drilling (refining texts). This adeptness, however, may cause the death of Hundun when seven holes are bored.

叉羅支越。斲鑿之巧者也。巧則巧矣。懼竅成而混沌終矣。²⁶⁰

(5). *Preface to Siyi jing* (composed by) Master Shi Sengrui

The previous one rendered by Gongming (Zhi Qian) earlier adorned the wording but obscured the meaning. Therefore, the great markers were deviated by the erroneous texts and the ultimate flavor was diluted by flowery (expressions). Even though (one) investigates and searches many times, getting more and more familiar (with the text), the esoteric meaning does not appear itself²⁶¹.

²⁵⁸ T 2059.50.345c7–10.

²⁵⁹ T 2145.55.49a21–b7.

²⁶⁰ T 2145.55.52c13–14.

²⁶¹ Felbur's translation is (2018: 206) "Now up to the time of Gongming, translators privileged ornate wording but missed the meaning. As a result, the great direction-marker was lost amidst faulty writings, and florid aestheticism spoiled the taste of the ultimate. Though scholars investigated [the texts] for years on end, they saw no opening of the mysterious purport." Felbur renders "恭明前譯" as "up to the time of Gongming" and annotates that "Sengrui is referring here most likely to Zhi Qian himself; alternatively, to the period up until the time of Zhi Qian, i.e. from An Shigao and Lokakṣema and others up to, and presumably including Zhi Qian himself." Nevertheless, I agree with

而恭明前譯頗麗其辭迷其旨。是使宏標乖於謬文至味酸於華艷。雖復研尋彌稔而幽旨莫啓。²⁶²

(6). *Preface to Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* Sengzhao

(The king) regretted what Zhizhu had issued, (in their translations) reasons were not fully expressed through their wordings. (The king) was always afraid that the magnificent meaning may fall (be destroyed) by interpreters.

而恨支竺所出理滯於文。常懼玄宗墜於譯人。²⁶³

·Other materials

(7). *Compilation of Translated Buddhist Terms* Fayun

Zhi Qian translated scriptures, and profoundly grasped the meaning and intention.

謙譯經典。深得義旨。²⁶⁴

(8). *Biography of Master Fonian*

Fonian [...] was the leader of interpreters at the two generations(' time) of (King) Fujian and (King) Yaoxing. After An Shigao and Zhi Qian, nobody could surpass Fonian.

念 [...] 於符姚二代爲譯人之宗。自世高支謙以後莫踰於念。²⁶⁵

In combination with the descriptions of Zhizhu mentioned above, early monk scholars' general impression of Zhi Qian's translation style can be assumed. Nevertheless, it is necessary to first clarify some questionable sources.

Nakajima's and Cheung's translations, which treat “恭明前譯” as the translation made by Zhi Qian himself (Nakajima1998: 135: “恭明の前譯は [...]”; Cheung, p. 92: “The earlier translation [of this work] made by Zhi Qian [...]”). Even though right now there is no proof indicating there was one *Siyi jing* translated by Zhi Qian and Nakajima points out in CSZJJ that there is no such text credited to Zhi Qian but only one *Chixin jing* 持心經 credited to Dharmarakṣa, there is little possibility that this “恭明前譯” refers to translators predating Zhi Qian. Because firstly, this is a preface written specifically for JZJ, An Shigao and Lokakṣema, as Felbur enumerated, never engaged in this scripture; secondly, the translations made before Zhi Qian could hardly be described as “ornated words” or “flowery expressions” (see the last chapter for the analysis of Lokakṣema's translation styles). Therefore, Sengrui only meant Zhi Qian here.

²⁶² T 2145.55.58a4–7.

²⁶³ T 2145.55.58b9–10.

²⁶⁴ T 21311.54.068c16–17.

²⁶⁵ T 2145.55.111b21–24.

Li (2020: 17–19) proposes that the content of *He shoulengyan jingji* 合首楞嚴經記 *the Colophon on Heshoulengyan jing* is contentious as he thinks Zhi Mindu's judgment is problematic. First, he rebuts Zhi Mindu's observation, arguing that Zhi Mindu, having found only one scripture, was not qualified to ascertain that the one rendered by Zhi Qian was actually an adaptation of Lokakṣema's translation. Second, by citing other scholars' assessments of Lokakṣema's *Asheshiwang jing* 阿闍世王經 [Skt. *Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodana-sūtra*], Li purports that what Zhi Mindu asserted to be “there are both *jin* language and *hu* language, most terse and expedient wordings, the wordings are sometimes verbose and sometimes terse (文有晉胡、辭最省便、辭有豐約)” is exactly Lokakṣema's translation style. Li's investigation highlights the lurking error, as the record of Zhi Qian's *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 [Skt. *Śūraṅgama-sūtra*, hereafter SLY] is indeed dubious in many ways. First of all, *Anlu* recorded Lokakṣema's SLY, but this sūtra was marked as “*jinque* 今闕 [currently inaccessible]” in *Youlu*; by contrast, *Anlu* did not record Zhi Qian's SLY, while *Youlu* recorded it with a subscript manifesting that it was recorded in *bielu* 別錄 [other catalogs] and “*jinquezhi* 今闕之 [currently this is inaccessible]”. Sengyou thus did not witness Lokakṣema or Zhi Qian's translation of this sūtra. However, in his YCJL, he nevertheless arrayed these two as translators who had each rendered SLY. Besides, Zhi Mindu's *He shoulengyan jingji* is also doubtful. Sengyou himself comments that “the *He shoulengyan jingji* was said to be composed by Zhi Mindu. However, there is no annotation, (one) does not know whether (this assertion) is trustworthy or not (其合首楞嚴。傳云亦愍度所集。既闕注目未詳信否²⁶⁶)”, suggesting that Sengyou was not sure whether or not this combined exposition was compiled by Zhi Mindu and he did not know whether this aggregation of *Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra* was reliable either. Nattier (2008:123, FN34) also questions the reliability of this combined edition. Li (2020: 20) contends that the combined exposition of *Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra* is actually a lost work even though Sengyou did not mark it with “que [inaccessible]”, because Sengyou believed Zhi Minhu incorporated four *Śūraṅgama* sūtras but actually only three were listed in Mindu's

²⁶⁶ T 2145.55.10a14.

preface. Therefore, Sengyou did not witness this combined edition, but he only followed previous catalogers' viewpoints²⁶⁷.

Another equivocal source is Sengrui's *Siyijing xu* 思益經序 [*Preface to Siyi jing*]. KYSSL first pointed out the problem that Zhi Qian never translated *Siyijing* and that it is actually Dharmarakṣa's translation. This dislocation is also discussed by Li (2020: 26).

However, these dubitable accounts may be a reverse reflection of an entrenched and inveterate presupposition towards Zhi Qian's translation style.

The summary of Zhi Qian's translation style according to early scholars is demonstrated by the above cases (1)–(8).

These accounts show that even though different monks had different attitudes towards Zhi Qian's translations, they still shared similarities. They all agreed that Zhi Qian's translation was “*yue* 約 [concise]”, and except for the preface Sengrui wrote in which he untenably attributed *Siyijing* to Zhi Qian, all other commentators agreed that “*yizhi* 義旨 [meaning and purpose]” were evidently shown in Zhi Qian's translations. Irrespective of whether commendatory or derogatory terms were employed, all of them considered Zhi Qian's words to be “*wenli* 文麗 [elegant]”; however, this meant that the translation was “*lizhiyuwen* 理滯於文 [the reasons were not fully expressed through their wordings]”.

From contemporary scholars' perspectives, by contrast, the translation style of Zhi Qian is quite contentious. Some academics argue that Zhi Qian adopted a “*wen* 文 [refined]” translation style. For example, Sakaino (1936: 116) argues that Zhi Qian's translations were characteristic of “*yiyaku* 意訛²⁶⁸ [sense-for-sense translation]”; Tang (2017: 110) thinks Zhi Qian had the propensity to adopt elegant and beautiful ornaments while translating and this marks the commencement of the amalgamation of Buddhism and metaphysics. Nakamura (1986: 44) also thinks Zhi Qian accentuated “*yiyaku* 意譯” while translating. Analogously, Lü (1979: 293–294) praises Zhi Qian as someone who

²⁶⁷ However, this is a very extreme assumption. Sengyou had made it clear that this combined edition was composed by Zhi Mindu based on hearsay “傳云[...]”, and it is evident that Sengyou had not read it thoroughly. Nevertheless, here is no strong evidence suggesting that this combined edition was lost during Sengyou's time.

²⁶⁸ The question of whether 文 can be equated with 意訛 or 歸化 still requires further discussion.

objected “*zhi* 質 [unhewn]” and advocated *wen*, and was the precursor of the translation style Kumārajīva pursued later. Wang (2016: 71) thinks Zhi Qian adopted a “*shangwen* 尚文 [advocating the *wen*/ elegant]” strategy while translating. Yamaguchi (1977: 146–147) classifies Zhi Qian as a translator who adopted classical Chinese expressions and whose translation was very “China-ish”²⁶⁹. Zhu (2006: 165) contends that Zhi Qian is the most famous delegate of *wen* translation. This is also assented by Funayama (2017: 27), who writes that Zhi Qian gave preference to free rather than rigid literal translations. However, some scholars believe Zhi Qian’s translation style is miscellaneous, sparking a debate about the appropriateness of the extant sūtras ascribed to him²⁷⁰. Satō (1994: 327) discovers that Zhi Qian’s translation was not unified, and it is hard to define his translation characteristics. Even though Zhi Mindu thought Zhi Qian had altered transliteration into domesticated expressions, Satō discovers that this is not totally true. Nattier (2008: 147–148) advances a hypothesis that Zhi Qian’s translation style actually changed in a chronological order: Initially, he followed Lokakṣema’s “transcription-oriented approach”, but later, when he moved to the south, he began to adopt a “literary and elegant style” and made increasing use of “indigenous Chinese religious terms”. In short, pre-modern Buddhist scholarship considered Zhi Qian’s translation style to be elegant and compendious, and some contemporary scholars follow this viewpoint, while others highlight the complexity and mélange nature of his style.

3.2.4 How Many Times did Zhi Qian Engage in the Translation of FJJ?

I would like to propose that Zhi Qian engaged twice in FJJ’s translation, at least from Sengyou’s perspective. Otherwise, it would contradict his way of recording scriptures.

²⁶⁹ “古雅な用語と中国的風情を湛えた”.

²⁷⁰ The attribution of specific scriptures to Zhi Qian is a subject of heated debate, with scholars presenting various opinions. For instance, scholars like Sakaino (1972: 146–147), and Asayama (1988) have expressed their perspectives. Given the extensive contributions by many scholars in this area, and considering the primary focus of this chapter, the specific debates regarding the attribution of scriptures to Zhi Qian will not be detailed here. However, it is worth mentioning that Paul Harrison (2002) attributes this to Lokakṣema, a view shared by Karashima (2016: 57, FN2).

Wang (1984: 71) raises the possibility that *the Preface to FJJ* was composed by Zhi Qian in a very insinuating way. Sakaino (1972: 149–150) purports that the preface was not composed by Zhi Qian, but rather someone who had served Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan. He also derives from the preface that FJJ was translated three times: first by Vighna alone, then revamped by Zhu Jiangyan, and then Zhi Qian revised the text after the completion of the preface. On the contrary, Tsukamoto (1979: 153–154) suggests that Zhi Qian participated in the translation twice — first, contributing to the initial translation in 224 AD, and later, supplementing and revising the text. He also professes that the *Preface to FJJ* was written by Zhi Qian after his second translation. Tang (2017: 107) offers another perspective, namely that Zhi Qian did not translate in the second round, but rather proofread and collated FJJ, adding further, previously untranslated content, together with Zhu Jiangyan, whose Chinese got better after Sun Quan’s relocation of the capital to Jianye. Tang also accedes that Zhi Qian was the author of this preface. This viewpoint is also accepted by Ma (2004: 29). Ui (1983: 532) again thinks otherwise. He also surmises that Zhi Qian was the writer who composed this preface. However, he does not seem to believe that Zhi Qian engaged in the translation twice; instead, he sees Zhi Qian as a contributor to Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan’s translation, and therefore this rendered FJJ was listed as one of Zhi Qian’s translations in *Youlu* to reward his co-authorship. Zürcher holds it that even though the preface was recorded anonymously, it is “practically certain” to be written by Zhi Qian (ibid: 47). Based on this assumption, he proposes that Zhi Qian, Vighna, and Zhu Jiangyan translated the text for the first time collaboratively, then later at Jianye, Zhi Qian and Zhu Jiangyan together “made a more comprehensive and polished version” and it is the current T 210 FJJ which is still under the name of Vighna. Nattier claims that this scripture was brought by Vighna and translated roughly by Zhu Jiangyan, with Zhi Qian as the scribe, then Zhi Qian supplemented more materials drawn from other sources (2008: 115). In agreement with many other scholars, Nattier concludes that Zhi Qian is the likely author of this preface. Willemen (1973: 205) opines that the preface was “almost certainly” written by Zhi Qian. Li also thinks that Zhi Qian was the author of this preface; however, he also warns that the account in *Youlu* was generated from

Sengyou's coalescence of the *Preface to FJJ* and *Anlu*'s information and thus could not be relied on totally (2020: FN3). Li further concludes that Zhu Jiangyan was the real “translator” of the first translation project and Zhi Qian was the scribe, while in the second one, Zhu Jiangyan acted as a “consultant”, concluding that the second endeavor should be regarded as the collaborative translation made by Zhi Qian and Zhu Jiangyan. He also points out that the members of this translation group were not confined only to Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan, and Zhi Qian, but quite a large group was working as a team, because the preface mentioned “zuozhongxianyue 座中咸曰 [all the attendees said]”. All representative opinions can be summarized briefly as follows²⁷¹:

	Pattern A	Pattern B	Pattern C	Pattern D	Pattern E
1 st	Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan and Zhi Qian translated	Vighna translated	Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan translated	Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan, and Zhi Qian translated	Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan and Zhi Qian translated
2 nd		Zhu Jiangyan translated	Zhi Qian revised	Zhi Qian revised	Zhi Qian and Zhu Jiangyan revised
3 rd		Zhi Qian revised			

Table 3.9 Summary of Scholars' Viewpoints on the Translation of FJJ

As many scholars have advocated, the *Preface to FJJ* indicates that Zhi Qian translated FJJ twice, one was with the five hundred gāthās (五百偈), and the other was when he consulted Zhu Jiangyan and ultimately revised it into seven hundred and fifty-two gāthās (七百五十二偈; Li 2020: 24). This suggests that Zhi Qian at least translated the text twice. If we examine the *Preface to FJJ*, there is a break in the flow of narrating

²⁷¹ Different scholars' opinions are summarized in the following chart — not necessarily because their views are fundamentally incompatible, but because they may have focused on different aspects and have different notions of “translating”. This chart is based on their original wordings.

and therefore bisects the preface into two parts: the first part discussed the details of Zhi Qian's first engagement in translating FJJ and he ended this part with an exclamation mark showing his excitement “This indeed could be called the marvelous tenor! (實可謂妙要者哉！²⁷²)”. After this exclamation, a sentence ensued, revealing: “Previously (when I) rendered this, there was something left out (昔傳此時有所不出²⁷³)”. It shows that Zhi Qian may have continued writing this preface first by reflecting on his initial translation. The content that follows this recollection contains information about the subjoined and edited translation, with additional gāthās appended to the first edition. Therefore, according to this preface, Zhi Qian translated FJJ twice.

This is in line with Sengyou's documentation approach. Sengyou would not credit a text independently to a translator only because he was a co-translator, which belies Ui's assumption that Sengyou mentioned Zhi Qian twice and credited him with a FJJ in Zhi Qian's independent entry because he was a co-translator (1983: 530–532). In fact, Sengyou did so because Zhi Qian rendered FJJ twice – first as a co-translator and later as an almost independent translator for the second edition. To further prove this, let us first have a look at how Sengyou recorded FJJ's translators.

In Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan's entry, it states:

Fajujing, two fascicles

The text (listed) on the right, in all two fascicles. Under the reign of Emperor Wen of the Wei Dynasty, Indic śramaṇa Vighna brought the *hu* text to Wuchang²⁷⁴ in the third year of the Huangwu Era (224) under the reign of King Sun Quan from the Wu Kingdom. Zhu Jiangyan translated and issued it together with Zhi Qian.

法句經，二卷

右一部。凡二卷。魏文帝時。天竺沙門維祇難。以吳主孫權黃武三年齋胡本。武昌竺將炎共支謙譯出。²⁷⁵

²⁷² T 2145.55.50a24.

²⁷³ T 2145.55.50a24–25.

²⁷⁴ The original sentence could be interpreted as “Vighna brought the *hu* script to China, Zhu Jiangyan from Wuchang together with Zhi Qian translated and issued.” However, below I will argue that there may be a word missing in the original Chinese sentence.

²⁷⁵ T 2145.55.6c10–14.

In Zhi Qian's entry, it says:

Faju jing, two fascicles

[...] The thirty-six texts (listed) on the right, (in all) forty-eight fascicles, were translated and issued by Zhi Qian between the beginning of the Huangwu Era (222 - 229) under the reign of Lord Sun Quan of the Wu Kingdom and the middle of the Jianxing Era (252 - 253) under Sun Liang's ruling.

法句經二卷

[...] 右三十六部。四十八卷。魏文帝時。支謙以吳主孫權黃武初至孫亮建興中所譯出。²⁷⁶

Then let us further explore how Sengyou would normally deal with co-translation attribution.

In the entry of An Xuan and Yan Fodiao, Sengyou noted that:

Fajing jing, one fascicle

Shihui, one fascicle

The two texts (listed) on the right are in all two fascicles. At the time of Emperor Ling of the Han Dynasty, Śramaṇa Yan Fodiao together with Commander-in-chief An Xuan translated and issued. *Shihui* was composed by Fodiao.

法鏡經一卷

十慧一卷

右二部。凡二卷。漢靈帝時。沙門嚴佛調都尉安玄共譯出。十慧是佛調所撰。²⁷⁷

When summarizing the collaboration of Faju and Fali, Sengyou recorded it as the following:

Loutan jing, six fascicles

Dafangdeng rulaizang jing, one fascicle

Faju benmo jing, four fascicles

Futian jing, one fascicle

The four texts (listed) on the right, in all twelve fascicles. Śramaṇa Faju translated and issued (them) during Emperor Huai's reign. Among these, the

²⁷⁶ T 2145.55.7a23–24.

²⁷⁷ T 2145.55.6c3–6.

two scriptures *Faju* and *Futian* were translated and issued by Faju and śramaṇa Fali together.

樓炭經六卷大方等如來藏經一卷法句本末經四卷福田經一卷右四部。凡十二卷。晉惠懷時。沙門法炬譯出。其法句喻福田二經。炬與沙門法立共譯出。²⁷⁸

As can be seen from the two examples above, Sengyou would record co-translators together rather than giving each collaborator a separate entry.

Furthermore, in YCJL, the record about FJJ is:

Faju jing
Qinan (Vighna)
Zhi Qian

The scripture (listed) on the right, was translated differently by two persons.

法句經
祇難
支謙
右一經。二人異出²⁷⁹

As evident from the examples above, Sengyou recorded Vighna's version separately from Zhi Qian's. Sengyou created distinct entries — one for the collaboration of Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan, and Zhi Qian, and another for Zhi Qian individually. It can be inferred from these instances, reflecting Sengyou's approach, that, at least according to Sengyou, Zhi Qian participated in translation on two occasions.

In addition, the argument proposed by scholars such as Li (2020: 40), who suggests that Sengyou only saw one version of FJJ, is not supported by *Youlu*. As corroborated by the discussions above, Sengyou clearly recognized the existence of two translated FJJ. It is evident from the absence of the markers “*que* 闕 [absent/missing/inaccessible]” or “*jinque* 今闕 [now/currently absent/missing/inaccessible]” under either of the two translations that Sengyou had access to both versions. A similar comparison can be

²⁷⁸ T 2145.55.10a1–3.

²⁷⁹ T 2145.55.15a12–13.

drawn with Dharmarakṣa and Nie Chengyuan's *Chaoriming jing* 超日明經. Sengyou, by assigning separate entries and categorizing Dharmarakṣa's original translation and Nie Chengyuan's pruned text as two distinct and homogeneous texts in YCJL, indicated his perception that they were different texts rendered by different translators or issuers. However, Dharmarakṣa's *Chaoriming jing* was listed by Sengyou under the “*jinquezhi* 今闕之 [now/currently this is absent/missing/inaccessible]” section. Therefore, had Sengyou not witnessed Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan's translation or had no evidence of its circulation, he would have indicated its absence in *Youlu*, too. Consequently, it can be concluded that Zhi Qian participated in the translation of FJJ twice, and Sengyou had witnessed both translated versions.

3.3 Further Questions

Even though scholars have explored Zhi Qian from various perspectives, there are still unexplored topics related to crucial aspects of Zhi Qian and the precise nature of the collaborative translation process. Since FJJ is the only scripture translated collaboratively by Zhi Qian and two other individuals, namely Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan, the *Preface to FJJ*, which is said to have been composed by Zhi Qian himself, would be of vital significance to delve into the conundrums of this collaboration. Despite the copious interpretations and reinterpretations of this preface, I tend to believe that there is still a vast field lying wide open, clamoring for attention. My reexamination of the translation process will primarily concentrate on the function of each position while considering other pertinent questions. Consequently, this section will predominantly address triadic teamwork by meticulously examining the preface.

I will therefore raise three questions that have not been paid attention to so far. First, where did Zhu Jiangyan come from? This question is important as it can reflect Zhu Jiangyan's language ability, especially as an interpreter who was a “go-between” for Vighna and Zhi Qian. Second, did the modifying words that recurrently appear in the descriptive sentences about the details of the translation process, namely “*hu* 胡 [barbarian; foreign; northern tribes in ancient China]”, “*Tianzhu* 天竺 [early Indian;

Indic]”, and “*fan* 梵 [Sanskrit; Brahman; brāhma]”, denote the same thing or did they differ in the *Preface to FJJ*? Third, what is the “job description” of each position that played a role in the translation, and how did they together constitute a consecutive and continuous translative process?

To explore these sub-topics, it is indispensable to read *Youlu*, Vighna’s biography in CSZJJ and GSZ, and most importantly, the pivotal and significant the *Preface to FJJ* together. The analysis of these materials can not only enhance our comprehension and problematization of the *Preface to FJJ*, the earliest extant text discussing translation, but can also provide a more detailed, comprehensive view of historical translaborative activities.

3.3.1 Where Did Zhu Jiangyan Come From?

Despite being a crucial interpreter whose translation significantly influenced the linguistic production of FJJ, Zhu Jiangyan’s origin has not been adequately addressed. The resolution of this question will not only offer insights into his potential linguistic status, facilitating the comprehension of the *Preface to FJJ* and dispelling certain implausible interpretations but will also enable us to verify the current CSZJJ. In Zhu Jiangyan’s short summary in CSZJJ, at least, a word is missing, leading to some misunderstanding.

Of all the extant catalogs and biographies, Fei Zhangfang’s LDSBJ, composed in the Sui Dynasty, was the first to depict Zhu Jiangyan as a “*tianzhushamen* 天竺沙門 [Indic śramaṇa]”. All the materials before LDSBJ, including the earliest one available—CSZJJ — only suggest that Zhu Jiangyan was a “companion” of Vighna whose provenance could only be ascertained. However, there is one sentence in *Youlu* which is very misleading:

Tianzhu śramaṇa Vighna. In the third year of the Huang Wu Era (224 AD), during the reign of Sun Quan — the lord of the Wu Kingdom, brought *hu* text.

Wuchang Zhu Jiangyan together with Zhi Qian translated and issued.

天竺沙門維祇難。以吳主孫權黃武三年齋胡本。武昌竺將炎共支謙譯出。

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Li (2020: 40) interprets this as an indication that Zhu Jiangyan came from Wuchang. This might be how most scholars would read it, in particular because it is segmented as such, putting the place — Wuchang, together with the figure — Zhu Jiangyan. However, I would like to propose that it is actually a lipographical error and the original sentence should be reconstructed as “天竺沙門維祇難。以吳主孫權黃武三年齋胡本*至*武昌。竺將炎共支謙譯出 [Tianzhu śramaṇa Vighna brought *hu* text *to* Wuchang in the third year of the Huangwu Era at the lord of Wu Kingdom Sun Quan’s time, Zhu Jiangyan together with Zhi Qian translated and issued]”, due to the following reason.

If the sentence should be read in the way Taishō provides, then “Wuchang 武昌”, a name of a place, would be the only modifier for Zhu Jiangyan. However, upon reviewing *Youlu* we also find this questionable.

Having examined *Youlu*, I find that Sengyou had three certain patterns when dealing with modifiers.

Pattern A	Pattern B	Pattern C
place+title+name	title+name	name only
e.g.: 天竺沙門竺朔佛 Tianzhu+śramaṇa+Zhu Shuofo	e.g.: 沙門釋法度 śramaṇa+Fadu	e.g.: 衛士度 Wei Shidu

Table 3.10 Patterns Employed by Sengyou to Modify Translators

It is clear that there are no cases where it is “place+name”, making “武昌竺將炎 [Wuchang+Zhu Jiangyan]” atypical.

Therefore, the original sentence should be “[...](至)武昌。竺將炎[...], Eng. [...] (to) Wuchang. Zhu Jiangyan [...]]”, as purported above. Hence, Zhu Jiangyan could not be

²⁸⁰ T 2145.55.6c11–13.

someone from Wuchang.

In materials predating Fei Zhangfang's LDSBJ, there are only two clues that could to some extent provide more information on Zhu Jiangyan's filiation. First, his surname is Zhu. Some scholars believe that the surname “Zhu (竺)” is typically an indicator that suggests someone's origination from ancient India. However, Mizuno (2009: 98–99) stresses that “Zhu” does not always refer to Indian-born people, and he lists Zhu Jiangyan as one of the translators whose surnames were Zhu but who were not born in ancient India. His assertion certainly contradicts what Fei Zhangfang thought — the latter specifically opined that Zhu Jiangyan was a “Tianzhu (Indic)” śramaṇa. However, neither modern scholar Mizuno nor early bibliographer Fei Zhangfang provide us with their reasons for classifying Zhu Jiangyan as either an Indic monk or the other way round.

The second clue can be found in the main topic of this section — the *Preface to FJJ*, in which Zhu Jiangyan's language proficiency is described as:

Even though Jiangyan is good at the *Tianzhu* language, (he) does not know Chinese well.

將炎雖善天竺語。未備曉漢。²⁸¹

It seems odd to refer to someone as “good at” a certain language if he is actually a native speaker²⁸². Besides, riffling through CSZJJ, the word “*shan* 善 [be good at]” mostly indicates translators who are skilled in non-native languages. However, in GSZ there are indeed also several cases where “*shan* 善” refer to native speakers, such as “There were Zhi Qian, Nie Chengyuan, Zhu Fonian, Shi Baoyun, Zhu Shulan, Mokṣala, etc., who were all very good at the sound of the *fan* language and Chinese (屬有支謙
聶承遠竺佛念釋寶雲竺叔蘭無羅叉等。並妙善梵漢之音²⁸³”). Among the six persons listed in this sentence, two were indigenous Chinese, and three were born and

²⁸¹ T 2059.50.345c7–9.

²⁸² It could also be the kind of circumstance under which Zhi Qian wanted to contrast the SL—TL language pair, emphasizing Zhu Jiangyan was good at the source language yet was not good at the target language. Therefore, it is possible in such a context, even though Zhu Jiangyan was a native speaker, Zhi Qian would put it in such a way to make a comparison.

²⁸³ T 2059.50.345c7–9.

brought up in China. Still, Huijiao, the composer of GSZ, described them as “good at” Chinese. Therefore, we cannot judge Zhu Jiangyan’s provenance based on current materials either. Nevertheless, having combed through these detailed materials, it would suffice to conclude here that Zhu Jiangyan, a non-Wuchang person, who may or may not have come from India, was good at Tianzhu language, while his Chinese was not up-to-par. This will be helpful when deciphering the problematic *Preface to FJJ* later on.

3.3.2 On “*hu*” “*fan*” and “*Tianzhu*”

Having examined Zhu Jiangyan’s background, it is relevant and imperative to analyze two important modifiers: “*hu* 胡 [barbarian; foreign; northern tribes in ancient China]” and “*Tianzhu* 天竺 [ancient Indian; Indic]”, taking a third one, “*fan* 梵 [Sanskrit; Brahman; *brāhma*]” as a quasi-“control variable”. Unlike “*Tianzhu*”, *hu* and *fan* have many layers of meanings that only become clear when put in a specific context. This is an indispensable comparison as *hu* and “*Tianzhu*” repeatedly appear in materials suggesting the language abilities of three individuals: Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan, and Zhi Qian. This will be helpful for the in-depth reading of the *Preface to FJJ*.

First, highly relevant materials related to the language abilities of these three individuals, will be shown below to outline the conundrums we will be dealing with. Then, early monk scholars’ attitudes toward *hu* and “*Tianzhu*” will be presented, enabling us to examine their thoughts about this issue. The next step will be the introduction of contemporary scholars’ perspectives to check on any shifts of thoughts. Lastly, by enumerating all possibilities, we can reasonably see what Zhi Qian — the real witness of the collaborative activity—meant when he wrote *hu* and *Tianzhu*.

Firstly, four pieces of material extracted from biographies in CSZJJ and GSZ, *Youlu*, and the *Preface to FJJ* that contain the problematic *hu* and *Tianzhu* (and one *fan*

example) expressions (see underlined) are shown below²⁸⁴.

(1) *Preface to FJJ*

Tianzhu language is different in sound from Chinese. It is said that its script is a heaven script, and its language is a heaven language [...] Vighna comes from Tianzhu. He came to Wuchang in the third year of the Huangwu Era. I received this five hundred gāthās version from him and asked his companion Zhu Jiangyan to interpret (it). Even though Jiangyan is good at the Tianzhu language, he has yet to grasp Chinese. The words he conveyed are either in the Hu language, or [...] All the attendees said [...] now that we deliver the hu meaning, it indeed should be direct.

天竺言語與漢異音。云其書爲天書。語爲天語...維祇難出自天竺。以黃武三年來適武昌。僕從受此五百偈本。請其同道竺將炎爲譯。將炎雖善天竺語。未備曉漢。其所傳言或得胡語 [...] 座中咸曰 [...] 今傳胡義實宜經達。

(2) CSZJJ's Biography

Śramaṇa Vighna was a Tianzhu person. He brought the hu text of *Tanbo jing* to Wu Chang in the third year of the Huangwu Era during Sun Quan's reign. *Tanbo jing* is actually *Faju jing*. At that time, Zhi Qian pleaded with him to issue this scripture. Vighna then asked his companion Zhu Jiangyan to interpret. Zhi Qian wrote it down in Chinese. Back then, Jiangyan was not good at Chinese, and (the translated text) was not a thorough (rendition). However, (this rendition) aimed at preserving the meaning of the original, (the translation) was nearly unhewn and honest (to the source text). This is the current circulated *Faju jing*.

沙門維祇難者。天竺人也。以孫權黃武三年齋曇鉢經胡本來至武昌。曇鉢即法句經也。時支謙請出經。乃令其同道竺將炎傳譯。謙寫爲漢文。時炎未善漢言。頗有不盡。然志存義本近於質實。今所傳法句是也。

(3) *Youlu*:

Faju jing, two fascicles

The text (listed) on the right, in all two fascicles.

Under the reign of Emperor Wen of the Wei Dynasty, Tianzhu śramana Vighna brought in the hu text to Wuchang in the third year of the Huangwu Era during

²⁸⁴ They are arranged in chronological order even though the time sequence of 2 and 3 is ambiguous as we cannot determine which one predates the other.

the Wu Kingdom's king Sun Quan's reign. Zhu Jiangyan together with Zhi Qian translated and issued (it).

法句經二卷 右一部。凡二卷。

魏文帝時。天竺沙門維祇難。以吳主孫權黃武三年齋胡本。武昌竺將炎共支謙譯出。²⁸⁵

(4) GSZ's Biography

Vighna was originally a Tianzhu person [...] He brought the fan text of *Tanbo jing* to Wu Chang together with his companion Zhu Lüyan (var. Jiangyan) in the third year of the Huangwu Era of Wu's time. *Tanbo* is *Faju jing*. At that time, the Wu nobilities all pleaded with Vighna to issue this scripture. Since Vighna was not yet good at Chinese, he then together with his companion Lüyan interpreted it into Chinese. But Lüyan was also not good at Chinese, (therefore the translated text) was not a thorough (rendition). (The translation) aimed at preserving the meaning of the original, and the wording was nearly plain and unhewn.

維祇難。本天竺人...以吳黃武三年。與同伴竺律炎。來至武昌。齋曇鉢經梵本。曇鉢者。即法句經也。時吳土共請出經。難既未善國語。乃共其伴律炎。譯爲漢文。炎亦未善漢言。頗有不盡。志存義本。辭近朴質。

²⁸⁶

Having read the materials relevant to the language abilities of the three important individuals, it seems that two indicators constantly pop up. One is “*Tianzhu language* 天竺語”, while the other is “*Hu language* 胡語”. In a later version, namely the material (4) listed above, Huijiao altered *hu* into *fan*.

The relationships and distinctions among the three terms have been noted a long time. As briefly mentioned above, the connotation of *Tianzhu* is rather consistent. The problem lies in the question of how different *hu* is from *Tianzhu* and what is the distinction between *hu* and *fan*?

Let us first look at later monk scholars' statements about *hu* and *fan*. In T 2061 *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 [*The Song Dynasty Biographies of Eminent Monks*] (completed in ca. 988 AD), it says ‘Firstly, pure *fan* language is spoken in five Indian

²⁸⁵ T 2145.55.6c10–13

²⁸⁶ T 2059.50.326b23–28

regions (bhāratavarṣa)²⁸⁷; secondly, the north side of the Snow Mountain is *hu* land; the south is called Brāhmaṇarāṣṭra, which is separate from *hu* land, and their scripts and languages are also different (一在五天竺純梵語。二雪山之北是胡。山之南名婆羅門。國與胡絕書語不同²⁸⁸)”; in T 2131 *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 [*Compilation of Translated Buddhist Terms*] composed by Fayun 法雲 (compiled in 1143 AD), it says “the sounds of *hu* and *fan* are different. From the Han to the Sui Dynasty, (people) all thought *Xiyu* (the western regions) was *Hu* land. It is Master Yancong (557–610 AD) of the Tang Dynasty who differentiated *hu* from *fan*. (According to him,) the west of *Congling* (Pamir Mountains) belonged to *fan* species; the north of *Tiemen* (Iron Gate Pass) was called *hu* area (胡梵音別。自漢至隋。皆指西域以爲胡國。唐有彥琮法師。獨分胡梵。葱嶺已西。並屬梵種。鐵門之左。皆曰胡鄉²⁸⁹)”.

According to Fayun, the compiler of *Fanyi mingyi ji*, people before Master Yancong did not or could not tell *hu* and *fan* apart. From the Han to the Sui Dynasty, they referred to the entire “*Xiyu*” region as *Hu* area. In *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the author Zanning also clearly pointed out the difference between *hu* and *fan*, both geographically and linguistically. It seems that Zanning linked *fan* with *Tianzhu*, stating that “pure fan language” was spoken in this region. The Yancong mentioned above said “In the past (the Chinese people) generally called the other side (of the world) *hu* countries. Though being very erudite, Dao'an did not alter the conventional usage. The *Hu* (people) are originally the offspring of various barbarians, but the *Fan* (people) are the descendants of the true sages²⁹⁰ (舊喚彼方總名胡國。安雖遠識未變常語。胡本雜戎之胤。梵惟真聖之苗²⁹¹)”

Earlier, Faxian 法顯 (337-422 AD) differentiated *Tianzhu* language and *Hu* language(s) by stating, “each kingdom’s *Hu* languages are different. However, the people who went forth (renounced secular life; Skt. *pravrajyā, pravrajita*) all learned *Tianzhu* script and *Tianzhu* language (國國胡語不同。然出家人皆習天竺書天竺語²⁹²)”. These “*Hu*

²⁸⁷ For a thorough discussion of “*wu tianzhu* 五天竺”, see Xue (2019).

²⁸⁸ T 2061.50.723b17-19.

²⁸⁹ T 2131.54.1056a28-b2.

²⁹⁰ This is a citation of a translation rendered by Yang (1998: 161).

²⁹¹ T 2060.50.438b15-19.

²⁹² T 2085.51.857a23-24.

languages” suggest that Faxian could tell *hu* and *Tianzhu* apart. Besides, unlike Zanning and Fayun, who treated *hu* as a specific “*Hu* language”, *hu* under Faxian’s brush seems to be more of a generic term meaning “*Hu* languages”, deviating from “*Tianzhu* language”.

In short, the differentiation between *hu* and *fan* became rather clear after Yancong separated them. Besides, Faxian, as a pre-Sui person, could already differentiate between *hu* and *Tianzhu*. Moreover, it seems that most clarifications are made between *hu* and *fan*, monk scholars did not think there was any necessity to tell *hu* and *Tianzhu* apart.

Things remain unchanged as contemporary scholars also elaborate on the differences between *hu* and *fan*. For example, Shi Ciyi defines *hu* as the language of the West Region (*Xiyu*), but says that it sometimes could be confused with *fan* language[s] (*Foguang dacidian* 佛光大辭典, 1997: 3939). In Boucher (2000)’s *locus classicus* article titled “*on Hu and Fan again*”, he brilliantly clarifies that even though early Chinese Buddhists may have had no accurate understanding of source text languages, he concludes, using Dharmarakṣa’s cases as an illustration, that *Hu* “appears to have been used with the technical sense of *kharoṣṭhī* script in records on Indian source texts underlying early Chinese translations (p. 23)” and *Fan* refers to, “though not necessarily always”, the *brāhmī* (pp. 18–19). He goes one step further, linking *Hu* with “*kharoṣṭhī*” and *Fan* with “*brāhmī*”.

However, even though *fan* may denote “*brāhmī*”, as Boucher proposes²⁹³, the meaning of *hu* may not only be confined to “*kharoṣṭhī*”, “Central Asia”, or “barbarian tribes”. Instead, as Yang (1998: 157; 167) demonstrates, it could mean everything that came “from the west”. Especially in CSZJJ, having examined all examples with *hu*, *fan*, and *Tianzhu*, one can find that not only could *hu* and *fan* be used interchangeably, but *hu*

²⁹³ One example is in the biography of Zhu Shixing 朱士行, where it says he went afar to Khotan to search for the authentic text, and he at last found it and copied “authentic *Fan* script, (in all) is *Hu* text ninety chapters (正品梵書, 胡本九十章)”. However, his journey back to China was thwarted by a Hinayanist monk who incited the king to forbid Zhu Shixing go back to China by saying “(This) Chinese śramaṇa wants to take the *brāhmī* script (漢地沙門欲以婆羅門書)”. Therefore, *fan* and *brāhmī* here form a perfect comparison and mean the same thing.

could encompass *fan* and *Tianzhu* occasionally, meaning roughly “un-Chinese foreignness” that mainly came from the west. For example, in CSZJJ, one may notice that *hu* is a very convenient modifier that could go along with any nouns; there are for example *huyin* 胡音 [*hu* sound], *hushu* 胡書 [*hu* script], *huyu* 胡語 [*hu* language], *huzi* 胡字 [*hu* word], *huyi* 胡義 [*hu* meaning], *huwen* 胡文 [*hu* text], *huren* 胡人 [*hu* people]. However, the same nouns are not always compatible with the adjective *fan* — expressions such as “*fanzi* 梵字 [*fan* word]” or “*fanyi* 梵義 [*fan* meaning]” cannot be found in CSZJJ, and the combinations that go with *Tianzhu* are even more limited.

With this in mind, we can have a look at all three occasions in the *Preface to FJJ* where *hu* is used:

Example 1:

Only *Landiao, An Shigao²⁹⁴, An Xuan, and Yan Fotiao who translated *hu* languages into Chinese indeed got the (original) style (of the source texts). This is hard to inherit.²⁹⁵

唯昔藍調安侯世高都尉弗調。譯胡爲漢。審得其體。斯以難繼。

Example 2:

Even though Jiangyan is good at *Tianzhu* language, he does not know well about Chinese. What he delivers is either the *Hu* language, or he issues sound (translations) based on the meaning, (which is) nearly unhewn and straightforward.

將炎雖善天竺語。未備曉漢。其所傳言或得胡語。或以義出音。近於質直。

²⁹⁴ For the source language that An Shigao may have translated from, see Zucchetti (2002). This may shed further light on the understanding of *hu* language, as Zucchetti points out that An Shigao’s translation is “remarkably consistent” with the Pāli text. Even though Pāli may not necessarily be the source language of An Shigao’s translation, it is the putative original language of “the most important terms occurring in An Shigao’s translation” (pp. 79–80). Pāli is a dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan. Buswell and Lopez contest that “It appears that, after the reign of King Aśoka, some Buddhist schools translated the Buddha’s teachings into Sanskrit while others used Pāli” (2014: 612). It is the “oldest surviving Middle Indic language” and an “ancient literary language” (von Hinüber, pp. 908–909 from *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, 2015). If this is the case, this *hu* here denotes more of a “foreign” or “(exotic) Indic language” rather than the “Hu language” which differentiates itself from the “Tianzhu language” (see above Zanning’s and Faxian’s differentiation of the two genres).

²⁹⁵ For a different and less literal translation, see Cheung (2010: 59).

Example 3:

The attendees all said [...] “Now that (we) deliver the *hu* meaning, it is indeed opportune to convey (it) directly”.

座中咸曰[...]今傳胡義實宜經(*徑)達。

Scholars interpret *hu* differently here. Nakajima explains that the *hu* mentioned in the above three cases all denote “*Xiyuyu* 西域語 [western regions’ language(s)]” (1997: 65–66), whereas Dhammadajoti (1995: 47) and Willemen (1973: *passim*) render them as “Indian”. Zhu (2000: 45) translates them as “Sanskrit”, and Nattier (2008: 114) has it as “foreign”. Cheung (2010: 7) believes that *tianzhuyu* 天竺語 [*Tianzhu* language], *huyu* 胡語 [*Hu* language], and *fanyu* 梵語 [*Fan* language] are interchangeable terms (pp. 58–59).

So, what exactly does *hu* mean here? Or is there any difference between *hu* and *Tianzhu* in these examples? I would argue that *hu* in the *Preface to FJJ* is not what later monk translators have purported, i.e., the opposite of *fan*, nor is it differentiated clearly from “*Tianzhu*” as Faxian recorded above. Instead, it either means “*Tianzhu*” or “foreign”.

An enumeration of all possible meanings of *hu* that scholars have purported would clarify the matter, and I will also add a hypothesis that *hu* actually denotes “*Tianzhu*”.

Variables		Condition	Translation Outcome
X <i>hu</i>	X1	<i>hu</i> = <i>Tianzhu</i>	故有脱失 多不出者 [Hence there were falling and missing (parts), many had not been rendered out]
	X2	<i>hu</i> = foreign	
	X3	<i>hu</i> = Zhu Jiangyan’s mother tongue from the western regions that Zhi Qian did not know well	
	X4	<i>hu</i> = Zhu Jiangyan’s mother tongue from the western regions that Zhi Qian knew well	
Y Zhu Jaingyan	Y1	Tianzhu person	故有脱失 多不出者 [Hence there were falling and missing (parts), many had not been rendered out]
	Y2	Xiyu person	

Table 3.11 Possibilities of the Connotations of *hu*

All the combinations are listed below:

Scenario X1Y1: In this case, Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan could communicate with each other without any problems as they both came from *Tianzhu* and spoke *Tianzhu* language. As an erudite who “(he is taught) the Tripitaka and (he is) very good at the four Āgamas (受學三藏妙善四含²⁹⁶)”, there should be no problem for Vighna to understand the elementary Buddhist text *FFJ*, in particular since he brought this text to China himself — it would indeed be odd if he had not grasped the essence of this text. Even if Zhu Jiangyan did not understand the content, as Li (2020, *passim*) argues, Zhu Jiangyan, being proficient in the *Tianzhu* language and himself a *Tianzhu* person, could have asked Vighna directly. Accordingly, this translation was incomplete because Zhi Qian did not understand Zhu Jiangyan’s translated Chinese. This would be a very sound explanation.

Scenario X2Y1: In this case, *hu* has a more general connotation, namely “foreign”. Since the *Tianzhu* language is also considered to be “foreign” to Chinese inhabitants, the analysis resembles the situation described in Scenario X1Y1.

Scenario X3Y1: This is unlikely as Zhu Jiangyan could not have been a *Tianzhu* person whose mother tongue was another language from the western regions.

Scenario X4Y1: This is again the same unlikely situation as in Scenario X3Y1.

Scenario X1Y2: In this case, Zhu Jiangyan was a Xiyu [western region] person who had his own mother tongue, but still “善天竺語 [good at *Tianzhu* language]”. Being not a *Tianzhu* person but good at the *Tianzhu* language, Zhu Jiangyan should not have had any problems communicating with Vighna either. The reason for the incompleteness of the translation should thus lie in the relay between Zhu Jiangyan and Zhi Qian. Therefore, Zhu Jiangyan’s identity does not make any difference when it comes to the outcome of the translation. Like Scenario X1Y1, this is also a very reasonable explanation.

Scenario X2Y2: Just like Scenario X2Y1, apart from the fact that the term has a more general connotation, the analysis is identical with Scenario X1Y2.

²⁹⁶ T 2059.50.326b22–23.

Scenario X3Y2: This case suggests that Zhu Jiangyan, who came from Xiyu and was fluent in the *Tianzhu* language, spoke a mother tongue that Zhi Qian did not know. If this was the case, then the “*huyu* 胡語” here does not mean “foreign” or “Tianzhu-ish” language, but *Hu* language that differentiated itself from the *Tianzhu* Language. However, this is unlikely because the meaning of *hu* would then shift from foreign/*Tianzhu* to a new layer of meaning denoting another language in Xuyu. It is unimaginable that Zhi Qian would refer to two layers of meaning by applying the same adjective, creating an ambiguous, literally “*zweideutig* [double-meaning]” interpretation that would muddy the waters and confuse the readers. Throughout this preface, there are only three cases of *hu*, and the connotation of this word should presumably be consistent. It would be bewildering if Zhi Qian attributed two different meanings to a single adjective within only three examples. Therefore, I surmise that Scenario X3Y2 could be unsustainable.

Scenario X4Y2: In this case, Zhi Qian knew Zhu Jiangyan’s mother tongue well. This would contradict the fact that the translation was incomplete due to Zhi Qian’s inability to understand Zhu Jiangyan’s translation. Because if Zhi Qian had no problem understanding the translation, the three — Vighna, Jiangyan, and Zhi Qian — could communicate with each other freely, which could avoid the circumstance that “much has not been rendered out”.

To summarize briefly: Having analyzed all possibilities listed above, the term *hu* means either “*Tianzhu*” or “foreign” here.

3.3.3 The Translation Process of FJJ

In the last section of this chapter, I will probe into the translaboration of Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan, and Zhi Qian during the translation of FJJ.

Before we analyze “who did what” during the translation process, it is first necessary to re-read the *Preface to FJJ*. Having examined the language ability of the trio — Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan, and Zhi Qian, we can read this preface more closely and explore

the hidden messages that Zhi Qian intentionally or unintentionally expressed, which will ultimately benefit our comprehension of the early scriptural translation process.

For the readers' convenience, I will post part of the preface again below:

法句經序 未詳作者	<i>Preface to FJJ</i>	Anonymous ²⁹⁷
[...]近世葛氏傳七百偈。偈義致深。譯人出之。頗使其渾漫。惟佛難值。其文難聞。又諸佛興皆在天竺。天竺言語與漢異音。云其書為天書。語為天語。名物不同。傳實不易。唯昔藍調安侯世高都尉弗調。譯胡為漢。審得其體。斯以難繼。後之傳者雖不能密。猶尚貴其實。粗得大趣。始者維祇難出自天竺。以黃武三年來適武昌。僕從受此五百偈本。請其同道竺將炎為譯。將炎雖善天竺語。未備曉漢。其所傳言或得胡語。或以義出音。近於質直。僕初嫌其辭不雅。維祇難曰。佛言依其義不用飾。取其法不以嚴。其傳經者當令易曉勿失厥義。是則為善。座中咸曰。老氏稱。美言不信。信言不美。仲尼亦云。書不盡言。言不盡意。明聖人意深邃無極。今傳胡義實宜經達。是以自竭受譯人口。因循本	In a recent age, seven hundred gāthās were <u>transmitted</u> from someone with the surname "Ge". They contain profound and intricate meaning. However, when <u>translators issued</u> [chū 出] them, their meaning became rather blurred. Only because Buddha is never to be encountered, and whose words are never to be heard again. Moreover, all kinds of Buddhist affairs take place only in Tianzhu. Tianzhu language is very different from Chinese, and the script is called "heavenly script" while the spoken language is called "heavenly language". As the terms used to denote things are so different, it is difficult to <u>transmit</u> the fact. Only the translators in the olden days — An Shigao and An Xuan from Parthia, and Yan Fodiao — who <u>translated</u> the sutras from foreign language into Chinese, achieved the appropriate form and style, and it is hard to find men who can emulate their achievement. Later translators could not <u>deliver</u> the same tight reasoning and the full density of meaning, but they were still able to concentrate on the substance and capture the main ideas. Then in the third year of the Huangwu reign [224 CE] the Indian monk Vighna came to settle in Wuchang. Under him I received a version of this sutra consisting of five hundred gāthās, and I requested his co-worker Zhu Jiangyan to <u>translate</u> it. Jiangyan was well versed in the Tiānzhū language but did not know the Chinese language very well. When he <u>transmitted</u> the words, he sometimes retained the Indian sounds, and sometimes translated literally. The result was a translation that was unhewn and too straightforward. At first, I found it lacking in elegance, but Vighna said, "The Buddha said that following the meaning without decorations and understanding the law without ornaments. The one who transmit a scripture should make it easy to understand without losing its meaning, then it is good." The attendees all said, "Laozi cautioned that 'beautiful words are not trustworthy and trustworthy words are not beautiful, and Kongzi also said, 'script cannot fully express the word; word cannot fully express the meaning'. One should know the intention of a saint is fathomless and limitless. Now we <u>transmit</u> the foreign meaning, we should directly convey it." Therefore, I had nothing to say and received from the mouth of the interpreter. (I) followed the original content without adding literary decorations. What (I) didn't understand about the interpretations, (I) would leave it blank and did not <u>transmit</u> . Hence there were falling and missing, many hadn't been <u>rendered out</u> . However, even though the wordings were simple, but the intention was deep; the text was concise yet the meaning was broad [...] Earlier (when we) <u>transmitted</u> this (scripture), some was not rendered out. Just at that time, Zhu Jiangyan came over. I consulted him further and again received these gāthās, procuring 13 more	

²⁹⁷ This is mainly translated by Cheung (2010: 58-59) except for some adjustments.

<p>旨不加文飾。譯所不解則闕不傳。故有脫失多不出者。然此雖辭朴而旨深。文約而義博。[...]昔傳此時有所不出²⁹⁸。會將炎來。更從諮詢受此偈等。重得十三品。并校往故有所增定。²⁹⁹</p>	<p>chapters. Besides, having proofread the older version, there are some augmentations and collations.</p>
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Table 3.12 Comparative Reading of the *Preface to FJJ*

According to this preface, there are four positions in this translation field: (a) the one who brought the scripture to China and who acted like a theoretical helper — Vighna; (b) the one who interpreted, probably conducted sight-translating or consecutive translation — Zhu Jiangyan; (c) the scribe and editor — Zhi Qian, and finally, (d) the audience who could also actively participate in discussion.

It is necessary to scrutinize each position cautiously.

Position (a): As an Indian erudite who brought the scripture, Vighna could have expounded or at least read the scripture out loud at the forum. But this is not recorded in the preface, so this is only a conjecture. What is recorded, however, is that when Zhi Qian doubted Zhu Jiangyan's translation style, it was not Zhu Jiangyan, but Vighna who stood up and defended Zhu Jiangyan. Given that Vighna knew little Chinese³⁰⁰, Zhu Jiangyan may have been the one reporting Zhi Qian's concerns to Vighna and may then have waited for the latter's theoretical support.

One thing is curious, however: Why did Zhi Qian ask Zhu Jiangyan, rather than Vighna, to “issue” the scripture (出經), as Vighna was the one who brought the text to China

²⁹⁸ In the preface which could be found in the middle of the current T 210, this “chu 出 [issue]” is recorded as “jie 解 [explain; understand]”, and thus this sentence reads “昔傳此時，有所不解” (T 210.4.566c22).

²⁹⁹ T 2145.55.49c20–50a28.

³⁰⁰ It should be noted here that it was not until later in CSZJJ that Vighna's Chinese proficiency was clearly recorded as “weishan 未善 [not good at]”. Zhi Qian did not opine bluntly that Vighna's Chinese was poor. However, if we deduce from the general descriptions of these foreign monks who came to China at an early stage, then most of these monks had minimal command of Chinese. Therefore, hypothetically Vighna should be no exception.

and deserved to be asked first? Both Sengyou and Huijiao may have noticed this anomaly, since they changed the account of the request to translate FJJ into “**At that time Zhi Qian asked (Vighna) to issue the scripture.** (Vighna) then asked his companion³⁰¹ Zhu Jiangyan to disseminate and interpret, Zhi Qian wrote down the text in Chinese (時支謙請出經。乃令其同道竺將炎傳譯,謙寫爲漢文)” and “**At that time, the Wu nobilities all pleaded with him to issue this scripture.** Since Vighna was not yet good at Chinese, he then together with his companion Lüyan interpreted it into Chinese (時吳士共請出經。難既未善國語。乃共其伴律炎。譯爲漢文)”, respectively. CSZJJ’s explanation follows the *Preface to FJJ* closely, except altering the first target of Zhi Qian’s plea from Zhu Jiangyan to Vighna. In contrast with CSZJJ, there is no trace of Zhi Qian’s name in the translation of FJJ under Huijiao’s brush. Therefore, either Huijiao did not see the *Preface to FJJ* or he did not think Zhi Qian was the author of FJJ. The reason why Vighna was not the one Zhi Qian asked to issue the scripture could be Vighna’s lack of proficiency in Chinese.

Position (b): Then there is the interpreter Zhu Jiangyan, who is supposed to have done the real translation job. First, he was good at the Tianzhu language but had only a limited command of Chinese. Second, the quality of his translation was evaluated as “*zhizhi* 質直 [unhewn and direct]” and his wordings “*buya* 不雅 [not elegant]” by Zhi Qian, who possessed native-level proficiency in Chinese. Zhi Qian commented that Zhu Jiangyan’s translation style as “或得胡語。或以義出音” and hence thought it was unhewn and not elegant. This short phrase has been interpreted in many different ways. Willemem thinks it means “he either retained the Indian language, or he rendered the sounds according to the **(general) meaning** (1973: 213)”. Dhammadajoti renders it into “his translations sometimes accorded with the Indian words, sometimes gave the **sense** only (ibid: 47)”. Zhu (2000: 45) puts it as “He often dictated his translation in Sanskrit or in **transliteration**”, and Cheung has a similar translation as “he sometimes rendered the terms and expressions into Hu-language words and expressions, and at other times

³⁰¹ Nattier thinks this could mean either “companion” or “compatriot”.

he relied on **transliteration** (2010: 59).” Nakajima offers a somewhat obscure translation: “Sometimes it was (translated into) the *Xiyu* language, and sometimes he **allocated words according to meaning** (ときに西域語であったり、ときに意味にもとづいて語をあてる)”. Bokenkamp (2014: 189) translates it as “he either retained the Central Asian (pronunciations), or **he spoke out the general meaning in close to an unadorned, direct fashion.**”

As discussed above, *hu* throughout this preface means “foreign” or “*Tianzhu*” here. Accordingly, “得胡語” means “he retained foreign language/Tianzhu language (pronunciations)” — this is the first translation method adopted by Zhu Jiangyan. However insufficient his Chinese ability was, this was a translation forum with the audience present. It is hard to imagine that Zhu Jiangyan would simply recite the original Indian words and leave the rest to the scribe Zhi Qian and the audience. It is more reasonable to presume that he transliterated the Indian words, thus retaining the sound of it. If this was the case, what could be the meaning of the last part “或以義出音 [lit. or based on meaning to issue the sound]”? As can be seen above, Zhu and Cheung advocate for its meaning being “transliteration”, but this would be an unnecessary reiteration of “retain Indian words”, which already denotes transliteration. Therefore, the second part must have another layer of meaning, which I think should be comprehended as “literal translation” in a current TS perspective.

In his monograph, Catford defines translation as “the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)” (1965: 20). This belongs to the objectivist “equivalence paradigm³⁰²”, which aims to establish “translation studies” as a scientific and distinctive discipline³⁰³ — although this has more or less been abandoned after the “post-positivist” era (Halverson, 2010: 378). Nevertheless, a purely linguistic substitution of SL words with TL words fits perfectly when we bring up the topic of early Buddhist translations.

³⁰² “Equivalence” receives severe criticism from scholars such as Snell-Hornby (1988: 22) and Nord (1997: 44). For a thorough discussion of equivalence and Catford, see Kashgary (2011).

³⁰³ Halverson’s original words are “in the earliest days of the discipline, an important objective was to establish Translation Studies as a scientific discipline (Pym 1995). For many scholars at the time, a key task was to establish a clear delineation of a unitary object category: to define Translation such that the object of study was distinct.”

In Catford's view, word-for-word translation means "essentially *rank-bound* at word-rank" and literal translation positions itself between free translation and word-for-word translation (p. 25). Later Newmark further clarifies this issue by claiming that there should be a "one-for-one" translation that lies between "word-for-word" and "literal". He thinks that word-for-word "transfers SL grammar and word order, as well as the primary meanings of all the SL words" yet "one-to-one" means "each SL word has a corresponding TL word, but their primary meanings may differ". Literal translation has a broader register (1988: 69).

There are indeed some translations in the current T 210 FJJ that are hard to construe if we do not read the ST in what current translation studies scholars would call a "one-for-one" translation style. For example, Dhammadjoti analyzes the following short phrase: "xinshi 心使³⁰⁴". He thinks this should correspond to "manojava"³⁰⁵, which Brough translates as "mind-caused" (pp. 75–78). This is an example of one-for-one translation.

There is also a short sentence in Dhammapada that reads:

nāññesam pihayam care (from DhP 365)

Destruction:	na	aññesam	pihayam	care
Grammar:	neg.	Gen.Pl.	ppr.Acc.	3.Sg.opt.
Word-for-word:	not	of others	envy,	acts ³⁰⁶
			long for	

T 210:	無	愛	他	行
Chi. Tr:	not	long for	others	action

(extracted from DhP 365, von Hinüber and Norman 1995: 103)

³⁰⁴ T 210 《法句經》卷 1 〈9 雙要品〉: 「心為法本, 心尊心使, 中心念惡, 即言即行, 罪苦自追, 車轍于轍」(T 210.4.562a13–14)。

³⁰⁵ Dhammadjoti proposes that "manojava" does not necessarily need to be rendered as "as swift as mind" as purported by many scholars and also in the Monier-Williams dictionary. Instead, it could have the sense of "driven forth" or its root *्jū* occasionally could mean "spurred on" in Rigveda (ibid: 77). Note that this word does not come from the Pāli version.

³⁰⁶ A translation provided by Norman is "One should not wander about envying others" (2000: 52).

From this example, it is clear that the “word rank” could find its counterpart in Chinese translation, even though the grammar, including casus, genus, and sentence structure, is not retained perfectly. The Chinese rendition could be either construed in one way or another, such as “(one should) not longing for other(s)’ action(s)” or “(there should be) no action(s) of longing for other(s)”. Regardless of how one interprets the Chinese rendering, it is self-explanatory that each single Chinese character could find its corresponding counterpart in the SL and this could indeed be regarded as a “literal translation” as defined by scholars above.

To translate the text in such a literal way, attributing each SL word with a corresponding TL word, could be considered reader-unfriendly, violating the norm theory proposed by Toury (2012)³⁰⁷. This could be the original translation rendered by Zhu Jiangyan. As Tsai (2007: 21–22) observes, there are only a few transliterations in current T 210 FJJ, but there are some awkward sentence structures, which are incomprehensible if one looks only at the Chinese. Incontrovertibly, some translations such as 華香品 (P. *Pupphavagga*), are elegant, and some adopt a “freer” translation style, changing the original meaning slightly to adjust it better to Chinese literary conventions. For example, in Dhammapada Pāpavagga (Chi. 惡行品), there is the sentence:

māvamaññetha pāpassa **na** **mām** **taṁ** āgamissati
udabindunipātena **udakumbho** **pi** pūrati
 bālo pūrati pāpassa thokathokam pi ācinām
 (DhP 121³⁰⁸)

³⁰⁷ The norm theory proposed by Toury has stronger restraining power than “fluid conventions”, a negative sanction may ensue if one risks not obeying it. Just as Toury puts it: “norms have long been regarded as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community — as to what would count as right or wrong, adequate or inadequate — into performance ‘instructions’ appropriate for and applicable to concrete situations. These ‘instructions’ specify what is prescribed and forbidden, as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension” (2012: 63). Of course, what this “community” refers to here could be interpreted broadly. It could refer to a big group like the Chinese literary community, or it could only refer narrowly to a “Buddhist translation forum”. However, even later monk scholars such as Dao'an advocated for literal translation and promoted this translation technique throughout forums under his guidance as early as during Zhi Qian's time, there should be no generally accepted translation norms or else there should be no dispute over “should we make an elegant translation or an unheavenly translation”—which is recorded in the *Preface to FJJ*. As Zhi Mindu 支愍度 comments: What Zhi Qian translated was popular; this could be regarded as a “rewarding” sanction using Toury's words.

³⁰⁸ The corresponding Udānavarga (Nakatani's ed., 1988) 17.5 reads:

nālpa-mannyeta punyasya **na** **me** **taṁ** āgamiṣyati
uda-bindu-nipātena [...] pūryyati
 pūryyanti dhīrāḥ punyena [...] ācinām

The relevant Patna 193 reads:

Ānandajoti Bhikkhu renders the boldened part into:

One should not despise a little wickedness (thinking): **it will not come to me**,
through the falling of water drops the water-pot is (quickly) filled.

What T 210 has now is:

莫輕小惡， 以為無殃，
水滯³⁰⁹雖微， 漸盈大器³¹⁰

[Do not regard a tiny evil lightly,
Thinking that it will bring no troubles.
Water drops, though very **tiny**,
Gradually fill up a **big** vessel.]

—Translated by Dhammajoti (ibid: 156)

The original sentence — *na man tam āgamissati* — means “not—to me—that—will come” in a word-for-word way. However, the Chinese correspondent “以為無殃” literally means “thinking (there is) no disaster” and is elegantly formed. As for the second part, “*udabindunipātēna*” is instrumental and means “through the falling of water drop” while “*udakumbho(a-)*” is a tatpuruṣa compound literally meaning “water-jar”. At first glance, it apparently does not contain the contrastive antonyms of “*wei* 微 [tiny]” and “*da* 大 [big]” as the Chinese version does. This kind of antithesis is a Chinese rhetorical device (對偶) and beloved by Chinese readers³¹¹. This is not “*zhizhi* 質直 [unhewn and direct]”, which is how Zhi Qian criticized Zhu Jiangyan’s oral translation. It is highly likely that this kind of flowery and free translation is the outcome of Zhi Qian’s editorial work. As discussed above, all early scholars appraised

nāppam pumñassa manyeyā **na me tam āgamiṣyati**
udabindunipātēna udakumbho pi pūrati
pūrāte pramñō pumñassa thokathokam pi ācinam

The Gāndhārī 209 is:

na apu mañea pavasa "**na me ta akamiṣadi**"
udabindunivadeṇa udakubho va puyadi

puyadi balu pavena stukastoka bi ayaro

According to the current source text, it seems that the translation means “it will not come to me”, without descriptions about “big” and “tiny”.

³⁰⁹ 滯【大】，滴【宋】【元】【明】

³¹⁰ T 210.4.565a2–3.

³¹¹ Cf, e.g., (Hu, 2004: 57; 114), etc.

Zhi Qian's translation style as "flowery" and "elegant" — so much so that critics call this style even "gaudy and flamboyant", tallying with Chinese readers' penchant for refined texts. On the other hand, the more literal, nearly "one-for-one" way of translating such as "無愛他行" is more likely to have been rendered by Zhu Jiangyan. This literal, "one-for-one" way of translating fits the baffling evaluation of "或以義出音" well. Hence, Willemen's translation seems more propitious and well-sounding to me — "rendering the sound according to the meaning", implying a sense of literal or one-for-one, even word-for-word translation.

To summarize concisely, this section has mainly discussed the key expression "或以義出音", and I tend to believe that we should not explain it as "transliteration³¹²". Instead, this denotes more of a "literal, one-for-one/ word-for-word translation" connotation. Should this be the case, then what Zhu Jiangyan did is to either "retain the Indian sounds" in a transliteration way or rigidly allocate the source word with its general counterpart in Chinese, creating a stiff and stilted translation.

Position (c): Scribe and Editor — Zhi Qian.

After Zhu Jiangyan produced an "unhewn and direct" translation, Zhi Qian was not content with this rendering. However, it seems that he did not have a say in the translation style. He lodged an appeal, but it was rejected by the presiding positions (a) and (d). Therefore, what he then did was "therefore I had nothing to say and received from the mouth of the interpreter. (I) followed the original content without adding literary decorations. Anything (I) did not understand about the interpretations, (I) would leave blank and not transmit (it). Hence there were falling and missing (parts), many

³¹² It must be mentioned here that the concept of "yinyi 音譯 [transliteration]" was seen differently from a current perspective. When Zanning discussed "translating sound (譯音)" and "translating word (譯字)", he said: "一、譯字不譯音, 即「陀羅尼」是; 二、譯音不譯字, 如佛胸前「卍」字是" (T2061.50.723b14-15) [Firstly, translating the word and not translating the sound, like *Tuoluoni* 陀羅尼 [Skt. *Dhāraṇī*]; secondly, translating the sound and not translating the word, like the character "卍" at the chest of the Buddha]. Seeing "陀羅尼" not as "translating the sound" of "Dhāraṇī" but as translating the word, it deviates greatly from what we may construe as "音譯" today. This needs to be studied further.

had not been rendered out (是以自竭受譯人口。因循本旨不加文飾。譯所不解則闕不傳。故有脱失多不出者).

In this sub-section, I will address two aspects. Firstly, I will explore Zhi Qian's role during the translation process, which is crucial for understanding the short phrase “*yisuobujie* 譯所不解”. Second, was Zhi Qian really defeated in the debate and was he only a scribe? Most of the scholars treat Zhi Qian as a scribe or an editor for the second translation of FJJ. I propose that, despite his apparent role as a scribe, Zhi Qian actively served as a proofreader and editor, wielding control over the final translation quality.

After Zhi Qian yielded to the opinions of (a) and (d), he refrained from writing down anything that remained unclear in the translation — “譯所不解”. Interpretations of this phrase vary. Willemen (1973: 213) renders it as “what the translation does not convey, remains wanting and untransmitted”, while Dhammadhoti has it as “what was not explained by the translator was left untransmitted”. Cheung (2010: 59) translates it into “anything the translator does not understand will be left blank and not transmitted”. Maki (1958: 116) suggests it means “such part of it as I found too difficult to understand were left untranslated”, and Mizuno (1981: 267) interprets it as “I did not transmit the part where the translator could not understand (訳「者」が解せなかつたところは、そのまま欠いて伝えなかつた)³¹³”. In addition, Kimura (2010: 19) construes the meaning as “I did not transmit and interpret the parts that I did not understand even they were translated (翻訳されてもわからないところは除いて伝訳しなかつた)”. Nakajima (1997: 66) interprets the meaning as “what could not be translated and explained was left in that way and not transmitted (訳解できないところはそのままにして伝訳しなかつた)”.

³¹³ Mizuno thinks even though Zhu Jiangyan was good at Indian languages, he knew little about vernacular Indian languages, which might refer to the possible origin language of FJJ, Pāli (1981: 268). However, as has been repeatedly argued in this chapter, Zhi Qian did not mention Zhu Jiangyan's inability to understand the source language, but rather criticized Zhu Jiangyan's translation for being inelegant. Secondly, even though Zhu Jiangyan lied to Zhi Qian about his inability to understand the source language concerning Zhi Qian's potential ignorance of “Indian languages” and made Zhi Qian think he was “善天竺語” (which I think is highly impossible), he would not expose this to Zhi Qian and let him know. Even if he did tell Zhi Qian that he knew little about the source language and if this “譯所不解” is really as Mizuno explained, then Zhu Jiangyan must have many “不解” if that resulted in FJJ's “many have not been translated (多不出者)”. Then he could not possibly deserve the comment “善天竺語”. Based on the logic of the *Preface to FJJ*, I would suspect Mizuno's translation is flawed.

Let us reexamine this sentence to see what Zhi Qian really meant here. To grasp the precise meaning of this short phrase, it is essential to consider its original context. Therefore, I will present the sentence again, despite it seeming redundant.

Therefore, I had nothing to say and receive from the mouth of the interpreter. (I) followed the original content without adding literary decorations. Anything (I) did not understand about the interpretations, (I) would leave blank and not transmit (it). Hence there were falling and missing (parts), many had not been rendered out.

是以自竭受譯人口。因循本旨不加文飾。譯所不解則闕不傳。故有脫失多不出者。

I have construed this sentence in such a way because I find other interpretations less likely. Unlike some scholars, who posit that the subject of the “譯所不解則闕不傳” is Zhu Jiangyan, regarding him as the agent of “*bujie* 不解 [not explain/ not understand]”, I would propose that this is very improbable, considering both the contextual flow and logical deduction.

To begin with, the sentence above comes after the debate between “unhewn” and “elegant”, where Zhi Qian was besieged by unflinching proponents for “unhewn”. Then he continued this narrative by jotting down what he did afterward. Therefore, the subject of both the verb “*jie* 解 [understand]” and “*chuan* 傳 [transmit]” should be Zhi Qian. Besides, even though some take “*yisuobujie* 譯所不解” as an adverbial clause, putting forward the possibility that within this clause, the subject should be Zhu Jiangyan, a logical analysis suggests that this is improbable.

As seen above, scholars render “*yi* 譯” as either the interpreter (Zhu Jiangyan) or as the translation (the product), and they construe “*jie* 解” as either explain or understand. The agent of the sentence “*zequebuchuan* 則闕不傳” should be Zhi Qian, but in order to consider as many possibilities as possible, I would also suppose the agent could either be “I — Zhi Qian” or the interpreter Zhu Jiangyan. An enumeration of all possible readings of “譯所不解則闕不傳” would look as below:

	α	β	γ
	<i>yi</i> 譯	<i>bujie</i> 不解	<i>buchuan</i> 不傳
1	Translator (Zhu Jiangyan)	not understand	(I, Zhi Qian) not transmit
2	Translation (product)	not explain	(Zhu Jiangyan) not transmit

Table 3.13 The Meaning of the Phrase “譯所不解則闕不傳”

In all, there are eight combinations, which I would like to examine one-by-one, focusing not only on the logical possibilities, but also on the context.

$\alpha_1\beta_1\gamma_1$: “What Zhu Jiangyan did not understand, I would not transmit.”

This seems very unlikely. As can be seen above, no matter where Zhu Jiangyan came from, he had a good command of the *Tianzhu* language — irrespective of what this might refer to, it was Vighna’s mother tongue. If there was anything Zhu Jiangyan could not understand about the text, he could just ask Vighna for an explanation.

$\alpha_1\beta_1\gamma_2$: “What Zhu Jiangyan did not understand, Zhu Jiangyan would not transmit.”

At first glance, this may seem reasonable. But if we put this explanation in the context, it is very unlikely. First, the context of this sentence is: after debating with other positions, Zhi Qian decided to follow their rule of translation. This means that this must reflect a certain change in attitude. In fact, the character “*ze* 則 [then]” implies a causal or adversative relation. If this is the case, then what Zhu Jiangyan did before the dispute would be “what Zhu Jiangyan did not understand, (still) he passed it down”, which seems very unpromising. Secondly, even though Zhi Qian is said to have mastered six languages, we cannot ignore a more impersonal evaluation of his language abilities indicating that his Indic knowledge was poor and he often mixed languages up (cf., Karashima³¹⁴). If this is the case, then how could Zhi Qian know which part Zhu

³¹⁴ Karashima has exemplified and reiterated many times in his essays that Zhi Qian had no sufficient knowledge of Indic languages, so he often mixed-up Sanskrit, Gāndhārī with colloquial languages such as Prakrit (2013: 275; 2016a: 349) even though Karashima admits that Zhi Qian had sinicized Lokakṣema’s translation in a word-for-word way in most cases (2016b: 56; 2022: 157). Nevertheless, Iwamatsu (2009: 408) analyses gāthās in Zhi Qian’s *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and believes that the inconsistency between his translation and the current Sanskrit version could be best explained should the source language of Zhi Qian’s text was Gāndhārī, implying that Zhi Qian at least had certain knowledge about Gāndhārī. From Zhi Qian’s biography, we know that he “十三學胡書。備通六國語”。 If

Jiangyan did not understand? Thirdly, as discussed in $\alpha 1\beta 1\gamma 1$, if Zhu Jiangyan did not understand, he could easily ask the Indian master Vighna.

$\alpha 1\beta 2\gamma 1$: “What the interpreter did not explain, I would not transmit.”

There are no logical loopholes, but this version is less likely. Just as discussed above, this sentence appears after the debate and with the character “*ze* 則”, it should thus demonstrate certain changes. If this is the case, then what Zhi Qian did before the dispute would be “what Zhu Jiangyan did not explain, I, Zhi Qian transmitted”, which is highly unlikely. Actually, according to this preface, the only thing that changed was Zhi Qian’s attitude, this was the only variable among invariants. Neither Zhu Jiangyan’s workflow nor his translation outcome nor his and Vighna’s translation attitudes changed. Only Zhi Qian’s attitude switched from “how about adding some ornaments to this unhewn translation” to “okay, I’ll take what you give”. Then, it is also unlikely that Zhi Qian would depict Zhu Jiangyan’s *modus operandi* — he did not explain to me — after the debate.

$\alpha 1\beta 2\gamma 2$: “What Zhu Jiangyan did not explain, Zhu Jiangyan would not transmit.”

This is again nearly impossible. Because of both the discussed “*ze* 則” which requires the following sentence to include a description of changes, and Zhi Qian’s language abilities — how could he know which part Zhu Jiangyan did not understand?

$\alpha 2\beta 1\gamma 1$: “What I did not understand about the translation (rendered by Zhu Jiangyan), I would not transmit.”

This seems to me the soundest explanation of this essential sentence. Not only is it logically sound, but it also fits the context well. Zhi Qian did not put down or pass down what he did not understand, therefore many things were left untransmitted. The last part of this preface indicates that Zhi Qian later met Zhu Jiangyan and “*gengcongziwen* 更從諮詢 [further from him consulted and asked (consulted Zhu Jiangyan further)]” and

this *hu* 胡 is indeed kharoṣṭī as Boucher suggests, then maybe Gāndhārī was included as one of the “six spoken languages” this biography exhibits. Besides, Lin (1991:79;1996:188–190) illustrates the connection between the kharoṣṭī script and the Yuezhi immigrants of Luoyang and mentions how Yuezhi immigrants engaged in the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. But he also thinks these translations were translated not for Chinese people in Luoyang, but rather for the descendants of immigrants born in Luoyang who couldn’t read Gāndhārī. Given that Zhi Qian learned *hu* script, whether this *hu* means kharoṣṭī or not, as a learner who was well-versed in six languages, it is unimaginable Zhi Qian had no knowledge or was totally bad at kharoṣṭī given the deep connection between Yuezhi and this script.

got 13 more chapters that had not been transmitted before. This gives the impression that Zhi Qian could pass down more content only after he further understood these passages. Reversely, he would not pass down what he could not comprehend.

$\alpha 2\beta 1\gamma 2$: “What he did not understand about the translation, Zhu Jiangyan would not transmit.”

Again, this would be unlikely if Zhu Jiangyan, who, as described by Zhi Qian, was well-versed in the *Tianzhu* language, had trouble understanding the original. Also, this is logically impossible, as he himself was the translator, it would be a fallacy to assert that he did not understand his own translation.

$\alpha 2\beta 2\gamma 1$: “When the translation was not explained, I, Zhi Qian, would not transmit.”

This is unlikely as this would be the same situation as in $\alpha 1\beta 2\gamma 1$.

$\alpha 2\beta 2\gamma 2$: “When the translation was not explained, Zhu Jiangyan would not transmit.”

This is impossible as it would be logically fallacious — pretty much the same as in $\alpha 2\beta 1\gamma 2$.

In sum, this enigmatic phrase “譯所不解則闕不傳” most likely means “What I, Zhi Qian, did not understand about the translation (rendered by Zhu Jiangyan), I would not transmit.”

In this translation forum (Chi. 譯場), Zhi Qian seems to have been out of step with others. They had different visions, and their interests differed. No production is interest-free, and this also applies to the behavioral activities conducted by agents behind the scenes. It is exactly this kind of interest-oriented linguistic prowess that was fought over by the two parties — Zhi Qian and the rest. Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan, securing a profit of distinction by winning over the helm of linguistic choices, enabled themselves to “exploit the system of difference to their advantage” (Thompson and Bourdieu 1992: 19). Nevertheless, as can be observed in the current T 210 FJJ, the translation is less “unhewn and direct” than one may expect — which, as many scholars have discussed in their research, is the outcome of the revision after the second (or third) translation made by Zhi Qian. Then, Zhi Qian, as someone whose responsibility and rights went beyond those of an average “scribe”, operated constraints on the production based on

his anticipation of the recipients' market. It also needs to be clarified here that Zhi Qian could have buckled under the pressure but did not lose his controlling force at this forum to Vighna and Zhu Jiangyan precisely, but to the representors of upper symbolic power — Buddha, Laozi, and Confucius — whose words were tacitly acknowledged as an “invisible” legitimacy of power, enforcing others to toe the mark.

It is interesting to observe that both Vighna and the attendees did not object Zhi Qian's proposal directly, rather they first quoted cogent words of Buddha/Laozi and Confucius. If Zhi Qian had been an average stenographer and if there had been an absolute top-down hierarchy allowing Vighna to mute Zhi Qian by his status, such prevarications would have been unnecessary. Vighna could not resort to the ostensible hierarchy only because Zhi Qian also possessed a certain capital that could be transmuted into recognition in this translation field. Zhi Qian was not only the initiator of this translation forum as he asked Zhu Jiangyan to translate, but also controlled the final outcome of this product. Therefore, this confrontation did not culminate in success on Vighna's part. Zhi Qian lost the battle *status quo ante* but won the power of editing *status quo post*. In fact, Zhi Qian's “revolt” already started during the translative process. He refused to take down/ pass down what he did not understand, pushing back against Vighna's coterie, even though this resulted in the loss of translation. He could do so precisely because he was not a mere scribe, but able to take charge of the ultimate quality of the translation. Later, when he met Zhu Jiangyan again, he “*gengcongziwen* 更從諮詢 [consulted Zhu Jiangyan further]” and issued thirteen more chapters, manifesting that the extent to which the translation could or could not be issued depended on Zhi Qian's comprehension and approval — which basically equates with current editors' limits of authority.

Besides, Zhi Qian also regarded himself as a contributor to the dissemination of scriptures. When examining the *Preface to FJJ*, one cannot overlook the fact that Zhi Qian used the verb “*chuan* 傳 [convey; pass down; transmit; disseminate]” seven times, contrasting *yi* 譯 (three times) and *chu* 出 (two times) — two words that are frequently used to denote translation. Having examined the meaning of *chuan*, it is clear that even though it might not refer directly to the action of translating, its domain of meaning

interlocks with the transmission of a translation, implying general translation-related activities. Accordingly, by using this word to describe his own role—“zequebuchuan 則闕不傳”, Zhi Qian thought of himself as a contributor to the integral transmission of the text.

In brief, Zhi Qian was not only a scribe, but also an editor³¹⁵ who had a final say in the outcome of a translation and who was also a transmitter of the text.

Position (d): The audience also participated in the translation process. The very instant reaction supporting Vighna’s defense by quoting sententiae of Laozi and Confucius proves that the audience could be a well-educated group of people.

However, the order of quoting Laozi’s before Confucius’ words seems slightly atypical. The usual order would be putting Confucius before Laozi, especially in dynasties where morality was Confucianism-centered. For example, in the annotation to the official historical records *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 [*Records of the Three Kingdoms*], Shi Chong 石崇 wrote “Confucius did not disparage the nine barbarians (tribes) and Laozi went afar to the western region (孔不陋九夷, 老氏適西戎)”. Also in poems such as Zhang Heng 張衡’s *Dongjingfu* 東京賦 [*Ode on East Capital*], there is “thinking of Confucius’ proposal of “restraining oneself” and implementing Laozi’s theory of the “constant satisfactory” (思仲尼之克己, 履老氏之常足³¹⁶)]. In addition, in Taishō there are only four cases of “laokong 老孔 [Laozi and Confucius]” compared to the 202 cases of “konglao 孔老 [Confucius and Laozi]”, suggesting the collocation *konglao* was used much more frequently and may reflect the tendency of placing Confucius before Laozi. Accordingly, the audience was all well-educated and interested in Buddhism. Meanwhile, they may have believed in Daoism and thus had the propensity of appreciating Daoism more.

³¹⁵ Nattier (2023) also says Zhi Qian did an editorial work. See Nattier’s work for more discussion.

³¹⁶ See Xiao Tong 蕭統’s *Wen xuan* 文選, edited by Zhonghuashuju 2022.

3.4 Short Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the collaboration of Zhi Qian, Vighna, and Zhu Jiangyan first through the examination of the background of Zhi Qian. Then I proceed to discuss the translation numbers of Zhi Qian by introducing scholars' various viewpoints. Through the analysis of the different numbers recorded in *Anlu*, CSZJJ's biographical section and *Youlu*, I argue that it is highly possible that the biographical section was composed not by Sengyou or the compiler of *Youlu* and it merged into CSZJJ without being proofread or compared with *Youlu*. Next I examine the translation styles of Zhi Qian based on historical records and find out the term *Zhizhu*, which is thought to have been referring to Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa, denotes different translators under different circumstances. Lastly, I focus on the reading of the *Preface to FJJ*, paying special attention to the interpretation of this preface and the description of the roles played by the collaborators.

Chapter 4 Dharmarakṣa and His Collaborators

4.1 General Background

Zhu Fahu竺法護 (Dharmarakṣa) is probably the most productive and prolific translator during the Wei and Jin Dynasties. He translated a total of 154 Buddhist texts, as documented by Sengyou³¹⁷. His translations have left an enduring and profound impact on subsequent generations of translation practitioners and on Chinese Buddhism, to the extent that he was addressed with the honorific title “*pusa* 菩薩 Bodhisattva”. This deep appreciation can be attributed to Dharmarakṣa’s sustained commitment to the translation endeavor, spanning approximately forty years. He remained dedicated to this task, traversing the geographical expanse from Chang’an 長安 to Dunhuang 敦煌, even amidst periods of political turmoil.

Nevertheless, behind these remarkable achievements lies the often-overlooked contributions of his collaborators. Dharmarakṣa’s translation endeavors are exceptional not only due to the extensive body of work he produced but also because of the remarkable number of individuals — over 30 in total — who participated in collaborative translation with him. This number significantly surpassed that of any of his predecessors in a similar role. Consequently, a meticulous and comprehensive examination of these collaborators and the translation process is imperative.

Accordingly, the primary aim of this chapter is to scrutinize the collaborative translation process within Dharmarakṣa’s translation teams, with specific emphasis on the following aspects: 1. Sorting and unraveling the way Dharmarakṣa’s translations are recorded by examining the complex and even perplexing expressions used in *Anlu* 安錄 (*Dao’an’s Catalog*, a.k.a., 綜理眾經目錄 [*Comprehensive Catalog of Scriptures*]) and *Youlu* 祐錄 (*Sengyou’s Catalog*, a.k.a., 新集撰出經律論錄 [*Newly Compiled Catalog of Issued Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma*]). Other later-developed catalogs such as T 2034 *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 [*Records of the Three Treasures*

³¹⁷ The actual number in current CSZJJ is 159, instead of 154. This will be discussed in detail below.

Throughout the Successive Dynasties], along with prefaces and colophons will be cross-referenced to identify problematic records in *Youlu*. This approach will help develop a more comprehensive understanding, not limited to the ascertain of more accurate number of Dharmarakṣa’s translations in *Youlu*, but also to question *Youlu* as a source material, reconstructing the original formulation of this catalog and consequently exploring larger questions; 2. Gathering relevant historical materials to provide detailed insights into the political and academic landscape during the West Jin Dynasty, as well as Dharmarakṣa’s personal background, to illustrate the macroscopic societal context and his microscopic personal capabilities that have laid the foundation for his future translation career; 3. Clarifying the roles and divisions of labor within Dharmarakṣa’s translation teams by attempting to elucidate the polysemous word “chu 出 [issue]” and other relevant, yet ambiguous words used in CSZJJ that pertain to the description of translation process. Additionally, another cardinal question will be posed: Shall we regard Dharmarakṣa solely as a translator? His multifaceted functions extend beyond translation could have influenced his motivation for engaging in translation and consequently influenced the translation process of his teams.

Based on this mapping out of the *raison d’être* of this disquisition, this chapter will be divided into three sections. First, the amount of Dharmarakṣa’s translation work will be discussed through a comparative reading of *Anlu* and *Youlu* in conjunction with other relevant materials. Second, Dharmarakṣa’s background, life and social network will be presented. Third, the translation process will be examined in greater detail, with special emphasis on the roles played by Dharmarakṣa and one of his key collaborators — Nie Chengyuan 畢承遠.

4.2 Oeuvre

Many scholars have summarized the computation of the total amount of Dharmarakṣa’s works in different catalogs. Among these catalogs, it is of paramount importance to accord specific focus to the foundational repositories, namely *Anlu*, *Youlu*, and the

biographical accounts found within CSZJJ. Concurrently, later catalogs, including LDSBJ and KYSJL, should be subjected to a comparative analysis. The discrepancies evident in the enumeration of Dharmarakṣa’s oeuvre across these catalogs serve a dual purpose. On one hand, they shed light on potentially endorsed works that merit attribution to Dharmarakṣa by discerning shared subsets. Conversely, they facilitate the exclusion of scriptures that may appear as problematic. This in turn paves the way for a comprehensive examination through a philological lens. Augmented by the extensive linguistic inquiries undertaken by scholars such as Karashima and Boucher, the philological scrutiny of catalog records has the potential to substantiate and fortify their research endeavors.

Notwithstanding the successful endeavors of contemporary scholars in extracting *Anlu* from *Youlu* (cf. Hayashiya 1933³¹⁸; Tokiwa 1973) due to Sengyou’s careful differentiation between “*Dao’an*’s text and his own additions” (Zürcher 2013: 458), CSZJJ is replete with enigmatic expressions that defy a clear-cut differentiation between *Dao’an*’s original text and Sengyou’s subsequent additions. As demonstrated in the introduction, the endeavor to unravel the *modus operandi* of the translation process undertaken by Dharmarakṣa and his collaborators necessitates a comprehensive grasp of these elusive and equivocal expressions. The nomenclature “*que* 闕 [missing/inaccessible/absent]” in company with its variations, such as “*jinque* 今闕 [currently missing/inaccessible/absent]”, fall within this category. Clarifying — or attempting to clarify — these expressions not only aids in the identification of the authentic scriptures that can be attributed to Dharmarakṣa based on Sengyou’s criteria, but also contributes to the verification of the structure and content of the inceptive CSZJJ/*Youlu*.

³¹⁸ Hayashiya not only reconstructs *Anlu* based on the materials in CSZJJ but also asserts that *Youlu* recorded *Anlu* so meticulously that anyone can retrieve the prototype of *Anlu* (1933:236).

4.2.1 The Enigma of Catalogs — *Bielu* 別錄 and *Jiulu* 舊錄

Before probing this conundrum of “*que/jinque*”, we may be faced with other quandaries. This problem is indeed convoluted and entangled with other pressing issues, namely: What do the various designations, i.e., *Bielu* 別錄 [other catalogs], *Jiulu* 舊錄 [*Old Catalog*], and so forth signify and what are these catalogs?

Firstly, I aim to provide a summary of the different catalog names found in CSJJ and the specific time periods they predominantly refer to. As illustrated in Appendix 1, Sengyou made reference to a variety of catalogs, each with its own suitable usage in specific contexts, begetting cumbrous examples *in toto*. Despite the colossal examples, there are subtle clues that may help us disentangle the enigma of the sundry “catalogs”.

4.2.1.1 *Bielu*

There are three ways to employ this name:

	Ways of Employing <i>Bielu</i>	Occurrences	Fascicle No.	
A	<i>chubielu</i> 出別錄 [coming out of <i>Bielu</i>]	3	Fascicle 2 (F2)	
B	<i>bielusuoza</i> 別錄所載 [recorded in <i>Bielu</i>]	13	F 2	
C	<i>bieluyun</i> 別錄云 [<i>Bielu</i> says]	4	F2	3 times
			F4	1 time

Table 4.1 Ways of Employing the Name *Bielu* and Their Occurrences in CSJJ

Out of these expressions, A and B are distinctively associated with and set in contrast to *Anlu*, i.e.: 別錄所載安錄無/別錄所載安錄先闕/出別錄安錄無 [recorded in *Bielu*, yet absent in *Anlu*]. Unlike the forth-coming “*jiuluyun* 舊錄云 [*Jiulu* says]”, which typically signifies an alternative name for a text, C suggests different translators, places, and different versions of a scripture.

The last reference to *Bielu* in *Youlu* is in connection with Dharmakṣema 疊摩讖, who,

according to GSZ, died in the year 433. The second-to-last reference, however, relates to Faju 法炬, for whom no precise birth and death dates are available, but he is mentioned as someone who lived during the reign of Emperor Hui of the Jin Dynasty 晉惠帝 (290–307 AD). Faju's entry is subsumed under *Anlu*, whereas Dharmakṣema's entry is newly compiled by Sengyou. Therefore, *Bielu* only appears once in the “New Catalog” compiled by Sengyou, and there is a gap of roughly one hundred years since its last appearance.

It is thus important to discuss the cardinal question: **Does *Bielu* refer to a specific catalog or is it a generic term designating “other catalog”?**

Tokiwa (1973: 25-34) suggests *Bielu* may not refer to a specific catalog, while Naitō (1967: 743-744) and Gao (2013: 5) opine that *Bielu* designates the remnant folios excavated from Dunhuang, namely S.2872 and P.3747.

Storch (2016: 114) does not mention the entity of “*Bielu*” within CSZJJ, but in turn comments that Sengyou “made no mention of” Dunhuang’s *Zhongjing bielu* 署經別錄 (hereafter DZJBL).

Some scholars think that this ZJBL, excavated in Dunhuang, is what Sengyou meant for *Bielu* in his CSZJJ. Nevertheless, there are differing opinions. Yao suggests *Bielu* could be the ZJBL recorded in LDSBJ, which was anonymously composed during the Liusong Dynasty (2014: 212–213). Yao further professes that this ZJBL is not limited to Zhi Mindu’s ZJBL but is a continuation of that catalog.

Li (2020: 29) concedes to Tokiwa’s opinion by presenting a very solid piece of evidence in Dharmarakṣa’s catalog. When compiling Dharmarakṣa’s sub-catalog in Fascicle 2, Sengyou marked four scriptures that were not recorded in *Anlu* with the short phrase “(They were) recorded in *Bielu*, but were absent in *Anlu* (別錄所載安錄先闕)”. Yet when concluding this sub-catalog, Sengyou summarizes that he “(I, Sengyou) checked *Qunlu* and encountered four more of Dharmarakṣa’s works that were previously missing (unrecorded) in *Anlu* (据摭群錄, 遇護公所出, 更得四部, 安錄先闕)”, implying that “*Bielu*” may be a substitute word for “*Qunlu*”. After thorough scrutiny of “*Bielu*”, Li concludes that “*Bielu*” should be a collective name for miscellaneous

catalogs.

Personally, I concur with Li's interpretation. I propose that 1. *Bielu* does not denote one specific catalog in CSZJJ and 2. *Bielu* probably is not DZJBL.

First, I will take a different approach, other than Tokiwa's explanation, to shore up the viewpoint that *Bielu* is not a single catalog.

① *Bielu* and *Anlu*

Li demonstrates above that *Bielu* could be interchanged with *Qunlu* based on the fact that Sengyou found four absent scriptures by comparing both *Bielu* \rightleftharpoons *Anlu* and *Qunlu* \rightleftharpoons *Anlu*. Having searched through *Youlu*, I have found that *Bielu* always showed up together with *Anlu* when Sengyou pointed out that certain translations were not recorded in *Anlu* (see Appendix 1). There are no records of other “catalogs” being used for comparison with *Anlu*, e.g., there is no record such as “出舊錄安錄無 [recorded in *Jiulu* but was absent in *Anlu*]”. It is always “recorded in *Bielu* yet absent in *Anlu*”. This relationship between *Bielu* and *Anlu* reveals the identity of *Bielu*. Taking *Anlu* as a prototype for his own catalog, Sengyou said he searched extensively to supplement *Anlu*.

In the short introduction to Fascicle 2, Sengyou stated:

(I, Sengyou), also widely consulted *Biemu*, comparing and collating the similarities and dissimilarities. By tracing the translations of Zhi and Zhu, (I) sometimes discovered different scriptures. Therefore, what is recorded in *Anlu* is not complete. (I) accordingly listed all these cases to perfect the style of the catalog.

兼廣訪別目，括正異同，追討支、竺，時獲異經。安錄所記，則為未盡，今悉更蒐舉，以備錄體。³¹⁹

³¹⁹ This sentence follows the punctuation and collation presented by Su and Xiao (2017: 22–23) in their edition of CSZJJ published by *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局. While the *Taishō* edition of this sentence is shorter and reads “追討支舉以備錄體(T 2145.55.5c4–5)”, Su and Xiao adopted Song, Yuan, Ming and Qisha 積砂 versions, commenting that that seventeen words are missing in *Gaolizang* 高麗藏 (*Tripiṭaka Koreana*) (2017: 83, FN3).

Sengyou specified that he had widely consulted “*Biemu*” to examine and collate similarities and dissimilarities. When tracing “*Zhi* and *Zhu*³²⁰” down, he found “dissimilar” scriptures. Thus, he knew Dao'an's catalog was incomplete, and he could only complete *Anlu* by “widely [extensively] consulting” other catalogs, as he stated. The adverb “widely” suggests that Sengyou consulted more than one catalog.

If we examine whose scriptures were amended and newly added to *Youlu* in comparison with *Anlu*, we find that the translators with surnames *Zhi* and *Zhu* received a great deal of attention and collation, aligning with Sengyou's introduction — this has been talked through in the last chapter 3. Under the entries of these translators whose surnames were *Zhi* and *Zhu*, there is always the “signature phrase” that says these newly found texts were “recorded in *Bielu* yet absent in *Anlu*”. Below is an excerpt from Appendix 1 that illustrate clearly the relationship between *Bielu* and *Anlu*.

出別錄	支讖	光明三昧經一卷(出別錄安錄無)
	支謙	法鏡經二卷(出別錄安錄無)
	竺法護	隨權女經二卷(出別錄安錄無)
別錄所載	支讖	陀真陀羅經二卷(<u>舊錄</u> 云屯真陀羅王經 <u>別錄所載</u> 安錄無今闕)
	支謙	首楞嚴經二卷(別錄所載安錄無 今闕)
		龍施女經一卷(別錄所載安錄無)
		鹿子經一卷(別錄所載安錄無)
		十二門大方等經一卷(別錄所載安錄無 今闕)
	白延	賴吒和羅經一卷(別錄所載安錄無或云羅漢賴吒和羅經)
		右三部。凡四卷。魏高貴公時。白延所譯出。別錄所載。安公錄(先無其名)
	竺法護	阿差末經四卷(或云阿差末菩薩經 別錄所載安錄先闕)
		無極寶經一卷(別錄所載先闕安錄 或云無極寶三昧經)
		阿述達經一卷(<u>別錄所載</u> 安錄先闕 <u>舊錄</u> 云阿述達女經 或云阿闍王女阿術達菩薩經)
		等目菩薩經二卷(別錄所載安錄先闕)
	竺叔蘭	首楞嚴經二卷(<u>別錄所載</u> 安錄先闕 <u>舊錄</u> 有叔蘭首楞嚴二卷)
	法炬	樓炭經六卷(別錄所載安錄先闕)

Table 4.2 Records showing the Relationship among *Bielu*, *Anlu* and *Jiulu*

³²⁰ I have examined the connotation of *Zhizhu* 支竺 in Chapter 3.

From Table 4.2, it is clear that *Bielu* shows up in pairs with *Anlu* when scriptures were not recorded in *Anlu*. In addition, 14 out of 16 total translators (87.5%) listed above have surnames “Zhi and Zhu”, which complies with Sengyou’s account. Saying that he “widely consulted” **other catalogs** to trace “Zhi and Zhu”’s translations narrow down the possibility that *Bielu* only refers to one catalog. Although we cannot eliminate the odds that even Sengyou extensively searched through all kinds of catalogs, only one *Bielu* contained all the information he needed, namely, translations and translators that were not included in *Anlu*, the possibility is very low. Therefore, I agree with Li’s observation that “*Bielu*” is “*Biemu*”, meaning “other catalogs (2020: 29)”.

② *Bielu* and *Jiulu*

The low possibility of *Bielu* being a single catalog could also be supported through the examples of *Jiulu* in the Table 4.2 above. As seen in this table, *Jiulu* occasionally appears alongside the signature phrase “recorded in *Bielu* yet absent in *Anlu*” in the interlinear notes. I will demonstrate in the next section that *Jiulu* is a specific catalog and is primarily used in *Youlu* mostly as a source to present alternative names for scriptures. In other words, *Jiulu* **must have recorded** these scriptures, albeit under slightly different names. Accordingly, if *Bielu* were indeed a single catalog, it would be unfathomable that Sengyou only mentioned *Bielu* in comparison with *Anlu*, especially considering his repeated emphasis in CSZJJ on consulting a great number of resources. Under such circumstances, one would expect a more “correct” note to be presented as “舊錄、別錄所載、安錄先闕”, meaning “recorded in *Jiulu* and *Bielu*, yet absent in *Anlu*”. The fact that this is not the case, further testifies to the high possibility that *Bielu* is not a single catalog.

③ The phrase “bieluhuoyun 別錄或云”

As presentend in Table 4.1, one way of applying *Bielu* in CSZJJ is “*bieluyun* 別錄云 [*Bielu* says]”. Unlike *Jiulu*, which consistently provides alternative names for scriptures, “*bieluyun*” offers additional information. Below is another excerpt of Appendix 1 that shows the cases of *bieluyun*.

別 錄 云	曇摩讖	方等王虛空藏經五卷(或云大虛空藏經 檢經文與大集經第八虛空藏品同 未詳是別出者不 <u>別錄</u> 云河南國乞佛時沙門釋聖堅譯出)
		悲華經十卷(別錄或云龔上出)
		菩薩戒本一卷(別緣 ³²¹ 云燉煌出)
		墮藍本經一卷(或云墮藍本文 別錄云是異出維藍)

Table 4.3 All Cases of “*bieluyun*” in CSZJJ

Among the four cases of applying “*bieluyun*”, there is one instance of “*bieluhuoyun* (別錄或云)”. In *Youlu*, there are a lot of cases where “*huoyun* 或云” is used to indicate another name of a scripture. It can be translated as “or calls” literally or “it is also called”. For example, the interlinear note of “*Duolanben jing* 墮藍本經” in Table 4.3 can be translated as “It is also called *Duolanben wen*; *Bielu* say it is a different version of *Weilan jing*”. Therefore, “*huoyun*” alone always refers to another name. However, its meaning changes when it is combined with *Bielu*. In the interlinear note for *Beihua jing* 悲華經 (Skt. *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka-sūtra*), attributed to Dharmarkṣema 曇摩讖 (385-433 AD), the phrase “*bieluhuoyun*” suggests the possibility of crediting the translatorship to Gongshang 龔上 — another appellation for Daogong 道龔, who was roughly a contemporary of Dharmarkṣema and had also translated *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka-sūtra*. If *Bielu* is a single catalog, there would be no need to add “*huo* 或 [or]”: it would either acknowledge Daogong as the translator of *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka-sūtra*, and the record would state “*Bielu* says Gongshang issued (it)”; or it would align with other catalogs, and there would be no such record. The only reason “*huo*” is added here is because *Bielu* is a generic term denoting several catalogs, and one or some of the

³²¹ I speculate this “別緣” is a scribal error for “別錄”.

catalogs consider Daogong as the translator.

Based on the above three reasons, I tentatively conclude that, according to the available materials, ***Bielu* should be considered a collective term signifying multiple catalogs**. I will then proceed to discuss whether *Bielu* in CSZJJ means Dunhuang's ZJBL (hereafter abbr. DZJBL). My answer is negative. Scholars generally have two viewpoints advocating that *Bielu* is DZJBL or that *Youlu* has a close connection with DZJBL.

First, there are similarities between *Youlu* and DZJBL, and it has been discussed by many scholars (Pan 1979; Naitō 1967; Bai 1987; etc.). Correspondingly some scholars such as Yao (2014: 213) and Gao (2013: 5) directly link *Bielu* in CSZJJ with DZJBL without giving further explanations. Naitō gives his reasons that *Bielu* is employed differently from *Jiulu* in *Youlu*, and since *Jiulu* is one single catalog, analogously *Bielu* is also one catalog, and it could be DZJBL (1967: 743–744). Tan (1991: 212), on the contrary, opposes this opinion, reasoning that of all 79 texts in P.3747 there is no match with *Youlu*'s records about *Bielu*, and of all 11 texts in S.2872 there are only one text whose name and fascicle numbers match with that in *Bielu* cited by Sengyou to compare with *Anlu* (p.227; pp.242–243).

In order to clarify this matter further, we need to go back to Table 4.2. Only one out of the sixteen cases listed in Table 4.2 matches roughly with the record in DZJBL, namely, the one fascicle *Longshinü jing* 龍施女經 ascribed to Zhi Qian (current T557). Even though DZJBL are only fragments, however, the ratio of 1/16 (6.25%) of matching is still undeniably low. In addition, *Youlu* records this scripture as *Longshinü jing* 龍施女經 whereas DZJBL names it *Foshuo longshinü jing* 佛說龍施女經. If *Bielu* means only one catalog and refers to this DZJBL, why Sengyou did not copy its name as it is?

A second standpoint is based on the inner relationships between texts recorded in *Youlu* and those in DZJBL.

An often cited example is the texts orally transmitted by the Nun Sengfa 僧法尼, who was a contemporary of Sengyou. Sengyou was collecting scriptures at that time, so he wanted to visit her. But the nun's family rejected the request to meet her in person.

Sengyou only procured three fascicles *Miaoyin shizihou jing* 妙音獅子吼經. This nun died during the Tianjian Era 天監 (502-519 AD)³²². Some people who were interested in her texts obtained them perhaps after her death. Her uncle believed in the authenticity of her texts and disseminated them. Sengyou could have received other texts other than the *Miaoyin shizihou jing* and finally collected 21 texts issued by this nun³²³.

In DZJBL, there are two scriptures' names concur with two of the 21 texts collected by Sengyou, namely, one fascicle *Foshuo huayan yingluo jing* 佛說花嚴瓔珞經 and one fascicle *Foshuo bore dedao jing* 佛說般若得道經. Being firmly convinced that DZJBL predated CSZJJ, scholars such as Bai (1987: 24) traces down that DZJBL was compiled during the Liang dynasty based on the records of these two texts. However, Tan (1991: 214–218) firmly rebuts this opinion, asserting that DZJBL postdated CSZJJ and the similarities between these two catalogs exist because DZJBL “copied east and stole west 東抄西竊”(p. 216). He thinks based on the above story of how Sengyou collected Nun Sengfa's texts, Sengyou was the first one who put the texts in a catalog (p. 215). I will not discuss which catalog came out first. My aim is to demonstrate how scholars substantiate their viewpoints by interlinking Sengyou's personal statements with the scriptures listed in the two catalogs.

In a similar vein, shifting their focus on the relationship between DZJBL and *Youlu*, other scholars argue that DZJBL is related to *Youlu* greatly, by again examining Sengyou's words to illustrate this intimacy. For example, Shi (2022: 60–62) cites Sengyou's *Preface to Xianyu jing* 賢愚經, where Sengyou recounted in detail that in the fourth year of Tianjian era (505 AD), he visited a eighty-four-year-old monk Hongzong 弘宗 who disclosed information of how this scripture was translated. According to Hongzong's narrative, two monks Tanxue 曇學 and Weide 威德 attended the Quinquennial Assembly (Skt. *pañca-vārṣika*) at Khotan 于闐 and aggregated what they had learned into one scripture after they arrived at Gaochang 高昌. Then they brought this scripture to Liangzhou 涼州 where an esteemed monk Huilang 慧朗

³²² Song, Yuan and Ming versions offer a precise year: the fourth year of Tianjin Era, which is 505 AD.

³²³ See T 2145.55.40b6–23.

changed the name of this scripture to *Xianyu jing*. This scripture was collated later in the twenty-second year of Yuanjia Era 元嘉 (445). The narrator Hongzong was in Liangzhou together with his master when this scripture first came into China (435), and he was then but fourteen-year-old.

This scripture is listed in *Youlu* in the following way:

Xianyu jing, thirteen fascicles (issued in the twenty-second year of Yuanjia Era of [Liu]Song dynasty).

The scripture on the right is in all thirteen fascicles. During the reign of Emperor Wen of [Liu]Song dynasty, śramaṇa Shi Tanxue [and Shi] Weide from Liangzhou, obtained the *hu* script of this scripture at Khotan. [This scripture] was interpreted and issued in the Gaochang County (Shi Hongshou from the Tia'an Temple recounted).

賢愚經十三卷 (宋元嘉二十二年出)

右一部。凡十三卷。宋文帝時。涼州沙門釋曇學威德。於于闐國得此經胡本。於高昌郡譯出(天安寺釋弘守傳)。³²⁴

When comparing the record in *Youlu* with that in DZJBL, Shi argues that they share significant similarities. She proceeds by claiming that Sengyou gleaned the detailed information based on his personal interview with Monk Hongshou, it is unthinkable that this piece of information came from another catalog, unless Sengyou knew that catalog well enough. Shi therefore concludes that the information in DZJBL resembles that in *Youlu*, and since Sengyou knew the catalog(s) in Dinglin Monastery 定林上寺 the best, consequently DZJBL is possibly Dinglin Monastery's catalog.

This is a very compelling argument, if Shi's judgement that the accounts of *Xianyu jing* in *Youlu* and DZJBL are very similar, is reliable. Shi follows the collated version of DZJBL's entry provided by Fang Guangchang (1997: 16). However, Fang adds a footnote in his collation that the original fragment lacked some information, therefore he supplemented the "missing" information based on other catalogs (1997: 24). The original version, if we take Pan's proofreading (1979: 70), is:

³²⁴ T 2145.55.12c15–18.

Xianyu jing, thirteen fascicles. The gist is to elaborate the causes and conditions (Skt. *nidāna*) in the past and present. Balanced [application of] refined and unpruned [expressions]

Issued in the twenty-second year of Yuanjia Era. During the reign of emperor Wen of [Liu]Song dynasty. Śramaṇa Tan from Liangzhou obtained [it] at Khotan.

賢愚經十三卷 明今昔因緣為宗 文質均
元嘉廿二年出宗³²⁵文帝時涼州沙門曇於闐得

Compared with the version in *Youlu*, the DZJBL version lacks mention of another monk — Weide, does not specify that the scripture the monk procured was a *hu* text, and omits details about where this text was translated and who recounted the story. Given these disparages, it is hard to claim as Shi does, that the two references are “almost identical (幾乎一致)”. Thereby, it is reasonable to conjecture that DZJBL is one of the catalogs that Sengyou collected information from, but we could not affirm Sengyou’s *Bielu* referring to DZJBL, nor could we say these two catalogs share great similarities.

To sum up briefly, *Bielu* should refer to a batch of catalogs instead of a specific catalog, and that *Bielu* in CSZJJ does not denote DZJBL specifically even though DZJBL could be one of the components of *Bielu*.

4.2.1.2. *Jiulu*

There exist four ways to the application of the name *Jiulu* in *Youlu*. The modes of employing *Jiulu*, their respective occurrences, and their references to specific fascicles are presented in the following Table 4.3:

	Ways of Employing <i>Jiulu</i>	Occurrence	Fascicle No.	
A	<i>jiuluyun</i> 舊錄 ³²⁶ 云 [<i>Jiulu</i> says]	137	F2	50
			F3	47
			F4	36

³²⁵ Fang (1997: 24) alters “宗” to “宋”, and I agree with this collation because this should be a homograph error or a paleographic error.

³²⁶ Amid 218 cases concerning *Jiulu*, there is only one aberrant “*jiujingluyun* 舊經錄云 [*The old catalog* says]”. I put it under the category “A. *jiuluyun* 舊錄云 [*Jiulu* says]”.

			F5	4
B	<i>jiuluyou</i> 舊錄有 [<i>Jiulu</i> has]	4	F2	2
			F4	2
C	<i>jiulusuoza</i> 舊錄所載 [recorded in <i>Jiulu</i>]	75	F4	73
			F5	2
D	<i>xunjiulu</i> 尋舊錄 [search through <i>Jiulu</i>]	2	F9	

Table 4.4 Ways of Employing the Name *Jiulu* and Their Occurrences in CSZJJ

The frequency of *Jiulu* notably surpasses that of *Bielu*, exceeding the latter by a magnitude of tenfold. An examination of the diverse expressions employed for *Jiulu* reveals that each has a distinct function. Expression A “*jiuluyun* 舊錄云 [*Jiulu* says]” suggests alternative names for scriptures. Expression B “*jiuliyu* 舊錄有” is utilized when Sengyou expressed uncertainty about the validity of a scripture’s alternative name. Nevertheless, he recorded it as a precautionary measure. For example, he annotated a two-fascicle *Xiuxing benqijing* 修行本起經 as “*Jiulu* has *Suxing benqi (jing)*. (I) doubt if this is it (舊錄有宿行本起。疑即此經³²⁷)”. Expression C “*jiulusuoza* 舊錄所載” is predominantly employed within the sub-genre in Fascicle 4 of CSZJJ, known as “*bingweijianqiben, jinquecijing* 並未見其本今闕此經 [do not have these texts, currently missing]”, except for two instances recorded in Fascicle 5. Expression D, “*xunjiulu* 尋舊錄”, appeared in only two cases, found in two prefaces that Sengyou composed.

While we have briefly explored the applications of the term *Jiulu* in CSZJJ, an essential question remains: What exactly is *Jiulu*? Tang (2000: 25–26) and Link (1960: 31) contend that *Jiulu* is Zhi Mindu 支愍度’s catalog. Zhang (1977: 309–320), on the other hand, explicitly disputes this argument and is convinced that *Jiulu* was written anonymously, bearing no connection to Zhi Mindu’s catalog. Feng (2015: 123) posits that *Jiulu* is a pseudo-catalog that was composed in the 5th century. Yao (1984: 242)

³²⁷ T 2145.55.16c18.

speculates that *Jiulu* may refer to the *Jinlun dulu* 經論都錄 that was codified by *Zhi Minu*. *Shi Zongchan* (1999: 117, FN10) contests that there are controversies over “*Jiulu*”. However, according to LDSBJ’s record on T 565 *Shunquan fangbian jing* 順權方便經 (Skt. *Strīvivartavyākaraṇasūtra*), *Shi* postulates that *Jiulu* was compiled even earlier than *Nie Daozhen* 聶道真’s catalog.

Tan (1991: 34–38) reads thoroughly and goes through the whole discussion about *Jiulu*, discovering a hiatus on this topic and presenting perspicacious observations about *Jiulu*. He repudiates *Yao*’s opinion that *Jiulu* was composed between the periods of Emperor *Cheng* 成帝 (325–342) and Emperor *Fei* 廢帝 (365–371) by arguing that later records also mentioned the name *Jiulu* (1991:34). After scrupulous examination, *Tan* summarizes that *Jiulu* was probably compiled between the second year of *Jianwu* Era of the South *Qi* dynasty 南齊建武二年(495) and the fourteenth year of *Tianjian* Era of the *Liang* dynasty 梁天監十四年(515), slightly preceding the codification of CSZJJ (1991: 36).

Despite *Tan*’s perceptive insights, his rationale is not flawless, particularly regarding the time *Jiulu*’s compilation. *Tan* deduces that *Jiulu* was probably completed after 495AD, a significantly later date compared to other scholars’ proposals, based on records related to *Shi’er yinyuan jing* (hereafter SYJ) 十二因緣經 (?*Dvādaśāṅga pratītyasamutpāda Sūtra*). The name of this scripture is recorded in three places in CSZJJ: *Youlu* in Fascicle 2, where it appears at the very end of *Youlu* without mentioning the translator’s name; *Yichu jinglu* 異出經錄 (*Catalog of Different Translations of the Same Scripture*; hereafter YCJL) in Fascicle 2, indicating that this scripture was translated twice by *An Shigao* 安世高 and *Dharmarakṣa*, respectively; and *Xinji xuzhuan shiyi zijinglu* 新集續撰失譯雜經錄 (*Catalog of Newly Continued Compilation of Anonymous and Miscellaneous Scriptures*, hereafter XXSZ) in Fascicle 4.

Tan connects the anonymous SYJ in *Youlu* with the entry in XXSZ, where it states:

Shi’er yinyuanzhang jing, one fascicle (*Jiulu* says /records as) *Shi’er yinyuan jing*)

He gathers that since SYJ in YCJL has only two variants: An Shigao's and Dharmarakṣa's; what is recorded above in XXSZ must therefore be referring to the anonymous SYJ in *Youlu*. Additionally, this SYJ in *Youlu* bears a date suggesting translation during the second year of Jianwu Era. As this anonymous SYJ is listed at the very end of *Youlu*, this Jianwu Era thus refers neither to the Han nor to the Jin Dynasty, but allude to the reign title of the South Qi Dynasty, i.e., 495 AD.

However, this reasoning is self-contradictory: Tan treats SYJ in *Youlu* as an anonymously translated work, and he is well aware that all scriptures without the translator's names should be placed in either *Xinji angong shiyi jinglu* 新集安公失譯經錄 (*Newly Compiled Catalog of Master An's Collected Anonymous Scriptures*). He regards SYJ in *Youlu* as part of the anonymously rendered scriptures and connects it with *Xinji angong shiyi jinglu*. However, the presence of SYJ in *Youlu* should serve as a hint that limits the possibility of designating this scripture as anonymously translated because *Youlu* does not record scriptures without a translator. Furthermore, SYJ does not appear in isolation in *Youlu*; it shows up together with another scripture, T 73 *Xuda zhangzhe jing* 須達長者經 (?*Anāthapiṇḍada sūtra*, hereafter XZJ), which is recorded in the same format as SYJ, and annotated with the same issuing year: the second year of Jianwu Era. Therefore, SYJ should be assumed to have been created under the same circumstance and same conditions as XZJ. Furthermore, both SYJ and XZJ should not be treated as anonymously translated. Fascicle 14 of CSZJJ attributes three scriptures including SYJ and XZJ to a translator named Guṇavṛddhi (Chi.求那毘地). Even though only one T 209 *Baiju piyu jing* 百句譬喻經 (Skt. *Upamā-śataka-sūtra*) is credited to him in *Youlu*, his biography in Fascicle 14 unequivocally credits both SYJ and XZJ to him:

In the autumn of the tenth year of Yongming Era (492), (he) translated into Qi language and (it is) in all ten fascicles, which is *Baiju piyu jing*. Later (he) also issued *Xuda zhangzhe* and *Shi'er yinyuan jing*, each is one fascicle.

³²⁸ T 2145.55.30b8.

以永明十年秋。譯出為齊文凡十卷。即百句譬喻經也。復出須達長者十二因緣經。各一卷。³²⁹

As the undesigned SYJ and XZJ locate very close³³⁰ to the entry of Guṇavṛddhi in *Youlu*, it may belong to the entry of Guṇavṛddhi but perhaps was miscopied or wrongly categorized. In addition, the issuing time of Guṇavṛddhi's *Baiju piyu jing* — 492, is very close to that of SYJ and XZJ — 495. In between these two entries is the scripture *jiaojie biquni fa* 教戒比丘尼法 that was rendered in the third year of Tianjian Era (504). Sengyou arranged the entries of translators chronologically, thus this disorder is problematic, suggesting either a scribal error when copying *Youlu* or a delay in the proper classification of newly acquired texts when *Youlu* was revised later. This misrepresentation of Guṇavṛddhi's scriptures can also be attested through records in YCJL:

Zhangzhe xuda jing (Dao'an's Miscellaneous Catalog also has this scripture; issued by Guṇavṛddhi)

This one scripture on the right is issued differently by two persons.

長者須達經(安公雜錄又有此經求那毘陀出)

右一經。二人異出。³³¹

Therefore, Tan's interpretation is problematic as it 1) discretionarily describes SYJ and XZJ in *Youlu* as “anonymously translated”; and 2) overlooks the high probability of attributing SYJ and XZJ to Guṇavṛddhi. Consequently, the proposed compilation date of *Jiulu* proposed by Tan, i.e., later than 495, becomes untenable.

³²⁹ T 2145.55.106c29–107a2.

³³⁰ There are only four translators, each contains one scripture. The formation is as follows:

·百句譬喻經十卷(齊永明十年九月十日譯出或五卷)

右一部。凡十卷。齊武帝時。天竺沙門求那毘陀於京都譯出。

·毘跋律一卷右一部。凡一卷。

齊帝時。沙門釋法度出。

·教戒比丘尼法一卷

右一部。凡一卷。梁天監三年。鍾山靈耀寺沙門釋僧盛。依四分律撰。

·大智論抄二十卷(一名要論)

右一部。凡二十卷。晉帝世。廬山沙門釋慧遠。以論文繁積學者難省。故略要抄出。

·虛空藏經八卷

右一部。凡八卷。宋武帝世。河南國乞佛時沙門聖堅出。

·十二因緣經一卷(建武二年出)

·須達長者經一卷(建武二年出)(T 2145.55.13c4–19).

³³¹ T 2145.55.15a22–23.

Regarding the upper limit of the completion of *Jiulu*, *Jiulu* is last mentioned in Kang Fasui 康法邃's entry, where he is reported to have translated during Emperor Cheng's reign, which spans the years 325–342. However, as many scholars have discovered, in Fascicle 9, Sengyou himself wrote a preface for *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經 (*Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, **Bodhisattva-carya-nirdeśa*) (T 1582³³²), which was translated by Guṇavarman 求那跋摩, and reads as follows:

I, Sengyou, searched *Jiulu*. This scripture comprises ten fascicles. It was at the time of Emperor Wen of the (Liu)Song Dynasty that Tripitaka Master Guṇavarman translated (it) at the capital (Jiankang).

祐尋舊錄。此經十卷。是宋文帝世。三藏法師求那跋摩。於京都譯出。

³³³

According to the biography of Guṇavarman, he commenced scripture translation after settling in Qihuan Temple 祇洹寺 in the first month of the eighth year of Yuanjia Era (431 AD). Unfortunately, he died in the same year. Hence, *Pusa shanjie jing* must have been translated in 431.

It is safe to say that this is the latest record concerning *Jiulu* found in CSZJJ and therefore *Jiulu* was compiled no earlier than 431 AD.

It is also noteworthy that although *Jiulu* may not directly refer to Zhi Mindu's catalog, as posited by many scholars, it must have integrated catalogs from the Jin Dynasty period. This is supported by the presence of the expressions such as “*jinyan* 詛言 (*jin* language; or Chinese language in the Jin Dynasty)” in Fascicle 4, CSZJJ:

Duojia jing, one fascicle (recorded in *Jiulu*, where it is commented that (*duojia*) is *jianqiang* [tough and strong] in *jin* language)
墮迦經一卷(舊錄所載云詛言堅強)³³⁴

Mair alludes that this kind of expressions can directly relate to their respective dynasties.

³³² There are two scriptures named 菩薩善戒; both are credited to Guṇavarman. They are T 1582 and T 1583. However, since Sengyou referred to a scripture which is ten fascicles at length, he presumably meant T 1582.

³³³ T 2145.55.62c24-25.

³³⁴ T 2145.55.34c22.

When investigating *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經, he claims that “such expressions would not have been used after about the middle of the fifth century when they were replaced by references to the Northern Wei” (2012: 167, FN77). However, “*jinyan* 晉言 [the words of the Jin Dynasty; *jin* language; Chinese]” may not exclusively signify the Jin Dynasty, as proposed by scholars such as Shi Guopu (1998: 221), Su (2016: 84, FN43), and Gu (2016: 241–250). These scholars suggest that indicators such as *jin* 晉 or *han* 漢 could be employed by later generations³³⁵, but not the other way around. Accordingly, whatever *Jiulu* is, it must have incorporated catalogs established during or after the Jin Dynasty.

Tokiwa (1973: 37–40) contends that *Jiulu*, much like *Bielu*, is a comprehensive term. However, he emphasizes that *Jiulu* does not denote a specific catalog, but rather it is a generic term, denoting “a (random) catalog”. For example, it could be Nie Daozhen’s catalog or Zhi Mindu’s catalog. His hypothesis is founded on two key aspects: 1. the use of the term “*Angong jiulu* 安公舊錄 [*Old Catalog of Master An (Dao'an)*]”; and 2. The examination of records in LDSBJ.

However, his examination process may be untenable. Firstly, Tokiwa suggests that due to the mention of “*Angong jiulu*” in CSZJJ, Sengyou could have used *Jiulu* to denote *Anlu*—even though Tokiwa also admits that Sengyou differentiated the two. This leads to Tokiwa to hypothesize that “*Jiulu*” is a generic term, indicating a catalog, rather than the catalog. Contrary to Tokiwa’s argument, I find that Sengyou consistently employed prefixes such as “*Angong* 安公” or “*An* 安” before “*Jiulu*” when using terms containing “*Jiulu*” to refer to *Anlu*, thereby creating synthesized terms such as “*Angong jiulu* 安公舊錄” or “*An jiulu* 安舊錄”. It is apodictic that Sengyou clearly differentiated between *Anlu* and the more generic *Jiulu*.

Tokiwa’s second line of argumentation relies on a comparison with records in LDSBJ, i.e., to discern Sengyou’s intended meaning for *Jiulu* by contrasting CSZJJ with LDSBJ. However, he scrutinizes scriptures that do not seem directly related to *Jiulu*, which

³³⁵ Radich (2019: 834, FN64) also notices that LDSBJ has “晉言”. He observes that this expression “appears fairly frequently in the translations of Dharmarakṣa, T 221, and texts attributed to a few other translators like An Faqin.”

makes his line of reasoning appear somewhat *non sequitur*. For example, he observes that T 224 *Bore daoxingpin jing* 般若道行品經 (Skt. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), one of Lokakṣema’s translations, is assigned a specific translation date, while Sengyou did not specify its provenance³³⁶ (1973: 37). Tokiwa then cites LDSBJ, where Fei referred to this scripture as “see Zhi Mindu’s catalog and *Youlu*”³³⁷. From this, Tokiwa asserts that Sengyou must have seen Zhi Mindu’s catalog, and in a short summary (1973: 40), he concludes that “Zhi Mindu’s catalog” should be regarded as *Jiulu* under this circumstance. However, this conclusion seems rather abrupt, especially considering that the interlinear comment of this *Bore daoxingpin jin* under Lokakṣema’s entry in *Youlu* does not mention the name “*Jiulu*” at all. Just because Sengyou did not specify the exact date does not necessarily mean he had consulted Zhi Mindu’s catalog, and it also does not prove that Zhi Mindu’s catalog is *Jiulu*. Moreover, Fei Zhangfang only referred to Zhi Mindu’s catalog and *Youlu* in the interlinear comment of *Bore daoxingpin jin*, creating a false impression that only these two catalogs contained the information of this scripture, and that since Zhi Mindu predicated Sengyou, Sengyou must have consulted Zhi Mindu’s catalog to compile *Youlu*. However, Fei’s interlinear commentary of each scripture, namely, “*jian* 見 see [...]”, is not always exhaustive. For instance, the record “Seven fascicles of *Xianjie jing* (*Jiulu* says: issued during the Yongkang Era. See **Nie Daozhen’s Catalog**) 賢劫經七卷(舊錄云。永康年出。見聶道真錄³³⁸)” evidently omits mentioning *Youlu*, in which this scripture is also documented. Fei’s inconsistent approach regarding when to cite *Anlu* in cases where scriptures were documented in *Anlu* further complicates matters. In particular, the fact that Fei himself did not personally witness the existence of *Anlu* or Nie Daozhen’s catalog, etc., adds another layer of ambiguity to his citations. Tokiwa’s rationale becomes similarly untenable when he attempts to establish the original source for the translation date of Lokakṣema’s *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 (Skt. *Śūramgama-sūtra*) by examining records in LDSBJ, as he appears to overlook the absence of a direct link

³³⁶ This record in *Youlu* reads: 般若道行品經十卷(或云摩訶般若波羅經 或八卷 光和二年十月八日出) T 2145.55.6b10.

³³⁷ This record in LDSBJ is: 般若道行品經十卷(初出。亦云摩訶般若波羅蜜經。或八卷。光和二年十月八日出 見支敏度錄及僧祐錄) T 2034.49.52c16-17.

³³⁸ T 2034.49.62a12.

between the records in LDSBJ and the name “*Jiulu*”³³⁹.

However, I agree with Tokiwa’s observation that *Jiulu* denotes a single catalog. There is evidence that could prove this singularity of *Jiulu*: In Appendix 1, under the entry of “*Yulu* 餘錄[the rest catalogs]”, there are two intriguing records:

Zhishen jing, one fascicle (**Old Catalog says** *Fo Zhishen jing*, the rest catalogs are the same)

治身經一卷(舊錄云佛治身經 餘錄並同)

Zhiyi jing, one fascicle (**Old Catalog says** *Fo Zhiyi jing*, the rest catalogs are the same)

治意經一卷(舊錄云佛治意經 餘錄並同)

Since it says “*bingtong* 並同[all the same]”, “*Yulu*” must be in plural form and should be translated as “the rest/other remaining catalogs”. From a grammatical perspective, if the latter part is “the other all agree”, then what precedes should be “**one** says” — in this context, this “**one**” is *Jiulu*. This suggests that “*Jiulu*” refers to a single specific catalog.

Additionally, there is another entry that specifies:

A’nan bameng jing, one fascicle (*Jiulu* records *A’nan qimeng jing*. All catalogs say (seven) dreams is wrongly written as eight).

阿難八夢經一卷(舊錄云阿難七夢經 署錄並云³⁴⁰夢是誤作八字也)³⁴¹

This records indicates that “*Zhonglu* 署錄 [all catalogs]” is in the plural form, as the term “*bing* 並 [all]” implies. By presenting “*Jiulu* says this” and all catalogs give an explanation for this statement, implying that *Jiulu* must be one of those catalogs termed as “*Zhonglu*”.

³³⁹ LDSBJ here says “see *Zhulu* 朱錄 *Youlu* 祐錄 *Wulu* 吳錄” and does not mention *Jiulu* at all.

³⁴⁰ 云【大】，云七【宋】【元】【明】

³⁴¹ T 2145.55.17c13.

In conclusion, it is plausible that *Jiulu* refers to a single catalog, and it seems improbable that Sengyou would alter the designation of *Jiulu* on a case-by-case basis, as Tokiwa implies. Furthermore, it is likely that *Jiulu* has incorporated contents that originated during the Jin Dynasty; the completion date of *Jiulu* should have been later than 431 AD.

4.2.2 The Cryptic “*que*” and “*jinque*”

Having combed through topics and materials concerning *Jiulu* and *Bielu*, we can now turn to a discussion of “*que*” and “*jinque*” to highlight the differences between these two usages. Literally, *que* 闕 means “absent, missing, lacking”. Analogously, *jinque* 今闕 denotes “currently absent, currently missing, nowhere to be found now”. ³⁴²

The interpretation of “*que*” is highly contentious, and scholars have only recently started to examine this issue. Shi Guopu (1998: 35) addresses this problem when examining two translations of *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, rendered by Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa respectively. She concludes that Dao’an, based on the preservation status of scriptures at his time, added the word “*que*” in the interlinear note under this scripture’s name in Zhi Qian’s entry to indicate that he could not access Zhi Qian’s version. In contrast, “*jinque* 今闕”/ “*jinbingyouqijing* 今並有其經[currently all the scriptures are extant]” was marked by Sengyou based on the circumstances of his time to demonstrate the change in the status of a scripture (e.g., a scripture whose existence was witnessed by Dao’an but later was missing in Sengyou’s time — Sengyou would mark it with *jinque* to imply the current absence). Tu contests what Shi proposed (2013: 293–297), contending that scriptures marked with the phrases “*chubielu anluwu* 出別

³⁴² The “*que*” to be discussed in this chapter will only focus on instances pertaining to the extant or absent status of scriptures, not to any other circumstances.

There is, however, a quasi-relevant discussion on the meaning of “*que*” elaborated by Li Xingling. Li (2008: 23) examines the case of the Devadatta Chapter in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* in CSJJ where Sengyou marked this chapter with “*que*”, creating the impression that this chapter must be missing from *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*. Nevertheless, after careful investigation, Li concludes that Sengyou did not mean that the chapter was excluded from this scripture, but that this chapter as an independent work was “missing” in “*zhongtu* 中土 (China)”.

錄安錄無” and “*bielusuozi anluwu* 別錄所載安錄無” are those that Sengyou had seen in person but were not recorded in *Anlu*; whereas “*bielusuozi anluxianque* 別錄所載安錄先闕³⁴³“refers to scriptures marked by Dao'an in his catalog as “*que*” yet Sengyou found them “existing” in *Bielu*. In either case, when alluding to *Anlu*, it is not “*que*” but rather the terms “*anluwu* 安錄無/*anluxianque* 安錄先闕” that are employed in CSJJ. Tu further differentiates *anluwu* 安錄無 from *anluxianque* 安錄先闕. She concludes that if a scripture was not recorded *Anlu*, then Sengyou would mark it with “*anluwu*”. On the other hand, if a scripture is marked by Dao'an as *que* but Sengyou later witnessed its existence, this would be annotated with “*anluxianque*”. She also speculates that “*que*” may not necessarily denote “missing 亡佚” but may also mean “*this scripture is not seen* 未見此經”. Tu does not further differentiate *que* from *jinque*.

Gao (2013: 5) repudiates Tu's opinion on this matter by listing evidence that proves many of Tu's viewpoints to be questionable. Gao dissents from Tu's opinion that “*anluxianque* 安錄先闕” means Dao'an recorded a scripture in his catalog, while labeling it as “*que*”. Gao also thinks that the *status quo* of a scripture would not be indicated in *Bielu*. His foundation for this criticism is that in the scheme of extant remanent folios of DZJBL (as discussed above), there is no trace of recording the status of a scripture, i.e., no scriptures are marked with characters such as “*que* 闕” nor “*you* 有[existing]”. Gao opines that the records in either *Anlu* or *Bielu* do not document the “missing” or “existing” status of scriptures. Nevertheless, Gao concurs with Tu's point of view that understanding the way of recording “*quejing* 闕經[absence of scriptures]” is a prerequisite for grasping the ultimate connotation of “*que*” (p. 4). Li (2020: 6) demonstrates that under Zhi Qian's circumstances, there are seven cases where his translations are marked with “*que/jinque*”. Two (which are identifiably “*bielusuozi anluwu jinque* 別錄所載安錄無今闕”) unequivocally come from *Bielu*'s records, and five others most likely followed Dao'an's convention, alluding that five other “*que*” had been appended by Dao'an himself. However, Li does not seem to have made the

³⁴³ It is, of course, universally accepted that “別錄所載安錄先闕” was added by Sengyou himself. See Shi Jiyan (1997: 64).

difference between “*que*” and “*jinque*” explicit but merely sanctioned Gao’s observations that “*que*” and “*jinque*” were employed interchangeably in *Youlu* and represent an agile way of recording missing scriptures (ibid: 7).

As for “*jinque*”, it is quite universally accepted that this term was added by Sengyou, referring to the status of scripture at his time. Following Shi’s assumption, Wang (2016: 35, FN3) also thinks this interpretation ties in with the actual way of applying this word in CSZJJ. She examines that Sengyou marked one of the two translated *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* — one full version translated by Dharmarakṣa, the other is a pruned version of the same translation — with “*jinque*”, suggesting that Sengyou could not have access to this version. However, Dao’an could have seen both versions.

Having presented the perspectives of contemporary scholars, it is evident that diverse opinions exist regarding this seemingly minor yet intricate matter. To gain a deeper understanding and further explore this issue, we must delve into the following two questions:

4.2.2.1. Did *Anlu* Mark Unavailable/Missing Scriptures with “*que*”?

The debate among Shi, Tu, and Gao revolves around the question of whether Dao’an marked unavailable or missing scriptures with the character “*que*.” Shi posits that Dao’an used “*que*” to mark absent scriptures, while Tu thinks those annotated with “*bielusuozi anluxianque* 別錄所載安錄先闕” in *Youlu* are marked with “*que*” in *Anlu*. Their opinions converge on the idea that Dao’an marked missing scriptures with this character. On the contrary, Gao refutes this interpretation and criticizes Tu’s point of view, arguing that *Anlu* does not differentiate between “absent scriptures” and “extant scriptures”.

According to Hayashiya’s theory, there should be no marking of “missing” in *Anlu* as he posits that “Dao’an recorded those scriptures he had witnessed in person. He would

not record scriptures that he had not seen, even if he knew they were translated³⁴⁴” (1933: 238). This has also been partially confirmed by Ch'en who assumes Dao'an “literally examined every sutra himself” (1964: 98). Hayashiya (1941: 387) does not differentiate between “jinque” and “que”. However, following his previous assertion, in his *Kyōroku Kenkyū* 經錄研究, he still holds that all scriptures Dao'an recorded were available to him, but many of his records had gone missing in Sengyou's time. Therefore, when Sengyou cited *Anlu*, he differentiated between “*youben* 有本 [extant text]” and “*queben* 闕本 [missing text]”. Hayashiya thus suggests that the functions of “que” and “jinque” are basically the same when referring to *Anlu* in CSZJJ.

I hold the opinion shared by some scholars that the absent/unavailable scriptures were not marked with “que” in *Anlu*.

Firstly, the cases of “*anluxianque* 安錄先闕” are shown as follows (excerpted from Appendix 2):

竺法護 Dharm arakṣa	阿差末經四卷(或云阿差末菩薩經 <u>別錄所載安錄先闕</u>) 無極寶經一卷(<u>別錄所載先闕安錄</u> 或云無極寶三昧經) 阿述達經一卷(<u>別錄所載安錄先闕</u> 舊錄云阿述達女經 或云阿闍王女阿 術達菩薩經) 等目菩薩經二卷(<u>別錄所載安錄先闕</u>) 右六十四部凡一百一十六卷經今闕。 祐据摭群錄。遇護公所出更得四部。安錄 <u>先闕</u> 。今條入錄中
竺叔蘭 Zhu Shulan	首楞嚴經二卷(<u>別錄所載安錄先闕</u> 舊錄有叔蘭首楞嚴二卷)
法炬 Faju	樓炭經六卷(<u>別錄所載安錄先闕</u>)

Table 4.5 Cases of *anluxianque* and its variant *xianqueanlu*

³⁴⁴ Hayashiya's original words are: その經錄中には彼が實際手にしたことのある經のみが記載されて居って、その當時までに翻譯されて居たものでも未見の經はその中に含まれて居らないことである。

The expression “*anluxianque* 安錄先闕” appears seven times *in toto* and is attributed to three translators: five times to Dharmarakṣa, once to Zhu Shulan, and once to Faju. However, the four scriptures³⁴⁵ under Dharmarakṣa’s entry were all gleaned by Sengyou elsewhere when he scrutinized *qunlu* 群錄 [all kinds of catalogs] and are compatible with the short summary he wrote for Dharmarakṣa, where he again emphasized these four scriptures were “*anluxianque* 安錄先闕”. The expression “*gengde* 更得 [further encountered]” together with “*anluxianque* 安錄先闕” means that the “*que*” here should not imply that Dao'an knew of the existence of these four scriptures but could not access them, thus marking them with “*que*”. Instead, it signifies that Sengyou “further encountered” these four scriptures that were “*que* [absent]” in *Anlu*. This confirms that these four texts were completely missing in *Anlu*, contradicting Tu’s claims. Should this be the case with Dharmarakṣa’s “*anluxianque* 安錄先闕”, whose translations weigh as much as 70% in Table 4.3, it is hard to imagine that the rest of Zhu Shulan’s and Faju’s translations would be any different. In fact, just as Gao observes, “*anluxianque* 安錄先闕” does not imply that Dao'an annotated a scripture with the character “*que*”, but has the identical meaning as “*anluwu* 安錄無” — non-existent in *Anlu*.

Secondly, would Dao'an mark scriptures with the character “*que*” to insinuate their missing status? My answer would be no, and two records could substantiate this perspective. First, the case of *Fangguang jing*:

Fangguang jing, twenty fascicles (issued on the fifteenth day of the fifth month

in the first year of the Yuankang Era of the Jin Dynasty, (it has) ninety chapters.

Also named *jiu Xiaopin. Absent.*)

放光經二十卷(晉元康元年五月十五日出 有九十品 一名舊小品 闕)³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ Even according to Tokiwa’s reading, which claims that the four scriptures in the phrase “遇護公所出更得四部” refer to the extant scriptures, i.e., 隨權女經(出別錄安錄無), 阿差末經, 無極寶經, and 阿述達經, without the scripture marked with “別錄所載安錄先闕” in the missing scriptures, this would not affect the general result as at least three out of four extant scriptures were absent in *Anlu*, therefore it is hard to believe that the only one left 阿述達經 was marked with “*que*” in *Anlu*. What is more, some other scholars do not agree with Tokiwa’s reading.

³⁴⁶ T 2145.55.7b7–11.

It would indeed be baffling if Dao'an himself had written “*que*” beneath the name *Fangguang jing*, as in *Preface to a Collation of [the Translation of] Extracts from the Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*³⁴⁷ 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序, Dao'an claims that:

During the fifteen years at Hanyin³⁴⁸, (I) lectured on *Fangguang jing* twice a year. It has been four years since I came to the capital, and still (I lecture this sūtra) twice a year, never daring to slack off or cease doing so.

昔在漢陰十有五載。講放光經歲常再遍。及至京師漸四年矣。亦恒歲二。未敢墮息。³⁴⁹

Given that Dao'an lectured on *Fangguang jing* so frequently and regularly, it is nearly preposterous to think that he would have reported this scripture as missing. Consequently, this “*que*” certainly was not added by Dao'an.

The second reason is the case of Baiyan 白延³⁵⁰, where his records in CSZJJ are as follows:

Śūraṅgamasamādhi-sūtra, two fascicles (**Absent**)

Suratapariprcchā, one fascicle (**Absent**)

Śrīkaṇṭhasūtra, one fascicle (**Absent**)

The three scriptures on the right consist of four fascicles in total. During the era of Master Gaogui at the Wei Dynasty, translated by Baiyan. **Recorded in *Bielu, Angong Lu* (initially did not have his/their name/s.)**

首楞嚴經二卷(闕)

須賴經一卷(闕)

除災患經一卷(闕)

右三部。凡四卷。魏高貴公時。白延所譯出。別錄所載。安公錄(先無其名)³⁵¹

This case is more special than the last one, as 白延 is one of the seven newly added

³⁴⁷ The name of this preface was translated as such by Martha Cheung (2010: 79).

³⁴⁸ Nakajima (1997: 90, FN1) thinks Hanyin 漢陰 is at the periphery of Fancheng 樞城 at the south bank of River Han 漢水.

³⁴⁹ T 2145.55.52b10–11.

³⁵⁰ In GSZ, the name was also written as “帛延”. Lin (2005: 154–155) has a thorough discussion on the interchangeability between the cognomens “白” and “帛”.

³⁵¹ According to Nanatsudera 七寺’s version, the last bit is “安公錄先无” instead of “安公錄(先無其名)”.

names added by Sengyou that were not recorded in *Anlu*. There is a predisposition in the academia to deal with the seven persons not only as “newly added translator names” but also treat their translations as “newly added” as well. However, to further analyze the question of *que*, there is a question that needs to be answered: if the translations attributed to the “newly added translator names” should also be considered as “newly added”?

I would posit here that we should not treat the “newly added translator names” as equivalent to “their translated scriptures are also newly added”.

First of all, as Li (2020) describes, the phrase “*bielusuoza anluxianque* 別錄所載安錄先闕” or similar phrases always denote or refer to newly added scriptures compared with *Anlu*, it does not applicable to newly found names of translators³⁵². This could also be vindicated by other records (see Appendices 1 and 2).

Secondly, the seven new names added by Sengyou are:

To conclude the previously issued scriptures. From An Shigao to Fali, a total of seventeen translators, are all recorded in *Anlu*. Yet, seven translators whose names are ①Zhang Qian, ②Qin Jing, ③Zhu Foshuo, ④Weiqinan (Vighna), ⑤Zhu Jiangyan, ⑥Bai Yan and ⑦Bo Fazu are newly encountered and appended to (this catalog) after I, Sengyou, scrutinized all catalogs. From Wei Shidu onwards, (they) are newly compiled by me.

總前出經。自安世高以下至法立以上。凡十七家。並安公錄所載。其①張騫②秦景③竺朔佛④維祇難⑤竺將炎⑥白延⑦帛法祖。凡七人是祐校眾錄新獲所附入。自衛士度以後。皆祐所新撰³⁵³。

If we add their corresponding records and group them together, the following picture emerges:

³⁵² Li's original words are “多的部分體現在兩個部分，一是多出了新的經典，二是多出了新的譯者。凡是多出了新的經典，描述的方式大致是「『別錄』所載，《安錄》先闕」，凡是多出了新的譯者，則是引文所見的「祐校眾錄，新獲所附」。”

³⁵³ T 2145.55.10a4-8

Name	Scripture	Summary
①張騫 ②秦景	四十二章經一卷 (舊錄云孝明皇帝四十二章安法師所撰錄闕此經)	右一部凡一卷。 漢孝明帝夢見金人。詔遣使者 <u>張騫</u> 羽林中郎將 <u>秦景</u> 到西域。始於月支國遇沙門 <u>竺摩騰</u> 。譯寫此經還洛陽。藏在蘭臺石室第十四間中。其經今傳於世
③竺朔佛	道行經一卷 (安公云道行品經者般若抄也 外國高明者所撰安公為之序 注)	右一部。凡一卷。 漢桓帝時。 <u>天竺</u> 沙門 <u>竺朔佛</u> 齋胡本至中夏。到靈帝時。於洛陽譯出
④維祇 難 ⑤竺將 炎	法句經二卷	右一部。凡二卷。 魏文帝時。 <u>天竺</u> 沙門 <u>維祇難</u> 。以吳主孫權黃武三年齋胡本(至)武昌。 <u>竺將炎</u> 共支謙譯出
⑥白延	首楞嚴經二卷(闕) 須賴經一卷(闕) 除災患經一卷(闕)	右三部。凡四卷。 魏高貴公時。 <u>白延</u> 所譯出。 <u>別錄</u> 所載。 <u>安公錄</u> (先無其名)
⑦帛法 祖	惟逮菩薩經一卷(今闕)	右一部。凡一卷。晉惠帝時。 <u>沙門帛法祖</u> 譯出

Table 4.6 Summary of the Newly Added Seven Persons and their Translations

All seven persons, whom Sengyou collected from *Zhonglu* 众錄, were newly incorporated into *Youlu* — in contrast with the other 17 individuals. Therefore, Sengyou explicitly emphasized that these seven were “new” persons. It would be strange if Sengyou only mentioned the absence of Baiyan’s name in *Anlu*, without mentioning the other six newly added translators. Accordingly, this “*bielusuoza angongluxianwu* (*qiming*)別錄所載安公錄先無(其名)” signifies that it is Biayan’s scriptures, instead of his name, that were missing in *Anlu*.

As previously asserted, one should refrain from assuming that the newly introduced names and their attributed translations are intrinsically linked. Rather, it is plausible that their scriptures were not necessarily “newly” added by Sengyou but perhaps preexisted in some form or were cataloged in *Anlu*. The supposition is supported by the evidence in Table 4.4, where we observe that whenever a scripture was absent in *Anlu*, Sengyou explicitly noted that this text was: “安法師所撰錄闕此經[the catalog composed by Master An lacks this scripture]” as exemplified by the case of the *Sutra in Forty-two Sections* 四十二章經, or “別錄所載安公錄先無[recorded in other catalogs, is not recorded in *Anlu*]”, as can be seen from Baiyan’s entry³⁵⁴. Since

³⁵⁴ The relationships between “newly added names” and “their translated scriptures” must be explored further, which is also conducive to both the reconstruction of *Anlu* and our understanding of Sengyou’s way of recording scriptures. Many scholars, if not all, have assumed that the seven persons as well as their translations were newly added by Sengyou. Nevertheless, as argued above, there are many pitfalls and unexplainable cases if we treat them simply as such. It can be discerned that, just as other scriptures which were absent in *Anlu*, the scriptures translated by the “new seven” are also labeled and differentiated from *Anlu*, should they not be found in *Anlu*.

Then we should ruminant on the following question: If, apart from *Sutra in Forty-two Sections* 四十二章經 and Baiyan’s translations, other translators’ translations were recorded in *Anlu*, in what way were they recorded?

I would like to hypothesize that it has something to do with the recording style of *Anlu*. Sengyou comments on Dao’an’s Catalog: “*Anlu* is indeed great, however, it is too simple. It records the names of scriptures with only two synoptic characters. In addition to that, no number of fascicles are written (安錄誠佳。頗恨太簡。注目經名撮題兩字。且不列卷數; T 2145.55.16c12–13)”.

Yao (2014: 208) thinks that “no fascicles” is typical of *Anlu* overall, and Tan (1991: 34) also champions this assessment. Tokiwa (1973: 160) also concurs with this when he tries to restore *Anlu*. He proclaims that in his restoration and re-establishment of *Anlu*, he includes the number of fascicles (*juanshu* 卷數) just for convenience. Likewise, Hayashiya (1941: 386–387) also states that *Anlu* does not specify the number of fascicles/fascicles. When he retrieved *Anlu* (1941:389–428), he only added fascicle numbers for convenience. Lü contends that even though Hayashiya and Tokiwa both tried to recover *Anlu*, this is an insurmountable task as the full names of scriptures as well as their fascicles are unclear (1979: 64–65).

Nevertheless, Sengyou is most self-contradictory as his words are so ambiguous that they might seem incomprehensible. Despite all these scholars’ endorsement that there were no fascicles in *Anlu*, however, Sengyou’s own statements, in Fascicle 4, CSZJJ, seem to indicate that he has eaten his words.

Miscellaneous Avadānaśataka (in all eleven stories. Master Dao’an records Dharmarakṣa’s. scripture catalog, (there is) Avadāna of Three Hundred Śloka, twenty-five fascicles. These (texts) mingle together without felicitous names) and are intractable to tell apart. (I) newly compile what I’ve garnered, allot names to (these texts) and determine (the number of) fascicles to make it perusable to the readers. I found these many texts mostly came from big scriptures and have lost the names of their translators. What Master Hu (i.e., Dharmarakṣa) issued may be among them.

雜譬喻經一卷(凡十一事。安法師載竺法護經目，有譬喻經三百首二十五卷。混無名目，難可分別。新撰所得，並列[宋元明：列名]定卷，以曉覽者。尋此眾本多出大經，時失譯名。然護公所出，或在其中矣)

One could, however, follow the stream of thought of Kawano, who proclaims that unlike translators before Dharmarakṣa whose scriptures seldom have clear dates, one-third of Dharmarakṣa’s works have specific dates (see also Ōminami, 1975: 24). He reckons that this may be due to another independent catalog — 竺法護錄. If Dharmarakṣa’s catalog is so precise with dates and fascicle numbers, it is also imaginable that *Anlu* lacks fascicle numbers of translations rendered by translators of pre-Dharmarakṣa’s times. Then *Anlu* may, like 眾經別錄’s reliques found in Dunhuang, sometimes append the number of fascicles and sometimes not.

Should this be the case, then 道行經 and 法句經, which later were credited to Zhu Shuofu and Vighna/Zhu Jiangyan, respectively, were recorded in *Anlu* without fascicle numbers. Besides, Naitō (1967b: 390) observes that Dao’an only recorded one translator even though the scripture is an outcome of teamwork. Then it makes sense that Sengyou did not add the collocation, i.e., “別錄所載安公錄先無”, etc., under Zhu Shuofu’s entry and Vighna/Zhu Jiangyan’s entry, as it cannot be said that 道行經 and 法句經 were absent in *Anlu*. Even though, it is an enigma why Dao’an

Baiyan's translated texts as well as his name are all unrecorded in *Anlu*, consequently, the character “*que*” marked beneath the names of scriptures in Baiyan's entry could not have been written by Dao'an. Therefore, what Shi and Tu have proposed, that Dao'an marked missing scriptures with *que*, is problematic.

In conclusion, the aforementioned examples demonstrate that Dao'an did not employ “*que*” to designate missing Buddhist texts in his catalog. The utilization of this label was either introduced by Sengyou or adopted by Sengyou from other catalogs when recording absent scriptures. This brings us to the second inquiry.

did not record one-fascicle 道行經 in his catalog (especially since he had recognized Zhu Shuofu's translation and differentiated it from that of Lokakṣema's; he also compiled one fascicle annotation for Zhu Shuofu's translation). Incidentally, there is also another question on the “new seven”. When Sengyou mentions the “new seven”, he lists Zhang Qian and Qin Jing, while neglecting Kāśyapa-Mātaṅga 摄摩騰. He says *Anlu* starts from “An Shigo”, which entry follows after the entry of *Sutra in Fourty-two Sections*, which is not recorded in *Anlu*. As Kāśyapa-Mātaṅga is not enumerated as “newly added” but recorded in *Youlu*, one cannot help but ponder what happened to this name. Tokiwa supposes that Sengyou would like to set apart “譯寫” and “傳譯” or he wanted to eulogize Zhang Qian's and Qin Jing's feat of bringing this text to China, and that this is the reason why he did not put Kāśyapa-Mātaṅga into the “new seven” group (1973: 93). However, this is not very likely as Zhu Shixing 朱士行 is also someone who did not translate the text *per se*, but was recorded both in *Anlu* and *Youlu*.

Hayashiya (1941: 386) mentions an interesting sentence in 破邪論 written by Falin 法琳, which is:

Just as catalogs such as Dao'an's and Zhu Shixing's say, at Emperor Shi's reign, there were eighteen foreign āryas including śramaṇa Shilifang (?Śrīva), who brought Buddhist canons to proselytize Emperor Shi.

…如釋道安朱士行等經錄目云。始皇之時。有外國沙門釋利房等一十八賢者。齋持佛經來化始皇。

Hayashiya presumes that this piece of information must have been interwoven in the preface to *Anlu* and written by Dao'an. Nevertheless, as the scholar himself discerns, there is no trace of such records in the current CSZJJ. Therefore, even if there was once such a preface composed by Dao'an, there is no means to conjecture it now. Later in this chapter, there is another circumstance where Dao'an's comment on Dharmarakṣa's translation style was only recorded by Huijiao in his GSZ and could not be found elsewhere in works prior to GSZ. This could be another case that demonstrates Huijiao had access to Dao'an's work, probably *Anlu*, and yet *Youlu* did not record it verbatim. Even though we may not be able to inspect the original *Anlu*, it is likely that Dao'an mentioned Kāśyapa-Mātaṅga somewhere else in his catalog but did not give him an entry. However, just as Hayashiya explains, “there is no means to conjecture it now”.

The last question concerning the “new seven” would be in conjunction with Bo Fazu's one-fascicle Vīrya-Bodhisattva Sūtra. According to the theory above, this sūtra, without the labeling of “absent in *Anlu*”, should be recorded in *Anlu* elsewhere. Yet further proof is needed to corroborate this idea. What we can now speculate on, however, is the composing *modus operandi* of Sengyou.

Sengyou seems to arrange his catalog chronologically. However, there is one unfathomable entry at the converging part between *Anlu*, which ends at Faju 法炬/Fali 法立, and his newly compiled catalog starting from Wei Shidu 衛士度. Sengyou claims that “自衛士度以後。皆祐所新撰 [From Wei Shidu on, are all newly compiled by me]”. However, why not included Wei Shidu in his new reconstruction of *Anlu*'s part? He already included seven new names in *Anlu*. Why should he leave out Wei Shidu, a person who is a contemporary of Bo Fazu (see the biography of Bo Fazu in CSZJJ and GSZ)? Wei Shidu was allotted a sub-biography under Bo Fazu and translated during Emperor Hui's time, which means that he might predate Faju and Fali slightly, as the latter two translated during the convergence of Emperor Hui and Emperor Huai. One possible answer to this question once again lies in the discrepancy between “new names” and “their scriptures”. Unlike Bo Fazu, whose text might be recorded elsewhere in *Anlu*, and other members of the “new seven”, whose names or text were newly added by Sengyou, both Wei Shidu's name and his scriptures are brand new. Instead of “新獲 newly got”, Sengyou therefore used “新撰 newly composed” to modify the catalog starting from Wei Shidu.

4.2.2.2. Possible Distinctions Between “*que*” and “*jinque*”

The question of “*que*”/ “*jinque*” presents itself as one of the most perplexing and yet inextricable puzzles encountered while delving into CSZJJ. It is therefore imperative to discuss these two ways of marking an absent scripture. This conundrum could be disentangled following Gao’s flow of thought that these two words are used randomly without any discernable pattern. Some scholars also suggest that this arbitrary maybe attributed to the fact that CSZJJ was not solely compiled by Sengyou. This viewpoint finds support in Kōzen’s article (1982: 133–231), which asserts that CSZJJ has significant connections to Liu Xie 劉勰 and bears resemblance to Liu Xie’s seminal work — *Wenxin Diaolong* 文心雕龍. Link (1960: 26) also contends that Sengyou’s primary role was compilation rather than “creation”, corroborated by Sengyou’s own words (*shuerbuzuo* 述而不作 [recount but not create]). Kawaguchi further suggests that Liuxie may have assisted Sengyou during his compilation of *Youlu* (2000: 49). However, it is important to note that scholars like Rao (1997: 411–412; 414–415) challenges this perspective and affirm the authenticity of CSZJJ being the work of Sengyou himself, contending that attributing authorship also to Liu Xie based solely on certain phrasings and expressions is inconclusive.

Personally, I think that whether CSZJJ is a collaborative work or not, it remains enigmatic that as a historical bibliographer and master in Buddhism, both identities demanding prudence and punctiliousness, Sengyou would refer to this crucial information with inconsistent expressions, oscillating between *que* and *jinque* without any apparent basis.

Even if, as Kōzen purports, CSZJJ is a work of collaboration, which may account for the variation in expressions, these diverging expressions such as “*que*” or “*jinque*” should exhibit some form of regularity or discernable pattern if CSZJJ were the product of multiple contributors. Because hypothetically, if we take the compilation of CSZJJ as a scale of 1–10 numbers, it is natural to assume that 1–3 is attributed to person A, 4–6 to person B, 7–10 to person C, etcetera. However, “*que*” and “*jinque*” are employed

haphazardly. Even within the entry of a single translator, a mixture of these two terms can be found (e.g., in Zhi Qian’s entry). It is hard to conceive that this is a result of a systematic division of labor.

Besides, there are certain patterns in the application of these two terms. For example, the frequency of the appearance of “*que*” and “*jinque*” in *Youlu* reverses in the pre-Wei Shidu and the post-Wei Shidu parts.

	Dynasty	Name	Total translation ³⁵⁵	<i>jinque</i>	<i>que</i>
Part A — Based on Dao’an	East Han	An Shigao	35	6	/
		Lokakṣema	14	5	/
	Wei	Zhi Qian	36	2	5
		Kang Senghui	2	1	/
		<u>Bai</u> <u>Yan</u> (new)	3	/	3
		Zhu Shixing	1	/	1
		Dharmarakṣa	159	64	/
		<u>Bo</u> <u>Fazu</u> (new)	1	1	/
	Total	8 persons	251	6 persons/79	3 persons/9
Total number of translations rendered by translators before Wei Shidu: 266					
Part B — Sengyou’s New Compilati on	Jin	Wei Shidu	1	1	/
		Zhu Fonian	6	/	1
		Kumārajīva	35	1	1
		Buddhabhadrā	11	1	3
		Shi Faxian	12	3	/

³⁵⁵ As discussed in the preceding chapter, there are discrepancies between the real translation numbers and those calculated and written in *Youlu*. The actual translation numbers are listed here.

		Gītamitra	1	/	1
Liu Song	Īśvara	1	1	/	
	Samghavar man	5	/		1
	Shi Zhimeng	2	/		1
	Guṇabhadra	14	/		4
	Zhu Fajuan	5(*)	/		5
	Kivkara	3(*)	/		3
	Qi	Mahāyāna	2(*)	/	2
	Total	14 persons	98	5 persons/7	10 persons/22

Total number of translations rendered by translators after Wei Shidu: 179

Table 4.7 Distribution of the Expressions “*que*” and “*jinque*” in the Pre- and Post-Wei Shidu Parts

This table reveals distinctive characteristics of the two similar expressions. In Part A, which denotes the catalog section constructed by Sengyou based on *Anlu*, “*jinque*” is attributed to 6 individuals, while “*que*” is associated with 3 individuals (with one individual receiving both “*jinque*” and “*que*”). The former expression occurs approximately twice more frequently than the latter. Among the total number of translations in Part A, “*jinque*” appears in 29.70% of cases, while “*que*” is used in 3.38% of cases, indicating that “*jinque*” is nearly nine times more prevalent than “*que*”. The ratio of all missing or absent scriptures in Part A is 33.08% of all the scriptures translated before Wei Shidu.

In contrast, when examining Part B — the part compiled newly by Sengyou, the situation is reversed. “*jinque*” is ascribed to 5 individuals, while “*que*” is assigned to 10 individuals, with “*que*” being twice as frequent as “*jinque*”. Regarding the ratio of these two expressions, “*jinque*” constitutes 3.91% of the total number of translations, while “*que*” accounts for 12.29%, making “*que*” nearly four times more common than “*jinque*”. The combined ratio of all missing or absent scriptures in Part B is 16.20% of all the scriptures translated after Wei Shidu.

The statistics illustrate that in Part A, “*jinque*” outnumbers “*que*”, while in Part B their positions reverse, with “*que*” being twice as frequent as “*jinque*”. Besides, the missing scriptures take up nearly one third of the total scriptures in Part A; this tendency dwindles in Part B — only one-sixth of the scriptures is “absent”, therefore the preserving of extant scriptures in Part B is twice as high as in Part A.

As previous studies indicate, most scholars concur that “*jinque*” indicating Sengyou’s inability to access certain scriptures. However, it is essential to note that the use of the term “*jinque* 今闕” premises a connotation of contrastiveness: If there is no past to contrast with, there is no existence of “now/current”. By employing the word “*jinque*”, Sengyou juxtaposed the current state of scripture availability with the past scriptural storage condition. Therefore, I hypothesize that **“*jinque*” was used by Sengyou to underscore a contrast with other catalogs where scriptures were still available to those catalogs’ compilers and were not marked as “*que*”**. These scriptures, however, may have been lost in Sengyou’s time and therefore were marked as “*jinque*” by Sengyou. In addition, these catalogs that Sengyou consulted, may mark scriptures with “*que*”. **Sengyou faithfully copied this “*que*” into his catalog upon discovering that these scriptures were also missing in his time.**

4.2.3 How Many Scriptures Were Translated by Dharmarakṣa?

With the previous issues regarding expressions related to “catalogs” and “missing” now clarified, we can move on to another contentious question: How many scriptures were translated by Dharmarakṣa? In this section, our focus will remain centered on descriptions derived from *Anlu* and *Youlu*.

To better understand the disparities found in various catalogs, I will provide a list of all the catalogs that summarize Dharmarakṣa’s works. I have primarily followed Kawano’s categorization of catalogs (2011: 8). Kawano suggests that among all the catalogs, it appears that *Anlu* and *Youlu* have garnered the most attention and credibility.

Accordingly, I will rely on these catalogs to examine the number of Dharmarakṣa’s translations.

As mentioned earlier, the total number of Dharmarakṣa’s translations documented in *Anlu* is four fewer than the count in *Youlu*. However, in current *Youlu*, there are five translations that feature interlinear notes, indicating their absence in *Anlu*. Ono (1983: 43) observes that four absent scriptures are labeled with “*bielusuozaī anluxianque* 別錄所載安錄先闕”, while only one text is annotated with “*chubielu anluwu* 出別錄安錄無”. Therefore, the deviating one was perhaps added by someone else after Sengyou. While recognizing that some scriptures were later inserted into *Youlu*, Ono also questions whether it is feasible to identify the specific scripture that was later interpolated into this catalog.

Tang (2017: 128) based his assumptions on *Youlu*, claiming that there were 150 works by Dharmarakṣa recorded in *Anlu*, and 154 in *Youlu*. Tang noticed the discrepancy between the alleged 90 works that existed in Sengyou’s time and the *de facto* 95 works in the current Dharmarakṣa’s “existing text (有本)” in *Youlu*, but he did not delve further into this matter. Itō (2006: 104) also concurs with this interpretation that *Anlu* has 150 translations by Dharmarakṣa. Chou (1956: 32)’s conclusion falls in line with this viewpoint as well.

Likewise, Kawaguchi (2000: 57) also calculated the current number of Dharmarakṣa’s translations and compared them with the texts recorded in *Youlu*. His calculation serves as a noteworthy cautionary example of the discrepancies in the numbers presented in different sources. However, he did not provide any further insights into the possible reasons behind this situation.

Sakaino’s interpretation (1972: 165) appears somewhat unique. In contrast to Dharmarakṣa’s biography in CSZJJ, which states that he translated 149 works, Sakaino professes that *Youlu* attributes 92 works to Dharmarakṣa as extant and 63 as missing, resulting in a total of 155 works credited to Dharmarakṣa. To better demonstrate his calculation and the following arguments, it is necessary to revisit the records in *Youlu* and the information in Table 4.2.

In the current *Youlu*, there are five scriptures in Dharmarakṣa’s entry that are reported

as absent in *Anlu*. These are shown as follows (excerpted from Table 4.2):

Translator	Phrase	No.	Content
竺法护	出別錄	1	隨權女經二卷(出別錄安錄無)
	別錄所載	2	阿差末經四卷(或云阿差末菩薩經 別錄所載安錄先闕)
		3	無極寶經一卷(別錄所載先闕安錄 或云無極寶三昧經)
		4	阿述達經一卷(別錄所載安錄先闕 舊錄云阿述達女經 或云阿闍王女阿術達菩薩經)
		5	等目菩薩經二卷(別錄所載安錄先闕)

Sengyou's own words when summarizing his new findings are:

(I), Sengyou searched all catalogs. (I then) encountered four more scriptures of Dharmarakṣa, which are missing in the catalog of Dao'an.
祐据摭群錄。遇護公所出更得四部。安錄先闕。³⁵⁶

Based on the information presented above, it appears that Sakino's interpretation necessitates the removal of four scriptures with the interlinear footnote “別錄所載安錄先闕/先闕安錄 [recorded in *Bielu* yet absent in *Anlu*]”, namely, No. 2–5. However, in *Youlu*, in addition to this expression, one scripture is assigned a slightly different phrase that conveys the same meaning — “出別錄安錄無 [comes from³⁵⁷ other catalogs, not existing in Dao'an's Catalog]”, namely, No.1. However, in the brief summary written by Sengyou himself, he concluded that he newly appended four works to *Anlu*. Therefore, there is a discrepancy between Sengyou's own calculation and the actual *status quo* in *Youlu*.

³⁵⁶ T 2145.55.9c1–3.

³⁵⁷ The translation of “chu 出” can be very controversial. Here is the preliminary translation of “出” that fits the context to some extent. However, this usage is a rare case in CSZJJ and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Tokiwa reads this information differently. Based on the current content of *Youlu*, he propounds that, since Sengyou added five extra scriptures that were not present in *Anlu* and there are currently 159 translations credited to Dharmarakṣa, there must have been 154 scriptures listed in *Anlu* (1973: 109–110). Regarding the varying phraseology concerning the omissions in *Anlu*, Tokiwa proposes that the scriptures Sengyou referred to as “遇護公所出更得四部。安錄先闕 [Encountered four more scriptures of Dharmarakṣa, which are missing in the catalog of Dao'an]” correspond to *Suiquannü jing* 隨權女經, *Achaimo jing* 阿差末經, *Wujibao jing* 無極寶經, and *Ashuda jing* 阿述達經, whose descriptions as “absent in *Anlu*” are consistent. In conclusion, Tokiwa suggests that “the four more scriptures [更得四部]” alludes to the part of “extant [有本]” category rather than Dharmarakṣa’s translations as a whole. Tokiwa, following the instructions of KYSJL, calculates that there were 71 “*youben* 有本 [extant]” scriptures, 77 “*queben* 闕本 [absent]” scriptures (with three of the scriptures being included in XXSZ), and 9 scriptures deleted by Zhisheng 智昇, resulting in a total $71+77-3+9=154$ scriptures attributed to Dharmarakṣa by Dao'an (1973: 604-605). Zürcher (2007: 66) seems to agree with Tokiwa’s reading, proposing that there were 154 works rendered by Dharmarakṣa in *Anlu* and 159 in *Youlu*. He also surmises that the number 149 in Dharmarakṣa’s biography in CSZJJ is a mistake and should be 159.

Mei (1996: 50, FN2) follows the Song, Yuan, and Ming (宋元明) versions of CSZJJ, positing that there should be 159 scriptures. However, since Sengyou ascribed two more scriptures to another Chinese name of Dharmarakṣa, the total should actually be 161.

Dong (2008: 26) offers a different explanation, which diverges from the interpretations of other scholars regarding the discrepancies between the biographical section and *Youlu*. He suggests that the number 149 in the biography refers to the scriptures collected and brought to China by Dharmarakṣa, as stated in Dharmarakṣa’s biography, whereas the number 154 in *Youlu* represents the literal number he translated. Dong also notes the *ipsam differentiam* between the current number in *Youlu* — 159 and the number Sengyou summarized himself — 154. However, Dong does not provide further details or explanations.

I would like to probe into this question and, more importantly, try to identify which scripture was inserted into *Youlu* later. I would like to follow Sengyou's original statement regarding the number of Dharmarakṣa's translations. Risking the danger of employing an *ipse dixit* approach, I still believe Sengyou's words are most trustworthy when he summarized that there were 90 extant scriptures³⁵⁸, while 64 were missing, followed by a short rundown indicating a total of 154 works³⁵⁹. If we adhere to Sengyou's words, the current count of 95 extant scriptures contradicts his record of 90. Siding with Ono's speculation that some were annexed afterwards, I argue that there are certain disputable scriptures in the current sub-catalog of extant scriptures (有本) of Dharmarakṣa.

First, I would like to examine the problematic text *Xuzhen tianzi jing* 須真天子經 (Skt. *Suvikrāntacintā devaputra pariprcchā*) whose extant version is T588 and is ascribed to the name 竺法護. This analysis is two-fold: I will address the arguments presented by scholars Palumbo and Gu concerning this scripture; Secondly, I intend to elucidate potential other scriptures interpolated into Dharmarakṣa's entry.

4.2.3.1. *Xuzhen tianzi jing* 須真天子經

One problematic scripture is definitely *Suvikrāntacintā devaputra pariprcchā* (須真天子經 *Xuzhen tianzi jing*, hereafter XTJ). My objective is to argue that this text under the entry of Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (a.k.a. Dharmarakṣa) was most likely inserted later by someone else.

Certain scholars have questioned the accuracy and authenticity of the *Colophon to XTJ*, which reads as follows:

³⁵⁸ The number “95” specified in the Song, Yuan, and Ming versions does not tally with Sengyou's originally calculated total; besides, these three versions were developed later, so a closer examination is needed to verify their content accuracy.

³⁵⁹ At Fei Zhangfang's time, the total amount of Dharmarakṣa's works in CSZJJ was still 154. See T 2034 《歷代三寶紀》卷 6: 「僧祐出三藏集記止錄一百五十四部三百九卷。」(T 2034.49.64c21–22); several decades later in Daoxuan's DTNDL compiled in the Tang dynasty, this account remained the same: T 2149 《大唐內典錄》卷 2: 「僧祐出三藏集記。止錄一百五十四部三百九卷。」(T 2149.55.235c21–22). Therefore at least until the approximate compilation year of DTNDL in 664, this number remained unchanged.

Suvikrāntacintā devaputra pariprcchā. On the eighth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Taishi Era, in the White Horse Monastery inside the Blue Gate of Chang'an, the Indian Bodhisattva Dharmarakṣa orally issued it. At that time, the oral interpreters were An Wenhui and Bo Yuanxin. Those who scribed were Nie Chengyuan, Zhang Xuanbo, and Sun Xiuda. The translation was finished on the thirtieth day of December, at the *wei* hour (1–3 p.m.)³⁶⁰.

須真天子經。太始二年十一月八日。於長安青門內白馬寺中。天竺菩薩曇摩羅察口授出之。時傳言者。安文惠帛元信。手受者。聶承遠張玄泊孫休達。十二月三十日未時訖。³⁶¹

Palumbo perspicaciously identifies several incongruities in this short note and speculates on its authenticity, convincingly proposing the likelihood that it is a forgery (2003: 187–195)³⁶².

Palumbo first questions the sentence “長安青門內 [inside the Azure Gate of Chang'an]” in this note and attests via historical materials that it should be “*wai* 外 outside” instead of “*nei* 內 inside”. He also regards it as unlikely that this is a *lapsus calami*. He then focuses on the date; according to his examination, there were only 29 days in that month of that year. Then he also queries the validity of the appellation “*tianzhu pusa* 天竺菩薩 [Indic Bodhisattva]” as Dharmarakṣa's ancestors are reported to have been living in Dunhuang County for generations. Lastly, the anomalous transliteration of Dharmarakṣa into the form *Tanmoluocha* (曇摩羅察 *Dam-ma-la-tṣ^hhE:h*)³⁶³ is also one of the peculiarities he has found. Palumbo concludes that “this is enough to... take a possible forgery into account” (2013: 191).

However, there are two viewpoints of Palumbo that I could not agree with.

The first is the fact that Palumbo notices that XTJ is listed twice, once under the name of *Tanmoluocha*, and once under the entry of *Zhu Fahu*. However, Palumbo's explanation that the entry of *Zhu Fahu*'s XTJ is “certainly drawn from” *Anlu* and

³⁶⁰ This translation is an adaption of Palumbo's translation (2003:187), while Palumbo's translation is more thorough with abundant details. For other translations see Boucher (2008: 92–93), Nakajima (1997: 51).

³⁶¹ T 2145.55.48b23–26.

³⁶² Boucher repudiates Palumbo's observations that they do not necessarily affect the orthodoxy of this scripture (2006: 14–15, FN5).

³⁶³ To differentiate two hypothetical Chinese names of Dharmarakṣa, the *pinyin* of the two hypothetical Chinese names of 竺法護, i.e., *Tanmoluocha* (曇摩羅察 *Dam-ma-la-tṣ^hhE:h*) and *Zhu Fahu* (竺法護) will be applied throughout this section. In later catalogs or biographies, the orthography of his name's transliteration has many variants, such as 曇無羅察, 曇摩羅刹. But the name in *Youlu*, a.k.a 曇摩羅察 will be applied throughout this chapter.

confirms that “Dharmarakṣa did release a translation of the *XTJ*” seems unwarranted to me as he neglects the fact that even the four new scriptures culled by Sengyou do match the current *Youlu*’s records; as stated above, Sengyou alleged five fewer scriptures than the current *Youlu*’s preservation. It is hard to ascertain that we could be “assured this item actually occurred in Daoan’s catalog” just because no “comment is appended” to *XTJ* under Zhu Fahu’s translations (2013: 191, FN68). Maybe it is the other way around: The fact that “no comment is appended” may make this *XTJ* more spurious compared with other “commented” scriptures.

The second is Palumbo’s observation that Sengyou offered three contradicting materials concerning *XTJ* throughout CSJJ. Nevertheless, unlike previous scholars who repudiated Sengyou’s language ability and his inability to recognize that Tanmoluoqua is actually a byname of Zhu Fahu, Palumbo proposes that Sengyou was unsure whether Zhu Fahu was Tanmoluoqua and hints that Sengyou “was probably aware of the inconsistencies” but still “decided to report them as they were” (2013: 192). As I will argue below, however, there is no telling evidence that could prove this to be right.

Gu Kangwei is another scholar whose conclusions greatly endorse most of Palumbo’s arguments. He also discusses the issue of *XTJ* from other perspectives.

Gu (2013: 215–234) presents insightful and compelling arguments when he examines this short note. Contradicting many scholars’ viewpoints, including Wang’s and Chen’s observations, which heavily rely on this *Colophon to XTJ*, Gu mainly discusses three polemics: 1. Why do we naturally assume Tanmoluoqua to be the same person as Zhu Fahu; 2. the veracity of the *Colophon to XTJ*; and 3. was Dharmarakṣa in Chang’an in the year 266 (*taishi er ’nian* 泰始二年 [the second year of the Taishi Era])? In addressing the first question, after a meticulous examination, Gu determines that the *Colophon to XTJ* is the sole historical material equating Tanmoluoqua with Zhu Fahu³⁶⁴. In answer

³⁶⁴ Gu reasons that Fei Zhangfang 費長房 was the first to note afterwards that Tanmoluoqua is Zhu Fahu. This has later been advocated by other bibliographers such as Zhisheng 智昇. However, Gu examines the following questions: Why should we equate Tanmoluoqua with Zhu Fahu and on what grounds is this idea based? Like Palumbo, who focused on the peculiarity of Dharmarakṣa’s transliteration, Gu also puzzles over the question of why Zhu Fahu, whose original name should be 支法護, has an Indic name. Gu searches CSJJ and detects that it is only in the *Colophon to XTJ* that Zhu Fahu is addressed as “Bodhisattva from India”; he is usually referred to as “Bodhisattva from Yuezhi 月支” or “Bodhisattva from Dunhuang 敦煌”, so the *Colophon to XTJ* is a single occurrence (孤證). Gu further explores that among all of the monks or laymen recorded in CSJJ with the ethnikon *Zhi* 支, not a single one has renounced the cognomen *Zhi* and gotten himself an Indic name (2013: 222).

to the second question, Gu then states that the *Colophon to XTJ* was most likely forged by someone else to authenticate the veracity of XTJ, which aligns with Palumbo's illumination. Furthermore, by uncovering the background of Dharmarakṣa, Gu thinks that it is impossible for Dharmarakṣa to have stayed in Chang'an in 266 AD, as he just started his journey to the west to collect all sorts of scriptures³⁶⁵. The true entry should therefore be:

Suvikrāntacintā devaputra pariprcchā.

(Issued in the eleventh month of the second year of the Taishi Era)

《須真天子經》二卷 (泰始二年十一月出) (2013: 234)

Echoing Palumbo's observation that the note's content does not necessarily imply the translator was in Chang'an, Gu thus asserts more clearly that Dharmarakṣa could not have been in Chang'an at that time and the *Colophon to XTJ* was forged by someone else later³⁶⁶.

However, as with Palumbo's assertions, there are certain standpoints I cannot agree with. This discontent lies in the reading of the *modus operandi* of Sengyou when he

³⁶⁵ Gu illustrates that this note is isolated evidence and contradicts the content of Zhu Fahu's biography in many ways, including that this note is the only case in which Dharmarakṣa is addressed as "Indic Bodhisattva" throughout CSZJJ and that it manifests Dharmarakṣa, together with five assistants, was in Chang'an that year. If this Dharmarakṣa is Zhu Fahu, however, he had just started his journey to the west which made it impossible for him to participate in translation activity in that year³⁶⁵. Based on Dharmarakṣa's biography, he "晉武帝之世 [...] 護乃慨然發憤, 志弘大道。隨師至西域, 遊歷諸國 (T 2145.55.97c24-27)". The Emperor Wu of the Jin Dynasty did not officially accede to the throne until 366, which was the second year of Taishi Era, even though Taishi Era started one year before. Gu then concludes that the note must be forged to serve for the canonization of this text.

³⁶⁶ It must be noted that even though Gu and Palumbo put forth the possibility of the *Colophon to XTJ* being fabricated by someone else, it could also be the contrary, i.e., Sengyou had witnessed the existence of this note and thus adapted its content and applied it into *Youlu*. Or else, it is enigmatic where the commentary explanations concerning the translation process of Tanmoluocha came from. It could be Sengyou, noticing that Tanmoluocha was a different figure than Zhu Fahu, found that Nie Chengyuan 爾成遠, an important assistant to Zhu Fahu, was in this note and therefore deliberately deleted relevant descriptions of Nei Chengyuan, which would make sense as to the different labor divisions between the note and the summary for Tanmoluocha in *Youlu*. However, this is sheer conjecture without the bolstering of other materials, and therefore I would not bother to dive into further explanation here. Still, it is important to note that, irrespective of whether this note is a fabrication or Sengyou abridged the information contained therein, this note was already accessible to Fei Zhangfang at the latest, implying the possibility that should this note be a fabrication, it could be inserted before Fei Zhangfang. As Fei's quotation is:

Xuzhen tianzi jing. Two fascicles. (Issued in the second year of the Taishi Era, in the White Horse Monastery inside the Blue Gate of Chang'an. An Wenhui and Bo Yuanxin passed down the words. Nie Chengyuan, Zhang Xuanbo, and Sun Xiuda wrote them down. Also called *Wen Sishi jing*. See *Miscellaneous Catalog of the Jin Time* by Zhu Daozu.)

須真天子經二卷(太始二年於長安青門內白馬寺出。安文惠白元信傳語聶承遠張玄伯孫休達筆受。亦云問四事經。見竺道祖晉世雜錄) (T 2034.49.62b17-18)

The content is roughly the same as the information provided in the *Colophon to XTJ*. The possibility that this note may not be a total fabrication will be discussed below in the "Dharmarakṣa's life trajectory" section.

compiled his catalog. I will demonstrate here that: ①. Sengyou did not treat Zhu Fahu and Tanmoluoqua as the same person, whether it was because he noticed the oddness but still chose to record as they were as Palumbo suggests, or because the entry of XTJ under Zhu Fahu and that under Tanmoluoqua were from different sources as Gu implies; ②. XTJ under Zhu Fahu's entry is interpolated by someone else other than Sengyou, probably after his death. I will elaborate on these two hypotheses one by one. Then I will discuss ③. The existence of different versions of CSZJJ.

① Sengyou's Unawareness of Zhu Fahu and Tanmoluoqua Being the Same Person

Like Palumbo, Gu also notices the existence of two XTJ in *Youlu* — one under the name Tanmoluoqua and the other under Zhu Fahu. He thinks that the message Sengyou wanted to convey is that these two XTJ are homologous but translated differently (同本異譯).

First, Sengyou consistently attributes different translations of the same urtext to their respective translators or teams with distinct entries, which has been examined and verified in the last two chapters. Even if a text is translated twice, he would give a different entry to each different translation. For instance, the *Faju jing* 法句經, rendered collaboratively by Zhi Qian, Vighna, and Zhu Jiangyan, is given an independent entry, distinct from the *Faju jing* that Sengyou attributed solely to Zhi Qian. Both examples showcase Sengyou's cataloguing method.

Therefore, when allotting XTJ to two different entries, he must have treated these two as distinct versions (even though I will argue below that the attribution of XTJ to Zhu Fahu is problematic).

However, if Sengyou realized that Zhu Fahu was the same person as Tanmoluoqua, would he keep silent without commenting on this matter at all? I severely doubt this. Even though Sengyou reveres and respects Dao'an in many ways, he is not the type of person who is too obsequious to point out the latent problems in *Anlu*. For example, he

criticized *Anlu* for being too simple (頗恨太簡) and professed even a little bit proudly when he discovered scriptures that were not included in *Anlu* (安錄所記則為未盡). Moreover, upon encountering dubious attributions, he would make a note of them. For example, when collating the translations of Zhi Qian, he mentions the untraceability of Dao'an's attribution:

Liaoben shengsi jing, one fascicle (Master An said it comes from *Jātaka-sūtra*. I inspected the five-fascicle *Jātaka-sūtra* and there is no such name.)
了本生死經一卷(安公云出生經 祐案五卷生經無此名)³⁶⁷

On account of this, if Sengyou had suspicions towards the name “Tanmoluocha”, presumably he would also allude this possibility by writing down his doubts.

Next, let us examine the unique appellations Sengyou employed. When summarizing Zhu Fahu's works, Sengyou called him “沙門竺法護 [śramaṇa Zhu Fahu]”. He did the same when he gave a rundown of Nie Chengyuan 翟成遠's work, also addressing the same translator as “沙門竺法護”. Yet when he referred to Tanmoluocha, he called him “天竺菩薩沙門曇摩羅察 [Indic Bodhisattva śramaṇa Tanmoluocha]”.

As examined in the last chapter, there are certain ways for Sengyou to address the translators in *Youlu*. When the translator comes from western countries, Sengyou would follow the expression formula: place+title+name, such as “Parthian śramaṇa An Shigao 安息國沙門安世高” or “Indic śramaṇa Kang Senghui 天竺沙門康僧會”; when the translator was a upāsaka or Sengyou was unsure whether the translator had “gone forth” to be a monk (Skt. *pravrajita*; *pravrajyā*), he would directly call them by their names, such as “Zhi Qian 支謙” or “Bai Yan 白延”; when the translator was a Chinese śramaṇa, or when Sengyou did not know the provenance of a śramaṇa translator, he would cite their “title +name”, for instance “śramaṇa Zhu Shixing 沙門朱士行(Chinese)” or “śramaṇa Faju 沙門法炬 (do not know where he came from)”.

Given these distinctions, it is evident that Sengyou considered Zhu Fahu as Chinese

³⁶⁷ T 2145.55.7a15.

and Tanmoluocha as a foreigner.³⁶⁸ Consequently, Sengyou did not mix up Zhu Fahu and Tanmoluocha. On the contrary, he clearly distinguished between them, ruling out the possibility that in Sengyou's eyes they could be the same person.

② Later Intercalation of XTJ under Zhu Fahu's Entry

Despite differing views presented by Palumbo and Gu, both scholars acknowledge that there are two records of XTJ in *Youlu*, each under a different Chinese name for Dharmarakṣa. Palumbo claims that the XTJ under Zhu Fahu's entry was authenticated by Dao'an; while Gu reconstructs what he believes is the “original” entry based on the current Zhu Fahu's entry in *Youlu*. Regardless of the potential issues with Tanmoluocha's entry, the XTJ under Zhu Fahu's name is widely accepted as problem-free.

Notwithstanding, I would like to contend that, however precarious the entry of Tanmoluocha may seem, it was unquestionably composed by Dao'an and later replicated by Sengyou into *Youlu*; contrariwise, it is the XTJ under Zhu Fahu's name that appears more questionable.

To begin with, the entry Tanmoluocha was recorded in *Anlu*. Upon examining *Anlu*, Sengyou wrote a succinct summary that states “From An Shigao to Fali, a total of seventeen individuals were all recorded in Master An's catalog. 自安世高以下至法立以上。凡十七家。並安公錄所載”.

Some arithmetic is necessary here: Excluding the seven translators that Sengyou newly

³⁶⁸ Even though Baochang 寶唱 categorizes Zhu Fahu as “foreign translators 外國譯師” in Copies of the *Biographies of Famous Monks* 名僧傳抄 (X 1523), I will still adhere to Sengyou's approaches as presented in his catalog.

According to the depiction of Zhu Fahu's pedigree in the biographical section, CSJJ, his ancestors were Yuezhi people but had been living in Dunhuang County for generations. Sengyou did not address him as “Yuezhi śramaṇa” because Sengyou treated him as Chinese. This is not only because Dunhuang had already been under the rule of China since the Han Dynasty, but also has something to do with Sengyou's treatment of a translator's “origin” and his actual living spot, just as Kang Senghui 康僧會, whose ancestors were Sogdians 康居人, but whose family had been living in India 天竺 for generations. Thereupon, instead of calling him “Sogdian śramaṇa”, Sengyou addressed him as “Indic śramaṇa”. Analogously, Sengyou did not call Zhu Fahu “Yuezhi śramaṇa” but only “śramaṇa Zhu Fahu”, which complies with his style of addressing Chinese translators.

recognized, the list of “seventeen persons” must encompass Tanmoluocha and his two associates — An Wenhui and Bo Yuanxin — to make the number match with the content of *Youlu*. Accordingly, these seventeen people are: ①安世高; ②支讖; ③支曜; ④嚴佛調; ⑤安玄; ⑥康孟詳; ⑦支謙; ⑧康僧會; ⑨朱士行; ⑩竺法護; ⑪聶承遠; ⑫曇摩羅察; ⑬安文慧; ⑭白元信; ⑮竺叔蘭; ⑯法炬; ⑰法立.

Since Sengyou confirmed these seventeen persons were all recorded in *Anlu*, then the problematic entry of Tanmoluocha was also in *Anlu*. Besides, no comments such as “missing/ originally missing in *Anlu*, etc.” are annexed under this entry, therefore, Dao'an and Sengyou must have seen this two-fascicle XTJ. Thus, Tanmoluocha's entry was not only in *Anlu* but was also replicated in *Youlu*.

Secondly, the XTJ listed under Zhu Fahu's entry might have been a later insertion, for two main reasons:

A. There is no XTJ in YCJL: Given that there's no “missing” label under Tanmoluocha's XTJ nor under another XTJ credited to Zhu Fahu, coupled with the analysis in Chapter 3 which posits that Sengyou would allocate different entries to different translated versions of a urtext, it can be inferred that if two XTJ existed in *Youlu*, Sengyou must have regarded them as separate translations. Consequently, he would have classified them in his YCJL in the same manner he categorized the *Fajing*. He would have then made it clear that two distinct XTJ existed: one rendered by Tanmoluocha and the other by Zhu Fahu. However, no such record in *Youlu*, indicating that there is no “differently rendered scripture” of XTJ, but just one XTJ in *Youlu*³⁶⁹.

³⁶⁹ It is more evident when we check Fajing 法經's T 2146 *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄, where Fajing recorded:

Xuzhen tianzi jing. Two fascicles. (Zhu Fahu translated during Taishi Era of the Jin Dynasty)

Xuzhen tianzi jing. Two fascicles. (Also named *Xuzhen tianzi wen shishi jing*) (In the second year of Taishi Era of the Jin Dynasty, śramaṇa Tanmoluocha translated together with Wenhui and other people.)

The two scriptures on the right are different translations of the same text.

須真天子經二卷(晉太始年竺法護譯)

須真天子經二卷(亦名須真天子問四事經)(晉太始二年沙門曇摩羅刹共文慧等譯)

右二經同本異譯 (T 2146.55.117b12–14).

Fajing clearly differentiated between Zhu Fahu's XTJ and that of Tanmoluocha, as Fajing did not treat them as the same person; therefore he listed two different translations of the same text rendered by “different” translators, this was later opposed by Zhisheng in his KYSJL (see below).

Sengyou, who also differentiated between Zhu Fahu and Tanmoluocha, would list both translations in his YCJL if there was a XTJ under Zhu Fahu's entry.

Thereupon, given that Tanmoluocha's XTJ was seen by both Dao'an and Sengyou and considering the absence of record of homologous translations of this scripture in CSZJJ, it is conceivable that XTJ under Zhu Fahu's name could have been inserted later, potentially by the disciples or Dharma-descendants of Sengyou.

B. The problem of the writings of “the second year of the Taishi Era”: the short annotation under Zhu Fahu's XTJ is already unreliable, as it indicates “泰始二年” instead of “太始³⁷⁰”.

Sifting through Taishō, this is the only case in *Youlu* devoid of interlinear notes implying other forms of variations³⁷¹. Other cases either exclusively use “太” or append an annotation after “太”, suggesting that it could be “泰”, primarily in reference to the Song, Yuan, and Ming versions.

To sum up, the circumstances of these two variations of 太 and 泰 in *Youlu* are as follows:

Translator	No.	Content
Zhu Fahu	1	寶藏經二卷(...太始六年十月出)
	2	德光太子經一卷(...太始六年九月三十日出)
	3	須真天子經二卷(泰始二年十一月出)
	4	方等泥洹經二卷(...太始五年七月二十三日出)
	5	沙門竺法護...自太始中至懷帝永嘉二年
Tanmoluocha	6	須真天子經二卷(...太始二年十一月八日出)

Table 4.8 Variations of “*taishi*”

It is evident that No. 3 is the only case employing 泰始, which is indeed atypical. Furthermore, No. 5, a concise summary penned by Sengyou himself, also employs 太始³⁷², instead of the variant 泰, making the word 泰 an isolated and exceptional case.

³⁷⁰ Kunaichō's version is “太始” throughout, without any indication of “泰始”. However, this is a single case, as all other available versions present “泰始”. Therefore, I shall follow the other versions' contents here.

³⁷¹ In Fascicle 14, there is another case of “泰始” in the biography of 求那跋陀羅 Gunabhadra. However, as illustrated in the preceding chapter, the biographical part may not have been composed by Sengyou *per se*, but may have been integrated into CSZJJ as a component to fulfill Sengyou's aim of constructing a wholesome work.

³⁷² Besides the peculiar wording of No. 3, the date it denotes, i.e., 265 AD, is hard to categorize under the time span that No. 5 implies — the middle of the Taishi Era (265 — 274). It seems to me that No. 5 should be best altered to “自太始初 [from the early years of Tiashi Era]”, which would accommodate the date No. 3 manifests. A search of

Thereupon, there is a high probability that No. 3 was interpolated into *Youlu* at a later date.

③ The Time of Insertion of XTJ and Different Versions of CSZJJ

The precise date when this possible insertion of XTJ into Zhu Fahu's entry remains uncertain. But shortly after, in *Sui zhongjing mulu* 隋眾經目錄(*Catalog of Scriptures of Sui Dynasty*) compiled (starting) in 594 AD, Fajing 法經 exhibited two XTJ just as CSZJJ did, namely, one XTJ under Zhu Fahu's name and another XTJ under Tanmoluocha's. It is possible that Fajing gleaned this information from CSZJJ because in his *Sui Zhongjing mulu*, he referred to *Youlu* very often. He either cited *Youlu* to endorse his catalog, such as “Sengyou's catalog claims [僧祐錄稱³⁷³]” or criticized *Youlu* for confusing Mahāyānist texts with Hīnayānist's.³⁷⁴ All of which clearly shows that Fajing had accessed to CSZJJ. Hence, there is the possibility that XTJ was inserted to CSZJJ before Fajing's catalog. However, it is also possible that XTJ was not yet interpolated into CSZJJ when Fajing saw it and that Fajing had other sources. It is not until Zhisheng's KYSJL that the two XTJ specifically identified as problematic. Fei Zhangfang and Daoxuan both hinted at Sengyou's confusion over the two names of Dharmarakṣa, but they primarily discussed Sengyou's mix-up of “Zhi Pusa 支菩薩 (Bodhisattva Zhi)” and “Zhu Fahu”, instead of the “Tanmoluocha — Zhu Fahu” pair. I will hark back to this point below.

First, it is Zhisheng who first officially addressed the XTJ issue and Sengyou and Fajing's mix-up of the two Dharmarakṣa's Chinese names, i.e., Tanmoluocha and Zhu Fahu. In criticizing CSZJJ, Zhisheng lashed out at Sengyou that:

Tanmoluocha and Zhu Fahu are the same person. *Tanmo (dharma)* means *fa* (law) while *luocha (rakṣa)* means *hu* (guarding). (Sengyou) treated him as if

all scriptures that were rendered during Taishi Era by Dharmarakṣa (Table 4.6), except No. 3, shows that all others are either from the fifth year of Taishi Era (269 AD.) or the sixth year (270 AD.), perfectly matching the description “the middle of Taishi Era”. If this “中” employed by Sengyou does not mean “during” — which I suspect it does not, as it would otherwise lead to an awkward expression meaning “from during Taishi Era to [...]” — this would be another circumstantial evidence proving the fact of the insertion of XTJ in Zhu Fahu's translations.

³⁷³ T 2146.55.127b10.

³⁷⁴ “[...]楊州律師僧祐。撰三藏記錄頗近可觀。然猶小大雷同三藏雜糅[...]” (T 2146.55.148c28–149a1).

there were two persons, (this is) the second mistake.

曇摩羅刹與竺法護乃是一人。曇摩云法。羅刹言護。分為二人。二誤。

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Zhisheng continued to castigate Fajing's catalog by criticizing that:

In *jin* language, Tanmoluocha is Fahu. (They are) the same person. This catalog halves the name (into Tanmoluocha and Zhu Fahu), saying they each rendered the two-fascicle *Xuzhen tianzi jing* and classifying them as retranslations. (This is because Fajing) did not know (the correlations) between *fan* and *jin* language. This is the first mistake.

曇摩羅刹晉言法護。總是一人。錄中分二。云各出須真天子經二卷。編為重譯。不識梵晉之言。一誤也。³⁷⁶

Even though Zhisheng did not explicitly mention XTJ in his criticism towards Sengyou, only pointing out his confusion of Tanmoluocha with Fahu, Fajing was indirectly referencing XTJ. Because in **current** CSZJJ under the entry of Tanmoluocha, there is only one text — XTJ. Subsequently, Zhisheng was indirectly chastising Sengyou for recording two distinct XTJ under two different names of Dharmarakṣa that are, in fact, the same translator and the same XTJ.

I just boldened the adjective “current” for CSZJJ because the extant version we have at our disposal might differ from what Fei Zhangfang and Daoxuan accessed. This complicates matters further, hinting at an alternative CSZJJ that also circulated in China, differing from the one we have. Scholars, including Naitō (1958) and Fang (2023: 151), have mentioned or broached this topic. Following their perspective, I will explore and corroborate this opinion with concrete evidence.

In LDSBJ, Fei Zhangfang introduced a third name for Dharmarakṣa, not found in any catalog except Daoxuan's DTNDL³⁷⁷, namely, *Zhi Pusa* 支菩薩(Bodhisattva Zhi):

Besides, (according to) Liguo's Catalog and Miscellaneous Catalog, Bie Catalog, (they) all have Bodhisattva Zhi's translation, (which were) six

³⁷⁵ T 2154.55.575a4–5.

³⁷⁶ T 2154.55.575c15.

³⁷⁷ Another source (but is not a catalog) that records this figure is Seng Congyi 僧從義's X 586 *Fahua jing sandabu buzhu* 法華經三大部補注 [*Added Annotations of the Three Major Commentaries on the Lotus Sutra*] compiled in the Song dynasty, this will be discussed later.

scriptures and (in all) sixteen fascicles. Sengyou's catalog says, the number of translations rendered by Tianzhu (Indic) Bodhisattva is the same as all other catalogs, only the titles of scriptures are different. In addition, **Sengyou annotated beneath (these six scriptures, indicating they were) translated together by Bodhisattva Zhi and Zhu Fahu. (I) checked the previous translator named Tanmoluocha, who is Fahu 法護 in *jin* Language. However, the six scriptures of Bodhisattva Zhi were all incorporated into Fahu's catalog.** It is because of the difference between the cognomen Zhi 支 and Zhu 竺. The Bodhisattva 菩薩 is only an accolade. (I) filtered through all catalogs (and found) Bodhisattva Zhi is actually Zhu Fahu. They are not separate persons. CSZJJ recorded them separately, because (Sengyou) didn't examine them meticulously.

又李廓錄及雜別錄。並云支菩薩譯經六部一十六卷。僧祐錄云。天竺菩薩譯經。數同群錄。唯名不同。而祐下注支菩薩共竺法護譯。檢上翻名曇無羅察。晉言即是法護。然支菩薩六部經目並入法護錄中。支竺姓乖始末異耳。言菩薩者蓋美其號。究檢群錄其支菩薩即竺法護。無別兩人。出三藏記便成二舉。小非詳審。³⁷⁸

DTNDL contains the same text but with added punctuation, so Fei Zhangfang's version is the primary focus here.³⁷⁹

This is a very odd description of CSZJJ as almost none of the above statements concord with the current CSZJJ. **First and foremost**, there is no such “Zhi Pusa” in current CSZJJ, but Fei Zhangfang argued in length about how Sengyou mistakenly believed Zhi Pusa and Zhu Fahu were two distinct figures; **Secondly**, according to Fei Zhangfang's accounts, Sengyou incorporated six scriptures, in all sixteen fascicles, under the entry of Zhu Fahuo. He annotated that these six scriptures were co-translated by Zhi Pusa and Zhu Fahu, and commented that the number of translations of this Tianzhu (Indian) Bodhisattva, i.e., Zhi Pusa aligned with other catalogs. Only the names of these six scriptures differed. But if we consider the methods of compiling scriptures in the current CSZJJ, and if Sengyou genuinely included the translations of Zhi Pusa in Zhu Fahu's entry with clarifications about Zhi Pusa's translation details (e.g., co-translation, numbers, and names of scriptures), it would conflict with Sengyou's method

³⁷⁸ T 2034.49. 64c14–65a7. This information has long been neglected by scholars and a thorough discussion of which could assist us to reconsider the compilation of CSZJJ.

³⁷⁹ It needs to be written down here that although many scholars consider Fei Zhangfang's catalog to be unreliable and Fei has been reproached thereof, new insights and interpretations of Fei Zhangfang's compilation of catalogs have been introduced by Eric Greene, who proposed that “a particular reading strategy” (2023: 126) had been applied by Fei Zhangfang to his sources and forgery would be “a poor explanation” (2023: 142).

of summarizing the numbers of translators in *Anlu*, to which he dedicated much effort. As detailed above, Sengyou summarized “*shiqijia* 十七家 [seventeen people]” listed in *Anlu*, contrasting them with the seven individuals he newly discovered. Even Zhangqian 張騫 whose contribution was to bring the scripture into China, was counted as one of the seventeen people. Thus, if Sengyou wrote so much about Zhi Pusa, this figure would either belong to the seventeen individuals or to the “seven” new persons Sengyou identified. Yet, both the “newly found seven persons” and the “seventeen people” in *Anlu* leave no space for an additional individual — the names and numbers align perfectly in the current *Youlu*. **Thirdly**, it seems Fei Zhangfang did not criticize Sengyou for confusing Tanmoluocha with Zhu Fahu — a main point of contention for later catalogers and current scholars. Instead, he primarily faulted Sengyou for not distinguishing between Zhi Pusa and Zhu Fahu, leading him to split the two in his CSZJJ. Fei Zhangfang had to “search through all kinds of catalogs” to confirm that Zhi Pusa and Zhu Fahu were the same person; in contrast, he only mentioned briefly that the previous entry was Tanmoluocha, which was Fahu in Chinese. Presumably, Fei felt that the confusion between Tanmoluocha the transliteration and Fahu the Chinese counterpart was less an issue than the mix-up between the names Zhi Pusa and Zhu Fahu. It is essential to note the placement of the Tanmoluocha’s entry: Fei mentioned he “looked up into the previous (upper) translator’s name,” finding it was Tanmoluocha. However, in the current CSZJJ, Tanmoluocha’s entry follows Zhu Fahu’s. Naitō (1958: 162–163) mentions the inconsistencies between the CSZJJ that Fei accessed and the current one, concluding that not only the “orders of entries (項目の順序立て)” but also the “numbers of scriptures and fascicles (経論の部數巻數³⁸⁰)” were different. He speculated that Fei Zhangfang accessed an earlier edition, compiled before the second year of the Tianjian Era (503 AD), which was circulated without thorough checking.

In summary, based on these three disparities, the CSZJJ that Fei Zhangfang observed might differ significantly from the current version. Since Daoxuan’s account regarding

³⁸⁰ All the Japanese *kanji* are cited in the exact forms with the source throughout this dissertation, even some forms of *kanji* are no longer used nowadays.

Dharmarakṣa's entry aligns closely with Fei's, it can be inferred that both Fei and Daoxuan might have accessed the same version of CSJJ. In contrast, in Zhisheng's KYSJL, “Zhi Pusa” is absent from Dharmarakṣa's entry. Moreover, Zhisheng reproached Sengyou for confusing Tanmoluocha with Zhu Fahu, rather than conflating Zhi Pusa with Zhu Fahu (and Tanmoluocha) as Fei did. This suggests that Zhisheng might have referred to a version of CSJJ similar to the extant one. The distinct version that Zhisheng accessed does not imply that the version witnessed by Fei Zhangfang ceased to circulate, at least not until the Song dynasty. A monk scholar named Congyi 從義 authored fourteen fascicles X 586 *Fahua jing sandabu buzhu* 法華經三大部補注 [*Added Annotations of the Three Major Commentaries on the Lotus Sutra*], within which an annotation reads:

The annotation says: Know [well] about Fahu!

During the West Jin dyansty, [there was] a Yuezhi śramaṇa named Tanmoluocha, known in Chinese as Fahu. His original ethnikon was Zhi and he knew thirty-six languages. He then lived in Dunhuang and therefore [his surname changed to] Zhu. He later dwelled outside the Azure Gate of Chang'an where he erected temple(s) and practiced the Dharma. He was extremely diligent. [Daoxuan from (Zhong)Nanshan wrote a *Miaofa Lianhua jing Hongchuan Xu* 妙法蓮華經弘傳序³⁸¹ (*Preface to the Dissemination of the Lotus Sutra*) that] calls [Dharamarakṣa] Dunhuang Bodhisattva, possibly as a commendation. **Sengyou's catalog and CSJJ said Zhi Pusa and Zhu Fahu were two [different] persons**, this is because [Sengyou] confused the sequence of Dharmarakṣa's surnames.

記云：當知法護。

西晉時，月支國沙門曇摩羅剎，此云法護。本姓支，解三十六國語。次居燉煌，乃稱竺氏。後居長安青門之外，立寺行道，精勤異常。《南山經序》云燉煌菩薩者，蓋美其人云耳。《僧祐錄》及《出藏記》謂支菩薩及竺法護是二人者，斯乃迷其姓氏先後故也。 [...]³⁸²

Congyi is praised to have “made everything clear in the amendments, annotations, collections and explanations he wrote (於所著補注集解處處辨明³⁸³)” in T 2035 *Fozu*

³⁸¹ See T 262.29.1b13–c11, where Daoxuan called Dharmarakṣa “Dunhuang Bodhisattva Zhu Fahu from the Azure Gate of Chang'an (長安青門燉煌菩薩竺法護)”.

³⁸² X 586.28.236c17–24. There is no punctuation in the original text. To facilitate understanding, I add punctuation marks.

³⁸³ T2035.49.242c4.

tongji 佛祖統紀 *Complete Chronicle of the Buddha and Patriarchs*. Therefore, his annotations should be thorough and credible. In this excerpt of annotation, he also found faults with Sengyou for differing Zhi Pusa and Zhu Fahu. He also assigned a chronology to the surnames of Dharmarakṣa — first Zhi and then Zhu. He believed Sengyou could not recognize that Zhi Pusa and Zhu Fahu were the same person because he failed to understand the sequence of Dharmarakṣa's surnames. The CSZJJ that Congyi saw was presumably the same as that of Fei Zhangfang and Daoxuan, as they are the only three compilers who compared Zhi Pusa with Zhu Fahu. However, one subtle difference is Congyi did not mention Tanmoluocha. Since Congyi's annotation focused explicitly on *the Lotus Sutra*, it can be inferred that *the Lotus Sutra* was one of the six scriptures incorporated into *Youlu* with interlinear notes penned by Sengyou, asserting it was co-translated by Zhi Pusa and Zhu Fahu, as Fei Zhangfang indicated. Furthermore, because Congyi did not mention Tanmoluocha, it is plausible that Tanmoluocha might be another entry that did not include *the Lotus Sutra*. To summarize the information deduced, the other circulating version of CSZJJ might be structured as follows:

須真天子經二卷或云須真天子問四事經。太始二年十一月初八日出。
右××部，凡××卷。晉武帝時，天竺菩薩沙門曇摩羅刹[...]
右××部，凡××卷。晉武帝時，天竺菩薩沙門曇摩羅刹[...]
正法華經十卷二十七品。舊錄云，正法華經，或云方正法華經。太康七年八
月十日出。支菩薩共竺法護譯。
右××部，凡××卷。今並有其經。
右××部，凡××卷。經今缺。合二件，凡××部。晉武帝
時，沙門竺法護到西域，得胡本還。自太始中至懷帝永嘉
二年已前所譯出。其正法華、××、××、××、××、
××六六經，護公與支菩薩共譯出。天竺菩薩譯經。數同
群錄。唯名不同。祐據摭群錄。遇護公所出更得四部。安
錄先闕。今條入錄中。安公云。遭亂錄散小小錯涉。故知
今之所獲審是護出也。
帛法祖凡八人，是祐校眾錄新獲所附入。[...]
載。其張騫、秦景、竺朔佛、維祇難、竺將炎、白延、支菩薩、
帛法祖凡八人，是祐校眾錄新獲所附入。[...]

Figure 4.1 The Possible Outline of Another CSZJJ concerning Dharmarakṣa's Translations (self-added contents are underlined; presenting order of Zhu Fahu and Tanmoluocha is switched)

In short, XTJ was possibly inserted into CSZJJ before Fajing, and at the latest, before Zhisheng's KYSJL. However, the timeline of the insertion becomes unclear when we take the circulation of different versions of CSZJJ into consideration.

4.2.3.2. Other Possible Insertions into Dharmarakṣa's Entry — *Pusa shizhu jing* 菩薩十住經 and *Shou lengyan jing* 首楞嚴經

① *Pusa shizhu jing* 菩薩十住經

Combining *Youlu* and Sengyou's YCJL, we can discern one more scripture that may have been inserted into Dharmarakṣa's original entry in *Youlu*, which is T 283 *Pusa shizhu Xing Daopin (jing)* 菩薩十住行道品(經) (*Daśabhūmika Sūtra*). This early translation is considered extracts from chapters of the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (Hamar, 2007: 141). This T 283, ascribed to Dharmarakṣa, is controversial enough to spark debates among scholars.

Kimura (1992: 11) purports that before the establishment of *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*, several chapters of the current *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* had been promulgated as independent texts (經典). Nattier (2003: 192, FN38) addresses that T 281 *Foshuo pusa benye jing* 佛說菩薩本業經, translated by Zhi Qian, later developed into *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*. However, Kobayashi (1958: 168–169) sees a clear distinction between T 281 and the larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*. Nevertheless, Ōno (1954: 157) proposes that T 283 is closely related to T 280 *Foshuo dousha jing* 佛說兜沙經 and T 282 *Zhupusa quifo benye jing* 諸菩薩求佛本業經; if these three texts are combined, the outcome is equivalent to T 281. Similarly, Nattier (2005: 323–360; 2007: 110–111) also contends that T 280, T 282, and T 283 together constitute context corresponding to that of T 281. She speculates that, although these three translations are credited to three different translators — Lokakṣema, Nie Daozhen 聶道真, and

Dharmarakṣa — these three texts should have been rendered by only one translator — Lokakṣema³⁸⁴.

In categorizing Dharmarakṣa's translations, Suzuki (1995: 198–200) classifies T 283 as “class C”, a category for translations that use domesticated terms and lack “characteristic translation terminologies (特徴的な訳語はなし)”. This strengthens the suspicion that Dharmarakṣa might not have been the translator of T 283.

Shi Jiyan also questions the authenticity of T 283 as a translation of Dharmarakṣa, as this translation style does not seem to match that of Dharmarakṣa (1997: 65).

However, these scholars focus mainly on T 283 but do not take another alternative translation, i.e., *Pusa shizhu jing* 菩薩十住經, into account.

Hamer (2007: 144) lists six *Huayan sūtras* translated by Dharmarakṣa, including *Pusa shizhu jing* 菩薩十住經 and *Pusa shidi jing* 菩薩十地經. He comments that neither of these two scriptures has survived but does not seem to doubt their attribution to Dharmarakṣa. Similarly, Shi Jiyan (1997) also regards PSJ as Dharmarakṣa's work. However, there are certain observations in Shi's article that I cannot agree with.

It is crucial to underline that the current T 283 was not credited to Dharmarakṣa by Sengyou. Instead, a scripture bearing the same name as T 283 is found in XXSZ, recorded as a preserved text during Sengyou's era but without a translator's name. Additionally, this scripture appears to have been derived from a larger sūtra(s), as both Sengyou himself and Shi Jiyan have posited.

Shi notices that in Sengyou's YCJL, there are only two alternative translations of *Shizhu jing* 十住經 which were considered as homologous by Sengyou: one was translated by Kuamrajiva and the other by Buddhabhadra. He further expounds that, since Sengyou did not associate the name of T 283 with the other two versions in YCJL, Sengyou did not consider these three texts were interrelated. However, what if Sengyou did not include the current T 283 in *Youlu* at all?

To make things clear, I have created a flow chart to illustrate the relationships of all

³⁸⁴ However, Ōno (1954) endorses that the translator of T 283 is Dharmarakṣa.

scriptures whose names related to *Shizhu jing*.



Figure 4.2 Scriptures related to *Shizhu jing*

I suspect that Sengyou did not attribute the one fascicle *Pusa shizhu jing*, considered as the current T 283, to Dharmarakṣa. My suspicion arises because neither the name of T 283: *Pusa shizhu xingdaopin jing*, nor its equivalent name in current *Youlu* under Dharmarakṣa's entry: *Pusa shizhu jing*, is included in YCJL.

We must first understand Sengyou's compilation methods when constructing YCJL. Sengyou basically followed three rules:

- A. He aggregated homologous scriptures recorded in *Youlu* to compose entries in YCJL. This accounts for most cases, meaning that the majority of scripture names in YCJL can be found in *Youlu*.
- B. If a homologous scripture was not recorded in *Youlu* but appeared in other fascicles of CSZJJ, it would be annotated with interlinear notes in both YCJL and its located fascicle, indicating its homologous nature. For example, *Sayun fentuoli jing* 薩芸分陀利經 is regarded as a homologue of *Fahua jing* 法華經 (Skt. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*) in YCJL, and is depicted in YCJL as follows:

Old Catalog has one *Sayun fentuoli jing*. (It) says **it is another translation of *Fahua jing***. The translator is unknown. This scripture is currently unavailable.
 舊錄有薩芸分陀利經。云是異出法華。未詳誰出。今闕此經。³⁸⁵

³⁸⁵ T 2145.55.14a11.

This *Sayun fentuoli jing* is recorded in Fascicle 3, CSZJJ, annotated as:

Fentuoli jing. One fascicle. (*Old Catalog* names it *Sayun fentuoli jing*. Some claim it as an alternative translation of *Fahua jing*.)

分陀利經一卷(舊錄云薩芸芬陀利經 或云是異出法花經)³⁸⁶

Accordingly, both Fascicle 3 and YCJL present clear evidence that *Sayun fentuoli jing* is an alternative name for *Fahua jing*, and the interlinear notes in the two sources corroborate each other.

C. Scriptures with similar names³⁸⁷, irrespective of possible content differences, were treated as homologous³⁸⁸. For example, when collecting homologous scriptures for *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 (Skt. *Śūraṅgama Samādhi Sūtra*) in YCJL, Sengyou noted *Shu shoulengyan jing* 蜀首楞嚴經 that:

Old Catalog has *Shu shoulengyan jing*. Two fascicles. The translator is unknown.

舊錄有蜀首楞嚴二卷 未詳誰出。³⁸⁹

This *Shu shoulengyan jing* is recorded in Fascicle 4 of CSZJJ within a batch of scriptures that Sengyou had “not seen the scriptures 並未見其本”. Therefore Sengyou’s decision to classify *Shu shoulengyan jing* as a homologue of *Shoulengyan jing* in YCJL was based purely on name resemblance. Zhisheng critiqued this method:

In the *Catalog of Different Translations of the Same Scripture* (YCJL), as long as the names of scriptures seemed alike, (Sengyou) would regard them as retranslations. (He) failed to discern carefully, (leading to) the mingling of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna scriptures. This is the third mistake.

³⁸⁶ T 2145.55.18a13.

³⁸⁷ Lehenr (2015: 118–119) points out that it is not always clear whether a “*tongbenyi* 同本異譯 (eine andere Übersetzung der gleichen Schrift)” refers to the same manuscript, recension, or merely the same title.

³⁸⁸ However, this rule C should be paid attention to, as Sengyou may sometimes omit similar cases. For example, *Shu puyao jing* 蜀普耀經 in Fascicle 4, CSZJJ, is not categorized as variant translations under their comparable clusters. This might be due to Sengyou’s cursoriness or the fact that YCJL was collaboratively compiled. Furthermore, there are seventeen scriptures whose names are relevant to “*Piyu jing* 譬喻經 (*Avadāna Sūtra*)”, but Sengyou did not list them as variant translations of *Piyu jing* in his YCJL.

³⁸⁹ T 2145.55.14a15–18.

異出經論錄中但名目相似即云重譯。而不細料簡大小混雜。三誤。³⁹⁰

To wrap up briefly, neither Dharmarakṣa's *Pusa shizhu jing* nor the name of T 283 is recorded in YCJL; but the name of T 283 appears in XXSZ which documents scriptures without attributed translators. But in Taishō, T 283 is credited to Dharmarkaṣa. If Sengyou had indeed credited *Pusa shizhu jing* to Dharmarakṣa, then according to rule A or C, this *Pusa shizhu jing* should be presented in YCJL. Because following rule A, if the name is recorded in *Youlu*, it should appear in YCJL and be regarded as one of the homologous scriptures of *Shizhu jing*; Or following rule C, similar names of *Pusa shizhu jing* should be aggregated together, especially Dharmarakṣa's *Pusa shizhu jing* in current *Youlu*, that has exactly the same name with the scripture rendered by Buddharhadrā — one of the two homologous scriptures of *Shizhu jing*. Therefore, the absence of Dharmarakṣa's *Pusa shizhu jing*, going against Sengyou's compilation rules for YCJL, demonstrates the high possibility that Dharmarakṣa's *Pusa shizhu jing* was inserted into Zhu Fahu (Dharmarakṣa)'s entry in *Youlu* afterwards³⁹¹.

② *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經

The entry of *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 (Skt. *Śūraṅgama Samādhi Sūtra*, hereafter SLY) under Zhu Fahu's translations seems equally problematic to me as the above XTJ and PSJ.

In *Youlu*, there are two alternative names of the same sūtra recorded under Zhu Fahu's name. The *Shoulengyan jing* is in the sub-category of "extant 有本" while the *Yongfuding jing* is in the sub-category of "absent/ unavailable 罕本". The details are as follows:

Shoulengyan jing (*Śūraṅgama Samādhi Sūtra*). Two fascicles.
(Alternatively issued. The beginning sentence (of this sūtra) is: Ānanda says)
首楞嚴經二卷(異出首稱阿難言)³⁹²

³⁹⁰ T 2154.55.575a5–6.

³⁹¹ As Figure 4.2 manifests, the name of T 283 was also not included in YCJL. The possible explanations could be: 1. Following rule C, Sengyou did not consider the name of T 283: *Pusa shizhu Xingdaopin jing* as a similar name to *Pusa shizhu jing*, 2. Following Rule B, in Fascicle 4, there are no annotations that clearly suggest *Pusa shizhu Xingdaopin jing* is an alternative translation of *Pusa shizhu jing*; 3. There is a "copy 抄" in the interlinear note of *Pusa shizhu xingdaopin jing* in Fascicle 4 and Sengyou did not treat it as a "scripture" that could be listed in YCJL.

³⁹² T 2145.55.7c5.

Yongfuding jing. Two fascicles.

(Master An said: retranslation of *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*. Issued at the ninth day of the fourth month in the first year of Yuankang Ear (291 AD.).

勇伏定經二卷(安公云更出首楞嚴元康元年四月九日出)³⁹³

This is later found questionable by Zhisheng in KYSJL that:

Yongfuding jing. Two fascicles. (Master An said: retranslation of *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*.)

Translated by Tripitaka (Master) Zhu Fahu at West Jin Dynasty (sixth translation)

(Sengyou's and Zhangfang's catalogs also recorded that Zhu Fahu further translated two fascicles of *Shoulengyan jing*. *Shoulengyan* and *Fuyongding* are different translations of Sanskrit names yet they are the same. Therefore, the *Colophon to Yongfuding jing* says: At the ninth day of the fourth month in the first year of Yuankang Era (291 AD), Duanhuang Bodhisattva Zhi Fahu took the *hu* scripture at hand and orally issued *Shoulengyan sanmei jing*. Upāsaka Nie Chengyuan took it down with his brush. From this (note) it could be verified that *shoulengyan* and *yongfuding* should not be taken separately. It is the same case with *Xianjie jing* (Skt. *Bhadrakalpika Sūtra*). I therefore would not include *Shoulengyan jing* in my catalog. The note says Zhi Fahu, deferring to the original cognomen (of Zhu Fahu).

勇伏定經二卷(安公云。更出首楞嚴經)

西晉三藏竺法護譯(第六譯)

(又僧祐長房等錄竺法護更有首楞嚴經二卷。今以首楞嚴與勇伏定梵晉名異二經不殊。故勇伏定經後記云。元康元年四月九日燉煌菩薩支法護。手執胡經。口出首楞嚴三昧經。優婆塞聾承遠筆受。以此證知。首楞嚴經與勇伏定不合分二。賢劫經亦然。首楞嚴經今廢不立。經後記言支法護者。據其本姓耳)³⁹⁴

It is conceivable that Zhisheng believes Sengyou made a mistake as he couldn't recognize the Sanskrit and its equivalent Chinese translation. This viewpoint is also acknowledged and adopted by Lamotte (2003: 79). Lamotte (pp.79–80) also brings forth a conjecture that this dualist existence of the same sūtra could also due to the scribe Nie Chengyuan, who could have “reviewed and corrected” the translation of Dharmarakṣa and given it a new title *Yongfuding jing*, just as what he has done to T 638 *Chaoriming jing* 超日明經 (Skt. *Sūryaprabhā-samatikrānta-samādhi*).

However, as Wakemi (2004: 201–201) suggests, there are enough concrete evidence to show that Sengyou knew *yongfuding* means *shoulengyan*. However, Wakemi stops there and then tries to reason why there is an aberrant *Shoulengyan jing* in *Youlu* —

³⁹³ T 2145.55.9a1.

³⁹⁴ T 2154.55.632a8–12.

instead of questioning the authenticity of this *Shoulengyan jing*.

Below I will combine my suspicion that this *Shoulengyan jing* was inserted after Sengyou with Wakemi's viewpoints.

The biggest reason for speculating *Shoulengyan jing* being a later insertion is Sengyou's YCJL, in which he recorded homologous scriptures. As Wakemi points out, Sengyou was aware of *shoulengyan* is the same with *yongfuding*. Dao'an was also aware of this fact, therefore when Sengyou collated *Anlu*, he saw Dao'an's comment that these two terms are the same, he copied this comment into *Youlu* (see above). Therefore, if he documented both the name *Shoulengyan jing* and the name *Yongfuding jing*, he would know that these two scriptures should be homologous and juxtapose them into YCJL.

However, all homologous texts of *Śūraṅgama-sūtra* in YCJL are as follows:

Shoulengyan jing

Lokakṣema (issued) *Shoulengyan*, two fascicles

Zhi Qian (issued) *Shoulengyan*, two fascicles

Bai Yan (issued) *Shoulengyan*, two fascicles

Dharmarakṣa re-issued Yongfuding, two fascicles, a.k.a., re-issued

Shoulengyan

Zhu jilan (issued) *Shoulengyan*, two fascicles

Kumārajīva newly issued *Shoulengyan*, two fascicles

Old Catalog has *Shu shoulengyan*, two fascicles, translator unknown

The scripture on the right was rendered by seven translators. One translator is unknown. (This text is) added to XXSZ.

首楞嚴經

支讖首楞嚴二卷

支謙首楞嚴二卷

白延首楞嚴二卷

竺法護更出勇伏定二卷 即更出首楞嚴

竺寂蘭首楞嚴二卷

鳩摩羅什新出首楞嚴二卷

舊錄有蜀首楞嚴二卷 未詳誰出

右一經。七人出。其一經失譯名。已入失源錄。³⁹⁵

Of the seven homologs listed above, two translations were absent at Sengyou's time: the *Yongfuding jing* issued by Dharmarakṣa and the *Shu shoulengyan* whose translator is unknown. If Sengyou did not witness this *Yongfuding jing*, he could only categorize it as one of the homologs of *Śūraṅgama-sūtra* because of Dao'an's annotation (安公云) that indicated *Yongfuding jing* is *Shoulengyan*. Especially that all other six texts have “*shoulengyan*” in their titles and only Dharmarakṣa's title was different. Without

³⁹⁵ T 2145.55.14a15–18.

Dao'an's endorsement, Sengyou could hardly list it as one of the homologs when he could not access this translation and whose name was different from the others. As discussed above, one of the three rules that Sengyou adopted when compiling YCJL was the similarity of names (rule C). Henceforth, it is weird that Sengyou would not classify *Shoulengyan jing* into YCJL should he has witnessed this title in Dharmarakṣa's translations. Accordingly, it is possible that this *Shoulengyan jing* was also inserted into *Youlu* later on.

I will briefly discuss Wakemi's viewpoints below. Wakemi reasons extensively why there is a “weird” *Shoulengyan jing* in *Youlu* and bases his argument and hypothesis mainly on two sources: 1. The interlinear notes appended to Dharmarakṣa's *Shoulengyan jing* in *Youlu* is different from that of LDSBJ (as well as DTNDL, but as DTNDL always copies verbatim of LDSBJ's record, so this is not emphasized in Wakemi's essay); 2. The enigmatic “阿難言 (Ānanda says/ Ānanda's words)”. Firstly, Wakemi recognizes that the interlinear note in *Youlu* is “異出首稱阿難言” while in LDSBJ it is “別有異出首楞嚴云阿難言”, and he surmises that “別有”, “嚴” and “云” are somehow left out in CSZJJ due to haplography while “稱” is miswritten for “楞” — this explanation seems too far-fetching to me and it inverts the chronological order of the issuing time of CSZJJ and LDSBJ, using LDSBJ as a parameter to collate CSZJJ. Besides, the combination of haplography and writing erratum appearing in the same short annotation and nowhere else to be found in *Youlu* makes it a rare case, if not totally impossible at all. As for the second reason, Wakemi thinks there must be particular reason for “阿難言” as this does not start with the usual opening where Ānanda is the reciter of a scripture. He analyses that in current T 642 *Foshuo shoulengyan sanmei jing* 佛說首楞嚴三昧經 translated by Kumārajīva, Ānanda doesn't show up until in fascicle 2, and he does not actively engaged as a questioner which does not fit the description “阿難言”. Wakemi therefore surmises that this *Shoulengyan jing* could be very different from the *Yongfuding*, i.e., the homolog of other *Shoulengyan jing* and that is the reason why Sengyou did not include it in YCJL. Nevertheless, Wakemi could have attached too much importance to this short notice. Just as he observes, Ānanda does not come along until the second fascicle, and the first fascicle starts with usual description that where Buddha is, how many participant there are. It could possibly be that this *Shoulengyan jing*, allegedly to have rendered by Dharmarakṣa, is an adaption and an abridged version starting with Ānanda's words (question) — which does not

resemble the opening of other versions. Funayama (2019: 61–86) analyzes the difference between “如是我闻” and “如是我闻一时” of the Sanskrit phrase “evam mayā śrutram ekasmin samaye (buddhah/ bhagavān [...])”. He convincingly shows that not scriptures started with “如是我闻” and that not all “一时” is related with Buddha. The beginning of a scripture could start with other words and even if it starts with “如是我闻一时”, the ensuing part is not necessarily “Buddha dwelled in [...]”. For example, “阿难曰、吾从佛闻如是一时、佛在 [...]” in Zhu Fonian 竺佛念’s translation, and “如是我闻一时。阿难言 [...]” as rendered by Kumārajīva (ibid:67–68). Therefore, it is also conceivable that the translation of *Shoulengyan jing* inserted into *Youlu* may either be the style of Zhu Fonian, starting from “Ānanda says” or omit “thus I’ve heard [...]”, starting directly with the opening remark of “Ānanda says”. In other words, it is not so different a text that Sengyou did not put it in YCJL, rather, it is also possible that this was a later insertion into *Youlu*.

In this section, I aimed to argue that both XTJ and *Pusa shizhu jing* in Dharmarakṣa’s current entry were probably inserted into *Youlu*. Given that Sengyou confirmed a total of 154 scriptures attributed to Dharmarakṣa — a number also corroborated by Fei Zhangfang³⁹⁶ — of which 90 were extant, it suggests that there were, in total, five subsequent insertions. It would be intriguing if two more such scriptures were identified in the future.

4.3 Historical and Personal Background of Dharmarakṣa’s Translation Career

In this section, both the historical backdrop of West Jin Dynasty and the personal background of Dharmarakṣa will be discussed. Dharmarakṣa, recognized as one of the most prolific translators in early medieval China, rose to prominence not solely due to his personal *habitus*, but also due to the extensive network of collaborators and the generous patronage of lay sponsors, which ensured that he could focus on his work without pecuniary difficulties. Additionally, the historical context in which he operated had a profound influence on his translation methodologies and stylistic choices. This

³⁹⁶ T 2034 《歷代三寶紀》卷 6: 「僧祐出三藏集記止錄一百五十四部三百九卷 (Sengyou’s CSZJJ only recorded 154 scriptures, in all 309 fascicles)」(T 2034.49.64c21–22).

era also acted as a catalyst, promoting the spread of Buddhist eschatology and messianism³⁹⁷, and further driving the popular conversion and embrace of Buddhism.

4.3.1 Historical Background

Dharmarakṣa started his translation career during the reign when Emperor Wu 晉武帝 (a.k.a Sima Yan 司馬炎) of the West Jin Dynasty (266³⁹⁸–290 AD)³⁹⁹. As a sovereign whose authority had just been legitimatized⁴⁰⁰ but whose insubstantial administrative and authoritative ground had yet to be tamped down (Qiu, 2012: 196–199), Sima Yan initially occupied himself with tasks such as investing his clan members with fiefs⁴⁰¹ and eking out the final triumph gained by the Sima family as a whole. He later sought centralization of power for himself. It seems he had no evident interest in Buddhism or other religious beliefs, and there are no clear historical materials that offer insight into this emperor’s attitude towards Buddhism. However, indirect evidence might, to some extent, illuminate Sima Yan’s attitude towards Buddhism or other (supernatural-related) practices at large. Moreover, during his reign, religious activities were not left blank; instead, a handful of records might provide tantalizing hints of the burgeoning and ever-growing popularity of Buddhism at the time.

4.3.1.1 Literary and Philosophical Fields

Many scholars have devoted themselves to illustrating the political, religious, and literary atmosphere in the West Jin Dynasty. Zürcher (2007: 57) describes this unification period “a short interlude” between the tumult of the Three Kingdom Period

³⁹⁷ For a detailed discussion on this matter, see Zürcher (2013: 165–186; 187–258); Chaussende (2019: 79–95).

³⁹⁸ Even though the first year of the Taishi Era 泰始 corresponds to 265 AD, the last ruler of the Wei Kingdom, Cao Huan 曹煥, was forced to abdicate on *bingyin* 丙寅 day of the twelfth month of that year (also 咸熙二年 [the second year of Xianxi Era of the Wei Kingdom]), which was actually the eighth day of February, 266 AD. See 魏書·三國志 and *Jinshu* 晉書.

³⁹⁹ As previously analyzed, the only proof that could manifest Dharmarakṣa’s translation of XTJ is the dubious short colophon to this scripture. Following Palumbo and Gu’s suggestions, I shall be very cautious to regard the year 266 AD as the approximate initiation of Dharmarakṣa’s translation activity.

⁴⁰⁰ See *Jinshu* 晉書.

⁴⁰¹ Tang insightfully sheds light on and poignantly points out the hidden reason for this political characteristic which is evident in the West Jin Dynasty — gentry clan. See Tang (2010).

and the tempestuous chaos waiting ahead. During this short interlude, a new land policy — *zhantian zhi* 占田制 (land quota system) — and taxation policy — *ketian zhi* 課田制 (tax quota system)—were defined and enacted, offering a brief respite that allowed a nation wearied by strife to begin its recovery⁴⁰². A demographic comparison suggests that the population nearly doubled from the time of the Three Kingdoms (Wang, 2004: 170). Chaussende thus concludes: “Economically, the ten-year period that followed territorial unification was a relatively prosperous one. Politically, nothing disturbed the running of the state” (2019: 92). Such political and economic stability would be conducive to the vibrant production and reproduction of coruscating thoughts and literature.

In 276 AD⁴⁰³, emperor Wu established a meritocratic institution, *guozixue* 國子學⁴⁰⁴ (Academy for Young Noblemen). By comparing the origins and provenances of court nobles, magistrates, students who registered in *Taixue* 太學, and writers who published books at that time, Lu (1991: 113–119) sanctions the historical evaluation that, after the reunification of the country (280 AD), there were “ten thousands of scholars⁴⁰⁵” flourished like “lush woods⁴⁰⁶”. He further purports that the areas surrounding the metropolis of Luoyang emerged as leading cultural hubs, attracting scholars from the Hexi 河西 region, including Dunhuang County⁴⁰⁷ — homeland to Dharmarakṣa — to

⁴⁰² At the beginning of Emperor Wu’s reign, the country’s relationship with the Wu Kingdom was more than fair to middling, as Sun Hao said “the north and the west are now in a good relationship (今南北通好)” to Zhang Yan 張儼. See 吳書·孫皓傳.

⁴⁰³ As for the ranks of officers in *guozixue* as well as other parochial education policies, see 晉書·百官制; 晉書·武帝本紀 and *Edict of Jin* 晉令 recorded in 太平御覽 534.

⁴⁰⁴ On the discussion of 國子學 and 太學, see Fukuraha (2021, Chapter 3).

⁴⁰⁵ “士子繁多, 當以萬計”.

⁴⁰⁶ “師徒相傳, 學士如林”.

⁴⁰⁷ Lu especially mentions a famous stele — 皇帝三臨辟雍碑 (manufactured in 278 AD), where six students were etched in this stone tablet. According to *Jin shu*, a semi-treacherous conspiracy occurred in Dunhuang: 初, 燉煌太守尹璩卒, 州以燉煌令梁澄領太守事。議郎令狐豐廢澄, 自領郡事。豐死, 弟宏代之。至是, 涼州刺史楊欣斬宏, 傳首洛陽.

Therefore, there seems to be a strong link between the selection of Dunhuang scholars for Luoyang and political issues. For a detailed discussion of these six Dunhuang inhabitants including Emperor Wu’s political aspiration, see Wei and Lü (2019).

For a discussion of all students etched in this inscription who were from Liangzhou 涼州 and who were all “散生”, see Wang and Xiong (2017). They also discovered that the persons inscribed in the stele were carefully selected (2017: 62–63). For a further discussion on the ethnicons in the Liangzhou area, see Wang (1993) and Wei (2017).

Zhang denotes that this reflects the frequent interactions between Chinese 漢人 and non-Chinese 胡 clergies in the West Jin Dynasty. Fukuraha also discusses the question of why only four counties’ students were listed in the stele, without mentioning counties such as Jiuquan 酒泉 or Zhangye 張掖. He assumes that this may be related to the insurrection and rebellion incurred by Tufa Shujineng 禿髮樹機能 during 270–279 AD (2021, Chapter 4). However,

come over and perform an activity called *youxue* 遊學 (itinerant study). Records have it that during the early period of Emperor Wu, the West Jin maintained friendly relations with western kingdoms such as Kucha, Kashgar, and so on⁴⁰⁸. Such a vibrant academic atmosphere would be sure to generate variegated literature and thoughts.

Hu extols the literature of this era, highlighting it as a golden age for poetry, resplendent with poems marked by intricate word choices⁴⁰⁹. A significant impetus behind this poetic renaissance following the Jian'an 建安 period was national reunification (Hu, 2004: 56–57).

The era witnessed not only a literary resurgence but also a flourishing in the parallel realm of ideology. Shortly prior to Emperor Wu's enthronement, Wang Bi 王弼 conceived a theory about *benti* 本體 (fundamental things) termed *guiwu* 貴無 (appraisal of voidness)⁴¹⁰. Critical of the rigidity of *mingjiao* 名教 (education of instruction in terms), he championed the concept of *ziran* 自然 (nature). Afterwards, Guo Xiang 郭象, another *xuanxue* 玄學 (Mysterious Learning) philosopher loyal to the Sima Regime, advanced a philosophical system sanctioning that *mingjiao* was *ziran*. Later, Pei Wei 裴徽 vehemently opposed the *guiwu* theory, countering the notion that voidness engenders existence and championing *chongyou* 崇有 (venerating the existence), which buttresses the idea that existence is capable of creating itself⁴¹¹.

Following the late Han Dynasty, *qingtan* 清談⁴¹² (clear conversation) evolved to encompass an added meaning — infusing the term with a mystique rooted in *xuanxue*.

this assertion is refuted by Wei and Lü, who think it was not directly related to Tufa's rebellion, rather the students presented in the stele were all from powerful clans in Dunhuang who had helped Emperor Wu put out the treason of Linghu and settle the problem concerning separatist regimes in Dunhuang (ibid).

⁴⁰⁸ Zürcher (2007: 57–58) observes that kings of the Shanshan, Khotan, Karasahr, Kucha, and Kashgar kingdoms were endowed with Chinese titles. Besides, the “rapid succession of foreign embassies” abruptly ceased in the year 290.

⁴⁰⁹ However, Hu also criticizes that the overt abuse of ornamented language as pernicious, impairing the strong character in Jian'an-istic poems.

⁴¹⁰ For a meticulous examination of Wang Bi's thoughts, see Tang (2005).

⁴¹¹ See Shi and Fang (2008).

⁴¹² The relations among *qingyi* 清議, *qingtan*, and *xuanxue* should be clarified here. According to Tang (2010: 284–292), *qingyi* predates *qingtan* and is a term used to judge and criticize a person's disposition and demeanor. Initially, *qingtan* and *qingyi* were applied interchangeably, even though the focus of *qingtan* riveted on Laozi and Zhuangzi in the Wei and Jin Dynasties, judgments of a person were still included as topics of *qingtan*. The transformation and transmutation of the function of *qingtan* from a synonym of *qingyi* to concentrate on *xuantan* led to the formation of *xuanxue*. It was after Wang Bi 王弼 that criticism of people was no longer paid attention to and *qingtan* became a term differing from *qingyi*. Luo (2020) contends that some would use *qingtan* and *xuanxue* indiscriminately, but this is compounding as these two terms are different. Lo brings forward the same point of view: It is necessary to differentiate between *qingtan* and *xuanxue*. For a detailed discussion of *xuanxue* and *qingtan*, see Lo “*Qingtan and Xuanxue*” (2019: 511–530) and Demiéville (2008, esp. 826–837)

When discussing the meaning of *qingtān* and *xuānxué*, Du (2008: 84) assesses that *xuānxué* sufficiently laid the groundwork for Buddhism's permeation. As many scholars have observed⁴¹³, *qingtān* and Buddhism began to converge and intersect during the later East Jin, intensifying during the North and South Dynasties. Nevertheless, just as Du points out, while *qingtān* may be influenced by Buddhism, during the incipient period, Buddhism "took more than what it offered" (ibid). Demiéville (2008: 838) underscores that although initial interactions between monks and scholars occurred at the third century's end, it was not until the 4th century that Buddhist doctrines began significantly influencing the intelligentsia (2010: 838)⁴¹⁴.

4.3.1.2 Emperor Wu's Attitude Towards Buddhism

At a juncture when Buddhism was poised to emerge and influence indigenous Chinese thought, what was Emperor Wu's stance on religion and activities within the religious realm?

Records concerning this issue are scarce. It is discernible that Emperor Wu did not display a fervent enthusiasm towards supernatural entities. He intended to extirpate all unofficial rituals that were not included in national cults. I will not explore the underlying political and historical reasons for Emperor Wu's stance — since that is not the primary focus of this chapter — I will concentrate on the consequential actions of this emperor.

At his enthronement in 266, Emperor Wu's issued a decree indicating his determination to adhere to the rituals of the Wei Dynasty, venerating five mountains and four rivers, with the aim of righting the wrong, preventing malevolent demons from wreaking havoc in the world⁴¹⁵. In that same year, he also banished sacrifices to ghosts at the

⁴¹³ For the integrity of the three religions, especially how Buddhism takes in elements of Daoism and Ruism via a hermeneutical way, see Shi Zhiru (2013:81–98). For congruence of *qingtān* with Buddhist text, see Mather (1968: 60–73); Yang (1981: 211–248); Watanabe (1965). On the topic of how the North elites conflicted with the Southern gentry class and how the latter condemns *qingtān*, see Jansen (2000).

⁴¹⁴ For further discussion on the topic of "Convergence of Dark Learning and Buddhism", see Wang (2008: 606–614), Feng (2008: 260–272) and Chen and Wan (2000: 44–65).

⁴¹⁵ 武帝泰始元年十二月, 詔曰:「昔聖帝明王修五嶽四瀆...然以道蒞天下者, 其鬼不神, 其神不傷人...末世信道不篤, 僮禮瀆神, 縱欲祈請, 曾不敬而遠之, 徒偷以求幸, 褒妄相煽, 舍正為邪, 故魏朝疾之。其案舊禮具為之制...而褒淫之鬼不亂其間。」 It is necessary to point it out that the sentence "然以道蒞天下者, 其鬼不神, 其神不傷人" is extracted from the *Daode jing* 道德經 written by Laozi. The use of Laozi's words in

Spring Equinox⁴¹⁶. He subsequently dispatched Palace Attendants (*shizhong*, Chi. 侍中) to inspect the whole country and eradicate sacrificial ceremonies that were not counted as official cults⁴¹⁷. A year later (267 AD), there was another fiat which prohibited “the study of astrology and divination⁴¹⁸“.

While there were subsequent instances where he ordered rituals to “plead for rain⁴¹⁹”, and during his rule, Grand Astrologer (*taishiling*, Chi. 太史令), Chen Zhuo, compiled the *Augury of Horoscopy*⁴²⁰, these actions were primarily intended to further his political objectives⁴²¹. There is also an anecdote about Emperor Wu’s religious attitude, according to which he thought there were too many unproven supernatural and mysterious records in the *Encyclopedia of Objects* 博物志 written by Zhang Hua 張華 and urged the latter to cut the original 400 fascicles down to 10 fascicles⁴²². Whether in official history or unofficial records, Emperor Wu is depicted as a ruler who showed no ostensible support for paranormal phenomena. Imaginably, under such conditions, there were almost no miraculous stories or reports of necromancy, such as clairvoyant power of Dharmarakṣa⁴²³ or his contemporaries, in the land of West Jin.

However, Buddhism was literally flourishing under Emperor Wu’s reign. So popular did it become that the emperor had to prohibit residents from becoming monks. *Mingxiang ji* 冥祥記 (*Signs From the Unseen Realm*) specifies that:

During Taikang Era (280-289), Jin people were forbidden to become śramaṇas.

an official decree shows that Emperor Wu was to some extent familiar with this work and may tell us something about his personal penchants.

⁴¹⁶ 二年正月，有司奏春分祠厲殃及禳祠，詔曰：「不在祀典，除之。」

⁴¹⁷ 《晉書卷三·帝紀第三·武帝》：“二年春正月丙戌，遣兼侍中侯史光等持節四方，循省風俗，除禳祝之不在祀典者。

⁴¹⁸ 《晉書卷三·帝紀第三·武帝》：“三年…禁星氣讖緯之學。”

⁴¹⁹ 《晉書·志第九》武帝咸寧二年，春久旱。四月丁巳，詔曰「諸旱處廣加祈請」。五月庚午，始祈雨于社稷山川。

⁴²⁰ 《隋書·卷三十四志第二十九 經籍三》：《天文集占》十卷。晉太史令陳卓定；《晉書·志第一》武帝時，太史令陳卓總甘、石、巫咸三家所著星圖，大凡二百八十三官，一千四百六十四星，以為定紀。

⁴²¹ See Chen (2015), esp. Chapter 3, section 3, on the stratification of Emperor Wu’s policy: He forbade divination among the folks but enhanced the official status in this field.

⁴²² 張華字茂先，挺生聰慧之德，好觀秘異圖緯之部，據採天下遺逸，自書契之始，考驗神怪，及世間間里所說，造《博物志》四百卷，奏於武帝。帝詔詰問：「卿才綜萬代，博識無倫，遠冠羲皇，近次夫子。然記事採言，亦多浮妄，宜更刪翦，無以冗長成文。昔仲尼刪《詩》、《書》，不及鬼神幽昧之事，以言怪力亂神。今卿《博物志》，驚所未聞，異所未見，將恐惑亂於後生，繁蕪於耳目，可更芟截浮疑，分為十卷。」

⁴²³ There is one story about the water of a polluted brook being miraculously decontaminated because of the high morality of Dharmarakṣa. However, this was not conducted by Dharmarakṣa himself, and it was not that he had the magical power to purify the water, unlike the way other monks with prowess in occult power are described.

太康中禁晉人作沙門。⁴²⁴

There must be hidden political or economic reasons behind this proscription. Perhaps the swift rise of Buddhism and the allure of Buddhist temples captivated the indigenous Chinese populace to such a degree that Emperor Wu felt the need to issue such a directive. If this decree holds true, it might attest to Buddhism's considerable influence during the Taikang Era.

Later in the Tang Dynasty, śramaṇa Falin 法琳 wrote T 2110 *Bianzheng lun* 辭正論 (*Treatise Discussing the Correct*), in which he listed emperors who believed in Buddhism. Emperor Wu is on this list:

Shizu Emperor Wu of Jin Dynasty [...] greatly propagated Buddhism and widely built Saṃgharāma)

晉世祖武皇帝([...]大弘佛事廣樹伽藍)⁴²⁵

Falin continued to summarize the total number of monasteries built during the West Jin Dynasty and concludes that there were 180 temples and more than 3700 bhikṣu and bhikṣunī in Luoyang and Chang'an combined⁴²⁶.

However, Falin's assertion somewhat contradicts Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之's calculation that, by the end of the West Jin Dynasty, there were only 42 temples in Luoyang. Falin's claim is only tenable if there were nearly 140 temples in Chang'an during the West Jin Dynasty. Nevertheless, even though Chang'an was a thriving city of Buddhism, just as Yan and Li (2007: 11) asserts, Luoyang was still the center of Buddhism in West Jin, and Chang'an was only gradually becoming prosperous in Buddhism⁴²⁷ at that time. It is, therefore, highly unlikely that the number of temples in Chang'an exceeded that of Luoyang by nearly 100. Yan also cites earlier scholars' examination that the existence of eleven temples could be attested among the 42 temples proclaimed by Yang Xuanzhi.

⁴²⁴ Fascicle 28, T 2122 *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (*A Grove of Perals in the Garden of the Dharma*), T 2122.53.492a25–26. Same proposals could also be seen in Fu Yi 傅奕's memorial 請除釋教疏 sent to the emperor that 西晉以上，國有嚴科，不許中國之人，輒行髡髮之事。洎於苻石，羌胡亂華，主庸臣佞，政虐祚短，皆由佛教致災也 (<全唐文·卷一百三十三>); also see X 1521 《古今圖書集成》釋教部彙考 卷 2: 「西晉以上。不許中國髡髮事胡。至石苻亂華。乃弛厥禁」 (X 1521.77.16a4–5)

⁴²⁵ T 2110.52.502c15

⁴²⁶ T 2110 《辯正論》卷 3: 「右西晉二京。合寺一百八十所。譯經一十三人七十三部。僧尼三千七百餘人」 (T 2110.52.502c18–19)

⁴²⁷ Yan and Li: “西晉仍都洛陽，亦爲當時佛教中心所在”；“然長安當佛教東傳之孔道，此時亦漸興盛”。

On the contrary, Yan (1985: 26) studied 26 attestable temples before West Jin and found nearly 50% of them were situated in Luoyang and 15% in Chang'an. Accordingly, the number cited by Falin could be problematic. In addition, even though Falin listed Emperor Wu as one devout sovereign, in the debate between the warlord Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369-404) and Wang Mi 王謐, Huan says:

There were no indigenous Jin people serving Buddhism. Śramaṇas and disciples were all *hu* people. Besides, the rulers did not associate with it. Therefore, Buddhists could follow their rituals and conventions.

晉人略無奉佛。沙門徒眾皆是諸胡。且王者與之不接。故可任其方俗。

⁴²⁸

Huan goes on to say, “right now your majesty venerates Buddhism and commits to the affairs of the dharma, (therefore) things are different than in the past⁴²⁹”, attempting to differentiate between the present and the past.

Accordingly, aside from Falin’s description, the image of Emperor Wu is fairly consistent: he was indifferent to religious beliefs and did not hold much regard for supernatural powers.

4.3.1.3 Buddhist Activities During Emperor Wu’s Reign

Although many scholars argue that Buddhism had not yet penetrated and become ingrained within the literati at that time, records still illustrate the burgeoning of Buddhism. In the *Treatise on Buddhism and Daoism of Book of Wei* (魏書·釋老志), there is a portrayal of the stūpas in Luoyang:

At Jin’s time, there were forty-two stūpas in Luoyang.
晉世，洛中佛圖有四十二所矣。

This assertion is replicated in T 2092 *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (*A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang*) to serve as a comparison with the later flourishing

⁴²⁸ T 2102.52.81b7–9.

⁴²⁹ T 2102 《弘明集》卷 12: 「今主上奉佛親接法事。事異於昔」(T 2102.52.81b9–10).

grandeur of Buddhism:

Until Yongjia Era of the Jin Dynasty, there were only forty-two monasteries.
至晉永嘉。唯有寺四十二所。⁴³⁰

These records reflect the proliferation of Buddhist temples in Luoyang. Small-scale and scattered they may be, but they indeed kept developing.

In the same source, there is also a wondrous anecdote about two Bodhisattva statues purportedly crafted by Xun Xu 荀勗 (cf. 勗):

He (Duan Hui) discovered a golden statue about three Chinese feet high. In addition, [he discovered] two bodhisattva statues sitting on a stand, bearing the inscription: Made by Xun Xu, Chief Palace Attendant and Director of the Central Secretariat on the fifteenth day of the fifth month in the second year of the Taishi Era (June 24 AD 266).⁴³¹ (translated by Wang, 1984: 55–56)

金像一軀。可高三尺。有二菩薩。趺上銘云。晉太始二年五月十五日侍中中書監荀勗造。⁴³²

Xun Xu was an important figure in the court of Emperor Wu of the Jin Dynasty. Qiu (2012: 201) counts him as a member of the most decisive caucus, comprised of five people, in Emperor Wu's time⁴³³. Apart from being a politician, Xun Xu was also appointed Inspector of Palace Writers (*zhongshujian*, Chi. 中書監) and Intendant Drafter (*zhuzuo*, Chi. 著作[郎]) in 266 according to *Book of Jin*. Goodman (2010: 123) believes there is positive reason to trust the authenticity of the story in *Luoyang qielan ji*, and speculates whether the statue was “dedicated to the day on which he achieved his career milestone” (p. 124).

⁴³⁰ T 2092.51.999a10–11.

⁴³¹ This was translated by Yi-t'ung Wang (1984). I only made minor alterations, changing “made for” to “made by”. I cannot see the reason why this should be “made for Xun Xu” from the context, therefore I took the liberty and changed it to “made by”.

⁴³² Full text: 寺南有宜壽里。內有苞信縣令段暉宅。地下常聞鍾聲。時見五色光明照於堂宇。暉其異之。遂掘光所得金像一軀。可高三尺。有二菩薩。趺上銘云。晉太始二年五月十五日侍中中書監荀勗造。暉遂捨宅為光明寺。時人咸云。此荀勗舊宅。其後盜者欲竊此像。像與菩薩合聲喝賊。盜者驚怖應即殞倒。眾僧聞像叫聲。遂來捉得賊。(T 2092.51.1003c12–1004a1). For an English translation, see Wang and Yang (1984: 55–56).

⁴³³ For a detailed discussion of Xun Xu, see Goodman (2010).

Moreover, Xun Xu was the major compiler of *Jinzhong jingbu* 晉中經簿 (*jin Palace Classics Register*). In Daoxuan 道宣's T 2103 *Guang hongmingji* 廣弘明集 (*Expanded Collection on the Propagation and Clarification [of Buddhism]*), the *Gujin Shuzui* 古今書最 which was written by Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 — the compiler of the catalog *Qi Lu* 七錄⁴³⁴ — is preserved. In the terse summary of previous catalogs, Ruan listed the information concerning *Jinzhong jingbu* as follows:

Jin Palace Classics Register (comprises) four parts. (It has) one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five works, twenty thousand nine hundred and thirty-five fascicles. Among which, sixteen fascicles of the *Buddhist Register* lost two fascicles, the exact registered number is unclear⁴³⁵.

晉中經簿四部書一千八百八十五部二萬九百三十五卷 其中十六卷佛經書簿少二卷不詳所載多少。⁴³⁶

It seems likely that such a crucial figure as Xun Xu might have had some contact with Buddhism, albeit curiously⁴³⁷ and inconspicuously. However, Xun Xu is not the only famous individual said to have engaged in Buddhist affairs.

In *Zhengwu lun* 正誣論 (*Treatise on the Rectification of Calumnia*), composed approximately during the East Jin period⁴³⁸, three prominent figures — Ze Rong 箕融, Shi Chong 石崇, and Zhou Song 周嵩 — became critical targets for the censurer to castigate Buddhism in a catechistic style.

Ze Rong participated in extensive Buddhist activities, as reported in *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (*Records of the Three Kingdoms*)⁴³⁹. History also reports Zhou Song's association

⁴³⁴ For a thorough investigation of *Jinzhong jingbu* and *Qi lu*, see Yu (2007), Yao (2014) and Knechtges (2001: 215–17). For *Gujin shuzui*, see Xue and Tang (2011); Goodman (2010: 305–312).

⁴³⁵ The precise meaning of the boldened part seems unclear to Yao (2014: 62) and he proposes to read it as this Buddhist register in all had sixteen fascicles, yet two were missing, therefore the total number of this register was unclear. Yu's reading confirms this explanation (2007: 100).

⁴³⁶ T 2103.52.110a7–10.

⁴³⁷ According to Goodman (2010: 27), “Buddhist and Daoist developments... do not come into the life of Xun Xu (with perhaps one curious exception)”. This curious exception would be the anecdote recorded in *Luoyang qielan ji* concerning the two statues of Bodhisattva.

⁴³⁸ As for the exact time when this treatise was composed, the viewpoints are minorly inconsistent. Wan (1989: 335) thinks it was at the end of the Jin Dynasty, while Li (1997: 12–24) believes it was written at the beginning of the East Jin Dynasty. Song (1999: 40–41) considers this to have been written during the East Jin Dynasty.

⁴³⁹ 《三國志·吳書四·劉繇傳》 箕融者，丹楊人，初聚衆數百，往依徐州牧陶謙。謙使督廣陵、彭城運漕，遂放縱擅殺，坐斷三郡委輸以自入。乃大起浮圖祠，以銅為人，黃金塗身，衣以錦采，垂銅槃九重，下為重樓閣道，可容三千餘人，悉課讀佛經，令界內及旁郡人有好佛者聽受道，復其他役以招致之，由此遠近前後至者五千餘人戶。每浴佛，多設酒飯，布席於路，經數十里，民人來觀及就食且萬人，費以巨億計。For a full English translation, see Zürcher (2007: 28).

with Buddhism: even upon his execution, he continued to recite scripture⁴⁴⁰. However, no official records states that Shi Chong believed in Buddhism. Kamata (1982: 263–264) holds that this might be true, since both the critics of Buddhism and the general populace perceived Shi Chong as a Buddhist, and asked: now that he believed in Buddhism, why were his family members executed? The treatise aimed to counter such accusations.

Lay Buddhists were also active during Emperor Wu's time. There was one Que Gongzeque 闕公則, the teacher of Wei Shidu 衛士度, who demonstrated an imposing appearance before monks and laity at Baima Temple posthumously, informing them that he had successfully been reborn in the West⁴⁴¹. His story was later eulogized by Zhi Daolin 支道林⁴⁴².

Another important member of the laity was Di Shichang 抵世常, who was a native of Zhongshan 中山 County — a place where Buddhism was in blossom as even the king of Zhongshan personally welcomed *Fangguangjing* 放光經. Di Shichang was wealthy and devout to Buddhism, making offerings to monks such as Yu Falan 于法蘭, a companion of Dharmarakṣa⁴⁴³.

Then the claim of the antagonist in *Zhengwu lun* that “there were so many śramaṇas in Capital Luoyang⁴⁴⁴” was not mendacious. Buddhism was thriving in and outside Luoyang during Emperor Wu's reign.

⁴⁴⁰ 《晉書·列傳第三十一·周浚》：“嵩精於事佛，臨刑猶於市誦經云 [Zhou Song expertized in Buddhism. When he was about to get executed, he still recited scriptures at streets.]”

⁴⁴¹ The “West” here refers to *Sukhāvatī*, the blessing Buddha field of Amitābha. See the full story at *Mingxiang ji* recorded in Chapter 42, *Fayuan zhulin*. (T 2122.53.616b15–c1). For the translation of this story, see Company (2012: 106–107).

⁴⁴² T 1967 《念佛三昧寶王論》卷 2: 「『大哉闕公！ 歆虛納靈， 神化西域， 跡驗東京。 徘徊霄虛， 流響耀形， 豈欽一贊， 示以匪冥。』」 (T 1967.47.140b28–c1).

⁴⁴³ See *Mingxiang ji* in Fascicle 28, *Fayuan zhulin*. T 2122.53.492a25–b8. For an English translation see Company (2012: 95–96).

⁴⁴⁴ T 2102 《弘明集》卷 1: 「沙門之在京洛者多矣」 (T 2102.52.8b22).

4.3.1.4 Contemporary Buddhist Translators of Dharmarakṣa

In addition to Buddhist activities, Dharmarakṣa, together with his precursors and contemporaries, laid a solid foundation in the translational domain for later Buddhist disseminators and translators.

Previously in the state of Wei, there was one Dharmakāla (曇柯迦羅 Tankejialuo) who brought Prātimokṣa of the Mahāsāṅghika school⁴⁴⁵ to China. In *Shilaozhi* 釋老志 *Treatise of Buddhism and Daoism of the Book of Wei*, Dharmakāla is described as:

Later there is Indian śramaṇa Dharmakāla entered Luoyang, propounded and interpreted precepts and codes (śīla and vinaya⁴⁴⁶). It is the commencement of precepts in China.

後有天竺沙門曇柯迦羅入洛，宣譯誠律，中國誠律之始也。

The context of Dharmakāla's arrival in Luoyang in the middle of Jiaping Era (嘉平, 249–254) is delineated in GSZ as:

Even though the region of Wei had Buddhist law (dharma), dharma was not energized. There were monks in saṅgha who did not take the Three Refuges⁴⁴⁷, taking only a tonsure to distinguish themselves from secularity. When observing fasts (Skt. *poṣadha*) to express regrets and confess sins (Skt. *kṣamāpatti-pratidesāna*), they followed secular sacrificial ceremonies.⁴⁴⁸

于時魏境雖有佛法，而道風訛替，亦有眾僧未稟歸戒，正以剪落殊俗耳。

⁴⁴⁵ Many scholars construe the Chinese title of Dharmakāla's translation — 僧祇戒心 — as Prātimokṣa of Mahāsāṅghika school. However, Funayama thinks otherwise (2019: 217). He consents that there is no problem to equal “戒心” with “戒本” “波羅提木叉 (transliteration of Prātimokṣa)”, but holds an adversarial viewpoint when rendering “僧祇” as “Mahāsāṅghika”. He proposes that during the Wei period, there was no relevant information concerning different sects and the names of these imported into China. He suggests that “僧祇” functions adjectively and should be seen as equal to “samghi-”. Accordingly, instead of “Prātimokṣa of Mahāsāṅghika”, this phrase should be construed as “出家教團の戒本 [Precepts (Prātimokṣa) of the monastic community (saṅgha) who have gone forth (pravrajita)]”.

⁴⁴⁶ For the difference between śīla and vinaya, see Keown (2004: 268). The Prātimokṣa rendered by Dharmakāla belongs to Vinaya and therefore should categorized under “律”. Here, the phrase “誠律” seems to convey an integral and general meaning.

⁴⁴⁷ The term Three Refuges (triśāraṇa) is called “sanguiyi 三皈依” in Chinese, which refers to “Buddham śaraṇam gacchāmi. Dharmam śaraṇam gacchāmi. Samgham śaraṇam gacchāmi [I take refuge in the Buddha. I take refuge in the Dharma. I take refuge in the Sangha.]”, respectively. See Meisig (2010: 68) for a more detailed discussion on this issue.

⁴⁴⁸ This was translated by myself even though I owe greatly to Zürcher (2007:55), Zhu et al. (2014: 19–22), and Yoshikawa et al. (2009: 59–61). Their respective readings of this sentence differ. While Zürcher, Yoshikawa et al., Cao (1984: 218–219) and Satō (1997: 25) consider 事法祠祀 meaning “to follow and imitate secular ways”, Zhu et al. think this means “進行各種佛教法事 [(the monks) conducted all kinds of Buddhist rites]”. As for the Three Refuges, Zürcher interprets it as “monks who had never been ordained” while Zhu et al. construe it as “未能遵持戒律 [were not able to follow and obey śīlas]” and Yoshikawa and Funayama think this alludes to the Three Refuges.

Kieschnick (2010: 553–554) concludes that the content of this *Prātimokṣa* (cf. *Karmavācanā*⁴⁵⁰) must be simple, containing “little more than a list of the eight categories of offenses” and “would not have described the rules [...] of important monastic procedures.” Yet it held vital significance in Chinese Buddhism, marking the first time the prerequisite was set for a formalized life which squared with the monastic rules⁴⁵¹ (Freiberger and Kleine 2011: 117).

It should be noted that the description highlighting the Buddhist atmosphere during West Jin, found in Dharmakāla’s biography, resembles that in Dharmarakṣa’s biography. In the latter, the setting is:

It was under the reign of Emperor Wu of the Jin Dynasty. Even though (Buddhist) monasteries, temples, images, and statues were popular at the capital (Luoyang), the profound *Vaipulya*⁴⁵² scriptures were preserved in the West.

是時晉武帝之世。寺廟圖像雖崇京邑。而方等深經蘊在西域。⁴⁵³

As examined in the last section, even though the *Colophon to XTJ* indicates that Dharmarakṣa translated this Buddhist text in 266, whether he arrived in Luoyang in that same year remains uncertain since the note is thought to be dubious by many scholars. The next reliable record suggests he rendered T 585 *Chixin jing* 持心經 (Skt. *Brahma-viśeṣa-cinti-pariprccha*) in Chang’an in 286. Since Dharmakāla arrived in Luoyang between 249–254, therefore, the time gap between the arrival of Dharmakāla and that

⁴⁴⁹ T 2059.50.324c28–325a1.

⁴⁵⁰ Sogdian monk Samghavarman (康僧铠 Kang Sengkai) and Parthian monk Tandi (曇諦 Dharmasatya) translated *Karmavācanā* of the Dharmaguptaka School separately, shortly after Dharmakāla’s *Prātimokṣa*. These texts may contain content such as “instructions for admission to the order, procedures for ‘retreat during the rainy season’, procedures for settling disputes” (Kieschnick 2010: 555) and “mark the beginning of the introduction into China of the canonical scriptures of the Dharmaguptaka sect (Zürcher 2007: 338, FN168)”. The Dharmaguptaka school is the “main and most influential school” in early Chinese Buddhism (Warder 2004: 281).

⁴⁵¹ “[...] Dharmakāla [...] übersetzte den *Prātimokṣa* (Beichtformular) der Mahāsāṃghikas, womit erstmals die Voraussetzung für ein formalisiertes Leben nach den Ordensregeln und die Durchführung der für den Saṅgha eminent wichtigen vierzehntäglichen Beichtfeiern geschaffen war.”

⁴⁵² These *Vaipulya* scriptures refer especially to stupendous size and profound meaning compared with shorter scriptures. See *A Dictionary of Buddhism* (Keown, 2004: 320) and *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Buswell and Lopez 2014: 949).

⁴⁵³ T 2145.55.97c24–26.

of Dharmarakṣa in the Jin Empire can be no longer than 35 years. During these less than 35 years of time, Buddhism developed from “dharma was not energized, and precepts were incomplete” to “Buddhism was popular even though Vaipulya scriptures remained in the West”.

There are also other translators who came to Luoyang at around 255 — Saṃghavarman and Tandi, who were the first transmitters of canons of the Dharmaguptaka sect (Zürcher 2007: 338, FN168). One of the seven translators newly found by Sengyou, Bai Yan, also came and translated scriptures during this period⁴⁵⁴.

Another notable translator, or more precisely, pilgrim in search of “true canon”, was Zhu Shixing 朱士行, who set off westward in 260 and arrived at Khotan. He finally acquired 90 chapters of *hu* texts of *Pañcavimśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and entrusted his disciple Punyadarśa 弗(cf. 不/分)如檀 to deliver them to Luoyang in 282⁴⁵⁵. In 291, the texts were translated by Mokṣala and Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭 under the title *Fangguang jing* 放光經. This was a huge success as later even the King of Zhongshan 中山王 came out of the city to welcome the scripture personally⁴⁵⁶. Just as Zürcher suggests, this is the “first symptom of Buddhist influence on the Chinese imperial family” (2007: 64). Therefore, Dharmarakṣa prepared himself to translate in such a thriving background.

4.3.2 Personal Background

With the endeavors and preparations made by these predecessors, we can now zoom in

⁴⁵⁴ “時又有外國沙門康僧鎧者，亦以嘉平之末。來至洛陽，譯出《郁伽長者》等四部經。又有安息國沙門曇帝，亦善律學，以魏正元之中，來遊洛陽，出《曇無德羯磨》。又有沙門帛延，不知何人。亦才明有深解，以魏甘露中，譯出《無量清淨平等覺經》等凡六部經。後不知所終焉”。(T 2059.50.325a6–12)

⁴⁵⁵ For a thorough introduction to the background of this scripture’s translation and a more comprehensive discussion of *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, both small and big versions, see Martin Lehnert (2000). esp. pp. 35–47.

⁴⁵⁶ Zürcher proposes that this “King of Zhongshan” should refer to Sima Dan 司馬耽, who died on October 9, 292 AD, shortly after the completion of *Fangguang jing*, i.e. January 30, 292 (Sinica Taiwan <https://sinocal.sinica.edu.tw>). But one should not rule out the possibility that this king could also indicate Sima Ji 司馬緝, as two records in the *Book of Jin* in terms of Sima Dan are not concurrent with each other: 《晉書·列傳七·宗室》耽嗣立，咸寧三年徙為中山王。是年薨，無子，緝繼。This suggests Sima Dan died in the year he was designated as King of Zhongshan (277 AD). Because he had no son, Sima ji took over his position. 《晉書·帝紀四·孝惠帝》九月乙酉中山王耽薨: The king of Zhongshan died on the eighth of October, 292 AD.

on the life story of Dharmarakṣa.

The importance of Dharmarakṣa is conspicuous. Hureau (2010: 745) lionizes him as the “most important translator” at the turn of 3rd century to the fourth. As a virtuoso whose translational caliber is unanimously approbated, Dharmarakṣa’s life experience has long been in researchers’ limelight. Two biographies in CSZJJ and GSZ are the most salient and seminal resources which most scholars avail themselves of.

Many scholars have contributed to the translation of Dharmarakṣa’s two biographies⁴⁵⁷. However, there are controversies over the life of Dharmarakṣa, which are important not only to the reconstruction of Dharmarakṣa’s life, but also to the probing of Dharmarakṣa’s capacity as a translator. In this section, I will examine four questions: 1. Dharmarakṣa’s progenitors and language abilities; 2. Dharmarakṣa’s life trajectory; 3. The so-called “ten years of blank period”; 4. Dharmarakṣa’s reputation and anecdotes.

4.3.2.1. Dharmarakṣa’s Progenitors and Language Ability

According to CSZJJ and GSZ, Dharmarakṣa hailed from a Yuezhi clan⁴⁵⁸ that had resided in Dunhuang for generations⁴⁵⁹. He left the household at the age of eight and took śramaṇa Zhu Gaozuo 竹高座⁴⁶⁰as his master⁴⁶¹. Ikeda (1986: 24) considers that Dharmarakṣa then adopted the cognomen “Zhu” from his teacher. Bai (2017: 124) also posits that Dharmarakṣa changed his surname after becoming his teacher’s disciple. He

⁴⁵⁷ As the two biographies bear great similarities except some details, I will jumble works on the translations and annotations of both biographies in CSZJJ and GSZ together: Ui (1979: 192–193); Hirai (1994: 11–25); Boucher (1996: 23–30; 2006: 14–21); Yoshikawa et al. (2009: 85–91); Kawano (2011: 48–64), etc.

⁴⁵⁸ The question concerning Yuezhi is very problematic. See Boucher (1996: 44–61) and Rong (1990: 47–62). Rong argues that Dharmarakṣa definitely originated from Little Yuezhi (小月支).

⁴⁵⁹ Most scholars agree that Dharmarakṣa came from Yue Zhi clan, but Wang proposes that he probably came from India (2008).

⁴⁶⁰ There is much debate about this appellation. Ikeda (1986: 24), Boucher (1996: 24, FN46), and Wakemi (2010: 92) consider this appellation to refer to a name. However, scholars like Bagchi (1927: 83), Zürcher (2007: 65), Hirai (1994: 20), Okabe (1965: 76), and Ui (1979: 192) hold that it may refer to a “honorific appellation”. Chou (1956: 31–32) has the same elucidation as to the origin of Dharmarakṣa, stating that he was a Yuezhi “belonging to Tukhora” and his teacher was named “Shri Mitra”.

Chen (1983: 6) repudiates Fei Zhangfang’s depiction of Dharmarakṣa’s life which adapted the description of Dharmarakṣa’s ancestors and his teacher, pointing out that such revision is groundless and unconvincing.

⁴⁶¹ Boucher (1996: 24, FN45) thinks that even though scholarly Dharmarakṣa’s “chujia 出家 (Skt. *pravrajita*)” is usually rendered as “become a monk”, this is impossible considering Dharmarakṣa’s age. He thinks this indicates that he became a novice (Skt. *Śrāmaṇera*) and only could receive full ordination (Skt. *Upasampadā*) at a certain age, “usually said to be twenty”. This will be an important piece of information later when we reconstruct Dharmarakṣa’s life trajectory.

studied arduously and his “exceptional abilities manifested themselves in many ways⁴⁶²”(Bagchi 1927: 84). When he roved in the western countries collecting scriptures, he mastered 36 languages. He also propagated and interpreted scriptures throughout his journey from Dunhuang to Chang'an. However, there are disputes regarding A. Dharmarakṣa’s proficiency in Chinese; and B. the 36 languages he is said to have mastered. These are interrelated questions, so I will discuss them one by one.

First, Dharmarakṣa’s proficiency in Chinese. According to CSZJJ and GSZ, Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese education level is described as “博覽六經。涉獵百家之言

[broadly read in the six classics and cursorily read the sayings of the hundred schools]⁴⁶³” and “博覽六經，遊心七籍

[broadly read in the six classics and set his mind to wander through the seven treatises]⁴⁶⁴”, respectively. Despite such delineation, there is no common consensus among researchers about Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese competence. Some scholars infer that Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese must have been fluent since his lineage lived in Dunhuang for generations, and Dunhuang has been part of China since the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. Bagchi (1927: 84) opines that he was “raised in a completely Chinese atmosphere” and he was as fervent as famous Chinese monks⁴⁶⁵. Conversely, some scholars express skepticism regarding Dharmarakṣa’s proficiency in Chinese. Based on information from colophons, Boucher (2008: 94) professes his opinion that Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese skills “remain questionable for many years to come”, suggesting he honed his Chinese skills during 273–284 — the so-called “blank period” in which he produced no translations (ibid: 95). Sharf also comments that he is one of the few translators whose “command of Chinese was often wanting” (Sharf 2001: 18). Considering Dharmarakṣa’s early renunciation and life in Dunhuang, Kawano posits that his exposure to Chinese culture might have been minimal. Despite descriptions in CSZJJ and GSZ, Kawano finds it challenging to determine Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese proficiency (2011: 65–66), generally maintaining a skeptical

⁴⁶² “Déjà dans son très jeune âge ses capacités exceptionnelles se manifestèrent dans voies différentes”.

⁴⁶³ T 2145.55.97c23. Translation adapted from Boucher’s translation (1996: 24).

⁴⁶⁴ T 2059.50.326c6. Translated by Boucher (1996: 24, FN47).

⁴⁶⁵ “Il fut élevé dans une atmosphère complètement chinoise et ses aspirations étaient celles d’un moine chinois, aussi ardentes que celles d’un Fa-hien (法顯) ou d’un Hiuan-tsang (玄奘)”.

stance.

However, as evident from Appendix 3 and Appendix 4, even though the biographies abound with phrases such as “he has widely read scriptures” — deemed “largely formulaic” by Palumbo (2013: 190, FN65) — mentions of monks having read the Six Classics are sparse, a sentiment also shared by Palumbo (*ibid*). Palumbo therefore confutes Kawano’s viewpoint that “a foreign novice” could not have received Chinese education, commenting that Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese readings were “wide but superficial” and his Chinese was “presumably fluent … from the beginning” (*ibid*: 189, FN65). Besides, just as Palumbo says “reference to Confucian readings is rarely attested” in foreign⁴⁶⁶ translators’ biographies, it is worth pointing out that such descriptions are also rare in the biographies of entirely indigenous Chinese monks and are considered as an advantage for monks.

Huiyuan 慧遠 is said to have been widely proficient in Six Classics and especially good at Zhuangzi and Laozi⁴⁶⁷. Senglüe 僧翌 was proficient in Six Classics and Tripitaka⁴⁶⁸. Daorong 道融, who recited Analects instantly, is said to have read and memorized all kinds of canons, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist⁴⁶⁹. Even renowned Dao’an, is praised by Xi Zaochi 習鑿齒 for having “widely but cursorily read all kinds of Buddhist and non-Buddhist books⁴⁷⁰”.

Few local Chinese monks widely read Confucian works, let alone foreign monks, or monks who lived outside popular Chinese culture hubs. Hence, even though it is an exaggerated and formulaic expression, biographers speak highly of Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese readings. Compared with other translators who did not enjoy such reputations, it is conceivable that Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese capability was on par with Kang Senghui 康僧會, who shares a similar description with Dharmarakṣa — “博覽六經” — and is depicted as “very good at literary composition⁴⁷¹”. His translations “marvelously

⁴⁶⁶ Just as Palumbo points out, the nationality of Dharmarakṣa is indeed problematic. As discussed above, however, at least Sengyou treated him as a Chinese.

⁴⁶⁷ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 6: 「博綜六經, 尤善《莊》、《老》」(T 2059.50.357c25).

⁴⁶⁸ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 6: 「通六經及三藏」(T 2059.50.363b3).

⁴⁶⁹ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 6: 「釋道融, 汝郡林慮人, 十二出家。厥師愛其神彩, 先令外學, 往村借《論語》。竟不齋歸, 於彼已誦。師更借本覆之, 不遺一字, 既嗟而異之, 於是恣其遊學。迄至立年, 才解英絕, 內外經書, 閣遊心府。」(T 2059.50.363b22–26).

⁴⁷⁰ T 2145 《出三藏記集》卷 15: 「理懷簡衷多所博涉。內外群書略皆遍覩。」(T 2145.55.108b17).

⁴⁷¹ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 1: 「頗屬文翰」(T 2059.50.325a17). Translated by Hirai (1993: 2).

obtained the style of the original scriptures, while the wordings and meaning are trustworthy and correct⁴⁷². As for his annotations, the words and style are “elegant and facile, yet their sense and purport is subtle and arcane⁴⁷³”.

Even though Dharmarakṣa’s translation quality or translation style is diverse from Kang Senghui’s⁴⁷⁴ — a topic for later discussion —, his Chinese proficiency should not bear so many doubts. I would therefore propose that his Chinese was fluent, as Palumbo suggests, and this could be later corroborated by other materials.

The same applies to Dharmarakṣa’s mastering of 36 foreign languages. Throughout CSZJJ and GSZ, of all the monks recorded, only three translators are explicitly authenticated as polyglots — Zhiqian, Dharmarakṣa, and śramaṇa Daopu 道普 from the Gaochang (cf. Karakhoja) region.

Zhi Qian “十三學胡書[...]備通六國語[learned *hu* script at thirteen years old [...] widely versed in six languages]” and Daopu was “善能胡書，解六國語 [good at *hu* script, understood six languages]”. Descriptions of Dharmarakṣa’s linguistic accomplishments are especially detailed:

There are thirty-six different languages and types of scripts in these foreign countries. Dharmarakṣa learned them all, penetrating and mastering the interpretation of classical philology. There was nothing about the pronunciation, meaning, letters, and graphs that he did not know⁴⁷⁵.

外國異言三十有六。書亦如之。護皆遍學貫綜古訓音義字體無不備曉。

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⁴⁷² T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 1: 「並妙得經體，文義允正」(T 2059.50.326a21–22). Adapted from Hirai (above)’s translation.

⁴⁷³ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 1: 「辭趣雅便，義旨微密」(T 2059.50.326a24). Adapted from Hirai (above)’s translation.

⁴⁷⁴ It must be noted that it is nearly a maxim for practical and professional translators/ interpreters that being well-versed in a certain language does not guarantee a good translator nor a good translation — if there is any universal standard for a “good” translation at all. Here is the discrepancy between descriptive translation studies and prescriptive translation studies.

⁴⁷⁵ I owe much to Boucher (1996: 25) and Hirai (1994: 13) for this translation.

⁴⁷⁶ T 2145.55.97c27–28.

Consequently, even if this might be a hyperbolic claim and, as Boucher suggests, “cannot be taken literally⁴⁷⁷”, it still mirrors the high regard held for Dharmarakṣa at that time — a true linguistic maestro⁴⁷⁸.

4.3.2.2. Reconstruction of Dharmarakṣa’s Life Trajectory

There are also discrepancies regarding Dharmarakṣa’s life trajectory. Among many incongruities between prefaces and biographies, I propose that the key to unpuzzling this issue lies in A. a comparative reading of Dharmarakṣa’s biography with other monks’ biographies; and B. the shift in the identities of Zhu Fasheng 竹法乘, a disciple of Dharmarakṣa.

Let us first examine biographies and prefaces related to Dharmarakṣa’s life. According to his biography, he went to western regions with his master during Emperor Wu’s time. He then learned 36 languages and brought *hu* texts to China. During his journey from Dunhuang to Chang’an, he started translating and propagating and continued these endeavors throughout all his life. At the end of Emperor Wu’s rule, he became a recluse on a mountain. Thereafter, he erected a temple outside the Azure Gate of Chang’an, attracting thousands of monks and disciples. When Zhu Fasheng was thirteen years old, a patriarch took pañcaśīla from Dharmarakṣa after testifying his nobility. Thereafter, Dharmarakṣa gained even more fame. He went on to propagate and disseminate Buddhism for over twenty years. When Emperor Hui came to Chang’an and the Guanzhong 關中 area was in upheaval, Dharmarakṣa and his disciples went southeast. When he arrived at Mianchi 濰池, he fell ill and died at the age of seventy-eight.

However, scholars disagree on several points: When did Dharmarakṣa go to the west to

⁴⁷⁷ Okabe (1965: 76) thinks “36 languages” means that Dharmarakṣa widely mastered languages of the western regions, and one should not think of it as “there were actually 36 languages in western regions 三十六の異語が實際西域に行われていたと解することはできない”.

⁴⁷⁸ Karashima (1992; 2009) and Boucher (1996) have both thoroughly discussed errors in Dharmarakṣa’s translations, enumerating the types of his errors such as his failure to tell long vowels and short vowels apart and confusion of consonants. Boucher therefore assumes that his original text was Gāndhārī or Gāndhārī Prakrit (but not limited to these sources), reflecting also on the impact an oral/aural translation process could have on the final work. The same assumption in terms of the original source languages is also corroborated by Karashima’s investigation, who thinks that at least for *Saddharma Pūḍarīka Sūtra*, Dharmarakṣa probably worked from a Gāndhārī or a mixed language of Gāndhārī and Sanskrit (2019: 6).

pursue scriptures? When did he become a hermit? When did he die?

Regarding the first question, most scholars find his biography contradicts the *Colophon to XTJ*. According to the biography, Dharmarakṣa went west during the reign of Emperor Wu (266–290) and returned to China with his discovered scriptures. Many scholars hold that “Dharmarakṣa only went to China once”, but this viewpoint contradicts key information in Dharmarakṣa’s biography. For example, Ui (1979: 192) suggests Dharmarakṣa did not go to the west during Emperor Wu’s time, but rather before his reign; Okabe (1965: 77) also surmises Dharmarakṣa came back from the western regions and then translated XTJ, implying he might have ventured west between 257–266. Since Dharmarakṣa lived as a recluse at the end of Emperor Wu’s reign, Tsukamoto deduces that he must have gone westwards during the first half of Emperor Wu’s time. This inference, however, conflicts with prefaces like XTJ. Tsukamoto therefore elicits the possibility that XTJ might not be what Dharmarakṣa got from the western regions, but a scripture that he had recited as a śrāmaṇera (1968: 197). However, Tsukamoto also admits that there are irresoluble paradoxes between the biography and other prefaces (ibid: 198).

Other scholars posit that Dharmarakṣa did not go to the West only once, but twice. Kamata (1982: 271) dichotomizes the circumstance into two possibilities: Either we dismiss the *Colophon to XTJ* completely and assume that, since he translated T 266 *Aweiyüezhizhe jing* 阿惟越致遮經 (Skt. *Avaivartikacakrasūtra*) in Dunhuang in 284, his journey from Dunhuang to Luoyang should have taken place between 284–286, or we trust the *Colophon to XTJ*, then Dharmarakṣa first came to Chang’an around 266, then went back to the west, and later came back first to Dunhuang in 284 and finally arrived in Chang’an in 286. Chen (1983: 7) is deeply convinced that Dharmarakṣa went to the west after he initial visit to Chang’an and Luoyang. He also proposes that Dharmarakṣa had begun translating before he went westwards, and these translated scriptures were not brought from the west. There are also scholars who question the authenticity of the *Colophon to XTJ* strongly (Palumbo) and even deny this note entirely (Tokiwa ibid: 611; Gu ibid).

Having discussed Ui's and Tokiwa's attitudes separately, Sasaki (1972: 475–476) concludes that we should either adopt the content of the biography as Ui did, or entirely deny the *Colophon to XTJ* as Tokiwa proposed. Recognizing the challenges of both approaches, he states, “currently it is impossible to clarify this issue further⁴⁷⁹”. Nevertheless, if we juxtapose the *Colophon to XTJ* with Dharmarakṣa's biography, we could educe a comparatively reasonable explanation for these contradicting statements.

When repudiating other scholars' assumptions based on the note, Gu (ibid) elucidates that this note must be fabricated. If the content of this note is real, then it would imply that Dharmarakṣa's Chinese proficiency was lacking at first, then he acquired good Chinese skills during his journey to the west — a preposterous conclusion reached by many scholars. Therefore, Gu reasons that a more reasonable scenario is: Dharmarakṣa was already good at Chinese when he was young in Dunhuang, afterwards he went west and then to Chang'an. He insists that without the dubious note, everything written in the biography is compatible with the translation records in *Youlu* (p. 234).

However, even though Gu shows upmost allegiance to the biography, his theory could, to a degree, challenge it.

Many scholars believe Dharmarakṣa was proficient in Chinese, mainly due to a sentence in his biography — which we have discussed above — stating that he “broadly read in the six classics and read the sayings of the hundred schools cursorily”. As analyzed above, this is a rare description given to monks, even to indigenous Chinese monks. This sentence could justify that Dharmarakṣa's Chinese was par excellence. Nevertheless, when most scholars employ this sentence in their justifications, they often neglect the content of this sentence — which is:

He was determined and studious, sought teachers over ten thousand *li*.
Therefore, he became broadly read in the six classics.
篤志好學萬里尋師。是以博覽六經。⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁹ “現状ではより明確にすることが不可能である”.

⁴⁸⁰ T 2145.55.97c22–23.

It is because he was industrious and traveled over a myriad of *li* that he could then widely read six classics. Like many other monks in early China, he did not have only one master. Then one may wonder where he could find a master under whose guidance and supervision he could finally “widely read in Chinese classics”? It is unimaginable that he would forsake indigenous Chinese teachers and go to other countries and kingdoms to study the six classics. Unlike other monks who, after finding a teacher, excelled in Buddhist doctrines or *Tripiṭaka* (see Appendix 3), the biographer only emphasizes that Dharmarakṣa quickly recited scriptures and, when he traveled far to find teachers, he read extensively in the six classics—instead of Buddhist texts⁴⁸¹. Accordingly, at least from the biography, it seems that he sought for teachers who were well-versed in six classics, which laid a solid foundation for his translation career.

There are only a few monks in both CSJJ and GSZ who are said to have gone far to seek teachers. In CSJJ, apart from Dharmarakṣa, only Samghabhadra 僧伽跋澄 and Samghadeva 僧伽提婆 are noted to have done so. In GSZ, there is also a Chinese monk, Shi Huiyu 釋慧豫, who reportedly traveled a great distance for instruction. But none of them are described as having traveled “a myriad *li*” to study. One may argue that this is only an exaggeration, but this expression can also be employed to roughly indicate the distance between China and the western regions. For example, Shi Zhimeng 釋智猛, hailing from Yongzhou 雍州 (with its administrative center in Chang'an), upon hearing that the Vaipulya scriptures were in the western regions, believed that he was nearly a physical (or figurative) one myriad *li* away from these scriptures⁴⁸². Sengyou also says that the scriptures came one myriad *li* away from the western regions⁴⁸³. Located in the middle, connecting the western regions and China, it is also geographically possible for Dharmarakṣa to have come to the inland to study, the distance from Dunhuang to Chang'an is about 5,000 *li*⁴⁸⁴, just about half of “wanli 萬里 [ten thousand *li*]”, if we

⁴⁸¹ This might explain some criticisms of him, as written in his biography. This will be discussed below.

⁴⁸² T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 3: 釋智猛, 雍州京兆新豐人。稟性端明, 勵行清白, 少襲法服, 修業專至, 諷誦之聲, 以夜續日。每聞外國道人說天竺國土, 有釋迦遺迹及《方等》眾經, 常慨然有感, 馳心遐外, 以為萬里咫尺, 千載可追也。T 2059.50.343b1–5.

⁴⁸³ T 2145 《出三藏記集》卷 1: 原夫經出西域。運流東方。提挈萬里翻傳胡漢。T 2145.55.1a23–25.

⁴⁸⁴ According to Google Maps, the shortest distance from Chang'an to Dunhuang's hallmark Mogao Caves is about

take the figure literally. Consequently, if Dharmarakṣa went to Chang'an and Luoyang once as a student and read six classics in the two metropolises, he would have been in a position to know that Vaipulya scriptures were not translated in Luoyang (cf. above: “寺廟圖像雖崇京邑。而方等深經蘊在西域”).

If Dharmarakṣa indeed came to the center of China twice, then what matters most is that he must have had certain connections in Chang'an before his travel to the west. In Dharmarakṣa's biography, we learn that he first laid eyes on the circumstances in Luoyang, noticing the absence of Vaipulya scriptures. This is quite natural and reasonable, because Luoyang was the thriving Buddhist hub at that time. However, what is unnatural is that according to his biography, after returning from the west, he chose not to settle in Luoyang for his translational and propagation career. Rather, he decided to reside in Chang'an. This is unusual because Buddhism was not as prosperous in Chang'an as it was in Luoyang. Even though there are also scholars who claim that Buddhism had permeated in Chang'an before West Jin (e.g., He 1980: 103), it is necessary to pay heed to the fact that Dharmarakṣa was *de facto* the first monk who took Chang'an as his *point d'appui*, according to current historical materials, all his monk precursors went directly to Luoyang. Accordingly, Dharmarakṣa must have connections and acquaintances in Chang'an. As a matter of fact, he did. The *Colophon to XTJ* states that Dharmarakṣa and his collaborators rendered this scripture in Chang'an; besides, Bo Yuanxin — one of the XTJ collaborators, was an inhabitant of Chang'an⁴⁸⁵. In addition, his most important assistant, whose name appeared in half of the prefaces to his translated scriptures — Nie Chengyuan, was also a native Chang'anese, as corroborated by Dao'an⁴⁸⁶. If this is the case, then Okabe's hypothesis makes perfect sense: Dharmarakṣa recited XTJ when he was a śrāmaṇera, translated it in

1,800 kilometers. Officially, one *li* is about 415 meters (Yang 2005; Hulsewé 1961), then “萬里” is c.a. 4,150 kilometers, roughly double the distance from Chang'an to Dunhuang. However, there are also scholars who compared Faxian's and Xuanzang's records with Indian measures *yōjaya* and concluded that 100 *li* = 12.12 miles ≈ 19,510 meters (Fleet 1906: 1013). If this is the case, then 10,000 *li* ≈ 2,000 kilometers, which is roughly the single route's distance from Chang'an to Dunhuang. Here, I followed Yang and Hulsewé's measurement. For different discussions about the measures of “*li*”, see also Weller (1920).

⁴⁸⁵ Dao'an commented that Bo Yuanxin was an inhabitant of Chang'an: “帛元信沙門法度此人。皆長安人也。” T 2145.55.62b28–29.

⁴⁸⁶ “然出經時人云聶承遠筆受。帛元信沙門法度此人。皆長安人也。” T 2145.55.62b27–29.

Chang'an and then went to the west to collect scriptures. Afterward, he came back to Chang'an.

Therefore, summarizing the information above and accepting the possibility that Dharmarakṣa came inland to China twice, then his early lifeline would be: Dunhuang (birthplace) → Luoyang (to study Chinese) → realized Vaipulya scriptures were unavailable in Luoyang → met people who were inhabitants of Chang'an → translated XTJ with his Chang'an companions → decided to go west → collect scriptures in Dunhuang and other places in the west → came back to Chang'an where he had connections → continued to translate scriptures and established a temple.

It would suffice to say that at this point, by combining the *Colophon to XTJ* and Dharmarakṣa's biography, one could presuppose that Dharmarakṣa went to Luoyang and Chang'an to study six classics and found Vaipulya scriptures that were not being translated in the capital. Having acquainted himself with several like-minded individuals from Chang'an, together with whom he translated XTJ, he set foot to the west and came back to Chang'an to disseminate Buddhism. The exact time of his journey is unknown, but he should have arrived in Chang'an and built a temple no later than 281 — the latest time when a patriarch came to him to ask for money (see below).

4.3.2.3. The Blank Period in Dharmarakṣa's Life Trajectory

When constructing the timeline of Dharmarakṣa's life, a fundamental source is his biography in the CSZJJ. To summarize again succinctly, he became a recluse at the end of Emperor Wu's reign and established a temple outside Chang'an's Azure Gate. During this time, the patriarch of a wealthy family, who wished to convert to Buddhism, decided to test Dharmarakṣa's integrity by asking to borrow 200,000 coins. Dharmarakṣa did not respond, but his thirteen-year-old disciple, Fasheng 法乘, granted permission without hesitation. Fasheng later explained to Dharmarakṣa that the request was merely a test of character. The following day, the patriarch, along with over a

hundred family members, returned to formally take refuge in Buddhism. As a result, Dharmarakṣa's fame grew, and he continued to spread Buddhism for over twenty years. When Emperor Hui came to Chang'an amid political unrest, Dharmarakṣa and his disciples fled eastward. Upon reaching Mianchi, Dharmarakṣa fell ill and passed away at the age of seventy-eight.

The description of Dharmarakṣa's life raises several controversies when compared with his translations. This section will discuss the so-called “blank period”. Scholars have observed that between 274 to 283, Dharmarakṣa issued no translations, leading to speculation about his activities during this decade, hence the term “blank period”. However, to unravel this mystery, it is essential first to summarize the debated points among scholars.

Among the various reconstructions of Dharmarakṣa's timeline, Okabe's proposal stands out as representative and widely accepted. After examining records in the CSJJ, LDSBJ, and KYSJL, Okabe (1965: 69–73) posits that Dharmarakṣa's translation work extended from 266 to 308, and he likely lived from 233 to 310. Ui arrives at a similar timeframe for Dharmarakṣa's life (1979: 193). Tsukamoto (1968: 197–198), however, suggests adjusting the birth and death years slightly earlier, to 232–309. The consensus among most scholars is that Dharmarakṣa died around 309–310. This is based on the *Colophon to Puyao jing* 普曜經 (Skt. *Lalitavistara Sūtra*, current T 186) found in Fascicle 7 of the CSJJ, which indicates a translation date in the Yongjia Era's second year (308) during the reign of Emperor Huai 懷帝 (fl. 307–311). Additionally, according to Sengyou's brief summary of Dharmarakṣa's translations, the work spanned from “the middle of the Taishi Era (266–274) to the second year of the Yongjiang Era (308) 太始中至懷帝永嘉二年⁴⁸⁷”. Based on *Youlu* and the *Colophon to Puyao jing*, it shows that Dharmarakṣa did not stop translating until 308. This evidence from *Youlu* and the *Colophon to Puyao jing* implies that Dharmarakṣa continued translating until 308. However, his biography in the CSJJ suggests that he fled and died shortly after Emperor Hui's visit to Chang'an (304–306). Palumbo thus

⁴⁸⁷ T 2145.55.9b29–c1.

proposes that Sengyou might not have known about the *Colophon to Puyao jing* when composing the biographical section⁴⁸⁸. I will take Dharmarakṣa's death happened between 308–310.

Here, I propose several new pieces of evidence to reconstruct Dharmarakṣa's lifeline, namely, 1. his disciple Zhu Fasheng — he was 13 when the touchstone incident of lending money to an influential patriarch happened and he scribed in 284; 2. the date of his reclusion: at the end of Emperor Wu's reign, which, according to Okabe (1965: 79), should be no later than 280; 3. the phrase “over twenty years 二十餘年” describing his time disseminating Buddhism after the touchstone incident; 4. Dharmarakṣa's companion Yu Falan 于法蘭, with whom Dharmarakṣa took seclusion in a mountain.

To begin with, I have created a flowchart to illustrate the sequence of incidents as recorded in the biography:

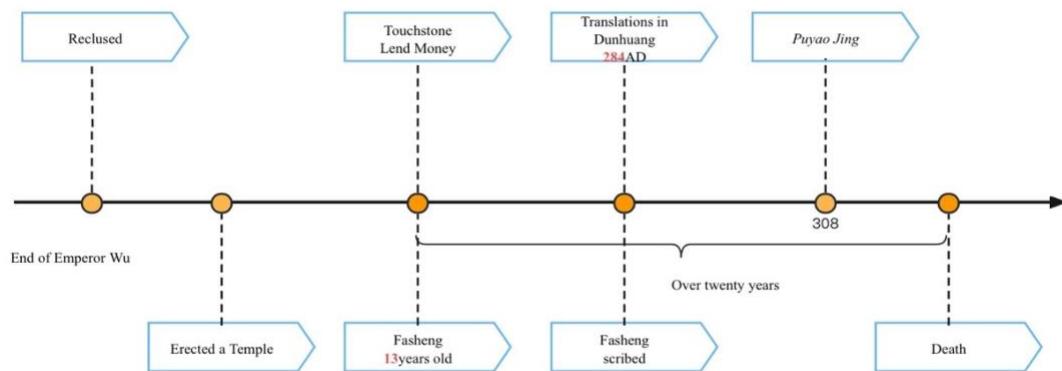


Figure 4.3 Sequence of Incidents in Dharmarakṣa's Biography

The most important clue is Fasheng's age and his age will be the parameter to test the relatively accurate timespan of Dharmarakṣa's lifeline. According to Dharmarakṣa's biography, Zhu Fasheng took Dharmarakṣa as his master at the age of eight, and the touchstone incident (the patriarch in Chang'an to attest Dharmarakṣa's non-attachment

⁴⁸⁸ However, as discussed in the previous chapter, Sengyou might not have been the actual author of the biography; it could have been added to the CSZJJ by him or his colleagues.

to money) happened five years later, when Fasheng was thirteen years old. This incident happened after the erection of a temple outside the Azure Gate of Chang'an, which also postdated Dharmarakṣa's reclusion. It must be noted that when Fasheng became Dharmarakṣa's disciple, he is described as a *shami* 沙彌 (novice monk, Skt. *śrāmanera*) in the biography. In both the colophon to T 606 *Xiuxing daodi jing* 修行道地經 (Skt. *Yogācāra-bhūmi*) and the colophon to T 266 *Aweiyuezhizhe jing*, which were both rendered in the year 284 in Dunhuang, Fasheng is then addressed as a *shamen* 沙門 (monk, Skt. *śramaṇa*⁴⁸⁹), alluding that it is not possible to think of him as a child anymore. It is also unimaginable that a child could take on the responsibility to scribe in a translation team⁴⁹⁰.

Taking Fasheng's age into consideration, we can then proceed to discuss the reclusion time, which, even though is said to have happened at the end of Emperor Wu's reign in the biography, could not have taken place later than 284. Many scholars have discussed the reclusion time. Sasaki (1972: 476–477) and Ui (1979: 193) observe that Dharmarakṣa was exceptionally prolific from 284 to 289, a period that aligns with the end of Emperor Wu's reign (265–290). This makes the notion of him becoming a hermit at this time questionable. Sasaki proposes that Dharmarakṣa may have lived as a recluse from 274 to 283, the “blank period” when no translations are recorded. Regarding his

⁴⁸⁹ The original connotation of the term *śramaṇa* is different from another well-accepted term in China — bhikṣu. When elaborating on early Buddhist Monachism, Dutt (2000: 64) differentiates the two “jargons” by explaining that *śramaṇa* does not necessarily equal a Buddhist bhikṣu, because a *śramaṇa* could even possibly mean “a Brāhmanical Paribrājaka or Sannyāsi”. Chakravarti (1983) examines thoroughly bhikṣu in the Buddhist and Jaina sense with that of *śramaṇas* and paribrājakas of other sects.

Albery denotes that in ancient India, monks in the North always “bear the title bhikṣu”, whereas a monk in the Northwest would commonly be referred to as *śramaṇa*. He also points out that it is not until Kuṣāṇa Period that the title bhikṣu appears (2020: 414).

Freiberger and Kleine offer a detailed illustration on the two terms (2011: 245–246) that: “Die Buddhisten verwenden für ordinierte Mitglieder des Saṅgha stattdessen den Begriff “Bettler” (Pāli. bhikkhu, Skt. bhikṣu; feminin bhikkhunī/bhikṣunī) und betonen damit, dass buddhistische Mönche und Nonnen von täglich erbettelter Nahrung leben ... und haben keinen festen Wohnsitz. Sie folgen hunderten von Regeln zum individuellen Verhalten, sprechen wenig und nur dem Dharma gemäß und vermeiden den Kontakt zum anderen Geschlecht [...] mit dem oft erscheinenden Begriff samaṇa (Skt. śramaṇa, “jemand, der sich anstrengt, Asket”), der interessanterweise gleichermaßen für Buddhisten und Nicht-Buddhisten verwendet wird. Der Begriff verweist auf eine bestimmte — asketische — Lebensform, die aus der Sicht der Verfasser vom buddhistischen Saṅgha ebenso wie von anderen religiösen Gemeinschaften praktiziert wurde und die sie damit deutlich von “Hausbewohnern” unterschied.“

⁴⁹⁰ It should be noted that Tandi already translated T 1433 *jiemo* 翟磨 (*karmavācanā*) in 255 — thirty years earlier than Fasheng scribed in Dunhuang in 284. In T 1433, the age of full ordination to become a monk is set at twenty. We may therefore assume that perhaps Buddhist practitioners at that time, including Dharmarakṣa, would have a certain knowledge of differences between ordained monks and novices. Even if the wordings used to describe a monk and a novice were ambiguous and not clear-cut, it still would be bizarre and unusual to let a child, take on a position that required comprehension of scripture and impressive written Chinese ability.

over twenty years of propagating Buddhism, Sasaki suggests this phase began post-284, once Dharmarakṣa had settled in Chang'an. Okabe proposes that he lived in seclusion between 286 and 288, and Tsukamoto also considers this activity took place during the “blank period”. Ōminami (1975: 25–26) counters these assumptions, reasoning that Okabe’s proposal overlaps with Dharmarakṣa’s most prolific period, while Tsukamoto’s contradicts with the record “at the end of Emperor Wu’s time”. He therefore posits that this reclusion should be around the year 289 and lasted for only a short period. Other scholars surmise an error in the biography. For example, Ui (1979: 192) and Kamata (1982: 271) assert, that it should be “the middle of Emperor Wu’s time”, indicating that the biography in CSJJ is erroneous, or the chronological order of the biography is somehow incorrect. Actually, later bibliographies or treatises, such as KYSJL, have identified this issue, therefore they altered this piece of information slightly and changed it to “later/ at that time dwelled in a mountain reclusively⁴⁹¹”

Following the descriptions in Dharmarakṣa’s biography, and adhering to the sequence of incidents as proposed in Figure 4.3, I propose that: 1. The reclusion did not happen after 286. Dharmarakṣa reclused with Yu Falan on the same mountain (Campany 2012: 102) and maintained good rapport with Yu Falan’s disciple, praising Yu Daosui 于道邃 as “the ridge beam of the Dharma 大法梁棟⁴⁹²” (Du 2004: 205). However, one of Yu Falan’s disciple Yu Fakai 于法開, excelled in *Fangguang jing*. Dharmarakṣa rendered out *Guangzan jing* in 286 — a homolog of *Fangguang jing*. As a disciple whose master sequestered himself together with Dharmarakṣa, Yu Falan would have at least heard of *Guangzan jing*. The fact that he was not aware of this scripture could only mean that Dharmarakṣa reclused with his master before 286 — contradicting Okabe’s proposal; 2. The reclusion started even earlier than 284 because, according to the sequence of incidents listed above, the touchstone incident happened after when Fasheng was 13 years old. If the recluse had happened before 284, this would mean when Fasheng

⁴⁹¹T 2154 《開元釋教錄》卷 2: 「末隱居深山」 (T 2154.55.496c26); X 1540 《法華經顯應錄》卷 1: 「時隱居深山」 (X 1540.78.25c7–8).

⁴⁹²T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 4: 護公常稱邃高簡雅素, 有古人之風, 若不無方, 為大法梁棟矣。T 2059.50.350b16–18.

scribed in 284, he was less than 13 years old — this is unthinkable. Because the colophons to T 606 and T 266 address him already as śramaṇa not a śramaṇera. Since Okabe argues that the “the end of Emperor Wu’s reign” is no earlier than 280, the reclusion should have happened between 280 — 284.

Actually, this should also be a couple of years earlier than 284. As the Figure 4.3 manifests, after Dharmarakṣa’s reclusion, he erected a temple which brought fame and thousands of disciples. During this time, the touchstone incident happened when Fasheng was 13 years old. Following this event, Dharmarakṣa became even more famous and “propagated and extolled Buddhism for more than twenty years ever since (於是 [...] 宣隆佛化二十餘年⁴⁹³)”. If we examine the description “over twenty years”, the subset of set A “over twenty years” \supseteq B {21, 22 ... 29}, with the maximum being 29 and the minimum being 21. As suggested above, I assume that Dharmarakṣa died between 308–310. Taking the maximum of “over twenty years” — 29 years, then the touchstone incident would have taken place between 279–281 at the earliest. However, since Dharmarakṣa reclused after 280 or else it could not be addressed as “the end of Emperor Wu’s reign”, the incident occurred between 280–281 at the earliest. In addition, given that the touchstone happened before 284 when Fasheng was old enough to scribe (at least >13 years old), therefore the minimum subset is 25 if Dharmarakṣa died in 308 and 27 if he died in 310. This means the touchstone incident happened at the latest in 283 when Fasheng was 13. Nevertheless, regardless of Fasheng’s extraordinary cleverness, it is still reasonable to rewind the timeline around 280–281, instead of 283, considering he was capable enough to scribe in 284. If the touchstone happened in 280–281 when Fasheng was 13, then he scribed in 284 when he was 16 or 17 years old — still under twenty when he could receive full ordination, but more reasonable than the scenario when the touchstone occurred around 283, which means he scribed at the age of fourteen.

Accordingly, a horizontal axis could be drawn to represent the possible timeline of

⁴⁹³ T 2145.55.98a18. Scholars such as Tsukamoto (1968: 198) propose that, judging from the fact that Dharmarakṣa started his translation career in 266, this sentence should be “more than forty years”. Nevertheless, as this comment refers to the touchstone incident, I will still adhere to the original explanation, just as Palumbo does (ibid: 199).

Dharmarakṣa's life:

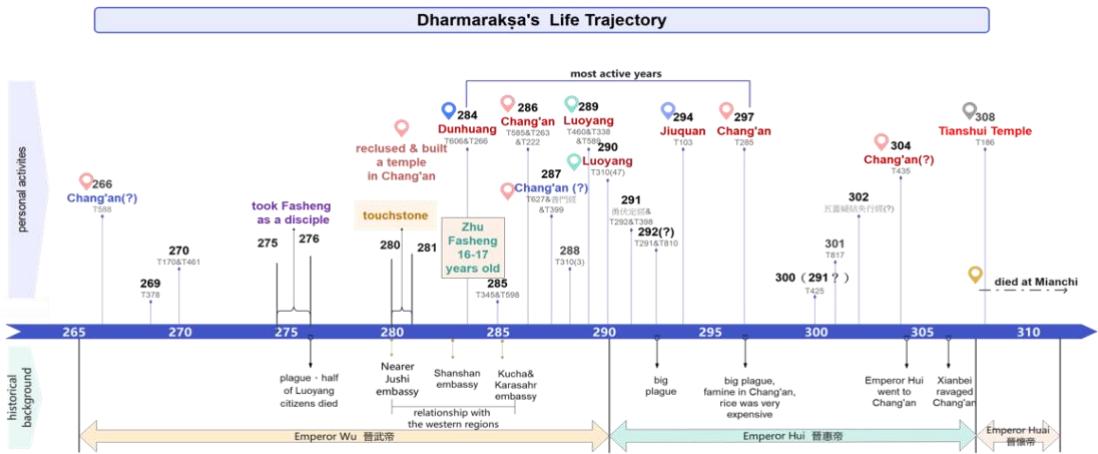


Figure 4.4 Dharmarakṣa's Life Trajectory

As for the scriptures listed in this chart, I have followed Kawano's selection criteria and focus only on the translated scriptures with a certain date provided in Gaolizang 高麗藏 (Tripitaka Koreana)'s version (2011: 87).

As the chart indicates, the patriarch in Chang'an could have visited Dharmarakṣa between 280 and 281, shortly after Dharmarakṣa's reclusion in the same year, when Fasheng was thirteen years old. I am inclined to think that this reclusion was not a long one, only lasting for a short period. After which, Dharmarakṣa erected a temple and the patriarch came to testify his personality. Since this happened when Fasheng was 13 years old, and Fasheng became a disciple of Dharmarakṣa at the age of eight, Dharmarakṣa should have become his master in year 275 or 276.

Accordingly, even though many scholars wonder what Dharmarakṣa was up to in the so-called “blank period” between 273⁴⁹⁴ and 284, he at least recruited disciples, established a temple and attracted scholars from afar; Ultimately he became so rich and celebrated that a patriarch gave him a test. In short, this is not a total “blank period”. Dharmarakṣa did not engage in translating (or no dates are attributed to his translations) is because he was occupied with tutoring and gaining fame and wealth.

⁴⁹⁴ If we follow the selections of Kawano (2011: 87), who bases his research on Gaoli's version, the “blank period” would be even longer, ranging from 270 to 284.

4.3.2.4. Dharmarakṣa's Reputation and Related Anecdotes

In her book *A Few Good Men*, Jan Nattier raises four intriguing principles when extracting historical data from descriptive sources, one of which is the principle of embarrassment. She elaborates that if an account is less flattering and more embarrassing, then there is “a high degree of probability that the statement has a basis in fact” (2003: 65–66). This is reflected in Dharmarakṣa’s descriptive biography, which states, “he never minded the defamations or commendations⁴⁹⁵”. This may insinuate that Dharmarakṣa actually received unflattering remarks. In CSZJJ and GSZ, apart from Dharmarakṣa, only two other monks are depicted in a similar way. One is Shi Huiyi 釋慧益, who was determined to commit to immolation, eliciting both supportive and critical comments⁴⁹⁶. The other is Yu Daosui 于道邃⁴⁹⁷, a compatriot of Dharmarakṣa from Dunhuang and disciple of Yu Falan 于法蘭 — a like-minded companion of Dharmarakṣa. Another figure who disregarded public judgements — yet received mainly negative feedback — was Kumārajīva. Despite being a prodigy who mastered Sarvāstivāda texts, he faced criticism for his “disregard for the monastic codes⁴⁹⁸” (Lu 2004: 14). Since Kumārajīva later violated monastic codes and must have run into a barrage of criticism, it is also reasonable to deduce that, in a similar way, Dharmarakṣa experienced both criticism and approval. The reason for such disapproval is unclear, but one possible motive could be his opulence.

It is no secret that Dharmarakṣa was an affluent monk. Zürcher (2007: 65), Tsukamoto

⁴⁹⁵ “雖世務毀譽。常介於視聽也” (T 2145.55.97c23–24). Scholars translate this sentence differently. Boucher renders it as “Although the world is caught up in praise and blame, Dharmarakṣa never had recourse to mere appearance and reputation (1996: 24)” while Hirai (ibid: 12) chose “Though people in the society of his day who held responsible positions might slander or flatter him, he never would be prejudiced by this”. Yoshikawa and Funayama (ibid: 85) translate the sentence as “世俗が気にかける毀譽褒貶などはまったく意に介さなかった [He did not mind at all the compliments or denigrations that secular people would be concerned about]”. Kawano (2011: 50) construes it as “世務、毀譽ありと雖も未だ嘗て視聽に介せざりき [Even though there were worldly affairs and appraisals, he never minded]”.

⁴⁹⁶ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 12: 「釋慧益…誓欲燒身，眾人聞者，或毀或讚」 (T 2059.50.405b2–4).

⁴⁹⁷ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 4: 「于道邃，燉煌人…至年十六出家，事蘭公為弟子。學業高明，內外該覽，善方藥，美書札，洞諳殊俗，尤巧談論。護公常稱邃高簡雅素，有古人之風，若不無方，為大法棟矣。後與蘭公俱過江，謝慶緒大相推重。性好山澤，在東多遊履名山。為人不屑毀譽，未嘗以塵近經抱。」 (T 2059.50.350b13–20).

⁴⁹⁸ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 2: 「為性率達，不厲小檢，修行者頗共疑之，然什自得於心，未嘗介意。」 (T 2059.50.330c11–12).

(1968: 195;202), and Kamata (1982: 280) all mention his great wealth. GSZ clearly indicates that he owned tremendous wealth⁴⁹⁹, which was perhaps widely known at that time, as evidenced by a patriarch's desire to borrow money from Dharmarakṣa to test his character. The behavior of an ordained monk possessing great wealth was likely frowned upon. Prior to Dharmarakṣa's advent in Luoyang, Saṃghavarman had already translated Karmavācanā, which manifests that a monk should not touch treasures⁵⁰⁰. Even though in reality, there were certain circumstances when such a code could not be kept (He 1986: 158–163), the general consensus was that monks should not lead a rich or extravagant life. At the end of Emperor Hui 惠帝's reign (290–306), Jīvaka 耆域 came to Luoyang. He criticized that the garments of the monks were so resplendent that they did not accord with the simple tenor of dharma⁵⁰¹. Besides, also in *Zhengwu lun*, when reproaching Buddhism, the antagonist lambasted the prodigality and extravagance of Buddhist monks who assembled believers to erect stūpas and temples⁵⁰². Accordingly, in Dharmarakṣa's time, possessing too much treasure or displaying luxury may not have been approved of, neither from the perspective of a Buddhist monk nor from that of outsiders.

4.4 Translation Process

As a corollary to a detailed analysis of “infelicities and misunderstandings” in Dharmarakṣa's translations, Boucher notices and expounds on the indispensable role assistants played in the translation process (1996: vi; 62–102). Unlike later translators Kumārajīva and Xuanzang, who enjoyed the royal family's support, Dharmarakṣa worked at the private translation forum “yichang 譯場”, backed up by his own assistants and other lay donators (Yang 1996:100). These collaborators were overwhelming in number⁵⁰³ and formative in the quality of Dharmarakṣa's translations. However, after

⁴⁹⁹ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 4: 「護既道被關中, 且資財殷富」(T 2059.50.347b27).

⁵⁰⁰ T 1433 《羯磨》: 「盡形壽不得捉持生像金銀寶物」(T 1433.22.1053a22–23).

⁵⁰¹ T 2059 《高僧傳》卷 9: 「又譏諸眾僧, 謂衣服華麗, 不應素法」(T 2059.50.388a27–28).

⁵⁰² T 2102 《弘明集》卷 1: 「又誣云。道人聚斂百姓。大構塔寺。華飾奢靡。費而無益云云」(T 2102.52.8a18–19).

⁵⁰³ Okabe (1965: 86) enumerates 31 assistants, whereas Sasaki (1972: 486-487) lists 38 collaborators of

applying social network analysis to early Buddhist translators, Bingenheimer (2020: 90–91) finds that from a network perspective, early translators, even Dharmarakṣa with his copious translations, cannot yet be connected to “the main component”. Besides, Bingenheimer also reports that none of the seventeen collaborators listed in Boucher’s text could be connected to “anybody in the central component”. Nevertheless, even though Bingenheimer analyzes that Dharmarakṣa and his collaborators cannot be directly connected with the development of Buddhism in China, as seen from Appendix 5, Dharmarakṣa could have indirectly related with a core figure — Zhi Dun 支遁 — and his social relations could suggest his multiple identities, i.e., not only as a translator as conventionally perceived, but rather, or more importantly, as a disseminator of Buddhist canons, which could conduce also to the decipherment of his translation process.

One of the most salient and influential works in this regard was written by Boucher, in which he explicitly and thoroughly explored and examined the translation process of Dharmarakṣa’s group, scrupulously talking out every problematic aspect of the translation process as provided by colophons and prefaces. Nevertheless, it cannot be neglected that there are certain illogical and parochial comprehensions of the translation process in his argumentations. I totally agree with Boucher’s translations of prefaces and colophons concerning Dharmarakṣa, and his endeavor to analyze the translation process case by case; nevertheless, it should be pointed out from the outset that these prefaces and colophons are hardly composed by the same person, therefore the wordings and phrases applied could sometimes reflect only the composers’ idiosyncrasies and occasionally it could be too far-reaching to establish certain philological regularities. However, I am not insinuating that these prefaces are completely solitary and isolated, rather we could contrast them in general to investigate the possible translation processes that Dharmarakṣa’s team might have adopted.

Besides, it is also important to notice that the notion of a “translator” in early times

Dharmarakṣa, which was adopted later by Kamata (1982: 277–278). Boucher (2006: 30–31) traces the provenance of 17 collaborators, and Bingenheimer (2020: 90, FN 7) says Radich has another list which has more than thirty collaborators.

could be completely different from the prevailing concept. Just as St. André (2010: 76–81) and Fan (2013: 54–55) have pointed out, “translator” should not be considered as a singular form, but rather a plural one in many cases in Chinese translational activities⁵⁰⁴. A current translator would first read the text, construe its meaning, and then conduct the interlingual interchange — i.e., decoding in his/her cerebral “black box” — and then put the translation down in writing or in a word file⁵⁰⁵. A complete translation should also include proofreading and editorial revision. These steps that take us to a final so-called “translation” are integral and inseparable. Unlike current translators, these steps are divided and allocated to different people in Buddhist translation. However, the gist does not change — we should still regard them as a monolithic and indissoluble whole, a “translaborative” process.

Lastly, I would also like to propose to take Dharmarakṣa’s multiple identities, i.e., not only as a translator, but also as a propagator, a renowned monk, a wealthy man, an abbot of two temples⁵⁰⁶, a polyglot, and a teacher, into consideration when analyzing his relevant materials.

4.4.1 The Verb “chu 出”

Next, I would like to probe into the details of Dharmarakṣa’s translation process. There are currently seventeen prefaces and colophons with plenty of information about his team’s translation processes. Just as Boucher argues, even these prefaces and colophons seem to offer explicit information as to who did what, the labor division is not a straightforward task (1996: 88).

The primary difficulty we run into when trying to decipher Dharmarakṣa’s translation process, or, on a larger scale, the translation processes of all Buddhist translators, would

⁵⁰⁴ For a general discussion on Chinese perception of “translating” and “interpreting”, see Tan (2019: 9–32).

⁵⁰⁵ For a more detailed discussion on the black box theory or the translation process in general, see Laufer (2002); Gorlée (2010); Ehrensberger-Dow et al. (2015); Schwieter and Ferreira (2017).

⁵⁰⁶ In CSJJ and GSZ, there are only records that suggest Dharmarakṣa had built a temple in Chang’an. However, in T 2037 *Shishi jigu lüe* 釋氏稽古略, it says he had also built a *qielan* 伽藍 (Skt. *saṃgharāma*) in Dunhuang. T 2037 《釋氏稽古略》卷 1: 「護晉於燉煌(今甘肅省沙州路。古流沙地。禹貢雍州之域也)建立伽藍」(T 2037.49.774b9).

be the verbs applied to modify the translational process. One of the biggest challenges is the verb “*chu* 出 [issue]” which scholars found intractable.

Rao (1997: 410) focuses on CSZJJ and concludes that, throughout this book, *chu* should not be taken only as “translate” but rather has five different meanings depending on different circumstances. Rao categorizes them into: *yichu* 譯出 [interpret and issue]; *zhuanchu* 撰出 [write and issue]; *chaochu* 抄出 [copy and issue]; *xuanchu* 宣出 [expound and issue]; *songchu* 詩出 [recite and issue], and *yanchu* 演出 [demonstrate and issue].

Link (1960: 30) adopts Chao Yuen-ren’s terminology and thinks *yichu* 譯出 means “translated [with the result that a book] is issued” and corrects the translation of CSZJJ from “*Excerpts from the Tripitaka*” to “*A Collection of Records on the [Issued=] Translated Tripitaka*”.

Funayama (2017: 154) considers that *chu* means to put the translation into Chinese written language⁵⁰⁷.

Zacchetti (2005: 52, FN10) believes the translation of this particular word should be decided upon the context. He argues that even Boucher contends that *chu* may designate a “particular function within the translation process”, however in a broader context *chu* “may be used to signify [...] the translation as such.”

Having analyzed different materials, Zhang and Kuang (2018) contest that *chu* did not mean “*yi*” before the East Jin Dynasty and that before the late East Jin Dynasty, it had three layers of connotations: *shuyan* (述言, narration), *jiyan* (記言, recording), and *xiejing* (寫經, writing/copying). After the late East Jin Dynasty, they consider that the meaning had been generalized and, judging from Dao'an's prefaces, it could basically be equaled with *yi*.

Boucher (2008: 93), in particular, offers a thorough analysis of the verb “*chu*”. He then recaps that *chu* is a process which requires “at least two steps that were not necessarily performed by the same person”: 1. to recite aloud and decode the original text; and 2. to explain it in Chinese.

⁵⁰⁷ His original sentence is: 「出」は漢語で文章化することを示す言葉である。

However, after selecting all usages in CSZJJ where *chu* is employed, it seems that the actual circumstances are more complicated than scholars' summaries and it is more opportune to comprehend the meaning of this verb case by case. Even though most of the cases could be rendered into "issue" as contended by Boucher and most of the usages match Rao's categorizations, there are cases where the verb drifts away from Boucher's two-step hypothesis and also cases that go beyond the framework Rao proposes.

For example, in *Youlu*, where most of the translators are credited with the verb "yichu 譯出 [interpreted and issued]", Śrīmitra is described only as "*chu*". The possible reason behind this is Sengyou found Śrīmitra did not understand Chinese at all. This could be corroborated by GSZ, where Śrīmitra is depicted as "does not learn *jin* language". Therefore, it is nearly impossible for this *chu* to mean that he explained the content in Chinese, if we follow Boucher's assumptions totally. The same applies to Seng Fani 僧法尼, a native Chinese who declared herself to have received scriptures from the heaven. What she did was basically recite these scriptures, and again this *chu* modifying her does not comply with Boucher's proposal. Besides, Boucher also contends that *chu* is never used to demonstrate the "transference into Chinese", but he may have overlooked three examples in CSZJJ where *chu* is tightly connected with the transformation into Chinese, and this verb indeed has a connotation of "translating" under some circumstances⁵⁰⁸. It is thus necessary to discuss different usages of this enigmatic *chu* in CSZJJ.

After analyzing the circumstances in Taishō, I will attempt to divide the usages of *chu* into seven categories:

i). General issuing of a text

This connotation is widely employed in CSZJJ and implies the general issuance of a

⁵⁰⁸ T 2145 《出三藏記集》卷 5: 「即遣弟子十人。送至雒陽。出為晉音」(T 2145.55.41c28–29); 《出三藏記集》卷 11: 「諸出為秦言。便約不煩者皆蒲陶酒之被水者也。」(T 2145.55.80b24–25); 《出三藏記集》卷 14: 「以永明十年秋。譯出為齊文凡十卷。即百句譬喻經也。」(T 2145.55.106c29–107a1).

scripture, especially when the exact translation process is unknown or when the function of the monk under whose name a scripture is credited is unclear. For example, in *Youlu*, Sengyou assigned the verb *yichu* to most of the presiding translators. However, apart from the above-mentioned Śrīmitra case, where *chu* vaguely denotes “to issue”, there is also a similar case:

Upālipariprcchā-sūtra (cf. *Vinaya-viniścaya*), one fascicle [...]

All the catalogs say that it was ***chu*** (issued) in Dunhuang, Liangzhou. The name of the translator is unknown. It is said that it was *chu* (issued) during the Jin Dynasty, yet under which emperor’s reign is unclear.

決定毘尼經一卷[...]

眾錄並云。於涼州燉煌出。未審譯經人名。傳云。晉世出。未詳何帝時⁵⁰⁹。

Compared with other circumstances in *Youlu*, where most of the verbs used to describe the action of translating are *yichu*, the meaning of this *chu* is more ambiguous. No information is known about this scripture, neither the translator nor the exact time of translation. Accordingly, Sengyou would have no idea about the explicit translation background of this scripture and could only use the general term *chu* to describe its issuance.

ii). Synonym of *yi* 譯-related expressions

Apart from the predicate-complement structure *yichu*, which directly links with “interpreting /translating”, *chu* could also denote the same meaning or refer to the translation process under given conditions.

For example,

Interpreting *hu* to *jin* language, this is not ***chu*** (done) by one person. (Interpreters/translators) were either good at *hu* language but estranged from *jin* language, or proficient in *jin* language but did not know *hu* language.
譯胡為晉出非一人。或善胡而質晉。或善晉而未備胡⁵¹⁰。

⁵⁰⁹ T 2145.55.12a21-23.

⁵¹⁰ T 2145.55.39b22-23.

Judging from the context, *chu* here means the translation process of converting *hu* language into *jin* language. Similarly,

What he had ***chu*** (issued) amounted to millions of words. They were either orally explained, or disseminated in writing.

凡厥所出數百萬言或以口解。或以文傳。⁵¹¹

Here, it also seems that oral interpretation and written form together belong to *chu*, implying that *chu* here is the total sum of spoken and written ways of rendering a scripture.

Also, it could be pinned down to mean “interpret/ translate”:

(Zhu Shixing) instantly dispatched ten disciples to send (the scripture) to Luoyang. (It was) ***chu*** (interpreted) into *jin* sound.

即遣弟子十人。送至雒陽。出為晉音。⁵¹²

Also in the biography of An Shigao, he is commented as:

Many of the disseminated interpretations were erroneous and abusive, only Shigao’s ***chu*** (issuing) of scriptures is the top of all interpretations.

先後傳譯多致謬濫。唯世高出經為群譯之首。⁵¹³

As shown above, *chu* is compared with “*chuanyi* 傳譯 [disseminate and interpret]” and *yi* 譯 [interpret(ation)], alluding that under such context, *chu* is tinted with the meaning “interpreting”.

iii). Encompassing expression of all verbs pertinent to the translation process

This is the case where *chu* is employed to wrap up the basic translation process from reading out the scripture to the scribing of the oral translation. Its meaning resembles ii) above but the procedures are more detailed than those in ii).

⁵¹¹ T 2145.55.69c27–28.

⁵¹² T 2145.55.41c28–29.

⁵¹³ T 2145.55.95c18–19.

One example is the *Colophon to Mañjuśrīvikurvāṇaparivarta-sūtra* 魔逆經記:

On the second day of the twelfth month of the tenth year of Taikang Era (December 30, 289), Yuezhi Bodhisattva Dharmarakṣa held the *brāhma* text and orally expounded (it) into *jin* language. Nie Daozhen scribed. It was first *chu* (issued) in White Horse Monastery located at the west of Luoyang. Zhe Xianyuan copied it to circulate the merits and virtues.

太康十年十二月二日。月支菩薩法護。手執梵書口宣晉言。聶道真筆受。於洛陽城西白馬寺中始出。折顯元寫使功德流布。⁵¹⁴

As analyzed by Chen (2005: 634), who takes *shichu* 始出 to mean that the translation was started on that day and interprets *chu* as “translate”, it can also be seen here that *chu* appears after the whole translation process and seems to wrap up the procedures from holding the text, expounding into Chinese, to writing it down.

Another example is the *Preface to Vaibhāṣika* 韶婆沙序, in which there are two *chu* whose meanings differ slightly. This will be analyzed below in conjunction with iv) “manifestation of authority”.

iv). Manifestation of authority

Chu can also be employed to manifest authority, functioning as a kind of ritual formula to exalt the one who issues and to exhibit orthodoxy.

There are quite a few examples where the expression “*qing/qiulingchuzhi* 請/求令出之 [plead (the issuer) to issue the text]” is used. Usually, the monk, as the issuer who is usually described as holding the text, would be the presider of the translation process and the translation will bear his name.

For example, the preface to *Vaibhāṣika* says:

The jibin śramaṇa Samghabhadra read and recited this text... came to Chang'an. Zhao. Zheng... pleaded him to *chu* (issue) it. His compatriot śramaṇa Dharmanandi scribed into *fan* words. Buddharakṣa (?) interpreted and transmitted, Minzhi scribed into this *qin* language. Zhao Zheng rectified the meaning from the beginning to the end. It was *chu* (issued) in the fourth month, and was completed on the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month.

⁵¹⁴ T 2145.55.50b6-9.

罽賓沙門僧伽跋澄。諷誦此經...來至長安。趙郎...求令出焉。其國沙門曇無難提筆受為梵文。弗圖羅刹譯傳敏智筆受為此秦言。趙郎正義起盡⁵¹⁵。自四月出。至八月二十九日乃訖。⁵¹⁶

It can be assumed that Samghabhadra recited this scripture, and he may also have explained the scripture since he was “特善數經⁵¹⁷ [especially good at Sarvāstivāda scriptures]” just as Boucher proposes. It also conveys a sense of authority to have the scripture issued under Samghabhadra’s name to ensure its authenticity.

It must be noted here that the two *chu* are slightly different from each other: the first *chu* could denote a sense of authority, and what Samghabhadra did was “enunciate from his memory” as Chen proclaims (*ibid*: 609–610), while the second is the same as iii) — to encompass the translation process.

Nevertheless, there is also one intriguing example where the local magistrate could be the one who *chu* (issues) a scripture. The *Colophon to Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra* says:

Inspector of Liang Prefecture Zhang Tianxi, *chu* (issued) this Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra. At that time, there was a Kushan upāsaka Zhi Shilun holding the *hu* text [...] the interpreter was Bo Yan, prince of Kucha, who was good at both *jin* and *hu* sounds [...] The scribes were Attendant Zhao Xiao of Xihai Commandery, Ma Yi, Magistrate of Huishui, and Valet Lai Gongzheng [...] Zhang Tianxi composed the rhetoric by himself. His rhetoric followed the original text without any ornaments.

[...]涼州刺史張天錫。在州出此首楞嚴經。于時有月支優婆塞支施嵩。手執胡本 [...]時譯者歸慈王世子帛延善晉胡音 [...]受者常侍西海趙肅會水令馬奕內侍來恭政 [...]涼州自屬辭。辭旨如本不加文飾。⁵¹⁸

Clearly, Zhang Tianxi was not the one holding the text, and he did not engage in the main translation process either. What he did is comparable to polishing the translation. Yet he is the one who “issued” the text, manifesting that as a former governor of Liangzhou and current inspector, he was the symbol of authority, just as other foreign monks who brought Buddhist texts to China were regarded as authoritative.

⁵¹⁵ Taishō and Nakajima’s segmentations are “趙郎正義。起盡自四月出[...]” yet Su and Xiao read it as “趙郎正義起盡。自四月出[...]”. I would like to follow Su and Xiao’s reading here, even though there is no big difference made in terms of the construing of translation process between the two ways of segmenting.

⁵¹⁶ T 2145.55.73c3–8.

⁵¹⁷ T 2059.50.328a29–b1.

⁵¹⁸ T 2145.55.49b19–29.

v). Indicate certain specific translation positions/procedures

In *Youlu*, where most translator's work is described as “yichu”, Kumārabuddhi is different:

During the time of Emperor Xiaowu of the Jin Dynasty, the western śramaṇa Kumārabuddhi *chu* (issued) from the Ye Temple. Kumārabuddhi held the *hu* script, Zhu Fonian and Fohu interpreted. Sengdao and Sengrui scribed.

晉孝武時。西域沙門鳩摩羅佛提。於鄴寺出。佛提執胡本。竺佛念佛護為譯。僧導僧叡筆受。⁵¹⁹

It is clear that, unlike i) above, where *chu* is used when Sengyou did not know the exact translation process, he did know what Kumārabuddhi had done here. Personally, I construe that *chu* is used here not only to indicate authority as in iv), but also to denote certain translation positions. Therefore, after saying Kumārabuddhi *chu* (issued) the text, it is quickly explained what he had done exactly, namely, to hold the *hu* script.

Also, Sengzhao 僧肇's response to Liu Yimin 劉遺民, which is also partly recorded in CSZJJ, says:

(Two) vibhāṣa masters *chu* (issued) the *hu* script of *Śāriputra-abhidharma* in the Shiyang Temple, even though it was yet to be interpreted, people inquired about its content⁵²⁰.

毘婆沙法師於石羊寺出《舍利弗阿毘曇》胡本，雖未及譯，時問中事。

⁵²¹

Even though this *chu* here also conveys a sense of orthodoxy, it is clear that it does not include the “interpretation/translation” part, thus possibly denoting the recitation or explanation of this text. Either case, this refers to the procedures before the real translation and indicates one or two preparatory steps before the actual bilingual transformation.

⁵¹⁹ T 2145.55.10b14–16.

⁵²⁰ I owe much of this translation to Robinson (1967: 298, FN28).

⁵²¹ T 1858.45.155c17–18; In CSZJJ, the version is 三藏法師於中寺出律[...]於石羊寺出舍利弗阿毘曇胡本雖未及譯。時問中事 (T 2145.55.20c15–18).

vi). Collective verb of multifarious meanings

Unlike i), where *chu* denotes a general meaning of issuing, *chu* could also encompass many meanings such as reciting and producing, under given circumstances.

For example, in Fascicle 2, CSZJJ, there is:

Nun Precepts (Skt. *Bhikṣuṇī-saṃvara* cf. *Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya*(?))

Dharmarakṣa *chu* (issued) *Biqiuni*

Shi Sengchun *chu* (issued) *Biqiuni dajie*

Shi Faying *zhuan* (compiled) *Shisong biqiuni jieben* (Skt. *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa*)(T1437)]

Mili *chuan* (transmitted) *Dabiqiuni jie*

The scripture on the right was *chu* (issued) by four people.

比丘尼戒

(竺法護出比丘尼

釋僧純出比丘尼大戒

釋法顥撰十誦比丘尼戒本

覓歷所傳大比丘尼戒)

右一經四人出。⁵²²

Sengyou employed different verbs — *chu*, *zhuan*, *chuan* — to explicate different works done by these four people. Nevertheless, he ultimately used *chu* to summarize these variant verbs, suggesting that *chu* could be a collective verb with variegated meanings. Another example is a comment appended by Sengyou to the preface written by Wang Sengru 王僧孺, where Sengyou cited the content of the colophon to *Shengfayin jing* (聖法印經, Skt. *Acaladharmaṇudrā-sūtra*):

The colophon to *Acaladharmaṇudrā-sūtra* says [...] Bodhisattva śramaṇa Dharmarakṣa *chu* (issued) this scripture at Jiuquan.

聖法印經後記云 [...] 菩薩沙門支法護。於酒泉出此經。⁵²³

Yet the real colophon adds one character before *chu* and reads as: Dharmarakṣa *yanchu* (演出, expounded and issued) the scripture.

Having read the original colophon in person, Sengyou did not use the original

⁵²² T 2145.55.14c28–15a2.

⁵²³ T 2145.55.51a27–29.

compound verb *yanchu*, but only employed *chu* solely. This could indicate that, at least to Sengyou, there was not much difference between *yanchu* and that *chu* and *yanchu* could be categorized under *chu*.

vii). Miscellaneous usages

There are also some miscellaneous usages of this verb in CSZJJ. For example, in the preface to *Faju jing*:

The words he (Zhu Jiangyan) conveyed were either *hu* language, or the sound was ***chu*** (coming out) based on the meaning.
其所傳言或得胡語。或以義出音。⁵²⁴

Also, Sengyou wrote:

However, the catalog of Master Hu (aka. Dharmarakṣa) also ***chu*** (recorded) four fascicles of *Wujinyi jing* (Skt. *Akṣayamatinirdeśa-sūtra*). It is unclear whether it is the same text or not.

但護公錄復出無盡意經四卷。未詳與此本同異。⁵²⁵

It is clear that reading between the lines, *chu* cannot be construed as any of the previous six previous genres.

After reading through all the examples of *chu* in CSZJJ which are relevant to issuing a scripture, I have principally summarized seven genres of how *chu* could be interpreted. Notwithstanding, sometimes there are no clear-cut divisions between the seven genres and they could be intermingled. Moreover, what has been analyzed is *chu* itself; the varied compounds are generally not taken into consideration⁵²⁶ in this chapter.

⁵²⁴ T 2145.55.50a11–12.

⁵²⁵ T 2145.55.63b11–12.

⁵²⁶ There are indeed many compounds that could be paired with *chu*. Throughout CSZJJ, there are expressions such as 傳出, 著出, 譯出, 請出, 書出, 寫出, 異出, 抄出, 撲出. 宣出, 略出, 詩出, 授出, 講出, 說出, 更出, 重出, and 復出. Further study of the compound matter is needed.

4.4.2 The Translation Process and the Role of Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠

Having to some extent clarified the basic meaning of *chu*, we can now step forward and examine the translation process of Dharmarakṣa's groups.

All information concerning the translation process preserved in prefaces and colophons has been summarized in Appendix 6. The seminal content of Appendix 6 can be sorted out as follows in a chronological order:

No.	Text	Time	Place	Main Translation Process	Others
A	<i>Xuzhen tianzi jing</i>	266	Chang'an	口授出+傳言+手受 orally confer + transmit words + scribe	
B	<i>Xiuxing daodi jing</i>	284	Dunhuang	共演+筆受 together expound + scribe	勸助 + 正 書寫 sponsor + copy
C	<i>Aweiyuezhizhe jing</i>	284	Dunhuang	口敷晉言+授法乘使 流布 orally explained (in <i>jin</i> language) + confer to Facheng to spread it out	
D	<i>Chixin jing</i>	286	Chang'an	說出梵文+授承遠 explain and issue <i>fan</i> text + confer to Chengyuan	
E	<i>Zhengfahua jing</i>	286	Chang'an	手執胡經口宣出正 法華經+授承遠+筆	勸助 + 參 校/重覆 +

				受 hold <i>hu</i> script, orally expound and issue ⁵²⁷ ... + confer to Chengyuan + scribe	寫經 sponsor + revise + copy
F	<i>Guangzan jing</i>	286	Chang'an	出/執胡本+筆受 issue/ hold <i>hu</i> script + scribe	
G	<i>Wenshushilijinglù jing</i>	289	Luoyang	從出/宣現者轉之爲 晉+筆受 issued from/ expound the extant (text) and turn it into <i>jin</i> language + scribe	勸助 sponsor
H	<i>Moni jing</i>	289	Luoyang	手執梵書口宣晉言+ 筆受 hold <i>fan</i> script and orally expound <i>jin</i> words + scribe	寫經 sponsor + copy
I	<i>Yongfuding (Shoulengyan) jing</i>	291	?Chang'an ⁵²⁸	手執胡經口出首楞 嚴三昧+筆受 hold <i>hu</i> script, orally issue... + scribe	
J	<i>Rulai da'ai jing</i>	291	?Chang'an	手執胡經+口授承遠 hold <i>hu</i> script + orally confer to Chengyuan	正書晉言 +覆校 copy + revise

⁵²⁷ Opposing Boucher's translation, Zhu thinks this should be rendered as "translate orally" (2010: 498). However, I will still adopt Boucher's translation here.

⁵²⁸ In this preface, there is no clear record that shows Dharmarakṣa translated this in Chang'an. However, Dao'an commented in his preface that, since Nie Chengyuan was a Chang'an local, this scripture must have been translated in Chang'an. Analogously, I have included "?Chang'an" as the translation locale for every scripture whose scribe was Nei Chengyuan. See T 2145 《出三藏記集》卷 9: 「然出經時人云聶承遠筆受。聶元信沙門法度此人。皆長安人也。以此推之。略當必在長安出。」(T 2145.55.62b27-29).

K	<i>Zhufo yaoji jing</i>	292-296	?Chang'an ?Liangzhou ⁵²⁹	手執□+□授承遠+ 法首筆□ hold (? <i>hu</i> script) + (?orally) confer to Chengyuan + scribe	(copy? ⁵³⁰)
L	<i>Shengfayin jing</i>	294	Jiuquan	演出+筆受 expound and issue + scribe	
M	<i>Jianbei jing</i>	297	Chang'an	出/手執胡本譯為晉 言 issue/ hold <i>hu</i> text interpret into <i>jin</i> words	
N	<i>Xianjie jing</i>	300		手執口宣+筆者 hold and orally expound + scribe	竺法友 Zhu Fayou(?)
O	<i>Puyao jing</i>	308	Tianshui Temple	手執胡本口宣晉言+ 筆受 hold <i>hu</i> text, orally expound <i>jin</i> words + scribe	

Table 4.9 Translation Procedures of Dharmarakṣa's Teams

If we concentrate only on the main translation process and do not take other steps of translating into account, such as copying in the official calligraphical style⁵³¹, proofreading, and sponsoring, the procedures can be divided into i). a one-step pattern;

⁵²⁹ The exact translation place of this scripture remains problematic. Okabe (1983: 23) proposes that since it was discovered in Turfan, the copy of this scripture should have been rendered near Dunhuang. Since *Sengfayin jing* was rendered in Jiuquan, accordingly this scripture could also have been translated in Jiuquan or Dunhuang. Chen (1983: 8), however, supposes that it should be rendered in Chang'an, basing his hypothesis on Dao'an's remarks about Nie Chengyuan being a native of Chang'an. Tsui (2019: 12) thinks the spot should be Luoyang. However, she does not give further explanation on this matter.

⁵³⁰ The content of this preface is incomplete but insinuates that the scripture was spread out through copying. I assume “□令此經布流十方” could read as “寫令此經”.

⁵³¹ For a thorough discussion on this matter, see Tsui (2013, esp. pp. 66–68; 2016, esp. 100–103; 2019; 2020, esp. pp. 28–36).

ii). a two-step pattern, and iii). a three-step pattern.

Step	Step Type	Sub-type	Text	Year
i	i	i (hold text, translate/expound by hand ⁵³² into <i>jin</i>)	M	297
ii	ii-1 執胡+筆受	ii-1-a (hold text, translate into <i>jin</i> + scribe)	G	289
			H	289
			N	300
			O	308
		ii-1-b (hold text + scribe)	F	286
		ii-1-c (hold text, orally issue + scribe)	I	291
		ii-2 (expound and issue + scribe)	B	284
			L	294
		ii-3-a (hold text + orally confer)	J	291
		ii-3-b (orally expound in <i>jin</i> + confer)	C	284
		ii-3-c (expound and issue <i>fan</i> + confer)	D	286
iii	iii-1	iii-1 (orally confer + transmit words + scribe)	A	266
		iii-2 (hold text + confer + scribe)	E	286
			K	292- 296

Table 4.10 Patterns of Collaborations in Dharmarakṣa's Teams

⁵³² The *Preface to Jianbei jing*, allegedly written by Dao'an (for this discussion see Zacchetti 2005: 67–73), is slightly different in terms of content compared with the colophon to current T 285 *Jianbei jing*. Dao'an described the translation process as “沙門法護 [...]出漸備經。手執胡本譯為晉言”; while the latter as “T 285 《漸備一切智德經》卷 5 〈金剛藏問菩薩住品〉：「沙門法護，在於長安，於市西寺中，已執梵本，手自演出為晉言」(T 285.10.497b18–20)”。

iii-2 could be problematic. The original descriptions concerning the last two steps of E and K are “授優婆塞聶承遠。張仕明張仲政。共筆受”, and “授聶承遠和上弟子沙門法首筆”, respectively. Boucher reads them as Nie Chengyuan, together with Zhang Shiming and Zhang Zhongzheng/ Fashou scribed. Okabe (1983: 21) and Tsui (2019: 11–12) agree on this explanation. Only Nakajima (1997: 124) comprehends E’s sentence as Nie Chengyuan being the recipient of the action “confer”, with Zhang Shiming and Zhang Zhongzheng being the scribes. This interpretation is of pivotal significance, as it will directly influence the assessment of the translation procedures in Dharmarakṣa’s groups. The dissention lies in the cognition of the verb “*shou* 授 [confer]”. Should it be read as “*shou* + someone” or “*shou*+someone +*bishou* 筆受 (scribe)”?

Having combed through all the usages of *shou* in Taishō and CTEXT up to the East Jin Dynasty — roughly encompassing the lifetime before and shortly after Dharmarakṣa — it seems that there is no usage that combines *shou* with another verb. The usage of *shou* is bisected⁵³³ into either “*shou* + someone (verb + accusative)”⁵³⁴ or “*shou* + someone + something (verb+ accusative + dative)”⁵³⁵. Furthermore, Jizang 吉藏 also comprehended that Nie Chengyuan was not one of the scribes, but rather the recipient⁵³⁶. Consequently, I agree with Nakajima’s reading and believe the translation process of E and K should be trisected into three steps — “hold text + confer + scribe”.

For a better understanding of Dharmarakṣa’s role, it is thus necessary to examine what kind of role Nie Chengyuan played in his collaboration with Dharmarakṣa.

It is generally considered that Chengyuan was a scribe and may also have been a proofreader or an editor, as he collated and abridged Dharmarakṣa’s T 638 *Chaoriming*

⁵³³ Of course there are other usages such as “以[...]授[...]”. Nevertheless, only what comes directly after the verb *shou*, as in E and K, will be examined here.

⁵³⁴ For example, “授諸弟子 [*shou* all disciples]”; “捨筆之後，轉授沙門都法師慧光、曇寧 [after he quitted writing, he turned to *shou* śramaṇa Master Du, Huiguang and Tanning.]

⁵³⁵ For example, “公乃授帝素書二卷[the master *shou* the emperor two fascicles of *the Book Su*]”.

⁵³⁶ T 1722 《法華遊意》:「燉煌同處(同處【大】，月氏【甲】)沙門竺法護，以晉太康七年或人云十年八月十日譯出此經，授優婆塞聶承遠，九月二日訖，張士明，張仲政筆受也。」(T 1722.34.649c12–15).

jing 超日明經 (Skt. *Sūryaprabhā-samatikrānta-samādhi*) into two fascicles. If he was only a scribe, what position did he hold, and what did he do in case E and K, when he was the one who was “conferred to” and there were other people who were there to do the scribal work?

I would tend to believe that Chengyuan was not only a scribe who took down the words of translators/interpreters and collated the words passed down to him. Rather, he could have engaged in the actual bilingual transition or pruned and revised Dharmarakṣa’s oral interpretation into decent Chinese, with other scribes taking down Chengyuan’s refined translation in writing.

The reasons for this speculation are as follows:

Firstly, Huijiao did not regard Chengyuan and his son Nie Daozhen as mere scribes. In GSZ, he followed CSZJJ’s comment and evaluated Chengyuan more as a proofreader and collator than a scribe. Unlike Zhu Fashou 竹法首, Chen Shilun 陳士倫, Sun Bohu 孫伯虎, and Yushiya 虞世雅⁵³⁷, whom Huijiao specifically described as “together they received Dharmarakṣa’s purpose and took the brush, meticulously collated (his words) 共承護旨執筆詳校”, what Chengyuan did was “proofread and corrected the texts and sentences 參正文句”, “abridged and corrected 刪正”, “meticulously decided (the final edition) 詳定”. When talking about his son Daozhen, Huijiao used the phrase “also good at *fan* (language) learning 亦善梵學”, indicating that Huijiao endorsed not only Daozhen’s Sanskrit ability, but also his father Chengyuan’s. In a summary in GSZ, Huijiao repeated his idea and placed Chengyuan among other famous interpreters whose foreign language abilities (*fan* and *han* languages) were widely acknowledged⁵³⁸. Given such highly extolled *fan* language ability, it would be indeed unnatural if Chengyuan did not participate in the bilingual translation process.

⁵³⁷ Engagement in Dharmarakṣa’s translation teams could be corroborated through preserved prefaces in CSZJJ for only two of the four scribes Huijiao listed — Zhu Fashou and Sun Bohu. To the best of my knowledge, there is currently no record of the other two people’s participation in translation. Huijiao could have other resources that Sengyou did not know of, which could also be proven below in the discussion of eulogies written on Dharmarakṣa.

⁵³⁸ “There were people like Zhi Qian, **Nie Chengyuan**, Zhu Fonian, Shi Baoyun, Zhu Shulan, Mokṣala, who were well-versed in both *fan* and *han* sounds, therefore they could exploit the uttermost splendidness of translation and interpretation. 屬有支謙、**聶承遠**、竺佛念、釋寶雲、竺叔蘭、無羅叉等，並妙善梵漢之音，故能盡翻譯之致”。(T 2059.50.345c7-9).

Secondly, there are fifteen prefaces to Dharmarakṣa’s translated scriptures preserved in CSZJJ. Chengyuan took part in seven of them — his appearance ratio is nearly 50%. Nevertheless, there is no definite expression that reveals or alludes to Chengyuan taking down the Chinese translations rendered by Dharmarakṣa, i.e., *jinyan* 翻言, in all seven cases Chengyuan participated. This contrasts strongly with the other eight circumstances — where Chengyuan was absent.

Of the other eight cases, six (C, G, H, M, N, O) clearly show that Dharmarakṣa rendered or expounded the text into *jin* language⁵³⁹. The remaining two cases (B, L) use the same verb *yan* 演 (expound) to modify Dharmarakṣa’s translating. Since there are no indicators like *jinyan* 翻言, it seems that we do not know whether Dharmarakṣa converted the original text into Chinese or not—whether he rendered it or expounded it. Nevertheless, there is a clue that could suggest that the verb *yan* could convey “something of the notion of ‘to translate’” as Boucher says (1996: 94). Firstly, in T 285 *Jianbei jing*, Dharmarakṣa is described as “hold the text by himself, *yanchu* (expounding and issuing) it into *jin* language by hand (?) 己執梵本, 手自演出為翻言”. Here, the verb *yan* definitely manifests partly the notion of “translate”. Secondly, in case B where the verb modifies the translation process of the collaboration of Zhu Houzheng and Dharmarakṣa, the original sentence says the two “together *yan* (expounded) it 共演之”. It is unclear about Zhu Houzheng’s bilingual ability, but Dharmarakṣa’s is clearly indicated as “who is fully accomplished in Indian languages and is also conversant in Chinese” (Boucher’s translation, 1996: 67). If Dharmarakṣa did not engage in the actual bilingual transversion, it would be unnecessary to extol his language proficiencies. Thereafter, the verb *yan* has a layer of meaning denoting “to translate”⁵⁴⁰.

⁵³⁹ Case N only says “*shouzhi kouxuan* 手執口宣 [took in the hand and delivered it orally]” and does not specify Dharmarakṣa expounded it into *jin* language. However, according to Chen (2005: 635)’s observation, this phrase is a typical abbreviation for the standard expression “手執胡本口宣翻言”. Therefore, here I follow Chen’s reading and count “*shouzhi kouxuan*” as “expounded into *jin* language”.

⁵⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it must be noted that what we could defer is not unbiased and well-rounded. Rather, the deduction is greatly dependent on the current prefaces and therefore the reading and comprehension are and can only be incomplete. For example, in the preface to *Guangzan jing* (case F), Dao’an describes the translation process as Dharmarakṣa holding the *hu* script while Nie Chengyuan scribed. Yet in the preface to *Jianbei jing*, he also mentions the existence of Bo Yuanxin and śramaṇa Fadu 法度 when translating *Guangzan jing*. Even though Zacchetti speculates that this Fadu could be Zhi Fadu 支法度 (2005: 58, FN 39) and Bo Yuanxin was a transmitter of words

To sum up briefly: Out of 15 current prefaces, 8 cases in which Chengyuan did not attend all insinuate Dharmarakṣa’s interpreting original text into Chinese; whereas the remaining 7 cases in which Chengyuan did participate have no direct expressions that suggest Dharmarakṣa did bilingual translating, even though Dharmarakṣa should have engaged in actual linguistic transference, but perhaps heavily relying on Nie Chengyuan.

Accordingly, at least Nie Chengyuan’s job was slightly different from other co-workers, and just as Tsui observes, he was the pivot of Dharmarakṣa’s translation groups (2019: 12). It is conceivable that the exact roles of Dharmarakṣa and his collaborators were not fixed but may have deviated slightly when member combinations were different. When collaborating with a conversant bilingual and native Chinese speaker such as Nie Chengyuan, Dharmarakṣa could mainly focus on elaborating the original Sanskrit, e.g. “*shuochu fanwen* 說出梵文 [explained and issued the *fan* language]”, leaving the job of summarizing his explanations into decent Chinese/ polishing of language up to Nie Chengyuan⁵⁴¹ — as Boucher’s analysis of the translation process of *Zhengfahua jing* suggests: Nie Chengyuan “converted the oral draft translation (made by Dharmarakṣa) into literary Chinese”(1996: 135). However, when Dharmarakṣa met collaborators who were less competent in the source/target languages — whether they were foreigners such as śramaṇa Kang Shu and Bo Faju or Chinese locals such as Zhao Wenlong — he needed to “orally expounded (the original text) into *jin* language”.

This inference of minor distinct labor divisions among different collaborating groups should be examined in comparison with the diversified translation styles of Dharmarakṣa.

(*chuanyan* 傳言) in the translation of XTJ (case A) and a proofreader in *Zhengfahua jing* (case E)’s translation team, we still do not know what kind of role they played when they engaged in *Guangzan jing*’s translation. The logical surmise is the best we can do. Since *Zhengfahua jing* was rendered in the same year as *Guangzan jing*, namely 286, Bo Yuanxin was probably the same old proofreader in *Guangzan jing* as he was in *Zhengfahua jing*. Since *Zhengfahua jing* has ten fascicles and there were two proofreaders including Bo Yuanxin, therefore analogously, the ten-fascicle *Guangzan jing* also needed two proofreaders — Bo Yuanxin and Fadu. But these are at best presumptions and conjectures, more concrete evidence is needed to prove their authenticity.

⁵⁴¹ In Kawano (2006: 119–120)’s research, there is one example that manifests that Dharmarakṣa inserted one sentence from the *Zhengfahua jing* which he rendered in 286 into another scripture *Rulai da’ai jing*, which was translated in 291. Kawano believes that this could show that Dharmarakṣa tended to interchange contents to some extent freely among his translations (翻訳經典の間である程度自由に經文を融通させていた). Besides, Dharmarakṣa also added explanations to metaphors, and Kawano thinks this kind of explanatory rendering is Dharmarakṣa’s “characteristic manner (特色ある態度)” (2006: 120).

In a monograph examining Dharmarakṣa’s *Rāṣtrapāla*, Boucher (2008: 91) mentions a supposition of Dharmarakṣa’s propensity to “translate” rather than “transcribe” certain terminologies, especially in contrast with Lokakṣema’s style. This translation method and its ensuing quality could be seen as an approach to “market these otherwise strangely hybrid, semiliterary productions to a growing clientele of avant-garde sympathizers” (ibid). However, Boucher also notices the incongruity of translation styles of Dharmarakṣa’s works, or more precisely, works that were ascribed to his name. Boucher appraises that the translation of Dharmarakṣa “often fluctuated widely between close, literal renderings of the Indic text and loose paraphrases punctuated with Chinese literary allusions” (ibid, underscored by me). Boucher concludes that this kind of incongruity, or even mistakes in these works, could bespeak the “collaborative nature” and endow us to behold the presence of “various participants” partaking in the translation process.

This is partly contested by Kawano, who consents the variety of Dharmarakṣa’s translation styles. However, unlike Boucher, who emphasizes that the “collaborative nature” is one of the main reasons for incongruities in the translations, Kawano thinks Dharmarakṣa differentiated his terminologies on purpose—instead of unifying or regulating equivalent terms, he went after the richness of expressions (2011: 235; 274). Kawano insightfully points out that unlike Kumārajīva, Dharmarakṣa’s translation career was not sponsored by the nation, and he did not think unification of terms should be the basic standard of translation (2011: 273). Unlike the diversity of terms in his translation, Kawano finds that Dharmarakṣa inclined to follow the word order of the source text rather faithfully (2011: 283). This observation also accords with Karashima’s viewpoint when he examines Dharmarakṣa’s translation of *Zhengfahua jing* 正法華經 and concludes that Dharmarakṣa rendered it in a literal style⁵⁴², obscuring the reader profoundly (2019: 1–2).

It seems that Dharmarakṣa, as the presiding translator, followed the structure of the

⁵⁴² It must be mentioned here that, having checked Dharmarakṣa’s translation against current preserved Sanskrit texts, one could not say that his translation falls in line with the domain of “formal correspondence” raised by Catford (1965: 32), as it does not operate the grammatical units at five ranks (sentence, clause, group, word, morpheme). It seems to me that it is more of a “textual equivalence”.

source text closely when he rendered the scriptures. However, when it comes to the register of words, it varies greatly from domestication to foreignization, as alleged by Boucher. The diverse translation styles of Dharmarakṣa were not only discovered by current scholars, but also in the remaining Dunhuang manuscript of *Bielu* (see Appendix 6), where his translation qualities were marked with different attributors: “*wen* 文 (refined)”, “*zhi* 質 (unhewn)”, “*wenzhijun* 文質均 (proportionate refined-ness and unhewn-ness)” and “*duozhi* 多質 (mostly unhewn)”.

Possible reasons behind this phenomenon are not only what Boucher purports, i.e., different assistants in the oral/aural translation process, who were crucial to the production of translations (1996: 95; 133), but also the moderately diversified roles Dharmarakṣa played during the translation process.

We have discussed above the slightly different roles Dharmarakṣa played when he collaborated with Nie Chengyuan, who was conversant in both the source language and the target language, and when he co-worked with other assistants, whose language abilities were mostly unclear but were not outstanding enough to be recorded in historical texts⁵⁴³.

After reading the preface to XTJ (266 AD) and the preface to *Zhengfahua jing* (286 AD), Boucher (1996: 135–136) suggests that the former has someone to “transfer words” — *chuanyan* 傳言, and the real “translator” of the latter is ambiguous; Dharmarakṣa could have greatly aided his scribes’ understanding of the source text. According to Boucher, these two prefaces allude that, despite Dharmarakṣa having improved his Chinese in the span of twenty years of translating, he “would still have been **unable to translate the text on his own**” (1996: 136; 2008: 97). Nevertheless, several questions instantly rise from this discernment. Firstly, can we safely deduce that Dharmarakṣa was incompetent to translate the text alone just from these two prefaces? Should other prefaces also have a say in this matter? Secondly, is the ability to translate “on one’s own” necessary, or is it a basic criterion for early Chinese translators? Or is it a current criterion that has become deeply embedded in our consciousness? Thirdly, should we

⁵⁴³ Among the many collaborators of Dharmarakṣa, apart from Nie Chengyuan, only the language ability of Nie Chengyuan’s son — Nie Daozhen — was praised in GSZ. Other assistants’ language proficiency remains unknown.

regard Dharmarakṣa only as a translator, therefore forever clinging to the pending issue “is Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese good”, or “has his Chinese improved and become good enough to translate alone”? What we might need to do is not try to tackle these issues from a current perspective, but rather look at them from a historical perspective — to reconstruct the meaning of the historical sources and be aware that we cannot retrieve a vivid Dharmarakṣa but can only observe his image from the comments of early people and words of historical materials.

In fact, the same pattern of the translation process in the preface to *Zhengfahua jing* (286 AD, case E), which Boucher speculates shows the incapability of Dharmarakṣa’s translating, could also be seen in the preface to *Zhufoyaoji jing* (292 AD, case K) — the last time Nie Chengyuan is recorded in a translation forum. However, from the very beginning of his translation career when translating XTJ in 266 to the translation of *Zhufoyaoji jing* in 292, there are the standard expressions *shouzhikouxuan* — “held *hu* script and expounded *jin* language” — interwoven in other prefaces like C in 284, H in 289, etc. Accordingly, Dharmarakṣa’s roles did not evolve from someone who could not translate alone to ultimately “*shouzhikouxuan*”, but rather, as examined above, his roles changed to the needs when he met different assistants. Besides, unlike current translators who are generally considered to complete translational job alone⁵⁴⁴, translation in early China was a collaboration by and large. In all fifteen prefaces and colophons to Dharmarakṣa’s translations, only case M — *Jianbei jing* — does not record the collaborative translation process, mentioning only that Dharmarakṣa “*shouzhikouxuan*”. Needless to say, this standard expression only implies the interpretative translation process, excluding the concomitant scribing or collating procedures. Therefore, it should still be a cooperative activity. Translating alone, i.e., from rendering out to writing down the translation, was not a *sine qua non* for early translators. This leads us to a very intriguing question: Was Dharmarakṣa only a

⁵⁴⁴ However, it must also be noted that even current translators do not necessarily or cannot complete the job alone sometimes. Patrons and proofreaders, collators and publishers, and even feedback from reviewers or readers, are considered to be part of the translation process. Translation, quite surprisingly, is collaborative in nature not only in premodern times, but also in modern days.

translator from the perspective of his coevals?

4.4.3 Dharmarakṣa's Multiple Functions

Dharmarakṣa should not be only considered as a translator. In fact, Dharmarakṣa's primary identity should not be a translator, but rather, a disseminator, a paragon of virtue. It seems weird that there are only a few remarks on the translation quality of such a copious translator with 154 works. In CSZJJ's Fascicle 14, of all the presiding translators who were well-versed in Chinese, only Dharmarakṣa did not receive comments on his translation quality. Later, Huijiao probably found this inappropriate, therefore he added Dao'an's comment on this matter accordingly in GSZ. In CSZJJ, Dharmarakṣa is repeatedly applauded for his promulgation of scriptures: He determined to diffuse Mahāyāna/Vaipulya (志弘大道) and only took propagation and dissemination as his career (唯以弘通為業). There is also a closing remark, praising that it was all because of his endeavor that scriptures and dharma could widely disperse in China (經法所以廣流中華者護之力也). Also, in case B — *Xiuxing daodi jing* — Dharmarakṣa is lauded first and foremost for his virtue and then for his aspiration to “convert the not yet advanced⁵⁴⁵” (Boucher, 1996: 67).

Later in GSZ, apart from Sun Chuo 孫綽's appraisal that compares Dharmarakṣa's virtue with that of Shan Tao 山濤, Huijiao also added Zhi Dun 支遁 — a famous Buddhist monk's eulogy to him, which speaks highly of his virtue as well⁵⁴⁶.

Therefore, Dharmarakṣa was first recognized as an exemplar of virtue among early celebrities and aristocrats, and then as a translator. Besides, throughout his biographies in CSZJJ and GSZ, it is clear that his aim was to diffuse Vaipulya scriptures. In order to do so, he disseminated and interpreted (scriptures) along his road back to Chang'an and wrote them down in *jin* script⁵⁴⁷ (沿途傳譯寫為晉文) and interpreted and wrote

⁵⁴⁵ The original words are 德素智博所覽若淵。志化末進誨人以真。究天竺語又暢晉言. Boucher translates it as “[...] who is pure in virtue and broad in knowledge; whose discernment is profound; whose aspiration is to convert the not yet advanced; who teaches men according to the truth; who is fully accomplished in Indian languages and is also conversant in Chinese” (1996: 67).

⁵⁴⁶ For a precise translation of this eulogy and the development of eulogy, see Chen (2017: 91–105).

⁵⁴⁷ Even though CSZJJ and GSZ all say that he “wrote 寫” down the translated scriptures, according to current prefaces and colophons, it is usually his assistants who scribed instead of him.

all his life (終身譯寫). These are methods to reach his final goal—diffuse Buddhism, and Zürcher thus comments that he made the “rather insignificant Buddhist community [...] the major Buddhist center in Northern China” (2007: 66).

Accordingly, when judging Dharmarakṣa’s translation styles and his translation process, we should also take his other functions into consideration.

As a disseminator, his main objective was to disperse scriptures. Therefore, he probably did not devote much time to the standardization of terminology usages, nor did he adhere to the notion that this was a must. Boucher finds that the translation of *Zhengfahua jing* was really speedy, and this also applies to *Rulai da’ai jing*, which has seven⁵⁴⁸ fascicles but was translated within one and half month with only two co-translators. To have one comparatively large scripture translated within such a short time, it is imaginable that less was done in the domain of proofreading; besides, it is highly conceivable that during proofreading, it was the content, rather than unifications of terminologies, that was given priority. This may be one of the reasons why Dharmarakṣa is said to have translated 154 scriptures in CSZJJ; however, it is his feat as a disseminator, rather than as a good translator, that is highly praised in CSZJJ. At least in the eyes of Dao’an — a rigorous critic —, Dharmarakṣa’s translations were not impeccable even by complimentary standards. Huijiao added Dao’an’s praise of Dharmarakṣa’s translation as “the tenor is definitely correct [綱領必正]”, “(the translation is) magnificent and fluent [...] By virtue of wisdom, (the translation is) not decorated, (it is) so plain that it reaches nearer the original text [宏達欣暢 [...] 依慧不文, 樸則近本]”. But Dao’an did not forget Dharmarakṣa’s drawback which is “not eloquent and did not tactfully manifest (the meaning) [不辯妙婉顯]”. This seemingly minor dissatisfaction and the appraisal “樸 [plain; simple]” which is positive at face value but could also pinpoint a kind of defect, actually were reiterated by Dao’an in his other prefaces.

In *Preface to the Concise Synoptic Explanation of the Fangguang and Gangzan* 合放光光讚略解序, Dao’an assessed Dharmarakṣa’s translation as follows:

⁵⁴⁸ As can be seen in the appendix, the colophon says it has seven fascicles, however current Taishō records it as “eight fascicles”.

(Dharmarakṣa) followed the Tianzhu source text (and translated) without embellishments. It is indeed thoroughly (translated). However, in terms of expression, the plain overshadows the refined⁵⁴⁹. At the start of an affair, this can be quite inconvenient. (Words and expressions) are repeated to illuminate each other, still the meaning remains unclear. On reviewing what he had translated, (one finds that) each subject is meticulously rendered.⁵⁵⁰

言准天竺事不加飾。悉則悉矣。而辭質勝文也。每至事首輒多不使[使
【大】，便【宋】【元】【明】]。諸反覆相明又不顯灼。考其所出。事事
周密耳。⁵⁵¹

Also, when Dao'an read *Fangguang jing* (and *Guanzan jing*), he lamented:

However, when it comes to incomprehensible sentences that blur the beginnings and ends, (I, Dao'an) would put down the fascicle and contemplate, chagrining that (I) could not meet Dharmarakṣa and Mokṣala and their companions⁵⁵².

然每至滯句首尾隱沒。釋卷深思。恨不見護公叉羅等。⁵⁵³

It is apparent that Dao'an was not satisfied with Dharmarakṣa's translations in two aspects: they were too literal, and the meaning was obscure.

Dao'an's remarks were validated, as four years later, a bhikṣu Kang Nalü 康那律 together with other upāsakas, visited Dharmarakṣa to listen to his collation of his own previous translation with oral explanations. Later at an assembly, Dharmarakṣa again lectured on this scripture, indicating that sometimes his translation was comprehensible only with oral elaboration. Even for a Sanskrit scholar like Karashima, understanding Dharmarakṣa's translation required reference to the original Sanskrit, not to mention

⁵⁴⁹ Different scholars have rendered this sentence differently. Boucher (ibid: 74–75) translates it as “His words conformed to the Indic [text] and the subject matter was not embellished; everything therefore is clearly understood. But with regard to the expression, the literal wins out over the polished”. Nakajima (1997: 46) interprets it as “言葉は天竺(の表現)にそのまま従い、内容には余計な修飾を加えなかった。詳しいことは詳しいけれども、しかし措辞の実質さが文飾に勝りすぎている”. Li Xuetao (2004: 154) renders it more freely as “Die Sprache entspricht dem Indischen und ist deshalb überhaupt nicht stilisiert. Obwohl die Übersetzung Vollständigkeit besitzt, ist die Sprache im Vergleich zum Chinesischen als zu schlicht anzusehen”. Hurviz and Link (1974: 424) think it should be construed as “The words were modeled on the Indian, while the subject matter was subjected to no embellishment. Precise it certainly was, but in its language the down-to-earth outweighed the elegance, so much so that the beginning and end of every new heading, more often than not, was awkward. When one investigated its source, each and every matter was complete and precise, but that was all.”

⁵⁵⁰ Boucher and Nakajima's translations have illuminated me a lot.

⁵⁵¹ T 2145.55.48a10–13.

⁵⁵² Hurviz and Link (1974: 426) render it as “whenever I encountered an impenetrable passage, or a place where the beginning and end of respective passages were obscured and hidden, and when, as a consequence, I laid the volume down and pondered deeply on it, I always regretted that I had never met such men as the masters Dharmarakṣa and Ch'a-lo.”

⁵⁵³ T 2145.55.52b11–13.

for Dao'an and the average Chinese followers with limited knowledge of Sanskrit. Furthermore, the challenges in understanding Dharmarakṣa's translations, occasionally riddled with errors⁵⁵⁴, cannot be attributed solely to his or his collaborators' language abilities. His role as a disseminator, aiming to bring as many Vaipulya scriptures as possible to China, sometimes at the expense of meticulous translation, should also be considered a significant factor.

Besides being a disseminator, Dharmarakṣa also functioned as an organizer of scriptural translation. As mentioned above, Dharmarakṣa was a very rich monk, rich enough to erect two temples and remain in Luoyang to translate when there was a big famine that led to a steep rise in the price of rice, which is said to have cost ten thousand *qian* 萬錢 for only one *hu*斛 (Figure 4.4). However, Dharmarakṣa was possibly the only monk, who, despite his wealth and fame, did not have any direct relationship with the royal family. His only interaction with the upper class was with a patriarch of a famous family in Chang'an who at first tested his morality but later converted to him. As wealthy and self-patronized as Dharmarakṣa was, his translation teams were not heteronomous, but largely autonomous. This comparative autonomy in the literary/translatory field oriented the agents in this field to non-political and less-pecuniary ends. Without regulating the translation expressions, Dharmarakṣa's translations were praised by Sengyou as:

Master Hu (Dharmarakṣa) was an expert well-versed both in Chinese and foreign languages. (Therefore) the texts he rendered and the scriptures he disseminated were not confined to the old versions.

護公專精兼習華戎。譯文傳經不_舊^舊于舊。⁵⁵⁵

During his translation with other collaborators, Dharmarakṣa must have coined new terminologies, probably through the tactic of transliteration. However, just as Boucher and the DZJBL manifest, his translation styles are not fixed but ranged from

⁵⁵⁴ See Boucher, 1996. Especially discussions on the errors made by Dharmarakṣa in his Chapters 3 and 4.

⁵⁵⁵ T 2145.55.4c28–29.

domestication to foreignization. Then, Dharmarakṣa — the organizer — was not necessarily the presider over the translation process. The variety of his translations corroborates the collaborative nature of his teams. Having absorbed many collaborators from different countries, one can imagine how this “hodge-podge of linguistic backgrounds” (Boucher 1996: 134) could have shaped the translation results. It is this multiplicity of backgrounds that sparked inspirations when translating, creating the diversified translation styles. The endeavor of Dharmarakṣa in organizing such an unprecedented private translation forum, not only ante but also post his time, with so many participants and sponsors, facilitated various translations, and also served his initial aim — the dispersion of scriptures.

Ironically, this autonomous translation forum led by Dharmarakṣa was so undisciplined, and the high turnover of participants in his translation forums could be counted as part of the incitation which engendered the stagnation of the circulation of Dharmarakṣa’s translations. Dao’an exerted great effort to access some of his important works such as *Guangzan jing*. According to Dao’an, even well-educated monks had not heard of his *Jianbei jing*. On top of that, even Bo Faju, a collaborator of Dharmarakṣa, was unaware of this translation. While there are other objective political and geographical reasons, the lack of cohesion and timely updates within his translation teams should be considered one of the root causes. More cohesive and well-informed teams might have enhanced the popularity of Dharmarakṣa’s translations among royal families and aristocrats at the time.

In conclusion, Dharmarakṣa’s multiple identities — not only as a translator, but also a disseminator, organizer, and a rich monk — all contributed to the *status quo* of his translation quality and styles. If Dharmarakṣa’s translation teams had been more deeply connected with royal families and aristocrats, as the networks of the disciples of his reclusive companion Yu Falan in Appendix 5 suggest, his translations might have received a broader welcome. However, as Appendix 5 illustrates, even though Dharmarakṣa’s teams were barely interrelated with representatives of central power

such as Dao'an, Zhi Dun, or emperors, it is not accurate to say, as Bingenheimer describes that “none of the seventeen people (Dharmarakṣa’s collaborators) who knew Dharmarakṣa could be connected to anybody in the central component”. At least Dao'an met Bo Faju in person in the Ye 郑 region and Yu Falan's disciple Zhu Fayou, who also presented at Dharmarakṣa's translation project of *Xianjie jing* (case N), could link up with Zhi Dun, albeit indirectly. This tenuous connection to central authority may have prompted esteemed individuals like Zhi Dun, Dao'an, and Sun Chuo to write panegyrics to him, thus popularizing him to some extent among the dominant central individuals.

4.5 Short Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to tackle with, firstly, the problems regarding catalogs and dealt with issues concerning *que* and *jinque*, which hopefully have been clarified and been conducive to the re-recognition of CSZJJ. Secondly, the translated works accredited to Dharmarakṣa, especially those seemingly dubious and problematic, have been re-examined. Thirdly, the general historical background, as well as Dharmarakṣa's personal life trajectory have been discussed, which are seminal aspects that may have contributed to his translation career. Lastly, the translation process, in particular the specific verb employed to denote translation procedures, and the function of Nie Chengyuan — Dharmarakṣa's most important collaborator — are discussed. Dharmarakṣa's multiple identities, which could largely contribute to the outcomes of translations and also influence the translation process, have also been investigated.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

The interpretation of history is always “*hengkanchengling cechengfeng* 橫看成嶺側成峰 [It’s a range viewed in face and peaks viewed from the side]⁵⁵⁶” — whichever aspect historians choose to admire the mountain, it is always a part of the mountain. Therefore, there is no point of asking which is the right viewpoint (Carr 1987: 26). Still, just because “a mountain appears to take on different shapes from different angles of vision” does not mean that “it has objectively either no shape at all or an infinity of shape” (ibid: 26–27). Consequently, to investigate Buddhist history from a different perspective, I employ translation as an approach to provide new insights for historical analysis of the collaborative translation of Buddhist scriptures in early China (2–4 centuries).

Translation is a crucial avenue and channel for the dissemination of knowledge, with translators serving as both carriers and initiators of translation activities. As Sengyou asserts at the very beginning of CSZJJ:

The Great Path is propagated through individuals, and the Dharma awaits conditions to manifest. When there is the Great Path but no individuals, even though the words exist, they remain incomprehensible. When there is the Dharma but no conducive conditions, even though existing concurrently in the world, it goes unheard.

道由人弘。法待緣顯。有道無人。雖文存而莫悟。有法無緣。雖並世而弗聞。⁵⁵⁷

Without disseminators and translators of scriptures, Buddhism would have no foundation for dissemination. It is precisely due to the collective efforts of translators that Buddhism rapidly spread in China. To commemorate this achievement, many biographies of monks prioritize the introduction of translators — *yijing* 譯經 [Translating Scriptures], before other categories of practice such as *yijie* 義解 [Expounding Meaning]. However, many scholars have regarded translators merely as

⁵⁵⁶ This is translated by Xu in Yuan’s edition (2000: 139). The original poem is Su Shi 蘇軾’s *Ti xilin bi* 題西林壁 [Written on the Wall of West Forest Temple]..

⁵⁵⁷ T 2145.55.1a14–15.

tools for bilingual conversion, focusing solely on their output — the translated texts. Consequently, translators have long been overlooked, existing in a paradoxical state. As the ones who rendered translations, translators often receive less attention compared to the works they translated. There is a lack of substantial research on their contributions, cooperation in translation, and individual roles in the translation process. Few explore the minutiae of their experiences. Even though studies on translators are carried out, these mostly center on famous translators as the hallmark or segment history completely abiding by the changes of dynasties⁵⁵⁸ (cf. Hung 2005: esp. p.13), losing the specialties of Buddhist translation. This thesis, therefore, aims not only to ignite the enthusiasm of scholars to recognize the importance of translators, but also try to exhibit the intricacies of the translation process.

This dissertation, focusing on microhistory, examines translators in the collaborative translation process in early medieval China. Through the analysis of historical materials, particularly biographies and prefaces/colophons, I aim to illustrate not only specific details of each translation group but also demonstrate how collaboration evolved over time. Significant changes took place from the earliest collaboration of Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo to the translation teams of Dharmarakṣa, while certain traits of collaborative translation remained. These changes and enduring characteristics in the longue-durée of history offer a translation history-specific perspective that can contribute to the construction of macro-history and prompt reflection on prevailing historical periodizations based on dynastic changes or the trio of ancient, medieval, and modern. Following the research line of the translation process in which translators proactively engaged, a new paradigm for segmenting history could emerge. Additionally, this study seeks to revisit popular concepts and theories in Translation

⁵⁵⁸ There are also periodizations based on the translation styles. For example, Li (2004: 123–131) trisects Buddhist translation history in to: “Östliche Han- bis Westliche Jin-Dynastie (25–317 n. Chr.)”, “Östliche Jin- bis Sui-Dynastie (317–618 n. Chr.)”, and “Tang-Dynastie (618–907 n. Chr.)” — which is also the way of demarcating translation history adopted by many Chinese and Japanese scholars. However, this tripartite regards Kumārajīva and Xuanzang as the representative individuals who single-handedly started a new period. This is of course reasonable, given the huge contribution made by these two translator paragons. Nevertheless, a focus on detailed microhistory can assist us in shifting our monotonous focus only on the two representatives and paying attention to other understudied translators and the translation process, which could to a certain extent further subdivide the current segmentation method.

Studies (TS) by scrutinizing each collaborative team and the roles of participants.

To review the outcomes of this dissertation, I will briefly recap the research in each chapter (Chapter 2 to Chapter 4).

Chapter 2 examines the first recorded collaboration that took place at the end of the Han Dynasty. The main translators during this time were Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo.

Historical materials concerning these individuals and their collaborations are excruciatingly scant and insufficient. However, as the precursors who launched the collaborative translation of Buddhist scriptures, the translators themselves as well as their translation process can be very illuminating.

This chapter starts with the general introduction of the two main individuals, namely, Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo. After briefly outlining the number of scriptures they translated, special attention is given to the study of their translations of *Aṣṭa*. In *Youlu*, Lokakṣema is reported to have translated *Aṣṭa* into a ten-fascicle Chinese version, whereas Zhu Foshuo rendered it into a one-fascicle version. Nevertheless, some scholars challenge Sengyou's records, contending that there was no one-fascicle version at all. It is argued that Sengyou misunderstood Dao'an's *Preface to Daoxing jing* and fabricated the existence of a one-fascicle version. This leads to the question of for whose translation Dao'an's preface was written.

To address this issue, I first examine the delineations regarding the translation quality in Dao'an's preface, comparing it with Dao'an's comments on Lokakṣema's translation style. It shows that the descriptions are highly similar. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Dao'an's preface was composed solely for Lokakṣema's translation. There are traces in his preface that insinuate that, in addition to Lokakṣema's version, there was the existence of another version, which was possibly co-translated by Zhu Foshuo and Lokakṣema.

In addition, when Sengyou incorporated Zhu Foshuo's one-fascicle into his catalog, i.e., *Youlu*, he did not mark this one-fascicle with the character *que*, denoting its inaccessibility. This suggests that Sengyou had witnessed this one-fascicle version. However, evidence shows that even though Sengyou credited this one-fascicle version exclusively to Zhu Foshuo, he also suggested that there might be co-translators, but he did not know who they were.

Actually, there were two colophons that clearly stated that Zhu Foshuo rendered not only the *Aṣṭa* but also the *Prati* together with his team members including Lokakṣema. However, these two colophons were not seen by Sengyou. This leads us to investigate the next question, which is the authenticity of these two colophons.

After presenting scholars' arguments on the authenticity of these two materials, I try to perceive this question from another perspective – since Sengyou did not have access to these colophons, then when were these two colophons inserted into Sengyou's compilation — CSZJJ?

The comparison of all kinds of historical materials suggests that *the Colophon to Daoxing jing (Aṣṭa)* was inserted into CSZJJ quite late, around 519 to 594; the other *Colophon to Banzhou sanmei jing (Prati)* was inserted earlier, between 504 and 519.

Lastly in this chapter, I discuss the inscriptional materials to highlight the long-neglected and marginalized collaborator named Meng Fu, who was traditionally thought to be a scribe/ amanuensis. However, after careful examination, I propose that he was actually a venerated requestor, who asked the Indian monk Zhu Foshuo to issue the Buddhist scripture.

Chapter 3 centers on the collaborative efforts of Zhi Qian, Vighna, and Zhu Jiangyan in translating the *Faju jing* (T 210; FJJ). The chapter commences with an exploration of Zhi Qian's background and ethnicity. As a descendant of a Yuezhi family, Zhi Qian

possessed linguistic prowess, mastering Chinese and other languages of six kingdoms. His notable skills led to a sermon by King Sun Quan, who appointed him as the tutor to the Crown Prince. The chapter provides an overview of Zhi Qian's diverse linguistic abilities and sheds light on his significant role in the royal court.

This chapter also studies the problematic narratives and records in CSZJJ as a historical source. By presenting and comparing scholars' arguments, I propose that the biographical section in CSZJJ (Fascicle 13–15) might have been inserted later into CSZJJ after its original compilation. This proposition is based on the observation that the numbers of translations attributed to each translator in the biographical section resemble those in Dao'an's Catalog (*Anlu*) rather than Sengyou's own catalog (*Youlu*).

Next, Zhi Qian's translation style recorded in historical materials is brought under the limelight. A thorough examination of the term “Zhizhu 支竺” is undertaken, challenging the common assumption among scholars that “Zhi 支” exclusively refers to Zhi Qian. A case-by-case analysis reveals that the term denotes different individuals in various contexts, defying the common practice of regarding Zhi Qian as one of the two individuals the term “Zhizhu” implies. In addition, unlike contemporary scholars' points of view suggesting a shift in Zhi Qian's translation style from literal to free (cf. Nattier 2008), ancient scholars consistently assessed Zhi Qian's quality as refined yet concise.

The discussion then turns to the question of how many times Zhi Qian engaged in the translation of FJJ, a topic that remains controversial. I conclude that he participated in the rendering of FJJ at least twice.

This chapter addresses two critical questions that have yet to receive sufficient attention in academia. The first concerns the origin of Zhu Jiangyan, while the second focuses on the precise job descriptions of Zhi Qian, Vighna, and Zhu Jiangyan in the translation of FJJ.

Contrary to some scholars' views, I argue that Zhu Jiangyan was not a resident originating from Wuchang. This distinction serves as a key clue that can shed light on the unique job descriptions of each participant in the process of translating FJJ. Additionally, I contend that the controversial term “*hu* 胡” in the *Preface to FJJ* either refers to the *Tianzhu* 天竺 language or simply means foreign/ a foreign language. Through a meticulous examination of the *Preface to FJJ*, the first extant preface in China discussing translatory matters, I propose that Zhu Jiangyan's task was to transliterate, retaining the Indian sounds, or adopt a direct translation method that led to a stiff translation. Zhi Qian, who contested Zhu Jiangyan's interpreting quality, acted as a scribe and editor during this process.

Chapter 4 investigates the productive translator Dharmarakṣa and his multiple collaborators, especially Nie Chengyuan.

This chapter begins by scrutinizing the terms used in *Youlu*, i.e., the analysis of *Jiulu* [*the Old Catalog*] vs *bielu* [other catalogs] and *que* [missing] vs *jinque* [now/currently missing], as the differentiation of these terms will contribute to ascertaining Dharmarakṣa's translation numbers in CSZJJ. I conclude that *bielu* in CSZJJ means “other catalogs” and does not refer to Dunhuang's *Zhongjing bielu*, whereas *Jiulu* denotes one specific catalog that was composed during or after the Jin Dynasty. As for the question of *que* and *jinque*, I argue that firstly, *Anlu* did not contain the marker of *que*, as proposed by many scholars; and secondly this character was employed by Sengyou when he resorted to other catalogs and found that a scripture was marked missing in those sources. He would then copy and paste this marker *que* under this scripture in his *Youlu*. He would use *jinque* when a scripture was absent at his time but was still available to the compilers of other catalogs.

Then I proceed to discuss exactly how many scriptures were thought to have been translated by Dharmarakṣa in *Youlu*. I propose that 90, instead of 95 scriptures were recorded as “extant/ *youben*” by Sengyou in Dharmarakṣa's entry in *Youlu*. After the

analysis of extant materials, I surmise that *Xuzhen tianzi jing* could have been later inserted into *Youlu* under the entry of Dharmarakṣa's Chinese name – Zhu Fahu. Following the examination of *Xuzhen tianzi jing* and the different names of Dharmarakṣa recorded in different catalogs, I also find that there were at least two different versions of CSZJJ circulated in history. In addition, I also suspect *Pusa shizhu jing* and *Shou lengyan jing* could be later insertions into Zhu Fahu's entry in *Youlu*.

Next, I discuss the historical backdrop of the West Jin Dynasty and Dharmarakṣa's personal background. During the reign of Emperor Wu of Jin Dynasty, literature and philosophy prospered, and this emperor was indifferent to Buddhism and did not hold much regard for supernatural powers. Nevertheless, Buddhism and Buddhist translation activities thrived during this period. As for Dharmarakṣa himself, he was proficient in Chinese and many other languages — even though such expressions seem formulaic to some scholars, the lengthy depiction on a translator's language proficiency is nevertheless a rare case in both CSZJJ and GSZ. Then I reconstruct Dharmarakṣa's lifeline, purporting that he was the first recorded Buddhist translator who took Chang'an as a “fortified point” to render scriptures. Moreover, I also identify that during the so-called ten years of “blank period” when no translations were rendered by Dharmarakṣa, the monk master was actively involved in the construction of a temple, recruiting disciples, and solidifying his reputation.

In the concluding section of this chapter, the focus is on the examination of translation processes within Dharmarakṣa's teams, with particular attention to the role of Nie Chengyuan, who was traditionally perceived only as a scribe. The study investigates the nuanced use of the term “*chu* [issue],” which is crucial for decoding the translation process. Through the meticulous examination of 15 prefaces and colophons, three primary types of translation processes emerge within Nie Chengyuan's teams, with distinct variations under the second and third major types.

By scrutinizing expressions related to Nie Chengyuan and other assistants, it is posited

that his role transcended that of a mere scribe; he potentially played a significant role in translating Dharmarakṣa’s explanations into coherent Chinese. The multifaceted functions of Dharmarakṣa are also considered. While modern scholars often categorize him solely as a translator, ancient scholars valued him primarily for his contributions in bringing the Vaipulya scriptures to China.

Moreover, Dharmarakṣa, as an affluent and autonomous Buddhist master, functioned not only as a translator but also as the organizer of numerous translation activities that involved multiple contributors. Consequently, the outcome of these translations was not consistent in terms of word choices. The outline of his social network and the geographical distribution of his disciples and collaborators provides insights into why his translations were not widely circulated in China, in addition to his translation style which is often evaluated as direct and literal.

Future Studies

When talking about the translation history in ancient Europe, Albrecht (1998: 48) observes that:

Like language, translation is subject to historical change. What a translation should, shall, or may, what it should not, shall not, and may not do, is not definitively determined once and for all. Views on this matter change, just like the customs, practices, and values of a community, and the rules of its language.⁵⁵⁹ (translated by me)

The same observation can be applied to the study of translators and translation processes in history. Prunč (2012: esp. pp. 167–168) argues that transcultural messages rely on the expertise of professional translators for functional and rational production. However, early Buddhist translators, while contributing to translation activities, did not necessarily possess the characteristics of “professional” translators, as their proficiency

⁵⁵⁹ “Wie Sprache ist auch Übersetzung dem historischen Wandel unterworfen. Was eine Übersetzung sollte, soll oder darf, was sie nicht sollte, nicht soll und nicht darf, steht nicht ein für allemal fest. Die Ansichten darüber ändern sich wie die Sitten, Gebräuche und Wertvorstellungen einer Gemeinschaft und die Regeln ihrer Sprache.”

in both the source language (SL) and the target language (TL) could be wanting. In essence, the translators themselves, along with their collaborative processes, serve as a repository etched with cultural and religious nuances, all while retaining certain shared attributes intrinsic to the contemporary practice of translation and the portrayal of translators. Therefore, my thesis focuses on the translators and their translation process, examining the intricacies of their collaborations by exploring both their working methods and the individuals involved in the translation process. This exploration has the potential to enhance our understanding and may even challenge some of our entrenched notions about translation and translators.

A more in-depth investigation into this aspect, in tandem with Buddhist philological research, is poised to yield more fruitful and insightful discoveries. Such discoveries have the potential to enrich not only Translation Studies but also the field of Buddhist Studies.

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Zusammenfassung

Diese Dissertation konzentriert sich auf die Übersetzer und die kollaborative Übersetzung buddhistischer Schriften im frühen China (2–4 c.). Übersetzer, die traditionell unsichtbar waren, stellten in Wirklichkeit kulturelle Übermittler dar, deren Beitrag über die bloße zweisprachige Überführung des Ausgangstextes in den Zieltext hinausging. Die Aufgabe der Übersetzer war während des Übersetzungsprozesses buddhistischer Schriften einzigartig, da sie normalerweise zusammenarbeiteten, um die Schriften zu übertragen. Allerdings erhielten die Übersetzer nicht nur weniger Aufmerksamkeit als die übersetzten Texte, sondern auch ihre Zusammenarbeitsmethoden, d. h. ihre Übersetzungsprozesse, wurden wenig erforscht.

Um diese Lücke zu schließen, beginnt diese Studie mit der Einleitung (**Kapitel 1**), die die Bedeutung der Erforschung von Übersetzern und Übersetzungsprozessen aus der Perspektive der Übersetzungswissenschaft (Translation Studies, TS) herausstellt. Durch die Verbindung der Konzepte und Theorien zur Übersetzerrolle und kollaborativen Übersetzung in der TS wird ein allgemeiner theoretischer Rahmen und eine Perspektive für diese Studie festgelegt. Darüber hinaus dient diese Studie durch die Einführung spezifischer Beispiele aus der buddhistischen Übersetzungsgeschichte in China dazu, das vorherrschende Verständnis dieser Konzepte in der TS zu implementieren und sowohl die TS als auch die Buddhistischen Studien zu bereichern.

Die Dissertation konzentriert sich dann auf drei Fallstudien von kollaborativen Übersetzungen vor der Gründung von Übersetzungsgremien, das von Dao'an in Chang'an errichtet wurde, als buddhistische Übersetzungen allmählich unter der politischen Protektion der Herrscher finanziell unterstützt wurden. Diese drei Fallstudien sind in einer chronologischen Reihenfolge angeordnet, die nicht nur historische Details (Mikrogeschichte) jedes kollaborativen Teams aufzeigen, sondern auch zur Konstruktion eines allgemeinen Überblicks über die Entwicklung von

Zusammenarbeit und Aufgaben der Übersetzer (Makrogeschichte) beitragen. Diese drei Fallstudien sind: die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Lokakṣema und Zhu Foshuo am Ende der Han-Dynastie (Kapitel 2), die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Zhi Qian, Vighna und Zhu Jiangyan während der Zeit der Drei Reiche (Kapitel 3) und schließlich Dharmarakṣa und seine Übersetzungsteams in der Westlichen Jin-Dynastie (Kapitel 4).

Kapitel 2 konzentriert sich auf die erste dokumentierte Zusammenarbeit, die am Ende der Han-Dynastie stattfand. Die beteiligten Übersetzer sind hauptsächlich Lokakṣema und Zhu Foshuo. Ihre Assistenten sollen Meng Fu, Zhang Lian und Zibi sein.

Dieses Kapitel beginnt mit der allgemeinen Einführung der beiden Hauptfiguren, nämlich Lokakṣema und Zhu Foshuo. Anschließend werden die chinesischen Übersetzungen von *Aṣṭa* besprochen. In Sengyous Katalog notierte er, dass Lokakṣema eine zehn-faszikulige *Aṣṭa* übersetzte, die auf Chinesisch *Bore daoxingpin jing* genannt wurde. Er schrieb auch eine ein-faszikulige *Aṣṭa* und schickte sie einem indischen Mönch namens Zhu Foshuo zu, dessen Übersetzung als *Daoxing jing* betitelt war. Viele Gelehrte debattieren jedoch heftig über die Frage der ein-faszikuligen Version von Zhu Foshuo. Viele argumentieren, dass es einen solchen ein-faszikuligen Text gar nicht gegeben hat und dass Sengyou die Existenz eines solchen Textes erfunden wurde. Durch die Analyse historischer Materialien schlage ich etwas anderes vor. Ich schlage erstens vor, dass der ehrwürdige Samgha-Führer Dao', der *das Vorwort zu Daoxing jing* verfasste, in dem er sowohl Lokakṣema als auch Zhu Foshuo erwähnte, andeutete, dass Zhu Foshuo mit Lokakṣema zusammengearbeitet haben könnte, um die *Aṣṭa* zu übersetzen. Überdies hatte Lokakṣema seine eigene Übersetzung derselben Schrift, was bedeutet, dass Lokakṣema zweimal an der Übersetzung von *Aṣṭa* beteiligt war. Zusätzlich muss Sengyou die Existenz der ein-faszikuligen Version, die er Zhu Foshuo zuschreibt, bezeugt haben, da er andernfalls seinem *modus operandi* gefolgt wäre, unzugängliche Übersetzungen mit dem Zeichen *que* oder *junque* zu kennzeichnen, was abwesend oder nicht verfügbar bedeutet.

Ich komme daher zu dem Schluss, dass die ein-faszikulige Version existierte und dass Sengyou Zugang zu dieser Version hatte. Weiterhin schrieb Sengyou diese ein-faszikulige Version nur Zhu Foshuo, basierend auf seiner Aufzeichnungsmethode nehme ich an, dass Sengyou sich dessen bewusst gewesen sein könnte, dass diese ein-faszikulige Version von Zhu Foshuo und seinen Mitarbeitern gemeinsam übersetzt wurde. Allerdings wusste er nicht, wer sie waren, weil er zwei entscheidende Materialien nicht sah: *das Kolophon zu Daoxing jing* und *das Kolophon zu Banzhou sanmei jing*.

Ich analysiere weiterhin, dass diese beiden Kolophone später in Sengyous Zusammenstellung, d. h. CSZJJ, eingefügt wurden. Basierend auf dem Inhalt dieser beiden Kolophone untersuche ich einen marginalisierten Beitragenden — Meng Fu, der in beiden Kolophonen erscheint, aber während der bisherigen Forschung fast unsichtbar geblieben ist. Ich komme zu dem Schluss, dass er kein Schreiber, sondern ein ehrwürdiger Antragsteller war, der den indischen Mönch Zhu Foshuo bat, Schriften übersetzen zu dürfen.

Kapitel 3 konzentriert sich auf die Zusammenarbeit von Zhi Qian, Vighna und Zhu Jiangyan, die gemeinsam das T 210 *Faju jing* (*Dhammapada*; FJJ) übersetzten.

Dieses Kapitel beginnt mit dem Überblick über Zhi Qians ethnische Zugehörigkeit und seine persönliche Hintergrundgeschichte.

Dann gehe ich dazu über, die problematischen Erzählungen und Aufzeichnungen in CSZJJ als historisches Material zu untersuchen. Durch die Präsentation und den Vergleich von Argumenten von Gelehrten schlage ich vor, dass die Biografien in CSZJJ (Faszikel 13–15) später in CSZJJ nach seiner ursprünglichen Zusammenstellung eingefügt worden sein könnten. Der Hauptgrund liegt in den Diskrepanzen hinsichtlich der Aufzeichnungen in den Biografien und *Youlu* (Sengyous Katalog, erhalten in Faszikel 2, CSZJJ). Die Anzahl der Übersetzungen, die jeder Übersetzer angeblich

durchgeführt hat, wird sowohl im biografischen Abschnitt als auch in *Youlu* aufgezeichnet. Es gibt jedoch viele Inkonsistenzen. Auch wenn der scheinbare Autor von CSJJ Sengyou ist, ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die Biografien nicht von Sengyou selbst verfasst wurden. Vielmehr könnten sie von Sengyous Mitarbeitern zusammengestellt worden sein und dann mit *Youlu* zusammen kombiniert worden sein, was zu einem scheinbar umfassenden CSJJ führte.

Dann spreche ich über die Übersetzungsstile von Zhi Qian, der für seine schönen und prägnanten Übersetzungen bekannt war. In vielen buddhistischen Materialien gibt es einen kurzen Ausdruck *Zhizhu* 支竺, der aus zwei Familiennamen Zhi und Zhu besteht. Da Zhi Qians Nachname Zhi ist, neigen Gelehrte aus der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart dazu anzunehmen, dass das Zhi in diesem *Zhizhu* auf Zhi Qian verweisen muss. Durch eine gründliche Analyse versuche ich jedoch zu beweisen, dass auf wen sich dieses Zhi in *Zhizhu* bezieht, vom spezifischen Kontext abhängt und die Behauptung, dass es sich zwangsläufig auf Zhi Qian beziehen muss, zu negieren.

Schließlich analysiere ich ausführlich die Zusammenarbeit bei der Übersetzung von FJJ gemäß dem *Vorwort zu Faju jing*, das das erste Vorwort in China ist, das Probleme, Prozesse und Theorien von Übersetzungen behandelt. Dann schildere ich die Rolle und Funktion jedes Teilnehmers während des Übersetzungsprozesses.

Kapitel 4 untersucht Dharmarakṣa, der der fruchtbarste Übersetzer in CSJJ war, in Verbindung mit der Untersuchung seiner Mitarbeiter, insbesondere einem Mitarbeiter namens Nie Chengyuan.

Die Forschung beginnt mit rätselhaften Ausdrücken in CSJJ, die Gelehrten seit langem als rätselhaft erscheinen. Ich untersuche die umstrittenen Begriffe *bielu* 別錄 und *Jiulu* 舊錄 und komme zu dem Schluss, dass ersterer ein generischer Begriff ist, der sich auf „andere Kataloge“ bezieht, während letzterer ein Singularbegriff ist, der einen bestimmten Katalog bezeichnet, dessen Name *Jiulu* ist. Ebenso habe ich die

Markierungen (*que* und *jинque*) untersucht, mit denen Sengyou kennzeichnete, dass Schriften unzugänglich sind.

Basierend auf den obengenannten Ergebnissen entwirre ich das Rätsel, wie viele Schriften von Dharmarakṣa in *Youlu* übersetzt wurden. Im ersten Abschnitt von Dharmarakṣas Eintrag notierten einige Versionen in *Taishō*, dass es insgesamt 150 übersetzte Texte gab, während andere Versionen die Zahl 154 vorschlugen. Nachdem ich die Details in diesem Eintrag untersucht habe, komme ich zu dem Schluss, dass 150 die richtige Option ist, indem ich Schriften heraussuche, die in diesen Eintrag eingefügt wurden. Beim Herausfiltern später eingefügter Übersetzungen habe ich auch die Existenz von mindestens zwei Versionen von CSZJJ in der Vergangenheit festgestellt, was neue Erkenntnisse für die Erforschung von CSZJJ bietet.

Als Nächstes konzentriere ich mich auf den Übersetzer Dharmarakṣa und erkläre die Frage, die viele Gelehrte gequält hat, nämlich die zehn Jahre der „leeren“ Periode von Dharmarakṣa. Durch die Rekonstruktion von Dharmarakṣas Lebenslauf schlage ich vor, dass er während der angeblich „leeren“ Periode zumindest einen Tempel errichtet hat, Schüler rekrutiert hat und sehr berühmt wurde.

Zuletzt diskutiere ich den Übersetzungsprozess in Dharmarakṣas Teams. Zuerst habe ich das problematische Verb *chu* [ausgeben] studiert und sieben Kategorien seiner Bedeutung zusammengefasst. Mit Schwerpunkt auf der Erforschung von Dharmarakṣas fähigstem Assistenten — Nie Chengyuan — komme ich zu dem Schluss, dass Nie Chengyuan nicht nur als Schreiber betrachtet werden sollte, sondern dass er am zweisprachigen Übersetzungsprozess beteiligt war.

Das abschließende Kapitel (**Kapitel 5**) fasst die Forschungsergebnisse von Kapitel 2 bis Kapitel 4 noch einmal zusammen und skizziert zukünftige Studien, die Translation Studies mit Buddhist Studies verbinden.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Names of Catalogs in CSZJJ

Name	Usage				Fascicle	Occurrent		
	Expressions		Contents					
古錄	古錄云	梵志闍孫經一卷(古錄云梵志闍遜經) ⁵⁶⁰				4		
		八吉祥神呪一卷(古錄 ⁵⁶¹ 云八吉祥經) ⁵⁶²						
	古錄	幻師陀羅神呪一卷(古錄幻王陀羅經) ⁵⁶³						
		貧女聽經蛇齧命終經一卷(古錄貧女聽經蛇齧命終生天經) ⁵⁶⁴						
安錄	安錄	安錄云	安世高	安般守意經一卷(安錄 ⁵⁶⁵ 云小安般經) ⁵⁶⁶		30		
			支謙	釋摩男經一卷(安錄云出中阿含) ⁵⁶⁷				
		竺法護	普超經四卷(一名阿闍世王品安錄亦云更出阿闍世王經或為三卷舊錄云文殊普超三昧經太康七年十二月二十七日出) ⁵⁶⁸					
		安錄無	支讖	陀真陀羅經二卷(舊錄云屯真陀羅王經 別錄所載安錄無 今闕) ⁵⁶⁹				

⁵⁶⁰ T 2145.55.18a26.

⁵⁶¹ 云【大】，〔一〕【宋】【元】【明】

⁵⁶² T 2145.55.31b17.

⁵⁶³ T 2145.55.31b27.

⁵⁶⁴ T 2145.55.34c1.

⁵⁶⁵ 錄【大】，公【明】

⁵⁶⁶ T 2145.55.5c23.

⁵⁶⁷ T 2145.55.7a6.

⁵⁶⁸ T 2145.55.7b25–26.

⁵⁶⁹ T 2145.55.6b13.

			光明三昧經一卷(出別錄安錄無) ⁵⁷⁰		
		支謙	首楞嚴經二卷(別錄所載安錄無今闕) ⁵⁷¹		
			龍施女經一卷(別錄所載安錄無) ⁵⁷²		
			法鏡經二卷(出別錄安錄無) ⁵⁷³		
			鹿子經一卷(別錄所載安錄無 ⁵⁷⁴) ⁵⁷⁵		
			十二門大方等經一卷(別錄所載安錄無今闕) ⁵⁷⁶		
			賴吒和羅經一卷(別錄所載安錄無或云羅漢賴吒和羅經) ⁵⁷⁷		
		竺法護	隨權女經二卷(出別錄安錄無) ⁵⁷⁸		
	安錄先闕	竺法護	阿差末經四卷(或云阿差末菩薩經別錄所載安錄先闕) ⁵⁷⁹		
			無極寶經一卷(別錄所載先闕安錄或云無極寶三昧經) ⁵⁸⁰		
			阿述達經一卷(別錄所載安錄先闕舊錄云阿述達女經或云阿闍王女阿術達菩薩經) ⁵⁸¹		
			等目菩薩經二卷(別錄所載安錄先闕) ⁵⁸²		
			晉武帝時。沙門竺法護。到西域得胡本還。自太始中至懷帝永嘉二年以前所譯出。祐據摭群錄。遇護公所出更得四部。安錄先闕。今條入錄中。安公云。遭亂錄散小小錯涉。故知今之所獲審是護出也 ⁵⁸³ 。		

⁵⁷⁰ T 2145.55.6b15.

⁵⁷¹ T 2145.55.7a17.

⁵⁷² T 2145.55.7a18.

⁵⁷³ T 2145.55.7a19.

⁵⁷⁴ 無【大】，無載【宋】【元】【明】

⁵⁷⁵ T 2145.55.7a20.

⁵⁷⁶ T 2145.55.7a21.

⁵⁷⁷ T 2145.55.7a22.

⁵⁷⁸ T 2145.55.8a9.

⁵⁷⁹ T 2145.55.8c7.

⁵⁸⁰ T 2145.55.8c8.

⁵⁸¹ T 2145.55.8c9.

⁵⁸² T 2145.55.8c11.

⁵⁸³ T 2145.55.9b28-c4.

		竺叔蘭	首楞嚴經二卷(別錄所載安錄先闕舊錄有叔蘭首楞嚴二卷) ⁵⁸⁴	
		法炬	樓炭經六卷(別錄所載安錄先闕) ⁵⁸⁵	
		尋安錄	尋安錄。自道地要語迄四姓長者。合九十有二經。標為古異 ⁵⁸⁶ 。	F3
			尋安錄。自修行本起訖於和達。凡一百有三十四經。莫詳其人 ⁵⁸⁷	
		安錄	安錄誠佳。頗恨太簡 ⁵⁸⁸ 。	
		安公錄	右三部。凡四卷。魏高貴公時。白延所譯出。別錄所載。安公錄(先無其名) ⁵⁸⁹	F2
			般舟三昧經二卷(安公錄云更出般舟三昧經) ⁵⁹⁰	
			總前出經。自安世高以下至法立以上。凡十七家。並安公錄所載 ⁵⁹¹ 大枯樹經一卷(與安公錄枯樹經大同小異) ⁵⁹²	
		安法師所撰錄	四十二章經一卷(舊錄云孝明皇帝四十二章安法師所撰錄闕此經) ⁵⁹³	F2
		安公舊錄	祐校安公舊錄。其經有譯名則繼錄上卷。無譯名者則條目于下 ⁵⁹⁴ 。	F3
		安舊錄	凡二十七卷其諸天錄經錄。及答沙汰難至西域志。雖非注經。今依安舊錄附之于末 ⁵⁹⁵ 。	F5
		安公大錄	和達經一卷(安公大 ⁵⁹⁶ 錄訖於此) ⁵⁹⁷	F3

⁵⁸⁴ T 2145.55.9c13.⁵⁸⁵ T 2145.55.9c19.⁵⁸⁶ T 2145.55.15b14–16.⁵⁸⁷ T 2145.55.16c9–10.⁵⁸⁸ T 2145.55.16c12.⁵⁸⁹ T 2145.55.7b5–6.⁵⁹⁰ T 2145.55.8a1.⁵⁹¹ T 2145.55.10a4–5.⁵⁹² T 2145.55.28c24.⁵⁹³ T 2145.55.5c17.⁵⁹⁴ T 2145.55.16c8–9.⁵⁹⁵ T 2145.55.40a7–8.⁵⁹⁶ 大【大】，本【宋】【元】【明】⁵⁹⁷ T 2145.55.18b16.

別錄	出別錄	支讖	光明三昧經一卷(出別錄安錄無)	F2	18
		支謙	法鏡經二卷(出別錄安錄無)		
		竺法護	隨權女經二卷(出別錄安錄無)		
	別錄所載	支讖	佗真陀羅經二卷(舊錄云屯真陀羅王經 別錄所載安錄無 今闕)		
		支謙	首楞嚴經二卷(別錄所載安錄無 今闕)		
			龍施女經一卷(別錄所載安錄無)		
			鹿子經一卷(別錄所載安錄無)		
			十二門大方等經一卷(別錄所載安錄無今闕)		
			賴吒和羅經一卷(別錄所載安錄無或云羅漢賴吒和羅經)		
		白延	右三部。凡四卷。魏高貴公時。白延所譯出。別錄所載。安公錄(先無其名)		
		竺法護	阿差末經四卷(或云阿差末菩薩經別錄所載安錄先闕) 無極寶經一卷(別錄所載先闕安錄或云無極寶三昧經) 阿述達經一卷(別錄所載安錄先闕舊錄云阿述達女經或云阿闍王女阿術達菩薩經) 等目菩薩經二卷(別錄所載安錄先闕)		
		竺叔蘭	首楞嚴經二卷(別錄所載安錄先闕舊錄有叔蘭首楞嚴二卷)		
		法炬	樓炭經六卷(別錄所載安錄先闕)		
	別錄云	曇摩讖	方等王虛空藏經五卷(或云大虛空藏經 檢經文與大集經第八虛空藏品同 未詳是別出者 不別錄云河南國乞佛時沙門釋聖堅譯出) ⁵⁹⁸	F4	219
			悲華經十卷(別錄或云龜上出) ⁵⁹⁹		
			菩薩戒本一卷(別緣 ⁶⁰⁰ 云燉煌出) ⁶⁰¹		
			墮藍本經一卷(或云墮藍本文別錄云是異出維藍) ⁶⁰²		
舊錄	舊錄云	竺摩騰	四十二章經一卷(舊錄云孝明皇帝四十二章安法師所撰錄闕此經) ⁶⁰³	F2	219

⁵⁹⁸ T 2145.55.11b13–14.

⁵⁹⁹ T 2145.55.11b16.

⁶⁰⁰ I speculate this “別緣”is a writing mistake and should be “別錄”. Other materials concerning the translator “曇摩讖”are written as “別錄”.

⁶⁰¹ T 2145.55.11b20.

⁶⁰² T 2145.55.27a26.

⁶⁰³ T 2145.55.5c17.

安世高 ⁶⁰⁴	百六十品經一卷(舊錄云增一阿含百六十章)
	阿毘曇五法經一卷(舊錄云阿毘曇五法行經)
	七法經一卷(舊錄云阿毘曇七法行經或云七法行 今闕此經)
	十報經二卷(舊錄云長阿含十報法)
	五陰喻經一卷(舊錄云五陰譬喻經)
	流攝經一卷(舊錄云一切[10]流經或云一切流攝守經)
	十四意經一卷(舊錄云菩薩十四意經今闕 [闕【大】，闕此經【宋】【元】【明】)
支讖 ⁶⁰⁵	般舟三昧經一卷(舊錄云大般舟三昧經光和二年十月八日出)
	陀真陀羅經二卷(舊錄云[19]屯真陀羅王經別錄所載安錄無今闕)
	阿闍世王經二卷(安公云出長阿含舊錄阿闍貢經)
	寶積經一卷(安公云一名摩尼寶光和二年出舊錄云摩尼寶經二卷)
	內藏百品經一卷(安公云出方等部舊錄云內藏百寶經遍校群錄並云內藏百寶無內藏百品故知即此經也)
竺法護 ⁶⁰⁶	賢劫經七卷(舊錄云賢劫三昧經或云賢劫定意經元康元年七月二十一日出)
	正法華經十卷(二十七品舊錄云正法華經或云方等正法華經太康七年八月十日出)
	大哀經七卷(二十八品舊錄云如來大哀經元康元年七月七日出)
	持心經六卷(十七品一名等御諸法一名莊嚴佛法舊錄云持心梵天經或云持心梵天所問經太康七年三月十日出)
	修行經七卷(二十七品舊錄云修行道地經太康五年二月二十三日出)
	普超經四卷(一名阿闍世王品安錄亦云更出阿闍世王經或為三卷舊錄云文殊普超三昧經太康七年十二月二十七日出)
	嚴淨佛土經二卷(舊錄云文殊師利嚴淨經或云文殊佛土嚴淨經)
	阿耨達經二卷(一名弘道廣顯三昧經舊錄云阿耨達龍王經或云阿耨達請佛經)
	寶藏經二卷(舊錄云文殊師利寶藏經或云文殊師利現寶藏太始六年十月出)

604 T 2145.55.5c23–6b6.

605 T 2145.55.6b10–27.

606 T 2145.55.7b12–9c4.

		寶結經二卷(一名菩薩淨行經舊錄云寶結菩薩經或云寶結菩薩所問經永熙元年七月十四日出)	
		等集眾德三昧經三卷(舊錄云等集眾德經或云等集)	
		寶女經四卷(舊錄云寶女三昧經或云寶女問慧經太康八年四月二十七日出)	
		五十緣身行經一卷(舊錄云菩薩緣身五十事經或云菩薩行五十緣身經)	
		須摩經一卷(舊錄云須摩提經或云須摩提菩薩經)	
		溫室經一卷(舊錄云溫室洗浴眾僧經)	
		移山經一卷(舊錄云力士移山經)	
		文殊師利五體悔過經一卷(舊錄云文殊師利悔過)	
		無思議孩童經一卷(舊錄云孩童經或云無思議光孩童菩薩經或云無思議光經)	
		迦葉集結經一卷(舊錄云迦葉結經)	
		寶罔童子經一卷(舊錄云寶罔經)	
		順權方便經二卷(一本云惟權方便經舊錄云順權女經一名轉女身菩薩經)	
		五百弟子本起經一卷(舊錄云五百弟子自說本末[8]經或云佛五百弟子自說本起經)	
		佛為菩薩五夢經一卷(舊錄云佛五夢或云太子五夢)	
		如幻三昧經二卷(舊錄云三卷)	
		胞胎經一卷(舊錄云胞胎受身經)	
		大六向拜經一卷(舊錄云六向拜經或云威華長者六向拜經)	
		過去佛分衛經一卷(舊錄云過世佛分衛經)	
		阿述達經一卷(別錄所載安錄先闕舊錄云阿述達女經或云阿闍王女阿術達菩薩經)	
		給孤獨明德經一卷(舊錄云給孤獨氏經)	
		龍施本起經一卷(舊錄云龍施本經或云龍施女經)	
		猛施經一卷(舊錄云猛施道地經)	
		菩薩齋法一卷(舊錄云菩薩齋經或云賢首菩薩齋經)	
	聶承遠 607	超日明經二卷(舊錄云超日明三昧經)	
	竺叔蘭	首楞嚴經二卷(別錄所載安錄先闕舊錄有叔蘭首楞嚴二卷)	

607 T 2145.55.9c5.

法炬 ⁶⁰⁸	大方等如來藏經一卷(舊錄云佛藏方等經)	
康法邃 609	譬喻經十卷(舊錄云正譬喻經十卷)	
新集安 公古異 經錄 ⁶¹⁰	數練意章一卷(舊錄云數練經 安公云上二經出生經 祐案今生經無此章名)	F3
	梵志頗波羅延問尊種經一卷(舊錄云頗波羅延問尊種經今有此經)	
	魔王入目犍蘭腹經一卷(一名弊魔試摩目連經舊錄云魔王入目連腹中經今有此經)	
	十二賢者經一卷(舊錄云十二賢經)	
	聞城譬經一卷(舊錄云聞城十二因緣經或云貝多樹下思惟十二因緣經 <u>今有此經</u>)	
	自守亦不自守經一卷(舊錄云不自守經或云不自守意經 <u>今有此經</u>)	
	善馬有三相經一卷(舊錄云馬三相經 <u>今有此經</u>)	
	不聞者類相聚經一卷(舊錄云類相聚經)	
	生聞披羅門經一卷(舊錄云生門梵志經)	
	有三方便經一卷(舊錄云三方便經)	
	四意止經一卷(舊錄云四意止本行經)	
	彌連經一卷(舊錄云彌蘭經或作彌蓮出六度集今有此經)	
	羅貧壽經一卷(舊錄云羅彌壽或云那彌壽經)	
	四姓長者難經一卷(舊錄云四姓長者經)	
新集 安公 失譯 經錄 ⁶¹¹	修行本起經二卷(安公言南方近出直益小本起耳舊錄有宿行本起疑即此經)	F3/ 今有 其經
	八念經一卷(舊錄云阿那律八念經)	
	演道俗經一卷(舊錄云演道俗業經)	
	首達經一卷(舊錄云維先首達經)	
	五恐怖世經一卷(舊錄云五恐怖經)	
	治身經一卷(舊錄云佛治身經餘錄並同)	
	治意經一卷(舊錄云佛治意經餘錄並同)	
	四虺喻經一卷(安公云出中阿含舊錄云四虺經或作四蛇經)	

608 T 2145.55.9c20.

609 T 2145.55.10a20.

610 T 2145.55.15b14–16c7.

611 T 2145.55.16c07–18c2.

新集安 公涼土 異經錄 612	十夢經一卷(安公云出阿毘曇 舊錄云舍衛國王十夢經 或云波斯匿王十夢經 或云舍衛國王夢見十事經 或云國王不黎先泥十夢經 悉同一本) 長者辯意經一卷(舊錄云辯意長者經) 自愛不自愛經一卷(舊錄云自愛經) 阿難八夢經一卷(舊錄云阿難七夢經 �毕錄並云[七]夢是誤作八字也) 婦遇對經一卷(舊錄云婦人遇辜經或云婦遇辜經) 阿難邠祇四時施經一卷(舊錄云阿難邠祁四時布施經) 呵調阿那含經一卷(舊錄云訶鵠阿那含經或作苛鵠阿那含經) 小五濁經一卷(舊錄云小五濁世經或云五濁世經或云五濁世本) 迦旃偈一卷(舊錄云比丘迦旃說法沒偈經或云迦旃延說法沒盡偈百二十章) 分陀利經一卷(舊錄云薩芸芬陀利經或云是異出法花經) 難等各第一經一卷(舊錄云阿難迦葉舍利弗說各第一經) 惟留王經一卷(舊錄云惟流王經) 鹹水喻經一卷(安公云出中阿含舊錄云鹹水譬喻經)	F3/(無其 經)
	須耶越國貧人經一卷(舊錄云須耶越國貧人賃剔頭經)	
	首至問十四章經一卷(舊錄云首至問佛十四意經或云首至問十四事今有此經)	
	大愛道受誠經二卷(舊錄云大愛道或云大愛道比丘尼今有此經)	
	七事本末經一卷(舊錄云七事行本經)	F3
	耆域術經一卷(舊錄云耆域四術經)	
	大五濁經一卷(舊錄云大五濁世經)	
	權變經一卷(舊錄云文殊師利權變三昧經或云權變三昧經)	
	七言禪利經一卷(舊錄云僥倖七言禪利經)	
新集安 公關中 異經錄 613	阿難為蠱道呪經一卷(舊錄云阿難為蠱道所呪經)	
	王舍城靈鷲山經一卷(舊錄云王舍城靈鷲山要直經)	
	太子辟羅經一卷(舊錄云太子壁羅經)	
	摩訶捷陀惟衛羅盡信比丘等度經一卷(舊錄云盡信比丘經)	

612 T 2145.55.18c03-19b8.

613 T 2145.55.19b9-c7.

新集續 撰失譯 雜經錄 614	沙曷比丘功德一卷(舊錄云沙曷比丘經) 沙彌十戒經一卷(舊錄云沙彌戒) 諸天經一卷(舊錄云諸天事經)	F4/ 新集所 得。今 並有其 本。悉 在經藏
	魔化比丘經一卷(舊錄云魔比丘經)	
	頂生王因緣經一卷(舊錄云頂生王經)	
	舍頭諫太子二十八宿經一卷(舊錄云舍頭諫經一名虎耳)	
	教子經一卷(一名須達教子經舊錄云須達訓子經)	
	懈怠耕者經一卷(舊錄云懈怠耕兒經)	
	善生子經一卷(舊錄云善生子一名異出六向拜經)	
	獮狗齧王經一卷(舊錄云獮狗經)	
	鹽王五天使者經一卷(舊錄云鹽王五使者經)	
	恒水戒經一卷(舊錄云恒水經)	
	戒消災經一卷(舊錄云戒消伏)	
	多增道章經一卷(舊錄云多增道經一名異出十報法)	
	十二因緣章經一卷(舊錄云十二因緣經)	
	十二遊經一卷(舊錄云十二由經)	
	空淨天感應三昧經二卷(舊錄云空淨三昧經)	
	大蛇譬喻經一卷(舊錄云大蛇經)	
	爪甲擎土譬經一卷(舊錄云爪甲取土經)	
	深自知身偈一卷(舊錄云自知偈)	
	呪請雨呪止雨取血氣神呪一卷(舊錄云血呪)	
	阿惟越致菩薩戒經一卷(舊錄云阿惟越致戒經)	F4 闕經
	八歲沙彌降外道經一卷(抄出曜 舊錄云八歲沙彌折外異學經)	
	為壽盡天子說法經一卷(舊錄云命盡天子經)	
	阿須倫問八事經一卷(舊錄云何須倫所問八事)	
	摩竭王經一卷(舊錄云摩竭國王經)	
	尸呵遍王經一卷(舊錄云尼呵遍王經)	

614 T 2145.55.21b17-37b16.

		太子法慧經一卷(舊錄云太子法慧) 須多羅經一卷(舊錄云須多羅入胎經) 牛米自供養經一卷(舊錄云牛米自供經) 世間珍寶經一卷(舊錄云世間所望珍寶經) 無端祇持經一卷(舊錄云無端祇總持經) 四輩經一卷(舊錄云四輩弟子經或云四輩學經) 禪行斂意經一卷(舊錄云禪行極意) 化譬經一卷(舊錄云化喻經) 大總持神呪一卷(舊錄云總持呪)	
	新集安 公疑經 錄 ⁶¹⁵	薩和菩薩經一卷(舊錄云國王薩和菩薩經) 慧定普遍神通菩薩經一卷(舊錄云慧定普遍國土神通菩薩經) 貧女人經一卷(名難陀者舊錄云貧女難陀經闕) 阿秋那經一卷(舊錄云阿秋那三昧經闕)	F5
舊錄有		法華經(舊錄有薩芸分陀利經云是異出法華未詳誰出今闕此經 竺法護出正法華經十卷鳩摩羅什出新妙法蓮華經七卷) ⁶¹⁶ 首楞嚴經(支讖首楞嚴二卷支謙首楞嚴二卷白延首楞嚴二卷竺法護更出勇伏定二卷即更出首楞嚴 竺寂蘭首楞嚴二卷鳩摩羅什新出首楞嚴二卷 <u>舊錄有蜀首楞嚴二卷未詳誰出</u>) ⁶¹⁷ 忠心政行經一卷(出六度集或云忠心經 舊錄有大忠心經小忠心經) ⁶¹⁸ 熒火六度經一卷(舊錄有明度經一卷云一名熒火明度經)	F2 異出經錄 F4 F4/闕經
舊錄所載		雜譬喻經八十卷(舊錄所載) 雜數經二十卷(舊錄所載) 阿惟越致轉經十八卷(舊錄所載) 蜀普耀經八卷(舊錄所載似蜀土所出) 那先譬喻經四卷(舊錄所載) 小本起經二卷(舊錄所載)	F4/闕經

⁶¹⁵ T 2145.55.38b7-c17.⁶¹⁶ T 2145.55.14a11-12.⁶¹⁷ T 2145.55.14a15-16.⁶¹⁸ T 2145.55.29a12.

	蜀首楞嚴經二卷(出舊錄所載似蜀土所出)	
	後出首楞嚴經二卷(舊錄所載云有十偈)	
	七佛父母姓字經一卷(舊錄云七佛姓字經)	
	佛本記一卷(舊錄所載)	
	菩薩常行經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	迦葉獨證自誓經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	摩訶目犍連與佛角能經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	阿難得道經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	阿難般泥洹經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	阿那律念復生經一卷(舊錄[錄【大】，錄所載【明】])	
	沙門分衛見怪異經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	人詐名為道經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	大戒經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	衣服制一卷(舊錄所載)	
	沙彌離威儀一卷(舊錄所載)	
	弟子本行經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	道本五戒經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	威儀經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	魔試佛經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	年少王經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	是光太子經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	長者難提經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	長者子誓經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	五百婆羅門問有無經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	女利行經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	國王癡夫人經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	四婦因緣經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	淫人曳踵行經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	墮迦經一卷(舊錄所載 云晉言堅[堅【大】，賢【宋】【元】【明】]強)	

	盤達龍王經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	行放食牛經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	墮釋迦牧牛經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	法嚴經一卷(舊錄所載疑即是等入法嚴)	
	壁四經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	賣智慧經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	初受道經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	學經福經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	止寺中經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	安般行道經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	解慧微妙經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	失道得道經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	心情心識經一卷(舊錄所載云有注)	
	檢意向正經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	道德果證經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	父子因緣經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	雜阿含經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	小觀世樓炭經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	內禪波羅蜜經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	大四諦經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	五方便經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	五惟越羅名解說經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	五陰經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	中五濁世經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	六波羅蜜經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	大七車經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	八正八邪經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	八總持經一卷(舊錄所載)	
	八輩經一卷(舊錄所載)	

		八部僧行名經一卷(舊錄所載) 大十二因緣經一卷(舊錄所載) 十八難經一卷(舊錄所載) 五十二章經一卷(舊錄所載 別有孝明四十二章) 百八愛經一卷(舊錄所載似抄五蓋疑結經) 逮慧三昧經一卷(舊錄所載一名文殊師利問菩薩十事行經) 小安般舟三昧經一卷(舊錄所載) 禪數經一卷(舊錄所載) 群生偈一卷(舊錄所載) 啖抄經一卷(舊錄所載) ⁶¹⁹ 五百梵律經抄一卷(舊錄所載) ⁶²⁰		
	舊經錄	阿鎔口解一卷(或云阿鎔口解十二因緣經或云斷十二因緣舊經錄云安侯口解凡有四名同一本) ⁶²¹	F5 新集 抄經錄	F2
	尋舊錄	菩薩善戒菩薩地持二經記第四僧祐撰 祐尋舊錄。此經十卷。是宋文帝世。三藏法師求那跋摩。於京都譯出 ⁶²² 。 大集虛空藏無盡意三經記第五僧祐撰 祐尋舊錄。大集經。是晉安帝世。天竺沙門曇摩懺。於西涼州譯出 ⁶²³ 。	F9	
眾錄	校眾錄	自安世高以下至法立以上。凡十七家。並安公錄所載。其張騫秦景竺朔佛維祇難竺將炎白延帛法祖。凡七人是祐校眾錄新獲所附。入自衛士度以後。皆祐所新撰 ⁶²⁴ 。 比丘戒本(曇摩持誦出十誦比丘戒本一卷羅什出十誦比丘戒本一卷佛馱耶舍出曇無德戒本一卷釋法顯出僧祇比丘戒本一卷佛馱什出彌沙塞比丘戒本一卷) 右一經。五人出。校眾錄。並云。二百五十戒凡有六種異出。其一本無譯名。入失源錄中 ⁶²⁵	F2	6

⁶¹⁹ T 2145.55.38a27.⁶²⁰ T 2145.55.38a28.⁶²¹ T 2145.55.6a25–26.⁶²² T 2145.55.62c22–25.⁶²³ T 2145.55.63a21–24.⁶²⁴ T 2145.55.10a4–8.⁶²⁵ T 2145.55.14c23–27.

眾錄並云	摩訶般若波羅蜜道行經二卷(眾錄並云道行經二卷衛士度略出今闕)右一部。凡二卷。晉惠帝時。 衛士度略出 ⁶²⁶ 。			
	決定毘尼經一卷(一名破壞一切心識) 右一部。凡一卷。眾錄並云。於涼州燉煌出。未審譯經人名。傳云。晉世出。未詳何帝時 ⁶²⁷ 。			
	阿難八夢經一卷(舊錄云阿難七夢經眾錄並云夢是誤作八字也 ⁶²⁸)			
眾錄	且眾錄雜經苞集逸異名多復重失相散紊。今悉更刪整標定卷部使名實有分尋覽無惑焉 ⁶²⁹ 。	F3		
群錄	內藏百品經一卷(安公云出方等部舊錄云內藏百寶經遍校群錄並云內藏百寶無內藏百品故知即此經也) ⁶³⁰	F2	5	
	祐捃摭群錄。遇護公所出更得四部。安錄先闕。今條入錄中 ⁶³¹			
	祐總集眾經遍閱群錄。新撰失譯猶多卷部 ⁶³² 。	F4		
	尋大法運流世移。六代撰注群錄。獨見安公。以此無源未足怪也 ⁶³³			
	右合四百六十部。凡六百七十五卷。詳校群錄。名數已定。並未見其本 ⁶³⁴ 。			
餘錄	治身經一卷(舊錄云佛治身經餘錄並同) ⁶³⁵	F3	2	
	治意經一卷(舊錄云佛治意經餘錄並同) ⁶³⁶			
護公錄	梵網經一卷(與護公錄所出梵網六十二見大同小異) ⁶³⁷	F4	2	
	大集虛空藏無盡意三經記第五僧祐撰	F9		
	但護公錄復出無盡意經四卷。未詳與此本同異 ⁶³⁸ 。			
新錄	敢以末學響附前規。率其管見接為新錄 ⁶³⁹	F2	2	
	增一阿含序第九釋道安作	F9		

626 T 2145.55.10a9–11.

627 T 2145.55.12a21–23.

628 T 2145.55.17c13.

629 T 2145.55.16c15–17.

630 T 2145.55.6b23–24.

631 T 2145.55.9c1–3.

632 T 2145.55.21b18.

633 T 2145.55.21c5–6.

634 T 2145.55.37b13–14.

635 T 2145.55.17b15.

636 T 2145.55.17b16.

637 T 2145.55.28b5.

638 T 2145.55.63a21–b12.

639 T 2145.55.5c3–4.

	今為二阿含。各為新錄一卷。全其故目注其得失。使見經尋之差易也 ⁶⁴⁰ 。		
諸天錄	凡二十七卷其諸天錄經錄。及答沙汰難至西域志。雖非注經。今依安舊錄附之于末 ⁶⁴¹ 。	F5	1
聖錄	聖錄所謂勇猛者。誠哉難階也 ⁶⁴²	F7	1

Occurrence Frequency in Fascicles of CSZJJ

	Fascicle 2	Fascicle 3	Fascicle 4	Fascicle 5	Fascicle 7	Fascicle 9	In Sum
古錄		新集安公失譯經錄 1	新集續撰失譯雜經錄 3				4
安錄	新集經律論錄 23	新集安公古異經錄 1 新集安公失譯經錄 4	新集續撰失譯雜經錄 1	新集安公注經及雜經志錄 1			30
別錄	新集經律論錄 17+(別緣 1)		新集續撰失譯雜經錄 1				19
舊錄	22	47	新集續撰失譯雜經錄 111	6		菩薩善戒菩薩地持二經記 1 大集虛空藏無盡意三經記 1	218
群錄	新集經律論錄 2		新集續撰失譯雜經錄 3				5
眾錄	新集經律論錄 3 新集異出經錄 1	新集安公失譯經錄 2					6
餘錄		新集安公失譯經錄 2					2

⁶⁴⁰ T 2145.55.64a29–c2.

⁶⁴¹ T 2145.55.40a7–8.

⁶⁴² T 2145.55.48c23–24.

護公錄			新集續撰失譯雜經錄 1			大集虛空藏無盡意三經記 1	2
聖錄					首楞嚴三昧經注序 1		1
諸天錄				新集安公注經及雜經志錄 1			1
新錄	新集經律論錄 (intro)1					增一阿含序 1	2
別緣	(1)						Null (belongs to “別錄”section. See FN above)

Appendix 2 Records of *que/jinque* and other Related Expressions in CSZJJ

	Translator	<i>que</i> 闕/ <i>jinque</i> 今闕	Summary	Note	F.
	張騫秦景攝摩騰	四十二章經一卷(舊錄云孝明皇帝四十二章安法師所撰錄闕此經)	安法師所撰錄闕此經		F2
安 錄 所 載	安世高	七法經一卷(舊錄云阿毘曇七法行經或云七法行今闕此經)	今闕[今闕此經]		F2
		義決律一卷(或云義決律法行經安公云此上二經出長阿含今闕)			
		雜經四十四篇二卷(安公云出增一阿鉢既不標名未詳何經今闕)			
		十四意經一卷(舊錄云菩薩十四意經今闕[闕【大】，闕此經【宋】【元】 【明】])			
		阿毘曇九十八結經一卷(今闕)			
		難提迦羅越經一卷(今闕)			
	支識	首楞嚴經二卷(中平二年十二月八日出今闕)	今闕/出別錄 安錄無		F2
		陀羅尼經二卷(舊錄云陀羅尼經別錄所載安錄無今闕)			
		方等部古品曰遺日說般若經一卷(今闕)			
		光明三昧經一卷(出別錄安錄無)			
		胡般泥洹經一卷(今闕)			
		李本經二卷(今闕)			
	支謙	維摩詰經二卷(闕)	闕/今闕[之]/ 別錄所載， 安錄無		F2
		小阿差末經二卷(闕)			
		優多羅母經一卷(闕)			
		齋經一卷(闕)			
		佛從上所行三十偈一卷(闕)			
		首楞嚴經二卷(別錄所載安錄無今闕[闕【大】，闕之【宋】【元】【明】])			
		龍施女經一卷(別錄所載安錄無)			
		法鏡經二卷(出別錄安錄無)			
		鹿子經一卷(別錄所載安錄無[無【大】，無載【宋】【元】【明】])			
		十二門大方等經一卷(別錄所載安錄無今闕)			

僧祐新撰	康僧會	吳品五卷(凡有十品今闕)	今闕	
	白延	首楞嚴經二卷(闕)	闕/安公錄(先無其名)	
		須賴經一卷(闕)		
		除災患經一卷(闕)		
		右三部。凡四卷。魏高貴公時。白延所譯出。 <u>別錄所載。安公錄(先無其名)</u>		
	朱士行	放光經二十卷(晉元康元年五月十五日出有九十品一名舊小品闕)	闕	
	竺法護	隨權女經二卷(出別錄安錄無)	安錄先闕/安錄無/今闕	
		阿差末經四卷(或云阿差末菩薩經別錄所載安錄先闕)		
		無極寶經一卷(別錄所載先闕安錄或云無極寶三昧經)		
		阿述達經一卷(別錄所載安錄先闕舊錄云阿述達女經或云阿闍王女阿術達菩薩經)		
		等目菩薩經二卷(別錄所載安錄先闕)		
		右六十四部凡一百一十六卷經今闕。		
	竺叔蘭	首楞嚴經二卷(別錄所載安錄先闕舊錄有叔蘭首楞嚴二卷)	安錄先闕	
	帛法祖	惟逮菩薩經一卷(今闕)	今闕	
	法炬	樓炭經六卷(別錄所載安錄先闕)	安錄先闕	
	衛士度	摩訶般若波羅蜜道行經二卷(眾錄並云道行經二卷衛士度略出今闕)	今闕	
	竺佛念	中陰經二卷(闕)	闕	晉孝武時。涼州沙門竺佛念。以符堅時於關中譯出
	鳩摩羅什	新賢劫經七卷(今闕)	闕/今闕[本]	晉安帝時。天竺沙門鳩摩羅什。以偽秦姚興弘始三年至長安。於大寺及逍遙園譯出。
		十二因緣觀經一卷(闕[闕【大】，闕本【宋】【元】【明】])		
	佛馱跋陀	大方等如來藏經一卷(或云如來藏今闕)	今闕/闕	晉安帝時。天竺禪師佛馱跋陀。至江東及宋。初於廬山及京都譯出。
		新微密持經一卷(闕)		
		本業經一卷(闕)		
		淨六波羅蜜經一卷(闕)		

	法顯	方等泥洹經二卷(今闕)	今闕	晉安帝時。沙門釋法顯。以隆安三年遊西域。於中天竺師子國得胡本。歸京都住道場寺。就天竺禪師佛馱跋陀共譯出。其長雜二阿鉉綻經。彌沙塞律薩婆多律抄。猶是梵文。未得譯出。
		僧祇比丘戒本一卷(今闕)		
		雜阿毘曇心十三卷(今闕)		
	祇多蜜	普門品經一卷(闕)	闕	傳云。晉世出。未詳何帝時。
	伊葉波羅	雜阿毘曇心十三卷(今闕)	今闕	至擇品未竟。至八年更請三藏法師於京都校定。
	僧伽跋摩	請聖僧浴文一卷(闕)	闕	宋文帝時。天竺三藏法師僧伽跋摩。於京都譯出。
	智猛	般泥洹經二十卷(闕)	闕	宋文帝時。沙門釋智猛遊西域還。以元嘉中於西涼州譯出泥洹經一部。至十四年齋還京都。
	求那跋陀羅	釋六十二見經一卷(闕)	闕	宋文帝時。天竺摩訶乘法師求那跋陀羅。以元嘉中及孝武時。宣出諸經。沙門釋寶雲及弟子菩提法勇傳譯。
		泥洹經一卷(似即一卷泥曰經[經【大】，(一)【宋】【元】【明】]闕)		
		無量壽經一卷(闕)		
		無憂王經一卷(闕)		

	竺法眷	海意經七卷(闕) 如來恩智不思議經五卷(闕) 寶頂經五卷(闕) 無盡意經十卷(闕) 三密底耶經一卷(漢言賢人用律闕)	闕	宋明帝時。天竺沙門竺法眷。於廣州譯出。並未至京都。	
	吉迦夜 釋曇曜 劉孝標	雜寶藏經十三卷(闕) 付法藏因緣經六卷(闕) 方便心論二卷(闕)	闕	宋明帝時。西域三藏吉迦夜。於北國以偽延興二年。共僧正釋曇曜譯出。劉孝標筆受。此三經並未至京都。	
	大乘	五百本生經(未詳卷數闕) 他毘利(齊言宿德律未詳卷數闕)	闕	齊武皇帝時。外國沙門大乘。於廣州譯出。未至京都。	
		妙法蓮華經竝有提婆達多品。而中夏所傳闕此一品			
364	泥洹經	支讖出胡般泥洹經一卷 支謙出大般泥洹經二卷 竺法護出方等泥洹經二卷 曇摩讖出大般涅槃經三十六卷 釋法顯出大般泥洹經六卷 方等泥洹經二卷 釋智猛出泥洹經二十卷 求那跋陀羅出泥洹經一卷 右一經。七人異出。其支謙大般泥洹。與方等泥洹大同。曇摩讖涅槃。與法顯泥洹大同。其餘三部並闕。未詳同異。	闕		F2 異出 經錄
	法華經	舊錄有薩芸分陀利經云是異出法華未詳誰出今闕此經 竺法護出正法華經十卷 鳩摩羅什出新妙法蓮華經七卷 右一經。三人出。其一經失譯人名。已入失源錄。	今闕此經		
	比丘尼戒	竺法護出比丘尼一卷 今闕	今闕		

		釋僧純出比丘尼大戒一卷 釋法穎撰十誦比丘尼戒本一卷 覓歷所傳大比丘尼戒一卷是疑經 今闕 右一經四人出。			
365	阿毘曇	安世高出阿毘曇五法七法二卷 今闕七法 阿毘曇九十八法一卷 闕 僧伽提婆出阿毘曇鞞婆沙十四卷 阿毘曇心十六卷 僧伽跋摩出阿毘曇毘婆沙十四卷 阿毘曇心四卷 天竺毘婆沙出舍利弗阿毘曇二十二卷 浮陀跋摩出阿毘曇毘沙六十卷。 釋法顯出雜阿毘曇心十三卷。 伊葉波羅出雜阿毘曇心十三卷。 僧伽跋摩出雜阿毘曇心十四卷。 迦旃延阿毘曇心二十卷未詳誰出已入失源錄 右一經。凡九人出。	今闕/闕		
	新集安公古異經錄	古異經者。蓋先出之遺文也。尋安錄。自道地要語迄四姓長者。合九十有二經。標為古異。雖經文散逸多有闕亡。觀其存篇古今可辯。或無別名題。取經語以為目。或撮略四鎔。摘一事而立卷名號質實信古典矣。安公覲其古異編之於末。祐推其歲遠列之于首。雖則失源而舊譯見矣。 道地經中要語章一卷(或云小道地經今有此經自此以下不稱有者並闕本)			F3 新集 安公 古異 經錄 第一
	新集安公失譯經錄	(從鉢咷沙經至打犍稚法凡一十一部。先在安公注經錄，未尋其間出，或是晚集所得今移附此錄焉。從七車經至打犍稚法凡五十部今並闕此經)	今並闕此經		F3 新集 安公 失譯 經錄
	新集續撰失譯雜經錄	條新撰目錄闕經。未見經文者如左 如來智印經一卷(先闕)	闕經/先闕/今 闕此經/今闕		F4 新集

		詳校群錄。名數已定。並未見其本。今闕此經右二都件。凡一千三百六部。合一千五百七十卷(已寫前件八百四十六部八百九十五卷在藏未寫四百六十部六百七十五卷今闕)			續撰失譯雜經錄
	新集抄經錄	大海深峻抄經一卷(上六抄經是舊抄今並闕本) 抄為法捨身經六卷(抄字在上似是文宣王所抄今闕此經) 法苑經一百八十九卷(此一經近世抄集撮撰群經以類相從雖立號法苑終入抄數今闕此經) 右抄經。四十六部。凡三百五十二卷。其四十八部。一百五十一卷。並有經。其八部。二百一卷。今闕。	今並闕本/今闕此經/今闕		F5 新集抄經錄
965	新集安公疑經錄	大阿那律經一卷(非八念者闕) 貧女人經一卷(名難陀者舊錄云貧女難陀經闕) 鑄金像經一卷(闕) 四身經一卷(闕) 普慧三昧經一卷(闕) 阿秋那經一卷(舊錄云阿秋那三昧經闕) 兩部獨證經一卷(闕) 法本齋經一卷(西涼州來闕) 覓歷所傳大比丘尼戒一卷(闕)	闕		F5 新集安公疑經錄

Appendix 3 Monk Biographies in CSJJ — Descriptions regarding Translators' Translation Ability

		Extensive Reading	Chinese/Other Languages	Translation Quality	Supplement
1	安世高	外國典籍莫不該貫七曜五行之象。風角雲物之占。	至止未久。即通習華語。於是宣釋眾經改胡為漢	義理明析文字允正。辯而不華質而不野。	
2	支讖	諷誦群經	即轉胡為漢。譯人時滯雖有失旨	皆審得本旨了不加飾	
3	竺朔佛				
4	支曜				
5	安玄	博誦群經多所通習	漸練漢言志宣經典		玄口譯梵文。佛調筆受。理得音正。盡經微旨郢匠之義見述後代
6	嚴佛調			佛調出經省不煩全本妙巧	
7	康孟詳			安公稱。孟詳出經奕奕流便。足騰玄趣	
8	維祇難				
9	竺將炎		時炎未善漢言	頗有不盡。然志存義本近於質實	
10	白延				
11	康僧會	明練三藏博覽六典。天文圖緯多所貫涉...辯於樞機頗屬文翰		並妙得經體文義允正。又注安般守意法鏡道樹三經。並製經序。辭趣雅贍義旨微密。並見重後世	
12	支謙	博覽經籍莫不究練。世間藝術多所綜習	十歲學書。同時學者皆伏其聰敏。十三學胡書。備通六國語。	曲得聖義辭旨文雅	

13	竺法護	博覽六經。涉獵百家之言	外國異言三十有六。書亦如之。護皆遍學貫綜古訓音義字體無不備曉...自燉煌至長安。沿路傳譯。寫以晉文	初護於西域得超日明經胡本譯出。頗多繁重	
14	法炬				
15	法立				
16	竺叔蘭	亦兼諸文史	善胡漢語及書	既學兼胡漢。故譯義精允	
17	尸梨蜜		蜜性高簡。不學晉語		
18	僧伽跋澄	歷尋名師修習精詣博覽眾典特善數經			
19	佛圖羅刹	該覽經典	久遊中土善閑漢言	宣譯梵文見重符世	
20	曇摩難提	研諷經典以專精致業。遍觀三藏			
21	竺佛念	博見多聞備識風俗	家世河西通習方語。故能交譯戎華宣法闡渭		
22	僧伽提婆	入道修學遠求明師兼通三藏。多所誦持	居華歲積。轉明漢語。方知先所出經多有乖失 提婆乃於波若臺。手執胡本口宣晉言；罽賓沙門僧伽羅叉執胡本。提婆翻為晉言	去華存實務盡義本	
23	鳩摩羅什	遂博覽四韋陀五明諸論。外道經書陰陽星算莫不究曉		率多闇誦無不究達。轉能晉言音譯流利。	
24	佛陀耶舍	乃從其舅學五明諸論。世間法術多所通習			
25	曇無讖	初學小乘兼覽五明諸論	請令出其經本。讖以未參土言。又無傳		

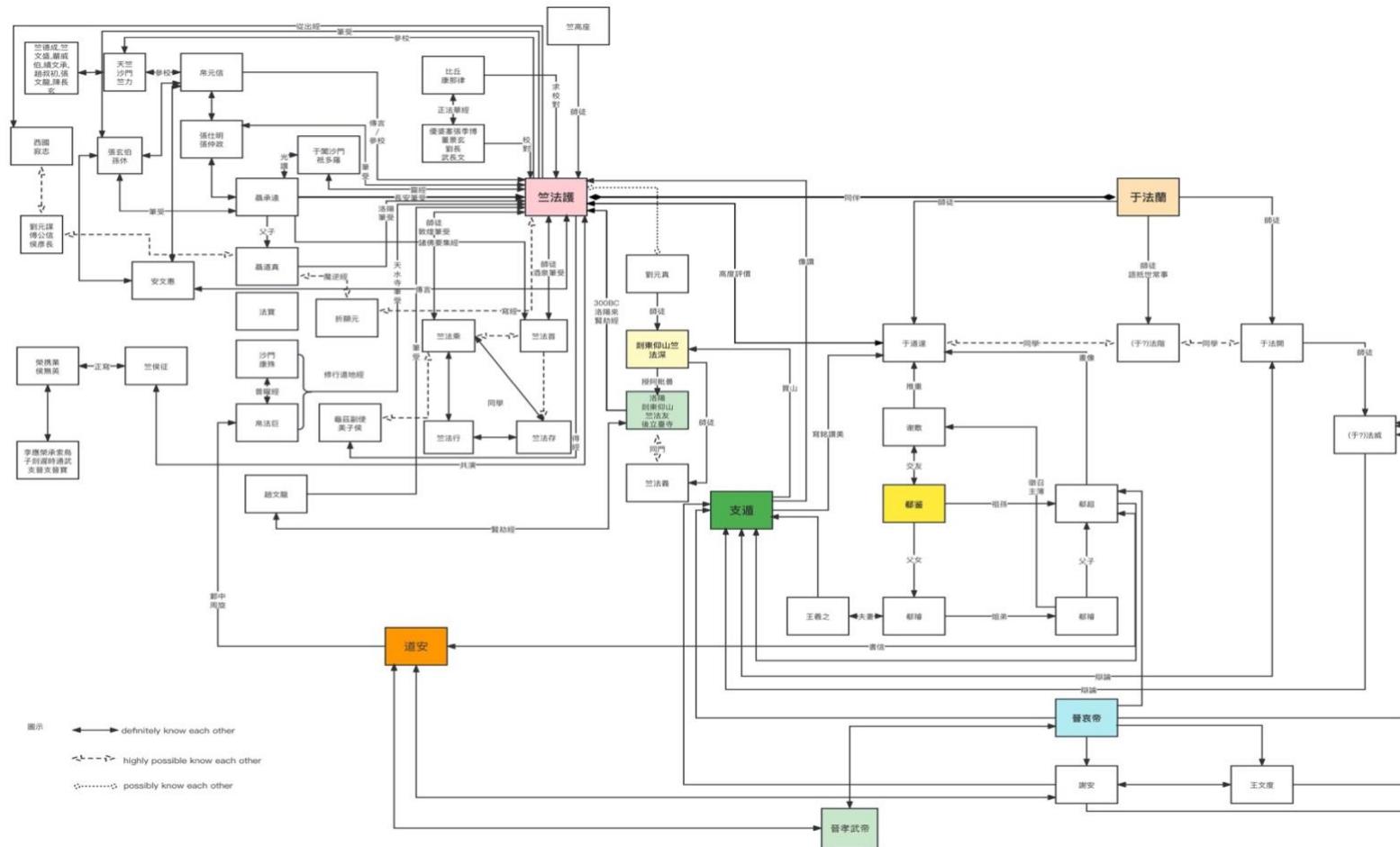
			譯。恐言舛於理不許。於是學語三年。翻为漢言。方共譯寫		
26	高昌沙門道普		常遊外國，善能胡書，解六國語		
27	佛大跋陀	博學群經多所通達	乃手執梵文。共沙門慧嚴慧義等百有餘人。銓定文旨會通華戎	妙得經體	
28	求那跋摩	總學三藏			
29	僧伽跋摩	明解律藏尤精雜心			
30	曇摩蜜多	屢值明師博貫群經。特深禪法			
31	求那跋陀羅	及受具戒博通三藏	陀羅自忖未善漢語...旦起言義皆備領漢語。於是就講。弟子法勇傳譯。僧念為都講。雖因譯人而玄解往復。		
32	沮渠安陽侯	幼稟五戒銳意內典			
33	求那毘地	兼學外典明解陰陽	毘地悉皆通誦兼明義旨。以永明十年秋。譯出為齊文凡十卷。		

Appendix 4 Descriptions of Translators' Language Proficiency in GSZ

In Main Biography	Language Proficiency	In Sub-biography	Language Proficiency
譯經上			
攝摩騰	×	/	/
竺法蘭	少時便善漢言	/	/
安清	至止未久，即通習華言	/	/
支婁迦讖	×	竺佛朔	×
		安玄	漸解漢言
		嚴佛調	NS (Native Speaker)
		支曜	×
		康巨	×
		康孟詳	×
曇柯迦羅	×	康僧鎧	×
		曇帝	×
		帛延	×
康僧會	移於交趾..頗屬文翰	支謙	通六國語
維祇難	未善國語	法立	×
		法巨	其辭小華也
竺法護	外國異言三十六種...護皆遍學	聶承遠	NS
		聶道真	NS
帛遠	NS	帛法祚	NS
		衛士度	NS
帛尸梨蜜	不學晉語，諸公與之語言...而神領意得	/	/
僧伽跋澄	×	佛圖羅剎	久遊中土，善閒漢言
曇摩難提	×	趙正	NS
僧伽提婆	居華稍積，博明漢語	僧伽羅叉	×
竺佛念	NS	/	/
曇摩耶舍	×(道標：經師漸閒秦語)	竺法度	Born in China: 善梵漢之言
譯經中			
鳩摩羅什	轉能漢言，音譯流便	/	/
弗若多羅	×	/	/
曇摩流支	×	/	/
卑摩羅叉	既通漢言，善相領納	/	/
佛陀耶舍	×	/	/
佛駝跋陀羅	×	/	/
曇無讖	讖以未參土言，又無傳譯...於是學語三年	道進	NS
		安陽侯	NS
		道普	NS 善梵書，備諸國語
		法盛	NS
		法維	/
		僧表	/
譯經下			
釋法顯	NS	/	/
曇無竭	NS	/	/
佛駝什	×	/	/
浮陀跋摩	×	/	/

釋智嚴	NS	/	/
釋寶雲	NS (遍學梵書)	/	/
求那跋摩	時或假譯人...文義詳允， 梵漢弗差	/	/
僧伽跋摩	×	/	/
曇摩蜜多	×	/	/
智猛	NS	/	/
畱良耶舍	×	僧伽達多	×
		僧伽羅多哆	×
求那跋陀羅	雖因譯文言	阿那摩低	×
求那毘地	×	僧伽婆羅	×

Appendix 5 The Social Network of Dharmarakṣa



Appendix 6 Translation Process of Dharmarakṣa's Teams

	Date	Place	Text	Source	Labor Divisions						Quality 文質	Have Preface Or not 序言	Fascicles 卷數	
					執胡本/口授	傳言	筆受	勸助	校對	傳寫				
A	266.11.8— 12.30 太始二年十一月八日	長安 青門 內白 馬寺 中	須真天 子經		天竺菩薩 曇摩羅察 口授出之	安 文 惠 帛 元 信	聶承遠 張玄泊 孫休				6		有	CSZJJ: 2 Now: 4
373	270.9.30 泰始六年九月三十日出 (底本: 太始)		德光太 子經									文質均 (伯 3747 敦 煌 文 書)	無	1
	B	284. 2.23 太康五年二月二十三日始訖	敦煌	修行道 地經	罽賓文士 竺侯征...是 時月支菩 薩沙門法 護...究天竺 語又暢晉 言。於此 相值共演 之。	其筆受 者。菩 薩弟子 沙門法 乘。月 氏法 寶。	賢者李 應榮承 索烏子 沙門法 乘。月 氏法 寶。	正書寫者。 榮携業侯無 英也	6+(>30)				經後記 C: 6 N: 7	
C	284.10.14 太康五年十	燉煌	阿維越 致遮經	從龜茲 副使美	菩薩沙門 法護...口敷	授沙門 法乘使					2+1		有	4

	月十四日			子侯。 得此梵 書	晉言		流布							
D	286.3.10 太康七年三 月十日	長安	持心經		燉煌開士 竺法護...說 出梵文		授承遠			2		有	C: 6 N: 4	
E	286.8.10—9.2 太康七年八 月十日		正法華 經		燉煌月支 菩薩沙門 法護。手 執胡經口 宣出正法 華經二十七品		授優婆 塞聶承 遠。張 仕明張 仲政。 共筆受	竺德成, 竺文盛, 嚴威伯, 續文承, 趙叔初, 張文龍, 陳長玄 等。共 勸助歡 喜	天竺沙門 竺力龜茲 居士帛元 信。共參 校。元年 (291) 二月六日 重覆	又元康元年 (291)。 長安孫伯 虎。以四月 十五日寫素 解	6+7+1		有	10
F	286.11.25 其年十一月 二十五日	齋來 (長 安)	光讚	光讚于 闐沙門 祇多羅 以泰康 七年齋 來	護公...出之 光讚護公 執胡本		聶承遠 筆受			2+1	悉則悉 矣。而 辭質勝 文	有 + 漸 備經	10	
G	289.4.8 太康十年四 月八日	京師 (洛 陽) 白馬 寺	文殊師 利淨律 經	於京師 遇西國 寂志從 出此經	遇西國寂 志從出此 經...沙門曇 法護...宣現 者轉之為 晉		聶道真 對筆受	勸助劉 元謀傅 公信侯 彥長等		2+3	文 (伯 3747)	有	1	
H	289.12.2 太康十年十	洛陽 城西	魔逆經		月支菩薩 法護。手		聶道真 筆受			2+1	文質均 伯3747	有	1	

	二月二日	白馬寺中			執梵書口宣晉言							
	289.12.2 太康十年十二月二日 (CSZJJ F.2)		離垢施女經							文伯 3747	無	1
	290.8.28—9.14	洛陽白馬寺	正法華經		法護。口校古訓講出深義			時與清戒界節優婆塞張季博董景玄劉長武長文等。手執經本詣白馬容對與法護	比丘康那律。於洛陽寫正法華品竟		有	
I	291.4.9 元康元年四月九日		勇伏定(首楞嚴)經		燉煌菩薩支法護。手執胡經口出首楞嚴三昧	聶承遠筆受			2		有	2
J	291.7.7—8.23 元康元年七月七日		如來大哀經		燉煌菩薩支法護。手執胡經。經名如來大哀	口授聶承遠道真正書晉言	護親自覆校		3		有	C: 7 N: 8
K	292.2.16—296.5.7 □(元)康二年		諸佛要集經		月支菩薩法護手執□□。□□	授聶承遠。和上弟子沙門法		□令此經布流十方,載佩弘化,速成□□	3			

	正月□(十)二日。 元康六年三月十八日寫已					首筆□			凡三萬(卷) 十二章合一 萬九千五百 九十六字				
L	294.12.25 元康四年十二月二十五日	酒泉	聖法印經		月支菩薩沙門曇法護於酒泉演出此經	弟子竺法首筆受			2		有	1	
M	297.12.21 元康七年十一月二十一日	在長安市西寺中	漸備經		沙門法護。...出漸備經。手執胡本譯為晉言				1		有	C: 10 N: 5	
N	300.7.21 永康元年七月二十一日	非洛陽	賢劫經	從罽賓沙門得是賢劫三昧	月支菩薩竺法護...手執口宣	時竺法友從洛寄來。筆者趙文龍			2+2		有	C: 7/10 N: 8	
	301.3.26 建始元年三月二十六		大淨法門(品)經							文伯 3747	無	1	
O	308.05 永嘉二年太歲在戊辰五月本齋	天水寺	普曜經		菩薩沙門法護...手執胡本口宣晉言	時筆受者。沙門康殊帛法巨			3		有	8	
	泰始中至懷帝永嘉二年以前所譯出		更出小品經							文質均伯 3747	無	7	