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Buddhist translation practices in Medieval China: the case of the *Buddhacarita*

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Introduction

I. A definition of philology

The aim of the present work is to provide a philological analysis of the *Fo suoxing zan* 佛所行贊, the Medieval Chinese translation of the Sanskrit poem *Buddhacarita*, the poetic account of the life of the Buddha composed in Sanskrit by the poet Aśvaghoṣa in the late first or early second century CE.

The *Buddhacarita* defines itself as a mahākāvya, a work of ornate poetry; it belongs to the genre of the sargabandha, i.e. a collection of chapters (sarga) linked together (bandha) in a story.¹ The Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita* was completed in the first half of the fifth century CE; it is titled *Fo suoxing zan* 佛所行贊, and is listed as T192 in the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon.²

The critical edition of the *Buddhacarita* was published by Edwar Hamilton Johnston in 1936; it includes the first fourteen chapters of the poem, covering the life of the Buddha from the birth in the Lumbinī grove to the enlightenment – parts of the first and the fourteenth chapter are also missing.³

The Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita* is made up of twenty-eight chapters, covering the life of the Buddha from his birth to the partition and worshipping of his relics – similar characteristics are shared by the Tibetan translation, completed in the 11th century.⁴ Since the Chinese and the Tibetan versions are the same length, it is generally understood that Aśvaghoṣa's poem was originally made up of twenty-eight chapters.

¹ This poem about the life of the Buddha represents one of the earliest examples of *kāvya* (refined poetical literature) in the Sanskrit tradition. On the dating of the life of Aśvaghoṣa, see Hildebeitel (2006: 233-235). For the sake of this work, the historical contextualization provided by Olivelle (2008, xxiii) in his introduction to his new translation of the *Buddhacarita* will be taken into account, and in particular the statement that “Irrespective of whether he is assigned to the first or the second century CE, Aśvaghoṣa lived during a period when much of north-western and north-central India was under the rule of the Kushānas. (...) The significant aspect of this empire is that the Kushana rulers became Buddhist and strong patrons of Buddhist institutions”. Henceforth, the title of the poem will be shortened to *Bc* in specific verse quotations.

² The references to the Chinese Buddhist Canon present in this work will be based on the digitized version of the Taishō edition available on the CBETA database. It is however very important to remember that the history of the Chinese Buddhist Canon is made of different editions, now available on different platforms. For a collection of studies on this topic, see Wu and Chia (2016).

³ Although a first edition was made by Cowell (1894), Johnston (1936) is more authoritative since it is based on an older manuscript Cowell did not have access to.

⁴ On the dating of the Tibetan translation, see Jackson (1994) and Chapter 2. For the critical edition, see Weller (1929).

Since we defined the present work as a “philological analysis”, it would be appropriate to define philology as well. In a review of Alberto Varvaro’s manual *Prima Lezione di filologia*, the Italian scholar Claudio Giunta offers three different definitions of philology:⁵

- 1) philology as a basic form of positivism: at its first stage, the work of a philologist consists in analyzing and dating sources, editing texts and collecting information about the textual traditions that made these texts available to us – the product of this first stage is critical editions, and, as Giunta puts it, philologists are “setting the table where other people will sit for lunch”;
- 2) philology as unbiased reading of the source: a second stage of philology departs from the material reconstruction of a text and focuses on reading the text with the strict guideline of not imposing on the source any ideas, arguments, or values that are alien to it;
- 3) philology as historical investigation: philology is not supposed to be confined to the text itself – it should focus on the figure of the author, his first readers, and their environment; this is meant to understand the value of the text for its first readers.

This dissertation will climb on the shoulders of generations of scholars who have worked within the first definition of philology: the experts who collected, edited, and translated the manuscripts of the *Buddhacarita*, in some cases using its Chinese and Tibetan versions to reconstruct the Sanskrit text. To build on the basis of this knowledge, it is necessary to reconstruct the phases that led us to the current state of the field.

In studying the Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita*, we will try to adopt a neutral attitude, as suggested in the second definition of philology proposed by Giunta. This is of course a difficult task, but here again we can learn by the example and attitude of previous scholars. Up to now, the *Fo suoxing zan* was often intended as a surrogate for missing parts or difficult passages in Aśvaghōṣa’s poem – the study of the *Fo suoxing zan* was focused on reconstructing its Sanskrit source and the missing parts of the story of the life of the Buddha.⁶

If we consider the importance and the literary value of the *Buddhacarita*, the earliest complete account on the life of the Buddha in Sanskrit composed with an explicit aesthetic purpose, it is understandable and relatable that early scholarly works used mostly the Chinese and Tibetan versions as tools to edit the Sanskrit manuscript and to reconstruct its missing parts. In the long term, however,

⁵ The review was published in the weekly insert on culture and literature of the Italian newspaper Sole24ore, on March 18th, 2012. For a complete reference, see Giunta (2012).

⁶ An exception to this rule may be the work by Else Wohlgenuth (1916), one of the very rare works that focused on the quality and meaning of the translation, albeit focused only on the first two chapters.

this attitude led to the underestimation of the importance of the Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita* and of its influence on other texts in the Chinese Buddhist Canon. The aim of this study is to reverse this perspective and to trace and describe the peculiarities and the historical context of the *Fo suoxing zan*.

In accordance with Giunta's third definition of philological analysis, this work will focus on the authorship of the translation, trying to understand how this text was received in China and how it was adapted for Chinese readers and translated in material culture.

II. On attitude and methodology

Walking through the art collections of the Italian National Museum of Asian Art it is possible to appreciate the rich collection of Gandhāran Art from the Swat valley. By observing the marvelous schist sculptures representing the Buddha, his life story as well as previous and future manifestations, one is bewildered by the skill in craftsmanship as well as the various aesthetic influences that made these masterpieces come into existence – and eventually end up in a twentieth-century palace in Rome.⁷

On the other side of the world, in the suburbs of another imperial capital of the past, Luoyang 洛陽, visitors can stroll along the rupestrial sculptures of the famous Longmen grottoes. Thousands of Buddhist “memes” are carved out from the limestone along the cliff on the river Yi; the Buddha Vairocana towers in the center, flanked by *arhats* and warrior-kings – *lokapāla* – with wild eyes.⁸

A study of these two manifestations of excellence in Buddhist art may be concerned with the distinctive styles of portraying the Buddhas, *yakṣas*, *arhats*, or *lokapālas*; it may focus on the materials and their different output and yield; on the techniques employed by artists and craftsmen in getting their sculpture vivid, representative, and significant for the audience of devotees, the prospective donors, or customers. The aesthetic value of the artworks is related more to personal taste and understanding of art than to the actual historical and cultural value of the statues, and no art historian would argue that Gandhāran Art and the Longmen grottoes are both of clear and undeniable importance in defining Buddhist art and its history.

This premise is necessary in order to understand, through a parallelism, the approach in this study toward analyzing the Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita*, known as *Fo suoxing zan*, which was

⁷ On the work of the Italian archaeological mission in Gandhāra, see Faccenna, P. Callieri, and A. Filigenzi (2003).

⁸ For an introduction to the topic of the Longmen grottoes, see McNair (2007).

realized during the 5th century CE.⁹ If we want to study the *Fo suoxing zan* as a text in its own right, we must avoid thinking of it as a way of getting closer to the Sanskrit text. Further, from a philological perspective, the aesthetic value of the translation in comparison to the source text should not lead us to discriminate against the *Fo suoxing zan* as a text of secondary importance.

In his critical edition of the *Buddhacarita*, Edward Hamilton Johnston pointed out that the *Fo suoxing zan* was “far less useful” as authority for understanding the Sanskrit poem than was the Tibetan translation.¹⁰ A similar opinion was shared by Charles Willemen (2009a) in the introduction to his English translation of the *Fo suoxing zan*, where it is pointed out that, given the differences between the two texts – the Sanskrit poem and its Chinese translation – and considering the fact that the source text used by the Chinese translators was probably different from the Nepalese manuscript we can read today, “one must be careful not to draw any hasty conclusions for the original Sanskrit on the basis of the Chinese text”.¹¹

In the introduction to the critical edition of the text, Johnston (1936, xiii) suggested that the Chinese translator was moved by devotion and piety, and that his lack of taste for literature led him to abridge the text according to his personal understanding of it.¹²

As Willemen (2009a: xvi) pointed out, “the Chinese is not as poetic and lyrical as the Sanskrit; rather, it is more explanatory, in a vernacular style”, adding that the *Fo suoxing zan* is “not a real translation”. This is an important consideration, but – as evidenced in the premise about Buddhist art – the aesthetic value of the translation is a biased yardstick and should not be a discriminating factor in studying translation techniques and in evaluating the impact of the translation itself on the context in which it was produced.¹³

The inadequacy of the *Fo suoxing zan* as a tool for editing the *Buddhacarita*, as well as the differences in literary style and content, led to the unfortunate idea that the *Fo suoxing zan* is a text of

⁹ For a detailed analysis and contextualization of the translation, see Chapter 2.

¹⁰ See the commentary on the text in Johnston (1936, xii-xvi).

¹¹ Willemen’s translation is very valuable and the introduction to his work contains much important information, although unfortunately it does not quote any primary sources.

¹² “The author had no doubt an excellent text at his disposal, but, in addition to some misunderstanding of the original, he has paraphrased rather than translated the poem. All passages of real *kāvya* style are either abridged or omitted altogether, and other verses are cut down or expanded according as they appealed to the translator, who was evidently a pious Buddhist, keen on matters of legend or moral, but with little taste for literature.” (Johnston 1936, xiii) What Johnston probably did not take into account when he wrote this harsh review is that the translation of Buddhist texts was the collective work of monks from different regions of Asia.¹² By reading the *Fo suoxing zan* it is easy to understand that at least one of the translators had a good knowledge of Sanskrit and Indian culture. On this topic, see Lettère (2015).

¹³ The text was noted for its peculiarities by both Liang Qichao (sd. [2009], 161) and Hu Shi (1929 [1992], 124); Rao Zongyi (1996) started a long academic *querelle* about the possible influence of the *Fo suoxing zan* on Han Yu’s (768-824) poetry. See also Chapter 2.

secondary importance; any comparative reading between the original Sanskrit and the Chinese translation was considered unnecessary or pointless.¹⁴

The idea that the Chinese translation is of little use in understanding the Sanskrit source text misconstrues the value of the Chinese text itself. One should not forget that the Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita* is not only a surrogate for the missing part of Aśvaghoṣa's poem.

For Chinese readers, unable to access the Sanskrit poem, the *Fo suoxing zan* signified the very work of Aśvaghoṣa himself; for contemporary readers it should represent a very peculiar case in the history of Buddhist translation in China. The point of view of the target reader differs considerably from that of a Sanskrit scholar, who needs better readings to compile a critical edition and translation of the Sanskrit text. In fact, the *Fo suoxing zan* became a literary work *per se* and deserves to be studied as such.

A major mistake to avoid is to grant the Sanskrit text an aura of importance that may overshadow the Chinese translation. Undoubtedly the *Buddhacarita*, in its eccentricity and for its poetic value, is a masterpiece of Classical literature. Further, the fact that only half of the Sanskrit text survived the oblivion imposed by time and religious disputes makes the reconstruction of the “ur-text” even more problematic and challenging. Thus, Chinese and Tibetan translations have often been perceived as mere tools in obtaining what was missing in the Sanskrit. We will try to overcome this attitude and acknowledge the *Fo suoxing zan* as a literary and cultural product worthy of a detailed philological analysis. From this point of view, the present work will focus on the strategies, context, and compromises that characterized the work of translation.

In studying the the *Fo suoxing zan* as an independent text, we should not fail to consider its history of transmission and its translation peculiarities. As compared to the ideas shared by Johnston (1936) and Willemen (2009a), the Japanese scholar Ōminami Ryūshō 大南龍昇 had a very different opinion of the *Fo suoxing zan*, stating that the *Fo suoxing zan* is an interesting experiment in the landscape of Chinese literature.¹⁵

In 2015, the Chinese scholar Huang Baosheng 黄宝生 from Peking University published a new complete Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita*; Huang (2015) provides a comparative reading between Sanskrit text, the medieval translation and a new translation in Mandarin; this work facilitates

¹⁴ This idea is present, for example, in Willemen's (2009b) introduction to his Chinese-English dictionary based on the *Fo suoxing zan*.

¹⁵ “これらの漢点を克服した上で、「仏所行讃」は適切な漢語の韻律を駆使したところの独立した勝れた文学作品なっている。” See Ōminami Ryūshō 大南龍昇 (2002, 143).

the reading of the Medieval Chinese translation by dividing it into short sequences, each corresponding to a stanza of the Sanskrit poem. It shows that the Chinese translation follows the content of the Sanskrit source stanza by stanza.¹⁶ Single stanzas from the *Buddhacarita* correspond to a variable number of five-character verses in Chinese, from a minimum of one to a maximum of eight verses. Considering the apparent absence of an established tradition of long epic compositions in Ancient China,¹⁷ the translation of the *Buddhacarita* resulted in one of the longest poems – albeit unrhymed – ever written in China before modernity.

III. Structure of the work and hermeneutical problems

The present work aims at deriving further conclusions from a comparison between the *Fo suoxing zan* and the *Buddhacarita*. The main hypothesis is that the discrepancies between the *Fo suoxing zan* and the “original” Sanskrit poem can reveal interesting details on the circumstances in which monk-translators carried out their duty.

The **first chapter** of this dissertation will deal with the discovery and study of the text of the *Buddhacarita*. Various copies were produced in Nepal from an original manuscript of the thirteenth century and were shipped to libraries in Great Britain and France in the first half of the nineteenth century. As we shall see in detail, Western scholars first realized the importance of the *Buddhacarita* through the lens of Chinese historical accounts about Aśvaghōṣa and thanks to the publication of an English version of the *Fo suoxing zan*, published in the year 1883 by Reverend Samuel Beal. Eltschinger and Yamabe (2018) have recently published a detailed bibliography on all the studies on Aśvaghōṣa – the present study will focus on several important stages and phases of the scholarship on Aśvaghōṣa and the *Buddhacarita*.

The **second chapter** of this dissertation will deal with the text of the Chinese translation, its possible attribution according to the earliest catalogues of Buddhist texts, its reception in China, and the description of the Dunhuang manuscript containing an excerpt of the *Fo suoxing zan*. This chapter also contains a review of the literature on the debate about the *Fo suoxing zan* in China and about the Tibetan translation.

¹⁶ We will use the more generic, Latin term “stanza” as an umbrella definition for the different meters employed in the *Buddhacarita*. For a detailed definition, see Olivelle (2008, 463).

¹⁷ I am aware that the definition of “epic” can be controversial and that tradition of heroic epics can be found in the tradition of various ethnic minorities in China; on this topic, see Mair and Bender (2011, 213-278).

The **third chapter** will deal with the figure of the author. In his precious catalogue, Sengyou attributes the translation of the *Buddhacarita* to the monk Baoyun (376?-449). A monk from the north-western region of Liangzhou, Baoyun had obscure clan origins; he travelled to India in the same period in which Faxian undertook his more famous journey.¹⁸ From Baoyun's biography we understand that he studied Sanskrit and that he collaborated on the translation of several texts with such famous Indian monks as Buddhābhaddra, Saṃghavarman, Guṇābhaddra, and Zhīyan. Baoyun also worked on several translations independently and collaborated with the monk Huiguan, who was a scribe and editor.

Sengyou did not provide any further information about the date of the translation of the *Buddhacarita*, only that it was translated at the *Liuhe shan* temple, where Baoyun retired after the death of the Indian master Buddhābhaddra in the year 429.¹⁹ It is still very unclear – taking Sengyou at his word – how a monk of ethnic Chinese origins, even if endowed with an excellent mastery of Sanskrit, could have translated the very detailed references to the Brahmanical traditions and to the Indian epics present in the *Buddhacarita*.²⁰ This accurate knowledge of Indian culture may lead us to think that he translated the poem with the collaboration of some Indian expert, although for unclear reasons such a person was never mentioned in catalogues. We will focus our attention on the work of the possible collaborators on this project, the Indian monks with whom Baoyun worked during his life. So when speaking of the authorship of the *Buddhacarita* translation, we will often refer to “translators”. At the end of the third chapter there will be a presentation of the historical records on the lives of the possible Buddhist sponsors for Baoyun's translation activities.

Although the biographical information about Baoyun is scarce, more details can be gained by investigating the lives of his close collaborators. The **fourth chapter** will deal with the lives of the monks that collaborated with Baoyun and the translation projects attributed to them. Two different

¹⁸ Apparently, there is no other version of the *Buddhacarita* in the Chinese Canon. Many scholars inaccurately report the idea that T193 is another version of the *Buddhacarita*, whereas it is in fact completely different in content and structure. For the demonstration of this point, see Huang (2015), Feng (2015), Ominami (2002), and also the critical edition by Johnston (1936).

¹⁹ Ref. Sengyou knew this text, at least in its first chapter, since he quoted it in his anthology on the life of the Buddha known as *Shijiapu*.

²⁰ There are several examples of competence on Indian mythology and culture on the part of the translators of the *Buddhacarita*: there are references to the Veda, and they were able to gloss Aurvaśeya (Bc 9.9) “of Urvaśī” as Vasiṣṭa, or 婆私吒, thus demonstrating that they knew that the sage Vasiṣṭa was the son of Urvaśī; they knew that “Parāśara... linked again and explained the sūtras and śāstras” that becomes 而生婆羅婆, 續復明經論 (T04 n.192 p. 02b09), although the name of Parāśara is never mentioned in the Sanskrit poem and seems to have been added in the translation of verses Bc 1.42 and 1.43 as an explanation. In another case, while the Sanskrit poem alludes to the fall of Nahuśa's fortune, caused by his excessive pride (Bc 11.14, *kāmeṣvairṇa nahuṣaḥ papāta*), the translator told us that Nahuśa, out of pride, fell among snakes (即墮蟒蛇中, T04 n. 192 p. 20c11). On the other hand, there are also several references to Chinese culture an Indian monk would be hardly familiar to, see Willemen (2009a, xvi-xvii).

database searches will try to individuate relationships between the numerous titles that may be related to Baoyun. The first search is based on a list of proper names, translations, and transcriptions, on recurring expressions and specific and rare Buddhist terms. The second search is performed through TACL, a Python-based program developed by Michael Radich. Several analogies between texts attributed to different authors show how Baoyun's translation activity is the most probable hidden link between apparently unrelated titles.

The comparison between the critical edition of a Sanskrit manuscript from the thirteenth century and a Chinese canonical text may seem a daring operation for the evident reason that the Chinese translators might have used a manuscript very different from the one that E. H. Johnston had edited and published in 1936. There are, however, several solutions to this hermeneutical problem.

The **fifth chapter** will analyze the most sensitive cases of abridgment in the translation, related to the description of women and courtesans, and, to a lesser extent, animals and monsters. The chapter will start with an analysis of the ideas on translations as expressed by Chinese Buddhist authors up to the fifth century – the period in which the *Buddhacarita* was most probably translated. This analysis will show that abridging and summarizing were not considered shortcomings if aimed at helping the reader understand the content of the text.

In the **sixth chapter** of the dissertation will focus on kingship. The first part of the chapter tries to link the reconstruction of the concept of Buddhist kingship proposed in Zimmermann (2006) to the description of kingship in the *Buddhacarita*. The second part presents a list of examples of adjustments of the source text in the translation, with special focus on the figure of the king.

The **seventh chapter** there will be an analysis of the attitude of the translators towards brahmins and ascetics, showing that the translators avoided references to the close relationship between the king and brahmins. Other descriptions of ascetics translated from Sanskrit to Chinese testify to the spreading of new ideas of ascetic practices from India to China. A paragraph will be devoted to the translation of the concept of *dharma*. The definition of *dharma* is crucial in the *Buddhacarita*, as demonstrated by Olivelle (2008, xliii-xlix), and the careful renditions of the term chosen by the translators show how they were aware of the importance of this concept.

The **eighth chapter** will focus on a major difference between the source text and the translation. While the source text contains the word “bodhisattva” only four times, the translation repeats this term more than sixty times. What kind of bodhisattva were the translators thinking of? Two major hypotheses arise: the Chinese translator may have been influenced by an oral commentary referring to Gautama as “*bodhisatto*”, a Pāli term frequently employed in early narratives of the previous lives of

the Buddha;²¹ on the other hand, we will see that the Chinese term *pusa* 菩薩 is often accompanied by qualities and definitions close to the *Mahāyānic* idea of *bodhisattva*.

The **ninth chapter** deals with the influence the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) had on the compilation of the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* (T189), a text attributed by Gunabhadra to the second half of the fifth century. Believed to be a genuine translation, T189 proved to be very influential on pictorial representation of the life of the Buddha in China and Japan. This chapter will show how the translation of the *Buddhacarita* was re-shaped in the new account by Gunabhadra.

The **appendix** includes the translation of the first sixth chapters of the *Fo suoxing zan*, with notes to the Sanskrit text and analysis of the features of the translation. Since the translation of T192 was already undertaken by Willemen (2009a) – and by Beal (1883) – it is appropriate to justify why the present work provides a new translation of the *Fo suoxing zan*. The main idea behind this re-translation is that it was necessary to obtain a good understanding of the Chinese text in order to fulfil the task of comparing it to the Sanskrit source.

According to the division proposed by Warder (1972, 146), the first six chapters of the *Buddhacarita* belong to the same narrative sequence, covering the life of the prince Sarvārthasiddha from his birth to the departure from his father's palace.²² The focus on the first six chapters of the poem allows us to emphasize several paths of research that are fostered and developed throughout this dissertation. Future work on the next sequence of chapters will allow an even deeper understanding of the procedures of Buddhist translation in Medieval China.

I am aware that there are many hermeneutical problems involved in this kind of comparison – these problems are mainly related to the complex nature of the media that allowed the two texts to be preserved over the centuries and be available for us to read. Before addressing this issue, however, it is necessary to collect all the information about the texts that are under scrutiny.

The first answer is that we have no proof that different versions of the *Buddhacarita* ever existed. Today we only have one manuscript of the poem, dated to the thirteenth century, several copies derived from it in the nineteenth century, and six fragments from two plausible Central Asian recensions. Set

²¹ I must thank Prof. Christoph Anderl for this suggestion.

²² Referring to the Buddha before enlightenment, the generic term “prince” will be used. Sarvārthasiddha is an epithet attributed by king Śuddhodāna to his son in *Bc* 2.17. Although Sarvārthasiddha is never used as a proper name, it appears to be more appropriate than the common appellation of Sarvārthasiddha, which is never to be found in the *Buddhacarita*. On the issue see also Gombrich (2006, 75).

aside the differences due to manuscript transmission, consisting mostly in the adjusting of single words, these materials do not show evident dissimilarities in content.²³

The Chinese and Tibetan versions follow the narrative of the Nepali manuscript consistently as far as the sequence of events is concerned.²⁴ By the principle of Occam's razor it is counterproductive to raise the hypothesis that the Chinese translators were using a version of the text very different from the one we can read today, since there is no actual proof that such a version ever existed.

Moreover, we do not have any poem similar in style and content to the *Buddhacarita* that is earlier than the *Buddhacarita* itself. Although both Warder (1972, 172-173) and Passi (1979, 227) support the idea that the *Buddhacarita* belongs to a mature tradition of *kāvya*, we must point out that the earliest other Sanskrit poems we have similar to the *Buddhacarita* were composed by Kālidāsa around the turn of the fourth to the fifth century – that is to say, about two centuries after the completion of the *Buddhacarita*. As far as we know, Aśvaghōṣa possessed a very unique poetic genius.²⁵

A second answer deals with the nature of the “differences” between source text and translation. Not every divergence is an abridgment of the Sanskrit text: in several cases we can observe accretions of the text as well. After taking into consideration the figure of the translator, his historical context, and the possible list of his previous works, we realize that the translator may well be influenced by ideas he had translated and formulas he had used in the past. We shall thus try to analyze possible new ideas that may have leaked into the *Fo suoxing zan* but are not present in the Sanskrit text and try to verify whether they align with the content of the works that were translated by the same author. Such an alignment may work as internal proof for the attribution of the translation as well as help us define the style of the translator. A comparison between the Sanskrit text and the Chinese translation is unavoidable in order to isolate specific cases of “new concepts” inserted into the translation – that is, we need to enumerate specific examples of additions that are not present in the Sanskrit poem. As we shall see, the result of the TACL search presented at the end of the fourth chapter will in fact reveal the insertion of the meditation practice preached by Buddhābhaddra, Baoyun's meditation master, into the translation of the *Buddhacarita*.

By comparing the Chinese and the Sanskrit texts, we notice that differences in the Chinese translation are often minor details revolving around similar topics: descriptions of kingship, women,

²³ The Central Asian fragments, collected by Weller (1953) and Hartmann (2006) and analyzed by Salomon (2012), originally belonged to two different manuscripts one of which, according to Salomon (2012, 100), is closely related to the Nepali version edited by Johnston (1936), while for the second one it is very difficult to ascertain if it actually is a testimony of the *Buddhacarita* itself.

²⁴ On this point, see Weller (1939).

²⁵ On this point, see Johnston (1936, xx-xxiii), which contains a description of the features of Aśvaghōṣa's style.

and brahmans. The most important abridging involves references to women and mentions of concubines and moral conduct in sexual matters – this aspect was already noticed by Johnston (1936, xiii). The present study will explore systematic abridging and altering of the text; thus the third answer to the hermeneutical problem is that we will never focus on single occurrences: isolated examples may be ascribed to differences in the Sanskrit version of the text, while systematic abridging on similar topics is hardly imputable to a copyist of the Sanskrit text – it requires the genius of Aśvaghoṣa to fake Aśvaghoṣa’s style in a believable way – and more easily attributable to the exigencies faced by the translator.

Chapter 1. The discovery of a classic: the story of the *Buddhacarita*

1.1 The discovery of the *Buddhacarita*

The diplomat, naturalist, ethnologist, and pioneer of Himalayan and Nepalese studies Brian Houghton Hodgson (1801? -1894) was born at Lower Beech, Prestbury, Cheshire, in the north-west of England.²⁶ He was introduced to the Bengal Civil Service in 1816 and attended formal training at Haileybury College, where he was influenced by the economic and social theories of Thomas R. Malthus (1766-1834). Hodgson specialized in economics, classics, and Bengali and, upon graduation, left for Calcutta, where he arrived in 1818. In Calcutta he studied Sanskrit and Persian at Fort William College. Health issues led to his appointment as assistant commissioner in a hilly region of Nepal, in Kumaon, from where he moved to Kathmandu in 1824. Although apparently willing to return to Calcutta, Hodgson was forced to reside in Nepal because of his poor health. He started studying Nepali and Newari and to train as a naturalist – in his life, he published 127 zoological papers. He carefully collected Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit and Tibetan and was a friend of the Nepalese pandit Amṛitānanda.

Sir Hodgson provided copies of manuscripts to various institutions and libraries in Europe and India. Among the 64 manuscripts provided to the *Société Asiatique* in the year 1837 was a copy of the *Buddhacaritakāvya*, a poem on the life of the Buddha by Aśvaghōṣa, in 87 pages and about 1,827 stanzas.²⁷

In the preface to the English translation of Eugène Bournouf's *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, Donald S. Lopez Jr. presents some details about the correspondence between Eugène Burnouf (1801-1852), professor of Sanskrit language and literature at the Collège de France and founder of the *Société Asiatique*, and Sir Hodgson: from this account we learn that the copy of the manuscript of the *Buddhacaritakāvya* was shipped directly to Burnouf.²⁸

The *Buddhacarita* received by Burnouf in Paris in the year 1837 was one of the four recensions realized by Amṛitānanda on the basis of an older manuscript that the Nepalese pandit had had the

²⁶ The source for this account is Whelpton (2004). For a detailed account on the life of B. H. Hodgson, see also Hunter (1896).

²⁷ See Hunter (1881).

²⁸ See Burnouf, Buffétrille, and Lopez (2010, 11).

opportunity to read and copy in the year 1828 or 1829.²⁹ Two other recensions belong to the University Library of Cambridge,³⁰ and a fourth copy is preserved in the library of the Imperial University in Tokyo (Vogel 1972, 210).

In his *Introduction*, Burnouf (1876, 216-218) provided a short description of Aśvaghōṣa's poem:

Le Buddha tcharita est une exposition poétique de la vie de CAkyamuni Buddha; ce poème, d'une étendue peu considérable (87 feuillets), est attribué au Religieux Aṣvaghôcha. Il est écrit en vers des mètres anuchṭubh et indravadjra; le style en est sinon très poétique, du moins correct et parfaitement intelligible. Le Buddha tcharita n'est qu'un abrégé substantiel du Lalita Vistara...

In the earliest period of Buddhist scholarship in Europe the primary attitude was one of looking for historical information – academic efforts were aimed at the reconstruction of actual, historical facts.³¹ It is therefore not surprising that an account like the *Lalitavistara* – which is longer and more detailed than the *Buddhacarita* – was perceived to be richer in possible historical information and consequently received a larger share of the attention. Burnouf's harsh opinion eventually had an important influence on the studies on the *Buddhacarita* in France: while the *Mahāvastu* was translated in 1882 by Émile Senart (1847-1928) and the *Lalitavistara* (from the Sanskrit) by Philippe Eduoard Foucaux (1811-1894) in the years 1884-1892, the first complete translation of the *Buddhacarita* in French was published only in 2016, one hundred and forty years after Burnouf's review of the manuscript.³² In 1892 Sylvain Lévy (1863-1935) had published a study on the *Buddhacarita* that included the transcription and translation of the first *sarga*, but he then ceded to Edward Byles Cowell (1826-1903) the right to produce the first complete critical edition and translation of the text.³³

Lévy (1892, 201-202) very consciously realized that the study of the *Buddhacarita*, whose manuscript had been stored in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* for half a century, was neglected, and he attributed part of the responsibility for this attitude to the cursory review by Eugène Burnouf. According to Lévy (1892, 202-203), what revived scholars' attention to Aśvaghōṣa's poem was in fact the publication of the English translation of the Chinese version of the *Buddhacarita*, published by

²⁹ See Vogel (1972) for the exact calculation of the date of the recension; Cowell (1894, xi-xii) gives some information on Amṛitānanda, saying that he authored at least three works and was from a family of historians and custodians of old manuscripts. In a letter to the Royal Asiatic Society sent in 1893, Cecil Bendall provides more information on the pandit's family – see Bendall (1893).

³⁰ These two copies were also produced by Amṛitānanda, see Vogel (1972).

³¹ A parallel path was one of constructing and adapting the life of the Buddha for European audiences. On the beginning of this tradition see Franklin (2005).

³² The translation is by Alain Poulter (2016). A Dutch translation of the *Buddhacarita* was published by Jan de Breet and Rob Janssen in 2008.

³³ See Cowell (1894, vii).

Reverend Samuel Beal (1825-1889) in the year 1883.³⁴ This publication was one of the various factors that led Lévy to publish his translation of the first Canto of the Sanskrit poem. Other factors were the new achievements in the field of Indian epigraphy by Georg Bühler (1837-1898)³⁵ and a paper by Peter Peterson (1847-1899) that appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.³⁶ The most important reason, however, appears to be the importance conferred upon the poet Aśvaghoṣa by later Chinese sources. Lévy had recently read the travelogue by the pilgrim Yijing translated by Rayauon Fujishima and was impressed by the number of texts attributed to Aśvaghoṣa by Chinese historians.³⁷

The first complete critical edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Buddhacarita* was published in the year 1894 by Edward B. Cowell. Cowell edited the text by comparing three different copies of the same manuscript: one of them was the copy that Hodgson provided to Burnouf, the second was in the archives of Cambridge University, the third was a recent transcript prepared by a Nepalese pandit for Prof. Cecil Bendall. The two copies stored in England were in Nepalese script, the Parisian one in *devanāgarī*.³⁸ As Cowell pointed out, the title of the poem, its authorship, and the definition of its genre, *mahākāvya*, are repeated on the colophons of each *sarga* (Cowell 1894, ix).

In the preface to his work, Cowell (1894, xi-xiii) showed how the last four chapters of the poem (fourteenth to seventeenth) were added by the Nepalese scribe, the pandit Amṛitānanda – the same pandit had openly admitted doing so in a note present only on the Cambridge manuscript.³⁹ In fact, chapters fourteen to seventeen of the Chinese and Tibetan versions bear no similarities to the corresponding Sanskrit chapters of the three manuscripts edited by Cowell.

Both the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Buddhacarita* contain twenty-eight chapters; we know from Cowell's edition that we can only deem the first fourteen chapters of the extant Sanskrit manuscript to belong to Aśvaghoṣa's *mahākāvya*.⁴⁰ Another important merit of Cowell's work is that

³⁴ This edition attributed the authorship of the Chinese translation to Dharmarakṣa. Given the recent publication of the English translation of the Chinese version of the *Buddhacarita*, and in order to confirm the usefulness of a study on the Sanskrit text of the *Buddhacarita*, Lévy (1892, 205) stresses the difference between Chinese and Sanskrit and affirms that the translation by Beal could only offer a very faded impression of the original Sanskrit.

³⁵ See Bühler (1894).

³⁶ The article is on the periodization of Sanskrit Classical Poetry; see Peterson (1891).

³⁷ Lévy (1892, 206). We know that the figure of Aśvaghoṣa was elevated to the rank of bodhisattva and Buddhist patriarch in China. A monograph almost entirely devoted to the subject was written by Stuart H. Young (2015).

³⁸ See Cowell (1894, vii-viii).

³⁹ Amṛitānanda's made-up chapters, although not very relevant in a discourse on the *Buddhacarita*, assume much more importance if seen in the context of Newari Buddhist culture, for which see Bühnemann (2011).

⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the number seventeen appears to be recurring quite often. As we saw, the Nepalese pandit Amṛitānanda reconstructed the last four chapters of the poem up to chapter seventeen. The *Fo suoxing zan*, the Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita* by Baoyun (T192), was elaborated upon by the Indian monk Guṇabhadra, who used it as a basis to write the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* 過去現在因果經 (T189), and this text's main narrative also stops at chapter seventeen. Interestingly, Friedrich Weller's edition and translation of the Tibetan *Buddhacarita* also stops at chapter

of establishing some relationships between the *Buddhacarita* and later poetic productions, such as Kālidāsa's poems and the epic *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁴¹ Cowell's edition and translation were followed by several articles adding notes to his work, among which we may cite Böhtlingk and Kern (1895), Finot (1898), Hopkins (1901), Leumann (1893), Lüders (1896), and Speyer (1895).

The first Italian translation of the *Buddhacarita* was by Carlo Formichi (1871-1943), published in 1912.⁴² This edition had the advantage of listing all the bibliographical references to the *Buddhacarita* up to the year 1912 and of including the notes to Cowell's edition published in several different journals.⁴³ Formichi's edition contains preface (vii-ix), bibliography (xi-xiii), commentary (3-120), translation (123-286), notes (289-408), index of proper names (401-408), and a list of new interpretations of the text provided by the author (409). The long commentary is especially interesting since it explains the basic concepts of Buddhist philosophy in the same fashion as Aśvaghoṣa's poem – that is to say, essentially, contrasting them to Brahmanical views.⁴⁴ Various Indian editions of single chapters (*sarga*) were published by Sovani and Appashastry Rashivadekar (1911), Nandargikar (1911), Lokur (1912), Prasada (1920), Bhandari (1929, 227-261). In 1912 a new translation of the first five *sargas* was also published in English, by K. M. Joglekar. The first German translation was published by Schmidt in 1923, while a “free” poetic rendition was attempted by Cappeller in 1922.

Some years earlier, in 1909, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bengali orientalist Haraprasad Shastri (1853-1931) had published a paper announcing the presence of a “new manuscript” of the *Buddhacarita* in the Durbar Library of Nepal. According to Shastri, the manuscript was to be dated to the 12th century.⁴⁵ It belonged to the library of a certain Divyadeva, until the pandit donated it to Samsher Jang Nahadur Rana (1863-1929), *mahārāja* and prime minister of Nepal. According to Shastri (1909, 48), the pandit Amṛitānanda had copied this manuscript once in 1928, and

seventeen – apparently the last chapters are not intelligible without the comparison of the Sanskrit text. See also Jackson (1994, 42).

⁴¹ Cowell (1894, xv-xxi). Details will be discussed below.

⁴² Carlo Formichi (1871-1943) was an Italian philologist specializing in Sanskrit. He taught in the Universities of Bologna, Pisa, and Rome. For his biography and achievements, see Taviani (1997).

⁴³ See the review by Leumann (1912); Leumann's review was in turn criticized by De La Vallée Poussin (1913) with the following remarks “Le beau travail que M. C. Formichi a consacré au *Buddhacarita* et à *Aśvaghoṣa*, *Poeta del Buddismo* (Bari, 1912), ferait honneur au plus perspicace et au plus diligent des indianistes, et à Leumann lui-même dont la sévérité confine à l'injustice...”. Other notes to the translation were added by Speyer (1914).

⁴⁴ See for example Formichi (1912, 78-100). If Leumann (1912) is doubtful about the usefulness of Formichi's work, we should point out how this publication had the important function of spreading knowledge about Buddhism in Italy. The comparison between Māra's attack and the temptation of Christ (Formichi 1912, 104-114) is also a very interesting since Formichi concludes that no actual relationship can be drawn between the Buddhist and the Christian account. Formichi's translation was republished in an anthology of Buddhist texts in translation; see Gnoli, Cicuzza, and Sferra (2001).

⁴⁵ Johnston dated the manuscript to 1300 CE with a margin of error of fifty years (Johnston 1936, vii).

the three copies dispatched to European libraries are all based on this first copy. After comparing the three copies to the original manuscript, Johnston (1936 [1984], viii-ix) concluded that Amṛitānanda's copies were lacking in several points where the pandit had only guessed the meaning, and in many cases he had added his own words to fill lacunae.

The manuscript identified by Shastri was temporarily shipped to England following a request by Sanskrit Professor Arthur A. Macdonnell (1854-1930), and it was rotographed for the University of Oxford. This is how Edward Hamilton Johnston (1885-1942) was able to produce his renowned critical edition of the *Buddhacarita* – he worked on the edition-translation for twelve years, from 1927 to 1936. It was published in that year, one hundred years after the manuscript copied by the pandit Amṛitānanda and shipped by Hodgson to Burnouf arrived in Paris. Johnston's edition was preceded by two papers, published in October 1927 and in July 1929 in which Johnston provided annotations and comments by comparing the recently acquired Nepalese manuscript with the copies consulted by Cowell and with the Chinese and Tibetan translations.⁴⁶

Johnston's edition had the enormous advantage of being based on the newly acquired manuscript from the Durbar Library. Additionally, he provided new information and some personal interpretations of the poem. Following Lüders (1911), Johnston (1936, xvi) dated the poem to the Kuṣāṇa era and suggested a possible timeframe for the life of Aśvaghōṣa, from 50 BC to 100 AD (xvii). The ubiquitous references to the Brahmanical tradition led Johnston to the conclusion that Aśvaghōṣa was once a Brahman who embraced Buddhist thought later in life (xviii). According to Johnston, only two other titles can be attributed to Aśvaghōṣa, the *kāvya* poem *Saundarananda* and the play *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*.⁴⁷

Johnston's introduction to his *Buddhacarita* translation is incredibly rich in content, cross-references, and quotations, sometimes to the detriment of internal coherence. His contribution to the field is majestic, very rich in details and in speculation on the nature of the poem and on the personality of its author. For the present work it is important to underline that Johnston's position towards Chinese sources is not always clear and often ambivalent. He was aware that Kumārajīva's biography of Aśvaghōṣa contradicted the content of Aśvaghōṣa's poem (Johnston 1936, xxiv), but he still used Kumārajīva's account as further proof for Aśvaghōṣa's possible Buddhist schooling (xxviii-xxxi). Like

⁴⁶ This information is in Johnston's Preface (1936, v-viii).

⁴⁷ For a short description of the *Saundarananda*, see Warder (1972, 176). For introduction and translation, see Covill (2011). No Chinese translation of this poem exists. On the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, see Lüders (1911).

Levy (1892), Johnston was particularly interested in the fact that the pilgrim Yijing mentions Āśvaghoṣa and the *Buddhacarita* in his travelogues.⁴⁸

1.2 From Johnston onwards: linguistic studies and literary analysis

Johnston's edition was followed by enthusiastic and critical reviews – among the most relevant we can mention Cœdès (1936), Katre (1936), Keith (1937), – the last of whom expressed a great deal of criticism – a great deal of criticism, Edgerton (1937), Schrader (1938). Āśvaghoṣa's simple style conceals a great richness of quotes and references; these are highlighted by studies that suggest emendations, corrections, and new interpretations of Johnston's edition, such as Pisani (1954) and, in very recent times, Rigopoulos (2018).

Johnston's edition was generally taken as definitive, although several scholars produced articles focused on single aspects of the poem. Various translations in other languages were published, in Hindi by Chaudhari (1948), in Chinese by Wu Baiwei (1958).

The works by Weller (1953), Hartmann (2002), and Salomon (2012) added precious information on new fragments of the *Buddhacarita* from Central Asia – however, no new critical edition of the poem has been completed after Johnston's major publication.⁴⁹

A very interesting study was published in 1938 by Friedrich Weller. This German scholar and editor of the only translation of the Tibetan *Buddhacarita* emphasized the inconsistencies of the narration in the first *sarga* of the *Buddhacarita*, e.g. frequent and unannounced changes of scenario, unexpected appearances of characters, and missing information in general. As Weller (1938, 321) points out, the Chinese and Tibetan translations follow the Sanskrit quite consistently – the closeness of the translations to the source-text indicates that the text of the poem was intentionally composed with these narrative lacunae, which are therefore not the product of a progressive deterioration during the manuscript transmission of the text. Johnston (1936, xxxix) had partially addressed the issue raised by Weller in suggesting that Āśvaghoṣa's style consists in hinting at legends without explaining them in

⁴⁸ Johnston quoted the translation by Takakusu (1896).

⁴⁹ This is probably due to the extreme fragmentariness of the new sources; a comparison with the edition of the Nepali manuscript can be found in Salomon (2012, 104-105).

detail.⁵⁰ A new answer to Weller's question was to be offered several decades later, following the development and maturation of studies on the influence of oral culture on written texts, when Pollock (2006, 87) suggested that ornate poems were probably written to be declaimed and then orally explained – since we do not possess any commentary thereto, we miss several narrative connections.

In the second volume of his encyclopedia on Indian *kāvya* literature, Anthony Kennedy Warder discussed the *Buddhacarita* at length. The poem is considered one of the earliest, “fully developed” examples of *kāvya* literature (Warder 1972: 142), clearly composed according to precise aesthetic precepts (144-145). The genre of the *kāvya* or “ornate poetry”, to which the *Buddhacarita* belongs, is “not scripture or Tradition, but the work of individual authors” (Warder 1972: 19).

Although Hahn (2010) classified the *Buddhacarita* as a “Buddhist epic poem”, there are only some specific epic characteristics in the *Buddhacarita*. In fact, we may say that the content of the poem deals with the birth and upbringing of a “Rāma-like hero”, as defined by Warder (1972, 171), while the genre, structure, and style of the poem – such as its division into refined stanzas (Warder 1972, 178) – identifies the *Buddhacarita* as the work of an individual author, thus differentiating it from an oral epic tradition.

Warder (1972, 144) summarizes the most important information on the life of Aśvaghoṣa by underlining his relationship with the Kuṣāṇa Empire, and with the emperor Kaniṣka in particular. The poet was from Ayodhyā, also called Sāketa, the place where the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed. Warder provides two important and vivid description of Aśvaghoṣa's style and aim. On the one hand, he says (146) that Aśvaghoṣa “writes with acute sympathy for every character and every aspect of human life”, and on the other, that he advances the supposition that “a sense of the ultimate futility of the worldly quest gradually overpowered his zest for pleasure”.⁵¹

Warder (1972, 146) also proposes a possible sequencing of the poem. He divides the 28 *sargas* into four sections: 1) birth and youth, 2) path to Enlightenment, 3) teaching, and 4) Parinirvāṇa and the partition of the relics. Warder (1972, 147) also links these four segments to four main places of pilgrimage, namely Kapilavāstu, Gaya, Vārāṇasī, and Kuśinagar. Less convincing is the division into “five stages” (168), following the hypothesis that Aśvaghoṣa was constructing his poem according to the structural theory proper to drama. Warder (1972, 173-180) provides a list of all the poetic features

⁵⁰ To support this opinion, Johnston (1936, xciv) also quoted the very testimony by the pilgrim Yijing, according to which the poems by Aśvaghoṣa were known in India for telling the legend of the Buddha in a concise way [not sure what you mean by “wiry” here]. See Chapter 2.

⁵¹ As will be shown in Chapter 5, dedicated to the translation of the long descriptions of beautiful courtesans, the poet enjoyed the detailed listing of feminine traits; the rejection of women only happens from the point of view of the prince.

and figures of speech frequently employed by Aśvaghoṣa, as well as some insight on the possible reception and influence of his poems on later Indian authors.⁵²

1.3 Relationship with other hagiographic texts

Different classifications of Buddhist hagiographic material have been attempted, starting with the pioneering work by Thomas (1927), after which we have the works by Lamotte (1958, 718-759) and Reynold (1976, 11-23).

According to Passi (1979), however, what makes the *Buddhacarita* so special in the landscape of Buddhist hagiography is its declared aesthetic aim. In fact, the *Buddhacarita* defines itself as a *mahākāvya*: as Warder (1972, 19) explains, “*kāvya* is a form of art, in contrast to technical books or *śāstra*”. Passi (1979, 234) supports the notion that *kāvya* was a renowned form of art when Aśvaghoṣa composed his poems, and also supports Warder’s four-fold division (236). In the final verse of the *Buddhacarita* (only preserved in the Chinese and Tibetan translations), Aśvaghoṣa declares himself uninterested in fame and unwilling to show off his wit; he claims to have composed the poem to praise the Buddha, in accordance with Buddhist teachings and for the welfare of the world.⁵³ The narrative transposition of religious themes might have elicited different kinds of reactions from Aśvaghoṣa’s audience.⁵⁴ Apparently, Aśvaghoṣa himself perceived the poetical transposition of the life of the Buddha as a risky operation, and in the *Saundarananda* – the only complete poem by him that has come down to us – he felt the need to justify himself for his unorthodox methods of presenting the life account of Śākyamuni, explaining that he was aiming at an audience of laymen for whom he tried to “sweeten” some dull doctrinal content.⁵⁵

As we have stated, the *Buddhacarita* is the oldest Sanskrit poem narrating the life of the Buddha that we have. There are, however, later Sanskrit poems with the same scope, although they differ

⁵² We should here mention two important studies on the *Buddhacarita* by Indian scholars, Gokhale (1989) and Bhuyan (1985), both focused on the poetical features of the poem.

⁵³ The Chinese text reads 不受後有樂，世間樂無上，增生苦之大，世間苦無比；佛得離生苦，不受後有樂，為世廣顯示，如何不供養？讚諸牟尼尊，始終之所行，不自顯知見，亦不求名利，隨順佛經說，以濟諸世間。 (T04 n. 192 pp. 54c01 - 54c07). For a translation, see Willemsen (2009a, 207-208). Dwivedi (1986) contraposes Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa and their different definitions of the aim of poetic compositions.

⁵⁴ On the different perceptions on literary genres in Indian Buddhism, see Scherrer-Schaub in Colas and Gerschheimer (2009).

⁵⁵ Johnston (1936: xxxvii) acknowledged this opening statement of the poet, which was also described by Passi (1979, 234). For the Sanskrit verses, see *Saundarananda* 18.63-64 in Covill (2007).

greatly from the *Buddhacarita*. One example may be the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*; as Franceschini (2010, 27) has pointed out, this text seems to be an adaptation of the story of the Buddha in which aesthetic concerns prevailed over religious ones. Examples of poems on the lives of the Buddha in Pāli are the *Jinālaṅkāra*, of uncertain dating; the 12th century *Jinacarita* attributed to Medhaṅkara; and the *Samantakuṭavaṇṇanā* by Veheda Thera. Other “complete” accounts of the life of the Buddha, such as the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara*, do not belong in the category of individual poetic compositions but rather bear the signs of a long development, being based on earlier legends and materials, and thus were most probably not authored by one person only – there is no signature for these works, as apparently no authors claimed authorship for them. The *Mahāvastu* in particular is not an independent account, but part of the *vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghika.

1.4 Aśvaghōṣa, the concept of *dharma* and the epics

In his early edition of the text of the *Buddhacarita*, Cowell (1894, xv) found some parallels among Aśvaghōṣa, the later poetic compositions by Kālidāsa, and the epic of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Following Cowell, Winternitz (1900, 88) suggested a possible relationship between the *Buddhacarita* and *Mahābhārata*. As we have seen, the idea that Aśvaghōṣa was explaining Buddhism by contrasting it to a more traditional Brahminic perspective was well explained by Formichi (1912), while Johnston (1936, xviii) supported the idea that the author was a Brahman convert to Buddhism.

Warder (1972, 152-153) explained an important relationship between the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Buddhacarita*, to the point of affirming that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, “is the model the Life of the Buddha is intended to match or surpass”. According to Warder, Aśvaghōṣa adhered to epic ambience by introducing “political consultations and intrigue and the sending of embassies”.

The issue of the position of Aśvaghōṣa in relation to existing philosophical traditions was analyzed again about seventy years after Johnston’s milestone publication, when Alf Hiltebeitel (2006) shifted the focus of discussion on the different meanings of the term *dharma* in the *Buddhacarita*,⁵⁶ showing that among the aims of the text there are the definition of a royal *dharma* (233) and the unfolding of *dharma* in a Buddhist perspective (237), and that the frequent references to epic poems were meant to

⁵⁶ This discourse takes its first steps from the studies about the contextualization of the term *dharma* introduced by Olivelle (2004).

draw a clear contrast between Brahmanical *dharma* and Buddhist *dharma* in a self-conscious dialogue with the epic tradition (247-249). The evolution of the definition of *dharma*, in fact, seems to be closely related and deeply influenced by the political and cultural dialectics between the Brahmanical and the Buddhist traditions.⁵⁷

In the introduction to his new translation of the *Buddhacarita*, Olivelle (2008) proposes a twofold reading of the poem: First, “Aśvaghoṣa presents the Buddha’s doctrine as the consummation of the Brahmanical religion” as if “Buddhism was the fulfilment of Brahmanism” (xxiv); second, there was an ongoing debate between the two traditions, which makes the *Buddhacarita* “concerned principally with the intellectual challenges of the Buddhist *dharma*” (xxx). Olivelle (2008, xliii-xlix) pinpoints six different meanings of the word *dharma* in the poem, while Hiltebeitel (2004, 250) notes that the Śākya prince had no fewer than thirteen interlocutors to discuss *dharma* with before the end of the 14th Canto. While providing a new and convincing interpretation of the *Buddhacarita*, the new studies by Olivelle and Hiltebeitel have also obtained the main methodological achievement of connecting philological analysis with the methodology of the history of religions.

A new articulate discussion of the relationship between the *Buddhacarita* and the epics can be found in Hiltebeitel (2011, 625-683). This in-depth reconstruction begins with a collection of all the quotes of epic material present in Aśvaghoṣa’s poem. Hiltebeitel’s elaboration on the theme is rich in brilliant ideas – see for example the parallelism presented at Hiltebeitel (2011, 651-652) – a richness that unfortunately is too often deprived of a linear and logical argumentation. We are thus left with an analysis of a multitude of terms employed by Aśvaghoṣa in the *Buddhacarita*, and several hints as to the possible connections to the epics.

In light of these readings of the *Buddhacarita*, which reveal the complex nature and the intricate net of specific cultural references present in the poem, we understand how difficult and challenging the prospect of translating the poem was in the context of Medieval China.⁵⁸ Incidentally, we may note that there was a huge shift in the audience’s religious orientation: Aśvaghoṣa dealt with Brahmanical content and addressed his poem to readers well-versed in Brahmanical culture; a Chinese translation had to re-orient the target toward an audience of Buddhist believers or at least sympathizers with little to no knowledge of other Indian traditions.

⁵⁷ The same content is further elaborated in Hiltebeitel (2010). For a detailed demonstration of this “cultural struggle” on the definition of the concept of *dharma*, see also Olivelle (2008, 81-87).

⁵⁸ As Hartmann (1999, 123) pointed out, although several fragments of Aśvaghoṣa works were found in Central Asia, only the *Buddhacarita* was translated into Chinese – was this kind of poetical literature shunned by Chinese interpreters of Buddhism? Although Hartmann proposed one answer to this question, there is no convincing theory on this topic.

1.5 *Buddhacarita* and studies focused on textuality

In the twelfth *sarga* of the *Buddhacarita* the *bodhisattva* encounters the sage Arāḍa, who teaches him the doctrine of *Sāṃkhya*. After having listened to his explanation, the Śākya prince rejects the sage's philosophy. One of the most accurate and precise accounts of this exchange between the *bodhisattva* and the sage, intended as the representative of Brahmanical philosophy, can be found in Kent (1982), a study that analyses Aśvaghoṣa's works and concludes that he was presenting an early form of *Sāṃkhya*'s philosophy. Johnston (1936, lvi-lxii) had dealt with the same issue and concluded that the *Buddhacarita* and the epic of the *Mahābhārata* in several passages were probably dealing with the description of the same kind of *Sāṃkhya* system.⁵⁹ Another important conclusion by Johnston, however, lies in the explication of the possible motives that led Aśvaghoṣa to choose the system of the *Sāṃkhya*: according to Johnston (1936, lvii) the early *Sāṃkhya* system focuses on the individual, not on the cosmos, thus making it particularly close to early Buddhism.

Further studies on the language of the poem can be found in Hakeda (1962), who focused on the lexicon of Buddhist terms in hybrid Sanskrit, while Hara (1964) examined peculiar uses of Sanskrit religious terms in the poem.⁶⁰ A detailed study on similes in compounds in the *Buddhacarita* and in the *Saundarananda* can be found in Bock-Raming (1990), while a basic analysis of nominal composition in the poem was conducted by Orqueda (2004).⁶¹

A very interesting comparison between the poetics of Aśvaghoṣa and of the Japanese poet from the 11th century Saigyō can be found in Sutherland (1991). Although such a comparison might seem daring, by illuminating the differences in style between the two poets, Sutherland sheds light on some fundamental divergences in the perception of literary *topoi* (nature, sexuality), doctrinal precepts (skillful means, impermanence), and aesthetic ideas (the aim of poetry itself).

Although not particularly focused on the *Buddhacarita*, Silk (2003) is an interesting reflection on some inconsistencies in the story of the Buddha's life. The idea of a whole tradition of Buddhist *belles*

⁵⁹ A similar conclusion is found in Byōdō Tsūshō (1928).

⁶⁰ A discussion of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit is in Wayman (1965).

⁶¹ The useful list of all the compounds used in the poems provided by Bock-Raming (1991) could be the basis for a linguistic analysis of the translation of Sanskrit compounds in Chinese. The technique employed in translating compounds may be considered as a distinctive feature of the style of a translator. In order to locate a similar technique in other translations, however, it is necessary to pursue a comparative study of source texts in Sanskrit – if available – and their Chinese translations.

lettres was further explored by Hahn (2010), in a study that contains a useful listing and classification of Buddhist poems in Indic languages. Eltschinger (2013) attempted a search of possible Canonical sources for a passage of the 16th Canto of the *Buddhacarita* – this passage is missing in the Sanskrit source and thus the study was based on the Tibetan translation.

Although not a standard academic work, the interesting analysis provided by Mike Cross (2016) should be taken into account for several new interpretations of Aśvaghoṣa's poems.

An interesting reflection of the role of different kinds of teachers and their discourses in the *Buddhacarita* is proposed in Verma (2017), who concludes that one of the main communication features in the poem is the duality of author/speaker. While the poet Aśvaghoṣa leads the gist and the plot, various speakers are entitled to communicate the principle of the “old order”, engaging with the prince in debates that will ultimately lead him to acquire the role of teacher in turn.

1.6 *Buddhacarita* and art history

Several connections with Buddhist art, and especially Gandhāran art, have been made by scholars since the first half of the twentieth century. Marcel-Dubois (1937, 41) focused on the representation of musical instruments. In line with all his philhellenic ideas and academic production, Vittore Pisani (1940) published a paper about the influence of Greek art – of Leochares' representation of Ganymede, in particular – on the *Buddhacarita*, through the medium of Mathurā art. It is debated whether graphic representation preceded or was inspired by textual tradition. Banerjea (1930) and Rhi (2006) both support the influence of sculpture on the creation of the Buddha's body signs (*lakṣaṇa*). Passi (1979, 229-231) on the other hand proposes a parallel between the evolution of the artistic representations (from abstract-symbolic to figurative-narrative) and the development of autonomous narratives on the life of the Buddha, which are not to be found in the oldest Buddhist texts (Passi 1972, 231).

The relationship between Mathurā art representations and the narration of the *Buddhacarita* is confirmed, according to Spagnoli (2005), by one important detail: the absence of any reference to the *bhūmisparśa* gesture – the gesture the Buddha performed after enlightenment and that signified his calling the whole Earth as witness for his awakening – which is not present in the *Buddhacarita* or in the artistic representations from Mathurā and Andhra regions.

Many scholarly works, starting with Windisch (1895), focused on the representation of the defeat of the demon Māra and proposed a synoptic reading of this episode in various texts. The close analysis of the sculptures on the life of the Buddha and the textual descriptions led Joanna Williams (1975) and

Geri Hockfield Malandra (1981) to explore the possible relationships between different representations.⁶²

This chapter is focused on the discovery of the manuscript of the *Buddhacarita* and the various paths of research that developed from it. It is important to note, however, even if only incidentally, that the legend of the Buddha had reached Europe as early as the Middle Ages, filtered through translations and re-narrated in the story of the Christian saints Barlaam and Iosafat. There are many studies on the influence of the story of the Buddha's life in the West during the Middle Ages: for a rich bibliography I recommend Ronchey and Cesaretti (2012, CXVI-CXX). The influence of the fable of Barlaam and Iosafat on Italian sacred art is consistent – examples can be found in the façade of the Battistero in Parma (Tagliatesta, 2009) and on the Mosaic of the Cathedral of Otranto (Gianfreda, 1999). Most likely, the fable of Barlaam and Iosafat was not derived directly from the *Buddhacarita* as much as from other accounts of the life of the Buddha – further research may shed light on this aspect.

1.7 Studies on *Buddhacarita* in China and Japan

This section will focus on the studies on the *Buddhacarita*, i.e. the Sanskrit poem itself, in China and Japan; it will not contain information on the *Fo suoxing zan*, the Chinese translation of the poem, as this will be treated in a separate chapter dedicated to that topic.

Both Lévy (1982, 206) and Johnston (1936, xxxvi) were impressed by the monk Yijing's 義淨 (635-713) travelogue, translated by Rayauon Fujishima and Takakusu (1896, 165).

The pilgrim Yijing came to know about Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* during his stay in India.⁶³ It is surprising, however, that Yijing did not know that the *Buddhacarita* had been translated into Chinese in the fifth century. The passage quoted from Yijing's travelogue dealing with the *Buddhacarita* is part of a chapter on ceremonial worshipping and chanting:

舊云蘇達拏太子者是也。又尊者馬鳴亦造歌詞及《莊嚴論》并作《佛本行詩》，大本若譯有十餘卷。意述如來始自王宮終乎雙樹，一代佛法並緝為詩，五天南海無不諷誦。意明字少而攝義能多，復令[讀者心悅忘倦，又復纂持聖教能生福利。(T54 n. 2125 pp. 228a11-16)

⁶² A general account on Māra can also be found in Karetzky (1982).

⁶³ This passage was also noted by Weller (1938, 321) who commented: "Zwar gilt I-tsings Nachricht, daß das *Buddhacarita* weit verbreitet war, für eine andere Zeit als diejenige, welche hier in Frage kommt, man kann sich darnach aber nicht recht vorstellen, daß, wenn das Werk zu seiner Zeit auch in Indien weithin gelesen und vorgetragen wurde, dies in einer voraufgehenden Zeit wenig oder kaum bekannt war."

Asvaghosa also wrote some poetic songs and the *Sūtrālaṅkāraśāstra*.⁶⁴ He also composed the *Buddhakaritakāvya*. This extensive work, if translated, would consist of more than ten volumes. It relates the Tathāgata's chief doctrines and works during his life, from the period he was still in the royal palace till his last hour under the avenue of the Sāla-tree; thus, all the events are told in a poem. It is widely read or sung through the five divisions of India, and the countries of the Southern Sea. He clothes manifold meanings and ideas in a few words, which rejoice the heart of the reader so that he never feels tired from reading the poem. Besides, it should be counted as meritorious for one to read this book, inasmuch as it contains the noble doctrines given in a concise form. (Takakusu 1896, 165-166).

When Yijing travelled in India, a translation of the *Buddhacarita* had already been achieved in China. Apparently, Yijing did not realize that the *Fo suoxing zan* was this translation. We are certain that the translation had been completed because it was quoted by Sengyou (445-518). Yijing probably thought that the translation would have a different title in Chinese – in fact, he refers to it as *Fo benxing shi* 佛本行詩.

The first modern study of the *Buddhacarita* in China is dated to the year 1958, and it is an article by Wu Baiwei 巫百維⁶⁵ in the journal *Xiandai Foxue* 現代佛學 “Contemporary Buddhist Studies”. In this introductory study the author explains that the tradition of Chinese Buddhism defines Aśvaghōṣa as one of the patriarchs of the Chan school and as a *bodhisattva* with at least ten Buddhist texts to his name. Wu Baiwei points out that only two of these works can be attributed to Aśvaghōṣa, whose fame as poet is less acknowledged in China than in India. Wu summarized the scholarly work made on Indian manuscripts by Cowell and Johnston and the general state of the research. This first publication was followed by six further articles, signed Wu Baihui 巫白慧, from 1961 to 1963, each one translating a portion of the poem. All these passages in translation were collected and republished in a volume edited by Ji Xianlin and Liu Anwu (1984). It is interesting that these studies were all titled *Xin yi “Fo suoxing zan”* 新譯 “佛所行贊” (Re-translating the “*Fo suoxing zan*”), which shows how, in this early period of the research, the *Buddhacarita* was clearly identified with the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) and with no other similarly named text – the confusion between the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) and the *Fo benxing jing* (T193) was to become a heated topic in later academic works.⁶⁶

Most of the studies on the *Buddhacarita* in China are focused on the relationship between the poem and its Chinese translation. For an account of these studies the article by Feng (2015) is the most important source. In the same year as Feng's publication, a new translation of the *Buddhacarita* was published by Prof. Huang Baosheng, which includes a comparative reading between the Sanskrit text,

⁶⁴ This text was translated by Kumārajīva; there is no source from Indian tradition attributing the authorship of this text to Aśvaghōṣa.

⁶⁵ Probably a misspelling for Wu Baihui 巫白慧. Since this is the name reported on the publication, I will leave it as is.

⁶⁶ See Chapter 2.1.

the Chinese translation (attributed to Tan Wuchen or Dharmakṣema), and the contemporary translation. Huang Baosheng's work is particularly important since it provides a precise parallel between each stanza of the Sanskrit poem and the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192), demonstrating that the Chinese translation follows the Sanskrit quite closely. Huang's edition is elaborated from a more "Indological" point of view and thus fails to address the problem of the authorship of the Chinese translation.

A pioneering study on Aśvaghoṣa in Japan was published by Daijō Tokiwa 常盤大定 (1870-1945) in 1905.⁶⁷ The first Japanese translation of the *Buddhacarita* was by Byōdō Tsūshō 平等照通 (1903-1993), who published it in 1933 and then re-edited it in 1939. A second translation from the Sanskrit was published by Hara Minoru 原 實 (1930-) in the year 1974. A third edition, with a reconstruction of the fourteen missing chapters, was published by Yūichi Kajiyama 梶山雄一 in 1985.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Apparently, this text is not reported in the bibliography by Eltschinger and Yamabe (2018).

⁶⁸ For a bibliography, see also Qian Wenzhong (2014, 43-46)

Chapter 2. The history of a translation: the case of the *Fo suoxing zan* 佛所行讚

2.1 Clearing the field: the *Fo suoxing zan* 佛所行讚 and *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經 are not different translations of the same text

Two very different texts in the Chinese Buddhist Canon are often erroneously held to be Chinese translations of the *Buddhacarita*, the *Fo suoxing zan* 佛所行讚 (T192) and the *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經 (T193). The confusion of these two texts probably originated in their similar titles and relatively similar content.

Chinese scholars debated the authorship of the texts labelled as T192 and T193 for a very long time. The major contributions to this heated debate were collected with great accuracy by Feng Xiansi in a paper published in 2015. The main argument as reported by Feng (2015) is that T192 and T193 are not the translation of the same text, with T192 being the actual translation of the *Buddhacarita* while T193 differs from the *Buddhacarita* in structure and content.

This point was clearly proven by Ōminami 大南龍昇 (2002, 148-153) in the introduction to the Japanese re-translation of the *Fo suoxing zan*: by comparing the structure and content of the two texts, Ōminami showed that while the structure of T192 follows the *Buddhacarita* very closely – the sequences of the first fourteen chapter of T192 are identical to those of the Nepalese manuscript of the *Buddhacarita* edited by Johnston (1936) – T193 presents a different content and a different sequence of chapters.⁶⁹ The consistent similarity between the *Buddhacarita* and T192 was of course noted by Johnston (1936), while Friedrich Weller, editor and translator of the Tibetan version, noted the similarity in content between the first chapter of the *Buddhacarita* and the Chinese and Tibetan translations.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ This evident difference has yet to be fully appreciated by Western scholars, and numerous academic works still support the idea that T192 and T193 are two different translations of the *Buddhacarita*; see for example Young (2015, 135n54). Feng Xiansi's (2015) precise biographical recollection is probably the first academic work from mainland China stating the importance of dating and describing T192 and T193 as two different translations. These poems, along with other works with similar characteristics, were often considered as an ensemble, without taking into account their different nature and dating.

⁷⁰ See Weller (1939).

Although the sequence of stanzas is undoubtedly very similar, nobody would argue that subtle differences and sensible omissions make the *Fo suoxing zan* a very eccentric translation of the *Buddhacarita*. Regarding the differences between the Chinese translation and the Sanskrit poem, Ōminami (2002, 145) argued that the manuscript the translators were using might have been different from the one edited by Johnston. This is of course a plausible hypothesis. We should however recognize that the extent of these differences should be described and quantified in order to provide some clues about how the translation developed. It is again the comparison between the texts – this time between the critical edition of the *Buddhacarita* and the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) – that can help us figure out how the translation developed. Both Johnston (1936, xiii) and Weller (1939) attempted a comparison between the two texts and agreed to varying extents that the source text of the Chinese translation follows the Sanskrit quite closely, but while Johnston had the critical edition of the Sanskrit text as his primary aim, Weller was trying to edit and translate the Tibetan one: neither of them actually focused on the Chinese translation.

A comparative edition of the Sanskrit poem and Chinese translation was published by Prof. Huang Baosheng from Beijing University in 2015, accompanied by his new translation of the Sanskrit text into Mandarin Chinese.⁷¹ This edition shows quite clearly a stanza by stanza correspondence between the Sanskrit poem and its Chinese translation, and it is of invaluable help in pinpointing the differences in terms of alteration and abridging of the Sanskrit text.⁷² The very fact that it is possible to recreate an evident parallelism in content makes us realize that the Chinese translators were dealing with a text very similar to the edition we can read today – an idea that was already shared by Johnston (1936, xiii). The translators did not alter the core narrative structure of the *kāvya* and chose to translate it in verses of five characters, thereby showing deep respect for its poetic structure. A precise comparative reading may show us how the abridging and altering of the text took place, helping us understand the point of view of the first Chinese readers, what they considered important, and what they deemed inappropriate.

Since the present study is focused on the translation and reception of the *Buddhacarita* in China, it is very important to concentrate our attention on the external evidence about the authorship of T192, in order to reconstruct the historical context in which the translation of the *Buddhacarita* took place.

⁷¹ The first modern translation of the *Buddhacarita* in Chinese may be the one published by Wu Baiwei from 1958 to 1963 in the journal *Xiandai Foxue* 现代佛学; a selection of passages (especially focusing on parts that were omitted in the canonical translation) can be found in the anthology of Indian literature edited by Ji Xianlin (1987).

⁷² There is a multilingual comparative reading of the different editions of the *Buddhacarita*, provided by the University of Oslo. This version does not always provide a verse by verse correspondence and probably needs to be further revised. See <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=volume&vid=77>

2.2 The authorship of the *Fo suoxing zan*

The authorship of the translation of the Buddhacarita has been the topic of long academic debate, especially in China.⁷³ The title is currently listed in the Taishō edition of the canon as T192, and its authorship is attributed to Tan Wuchen 曇無讖 (385-433) or Dharmakṣema, who resided in China under the dynasty of the Northern Liang 北凉(397-439).⁷⁴ It is nevertheless well known by specialists that the attributions present in the Taishō Canon are often unreliable and thus need to be scrutinized.⁷⁵

Contemporary scholars tend to think that the most reliable catalogue of early translations is the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (T2145), compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 before the year 503 CE, under the Southern Qi (479-502).⁷⁶ Huijiao's collection of monk biographies, the *Gaoseng zhuan*, derived its contents mostly from Sengyou's work. The third catalogue in chronological order is Fei Zhangfang's *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記, which was written with a completely different agenda and often contains misleading information.⁷⁷

The *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (T2145), attributes the translation of the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) to the Chinese monk Baoyun 寶雲 (375-449),⁷⁸ under the reign of emperor Xiaowu 孝武 (430-464) during the Liu Song dynasty 劉宋 (420-479).⁷⁹

The attribution to Baoyun recurs also in other catalogues,⁸⁰ although the dates and number of texts attributed to him may vary.⁸¹ It is thus quite easy to prove that the authorship of T192 shifted to

⁷³ An account that summarizes all the previous positions on this issue is Feng Xiansi (2015).

⁷⁴ A very detailed analysis of the biography of Tan Wuchen or Dharmakṣema and his relationship with the king Juqu Mengxun has been carried out by Chen Jinhua (2004).

⁷⁵ On this topic, see Nattier (2008).

⁷⁶ The catalogue was probably compiled under the Southern Qi (479-502) and edited under the Southern Liang (502-557), around the year 515 CE (Nattier 2010: 12). Sengyou lived in a period of intense intellectual activity, with the production of catalogues and anthologies. Although Storch has pointed out the apologetic nature of Sengyou's work, which was meant to dignify Buddhism by providing it with a historiographical apparatus, it is also possible that Sengyou was motivated to compile his catalogue by the general trends in the cultural environment in which he lived. See Nattier (2008), Chen (2005).

⁷⁷ A detailed study on this catalogue is Storch (2016).

⁷⁸ Willemen (2009a: xiv) report these dates in the life account of Baoyun; unfortunately, this account does not quote primary sources for these data.

⁷⁹ The capital of the Liu Song dynasty (420-479) was in Jiankang (now Nanjing). The historical records about the Liu Song dynasty are collected in the *Song shu* 宋書 written by Shen Yue 沈约 (441-513) around the year 487. Another source is the later *Nan shi* 南史, "History of the Southern Dynasties", written in the year 659 by Li Daishi 李延寿.

⁸⁰ For a description of these catalogues, see Nattier (2008, 12-15).

⁸¹ The *Fo suoxing zan* itself has been known under several titles, such as *Maming zan* 馬鳴讚, *Maming zhuan* 馬鳴撰, *Fo suoxing zan jing* 佛所行讚經, *Maming pusa zan* 馬鳴菩薩讚; it has been confused with the *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經, a different account of the life of the historical Buddha (today listed as T193). The most striking difference between

Dharmaksema in later times, while initially Baoyun was considered the author of this translation of the *Buddhacarita*. For a complete list of the catalogues and the information provided, see the following table:

Catalogue (year) / Author ⁸²	Notice
<i>Chu sanzang jiji</i> 出三藏記集 (c. 518) Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518)	新無量壽經二卷(宋永初二年於道場寺出一錄云於六合山寺出) 佛所行讚五卷(一名馬鳴菩薩讚或云佛本行讚六合山寺出)右二部. 凡七卷. 宋孝武皇帝時. 沙門釋寶雲. 於六合山寺譯出. T55, no. 2145, pp. 12a24-27 釋寶雲. 未詳其氏[...]遂適六合山寺. 譯出佛所行讚經. T55, no. 2145, pp. 113a06-26
<i>Gaoseng zhuan</i> 高僧傳 (c. 530) Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554)	釋寶雲[...]譯出佛本行贊經 T50, no. 2059, pp. 339c18-a09
<i>Zhongjing mulu</i> 眾經目錄 (594) Fajing 法經 (? - ?)	佛本行讚經傳七卷(宋元嘉年寶雲於六合山寺譯) 佛所行讚經傳五卷(一名馬鳴讚)(晉世寶雲譯) T55, no. 2146, pp. 146a10-11
<i>Lidai sanbao ji</i> 歷代三寶紀 (597) Fei Zhangfang 費長房 (562-598)	佛所行讚經五卷(於六合山寺出. 見寶唱錄. 或云傳馬鳴撰. 見別錄唐七十卷)[...] 文帝世. 涼州沙門寶雲. T49, no. 2034, pp. 089c15-19
<i>Zhongjing mulu</i> 眾經目錄 (c. 610) Yangcong 彥琮 (557-610)	佛本行讚經傳七卷 宋元嘉年寶雲譯 佛所行讚經傳五卷(一名馬鳴讚) 晉世寶雲譯 T55, no. 2147, pp. 161c14-15
<i>Zhongjing mulu</i> 眾經目錄 (c. 663) Jingtai 靜泰 (? - ?)	「佛本行經七卷(一百一十四紙) 宋元嘉年寶雲譯 [...] 佛所行讚經傳五卷(一名馬鳴讚九十紙) 晉世寶雲譯 T55, no. 2148, pp. 195c28-196a05

the two texts, which were often considered as translations of the *Buddhacarita*, is that the *Fo suoxing zan* is in five *juan* and twenty-eight chapters (as the *Buddhacarita* once was), while the *Fo benxing jing* (T193) is in seven *juan* and thirty-one chapters, the first three chapters in particular not corresponding to the first three *sarga* of the *Buddhacarita*..

⁸² For this information see also Nattier (2008, 7-15).

<p><i>Datang neidian lu</i> 大唐內典錄(664) Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667)</p>	<p>佛所行讚經五卷(於六合山寺出見寶唱錄一云佛本行七卷或云傳馬鳴撰見別錄) 新無量壽經二卷(於道場寺出是第七譯與支謙僧鎧白延法護羅什法力出不同見道慧宋齊錄及高僧傳) 右四部. 一十五卷. 文帝世. 涼州沙門寶雲.</p> <p>T55, no. 2149, pp. 258a15-20</p> <p>《大唐內典錄》卷 8: 「賢聖集傳(四十九部)佛本行集經(六十卷六帙)撰集百緣經(十卷一帙)陀羅尼集(十卷一帙)六度集(八卷一帙)佛本行經(七卷一帙)右集傳十帙內右間從上第七隔. 付法藏因緣傳(六卷)阿育王傳(七卷上二集同帙)摩訶般若波羅蜜經鈔(五卷)佛所行讚經傳(五卷上二集同帙)</p> <p>T55, no. 2149, pp. 312a20-b03</p>
<p><i>Gujin shijing tuji</i> 古今譯經圖紀 (664-665) Jingmai 靖邁 (627-649)</p>	<p>沙門寶雲西涼州人. [...]. 以宋文帝元嘉年中. 於六合山寺. 譯佛本行讚經傳(七卷). 付法藏經(六卷). 佛所行讚經傳(五卷). 新無量壽經(二卷). 新淨度三昧經(二卷).</p> <p>T55, no. 2151, p. 362a08-a17</p>
<p><i>Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu</i> 大周刊定眾經目(695) Mingquan 明佺 et alii</p>	<p>佛所行讚傳一部五卷(一百五紙馬鳴菩薩讚)右東晉寶雲於楊都譯. 出長房錄.</p> <p>T55, no. 2153, p. 436a23-24</p>
<p><i>Kaiyuan shijiao lu</i> 開元釋教錄 (730) Zhisheng 智昇 (?-?)</p>	<p>佛所行讚經傳五卷(或云經無傳字或云傳無經字馬鳴菩薩造亦云佛本行經見長房錄)上見在已下闕.</p> <p>T55, no. 2154, p. 520a05-07</p> <p>佛所行讚經傳五卷(馬鳴菩薩撰亦云佛本行經)北涼天竺三藏曇無讖譯(單本)佛本行經七卷(一名佛本行讚傳)宋涼州沙門釋寶雲譯(單本)右大周錄編在大乘重譯經中. 云與六十卷佛本行集經同本異譯者誤也. 上二集十二卷同帙.</p> <p>T55, no. 2154, pp. 621c28-622a06</p> <p>佛所行讚經傳五卷(或云經無傳字或云傳無經字亦云佛本行經)九十紙佛本行經七卷(一名佛本行讚傳)一百一十三紙上二集十二卷同帙.</p> <p>T55, no. 2154, pp. 696a22-a24</p>

<p><i>Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu</i> 貞元新定釋教目錄 (800) Yuan Zhao 圓照 (?-?)</p>	<p>佛所行讚經傳五卷(或云經無傳字或云傳無經字馬鳴菩薩造亦名作本行經見長房錄)[...] (佛所行讚上一十三部一百一十八卷見在勝鬘經下七部一十二卷闕本). 沙門曇無讖.</p> <p>T55, no. 2157, pp. 816c14-817a03</p> <p>佛所行讚經傳五卷(馬鳴菩薩撰亦云佛本行經) 北涼天竺三藏曇無讖譯 單本佛本行經七卷(一名佛本行讚傳) 宋涼州沙門釋寶雲譯(單本)右大周錄編在大乘重譯經中. 云與六十卷佛本行集經同本異譯者誤也.</p> <p>T55, no. 2157, p. 955b15-20</p> <p>佛所行讚經傳五卷(或云經無傳字或云傳無經字亦云佛本行經) 九十紙佛本行經七卷(或一名佛本行集經) 一百一十三紙上二集十二卷同帙.</p> <p>T55, n. 2157, p. 1044b05-07</p>
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From the reports in catalogues we can see that Sengyou attributed an alternative title to the *Fo suoxing zan*, namely *Fo benxing zan* 佛本行讚. This is thus the title used by Huijiao. Both of them attributed the translation to Baoyun. By using the references in the *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 (T2040), we shall demonstrate that by “*Fo suoxing zan*” Sengyou meant the translation of the *Buddhacarita*. Sengyou listed a *Fo benxing jing* in five fascicles as “lost”.⁸³

From the quotations collected in the table we see that the *Zhongjing mulu* (T2146) in the year 594 (more than seventy years after the completion of Sengyou’s work) added a reference to the *Fo benxing jing* in seven *juan*, a title that was absent in Sengyou’s catalogue in this format. The *Zhongjing mulu* (T2146) attributes both titles to Baoyun – they are apparently considered two different translations here, while Sengyou considered them alternative titles for the same text. T2146 provides the dates of both alleged translations, from which we may gather that the *Fo suoxing zan* was considered an earlier work. It is still considered to be the work of Āśvaghōṣa, however. The text is catalogued in a section dedicated to “biographical” accounts composed after the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa*, in a subsection

⁸³ The reference only says *Fo benxing jing, wu juan* 佛本行經, 五卷 (T55 n. 2145 p. 21c12). The *Fo suoxing zan* might well be considered older than the *Fo benxing jing*, given the fact that Sengyou, who outlived Baoyun, never quoted the *Fo benxing jing* in seven fascicles.

dedicated to works attributed to “sages from the Western Regions” – among whom Āśvaghōṣa apparently belonged.

Similar information is provided by the later catalogues T2147 and T2148.

If we compare the accounts in two different catalogues, the *ChSZJJ* by Sengyou and the *Lidai sanbao ji* by Fei Zhangfang, we can still point out something interesting about the authorship of the translation of the *Buddhacarita*. There are two different and equally coherent scholarly positions on the source of Fei Changfang’s catalogue, the *Lidai sanbao ji* (T2034): that the source frequently mentioned by Fei Zhangfang, the catalogue by Baochang, either never existed or was quoted only for show,⁸⁴ or, on the other hand, that Baochang’s catalogue did exist, was compiled under the sponsorship of Emperor Wu (464-549) of the Southern Liang (502-557) as the new catalogue of Buddhist text of the imperial library, and probably contained different information than Sengyou’s *ChSZJJ*. These two diverging views are the reason why the two extant catalogues, Sengyou’s *Chu sanzang jiji* and Fei Zhangfang’s *Lidai Sanbao ji*, often held different positions on historical accounts or attributions.⁸⁵

In this respect we should note that the *Lidai sanbao ji* actually reports that the catalogue by Baochang agreed with Sengyou’s *ChSZJJ* and stated that the *Fo suoxing zan* was translated by Baoyun.⁸⁶ So both the *ChSZJJ* and the *Lidai sanbao ji* (apparently quoting Baochang’s catalogue) confirms Baoyun’s authorship of the translation. Huijiao’s *Gaoseng zhuan* does not oppose this view.

The *Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄, compiled by Daoxuan 道宣, still attributed the translation to Baoyun. This attribution is confirmed by the *Gujin shijing tuji* 古今譯經圖紀 and by the *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定眾經目 (although date and place differ).

As external evidence, however, we have to acknowledge that there is almost no catalogue in the Canon listing the *Fo suoxing zan* as the work of Tan Wuchen/Dharmakṣema; the earliest note on this attribution is from the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T2154), a late catalogue compiled by Zhisheng 智昇 in 730 CE (Nattier 2008, 15). The *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 is in fact the first catalogue to attribute the *Fo suoxing zan* to Dharmakṣema and the *Fo benxing jing* – probably the account on the life of the Buddha in seven *juan*, today listed as T193 – to Baoyun.

⁸⁴ This is the position well supported by Jan Nattier (2008, 14n25).

⁸⁵ This point of view can be found in Storch (2014, 66-70).

⁸⁶ *Fo suoxing zan jing, wu juan (yu liuhe shan si chu. Jian Baochang lü)* 佛所行讚經五卷(於六合山寺出. 見寶唱錄(T49 n. 2034 p. 89c15). In case Baochang’s catalogue really existed and was commissioned by Emperor Wu we would be able to say that the translation of the *Buddhacarita* was present in the emperor’s library of Buddhist texts, or at least it was well known by his time.

Incidentally, we might note that Nattier (2008, 15) blames Fei Zhangfang's earlier catalogue for introducing wrong information that was subsequently taken for granted by later cataloguers such as Zhisheng. In the case of the *Fo suoxing zan*, however, Fei Zhangfang and Sengyou both agreed on attributing the authorship to Baoyun, while the first differing opinion was introduced by Zhisheng.

2.3 Quotes in the *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 (T2040)

We have seen that Sengyou first listed the *Fo suoxing zan* as a translation by Baoyun, with the alternative title of *Fo benxing zan* 佛本行讚. There is, however, further proof that when Sengyou listed the *Fo suoxing zan*, he clearly meant the *Fo suoxing zan* to be the text now labelled as T192. As we saw, in his catalogue, the *Chu sanzang jiji*, Sengyou only mentions the title of the translation, and attributes it to the Chinese monk Baoyun, but Sengyou was also the author of an anthology on the life of the historical Buddha that was meant to be a complete collection of all the episodes of Śākyamuni's life, the *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 (T2040).⁸⁷ The *Shijia pu* was composed by Sengyou in the sixth century. Sengyou is known to have been a very accurate cataloguer and historian.⁸⁸ In fact, the *Shijia pu* is a collection of quotes from hagiographic material on the Buddha; in collating this material, Sengyou made sure to mention his sources. In the *Shijia pu* there are quotes from the *Fo suoxing zan* that correspond to the actual text now classified as T192. This is proof that Sengyou knew the *Fo suoxing zan* and had probably read at least its first chapter. And this make Sengyou's attribution sounder.

On the other hand, it is quite probable that Sengyou did not know the *Fo benxing jing* in seven fascicles now listed as T193. In the *Chu sanzang jiji* there is mention of a *Fo benxing jing* in one *juan*,⁸⁹ in a list of lost translations; there is also mention of a *Fo benxing jing* in five *juan*, and the name of the translator was considered lost.⁹⁰ The litmus test to prove that Sengyou did not know T193 can also be found in the *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜. We saw that Sengyou quoted the translation of the *Buddhacarita*, but there is no mention of the *Fo benxing jing* in seven *juan*, and this is enough external evidence to prove that Sengyou did not know T193 as we know it today, either because it was lost or because it had not yet been translated – or even composed – when Sengyou was alive.

The *Shijia pu* quotes the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) two times, both in the first *juan*.

⁸⁷ For more information about the *Shijia pu*, see Durt (2006).

⁸⁸ This is the opinion of Nattier (2008, 10).

⁸⁹ T55 n. 2145 p. 015c28.

⁹⁰ T55 n. 2145 p. 021c12.

佛所行讚經云。甘蔗之苗裔。釋迦無勝王淨財德純備。故名曰淨[12]飯。案淨飯遠祖乃是瞿曇之後身。以其前世居甘蔗園。故[13]經稱甘蔗之苗裔也。(T50, no. 2040, pp. 3a25-28)

The *Fo suoxing zan* reports: ‘[From] the offspring of Ikṣvāku [descended] the unconquerable king of the Śākya, endowed with clear talent and pure virtue and thus named “Śuddhodana”’. It is recorded that Śuddhodana’s ancestors and therefore Gautama’s progeny in former existences lived in a sugarcane garden. For this reason, they were called “the sugarcane offspring”

Here Sengyou is quoting and glossing the first four verses of T192: 甘蔗之苗裔，釋迦無勝王，淨財德純備，故名曰淨飯。⁹¹ The Sanskrit verse is missing in the manuscript, but it was very likely talking of the progeny of Ikṣvāku, an epic king from the solar dynasty in Ayodhyā. The translation of the proper name *Ikṣvāku* as *ganzhe* 甘蔗 “sugarcane” probably derives from the different etymologies of this proper name, for which see the reconstruction by Salomon and Baums (2007). Sengyou felt the need to explain why sugarcane was connected with the ancestors of the Buddha; he did not take the term *ganzhe* as a proper name.

佛所行讚云。優留王股生。卑偷王手生。曼陀王頂生。伽叉王腋生。菩薩亦如是從右脇而生 (T50, n. 2040, pp. 5b06-14)

The *Fo suoxing zan* reports: King Aurva was born from the thigh, king Pṛthu was born from the hand, king Māndhātṛi was born from the head and king Kakṣīvat was born from the armpit: the bodhisattva was also like that, he was born from the right flank.

This quote is openly taken from T192, for which compare:

優留王股生，卑偷王手生，
曼陀王頂生，伽叉王腋生，
菩薩亦如是，誕從右脇生 (T4, n. 192, pp. 1a26-28)⁹²

The corresponding verse is *Bc* 1.10; Aśvaghōṣa mentioned former records of extraordinary births, probably with the aim of introducing the prodigious birth of the Buddha as a probable circumstance.⁹³ It is very likely that Sengyou is using the quote from the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) with a similar purpose of “normalizing” the extraordinary birth of the Śākya prince, purporting that extraordinary births can occur and in fact had occurred in the past.

Although the number and extent of the quotes from the *Fo suoxing zan* in the *Shijia pu* is limited to the first chapter of the poem’s translation, these references are enough to prove that Sengyou’s *Fo suoxing zan* was indeed the text catalogued as T192 in the Taishō Canon. Apart from

⁹¹ T4, n. 192, pp. 1a08-1a09.

⁹² See Appendix (first chapter).

⁹³ For the Sanskrit text, see Olivelle (2008, 4-5); for an explanation of the epic references, see Olivelle (2008, 434). For divine births in general, see Hara Minoru (2009).

these two quotes, further study has to be pursued on “indirect” quotes. Given the very close relationship between the *Guoqu xianzai yingguo jing* (T189) and the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192),⁹⁴ when Sengyou is quoting the first text, he may indirectly confer authority on the latter – T189 quotes widely from T192, although Sengyou did not realize it.

2.4 A Dunhuang Manuscript

An excerpt of the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) is found on a manuscript from the library in Cave 17 in Dunhuang. The excerpt is found on the eighteenth and nineteenth folios of the verso of the manuscript catalogued as Pelliot Tibetain 1134 (the former catalogue number for this manuscript was P2853). A description of the manuscript is in MacDonald et al. (1979, 27-30) and is quoted by Drège (1985, 498).

The reported fragment extends from the translation of *Bc* 3.34 – the first two couplets in Chinese are 對曰此世間 一切俱亦然 (correspondi to T4, n. 192, p. 6b06) – and continues to the end of the third *sarga*: the last verses are 光耀悅耳目 猶天難陀園 (T04 n. 192 p. 06c22). The text basically covers the narration of two of the four encounters – the encounter with a sick person and that with a dead person. The folios containing the section from T192 are collated with a translation of the third fascicle of the *Lotus Sūtra* translated by Kumārajīva (334?-413), or *Miao fa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經. Drège (1985, 497-498) explains that many folios of Chinese manuscripts were collated and re-used on the verso as support for Tibetan texts. Drège (1985, 499) proposes the seventh century as a possible date for PT 1134.

The number of different characters is relatively small and mostly related to variant characters and synonyms.⁹⁵ Beside Sengyou’s consideration for the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) in his anthological

⁹⁴ See Radich (2018) and Lettere (forthcoming).

⁹⁵ Counting the columns from the end of the nineteenth folio and proceeding from right to left, the main differences between the manuscript and the text reported in CBETA are the following:

- The character 言 in the second column, first verse in the manuscript is substituted with 說, from 太子聞其說 (T4, no. 192, p. 6b08);
- in the fourth column, first verse, the character 無 is changed to 无; 病賊至無期 (T4, no. 192, p.6b12) – this simplification occurs also in the twentieth column;
- the first character of the seventh column in the manuscript is {} instead of 深, 深責治路者 (T4, no. 192, p.6b18);
- the third character of the eighth column is {} instead of 悅, and the corresponding verse is 以此悅視聽 (T4, no. 192, p.6b20);
- the third character in the tenth column is zhi 知 instead of 能, 諂黠能奉事 (T4, no. 192, p.6b24);

reconstruction of the life of Śākyamuni (T2040), this manuscript is proof that T192 enjoyed a wide circulation in China. As we shall see in Chapter 9, the influence of T192 on Buddhist art was mediated by the elaboration proposed by Guṇabhadra in the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* (T189).

It is important to note, incidentally, that in the Dunhuang collection there are some extra-canonical lives of the Buddha in Chinese.⁹⁶

2.5 Studies and debates on the *Fo suoxing zan* in Europe, China, and Japan

The first complete translation of the *Fo suoxing zan* into English was published by Samuel Beal in the year 1883, with the title *The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, A life of the Buddha*. Although Beal's contribution was certainly limited by the scarcity of academic works on the subject, his introduction on the hagiographic material in the Chinese Canon proved to be very influential on later academic efforts.⁹⁷

As we have seen, the study of the *Buddhacarita* in Europe was promoted by numerous factors, and the publication of an English translation of the *Fo suoxing zan* by Samuel Beal played a very important role, as it led Lèvy to resume the study of the Nepalese manuscript of the *Buddhacarita* that was stored in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. Samuel Beal's translation proved to be influential on Japanese scholars as well: by the year 1910 Kaikyoku Watanabe 渡辺海旭 (1872-1933) had read it and produced an interesting paper on the influence of the *Fo suoxing zan* on other works in the Canon, proving that the text titled *Fo chui ban niepan lüe shuojiao jie jing* 佛垂般涅槃略說教誡經 (T389) is in fact a prose version of the twenty-sixth chapter of the *Fo suoxing zan*.

In 1916 Else Wohlgemuth published a German translation of the first two chapters of the *Fo suoxing zan*, with a commentary and a Chinese/Sanskrit glossary that partly corrected several problems in Samuel Beal's work.⁹⁸

Almost every study on the *Fo suoxing zan* produced in China mentions the appreciation of this poem as formulated by Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929) and Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962). These two

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- in the first verse of the fifteenth column, 斷 is replaced by 斷, 諸根壞命斷 (T4, no. 192, p.6c04);
 - in the eighteenth column, the character 爾 is replaced by 尔, 對曰普皆爾 (T4, no. 192, p.6c10);
 - in the twentieth column, the character 公 is replaced by the character 心, 公見身磨滅 (T4, no. 192, p.6c14); in the same column, the character 慮 is written in the different form 曾不慮無常 (T4, no. 192, p.6c15);
 - in the twenty-third column, the character *su* 肅 substitutes the character *man* 滿.

⁹⁶ See Anderl (forthcoming).

⁹⁷ See for example the very similar information in the contribution by Max Deeg in Covill (2010).

⁹⁸ Johnston's opinion on Beal's translation is quite critical; see Johnston's preface to his edition (1936, xiii).

famous scholars of Chinese modernity praised the *Fo suoxing zan* for its innovative character, stressing the influence of the text on Chinese literature. In *Foxue yanjiu shiba pian* 佛學研究十八篇 (Eighteen Studies on Buddhism), Liang Qichao praised the *Fo suoxing zan* and promoted the idea of a possible influence of Buddhist translations on Chinese literature. The limits of this eminent scholar's ideas on the matter are quite evident, however, and lie in the fact that he based himself on the Taishō attributions without questioning them, several of which are now considered fanciful.⁹⁹

Liang Qichao (1929 [ed. 2009], 161) stated that the *Fo suoxing zan*, although lacking a system of rhymes, can be compared to the *yuefu* poetry tradition; he added several general considerations about the fact that during the Song, Yuan, and Ming period many *zaju*, *chuanqi*, *tanci* (storytelling), and other long poems derived their narrative patterns from the translation of the *Buddhacarita* and similar life-stories of the Buddha.¹⁰⁰ Liang Qichao's most provocative idea on this matter is that the long poem *Kongque dongnan fei* 孔雀東南飛 was not a *yuefu* from the Han dynasty tradition, but a much later work – probably from the Six Dynasties period – and the product of the influence of long Buddhist poems translated from Indic and Central-Asian languages. I call this position “provocative” since it stirred a long debate among Chinese scholars. The influence of Buddhist translations¹⁰¹ on the poetic production of the Six Dynasties period is surely one of the most heated topics of debate on Medieval literature in China. The argument by Liang Qichao eventually resulted in a new dating of the poem *Kongque dongnan fei* 孔雀東南飛, based on a survey of its lexicon; the extent of influence of Buddhist thought on the poem has still not been completely determined. A detailed summary of this debate, including the position of eminent writers such as Lu Xun, was retraced by Professor Dan Yan (2011) of Fudan University.¹⁰² Almost none of the studies mentioned focuses on the *Fo suoxing zan* in particular, because long poems from the Buddhist canon were often considered as parts of a larger complex rather than as individual texts.

⁹⁹ Liang Qichao (129 [ed.2009], 161) followed the Chinese Buddhist tradition and attributed several texts (*Buddhāvataṃsaka*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*, *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*) to the poetic genius of Aśvaghoṣa, although no Indian source attributed these text to Aśvaghoṣa. On the legacy of Aśvaghoṣa in China see Young (2015).

¹⁰⁰ The point here is that Liang Qichao did not intend to draw a direct link between the translation of the *Buddhacarita* and long narrative poems from the Chinese literary tradition; he was more interested in proposing a connection between long poems of Indian origin in general and the production of long narrative poems during the Six dynasties (220-589). The same is true for many of the literary critics that dealt with this issue later on.

¹⁰¹ I use a plural form here to indicate an ample set of long poetic narratives from the Buddhist tradition (see for example the various hagiographies collected in the Taishō T03 and T04 sections).

¹⁰² For a historical reconstruction of a similar issue regarding the influence of Buddhism on the *Wenxin diaolong*, see Mair in Cai Zong-qi (2001, 63-83). In his study Mair addresses the thorny issue of Chinese scholars' reluctance in recognizing Buddhist influence on indigenous literature.

The second important contribution to the re-evaluation of the *Fo suoxing zan* was made by Hu Shi, who also did not question the attribution of the translation to Dharmakṣema, and consequently attributed the *Fo benxing jing* to Baoyun. Hu Shi pinpointed a couple of major differences between the two texts: he noted that the *Fo benxing jing* offers a longer description of the partition of the Buddha's relics and reports the chapter from T193 in which the young prince enjoys pleasures with the maidens at court, a description that is abridged in the *Fo suoxing zan*.¹⁰³

In more recent times, the debate on the *Fo suoxing zan* in China has concentrated on two major topics: the authorship of the translation and its possible influence on Chinese literature.

It seems that the idea of attributing Aśvaghōṣa's translation of the *Buddhacarita* to a Chinese monk, Baoyun – rather than to an Indian missionary, Dharmakṣema – was very hard to accept; on the other hand, the authority of the Taishō edition of the Canon appeared to be very difficult to question. Very recent works on the *Buddhacarita*, such as Huang (2015), still propose Dharmakṣema/Tan Wuchen as the author of the translation. As we have seen in the case of the pilgrim monk Yijing's travelogue, the Chinese title of the translation of the *Buddhacarita* had often been misleading, and as a consequence, many generations of scholars debated the possible attribution of the texts now known as *Fo suoxing zan* T192 and *Fo benxing jing* T193.

Perhaps the most paradoxical position is the one supported by Zhou Yiliang 周一良 (1948[1998], 320),¹⁰⁴ who supposed that the titles of T192 and T193 were inverted in the past and thus that the two accounts on the life of the Buddha were passed down with wrong attributions. In his view, the translation of the *Buddhacarita* is T192 but should have the title “*Fo benxing jing*” – since this title is not present in Sengyou's catalogue, it should be considered anonymous – while, according to Zhou Yiliang, T193 should be titled “*Fo suoxing zan*”, is not the translation of the *Buddhacarita*, and was translated by Baoyun. Feng (2015) confuted Zhou Yiliang's argument by showing that in manuscript sources datable to the Tang dynasty the *Fo benxing jing* was already known with the same title as today, corresponding to T193.¹⁰⁵

All the contributions to the debate on the *Fo suoxing zan*, its authorship and its influence on Chinese literature, is well summarized in Feng (2015). An important thread started with an article by Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 (1964).¹⁰⁶ This eminent Indologist from Hong Kong studied the peculiarities of

¹⁰³ The chapter mentioned is the eighth, *Yu zhong cainü youju pin di ba* 與眾嫖女遊居品第八 (T04 n.0193 p.63a18). See Hu Shi (1929 [1992], 158-160).

¹⁰⁴ This argument was supported in a paper in 1948 and republished in a collection in 1998.

¹⁰⁵ The authenticity of the Dunhuang manuscripts from the Beijing collection is much debated; see Lancaster (2002).

¹⁰⁶ See also Rao Zongyi (1993).

the poetic work of the famous Tang intellectual Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824).¹⁰⁷ Rao Zongyi focused on Han Yu's composition "Poem of the Southern Mountains" and affirmed that the five-character verse structure, the narrative content, and the consistent repetition of the pronoun *huo* 或 in the poem are also found in the peculiar structure of the *Fo suoxing zan*. Rao Zongyi therefore concluded that Han Yu was inspired by the translation of the *Buddhacarita*.¹⁰⁸

In Zong Qicai (2008, 151), Xiaofei Tian alludes to the influence of the translation of the *Buddhacarita* on the poet Xiao Gang 蕭綱 (503-551), who became famous as Emperor Jianwen 簡文 of the Southern Liang Dynasty (397–414; 南涼). According to Xiaofei Tian, the description of the sleeping girls from the fifth chapter of the *Buddhacarita* influenced Xiao Gang's composition *Yongnei ren zhoushin* 詠內人晝眠 (On a wife's daytime nap). Unfortunately, Xiaofei Tian provided no specific bibliographical reference to support this claim. While looking for possible sources for Xiaofei Tian's thesis, I found an article by Wang Chunhong from 1991 that, although not specifically related to the poem by Xiao Gang, addresses the issue of the influence of the *Fo suoxing zan* on the court poetry of the Southern Liang dynasty from new and interesting perspectives.

Wang Chunhong (1991, 52) addresses the issue of the influence of the descriptions of beautiful women on Chinese literature – he narrowed the topic down to the court poetry of the Liang dynasty. As opposed to other critics, Wang Chunhong (1991, 53) affirms that the "erotic" description from the *Fo suoxing zan* influenced the new descriptions of women present in the court poetry of the Liang; he focused on the word *zitai* 姿態 or "demeanor", that he links to the "theatrical" and "dramatic" nature of the narration presented by the *Buddhacarita/Fo suoxing zan*. Wang underlines that descriptions of the demeanor of women are often expressed through the terms *zi* 姿 and *tai* 態 by Liang dynasty poets such as Xiao Gang/Jiangwen, Xiao Ji 蕭紀 (508-553), Liu Zun 劉遵 (488-535), Liu Huan 劉緩 (?-540), and Yu Xin 庾信 (513-581). The other important feature of the court poetry of the Liang that Wang Chunhong (1991, 54-55) links to the influence of the *Fo suoxing zan* in particular – and to Buddhist literature in general – is the new employment of different sensory images in poetic descriptions: courtesans are described through their appearance (sight), the scent of incense surrounding them (smell), and the sound of their voices or musical instruments (hearing).

¹⁰⁷ These peculiarities already emerged in an essay by Chen Yike 陳寅恪 (1928-1969, quoted by Rao Zongyi [1964]) and in a then recent work by Erwin von Zach (1952).

¹⁰⁸ Rao Zongyi's argument was strongly criticized by Lou Bo 婁博 (2007), who claimed that Han Yu's poem derived its characteristics from other Chinese classics.

In 2002 Ōminami Ryūshō published a new Japanese translation of the *Fo suoxing zan*, with an introduction focused on the problem of the authorship, which he ultimately attributed to the monk Baoyun. Ōminami's study is particularly interesting because it provides a comparison with other hagiographic material and with the similarly structured *Fo benxing jing* (T193),¹⁰⁹ proving that the two texts are not different translations of the same source.

Three MA theses on the translation of the *Buddhacarita* into Chinese were written by students at the University of Ghent – Smet (1978), Frans (1981), and Wellens (1983) – under the supervision of Prof. Charles Willemen. These studies are translations of selected chapters with glossaries. In the year 2009, more than one century after Samuel Beal's first translation, Charles Willemen published a new English translation of the *Fo suoxing zan*. In the introduction, he briefly supports the idea that the *Buddhacarita* was translated by Baoyun. In the same year Willemen also published a Chinese-English dictionary based on the *Buddhacarita/Fo suoxing zan*. Willemen's translation is very accurate but his work can still not be considered totally definitive – in both his works on the *Fo suoxing zan*, Willemen assumed that a comparison between the Sanskrit source and the Chinese translation would be useless, if not misleading. As will be demonstrated in the present study, however, there are several cases in which the comparison between Chinese and Sanskrit proves to be unavoidable and necessary in order to shed light on the Chinese translation and its relationship with other hagiographic material in the Chinese Canon.

In 2011 Liao Guey-lan published a study on the peculiarities of narration in Chinese Buddhist texts, from the perspective of the relationship between the main narrative voice and the characters. He pointed out that the *Fo suoxing zan* is a rare example of narration with no evident speech markers, thus containing various examples of “free direct speech”.¹¹⁰

2.6 The Tibetan translation¹¹¹

The title of the Tibetan translation of the *Buddhacarita* is *Sangs rgyas kyi spyod pa zhes bya ba'i snyang dngags chen po*, and the text can be read in the 96th volume of the Bedurma edition of the Tibetan Canon (Tengyur), pages 31 to 303. The same title is found also in the other versions of the

¹⁰⁹ Kawano (2007) provides a similarly patterned analysis applied to other narratives of the life of the Buddha in the Chinese Canon.

¹¹⁰ This characteristic may just as easily be a result of the strict application of a five-characters verse structure to the translation.

¹¹¹ I must thank Prof. Georgios Halkias of Hong Kong University who helped me find the information concerning the Tibetan translation of the *Buddhacarita*.

Tibetan Canon, namely Narthang (snar thang), Derge (sde dge), Serdrima (gser bris ma), Peking, and Cone Tengyurs.

The editions Bedurma, Narthang, Peking, and Serdrima have the same colophon, on whose basis Jackson (1991, 53-54) concluded that the text was probably translated in the 1260s or 1270s.

A German translation and critical edition of the Tibetan text was published by Friedrich Weller from 1926 to 1928. Weller compared different editions of the Tanjur from the India Office Library and the Leipzig, Berlin, London, and Leningrad libraries. His edition is not complete since it stops at the seventeenth chapter. From this point on, with no Sanskrit source available, it is very difficult to understand the content of the text. A full translation in Japanese is found in Teramoto (1924).

Edward Hamilton Johnston in his later years produced his reconstruction of chapters fourteen to twenty-eight of the *Buddhacarita* (1937), comparing the Chinese translation (through the English version by Samuel Beal) and various editions of the Tibetan text.¹¹²

Claus Vogel (1966) re-read Canto I of Johnston's edition in light of the Tibetan text, providing useful bibliographic references to the various versions of the text in the Tibetan Canons.

Michael Hahn (1975) proposed new readings of several stanzas that are missing in the source manuscript in Sanskrit but are present in the Chinese and Tibetan translations. The work by Hahn focuses on the Tibetan translation, in the edition provided by Weller (1929). A very useful tool for the study of the Tibetan translation of the *Buddhacarita* is the glossary published by Siegling and Bechert in 1985, providing a useful list of Tibetan terms and expressions along with the Sanskrit sources.¹¹³

Eltschinger (2013) based his argumentation regarding the canonical Buddhist sources of Aśvaghōṣa for the sixteenth chapter of the *Buddhacarita* on the translation of the Tibetan text by Weller.

¹¹² Olivelle (2008) based his summary of the lost chapters of the *Buddhacarita* on Johnston's reconstruction of the poem.

¹¹³ Although very detailed, this glossary would benefit much from a re-editing in a more coherent form with typed Tibetan and Sanskrit text.

Chapter 3: The missing translator: a study of the biographies of the monk Baoyun 寶雲 (376? - 449)

Sengyou (445-518) attributed to Baoyun 寶雲 the authorship of the Chinese translation of Aśvaghoṣa's masterpiece, the *Buddhacarita*, known in China as *Fo suoxing zan* 佛所行讚. This text is nowadays catalogued as T192 in the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon, and attributed to Dharmakṣema/Tan Wuchen 曇無讖.¹¹⁴ There are thus two possible authors for the *Fo suoxing zan*: in older catalogues, the authorship is attributed to Baoyun, in later ones it shifts to Dharmakṣema/Tanwuchen. The life of Dharmakṣema was investigated by Chen (2004), while in the introduction to his English translation of the *Fo suoxing zan*, Willemen (2009a) briefly introduced the figure of Baoyun, identifying him as the most probable translator of the *Buddhacarita*.¹¹⁵

The primary aim of this study is to investigate different accounts of the life of monk Baoyun 寶雲 (376?-449) as collected in the Chinese Buddhist Canon, and to analyze the information about his translations and their possible sponsorship. This chapter will contextualize the life of Baoyun in a broader historical perspective and present the life of a monk who was a companion of Faxian in his famous journey to the west, fluent in Indic languages, and a proficient translator.

By comparing the information provided by different Buddhist catalogues, however, consistent discrepancies between the information provided by Sengyou and by later accounts became evident. The role of Baoyun as translator had been intentionally underestimated by later editors of his biography: his participation in translation was increasingly ignored, his name faded out, and the authorship of his works was subsequently attributed to monks of Indian or Central-Asian origin.

¹¹⁴ The idea that the *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經 (T193) in seven juan is a second translation of the *Buddhacarita* is erroneous. This was already clear to Johnston (1936) and demonstrated by Ōminami (2002).

¹¹⁵ The account provided by Willemen offers a very good summary of the life account of Baoyun, but unfortunately it does not quote any primary or secondary sources; see Willemen (2009a, xiv-xvi).

3.1 Methodology and scope

As stated in the introduction, this study follows two different tracks. On one side there is the reconstruction of the biography of Baoyun and will focus on the titles of the translation projects in which Baoyun was involved. Most of these works are now known as authored by Indian monks.

The second endeavor in this study is to prove that the figure of Baoyun as translator was increasingly underestimated in Buddhist catalogues: while he is incidentally mentioned as taking part in many translation projects and praised for his knowledge of Indic languages, later biographical accounts and lists of works attributed to him do not provide recognition of his many contributions.

The main primary sources for that will be examined are the following:

Baoyun's life account as presented in Sengyou's (445-518) catalogue, the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (T2145).¹¹⁶ From the same catalogue, it is opportune to analyze the life accounts of Baoyun's collaborators – Buddhahadra, Zhiyan, Saṃghavarman, Guṇabhadra – these accounts incidentally provide relevant information on Baoyun and on the translation works pursued with his help;

a short biographical notice in Baochang's 寶唱 *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳 –¹¹⁷ this collection originally included 415 biographies – only 36 monks' biographies are extant, along with the table of contents, reported in the *Meisō den shō* 名僧傳抄, a work of the by the 13th century Japanese monk Shūshō 宗性;¹¹⁸

the account on the life of Baoyun presented in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (T2059) by Huijiao (497-554);¹¹⁹ from the same catalogue, it is opportune to analyze several references to the life of the monk Huiguan 慧觀, who was close to Baoyun in his later years;

the information about Baoyun provided by Fei Zhangfang 費長房 (?-598) in the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (T2034).¹²⁰

These sources do not have equal historical value. Sengyou's catalogue is generally considered the more trustworthy source of reliable historical information.¹²¹ The primary aim of this study is to gather

¹¹⁶ On the *Chu sanzang jiji*, henceforth *ChSZJJ*, see Chen (2005) and Nattier (2008, 9-12).

¹¹⁷ Henceforth *MSZh*.

¹¹⁸ See the presentation by François Martin (2010, 914-915). A digitized version of the excerpts from the *Mingseng zhuan* can be found on CBETA, the text is referenced as X77, no. 1523.

The *Gaoseng zhuan* was compiled by Huijiao around the year 530 (Nattier 2010: 30). Henceforth the title will be abbreviated as *GSZh*. For further information on the compilation process of the *GSZh* see Kieschnick (1997, 1-15).

¹²⁰ Henceforth *LDSBJ*. For an introduction, see Nattier (2010: 14-15) and Storch (2014, 41-44).

¹²¹ See Nattier (2008, 9-12).

information about Baoyun's translation activities. All the information on Baoyun provided by Sengyou will be taken into consideration, including mentions of Baoyun in other monks' biographies and in prefaces to translated works. This step is necessary in order to gain a full picture of the translation projects Baoyun was engaged in and of the possible sponsors for these translations.

Baochang's accounts are more hagiographic than biographic in nature – as Martin (2010, 915) pointed out, Baochang was Sengyou's disciple and his work was seen as a sequel to Sengyou's catalogue.

Huijiao's *GSZh* reported, with some alteration, the information present in Sengyou's account. For our case study, the divergences of information in the *ChSZJJ* and in the *GSZh* should be scrutinized carefully.

The catalogue by Fei Zhangfang is generally considered less authoritative as a source of sound historical information. Fei Zhangfang's catalogue is thus less important in reconstructing the life account of Baoyun; however, since the information reported by Fei Zhangfang differs from Sengyou's account,¹²² and given the influence that Fei Zhangfang's work had on later catalogues and on the Taishō edition of the Canon, the *LDSBJ* is still to be considered a valuable source for understanding how the name of Baoyun was gradually overlooked by later compilers of Buddhist catalogues.¹²³

Other historical sources, internal and external to the Chinese Buddhist Canon, will be used to reconstruct the background of Baoyun's life. Thus, this study will attempt to contextualize the references of primary non-Buddhist sources (annals) and secondary sources in order to connect a micro-historical perspective (the life of Baoyun) to a wider historical background.

Later catalogues tend to report the same information provided by older ones.¹²⁴ In some cases, however, they add new details; since these later catalogues were often composed centuries after the actual completion of the translations they categorize, every new detail or historical information provided must be considered *cum grano salis*. In many cases, however, these catalogues provide summaries and collages of earlier lists and biographies, so they can be useful tools in acquiring a more

¹²² The problems that render the *LDSBJ* less trustworthy are discussed in Tan Shibao (1991).

¹²³ For the possible motives of a reevaluation of the *Lidai sanbao ji*, see Storch (2014).

¹²⁴ The list of catalogues taken into account comprises: *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄序 (T2146), compiled by Fajing 法經 in the year 594, which groups texts according to categories (Nattier 2010, 13-14); *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄序 (T2147), compiled by Yancong 彥琮 in 601 (Nattier 2010, 15); *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄序 (T2148), compiled by Jingtai 靜泰 in the year 663 (Nattier 2010, 15); *Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (T2149), compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 in the year 664, largely relying on the *LDSBJ* (Nattier 2010, 15); *Gujin yijing tuji* (T2154), compiled by Jingmai 靖邁 in the years 664-665; *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu* (T2153), compiled by Mingquan 明詮 in the year 695; *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T2154), compiled by Zhisheng 智昇 in the year 730.

complete picture, and that from a different perspective, and in helping us understand which peculiar details of a monk's life were considered noteworthy. An analysis of later catalogues shows that the collaboration of Baoyun was very seldom recognized; this attitude led to the paradoxical result that the only text attributed to Baoyun in the Taishō edition of the Canon is not even his work.

The present study will also provide a list of all the sponsors that were mentioned in catalogues and prefaces of translated works, with a summary of the biographical accounts, so as to provide an historical background of the sponsors and a portrait of the audiences to which Buddhist translations were addressed.

3.2 Life account of Baoyun in the *Chu Sanzang jijī*

In the *ChSZJJ*, Baoyun's biography is presented in the fifteenth *juan*.¹²⁵ Baoyun is the eighth name on a list of ten monks.¹²⁶ This is the earliest complete account of the life of the monk that we can read today. Following a traditional pattern, the first part of the life account provided in the *ChSZJJ* provides information on the geographical origin of the monk Baoyun, and then describes his virtues and moral qualities:¹²⁷

釋寶雲。未詳其氏族，傳云涼州人也。弱年出家，精勤有學，行志韻剛潔不偶於世。故少以直方純素為名而求法懇惻忘身徇[徇]道。誓欲躬覩靈跡廣尋群經。

Śākya¹²⁸ Baoyun. No details on his clan.¹²⁹ Reportedly, he was from Liangzhou. He went forth¹³⁰ in his youth to study and practice diligently. The firmness of [his] aspirations and [his] pure conduct had no comparison in his generation. He was renowned for rectitude and purity since an early age. In order to pursue the *dharma* with sincere feelings he was oblivious of himself in following the Path. He made the vow to curb desires and to visit personally the sacred vestiges and extensively collect sacred texts.

¹²⁵ For the complete account see T55, no. 2145, p. 113a05-b02.

¹²⁶ The list features other monks of Chinese origin: Fazū 法祖 (?-?), Dao'an 道安 (ca. 312-385), Huiyuan 慧遠 (ca. 334-416), Daosheng 道生 (ca. 355-434), Fonian 佛念 (ca. 384-413), Faxian 法顯 (ca. 377-422), Zhiyan 智嚴 (ca. 350-427), Zhimeng 智猛 (ca. 420-479), and Fayong 法勇 (?-?).

¹²⁷ The translation of Senyou's account is mine, although I am much indebted to Shih (1968, 123-125).

¹²⁸ The surname *shi* 釋, standing for Shijia or "Śākya", was introduced as a custom by Dao'an (Zürcher 1959 [2007], 189).

¹²⁹ Zürcher (1959[2007], 7-8) has pointed out that most of the monks in the earlier accounts were of unclear origin, probably orphans.

¹³⁰ On the term *chujia* 出家 as translation of the Sanskrit term *pravrajyā* and other Buddhist terminology related to the ordination of monks, see Bianchi (2012).

Since no family connections are reported in his biography, we may assume that Baoyun was probably of very humble origins or an orphan.¹³¹ Sengyou did not provide a birth date for him; according to the information provided by Huijiao in the *GSZh*, the date should be set in the year 376.¹³²

According to the *Zizhi tongjian* the region of Liangzhou, roughly corresponding to present-day Gansu,¹³³ was an independent regional state under the military control of the Former Liang 前涼 dynasty until the year 376. The Former Liang dynasty derived by a family of military commanders, the Zhang rulers, who passed on their administrative and military titles from father to son or to cadet brother, behaving like a *de facto* royal family since the year 320. Formally, the Zhang military commanders remained faithful to the Eastern Jin dynasty (東晉朝, 317-420) ruling over southern China.¹³⁴

Later the region of Liangzhou came under the control of the Former Qin dynasty (前秦, 350-394) ruled by an elite of the Di 氐 and Qiang 羌 ethnicity.¹³⁵ The Former Qin were not able to control the outskirts of their short-lived empire; after resisting many attempts of the Eastern Jin armies at regaining control over Chang'an, they finally organized an expedition to the south, which ended in a crushing defeat against the army of the Tibetan general Yao Chang 姚萇 (331-394), who seized control of Chang'an and founded the Later Qin dynasty (後秦, 387-417).¹³⁶ In the same period in which the Later Qin occupied Chang'an, the Western Qin 西秦 (385-400 and 409-431) of the Xianbei ethnicity were

¹³¹ See Zürcher (1959[2007], 7) on the lack of information about monks' surnames and their possible family backgrounds.

¹³² The birth date of Baoyun is based on the information on Baoyun's age at his death as provided by the *GSZh* account, according to which Baoyun was seventy-four at his death, in the year 449: 嘉二十六年終於山寺,春秋七十有四 (T50, no. 2059, p. 340a12-13).

¹³³ There are historical accounts that record the sinicization of the region of Liangzhou, a name that appears in historical records as one of the thirteen administrative regions under the control of the emperor Han Wudi 漢武帝 (141-87 BCE). The section 地理志 "Records on Geography" in the *Han shu* 漢書, describes Liangzhou as in the region west of Wuwei 武威, an area under the control of Emperor Wu's armies. It is also stated that the region was scarcely populated after the military campaigns but was rich in cattle and grain. The *Jin shu* 晉書 (7,86,2221) devotes a chapter to the governor and general Zhang Gui 張軌 (255-318) and to his sincere loyalty to the Jin court, which continued after the Xiongnu ruler Liu Cong 劉聰 (r.311-318) had driven the Jin court out of Chang'an. Zhang Gui hosted refugees from the Jin domains – thus probably leading to further sinicization of the Liangzhou area – and provided material aid for the newcomers.

¹³⁴ Historical accounts differ regarding the establishment of the Former Liang dynasty. A brief description of military armies as *de facto* dynasties can be found in Lewis (2011: 76-81).

¹³⁵ The Former Qin capital was in Chang'an, and this barely stable northern empire was eventually able to control the Liangzhou region and the caravan routes passing through it (Zürcher 1959[2007], 112). The power of the Former Qin reached its apex during the reign of Fu Jian 苻堅 (337-385), although he was eventually responsible of the collapse of the dynasty by leading his armies to a great defeat against the Eastern Jin army in 383. This was the battle of the Fei river (*Feishui zhi zhan* 淝水之战).

¹³⁶ The events that led to Yao Xiang's victory are described by Zürcher (1959[2007], 113).

attempting at consolidating their hold on the Liangzhou region.¹³⁷ The control of the Western Qin over the Liangzhou region was challenged by the Northern Liang (北涼, 397-439), a dynasty founded by the Chinese Duan Ye (r.397-401), who established the capital in Guzang.¹³⁸

The whole period was characterized by the forced migration of large numbers of people (Lewis 2011, 77-78). Beside the precarious political and military situation, the Former Qin, the Western Qin and the Northern Liang dynasties were known as supporters of Buddhism.¹³⁹ It was probably in this cultural milieu that Baoyun found the means to further his studies and to begin his “journey to the west”.¹⁴⁰

遂以晉隆安之初，遠適西域，與法顯智嚴先後相隨涉。履流沙登踰雪嶺，勤苦艱危不以為難。遂歷于闐天竺諸國，備觀靈異乃經羅刹之野。聞天鼓之音；釋迦影跡多所瞻禮。雲在外域遍學胡書天竺諸國音字詰訓悉皆貫練。

Subsequently, at the beginning of the Long'an era of the Jin empire he started on the long journey for the Western Regions,¹⁴¹ in the same period of Faxian and Zhiyan.¹⁴² He crossed drifting sands and climbed snow-clad peaks. He did not consider it difficult to face fatigue and perils. So, he traversed the Khotan and the countries of India, where he saw many prodigies and encountered the fierceness of the *rākṣas*. He heard the sound of the drums of the sky; he paid homage to the shadow mark of Śākyamuni.¹⁴³ In the Western Regions, Yun thoroughly studied the foreign texts. He was trained in all the swords and writings of the countries of India.

¹³⁷ On the Xianbei see Holcombe (2013).

¹³⁸ See Chen (2004, 215) and Drège (2013, 3n14).

¹³⁹ On the Former Qing attitude toward Buddhism see Zürcher (1959[2007], 188). The Western Qin attitude toward Buddhist religion is known from archeological evidence, mostly relating to the *Bingling si* 炳灵寺 rupestrian temple in Gansu (Du 2000, 218-222) and to the numerous references to the hospitality provided by monks travelling through the region (Du 2000, 225). The main strength of the Western Qin dynasty was, in fact, the control over the commercial and transit routes to Central Asia (Du 2000, 224).

¹⁴⁰ Although this information is not present in Sengyou's account, in the catalogue by Baochang we read that Baoyun spent several years at Lushan 廬山, in southern China, before leaving to the western regions. In the *MSZh* we read: 河北人也。志局簡正。師友稱之。太元十四年。入廬山。時年十八矣。值造波若臺。(X77, no. 1523, p. 358c7-8.) ([Baoyun was] from north of the river. As his teachers and close ones said, he was keen and tolerant. In the fourteenth year of the Taiyuan era, [389], he arrived at Lushan. In the eighteenth year [393], he was on duty at the construction of the Prajñā Hall...). If we consider Baochang's account reliable, then Baoyun may have travelled to southern China and reached Lushan before leaving on his journey to India. No other source confirms this information. According to Baochang's account, Baoyun decided to leave for India to atone for accidentally killing a calf during construction work on Mount Lu in which he was involved as laborer: 時年十八矣，值造波若臺，通債少僧貞石築土。雲投一石。石相擊。誤中一犢子死。慙恨惆悵，彌歷年所。隆安元年乃辭入西域。誓欲眼都神跡 (X77, no. 1523, p. 358c8-10).

¹⁴¹ For a general introduction to the cultural, social, and political context of the Western Regions or 西域 see Hung (2005, 43-64).

¹⁴² An account of the travels of Chinese monks to India is provided by Tang Yongtong (1938 [2015], 259-270). Although dated, this account has the advantage of cross-listing different sources.

¹⁴³ A peculiar relic, for which see Zürcher (1959[2007], 224).

The Long'an era of the Jin dynasty runs from 397 to 401, under the reign of Emperor Sima Dezong, also known as Emperor An of the Eastern Jin.¹⁴⁴ Apparently, Baoyun started his journey in the year 397 or at the beginning of 398. The date provided by Sengyou coincides with the information from the pilgrim Faxian 法顯 (314-418) in the account of his travels,¹⁴⁵ according to which Faxian met Baoyun in Zhangye 張掖,¹⁴⁶ where they were welcomed by the king Duan Ye of the Northern Liang, who, as we saw, reigned from 397 to 401.¹⁴⁷ The monks spent the summer together before moving on to Dunhuang.¹⁴⁸

After the summer, Faxian and his group started first, and eventually they joined again with Baoyun some time later, in the Agni kingdom; then they moved to Puruṣapura, in Gandhāra, where there was a monastery preserving the Buddha's alms bowl. Glass (2010, 189-193) provides a summary of Baoyun's journey according to Faxian's account.

As Bianchi (2013, 99) points out, the information provided by Faxian is in contrast with what is stated in Baoyun's biography in the *GSZh* and, as we saw, the same is true for the *ChSZJJ*. In the catalogues, the monk Baoyun is said to have remained in India for a longer time, in order to study. According to Faxian's account, Baoyun and the monk Sengjing apparently had no interest proceeding with the journey and made their way back instead.¹⁴⁹ Unfortunately, we do not have any full account of Baoyun's journey – apparently it has not been preserved.¹⁵⁰ Baochang's account tells us about a miracle witnessed by Baoyun during his stay in the country of Darada.¹⁵¹

We cannot infer much about the final stages of Baoyun's journey in the western regions, but from Sengyou's presentation we understand that Baoyun was probably one of the few translators of Chinese ethnicity – if not the only one – who had been “head of a translation team”.¹⁵² His knowledge of Sanskrit and his skills as translator were attested in the account provided by Sengyou and, as we shall see, by references to Baoyun acting as interpreter for Buddhābhaddra.

¹⁴⁴ Liangzhou's suzerains kept counting the years according to the Jin dynasty calendar although the Jin apparently had no political control over the Liangzhou region.

¹⁴⁵ A complete account of all the stops on Baoyun's journey according to Faxian's travelogue can be found in Bianchi (2012).

¹⁴⁶ As reported in Du et al. (2009, 79) in Zhangye Faxian met Zhiyan, Huijian, Sengshao, Baoyun, and Sengjing.

¹⁴⁷ See Drège (2013, 3n14).

¹⁴⁸ See Bianchi (2013, 65).

¹⁴⁹ See Bianchi (2013, 66-71).

¹⁵⁰ A possible title of this travelogue is mentioned at the end of the biographical note in the *GSZh*.

¹⁵¹ Apparently, Baoyun venerated a golden statue of Maitreya for fifty days. At the end of this period, one night all the candles lit at the same time, shining as in daylight: 於陀歷國見金薄彌勒成佛像，整高八丈。雲於像下算誠啟。懺五十日夜見神光照燭皎然如曙。觀者盈路彼諸宿德沙門並云靈輝數見 (X77, no. 1523, p. 358c12-14).

¹⁵² See also Chen (2005, 652n175).

Lu Yang (2004, 40) suggests a correlation between Baoyun's pilgrimage and his becoming a disciple of Buddhabhadra, who is said to have fostered a very staunch lineage of meditation practitioners. In the biography of Zhiyan in the *ChSZJJ* it is clearly stated that the first encounter with the master Buddhabhadra happened during the journey in the Western Regions, and it adds that they travelled "back to the East" together. It is not clear if Baoyun was with them or joined them once he was back in Chang'an.¹⁵³

後還長安。隨禪師佛馱跋陀，受業修道禪諷[門]。孜孜不怠俄而禪師橫為秦僧所擯徒，眾悉同其咎。雲亦奔散。

Then he returned to Chang'an. He followed the Chan master Buddhabhadra, received instruction and practiced with dedication the techniques of meditation. Very soon the Chan master was unexpectedly excluded by the Qin Samgha. Many followers all got the same punishment. Yun fled away as well.

Baoyun returned to Chang'an at the beginning of the fifth century; the Jin dynasty had already lost its control over Chang'an several decades previously, the city having subsequently become the capital of the Former Qin 前秦 (351-394) and then of the Later Qin 后秦 (384-417) kingdoms.¹⁵⁴ The monk-translator Kumārajīva arrived at the court of the emperor Yao Xing (394 - 416) in the year 401. Lu Yang (2004, 38) explains how the escape of Buddhabhadra and his disciples was in fact due to a religious contrast with Kumārajīva.

會廬山，釋慧遠解其擯事。共歸京師[揚州]安止道場寺。僧眾以雲志力堅猛弘道絕域。莫不披衿諮問敬而愛焉。

They gathered on Mount Lu, where Master Huiyuan found a solution for the incident that caused their expulsion. Together they returned to the capital and settled in the Daochang temple. The *Samgha* praised Yun's strong resolution to spread the [Buddhist] path in remote regions. There was no one who would not approach his robe without asking for guidance, respecting and loving him.

Huiyuan, head of the Mount Lu sect of Buddhism in the south, had probably experienced doctrinal contrasts with Kumārajīva in the past (Lu 2004, 40).¹⁵⁵ Shih (1968, 96n11) explains that

¹⁵³ 遂周流西域進到罽賓遇禪師佛馱跋陀，志欲傳法中國。乃竭誠要請跋陀嘉其懇至，遂共東行。(T55, no. 2145, pp. 0112c02-06). See also Zürcher (1959[2007], 226). Glass (2008[2010], 192) supports the idea that Baoyun and Buddhabhadra met in Chang'an, thus implying that Baoyun did not return from India with Zhiyan and Buddhabhadra.

¹⁵⁴ The Former Qin kingdoms where the result of the insufficient political and military control exercised by the Eastern Jin dynasty on its borders, where families of probable Tibetan origin founded their own dynasty. In 384 the Former Qin collapsed in a battle against the Eastern Jin army, and from its remnants the Later Qin dynasty was founded (Zürcher 1959[2007]: 111). The Later Qin empire, dominated by a Tibetan elite, was located between the Northern Wei empire, with its capital in Pingcheng (modern Datong), and the Eastern Jin empire, which had moved to the south with a consistent migration of population. The Later Qin were famous supporters of Buddhism.

¹⁵⁵ Although Sengyou and Huijiao did not openly mention such a controversy nor the cause of Buddhabhadra's dismissal, Lu (2004, 39-40) saw in the warm welcome by Huiyuan a proof that the relationship between Kumārajīva and Huiyuan was not in good terms. Huiyuan was an important figure in Southern China; he died in the year 417.

Buddhabhadra produced the *Damoduoluo chan jing* 達摩多羅禪經 or *Dharmatrāta dhyana sūtra* (T618) on Mount Lu. The capital where the monks headed afterwards was probably Yangzhou, in the last years of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420).

Baoyun was travelling with his master Buddhabhadra and the monk Huiguan was also part of the same group of monks. The biography of Buddhabhadra in the *ChSZJJ* and the biography of Huiguan in the *GSZh* propose different accounts of how the monks got acquainted with general Liu Yu 劉裕 (363-422), the future emperor Wu 武帝 of the Liu Song dynasty (劉宋, 420-479). Both biographies agree, however, that the monks met the future emperor while he was returning from an expedition; the monks were escorted to the capital by Liu Yu's retinue and lodged at the Daochang temple.¹⁵⁶ In the year 417 Buddhabhadra was invited to translate the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.¹⁵⁷ From 418 to 420, following his successful military campaigns, general Liu Yu returned to the capital and founded the Liu Song dynasty (420-479). Thus, Buddhabhadra, Baoyun, and Huiguan witnessed the transfer of political power and the foundation of the new dynasty.

Although the emperor Liu Yu was not a fervid supporter of Buddhism, there is proof of his good relationships with the clergy (Zürcher 1959[2007], 158).¹⁵⁸ Liu Yu's reign only lasted two years, from 420 to 422. The throne of the Liu Song dynasty was then shortly occupied by Emperor Liu Yifu 劉義符 (r. 422-424) before Emperor Wen (r. 424-453) stabilized power in his own hands.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ For the biography of Buddhabhadra, see Shih (1968, 96-97). The Indian master Buddhabhadra had sent Huiguan to Yuan Bao (?-413) begging for food (T55, no. 2145, p. 104a07-08). Acting as provincial general in Jingzhou, apparently Yuan Bao was the first political acquaintance in the South for Buddhabhadra's party. After a subtle accusation of acting miserly, Yuan Bao asked his servants to give more rice to the monks, but the rice was over. Ashamed for what happened, Yuan Bao asked Huiguan about Buddhabhadra and was told that he was a master of great virtue. Then Yuan Bao introduced the monks to Liu Yu, at the time acting as imperial minister (*taiwei* 太尉) for the emperor An of the Jin, a position he held from 411 to 418. When Liu Yu returned to the capital, he brought Buddhabhadra and his disciple with him, establishing them at the Daochang temple; in the year 420 Liu Yu became the emperor of the Liu Song dynasty. We find references to Yuan Bao in the *Jin Shu* (7,83,2171), in the *Song Shu* (5,52,1498) and in the *Nan Shi* (3,26, 698). As the *Jin Shu* reports that Yuan Bao died in 413, we may choose this date for the transfer of Buddhabhadra, Baoyun and Huiguan to the Daochang temple. The biography of Huiguan reports that Liu Yu (anachronistically referred to as emperor Wu) while returning from an expedition against Sima Xiushi (ca. 412) met Huiguan; the monk was then escorted to the capital by the Commander of the Western Guard, the future emperor Wen; see “宋武南伐休之至江陵與觀相遇，傾心待接依然若舊。因勅與西中郎遊。即文帝也俄而還京止道場寺。” (T50, no. 2059, p. 368b17-19).

¹⁵⁷ In the year 418 Buddhabhadra was invited by Meng Yi 孟顗 and Chu Shudu 褚叔度 (384-436) to translate a copy of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (T278) brought back from Khotan by the monk Zhi Faling (T09, no. 278, p. 788b3-9). Although Baoyun is not mentioned as directly taking part in this translation, in at least one source there is a reference to a multitude of monks participating in the project. Since Baoyun was among the followers of Buddhabhadra, we think it probable that he was with his master in Yangzhou when the translation was begun (418).

¹⁵⁸ On the social changes and shift in political power in the Southern Dynasties, see Lewis (2009, 69-71).

¹⁵⁹ After Emperor Wen's death, there was a conflict between the two brothers Liu Shao (who killed his father, Emperor Wen) and Liu Jun (r. 453-464) who finally ascended to power. On the conflict between the two brothers and their inclination to make use of black magic, see Lin (2016, 86-89).

The Daochang temple where the monks finally settled down was established by Xie Shi 謝石 (327-388), Vice Director of the Imperial Library.¹⁶⁰ Faxian had returned from India by sea, landing in China in 412 and arriving in Jiankang after 415;¹⁶¹ he brought several manuscripts from India. It seems that the fame of Baoyun's and Faxian's journeys was quite widespread at the court of the Liu Song, so that younger disciples wanted to follow their example.¹⁶²

As we will see, since Buddhahadra, Baoyun and Faxian's arrival, the temple became a major center for the translation of Buddhist texts.

雲譯出新無量壽。晚出諸經，多雲所譯。常手執胡[梵]本，口宣晉語。華戎[梵]兼通，音訓允正。雲之所定眾咸信服

Baoyun translated a new *Sukhāvāṭivyaūha*. [Among] the *sūtras* issued in later years, many were translated and given definitive form by Yun. He often acted as the Holder of the original text and translated it orally in the language of the Jin.¹⁶³ Well versed in interpreting Chinese and foreign languages he was appropriate in pronouncing and explaining. Every review made by him was deemed as trustworthy.

The “new” **Sukhavāṭivyaūha* or 新無量壽 is a text that has been translated on many occasions; the version translated by Baoyun and Buddhahadra is listed in the *ChSZJJ* as being made up of two *juan*.¹⁶⁴ The role of “Holder of the original text” or *zhi huben* was explained by Chen (2005, 652), who incidentally points out how, according to Sengyou, the only Chinese monk who was able to “hold a foreign text” was in fact Baoyun.

初關中沙門竺佛念善於宣譯，於符姚二世顯出眾經。江左練梵莫踰於雲。故於晉宋之際弘通法藏。

In earlier times, Zhu Fonian in the Guanzhong plain was good at explaining and translating. Then during the two dynasties of the Fu and the Yao¹⁶⁵ he made manifest the canon of scriptures. South of the river, in the practice of Indic [languages] there was no one who exceeded Baoyun. Thus he propagated the Buddhist scriptures during the period of Jin and of the Liu Song.

¹⁶⁰ See Chennault (1999) who analyzes in detail the controversial historical pattern of the noble families in southern medieval China, and Mather (1990, 216-17). On Xie Shi, in *Jin Shu* (7,79,2088), it is stated that the Vice Director was interested in refurbishing the schools in the countryside – a request that was accepted by the emperor Xiaowu (362-396).

¹⁶¹ See Liu Yuan-ju (2016, 10).

¹⁶² The *ChSZJJ* reports how the monk Fayong, living at the Liu Song court, was inspired by Faxian's and Baoyun's examples to make a trip to the west: 為師僧所敬異常聞沙門法顯寶雲諸僧躬踐佛國。慨然有忘身之誓。遂以宋永初之元招集同志沙門僧猛曇朗之徒二十有五人。共齋幡蓋供養之具，發跡此土遠適西。(T55, no. 2145, pp. 113c16-c21). The time frame is Song Yong chu 宋永初 – around the year 421 – when Baoyun had already settled in the capital of the Liu Song (Jiankang). From this record we see that Sengyou described Baoyun's journey to the western regions as a fact well-known among the *samgha* during the Eastern Jin and Liu Song dynasties.

¹⁶³ In a later edition of the canon the expressions *hu* 胡 and *rong* 戎 (used to define the tribes in the Western Regions) were edited as 梵; see also Boucher (2000).

¹⁶⁴ As Shih (1968, 124) points out, in later catalogues two translations of the *Xin wuliangshou jing* are listed as the work of Buddhahadra and Baoyun, respectively, albeit in the same year and monastery.

¹⁶⁵ Du et al. (2009, 81) explains that 符姚二世, “the two eras of the Fu and the Yao”, is a reference to the Dynasties of the Former Qin 前秦 (351-394) and Later Qin 后秦 (384-417).

From Sengyou's account it seems that Baoyun's specific role in the monastic community was that of translator. Zhu Fonian, like Baoyun, was a monk from the Liangzhou region, although he mainly worked in Chang'an.¹⁶⁶ The fact that he and Baoyun were from the same region might be the reason for Sengyou mentioning Zhu Fonian here. A point Sengyou was probably trying to make is that another monk of Chinese origins had been a translator in the past – the proficiency of Baoyun as translator was to be understood as having antecedents and being part of a confirmed tradition.¹⁶⁷

沙門慧觀等咸友而善之。雲性好幽居以保閑寂。遂適六合山寺譯出佛所行讚經。山多荒民俗好草竊。雲說法教誘多有改惡禮事。供養十室而九。

The śramana Huiguan and others befriended and admired him. Baoyun's nature was inclined to a secluded life and to cherish silent enclosures. Thus, he dwelled in the Liuhe mountain temple,¹⁶⁸ where he completed the translation of the *Buddhacarita*. On the mountain, many uncivilized folks were intent at banditry. Baoyun preached [to them] the *dharma* and under the lead of his teaching many abandoned evil.¹⁶⁹ Most of the donors venerated him.¹⁷⁰

Chen (2014, 176n15) suggests that Baoyun might have moved to the *Liuhe shan* temple after the death of Buddhahadra, and, as we shall see, the ensuing departure of Zhiyan to India.

The reference to bandits may be more important than it seems. Sengyou is showing us that Baoyun was able to attract attention from donors (possibly aristocratic donors) and at the same time mediate with borderline groups of society. These groups or bandits were able to acquire an important political role as rebellious armies,¹⁷¹ and thus the role of Baoyun as “missionary” among them is not to be underestimated.

The association of Huiguan 慧觀 with Baoyun is very relevant; Huiguan seemed aware of the importance of political connections and of the gratification of sponsors and donors. It is thanks to him that Baoyun was mentioned in two prefaces, thus leaving us some traces of his translation activities.

¹⁶⁶ Additionally, both Zhu Fonian and Baoyun helped with the translation of a version of the *Dīrghāgama*: the former (T55, no. 2145, pp. 63b19-63c20) collaborated with Buddhayaśas, while Baoyun worked with Guṇabhadra.

¹⁶⁷ According to Storch (2014, 72-74) the nature of Sengyou's catalogue was apologetic; the compilation was meant to consolidate the historical foundations of Chinese Buddhism.

¹⁶⁸ Wang Hong 王宏 (2007) discusses the probable location of the Liuheshan temple, and the origin of its name.

¹⁶⁹ The social and political situation in which Baoyun was working as translator probably influenced the translation (or the editing) of the *Buddhacarita*/*Fo suoxing zan*. References to the security and prosperity of the kingdom of Śuddhodhana (described as the ideal king) were abridged – probably the author felt that the implicit comparison with the social and political situation in the kingdom of the Liu Song could be embarrassing.

¹⁷⁰ The translation of the corresponding passage in the GSZh by Shih (1968, 125) has “Les dix-huitièmes des foyers le couvrents d'hommages”- according to the Song ed., it is “nineteen households” instead of “eighteen”; I am taking the expression 十室而九 as generically meaning “plenty”, “the most part”.

¹⁷¹ For reference, see Huang, Harrison Tse-Chang (2010, 54-55).

On at least two different occasions, Huiguan invited Baoyun to move to another temple for the purpose of pursuing translation work with foreign monks, the first time with the monk Saṃghavarman, the second time with the monk Guṇabhadra. Comparing other references from the ChSZJJ, we see that in the years 434-435 Baoyun was collaborating with Saṃghavarman (Sengjiabamo 僧伽跋摩) at the Changgan temple (長干寺);¹⁷² from the biography of Saṃghavarman we understand that Huiguan, noticing the skills of the foreign monk in explaining the Abhidharma, promoted the work of translation of the *Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya*.¹⁷³

From a preface reported by Sengyou we know that upon Huiguan's invitation and thanks to the support by a minister, in the 13th year of the Yuanjia era (436), Baoyun was working as translator for the *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 with Guṇabhadra (Chen 2005, 654).¹⁷⁴ If Huiguan felt the need to invite Baoyun to the Indian masters, it may mean that the presence of Baoyun was necessary for the translations to take place. There was probably almost no other person with the ability of translating Indic languages. Moreover, if we accept the argument in Glass (2008 [2010]), according to which some titles translated by Baoyun in his later years were included in the list of manuscripts that Faxian had brought back from India, we may infer that Baoyun was the keeper of Faxian's manuscript collection.

頃之道場，慧觀臨卒，請雲還都總理寺任。雲不得已而還。居歲餘復還六合。以元嘉二十六年卒春秋七十餘。其所造外國別有記傳徵士豫章。雷次宗為其傳序。

Shortly afterwards, at the Daochang temple, when Huiguan was close to death, he invited Baoyun back to the capital to be in charge as head of the temple. Baoyun could not refuse to go back. He lived there for more than one year, then went back to Liuhe. He died in the 26th year of the Yuanjia era [449]. He was over seventy years old. Of his trip to the foreign countries there is a separate record. The hermit Lei Cizong of Yuzhang composed a preface for his account.

According to Sengyou, Baoyun went to the Daochang temple (*Daochang si* 道場寺) when Huiguan was close to death; from the biography of Huiguan we know that he died around the middle of the Yuanjia era, lasting from 424 to 453, which partly confirms that Baoyun was in fact at the Daochang

¹⁷² Sengyou stated that Saṃghavarman and Baoyun had been working on a translation since the year Saṃghavarman arrived in the capital (即以其年九月。乃於長干寺招集學士更請出焉寶雲譯語。觀公筆受, [T55, no. 2145, pp. 104c22-23]); the year of the translation is reported in the list of titles attributed to Saṃghavarman: 雜阿毘曇[論]心十四卷(宋元嘉十年於長干寺出寶雲傳譯其年九月訖 [T55, no. 2145, p. 012b20).

¹⁷³ 「慧觀等。以跋摩妙解雜心諷誦通達。」(T55, no. 2145, pp. 104c21-22)

¹⁷⁴ T55, no. 2145, p. 67a14-b9.

temple around the year 437. In the years 443-444 the monk Guṇabhadra followed a new patron, Liu Yixuan 劉義宣, to Jingzhou, thus interrupting his collaboration with Baoyun.¹⁷⁵

Unfortunately, we do not have any account of Baoyun's journey to the Western Regions. All the works by the lay hermit Lei Cizong 雷次宗 are lost as well, with the exception of scattered quotes preserved in other texts.¹⁷⁶

3.3 References to Baoyun's translations in the *Chu sanzang jiji*

In the life account of Baoyun, Sengyou praised the monk's ability to understand foreign languages, and to translate and edit foreign texts. When it comes to the list of the works translated by Baoyun, however, it contains only two titles under his authorship, for a total of seven *juan*.

新無量壽經二卷(宋永初二年於道場寺出一錄云於六合山寺出)

佛所行讚五卷(一名馬鳴菩薩讚或云佛本行讚六合山寺出)

右二部.凡七卷.宋孝武皇帝時.沙門釋寶雲.於六合山寺譯出¹⁷⁷

New *Sukhāvātīvyūha sūtra*, two *juan* (second year of the Yongchu era, Song Dynasty, translation started at the Daochang temple, on different records started at the Liuhe Mountain temple).

Buddhacarita, five *juan* (also said Aśvaghōṣa's eulogy or Praise of the life of the Buddha, started at Liuhe Shan temple).

The two preceding titles, for a total of seven *juan*, were translated during the reign of Emperor Xiaowu, dynasty of [Liu] Song, by the Sramana Baoyun. Completed at the Liuheshan temple.

Apart from the contrast between the praise of Baoyun's translation skills and the very brief list of texts attributed to him, another discrepancy lies in the date of completion of his translations. According to the list of works attributed to him, the translations were both completed under the reign of the emperor Xiaowu 孝武 (whose family name was Liu Jun 劉駿); he reigned from the year 453 to the year 464, when Baoyun's death had already occurred. In fact, the biographical accounts in both the *ChSZJJ* and *GSZh* state that Baoyun died in the year 449, during the reign of Emperor Wen 文 (424-

¹⁷⁵ See the biography of Guṇabhadra in Shih (1968, 150-151). As (Glass 2008[2010], 187) showed, the collaboration between Baoyun and Guṇabhadra probably ended in the year 443. The biography of Liu Yixuan is in *Song Shu* 6,68,1978 and in *Nan Shi* 2,13,374; in the *Song Shu* Liu Yixuan is said to have taken office as governor of Jingzhou in the year 21 of the *Yuanjia* era, corresponding to 444 CE.

¹⁷⁶ A biography of the hermit is preserved at *Song Shu* 8,93,2292. Reference to Lei Cizong's relationship with Huiyuan is provided by Zürcher (2007[1959], 217-218 and 252-253). A study of the influence of Lei Cizong's lost periegesis "Record of Yuzhang county" is provided by Bao Yuanhang (2014); an interpretation of his brief life account in light of the state of education in the Liu Song Dynasty is provided by Lu Kaiwan (1994).

¹⁷⁷ T55, no. 2145, p. 12a24-27.

453), four years before the emperor's death.¹⁷⁸ Sengyou might be referring to Liu Yu 劉裕, who reigned between 420 and 422, and whose posthumous name was Emperor Wu 武. According to this interpretation, the term *xiao* 孝 is an honorific title and not part of the proper name. In this case, we might acknowledge that Sengyou is reporting only early translations made by Baoyun (in the years 420-422), without mentioning any other work supposedly translated in his later years.¹⁷⁹

Most of the other references to Baoyun in the *ChSZJJ* are cursorily mentioned by Chen (2005) in a study focused on the dating of the translations listed in Sengyou's catalogue. These quotes about Baoyun can be collected in a list to outline the evolution of the monk's translation work, according to the information provided in the *ChSZJJ*:

- 1) In the years 417-418, Baoyun was the main translator of the *Da banniehuan jing* 大般泥洹經 in six *juan* or *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra*, with his master Buddhahadra acting as "holder of the text"; the translation was carried out at the Daochang temple (Chen 2005, 628) – this information is in an afterword collected by Sengyou.¹⁸⁰
- 2) He translated the *Xin wuliangshou jing* 新無量壽經 or *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra* with Buddhahadra (Chen 2005, 659) in the years 420-421 (宋永初二年) – the text is listed under the translations by Buddhahadra as well as in Baoyun's biographical account: this double authorship attribution may be due to a cooperation of the two monks in the same translation (Chen 2005, 659 n204);
- 3) He translated three texts with Zhiyan in the years 427-428 (Chen 2005, 659), the *Puyao jing* 普耀經 (although the date is not corroborated by any translation document),¹⁸¹ the *Guangbo yanjing jing* 廣博嚴淨經, and the *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經.¹⁸²
- 4) In the years 434-435, Baoyun was the translator of the *Za Apitanxin* 雜阿毘曇心 **Samyuktābhīdharmaṛdhaya* in 14 *juan*, (Chen 2005, 617); the translation was completed in the ninth month of the year 435.¹⁸³ Baoyun's role as main translator for this *sūtra* is assessed by the biography of Saṅghavarman (Sengjiabamo 僧伽跋摩), in a preface to the *Za Apitanxin*,

¹⁷⁸ Emperor Wen was allegedly killed by his son Liu Shao 劉劭 (426?-453).

¹⁷⁹ The information about Baoyun's active role in translation in later years was provided by Sengyou himself: 晚出諸經多雲所譯 (T55, no. 2145, p. 113a19-20). The list of translations and the biographical account were probably composed in different periods, hence the discrepancy between the two accounts. Palumbo (2003, 197n87) however, supports that the biographical section in the *ChSZJJ* is the earliest portion of the catalogue.

¹⁸⁰ T55, no. 2145, p. 060b02-11

¹⁸¹ It is particularly unfortunate, however, that the *Puyao jing* 普耀經, translated by Zhiyan and Baoyun, does not seem to be extant in the current editions of the Buddhist Canon. The relationship of this text with the almost homonymous T186 translated by Dharmarakṣa has yet to be investigated. The *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經 T193 attributed to Baoyun, although similar in content, seems to be a much later text – no *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經 in seven *juan* was ever mentioned by Sengyou, thus showing that the translation might have taken place after the compilation of the *ChSZJJ*.

¹⁸² From Zhiyan's list of translations “普耀經六卷四天王經一卷廣博嚴淨經四卷(或云廣嚴淨不退輪轉經)右三部。十一卷。宋文帝時。沙門釋智嚴。以元嘉四年。共沙門寶雲譯出。” (T55, no. 2145, pp. 012c05-09). From Zhiyan's biography “乃共沙門寶雲譯出普耀廣博嚴淨及四天王凡三部經” (T55, no. 2145, p. 112c19-20). See also Chen (2005, 659n207).

¹⁸³ This information is present in the list of works by Saṅghavarman, “雜阿毘曇心十四卷(宋元嘉十年於長干寺出寶雲傳譯其年九月訖)” (T55, no. 2145, p. 012b20).

and is restated in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (Chen 2005, 618).¹⁸⁴ A study dedicated to this text is in Dessein (1999).¹⁸⁵ As Glass (2010, 197) showed, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the **Saṃyuktābhidharmaṛdhaya* and the **Saṃyuktāgama* were all mentioned in the list of manuscripts that Faxian had brought back from India; it is thus likely that Baoyun acted both as translator and tenant of the library of manuscripts left by Faxian, who died in the year 422.

- 5) Baoyun acted as translator for different texts now attributed to Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅; in a preface, Huiguan noted that Guṇabhadra and Baoyun translated the *Śrīmālāsūtra* or *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經, accepting an invitation by the Minister of Education, in the 13th year of the Yuanjia era, corresponding to the year 436.¹⁸⁶ In fact, in the biography of Guṇabhadra, Baoyun is also mentioned as interpreter among an assembly of seven hundreds monks attending Guṇabhadra while translating the **Saṃyuktāgama* or *Za'ahan jing* 雜阿含經 and the *Fagu jing* 法鼓經.¹⁸⁷ From the information collected by Sengyou in his catalogue, we know that the translation of the *Saṃyuktāgama* and of the *Lankāvatārasūtra* ended in the year 443;¹⁸⁸
- 6) Baoyun himself acts as “holder of the text” several times (Chen 2005, 650), being the only Chinese monk able to do so (Chen 2005, 651).

3.4 Life of Baoyun in Huijiao's *Gaoseng Zhuan*

The *GSZh* biographical accounts are divided in ten different sections related to the monks' different roles and specializations (Kieschnick 1997, 8-9). The life account of Baoyun is listed among monk-translators (譯經). There are three lists of monk-translators in the *GSZh* – marked as *shang* 上, *zhong* 中, and *xia* 下;¹⁸⁹ Baoyun's name is in the *xia* section, as the sixth in a list of thirteen monks.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁴ In the biography of Saṅghavarman it is also stated: “四眾殷盛傾于京邑。頃之名德大僧慧觀等。以跋摩妙解雜心諷誦通達。即以其年九月。乃於長干寺招集學士寶雲譯語。觀公筆受”(T55, no. 2145, pp. 104c20-23). The reference to Baoyun as translator is in the *GSZh* “四眾殷盛傾于京邑。慧觀等以跋摩妙解雜心諷誦通利。先三藏雖譯未及繕寫。即以其年九月。於長干寺招集學士。更請出焉。寶雲譯語。觀自筆受”(T55, no. 2059, pp. 342b27-c02)

¹⁸⁵ The authorship of Baoyun is treated at Dessein (1999, 1: lxxviii-lxxix).

¹⁸⁶ “請外國沙門求那跋陀羅。手執正本口宣梵音。山居苦節通悟息心。釋寶雲譯為宋語。德行諸僧慧嚴等一百餘人。考音詳義以定厥文。大宋元嘉十三年歲次玄枵八月十四日。初轉梵輪。訖于月終。”(T55, no. 2145, pp. 067b02-07) and Chen (2005, 654).

¹⁸⁷ On the translation of the **Saṃyuktāgama* see the study by Glass (2008[2010]). From the biography of Guṇabhadra “譯出雜阿含經。東安寺出法鼓經。後於丹陽郡譯出勝鬘楞伽經。徒眾七百餘人。寶雲傳譯。慧觀執筆。”(T55, no. 2145, pp. 105c13-15).

¹⁸⁸ A date proposed by the later catalogue *Gujin yijing tuji*: “至宋元嘉二十年歲次癸未,於楊都瓦官寺譯”(T55, no. 2151, p. 362b5-6). See also Shih (1968, 150-151) and Glass (2008[2010], 187).

¹⁸⁹ The *shang* 上 section and the *zhong* 中 section lists famous monks of Indian and Central Asian origin, among whom are Kumārajīva, Buddhābhadra, and Dharmakṣema.

¹⁹⁰ The other monks in the list are Faxian 釋法顯, Tanwujie 釋曇無竭 (also named Fayong), Fotuoshi 佛馱什 (Buddhajīva), Fuduobamo 浮陀跋摩 (Buddhavarman), Zhiyan 釋智嚴, Qiunabamo 求那跋摩 (Gunavarman), Sengjibamo 僧伽跋摩 (Samgavarman), Tanmomiduo 曇摩密多 (Dharmamitra), Zhi Meng 釋智猛, Jiangliangyeshe 量良耶舍 (Kalayasas), Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅 (Guṇabhadra), Qiunabidi 求那毘地 (Guṇavridhi).

The differences between the accounts provided in the *ChSZJJ* and in the *GSZh* are in most cases minimal, consisting in mere substitutions of some terms with synonyms.¹⁹¹ The most important difference, however, lies in the praising of his accomplishments as translator. In fact, as reported above, in the *ChSZJJ* we have the following statement:

晚出諸經.多雲所譯.常手執胡本口宣晉語.華戎兼通音訓允正.

Among *sūtras* that were translated in later times, many were translated by Baoyun. He often acted as the Holder of the original text and translated it orally in the language of the Jin. Well versed in Chinese and in foreign languages, he was appropriate in the exegesis.

In the corresponding passage in the *GSZh*, we have the following information:

晚出諸經多雲所治定.華戎兼通音訓允正.

Among *sūtras* that were translated in later times, many were edited by Baoyun. Well versed in Chinese and in foreign languages, he was appropriate in the exegesis.

So we see that Baoyun's role in the translation process had changed from actual translation (譯) to proofreading (治定). In an even more evident and striking omission, Huijiao failed to report the important role of Baoyun as "holder of the original text" (常手執胡本) and his role as oral translator of the text from Indic languages to Chinese (口宣晉語). This can hardly be mistaken for minor editing, but it is nevertheless surprising given the general characteristics of the monks' life accounts presented by Huijiao in the *GSZh*: usually the author used the same material provided by Sengyou, but he added more content, such as prodigies and miracles performed by the monks. In the case of Baoyun, however, he preferred to elide rather than add.¹⁹²

One hypothesis about this important omission in the *GSZh* is the evident contradiction present in the *ChSZJJ*: as we have noted above, the statement that Baoyun was a proficient translator is followed by a very short list of only two translations in his name. This might be due to the traditional practice of

¹⁹¹ We have a synonym referring to the young age of the novice in choosing to practice (弱年 vs 少); a rephrasing of his choice to pursue the way (忘身徇道 vs 亡身殉道); a rephrasing of his engagement in Buddhahadra's meditation school (陀受業修道禪諷孜孜不怠 vs 隨禪師佛馱跋陀業禪進道); a reference to his dwelling in Daochang temple (居歲餘復還六合Vs 居道場歲許. 復更還六合); as was mentioned above, we have a precise reference to his age at his death from the account provided by the *GSZh*. Both catalogues acknowledge Baoyun's study of Indian languages and scripts, although in slightly different terms, so while in the *ChSZJJ* we read 天竺諸國音字詁訓悉皆貫練 "he was fluent and studied all the words and writings of the countries of India", in the *GSZh* we have 天竺諸國音字詁訓悉皆備解 "he was trained in interpreting all the words and writings of the countries of India".

¹⁹² The reference to Baoyun translating texts by himself (自) is still reported in a later catalogue, the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*: "雲手執梵本口自宣譯. 華戎兼通音訓允正. 雲之所定眾咸信服" (T55, no. 2154, pp. 525c19-21). It seems that in compiling his catalogue, Zhisheng preferred to rely on Sengyou's biography rather than on Huijiao's.

attributing the authorship of Buddhist translations to foreign monks for the evident prestige their signature would confer to the text, which functioned as a certification of the text's authenticity.¹⁹³ Although we cannot infer much from his name, Baoyun was probably of Chinese origin, and although he was born in a "borderline" and multi-cultural context, this fact might have prevented the association of his name with the works he produced. We should not underestimate the fact that the procedure of translation acquired a ritual and hieratic value,¹⁹⁴ and the source of authority derived from the presence of an Indian or Central Asian monk might thus have been crucial to ensure the translations' doctrinal efficacy. This hypothesis can explain why the translation of the *Buddhacarita* was attributed to Baoyun alone: the *Buddhacarita* is not a doctrinal text *strictu sensu*; it does not provide information about rituals or meditation practices.

It is nevertheless possible that Baoyun along with Huiguan had read or even edited a certain number of texts belonging to Dharmakṣema's corpus, but this would not justify the severe neglect of his translation abilities that is very evident in Huijiao's account.

Another important difference between Huijiao's and Sengyou's accounts is at the end of the biographical notice. In the *GSZh* we have the following statement:

以元嘉二十六年終於山寺春秋七十有四其遊履外國別有記傳

In the 26th year of the Yuanjia era he died at the Mountain Temple [Liuhe shan]. He was seventy-four years old. Of his journey abroad, there is a separate record.

Huijiao provided a precise age for the death of Baoyun. Shih (1968: 123-125) sees 遊履外國 as the title of a travelogue written by Baoyun, which is considered lost. In the case of the *ChSZJJ*, there is mention of the layman Lei Cizong reporting on Baoyun's journey to the west. But in the case of the *GSZh*, this particular reference is missing, which may be due to Huijiao's deliberate choice, one that does not strictly concern Baoyun but rather a controversy about the burial rites involving Lei Cizong, which might have influenced Huijiao's choice.¹⁹⁵

An important difference between the two accounts is that the *ChSZJJ* lists Baoyun as translator of the *Fo suoxing zan jing* 佛所行讚經, while the *GSZh* changes the title to *Fo benxing zan jing* 佛本行贊經. This seems to be one of the starting points of the debate on the authorship of the translation of the *Buddhacarita*; from the explicit quotations in the *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜, it is evident that Sengyou had

¹⁹³ Nattier (2008, 19).

¹⁹⁴ On this topic, see Hureau (2006).

¹⁹⁵ Zürcher (1959[2007], 252-253).

read at least the first chapter of the *Fo suoxing zan* as we can read it today in the Taishō edition (T192).¹⁹⁶

The attitude of Huijiao towards Baoyun is surprising, and it seems that the aim of hiding Baoyun's skills goes even beyond his life account. In the account of the life of the master Buddhahadra, for example, we find an anecdote that seems to show Baoyun's interpreting skills in a bad light. During a debate between Buddhahadra and Kumārajīva in Chang'an, we find Baoyun as interpreter:

答曰.以一微故眾微空. 以眾微故一微空.時寶雲譯出此語不解其意.道俗咸謂賢之所計微塵是常.餘日長安學僧復請更釋

[Buddhabhadra] replied: "As one subtle cause, a multitude of subtle causes is [also] empty. You should take the multiplicity of causes as being empty because the single subtle [causes] are empty". That time Baoyun translated these words, [but] he did not explain the meaning. The assembly of monks and laymen all understood the subtle causes the sage was referring to as permanent. The day after, the Saṃgha in Chang'an asked for a further explanation.¹⁹⁷

The fact that Baoyun was working as interpreter for Buddhahadra is crucial for the sake of this work. From a preliminary analysis, various texts attributed to Buddhahadra show interesting similarities, in language and content, with the translation of the *Buddhacarita* as *Fo suoxing zan* (T192), attributed to Baoyun. In the case of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T278), for example, we know from a postface collected by Sengyou that in the year 418 Buddhahadra was invited by Meng Yi 孟顗¹⁹⁸ and Chu Shudu 褚叔度 (378-424)¹⁹⁹ to translate a version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* brought back from Khotan by the monk Zhi Faling. Buddhahadra translated this text with Faye 法業 acting as scribe, at

¹⁹⁶ A good literary review of the contributions on the authorship of the Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita* can be found in Feng (2015). The *Shijia pu* is an anthology on the life of the Buddha composed by Sengyou. For a general introduction to the *Shijia pu*, see Durt (2008 [2010]).

¹⁹⁷ T55, no. 2059, p. 335a13-16.

¹⁹⁸ The name of Meng Yi recurs fourteen times in the Canon. He is one of the sponsor of the translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* by Buddhahadra, with the official title of provincial governor of Wu (T9, no. 278 pp. 788b03-09). He is mentioned other three times by Sengyou, once as governor of the Kuaiji region and fond believer and supporter of Buddhism. He helped Dharmamitra establish a temple on the mountain in the Mao County (鄞縣), as a move to contrast the old witchcraft practices present in the South-East borderlands. (T55, no. 2145, p. 105a24-28). Meng Yi was also protector of Juqu, Count of Anyang, a relative of the king Juqu Mengxun on the paternal side; Juqu travelled to India before moving to the South and authored several *sūtras*, some where composed to the request of Buddhist nuns (T55, no. 2145, p. 106c08-10). Meng Yi is mentioned in the *Song Shu* (6,66,1737) as governor of Dongyang, of Wu county, of the Kuaiji region and of Danyang. More interesting is the account in *Nan Shi* (2,19,541), where Meng Yi is presented as a devoted Buddhist, in the biography of poet Xie Lingyun, with whom he apparently had some contrast. He is also associated to ministers Liu Muzhi 劉穆之 and Wang Hong 王弘.

¹⁹⁹ Chu Shudu (378-424) is the second sponsor for the translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. He is mentioned as a general in the post face to the translation. He acted as the personal guard of the last emperor of the Jin dynasty, Sima Dewen. He was dispatched to a faraway outpost so that Liu Yu's party could kill the emperor. Reference can be found in *Song Shu* (5,52,1502) and *Nan Shi* (3,28,745).

the Daochang temple.²⁰⁰ Apparently Buddhahadra was reading and translating by himself, with no need of an interpreter, and although it might not be impossible, we should point out that the task was gargantuan, considering that the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is made up of sixty *juan*. Buddhahadra's account presented in the *GSZh* eased this apparent incongruity by not mentioning the fact that Faye was acting as a scribe – Buddhahadra and Faye are said to have worked together – and adding the presence of Huiyuan 慧嚴 and several other people during the translation.²⁰¹ We might suppose that Baoyun was present as well.

The progressive disappearance of Baoyun in the Gaoseng zhuan can be perceived by small details present in other monks' biographies. In the biography of Fayong 法勇 (also known as Tanwujie 曇無竭) we are told that he wanted to go to India after hearing about Faxian and other monks' experiences (嘗聞法顯等躬踐佛國).²⁰² In fact, in Sengyou's account it is reported that Fayong heard about Faxian and Baoyun's travels, and thus he decided to leave (常聞沙門法顯寶雲諸僧躬踐佛國.慨然有亡身之誓).²⁰³

3.5 Differences between the *Lidai Sanbao ji* and the *Chu Sanzang jiji*

The *Lidai Sanbao ji* (T2034)²⁰⁴ is a catalogue compiled by Fei Zhangfang in the year 597. It was written almost a century after the *ChSZJJ* and with a very different attitude: Fei Zhangfang ascribed authors to many anonymous translations, using as references catalogues that seem no longer to be extant (Nattier 2010, 14-15).

The *LDSBJ* is not considered a reliable historical source; it is however necessary to analyze the information provided in this catalogue and compare it to the *ChSZJJ* in order to demonstrate how the role of Baoyun as translator was diminished in Fei Zhangfang's catalogue. There are two major instances in which the *LDSBJ* reduced Baoyun's role: in his biographical note and in a comment related to the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra*. The *LDSBJ* did however attribute to Baoyun many titles that were considered spurious or anonymous by Sengyou.

²⁰⁰ The full text of the notice on the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* can be found at T55, no. 2145, pp. 60c29-61a08). See also Hamar (2009, 147-148).

²⁰¹ 共沙門法業. 慧嚴等百有餘人 (T55, no. 2059, pp. 335c07).

²⁰² (T55, no. 2059, p. 338b28)

²⁰³ (T55, no. 2145, p. 113c16-19).

²⁰⁴ Shortened to *LDSBJ*. For a general introduction, see Storch (2014).

The *LDSBJ* adds a short biographical note for Baoyun, partly summarizing what is told in the *ChSZJJ* and in the *GSZh*:

文帝世，涼州沙門寶雲。少歷西方，善梵書語，天竺諸國字音訓釋悉皆備解。後還長安，復至江左。晚出諸經多雲刊定。華戎兼通言音。允正眾咸信服。初時關中有竺佛念善於宣譯，符姚二代猶擅其名。領會真文最為稱首。其江左翻傳譯梵為宋莫踰於雲。初與智嚴恒共同出。嚴既遷化雲後獨宣，故不多載備。如僧傳所述。

During the reign of Emperor Wen, there was Sramana Baoyun from Liangzhou. He lived in the Western Regions when he was young. He was proficient in Sanskrit and could interpret all the scripts and words of India and explain them. He returned to Chang'an, then moved south of the river. Among the *sūtras* issued in later years, many were redacted and finalized by Yun. He thoroughly interpreted Indian [foreign?] languages and Chinese, [so he] got widespread credit. In earlier times in the Guanzhong plain, Zhu Fonian was an able translator, during the two dynasties of the Fu and the Yao he explained outstanding *sūtras*. He was the best at understanding the correct meaning of texts. Yet south of the river there was no one could surpass Baoyun in translating and interpreting from Sanskrit to the language of the Song. At the beginning, he worked regularly with Zhiyan. When Yan was already gone, Yun continued to read confusedly, so not much was recorded. [Information] thus provided by the [Gao]Sengzhuan.

Although praising Baoyun's knowledge of Sanskrit, in the *LDSBJ* Baoyun is depicted as unable to read a text and to make himself clear without the help of Zhiyan. This remark is quite interesting: it seems that Fei Zhangfang willingly attributed the ability to read the text only to Zhiyan. It is also noticeable that the last sentence (備如僧傳所述) is present only in the Song edition of the Canon.²⁰⁵ This story was reported in later catalogues, but the harsh remarks about Baoyun were softened.²⁰⁶

Why did Fei Zhangfang feel the necessity of adding this remark? Was he trying to diminish Baoyun's role in translation bureaus? Both Zhiyan and Baoyun are of obscure origin, but neither of them is said not to have been ethnic Chinese. In Huijiao's account, the only apparent difference between them is that while Baoyun is said to be from Liangzhou, Zhiyan was from Western Liangzhou.²⁰⁷ The thesis that the attribution of translations to Chinese authors was shunned in favor of foreign monks does therefore not seem sustainable in this case, although Huijiao might have implied that Zhiyan was from some sort of "Western Region".²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ The Taishō reports this note 載十（備如僧傳所述）[宋]，而如字元本明本俱作知字（T49, no. 2034, p. 089c26). Apparently the Song edition added as source a Sengzhuan, possibly the *Gao sengzhuan*. There is in fact no mention about this event in Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan*.

²⁰⁶ See for example T2151 “初與智嚴共同出經。嚴既遷化雲獨宣譯。” (T55, no. 2151, p. 362a14) and T2149 “嚴既遷化。雲後獨宣” (T55, no. 2149, p. 258a27).

²⁰⁷ “釋智嚴。西涼州人” (T55, no. 2059, pp. 0339a29).

²⁰⁸ Both Sengyou's and Huijiao's speak about the difficulties faced by Zhiyan in his final years: having been ordained at the age of twenty, he was also aware of having committed some sin and therefore could not trust the effectiveness of his own ordination. He then travelled back to India in order to inquire with some *arhat* about his status and to receive confirmation thereof. Having been reassured, he travelled back through Jibin, where he suddenly died, at age seventy-

Zhiyan and Baoyun were left alone after Buddhabhadra's death in the year 429; we may suppose they were not in the position of continuing to translate by themselves. They might have been unable to translate some passages in foreign languages or did not have enough authority to justify their work of translation without the presence of an Indian master.²⁰⁹

The biographical note was not the only case in which Fei Zhangfang refused to acknowledge Baoyun's translations skills. The same treatment appears in the case of the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* – on this point the sources presented by Sengyou's and Fei Zhangfang's accounts diverge dramatically. Baoyun is mentioned as working on the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* in an afterword reported in Sengyou's catalogue, the *ChSZJJ*; the whole translation of this afterword can be found in Hodge (2010, 7). Here we should focus on the role attributed to Baoyun in the final passage of the afterword:

六卷泥洹記第十八出經後記[...]義熙十三年十月一日於謝司空石所立道場寺出此方等大般泥洹經至十四年正月二[一]日校定盡訖禪[神]師佛大跋陀手執胡[梵]本寶雲傳譯于時坐有二百五十人。²¹⁰
[*mahāpari*]nirvāṇa[*sūtra*] in six *juan*, recorded as in eighteen chapters: afterword to the *sūtra* translation. [...] In the first day of the tenth month of the thirtieth year of the Yixi era, in the Daochang temple, established by the minister of work, Xie Shi, the Universal Great Nirvana Sūtra was translated. In the second day of the first month of the fourteenth year the amendments and collation [of the text] were completed. The meditation master Buddhabhadra hold the foreign text. Baoyun translated. Two hundred and fifty people were attending.

We should note here that there are two different interpretations of this passage by modern scholars. Liu Yuan-ju (2016) sees in 方等大般泥洹經 a reference to two different texts, the 方等般泥洹經 and the 大般泥洹經, probably resulting in T378 and T376. However, Stephen Hodge (2010: 2) refers to it as a single text, an “Extensive (*vaipulya*) *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*”.

We should note that the *ChSZJJ*'s attitude toward this issue is ambiguous; the catalogue separates the two titles (方等般泥洹經 and 大般泥洹經) and attributes them to Faxian as two different texts.²¹¹

eight. The reason why Zhiyan made the trip back to India is very controversial. Why would he be suddenly troubled by something that had occurred years earlier? An explanation may be that while Zhiyan started out on a trip back to India, probably to seek help from foreign monks, Baoyun retired to *Liuhe shan* temple, probably carrying along with him the work that was already done and all the other manuscripts that were in his custody.

²⁰⁹ Besides the texts attributed to Zhiyan and Baoyun, the *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經, *Guangbo yanjing jing* 廣博嚴淨經 and the *Puyao jing* 普曜經, there are four fascicles (27 to 30) of the *Dafang dengda jijing* 大方等大集經 (T397) that are attributed to Zhiyan and Baoyun.

²¹⁰ T55, no. 2145, pp. 060b02-11; Sengyou also reports 今大般泥洹經. 法顯道人. 遠尋真本. 於天竺得之. 持至揚都. 大集京師義學之僧百有餘人. 師執本. 參而譯之詳而出之. (T55, no. 2145, p. 041c14-17).

²¹¹ 釋法顯出大般泥洹經六卷方等泥洹經二卷(T55, no. 2145, p. 014a06). Sengyou noted that the *Fangdeng bannihuan jing* 方等般泥洹經 was missing; in the Taishō edition of the Canon there is a text listed as *Fangdeng bannihuan jing* 方等般泥洹經, number T376, attributed to Faxian. See also T55, no. 2145, p. 008a10. Sengyou clearly stated that Zhi Qian's version of the *Da bannihuan* 大般泥洹 was similar to Zhu Fahu's version of the *Da bannihuan* 方等泥洹.

In the postscript to this translation, as we have seen, the two titles are apparently related to the same translation.²¹² On the other hand, in his personal account Faxian mentions only one *Mahāparinirvāṇa* text of five thousand *gatha*.²¹³ As Durt (1994, 60) pointed out, in the Taishō there are two different versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* attributed to Faxian, T7 and T376.²¹⁴

This seems to be quite a conundrum, but what is really cogent for the sake of this study is that in the afterword to the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* collected by Sengyou in his *ChSZJJ*, Baoyun – and not Faxian – is clearly stated as the translator of the text(s): Baoyun was the person who was actually able to communicate the Chinese meaning of the foreign text that was read and edited by Buddhahadra (禪師佛大跋陀手執胡本寶雲傳譯). In the *LDSBJ*, however, the attribution is described in very different terms:

大般泥洹經六卷(義熙十三年於謝司空公謝石道場寺出舊錄云覺賢出寶雲筆受是大本前分十卷大眾問品見道祖錄或十卷)

Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra in six *juan*. (translated on the first day of the tenth month of the thirtieth year of the Yixi era, in the Daochang temple, as reported by the Old Catalogues. Buddhahadra translated it. Baoyun noted it down. This is the first portion, ten *juan*, of the larger version.²¹⁵ See Daozu catalogue. Also in ten *juan*.²¹⁶

In the *ChSZJJ*, Baoyun is recorded as oral translator (傳譯), while in the *LDSBJ* Baoyun is recorded as scribe and the attribution of the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* goes officially to Faxian, who brought the text from India. From this point on, the importance of Baoyun's role in the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* gradually faded out.²¹⁷

All these examples testify to a determination to diminish Baoyun's role as translator. This trend started in the *GSZh* and continued in the *LDSBJ*. This seems to be in line with Liu Yuan-ju's (2016, 24) conclusions on Huijiao's construction of a precise hagiography of Faxian in the *GSZh*, as pilgrim and missionary promoting the spread of the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*. In his own account, Faxian declared that his

Then he adds that Dharmakṣema's and Faxian's versions were similar. All the others went missing. 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。(T55, no. 2145, p. 14a08-a10). As we can infer from this second example, Sengyou considered the *Fangdeng nihuan* 方等泥洹 and the version translated by Faxian (法顯泥洹) as two different versions.

²¹² T55, no. 2145, p. 060b02-11. This afterword was reported by Sengyou as well. Elsewhere (T55, no. 2145, p. 012c10-14) Sengyou signals the translation by the monk Zhimeng 智猛. As explained by Chen Jinhua (2004, 230-232), Zhimeng was the assistant of Dharmakṣema in producing this translation.

²¹³ 又得一卷方等般泥洹經可五千偈 (T51, no. 2085, pp. 864b27-28).

²¹⁴ As demonstrated by Radich (2018), T7 shows close similarity with T189, a composite text based on T192, see also Chapter...

²¹⁵ The larger version was the one previously translated by Dharmakṣema (T374) and edited by Huiguan (T375).

²¹⁶ T49, no. 2034, pp. 071b07-08.

²¹⁷ New light on this problem will be probably shed by a yet to be published study by Michael Radich on the authorship of T7.

main concern was the collection of a complete set of the *vinaya* rules, which led him to India.²¹⁸ However, the account of the life of Faxian provided by Huijiao depicted him as very committed to the propagation of the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* – in this re-telling of Faxian’s legacy, there was no point in recording Baoyun’s name as the oral translator of the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*.

As we have seen, both the *GSZh* and the *LDSBJ* eluded to mention Baoyun as translator. In the case of the *LDSBJ*, however, more works are added to the list of translations attributed to him by Sengyou in the *ChSZJJ*,²¹⁹ namely a *Fufa zang jing* 付法藏經 in six *juan*²²⁰ and a *Jingdu sanwei jing* 淨度三昧經 in two *juan*.²²¹ Including the *Fo suoxing zan* and the *Xin Wuliangshou jing*, Baoyun is said to have translated four texts, for a total of fifteen *juan*. Given Fei Zhangfang’s habit of attributing anonymous translations to random authors, the attribution of the translation of the *Fufa zang jing* and the *Jingdu sanwei jing* to Baoyun must be considered dubious.²²² In fact, from Sengyou’s catalogue we understand that a 付法藏因緣經 in six *juan* was translated by Tanyao 曇曜 and a foreign monk named Jijiaye 吉迦夜 or *Kiṅkara; all the translations by these two authors were considered lost by Sengyou.²²³ The 淨度三昧經 in two *juan* was considered anonymous by Sengyou.²²⁴

In the Taishō, the translation of four fascicles of the *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* or *Da fangdeng da ji jing* 大方等大集經 (T397) is attributed to Baoyun and Zhiyan, while the translation of the first twenty-nine fascicles of this collection of texts is attributed by Sengyou to Dharmakṣema.²²⁵ The four chapters (27-30) attributed to Zhiyan and Baoyun correspond to a version of the **Akṣayamatīnirdeśa*, or *Wujingyi pusa* 無盡意菩薩. Sengyou acknowledged that this text belongs to the collection of the

²¹⁸ See Liu Yang-ju (2016, 5).

²¹⁹ On the two translations already attributed to Baoyun by Sengyou, some new information is added – on the translation of the *Buddhacarita* “佛所行讚經五卷(於六合山寺出.見寶唱錄.或云傳馬鳴撰.見別錄唐七十卷); on the translation of the 新無量壽經二卷(於道場寺出.是第七譯.與支謙康僧鎧白延法護羅什法力等出者各不同.見道惠宋齊錄及高僧傳)” (T49, no. 2034, p. 089c15-17).

²²⁰ T49, no. 2034, p. 089c14.

²²¹ T49, no. 2034, p. 089c18.

²²² These attributions will be discussed in paragraph...

²²³ “雜寶藏經十三卷(闕)付法藏因緣經六卷(闕)方便心論二卷(闕)右三部. 凡二十一卷. 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.” (T55, no. 2145, p. 13b6-12)

²²⁴ T55, no. 2145, p. 21c25.

²²⁵ The *Chu sanzang jiji* reports: “方等大集經二十九卷(或云大集經或三十卷或二十四卷)” (T55, no. 2145, p. 011b12). This opens up an area of research on the impact of the “editing” by southern Buddhist authorities on the texts originally translated by Dharmakṣema. The most striking example is the new edition of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, edited by Huiyuan and [?] Huiguan along with the lay poet Xie Lingyun. This information is provided by Huijiao in the *GSZh*: “嚴迺共慧觀謝靈運等. 依泥洹本加之品目. 文有過質頗亦治改. 始有數本流行. 嚴迺夢見一人形狀極偉. 厲聲謂嚴曰. 涅槃尊經何以[7]輕加斟酌. 嚴覺已惕然. 迺更集僧欲收前本.” (T55, no. 2059, p. 368a22-26).

Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra,²²⁶ but the attribution to Zhiyan and Baoyun is nowhere to be found in the *ChSZJJ*. The origin of this dubious attribution in the Taishō may also be found in the *LDSBJ*, that lists the **Akṣayamatīnirdeśa*, or *Wujingyi pusa* 無盡意菩薩 among the translations of Zhiyan and Baoyun.²²⁷

The information reported by the *LDSBJ* is often rather obscure, but we can still point out that, although elsewhere they might have been in contradiction, Sengyou and Fei Zhangfang agree on one point: the *Buddhacarita* as *Fo suoxing zan* was translated by Baoyun.²²⁸

3.6 On Baoyun's legacy

The main purpose of this study was to reconstruct the life account of Baoyun by collecting all the information about the monk-translator in early Buddhist catalogues. The results of this search can be summarized in two important assumptions: Sengyou refers to Baoyun as holder of the text and translators for a relatively high number of translation projects – the titles of these works should be carefully collected and searched for internal evidence so to evidence possible links to a translation style peculiar to Baoyun; by comparing the information provided by sixth-century catalogues and hagiographies, this study evidenced a shifting characterization of Baoyun's figure, with particular reference to the importance of his role as translator.

Although monks worked in teams, it was Baoyun who was responsible for the final meaning in Chinese – we may indeed presume that his translations contain some of his style.²²⁹ But because of the teamwork, the list of texts should also include titles traditionally attributed to Baoyun's main collaborators, Buddhābhadda, Zhiyan, Saṃghavarman, and Guṇābhadda. This list is important for two reasons: 1) the material can be studied to trace linguistic patterns and find internal evidence for Baoyun's authorship of the translations, and it can be used to reconstruct an evolution of Baoyun's translation skills; 2) researching the names of lay sponsors for these translations may help us understand the probable audience for the translation of the *Buddhacarita* – no news on this topic has ever been provided in catalogues.

In the *ChSZJJ*, Baoyun is explicitly mentioned as taking part in the translation of eight texts:

²²⁶ T55, no. 2145, p. 14c19-20.

²²⁷ T49, no. 2034, p. 89b25.

²²⁸ Compare T55, no. 2145, p. 12a25-27 and T49, no. 2034, p. 89c15-19.

²²⁹ This idea is shared by Glass (2010, 193-194) who connected the analogies between Faxian's translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and Guṇābhadda's translation of the **Samyuktāgama* (*Za ahan jing*) to the fact that the actual translator of both was in fact Baoyun.

- 1) *Da ban niehuan jing* 大般泥洹經 in six *juan*,
- 2) *Xin wuliangshou jing* 新無量壽經 in two *juan*,
- 3) *Puyao jing* 普耀經 in six *juan*,
- 4) *Guangbo yanjing jing* 廣博嚴淨 in four *juan*,
- 5) *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經 in one *juan*,
- 6) *Za apitan xin* 雜阿毘曇心 in fourteen *juan*,²³⁰
- 7) the *Shengman lanqie jing* 勝鬘楞伽經, and the
- 8) *Buddhacarita*, or *Fo suoxing zan* 佛所行讚 in five *juan*.

Of these texts, in the modern edition of the Taishō canon we spot a *Da ban niehuan jing* 大般泥洹經 in six *juan* (T376) and a *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (T7), both attributed to Faxian;²³¹ *Xin wuliangshou jing* 新無量壽經 (T360?) in two *juan* attributed to Kang Sengkai;²³² a *Guangbo yanjing jing* 廣博嚴淨經 (T268?), although in six *juan* (the version mentioned in the ChSZJJ is in four *juan*), attributed to Zhiyan alone; the *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經 (T590) in one *juan*, attributed to Zhiyan and Baoyun; the *Za apitan xin* 雜阿毘曇心 (T1552) attributed to Saṃghavarman *et alii*; and a *Lengjia abaduo luo baojing xu* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經序 (T670?), a possible alternative title for the *Shengman lengqia jing* 勝鬘楞伽經, attributed to Guṇabhadra. The *Fosuoqing zan* 佛所行讚 (T192) is attributed to Dharmakṣema. There is no trace of a *Puyao jing* 普耀經 attributed to Zhiyan and Baoyun; the only text with a similar title is attributed to Dharmarakṣa (T186).

Quite paradoxically, the only text now exclusively attributed to Baoyun in the Taishō is a *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經 (T193), a title that was not known to Sengyou and does not correspond to any translation of the *Buddhacarita* as we can read it today: the similar titles of the *Fo suoxing zan* 佛所行讚 and *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經) and the different attributions sparked a heated debate among scholars, stretching across generations.²³³ A text with the title *Fo benxing jing* in five *juan* (not seven *juan*, like T193) was known to Sengyou who, as we have seen, attributed the *Fo suoxing zan* to Baoyun and quoted it in the *Shijia pu*. The *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 composed in 594 by Fajing 法經 is the first catalogue to attribute the authorship of both these texts to Baoyun. The *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋

²³⁰ Although the version presented in the Canon under the authorship of Saṃghavarman is made up of 11 *juan*.

²³¹ The history of the transmission of this text to China is complicated and subject to different interpretations by modern scholars. On this topic see Hodge (2012) and Durt (1994)

²³² Nattier (2008, 158) explains why this attribution to Kang Sengkai is implausible; Nattier (2003) also proposes Baoyun and Buddhābhadda as possible translator of T360. On this attribution see also Gotō (2006) and (2007a).

²³³ As we have seen, the two titles were already confused by Huijiao in the GSZh. Ōminami (2012) explains the differences between T192 and T193 quite clearly, while Feng (2015) collects most of the contributions to the debate about the authorship of T192 and T193 in China. On the attribution of T193, see also Gotō (2007b).

教錄 composed in 730 by Zhisheng 智昇 is in fact the first catalogue to attribute the *Fo suoxing zan* to Dharmakṣema and the *Fo benxing jing* to Baoyun.²³⁴

This study has shown how the portrayal of the monk Baoyun was changed - while Sengyou's attitude was clearly more positive, in that he ascribed to Baoyun the ability of editing and translating foreign texts, Huijiao and Fei Zhangfang tended to diminish his role as "holder of the original text" and as interpreter. The limited role conceded to Baoyun in earlier catalogues might be due to their apologetic nature: the idea of pruning apocryphal texts reached an extreme in the avoidance of mentioning that Buddhist texts had been translated by a Chinese person.

In later treatises on translation, several monk-scholars praised Baoyun's knowledge of Sanskrit. Yan Cong 彦琮 (557-610) mentioned the name of Baoyun along those of Zhu Fonian and Zhiyan, praising their knowledge of the Sanskrit language and proposing them as examples to be followed.²³⁵ Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) also praised Baoyun for his determination to travel to India and learn Sanskrit.²³⁶ Zan Ning 贊寧 (919-1001) associated the name of Baoyun with those of Dharmarakṣa, Xuanzang, and Yijing, claiming that they adopted similar translation procedures.²³⁷ However, Baoyun's fame as a Sanskrit expert did not lead to any reassessment of his legacy as translator.

In earlier catalogues, the names of Indian masters that proclaimed or read the text aloud were more likely to be associated to new translations, as a warranty of the texts' authenticity.²³⁸ This trend along with the apparent lack of accuracy by later catalogues would have left us with the erroneous impression that Baoyun's translation work included less than a handful of titles, often misattributed and not even corresponding to his actual works.

3.7 Appendix to Chapter 3: On Faxian's library and the presence of Indian masters at the Liu Song court

In a very interesting reconstruction, Glass (2008[2010]) demonstrated a possible connection between the titles of the translations carried on by Saṃghavarman and Guṇabhadra with Baoyun and the titles in the list of manuscripts brought from India by Faxian – apparently, Baoyun and the Indian

²³⁴ At the time of his journey to India, Yijing apparently had no knowledge that the *Buddhacarita* had ever been translated into Chinese. See Takakusu (1896, 165-166).

²³⁵ See Cheung (2006, 139).

²³⁶ See Cheung (2006, 151).

²³⁷ Cheung (2006, 183).

²³⁸ On this aspect see Nattier (2008, 19-20).

masters that succeeded Buddhabhadra at the Liu Song court carried on the translation of the numerous texts left untranslated after Faxian's and Buddhabhadra's death.

It is therefore probable that Baoyun entrusted Guṇabhadra and Saṃghavarman with the translation of other manuscripts from Faxian's collection. These titles are in fact attributed to the two foreign monks, although Baoyun was involved in the translation process, as it is stated in Huiguan's prefaces.

In his study, Glass relied on the information in Faxian's travel account; the list of titles provided by Sengyou, however, includes different information. Sengyou clearly listed several titles as not translated or missing. It is understandable that in the life account of Faxian these texts were said to be brought from India and translated by him, whereas Sengyou provided a more realistic account. Some manuscripts, as rightly pointed out by Glass, were translated later on, although the connection with Faxian's collection was not evident to later editors of catalogues.

As an example, the *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, a text belonging to the list of manuscripts brought from India by Faxian, was according to Sengyou not translated by Buddhabhadra and Faxian; Sengyou reports that it was in fact translated by Saṃghavarman and Baoyun, without explaining where the original manuscripts had originated.²³⁹

According to Sengyou, the list of manuscripts brought from India by Faxian is the following:

- *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, reported as 大般泥洹六卷 or as 方等泥洹經二卷, for which see paragraph 5.1;
- *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* 摩訶僧祇律, translated by Buddhabhadra and Faxian;
- *Mahāsāṃghika-prātimokṣa-sūtra* or 僧祇比丘戒本, translated by Faxian and Buddhabhadra;
- *Samyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya* or 雜阿毘曇心, title translated, as we saw, by Saṃghavarman and Baoyun;²⁴⁰
- *Samyuktapiṭaka* 雜藏經, about which Sengyou does not add any further detail, although we find a text under this title at T745, translated by Faxian;²⁴¹
- “a sūtra” or 經 in two thousand five hundred *gatha* which, according to Sengyou, was not translated by Buddhabhadra and Faxian;
- *Dīrghāgama*, which was not translated by Faxian and Buddhabhadra, but of which one version – although we cannot be sure it was the very same manuscript – was translated by Buddhayaśa in Chang'an;
- *Samyuktāgama-sūtra* 雜阿毘經, translated by Guṇabhadra and Baoyun;²⁴²
- *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya* or 彌沙塞律, translated by Buddhajīva, Huiyuan, and Zhu Daosheng in the year 423;²⁴³

²³⁹ Glass does not argue about the need for translating the text twice.

²⁴⁰ Glass quotes Sengyou's ChSZJ (T55, no. 2145, p. 112b18-20) to prove that this text was already translated by Buddhabhadra and Faxian. In fact, the full sentence could be read as saying that some texts had not been translated (於道場寺譯出六卷泥洹摩訶僧祇律方等泥洹經經經雜阿毘曇心未及譯者).

²⁴¹ A similar text is present in T2026; both these attributions require further discussion.

²⁴² T55, no. 2145, p. 105c13.

- *Sarvāstivādanikāyavinaya-māṭṛkā* as 薩婆多律抄 or 摩得勒伽經, translated by Saṃghavarman.²⁴⁴

The reconstruction by Glass (2008[2010]) shows few and marginal inconsistencies. When Guṇabhadra arrived in Jiankang in 435, three manuscripts from Faxian's library had still not been translated: *Dīrghāgama*, the *Mahasagika abhidharma*, and the *Samyuktāgama*. In order to explain why Guṇabhadra chose to translate the *Samyuktāgama*, Glass states that a version of the *Dīrghāgama* had already been translated by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in Chang'an before Faxian's arrival at the Liu Song court. The news of this translation, according to Glass, might have stymied Guṇabhadra's interest in translating the text again. If Glass is correct, then it would be difficult to explain why the *Samyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya*, supposedly already translated by Buddhahadra and Faxian (Glass 2007, 197), was translated again by Saṃghavarman in 434-435. It would be easier to suppose that Buddhahadra and Faxian never translated this text. This is not a crucial problem for the present work, however, since Baoyun may have been involved in the translation in either case.

Glass does not explain whether the *Mahāsāṃghika abhidharma* was ever translated; scholars tend to doubt the actual existence of this text. In fact, Sengyou did not report the presence of a *Mahāsāṃghika abhidharma* among the manuscripts Faxian acquired on his journey – there is mention only of a *Mahāsāṃghika-prātimokṣa-sūtra* or 僧祇比丘戒本.

Regarding the actual content of some manuscripts listed under generic titles, Sengyou never stated that the “*sūtra*” in 2500 *gathas* was translated by Buddhahadra and Faxian, and no effort has been made to understand what it actually might have been, and if someone eventually translated it.

I am afraid that any further arguing on these issues without analyzing the content and the style of the translations would be debating *de lana caprina*. Although not completely free from marginal doubtful assumptions, the reconstruction by Glass is of crucial importance for the present study, since it shows us the relevance of Baoyun's role in translating, preserving, and circulating some of the most important manuscripts that Faxian had brought back from India. Baoyun was involved in the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, the *Samyukta-hridaya*, and the *Samyuktāgama*, and provided a copy of the *Sarvāstivādanikāyavinaya-māṭṛkā* for Saṃghavarman to translate (although there is no direct

²⁴³ The translation was sponsored by the king of Langye (瑯琊王) as in “其年冬十一月。瑯琊王練比丘釋慧嚴竺道生於龍光寺。請外國沙門佛大什出之。時佛大什手執[*]胡文。于闐沙門智勝為譯。至明年十二月都訖。” (T55, no. 2145, p. 21a27-b01).

²⁴⁴ As Sengyou states “摩得勒伽經十卷(宋元嘉十二年乙亥歲正月於抹陵平樂寺譯出至九月二十二日訖)” (T55, no. 2145, p. 12b21).

reference to him acting as translator, his disciples, among whom was Fayong, were said to be flanking Saṃghavarman in this work).

Creating a general chronology of events that happened after the death of Faxian might help us trace some possible connections between historical events:

418 (ca.) Faxian died; some of the manuscripts he brought from India were still untranslated.²⁴⁵

Buddhabhadra and Baoyun apparently continued the work of translation; following the example of Baoyun and Faxian, the novice Fayong decided to leave for a journey to India.²⁴⁶

427-428 Baoyun and Zhiyan were translating together.²⁴⁷

429 Buddhabhadra died²⁴⁸ and Zhiyan left for India to clarify some personal doubts. He died in Kashmir and the news of his death reached the capital by means of his disciples Zhiyu 智羽 and Zhida; after reporting about Zhiyan's passing, the disciples departed.²⁴⁹

434 Ca. Saṃghavarman arrived from India by land;²⁵⁰ after some time he started translating with Baoyun.²⁵¹

435 Guṇabhadra arrived in Guanzhou by sea. Kindly welcomed at the court of the Liu Song, he started a long career as monk-translator – he was flanked Baoyun and eventually the monk Fayong is mentioned as his main interpreter.

442 Saṃghavarman left for India by sea.²⁵²

443 Completion of the translation of the samyuktagama by Guṇabhadra.

444 Guṇabhadra moved to a new monastery in Jingzhou.

449 Baoyun died.

An interesting pattern seems to emerge regarding the migration of Indian Buddhist masters to China. From Sengyou we know that Saṃghavarman arrived at the Liu Song court following his “tour of pilgrimage and proselytization”;²⁵³ Guṇabhadra had been to Ceylon before his destiny (the result of his *karma*)²⁵⁴ led him to go further east. Both Saṃghavarman and Guṇabhadra might have felt the call to proselytize and then followed the itinerary of commercial routes to end up in at the Liu Song court. From the overall picture, however, we may also suppose that their arrival in China was subsequent to

²⁴⁵ I am following the list of manuscripts provided by Sengyou, reporting some untranslated titles (T55, no. 2145, pp. 012a03-07). Indirect proof that not all the manuscripts had been translated may be found in Huiguan's interest in promoting Saṃghavarman's and Guṇabhadra's translations, for which see page 12.

²⁴⁶ 釋法勇者。胡言曇無竭。本姓李氏。幽州黃龍國人也。幼為沙彌。便修苦行持戒諷經。為師僧所敬異。常聞沙門法顯寶雲諸僧躬踐佛國。慨然有亡身之誓。(T55, no. 2145, p. 113c16-19).

²⁴⁷ 未及譯寫到宋元嘉四年。乃共沙門寶雲譯出普耀廣博嚴淨及四天王凡三部經。在寺不受別請。(T55, no. 2145, p. 112c18-20).

²⁴⁸ 以元嘉六年卒。春秋七十有一。(T55, no. 2145, pp. 103b27-a28).

²⁴⁹ This is the only clear mention of the two disciples in the Canon: “遂得窆葬。後嚴弟子智羽智達。遠從西域還報此消息訖。俱還外國。”(T55, no. 2145, p. 113a02-04).

²⁵⁰ 僧伽跋摩。齊言僧鎧。天竺人也。少而棄俗。清峻有戒德。明解律藏尤精雜心。以宋元嘉十年。步自流沙至于京都。(T55, no. 2145, p. 104c06-08).

²⁵¹ 以跋摩妙解雜心諷誦通達。即以其年九月。乃於長干寺招集學士寶雲譯語。觀公筆受。(T55, no. 2145, p. 104c21-c23).

²⁵² 將還本國。眾咸祈止。莫之能留。以元嘉中。隨西域賈人舶還外國。莫詳其終。(T55, no. 2145, p. 104c26-28).

²⁵³ Chen (2005, 616).

²⁵⁴ 跋陀前到師子諸國。皆傳送資供。既有緣東方。乃隨舶汎海」(T55, no. 2145, p. 105c01-02).

Chinese monks' travels to India - the second journey by Zhiyan, in the case of Saṃghavarman, and Fayong's journey, in the case of Guṇabhadra.

This pattern started with Faxian, Baoyun, and Zhiyan's travels to India. While Faxian brought manuscripts, Zhiyan was accompanied by an Indian master in person, Buddhabhadra. Buddhabhadra's mission to China was successful, but shortly after the Kashmiri master's death, Zhiyan felt the need to make a second journey to India. Some years earlier, Fayong had already set out on his journey to India, and it seems that Guṇabhadra's arrival in Guanzhou followed afterwards, especially if we consider that Fayong acted as Guṇabhadra's interpreter later.

The causal connection between Chinese monks' travels to India and the arrival of foreign experts in the Liu Song domains is not explicit in historical sources. We are led to suspect that the presence of religious authorities from India was important for the monasteries in the Liu Song capital, thus leading Chinese monks to seek out Indian "missionaries" to be present in their temples, help with the translation of *sūtras*, and conferring authority upon ceremonies.

Chapter 4: Baoyun and his collaborators, external and internal evidence

This chapter will address the issue of the possible relationships between the translation of the *Buddhacarita* or *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) and other texts in the Chinese Buddhist Canon.

Baoyun collaborated with Buddhahadra, Zhiyan, Sanghavarman and Guṇabhadra in several translations works. It is quite plausible that the ideas exposed in the texts the monks translated together influenced Baoyun's perception of Buddhist doctrines and practices. Furthermore, Baoyun read and translated these texts through the interpretation of his Indian collaborators, who had their personal views. Their perspective probably influenced Baoyun's comprehension of Buddhist concepts and his lexicon.

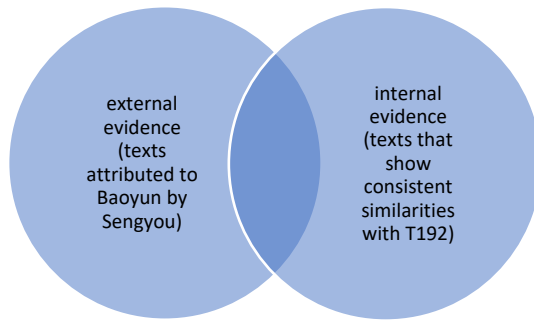
This chapter will examine the life accounts of Baoyun's collaborators in order to identify the titles of the works Baoyun translated with their help. After the summary of the monks' life account I will list the translations that Sengyou reported as carried on with the collaboration of Baoyun – in these cases we have the external evidence, provided by Sengyou's catalogue, that Baoyun had worked on these translations. We will try to verify if there is any internal evidence, such as shared features and similarities, which would further prove the engagement of the same author on the production of the text.

The second section in the chapter will comprehend works that shares important similarities (internal evidence) with the works by Baoyun. The presence of shared features and similarities will be carried on through by searching in the CBETA database for shared occurrences of allotted specific terms and recurring expressions – the list of terms is deduced from the translation of the *Buddhacarita* or *Fo suoxing zan* (T192). The results of this search will be collected in two tables.

A surprising outcome of this search is that several texts showing consistent similarities with T192 are in fact attributed to monks that were not mentioned as Baoyun's collaborators and there is no external evidence of Baoyun's intervention in the production of these texts. In these peculiar cases we will look for historical records to understand the most probable attribution for each text and verify if these texts were produced before or after the completion of the *Fo suoxing zan*. In the case of texts preceding the *Fo suoxing zan*, historical sources will be investigated to understand if Baoyun could access these texts – he was not involved in their production, but he was able to read and quote from

these texts/translations. In fact, Baoyun had access to a very high number of translations, including the works translated and produced by Kumārajīva.²⁵⁵

There are also cases in which texts presenting a clear relationship with the *Fo suoxing zan* were probably composed in later times, as in the case of the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* (T189).



In the last section of the chapter there will be the description of the procedure for the search of similar n-grams (strings of characters) in a given set of texts (corpus) through TACL, a specific tool for Chinese Buddhist texts developed by Michael Radich and Jamie Norrish. The *Fo suoxing zan* will be compared with a list of other seven texts with the aim of individuating shared n-grams. The results of this search, as we will see, confirm the hypothesis that we should look for possible similarities between T192 and texts produced by Baoyun's collaborators.

The combination of the results of these three different searches will individuate a list of titles. This virtual library will include possible sources for the translation of the *Buddhacarita* as well as texts that were influenced by T192.

²⁵⁵ On the Buddhist library of the Liu Song dynasty see Drège (1989, 29).

4.1 Collaboration with Buddhahadra 佛馱跋陀

The first name of an Indian monk associated with Baoyun is that of the meditation master Buddhahadra. There are a few academic studies about this eminent monk and his legacy, among which we may mention Chen (2014a) and Chen (2014b). Buddhahadra is known under the phonetic rendering of Fotuobatuoluo 佛馱跋陀羅, or under the names Foxian 佛賢 and Juexian 覺賢. Both the *ChSZJJ* and the *GSZh* present his biography, the latter being longer and more ornate with hagiographic material.²⁵⁶ For the sake of the present study it is necessary to provide a brief summary of the account presented by Sengyou,²⁵⁷ with some notes from the hagiography in the *GSZh*.

Buddhahadra was from Northern India, orphaned as a child, and well versed in the study of scriptures. From the *GSZh* we get to know that he was from the city of Nagahara, descendant of a Buddhist family, and disciple of the master Buddhasena. Buddhahadra studied the *vinaya* and mastered the dhyana techniques at a very young age. He visited Jibin (Kashmir),²⁵⁸ with Saṃghadhatta, and they lived there together.²⁵⁹ Here Saṃghadhatta realized that Buddhahadra had reached the status of *anāgāmin* through the practice of meditation. In Jibin they met Zhiyan, who was looking for someone able to teach the *dharma* in China. Buddhahadra accepted Zhiyan's invitation, aiming to convert more people.²⁶⁰ After a journey that lasted three years,²⁶¹ they arrived in Chang'an (406-408 ca); Buddhahadra knew that Kumārajīva was there and hurried to meet him.

Buddhahadra was at the court of the emperor Yao Xing 姚興 (366-416) of the Later Qin when Kumārajīva, along with forty other disciples (only Huiguan is mentioned explicitly) were ostracized by the *saṅgha*. Sengyou does not mention the presence of Baoyun, while Huijiao mentions Baoyun as

²⁵⁶ For example, in the *GSZh* Buddhahadra is said to be from Kapilavastu and a descendant of the Sākya clan. See also Zürcher (2007, 400).

²⁵⁷ T55, no. 2145, p. 103b27 ~ T55, no. 2145, p. 104a28.

²⁵⁸ On this geographical term, see Enomoto Fumio (1994).

²⁵⁹ Here the *GSZh* adds an anecdote about Saṃghadhatta asking Buddhahadra where he had been at night, the latter answering that he had gone to Tuṣita heaven to confer with Maitreya. (達多雖伏其才明而未測其人也後於密室閉戶坐禪忽見賢來驚問何來答云暫至兜率致敬彌勒言訖便隱達多知是聖人未測深淺後屢見賢神變乃敬心祈問方知得不還果[T50, no. 2059, p. 334c08-12]).

²⁶⁰ The account in the *GSZh* is much longer, stressing the fact that Zhiyan made several inquiries about a suitable master, and was then answered with the name of Buddhahadra, an eminent monk from a Buddhist family in the city of Nagarāhāra, a disciple of Buddhasena; the master himself confirmed his aptness for this role. So Buddhahadra and Zhiyan went to China together (T50, no. 2059, p. 334c13-22).

²⁶¹ Both the *ChSZJJ* and the *GSZh* provide an account of the miracles performed by Buddhahadra during the trip, for which see Shih (1968, 92-93).

interpreter during a debate between Buddhabhadra and Kumārajīva.²⁶² As we learnt from the biography of Baoyun, he left Chang'an with Buddhabhadra and Huiguan and went to Mount Lu, where Huiyuan welcomed them.²⁶³ Here Buddhabhadra produced various texts on meditation (*chan shu zhu jing* 禪數諸經), among which the *Dharmatrāṭadhyānasūtra* or 達摩多羅禪 was to exert widespread influence.²⁶⁴

Buddhabhadra moved from Mount Lu to in Jiankang around the year 413 and in the capital he started translating the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* in the year 418.²⁶⁵ As Funayama (2004, 102) pointed out, Buddhabhadra translated this text because he was asked to do it. However, he was a Sarvāstivādin and thus he did not have any personal connection to Mahāyāna literature; the manuscript of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* was brought to China by the monk Zhi Faling.

Buddhabhadra came into contact with important officials and generals of the great families. In the same period (around the year 419) Faxian, who had just returned by sea from his journey to the Western Region, invited Buddhabhadra to translate the copy of the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* he had just brought back from India. Buddhabhadra continued to work as translator until his death in the year 429, when he was sixty-one; he is credited with the translation of eleven *sūtras*.²⁶⁶

We may assume that Baoyun continued to collaborate with Buddhabhadra at least until the years 427-428, when he started working with Zhiyan; Buddhabhadra died some years afterwards, in 429. Baoyun is explicitly mentioned as the translator of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra* or *Xin wuliangshou jing* 新無量壽經, while Buddhabhadra was the holder of the text.²⁶⁷

The lists of translations provided at the end of his biography in the ChSZJJ differs little from the general list of Buddhabhadra's translation provided in the second *juan* of the same catalogue.²⁶⁸ some of the titles previously listed as translations by Buddhabhadra are also attributed to the pilgrim Faxian –

²⁶² T50, no. 2059, p. 335a13-16.

²⁶³ The *ChSZJJ* and the *GSZh* both mention a prophecy proclaimed by Buddhabhadra as the cause for his dismissal (in a dream, he saw five vessels reaching the court in Chang'an). The *GSZh* also adds a reference to one of the disciples daring to declare himself an anagamin without any means of proving it. See also Shih (1968, 94-95), who proposes the jealousy of Kumārajīva as the real cause of Buddhabhadra's flight from the Qin court, an argument supported by Lu Yang (2004).

²⁶⁴ Shih (1968, 96) gives a short account of the transmission of this *sūtra*.

²⁶⁵ See Hamar (2009, 147-148).

²⁶⁶ Buddhabhadra's teachings and legacy as master of meditation continued well after his death, both in the Northern China (Chen, 2014b) and in the Southern traditions (Chen, 2014a). Incidentally, Chen (2014a, 176n2) noted that the list of texts attributed to Buddhabhadra by Sengyou is shorter than the list attributed to him by Huijiao.

²⁶⁷ “雲譯出新無量壽” (T55, no. 2145, p. 113a19). This translation is attributed to Buddhabhadra and Baoyun. See the two listings by Sengyou, in the same fascicle T55, no. 2145, p. 011c12 ~ T55, no. 2145, p. 011c24 and T55, no. 2145, p. 012a24 ~ T55, no. 2145, p. 012a27.

²⁶⁸ T55, no. 2145, p. 011c09 ~ T55, no. 2145, p. 011c24.

among these titles is the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. Considering the collective procedure underlying Buddhist translations, Baoyun might have participated in these projects and he was probably influenced by the content of these texts.²⁶⁹ According to Sengyou, the translations by Buddhahadra are:

- 1) **Dhyāna-cārya-upāya-sūtra* or 禪經修行方便 in two *juan* (or *Dharmatrāta-dhyāna* 達摩多羅禪, T618),
- 2) **Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* 大方廣佛華嚴經 in fifteen *juan* (T278),
- 3) *Guanfo sanmei jing* 觀佛三昧經 in eight *juan* (T643),²⁷⁰
- 4) **Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra* 新無量壽經 in two *juan* (T360?),
- 5) **Tathāgatagarbha-sūtra* 大方等如來藏經 in one *juan* (或云如來藏今闕),
- 6) **Bodhisattva-daśa-bhūmika-sūtra* 菩薩十住經 in one *juan* (this title corresponds to the title of a chapter in the *buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*),
- 7) **Anantamukha-sādhaka-dhāraṇī* 出生無量門持經 in one *juan* (T1012),
- 8) **Sādhaka-dhāraṇī* 新微密持經 in one *juan* (Sengyou listed it as missing),
- 9) **Pūrvakarma-sūtra* 本業經 in one *juan* (missing),
- 10) **ṣaḍ-pāramitā* 六波羅蜜經 in one *juan* (missing),
- 11) **Mañjuśrīpraṇidhāna* 文殊師利發願經 in one *juan* (T296?).

It is quite significant that the list of translated works by Buddhahadra's and Faxian's, are contiguous. At the end of Faxian's list, Sengyou notes that the two monks (Buddhabhadra and Faxian) worked together on the translations.²⁷¹ To this list we may add two texts attributed to Faxian and translated with Buddhahadra:

- 12) **Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* 僧祇律梵本(T1425),
- 13) **Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* 大般泥洹經.

To provide contextualization and bibliography for all these texts would be a mammoth task. If we focus specifically on the titles which are more closely related to Baoyun, we will notice that the list of titles includes the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* 大般泥洹經, whose translation is attributed to Baoyun in a preface by Huiguan,²⁷² and the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtra* 新無量壽經, attributed to Baoyun by Sengyou. Unfortunately, the transmission of these two texts to China is not at all linear – several texts with similar titles and content can be found in the Buddhist Canon and it is no easy task to identify the ones that were translated in Buddhahadra's translation circle.

²⁶⁹ T55, no. 2145, p. 11c07-21.

²⁷⁰ This text is probably a composition attributed to Buddhahadra, see Yamabe (1999).

²⁷¹ “就天竺禪師佛馱跋陀共譯出” (T55, no. 2145, p. 12a11-12).

²⁷² T55, no. 2145, p.60b03-11.

4.2. Collaboration with Zhiyan 智嚴

Sengyou did not have detailed information about the origin and family of Zhiyan,²⁷³ while Huijiao mentioned that he was from Western Liangzhou.²⁷⁴ He went forth at the age of twenty, then traveled to the Western Regions, and met Buddhahadra in Jibin. They moved together to Chang'an and dwelled there from 406 to 408. After the exclusion of Buddhahadra from the Chang'an *samgha*, Zhiyan parted from his master and went further East, to practice meditation in a secluded place.

In the year 417, after the successful expedition to Chang'an,²⁷⁵ the duke Wang Hui 王恢 of Shixing 始興 was part of the retinue on the way back to the Southern court.²⁷⁶ During a detour he discovered the secluded place where Zhiyan was practicing meditation and, impressed by his abilities, asked all the monks in that temple to follow his retinue to the capital. Zhiyan accepted after some insistence. After he settled in the capital, Wang Hui promoted the construction of a temple for him, the Zhiyan temple, *Zhiyan si* 枳園寺.

From the fourth year of the Yuanjia era of the newly established Liu Song dynasty (427), Zhiyan started to translate some foreign texts he had collected in the Western Regions, with the help of Baoyun. Apparently Zhiyan started to translate only many years after he arrived in the capital: he might not have had enough financial stability at first, or a collaborator such as Baoyun – or perhaps he did not have any manuscript to translate. But we should add that the two monks were indeed translating together when their master Buddhahadra was still alive – he died in the year 429. The life account provided by Huijiao continues with an account regarding Zhiyan's ability in dispelling ghosts.²⁷⁷ Zhiyan died in Jibin (Kashmir) after a trip to India. Since there is no clear date for his death, there is no certainty regarding the precise date of his birth either. A miracle concerning his burial concludes the accounts in both catalogues.²⁷⁸

²⁷³ The full biography of Zhiyan is at (T55, no. 2145, p. 112b28-113a04).

²⁷⁴ “釋智嚴. 西涼州人”(T50, no. 2059, p. 339a29).

²⁷⁵ In 418 the area of Chang'an was sieged by general Liu Yu, head of the Eastern Jin armies. Liu Yu conquered Xi'an and Luoyang. The two cities fell at the hands of the Xiongnu shortly thereafter, when Liu Yu had already headed back to Jiankang and succeeded in founding the Liu Song dynasty (420-479) (Zürcher 2009: 157-158).

²⁷⁶ See also Chen (2014, 174). Chen suggests Liu Hui 劉恢 is probably an error for Liu Jun 劉浚 (429-553), although Liu Jun was allegedly born twelve years after the fact had occurred (417). The Jin Shu mentions two military officers with the name of Wang Hui; they were probably high-ranking officials living during the end of the Eastern Jin dynasty.

²⁷⁷ See also Pierce Salguero (2010).

²⁷⁸ While the *ChSZJJ* lists only three titles as translations by Zhiyan with the assistance of Baoyun, the *LDSBJ* enlarged the list to fourteen titles. The biographical note about Zhiyan does not add much to what we already knew; we have already

The list of works by Zhiyan comprises three titles, all of which are said to have been translated in collaboration with Baoyun: Puyao jing 普耀經, *Avaivartikacakrasūtra* or Guangbo yanjing jing 廣博嚴淨經 and *Caturdevarājasūtra* or *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經.²⁷⁹ Besides these texts, four chapters of the *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* or *Dafang dengda jijing* 大方等大集經 (T397) are listed as the work of Zhiyan and Baoyun.

4.3 Collaboration with Saṃghavarman 僧伽跋摩

The biography of Saṃghavarman in the *ChSZJJ* is quite succinct²⁸⁰ in that it mainly relates the events that took place during the monk's stay in the Liu Song capital. He arrived - probably by land - around the year 434,²⁸¹ and left by sea in the year 443 (or beginning of 444). Huiguan offered him lodging at the Pinglou temple 平陸寺. After the Kashmiri monk Gunavarman's death, Saṃghavarman took his role and proceeded with the ordination of a group of nuns (Heirman 2010, 64-65).

Later on, the master Huiyi 慧義 accused Saṃghavarm of heresy and the dispute ended with the latter's victory. Saṃghavarman had hundreds of followers among whom was the prince Liu Yikang of Pengcheng 宋彭城王義康 (409-451).²⁸²

When Huiguan realized that Saṃghavarman was able to understand the Abhidharma he invited him to produce a new edition of the **Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya* or *Za Apitan xin* 雜阿毘曇心.²⁸³ So Saṃghavarman produced the text, with Baoyun acting as translator: the translation project began in the year 434.²⁸⁴ Chen (2005, 616-617) provides an interesting discussion of the references to this translation in the *ChSZJJ*.

It is crucial for this study to point out that Baoyun was present as interpreter and Huiguan as scribe. It might be the case that Baoyun was involved in the process of translation for his knowledge of

discussed the reference to Zhiyan in Baoyun's biographical note. Zhiyan's disciples appear at the end of the monk's life account to tell the story of his funeral, and they are said to be coming from India.

²⁷⁹ T55, no. 2145, p. 12c05-c09.

²⁸⁰ T55, no. 2145, p. 104c05-c28.

²⁸¹ Apparently Saṃghavarman arrived some years after Zhiyan's last journey to India.

²⁸² The fourth son of Liu Yu, Liu Yikang, ruled *de facto* during the reign of his brother, the emperor Wen, when he was severely ill. Liu Yikang was accused of plotting to seize the throne, and was eventually killed by his brother (Song shu, 列传第二十八). A study on the reason that may have led the author of the Song shu, Shen Yue (441-513), to depict Liu Yikang in a bad light is in Quan Liang and Lin Zifu, 2017.

²⁸³ “雜阿毘曇心十四卷(宋元嘉十年於長干寺出寶雲傳譯其年九月訖)” (T55, no. 2145, p. 12b20).

²⁸⁴ T55, no. 2145, p. 10b05-06.

languages and ability as translator – as previously reported by Sengyou, his ability as translator was uncommon in his times. We should also consider that according to the analysis by Glass (2010, 196-197), Baoyun might have had access to the manuscripts brought to China by Faxian. This can be supported by the evidence, purported by Glass (2010, 196), that among the translations by Saṃghavarman there was the *Sarvāstivādanikāyavinaya* (T1441), translated in the year 435 – both the titles of the **Samyuktābhīdharmahrdaya* and of the **Sarvāstivādanikāyavinaya* were in the list of manuscripts brought from India by Faxian; this points to the conclusion that Baoyun was the custodian of Faxian’s library.

4.4. Collaboration with Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅

The life account of Guṇabhadra is quite long and detailed with historical records and the reports of some miracles and supernatural events. This is not surprising if we consider that the Indian monk lived in China for more than thirty years, becoming involved in politics and having personal relationships with members of the court.²⁸⁵ A selection of the most important details from this work follows here.

Guṇabhadra was from India, descendant of a brahmin family and educated in the five sciences²⁸⁶ among which was astronomy.²⁸⁷ He resolved to convert after reading the **Samyuktābhīdharmahrdaya* 阿毘曇雜心. He then looked for a master and studied to become an expert in Hinayāna and then Mahāyāna teachings. He also studied the *Avataṃsaka* (大品華嚴). After he had been to Ceylon, and having regained the support of his family, his *karma* led him further east, thus Guṇabhadra arrived in Canton in 435. Emperor Wen sent his greetings and Guṇabhadra was accompanied to the capital.²⁸⁸ He had many followers and attendants, although he communicated through an interpreter (雖因譯交言而欣若傾蓋).

²⁸⁵ According to Sengyou, Guṇabhadra arrived in Guanzhou in 435 and died at the Liu Song court in the year 468 (T55, no. 2145, p. 105b17-106b21). The complete account by Sengyou is at T55, no. 2145, p. 105b17-6b21. For the complete account in the *GSZh*, see Shih (1968, 148-154); a short summary is provided in Glass (2010) with some interesting observations on Guṇabhadra’s relationship with Baoyun.

²⁸⁶ The five sciences, also known as *pañcavidyā* or *wuming* 五明, play a very significant role in tantric traditions.

²⁸⁷ This was not a common skill since in Sengyou only Guṇabhadra and Kang Senghui are mentioned as proficient in astronomy (T55, no. 2145, p. 96b01-05).

²⁸⁸ As proposed in the section “A general chronology” below, it is not improbable that the arrival of an Indian master from India was somehow expected at the court.

After his arrival in the capital, Guṇabhadra translated the *Samyuktāgama* or **Za'ahan jing* 雜阿含經 in fifty *juan* (T99), then the **Dharma-dundubhi* as *Fagu jing* 法鼓經, a **Śrīmālāsūtra* or *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 in one *juan*,²⁸⁹ and the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* or **Lengjia jing* 楞伽經, also reported by Sengyou as *Lengjia'abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經.²⁹⁰ Sengyou reported that Baoyun translated orally, while Huiguan took notes in writing.

Afterwards Guṇabhadra followed Liu Yixuan (mentioned as Qiao Wang 譙王) in Jinzhou 荊州, and moved to a “new monastery” or *Xinshi* 新寺. There he translated various texts,²⁹¹ for a total of several hundred *juan*. The record by Huijiao mentions the collaboration of 法勇 Fayong in the translation.²⁹² Since Baoyun died in the year 449, we may suppose that from this point on the translation work proceeded with the help of Baoyun's disciples.²⁹³ As far as the scope of the present work is concerned, our account may stop here; it would be opportune, however, to report that Wang Yixuan asked Guṇabhadra to “produce” or “translate” a version of the *Avataṃsaka*. Guṇabhadra was ashamed because his Chinese was not good enough. So he dreamt that a supernatural being visited him and cut his head off, which was replaced with one able to speak Chinese. Sengyou promptly adds that the disciple Fayong helped with the translation, while Huijiao does not report the presence of Fayong at this point of the account. Guṇabhadra exposed his ideas so that everything mysterious was fully explained. It is interesting to note that when Baoyun was alive, there was no apparent need for the intervention of a supernatural power to produce a translation.

²⁸⁹ There is also a commentary of this text listed as C097n1812 in the Taishō Canon.

²⁹⁰ I am following Shih (1968, 150).

²⁹¹ The list of texts comprises: *Wuyou wang* 無憂王 (apparently lost), *Guoqu xianzai yingguo* 過去現在因果 (T189), a *Wuliang shou* 無量壽 in one *juan*, a *Nirvāṇasūtra* or *Niehuan* 泥洹 in one *juan*, *Aṅgulimālīka* or *Yangjue moluo* 央掘魔羅 (probably T120), **Samdhinirmocanasūtra* or *Xiangxu jietuo boluomileyi* 相續解脫波羅蜜了義 (T678), *Diyu yi wuxiang lüe* 第一義五相略, *Ba jixiang* 八吉祥. The *GSZh* adds a *Yi xianzai foming jing* 義現在佛名經. Some titles were already translated by Buddhahadra (*Wu liangshou*, *Nirvāṇasūtra*). The translations produced by Guṇabhadra were in only one *juan* and are considered lost by Sengyou. We may suppose that Guṇabhadra was attempting to produce new translations of old manuscripts at hand, or maybe to use old manuscripts to enliven the practice of translation ceremonies – for a description of the importance of translation ceremonies, see Hureau (2006).

²⁹² Fayong 法勇(? - ?) was a disciple of Baoyun who, following the example of his master, decided to travel to India. “釋法勇者. 胡言曇無竭. 本姓李氏. 幽州黃龍國人也. 幼為沙彌. 便修苦行持戒諷經. 為師僧所敬異. 常聞沙門法顯寶雲諸僧躬踐佛國. 慨然有亡身之誓” (T55, no. 2145, p. 113c16-19).

²⁹³ Sengyou mentions Bodhi and Fayong T55, no. 2145, p. 013a07-08. The miraculous tales in Guṇabhadra's life account are very interesting and shed light on the monk's relationship with the court and his political involvement in general; see Zürcher (2014, 561). In order to focus on Baoyun, however, we should leave the account of Guṇabhadra's later years to further studies.

During his stay at the Liu Song court, Guṇabhadra became very popular; among his followers we find the famous writer Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 from Langye 琅琊,²⁹⁴ the prince Liu Yikang (mentioned as Wang Yikang 王義康),²⁹⁵ and the prince Wang Yixuan 王義宣.²⁹⁶

4.5. Huiguan's 慧觀 role in translation activities

Mentioned more than twenty times in the *ChSZJJ*, the monk Huiguan 慧觀 was the “promoter” behind various works of translation, author of prefaces, mediator between Indian masters and Chinese powerful personalities.²⁹⁷ Apparently, there is no dedicated biography in Sengyou's catalogue, the biography of Huiguan is reported in the *GSZh*.²⁹⁸

釋慧觀。姓崔。清河人。十歲便以博見馳名。弱年出家遊方受業。晚適廬山又諮稟[*]慧遠。聞什公入關。乃自南徂北。訪覈異同詳辯新舊。風神秀雅思入玄微。時人稱之曰。通情則生融上首。精難則觀肇第一。迺著法華宗要序以簡什。什曰。善男子。所論甚快。君小却當南遊江漢之間善以弘通為務。什亡後迺南適荊州。州將司馬休之甚相敬重。於彼立高悝寺。使夫荊楚之民迴邪歸正者。十有其半。宋武南伐休之至江陵與觀相遇。傾心待接依然若舊。因勅與西中郎遊。即文帝也俄而還京止道場寺。觀既妙善佛理探究老莊。又精通十誦博採諸部。故求法問道者日不空筵。元嘉初三月上巳車駕臨曲水讌會。命觀與[12]朝士賦詩。觀即坐先獻。文旨清婉事適當時。瑯琊王僧達廬江何尚之。並以清言致欸結賞塵外。宋元嘉中卒。春秋七十有一。著[14]辯宗論論頓悟漸悟義及十喻序[15]贊諸經序等。皆傳於世。時道場寺又有僧馥者。本[16]澧泉人。專精義學注勝鬘經。又有法業。本長安人。善大小品及雜心。蔬食節己。故晉陵公主為起南林寺。後遂居焉。

Master Huiguan of the Cui family of Qinghe. At the age of ten he was already famous for his erudition. He went forth at a young age and became an itinerant monk to pursue the study. Later went to Mount Lu to ask for the counsel of Huiyuan. When he heard that Kumārajīva had entered [in Chang'an] he left the South to travel North. He sought to investigate difference and similarities, to discuss in detail old and new [teachings]. With superior manner and refined thought, he penetrated through subtle mysteries. So it was told by contemporaries: in understanding and consideration [he] Daosheng²⁹⁹ and Sengrong are the best, Huiguan and Sengzhao are the first in explaining difficulties. He wrote a preface on the basic principles of the Lotus sutra for Kumārajīva. Kumārajīva said: “That's a good disciple. Your comment is excellent and sharp. Although young, you travelled from the South to the land between the rivers; you are devoted to enhancing the circulation [of the teachings]. After Kumārajīva's death, [Huiguan] returned to the South and served in Jingzhou. In the county there was mutual reverence with general Sima Xiuzhi (d.417), who erected the

²⁹⁴ A famous official writer; see Chang and Owen (2010, 238)..

²⁹⁵ Liu Yikang was already a follower of Saṅghavarman .

²⁹⁶ Liu Yixuan (415-454) was Emperor Xiaowu's uncle. He tried to revolt against the emperor but was defeated and forced to commit suicide; see Cutter (2014, 36-54). Guṇabhadra supported Liu Yixuan and left the court with him; after the rebellion Emperor Xiaowu forgave Guṇabhadra for having supported his opponent's party.

²⁹⁷ In his life Huiguan composed poetry with gentlemen from the court and was seated beside these worthy persons: He Shangzhi 何尚之 (382-460), see *Song Shu* 6,66,1732 and *Nan Shi* 3,30,781, Wang Sengda 王僧達 (423-458), *Song Shu* 7,75,1951 and *Nan Shi* 2,21,572, Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433), see *Song Shu* 6,67,1743, *Nan Shi* 2,19,538.

²⁹⁸ T55, no. 2059, p0368b08 ~ T55, no. 2059, p. 368c01.

²⁹⁹ It could also be a less famous Sengsheng 僧生.

Gaokui temple for him, to lead the people in Jingzhou to abandon evil and resort to what is right – dozens followed him. In the South, Emperor Wu’s fought against Xiuzhi in Jiangling, where he and Huiguan met. They got along well, as they were old acquaintances. [The emperor] thus ordered [him] to move along the Commander of the Western Military Guard, who afterwards became the emperor Wen. They went back to the Capital and stopped at the Daochang temple. Huiguan had already mastered Buddhist principles and studied through Laozi and Zhuangzi. He was also proficient in the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* as [he] studied and collected all the sections. For the sake of *dharma* and practice he never deserted the mat. On the third month of the first year of the Yuanjia era [424] he took a carriage to participate in a ceremony of “blessing waters”. In his life Huiguan composed poetry with gentlemen from the court and was seated beside worthy persons. [His] writings were refined and his actions opportune. Wang Sengda from Langye and He Shangzhi from Lujiang through lofty debates got acquainted to him and cherished the transcendence.³⁰⁰ [Huiguan] died in the middle of the Yuanjia era, aged seventy-one. He wrote the Treatise on the analysis of the schools, treating of the meaning of sudden and gradual enlightenment, many explanatory prefaces and prefaces to eulogizes the sacred texts.

From this brief biography we understand that Huiguan had a surname, which is to say that he was from a renowned family. If other monks had specific roles as translators, meditation masters, and travelers, he was a manager and political connection. Although some aspects of his biography are controversial – while in his biography his fidelity to master Kumārajīva was life-long, in Buddhabhadra’s biography we saw Huiguan leaving Chang’an with the newly encountered Kashmiri meditation master – we can clearly see that he worked as a liaison with the court. The quest for *sūtras* and Indian masters from India was an important issue for the *sangha* in the Liu Song territories. Huiguan himself was able to organize and send an expedition to India to look for the missing parts of Dharmakṣema’s *Nirvanasūtra*.³⁰¹

We should focus on Huiguan to his relationship with Baoyun. From the latter’s biography we understand that they were friends since their escape from Chang’an to Mount Lu. After Buddhabhadra’s death, Huiguan pursued at least two works of translation with Baoyun. As soon as Huiguan discovered that Saṃghavarman was able to understand the Abhidharma, he invited Baoyun to translate it, while he himself took part in the project as a scribe.³⁰² We find them together as oral translator and scribe flanking Guṇabhadra in front of an assembly of seven hundred people around the year 435,³⁰³ and the translation of the *Āgama* treatise lasted until the year 443. Huiguan’s prefaces are

³⁰⁰ I am aware I am proposing a quite loose translation for 以清言致歎結賞塵外. In particular, I am supposing that the character 歎 should be intended as 款.

³⁰¹ The expedition was not successful, see T55, no. 2145, p. 103b18-26.

³⁰² This information is retrieved from Saṃghavarman’s life account, see T55, no. 2145, p. 104c20-23. From Baoyun’s life account we learned that at the end of his life Huiguan invited Baoyun to manage the temple – it was probably the Daochang temple. Baoyun accepted and then returned to the Mount Liuhe temple after just one year. It is possible that this invitation was in fact meant to complete some translation work.

³⁰³ T55, no. 2145, p. 105c13-16.

of utmost importance in order to date and contextualize translations. In these notes, Huiguan paid attention to Baoyun's contribution, as in the case of his preface to the *Śrīmālā-sūtra* (*Shengman jing* 勝鬘經). From Baoyun's biography we also learnt that when he was about to die, Huiguan summoned Baoyun, asking him to become his successor.

4.6 External evidence: a list of titles from the historical records

From the biographies of Baoyun's collaborators we understand that Baoyun worked on a translation of the (1) *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* 大般泥洹經, later attributed to Baoyun in a preface by Huiguan, and of the (2) *Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtra* 新無量壽經, attributed to Baoyun by Sengyou.

The list of works by Zhiyan and Baoyun comprises three titles: (3) *Puyao jing* 普耀經, *Avaivartikacakrasūtra* or (4) *Guangbo yanjing jing* 廣博嚴淨經 and (5) *Caturdevarājasūtra* or *Sitiantianwang jing* 四天王經.³⁰⁴ Besides these texts, four chapters (27 to 30) of the collection of Mahāyāna sūtras known as (6) *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* or *Dafang dengda jijing* 大方等大集經 (T397) show the signatures of Baoyun and Zhiyan. With the collaboration of Saṃghavarman Baoyun translated a (7) *Samyuktābhīdharmahṛdaya* or *Za'apitan* 雜阿毘曇.

Baoyun and Gunabhadra carried on the translations of the (8) *Samyuktāgama* or *Za'ahan jing* 雜阿含經 in fifty juan (T99), then the (9) **Mahābherīhārakaparivarta* as *Fagu jing* 法鼓經, a (10) *Śrīmālādevīsīmhanāda sūtra* or *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 in one juan,³⁰⁵ and the (11) *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* or *Lengjia jing* 楞伽經, also reported by Sengyou as *Lengjia'abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經.

Are these texts present in the Taishō collection? Was the attribution done correctly? For some of these titles the answer is not easy to be found, since the attributions of translations to their authors was often filtered through the lens of later cataloguers. The list of catalogues taken into account for this study comprises:³⁰⁶ *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄序 (T2146), compiled by Fajing in the year 594, which

³⁰⁴ T55, no. 2145, p. 12c05-09.

³⁰⁵ There is also a commentary of this text listed as C097n1812 in the Taishō Canon.

³⁰⁶ For more detailed descriptions of these catalogues and their system of reference, see Nattier (2010, 13-16) and Storch (2014). This list will include some titles that are not directly attributed to Baoyun in catalogues but are linked to the other masters with whom he worked (Buddhabhadra, Zhiyan, Saṃghavarman, Gunabhadra) and still show the signs of Baoyun's style and language.

groups texts according to categories (Nattier 2010, 13-14); *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄序 (T2147), compiled by Yan Cong in 601 (Nattier 2010, 15); *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄序 (T2148), compiled by Jingtai in the year 663 (Nattier 2010, 15); *Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (T2149), compiled by Daoxuan in the year 664, largely relying on the LDSBJ (Nattier 2010, 15); *Gujin yijing tuji* (T2154), compiled by Jingmai in the years 664-665; *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu* (T2153), compiled by Mingquan in the year 695; *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T2154), compiled by Zhisheng in the year 730.

4.6.1 **Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* - *Da ban niehuan jing* 大般泥洹經 (T376? and T7?)

The history of the transmission of the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* to China is generally considered “extremely complicated” (Williams 1989 [2009], 107). Durt (1994, 60) identifies twenty-three texts belonging to the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* tradition, in the Taishō these titles are comprehended in volumes from T374 to T396.

To begin with, there are two different textual traditions, as pointed out by Liu (1984, 57) and Durt (1994: 57-60): one derives from the *Mahāparinibbāṇa suttanta* and has its origin in the Pāli Canon; the second belongs to the Mahāyāna tradition and was translated in China from the early fifth century on.³⁰⁷ Many studies had been stimulated by various religious and philosophical innovations introduced by the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*;³⁰⁸ a very interesting study on the transmission of the text to China was carried out by Stephen Hodge (2012).

We have seen how Baoyun’s role shifted from translator of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (in Huiguan’s preface collected by Sengyou) to the role of scribe (in the LDSBJ account). Later catalogues did not recognize Baoyun as the translator of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* as well. In the *Zhongjing mulu* (T2146) the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* 大般泥洹經 is listed as translated by Faxian and associated with the analogous work by Zhimeng;³⁰⁹ apparently there is no mention of the extended title as **Vaipulya*

³⁰⁷ We should note here that in the Chinese Canon we can find a whole “corpus” of texts belonging to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* tradition, as described by Durt (1994: 57-74). A crucial problem of this doctrinal tradition is whether *icchantika* or “destitutes” can ever reach enlightenment, for which see Lai (1982) and Liu (1984).

³⁰⁸ See for example Sasaki’s et al. (1999) review of the Japanese treatise by Shimoda Msahiro; a bibliography can be found in Hodge (2012).

³⁰⁹ In Sengyou’s account there are several references to the fact that a Zhimeng obtained and translated a *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*. In Zhimeng’s life account provided by Sengyou he is said to have obtained a copy of the text in India, right after

Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra 方等般泥洹經. The records in the other two homonymous *Zhongjing mulu* (T2147 and T2148) are almost identical to T2146.³¹⁰ The *Datang neidian lu* T2149 reports the *LDSBJ* account, so Baoyun is recorded as a scribe. In this catalogue we have one of the first recollections of all the *Nirvanasūtra* literature produced up to its time.³¹¹ In the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* T2154 we find the same information as in the *LDSBJ*: Buddhahadra, his name again translated as Juexian 覺賢, is clearly proposed as the translator of the text with Faxian, while Baoyun is reported to have been the scribe for this translation.³¹²

This is not the first time that someone noticed some sort of discrepancy about the reports on the authorship of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*'s Chinese translation.³¹³ Liu Yuan-ju (2016: 12) explained it as a generic tendency toward simplification in the catalogues' accounts. Stephen Hodge (2012: 7-9) provided a different interpretation, which can be summarized as follows: 1) Faxian brought the manuscript of the *sūtra* to China, but his role in the translation, as described in the postscript, is rather ambiguous; 2) Faxian had been to India in order to bring back a copy of the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya*, and from the end of the year 416 to the beginning of the year 418 he was already busy translating it, considering the *vinaya* to be of utmost importance: the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* could hardly be carried out by him in the same period; 3) Baoyun, although an umbratile figure, translated the text with the supervision of Buddhahadra.

Hodge's view seems legitimate if seen in the light of Sengyou's account of the events: the text was translated in the years 417-418, and Baoyun was the main translator (傳譯), with his master Buddhahadra acting as "holder of the text"; the translation was carried on at the Daochang temple. This notice is provided in a postscript, which is not reported, as it should be, after the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* in later catalogues. Hodge (2012: 8) speculates that the liminal role in the

Faxian. Zhimeng however did not continue the journey and decided to return to Liangzhou where he produced a translation of the text that was twenty *juan* in length (T55, no. 2145, p. 113c06-c13).

³¹⁰ “大般泥洹經六卷(是大般涅槃經前分十六卷盡大眾問品) 晉義熙年沙門法顯譯右一經是大般涅槃經別品殊譯”(T55, no. 2147, p. 159b08-10); “大般泥洹經六卷(是大般涅槃經前分十卷盡大眾問品一百四十紙) 晉義熙年沙門法顯譯右一經是大般涅槃經別品殊譯”(T55, no. 2148, p. 189c15-17).

³¹¹ “大般泥洹經六卷(義熙六年於謝司空謝石道場寺出舊錄云覺賢出寶雲筆受是大本前分十卷大眾問品見祖錄或十卷)方等泥洹經二卷(見竺道祖錄)”(T55, no. 2149, p. 247a21-23); for reference, see also Hodge (2012).

³¹² “大般泥洹經六卷(或十卷)東晉平陽沙門釋法顯共覺賢譯(第四譯)”(T55, no. 2154, p. 591a15-16). It seems that the compiler of the catalogue had some doubts about the two titles of the sutra; see for example “方等泥洹等經(此方等泥洹即六卷大般泥洹經之梵本也准經後記名為方等大般泥洹經非謂三卷方等泥洹也).”(T55, no. 2154, p.508a11-12). The vast number of references in this catalogue deserves further investigation.

³¹³ Bianchi (2012, 30) quotes it as a possible ground for questioning Faxian's knowledge of Sanskrit. See also Drège (2013).

translation process attributed to the authoritative figure of Faxian probably determined the elision of this afterword in the catalogues.³¹⁴

To repeat, the aim of this study is to try to define the role of Baoyun in the translation of *sūtras*. Apparently, the authorship of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* shifted from Baoyun to Faxian, thus we should concentrate on versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* attributed to Faxian.

According to Durt (1994, 60), the version attributed to Faxian is now listed as T376; Durt mentions a further text, a “hīnayānic version” of the parinirvana account, the *Daban nieban jing* 大般涅槃經, listed as T7 (in three *juan*) and attributed to Faxian as well.³¹⁵ In this complex scenario, tracking the features of Baoyun’s translation style (and maybe of Huiguan’s editing) may be very useful.

A preliminary study of the occurrences of proper names and recurring expressions yields the result that the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, listed as T376, has 8 occurrences in common with T192, 4 out of 8 occurrences are rare cases – henceforth we will consider “rare cases” occurrences shared by less than six translations in the Canon. Among rare cases there is the peculiar *Dakuaijian wang* 大快見王 as translation for the proper name Mahāsudarśa recurring in the translation of *Buddhacarita* 8.62. In T376 we also find the expressions *bi zhu waidao* 彼諸外道, “each and every heterodox doctrine”, and *yiqie zhongsheng shu* 一切眾生類 “all the categories of living beings”.

The “hinayanic” version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* coded as T7 and attributed to Faxian, contains 8 occurrences in common with T192, among which there are five rare cases of very peculiar transcription of the name Lumbini as *lanpini* 藍毘尼, and several full sentences such as *wang ling sitan xia* 王領四天下, *shi zhu lishizhong*, 時諸力士眾, *kuang feng si youqi* 狂風四激起. Radich (2018) realized that T7, T383 and T189 share many similar features and advocated for further research on the authorship of T7.

³¹⁴ T55, no. 2145, p. 060b02 ~ T55, no. 2145, p. 060b11.

³¹⁵ The complex relationship between the translations listed as T5, T6, T7 is presented in Nattier (2009, 126-127). The complete title of comprehensive *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* or 方等般泥洹經 is attributed to Zhu Fahu (Dharmarakṣa) and listed as T378. On the difficulties in studying the corpus by Zhu Fahu 竺法護, see Nattier (2010, 7-10).

4.6.2 **Sukhāvatīvyūha* - *Xin wuliangshou jing* 新無量壽經 (T360?)

The *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra* is the second text that Sengyou attributes to Buddhahadra and Baoyun.³¹⁶

On the translations of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra* we have this notice in the ChSZJJ:

無量壽經(支謙出阿彌陀經二卷竺法護出無量壽二卷或云無量清淨平等覺鳩摩羅什出無量壽一卷釋寶雲出新無量壽二卷求那跋陀羅出無量壽一卷)右一卷。五人異出。

Wuliang shou jing [*Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra*]: Zhi Qian translated an *Amituo jing* of two *juan*, Zhu Fahu translated a *Wuliangshou jing* in two *juan*, also called *Wuliang qingjing pingdeng jue*, Kumārajīva translated a *Wuliangshou* in one *juan*; Śākya Baoyun translated a “new” *Wuliangshou jing* in two *juan*; Guṇabhadra translated a *Wuliangshoujing* in one *juan*. These are different translations by five people.³¹⁷

In the *LDSBJ* the *Xin wuliangshou jing* is mentioned twice as a work translated at the Daochang temple.³¹⁸ The text is listed among Buddhahadra’s translations and among the works by Baoyun.³¹⁹ The version translated by Baoyun is glossed as the seventh translation of the same text of his genre.³²⁰ Fei Zhangfang mentions seven editions, one of which, in two *juan*, is attributed to Kang Sengkai,³²¹ who was never mentioned as translator by Sengyou. Although the accuracy of Fei Zhangfang’s *Lidai sanbao ji* is not certain (Nattier 2010: 14-15), the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon attributes the translation to Kang Sengkai.

In Fajing’s catalogue (T2146) the *Xin wuliangshou jing* translated by Baoyun is the last title in a list of six translations that are considered to be different editions of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra*. Three translations out of the six share the same attribute of *xin* 新 “new” in the title : they are attributed to Guṇabhadra, Tanmo Miduo 曇摩蜜多(or Dharmamitra [356 -442]), and to Baoyun, respectively.³²² There is no mention of the text in other catalogues such as T2147 and T2148 under the title *Xin wuliangshou jing*.

³¹⁶ For the attribution to Buddhahadra, see T55, no. 2145, p. 11c12-c23; for the attribution to Baoyun, see T55, no. 2145, p. 12a24-a27.

³¹⁷ T55, no. 2145, p. 014a22-a23.

³¹⁸ “新無量壽經二卷 (於道場寺出是第七譯與支謙康僧鎧白延法護羅什法力等出者各不同見道惠宋齊錄及高僧傳)” (T49, no. 2034, p. 089c16-c17).

³¹⁹ Baoyun is not mentioned among the collaborators of Buddhahadra; there is a reference to “eminent monks” acting as translators: “右一十五部一百一十五卷。安帝世。北天竺國三藏禪師佛馱跋陀羅。晉言覺賢。於楊都及廬山二處譯。沙門法業慧義慧嚴等詳共筆受。高僧傳云。賢出泥洹及修行等一十五部凡一百一十七卷。依寶唱錄足無量壽及戒本。部數雖滿尚少二卷未詳何經。來哲博聞或希續繼。冀補遺漏庶滿法流焉。” (T49, no. 2034, p. 71a26-b06).

³²⁰ “新無量壽經二卷(於道場寺出。是第七譯。與支謙康僧鎧白延法護羅什法力等出者各不同。見道惠宋齊錄及高僧傳)” (T49, no. 2034, p. 89c16-c17).

³²¹ Nattier (2010) supports that all the attributions to Kang Sengkai are not reliable.

³²² T55, no. 2146, p. 119b26-27.

The *Datang neidian lu* lists the *Xin wuliang shou jing* as the work of Buddhahadra (named as Juexian, with no mention of Baoyun as collaborator)³²³ and by Baoyun.³²⁴

In the *Kaiyuan*, following the report in T2146, the *Xin wuliangshou jing* is mentioned in different accounts as a translation by Buddhahadra,³²⁵ Dharmamitra 曇摩蜜多,³²⁶ and Baoyun.³²⁷

In today's Taishō edition of the Canon, there is one *Wuliangshou jing* in two *juan*, number T360 attributed to Kang Sengkai (Saṃghavarman, a 2nd century Sogdian monk). In an elegant and effective reconstruction of the evolution of the ideals of Pure Land Buddhism from India to China, Nattier (2003, 188-190) lists the four main Chinese translations of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra*, confirming that the *Wuliangshou jing* now listed as T360 is to be attributed to Buddhahadra and Baoyun, rather than to Kang Sengkai. Nattier's idea is based on the evidence provided by Sengyou's catalogue, and although some attempts were made to establish the attribution through internal evidence,³²⁸ much is still to be done in this respect. In fact, we could not find any similarity between T192 and T360, and we may suspect that this title does not correspond to the text that was translated by Buddhahadra and Baoyun.³²⁹

Although Baoyun and Buddhahadra are credited with a translation of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra* in two fascicles, the version coded as T360 seems to have almost nothing in common with T192. A later compilation of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* titled 佛說大阿彌陀經 coded as T364 contains some versified sections in five-characters sentences that look similar to the style of the *Fo suoxing zan*, among which it easy to notice the peculiar sentence *guangming pu zhaoyao* 光明普照耀 and the frequent repetition of plural markers in one sentence, such as *yiqie zhu* 一切諸 or *yiqie jie* 一切皆.

4.6.3 *Puyao jing* 普耀經 (or 普曜經)

Tracking this title is made more difficult by the different writings of the second character, *yao*, listed as 耀 or 曜. A text with a similar title is attributed to Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (Dharmarakṣa) and currently

³²³ T55, no. 2149, p. 247a01-a14.

³²⁴ T55, no. 2149, p. 258a17-a20.

³²⁵ T55, no. 2154, p. 505c08-c09.

³²⁶ T55, no. 2154, p. 626c15-c18.

³²⁷ T55, no. 2154, p. 525b29-c05.

³²⁸ See Yoshinori Gotō (1977) and Gijō Gotō (2002), who applied the methodology of metric philology to try to establish the authorship of this text. For a more detailed bibliography, see Ducor (2004, 371n79).

³²⁹ Among the titles connected to the *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra*, the commentary *Wuliang shou jing lian yi shu wen zan* 無量壽經連義述文贊 compiled in 618 by Shi Jingxing 釋璟興 (T1748) presents several lexical similarities with texts associated with Baoyun.

listed as T186.³³⁰ It seems that no text titled *Puyao jing* 普耀經 and attributed to Baoyun and/or Zhiyan made it to the Canon as we read it today; in compiling his anthology on the life of the Buddha – *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 T2040 – Sengyou apparently only quoted the version by Dharmarakṣa.³³¹

Sengyou considered these two texts (Dharmarakṣa's T186 and Baoyun's/Zhiyan's translation) as different translations of the same foreign text: Dharmarakṣa's edition has 8 *juan* and 30 chapters; the *Puyao jing* translated by Zhiyan and Baoyun has six *juan*.³³²

Since T186 is a narrative text on the life of the Buddha and Sengyou associated Baoyun and Zhiyan's translation to T186, we may infer that Baoyun and Zhiyan's text was an account of the life of the Buddha as well.

It is interesting to notice that T186 and T192 share 8 occurrences (more than the average, that we calculate at 7.21), but this similarity might as well be due by the similar content of the two texts.

In the *Lidai Sanbao ji*, the *Puyao jing* 普耀經 in eight *juan* (Fei Zhangfang seems to imply that the slightly different title *Puyao jing* 普耀經 refers to a similar text) is listed under Zhiyan's works, although there is no specific mention of Baoyun taking part in the translation.³³³ Baoyun is curiously reported as issuing a shorter version of the same text, in six *juan*, with Zhimeng.³³⁴ In the 14th *juan* the *Puyao jing* is defined as a text from the Hīnayāna tradition.³³⁵

The *Zhongjing mu lu* T2146 by Fajing attempts at giving a clear account about this translation, listing three titles with the same content, one attributed to Dharmarakṣa, the other two to Zhimeng and Baoyun.³³⁶

The “second” and the “third” *Zhongjing mulu* T2147 attribute the text to Zhimeng and Baoyun.³³⁷ In the *Datang neidian lu* there are only references to Dharmarakṣa's edition. In the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* most of the references are related to Dharmarakṣa's edition in eight *juan*; there is, however, a notice

³³⁰ For further reference, see Kawano (2007).

³³¹ There are fourteen quotes of the *Puyao jing* in the *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 by Sengyou, all of which seem to be quotes from the text attributed to Dharmarakṣa.

³³² “普耀經(竺法護出普耀八卷釋智嚴出普耀六卷)” (T55, no. 2145, p. 14a27).

³³³ “普耀經八卷(第二譯. 與蜀出竺法護翻本同文小異. 見宋齊錄及祐皎傳記. 或六卷四卷)” (T49, no. 2034, p. 89b24).

³³⁴ “普耀經八卷(永嘉二年. 於天水寺出. 是第三譯. 沙門康殊白法巨等筆受. 與蜀普曜及智猛實雲所出六卷者小異. 見聶道真及古緣)” (T49, no. 2034, p. 062a06-07).

³³⁵ “普耀經八卷(或六卷今有十二經別行)蜀普曜經六卷(上二經同本別譯異名)” (T49, no. 2034, p. 115c16 ~ T49, no. 2034, p. 115c17).

³³⁶ “曜經八卷(晉永嘉年竺法護譯)普曜經六卷(宋元嘉年沙門智猛共實雲譯)蜀普曜經八卷右三經同本異譯.” (T55, no. 2146, p. 129a17-20).

³³⁷ “(重翻闕本) 晉永嘉年竺法護譯普曜經六卷(重翻闕本)宋元嘉年沙門智猛共實雲譯” (T55, no. 2147, p. 178b2-25).

about the edition translated by Zhimeng and Baoyun, listed as a Mahāyāna text and described as being in 8 *juan*.³³⁸

4.6.4 **Avaivartikacakrasūtra* - *Guangbo yanjing jing* 廣博嚴淨經 (T268?)

Sengyou lists the *Guangbo yanjing jing* 廣博嚴淨經 in four *juan* as translated by Zhiyan, but with an emphasis on Baoyun's collaboration.³³⁹ An alternative title for this sūtra is 不退轉法輪經, which seems closer in meaning to its Sanskrit equivalent, *Avaivartikacakrasūtra*. According to Apple (2014, 165n10), the translation supposedly made by Zhiyan and Baoyun was the third one produced in Chinese, in the year 427.

In the *LDSBJ*, the text is said to have been translated at the Zhiyuan temple 枳園寺, which, although never mentioned in Baoyun's life accounts, appears in the biography of the monk Zhiyan as a temple dedicated to Zhiyan himself. As it happens quite often in Fei Zhangfang's catalogue, the list of works attributed to Zhiyan is enriched with many new titles – twelve in number – whose actual authorships need to be verified.

The *Guangbo yanjing jing* is attributed to Zhiyan and Baoyun in the *Zhongjing mulu* T2146 where the text is listed with the longer title of 廣博嚴淨不退轉經.³⁴⁰ T2147 and T2148 follow this quote, with the specification that there are two editions, in four and in six *juan*.³⁴¹

In the *Datang niedian lu* (T2149) the cooperation of Baoyun in the translation of this text disappears.³⁴² A generic mention of Baoyun as collaborator of Zhiyan is preserved in the list of translations attributed to the latter. It clearly states that the work was translated during the Yuanjia era of the Liu Song Dynasty, during the reign of Emperor Wen.³⁴³ Baoyun and Zhiyan are said to be

³³⁸ Sengyou did not list this title as an alternative to *Fo suoxing zan* (the translation of the *Buddhacarita*) – the confusion of these two titles began in later catalogues.

³³⁹ “廣博嚴淨經四卷(或云廣嚴淨不退輪轉經)右三部。十一卷。宋文帝時。沙門釋智嚴。以元嘉四年。共沙門寶雲譯出。” (T55, no. 2145, p. 12c07-09). Mention of the Zhiyan temple 枳園寺 is found in Zhiyan's life account. See also Du et al. (2009, 80).

³⁴⁰ “博嚴淨不退轉經六卷(或四卷)(宋元嘉年沙門智嚴共寶雲譯)不退轉法輪經四卷阿惟越致經三卷(或四卷)(晉太康年竺法護譯)右三經同本異譯。” (T55, no. 2146, p. 118b08-11).

³⁴¹ “廣博嚴淨不退轉輪經六卷(或四卷) 宋元嘉年沙門智嚴共寶雲譯” (T55, no. 2147, p. 158a06-07); “廣博嚴淨不退轉輪經四卷(或六卷七十八紙) 宋元嘉年智嚴共寶雲譯” (T55, no. 2148, p. 190b02-03).

³⁴² “廣博嚴淨不退轉法輪經(四卷或六卷七十八紙)宋元嘉年智嚴等於楊都譯” (T55, no. 2149, p. 288a07-08).

³⁴³ “右一十四部。合三十六卷。文帝元嘉四年。涼州沙門釋智嚴。弱冠出家遊方博學。遂於西域遇得前經梵本。齋至揚都。於枳園寺共寶雲出。嚴之神德備高僧傳不復妄載。” (T55, no. 2149, p. 258a10-14).

working at the Zhiyuan temple 枳園寺. The text is presented as a different edition of a *sūtra* previously translated by Zhu Fahu/Dharmarakṣa.³⁴⁴

In the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (T2154) there is also mention of a collaboration between Zhiyan and Baoyun in two different instances, namely *juan* 11 and *juan* 19.³⁴⁵ In the list of works attributed to Zhiyan, however, there is no specific mention of Baoyun taking part in the translation of the *Guangbo yanjing jing*. In the Taishō edition, the text is listed as T268, attributed to Zhiyan, with no mention of Baoyun. There are no apparent textual similarities between T268 and the *Fo suoxing zan*.

4.6.5 **Caturdevarāja-sūtra* - *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經 (T590?)

The *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經 or “Sūtra of the four heavenly kings” is listed in the *ChSZJJ* as a translation by Zhiyan;³⁴⁶ the same information is provided the monk’s biography.³⁴⁷ In both cases the collaboration with Baoyun is confirmed. Unfortunately, in his very long list of anonymous *sūtras*, Sengyou lists some texts with similar titles: as we shall see, this fact may entail that the *Si tianwang jing*, now listed as T590, may actually be the one that Zhiyan and Baoyun translated together – it could be a different translation that was subsequently re-attributed.

In the *Lidai sanbao ji*, there are different texts listed under the title of *Si tianwang jing* but considered anonymous. There is one *Si tianwang jing* listed among the translations by Zhiyan; the cooperation between him and Baoyun is generically mentioned in the notice about Zhiyan.³⁴⁸ All the *Zhongjing mulu* and the *Datang neidian lu* list the *Si tianwang jing* as the result of a cooperation between Zhiyan and Baoyun. In the catalogue by Fajing (T2146), the *Si tianwang jing* is listed as a Hinayāna text. In the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* there are two specific mentions of this edition of the text, of which one reports the names of Baoyun and Zhiyan,³⁴⁹ the other only Zhiyan.³⁵⁰ In the Taishō edition of the Buddhist Canon, this is the only case in which the collaboration of Baoyun is recognized, the *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經 as T590 being attributed to Zhiyan and Baoyun. From a preliminary textual

³⁴⁴ “廣博嚴淨不退轉法輪經(四卷或六卷七十八紙)宋元嘉年智嚴等於楊都譯右一經。三譯。西晉竺法護譯稱阿惟越致遮經。三卷。又異譯稱不退轉法輪經。並同本異出。” (T55, no. 2149, p. 315a14-18).

³⁴⁵ “廣博嚴淨不退轉法輪經四卷(或六卷)宋涼州沙門智嚴共寶雲譯(第三譯)” (T55, no. 2154, p. 592b17-18); “廣博嚴淨不退轉法輪經四卷(或六卷或直云廣博嚴淨經亦直云不退轉法輪經)七十八紙” (T55, no. 2154, p. 683a05-06).

³⁴⁶ T55, no. 2145, p. 012c06-09.

³⁴⁷ T55, no. 2145, p. 112c19-20.

³⁴⁸ “四天王經一卷(後有呪似後人所附出雜阿含)” (T49, no. 2034, p. 055a01); “四天王經一卷” (T49, no. 2034, p. 089c05).

³⁴⁹ “四天王經一卷宋涼州沙門釋智嚴共寶雲譯” (T55, no. 2154, p. 0617b07-08).

³⁵⁰ “四天王經(宋智嚴譯)” (T55, no. 2154, p. 484c07).

overview, however, it seems that there are no evident similarities between T590 and the translation of the *Buddhacarita*.³⁵¹

4.6.6 **Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* - *Dafang dengda jijing* 大方等大集經 (T397)

The *Dafang dengda jijing* 大方等大集經 is a collection of different texts; the total length is of sixty fascicles. Sengyou attributed the first twenty-nine fascicles of this composite work to Dharmakṣema,³⁵² in the very long list of lost translations compiled by Sengyou there are at least fifteen occurrences of single chapters from this collection that had become independent texts.³⁵³ In the Taishō, chapters 27 to 30 of the *Dafang dengda jijing* 大方等大集經 (T397) are attributed to Zhiyan and Baoyun. The four chapters (27-30) attributed to Zhiyan and Baoyun correspond to a version of the **Akṣayamatīnirdeśa*, or *Wujingyi pusa* 無盡意菩薩. As we have seen in paragraph 3.5, this attribution is dubious.

It is interesting to note that there is significant congruence in the translation of proper names between the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) and the second part of the *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra*, with a very rare occurrence as the name of the dragon Kala translated as 盲龍.³⁵⁴ Similar recurring expressions are noteworthy as well, such as sentences like 遠離諸塵垢, 如來善方便, and 大地普震動. Further research on the authorship of the various section of T397 may clarify the relationship of Baoyun and Zhiyan with this work, or the presence of composite texts based on Baoyun's translations.³⁵⁵

³⁵¹ On this topic see also Gotō Gijō (2007b).

³⁵² “方等大集經二十九卷(或云大集[8]經或三十卷或二十四卷”. (T55, no. 2145, p. 011b12).

³⁵³ T55, no. 2145, p. 021b14 - p0037b16.

³⁵⁴ “爾時，眾中有一盲龍名曰頗羅機梨奢” (T13, no. 397, p. 290b06). For the term 盲龍 in the translation of the *Buddhacarita* (T192) and in T189 see paragraph 9.4.

³⁵⁵ In the case of the *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra*, these expressions recur in verses of seven sentences, while in the *Fo suoxing zan* they are independent five-character verses. This is the only case in which the figure of Dharmakṣema and his translation style seem to have a close connection with the translation of the *Buddhacarita* as *Fo suoxing zan* (T192). The opposite possibility should also be considered: that these works bear similarities because they all belong to a tradition that begins with Dharmakṣema. In the case of T397, however, the lexicon is shared also with works by Buddhābhadda (T278) and Guṇābhadda (T189), who both worked with Baoyun. The fact that the translation of this text was started by Dharmakṣema (according to Sengyou's catalogue) and then continued by Zhiyan and Baoyun introduces the possibility that the translation bureaus present in the South edited and completed various works by Dharmakṣema, as it happened for the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* – of which, as we saw, there is a northern (T374) and a southern version (T375).

4.6.7 **Samyuktābhīdharmahr̥daya* - *Za Apitan xin* 雜阿毘曇心 (T1552)

The title *Za Apitan xin* 雜阿毘曇心 or **Samyuktābhīdharmahr̥daya* is attributed to Saṃghavarman and Baoyun. A comprehensive study and translation of this text is in Dessein (1999). Dessein (1999, lxxvii-lxxxii) provides a detailed description of all the different categorizations of the *Samyuktābhīdharmahr̥daya* by Dharmatrāta in the Canon.

There are two prefaces collected in Sengyou's *ChSZJJ*. From the first preface it seems that the translation was attempted, but not finished, by 伊葉波羅 *Īśvara and 求那跋摩 Guṇavarman.³⁵⁶ The second preface says that a foreign master translated the text with Baoyun and Huiguan.³⁵⁷ A text titled *Za Apitan xin* 雜阿毘曇心 and attributed to Saṃghavarman is listed as T1552 in the Taishō edition of the Canon.

Apparently, T1552 does not present many similarities with the translation of the *Buddhacarita* or *Fo suoxing zan* (T192);³⁵⁸ however, it may be important to underline the presence of some rare occurrences, as for example the verse *zhengshou sanmoti* 正受三摩提, which appears almost exclusively in these two texts. The expression *jingjin qin fangbian* 精進勤方便 is found only in texts connected to Baoyun and his collaborators, such as T99, T278 and T1552, being thus a further proof that T1552 can be related to the same translation team.

There are many different versions of *Abhidharma* texts in the catalogues.

The *LDSBJ* explicitly links all the *abhidharma* texts to the Hīnayāna tradition (小乘).³⁵⁹ There is mention of an *Abhidharma* in thirteen fascicles translated by Faxian and Buddhahadra;³⁶⁰ a ten- (or eleven) fascicle version translated by the foreign monk Yiye Boluo 伊葉波羅 (Īśvara?) under the emperor Wen of the Liu Song;³⁶¹ an edition in thirteen fascicles translated by Gunavarman.³⁶² The

³⁵⁶ T55, no. 2145, p. 74b04-b21. In this first preface there is mention of a sponsor (徐州刺史太原王仲德, T55, no. 2145, p. 74b15).

³⁵⁷ T55, no. 2145, p. 074b22-c10.

³⁵⁸ T1552 shares several common occurrences with T670, a text attributed to Guṇabhadra and Baoyun. These shared occurrences include the terms 爾炎 to designate *jñeya*, *sanmoti* 三摩提 for *samādhi* and the verb *guanding* 灌頂 for *abhiṣeka*. However, these three nouns are not rare in the Canon.

³⁵⁹ “雜阿毘曇心十三卷 阿毘曇心十三卷” (T49, no. 2034, p. 119c29).

³⁶⁰ “雜阿毘曇心論十三卷(共覺賢譯。是第二譯。與前秦僧伽跋澄出者大同)歷遊天竺記傳一卷右六部合二十四卷。平陽沙門釋法顯”(T49, no. 2034, p. 71b13-15). The version by Faxian and Buddhahadra is listed as missing by Sengyou at T55, no. 2145, p. 12a01.

³⁶¹ “雜阿毘曇心十卷 (或十一卷)右十卷。文帝世。外國沙門伊葉波羅。宋言自在。於彭城為北徐州刺史王仲德譯。至擇品緣礙未竟遂輟。” (T49, no. 2034, p. 090a15 ~ T49, no. 2034, p. 090a18). The catalogue explicitly mentions the patronage by Wang Zhongde. From the prefaces collected in the *ChSZJJ* we know that this work was never finished.

version proclaimed by Saṃghavarman and translated by Baoyun is reported as a commentary *Za Apitan piposha* 雜阿毘曇毘婆沙 or *Samyuktābhīdharmavibhāṣā*.³⁶³ The same title is used in the *Datang neidian lu* (T2149)³⁶⁴ and in the *Kaiyuan* catalogue.³⁶⁵ In a later catalogues there is still reference to Baoyun translating the text and Huiguan writing it down – these references are included in the brief life account of Saṃghavarman provided after the list of the monk’s translations. In the *Zhongjing mulu* (T2146), there is a list four *Abhidharma* texts, all with the same title; two *Abhidharma* texts are in thirteen *juan*, and one of these one is attributed to Saṃghavarman and Baoyun.³⁶⁶ The same listing is presented in T2147³⁶⁷ and is repeated in two different instances in T2148.³⁶⁸

We can see that there are multiple editions of these *Abhidharma* texts, including a variable number of fascicles. Whether or not the text coded as T1552 in the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon is the actual translation produced by Saṃghavarman and Baoyun, it is important to note that in the Taishō the text is attributed Saṃghavarman “et alii” – the name of Baoyun is no longer present.³⁶⁹

4.6.8 **Samyuktāgama - Za’ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T99)

The Taishō text coded as T99 is allegedly the *Samyuktāgama* or *Za’ahan jing* 雜阿含經 translated by Gunabhadra and Baoyun has eighteen occurrences in common with the *Fo suoxing zan*. This is not surprising since Baoyun and Gunabhadra worked together to various translations. T99 is however a text of extraordinary length, and the high number of occurrences should be also seen in proportion.

According to Glass (2008 [2010]), it is very probable that the manuscript of the *Samyuktāgama* belonged to the collection of manuscripts that Faxian had brought back from India. No preface was

³⁶² T49, no. 2034, p. 90a2-b04. This information partially confirms what is stated in the biography of Saṃghavarman in the *GSZh* – a passage which is not present in the account compiled by Sengyou “慧觀等以跋摩妙解雜心諷誦通利. 先三藏雖譯未及繕寫. 即以其年九月. 於長干寺招集學士. 更請出焉.” (T50, no. 2059, p0342b28-c01), but still mentioned in an anonymous preface collected in the *ChSZJJ*.

³⁶³ “雜阿毘曇毘婆沙十四卷 (元嘉十年於長干寺第二重譯. 與前本大同小異)”(T49, no. 2034, p. 91a12).

³⁶⁴ See T55, no. 2149, p. 258b29.

³⁶⁵ T55, no. 2154, p. 527c02-c03.

³⁶⁶ “雜阿毘曇心論十三卷(宋元嘉年僧伽跋摩共寶雲於長干寺譯)雜阿毘曇心論十三卷(宋世佛陀跋陀羅共法顯譯)” (T55, no. 2146, p. 142b22-b23). We can notice that in this catalogue there are two distinct titles: one is attributed to Buddhahadra and Faxian, the other to Saṃghavarman and Baoyun.

³⁶⁷ “雜阿毘曇心論十三卷(重翻闕本) 宋元嘉年僧伽跋摩共寶雲於長[1]干寺譯雜阿毘曇心論十三卷(重翻闕本) 宋世佛陀跋陀羅共法顯譯” (T55, no. 2147, p. 178a04-07).

³⁶⁸ (T55, no. 2148, p. 215c05 ~ T55, no. 2148, p. 215c08).

³⁶⁹ 宋天竺三藏僧伽跋摩等譯 (T28n1552_p0869c06). In this case the name of Baoyun, who provided the manuscript (Glass, 2010) and translated the text, was probably neglected for reasons of conciseness – a similar hypothesis was suggested by Liu Yuan-ju (2016: 12) for the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*.

recorded for this text – this may be due to the fact that Huiguan, who usually recorded prefaces or afterwords, had died before completion. This *Āgama* was translated over the course of many years, from 435 to 443. As a text belonging to the *Āgama* tradition, it is extremely long and comprises fifty *juan*. The transcriptions of proper names in this long translation bear a very high level of similarity to the lexicon in the *Buddhacarita* – there are twenty common occurrences, eight recurrent sentences, and thirteen proper names, with some quite rare cases such as *Nantuo yuan* 難陀園 for Nandana (as in *Bc* 3.64), the proper name of the park where the prince Sarvārthasiddha went after the four encounters.³⁷⁰

4.6.9 **Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanāda* - *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 ³⁷¹

The monk Huiguan wrote a preface for the translation of the *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 or **Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanāda*. This preface was collected by Sengyou and tells us the identities of sponsor, translators, and the circumstances in which the translation took place. The text was sponsored by Liu Yikang of Pengcheng 宋彭城王義康 (409-451),³⁷² and while Guṇabhadra is mentioned as “holder of the text”, Baoyun is indicated as the translator. The monk Huiyuan (363-443) and one hundred other people attended the procedure of translation, which took place in the year 436 and lasted one month. The **Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanāda* belongs to the *tathāgatagarbha* tradition, promoting the *ekāyana* doctrine. Huiguan was a promoter of the *ekāyana* doctrine in China. Further research may clarify Huiguan’s contribution to the translation of T353. An English translation can be found in Paul and McRae (2004).

Further research is needed to ascertain whether the text now listed as T353 in the Taishō edition of the Canon corresponds to Guṇabhadra and Baoyun’s translation of the **Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanāda*. This text does not show any evident correspondence in transcriptions of proper names or recurrent expressions that might have indicated a relationship with the *Fo suoxing zan*.

A passage in T353, however, shows evident similarities with a biography of the Buddha attributed to Guṇabhadra, the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* (T189). Both the narrative frame in T189 and T353 focus on a prophecy; although addressed to different recipients, these prophecies share a very similar wording:

³⁷⁰ Sengyou also mentions a translation of the *Samyuktāgama* made by Zhu Fonian and Buddhayaśa. Among the long *Āgama* literature, T1, T24 and T25 show some resemblance with the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) in the use of some peculiar proper names. T26 shows some resemblance but not in a significative proportion. See also Bareau (1963, 71).

³⁷¹ For the title see Demiéville et al. (1978, 45).

³⁷² On Liu Yikang of Pengcheng 宋彭城王義康 (409-451), see also paragraph 9.2.

當復供養無量阿僧祇佛，過二萬阿僧祇劫當得作佛，過二萬阿僧祇劫當得作佛，號普光如來、應、正遍知 (T12, no. 353, p. 217b15-16)

You will also make offerings to the immeasurable numbers of buddhas for more than twenty thousand immeasurable periods of time. Then you (Śrīmālā) will become the buddha named Universal Light (Samantaprabha), the Tathāgata, Arhat, Perfectly Enlightened One (Paul and McRae [2004, 11]).

過無量阿僧祇劫，當得成佛，號釋迦牟尼如來、應供、正遍知... (T03, no. 189, p. 622b12-14)

In thousand immeasurable periods of time you will obtain Buddhahood, will be named Śākyamuni, the Thatāgata, Perfectly Enlightened One...

The description of the state of Buddhahood in the prophecy from T353 appears in a wide range of texts, making us question the originality of T353 in this point.

4.6.10 *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* - *Lengjia'abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 (T670?) and the **Mahābherīhārakaparivarta* - *Fagu jing* 法鼓經 (T270) ³⁷³

As in the cases of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and the *Sukhāvatyūhasūtra*, the history of the transmission of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* to China is very complicated. Baoyun and his disciples are mentioned as translators along with of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* along with Guṇabhadra;³⁷⁴ the text is now attributed to Guṇabhadra.³⁷⁵

According to Sengyoum, a version of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* was translated by Guṇabhadra – with the assistance of Baoyun and/or his disciples. Lexical surveys (based on the occurrence of similar proper names and recurrent expressions) evidenced some relationship between the *Lengjia'abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 (T670) and the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192).

Although there are not many rare terms shared by T670 and T192, the recurring expression *shi gu xiuxing zhe* 是故修行者 seems to be a peculiar shared feature.³⁷⁶

The similarities between T192 and canonical adjacent texts are much more evident - there are in fact five occurrences in common between T671 and T192, some of them are complex and rare

³⁷³ Title derived by Demiéville et al. (1978, 37).

³⁷⁴ In the biography of Guṇabhadra in the *ChSZJJ* we read: “東安寺出家鼓經。後於丹陽郡譯出勝鬘楞伽經。徒衆七百餘人。寶雲傳譯。慧觀執筆。往復諮析妙得本旨”(T2145_55.0105b17- T2145_55.0105c14).

³⁷⁵ Later translations by Guṇabhadra might have taken place after the death of Baoyun (449) and therefore have been continued by his disciples. Among these disciples we should recall Fayong, who was inspired by Baoyun to travel to India and later on acted as interpreter for Guṇabhadra.

³⁷⁶ The quite rare term *eryan* 爾炎 or *jñeya* is used in T670 as well. Other, more common terms occur in both texts, like *sanmoti* 三摩提 for *samādhi* and the verb *guanding* 灌頂 for *abhiṣeka*. All these occurrences are also shared by the *Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* (T1552), translated by Saṅghavarman and Baoyun.

sentences such as 是故修行者 and 遠離諸塵垢. The comparison between the Fo suoxing zan and other *Laṅkāvatāra* texts should be pursued further.³⁷⁷

In the *LDSBJ*, in the list of texts translated by Guṇabhadra, there is mention of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* or *Lengqie abaduoluo bao* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶; however, Baoyun is not reported as translator, but Huiguan is mentioned as the scribe.³⁷⁸ In the account provided by the *Gujin yijing tuji* (T2551) the name of Baoyun disappeared – only Fayong is reported as translator, while Huiguan acted as scribe.³⁷⁹

The text listed as T270 and titled *Fagu jing* 法鼓經 in two *juan* is attributed to Guṇabhadra. There are no apparent similarities in proper names or peculiar expressions between this text and the translation of the *Buddhacarita*. There is, however, some affinity in contents. The discourse on kingship present in this text should be further investigated.³⁸⁰

4.7 Internal evidence: a survey based on lexical similarities including a table of the occurrences

In this section we will provide a list of terms and expressions derived from T192. By searching for these terms and expressions in the CBETA database and counting the occurrences in other Buddhist texts, we will attempt at individuating a set of titles that may be related to T192 by the use of the same lexicon. In order to limit the range of this search, only texts produced before the end of the Liu Song dynasty (420 - 476) will be considered for the survey.

The terms and expressions derived from T192 include:

- transcriptions/translations of proper names;

³⁷⁷ A short parallel passage can be found in T99, translated by Saṅghavarman and Baoyun, and T670, supposedly the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* by Guṇabhadra and Baoyun, for which compare:

“我是佛子，從佛口生，從法化生，得佛法分，以少方便，得禪、解脫、三昧、正受。譬如轉輪聖王長太子，雖未灌頂，已得王法，不勤方便，能得五欲功德” (T02n0099_p0132b02 ~ T02n0099_p0132b06)
“從一切佛刹來，佛手灌頂，如轉輪聖王太子灌頂。超佛子地，到自覺聖法趣，當得如來自法身” (T16n0670_p0488a10 ~ T16n0670_p0488a12).

³⁷⁸ “伽阿跋多羅寶經四卷(元嘉二十年. 於道場寺譯. 慧觀筆受. 見道慧僧祐法上錄)央掘魔羅經四卷 (亦道場寺出. 見道慧宋齊及僧祐法上別錄等)” (T49, no. 2034, p. 091a26 ~ T49, no. 2034, p. 091a28).

³⁷⁹ See T55n2151_p0362a29 ~ T55n2151_p0362c23.

³⁸⁰ At the beginning of the second *juan* of the *Fagu jing* there is reference to treasures appearing as the result of the king's donations to poor people: “爾時世尊告大迦葉：「譬如有王能行布施，彼王國中多出伏藏。所以者何？以彼國王種種周給貧苦眾生，是故伏藏自然發出” (T09n0270_p0295a05 ~ T09n0270_p0295a07). This theme is present in the *Fo suoxing zan*, but not in the *Buddhacarita*.

- Presence of rare expressions related to Chinese culture;³⁸¹
- peculiar translations of Buddhist terms;
- repeated five-characters sentences from T192 identified through the use of the Cloud-tag generator toCloud;³⁸²
- expression including the term *wuyu*, which is always used in T192 to translate the Sanskrit term *viṣaya*, “object of experience”.

The results of this search are summarized in the following table. In the left column it is reported the list of special terms and expressions from T192, in the right column there are the Taishō numbers of the texts in which the special terms and expressions recur at least once.

Table no. 1	
Proper names from T192	Taishō Number
阿伽陀	1509, 201, 1521, 397, 376, 374, 278, 375, 1488
阿私陀	1547, 125, 643, 1509, 201, 374, 278, 375, 189, 1546
阿修輪	1331
優陀夷	1464, 125, 26, 262, 1646, 1548, 001, 1425, 1421, 1441, 99, 189, 1546
迦賓闍羅	374, 375, 1546
迦毘羅衛國	200, 100, 125, 201, 1435, 99
盲龍	2085, 397(44), 189
鳩牟頭	007
伽闍山	189
伽提那	1331
瞿曇彌	2027, 196, 263, 1440, 212, 1464, 1549, 195, 125, 26, 1509, 201, 1435, 1646, 1428, 311, 397, 1425, 374, 375, 1421, 99, 271
車匿	184, 185, 760, 790, 152, 188, 345, 425, 2042, 186, 212, 1464, 194, 1775, 643, 2085, 1509, 1435, 1646, 007, 193, 99, 189
閻浮樹	184, 185, 198, 345, 425, 186, 384, 1463, 1464, 125, 26, 1509, 1435, 1428, 001, 311, 397, 1425, 376, 374, 278, 375, 193, 1421, 189
闍延多	984*, 1461*, 1559*
爾炎	1634, 618, C097n1821, 1552, 1541, 353, 670
檀茶	397(55)
十車王	23, 1428
難陀園	26, 278, 1672, 99
難陀婆羅	125, 1509, 1546
那羅鳩婆	984
尼連禪	184, 185, 186, 1856, 100, 212, 26, 1509, 1435, 1428, 001, 007, 374, 375, 193, 1421, 99, 189, 1546

³⁸¹ See the Preface in Willemen (2009a).

³⁸² This word-cloud generator was used to identify verses that are repeated at least twice in T192. Accessible at www.tocloud.com.

毘求	202, 379, 993, 1341
瓶沙王	553, 184, 196, 1507, 185, 507, 632, 211, 186, 1463, 212, 1547, 1509, 1435, 1428, 001, 1425, 193, 1421, 1441, 99, 202
婆羅墮	212, 1549, 125, 1435, 1428, 001, 397, 374, 375, 1546
摩菟	1331, 1332, 384, 294, 1509, 157, 278, 407, 99, 1546
大快見	005, 376
魔天王	196, 152, 332, 1478, 1634, 1509, 657, 397, 278, 1421, 1335
藍毘尼	397, 007, 189
婆藪天	1427, 1425, 374, 375, 1582, 441
跋彌	387, 397, 202
頻陀山	99, 120
毘尸婆	1335
毘耶娑	441, 1333, 671
尸毘王	200, 1509, 201, 1521, 208, 374, 375, 202
Peculiar terms and rare translations	
淨居天子	622, 623, 378, 186, 656, 125, 1489, 1521, 414
異形	184, 185, 403, 263, 186, 1856, 385, 212, 194, 1549, 2045, 26, 1509, 663, 278, 1421, 271, 1546
廣果天	294, 1509, 1521, 223, 1435, 657, 1646, 227, 397, 1581, 822, 1582, 723, 1546
網縵	481, 585, 186, 394, 26, 1509, 201, 1521, 001, 397, 663, 1581, 374, 375, 1488, 1582
幻偽心	376, 278
隨路還	99, 153, 663, 664
四月八日	184, 205, 185, 152, 1301, 391, 188, 1502, 005, 695, 696, 195, 1425, 189
羽儀	212, 2085, 1425, 2102
五儀飾	26
一乘道	403, 263, 398, 1858, 618, 484, 262, 278, c097n1821, 564, 1552, 1673, 99, 120, 353, 670
服習於	125
Repeated (identified toCloud) verses through	
一切諸天眾	397(47,52), 278, 721
父王聞太子	001
爾時淨居天	622, 623, 378, 656, 189
猶如天帝釋	193, 723, 99, 414
猶如天帝	186, 125, 193, 723, 99, 1690
坐正思惟	99
得安隱樂	1331, 1577, 262, 657, 1646, 1428, 397, 374, 278, 375, 99
恭敬設供養	278

王領四天下	125, 001, 007, 374, 375, 99, 189
一切眾生類	324, 811, 606, 222, 263, 292, 398, 285, 155, 1332, 656, 194, 125, 586, 201, 1521, 262, 657, 397, 1425, 376, 278, 193, 1552, 99, 414
不應求解脫	201
如來善方便	192, 374(7), 375(8), 387, 397
敬禮世尊足	99
是故知一切	1553, 1509, 1646, 001, 1581
遠離諸塵垢	201, 397
大地普震動	397(56)
是故修行者	C097n1821, 670
時諸力士眾	135, 007
狂風四激起	007
生老病死苦	221, 1331, 707, 1332, f03n0088, 385, 1464, 1547, 26, 410, 1509, 262, 1435, 1548, 1428, 278, 193, 723, 1673, 99, 189, 1546
當入於涅槃	2042, 1521, 262, 374, 375
精進勤方便	278, 1552, 99
得真實	153, 100, 1485, 1775, 26, 579, 618, 286, 1646, 397, 1581, 376, 374, 278, 375, 633, 1582, 99, 120, 189, 1546
精勤修苦行	99
力士眾	135, 55, 007, 278, 193, 1552, 270
Expressions containing the term <i>wuyu</i> 五欲 for visaya	
不著五欲 19	125, 410, 1509, 397, 374, 375, 278, 7
染著五欲	1521, 311, 397, 376
恣五欲	1509, 201, 1435, 001, 657, 1421
習五欲	184, 185, 186, 125, 376, 278
五欲想	125, 201, 397(29)
五欲具	1509, 223, 1548, 227, 397(16), 7, 99, 189, 1546
服習於五欲	222
服習五欲	99
上妙五欲樂	397(26)
上五欲樂	99
五欲因	125, 1509, 223, 227, 001, 663, 278, 99
知五欲	125, 26, 1509, 1521, 374, 1488
著於五欲	125, 201, 262
求五欲	278, 1488, 268, 1546
五欲境界	1547, 294, 1506, 1581, 278, 99, 1546

On a total of fifty-six texts, the average of shared items is 7.21. A list of twenty-one texts that showed a number of similarities above the average is provided in the following table:

Table no. 2			
Taishō number	Title	Translator (Taishō attribution)	Shared occurrences
99	雜阿含經 (50 fasc.) <i>Samyuktāgama</i>	劉宋 求那跋陀羅 Liu Song, Guṇabhadra	27
397	大方等大集經 (60 fasc.) <i>Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra</i>	曇無讖等 Dharmakṣema (up to fasc. 26) et alii (incl. Baoyun and Zhiyan)	23
278	大方廣佛華嚴經 (60) <i>Buddhāvataṃsaka</i>	佛馱跋陀羅 Buddhabhadra	22
1509	大智度論 (100 fasc.) <i>Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra</i>	姚秦 鳩摩羅什 Later Qin, Kumārajīva	21
125	增壹阿含經 (51 fasc.) <i>Ekottarāgama</i>	東晉 瞿曇僧伽提婆 Eastern Jin, Gautama Saṃghadeva (doubtful)	18
374	大般涅槃經 (40 fasc.) <i>Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra</i>	曇無讖 Dharmakṣema	17
375	大般涅槃經 (36 fasc.) <i>Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra</i>	慧嚴等依泥洹經加之 Huiguan's adaptation	16
189	過去現在因果經 (4 fasc.) <i>Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing</i>	劉宋 求那跋陀羅 Liu Song, Guṇabhadra	14
1546	阿毘曇毘婆沙論 (60 fasc.) <i>Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā Śāstra</i>	北涼 浮陀跋摩共道泰等譯 Northern Liang, Buddhavarman and Daotai	14
201	大莊嚴論經 (15 fasc.) <i>Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā</i>	姚秦 鳩摩羅什 Later Qin Kumārajīva	12
1	長阿含經 (22 fasc.) <i>Dīrghāgama</i>	後秦 佛陀耶舍共竺佛念 Later Qin, Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian	11
1435	十誦律 (61 fasc.) <i>Sarvāstivāda-vinaya</i>	弗若多羅共羅什譯 Punyatāra and Kumārajīva	10
26	中阿含經 (60 fasc.) <i>Madhyamāgama</i>	東晉 瞿曇僧伽提婆 Eastern Jin, Gautama Saṃghadeva	10
1521	十住毘婆沙論 (17 fasc.)	姚秦 鳩摩羅什 Later Qin, Kumārajīva	9

7	大般涅槃經 (3 fasc.) <i>Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra</i>	法顯記 Faxian	8
376	佛說大般泥洹經 (6 fasc.) <i>Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra</i>	法顯譯 Faxian	8
1425	摩訶僧祇律 (40 fasc.) <i>Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya</i>	東晉 佛陀跋陀羅共法顯譯 Eastern Jin, Buddhahadra and Faxian	8
193	佛本行經 (7 fasc.) <i>Fo benxing jing</i>	Baoyun (Doubious attribution)	8
186	普曜經 (8 fasc.) <i>Puyao jing</i>	西晉 竺法護 Western Jin, Zhu Fahu	8
1428	四分律 (60 fasc.) <i>Dharmaguptaka-vinaya</i>	姚秦 佛陀耶舍共竺佛念等譯 Later Qin, Buddhayaśa and Zhu Fonian	8
1421	彌沙塞部和醯五分律 (30) <i>Mahīśāsaka-vinaya</i>	劉宋 佛陀什共竺道生等譯 Liu Song, Buddhajīva and Zhu Daosheng	8

The two texts with most occurrences – T99 and T397 - were already discussed in the section on external evidence. As for the third title in Table 2, the *Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* or *Dafang guangfo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 in sixty *juan* (T278), it deserves a dedicated analysis since it was translated by Buddhahadra, Baoyun’s first Indian meditation master.

In the list of titles, we find several translations by Kumārajīva – some of these attributions, however, need to be discussed.³⁸³ The presence of so many translations by Kumārajīva is not surprising; Baoyun and Kumārajīva had met in Chang’an. Other considerations can explain the acquaintance of Baoyun with the translation work of Kumārajīva. Baoyun was close to the editor and scribe Huiguan, who had been a disciple of Kumārajīva. Baoyun and Huiguan travelled “South of the river” together.³⁸⁴ Huiguan compiled an explanation of the *Lotus sutra* based on a translation by Kumārajīva (Cheung 2006, 103-104).³⁸⁵

³⁸³ T201 *Da Zhuangyan jinglun* 大莊嚴經論 or *Kalpanā maṇḍitikā*, attributed to Aśvaghōṣa and allegedly translated by Kumārajīva, has eleven occurrences in common with the *Fo suoxing zan* T04n0201_p0257a06 ~ T04n0201_p0257a08. The title does not appear in catalogues before Tang times and it is not listed among the works by Kumārajīva in Sengyou’s catalogue (T55, no. 2145, p. 010c16 ~ T55, no. 2145, p. 011a24). The title is also found as 大莊嚴論經.

³⁸⁴ In the life account of Huiguan we read that he travelled back to the South after the death of Kumārajīva. However, the presence of Huiguan in the life of Baoyun is attested by several account and prefaces from Sengyou’s *Chu sanzang jiji*, for which see Paragraphs 3.3 and 4.5.

³⁸⁵ Thanks to Huiguan we also know that the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* translated by Dharmakṣema was also circulating at the court of the Liu Song.

Besides the personal connections between Baoyun, Huiguan and Kumārajīva, it is important to note that the library of manuscripts collected by the Later Qin ruler and patron of Kumārajīva, Yao Xing (r. 394-416), was seized by Liu Yu (r. 420-422), the founder of the Liu Song dynasty (420-479) and sponsor of Buddhahadra and Zhiyan. Liu Yu moved the library of Yao Xing from Chang'an to Jiankang – the collection comprehended 438 fascicles of Buddhist texts collected in 55 volumes (Drège 1989, 29).

The translation labelled as T125 is a Chinese version of the *Ekottarāgama* that shows twelve similarities with T192 – this *Āgama* has a composite nature and contains references and quotes from other texts.³⁸⁶ The translation is attributed to Gautama Saṃghadeva; modern scholars doubt this attribution and tend to think that T125 was in fact a patchwork realized by Zhu Fonian.³⁸⁷

Among the *vinaya* texts that share a relatively high number of similarities with T192 we find the following titles:

- T1435 十誦律 *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, translated by Puṇyatāra and Kumārajīva (10 occurrences);
- T1425 摩訶僧祇律 *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* translated by Buddhahadra and Faxian (8 occurrences);
- T1428 四分律 *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* translated by Buddhayaśa and Zhu Fonian (8 occurrences);
- T1421 彌沙塞部和醯五分律 *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya*, translated by Buddhajīva and Zhu Daosheng (8 occurrences).

The case of T1435, the *Sarvāstivādavīnaya* is a good example to understand the possible influence exerted by Kumārajīva's translation methods on Baoyun. As described by Funayama (2004, 100) the translation of the *Sarvāstivādavīnaya* was started by Puṇyatāra (who knew the text by heart) and Kumārajīva in 404 and abruptly interrupted in 405 when Puṇyatāra died. The translation was resumed by Dharmaruci. Buddhahadra, Zhiyan and Baoyun arrived in Chang'an from India in the year 406 and probably witnessed this second phase of translation.

The *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* was brought from India by Faxian and translated by Faxian and Buddhahadra in Jiankang. This text bears a fairly high number of similarities with the translation of the *Buddhacarita* as *Fo suoxing zan* (T192). Among these occurrences there is the word *yuyi* 羽儀, “ceremony of the plumes”, apparently a ceremonial greeting reserved for kings and emperors. There are only five occurrences of this word in translations made before Sengyou's time: in the *Fo suoxing*

³⁸⁶ For some bibliography see Nattier (2008, 50n67) and

³⁸⁷ Nattier (2010a), Legittimo (2006), Hiraoka (2007). Gautama Saṃghadeva, however, is still the undebated translator of T26, 中阿含經 a version of the *Madhyamāgama* in 60 fascicles. Gautama Saṃghadeva worked on Mount Lu with Dao'an and Huiyuan (), who hosted Buddhahadra, Baoyun and Huiguan after they left Chang'an.

zan and the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya*, with the other three cases appearing in texts by Zhu Fonian and in Faxian's travelogue.

According to the reconstruction by Hodge (2012), Baoyun was probably entrusted with the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, while Buddhahadra and Faxian were translating *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya*. Baoyun was part of the same translation group and probably had access to the same library: this may explain the high number of similarities between the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* and the translation of the *Buddhacarita* as *Fo suoxing zan* (T192). Further research is required to confirm the possible collaboration of Baoyun in the translation of the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya*.

There are two other versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* that shares a very high number of similarities with the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192); these versions are T374 (17 similarities, of which 5 rare cases) and T375 (16 similarities, 5 rare cases). As explained by Durt (1994, 60) and noted in the Taishō, the version in T374 was translated by Dharmakṣema and T375 is an edited version of the same text. The edited version, also called “Southern version” was made by Huiguan (and others).³⁸⁸ Similar occurrences consist in the use of the same proper names in transcriptions/translations and shared five-character sentences. Shared sentences mostly come from the last three fascicles of T192.

The similarities shared by the translation of the *Buddhacarita* (T192) and the work of Dharmakṣema are also evident in the case of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and the *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* or *Dafang dengda jijing* 大方等大集經 (T397). Dharmakṣema was working under Juqu Mengxun, in the North-West of China. After Dharmakṣema's death, the monk's translations were circulated South of the river. In the cases of T374 (*Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*) and T397 (*Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra*) the translations were edited or enlarged: in the case of T397, the text was increased dramatically, from 26 fascicle to 60 fascicles. The *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* by Dharmakṣema was edited by Huiguan; four chapters of the *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* have the signatures of Zhiyan and Baoyun. The similarities

³⁸⁸ As explained by Durt (1994, 60) and reported in the Taishō, the version in T374 was translated by Dharmakṣema and T375 is the polished version of the same text, also known as the “Southern version”. If it was not for the external evidences provided by catalogues and the similarities between the *Avataṃsakasūtra* translated by Buddhahadra, given the similarities between the *Fo suoxing zan* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* by Dharmakṣema, we would be lead to think that Dharmakṣema could be the actual translator of the *Buddhacarita*. We have no information about how Baoyun got to have a manuscript of the poem, on the other hand, nothing is said about Dharmakṣema and the *Buddhacarita* whatsoever. In this scenario, we might rise two hypothesis: 1) Huiguan (and probably Baoyun) did not simply create a new version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (T375), they also edited Dharmakṣema's work (T374) as they probably did with T397; 2) while working to the production of a second edition of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Huiguan and Baoyun were influenced by the lexicon and style employed by Dharmakṣema. The whole issue is very thorny; it is possible to envisage a path of research on the “appropriation” of the works by Dharmakṣema by the southern tradition.

between Dharmakṣema's translations and the *Buddhacarita* may well be due to the intervention of these “Southern editors”.

It is interesting to note the presence of the *Fo benxing jing* - T193. This text is a life of the Buddha, thus similar in content to the translation by Dharmarakṣa (T186) and to the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192). The *Fo benxing jing* T193 was attributed to Baoyun by later catalogues. The text is in seven *juan*, 30 chapters, and it was never mentioned by Sengyou as a work by Baoyun. In fact, Sengyou only mentions a version in five fascicles of the *Fo benxing jing*, and considers it as lost – this text is never quoted in Sengyou's anthology on the life of the Buddha, the *Shijia pu* (T2040). The *Fo benxing jing* confused with a second translation of the *Buddhacarita*, although the structure of this poem is very different.³⁸⁹

The *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 (T212) is attributed to Zhu Fonian;³⁹⁰ it shares seven occurrences with T192. These occurrences may be explained by the fact that Baoyun and Zhu Fonian shared the same geographical origins (they were both from Liangzhou) and both ended up working “South of the river”, under the Eastern Jin dynasty and under the Liu Song – it is inferable that they could have spoken (and presumably written) in a similar fashion. It is important to note that one of the shared terms is quite peculiar: *yuyi* 羽儀 or “ceremony of the plumes” is used very rarely in the Canon, and it occurs in older translations like T212 by Zhu Fonian, the *Fo suoxing zan*, the account of Faxian's journey to the Western Regions (T2085) and the translation of the *Mahāsāṃghika vinaya* 摩訶僧祇律.

The results of the search for internal evidence were undoubtedly influenced by the different in contents and length of the texts considered for the survey.³⁹¹ It may be useful to rapport the total number of similar occurrences to the number of fascicles of each text, thus obtaining an average of shared features per fascicle.

The results of this search are summarized in the Table no. 3. The table lists only titles sharing more than one similar occurrence per fascicle.

Table no. 3				
Taishō number	Title (number of fascicles)	Translator (Taishō attribution)	Total occurrences	Average
189	過去現在因果經 (4 fasc.) <i>Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing</i>	劉宋 求那跋陀羅 Liu Song, Guṇabhadra	14	3,5

³⁸⁹ On this point, see Kawano (2007).

³⁹⁰ See also Hiraoka Satoshi (2007).

³⁹¹ The criteria of metric philology would impose to take the results on the number of characters, see for example the case studies in Gotō 2002a and 2002b.

185	太子瑞應本起經 <i>Taizi ruiyung benqi jing</i>	吳 支謙譯 Wu, Zhi Qian	7	3,5
184	修行本起經 (2) <i>*Cārya-nidāna</i>	後漢 竺大力共康孟詳譯 Later Han, Zhu Dali and Kang Mengxian	7	3,5
2085	高僧法顯傳 <i>Gaoseng Faxian zhuan</i>	法顯記 Faxian	3	3,00
7	大般涅槃經 (3 fasc.) <i>Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra</i>	法顯記 Faxian	8	2,67
353	勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經 <i>Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanāda</i> (1)	劉宋 求那跋陀羅譯 Liu Song, Guṇabhadra	2	2,00
195	佛說十二遊經 <i>Fo shuo shier you ji</i>	東晉西域沙門迦留陀伽譯 Eastern Jin, Kālodaka	2	2,00
196	中本起經 <i>Zhong benqi jing</i>	後漢 曇果共康孟詳譯 Later Han Tanguo and Kang Mengxiang	3	1,50
618	達摩多羅禪經 (2) <i>*Dharmatrāta-dhyāna</i>	東晉 佛陀跋陀羅 Eastern Jin, Buddhahadra	3	1,50
376	佛說大般泥洹經 (6 fasc.) <i>Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra</i>	法顯譯 Fa Xian	8	1,33
193	佛本行經 (7) <i>Fo benxing jing</i>	Baoyun	8	1,14

Five texts in the list – T184, T185, T189, T195 and T196 – are narratives covering different segments of the life of the Buddha.³⁹² These narratives share a similar transcriptions of proper names with T192, and the high number of similarities can be due by the similar content. The case of T189 is particularly noteworthy, since this account seems to be linked to Baoyun by internal and external evidences. The authorship of T189 is attributed to Gunabhadra, who had been Baoyun's collaborator. Beside a high share of common proper names T189 and T192 also share whole sentences and five-character verses.

³⁹² The relationship between T184, T185, T195 and T196 is extremely intricate. For a tentative of clarifying the attributions of these texts see Nattier (2008, 104-109). We must notice that among biographical material T190 tops the high number of eighteen correspondences with T192. The account presented in T190 is particularly long (sixty juan) and it seems to be a summation of other accounts or a translation of the *Mahāvastu*. Although very similar in content, T192 and T193 only have six occurrences in common, and almost all these terms are in fact widespread through the canon and far from being indicative of some closer relationship. Ōminami (2002) provided a short list of important examples about the differences in the transcription/translation of proper names between the two accounts.

In this refined list we find again the two *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtras* attributed to Faxian, T7 and T376 – this data reinforces the idea that these texts were probably authored by Baoyun. Faxian’s travelogue of the journey to the West is present in the list as well, which is not completely surprising considering that the pilgrim and Baoyun travelled together and, once settled back in China, translated along the same Indian master, Buddhahadra. In this list the influence of Buddhahadra’s meditation practices gained a new importance since the master’s version of Dharmatara’s treatise on meditation (T618) shares three peculiar expression that are uncommon in the Canon but quite specific in texts linked to Baoyun and in the later production by Gunabhadra.

Considering both the total number of shared occurrences and the average number of occurrences for each chapter and comparing these results to external evidence provided by catalogues, two texts should be granted particular attention: the *Mahāvaipulyabuddhāvataṃsakasūtra* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T278) attributed to Buddhahadra and the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* 過去現在因果經 (T189) attributed to Gunabhadra.

4.7.1 **Mahāvaipulyabuddhāvataṃsakasūtra* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T278)

T278 is the text with the third highest number of similarities with T192, with a total of 22 occurrences. The *Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 a “mammoth” – as defined by Jan Nattier – version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in sixty *juan* by Buddhahadra. The *Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka* and the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* were both translated by Buddhahadra at the Daochang temple.

In the year 418 Buddhahadra was invited by Meng Yi 孟顗 and Chu Shudu 褚叔度 to translate a version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T278) brought back from Khotan by the monk Zhi Faling. Buddhahadra translated this text, with Faye 法業 acting as scribe,³⁹³ at the Daochang temple.³⁹⁴ Although Baoyun is not mentioned as collaborator in this translation, we should

³⁹³ There is a brief mention of Faye 法業 in the GSZh, as an appendix to Huiguan’s biography. He was from Chang’an and a former disciple of Kumārajīva. According to Huijiao, princess Ling of the Jin built the Nanlin temple for him “又有法業本長安人善大小品及雜心蔬食節己故晉陵公主為起南林寺後遂居焉” (T50, no. 2059, p0368b28 ~ T50, no. 2059, p0368c01).

³⁹⁴ See Hamar (2009, 147-148). “出經後記華嚴經胡本凡十萬偈。昔道人支法領。從于闐得此三萬六千偈。以晉義熙十四年歲次鶉火三月十日。於楊州司空謝石所立道場寺。請天竺禪師佛度跋陀羅。手執梵文。譯胡為晉。沙門釋法

note that no translator is mentioned explicitly – apparently Buddhābhadrā was proclaiming the text and translating it into Chinese by himself.³⁹⁵

One may think that, given the extraordinary length of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in translation, the high number of similarities with T192 is not significant. Some cases, however, seem to be very peculiar, as for example *Nantuo yuan* 難陀園, or the “pleasure garden”, with no more than nineteen occurrences in the Canon, *Manou* 摩菟 to transcribe the name of Manu, then the full sentences *jingjin qin fangbian* 精進勤方便 and *gongjing she gongyang* 恭敬設供養 – this last one is a unique case, only present in the *Fo suoxing zan* and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. Among other recurring themes, there is the five-character sentence *rulai yi rushi* 如來亦如是, which is repeated twice in the *Fo suoxing zan* and eleven times in the translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. Some expressions like *jianli zhenfa chuang* 建立正法幢 and *busheng fangyi xin* 不生放逸心 are very rare in the Canon and shared by T192 and T278. Since Baoyun was translator and interpreter for Buddhābhadrā, we might suppose that there should be a connection between T192 and T278.

4.7.2 *Guoqu xianzai yingguo jing* 過去現在因果經 (T189)

T189 is an account of the life of the Buddha attributed to Guṇabhadra and it seems related to T192 by both internal evidence (high number of similarities in lexicon, transcriptions and shared sentences) and external evidence (Guṇabhadra and Baoyun had worked together on several translations).

Occurrences shared by T192 and T189 include the name of the sage Asita, the name of Udayin, the very rare translation of the *naga* name *manglong* 盲龍, the mountain range name *jiadu shan* 伽闍山, the transcription of Lumbinī as *Lanpini* 藍毘尼. Beside all these, T189 and T192 share whole expressions such as *ershi Jingju tian* 爾時淨居天 and *wangshi ji dachen* 王師及大臣.

We might suppose that Guṇabhadra was assisted by Baoyun for the translation of T189, or *vice versa* that Guṇabhadra helped Baoyun translate T192. It might as well be the case that Guṇabhadra had read Baoyun’s work and derived the lexicon from it.

業親從筆受。時吳郡內史孟顗右衛將軍褚叔度為檀越。至元熙二年六月十日出訖。凡再校胡本。至大宋永初二年辛丑之歲。十二月二十八日校畢。” (T55, no. 2145, p. 060c29 ~ T55, no. 2145, p. 061a08).

³⁹⁵ “大方廣佛華嚴經五十卷(沙門支法領於于闐國得此經胡本到晉義熙十四年三月十日於道場寺譯出至宋永初二年十二月二十八日都訖)” (T55, no. 2145, p. 011c09 ~ T55, no. 2145, p. 011c10).

While the similarity in content (these works are both narratives, although T189 is mostly in prose, T192 in verse) might explain the occurrence of similar terms, the choice of similar transcriptions for proper names may not be a coincidence.

The relationship between the two accounts of the life of the Buddha is very evident and deserves a dedicated analysis, for which see Chapter 9.

4.8 An investigation through TACL

This chapter started from historical information provided by Buddhist catalogues to draw a list of texts that may be related to the translation of the *Buddhacarita* or *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) – we referred to this process as “search for external evidences”.

A second step was taken to search for internal evidences, i. e. occurrences of proper names, specific expressions and verses, shared between T192 and other texts in the Chinese Buddhist Canon. This search evidenced a very high degree of similarities between T192 and T189, a biography of the Buddha attributed to the Indian monk Guṇabhadra, one of Baoyun’s foreign collaborators. Thus, T189 is related to T192 in two ways – the biographical accounts link the two texts’ presumed authors and a high number of shared features testifies a probable textual affinity.

While analyzing the possible relationship between T192 and T189, I found a very recent study by Michael Radich (2018) that partly addressed this topic. Radich realized the close similarities between three texts (T7, T353, T189) by means of a computational analysis conducted through TACL, a tool for large-scale comparative analysis of strings of texts (n-grams) contained in a corpus of digitised text. TACL is programmed in Python and is an open source code.

I decided to apply the search through TACL to a set of texts related to Baoyun and T192.

The use of TACL is explained in a guide by Michael Radich.³⁹⁶ However, it may be useful to summarize how TACL works. TACL creates a database of strings of texts, henceforth *n-grams*, from a given corpus. The length of each *n-gram* is user-defined. Through the TACL command “intersect” is then possible to calculate how many *n-grams* from a given text are shared by other texts in the same corpus.

³⁹⁶ The text of the manual can be consulted at <https://dazangthings.nz/tacl-guide/>.

I chose a set of texts (corpus) related to Baoyun and the translation of the *Buddhacarita* to create database of *n*-grams. I decided to limit the corpus to relatively short, not composite texts.³⁹⁷ I voluntarily excluded T189, whose similarity with T192 will be studied in a chapter dedicated to this topic, and other short or fragmentary narratives of the life of the Buddha, which deserve a focused reading and analysis.

The database of *n*-grams was created on the basis of the following texts:

- T7, a *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (2 fasc.) attributed to Faxian – the authorship of this text/translation is under scrutiny of a recent study by Radich (2018); as we have seen, there is consistent evidence from early prefaces that Baoyun worked on the translation of a *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*;
- T186, *Puyao jing* 普曜經 (8 fasc.) currently attributed to Zhu Fahu/Dharmarakṣa, a text whose title is similar to a translation by Zhiyan and Baoyun nowadays lost;
- T193 *Fo benxing jing* 佛本行經 (7 fasc.) a life of the Buddha attributed to Baoyun in later catalogues – no mention of it is found in Sengyou’s catalogue;
- T353 (2 fasc.) *Śrīmālāsūtra* or *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 attributed to Guṇabhadra and Baoyun;
- T376 *Fo shuo daban niehuan jing* 佛說大般泥洹經 (6 fasc.) a *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* attributed to Faxian which shares a relatively high number of similarities with T192.
- T618 *Dharmatara-dhyāna-sūtra* or *Damoduoluo chan jing* 達摩多羅禪經 (2 fasc.) a treatise on meditation attributed to Buddhābhadda, Baoyun’s master;
- T1581 a *Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經 (10) a *Bodhisattvabhūmisūtra* attributed to Dharmakṣema. I chose this witness in particular to search for possible similarities between T192 and other texts attributed to Dharmakṣema – the other name associated with the authorship of T192.

After reading Michael Radich’s Guide to TACL, I realized that is not convenient to work with two-characters *n*-grams – this analysis would create a huge number of shared occurrences, producing a set of data too big for the scrutiny of a human mind. Since T192 is composed by verses of five characters, I decided to limit the maximum size of the *n*-grams to five characters. I thus create a database of *n*-grams from three to five characters in length.

The function “tacl intersect” lists all the *n*-grams (in our case, of three to five characters), shared by T192 and each other text (witness) from the corpus. The resulting number of shared occurrences to analyze is very high: we have 9310 shared occurrences, of which 7716 shared *n*-grams of 3 characters. I thus tried reducing the number of *n*-grams by collapsing all the *n*-grams of 3 or 4 characters contained in larger *n*-grams. The total number of shared *n*-grams was thus reduced to 7239 – although a significative reduction, the figure is still too high to be taken into consideration for analysis. The new

³⁹⁷ As in the examples of T99, T278 and T397, the extreme length of the texts can cause the production of a number of data so high that it is impossible to derive any conclusion from it. This problem was acknowledged by Radich (2018).

outcome shows 5945 three-characters *n-grams*, 1068 four-characters *n-grams* and 226 *n-grams* of five characters.

I decided to focus on the list of five characters *n-grams* as a first step – given the fact that T192 is completely made up of five-characters sentences, it is interesting to focus on this peculiar verse-structure. The list of 226 five-characters *n-grams* can be pruned by removing elements of scarce significance such as chapters' titles and numeration and author's attributions.³⁹⁸ After the application of these filters we are left with a list of 179 *n-grams*, that is to say, 179 sequences of five characters that are shared between T192 and at least one of the witness-texts in the corpus.

After these operations, I proceeded to count the number of occurrences for each witness-text, in total and by proportion to the number of fascicles. The results obtained are the following

- T7: 36 shared n-grams, with an average of 12 per fascicle;
- T0186: 22 shared n-grams, 2,75 per fascicle;
- T0193: 28, 4 per fascicle;
- T0353: 10 n-grams in total (the text is composed by a single fascicle);
- T0376: 46 n-grams, with an average of 7,6 per fascicle;
- T618: 25 n-grams, with an average of 12,5 per fascicle;
- T1581: 29 n-grams, with an average of 2,9 per fascicle.

After obtaining these data, I individuated two different lines of enquiry. The first path is to identify the frequency of each five-characters n-gram in the Canon, by searching for each sentence in the Cbeta database. In this way it is possible distinguish unique and exceptional cases – more likely related to the style of an author – from frequent and common five-characters strings, which might be repetitions of fixed formulas or common proper names (mostly pluri-syllabic, phonetic renderings).

The second line of enquiry is to focus on text-witnesses that share a high average of n-grams per fascicle with T192 – in this perspective, T618 gained more attention.

I will thus provide examples of outcomes from both research threads. The following cases of common occurrences and similarities were identified by searching for the frequency of shared five characters n-grams in the Canon and analyzing several cases of uncommon or unique occurrences.³⁹⁹

While searching for the frequency of five-characters n-grams in the Canon, I found a very long string of twelve characters shared by five very heterogeneous texts from the fifth and sixth century. The

³⁹⁸ The n-grams eliminated from the list are the following: 於菩薩菩薩, 第二十五佛, 壽品第二十, 品第二十七, 品第十五如, 涼天竺三藏, 二十六爾時, 品第二十三, 品第二十五, 品第二十八, 真實觀真實, 北涼天竺三, 品第十六時, 曇無讖譯1, 出家品第十, 品第二十六, 於一切眾生, 品第二十一, 分舍利品第, 法輪品第十, 第二十六爾, 品第二十二, 菩提品第十, 三藏曇無讖, 經卷第一佛, 佛品第二十, 經卷第三佛, 品第十九佛, 轉法輪品第, 品第二十四.

³⁹⁹ I use the definition “unique occurrences” for cases of n-grams shared by only two texts in the Canon.

string is 我年既幼稚學日又初淺豈能宣, shared by T192, T196 - a narrative on the life of the Buddha of difficult attribution, T1509 - the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra* translated by Kumārajīva and two other commentaries (T1746 and T2121). Apparently, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra* (T1509) is the older of the group. Since this passage is presented in the seventeenth chapter of T192, we do not have any Sanskrit equivalent. From the Tibetan version in Weller (1929, 172-173) it seems that the Tibetan translation is close in content to the Chinese. Further investigation is clearly needed on this point.

There is an important similarity between T192 and T376, a *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* attributed to Faxian. A particular case is related to the n-gram 或舉身洞然, for which compare:

即於大眾前，
斂身入正受， 飄然昇虛空，
經行住坐臥， 或舉身洞然，
左右出水火， 不燒亦不濡。 」（T04, no. 192, p.32b20-23)

若使弊魔坐臥空中，左脇出火右脇出水，或舉身洞然而出煙雲種種變化 （T12, n0. 376 p. 876b10-11)

A very similar passage is also present in a *Bodhisattvabhūmi* attributed to Guṇabhadra, the *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經：

身上出火身下出水、身上出水身下出火。或舉身出火作種種色 （T30, no. 1582, p. 971c07-09)

The text from T192 quoted for this case is not extant in Sanskrit – a comparison with the Tibetan text is needed.

The passage 諸事火具 悉棄於水中 （T4, no. 192, p.0031c16) is echoed in three other narratives on the life of the Buddha (T185, T186 and T196) in the slightly different form 諸事火具 悉棄水。⁴⁰⁰

As anticipated, the second line of enquiry focuses on text-witnesses that share with T192 a high average of n-grams per fascicle. There are two texts that share a high number of similarities and are T7, the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* attributed to Faxian, and T618, the *Dharmataradhyānasūtra* or 達摩多羅禪經 authored by Buddhahadra, Baoyun's meditation master.

There are 25 shared n-grams between T192 and T618, at least one of which is in fact a string of seven characters (甚深微妙義，今當...).

In at least one case, we can observe an intentional quotation. The passage corresponds to *Bc* 5.10-5.11, the description of the Buddha's first meditation, which seems to be directly borrowed by

⁴⁰⁰ On this point see also paragraph 9.6 and Radich (2018, 22-23).

Buddhabhadra's meditation treatise. In particular, the passage about the first meditation of the Buddha is reproduced in T618 with a very similar wording:

有覺亦有觀 入初無漏禪，離欲生喜樂 (T04, no. 192, p. 08c16-17)⁴⁰¹
有覺亦有觀 離欲生喜樂 寂然入初禪 (T15, no. 618, p. 318c27-28.)

T618 is attributed to Buddhabhadra, Baoyun's meditation master. Thus, T618 is linked to Baoyun by internal and external evidence. The presence of quotations from T618 in T192 is a further proof of Baoyun's intervention in the creation of T192. The close relationship between T618 and T192 is probably the most interesting outcome of this search with TACL, although it is useful to admit that further readings of the collected data can shed more light on possible relationships with other texts.

As for the relationship between the different narratives on the life of the Buddha, comparative reading is probably the best way to proceed.⁴⁰² While the relationship between T189 and T192 is so glaring that it would be hard to deny, only a close reading of the other hagiographic texts can give us further information on the sources consulted by Baoyun and on the influence of the translation of the *Buddhacarita* on the Buddhist Canon.

4.9. Conclusions and possible research paths

This study individuated a whole “library” of texts that show either internal evidence or external evidence of a relationship with T192 through external evidence, internal evidence and an n-gram search. This set of texts should work as a reference for future researches on Baoyun and on the translation of the *Buddhacarita*.

Through careful research on internal and external evidence, this study has demonstrated that there is a consistent group of texts that may be traced back to Baoyun. This set of titles is reconstructed by adding the references to Baoyun as translator in the ChSZJJ to the translations made by Baoyun's collaborators (Buddhabhadra, Zhiyan, Saṃghavarman, and Guṇabhadra) that show signs of Baoyun's language and style. Although the presence of Indian experts was considered a necessary requirement – hence the need to downplay Baoyun's importance in later catalogues – it was Baoyun who had the ability to elaborate and pronounce the Chinese translation.

⁴⁰¹ The *n-gram* 有覺亦有觀 is also found in T1552, *Samyuktābhīdharmahṛdayaśāstra* 雜阿毘曇心論 in eleven fascicles attributed to Saṃghavarman (and authored with the collaboration of Baoyun).

⁴⁰² An interesting example is Kawano (2007).

The correspondence between these titles and the texts now catalogued in the Taishō Canon should not be taken for granted.

One text attributed to Guṇabhadra shows many similarities with the style of Baoyun, and was thus probably influenced by his work, although likely produced after Baoyun's death:

- *Guoqu xianzai yingguo jing* 過去現在因果經 (T189)⁴⁰³

We can list with some confidence under the authorship of Baoyun a group of texts that show lexical similarities as well as a similar translation style and are attributed to Baoyun or to his collaborators:

- *Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* (T1552)
- *Samyuktāgama - Za'ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T99)
- **Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T278)

From several quotes present in T192, we may say that Baoyun had an accurate knowledge of the treatise of meditation by his master Buddhābhaddra:

- *Dharmatrāra-dhyāna-sūtra* or *Damoduoluo chan jing* 達摩多羅禪經 (T618)⁴⁰⁴

Some texts were transmitted in a very large number of versions, thus making it difficult for us to understand whether the titles in the Taishō Canon correspond to the translations possibly made by Baoyun. In this list we have:

- *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra - Da ban niehuan jing* 大般泥洹經 (T7 or T376)
- *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra - Xin wuliangshou jing* 新無量壽經 (T360?)
- *Śrīmālā-sūtra - Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 (T353?)

Other titles attributed to Baoyun do not show consistent internal evidence of his translation style, and further study is thus needed to ascertain their origin. Among these texts we have the translation produced with Zhiyan and one translation attributed to Guṇabhadra:

- *Avaivartika-cakra - Guangbo yanjing jing* 廣博嚴淨經 (T268)
- *Catur-devarāja-sūtra - Si tianwang jing* 四天王經 (T590)
- *Puyao jing* 普耀經 (?)
- *Mahābherīhāraparivarta* or *Fagu jing* 法鼓經 (T270)
- *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra - Lengjia'abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 (T670)

A translation that may have been edited or completed by Baoyun – with Zhiyan or Huiguan – and may show signs of his hand:

⁴⁰³ See Chapter 9.

⁴⁰⁴ See paragraph 8.5.

- *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* 僧祇律梵本 (T1425) attributed to Buddhahadra and Faxian.

A collection of texts that may be related to the works of Baoyun:

- *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* or *Dafang dengda jijing* 大方等大集經 (T397), attributed to Dharmakśema, with chapters 27 to 30 attributed to Baoyun and Zhiyan.

Quite unexpectedly, one of the travelogues by Faxian, the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 (T2085) shows a high number of similarities with T192.

This list of texts is a good starting point for understanding the spread of Buddhist texts in southern China after the fall of the Eastern Jin empire and during the Liu Song dynasty. In addition, clarifying the relationships between these translations will make it easier to understand how these works influenced each other in China, in a blend that eventually led to the pervasive success of the Mahāyānic perspective.

This reference library of titles connected to T192, however, does not include compositions produced after the Liu Song dynasty (420-479) that probably used T192 as a source. Such is the case evidenced by Kaikyoku Watanabe 渡辺海旭 (1872-1933) in a paper published on the Journal of the Pāli Texts Society that demonstrated that the *Fo chui ban niepan lue shuojiao jie jing* 佛垂般涅槃略說教誡經 (T389) is in fact a prose version of the twenty-sixth chapter of the translation of the *Buddhacarita* – further enquiry is necessary to understand the attribution of T389.⁴⁰⁵ This is probably the case for the T383, whose similarity with T192 is indirectly demonstrated by Radich (2018). Further research on these texts may ascertain the entity of the influence of T192 on later Buddhist texts. Further study on the various hagiographies of the Buddha in the Chinese Canon may prove to be fruitful, especially in relation to T185, T186, T195 and T196.

Researches on Chinese, extra-canonical elements may prove to be fruitful as well. Some references to Chinese culture – obviously not included in the Sanskrit source - leaked in the translation, betraying a very close knowledge of the Chinese culture by the translators. Willemsen (2009a, xvii) provides a few examples of these “Chinese elements”, associating them to the translation by Baoyun and to the editorial hand of Huiguan. One of these elements is the “mulberry tree”, that according to Chinese mythology is the abode of the rising sun. The dystic 法服助鮮明，如日照扶桑 corresponds

⁴⁰⁵ Further research is needed to understand the attribution of this sūtra. Since T389 is related to the 26th chapter of the *Buddhacarita*, we have no Sanskrit source to compare the translation with – new readings could be done with the help of the Tibetan translation.

to the translation of *Bc* 10.15.⁴⁰⁶ Other Chinese elements in the translation are *wuyi shi* 五儀飾 “five ceremonial ornaments” and *yuyi* 羽儀, a “ceremony of the plumes”. These details may be investigated to trace T192 to probable extra-canonical sources.

⁴⁰⁶ *tasminnavau lodhravanopagūḍhe mayūranādapratipurnakuñje /
kāṣāyavāsāḥ sa babhau nṛsūryo yathodayasyopari bālasūryaḥ* // *Bc*_10.15 //
On that hill overspread with *lodhra* groves,
its thickets alive with cries of peacocks,
dressed in ochre robe that human sun blazed,
like the young sun over the eastern hills. (Olivelle 2009, 283).

Chapter 5: a case of abridgment in the translation: the vanishing beauty of the courtesans

As we have pointed out in the introductory chapters, the *Fo suoxing zan* 佛所行讚 (T192) follows the content of the *Buddhacarita* consistently. Huang Baosheng's (2015) comparative edition of the two texts dispels any doubt that T192 was made – as Johnston (1936, xiii) himself pointed out – on the basis of a text very similar to the one we can appreciate today. There are, however, omitted sequences and abridged passages in the translation: the long descriptions of women from the *Buddhacarita* were not translated accurately in Chinese.

On the back cover of the Chinese-English dictionary based on the *Fo suoxing zan*, Willemen (2009b) comments that “the Chinese *Buddhacarita* is Baoyun's oral version of the contents, making them clear to a Chinese audience. It is his understanding and explanation of the original Sanskrit, not a true translation”.

What was considered a “true translation” when the *Fo suoxing zan* was compiled? Two anthologies, both published in 2006, may help us clarify this point. The first is the work of Zhu Zhiyu 朱志瑜 and Zhu Xiaonong 朱曉農, published by Qinghua University Press, the other is the first volume of a two-volume collection edited by Martha P.Y. Cheung. A summary of the relevant translation theories may clarify what was admitted and what was deemed inappropriate in translation practices in Medieval China.

5.1 What kind of translation are we discussing? A premise

Baoyun 寶雲 (376? - 449) commenced his activity as translator at the beginning of the fifth century; by this date, different definitions of the quality of translation were elaborated in the Buddhist community in China. All the accounts of debates on translations we know were collected by Sengyou (445-518) in the *Chu sanzang jiji*.

We cannot be sure of the extent of Baoyun's knowledge of translation theories in his time. When Baoyun returned to China, he moved to Chang'an where he met Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (344?-413), and probably assisted in some translation ceremonies.⁴⁰⁷ Later on, he went to Mount Lu where he was welcomed by Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-417), a disciple of Dao'an 道安 (312-385), and both these masters

⁴⁰⁷ On the translation ceremonies see Hureau (2006).

had contributed consistently to the translation debate. Huiguan 慧觀(353-437), who studied with Huiyuan and Kumārajīva, was a supporter of Baoyun's translation activities.

Baoyun was thus exposed to two different translation schools: the northern branch headed by Kumārajīva, his trustworthy editor Sengrui 僧叡 (355-439), and the disciple Huiguan, and the southern tradition from Mount Lu, where Huiyuan had inherited the debate on translation left open by his master Dao'an. Some of Kumārajīva's most important collaborators had travelled to Chang'an from the south. Seng Rui and Huiguan had been the disciples of Dao'an and Huiyuan, respectively. We have no attestation that Buddhahadra, Baoyun's influential master, had ever considered the problems surrounding the translation process.

The first definition of the qualities of a good translation was elaborated by Zhi Qian in the first half of the third century CE (Cheung 2006, 58-63). Zhi Qian was not of Han ethnicity but was born in China, and he implicitly supported the idea that translation should be refined (*wen* 文) – that is to say, written in refined language. However, he reported to us his difficulties in affirming his view (Zhu&Zhu, 2006, 6). The mainstream idea was that translation had to convey the words of the Buddha in a direct (*zhi* 直) and unhewn (*zhi* 質) way; supporters of this second idea of translation quoted Laozi, who had said that beautiful words (*mei* 美) are not trustworthy (*xin* 信), while trustworthy words are not beautiful (Cheung 2006, 59). This is considered to be the first report of a debate on translation (Zhu&Zhu 2006, 6).

Apparently, the idea that translation should be plain was also shared by Sengyou, who complimented the translation style of the monk An Shigao 安世高 by saying that his style was “eloquent without being flowery and unhewn without being coarse” (Cheung 2006, 54). In reference to Lokaksema, Sengyou praised the absence of embellishments (*shi* 飾) in the translation (Cheung 2006, 54). The terms refined (*wen* 文) and unhewn (*zhi* 質) became part of a common discourse on translation – the first quality had to be avoided, the second had to be sought (Cheung 2006, 76).

Resuming the issue of the possible influences on Baoyun's translation style, we should state that after having studied Indic languages and scripts in India he moved back to Chang'an, to the court of Yao Xing 姚興 (366-416) of the Later Qin dynasty 後秦 (384-417), where one of the most important Buddhist centers was probably the one led by the Kuchean monk Kumārajīva. To provide a complete account, however, we should point out that Kumārajīva was not the only Buddhist translator under the patronage of Yao Xing – other renowned masters under his patronage were Dao Biao (fl. 394-415) and

Dao Heng (fl. 346-417), as well as the Indian monks Dharmayaśas (fl. 396-418) and Dharmagupta (fl. 405-415) (Cheung 2006, 110).

Kumārajīva is traditionally considered the best translator of his times. The master himself was not very content with his own translations – famous is his comment in response to the monk Seng Rui, that translating Fàn (梵) texts into Chinese “is like giving someone rice that you have chewed; he will find it not just tasteless, but downright disgusting”.⁴⁰⁸ According to Cheung (2006, 95), this pessimistic definition is indeed due to the fact that Kumārajīva was dissatisfied with his own work of translation: he translated an astonishing amount of texts in a very short time, thus being forced to edit and abridge much of the contents. One of his scribes, the monk Seng Zhao 僧肇 (384-414), confirmed that Kumārajīva got to the point of abridging ten fascicles of a *śāstra* (Cheung 2006, 100). There are, however, different opinions on Kumārajīva’s attitude: Lu Yang (2004) maintains that the Kuchean master never adjusted to life in Chang’an and considered his stay at the Later Qin court as a golden cage.

Whatever the cause of his discontent, Kumārajīva played a pivotal role in integrating the process of translation in ritual practices.⁴⁰⁹ In these ceremonies, translation was performed by a group of monks with specialized roles;⁴¹⁰ the standardization of the procedures continued until the Song dynasty.⁴¹¹

If the first monk to observe the difference between translations of the same text and explain how to produce a single edition of different translations was Zhi Mingdu (Cheung 2006, 67-69), it is with Dao’an 道安 (312-385) that we have a more developed discourse on translation. It is crucial here to point out that Dao’an had no knowledge of foreign languages and built his idea of proper translation by comparing translated works. Like Sengyou, he praised works that lacked embellishments (Cheung 2006, 72). Dao’an compared different translations and brought to light additions and losses; he wrote a number of prefaces in order to justify his work as editor of previous translations. It is not easy to find a unique methodology of translation in Dao’an’s teachings, because he adapted his considerations to the kind of texts he was analyzing. In his prefaces he sometimes expressed contrasting ideas:

- i) Dao’an compared two different texts: a translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* made by Lokakṣema, who followed the source text very closely, producing a “full”

⁴⁰⁸ See Cheung (2006, 94) for the full translation of this passage.

⁴⁰⁹ See Hureau (2006).

⁴¹⁰ See Chen Jinhua (2005).

⁴¹¹ See Bowring (1992).

translation (unfortunately, the source text was corrupted), and of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, translated in Khotan, which according to Dao'an was skillfully (*qiao* 巧) edited by abridging repetitive parts. Indeed, in his view abridging was acceptable if it helped bringing forth the meaning. Dao'an produced an edition of the two texts that is no longer extant, annotating "gains and losses".⁴¹²

- ii) In comparing two different versions of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Dao'an lamented that the first (*Fangguan jing* 放光經) was translated economically (*yue* 約) and that although ideas can be understood clearly, the text was inevitably very simplified (*jian* 簡). As for the second version (*Guangzan jing* 光贊經), although no embellishments (*shi* 飾) were added to it and the language was unhewn and the refined parts were cut out, the meaning was still unclear because the work was hard to follow.⁴¹³
- iii) In commenting on a translation of the *Sarvāstivāda vinaya*, Dao'an was unhappy because the text contained too many repetitions. In this case, the scribe Dao Chang insisted on keeping the repetitions lest he be accused of altering the source. Dao Chang suggested that they leave aside skill (*qiao* 巧) and ease (*bian* 便) and adhere to that which is elegant (*ya* 雅) and correct (*zheng* 正), without embellishments (*shi* 飾): the only difference from the source, in this case, was the adaptation of the syntax.
- iv) Dao'an formulated the "five instances of loosing the source" and the "three difficulties" in translation. The five instances are: changing word order, changing the style of the translation from unhewn to refined to please the audience, eliminating details and repetitive chants, eliminating the *gathas* that summarize prose sections, and eliminating digressions in the narrative. The three difficulties are: adjusting the style to current times, making "deep" concepts understandable for common people, not applying present-day notions to the edition of old texts (Cheung 2006, 79).
- v) In the preface of an edition of an *Abhidharma* text (*Apitan xu* 阿毘曇序), Dao'an and the editor Fa He got rid of all repeated formulas, producing a final text of four fascicles.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹² Cheung (2006, 71-73).

⁴¹³ The translation proposed by Diana Yue in Cheung (2006, 75) is different from the one presented in Zhu&Zhu (2006, 12-13). I agree with the latter.

⁴¹⁴ Zhu&Zhu (2006, 22) suggest that four fascicles of the text were abridged.

- vi) In the preface to the translation of the *Vibhāṣaśāstra* the terms unhewn and refined were relativized in reference to historical periods: first translations were *wen*, but new ones are *zhi* (unhewn).

What emerges from Dao'an positions on translation is mostly the relativity of his ideas. The only fixed standpoint of his theories is the need to avoid embellishments (*shi* 飾). In at least two circumstances Dao'an is open to the notion that the dichotomy between *zhi* 質 (unhewn) and *wen* 文 (refined) is not always the definitive issue: as in point ii), when Dao'an admits that a text, even if unhewn and not refined, may not be able to transmit its core meaning, and when in vi) he acknowledges the relativity of *zhi* and *wen*, saying that they may be appropriate according to different contexts. In at least one case (v) he suggests the possibility of abbreviating the repetitions.

Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-417) was Dao'an's disciple and proposed the adoption of a medium between literary patterning (*wen*) and the simplicity of the language; he thus advocated for the elaboration of a method (Cheung 2006, 88). In a preface to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, Huiyuan explained that Kumārajīva had abridged the text, translating only one fourth of the source. The text was still perceived as too complicated for people who preferred refined literature. Huiyuan is firm in stating that flowery words should not obscure the plainness of the text. It is not proper, in his view, to transform a *sūtra* that is unhewn into a refined text, and the opposite is also true. Huiyuan could thus justify the necessity of a new edition of the translation by saying that he strove to find a medium between “unhewn” and “refined”.

Dao'an and Huiyuan had no knowledge of Sanskrit or other foreign languages. Their works are editions of existing translations. Dao'an's reflections on translation seem to be largely self-contradicting, without any standard methodology, which might be due to the fact that he wrote his prefaces mostly in order to justify his intervention as editor. Similar considerations apply to Huiyuan. Cutting and adjusting *sūtras* were viewed as an alteration of the very words of the Buddha, and that of course required an appropriate justification.

Baoyun had been to India and studied foreign languages and scripts, and had enough mastery of spoken language to be an interpreter. His opinion on these remarks on translation made by two monolingual editors is something that we can merely speculate about.

Generally, we may say that the rhetorical discourse on translation was firm in refusing embellishments; old-school translators that adopted refined language were considered to be in error; an

unhewn style was generally preferred, although it is not clear how this quality was to be achieved. Cheung (2006, 61-62) believes that translating “unhewnly” seems to be related to conveying the meaning directly, in a straightforward way and with trustworthy words, mostly relying on transliteration of foreign concepts.

As far as Baoyun is concerned, he did not leave any comment on his translation choices. We cannot exclude the possibility that attending this kind of ceremony in Chang’an influenced Baoyun. The only work of translation that he apparently pursued alone is in fact the *Fo suoxing zan*. For all the other translations he relied on the validating presence of foreign masters: indeed, after Buddhahadra’s death, the translation team he led with Zhiyan – a monk of Chinese origin – did not last long. We find Baoyun active in translating only when Sanghavarman and then Gunabhadra arrived from India. In the past, he had inspired his disciple Fayong 法勇 to leave for India to study and collect texts, thus passing on a tradition of education for monk-translators.

From the nature and structure of the *Fo suoxing zan* we might infer that he consciously decided not to alter the poetic structure of the poem, by translating it in a pseudo-versified form – the text is made up of five-character sentences, although they do not rhyme. It is interesting to note that Johnston criticized the abridging of the long *kāvya* descriptions. However, we saw that the abridgment of repetitive passages of the source text was viewed favorably by editors such as Dao’an. As we have pointed out, the *Buddhacarita* is a peculiar religious text: Hartmann (1999, 123) has observed that although several fragments of Aśvaghōṣa’s works were found in Central Asia, only the *Buddhacarita* was ever translated into Chinese. On the other hand, Willemsen (2009a) has noted the unpolished, vernacular style of the *Fo suoxing zan*, a style that seems to conform to the theories that firmly opposed refined literary forms, flowery language, and the use of embellishments.

5.2 Cases of abridged passages in the translation of the *Buddhacarita*: descriptions of courtesans

In several sections of Aśvaghōṣa’s poem we read of beautiful women and courtesans. These fresh and vivid descriptions of courtesans were to become “love stereotypes” in *kāvya* poetic productions, and, as Boccali (2004) points out, Aśvaghōṣa’s use of these images has no clear antecedents in Indian literature.

His descriptions are part of Aśvaghōṣa’s style and can also be found in the *Saundarananda* (The Handsome Nanda), which is the only complete poem of his that is extant. As Sutherland (1991, 5-7) demonstrates, these images were clearly intended as a display of skill by the author – the idea is well

explained in the *Saundarananda*, when the Buddha uses the comparison with the beauty of celestial *apsarases* to convince Nanda to abandon his wife.

Although we might not agree completely with Sutherland's conclusion (1991, 21), according to which "for Aśvaghoṣa, the renunciation of the world was primarily a renunciation of sexuality", it is clear through an analysis of the passages on women and courtesans in the *Buddhacarita* that the poet wanted to use the transience of women's beauty as an argument to convince his readers that Sarvarthāsiddha's choice of abandoning the court was consistent and worthy of endorsement.

The first, long description of women in the city of Kapilavastu occurs in the third *sarga* (*Bc* 3.13 to *Bc* 3.24); hearing the news that the prince is coming out of the palace, they are jubilant and run to see him without paying attention to their makeup or to the appropriateness of their clothes.

A second sequence about women is at the beginning of the fourth *sarga* (*Bc* 4.1 to 4.9), in which beautiful women welcome the prince in the royal park. Impressed by his mighty beauty, they become shy and thus are scolded by Udayin, the son of the royal chaplain. The girls try to arouse the interest of the prince, and we find a long description of their stratagems (*Bc* 4.25 to 4.53). The prince is not seduced by them. The last appearance of courtesans is in chapter five: female musicians attend the prince in his chambers, but he is not fascinated by them (*Bc* 5.44-5.46), and so the deities make the girls fall asleep (*Bc* 5.47) and we have a long description of the sleeping musicians (*Bc* 5.48 to 5.63). At the beginning, the description presents the sleeping girls as pleasant – for example a young drummer who fell asleep embraces her drum as if it were her lover (*Bc* 5.50) – but the postures of the women become increasingly vulgar and unpleasant (*Bc* 5.63). In the end, they appear as dead bodies to the prince, who is disgusted by them.

The absence of these passages in the translation was already known to Johnston (1936, xiii), who defined the *Fo suoxing zan* as the work of "a pious Buddhist, keen on matters of legend and moral, but with little taste for literature". The explanation adduced by Johnston sounds plausible enough. The translator was a monk who might have had no interest in reproducing such vivid descriptions of women. It is nevertheless true that, as noted by Hu Shi in the *Baihua wenxue shi* 白話文學史 (History of vernacular literature), in other narratives of the Buddha we find descriptions of women bathing with the prince.⁴¹⁵

In any case it is interesting to observe *how* the abridging of women was carried out in the translation process. While single verses that mention women were often left untranslated, long

⁴¹⁵ See Hu Shi (1992 [1929], 116). A similar case is *vinaya*'s text, where bodily descriptions are not shunned and often enter into considerable detail.

descriptions could not simply be omitted, which would have been evident in the translated text. In some cases the translators added a substitutive text, or a *zengshi* 增饰, an “adjunct decoration”, as Huang (2015: 59) defines it. We can speculate that the translators feared that someone would notice the omission of a consistent portion of the source text, perhaps someone able to notice the shortening of the text but unable to argue about the content of the translation in detail.

If we take a closer look at the text itself, we see that it contains some loose references to the original, quoting a few words but altering the overall meaning. For the complete text and translation of verses from *Bc* 3.13 to 3.24 we refer to Olivelle (2008, 65-69).

貴賤及貧富， 長幼及中年，
悉皆恭敬禮， 唯願令吉祥。
郭邑及田里， 聞太子當出，
尊卑不待辭， 寤寐不相告。
六畜不遑收， 錢財不及斂，
門戶不容閉， 奔馳走路傍⁴¹⁶

Noble and lowly, rich and poor, old, young and middle aged
everybody respectfully presented his salutation, only wishing to bring auspiciousness.
From the town and from among the fields, hearing that the prince was coming out,
nobles and humbles did not wait to take leave, those who were awake did not take the time to call the ones
who were sleeping,
the six animals were not taken care of, the wealth was not locked down,
the doors were not shut, quickly [they] went to the sides of the road.

While the Sanskrit source specifically mentions “humpbacks emerging from the great mansions”, “dwarfs and Kairatakas”, and also “women emerging from low-class homes” (Olivelle 2008, 65),⁴¹⁷ in the translation we have a reference to the status of citizens. Where in the Sanskrit text there is a reference to ladies “getting their elders’ permission” (*janena mānyena kṛtābhyanujñāḥ*) to go and see the crown prince, in Chinese we find 不待辭 “not awaiting an order” or “not waiting for dismissal”. Again, in the *Buddhacarita* we read that women had their eyes “dazed by the sudden rousing from sleep” (Olivelle 2009: 67),⁴¹⁸ while the *Fo suoxing zan* has 寤寐不相告, alluding to the fact that those who were awake did not have the time to inform those who were still asleep. The use of the adverb 相 “each other” here may also be recalling *Bc* 3.15 *anyonyavegāṃśca samākṣipantyāḥ*, referring to women “rebuking each other for their haste” (Olivelle 2008, 67). At the end of the scene, in stanza *Bc*

⁴¹⁶ The Chinese text quoted is from the CBETA catalogue; a good edition of the text is the one produced by Huang (2015) alongside the Sanskrit text and a new Chinese translation.

⁴¹⁷ See from *Bc* 3.12 *niḥsṛtya kubjāśca mahākulebhyo vyūhāśca kairātakavāmanānām / nāryaḥ kṛṣebhyaśca niveśanebhyo*. The final part of this verse, *devānuyānadhvajavatpraṇemuh*, was not translated.

⁴¹⁸ *suptaprabuddhākulalocanāś Bc* 3.14.

3.20, we read of young ladies *kautūhalodghāṭitavātayānaiḥ* “throwing the windows open in their excitement” (Olivelle 2008, 69), while the Chinese translators refer to people hurrying to the street without closing the doors (門戶不容閉).

It seems that the translators tried to make the original text “fade out”, but that they kept some word-by-word references in order to conceal their censorship from the eyes of a prospective reader, who may have been able to understand a few words from the original text but was far from grasping its full meaning. The references to the six domestic animals⁴¹⁹ and material possessions seem like a deliberate choice of the translator, and the latter may be related to the frequent mentions of women’s jewelry in the Sanskrit poem. It is nevertheless probable that an editor altered this portion of the translation after its completion, even if we do not have any definitive proof that this kind of editorial adjustment was applied to the – there is no preface or afterword explicitly denouncing such a practice.

The description of courtesans trying to seduce the prince lasts more than twenty-five stanzas in the Sanskrit poem,⁴²⁰ while it is summarized in fewer than twenty sentences in Chinese. In this long sequence the courtesans compete for the attention of the prince, pretending to be inebriated, embracing him and teasing him in many ways. The girls are described with vivid similes and realistic descriptions, as for example having “lotus-eyes” or “with full and charming breasts”. This is the corresponding Chinese translation:

猶如天帝釋 諸天女圍繞
太子在園林 圍繞亦如是
或為整衣服 或為洗手足
或以香塗身 或以華嚴飾
或為貫瓔珞 或有扶抱身
或為安枕席 或傾身密語
或世俗調戲 或說眾欲事
或作諸欲形 規以動其心⁴²¹

Just like the celestial god Śakra, encircled by the celestial women,
the prince stayed in the garden, surrounded just like that.⁴²²
Some acted as if fixing [their] clothes, some as if washing hands and feet,
some used fragrance to smear the body, some used flowers as ornaments,
some strung necklaces of jade and pearls, some others embraced [his] body with both arms,
some laid down on cushions, some inclined their bodies while uttering secrets,

⁴¹⁹ In the *Hanyu da cidian* the 六畜 or “six domestic animals” are listed as horse, ox, goat, chicken, dog, and pig; the expression is also a reference to domestic animals in general. The expression liuxu 六畜 is an interference of Chinese culture in the translation – for other examples, see also Willemsen (2009, xvii).

⁴²⁰ See Olivelle (2008, 95-105).

⁴²¹ T4, no. 192, p. 07b08-b15

⁴²² “The celestial god Śakra” corresponds to the ambiguous *vivasvān*, on which see Olivelle (2009, 444). Johnston defines it as an appellative of Indra.

some took profane liberties, or spoke a multitude of lascivious things;
some assumed wishful poses, having been advised to move his heart.⁴²³

In this case again the description is not simply skipped over, but instead condensed in a few sentences. I would translate the verb *wei* 為 as “doing as if” or “pretending”, while Willemen (2009a, 26) translates it as “for him”. I am choosing this different translation because in the Sanskrit poem women are described as “faking” drunkenness (*madavyāja*) throughout the scene.⁴²⁴ Also, the verse *Bc* 4.33 contains a reference to a girl who “pretending that she was drunk, repeatedly let her blue dress slip down” (Olivelle 2008, 99), while in the Chinese translation we find the more innocuous *wei zheng yifu* 為整衣服, “pretending to adjust her clothes”.

The sentence *huo yi xiang tu shen* 或以香塗身 apparently corresponds to *Bc* 4.32, in which a girl is “wet with unguents”. As for flowers – used as ornaments in *huo yi huayan shi* 或以華嚴飾 – there are several references throughout the sequence in the source text, such as: *Bc* 4.35 *cūtaśākhāṃ kusumitām* “branches of mango in full bloom”; the entire verse *Bc* 4.36, which has five repetitions of the name *padma*, “lotus”; and verses *Bc* 4.44 to 4.49, which all mention different kinds of flowers and trees, for example *citaṃ cūtaṃ kusumairmadhugandhibhiḥ* “this mango tree full of honey-scented blooms” (*Bc* 4.44), *nīlamutpalam* “blue lotus bloom”, *phullaṃ kurubakaṃ* “kurubaraka tree in bloom” (*Bc* 4.47).⁴²⁵

The verse *huo wei guan yingluo* 或為貫瓔珞 is probably derived from a reference to the “garland chains” the women used to bind the prince, as in *babandhurmālyadāmabhiḥ* (*Bc* 4.40). There is also reference to jewels like “golden girdles”, as in *kanakakāñcībhir* (4.34).

There are passages in which the prince is embraced by the women, as in *mṛdubāhulatābalā... ainam sasvaje balāt* (4.30) “with tender tendril-like arms... embraced him by force”, which may correspond to *huo you fubao shen* 或有扶抱身. There is no mention of women lying on cushions in Sanskrit, as in *an zhenxi* 安枕席. The most explicit reference to murmuring secrets – *huo qing shen*

⁴²³ This is a reference to Udayin’s words (*ityudāyivacaḥ śrutvā*, or 慶聞優陀說), and to the orders of the king (兼奉大王旨).

⁴²⁴ See also 4.29 *madenāvarjitā nāma* “under the pretense of being drunk”. In verse 4.30 a girl “feigned to stumble” *anṛtaṃ skhalitaṃ* (Olivelle 2009, 47).

⁴²⁵ See also Olivelle (2009, 444-445).

miyu 或傾身密語 – is in verse *Bc* 4.31, in which a woman, smelling of liquor, whispers in the prince's ear the words “Listen to a secret!” (*rahasyam śrūyatām*).⁴²⁶

The third sequence on women depicts the female musicians asleep after the intervention of the *Akaniṣṭha* deities. There have been some debates among scholars on what kind of texts inspired Aśvaghoṣa in the creation of this scene.⁴²⁷ Verses *Bc* 5.48 to *Bc* 5.62 are condensed and summarized in the translation, with many details left aside. In this case, as in the previous examples, it is useful to reconstruct the choices of the translator.

a) 委縱露醜形 惛睡互低仰	In their looseness they betrayed hideous shapes, oblivion and asleep [they were lying] upside down and one on the other; musical instruments were leaning in length and breadth.
b) 樂器亂縱橫 傍倚或反側	Some [courtesans] were leaning on one side, [while] others [were] tossing to and fro,
c) 或復似投深 纓絡如曳鎖	some looked as if they were thrown in an abyss, [their] necklaces like dragging chains; their clothes were entangling and fastening their bodies.
d) 衣裳絞縛身 抱琴而偃地	Some embraced the <i>qin</i> and while lying on the ground, like persons experiencing pain.
e) 猶若受苦人 黃綠衣流散 如摧迦尼華 縱體倚壁眠	Yellow-green dresses were spreading out, like ravaged <i>karni</i> flowers. Releasing [their] bodies and lying on the walls, sleeping, their shapes bowed like animal horns, some others were leaning with their hands against the windows, looking like hanging corpses.
f) 狀若懸角弓 或手攀窓牖	Snoring repeatedly or with long yawns, disgustingly dirty with mucus and slobbering, with hair unkempt [they] betrayed hideous shapes, [they] looked like demented persons. Flower garlands were hanging and covering their faces.
g) 如似絞死尸	Some had their face squeezed on the ground, others, their bodies raised, were shaking,
h) 頻呻長欠咭	just like lonely birds. Losing control over [their] bodies, they were using each other as pillows,
i) 魔呼涕流涎 蓬頭露醜形	hands and feet piled, one over the others; some were wrinkling their forehead and frowning their eyebrows,
j) 見若顛狂人 華鬢垂覆面 或以面掩地 或舉身戰掉 猶若獨搖鳥 委身更相枕	others, eyes closed, opened their mouths. All the bodies were scattered in disorder,
k) 手足互相加 或顰蹙皺眉	completely messy, like corpses lying down.
l) 或合眼開口 種種身散 亂 狼籍猶橫屍	

⁴²⁶ Cf. also *Bc* 4.40 “some restrained him with goads of words, sweetened with seductive hints” (*kāścit sākṣepamadhurair jagṛhur vacanāṅkuśaiḥ*).

⁴²⁷ See Hiltebeitel (2011, 639).

In this case, as in the two instances we have already scrutinized, the imagery is derived from the Sanskrit source, but most of the content is abridged.

Verses in a) and k) seem to be inspired by *Bc* 5.54, as in *parasparam virejur* “embracing each other”.

As for b) and d), musical instruments are mentioned in stanzas *Bc* 5.48 (*vīṇām*, a lute), *Bc* 5.49 (*veṇur*, a flute), and *Bc* 5.50 (*mṛdaṅgam*, a drum). Stanza *Bc* 5.56 describes a girl “laying her drum (*paṇavam*) between her thighs – the drum’s beautiful cord slipping from her shoulder – like a lover lying exhausted after making passionate love” (Olivelle 2009, 148-149).

At verse *Bc* 5.55 there is mention of golden chains shaking (*vijughūrṇa calatsuvanṇasūtrā*), which may recall c). The yellow dresses in e) are mentioned in *Bc* 5.51 (*vasanam pītamanuttamam vasānāḥ*), as are the Karnikara flowers (*karnikāraśākhāḥ*);

As for f), a sleeping girl is leaning on a window, her body bent like a bow in *Bc* 5.52 (*avalambya gavākṣapārśvamanyā śayitā cāpavibhugnagātrayaṣṭiḥ*). Interestingly, she is compared to a sculpture of a female deity (*śālabhañjikeva*) hanging from a portal (*toraṇā*) – which is quite different from a corpse (*sishi* 死尸), as we find in g). The comparison with a dead person appears after some stanzas, at *Bc* 5.60 (*gatāsukalpāḥ*).

At *Bc* 5.59 we find girls snoring with mouths agape (*vinīśaśvasur... jajṛmbhire*), a stanza that probably inspired h) and l); there is a girl that looks like drunk, with “saliva oozing, legs wide open and genitals exposed” (*vivṛtāsyapuṭā vivṛddhagātrī prapatadvaktrajalā*) at *Bc* 5.61 – this recalls i), as in *yan hu ti liuxian* 魔呼涕流涎. The unkempt hair in g) is mentioned in *Bc* 5.58, in the description of a girl that looks like “a statue [...] trampled by an elephant”;⁴²⁸ in stanza *Bc* 5.60 there are “garlands and jewels fallen down” (*vyapaviddhavibhūṣaṇasrajo 'nyā*). *Bc* 5.57 mentions eyebrows and eyes closed, and is thus the most probable source for the second part of k).

The descriptions in the two texts – the *Buddhacarita* and the *Fo suoxing zan* – are modelled by authors with very opposite attitudes. In the Sanskrit text the sleeping girls are described as radiant and beautiful from *Bc* 5.48 to *Bc* 5.57 (nine stanzas), while the description of their ungraceful bearing runs from *Bc* 5.57 to *Bc* 5.61 (five stanzas). Manifestations of distaste are always interspersed with compliments on the girls’ beauty – in stanza *Bc* 5.59, for example, they are indeed “genteel and endowed with beauty” (*dhṛtimatyō 'pi vapurguṇairupetāḥ*), although they have lost control and modesty and fallen sleep in disordered poses.

⁴²⁸ Olivelle (2009, 149).

Stern contempt for their ungraceful bearing is expressed by the prince himself at *Bc* 5.63 and *Bc* 5.64; these two stanzas of condemnation come after a long description of the girls. It is through the eyes of prince Sarvartāsiddha that we fully perceive the ugliness of the girls, since the poet-narrator himself never fails to admire the girls’ beauty, complimenting them in most of the stanzas. Differently from the Sanskrit account, in the Chinese translation the contempt for the girls permeates the whole scene.

5.3 Women, sensual pleasures and heavenly rebirths

Other minor references to women are elided or changed throughout the translation. At *Bc* 1,87 we have a mention of “aged women” (*sthavirajanā*) in the retinue of the queen, which is translated as “female attendants” of the queen 嫔女眾隨侍. A mention of women giving birth without pain at *Bc* 2.9 is reported in the translation, but it is interesting to note that women are described as “not men” (*nāryah*) in the Sanskrit, and as “those who were pregnant” (諸有懷孕者) in the translation.

Stanzas *Bc* 2.31 and 2.32 are not translated. These stanzas describe the courtesans entertaining the prince “with soft voices and alluring gestures, with playful drunkenness and sweet laughter, with curling eyebrows and sidelong glances”, “providing [him] with sexual delights” (Olivelle 2009, 48-49). The abridging of erotic descriptions is systematic through the entire translation and cannot be deemed a mere coincidence, unless the whole Sanskrit manuscript the translators were relying on had been censored before reaching China or all the passages and stanzas with this kind of content are later interpolations (not written by Aśvaghoṣa himself).

If the erotic pleasures of the prince are missing in the translation, the self-control of the king is still partially reported.

*nādhīravatkāmasukhe sasañje na saṃrarañje viṣamaṃ jananyām /
dhṛtyendriyāśvāṃścapalānvijigye bandhūṃśca paurāṃśca guṇairjigāya // Bc_2.34 //*

He did not, like a fickle man, cling to sexual delights,
with his women he did not engage in improper love,
the unruly horses of senses he firmly controlled,
he won over by his virtues, his kin and citizens. (Olivelle 2008, 49)

心不染恩愛，
於欲起毒想，攝情檢諸根，
滅除輕躁意，和顏善聽[16]訟，
慈教厭眾心。

[his] heart was not contaminated with love or affection,

[since] noxious thinking arises from desire, he conserved his feelings, restrained his sensory faculties,⁴²⁹ eliminated all the intentions of hasty impulses, he listened kindly and with a calm expression to what was said, he gave instructions kindly, despised trivial intentions.

One may argue that the two versions have almost the same meaning, but we cannot avoid noticing that the Chinese text does not mention women (*jananyām*) and adds a reference to proper behavior, thereby being in greater compliance with Buddhist doctrine, as in verses 於欲起毒想，攝情檢諸根.

The presence of sensual pleasures is mitigated in the last verse of the second *sarga*, one of the few Sanskrit stanzas in which we find the term bodhisattva:

*vanamanupamasattvā bodhisattvāstu sarve viṣayasukharasajñā jagmurutpannaputrāḥ /
ata upacitakarmā rūḍhamūle 'pi hetau sa ratimupasiṣeve bodhimāpanna yāvat // Bc_2.56 //*

But all bodhisattvas of unrivaled spirit
went to the forest, after they'd tasted
the pleasures of the sensory objects,
and after a son had been born to them.
Although the cause had grown deep roots
by his collected good deeds,
until he reached Awakening, therefore,
he pursued sensual pleasures. (Olivelle 2008, 59).⁴³⁰

過去菩薩王 其道雖深固
要習世榮樂 生子繼宗嗣
然後入山林 修行寂默道

In the past, the bodhisattva kings, even if their path was firmly settled,
chose to experience all the glories and pleasures of the world; [when] they had a son to carry on the family
line,
then they entered the mountain groves, to practice austerities and the path of silence.⁴³¹

Stanza *Bc* 3.65 describes the prince as a “novice hermit fearful of obstacles” being forcefully introduced to a park crowded with courtesans as beautiful as lovely *apsarases*, and this stanza is also not present in the *Fo suoxing zan*.

⁴²⁹ Willemen (2010: 15) translates it as “His mind was not tainted by lust. He believed that desire was poison. Controlling his feelings, he restrained his faculties and dispelled any fickle intention”. The expression 攝情 recurs 37 times in the Canon. [...] 檢根 recurs three times. A similar expression (善攝情根無能亂者) is present in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* attributed to Faxian, for which see Paragraph 3.4 on Baoyun’s translation activities. (T01, no. 7, pp. 197c21-22).

⁴³⁰ See also Olivelle (2009, 440-441) for further interpretation of the Sanskrit stanza.

⁴³¹ *vanamanupamasattvā bodhisattvāstu sarve viṣayasukharasajñā jagmurutpannaputrāḥ /
ata upacitakarmā rūḍhamūle 'pi hetau sa ratimupasiṣeve bodhimāpanna yāvat // Bc_2.56 //* The translation has bodhisattva kings while in the *Bc* we have “of unrivaled spirit” 其道雖深固, which is probably meant to translate *ata upacitakarmā rūḍhamūle 'pi hetau*. The “path of silence” 寂默道 is mentioned only in the translation, and the only other text in which it appears is T278.

5.4 Conclusions

Although abridged and altered, the descriptions of the sleeping girls from the *Fo suoxing zan* apparently influenced the poet Xiao Gang (503-551) in composing the poem *Yongnei ren zhoushin* 詠內人晝眠 (On a wife's daytime nap), as suggested by Xiaofei Tian in Zong Qicai (2008, 151).⁴³²

As Johnston (1936, xiii) has pointed out, the translator eliminated all the poetic details peculiar to *kāvya* literature. In the translator's defense we can observe that he did not omit women completely, but tried his best to describe them without conceding too much to sensual imagery. In fact, he completely abandoned Aśvaghōṣa's point of view – we know that the poet from Saketa wanted to attract the attention of “nonbelievers” by the use of refined literature.

For Baoyun it was probably a challenge to present the scene of the sleeping courtesans to other Buddhist monks or to Buddhist believers in general. As we have seen through the analysis of translation theories up to the fifth century, Baoyun's definition of translation may have been very different from contemporary ones; from his perspective, abridging and summarizing the sources were allowed in order to improve the texts.⁴³³

⁴³² Xiao Gang was to become emperor Jianwen of Liang. Prof. Xiaofei Tian alludes to the influence of the translation of the *Buddhacarita* on Xiao Gang, and states that it has been demonstrated by some Chinese scholars. Unfortunately, there is no specific bibliographical reference to support this claim. I found a good argumentation on the general topic in Wang Chunhong (1991). For a translation of Xiao Gang's poem, see Wu Fusheng (1998, 63).

⁴³³ We should assume the presence of an editor, although no editing of the *Fo suoxing zan* is registered in catalogues.

Chapter 6: Creating a new model of kingship: from the *Buddhacarita* to the *Fo suoxing zan*

Many scholarly works have addressed the paradox underlying the definition of kingship in early Buddhism: in order to administer his kingdom, protect his subjects, and safeguard peace, the king must use violence (*daṇḍa*) to punish culprits; the use of violent methods contradicts the Buddhist rule of *ahiṃsā*, or non-violence, and puts the king in a difficult position from the perspective of karmic retribution.⁴³⁴

Zimmermann (2006) worked on an interesting reconstruction of the evolution of the idea of *rājadharmā* in Buddhist texts, and concluded his review of the sources by dividing them into three phases according to their attitude towards this problem and following the chronological evolution of the definition of kingship: 1) in Pāli sources we find the adoption of a Brahmanical idea of kingship, accompanied by a decalogue for the king (*rājadhamma*) and usually no explicit mention of karmic retribution (Zimmermann 2006, 235-236); 2) the second stage is characterized by a stern ethical position that gives no positive solution to the paradox of kingship – the king is condemned to retribution and a wise person should better withdraw from this dangerous position (236); 3) a Māhāyānic perspective in which the wise king is likened to a *bodhisattva* who punishes in order to teach proper behavior and for the sake of all his subjects – punishment thus becomes a manifestation of the *bodhisattva*'s compassion (235-237).⁴³⁵

The portrayal of kingship in the *Buddhacarita* seems to move from the first attitude, which is characteristic of Pāli sources (second *sarga*), and then shifts to the second, more rigid attitude of a rejection of kingship, which is perceived as dangerous (ninth and eleventh *sarga*). We have no means of knowing whether a third phase of Buddhist kingship is represented in the *Buddhacarita*, as the last fourteen chapters of Aśvagoṣa's work are lost. Today we can only appreciate the first fourteen chapters of the poem, through the filter of the Chinese and Tibetan translations.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴ See Tambiah (1976, 52), and Zimmermann (2006). For a general introduction on kingship in Ancient India, see Gonda (1969); for Buddhist kingship as represented by Aśoka, see Strong (1983).

⁴³⁵ It is interesting to note that a good share of the texts employed by Zimmermann for the definition of the third perspective derives from Chinese translations. The idea of bridging punishment (*daṇḍa*) with compassion (*karuṇā*) is also represented in Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī*, for which see Scherrer-Schaub (2007, 783)

⁴³⁶ The edition of the Tibetan translation in Weller (1929) stops at chapter seventeen. A possible reconstruction in English of the lost chapters of the *Buddhacarita* was attempted by Johnston (1937) through a comparison of the Chinese and

There are two main research threads in this chapter: the first is a new reading of the *Buddhacarita*, from the point of view of the presentation of kingship; the second thread will focus on the translation of this complex presentation of kingship in the Chinese text.

The analysis in this chapter will focus on the attitude toward kingship and on descriptions of the reign of king Śuddhodana as the ideal kingdom. The comparative reading between Sanskrit source and Chinese translation can explain much regarding the techniques of translation and the context in which the translation took place. An analysis of the content of abridged passages is required to understand how the translation developed, which salient parts were selected to be passed on, and which ones were considered inappropriate – and to try to understand the reasons behind these changes. Apparently, some aspects of kingship were particularly emphasized, including the king’s generosity (as well as his attitude towards taxation), his knowledge, his attitude towards enemies, and his disposition towards rituals and Brahmins.⁴³⁷

6.1 Perceptions of kingship in the *Buddhacarita*

After reviewing several definitions of kingship in Pāli sources, Zimmermann (2006, 217) points out three main aspects of Buddhist kingship: 1) the “utopian outlook” – the king does not have to resort to violence because he does not have enemies and his kingdom is peaceful; 2) the main guidelines for statecraft are derived from pre-existing, Brahmanical rules, and the problem of ahimsā is left unaddressed; 3) for the practical needs of the administration of the country, Pāli literature provides the king with a decalogue of virtues that will define sovereign behavior (rājadhamma).

This description fits very well with the representation of kingship as presented in the second sarga of the *Buddhacarita*: stanzas Bc 2.1 to 2.16 provide a utopian framework, while stanzas Bc 2.33 to 2.56 list the king’s many virtues.

In the domains of the Śākyas climatic conditions are favorable (Bc 2.7) and this has led to a good harvest (Bc 2.8). Aśvaghoṣa insisted on describing the kingdom as being without enemies (Bc 2.6),

Tibetan translations. Jackson (1994) provides useful information on the possible reasons for the difficult interpretation of the Tibetan text.

⁴³⁷ For the critical edition of the text of the *Buddhacarita* in Sanskrit, the reader should refer to Johnston (1936); for the translation I will report the more recent work by Olivelle (2009). The Chinese text is quoted from the Taishō edition, edited and digitized in the CBETA database. References to the Tibetan translation and edition are taken from Weller (1929).

populated by honest citizens (Bc 2.11-2.14), independent, and free of theft (Bc 2.15).⁴³⁸ This very peaceful environment allows the king to administer his kingdom without resorting to violence. There is no evident discontinuity with traditional Brahmanical society: the king Śuddhodana seeks the advice of Brahmins (*Bc 1.31, Bc 1.47) and gives donations to them (Bc 1.48).

In this utopian frame, the king Śuddhodana does not need to resort to violence in imparting rules or expressing his verdicts.

The king Śuddhodana is never explicitly defined as a *cakravartin* in the *Buddhacarita*.⁴³⁹ Nevertheless, several signs of the presence of a *cakravartin* appear after the birth of *Sarvārthasiddha*: the kingdom of the Śākya clan is prosperous beyond compare (Bc 2.1-5), a prosperity fostered by wealth and gems (*dhanasya ratnasya*), elephants (*dvipendrain*), horses (*turaṅgair*), and strong allies (*visesato dārdhyam iyāya mitrām*). Thus, we have four out of seven marks of *chakkavartin* presented in the *Cakkavattisīhanāda sutta* (Collins 1998, 603).⁴⁴⁰

The decalogue of the king's virtues can be found in the *Nandiyamigarājatāka*. This tale is about a previous life of the Buddha, in which he was reborn as a deer named Nandiya. The king on hunt was impressed by the deer's might and granted it safety (*abhayaṃ*), subsequently extending the royal protection to all the deer in the park. At this point, the deer proclaimed the ten virtues of a righteous king: alms-giving (*dāna*), morality (*sīla*), liberality (*pariccāga*), honesty (*ajjava*), mildness (*maddava*), self-restriction (*tapas*), non-anger (*akkodha*), non-violence (*avihiṃsā*), patience (*khanti*), and non-offensiveness (*avirodhana*).⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁸ See Olivelle (2008, 38-43). The absence of theft concludes the description of the utopian kingdom – after this stanza the narrative of the life of the Buddha resumes its course – and it is quite significant if read in contrast to the *Cakkavattisīhanāda Sutta*, a very important source on the definition of Buddhist kingship, on which see Collins (1998). In the account of the *Cakkavattisīhanāda Sutta*, the utopian realm of king Dalhanemi collapses due to poverty leading a single person to steal from others. The king grants a stipend to the thief, leading other citizens to steal in turn.

⁴³⁹ A similar description of the king's virtues is found in the other poem by Aśvaghoṣa, the *Saundarananda*, in which the king is defined as “wheel-turning king”. See Covill (2007, 52-53).

⁴⁴⁰ Other possible marks may be found in the good health of women (Bc 2.9) and in the right behavior of householders (Bc 2.10, 2.11, 2.12).

⁴⁴¹ In the digitized version of the Pāli Canon the reference reads:

*Dānaṃ sīlaṃ pariccāgaṃ, ajjavaṃ maddavaṃ tapam;
Akkodhaṃ avihimsaṇca, khantiṇca avirodhanam.*

“Iccete kusale dhamme, thite passāmi attani;

Tato me jāyate pīti, somanassaṇcanappaka””nti. Evaṃ vutte rājadhamme gāthābandheneva desetvā katipāhaṃ rañño santike vasitvā nagare sabbasattānaṃ abhayadānapakāsanatthaṃ suvaṇṇabheriṃ carāpetvā “appamatto hohi, mahārājā”ti vatvā mātāpitūnaṃ dassanathāya gato. (jā. 2.21.176-177)

The translation by Francis and Neil is as follows: “Alms, morals, charity, justice and penitence, Peace, mildness, mercy, meekness, patience: These virtues planted in my soul I feel, Thence springs up Love and perfect inward weal. With these words he showed forth the kingly virtues in the form of a stanza, and after staying some days with the king he sent a golden drum round the town, proclaiming the gift of security to all beings: and then saying, ‘O king, be watchful,’ he

In the second *sarga* there is a long description focused on the Śākya's householder. Aśvaghoṣa describes the generosity of Śuddhodana in giving gifts (*Bc* 2.33, 2.40): the king adopts a strict moral conduct with "his women" (*Bc* 2.34); he is liberal towards all the people (*Bc* 2.35) and just in ending controversies (*Bc* 2.39); he is honest in speech (*Bc* 2.38) and in administering justice (*Bc* 2.39); he inflicts only mild punishments (*Bc* 2.42); he controls himself (*Bc* 2.33, 2.45); he is not inclined to rage (*Bc* 2.44, 2.45); he chooses not to be violent (*Bc* 2.14, 2.52); he endures the ascetic toil and the performance of sacrifices (*Bc* 2.49, 2.51); he "lays down the sword" and dedicates himself to the study of texts, thus demonstrating his "non-offensiveness" (*Bc* 2.52).⁴⁴²

We thus see that there is a utopian background here and that Śuddhodana seems to embody the ten virtues of the ideal Buddhist king. Other references to the king's proper behavior and habits are scattered throughout the poem, but it is clearly in the second *sarga* that the definition of kingship is a central theme.

The theme of kingship resumes its prominence in the ninth *sarga*. Here, the king's counselor (*maṭṭasācivāḥ*) and his chaplain (*purohita*) try to persuade the prince to return to his father's palace. The emissaries of the king do not propose to the prince an idea of *dharma* acquired by belonging to a social group at birth – a *dharma* one has to abide by. Instead, they suggest the possibility that the *dharma* of salvation, the *dharma* Sarvārthasiddha is pursuing in as an ascetic in the forest, can be pursued by kings as well.⁴⁴³

The prince's rejection of this argument by the king's emissaries is very strong. The reflection on kingship that develops through the poem is intentionally tailored by the author, and the proof of that lies specifically in *Bc* 9.48, a stanza in which Aśvaghoṣa juxtaposes the Brahmanical definition of kingship with the *dharma* of release. This argument is supported by the Śākya prince himself, who states that the paradox underlying kingship cannot be solved:

*yā ca śrutirmokṣamavāptavanto nṛpā gr̥hasthā iti naitadasti /
śamapradhānaḥ kva ca mokṣadharmo daṇḍapradhānaḥ kva ca rājadharmah // Bc_9.48 //*

As for the scriptures that householder kings/ have attained release, / that cannot be!
The dharma of release, where calm prevails, / and the dharma of kings, where force prevails, -
How far apart are they! (Olivelle 2009, 262-263)

went to see his parents." For reference, see Cowell et alii (1895, 174). The list is also provided in Zimmermann (2006, 224).

⁴⁴² This description of the ideal king seems to be partly reproduced in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, for which see Franceschini (2016, 341-342).

⁴⁴³ See Olivelle (2008, 252-253).

The Śākya prince refutes kingship in his long response to the king's counselor and chaplain (second half of the ninth *sarga*); his inflexible attitude is showed in the confutation of the arguments in support of worldly pleasures by the young king Śreṇya (final part of eleventh *sarga*).

In the tenth *sarga*, king Śreṇya, the young monarch of Maghada, having heard that the Śākya prince had left the palace to consecrate himself to an ascetic life, decides to meet him and persuade him to return to his royal duties. Śreṇya is the same age as Saravārthasiddha, and wants to persuade the prince to enjoy the pleasures of youth and dedicate himself to *dharma* only when, having reached an older age, he will not have any interest in mundane distractions. Śreṇya exhorts the prince not to refuse his responsibilities as a ruler – advice he accompanies by offering him half his kingdom. Once again the possibility of pursuing *dharma* is related to householders: *dharma* is defined as the performance of due sacrifices, according to Brahmanical tradition.

The answer of the Śākya prince comes in the eleventh *sarga*, and it rejects king Śreṇya's arguments *tout court*. Saravārthasiddha's main point is that pleasures cause evil and are addictive (*Bc* 11.10-11.11); the same is true of lust for conquest, which is specific to kings (*Bc* 11.12); Saravārthasiddha then gives several examples of kings who were ruined by their lust for conquests (*Bc* 11.13-11.16 and 11.18). After a long condemnation of pleasures, Saravārthasiddha returns to condemn kingship (*Bc* 11.44-11.50); the rest of the *sarga* is devoted to confuting other Brahmanical views, such as the ages of life and the importance of performing sacrifices.

We thus see how there is a shift from a utopian background and a king abiding by the *rājadharmā* rules to an absolute condemnation of kingship.

6.2 The description of the perfect king

Apparently, kingship is one of the most difficult themes to accommodate in the Chinese translation, especially when the king is portrayed as performing rites, sacrifices, or pious acts.⁴⁴⁴ This section offers a review of the cases of abridgment and adjustment in the description of the king in the *Fo suoxing zan*.

The first *sarga* of the *Buddhacarita* is devoted to a magnificent description of the *Bhagavatprasūtir*, or the “birth of the Lord”,⁴⁴⁵ the Śākya prince who will be named *sarvārthasiddho*, “successful in all his aims” (*Bc* 2.17).

⁴⁴⁴ Paragraph 7.2 will focus on this aspect.

⁴⁴⁵ Olivelle (2008, 3).

The first *sarga* is about the birth of the prince, king Śuddhodana's son. The king is the chief character in this section and appears to be the most important member of the Śākya clan, including the new-born prince himself.

The king is worried by the supernatural events surrounding the birth of his first and much expected heir; he grants audition to two Brahmins, experts in interpreting signs, and to the sage Asita, who has been led to the court by auspicious omens. After being reassured of the good nature of these signs, the king performs the due rites, and then enters the city, following his wife.

The Chinese version of the first *sarga* is very close in meaning to the Sanskrit; minor differences are scattered through the chapter, and an uninitiated reader would easily attribute them to the sloppiness of the translators. If we pay attention to minor details concerning the king, however, we notice the first signs of the progressive detachment of the royal figure from his Brahmanical background. Although the Sanskrit source text for *Bc* 1.25 to *Bc* 1.40 is missing, through comparison with the Tibetan text⁴⁴⁶ and according to the analysis provided by Johnston (1936, 8), it seems probable that a prophecy addressed to the prince foresees that he will become a *cakravartin* at *Bc* 1.34 or obtain enlightenment.⁴⁴⁷

Following the plot development, we observe that the first adjustments involving the relationship between king and Brahmins happen in the first *sarga*. One example is stanza *Bc* 1.47, which tells us how two “trusted twice-born men” console the king, so that, with every doubt removed, he can experience a higher joy. The correlation between the Brahmins and the king's joy is not rendered in Chinese, the text being transformed instead into a direct speech by the Brahmins.

In the translation of the following *stanza* (*Bc* 1.48), the king is in fact described as being happy in hearing the Brahmins' words, but this happiness is juxtaposed with the payment of the offering for the Brahmins' services (王聞仙人說, 歡喜增供養). In the Sanskrit poem, the king accompanies the offering with a wish for his son to become king (*bhūmipatir*), and then abandons the household only when he has reached old age. The Chinese text presents us with a king wishing for his son to become a *cakravartin* – a word missing in the corresponding verse of the *Buddhacarita*. The changes in stanzas *Bc* 1.47-1.48 are very subtle; particularly noticeable, however, is the introduction of the idea of or *zhuanlun* 轉輪 or *cakravartin* to address the supreme monarch, while in Sanskrit there is the term *bhūmipatir* “father of the land”. The terms *cakravartin* and *bodhisattva* are introduced in a somewhat forced manner in the translation. The term *cakravartin*, in fact, appears only once in the Sanskrit poem,

⁴⁴⁶ Weller (1929, 7).

⁴⁴⁷ We should note that a similar description of the *cakravartin* as “governing under the four skies” is shared by a set of texts apparently related, such as T1, T7, T99, T189, T192.

with the meaning of “world conqueror” (*Bc* 8.84).⁴⁴⁸ In the corresponding chapters of the *Fo suoxing zan* (up to the fourteenth chapter), the word *cakravartin* appears seven times, as *zhuanlun* 轉輪.⁴⁴⁹

In *Bc* 1.56, the sage Asita refers to the virtue of *dāna*, the habit of donating riches, which he attributes to the king’s clan. The virtuous habit of giving away riches “according to the rule” (*nityaṃ tyajanto*), an honorable attribute of the Śākya clan, does not appear in the Chinese translation – the translators chose instead to transform the text into a reference to karmic retribution: the clan is fortunate nowadays thanks to the past performance of virtuous acts, which are compared to seeds planted in previous ages (宿植眾妙因，勝果現於今).⁴⁵⁰

The figure of the king is altered on almost every occasion in which the performing of Brahmanical rites is mentioned. In *Bc* 1.82, the king “performs the birth rites as prescribed, in a way befitting his family”, (*narapatirapi... kulasadrśam acīkarad yathāvat priyatanayas tanayasya jātakarma*), and this passage is rendered in Chinese as 世人生子法，隨宜取捨事，依諸經方論 “the rule for people giving birth to a son is to decide whether to accept or reject it; and everything was carried on according to the *texts* and the prescriptions in the *treatises*”.⁴⁵¹ The act of giving donations in the first chapter is also linked to ritual offerings to Brahmans, such as, for example, in *Bc* 1.84, in which the king donates “a hundred thousand milch cows” (*śatasahasrapūrṇasaṃkhyāḥ... gāḥ*) to Brahmans (*dvijebhyaḥ*) for the prosperity of his son (*sutavṛddhaye*). In Chinese this is transformed into a less traditionally Brahmanical and more compassionate gesture, involving all the citizens in need.

At the end of the first *sarga* we have a passage (*Bc* 1.85) describing the king as intent on performing “rites for varied ends, bringing joy to his heart”. In the Chinese translation the king does not perform any rite to bring joy to his heart; the only ritual act is the one prognosticating the best time to enter the palace.

⁴⁴⁸ This verse recalls the prophecy made by Asita in the first *sarga*; see Olivelle (2009, 242-243).

⁴⁴⁹ Even more striking is the case of the term *bodhisattva*, which appears four times in the *Buddhacarita*, and sixty-two times in the first fourteen chapters of the translation.

⁴⁵⁰ Apparently, the idea of “karmic retribution” was posited as the cause of the fortune of the Śākya clan in the Chinese translation, thus avoiding a reference to the clan’s generosity, as in *Bc* 1.56. In other cases, however, the issue of karmic retribution is ignored, as in the circumstance of *Bc* 5.77. In saluting Chandaka and Kanthaka, the prince Gautama thanks them for their help; he thinks that companions “in foolish acts or in the path of *dharma*...will doubtless partake in the fruits”. This assumption, which refers to karmic retribution, is very simplified in translation:

堪此二友者，終獲於吉安。

May these two friends obtain peace in the end.

For unclear reasons, the translators avoided any mention of bad karmic retributions for companions partaking in foolish acts.

⁴⁵¹ Here it is difficult to understand what the translators meant with *qushe shi* 取捨事; they were probably referring to some ritual for acknowledging a newborn baby while trying to adapt the stanza to a Chinese environment.

The second *sarga* contains a long description of king Śuddhodhana's kingdom, depicted as a utopian kingdom (*Bc* 2.1 to 2.16), while a second sequence deals with the king's proper behavior and his utmost joy after the birth of Rahula, his grandson (*Bc* 2.33 to 2.55).

If we browse Huang's (2015) Chinese translation and comparative reading,⁴⁵² we see at a glance that there is a verse by verse correspondence between the Sanskrit poem and the Chinese translation, with the exception of six Sanskrit stanzas that do not have any correspondence in the *Fo suoxing zan*, namely *Bc* 2.15, 2.31, 2.32, 2.44, 2.51, and 2.52. Two stanzas focus on courtesans skilled in erotic arts (2.31, 2.32), while the other four deal with the figure of the king.

We may acknowledge that in the description of the utopian kingdom mutations are always focused on the themes of wealth and generosity, with some abridgment of the mentions of enemies. Verse 2.15, for example, is completely missing in the translation:

*steyādibhiścāpyaribhiśca naṣṭaṃ svasthaṃ svacakraṃ paracakramuktam /
kṣemaṃ subhikṣaṃ ca babhūva tasya purānaranyasya yathaiva rāṣṭre // Bc_2.15 //*
Independent, free of theft and such vice/ free of enemies and enemy rule/ his kingdom was prosperous and peaceful/ like Anaraya's kingdom long ago. (Olivelle [2008, 6-7])

This absence may have different causes. The translators may have wanted to cut short the description of a utopian kingdom, or may have perceived the difficulty in translating the epic reference (although quite obscure epic references made it to the translation in many other cases).⁴⁵³ We may also guess that the reporting of a utopian kingdom as independent, free of theft, and not subject to enemies may have resulted in the setting of a very high standard, a standard too high for the kingdom in which the translators were operating.

Stanzas *Bc* 2.31 and 2.32 both deal with courtesans skilled in erotic arts who are trying to seduce the prince:

*vāgbhiḥ kalābhirlīlataiśca hāvairmadaiḥ sakhelairmadhuraiśca hāsaiḥ /
taṃ tatra nāryo ramayāmbabhūvurbhūvañcitairardhīnarīkṣitaiśca // Bc 2.31 //*
*tataḥ sa kāmāśrayapaṇḍitābhiḥ strībhīrgrhīto ratikarkaśābhiḥ /
vimānapṛṣṭhānna mahīm jagāma vimānapṛṣṭhādiva puṇyakarmā // Bc 2.32 //*
In that palace women entertained him
with soft voices and alluring gestures,
with playful drunkenness and sweet laughter,
with curling eyebrows and sidelong glances.
Then, ensnared by women skilled in erotic arts,
who were tireless in providing sexual delights,
he did not come to earth from that heavenly mansion,
as a man of good deeds, from his heavenly mansion. (Olivelle [2008, 46-47])

⁴⁵² Huang Baosheng (2015, 34-54).

⁴⁵³ See for example the numerous transcriptions in the first *sarga*.

These two verses are missing in the Chinese translation. References to women are often abridged. In another instance, found in *Bc* 2.34, the abridging of women and pleasures is quite noticeable and is, again, connected to the relationship between the king and his women:

*nādhīravatkāmasukhe sasañje na saṃrarañje viṣamaṃ jananyām /
dhṛtyendriyāśvāṃscapalānvijigye bandhūṃśca paurāṃśca guṇairjigāya // Bc_2.34 //*

He did not, like a fickle man, cling to sexual delights,
with his women he did not engage in improper love,
the unruly horses of senses he firmly controlled,
he won over by his virtues, his kin and citizens. (Olivelle [2008, 46-47])

心不染恩愛，
於欲起毒想，攝情檢諸根，
滅除輕躁意，和顏善聽訟，
慈教厭眾心。

His heart was not contaminated with love or affection,
[since] noxious thinking arises from desire, he conserved his feelings, picked up all roots,⁴⁵⁴
eliminated all the intentions of hasty impulses, he listened kindly and with a calm expression to what was
said, he gave instructions kindly, despised trivial intentions.

Stanza *Bc* 2.42 is partially altered in Chinese, revealing the introduction of some “*bodhisattva* characteristics” attributed to the king:

*kṛtāgaso 'pi pratipāḍya vadhyānnājīghanannāpi ruṣā dadarśa /
babandha sāntvena phalena caitāṃs tyāgo 'pi teṣāṃ hyanayāya dṛṣṭaḥ // Bc_2.42 //*

Even criminals judged to be worthy of death,
he did not kill or even look at them with rage;
he inflicted on them lenient punishments,
for their release too is viewed as wrong policy. (Olivelle [2008, 50-51])

求情得其罪，應死垂仁恕，
不加麤惡言，軟語而教勅，

People that asked for leniency obtained his reproach, [those who] deserved to die were considered with
benevolence; he did not insult with coarse words, with soft words he imparted imperial edicts.⁴⁵⁵

The translation fails to note that the release of criminals is perceived as a wrong policy (*tyāgo 'pi teṣāṃ hyanayāya dṛṣṭaḥ*). This observation is substituted by a description of the king's controlled manner in punishing culprits.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁴ Willemen (2010: 15) translates it as “His mind was not tainted by lust. He believed that desire was poison. Controlling his feelings, he restrained his faculties and dispelled any fickle intention”. The expression 攝情 occurs [unless you mean that we have it this time and then *another* 37 times (i.e. 38 total)] 37 times in the Canon, while 檢根 occurs three times.

⁴⁵⁵ Willemen (2010: 16) translates 求情得其罪 as “When someone interceded, he excused himself”.

An interesting theme related to the description of the ideal king pertains to taxes and riches. Stanza *Bc* 2.44 recounts the attitude of the king regarding taxation and pillage: it describes him as not wishing to rise undue taxes or to take what belongs to others. He does not wish to take revenge on his opponents by uncovering their inopportune behavior or by nurturing bitterness. This verse, apparently omitted, is probably just shortened and misplaced, coming after the translation of *Bc* 2.42:

na cājihīrṣidvalimapravṛttaṃ na cācīkīrṣitparavastvabhidyāṃ /
na cāvivakṣīd dviṣatāmadharma na cāvivākṣīddhṛdayena manyum // Bc_2.44 //
 He did not wish to raise inordinate taxes,
 he did not wish to take what belonged to others,
 he did not wish to reveal his foes' adharmas,
 he did not wish to carry anger in his heart. (Olivelle 2008, 50-51)

矜施以財物 指授資生路

[The king] offered money and goods charitably, pointing out the way to manage wealth.⁴⁵⁷

It is unclear why the king would be praised here for his management abilities. The expression 施以財物 occurs only four times in the Taishō; it is found in the *Dazhi dun lun* translated by Kumārajīva, where it is clearly describing the behavior of the *bodhisattvas*.⁴⁵⁸ The term 資生, however, is very frequent, often found in texts linked to Baoyun,⁴⁵⁹ and in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* translated by Buddhābhaddra (T278), where it is often related to the ability of the *bodhisattva* to provide livelihood (資生具).⁴⁶⁰ In the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, the *bodhisattva* is said to be like a craftsman who helps people obtain a living.⁴⁶¹

In stanza *Bc* 2.50, Aśvaghōṣa describes the king as “shining for his wisdom, virtue, and family” (*kulena vṛttena dhiyā ca dīptas*), while T192 explicitly mentions his family's riches:

⁴⁵⁶ The idea of abandoning evil words and using “soft” ones appears to be appropriate for a *bodhisattva* as described in the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*, as in 菩薩摩訶薩攝一切眾生而饒益之，常以法施，於一切眾生和顏愛語遠離惡言 (T9, no. 278, p. 650c13 ~ T9, no. 278, p. 650c14). The attitude of “teaching with soft words”, or *ruanyu jiao* 軟語教, is characteristic of the *bodhisattva*, as is pointed out in the *Da fangdeng daji jing* 大方等大集經 T397, in the twenty-seventh chapter, which is attributed to Zhiyan and Baoyun in the Taishō edition of the Canon (軟語教呵, [T13, no. 397, p. 189a04]). A similar expression is found in the *Mahāsāṃgika vinaya* translated by Buddhābhaddra (應當軟語教誨 [T22n1425_p0533a12]). There is a whole chapter dedicated to the soft words used by the *bodhisattvas* in the *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經, a work attributed to Guṇabhadra, but probably spurious.

⁴⁵⁷ T4, no. 192, p. 005a03 ~ T4, no. 192, p. 005a04

⁴⁵⁸ T25n1509_p0666c19: 見貧窮者施以財物 “when seeing a poor person [he] offers goods and money charitably”.

⁴⁵⁹ As for example the **Saṃyuktāgama* (T99) attributed to Guṇabhadra and Baoyun, and the *Saṃyuktābhīdharmahrdaya* attributed to Saṅghavarman and Baoyun (T1552).

⁴⁶⁰ T9, no. 278, p. 518b28. The expression 資生具 occurs frequently in a set of works that may have been related to Baoyun, such as T7, T99, T278, T397.

⁴⁶¹ 若見世界始成立，眾生未知資生法，
 是時菩薩為工匠，為之示現種種業。 (T9, no. 278, p. 435c23 ~ T9, no. 278, p. 435c24)

*ajājvaliṣṭātha sa puṇyakarmā nṛpaśriyā caiva tapaśśriyā ca /
kulena vṛttena dhiyā ca dīptastejaḥ sahasrām śurivotsisṛkṣuḥ // Bc_2.50 //*

Then, that man of good deeds brightly blazed forth/ with the luster of king and ascetic, shining by reason of virtue, / wisdom and family, / as if wishing to radiate light like the thousand-rayed sun. (Olivelle [2009, 55])

熾然修勝業， 王勝梵行勝。
宗族財寶勝， 勇健伎[技]藝勝，
明顯照世間， 如日千光耀。

Brightly practicing victorious actions, he was the victorious king winning on the path of purity. / The riches of his clan were winning [over others], he won in bravery, strength and skills. / He clearly shone on the world, with the radiance of a thousand suns.⁴⁶²

In this case we should emphasize that *vṛttena* may have been read as *vṛtta*, a stem that can have the meaning of “means of subsistence” and may be interpreted with the more figurative meaning of “riches”.

We mentioned that *Bc* 2.51 and 2.52, two stanzas describing the king’s devotion, his propensity to study texts, and his paternal control over his kingdom, are missing in the Chinese translation. The sovereignty of the king in these stanzas is stable. He is depicted reciting verses and performing the most difficult deeds, like Ka when he intended to produce creatures (Olivelle 2009, 440); he lays down the sword and dedicates himself to the study of the sacred texts (*tatyāja śāstram vimamarśa śāstram*); he is not enslaved by the sensory realm and keeps all the kingdom in his regard. Different hypotheses may explain why the translators chose to leave these two stanzas out: there is a reference to Indic mythology too difficult to translate in a different context; the emphasis on the stability of the kingdom may have sounded like an implicit critique or a standard too high for readers in China; the description of a perfect king that desists from carrying the sword and chooses to study the texts may have sounded like an indirect reproach against a patron.

Stanza *Bc* 2.53 constitutes a very poetic “chain” in which every element is connected to the following in a causal relationship. The kingdom is meant for the king’s son, while scriptures are meant to obtain heaven:

*babhāra rājyaṃ sa hi putrahetoh putraṃ kulārthaṃ yaśase kulaṃ tu /
svargāya śabdaṃ divamātmahetordharmārthamātmasthitimācakāṅkṣa // Bc_2.53 //*

For he fostered his realm for the sake of his son, / his son for his family, family for fame, / scriptures for heaven, heaven for the sake of self, / for dharma he sought the endurance of his self. (Olivelle [2008, 54-55]).

⁴⁶² With the obsessive repetition of the adjective-verb 勝, the translator was probably trying to reproduce, in this case, different Sanskrit terms: *puṇyakarmā* is 勝業, *nṛpaśriyā* is 王勝, *tapaśśriyā* is 梵行勝, 宗族財寶勝, 勇健伎藝勝 is *kulena vṛttena dhiyā ca dīptas*. The reason for this repetition is not clear, and we can only surmise that he might have had the intention of reproducing a refrain, like the one present in the Sanskrit text with the conjunction *ca*.

所以為人王， 正為顯其子，
顯子為宗族， 榮族以名聞，
名高得生天， 生天樂為已，
已樂智慧增， 悟道弘正法，

Therefore he was a king for the aim of giving prominence to his son,
the son has prominence for the sake of the clan, the glory of the clan being due to good reputation,
the high fame to obtain a celestial rebirth, the celestial rebirth was meant for happiness,
and happiness to increase knowledge, to awaken in the truth and in the magnificence of the right dharma.

In the Chinese translation, the key to heaven is not knowledge (*svargāya śabdam*), but rather the other way around: it is the rebirth in heaven (生天) that will lead to the obtainment of happiness (為樂已) that will eventually increase knowledge (已樂智慧增). The fact that acquiring knowledge is not a basic requirement on the way to heaven is particularly interesting from our perspective: the translator was probably dealing with an audience that was not well versed in the study of scriptural texts and thus he might have preferred not to lecture his readers about the necessity of knowledge in order to be reborn in heaven.

The word *śabdam*, however, may be interpreted in two ways: as knowledge passed on by master to disciples,⁴⁶³ or as “fame” (which would be better connected with the previous *yaśase*). In this second case it is fame that grants access to heaven. This does not change the fact that the last two Chinese verses distort the Sanskrit as we have it, proposing instead happiness as a requirement for obtaining knowledge and then the path to awakening to the “magnificent and real *dharma*” – which is very different from the first aim of the king, *ātmasthitim*, the “endurance of his self”. The idea of an “extremely superior” *dharma* (弘正法) is not frequent in the Canon; the translators had to distinguish between the different definitions of *dharma* in the *Buddhacarita*: the Brahmanical definition, that is, *dharma* as the aim of ascetic toil, and of course Buddhist *dharma*.⁴⁶⁴

The second *sarga* ends with verse *Bc* 2.56 that justifies the behavior of young Sarvāthasiddha by stating that “all the *bodhisattvas*” tasted worldly pleasures before reaching awakening (Olivelle 2009, 58). This is one rare occasion in which Aśvaghōṣa uses the title of *bodhisattva*. Interestingly, in Chinese we have the following:

過去菩薩王， 其道雖深固，
要習世榮樂， 生子繼宗嗣，
然後入山林， 修行寂默道。

⁴⁶³ Olivelle chose to translate this term as “scriptures”.

⁴⁶⁴ Most importantly between the *dharma* of the ascetics who seek rebirth in heaven, and the *dharma* of Buddhist practitioners, 弘正法 or simply 正法. This is reminiscent of Olivelle’s (2009, xliii-li) reconstruction of the competing definitions of *dharma* in the *Buddhacarita*.

In the past, the *bodhisattva* kings, even if their path was firmly settled,
They chose to experience the glory and pleasure of the world; when they had a son to carry on the family
line, then they entered the mountain groves, to practice austerities and the path of silence.

The translation has *bodhisattva* kings while in the *Bc* we have “of unrivaled spirit” (*anupamasattvā*);
其道雖深固 is probably meant to translate *ata upacitakarmā rūḍhamūle 'pi hetau*. The path of silence
寂默道 is mentioned only in the Chinese translation.⁴⁶⁵

It seems that there are four major and sensitive themes concerning kingship: the stability of the
empire and the excellent relationship with subjects and foreign allies, the king’s generosity, the king’s
attitude towards rituals and religious groups, and his proper moral (and sexual) behavior. In one of the
examples the source’s content is substituted with features derived from descriptions of *bodhisattvas*.

6.3 Refutation of kingship

In the ninth *sarga*, the king’s counselor (*matiasacivaḥ*) and his chaplain (*purohita*) try to persuade the
Buddha to return to the palace. The two emissaries do not propose the idea of *dharma* acquired by
belonging to a social group at birth – a *dharma* one has to abide by. Instead, they suggest the possibility
that the *dharma* of salvation can be pursued by kings as well.

The rejection of this idea by the prince is strong. Sarvāthasiddha’s point of view seems to be
shared by the Chinese translators, who did not alter his response at any point. In fact, they even
eliminated the suggestion of the possibility of a path to salvation for kings as mentioned by the
counselor and the chaplain. In *Bc* 9.18, the king’s emissaries state that *dharma* can also be pursued in
cities (*pure 'pi siddhirniyatā yatīnām*), and not only while dwelling in a forest. The only necessary
means (*nimittam*) are effort (*yatnaś*) and intent (*buddhiś*). Forests and emblems (*vana ca liṅgaṃ*) are
only the marks of a coward (*bhīrucinham*).⁴⁶⁶

法不必山林， 在家亦脩閑，
覺悟勤方便， 是則名出家。
剃髮服染衣， 自放山藪間，
此則懷畏怖， 何足名學仙？

[to pursue] *dharma* there is no need [to stay] in a mountain grove, it can be practiced in the household as
well,

⁴⁶⁵ There is no reference to a path of silence in the description of the different kinds of vows proper to ascetics, for which
see Olivelle (2009, 192-193).

⁴⁶⁶ Olivelle (2009, 253). In this case the translators gave a different interpretation of the second verse in the stanza; the
verse 覺悟勤方便 is meant to translate *buddhiśca yatnaśca*.

Understanding and exertion, these can be named “going forth”.

This cutting hair and wearing the ochre robe, getting yourself unrestrained in mountain wilderness,
Is in fact behaving as a coward, how can it be called studying asceticism?

In the Sanskrit poem, the king’s emissaries are comparing the prospect of pursuing *dharma* while staying at home with the idea of pursuing *dharma* through ascetic practices in the forest. The translation seems to be advocating enlightenment and exertion as an authentic way of going forth (覺悟勤方便, 是則名出家), as against the idle practices of the anachorites (此則懷畏怖, 何足名學仙).⁴⁶⁷

Although admitting the possibility of pursuing *dharma* while staying at home, the translators refrained from supporting the idea that there is liberation for kings, as we see from stanza *Bc* 9.19 and *Bc* 9.21:

maulīdharairasaviṣaktahārāiḥ keyūraṣiṣṭabdhahujairnarendraiḥ /
lakṣbhyāṅkamadhya parivartamānaiḥ prāpto grhasthairapi mokṣadharmāḥ // Bc_9.19 //
Kings, even while remaining householders
cradled in the lap of royal fortune
crowns upon their heads,
pearl strings on shoulders,
arms bound with bracelets,
have won the dharma of release—(Olivelle [2008, 250-251])

etān grhasthānṛpatīnavehi naiḥśreyase dharmavidhau vinītān /
ubhe 'pi tasmādyugapadbhajasva cittādhipatyam ca nṛpaśriyam ca // Bc_9.21 //
Know that these householder kings
were well trained
in dharma rules leading to highest bliss;
therefore, you should enjoy both together,
lordship over mind and royal fortune. (Olivelle [2008, 250-251])

如是等諸王， 悉皆著天冠，
瓔珞以嚴容， 手足貫珠環，
嫖女眾娛樂， 不違解脫因。
汝今可還家， 崇習於二事，
心修增上法， 為地增上主。

Kings like these all wore a heavenly crown,
Used necklaces as ornaments, on hands and feet they wore pearls bracelets,
Enjoyed the pleasure of courtesans yet they did not contravene the aim of liberation.
You can return home today, and cultivate both things:
Your mind can practice a superior dharma; for the sake of the country you can ascend to superior lordship.

⁴⁶⁷ The two concepts of enlightenment (覺悟) and skillful means (勤方便) are related in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, in the presentation of the qualities obtained on the path to the extinction of suffering. 所名苦滅道諦者，[...] 或名勤方便、或名普眼、或名離邊、或名覺悟、或名得妙、或名無上目、或名觀方。」(T9, no. 278 p. 420c02-c05).

While the interpretation of *Bc* 9.21 may be doubtful (Olivelle 2008, 451), there is no doubt that the translation of *Bc* 9.19 was considered difficult. The Sanskrit is quite clear in stating that householders obtained the *dharma* of release (*prāpto gr̥hasthairapi mokṣadharmāḥ*), while in Chinese kings do not go against the cause of liberation (不違解脫因). Although there is reference to the possibility of practicing towards a superior *dharma* (心修增上法), this *dharma* does not seem to be achieved.

The answer to the proposal is provided by the prince in *Bc* 9.50. The translation apparently rejects the idea of deliverance in kingship, not even mentioning it *per absurdum* as in the translation of *Bc* 9.51:

*tanniścayādvā vasudhādhipāste rājyāni muktvā śamamāptavantaḥ /
rājyāṅgitā vā nibhṛtendriyatvād anaiṣṭhike mokṣakṛtābhimānāḥ // Bc_9.50 //*

So, certainly, either those kings
gave up their realms and obtained calm,
Or remaining within the realm, they projected
release on a non-final state,
because their senses were controlled.

決定修解脫， 亦不居王位。
若言居王位， 兼修解脫者，
此則非決定， 決定解亦[不]然

If one decides to practice for liberation, then he must refuse dwelling in kingship.
If [you] say there are some that practiced for liberation while dwelling in kingship,
Then these were undecided, if one decides for liberation then he does not behave like that.

*teṣāṃ ca rājye 'stu śamo yathāvatprāpto vanaṃ nāhamaniścayena /
chittvā hi pāśaṃ gr̥habandhusaṃjñāṃ muktaḥ punarṇa pravivikṣurasmi // Bc_9.51 //*

Let's say they duly attained calm within the realm;
I've not reached the forest with mind undecided;
For I am free, I've cut the snare called
home and kin;
I have no desire to enter that snare again.

「既非決定心， 或出還復入；
我今已決定， 斷親屬鉤餌，
正方便出家， 云何還復入？」

Even if [their] minds were undecided, and thus they went [forth] and then returned again -
Today I decided to cut the lure and hook of relatives,
And then rightly disposed to go forth – how can I go back again?

The translators refused to report the royal emissaries' words and did not entertain the possibility of the king “to project release on a non-final state” (*anaiṣṭhike mokṣakṛtābhimānāḥ*) as in *Bc* 9.50; they did not even bother to reject this argument as irrelevant, as the prince does in *Bc* 9.51 (*teṣāṃ ca rājye 'stu*

śamo) – this reference is substituted by 既非決定心 “even if their minds were not decided”. The translators simply avoided mentioning the possibility of a king obtaining “the *dharma* of liberation”.

The translators adjusted the strong comparisons in *Bc* 9.39, where kingship is compared to “a sick man out of greed consuming unhealthy food” (*lobhād apathyānnaṃ ivāturasya*); this is translated as 如病服非藥 “like a sick man not taking medicines”.⁴⁶⁸ Minor alterations are frequent through the poem, as for example:

*kathaṃ nu mohāyatanaṃ nṛpatvaṃ kṣamaṃ prapattum viduṣā nareṇa /
sodvegatā yatra madaḥ śramaśca parāpacāreṇa ca dharmapīḍā // Bc_9.40 //*

How can it be right for a wise man to accept
kingship that is delusions dwelling place,
Where anxiety, pride, and fatigue lurk, and damage
to dharma by mistreating other men?

「高位[低]愚癡處， 放逸隨愛憎，
終身常畏怖， 思慮形神疲，
順眾心違法， 智者所不為。

In prominent position there is ignorance; indulging in pleasure leads to be keen of distasteful things;
All my life I would live in fear that my mind and my body will be exhausted,
Abiding all these [things] my mind would violate the dharma and this is not how a wise man behaves.

In this case, the passage *parāpacāreṇa ca dharmapīḍā*, “damage to *dharma* by mistreating other men”, is not translated.

In stanza *Bc* 9.41, kingship is compared to a golden castle on fire, a poisoned food, a lotus pond infested with crocodiles. This verse is translated in full, with the minor difference that crocodiles (*grāhā*) are substituted with venomous insects (毒蟲). The following eleven stanzas (*Bc* 9.40 to 9.51) are a harsh condemnation of kingship by the Śākya prince.

A very important stanza is *Bc* 9.48. In accordance with the Brahmanical definition, punishment (*daṇḍa*) is here identified with the *dharma* of the king and contrasted with “the *dharma* of release” (*mokṣadharmo*):

*yā ca śrutirmokṣamavāptavanto nṛpā gr̥hasthā iti naitadasti /
śamapradhānaḥ kva ca mokṣadharmo daṇḍapradhānaḥ kva ca rājadharmah // Bc_9.48 //*

As for the scripture that householder kings
have attained release,
that cannot be!
The dharma of release, where calm prevails,
And the dharma of kings, where force prevails—
how far apart are they!

⁴⁶⁸ It is interesting to note that murder by poisoning was quite common in Medieval China.

「處宮修解脫， 則無有是處，
解脫寂靜生， 王者如楚罰。」

To pursue liberation in a court palace - there is no room for this!
Liberation rises from quietude, and kingship is like punishing with a rod.

It is interesting how *daṇḍapradhānaḥ* is translated as *chufa* 楚罰 “rod-punishment” – alternative readings support *chudu* 楚毒 “cruel torture”.⁴⁶⁹ The first reading is closer to the meaning of the Sanskrit as we understand it today: kingship consists in inflicting punishments. In the second case, the interpretation by the Chinese translators sounds less aware of the concept of *daṇḍa*, and it seems that kingship itself is described as a harsh punishment. In either case, the translators are not supporting the idea that kingship would yield a good outcome, as it involves hardship and suffering.

The rejection of the idea of liberation through kingship is fostered through the whole ninth chapter in the Chinese translation. Not only is the prince’s opinion enforced, but some arguments by the king’s chaplain and counselor are not reported. In general the translators did not alter Sarvāthasiddha’s answer to the emissaries’ plea.

It is interesting to note stanza *Bc* 9.69, in which Lord Rāma is returning to the Earth to protect it from “barbarians” (*mahīm viprakṛtām anāryais*). The passage is adjusted in translation, which avoids mentioning the “an-aryas”:

國王子羅摩， 去國處山林，
聞國風俗離， 還歸維正化。」

As prince Rāma left the country and dwelled in a grove,
[He] heard that the moral customs were being abandoned, [so he] returned only to adjust [them].

In the tenth *sarga*, king Śreṇya, the young monarch of Maghada, having heard that the Śākya prince had left the palace to practice on the path of the seers, decides to go and talk to him, with the aim of persuading him to resume his duty as ruler. King Śreṇya looks sincerely moved by the prince’s choice, and feels pity for him. He proceeds in a long apology of worldly pleasures, including the glory of kingship. The content of the tenth *sarga* is translated quite precisely in Chinese, except for a few cases in which the translator rephrased the content.⁴⁷⁰ In translating this passage, the attention of the translators seemed to shift towards eliminating references to sensual pleasures.

The eleventh chapter features the Śākya prince’s answer to king Śreṇya, with the confutation of the arguments in favor of enjoyments and pleasures, and a stern rejection of kingship (see for example *Bc* 11.44 to 11.49, and 11.55 and 11.57).

⁴⁶⁹ [楚毒] (T4, no. 192, p. 018a01 ~ T4, no. 192, p. 018a02).

⁴⁷⁰ In one case (*Bc* 10.39) the Chinese translation offers an interesting alternative reading, for which see Olivelle (2009, 457) and Huang (2015, 277).

Stanza *Bc* 11.44 states that since joy and pain are always mixed and variable (*vimiśrāṃ sukhaduḥkhatām*), there is no difference between a king and a slave (*rājyaṃ ca dāsyam... samānam*). The Chinese translation summarized the stanza but left the content unchanged (苦樂相不定， 奴王豈有間).⁴⁷¹ Stanza *Bc* 11.45 adds that the authority of the king (*ājñā nṛpatve 'bhyadhike*) is in fact the source of his distress (*mahānti duḥkhānyata eva rājñah*). The king, as a carrying-pole (*āsaṅgakāṣṭha*), suffers for the sake of all the people (*lokasya hetoḥ parikhedam*):

*ājñā nṛpatve 'bhyadhiketi yatsyānmahānti duḥkhānyata eva rājñah /
āsaṅgakāṣṭhapratimo hi rājā lokasya hetoḥ parikhedameti // Bc_11.45 //*
A king has great authority, one may argue;
but that is the very cause of a king's distress;
For a king, much like a carrying-pole,
for the people's sake endures great travail. (Olivelle [2008,])

教令眾奉用， 以王為勝者，
教令即是苦， 猶擔能任重。
普銓世輕重， 眾苦集其身。

[His] orders are all accepted and applied, the king is considered the victorious one;
In orders lies suffering indeed, like carrying a heavy burden on a shoulder pole.
The universal balance and the weight of the world are all inflicted on his body.

In the case of verse *Bc* 11.46, the translation altered a reference to enemies: they are not the result of the king's trust in his kingdom (*rājye nṛpas tyāginī*) but may also be relatives changing their attitude towards the king.⁴⁷²

The translators did not portray kingship on Earth as a noble or a favorable accomplishment. Although the harshness of kingship is never edulcorated in the translation, strict definitions of what should be the king's behavior tend to be omitted, as in the case of *Bc* 11.48, which was not translated in Chinese:

*rājño 'pi vāsoyugamekameva kṣutsaṃnirodhāya tathānnamātrā /
śayyā tathaikāsanamekameva śeṣā viśeṣā nṛpatermadāya // Bc_11.48 //*
Even a king wears only one pair of garments, / and eats as much food as would allay his hunger; / he sleeps in one bed and sits on a single seat; other opulence only puffs up a king's pride. (Olivelle 2009, 316-317).⁴⁷³

⁴⁷¹ (T4, no. 192, p. 021b25).

⁴⁷² 為王多怨憎， 雖親或成患， 無親而獨立， 此復有何歡 (T04, no. 192, p. 21b29-c1)

⁴⁷³ Similar is the case of *Bc* 11.47, in which the verses *vāsāya dṛṣṭam puramekameva, tatrāpi caikaṃ bhavanam niṣevyam* “we see that he gets just one city to dwell in; When even there he lives in just one residence” (Olivelle [2008, 312-313]) are summarized in 用皆不過一 (T04, no. 192, p. 21c2).

The most evident omission is of the king's proper moral behavior, and especially the fact that he does not indulge in opulence, food, and, quite probably, love affairs.⁴⁷⁴ The content of *Bc* 11.48 is partly summarized in the translation of *Bc* 11.49:

tuṣṭyarthametacca phalaṃ yadīṣṭamṛte 'pi rājyānmama tuṣṭirasti /
tuṣṭau ca satyāṃ puruṣasya loke sarve viśeṣā nanu nirviśeṣāḥ // Bc_11.49 //
If one desires this fruit to obtain contentment,
I'm content even without a kingdom.
When a man has obtained contentment
in this world,
don't all luxuries seem quite ordinary? (Olivelle [2008, 316-317]).

未若止貪求， 息事為大安。
居王五欲樂， 不王閑寂歡，
歡樂既同等， 何用王位為？
It is better, then, to curb desire; in the appeasement there is greater tranquility.
Dwelling as king in the five desires [or] not being a king and resting in silence and joy:
If joy and happiness are the same, what is the use of being a king?

The fact that kings will obtain bad retribution in future lives is never concealed in the translation, such as in stanza *Bc* 11.55, in which kings are said to deserve pity since they will not experience tranquility in this life and are condemned to suffering in the hereafter:

lakṣmyāṃ mahatyāmapi vartamānastrṣṇābhībhūtastvanukampitavyaḥ /
prāpnoti yaḥ śāntisukhaṃ na ceha paratra duḥkhai pratigṛhyate ca // Bc_11.55 //
One should pity a man overwhelmed by longing,
although he enjoys the greatest sovereign power,
A man who does not obtain the joy of peace here,
and is gripped by suffering in the hereafter. (Olivelle [2008, 316-317]).

當哀為王者， 其心常虛渴，
今世不獲安， 後世受苦報。
One should grieve for those who are engaged in kingship, their minds are thirsty in vain,
In this life they will not obtain any contentment, in the hereafter they will suffer a painful retribution.

The refusal of unhindered kingship is restated quite insistently in *Bc* 11.57, a verse that was not translated, probably to avoid repetition. In this verse the prince states again that he does not aim for kingship, not even a celestial one:

ahaṃ hi saṃsāraśareṇa viddho viniḥsṛtaḥ śāntimavāptukāmaḥ /
neccheyamāptuṃ tridive 'pi rājyaṃ nirāmayam kiṃ bata mānuṣeṣu // Bc_11.57 //
For, pierced by the arrow of samsaric life, / I have departed desiring to obtain peace; / I do not desire
unhindered kingship even in the triple heaven; how much less then among humans. (Olivelle [2018, 316-317]).

⁴⁷⁴ I think this is the implicit meaning of “sleeping in only one bed” (*śayyā tathaikāsanam ekam eva*).

6.4 Problematic enemies

The translators of the *Buddhacarita* avoided references to violence and war almost completely. The enemies of the king Śuddhodana faded out in the translation. References to enemies disappear at the beginning of the first *sarga*:

*ā janmano janmajarāntakasya tasyātmajasyātmajitaḥ sa rājā /
ahanyahanyarthagajāśvamisraivṛddhiṃ yayau sindhurivāmbuvegaiḥ // Bc_2.1 //*

Ever since the birth of his son/ who had reached the end of birth and old age, / the self-controlled king prospered day by day, / with wealth, elephants, horses and allies, / like the Indus with the rush of waters. (Olivelle [2008, 39]).

時白淨王家， 以生聖子故，
親族名子弟， 群臣悉忠良

That time in the family of the king Śuddhodana, due to the birth of the holy prince, / all the kinsmen were called sons and brothers, all the ministers were loyal and honest.

In another case, the Chinese text changes the content of the second verse of a stanza, abandoning the metaphor involving the waves of the Indus river and shifting the focus from wealth and allies to clan relationships and the loyalty of the subjects:⁴⁷⁵

*madhyasthatām tasya ripurjagāma madhyasthabhāvaḥ prayayau suhṛttvam /
viśeṣato dārdḍhyamiyāya mitram dvāvasya pakṣāvaparasa tu nāsa // Bc_2.6 //*

His enemies became neutrals,
the neutrals turned into allies,
allies became markedly strong;
he had two parties, the third disappeared. (Olivelle[2008, 36-37]).

怨憎者心平， 中平益淳厚，
素篤增親密， 亂逆悉消除。

Resentful ones got peace in their heart, and ordinary persons increased in honesty and kindness. Quiet and sincere ones became intimate, all the disputes were cleared up.

In the translation of stanza *Bc* 2.6, the reference to enemies of the king (*tasya ripur*) is substituted with “resentful persons” who acquire peace in their hearts; we should also note that there is no indication that their resentment is against the king, while in the *Buddhacarita* we have a specific reference thereto

⁴⁷⁵ It fits with the situation in Medieval China.

(*tasya ripur* as “his enemies”).⁴⁷⁶ The last *pada* of *Bc* 2.6 refers to the concept of enemies and allies as defined by the *Arthaśāstra* (Olivelle [2009, 439]). We cannot state with certainty whether the translators were aware of this reference; they probably understood that the “other party” meant enemies (the king has only allies and neutral parties), and in any case the idea conveyed in the translation only refers to disputes being calmed down (亂逆悉消除).

In *Bc* 2.39 the king is described as impartial: he administers justice equally, without considering whether the litigants are his friends or foes: the reference to “friends or foes” (*iṣṭeṣvaniṣṭeṣu*) is not translated; the Chinese reports that the king did not rely on greedy or angry thoughts, adding that his will was to keep silent and that he was forthright and just in ending controversies. Although it seems that the reference to enemies is often avoided, defeated enemies are preserved in *Bc* 2.40, where the foes’ pride is symbolically defeated through virtue, not by the “ax of war”.

āśāvate cāhigatāya sadyo deyāmbubhistarśamacecchidiṣṭa /
yuddhādrte vṛttaparaśvadhena dviḍdarpamudvṛttamabebhidiṣṭa // Bc_2.40 //
With the waters of gifts he quenched at once
the thirst of supplicants who flocked to him;
and he squelched the swollen pride of his foes
with the battle ax of virtue, not war. (Olivelle [2008, 48-49]).

見彼多求眾，豐施過其望，
心無戰爭想，以德降怨敵。

Seeing the multitudes of beggars, [he] gave rich gifts beyond their expectations;
in [his] heart there was no conflict, his thoughts were pure; through virtue he made enemies surrender.

In this case the mention of enemies was translated: enemies are defeated by Śuddhodana’s superior virtue – there is no mention of war. But the reference to enemies disappears again in *Bc* 2.43:

ārṣāṇyacārītparamavratāni vairāṇyahāsīccirasambhṛtāni /
yaśāṃsi cāpadguṇagandhavanti rajāṃsyahārṣīṇmalinīkarāṇi // Bc_2.43 //
“He performed severe vows that were practiced by seers; / he eliminated long-standing enmities; / he attained fame that was perfumed by his virtues; / he abandoned passions that produce defilement.” (Olivelle [2008, 53])

受學神仙道，
滅除怨恚心，名德普流聞，
世累永消亡。

He accepted to study the path of the holy seers, he eliminated violent thoughts, / his fame circulated everywhere; the worldly hindrance withered away forever.

⁴⁷⁶ The “ordinary persons” as 中平 may as well be considered a translation of *madhyastha*, while in the translation there is no reference to allies becoming stronger.

The king is said to be practicing vows of austerity characteristic of holy seers (*ārṣāṇyacārīt paramavratāni*, 受學神仙道): he eliminated hateful feelings, his fame is widely renowned, and he removes any worldly hindrance. While he eliminated “violent feelings” (滅除怨恚心), there is no reference to the fact that “he eliminated long-standing enmities” (*vairāṇyahāsiccirasambhṛtāni*), but the Sanskrit *vairāṇy*, however, seems to be an unmistakable reference to actual enemies. The idea of the annihilation of enemies and difficulties falls of course within the range of achievements of a *bodhisattva*, but in this case a similar description was already present in the Sanskrit poem.⁴⁷⁷

The list of terms referring to enemies in the second *sarga* includes *ripur* (*Bc* 2.6, 怨憎者), *aribhiś*, *paracakra* (*Bc* 2.15, not translated), *iṣṭeṣvaniṣṭeṣu*, (*Bc* 2.39, not translated), *dviḍdarpam* (*Bc* 2.40 敵), *vairāṇy*, (*Bc* 2.43 怨恚心), and *dviṣatām* (*Bc* 2.44, not translated). Most of these are simply elided in the Chinese; the only explicit correspondence is in verse *Bc* 2.40, in which, as we have pointed out, enemies are metaphorically defeated through virtue, and in verse 2.43, where the term *vairāṇy* could also be referring to a mental disposition. The attitude towards the subject of enemies is constant and does not seem to be related to some specific term of difficult interpretation, which could prove that translators knew all the different terms referring to “enemies” or that some “proof-reader” might have found it appropriate to expunge these references from the final edition of the translation.

If in the second *sarga* the tendency is to remove any reference to enemies, in the eleventh *sarga* we observe a different trend: enemies are instrumental in explaining the shortcomings of kingship.

In *Bc* 11.46 the mention of enemies (*bavhamitre*) in the kingdom (*rājye*) as the result of the king’s trust in his subjects (*viśvāsam āgacchati*) is changed to relatives that may spontaneously turn into enemies:

*rājye nṛpas tyāgini bavhamitre viśvāsam āgacchati ced vipannaḥ /
athāpi viśrambhamupaiti neha kiṃ nāma saukhyaṃ cakitasya rājñāḥ // Bc_11.46 //*

If a king places faith in his kingdom,
fickle and full of enemies, he’s doomed;
But if he fails to place his trust in it,
then what happiness does a king enjoy,
when he is trembling with fright? (Olivelle [2008, 312-313])

為王多怨憎， 雖親或成患，
無親而獨立， 此復有何歡 ⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁷ It is important to report that in several cases this *bodhisattva* power is expressed in the Buddh in a fashion similar to that of the *Fo suoxing zan*; see for example: “除滅一切眾魔怨” (T9, no. 278, p. 533b13); “降伏一切眾魔怨敵淨精進，悉能除滅貪、恚、愚癡、煩惱、邪見，諸纏障蓋故” (T9, no. 278, p. 660b10-12); “除滅一切波羅蜜障礙、怨敵” (T9, no. 278, pp. 719c03-04);

⁴⁷⁸ (T04, no. 192 p. 21b29-c01)

For the king there is much resentment and hate, although relatives, some can become dangerous [to him],
If there are no relatives, how there might be happiness in this?

In stanza *Bc* 11.51 the prince is not afraid of prospective enemies (我不畏怨家) and rejects a celestial crown (捨於天冠);⁴⁷⁹ it is interesting to note that while in Chinese these two ideas seem to be completely unrelated, in the Sanskrit poem they are clearly connected in the same sentence, and in fact the *pada* reads “enemy arrows did not take away my crown” (*na śatrubāṇair avadhūtamauliḥ*).

The interpretation of *Bc* 11.71 is very difficult.

himāriketūdbhavasambhavāntare yathā dvijo yāti vimokṣayaṃstanum /
himāriśatruḥṣayaśatruḥhātane tathāntare yāhi vimokṣayan manaḥ // Bc_11.71 //

As fire, the twice-born, when it encounters
rain pouring from a cloud that springs
from smoke,
sign of the enemy of cold,
proceeds releasing its form,
So proceed, releasing your mind by killing
the foes of the destruction of darkness,
the foe of the sun, the enemy of cold. (Olivelle [2008, 322-323]).

冰雪火為怨， 緣火烟幢起，
烟幢成浮雲， 浮雲興大雨，
有鳥於空中， 飲雨不雨身。
殺重怨為宅， 居宅怨重殺，
有殺重怨者， 汝今應伏彼，
令其得解脫， 如飲不雨身。 (T4, no. 192, p.0022a29 ~ T4, no. 192, p.0022b05)
For ice and snow, fire is an enemy; because of fire, smoke, [its] pennant, rises;
The smoke-pennant becomes clouds, clouds transform into heavy rain,
There are birds in the sky, they drink rain and yet don't get wet with rain.
Fight all the resentments for the abode, reside in the abode by resenting all fights,
There is one who will fight all the enemies, you should let him pass today:
He will lead you to liberation, like drinking without getting wet by rain.⁴⁸⁰

The reference to a bird drinking water without getting wet may be related to the idea of the *bodhisattva* re-entering *samsāra* to help other beings without getting caught in the re-birth circle. This kind of analogy involving kingship was posed by Nāgārjuna for kingship in the *Ratnāvalī* (Scherrer-Schaub, 782-784). However, it is not clear how this idea was interpolated in the translation.

An interesting case is the translation of the Sanskrit *camūr hatāśray eva dviṣatā dviṣaccamūḥ* (*Bc* 13.71), “like enemy troops when their enemy has killed their chief”. This simile describes the defeat of

⁴⁷⁹ For an analysis of the idea of the rejection of a celestial crown and the corresponding description in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, see paragraph 8.4.

⁴⁸⁰ See also the alternative translation in Willemsen (2009a, 81).

Māra's army and is translated in the *Fo suoxing zan* as 如人殺怨主 怨黨悉摧碎. In this case the translators of the *Buddhacarita* chose to keep the reference to enemies. However, the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* 過去現在因果經 (T189), a text that borrowed much of its structure from the translation of the *Buddhacarita*, quoted the entire description of the aftermath of the battle with Māra from T192, with the precise exception of this simile referring to the defeat of the enemies' chief.⁴⁸¹

6.5 Conclusions and future research threads

Some key details have come to light showing that the translators of the *Buddhacarita* worked to remove the king from the Brahmanical perspective to a more neutral background. King Śuddhodana seems to be compared to a *bodhisattva* in the first part of the translation (as in the case of *Bc* 2.42 and 2.44), although the adoption of the ideal of universal compassion in government as characteristic of a Mahāyānic perspective is not present in the first part of the *Fo suoxing zan*.⁴⁸² Sarvāthasiddha's strong refusal of the values of kingship⁴⁸³ was not abridged in the translation.

If the translators were aiming at gaining their patron's attention, they actually made no effort to portray kingship in a positive light from a Buddhist perspective. Who might have been the audience for this translation? A hypothesis is that the translation was meant for lay scions from noble families, who might identify with the example set by Sarvathāsiddha.

Two important features of the translation seem particularly in contrast with the idea of kingship in a Mahāyānic perspective: the tendency to abridge the presence of enemies⁴⁸⁴ and the strong rejection of the possibility for kings to pursue *dharma*.⁴⁸⁵

The possibility of an influence of Mahāyānic ideas on the second part of the translation should be investigated.⁴⁸⁶ Further research on the figure of Aśoka, who appears in the second to last chapter of

⁴⁸¹ Compare the corresponding passage in T189: 群魔憂惑，悉皆崩散，情意沮悴，無復威武，諸鬪戰具，縱橫林野 (T03, no. 189, p. 641a26-28)

⁴⁸² This seems to be in accord with the possibility, left open by Zimmermann (2006, 237-238), that “not all the Mahāyānists are speaking in a single voice”.

⁴⁸³ Ideally corresponding to the stern ethical position of the second phase of Buddhist kingship as defined by Zimmermann (2006).

⁴⁸⁴ In the Mahāyānic idea of kingship proposed by Zimmermann (2006, 235), violence is sublimated as an act of compassion performed by the king-*bodhisattva*.

⁴⁸⁵ A partial breach for redemption in kingship may be hidden in 11.71, although the over-all translation of this verse remains obscure. Another option might be that the redemption of kingship is attributable to the figure of Aśoka. This might be true for the *Buddhacarita*. The translators of the *Fo suoxing zan*, however, did not hesitate to alter the description of the king in the 2nd *sarga*, and the redeeming presence of Aśoka at the end of the poem may not have been sufficient to prevent them from altering the refutation of kingship as presented in the 9th and 11th *sarga*. The fact that they left this refutation unaltered is clearly a sign of their sincere backing of this position.

the poem, may prove to be rewarding. The Chinese translation shows us the figure of the emperor Aśoka gaining a place of prestige in the preservation of the Buddha's relics.⁴⁸⁷ As Strong (1983, 44-45) has pointed out, the figure of Aśoka brings together "two distinct Buddhist reactions to the institution of kingship: wariness and criticism the one hand, admiration and respect on the other". Aśoka enlivened the ideal of the *cakravartin*, the wheel-turning monarch. The idea of interpreting Aśoka's presence as a new model of monarch proposed by the *Buddhacarita* is tempting, but we do not have any Sanskrit source on this point. While the Chinese account appears to be biased on the topic of kingship, the Tibetan translation, although often considered more accurate,⁴⁸⁸ appears to be very difficult to interpret in its last chapters.⁴⁸⁹

In reshaping the definition of kingship in the *Buddhacarita*, the translators focused attention on two issues: they eliminated passages concerning the king's immoral behavior and his illicit relationships, and avoided mentioning the possibility of pursuing *dharma* for kings, an idea fostered by representatives of the Brahmanical tradition.

Apparently, the translators' work was not a spontaneous rephrasing of the *Buddhacarita*. Rather, the process of translation was influenced by the need to respect the readers' possible requirements and to fashion a new idea of Buddhist kingship. It is very probable that translators reshaped Śuddhodhana's model kingship in order to make it fit into their own historical context.

In adapting the poem to a new political environment, references to the king's generosity, virtuous morality, and good disposition toward the study of texts were avoided, probably because these references might have appeared to be an indirect criticism. The stability of the kingdom and the spontaneous surrender of the king's enemies are abridged as well, since they might have represented an embarrassing standard of comparison for prospective readers.

⁴⁸⁶ The influence of the *bodhisattva* ideal on the representation of kingship may descend from diverse sources, although most of the definitions applied to the king in the *Fo suoxing zan* seem to derive from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. Further support for this hypothesis is given by three different considerations: i) the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was translated by the Kashmiri meditation master Buddhābhaddra; Baoyun, the monk of Chinese origin listed by Sengyou as the only translator of the *Buddhacarita*, is known to have been Buddhābhaddra's assistant in numerous translation projects; ii) Buddhābhaddra came from a stern sarvastivādin tradition and was able to translate the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* into Chinese (Chen 2014, 115); iii) the idea of *bodhisattva* as kingship is to be found in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* tradition since early on (Nattier 2007, 124-129), thus implying a link between the *bodhisattva* ideal and the figure of the king.

⁴⁸⁷ For reference, see Willemen (2009, 206-207); a summary can be found at Olivelle (2009, 430-431). For the legend of Aśoka and the collection of the relics, see Strong (1983, 3-38).

⁴⁸⁸ See for example Johnston (1936, xiii).

⁴⁸⁹ The critical edition of the Tibetan text by Friedrich Weller (1929) stops at the end of the 16th chapter. See also Jackson (1997, 42).

Chapter 7: translating religious alterity

In the first chapters of the *Buddhacarita* there are frequent mentions of Brahmins and of Brahmanical traditions and rituals. The poem is also very rich in descriptions of ascetics. The language of the *Buddhacarita* is imbued with references to Brahmanical texts – on this topic, see the analysis by Johnston (1936, xv-xxiv) and the interesting reflections made by Olivelle (2007) on the re-definition of Brahmanical ideas in the *Buddhacarita*.⁴⁹⁰ References to the Vedic texts and the epics are frequent in the poem, as are mentions of heroes and sages, always called by their proper or “family names”.⁴⁹¹

The first chapters of the poem are narrated from the point of view of a well-established, traditional family whose householder supports Brahmanical rituals for the welfare of his kinsmen. The importance of Brahmanical rituals and sacrifices will be refuted by Sarvāthasiddha in the tenth and eleventh *sargas*.⁴⁹² On the path of his spiritual cultivation, the former prince of the Śākya family will gradually reject Brahmanical conventions and traditions.⁴⁹³ The point of arrival of the whole poetic composition seems to be the affirmation of a superior set of values and the confutation of the Brahmanical perspective.

The argument in this chapter is that the translators of the *Buddhacarita* perceived specific rituals regarding welfare, rebirth in heaven, and donation for Brahmins as a sensitive issue, particularly if performed by the king and his family and court members. We should point out that some rituals performed by the king are still reported: when they are explicitly meant for heavenly gods and when, in the end, they prove to be ineffective.

A necessary premise is that the main translator, Baoyun (376?-449), was in fact able to read and understand the *Buddhacarita* and its peculiar cultural implications. Baoyun’s impressive curriculum as interpreter received little recognition in later catalogues of the Buddhist Canon, but what is important for this study is that he did know Sanskrit and had several opportunities to collaborate with Indian experts who helped him when the content of the *Buddhacarita* was too culture-specific.

⁴⁹⁰ See also Olivelle (2008, 434-463) for a list of possible references to non-Buddhist texts.

⁴⁹¹ On the descriptions of sages and ascetics in the *Buddhacarita* an interesting and very focused study can be found in Rigopoulos (2018).

⁴⁹² For a rebuttal of the importance of sacrificial rites in the eleventh *sarga*, see Olivelle (2008, 320-321). As Hildebeitel (2006) has shown, the borrowing and re-shaping of epic imagery is very common in the poem.

⁴⁹³ Thus, we see the rejection of austerity and ascetic practice in the seventh *sarga*, the rejection of family duties and kingship in the ninth *sarga*.

The present study lists all the references to Brahmins and Brahmanical sacrifices and rituals; these specific terms are apparently translated in a uniform manner until the seventh *sarga*. The change occurring in the seventh chapter of the translation may be explained by specific translation needs.

The lexicon employed in the translation is important for understanding what Baoyun (and his collaborators) knew about Brahmins and their special status at the court of the king Śuddhodhana. By the same token, we can state that Baoyun knew what sacrificial offerings and gatherings were, although the rendition of their aim may vary in the translation. The meaning of the verses they chose to alter or omit was clear to the translators – if they chose to abridge some passages, it was not because they could not grasp the content, but, very probably, because they deemed it inappropriate.

7.1 Brahmanas, śramanas, ṛṣīs, and munis

A review of the terms used in the translation of the *Buddhacarita* to address practitioners of different religious groups is useful for understanding the translators' view of different practices.

Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, although intended as a eulogy of the Buddha, introduces Brahman characters already in the first chapter.⁴⁹⁴ The Sanskrit manuscript is missing some important portions of this first chapter, but from the Chinese translation⁴⁹⁵ we understand that Brahmins able to interpret omens (*zhi xiang poluomen* 知相婆羅門) arrived at the court of the king Śuddhodana after the birth of his son – the corresponding stanza of the *Buddhacarita* would be *Bc* 1.31, which is missing in the manuscript.⁴⁹⁶

To ease the king's worries about the future of his son, the Brahmins provide a long list of epic heroes and sages who were able to surpass their ancestors. During their long speech, the Brahmins quote Kuśika, a sage who was unable to obtain the status of twice-born, but whose son Gādhin later achieved this (*yacca dvijatvaṃ kuśiko na lebhe tad gādhinaḥ sunūr avāpa rājan*, *Bc* 1.44). The passage is rendered in Chinese with some difficulty:

二生駒尸仙， 不閑外道論，
後伽提那王， 悉解外道法。

The twice-born sage Kuṣi[ko] did not dominate the heterodox scriptures,
Then the king Gādhina was able to explain all the heterodox laws.

⁴⁹⁴ The missing parts were reconstructed by the Nepalese scholar Amṛtānanda in the nineteenth century (see Vogel [1972]), but later expunged in Cowell's (1894) edition.

⁴⁹⁵ See T04, no. 192, p. 1c29.

⁴⁹⁶ The Tibetan translation reports the presence of brahmins as well; see Weller (1929, 9).

In the Chinese translation the Brahmans seem to be referring to their own scriptures (論) and laws (法) as *waidao* 外道 “heterodox practices”. These practices are, in fact, heterodox only from the point of view of Buddhist practitioners like the Chinese translators, not from the point of view of the Brahmans. The term 外道 occurs eleven times in the *Fo suoxing zan*, with the meaning of “heretics” or “heretical path”.⁴⁹⁷ The term appears, for example, in the translation of *Bc* 2.35, in a description of king Śuddhodana’s rightful behavior: he is said to be able to change heterodox doctrines. The expression *duḥkhāya parasya vidyām*, “learning to hurt other men”, is translated with a reference to *waidao* 外道 or heretic doctrines. In the translation, the king is not simply abstaining from learning these, but is actively curbing them by taking political measures against them. Johnston (1936, 27) supposed here that *vidyām*, as knowledge, includes magic and other Brahmanical knowledge despised by Buddhists.

After the Brahmans’ counseling on the newborn prince’s peculiar bodily signs, accompanied by an extensive list of epic quotes (verses *Bc* 1.40 to 1.46), the king is finally pleased with the Brahmans’ words and provides them with offerings:

evam nṛpaḥ pratyayitair dvijais tair āśvāsitaś cāpy abhinanditaś ca /
śaṅkāṃ aniṣṭāṃ vijahau manastaḥ praharṣaṃ evādhikam āruroha // Bc_1.47 //
prītaś ca tebhyo dvijasattamebhyaḥ satkārapūrvam pradadau dhanāni /
bhūyād ayaṃ bhūmipatir yathokto yāyāj jarām etya vanāni ceti // Bc_1.48 //

Thus did those trusted twice-born men
 console the king and cheer him up;
 He removed unwholesome doubts from his mind
 And rose to a still higher level of joy
 Delighted, he honored those twice-born men,
 And he gave them rich gifts, with the wish
 “May he become a king as predicted,
 And go to the forest when he is old” (Olivelle 2008, 19-20)

王聞仙人說， 歡喜增供養
 我今生勝子， 當紹轉輪位，
 我年已朽邁， 出家修梵行，
 無令聖王子， 捨世遊山林。

The king, having listened to the sages’ words, rejoiced and increased his offerings.⁴⁹⁸
 “Today I gave birth to an excellent son, he must carry on the role of *cakravartin*,”⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁷ See Willemsen (2009b, 48).

⁴⁹⁸ Willemsen (2009a, 8) has “his worship increased”, while Beal (1883, 12) has “offered him increased gifts”; in a note, Beal (1883, 12n1) proposes the alternative translation “extended his offerings”. My translation is supported by *Bc* 1.48, in which there is mention of “rich gifts” as donations for brahmans (*pradadau dhanāni*). Nine verses later, as the sage Asita enters the palace, describing the king’s warm welcoming, we have the expression 恭敬設供養, which can be translated as “deferentially disposed offerings” – since the verb 設 cannot be easily related to “worship”, we may suppose that the translators were referring to material offerings.

⁴⁹⁹ The Sanskrit does not have “wheel-turning king” but a *bhūmipatir*, “father of the land”. See also Huang (2015: 17).

When my age will be advanced, I will leave the household to practice a pure conduct.
[thus] I will not allow the prince to abandon the secular world and wander in a forest.⁵⁰⁰

The hybrid word *fanxing* 梵行 is usefully explained by Zacchetti (2005: 265) as a calque of *brahmacarin*, but the term seems to be used in a different meaning in the *Fo suoxing zan*, perhaps the fourth stage of life, or *vanaprastha*. The same term recurs in the translation of *Bc* 2.14, but with the different sense of *brahmavihāras*.⁵⁰¹ The good conduct of king Śuddhodana's subjects is described as follows:

kaścitsiṣeve rataye na kāmam kāmārthamarthaṃ na jugopa kaścit /
kaściddhanārthaṃ na cacāra dharma dharmāya kaścinna cakāra hiṃsām // Bc_2.14 //
No one sought pleasure for the sake of lust;
No one protected wealth for pleasure's sake;
No one served dharma for the sake of wealth;
No one caused injury for dharma's sake. (Olivelle 2008, 42-43)

法愛相娛樂， 不生染污欲，
以義求財物， 無有貪利心。
為法行惠施， 無求反報想
脩習四梵行， 滅除恚害心
[With] love for the dharma [people] delighted each other, there was no desire for weariness.
[They] sought wealth by righteous means, [they] did not have the intention to covet profits.
For the sake of the dharma they practiced charity, they did not try to wish for a payback.
The exercise of the four brahmavihāras eliminated anger and evil will.⁵⁰²

The reference to sacrifices in the source text is transformed into a reference to the four *brahmavihāras*. These “four pious conducts”, in Chinese *si fanxing* 四梵行, are benevolence (*maitrī* or *ci* 慈), compassion (*karuṇā* or *bei* 悲), empathy (*muditā* or *xi* 喜), and equanimity (*upekṣā* or *she* 捨).⁵⁰³ We thus find the term *fanxing* 梵行 employed to render two different meanings: once it indicates the

500 As we understand from the final *ca iti* this verse is reporting the direct speech of the king. The Chinese translation transforms the text; the Sanskrit verbs *bhūyāt* and *yāyāj* are extremely rare benedictive forms that can be rendered as “may he become” and “may he go”. While the first form is translated quite on point (“may he become a king”), the second form *yāyāt* “may he go” is intended as if the king is addressing himself (“I must leave”, “I should leave”). The king Śuddhodana is referring to the four stages of life (*aśrama*); in the last stage (*jarām*) householders are supposed to retire in the forest (*vanāni*). The Chinese text is more explicit by introducing the expression 出家修梵行, referring to the last stage of life and thus explaining what the elderly are supposed to do in the forest.

501 The term will be used again by the king's ministers who are trying to persuade Sarvārthasiddha to return to his father's palace in the 9th *sarga*.

502 The following verse (*Bc* 2.15) was not translated: *steyādibhiścāpyaribhiśca naṣṭam svastham svacakram paracakramuktam / kṣemaṃ subhikṣaṃ ca babhūva tasya purānaranyasya yathaiva rāṣṭre // Bc_2.15 //* It contains a description of the king and his kingdom as independent and free of theft.

503 On this definition, see Willems (2009a, 209n8) and T14, no. 426, p. 70c2. Although the concept is pre-Buddhist, the definition of four specific *brahmavihāras* is specific to Buddhism; see Monier-Williams s.v. *brahmavihāra*, p. 740. It is possible that the translators were referring to the four stages of life (*aśrama*); this interpretation of *fanxing* 梵行 is closer in meaning to the translation of *Bc* 1.48, where the term is used to indicate the *vanaprastha* stage of life.

conduct of the king in his old age, while in the second case it specifically renders the Buddhist concept of *brahmavihāra*.

The different usages of the terms *fanxing* 梵行 and *waidao* 外道 lead us to think that the translators were trying to adjust references to Brahmanical culture to a Buddhist perspective. Thus, harmful knowledge is linked to heterodoxy and Brahmanism, and in lieu of sacrifices we find a reference to the four pious conducts.

In the first *sarga*, sages or *ṛṣīs* – as in *rājñāmṛṣīṇām* (*Bc* 1.46) – are referred to as “celestial sages” in the expression *shenxian* 神仙.

The term *xian* 仙 has a vast range of meanings, usually indicating a person with supernatural powers, or a Daoist immortal, and here probably referring to a “sage” or someone who practices austerity.

Twice-born men as in *dvijaistair* (*Bc* 1.47), or *dvijasattamebhyaḥ* (*Bc* 1.48), are referred to as *ersheng* 二生 or *xianren* 仙人. While the state of being twice-born (*dvijatvam*) belongs to the three upper castes, by using *xianren* to translate *dvija* the translators are restricting the meaning of the term to include only to Brahmins (as sages). The same term, *xianren*, is used for the *muni* Asita, who arrives at the king’s court after supernatural omens announced to him Sarvārthasiddha’s birth (*Bc* 1.50). In the source text, Asita is referred to as *muni*, “sage”, and as *tapodhanāya* (*Bc* 1.59) “rich in austerities”; both these terms are translated with the same Chinese expression, *xianren*, in one case articulated as *you kuxing xianren* 有苦行仙人 “a sage having practiced austerities”.

The path of austerities (*ārṣeṇa mārgeṇa*, *Bc* 1,79) is translated as *xianren dao* 仙人道. In *Bc* 2.49 *pathi prāthama kalpikānām rājavarṣabhānām* “the path of the king sages of primeval *kalpas*” is translated as *qie chushi, xianwang suozhu dao* 劫初時, 仙王所住道 “the path abided by kings of sages at the beginning of the *kalpa*”.

Incidentally, it is relevant to note that the term *gongyang* 供養, which usually means “to make ritual offerings” and in the Buddhist contest came to define the support provided to monks by their patrons, is used in the translation to refer to the offerings bestowed by the king to the Brahmins. In *Bc* 1.47 *gongyang* 供養 is used to translate the expression “[the king] gave them rich gifts” *satkārapūrvam pradadau dhanāni*. In *Bc* 1.50, while describing Asita’s entrance into the king’s seraglio, *gongyang* 供養 translates *gauravasatkriyābhyām* “with reverence and homage”.

The verses *Bc* 1.83 and 1.84 present a particularly problematic description of Brahmins. The king Śuddhodana is delighted by the birth of his son; ten days after the birth he performs rites with prayers for the child's welfare. For the prosperity of his son he also donates to Brahmins (*dvijebhyaḥ*) a hundred thousand young milch cows (*śatasahasrapūrṇasamkhyāḥ...payasvinīrgāḥ*), with golden horns, accompanied by their sturdy calves. The term *dvija* or “twice-born”, although it may be used to indicate members of the three upper social groups in the caste system, is usually employed in the *Buddhacarita* as a reference specifically to Brahmins, which is particularly evident in this case since cows are proper donations to Brahmins who are performing sacrifices.⁵⁰⁴ The *Fo suoxing zan* reads as follows:

生子滿十日， 安隱心已泰，
普祠諸天神， 廣施於有道。
沙門婆羅門， 呪願祈[告]吉福，
親族[嚧施]諸群臣， 及國中貧乏。
村城婬女眾， 牛馬象[錢財]財錢，
各隨彼所須， 一切皆給與。

Ten days after the birth of the son, [his] steady mind was already peaceful,
There was a widespread worshipping of the celestial deities, [the king] bestowed grants to the virtuous,
To Sramanas and Brahmanas who uttered formulas praying for auspicious fortune,
To kinsmen, all the probe ministers and all the poor people in the country:
A multitude of maidens from the towns and from the countryside, cows, horses, elephants, wealth and properties – everything was given to everyone according to what was needed.

Although the interpretation of these verses in the Chinese translation may be controversial,⁵⁰⁵ what is evident in any case is that Brahmins are not the exclusive recipients of the king's donation, which is addressed to everyone in the country and, although limited to what was needed, included many goods in addition to milch cows. The king ends up being even more generous; the Brahmins are not depicted as privileged in receiving his attentions. Brahmins are not the exclusive officiants in ritual, but this role is played by *śramaṇas* as well.

At the beginning of the fourth chapter Udayin, the chaplain's son, reproaches the courtesans for their apparent inability to seduce the prince Sarvārthasiddha. Udayin lists many previous examples of

⁵⁰⁴ Keay (2000, 19-36).

⁵⁰⁵ Huang (2015: 31) chose to take a different reading, maintaining the Taishō first option of *chenshi* 嚧施 “bestowed offerings” instead of *qinzu* 親族 “kinsmen”. The character *chen* 嚧 is a short form for *dakṣiṇa*, a generic term for “donation”, which strictu sensu may indicate the cow donated to the brahmins who are officiating sacrifices; Huang notes that this specific term is not used in the *Buddhacarita*, where Asvaghosa describes the cows explicitly and at length. Willemen chose the form 親族 and translates according to the Taishō punctuation as “The śramaṇas and brahmins offered incantations and prayed for good fortune for [the king's] close family and for all his ministers, and also for the poor of the land”. It is actually unclear why the brahmins would pray for the poor. In any case, the *Buddhacarita* makes explicit mention of donating to brahmins, while in the *Fo suoxing zan* this reference is omitted.

skilled courtesans who were able to entice even seers (*rṣīn api*, *Bc* 4.11, in Chinese, *shenxian* 神仙 or “divine sages”) – for example, the great seer Vyāsa (*mahānṛṣiḥ*, *Bc* 4.16, *daxian ren* 大仙人) was even kicked by a prostitute.⁵⁰⁶ In this list of unedifying examples there is also mention of a Gautama, who practiced long austerities, *gautamaṃ dīrghatapas* (*Bc* 4.18), and whose appellation is literally translated as *chang kuxing* 長苦行 “practicing long austerities”, while the appellation of the son of a sage, *munisutaṃ* (*Bc* 4.19), is translated as *xianren zi* 仙人子.

Udayin concludes that since women have caused the arousal of seers such as these – *evamādīn ṛṣīms* (*Bc* 4.21), translated in Chinese as *lisheng zhu fanxing* 力勝諸梵行 “powerful practitioners of Brahman” or “powerful practitioners of the *brahmavihāras*” – *a fortiori* courtesans should not fail to conquer the heart of the young prince.

A very long reprimand is delivered by Udayin to the prince himself; it lasts for more than ten stanzas and contains a long list of examples of *rṣis* and *munis*.⁵⁰⁷ Here again the term used most often in Chinese is *xianren* 仙人.

Although *xianren* may be used quite often to indicate different kinds of sages, seers, and hermits, at the beginning of the fifth chapter we have a clear proof that the translator chose to use more precise terms. In verse *Bc* 5.16 we have the fourth encounter, when a man dressed as a wandering monk (*bhikṣuveśaḥ*, 比丘形 “with the appearance of a *bhikṣu*”) appears before the prince, invisible to other people. When asked about his identity, he claims to be a *śramaṇa*.

naraṇḍaṃ gava janmamṛtyubhītaḥ śramaṇaḥ pravrajito 'smi mokṣahetoḥ // *Bc*_5.17 //
Frightened by birth and death, bull among men,
I have gone forth as a recluse,
For the sake of release.

「是沙門。
畏厭老病死，出家求解脫
“I am a shramana
for fear and disgust for old age, illness and death, I abandoned my house to seek for liberation.”⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁶ For reference, see Olivelle (2008, 90-95).

⁵⁰⁷ Olivelle (2008, 108-115).

⁵⁰⁸ *naradevasutastamabhyapṛcchadvada ko 'sīti śaśaṃsa so 'tha tasmai / naraṇḍaṃ gava janmamṛtyubhītaḥ śramaṇaḥ pravrajito 'smi mokṣahetoḥ* // *Bc*_5.17 // The Chinese text lacks the reference to an animal, which happens quite often, so there is no reference to *naraṇḍaṃ gava*, “bull among men”. Incidentally, the *Fo suoxing zan* generally adheres closer to the Sanskrit when direct speech is involved.

The encounter with a wandering monk leads the prince to his resolution to follow the path of *dharma*; thus he leaves the royal court at night, the doors of the palace being cast open by the gods of the pure abodes.

In the sixth *sarga*, the prince travels to a hermitage on his horse Kanthaka (the name of the horse is not mentioned in the *Buddhacarita*), while his squire Chaṇḍaka follows them by foot. When they arrive at the hermitage, Chaṇḍaka makes one last effort to convince the prince to abandon his resolution, begging him not to forsake the king “like infidels forsaking true *dharma*” – *saddharmamiva nāstikaḥ*, rendered in Chinese as 此則無復論, “like those who do not follow the treatises”.

Chaṇḍaka says that he cannot lie to the king about Sarvārthasiddha’s resolution, because he does not dare to defame a faultless sage: *nirdoṣasya muner iva* (*Bc* 6.38). In this case the term *muni* is transcribed in Chinese as *mouni* 牟尼, probably because it refers to Sarvārthasiddha himself, also known in China as *Shijia mouni* 释迦牟尼.

A supernatural being appears and donates to the prince his ochre robe (*kāṣāya*, rendered in Chinese as *jiasha yi* 袈裟衣). Thus, the prince enters the *āśrama* (*Bc* 6,65) – translated as *xianren ku* 仙人窟, “den of the sages”, while an ascetic grove or *tapovanam* (*Bc* 6,66) is a *kuxing lin* 苦行林. The narrative of the seventh *sarga* is set in the *āśrama* itself.

In the seventh *sarga* the range of terms for “Brahmans” and ascetics in the translation changes abruptly. While the terms for *āśrama* and *tapovanam* remain quite similar (*xian ren* 仙人處, “abode of the sages”, 苦行林 “grove of ascetic practices”), Brahman (*viprāś*, *Bc* 7.4) practicing austerity are at first referred to as *xue shenxian zhe* 學神仙者 “those who study [to become] a divine sage”. Then, from verse *Bc* 7.5 on the term most used is *fanzhi* 梵志. So *mṛgacāriṇaś* (*Bc* 7.5) “ascetics keeping the deer-vow” are called *suilü zhu fangzhi* 隨鹿諸梵志; a Brahman that had endured the practice for a long time is called *changsu fangzhi* 長宿梵志.

In the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism this term is translated as *brahmacārī*. Again, the translation of the Chinese term is controversial; in the ascetic grove we find “ascetics with their wives” (*Bc* 7.3), while the condition of *brahmacārī* implies celibacy.

There are, however, a few exceptions to the general use of *fanzhi* 梵志: the Brahman who explains the ascetic practices to Sarvārthasiddha is called *dvijātiḥ* and thus translated as *ersheng* 二生; in some cases, the appellative *xian* 仙 is resumed; practitioners that live with snakes or *bhujāṅgaiḥ* (*Bc* 7.15) are called *shexian* 蛇仙; those who live with the fish are called *yuxian* 魚仙 (*mīnaiḥ samam*,

Bc 7.17).⁵⁰⁹ In many instances the term *fanzhi* does not have a counterpart in the Sanskrit text but is translating pronouns, and it is used indifferently to translate terms such as *āśramaṇas* and *tapodhanāṁś*.

*evaṃvidhaiḥ kālacitais tapobhiḥ parair divaṃ yānti aparair nṛlokaṃ /
duḥkheṇa mārgēṇa sukhaṃ hy upaiti sukhaṃ hi dharmasya vadanti mūlam // Bc_7.18 //*
when such ascetic toil is amassed over time,
through the higher kind they go to heaven,
through the lower kind, to the world of men,
for it's the path of pain that leads to bliss,
for the root of dharma, they say, it's bliss. (Olivelle 2008, 194-195)

梵志修苦行， 壽終得生天，
以困苦行故， 當得安樂果。

Brahmins practicing austerities, at the end of their lives will obtain a heavenly rebirth
Thus this is the motivation for practicing austerities, the obtainment of happiness.

In Bc 7.39 we have the long compound *brahmaṣīrājarṣisurarṣijuṣṭaḥ*, referring to the Himalayas, “inhabited by brahmin, royal, and divine seers”, which is properly translated as *ci chu zhu fanxian*, *wangxian ji tianxian* 此處諸梵仙，王仙及天仙. Advising the prince, a Brahman suggests that he go north if he wants “to pursue a special *dharma*” (*dik sevituṃ dharmīvaśeṣahetoḥ*, Bc 7.41), an expression translated in Chinese as *qiu fu xue xianzhe* 求福學仙者 “seeking to successfully study to be a sage”.

Thus, Sarvārthasiddha decides to leave the *āśrama* and excuses himself: it is for another kind of *dharma* (Bc 7.48) that he is practicing austerity, and of course he does not want to offend the other practitioners, who are like the great sages following the *dharma* of the first age, *dharme sthitāḥ pūrvayugānurūpe sarve bhavanto hi maharṣi kalpāḥ* (Bc 7.49), rendered in Chinese as *ru deng suoxing fa, zi xi xianshi ye* 汝等所行法，自習先師業. This translation is unusual for its use of *xianshi* 先師 “previous masters”.⁵¹⁰ A few verses later, when a Brahman refers to the sages of the first *kalpa* and the term *rṣi* is translated with the usual *xianren* 仙人, *rṣibhiḥ pūrvayuge 'pyavāptam* (Bc 7.57) is translated as *qijiu zhu xianren, bu de zhe dang de* 耆舊諸仙人，不得者當得 “[you] will obtain what sages from ancient times did not obtain”.

At the end of the seventh *sarga*, a Brahman speaks to Sarvārthasiddha, suggesting that he pursue his studies with the sage Arada, who is referred to as a *muni* (Bc 7.54), in Chinese *mouni* 大牟尼. We are provided with a picturesque portrait of the Brahman interacting with the prince:

⁵⁰⁹ On this passage, see the very focused study by Rigopoulos (2018).

⁵¹⁰ The term *shi* 師 is found in the translation of the *dvandva* compound *sacivadvijāv* “both minister and brahmin” as 王師及大臣 “the king preceptor and the minister”.

*kaściddvijastatra tu bhasmaśāyī prāṃśuḥ śikhī dāravacīravāsāḥ /
āpiṅgalākṣastanudīrghaghonaḥ kuṇḍaikahasto giramityuvāca // Bc_7.51 //*

But a certain tall brahmin among them,
Used to lying on ash, wearing a topknot,
With reddish eyes, wearing a bark garment,
With a thin long nose and a water pot,
Made this oration:... (Olivelle 2008, 204-205)

時有一梵志，常臥塵土中，
紫髮衣樹皮，黃眼脩高鼻。
而白菩薩言

Then there was a Brahman, sleeping on a bed of dust and soil,
With matted hair, clothes made of bark, yellow eyes, a long tipped nose,
He said to the bodhisattva:...

This stanza is particularly interesting, since it demonstrates that the translators knew what a brahman practicing austerity looked like. A similar case can be found in the translation of *Bc* 11.17.⁵¹¹

From *sarga* eight and onward, in the translation the term *xianren* (or *xian*) is resumed to signify Brahmins, as in *vipraṃ* (*Bc* 9.3), and sages, as in *ṛṣis* (*Bc* 9.65) and *siddhis* (*Bc* 9.18). This last example is found in the expression *hezu ming xue xian* 何足名學仙 “what is the meaning to study [to become] a sage?”, a question posed by the royal chaplain to Sarvārthasiddha. The tendency of using *xianren* is encountered again in the eleventh *sarga*, where the terms *maharṣīn* (*Bc* 11,14) and *ṛṣibhyaḥ* (*Bc* 11.15) are translated as *xianren* 仙人.

We are thus left with some doubts about the seventh *sarga*: why did the translator choose the specific term *fanzhi* 梵志 to indicate Brahmins practicing austerity? Why was it necessary in this case to distinguish between *xianren* 仙人 and a specific *fanzhi* 梵志?

Given the strict structure of the poem, allowing only five-character verses, the term *boluomen* 婆羅門 would be unsuitable to address Brahmins. The two terms appear to be synonyms: in the translation of *Bc* 8.63 we find Sarvārthasiddha’s wife complaining: her husband is breaching a vow by which husband and wife are “sanctified by the Vedic rites” (*vedavidhānasamskṛtau*), which in Chinese is translated as *fanzhi cisi dian* 梵志祠祀典, “the canon of Brahmanical sacrifices and rites”.

Another hypothesis may be that the translators wanted to underline that practitioners in the hermitage were studying to become sages (as is stated at the beginning of the *sarga*, they are *xue shengxian zhe* 學神仙者): they are not *xian* yet, and it is therefore necessary to call them by a different

⁵¹¹ For the Sanskrit, see Olivelle (2008, 304-305), with the Chinese correspondence at Huang (2015, 284-285). The text from the *Fo suoxing zan* is: 被服於草衣，食果飲流[水]泉，長髮如垂地，寂默無所求。如是修苦行，終為欲所壞，當知五欲境，行道者怨家。(T04, no. 192, p. 20c18-21)

name. From this perspective *fanzhi* 梵志 would be closer to *brahmacarin*, although some of the practitioners are said to be accompanied by their wives.⁵¹² On the other hand, *xian* 仙 is closer to the alternative meaning of “immortal”.

In the case of compounds, like *shexian* 蛇仙 “sage of snakes” and *yuxian* 魚仙 “sage of fish”, *xian* may be still preferable as a monosyllabic word as the “head” of the compound. However, the use of *xian* in these compounds may be justified for semantic reasons: both in the Sanskrit source and in the translation, the practitioners in the forest are said to aim at becoming like a special kind of sage – the state of sage/*xian* is considered to be the goal – see, for example, *shuiju xi yuxian* 水居習魚仙 “[some] live in the water, practicing [to become] a fish-immortal”.⁵¹³

7.2 The king: generosity and rituality

We noted that the behavior of the king towards Brahmins is left unaltered in the translation of stanza *Bc* 1.47, while the king’s generosity is extended to all citizens in *Bc* 1.82 to 1.84. Generosity can be considered a ritual practice (*dāna*), especially if directed at Brahmins.

Other references to the relationship among the king, Brahmins, and sages from the first Canto involve the visit to Asita; the king offers the sage water for his feet (*pādyārdhyapūrvam pratipūjya samyak*), but this ceremony is simplified to 加敬尊奉事 “paid a tribute offering his honors”. At *Bc* 1.56, the sage Asita makes a reference to the virtue of *dāna*, the habit of donating riches, which he attributes to the king’s clan:

*etacca tadyena nṛparṣayaste / dharmeṇa sūkṣmeṇa dhanānyavāpya /
nityaṃ tyajanto vidhivadbabhūvustapobhirāḍhyā vibhavairdaridrāḥ // Bc_1.56 //*

“...And this is that subtle dharma by which
Those royal sages, having obtained wealth,
Always ceded it according to rule,
Becoming thus poor in wealth
But rich in austerity”. (Olivelle [2008, 22-23]).

⁵¹² See Olivelle (2008, 186-187).

⁵¹³ This verse is the translation of *Bc* 7.17, for which see Olivelle (2008, 190-191). The study in Rigopoulos (2018) is focused on the translation of *Bc* 7.15 and the figure of sages practicing the path of snakes. The new translation of this verse proposed by Rigopoulos is very close to the Chinese translation in 吸風鱗蛇仙 (T04, no. 192, p. 13a2), although the Chinese translation lacks any mention of anthills.

仁智殊勝族， 謙恭善隨順。
宿植眾妙因， 勝果現於今 [見]

[From] a benevolent, wise and illustrious clan, [whose] modesty and courtesy and kindness proceed accordingly,
[you] lodged and nurtured a myriad of seeds, [so that] today the excellent fruits are manifested.⁵¹⁴

The virtuous habit of generosity characteristic of the Śākya clan did not make it into the Chinese translation; the translator chose instead to transform the text into a reference to karmic retribution. The alternative reading suggested by Johnston (1936, 12) is *nityaṃ yajanto*, “performing sacrifices according to the rule”. In this second case, what is elided is the disposition of the royal clan towards the performing of Brahmanical sacrifices.

In *Bc* 2.10 we have another missed reference to generosity, this time attributed to all the citizens:

prthagvratibhyo vibhave 'pi garhye na prārthayanti sma narāḥ parebhyaḥ /
abhyarthitaḥ sūkṣmadhano 'pi cāryastadā na kaścīdvimukho babhūva // Bc_2.10 //

Even in dire straits none begged from others,
except the men who had taken the vow;
then a noble man of even small means
never turned his back on someone who begged. (Olivelle [2008, 38-39])

除受四聖種， 諸餘世間人，
資生各自如， 無有他求想。

Except for those who accepted the four holy seeds, for all the remaining persons in the world,
there were necessary goods in proportion, and there were no other needs.

An important example of elided generosity is again in *Bc* 2.33, the first stanza in a long descriptive sequence of the good habits of the king:

nṛpastu tasyaiva vivṛddhihetostadbhāvinārthena ca codyamānaḥ /
śame 'bhireme virarāma pāpād bheje damaṃ saṃvibabhāja sādḥūn // Bc_2.33 //

But the king to secure his son's success,
And spurred by the fortune foretold for him,
Delighted in calm, desisted from sin,
Practiced restraint, gave gifts to holy men. (Olivelle [2008, 48-49])

父王為太子，
靜居修純德， 仁慈正法化，
親賢遠惡友，

The king-father for the sake of the prince
resided in calm, practiced pure virtue, [he] turned to benevolence and right law.
He related with the worthy and shunned the evil connections.

⁵¹⁴ The expression 善隨順 seems to be recalling the previous verse in *aurūpā snigdhā*, or it may be a reference to the generosity of the clan, although less explicit than *dhanānyavāpya / nityaṃ tyajanto*. It is interesting here to note that the specific reference to the abandoning of wealth is not reported.

In the Chinese translation there is a reference to benevolence (*renci* 仁慈), but donations to “holy men” (*saṃvibabhāja sādḥūn*) are not mentioned explicitly. In the Sanskrit text it is explained that the king is worried by what was foretold for his son.⁵¹⁵ The expression *jingju* 靜居 stands for *śame 'bhireme* (delighted in calm). The phrase *qinxian yuan eyou* 親賢遠惡友 is difficult to relate to the source text; we might suppose that *yuan eyou* 遠惡友 is an interesting translation of *virarāma pāpād* (desisted from sin). The expression *saṃvibabhāja sādḥūn* “gave gifts to holy men” portraying the king’s generosity, is probably what 仁慈正法化 “[he] turned to benevolence and right law” is meant to translate, although with no clear reference to charity or generosity toward holy men.

The insistence on silencing the theme of donations to Brahmins persists in stanza *Bc* 2.36:

bhaṃ bhāsuram cāṅgirasādhidevam yathāvadānarca tadāyuṣe saḥ /
juhāva havyānyakṛṣe kṛśānau dadau dvijebhyaḥ kṛśanam ca gāśca // Bc_2.36 //

“The shining constellation headed by Angirasa, he duly worshipped so that his son might have a long life;
He made offering in a blazing fire,
On twice-born men he bestowed gold and cows.

事火奉諸神

He attended to the fire, made offerings to the deities.

The translation summarizes the source in this case – again, no Brahmin is receiving cows as a gift. We should note that in the seventh *sarga*, the ritual of *āgñihotraṃ* is translated with the same 事火, “attending the fire”.

At the end of the first *sarga* we have stanza *Bc* 1.85, describing the king as intent on performing “rites for varied ends, bringing joy to his heart” (*svahrdayatoṣakarīḥ kriyā vidhāya*). Then, when an auspicious time has been fixed, he happily returns to the city.⁵¹⁶ The translation summarizes this stanza in two sentences: *bu zexuan liang shi, qian zi huan ben gong* 卜擇選良時，遷子還本宮 “Through divination the most suitable time [was set] to move the son back into the court palace”. In the translation, after the most auspicious time is calculated, the king does not perform any rite before going back to the court.

The second *sarga* is very rich in references to sacrifices and rites performed by the king. It contains two long descriptive sequences in which Śuddhodhana is depicted as the perfect king. The first

⁵¹⁵ Two prophecies are described in first *sarga* when the future of the prince is foretold by learned Brahmins, *Bc* 1.31 to 1.47 (1.31 to 1.41 are missing in the Sanskrit version), and by the sage Asita (1.55 to 1.77). The corresponding Chinese text is from T0192_.04.0002a04 to 04.0002b26 and from T0192_.04.0002c06 to T0192_.04.0003b28.

⁵¹⁶ See Olivelle (2008, 32-33).

sequence is about the joy in his kingdom after the birth of his son (*Bc* 2.1 to 2.16), and the second about the king's proper behavior after the birth of Rāhula, his grandson (*Bc* 2.33 to 2.55).

There is another reference to “heterodox doctrines” at *Bc* 2.35, translated as *waidao* 外道. As we have seen in *Bc* 1.44, this term seems to concern the Brahmanical tradition, even when used by Brahmans themselves. It is peculiar that the reference is gratuitous and departs from the meaning of the corresponding Sanskrit verse:

*nādhyaiṣṭa duḥkhāya parasya vidyām jñānam śivam yat tu tad adhyagīṣṭa /
svābhyah prajābhyo hi yathā tatha iva sarvaprajābhyah śivam āśaṣaṁse // Bc_2.35 //*

He did not acquire learning to hurt other men; / he mastered the knowledge that was beneficial; / as to his own people, so to all the people, / he only wished what was beneficial. (Olivelle 2009, 49).

宣化諸外道，

斷諸謀逆術， 教學濟世方，

萬民得安樂。 如[今]令我子安，

萬民亦如是，

[his] proclamations changed the heterodox doctrines,

He broke off the plotting schemes; [his] teachings were for the benefit of the world,

all the people obtained happiness. “As my son is happy today,

may all the citizens be the same”⁵¹⁷

The reference to *duḥkhāya parasya vidyām*, or a knowledge for the sake of hurting other people, was substituted with a reference to *waidao* 外道, here probably referring to unorthodox doctrines,⁵¹⁸ while *jñānam śivam yattu tadadhyagīṣṭa* is translated as *jiaoxue di shifang* 教學濟世方. There is no apparent reference to any secret scheme in the Sanskrit source, while plotting against the state (*moni* 謀逆) is mentioned in the translation. Interestingly, the king's wish was changed into direct speech, whose content has also been changed: in the Sanskrit text we have a universal wish that goes beyond the king's own citizens, whereas in Chinese we have a comparison between the happiness of the little prince and that of all the citizens.

In stanza *Bc* 2.37, the king is described as drinking *soma*, as prescribed in the Veda (*vedopadiṣṭam samamātmajam ca somaṁ papau*), and bathing in sacred fords (*tīrthāmbubhiṣ*). The Chinese has *cha shou yi yueguang* 叉手飲月光, “with joint hands he drank the moonlight”. “Moonlight” is here the translation for “*soma*”, which is in fact a proper name for the moon-god, while “water from sacred fords” becomes *hengshui* 恒水, “Ganges water”.

⁵¹⁷ For an alternative translation, see Willemen (2009a, 14).

⁵¹⁸ Willemen (2009a, 14) has “his proclaims converted heretics”.

When the king is described as administering justice as a sacred act, and that he considers it more important than sacrificial rites (*śivaṃ siṣeve vyavahāraśuddhaṃ yajñaṃ hi mene na tathā yathā tat*, BC 2.39), the description is accurately reported in Chinese:

iṣṭeṣvaniṣṭeṣu ca kāryavatsu na rāgadoṣāśrayatām prapade /
śivaṃ siṣeve vyavahāraśuddhaṃ yajñaṃ hi mene na tathā yathā tat // Bc_2.39 //
平正止諍訟 不以祠天會
勝於斷事福
[He] was straight and even in ceasing disputes, he thought that sacrificial gatherings
were no better than the blessing of resolving a controversy

There was indeed no apparent difficulty in depicting the administration of justice as more important than rituals, particularly if the rituals were implicitly related to a non-Buddhist doctrine.

In Bc 2.45 the king is said to be practicing the vows of austerity of the holy seers – *ārṣāṇyacārīt paramavratāni*, in Chinese *shou xue shenxian dao* 受學神仙道. The ability of the king to control his reign is compared with the ability of a *yogin* to control his senses. The description of the practice of a form of *yoga* is translated with a reference to craftsmanship:

tasmiṃstathā bhūmipatau pravṛtte bhrtyāśca paurāśca tathaiva ceruḥ /
śamātmake cetasi viprasanne prayuktayogasya yathendriyāṇi // Bc_2.45 //
When that lord of the earth behaved in this manner,
His servants and citizens acted the same way,
Like the senses of a man engaged in yoga,
When his mind has become fully calm and tranquil. (Olivelle 2008, 52-53)

主匠修明德，
率土皆承習， 如人心安靜，
四體諸根從
When a lord crafts and polishes his bright virtue, the leading officials all follow the practice;
as when the mind of a person becomes quiet, the four limbs and all senses follow.⁵¹⁹

The subtle shift from the performance of a religious practice and the practice of virtue takes place again in Bc 2.48, where “[the king] carried out one rite after another at proper times” (*kāle sa taṃ taṃ vidhim ālalambe*), a reference transformed into direct speech by the king, who is hoping that his son will not consider going forth and “will practice good deeds” (*dan dang li xiushan* 但當力修善).

The Sanskrit stanza says that the king can lead his subjects by example (*tasmiṃstathā bhūmipatau pravṛtte*).⁵²⁰ The analogy with yogic practice remains unaltered in the translation, making it more

⁵¹⁹ There is no reference to the practice of calming the mind through yogic practice as in *prayuktayogasya*, although this is what the translator probably meant with 匠修; I understand 匠 as a verb, but it is uncertain whether there is a clear reference to craftsmanship here. In the HDC there is a clear reference to 匠 with the meaning of “ruling, regulating”; these references come from the 3rd to 4th centuries. Willemen (2010, 16): “When a master craftsman develops his bright virtue, the entire land carries on the practice.”

evident, thus, that the real issue for the translators was that of detaching the king from his relationship with the brahmans. It is important to note that *jiang* 匠 is not limited in scope to practitioners of heterodox schools, but can refer to Buddhist masters as well: we find it in a preface in which it refers to the Buddhist master Buddhābhaddra himself.⁵²¹

Two important verses are omitted in the translation, namely *Bc* 2.51 and 2.52. They describe the sovereignty of the king as stable. He recited verses and performed the most difficult deeds, like Ka, when he intended to produce creatures,⁵²² and he laid down the sword and dedicated himself to the study of the sacred texts (*tatyāja śāstraṃ vimamarśa śāstraṃ*); he was not enslaved to the sensory realm and he cared for his entire realm.

At the end of the second *sarga* he is said to be practicing various “acts of *dharma*” (*dharma vividhaṃ cakāra*, *Bc* 2.54), translated as *shou xing zhong miao dao* 受行眾妙道 “he accepted the practice of many wonderful paths”. This is done in order to prevent his son from repairing to a forest and rejecting his royal heritage. Since this aim will not be achieved, the practice is proven to be ineffective.

Several examples of missing verses or sentences are related to the king carrying out religious practices. In the eighth *sarga*, the whole court is shocked by the prince’s absence: Sarvārthasiddha has been missing for days, pursuing his resolve to practice austerity in a forest. Although in many sections of this chapter the order of the Sanskrit differs from that of the translation, the verses from *Bc* 8.1 to 8.24 are in the same sequence in Johnston’s edition as in the Chinese translation. Only one verse is completely missing, *Bc* 8.15.

*praviṣṭadīkṣastu sutopalabdhaye vratena śokena ca khinnamānasah /
jajāpa devāyatane narādhipaścakāra tāstāśca yathāśayāḥ kriyāḥ // Bc_8.15 //*

Undertaking vows to get back his son,
His mind beleaguered by penance and grief,
The king muttered mantras in the temple
And performed various rites as desired. (Olivelle 2008, 216-217).

It seems that portraying a king who utters mantras and prayers, like the similar case in *Bc* 2.52 (*vimamarśa śāstraṃ*), and who performs various kinds of rites, as in *Bc* 2.48 (*kāle sa taṃ taṃ vidhim ālalambe*), was perceived as a problematic issue by the translators.

⁵²⁰ It should be pointed out that the term 师匠 was used to designate spiritual masters not belonging to the Buddhist tradition, as in the biography of Guṇābhaddra.

⁵²¹ T55n2145_p0104a22

⁵²² For reference, see Olivelle (2008, 400).

At the end of the eighth chapter, the performance of rituals involves both the king and the women of the royal family: we see Śuddhodana in person performing the daily rites accompanied by his wife and sister-in-law. We would expect the Chinese translators to have changed or abridged this passage, but the resulting text is nevertheless quite surprising:

kṛtamiti savadhūjanaḥ sadāro nṛpatirapi pracakāra śeṣakāryam // Bc_8.87 //

the king, for his part, carried out the remainder of the rites, along with his daughters-in-law and wife. (Olivelle 2008, 240-241).

王與諸眷屬，

其心小清涼， 氣宣飡飲通

The king joined the retinue and their minds were somewhat cooler. [He] breathed and ordered that food and drink be circulated.

7.3 Rituals for women, childbirth, and childhood

Rituals appear from the very beginning of the poem. At the beginning of the first chapter (*Bc* 1.9) we are told that the prince was born from the right side of the queen Māyā, who had been purified through rites *vratasamskṛtāyāḥ*; the term is translated into Chinese with the expression *zhaijie xiujing de* 齋戒修淨德 “the virtue was purified through fasting precepts”. The expression *zhaijie* 齋戒 and *xiude* 修德 are attested in Confucian classics, *zhaijie* being the fasting necessary to perform rituals, while the concept of *xiude* or “purifying the virtue” is connected with practices of cultivation required for a proper *junzi* 君子, or “gentleman”. Both expressions were borrowed by Buddhist translators to translate Buddhist concepts.⁵²³ Religion is connected to the queen again at the end of the first *sarga* (*Bc* 1.86). The queen pays homage to the gods (*praṇipatya devatābhyaḥ*), an act that is translated in Chinese as *zhouza li tianshen* 周匝禮天神 “the queen carrying the prince in her arms paid homage to all the deities in the surroundings”.

Following the birth of the prince, various miracles take place at the court of the Śākya family. Water springs burst out spontaneously, and women compete to perform ritual bathing in them, as if they were sacred fords *kriyāstīrtha iva pracakruḥ* (*Bc* 1.23). This is translated as *jingfu er yin yu, jie qi anle xiang* 競赴而飲浴，皆起安樂想, “[they] competed to go there and drink and bathe, making

⁵²³ For sources and definitions, see *Hanyu da cizian* s.v. 齋戒 and 修德.

wishes for tranquility and happiness”. The clear reference to rituals (*kriyās*) is not reported, while the translation mentions good wishes.

Another reference to women performing rituals is at *Bc* 1.30. The Sanskrit verse is missing, but the Chinese text reports the following:

長宿諸母人， 互亂祈神明，
各請常所事， 願令太子安。

The older maidens were confused and prayed to the gods,
respectively preaching the [god] usually attended and wishing to bestow serenity to the prince.

From what we can read in the Tibetan edition and the translation in Weller (1929, 8), women are described as simple-minded, since they are frightened by the supernatural events following the birth of the prince.

A problematic rendition of rituals is in verse *Bc* 1.82, where it is difficult to understand what the translators meant by *qushe shi* 取捨事. They were probably referring to some ritual for acknowledging a newborn baby, something that apparently is not mentioned in the source text:

narapatirapi putrajanmatuṣṭo viṣayagatāni vimucya bandhanāni /
kulasadrśamacīrakaradyathāvatpriyatanayastanayasya jātakarma // Bc_1.82 //
The king too, delighted at his son’s birth,
threw open the prisons within his realm;
he performed his son’s birth rite as prescribed,
in a way befitting his family,
out of deep love for his son. (Olivelle [2008, 30-31])

大赦於天下， 牢獄悉解脫。
世人生子法， 隨宜取捨事，
依諸經方論， 一切悉皆為。

An amnesty [was proclaimed] in the reign, all the prisons were unlocked.
The rule for people giving birth to a son is to decide if to accept it or reject it,
everything was carried on according to the texts and the prescriptions in the treatises.

In the second *sarga*, stanza *Bc* 2.24 informs us about Sarvārthasiddha’s childhood: the prince underwent initiation at the proper time (*saṃprāpya kāle pratipatti karma*) and was very successful in the study of sciences useful for his family. He grasped in a few days the same content that usually requires many years.⁵²⁴ In Chinese the translation is the following:

心栖高勝境， 不染於榮華，
修學諸術藝， 一聞超師匠。

The mind dwelling on a higher, beautiful spot, not polluted by the mundane glory,

⁵²⁴ See Olivelle (2008, 44-45).

versed in studying and in all the skills, he was superior to the teacher after the first try.

In *Bc* 2.25 the issue of the prince's education assumes crucial importance. The king is worried about the future of his son as foretold by the sage Asita. Led by the fear of his son leaving for the forest, he makes him attached to pleasures (*kāmeṣu saṅgaṃ*). The translators shortened this reference, probably being afraid of portraying a king as pushing his son towards worldly pleasures:

父王見聰達， 深慮踰世表，

The king-father, seeing him smart and able, was deeply worried [he] was beyond the worldly standard.

The main difference between translation and source text is that there is no mention of an “initiation” in the Chinese.

An important case is the abridging of the words pronounced by Yaśodharā, the prince's wife. She is shocked by her husband's sudden departure and by his choice to practice austerity. She thinks her husband is beginning these practices because he is aspiring to a rebirth in heaven. The missing verse is *Bc* 8.66. Yaśodharā laments her sad situation: her husband, the prince Sarvārthasiddha, has left her for the forest, without taking her along with him – as former kings have done in the past, he could have practiced *dharma* with his wife. She supposes that her husband's ultimate goal is to be reborn in heaven and to win the favor of celestial *apsarases*. In *Bc* 8.66 she says that she is not envious of the perspective of obtaining heavenly joys, because, through practice, these pleasures are obtainable “even for people like her”, so she is actually stating that heavenly joys are obtainable by women. This verse is present in the Tibetan translation,⁵²⁵ but not in the Chinese.⁵²⁶ Its absence in an otherwise consistently translated sequence in the eighth chapter is very interesting:

na khalviyaṃ svarga sukhāya me sprhā na tajjanasyātmavato 'pi durlabham /
sa tu priyo māmīha vā paratra vā katham na jahyāditi me manorathaḥ // Bc_8.66 //
It is not that I envy his heavenly joys;
they are not hard to obtain
even for people like me;
But I have just this wish: how can I make
my beloved not forsake me
in this life here or in the next? (Olivelle [2008, 222-223])

The absence of a verse with such a content might be a hint that the translators wished to negate the possibility of woman achieving celestial rebirth. How this might be related to the Pure Land ideas that

⁵²⁵ Weller (1929, 72).

⁵²⁶ See Huang (2015, 218).

were spreading in China in the same period and probably through texts translated by Baoyun himself should be further investigated. On the other hand, Sangavarman, who had also been Baoyun's collaborator, helped in the ordination of a group of Buddhist nuns (Heirman 2001, 295), and so we know that there was no open opposition to women practicing on the Buddhist path. The issue may also be related to the nature of the practices Yaśodharā is referring to here – they cannot be Buddhist practices, since prince Sarvārthasiddha was not a Buddha yet. The problem with this stanza was probably that through non-Buddhist practices women could obtain rebirth in heaven.

7.4 *Dharma* for happiness and true *dharma*

Olivelle (2009) and Hildebrandt (2006) suggested that the redefinition of the concept of *dharma* is one of the key issues in the *Buddhacarita*. The term *dharma* is repeated 130 times in the first thirteen cantos (Olivelle 2009, xlv). Olivelle's interpretation of the topic is brilliant and elegantly articulated. For the sake of this study, we may reduce it to its core structure by providing a list of definitions of *dharma* derived from Olivelle's work:

- 1) *dharma* as the content of the Buddha's Awakening, present in *Bc* 1.19, 1.24, 1.49, 1.75, 1.76, 1.71, 1.73, and 14.99;
- 2) *dharma* as giving away the household and devoting oneself to the pursuit of liberation through the practice of asceticism, as mentioned in *Bc* 3.24, 10.33, and 5.30, and also in 6.21 (answer to Chaṇḍaka), and in 7.12 and 7.46 (answer by Sarvārthasiddha to the ascetics);
- 3) *dharma* as a proper behavior pattern from a Brahmanical perspective, as in *Bc* 5.32 and 9.14, 6.31;
- 4) *dharma* for specific categories of people, such as the *mokṣadharmā* (*Bc* 9.19, 9.48), *nivṛtti dharma* (*Bc* 7.48), and *rājadharmā* (*Bc* 9.48), and *dharma* of the wife (*Bc* 8.61);
- 5) *gṛhasthadharma* (*Bc* 5.33), or householder *dharma*, as opposed to the *dharma* of the ascetics (point two);
- 6) *dharma* as compassion for all creatures, found in *Bc* 9.15 and 9.17.

Olivelle's (2008, xlv) suggestion is that the Buddhist tradition was self-conscious in trying to re-define the idea of *dharma*. How did the Chinese translators deal with these different definitions of *dharma*? It seems that, in some cases, the translators noticed the importance of the term *dharma* and made a clear

effort to change its definition according to the specific meaning. Of course, the definition of *dharma* was crucial to the translator as it was for Aśvaghoṣa himself, since they were presenting the translation of the *Buddhacarita* to a new audience for the sake of proselytism.

At the beginning of the poem, the first and second kind of *dharma* are not differentiated, as we can see from the translation of *Bc* 1.50:

*taṃ brahmavid brahmavidam jvalantaṃ brāhmyā śriyā caiva tapaḥśriyā ca /
rājño gururgaurava satkriyābhyāṃ praveśāyāmāsa narendrasadma // Bc_1.50 //*

That knower of brahman, blazing with the splendor
of brahman and the splendor of ascetic toil,
was ushered in by the brahman-knowing
preceptor of the king with reverence and
homage into the chamber of the king. (Olivelle [2008, 18-19])

來詣王宮門， 王謂梵天應。
苦行樂正法， 此二相俱現，
梵行相具足， 時王大歡喜。
即請入宮內， 恭敬設供養

He came to the gates of the king's court, the king sensed that he was worthy of the heaven of Brahma:
practicing austerities and rejoicing for the true dharma - these two signs were both evident.⁵²⁷

He had all the signs of the practice of purity, then the king was glad,
promptly invited [him] to enter the palace, disposing offerings with reverence.⁵²⁸

In the sage Asita the king admires the “splendor of brahman” or *brāhmyā śriyā*, which in Chinese became *fantian ying* 梵天應 “be proper to the Brahma heaven”. In the description of Asita, the translator made sure to specify that through the austerities the sage is rejoicing of the “right dharma”, a *zheng fa* 正. Asita then explains the reasons for his visit:

*prayojanaṃ yattu mamopayāne tanme śṛṇu prītimupehi ca tvam /
divyā mayādityapathe śrutā vāgbodhāya jātastanayastaveti // Bc_1.57 //*

“But as to the reason for my visit,
Listen to it and be joyful at heart;
On the sun path I heard a voice divine:
‘to you a son was born
for awakening’” (Olivelle [2008, 22-23]).

汝當聽我說， 今者[之]來因緣。
我從日道來， 聞空中天說，
言王生太子， 當成正覺道。

527 Johnston (1936, 11) notes that the *Fo suoxing zan* insists on the evidence of the signs; he supposed this verse in the *Bc* to be an attempt to justify the admittance of the sage to the women's quarters.

528 The narrative at this point seems not to be following a clear pattern; see Weller (1939). This verse is characterized by a noticeable word refrain, see Olivelle (2008, 436). There is no mention of a *guru*, a preceptor of the king, in the translation.

“Thou shalt listen to me telling the cause that made me arrive here today.
I came from the path of the sun, and I heard a celestial voice in the empty sky.
It said that “to the king a prince was born, ought to accomplish the path for awakening”

In this verse we first encounter a *zheng jue dao* 正覺道, a “right path for awakening”. Of course, Asita’s austerity practices cannot be meant for a “Buddhist” awakening, since the sage is already very old and will not have the opportunity to listen to the Buddha’s preaching; indeed Asita is saddened by his own misfortune, as he points out in *Bc* 1.67. Thus, the sage has arrived at Śuddhodana’s court to admire the one who will achieve the “right path for awakening”.

From verse *Bc* 1.71 on, we find *zhengfa* 正法 “right *dharma*” as the main definition for the Buddha’s *dharma* (*asyottamāṃ dharman*); the same definition is found in the translation of *Bc* 1.76, *asya dharmam*, and *Bc* 1.77 *dharmasya tasyā*.

The difference between the Buddha’s *dharma* (1) and the ascetics’ *dharma* (2) is made clear at *Bc* 7.48, when Sarvārthasiddha explains that he is not interested in the ascetics’ practices, since their *dharma* is meant for a rebirth in heaven, *xi qiu sheng tianle* 悉求生天樂, while he himself does not aim at a new rebirth. The verse *xi qiu sheng tianle* 悉求生天樂 is repeated three times in the translation of the seventh chapter, which testifies to the translators’ intention to distinguish the aim of the ascetic practices from the aim of the Buddhist path.⁵²⁹

As for the fifth and sixth definitions of *dharma*, it is easy to identify the translators’ choice. In the translation of *Bc* 5.33 we find a “secular *dharma*” or *shijian fa* 世間法, to signify the *dharma* of the householder (Huang 2015, 125). In the translation of *Bc* 9.17 there is no clear reference to *dharma* as *fa* 法, but the idea of *dharma* as compassion is pointed out in a clear definition (*ci qi ming cibe* 此豈名慈悲).⁵³⁰

tadbhukṣva tāvadasudhādhīpatyaṃ kālē vanaṃ yāsyāsi śāstradrṣṭe /
aniṣṭabandhau kuru mayyapekṣāṃ sarveṣu bhūteṣu dayā hi dharmah // Bc_9.17 //
So enjoy now lordship of earth, and at the time
the scriptures prescribe you will go to the forest;
show kindness to this unlucky father of yours,
for *dharma* is compassion toward all creatures. (Olivelle [2008, 248-249])

且還食土邑， 時至更遊仙，
不顧於親戚， 父母亦棄捐，
此豈名慈悲， 覆護一切耶？

⁵²⁹ The translation of stanzas *Bc* 7.48 to 7.51 contains several unclear passages that need further investigation – the Chinese text diverges from the source text introducing concepts that are not present in

⁵³⁰ See also Huang (2015, 234).

Thus return and enjoy lordship over the country and the cities, when the time comes you can go to the seers,
[you are] not considering kinsmen, forsaking even parents,
How can this be called compassion towards all beings?

This first sequence in the Sanskrit concludes with an interesting definition of *dharma* as “compassion towards all creatures” (*sarveṣu bhūteṣu dayā hi dharmah*), which is changed in Chinese to a rhetorical question about compassion (慈悲).

The idea of *dharma* develops through the poem and is adjusted in different ways throughout the translation; it gains special importance in the seventh *sarga* where the translators had to point out the difference between two kinds of *dharma* in Chinese: the *dharma* sought by ascetics as former householders in the Brahmanical tradition, consisting in rebirth in heaven, and the “right” *dharma* sought by the prince, consisting in the exhaustion of rebirth. This is the reason why, in translating *Bc* 11.51, the translators say that rebirth in heaven (不求生天樂) refers to a “higher reward” (*kṛtasprho nāpi phalādhikebhyo*).

In the last few references to kingship in his philippic against passions, Siddhartha refutes the idea that *dharma* can be pursued by performing sacrifices. Stanza *Bc* 11.64 is slightly changed in content. In the *Buddhacarita*, the prince respects sacrificial rites (*namo makhebhya*) but does not covet the joy of inflicting pain on other beings. In the *FSXZ*, the veneration of the right *dharma* is in diametric opposition to the devotion to deities through sacrifices, since this kind of performance involves killing other beings:

yadāttha cāpiṣṭaphalāṃ kulocitāṃ kuruṣva dharmāya makhakriyāmiti /
namo makhebhya na hi kāmāye sukhaṃ parasya duḥkhakriyāyā yadiṣyate // Bc_11.64 //

As to what you said:

‘For dharmas sake perform the sacrificial rites,
as is your family custom,
rites that yield the desired results;’

My respects to sacrificial rites—

but I do not covet joy that is sought

by inflicting pain on another being. (Olivelle [2008, 320-321])

「祠祀修大會， 是皆愚癡故，

應當崇正法， 反殺以祠天，」

Organizing big gatherings to perform sacrifices, this is all an idiotic stance

You should venerate the true dharma and perform to heaven without killing.

Here we find the concept of 正法, which is the “real” *dharma*, as opposed to the *dharma* of sacrifices.

One last interesting reference to the *dharma* of kings is found in stanza *Bc* 11.70.

avendravaddivyava śaśvadarkavad guṇairava śreya ihāva gāmava /
avāyurāryairava satsutānava śriyaśca rājannava dharmamātmanah // Bc_11.70 //

Be glad like Indra in heaven, ever shine like the sun,
 flourish with virtues and obtain here
 the highest bliss,
 Protect the earth, obtain long life,
 flourish with Aryas,
 protect the sons of the virtuous,
 possess sovereign power,
 And, O King, follow the dharma proper to you. (Olivelle [2008, 322-323])

願汝國安隱， 善護如帝釋。
 慧明照天下， 猶如盛日光。
 殊勝大地主， 端心護其命，
 正化護其子， 以法王天下。

I wish your sovereign to be stable, well protected like Indra's,
 Wisdom illuminating the world, like the magnificent light of the sun.
 Ever victorious suzerain of the Earth, with a proper mind protecting other people's lives
 Rectifying and protecting subjects, reigning over the world through dharma.

While it seems that the prince is taking his leave from king Śreṇya by inviting him to follow the *dharma* that is proper for him (*rājannava dharmamātmanah*),⁵³¹ in Chinese this sentence is rephrased: here he wishes the king to rule by means of *dharma*.

7.5 Conclusions

As we stated in the introduction, the *Buddhacarita* is not a doctrinal text. It is addressed to an audience of non-believers and is engaged in describing and overcoming non-Buddhist religious traditions, which it does by means of poetics and narration. As pointed out by Scherrer-Schaub (2009, 157-158), narrative texts and authored texts were considered less authoritative by religious authorities, since they were not the words of the Buddha.⁵³² The Chinese scholar Qian Wenzhong shared the idea that the peculiarities of the *Buddhacarita* might have affected also its Chinese counterpart, which was not perceived as a religious text by Buddhist monks and lay practitioners.⁵³³

When challenged by a vast range of terms employed in the *Buddhacarita* to refer to sages, seers, and Brahmins, the translators were able to distinguish among different roles, as we have observed in

⁵³¹ See Johnston (1936, 163)

⁵³² This may also be a good answer to the question posed by Hartmann (1999): if both the poems by Aśvaghoṣa were circulating in Central Asia, why do we only have the translation of the *Buddhacarita*? The poems by Aśvaghoṣa are authored texts, narrative and written in a style (*kāvya*) that required specialization by the translators – on this point, see Jackson (1999), also regarding the difficult interpretation of the Tibetan translation.

⁵³³ This assumption was made by Qian Wenzhong 钱文忠 (2007, 10) in a paper originally published in 1990; for full reference, see Feng (2015, 40).

the translation of chapter seven. While seers are generically referred to as *xianren* – an “indigenous” term – Brahmins are called by a range of different terms, mostly transcriptions or translations of Indic terms.

The relationship between the Brahmins and the king appears to be perceived as a problematic issue: in several cases, references to direct donations awarded by the king to his priests are shunned, which may mean that this kind of favoritism was not appreciated by the translators. Did the Buddhist translators perceive Brahmins as competitors?⁵³⁴ Were they afraid the king would understand references to rich donations to ascetics as a subtle suggestion or reprimand? Were the translators afraid that this category of privileged priests would be identified with some other indigenous opponent, such as attendants of rituals of Confucian origin, or with local shamans? We know from historical records that shamanism and black magic were quite popular at the Liu Song court.⁵³⁵

The figure of the king practicing rituals, reciting *mantras*, studying texts, and making spontaneous donations is often abridged. As we briefly stated at the beginning of the previous section, this happens to other topics of kingship as well, such as the king’s chastity and the kingdom’s independence and stability.

From these subtle signs involuntarily left behind by the translators, we understand that the text was not meant to be read exclusively by the Buddhist *saṅgha*; lay practitioners may have been perspective readers as well. This conclusion may support the hypothesis of a direct influence of the *Buddhacarita* on the literature of the Southern Liang dynasty.⁵³⁶

⁵³⁴ References to the presence of Brahmins in China, although much later than the fifth century, can be found in Sen (2016, 46-47).

⁵³⁵ See Lin Fushi (2016, 156-157).

⁵³⁶ An influence demonstrated in a study by Wang Chunhong (1991).

Chapter 8: *Bodhisattvas* and silence: possible sources of the interpolations in the translation of the *Buddhacarita*

Having gathered all the information on Baoyun collected by Sengyou, we have a good idea of the Buddhist source texts he translated and of the translations to which he had access. According to Sengyou's account, before translating the *Buddhacarita*, Baoyun was interpreter and translator for the Indian monk Buddhahadra for more than a decade. Buddhahadra himself was a meditation master, probably a member of the Sarvāstivādin school.⁵³⁷

Buddhabhadra arrived in China and settled in Chang'an at the beginning of the fifth century. After leaving Chang'an and repairing to Mount Lu, upon request of the monk Huiyuan, Buddhahadra translated a treatise on meditation, the *Dharmatrāṭadhyānasūtra* or 達摩多羅禪經 (T618). From a preface collected by Sengyou, we understand that, after moving to Jiankang, Baoyun worked with Buddhahadra as oral translator for a version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and of the *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*. The translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* was later attributed to Faxian.⁵³⁸

As for the *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*, Nattier (2003) supports the idea that the version translated by Baoyun and Buddhahadra is T360, a text attributed to Kang Sengkai/Sangharaksa in the Taishō.

Although it is not explicitly mentioned by Sengyou, we may infer that Baoyun took part in other translation projects carried on by his master Buddhahadra, or that he had access to the finished translations. Buddhahadra translated the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T278) in sixty fascicles in the years 418-419, while the *Mahāsāṃghika vinaya* 僧祇律梵本 (T1425) was translated by Faxian and Buddhahadra shortly after Faxian's return China – apparently, in the same period, the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* took place.⁵³⁹

Given the crucial role that the Kashmiri meditation master Buddhahadra had in the spiritual development of Baoyun, it is quite plausible that Baoyun was influenced by his ideas. On the other hand, we might suppose that, to facilitate the work of translation, Baoyun could have reused formulas and verses present in translations he had completed in the past. According to Sengyou, shortly after the death of Buddhahadra in 429, Baoyun retired on Mount Liuhe and applied himself to the translation of the *Buddhacarita*. As we have seen, the majority of the texts he produced before moving to Liuhe Shan

⁵³⁷ Funayama (2004, 102).

⁵³⁸ There are now two translations of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* attributed to Faxian, T7 and T376. See Durt (1994). Michael Radich is currently working on the attribution of T7.

⁵³⁹ See Hodge (2012).

are connected to Mahāyāna doctrines (*Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*, *Mahāvaipulyabuddhāvataṃsakasūtra*). It is possible that ideas presented in these texts influenced the translation of the *Buddhacarita*. By comparing the Sanskrit source text with the Chinese translation, we can individuate several elements and Buddhist ideas that are not present in the Sanskrit poem. This chapter will investigate two kinds of “accretions”: the term *bodhisattva* or *pusa*, and the insistence on the importance of silence.

8.1 The *bodhisattva* as a starting point

The starting point for this analysis is a very obvious difference between the *Buddhacarita* and its Chinese translation: the term *bodhisattva* appears four times in the *Buddhacarita*, and sixty-two times in the first fourteen chapters of the translation.

In the *Buddhacarita*, the *bodhisattva* is described as *anupamasattvā* and *paripūrṇasattvaḥ*. Olivelle (2009, 441-442) explains the term *sattva* as “spirit”.

*vanamanupamasattvā bodhisattvāstu sarve viṣayasukharasajñā jagmurutpannaputrāḥ /
ata upacitakarmā rūḍhamūle 'pi hetau sa ratimupasiṣeve bodhimāpanna yāvat // Bc_2.56 //*

But all bodhisattvas of unrivaled spirit
went to the forest, after they'd tasted
the pleasures of the sensory objects,
and after a son had been born to them.
Although the cause had grown deep roots
by his collected good deeds,
until he reached Awakening, therefore,
he pursued sensual pleasures. (Olivelle [2008, 56-57])

*sa bodhisattvaḥ paripūrṇasattvaḥ śrutvā vacastasya purohitasya /
dhyātvā muhūrtaṃ guṇavadguṇajñāḥ pratyuttaram praśritamityuvāca // Bc_9.30 //*

The bodhisattva, his spirit completely full,
listened to the remarks of the chaplain;
knowing what is excellent, he thought for a while,
and gave this excellent and meek reply. (Olivelle [2008, 254-255])

It may be possible that Aśvaghōṣa was echoing the expression “*mahāsattva bodhisattva*”, which can be found in *Jātaka* narrative and is very common in *Mahāyāna* literature.

In *Bc* 10.18, Aśvaghōṣa refers to Sarvārthasiddha as the *bodhisattva*. The subject of the stanza is king Śrenya, Sarvārthasiddha's peer. The young king is looking for Sarvārthasiddha with the aim of convincing him to go back to his role of prince of the Śākya clan.

*tataḥ sma tasyopari śrṅgabhūtaṃ śāntendriyaṃ paśyati bodhisattvam /
paryāṅkam āsthāya virocāmānaṃ śaśāṅkam udyantam ivābhrakuṇḍjāt // Bc_10.18 //*

Then, atop that hill, like another peak,

the bodhisattva with his organs stilled,
he saw sitting cross-legged and shining bright,
like the moon rising from a clump of clouds. (Olivelle [2008, 284-285])

In *Bc* 12.88 Sarvārthasiddha leaves the hermitage of the sage Udraka because he is not satisfied with the state he attained through Udraka's meditation practices, and so he is seeking to obtain a superior state (*param prepsus*).

yasmācca tadapi prāpya punarāvartate jagat /
bodhisattvaḥ param prepsus tasmād udrakama tyajat // Bc_12.88 //
But, because even after attaining that state
a man returns once again to the world,
the bodhisattva then left Udraka behind,
aiming to attain a state beyond that. (Olivelle [2008, 356-357])

These are the only cases in which the term *bodhisattva* is used in the *Buddhacarita*. For an example of the very different attitude of the Chinese translation we may look at the case of stanza *Bc* 1.72:

duḥkhārditebhyo viṣayāvrtebhyaḥ saṃsārakāntārapathasthitebhyaḥ /
ākhyāsyati hyeṣa vimokṣamārga mārgapranāṣtebhya ivādhvagebhyaḥ // Bc_1.72 //
To those who are tormented by suffering, / ensnared by the objects of sense, / roaming through samsara's
wild tracks, / This one will proclaim the way to release, / as to travelers who've lost their way. (Olivelle
2009, 27).

染著五欲境， 眾苦所驅迫，
迷生死曠野， 莫知所歸趣；
菩薩出世間， 為通解脫道。

[For those] deeply affected by the five desires, being tyrannized by all the sufferings,
confused by the wilderness of life and death, without knowing the place and the direction,
the bodhisattva came to this world to explain the path of liberation.⁵⁴⁰

The term *pusa* 菩薩 is introduced to translate *eṣa*, a personal pronoun that simply means “this man”.⁵⁴¹ The difference is hardly imputable to an alteration of the source text – it is indeed difficult to

⁵⁴⁰ *duḥkhārditebhyo viṣayāvrtebhyaḥ saṃsārakāntārapathasthitebhyaḥ /*
ākhyāsyati hyeṣa vimokṣamārga mārgapranāṣtebhya ivādhvagebhyaḥ // Bc_1.72 // 五欲境 is a translation of *viṣayā*, a
“world of sensory objects”. (Huang 2015: 26). This demonstrates that the translator had a strong prompt for translating
the specific term with 五欲境. See also the note to verse 1.69. There is no mention of *bodhisattva* 菩薩 in the *Bc*,
which only has the pronoun *eṣa*, “this one”.

⁵⁴¹ Incidentally, we may note that the term *viṣaya* for “sensory objects” is always translated as 五欲
or 五欲境 in the *Fo suoxing zan* – the most common translation for this term is usually just 境.

adapt the Sanskrit text in such a way that the stanza would contain the word *bodhisattva* and still preserve its metrical structure.⁵⁴²

This chapter intends to clarify what kind of connotations were attributed to the *bodhisattva/pusa* by the translators.

8.2 What *bodhisattva* are we talking about?

Lewis Lancaster traced a possible line of evolution of the term *bodhisattva* in the Chinese canon.⁵⁴³ The stages of this evolution can be sketched as follows:

- a) *Jātaka bodhisattva*, which includes “either the Buddha Śākyamuni or the countless *bodhisattvas* of the Mahāyāna tradition” and is “used to illustrate the continued life of enlightened beings, [...] whose life accounts include the description of great feats of merit making, the cause of the attainment of higher and higher levels of enlightenment and the possession of great power”. Since this definition belongs to the Pāli tradition, I will refer to it as *bodhisatta*.
- b) *Phantasma bodhisattva*, which are “separated from the human birth and death process”. “The *Bodhisattvas* are either the manifestation of a Buddha or they are beings who possess the power of producing many bodies through great feats of magical transformation.” As an example of this new form of *bodhisattva* spreading to China by the third century, Lancaster (1981, 153) adduces the translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, translated by Dharmarakṣa (T222). Similar lists of *bodhisattvas* appear in the *Ataṃsakasūtra* translated by Buddhahadra (T278).
- c) Meditation/audience *bodhisattvas*. These are the *bodhisattvas* present in the immense audience listening to the Buddha’s sermons. Lancaster convincingly argues that the long lists of *bodhisattva* names derive from the definitions of meditation stages. These stages were described through compounds that were nominalized into a reference regarding an individual who had achieved the states described. Some of these *bodhisattvas* were to acquire a status and precise individuality, such as Kṣitigarbha.

⁵⁴² Besides this obvious consideration, we should note that the Tibetan translation does not contain the word *bodhisattva* in this passage. See Weller (1929, 75).

⁵⁴³ This contribution is collected in a volume dedicated to the study of the *bodhisattva* concept; see Kawamura (1981, 153-163).

- d) Meditation/visualization *bodhisattvas*, from the later developments of the tantric tradition, such as, for example, Vajrapāṇi. According to Lancaster, “wrathful” *bodhisattvas* from the Tibetan, tantric tradition belong in this category.
- e) Living *bodhisattvas*: by the sixth century missionaries and eminent monks began to be referred to as *bodhisattva*; ceremonies were held in which living people could take the *bodhisattva* vow.

In *Jātaka* tales, the word *bodhisatta* may generically indicate a master, and Appleton (2010, 3-4) extends the same definition to *Avadāna* literature. He (2010, 8) also maintains that it is indeed the presence of a *bodhisatta* that qualifies a story as a *jātaka* tale. The *jātaka* collections, as a genre, expanded in the course of time with the addition of new tales. In many cases it is not easy to understand what the actual Buddhist teaching purported by specific tales is. Sometimes the *bodhisatta* behaves badly, or in a way that is not obviously coherent with Buddhist precepts (Jones 1979, 61). Appleton (2010) identifies two main patterns of representation of the “good” *bodhisatta*: as a hero (22-23) and as savior-teacher (23-35). As Boucher (2008, 21) says, there is no explicit formulation of a *bodhisattva* path in this kind of narrative literature. The attainment of perfection (*pāramitās*) is never addressed explicitly.⁵⁴⁴

Lancaster (1981, 158) introduces the possibility that the different definitions of *jātaka bodhisattva* and *phantasma bodhisattva* became blurred in China, where from the third to the fifth century missionaries arrived sporting texts belonging to one tradition or the other.⁵⁴⁵

Coming back to the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192), it is quite evident that with the term *pusa* the translator meant a stage of Gautama’s life that preceded Buddhahood, because the term *pusa* is substituted by *fo* 佛 in the last two fascicles, which narrate the events occurring after the enlightenment.

As an interesting hypothesis we may surmise that Baoyun was following the interpretation of a commentator who, in explaining a narrative on the life of the Buddha, was influenced by the narrative tradition of the *jātaka* tales and thus chose to identify the prince Sarvārthasiddha as “*bodhisatta*”. If we follow Lancaster’s scheme, we would in this case be dealing with a *Jātaka bodhisatta*.⁵⁴⁶ It must be pointed out, however, that in the years 417-419 Baoyun’s meditation master Buddhahadra had translated the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, a text in sixty fascicles in which the term *pusa* appears 6,853 times. According to Sengyou, shortly after the death of his master in 429, Baoyun retired on Mount Liuhe and

⁵⁴⁴ See Appleton (2010, 26).

⁵⁴⁵ This seems to have been the case with Baoyun’s master, Buddhahadra, who upon request translated a Mahāyāna text although he defined himself as a Sarvāstivādin. On the evolution of the *bodhisattva* path from the *jātaka bodhisattva* it is interesting to view the reconstruction proposed by Apple (2013, 60-63).

⁵⁴⁶ I have to thank Prof. Christoph Anderl for this suggestion.

applied himself to the translation of the *Buddhacarita*, thus interpreting a text in which the term *bodhisattva* was not preeminent.

This chapter will consider various textual examples to support the idea that in the *Fo suoxing zan* the term *bodhisattva* contained several important connotations that, following Lancaster's scheme, belong to the definition of *phantasma bodhisattva*, that is to say, a *Mahāyāna bodhisattva*.

8.3 *Bodhisatto* or *bodhisattva*?

The possible infiltration of a Mahāyanic idea of *bodhisattva* appears at the very beginning of the translation:

tataḥ prasannaśca babhūva puṣyastasyāśca devyā vratasaṃskṛtāyāḥ /
pārśvātsuto lokahitāya jajñe nirvedanaṃ caiva nirāmayam ca // Bc_1.9 //
Then, as Pushya turned propitious, a son was born
from the side of the queen consecrated by rites,
without pain and without ill,
for the welfare of the world. (Olivelle [2008, 4-5])

時四月八日 清和氣調適
齋戒修淨德 菩薩右脇生
大悲救世間 不令母苦惱

On the eight day of the fourth month, the season was mild and the atmosphere harmonious,
[her] virtue purified through fasting precepts, the *bodhisattva* was born from the right side;
In [his] great compassion for saving the world [he] did not let his mother suffer.

Our attention is inevitably caught by the precise birth date of the Buddha, forcibly inserted in the translation. However, at a second glance, we may note that the expression *da bei* 大悲 is a translation of *mahākaruṇā* “great compassion”: the *pusa* was born from the right flank, and his great compassion will save the whole world. There is no mention of great compassion in the source text in this stanza of the Sanskrit poem; we only read *lokahitāya* “for the welfare of the world”, translated into Chinese by 救世間. The source text does not state that the newborn prince was endowed with great compassion. Compassion is a quality shared by both *jātaka bodhisattas* and *Mahāyāna bodhisattvas*; however, *jātaka bodhisattas* can also be clever and behave badly, while there is no *Mahāyāna bodhisattva* without compassion for all sentient beings. In fact, *da bei* or “great compassion” appears very

frequently in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, as a quality to be pursued on the *bodhisattva* path, with the goal of the universal salvation of sentient beings.⁵⁴⁷

In stanzas *Bc* 4.53-54 we find the prince (*kumāraṃ*) firmly guarding his senses (*dhairyāvṛtendriyaḥ*) after the repeated attempts of beautiful courtesans to seduce him. In describing this attitude, the translator added a reference to the pure mind of the *bodhisattva*:

菩薩心清淨，堅固難可轉 (T04, no. 192, p. 7b16)
the mind of the *bodhisattva* was pure, determined and hardly changeable.

The unchangeable nature of the pure mind is mentioned in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, as for example in the expression:

能起無量清淨心 信佛堅固不可壞 (T09, no. 278, p. 411c7)
[the *Bodhisattva*] can foster a mind of incommensurable purity, confident in the Buddha, determined and unalterable

The “pure mind” as a quality of the *Mahāyāna bodhisattva* is associated with the prince in the translation, while there is no reference to the same concept in the source text.⁵⁴⁸ In the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* the pure mind is also a mark of a *bodhisattva* understood as a superior being,⁵⁴⁹ and it seems to be important for the turning away from worldly impurities.⁵⁵⁰⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁷ See for example *wuliang da bei jiu yiqie zong sheng gu* 無量大悲救一切眾生故 (for the sake of the rescue of all beings, [he] develops an immeasurably great compassion). (T9, no. 278, p. 762a14). 「堅固不可轉」 (CBETA, T09, no. 278, p. 472c17).

⁵⁴⁸ Compare Olivelle (2008, 10-104).

⁵⁴⁹ 菩薩摩訶薩，初發清淨心 [T9, no. 278, p. 455b22]

⁵⁵⁰ (遠離一切世間垢濁，發清淨心 [T9, no. 278, p. 630a28-a29]). In his translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* or 小品般若波羅蜜經 (T227), Kumārajīva defined the pure mind as a quality of the *Avaivartika bodhisattva*: 須菩提白佛言：「世尊！何等為菩薩心清淨？」「須菩提！隨菩薩善根增長，諂曲欺誑，漸漸自滅，以滅故，心清淨。以心清淨故，能過聲聞、辟支佛地，是名菩薩心清淨。須菩提！以是相貌，當知是阿惟越致菩薩。」 (T08n0227_p0564b05 ~ T08n0227_p0564b10). On the *Avaivartika bodhisattva*, see Apple (2014). As we can see from the nature of the text and the definition given by Kumārajīva, the pure mind is a quality attributed to an *avaivartika bodhisattva*, regarded as prestigious figures in Mahāyāna literature. The pure mind is developed by a being that conforms to the definition of a *phantasma bodhisattva* according to Lancaster's perspective. It is not improbable that Baoyun had access to the library of texts translated by Kumārajīva, since all the Buddhist texts in the collection of the Later Qin (384-417) emperor Yao Xing (394-416) were moved to the Southern Court by Liu Yu (363-422). On this point, see Drege (1991). In the *Dharmatrāṭadhyānasūtra* or *Damoduoluo chan jing* 達摩多羅禪經, the treatise on meditation translated by Buddhahadra, the pure mind is strictly linked to control of the body (常以清淨心，繫身莫放逸 [T15, no. 618, p. 314a29]).

⁵⁵¹ The definition of 心清淨 was to be further elaborated in the *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* or *Dafang dengda jijing* 大方等大集經, a collection of *Mahāyāna sūtras* of which fascicles 27 to 30 are ascribed to Baoyun and Zhiyan. In fact, in the 27th fascicle we find a definition of 心清淨 that seems particularly close to the one we found in T192 in the translation of *Bc* 4.54. The chapter is devoted to the *bodhisattva* Akṣayamati (無盡意菩薩): 復次，舍利弗！是菩薩心清淨無盡。心清淨者不作諂故，不作諂者無姦詐故，無姦詐者善分別故，善分別者無邪命故，無邪命者心清白故。

Some congruences between the translation of the *Buddhacarita* and Buddhābhaddra's *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (T278) consist in rare expressions occurring in texts whose titles are linked to Baoyun or to his collaborators by Sengyou's catalogue. A good example is the expression *qiu shengmiao dao* 求勝妙道 “seeking for a supreme path”, present only in the *Fo suoxing zan* and in T278.⁵⁵² The specific expression *qiu shengmiao dao* 求勝妙道 appears in the twelfth chapter, corresponding to *Bc* 12.89.

*tato hitvāśramaṃ tasya śreyo 'rthī kṛtaniścayaḥ /
bheje gayasya rājarṣernagarīsaṃjñamāśramam // Bc_12.89 //*
Then, after he had left his hermitage,
seeking after bliss, firmly resolute,
he repaired to the royal seer Gaya's
hermitage, having the name Nagari. (Olivelle [2008, 358-359])

更求勝妙道， 進登伽闍山，
城名苦行林， 五比丘先住 (T04, no. 192 pp. 024b01-05)
[The bodhisattva]⁵⁵³ searched further for an excellent path to ascended the Mount of Gaya,
to the ascetic grove called Nagarī, where five bhikṣus dwelled.

The expression *śreyo 'rthī* “seeking for a supreme bliss” is translated with 求勝妙道 “seeking for a supreme path”.⁵⁵⁴ We find a similar occurrence in the twenty-eighth fascicle of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* by Buddhābhaddra, in a chapter devoted to the Ten Acceptances (*Shiren pin* 十忍品).

修習菩薩行， 安住音聲忍。
轉求勝妙道， 出生諸善法，
精進不退轉， 究竟成菩提。 (T9, no. 278, p.0583b07 ~ T9, no. 278, p.0583b09)
Practicing the *bodhisattva* path, calmly residing in the acceptance of the voice [of the Buddha], aiming at seeking a superior, marvelous path, to be reborn to the wholesome *dharma*, steadily proceeding to the stage of non-regression, to the final achievement of the *bodhi*.

The expression *jingjin qin fangbian* 精進勤方便 is also to be considered as one of Baoyun's defining features. In fact, we find this verse only in texts connected to him and his collaborators, such as T99, T278, and T1552. It is found in T192 in the translation of *Bc* 13.58-13.59:

Once again, Śāriputra! This pure mind of the *bodhisattva* is inexhaustible. For the one who has a pure mind is not flattered, and one that is not flattered is not treacherous, a person who is not treacherous is good at discerning, one that is good at discerning does not obtain a living through improper ways – one that does not obtain a living through improper ways then, his mind his white-pure. (T13, no. 397, p. 187c15 ~ T13, no. 397, p. 187c18).

⁵⁵² A similar expression is *shou xing zhong miao dao* 受行眾妙道 and it first appears in T192 in the second chapter, corresponding to *Bc* 2.54 *dharma vividhaṃ cakāra*, “performing various practices”.

⁵⁵³ The subject is the *bodhisattva*, as can be inferred from the preceding verses: 菩薩求出故，復捨鬱陀仙。

⁵⁵⁴ The expression *sheng miao dao* 勝妙道, quite rare in the Canon – there are only seven occurrences in the Taishō collection – appears also in the treatise on meditation composed by Buddhābhaddra (T618), and in the *Saṃyuktāgama* translated by Guṇabhadra and Baoyun (T99).

apy uṣṇabhāvaṃ jvalanaḥ prajāhyād āpo dravatvaṃ prathivī sthīratvaṃ /
anekakalpācītapuṇyakarmā na tv eva jahyād vyavasāyam eṣaḥ // Bc_13.58 //
yo niścayo hy asya parākramaś ca tejaś ca yad yā ca dayā prajāsu /
aprāpya notthāsyati tattvaṃ eṣa tamāṃsy ahatv eva sahasraraśmiḥ // Bc_13.59 //

Fire may well give up its fiery nature,
water its fluidity, earth its stability,
But this man will not give up his resolve,
having piled up merit over countless eons.
For his resolve, valor, and energy,
and his compassion for creatures are such
That he'll not rise without grasping the truth,
as the sun without dispelling the dark. (Olivelle 2009, 392-393)

火冷水熾然，地性平軟濡；
不能壞菩薩，歷劫修善果
菩薩正思惟，精進勤方便，
淨智慧光明，慈悲於一切。
此四妙功德，無能中斷截，
而為作留難，不成正覺道？
如日千光明，必除世間闇，(T4, no. 192, p.0026b09-b15)

Fire cools down, water burns fiercely, the Earth becomes even and soft like moisture,
One cannot harm the bodhisattva, through the kalpas he practiced for good merits.
The bodhisattva has right consideration, practices with dedication, radiates pure knowledge, [his]
compassion is universal; these four marvelous virtues cannot be cut in halves, and [one cannot] put obstacles
to the accomplishment of the way to awakening; [he is] like a thousand-rayed sun that will dispel the
darkness of the world.⁵⁵⁵

Almost all the verses from this passage can be also found in different passages of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.

The idea that the *bodhisattva* cannot be harmed is expressed in the same terms in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, where the expression *bu neng huai* 不能壞 attributed to the *bodhisattva* is repeated fifty times. In the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, the *bodhisattva* is presented as a superior being that cannot be harmed or distressed by demons⁵⁵⁶ or by demoniac heterodoxies.⁵⁵⁷

In Bc 13.59 we find the following virtues of the *bodhisattva*: resolve (*niścayo*), valor (*parākrama*), energy (*tejaś*), and compassion (*dayā*). Interestingly, the translation dubs these virtues the “four marvelous virtues” or *si miao gongde* 四妙功德, although this expression is not present in the source text.

⁵⁵⁵ For the translation and discussion of this section of T192, see also the chapter on Guṇabhadra's *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing*.

⁵⁵⁶ “若能安住無上道，則一切魔不能壞。”(T9, no. 278, p. 434a01) and “一切諸魔及諸煩惱皆不能壞”(T9, no. 278, p. 554b18 ~ T9, no. 278, p. 554b19).

⁵⁵⁷ “眾魔外道所不能壞”(T9, no. 278, p. 459a07 ~ T9, no. 278, p. 459a08)

Resolve (*niścayo*) became 菩薩正思惟 – “right consideration” or *zheng siwei* 正思惟 is an attribute of the *bodhisattva* described in the chapter on the ten *bhumi* in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.⁵⁵⁸

Valor or *parākrama* is translated with the peculiar sentence *jingjin qin fangbian* 精進勤方便, a verse found in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in a similar context.⁵⁵⁹

Energy or *tejaś*, a term that can be associated with the concepts “radiant” and “bright”, as in *tejasvin*, is translated as *jing zhihui guang ming* 淨智慧光明 “radiance of pure knowledge”. The sentence *jing zhihui quangming* 淨智慧光明 is also present in T278 in relation to compassion for all creatures.⁵⁶⁰ There are at least two occurrences of parallel verses that appear to be similar to the last two verses dedicated to the sun dispelling darkness (如日千光明，必除世間闇) in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*.⁵⁶¹ Compassion toward all creatures (*dayā prajāsu*) is translated as *cibei yu yiqie* 慈悲於一切. Among translations dated to the fifth century, the expression *chu shijian yin* 除世間闇 is only present in T192 and T278.

8.4 Beyond the *bodhisattva*: other examples of interference in Baoyun’s translation work

The case of the massive introduction of the term *pusa* 菩薩 in the translation of the *Buddhacarita* (T192) is not the only manifestation of the influence of the translation of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* (T278) on T192. As we have seen from the analysis of proper names, rare translations, and repeated expressions, T278 shares twenty-two common occurrences with T192.

⁵⁵⁸ “是菩薩修行正見、正思惟、正語、正業、正命、正精進、正念、正定，依止厭、離、滅，迴向涅槃” (T9, no. 278, p. 554a11 ~ T9, no. 278, p. 554a13). The expression *zheng siwei* is very frequent in the Canon and cannot be easily used as a criterion for establishing exclusive relationships between texts, but it is still interesting to point out that it occurs quite frequently in Buddhābhaddra’s rendition of Dharmatrāta’s meditation treatise (T618). A very similar passage is in T397, chapter 30, attributed to Baoyun and Zhiyan. Compare: “復次，舍利弗！菩薩摩訶薩八聖道分亦不可盡。何等為八？正見、正思惟、正語、正業、正命、正精進、正念、正定。” (T13, no. 397, p. 209c20 ~ T13, no. 397, p. 209c22). To discuss the relationship between T278 and T397, chapter 30, would be too challenging a digression for the scope of the present work. If that chapter is to be attributed to Baoyun and Zhiyan, then this might explain the point of contention about their work as editors in the *Lidai sanbao ji* – see paragraph 3.5.

⁵⁵⁹ Compare, for example, 無量無數劫，具修菩薩行，精進勤方便，欲度一切眾 (T9, no. 278, p. 455a05 ~ T9, no. 278, p. 455a08)

⁵⁶⁰ 不離清淨智慧光明，除滅一切眾生煩惱 (T9, no. 278, p. 711c16 ~ T9, no. 278, p. 711c19)

⁵⁶¹ See for example 譬如明淨日，照除世間闇，(T9, no. 278, p. 788a08) and 功德日今出，照除世間闇 (T9, no. 278, p. 755a29).

In the translation of *Bc* 1.84, the donation of cows to Brahmins is substituted with a donation to all the citizens, according to each person's needs. The expression used in T192 is 各隨彼所須 一切皆給與.⁵⁶² This couple of verses is paralleled in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in a description of the extreme generosity of Maitreya.⁵⁶³ The sentence *sui bi suo xu* is repeated several times in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, to describe the generosity of the *bodhisattva*,⁵⁶⁴ the reward for those who possess an awakened mind,⁵⁶⁵ and as the way in which the *bodhisattvas* express their generosity.⁵⁶⁶

An interesting interpolation in the translation of the *Buddhacarita* is the concept of “production of goods according to the needs”, as in the translation of *Bc* 2.10, in which we find the couplet 資生各自如，無有他求想 (T4, no. 192, p.0004a19).⁵⁶⁷ The concept is repeated in a couplet that is probably a translation of *Bc* 2.42, although displaced from the current sequence. In this case, the king is said to have used his riches appropriately, pointing out the way to use money: 矜施以財物 指授資生路 (T4, no. 192, p.0005a04). The term *zi sheng* 資生 corresponds to *upakaraṇa* or *pariṣkāratā* and, as Zimmermann (2013, 877) has pointed out, is the sixth category of *śīla* in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. In the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* the *bodhisattva* is presented as a craftsman (為工匠) who teaches the sentient beings that are ignorant a method of producing wealth (資生法).⁵⁶⁸ In the nineteenth chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, the *bodhisattva* Vajrapāṇi manifests his benevolence by revealing the means of producing wealth.⁵⁶⁹

In addition to the term *pusa*, as well as the expression *sui bi suo xu* 隨彼所須 and the term *zi sheng* 資生, other aspects point to a possible influence of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* on T192. One of these is the reference to the “spontaneous” emerging of treasures or animals from the ground. In the case of *Bc* 2.2, we have the king acquiring treasures (*sa nidhīn avāpa*), while in T192 these treasures appear from the ground: 無量諸伏藏 自然從地出.⁵⁷⁰ The same change occurs in the translation of *Bc* 2.12,

⁵⁶² T4, no. 192, p. 003c13.

⁵⁶³ 又見彌勒於過去世修菩薩行，布施頭目、髓腦、手足、肢節，一切身分、國城、妻子，種種諸物，隨其所須，盡給施之，(T9, no. 278, p. 776c16 ~ T9, no. 278, p. 776c17).

⁵⁶⁴ 菩薩見有來求者，悉從他方世界至，隨彼所須滿其願，菩薩大喜充遍身 T9, no. 278, p. 520b01 ~ T9, no. 278, p. 520b02.

⁵⁶⁵ 菩提心者，則為大會，隨彼所須，令充悅故 (T9, no. 278, p. 776c16-17).

⁵⁶⁶ See also 二布施隨彼所須悉能施與 (T9, no. 278, p. 508b05-06). The sentence is also present in a later chapter of the *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* or *Dafang dengda jijing* 大方等大集經 T13, no. 397, p. 234c08-c16.

⁵⁶⁷ In the case of *Bc* 2.10, the translation differs consistently from the source, for which see Olivelle (2009, 38-39).

⁵⁶⁸ See 眾生未知資生法 是時菩薩為工匠 為之示現種種業, T9, no. 278, p. 435c23-c24.

⁵⁶⁹ 菩薩摩訶薩以施資生之具所攝善根，迴向眾生 T9, no. 278, p. 518c04-c05.

⁵⁷⁰ T4, no. 192, p. 004a04

in which citizens build temples, parks, and hermitages out of love for *dharma* (*dharmakāmāḥ*), while the Chinese translation purports that the celestial constructions appear in due time and spontaneously 一切如天物，應時自然生。⁵⁷¹ A similar adaptation occurs in the translation of *Bc* 2.4, in which horses are acquired “by force, acquired or given by allies” (Olivelle 2009, 36-37), while in Chinese these horses arrive “spontaneously”, 應時自然至。⁵⁷²

These frequent and spontaneous appearances of treasures in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* resemble the descriptions in T192. We can read of the appearance of wonderful, precious lotuses 大寶蓮華從地涌出 (T9, no. 278, p.0762c12), uncountable treasures 無量寶藏自然涌出 (T9, no. 278, p.0719c25), and golden bells, 金鈴自然出 (T9, no. 278, p.0744b22-b23).⁵⁷³

In the translation of the eleventh *sarga* there is mention of a spontaneous rejection of a celestial crown (捨於天冠), whereas in the Sanskrit we have *na śatrubāṇair avadhūtamauliḥ* “enemy arrows did not take away my crown”.

*na hyasmyamarṣeṇa vanaṃ praviṣṭo na śatrubāṇair avadhūtamauliḥ /
kṛtasprho nāpi phalādhikebhyo grhṇāmi naitadvacanāṃ yataste* // Bc_11.51 //

「我不畏怨家， 不求生天樂。

心不懷俗利， 而捨於天冠，

是故違汝情， 不從於[獲從]來旨。」 (T4, no. 192, p.0021c10 ~ T4, no. 192, p.0021c12)

I am not afraid of enemies, nor do I desire rebirth in heaven,

My mind does not nurture the convenience of the worldly, and I gave up a celestial crown.

For these reasons I do not share your feelings and I will not follow your purposes.

In the translation, the reference to enemies is elided.⁵⁷⁴ Although at first glance the idea of “rejecting a celestial crown” might seem at odds with the ideology of a *bodhisattva* king, in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* *bodhisattvas* are said to be willing to abandon their celestial crowns and return to the world to help all living beings.

為菩薩摩訶薩捨天冠明珠善根迴向，令一切眾生勝妙智慧皆悉清淨，得淨智慧摩尼寶冠」 (T9, no. 278, p.0507b09-b11).

⁵⁷¹ T4, no. 192, p. 004a23

⁵⁷² T4, no. 192, p. 004a09

⁵⁷³ Similar cases of “spontaneous appearances” of favorable omens may be found in classical Chinese literature. However, from external evidence, we do not know with certainty that Baoyun had any acquaintance with classical literature, while we do know that he was in close contact with the Indian translator of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. There is one case that may indicate that Baoyun had some contact with Classical literature, although we cannot be sure whether this single proof is ascribable to Baoyun or to his collaborators, such as Huiguan, who worked as scribe and editor of texts. In the *Quan fa zhu wang yao ji* 勸發諸王要偈 (T1673) attributed to Saṅghavarman – the attribution is confirmed by Sengyou (T55n2145_p0012b23) – there is the couplet 不從虛空墮 亦不從地出」 (T32, no. 1673 p. 751a03) that seems to be recalling a passage in the Classic of Rites; compare: 非從天降也，非從地出也. Saṅghavarman worked with Baoyun on the translation of T1441, while T1673 is a later composition attributed to Saṅghavarman .

⁵⁷⁴ We often observe this attitude of the translators; see paragraph 6.4.

We can appreciate that for a *bodhisattva* the refusal of a celestial crown is compensated by the acquisition of an even more important one, the precious crown of the “gem of pure wisdom” (得淨智慧摩尼寶冠).

There are several elements and rare expressions that are peculiar to T192 and T278. A deluded mind or *huan wei xin* 幻偽心, for example, was not nurtured by queen Māyā (母悉離憂患, 不生幻偽心 T4, no. 192, p.0001a15), and we find a similar expression in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (無幻偽心, T9, no. 278, p.0705b04) and in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* attributed to Faxian (T12, no. 376 p.854b16). Two other occurrences are found in later compilations (T293 and T310).

8.5 A path of silence

An interesting interpolation can be found in the translation of *Bc* 2.56, one of the few verses of the *Buddhacarita* that actually contain the word *bodhisattva*. In this text we observe the presence of a path of silence, which is never mentioned in the source text:

過去菩薩王 其道雖深固
要習世榮樂 生子繼宗嗣
然後入山林 修行寂默道

In the past, the *bodhisattva* kings, even if their path was firmly settled,
They chose to experience the glory and pleasure of the world; when they had a son to carry on the family line,
then they entered the mountain groves, to practice austerities and the path of silence.

The expression *jimo dao* 寂默道 as a reference to a *maunya marga* is a *hapax legomenon* in the Taishō Canon. In the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* by Buddhābhaddra we find a reference to a *jimo yuyan dao* 寂默語言道 “path of silent words” in the thirteenth chapter, with the title *Chufa xin pusa gongde* 初發心菩薩功德. The path of silence is mentioned by Fahui 法慧, or “*dharma*-wisdom *bodhisattva*”, in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*; the *bodhisattva* intones a speech in verses of five-character sentences, in which a reference to a path of silence appears as 寂默語言道.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁵ 《大方廣佛華嚴經》卷 9: 「寂默語言道, 平等無異觀, 於法不分別, 是則從如生。」 (T9, no. 278, p. 453c24 ~ T9, no. 278, p. 453c25)

There are two other references to a path of silence in T192, with the similar expression *jijing dao* 寂靜道.⁵⁷⁶ Through a deeper analysis it does indeed become noticeable that the translator of the *Buddhacarita* was obsessed with the idea of “silence”: the character *ji* 寂 is repeated thirty-three times in the first part of the translation (the total number of occurrences in the whole text is ninety), while in the corresponding chapters of the *Buddhacarita* there is no more than a handful of references to “silence”. Where this idea of silence has originated is a matter for further investigation. An interesting research path would begin from the hypothesis that Buddhahadra exerted a considerable influence on his disciple and interpreter, Baoyun. Buddhahadra produced two treatises on meditation, the *Dharmatrāṭadhyānasūtra* 達摩多羅禪經 (T618) in two fascicles and the *Guangfo sanwei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經 (T643) in ten fascicles. Dharmatara’s treatise, in particular, insists on silence (the character *ji* 寂 occurs fifty-six times in two fascicles). Various expressions involving silence are shared by T192 and T618: *jiran* 寂然 “silent”, *jijing* 寂靜 “silence” or “silent”, *jingzhi* 寂止 “silent stillness”, and *jiwei fa* 寂滅法 “*dharma* of extinction”; the term *kongji* 空寂 is used as an adjective and adverb in both texts. In T618 there is also the expression *kongji xing* 空寂行, which seems similar to the idea of a *jimo dao* 寂默道.

A search through TACL has proven that there is at least a long, intentional quotation from T618 in the translation of the *Buddhacarita*. Further research should investigate the relationship between these two texts and should also be extended to other translations attributed to Buddhahadra. The presence of this quote from Buddhahadra’s treatise on meditation is a further confirmation that the author of T192 was Baoyun.

⁵⁷⁶ See 牟尼寂靜道」, which seem [something is missing here] (T4, no. 192, p. 051a26) and 群生癡惑心, 誰說寂靜道?」 (T4, no. 192, p. 051c02). The expression 寂靜道 occurs twice in the *Samyuktāgama* or *Za’ahan jing* 雜阿含經 translated by Guṇabhadra and Baoyun; see for example: “能說寂靜道, 因說智則辯” (T2, no. 99 p. 319b10).

Chapter 9: The *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* as an adaptation of the Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita*

The *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* 過去現在因果經 (T189) is an account of the life of the Buddha and is considered the source of numerous pictorial representations in China and Japan. It is usually also considered to be a translation by the Indian monk Guṇabhadra who resided in Southern China during the Liu Song dynasty 劉宋 (420-479). The original Indian text on which this translation is based was thought as lost. In a recent study, Michael Radich (2018) pointed out the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing*'s composite nature along with its evident similarities with the *Buddhacarita*, and advanced the hypothesis that the text is based on other Chinese translations as well as on Indian sources. This study will prove that the *Buddhacarita* parts of the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* (T189)⁵⁷⁷ are consistently derived on the 佛所行贊 *Fo suoxing zan* (T192), the only Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita* in the Chinese Buddhist Canon. The case of the demon Māra's sisters will show how a misunderstanding of Aśvaghōṣa's poem spread from the *Buddhacarita* to its translation (T192) to the re-elaboration of the translation (T189) and to pictorial representations.

This study will link the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* (T189) to the biography of its presumed author, showing how the name of Guṇabhadra was associated to a text composed under a demanding patronage and probably without the support of skilled interpreters.

9.1 On the texts: *Buddhacarita*, *Fo suoxing zan*, and *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing*

The *Buddhacarita* is a poetic account of the life of the Buddha that is unique in its genre and generally considered a masterpiece of classical literature;⁵⁷⁸ fourteen chapters of the Sanskrit poem have survived to our days on a Nepali manuscript dated by Johnston (1936, vii) to the second half of the thirteenth century or to the first half of the fourteenth.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁷ Henceforth T189.

⁵⁷⁸ For an analysis of the literary value of the *Buddhacarita* see Warder (1972, 142); for its relationship to Canonical and extra-Canonical Indian Buddhist literature, see Passi (1979, 233-243).

⁵⁷⁹ For a reconstruction of the textual tradition and editing process of the manuscript, see Johnston (1936, vi-viii) and Passi (1979, 243-245). A new edition with parallel text of the English translation is in Olivelle (2008).

We should point out that, although different accounts of the life of the Buddha were circulating in India and Central Asia, we have evidence of only one poem titled *Buddhacarita* – a work of ornate literature (*kāvya*) in Sanskrit composed by the poet Aśvaghōṣa.⁵⁸⁰ Since we only have one version of this specific Sanskrit poem, we are not in a position to assert that different versions of the same poem ever existed.⁵⁸¹ Two aspects make the *Buddhacarita* special in the landscape of Buddhist tradition: the author himself ascribed his poem to the range of *belles-lettres*,⁵⁸² and he wrote it with a specific ideological agenda.⁵⁸³

The name *Buddhacarita* should not be taken as a generic term to define an account of the life of the Buddha produced in India or in an Indic language; although in the Chinese Buddhist Canon there are several accounts of the life of Śākyamūni Buddha, defining any Chinese translation/compilation on the life of the Buddha with the title of *Buddhacarita* would be misleading.

There is, in fact, another text frequently mentioned as a Chinese “version” of the *Buddhacarita*, the *Fo benxing jing* (T193);⁵⁸⁴ this account, however, cannot be compared to the *Buddhacarita* – as was proven by Ōminami (2002, 147-153), its sections are different in titles, content, order, and structure.

⁵⁸⁰ On the difficulties of the poem’s dating, see Olivelle (2008, xix-xxi).

⁵⁸¹ It is probable that different manuscripts of the *Buddhacarita* were circulating in Central Asia. It is legitimate to presume that these manuscripts were not identical copies since they were probably redacted by different copyists. However, we have no means of ascertaining the extent to which these hypothetical testimonies may have diverged from the current edition in Johnston (1936). Fragments of two possible testimonies of the *Buddhacarita* were found in Central Asia and presented by Weller (1953) and Hartmann (2006). On the basis of these materials, Salomon (2012) concluded that the most probable testimony is very closely related to the Nepali manuscript edited by Johnston in 1936. The second testimony is very fragmentary and cannot be related to the *Buddhacarita* with certainty. See Salomon (2012, 99-100). Fragments of a poem that appears to share some similarity in content with the *Buddhacarita* are reviewed by La Vallée Poussin (1911); the source material comprises fifteen fragmentary verses that seem to be recalling the seventh chapter of the *Buddhacarita*. Given the exiguity of the materials and the complete absence of the title of this poem, we cannot claim that this was another version of the *Buddhacarita* by Aśvaghōṣa.

⁵⁸² See Passi (1979, 227). Michael Hahn (2010, 458) interestingly defined the *Buddhacarita* primarily as a poetic composition belonging to the ornate epic genre (*sargabandha*). We do have other Sanskrit poems narrating the life of the Buddha from later periods, although they differ much from the *Buddhacarita*. One example may be the *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*; as Franceschini (2010, 27) pointed out, this text seems to be an adaptation of the story of the Buddha in which aesthetic concerns prevailed over religious ones. Examples of poems on the lives of the Buddha in Pāli are the *Jinālaṅkāra*, of uncertain dating, the 12th century *Jinacarita* attributed to Medhaṅkara, and the *Samantakuṭavaṇṇanā* by Veheda Thera. Although the fascinating story of a prince rejecting his throne to pursue a spiritual life spread to very far regions of the Eurasian continent – see Cesaretti and Ronchey (2012), who explained that these accounts often borrow the main gist of the story and elaborate it in different scenarios and fashions – we cannot prove with enough certainty that they derived their plot from the *Buddhacarita* or from other accounts of the life of the Buddha, such as the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara*, which do not belong to that range of poetical composition and bear the signs of a long development, as opposed to having been authored by a single person.

⁵⁸³ This idea was developed by Hildebeitel (2006) and Olivelle (2008, xxiii-xxv and xxxi-xliiii).

⁵⁸⁴ In his recent study on T189, Michael Radich (2018, 2 and 20n70) seems to imply that there are multiple versions of the *Buddhacarita* in the Chinese Buddhist Canon. The same idea can be found in Young (2015, 135n54).

As for the Chinese translation of Aśvaghōṣa's poem, the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192)⁵⁸⁵ is the only recognizable translation of the *Buddhacarita*, showing a consistent adherence to the Sanskrit poem that we find in Johnston's critical edition.⁵⁸⁶ This has been thoroughly proven by the comparative reading proposed by Huang Baosheng (2015), which shows how the two texts (*Buddhacarita/Fo suoxing zan*) have the same structure, sequences, and content, and can be read in parallel, each Sanskrit stanza of the Johnston edition corresponding to a precise section of Chinese text.⁵⁸⁷

Baoyun's authorship of the translation of the *Buddhacarita* as *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) was stated in three catalogues by, respectively, Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518),⁵⁸⁸ Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554),⁵⁸⁹ and Fei Zhangfang 費長房.⁵⁹⁰ The attribution by Sengyou seems to be particularly trustworthy since he apparently knew the *Fo suoxing zan* and quoted it in his anthology on the life of the Buddha, the *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 (T2040). The well-referenced quotes by Sengyou coincide with the text of the *Fo suoxing zan* listed in the Taishō edition of the Canon as T192,⁵⁹¹ thus reassuring us that Sengyou had read this text – or at least its first chapters – and did not confuse this title with other translations/compositions on the life of the Buddha.⁵⁹² Although T192 is attributed to Dharmakṣema in the Taishō edition of the Canon, this attribution appears only in more recent catalogues⁵⁹³ and is not supported by contemporary scholars.⁵⁹⁴

As for T189, Radich (2018) proposed an analysis in comparison to an early edition of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (T7) and of the **Mahāmāyāsūtra* (T383), and provides a useful bibliography of textual studies on T189.⁵⁹⁵ Radich (2018, 39-41) also provides a useful summary of T189 with

⁵⁸⁵ Henceforth T192.

⁵⁸⁶ See Johnston (1936). There is no proof that a complete translation earlier than the *Fo suoxing zan* ever existed. On the much later Tibetan translation, see Weller (1929) and Jackson (1994).

⁵⁸⁷ The differences from the *Fo benxing jing*, often mistaken for another translation of the *Buddhacarita*, were shown by Ōminami (2002). On this topic see also Feng (2015).

⁵⁸⁸ T55, no. 2145, pp. 12a24-12a27.

⁵⁸⁹ T50, no. 2059, pp. 340a08-09.

⁵⁹⁰ T49, no. 2034, pp. 089c15-089c19. The *Lidai sanbao ji* was composed in the year 597; see Nattier (2008, 14).

⁵⁹¹ See for example T50 no. 2040 pp. 005b06-005b14.

⁵⁹² See Ōminami (2002) and Willemen (2009). An interesting summary of the debate on the authorship of the translation in China is provided by Feng (2015).

⁵⁹³ The first catalogue to attribute the authorship of the translation to Dharmakṣema is the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T55, no. 2154, pp. 621c28-622a01), compiled in the year 730 by Zhisheng 智昇, which means that it was written three centuries after the completion of the translation. The current Taishō attribution seems to be derived from this catalogue.

⁵⁹⁴ However, even taking the authorship by Dharmakṣema as sound *per absurdum*, the validity of the argument of this study is not diminished, because we have proof that at least some of the works by Dharmakṣema were circulating in Southern China and in the monasteries in the Liu Song capital – see for example Huiguan's new edition of Dharmakṣema's *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. Thus, it is not difficult to imagine that Guṇabhadra might have had access to the text of the *Fo suoxing zan* in either case.

⁵⁹⁵ See in particular Radich (2018, 3n5).

references to the similarities between this text and the narrative from the *Buddhacarita*. It is however important to add that art historians have underlined the importance of T189 for the developing of Buddhist art in China; we may mention the studies by Karetzky (1988) and Lee (1993, 351).

The Indian original for T189 has never been identified. Okumura (2013) noticed several parallel passages between this text and other biographies of the Buddha, while in his recent study, Radich (2018) discovered important relationships between T189 and other texts produced in the same period. The relationship between the T192 and the T189 is evident at first glance due to similarities in the transcriptions of proper names. In addition to the examples provided by Radich (2018, 22), we may add the shared transcriptions of Asita as Asituo 阿私陀, and Lumbinī as Lanpini 藍毘尼 – and identical expressions recurring in similar contexts – *ershi jingju tian* 爾時淨居天 “and then the deities from the pure abodes”, *wang ling sitian xia* 王領四天下 “the king ruling on the four realms”, *jianli zhengfa chuang* 建立正法幢 “raising the banner of true *dharma*”.⁵⁹⁶

Since Guṇabhadra worked with Baoyun on the translation of the *Samyuktāgama* or *Za’ahan jing* 雜阿含經, T99,⁵⁹⁷ it would be easy to trace the similarities of the two texts to the relationship between the two monk-translators.⁵⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the historical context of the production of T189 and the structure of the text, so similar to the *Buddhacarita*, call for a deeper investigation.

The present work agrees with Radich’s idea that T189 is a “prose version of the *Buddhacarita*”, although widely interspersed with materials derived from other sources. This study will prove that the similarities between T189 and the *Buddhacarita* are better explained with reference to T192.

The use of a Chinese text as primary source (T192) for the production of a new hagiography of the Buddha had its motives in the historical context in which the new hagiography of the Buddha (T189) was produced. The fact that T192 precedes T189 is evident; T192 follows the *Buddhacarita* consistently and is made up by several thousand five-characters sentences, while T189 uses the core structure of T192, often rephrasing and explaining in prose the versified content of T192.

⁵⁹⁶ It is important to note that these expressions recur quite frequently – although not exclusively - in texts involving the collaboration and editing of the monk Baoyun (376?-449).

⁵⁹⁷ On at least two different occasions, Huiguan invited Baoyun to move to a different temple. While in the biography of Baoyun we find an invitation connected to the administration of the temple around the year 437, in the biographies of Guṇabhadra, in the same period, we find Baoyun acting as his interpreter while Huiguan took note of the translation: 譯出雜阿含經, 東安寺出法鼓經. 後於丹陽郡譯出勝鬘楞伽經, 徒眾七百餘人. 寶雲傳譯, 慧觀執筆. (T55, no. 2145, pp. 105c13-15)

⁵⁹⁸ See Glass (2008[2010]).

9.2 Historical context

The life account of Guṇabhadra is quite long and detailed, which is not surprising if we consider that the Indian monk lived in China for more than thirty years, becoming involved in politics and having personal relationships with members of the court.⁵⁹⁹ I offer here a selection of key historical details, including important references to Guṇabhadra's language skills.⁶⁰⁰

Guṇabhadra was from India, descendant of a brahmin family and educated in the five sciences,⁶⁰¹ among which astronomy.⁶⁰² He resolved to convert to Buddhism after reading the **Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya*, mentioned as *Apitan zaxin* 阿毘曇雜心. He looked for a master and studied to become an expert in “Hīnayāna” and then Mahāyāna teachings. He studied the *Avatamsaka* (大品華嚴). After he had been to Ceylon, and having regained the support of his family, his *karma* led him further East, and he thus arrived in Canton in the year 435; Emperor Wen sent his greetings and Guṇabhadra was accompanied to the capital.⁶⁰³ Sengyou reports that Guṇabhadra communicated through an interpreter (雖因譯交言而欣若傾蓋).⁶⁰⁴ During his stay at the Liu Song court, Guṇabhadra became very popular; among his followers we find the writer Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 from Langye 琅瑯,⁶⁰⁵ the prince Liu Yikang (mentioned as Wang Yikang 王義康),⁶⁰⁶ and the prince Wang Yixuan 王義宣.⁶⁰⁷

⁵⁹⁹ According to Sengyou, Guṇabhadra arrived in Guanzhou in 435 and died at the Liu Song court in the year 468. See T55, no. 2145, pp. 105b17-21.

⁶⁰⁰ The account by Sengyou is in T55, no. 2145, pp. 105b17-106b21. For the complete account in the *GSZh*, see Shih (1968, 148-154); a short summary is provided in Glass (2008[2010]) with some interesting observations on Guṇabhadra's relationship with Baoyun.

⁶⁰¹ The five sciences, also known as *pañcavidyā* or *wuming* 五明, play a very significant role in tantric traditions.

⁶⁰² This was not a common skill since in Sengyou's catalogue only Guṇabhadra and Kang Senghui are mentioned as proficient in astronomy (T55, no. 2145, pp. 96b01-05).

⁶⁰³ Although it is never explicitly stated, there is a possibility that Guṇabhadra moved to China with Fayong 法勇 (also reported as Tanwujie 曇無竭), see T55, no. 2145, pp. 113c15-114a22; Fayong was a monk that started a journey to India following the inspiration by his masters, Faxian and Baoyun. Guṇabhadra and Fayong appear to be connected both in the account by Sengyou and in the account by Huijiao (T50, no. 2059, pp. 338b26-339a02), and they are present at the Liu Song court at the same time. Fayong is said to have come back from India by sea and arrived in Canton around the same time as Guṇabhadra.

⁶⁰⁴ T55, no. 2145, p. 105c9. For a detailed discussion, see Glass (2008[2010], 186-187).

⁶⁰⁵ On Yan Yanzhi (384-456) see Chang and Owen (2010, 238). Biographical references can be found in *Song Shu* (7,73,1891) and *Nan Shi* (3,34,877).

⁶⁰⁶ Liu Yikang (409-451) was the son of the emperor Liu Yu (363-422), born two years after emperor Wen (407-453). He was already a follower of Saṅghavarman (T55, no. 2145, p. 104c20). According to Sengyou, Liu Yikang acted as patron for Saṅghavarman and Guṇabhadra, inviting them to produce new translations. Huijiao mentions him as patron of other Buddhist monks - Huirui 慧叡 (T55, no. 2059, p. 367b08), Sengche 僧徹 (T55, no. 2059, p. 370c19) and Tanqian 曇遷 (T55, no. 2059, p. 414a21). According to the *Song Shu* (6,68,1789), Liu Yikang was minister and

From the biographical account provided by Sengyou, we can infer that there are two phases in Guṇabhadra's career as translator:

- 1) The first phase sees Guṇabhadra flanked by Baoyun (376?-449), an experienced interpreter that had been to India and worked with the Kashmiri meditation master Buddhabhadra (359?-429) for decades. Apparently, after the death of Faxian (337-442), Baoyun was also the keeper of the manuscripts that the famous pilgrim had brought from India, and in fact the *Samyuktāgama* or *Za'ahan jing* 雜阿含經 – a text translated by Guṇabhadra and Baoyun with Huiguan working for them as scribe – was one of the titles present in the list of manuscripts acquired by Faxian on his journey – apparently, this text was still to be translated.⁶⁰⁸ In addition to Baoyun, the other interpreters mentioned are Fayong, a monk who had travelled to India following the example by Faxian and Baoyun, and had returned to China by sea around the time that Guṇabhadra arrived,⁶⁰⁹ and a less known Bodhi or *Puti* 菩提 (Glass 2008[2010], 189n12). Beside the **Samyuktāgama* or *Za'ahan jing* 雜阿含經 in fifty *juan* (T99), this group of monks then translated the **Mahābherihārakaparivarta* as *Fagu jing* 法鼓經 (T270?), a *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanāda* or *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 in one *juan* (T353?), and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* or *Lengjia jing* 楞伽經 – also reported by Sengyou as *Lengjia'abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 (T670?).⁶¹⁰
- 2) The second phase occurred when Guṇabhadra followed the prince Liu Yixuan 劉義宣 (mentioned as Qiao Wang 譙王) to Jingzhou 荊州, and moved to a “new monastery” or Xinsi 新寺.⁶¹¹ Sengyou reports that there he translated various texts, for a total of several hundred *juan*. The list of texts comprises: *Wuyou wang* 無憂王 (**Aśokarāja?*, probably a

counselor of the emperor Wen (r.453-464) when he was ill. After several attempts at installing himself as emperor in place of Wen, Liu Yikang was condemned to suicide. Liu Yikang addressed the emperor's heralds by saying that he could not commit suicide since, according to Buddhist precepts, suicide victims cannot be reborn as human beings. Thus, he was strangled. See also *Nan Shi* 2,13,366.

⁶⁰⁷ Liu Yixuan (415-454) was the sixth son of the emperor Liu Yu (363-422). See his biography in *Song Shu* 6,68,1798 and in the *Nan Shi* 南史 2,13,374. He raised a rebellion against the emperor Wen, who eventually defeated him.

⁶⁰⁸ On this point, see the study by Glass (2008[2010]).

⁶⁰⁹ From the *Gaoseng zhuan*: 并前所出凡百餘卷常令弟子法勇傳譯度語 (T50, no. 2059, pp. 344b09-10).

⁶¹⁰ For the titles I am following Shih (1968, 150). The reference from Sengyou: 頃之眾僧共請出經, 於祇洹寺集義學諸僧譯出雜阿含經; 東安寺出法鼓經; 後於丹陽郡譯出勝鬘楞伽經; 徒眾七百餘人寶雲傳譯慧觀執筆往復諮析妙得本旨(T55 no. 2145 p. 105c12-16). From this quote we understand that Guṇabhadra was working with Baoyun (translator) and Huiguan (scribe).

⁶¹¹ According to the *Gaoseng zhuan*, the monk Huiqu 慧璩 also followed Liu Yixuan. Before leaving to Jingzhou, Huiqu was staying at the Wagua temple, where Guṇabhadra resided. See (T50, no. 2059, p. 416a9-18); see also Glass (2008[2010], 186-187).

version of the *Aśokāvadāna*, apparently lost), the *Guoqu xianzai yingguo* 過去現在因果 (T189), a *Wuliangshou* 無量壽 (*Amitābha, probably a version of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*) in one *juan*, a *Nirvāṇasūtra* or *Niehuan* 泥洹 in one *juan*, *Aṅgulimālīka* or *Yangjue moluo* 央掘魔羅 (T120?), *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* or *Xiangxu jietuo boluomi liaoyi* 相續解脫波羅蜜了義 (T678?), *Diyu yi wuxiang lüe* 第一義五相略, and *Ba jixiang* 八吉祥.⁶¹² Some titles had already been translated when Buddhābhadda was alive (*Wuliangshou/Sukhāvatīvyūha*, *Nirvāṇasūtra*), making us question the necessity of a second translation; the translations produced by Guṇabhadra in this second phase were in only one *juan*, and most of them were considered lost by Sengyou.⁶¹³

There are several considerations regarding the shift from the first to the second phase. During the first phase, Guṇabhadra was collaborating with Baoyun; from a preface to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* collected by Sengyou we understand that this collaboration started in the year 436.⁶¹⁴ As (Glass 2008[2010], 187) showed, this collaboration probably ended in the year 443, a date proposed by the later catalogue *Gujin yijing tuji*.⁶¹⁵ Sengyou states that Guṇabhadra followed the new patron, the prince Liu Yixuan, to Jingzhou. The historical records about Liu Yixuan in the *Songshu* 宋書 (Book of the [Liu] Song) confirm that the prince was appointed as governor of Jingzhou in the year 444.⁶¹⁶ From this moment on, Guṇabhadra could not rely on Baoyun's help anymore.⁶¹⁷

According to Sengyou, after moving to the new temple, the patron Liu Yixuan asked Guṇabhadra to “produce” or “translate” a version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. Guṇabhadra was ashamed because his Chinese was not good enough. Unexpectedly, Guṇabhadra dreamt that a supernatural being visited him and cut his head off, and that his head was then replaced by one that was able to speak Chinese.⁶¹⁸ Fayong's role as Guṇabhadra's interpreter changes in the account reported by Sengyou and in the biographical notice by Huijiao, collected in the *Gaoseng zhuan*. While Sengyou reports the presence of

⁶¹² The *Gapseng zhuan* adds a *Yi xianzai foming jing* 義現在佛名經 to the list.

⁶¹³ We may suppose that Guṇabhadra was attempting to produce new translations of old manuscripts at hand, or perhaps to use old manuscripts to enliven the practice of translation ceremonies; for a description of the importance of translation ceremonies, see Hureau (2006).

⁶¹⁴ The two monks, with Huiguan as scribe, translated the *Samyuktāgama* and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. (T55, no. 2145, pp. 67b06-08). For the date see: 大宋元嘉十三年歲次玄枵八月十四日 (T55, no. 2145, p. 67b6).

⁶¹⁵ The catalogue reports: 至宋元嘉二十年歲次癸未, 於楊都瓦官寺譯 (T55, no. 2151, p. 362b5-6).

⁶¹⁶ The biography of Liu Yixuan is in *Song Shu* 6,68,1978; he is said to have taken the office of governor of Jingzhou in the year 21 of the Yuanjia era, corresponding to 444 CE.

⁶¹⁷ From the biographical account on Baoyun, we know that the translator retired at the Liuhe shan temple, where he died in the year 449. See T55, no. 2145, p. 113a27-b2.

⁶¹⁸ T55, no. 2145, p. 105c20-26. See also Zürcher and Silk (2013, 561).

Fayong as interpreter even after the miracle had occurred,⁶¹⁹ in the account provided by Huijiao this is only mentioned before the miracle took place.⁶²⁰ We can therefore not say with certainty whether Guṇabhadra was working alone or if he was flanked by any interpreter after moving to Jingzhou. Incidentally, from a preface to the *Ba jixiang* 八吉祥 collected by Sengyou we may note that the name of prince Liu Yixuan, along with his numerous military titles, was recorded as the only lay donor supporting Guṇabhadra's translation in the year 452 – no other monk is mentioned as partner of Guṇabhadra in the translation.⁶²¹

9.3 A parallel passage

A very long passage from the third fascicle of the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) is quoted almost *verbatim*, although with apparently cautious alterations, in T189. This passage coincides with a description of Māra's surrender to the superiority of the Buddha. Radich (2018, 16n52) acknowledged the presence of this parallel passage, and a careful analysis can show us how the text of the *Buddhacarita* was translated and then re-shaped in China.

The text quoted from T192 correspond to the stanzas from 13.55 to 13.72 of the *Buddhacarita*, for which I am quoting the transcription and the translation by Olivelle (2009, 391-399), while the comparative reading *Buddhacarita*/T192 is from Huang (2015, 368-375). The English translation is mine, although I am much indebted to the works by Beal (1883), Wohlgemuth (1916), Wellens (1983), and Willemen (2009a).⁶²²

<i>Buddhacarita</i>	<i>FSXZ T192</i> (T04, no. 192, pp. 0026a05-c20)	<i>Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing</i> T189 (T03, no. 189, pp. 640c28-641a24)
<i>bhayāvahebbhyaḥ pariṣadgaṇebhya yathā yathā naiva munirbibhāya /</i>	如是等魔眾 種種醜類身	是諸魔眾，種種醜身，欲怖菩

⁶¹⁹ From Sengyou's catalogue: 弟子法勇傳譯 (T55, no. 2145, p. 105c27).

⁶²⁰ From Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan*: 即於辛寺出無憂王過去現在因果及一卷無量壽一卷泥洹央掘魔羅相續解脫波羅蜜了義現在佛名經三卷第一義五相略八吉祥等諸經并前所出凡百餘卷常令弟子法勇傳譯度語 (T50, no. 2059, pp. 344b06-10). The life account provided by Sengyou states that there is no information on the last years of the life of Fayong, thus contradicting in part the information provided by Huijiao.

⁶²¹ T55, no. 2145, pp. 068a03-08. In this preface, there is no mention of any assistant.

⁶²² I must thank two anonymous reviewers of the *Journal of Chinese Religions* for correcting the mistakes in my translation.

<p><i>tathā tathā dharmabhṛtām sapatnaḥ śokācca roṣācca sasāda māraḥ // Bc_13.55 //</i> The less the sage was fearful of that troop of fiends, who were attempting to make him afraid, the more Mara, foe of those who uphold dharma, became despondent with sorrow and rage.</p>	<p>作種種惡聲 欲恐怖菩薩 不能動一毛 諸魔悉憂感 In this way these demons, in every kind of numerous monstrous forms, made every kind of hideous sound, desiring to frighten the bodhisattva; they could not move one hair, all the demons⁶²³ were grieved and sorrowful.</p>	<p>薩，終不能動菩薩一毛，魔益憂 愁。 These demons in every kind of hideous form wanted to scare the bodhisattva; in the end they could not move one hair of the bodhisattva, Māra was all the more grieved and sorrowful.</p>
<p><i>bhūtaṃ tataḥ kiṃcid adṛśyarūpaṃ viśiṣṭabhūtaṃ gaganastham eva / dṛṣṭava rṣaye dugdham avairaruṣaṃ mārāṃ babhāṣe mahatā svareṇa // Bc_13.56 //</i> Then, a certain being standing in the sky, high in station, invisible in form, seeing Mara's malice toward the seer and his unprovoked animosity, spoke to him in a loud voice:</p>	<p>空中負多神 隱身出音聲 In the sky a <i>bhūta</i>-spirit,⁶²⁴ hidden, sent out a voice:</p>	<p>空中有神，名曰負多，隱身而 言： There was a spirit in the sky, whose name was <i>bhūta</i>, [it was] hidden and said:</p>
<p><i>moghaṃ śramaṃ nārhasi mārā kartuṃ hiṃsrātmatām utsrja gaccha śarma / naiṣa tvayā kampayituṃ hi śakyo mahāgirir merur ivānilena // Bc_13.57 //</i> Don't toil in vain, Mara, give up your murderous intent and go home; For you can no more shake this man, than a gust of wind the great Meru mount.</p>	<p>我見大牟尼 心無怨恨想 眾魔惡毒心 無怨處生怨 愚癡諸惡魔 徒勞無所為 當捨害害心 寂靜默然住 汝不能口氣 吹動須彌山 I see the great Muni, [his] mind harboring no hateful feelings. All demons had malicious minds, felt hatred toward [one] without hate. You fool demons! [your] futile labor had no consequence! Give up enraged feelings, and remain quiet and silent. You cannot, with your breaths, blow away Mount Sumeru.</p>	<p>我於今者見牟尼尊，心意泰然， 無怨恨想； 是諸魔眾，起於毒心，於無怨 處，而橫生忿。 是癡惡魔，徒自疲勞，永無所得。 今日宜應捨害害心， 汝口乃可吹動須彌山，令其崩倒 I saw the venerable Muni in person, firm in the intentions, without hateful feelings. These demons are malicious [and] toward one without hate, [they] kept on feeling hatred. You foolish demons! Futile in exerting themselves, you will be forever deprived of attainments. It would be better to give up enraged feelings. How can your breath make Mount Sumeru collapse?</p>

⁶²³ When marked as plural, the term *mo* 魔 generically indicates demons; in other instances it is considered the proper name of the demons' king, Māra. Thus, in this case T189, by removing the plural marker, is closer in meaning to the Sanskrit.

⁶²⁴ The term *bhūtaṃ* "being" is changed into a proper name *futuo* 負多 in T192; thus, T189 glosses the phonetic transcription as a proper name (名曰負多).

<p><i>apy uṣṇabhāvaṃ jvalanaḥ prajahyād āpo dravatvaṃ prathivī sthīratvaṃ / anekakalpācītapuṇyakarmā na tv eva jahyād vyavasāyam eṣaḥ // Bc_13.58 //</i></p> <p>Fire may well give up its fiery nature, water its fluidity, earth its stability, But this man will not give up his resolve, having piled up merit over countless eons.</p>	<p>火冷水熾然 地性平軟濡 不能壞菩薩 歷劫修善果 Fire cools down, water burns fiercely, the Earth becomes even and soft like moisture, One cannot harm the bodhisattva, through the <i>kalpas</i> he practiced for good merits.</p>	<p>火可令冷；水可令熱；地性堅強可令柔軟； 汝不能壞菩薩歷劫修習善果， Fire may become cold, water may get warm, sturdy soil may get soft, You cannot harm the bodhisattva, through the <i>kalpas</i> he practiced for good merits.</p>
<p><i>yo niścayo hyasya parākramaś ca tejaś ca yad yā ca dayā prajāsu / aprāpya notthāsyati tattvaṃ eṣa tamāṃsy ahatv eva sahasraraśmiḥ // Bc_13.59 //</i></p> <p>For his resolve, valor, and energy, and his compassion for creatures are such That he'll not rise without grasping the truth, as the sun without dispelling the dark.</p>	<p>菩薩正思惟 精進勤方便 淨智慧光明 慈悲於一切 此四妙功德 無能中斷截 而為作留難 不成正覺道 如日千光明 必除世間闇 The bodhisattva has right consideration, practices with dedication, radiates of pure knowledge, [his] compassion is universal; these four marvelous virtues cannot be cut in halves, and [one cannot] put obstacles to the accomplishment of the way to awakening; [he is] like a thousand-rayed sun that will dispel the darkness of the world.</p>	<p>正思惟定，精勤方便， 淨智慧光， 此四功德，無能斷截； 為作留難，不成正覺，如千日照必能除暗 Right consideration is stable, means exerted skillfully, the light of knowledge is pure. These four virtues cannot be cut off, nor obstacle put not to achieve awakening, like a thousand-rayed sun shines and will be able to dispel darkness.</p>
<p><i>kāṣṭhaṃ hi mathnan labhate hutāśaṃ bhūmiṃ khaṇan vindati cāpi toyam / nirbandhinaḥ kiṃ cana nasty asādhyam nyāyena yuktaṃ ca kṛtaṃ ca sarvaṃ // Bc_13.60 //</i></p> <p>For one obtains fire by rubbing the wood, and one finds water by digging the earth; There is nothing that is impossible for the man who is persistent; Everything can be accomplished, when it is done the proper way.</p>	<p>鑽木而得火 掘地而得水 精勤正方便 無求而不獲 Rub logs to get fire, dig the soil to get water - In practicing with the right dedication, there is nothing that he will not achieve through [his] efforts.</p>	<p>鑽木得火，穿地得水，精勤方便，無求不得。 Rub logs to get fire, pierce the soil to get water, practice with dedication [and] there is nothing one cannot obtain through effort.</p>

<p><i>tal lokam āṛta karuṇāyamāno rogeṣu rāgādiṣu vartamānam / mahābhiṣaṅga nārhati vighnam eṣa jñānaṣadhārtha parikhidyamānaḥ // Bc_13.61 //</i></p> <p>In his compassion for this anguished world, / mired in diseases such as passion, As he toils to find the medicine of knowledge, / it's not proper to hinder this great physician.</p>	<p>世間無救護 中貪患癡毒 哀愍眾生故 求智慧良藥 為世除苦患 汝云何惱亂</p> <p>The world has no relief, [caught] among the poison of desire, anger and foolishness, Feeling pity for all beings, [he] seeks the medicine of knowledge to dispel suffering from the world – how can you disturb [him]?</p>	<p>世間眾生，沒於三毒，無有救者，菩薩慈悲，求智慧藥，為世除患。汝今云何而惱亂之？</p> <p>All the beings in the world plunge in the three poisons, have no savior, the bodhisattva is compassionate and is seeking the medicine of knowledge to dispel the sufferance of the world. How can you disturb him in this moment?</p>
<p><i>hr̥te ca loke bahubhiḥ kumārgaiḥ sanmārgam anvicchati yaḥ śrameṇa / sa daiśikaḥ kṣobhayituṃ na yuktaṃ sudeśikaḥ sārtha iva pranaṣṭe // Bc_13.62 //</i></p> <p>When the world is swept along crooked paths, he toils in search of the right path; So, it's no more right to harass that guide than to harass a skilled navigator while the caravan is lost.</p>	<p>世間諸癡惑 悉皆著邪徑 菩薩習正路 欲引導眾生 惱亂世尊師 是則大不可 如大曠野中 欺誑商人導</p> <p>All the ignorant in the world are attached to evil tracks, The bodhisattva practices the right way wishing to lead all the beings; Disturbing the venerable master of the world, it is indeed something not to be done! Like being in a vast wilderness and dare to deceive the guide of a caravan.</p>	<p>世間眾生，癡惑無智，悉著邪見；今設法眼，修習正路，欲導眾生。汝今云何惱亂導師？是則不可。譬如在於曠野之中，而欲欺誑商人導師。</p> <p>All the people in the world are ignorant [and] have no wisdom, they are attached to wrong perceptions. Today the eyes of dharma are provided [for them], so that they can practice on the right path with the wish to lead all beings. How can you disturb the venerable master now? It is indeed something not to be done. Just like being in the middle of a vast wilderness and daring to disturb the master guide of a caravan.</p>
<p><i>sattveṣu naṣṭeṣu mahāndhakāre jñānapradīpaḥ kriyamāṇa eṣaḥ / āryasya nirvāpayituṃ na sādhu prajvālyamānas tamaśīva dīpaḥ // Bc_13.63 //</i></p> <p>When creatures are lost in the great darkness, / this man is being made a lamp of wisdom; / It's no more right for you, a gentleman, / to extinguish it, than to extinguish a lamp set up to shine in the darkness.</p>	<p>眾生墮大冥 莫知所至處 為燃智慧燈 云何欲令滅</p> <p>All the beings are plunging in great darkness, no one knows the destination to be reached; [he will] let the lamp of wisdom shine, why would you want to extinguish it?</p>	<p>眾生墮大黑暗之中，茫然不知所止之處，菩薩為然大智慧燈。汝今云何欲吹令滅？</p> <p>All the beings are plunging among great darkness, at a loss, they do not know a place where to stop. The bodhisattva will burn the lamp of great wisdom, how would you desire to blow and extinguish it?</p>

<p><i>dṛṣṭvā ca saṃsāramaye mahaughe magṇam jagat pāram avindamānam / yaś cedam uttārayitum pravṛttaḥ kaś cintayet tasya tu pāpam āryaḥ // Bc_13.64 //</i></p> <p>Seeing the world plunged in the great flood of samsara and unable to find the farther shore, / This man is working to ferry that world across; / what gentleman would entertain wicked thoughts against him?</p>	<p>眾生悉漂沒 生死之大海 為脩智慧舟 云何欲令沒</p> <p>All the beings are floating and sinking in the ocean of <i>saṃsāra</i>, [he will] build the boat of wisdom, how would you want to let [them] sink?</p>	<p>眾生今者沒生死海， 菩薩為修智慧寶船。 汝今云何欲令沈溺？</p> <p>All the beings are now sinking in the sea of <i>saṃsāra</i>, The bodhisattva is building the precious boat of wisdom, How would you want to let [them] sink in the water?</p>
<p><i>kṣamāśipho dhairyavigāḍhamūlaś cāritrapuṣpaḥ smṛtibuddhiśākaḥ / jñānadrumo dharmaphalapradātā notpātanaṃ hy arhati vardhamānaḥ // Bc_13.65 //</i></p> <p>For its not proper to cut down this flourishing tree of knowledge, That provides the fruits of dharma, whose fibers are patience, whose deep roots are resolve, whose flowers are good conduct, And whose boughs are mindfulness and wisdom.</p>	<p>忍辱為法芽 固志為法根 律儀戒為地 覺正為枝幹 智慧之大樹 無上法為菓 蔭護諸眾生 云何而欲伐</p> <p>Enduring disgrace is for letting the <i>dharma</i> sprout, a firm will is like letting the <i>dharma</i> take root; Practicing the vows of discipline is the soil, the right awakening is like branches and trunk, wisdom is like a big tree, the insuperable <i>dharma</i> is the fruit, The shade will protect all beings – how can you wish to fight it?</p>	<p>忍辱為牙[芽]，堅固為根，無上大法以為大果。汝今云何而欲攻伐？</p> <p>Enduring disgrace is like the sprout, strength is the root, the insuperable <i>dharma</i> is the great fruit. How can you wish to fight it now?</p>
<p><i>baddhām dṛḍhaiś cetasi mohapāśair yasya prajāṃ mokṣayitum manīṣā / tasmin jighāṃsā tava nopapannā śrānte jagadbandhanamokṣahetoḥ // Bc_13.66 //</i></p> <p>His intent is to free creatures, whose minds are bound tight by the bonds of delusion; It behooves you not to seek to kill him who labors to free the world from its bonds.</p>	<p>貪恚癡枷鎖 輓縛於眾生 長劫修苦行 為解眾生縛</p> <p>Greed, anger, ignorance are cangue and chains ensnaring all the beings, After long <i>kalpas</i> of practice of austerities, [he] will free the word from bondage.</p>	<p>貪恚癡鎖，縛諸眾生， 菩薩苦行，欲為解之</p> <p>Greed, anger and ignorance are like a lock, ensnaring all beings, The bodhisattva practiced austerities desiring liberation from it.</p>

<p><i>bodhāya karmāṇi hi yāny anena kṛtāni teṣāṃ niyato 'dya kālah / sthāne tathāsminn upaviṣṭa eṣa yathaiva pūrve munayas tathaiva // Bc_13.67 //</i></p> <p>For today is the time when the deeds he has done to obtain Awakening will bear fruit; At this spot he remains in this manner seated, in the same way as sages of the past.</p>	<p>決定成於今 於此正基坐 如過去諸佛 堅堅金剛臺[際]</p> <p>[He is] resolved to accomplishment now, sitting in this very appropriate place, Like all the Buddhas of the past, he is firm in adamant stage.⁶²⁵</p>	<p>今日決定於此樹下，結加趺坐，成無上道。此地乃是過去諸佛金剛之座</p> <p>Today he resolved, under this tree, sitting with crossed legs, to achieve the insuperable path. On this earth indeed is the adamant seat of the Buddhas of the past.</p>
<p><i>eṣa hi nābhir vasudhātalasya kṛtsnena yuktā paramēṇa dhāmnā / bhūmer ato 'nyo 'sti hi na pradeśo vegaṃ samādher viśaheta yo 'sya // Bc_13.68 //</i></p> <p>For this is the navel of the earth's surface, filled with the highest force in its fullness; There is no other place on earth, therefore, that can bear the intensity of trance.</p>	<p>諸方悉輕動 惟此地安隱 能堪受妙定 非汝所能壞</p> <p>In all the places everything is moving, only this spot is tranquil; it can be suitable to support the marvelous concentration [that] will not be destroyed by you.</p>	<p>餘方悉轉，斯處不動， 堪受妙定，非汝所摧。</p> <p>The other places all revolves, this spot is not moving, It can support the marvelous concentration that will not be scattered by you.</p>
<p><i>tanmā kṛthā śokam upehi sāntiṃ mā bhūn mahimnā tava mārā mānaḥ / viśrambhituṃ na kṣamam adhruvā śrīś cale pade vismayam abhyupaiṣi // Bc_13.69 //</i></p> <p>So, do not be sad, calm yourself, Mara, / do not become proud because of your might;/ Sovereign power is fickle, don't trust in it; you are puffed up as your base is reeling.</p>	<p>但當輕下心 除諸憍慢意 應修智識想 忍辱而奉事</p> <p>So now calm your mind, remove all the arrogant intentions. [You] must train in the wish for knowledge, refrain from abuse and wait upon [him].</p>	<p>汝今宜應生欣慶心，息憍慢意，修知識想，而奉事之。</p> <p>Now you should conveniently foster a grateful mind, cease the arrogant intentions, train in the wish for knowledge and wait upon [him].</p>

⁶²⁵ *Jingang tai* 金剛臺[際] or “adamantine stage” is not present in the current edition of the Sanskrit text. This expression is transformed in T189 to *jingang zhi zuo* 金剛之座. While the Sanskrit text has *munayas* “sages” from the past, the translation of the *Buddhacarita* presents us with “Buddhas” of the past.

<p><i>tataḥ sa saṃśrutya ca tasya tad vaco mahāmuneḥ prekṣya ca niṣprakampatām / jagāma māro vimano hatodyamaḥ śarair jagac cetasi yair vihanyate //</i> Bc_13.70 //</p> <p>After he listened to those words of his, / and saw that the great sage couldn't be shaken, then Mara went away broken-hearted, his efforts struck down by the same arrows with which the world is smitten in the heart.</p>	<p>魔聞空中聲 見菩薩安靜 慚愧離憍慢 復道還天上</p> <p>Māra heard the voice from the sky and saw the bodhisattva's tranquility, shamefully abandoned [his] arrogance and resorted to the path to return to the sky.</p>	<p>「是時魔王，聞空中聲，又見菩薩恬然不異，魔心慚愧，捨離憍慢，即便復道，還歸天宮。</p> <p>Then the king Māra heard the voice from the sky, again [he] saw the bodhisattva's unmovable calm - Māra was ashamed, [he] abandoned [his] arrogance and promptly resorted to the path leading back to the celestial palace.</p>
<p><i>gatapraharṣā viphalīkṛtaśramā praviḍḍhapāṣāṇakaḍaṅgaradrumā / diśaḥ pradudrāva tato 'sya sā camūr hatāśray eva dviṣatā dviṣaccamūḥ //</i> Bc_13.71 //</p> <p>Then his troops fled in every direction, / their euphoria gone, their toil made fruitless, / the rocks, logs, and trees all scattered around, like enemy troops when their enemy has killed their chief.</p>	<p>魔眾悉憂感 崩潰失威武 鬪戰諸器仗 縱橫棄林野 如人殺怨主 怨黨悉摧碎</p> <p>Māra's crew was in distress and crumbling, having lost its might. The weapons of the battle were abandoned here and there in the wild forest, the enemies' party was all in disarray, as if someone had killed the enemy leader.</p>	<p>群魔憂感，悉皆崩散，情意沮悴，無復威武，諸鬪戰具，縱橫林野。</p> <p>The army of Māra in distress, all collapsed and dispersed, [its] mood and intentions gloomy and sad, did not recover [its] power, all the weapons and tools [left] here and there in the wild forest.</p>

<p><i>dravati saparipakṣe nirjite puṣpaketau jayati jītaśke nīrajaśke maharṣau / yuvatir iva sahāṣā dyauś cakāṣe sacandrā surabhi ca jalagarbhaṃ puṣpavarṣaṃ papāta // Bc_13.72 //</i></p> <p>As the flower-bannered one fled defeated along with his cohorts, passion-free, the great seer stood victorious and dispelling darkness, the sky sparkled with the moon, like a girl with a smile, and a shower of flowers fell fragrant and water-filled.</p>	<p>眾魔既退散 菩薩心虛靜 日光倍增明 塵霧悉除滅 月明眾星朗 無復諸闇障 空中雨天花 以供養菩薩</p> <p>All the Māras finally recoiled, the mind of the bodhisattva was pure and calm; The light of the sun doubled in brightness, and fog and mist disappeared completely. The brightness of the moon and of all the stars was shining, darkness was no more. The sky rained celestial flowers to pay homage to the bodhisattva.</p>	<p>當於惡魔退散之時，菩薩心淨，湛然不動。天無烟霧，風不搖條；落日停光，倍更明盛；澄月映徹，眾星燦朗；幽隱暗暝，無復障礙；虛空諸天雨妙花香，作眾伎樂，供養菩薩。</p> <p>When all the hateful Māras recoiled, the mind of the bodhisattva was pure, naturally unmovable. No smoke or fog in the sky, no wind blowing, the setting sun stopped and shone with double luminosity; the rising moon lighted up, all the stars were bright, obscurity and darkness were no more of impediment; from the sky all the celestial deities poured a rain of marvelous fragrant flowers, making music and dances to pay homage to the bodhisattva.⁶²⁶</p>
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From the analysis of this passage we see that the similarity between T192 and T189 is quite evident.

Liao Guey-lan (2011) pointed out the paucity of direct speech markers in T192, whose narrative is often blurred by the absence of deictic expressions. The editors of T189 probably acknowledged this shortcoming and in several cases adjusted the text of T192 for the sake of clarity and coherence: proper names are marked (*ming yue Fuduo* 名曰負多); the subject is clearly stated (as in the case of 云何欲令滅 [T192], which became 汝今云何欲吹令滅 [T189]); conjunctions are added (compare 不能動一毛 [T192] to 終不能動菩薩一毛 [T189],⁶²⁷ and also 欺誑商人導[T192] to 而欲欺誑商人導師 [T189]); similes are clarified (as in the case of 如大曠野中 [T192], changed into 譬如在於曠野之中 [T189]). Modal verbs are added to clarify the meaning of T192, producing a commentary of the text as in the case of the translation of *Bc* 13.58, where 火冷水熾然 地性平軟濡 (T192) is transformed into 火可令冷; 水可令熱, 地性堅強可令柔軟 (T189). In this case T189 explains the meaning of T192, producing a text which is closer in meaning to the Sanskrit. This may be a sign that the author of the T189 could sense the adynaton present in the Sanskrit text, which was approximated in the translation (T192) by the complete absence of modal verbs.

⁶²⁶ The flowers falling from the sky became *tianhua* 天花 “celestial flowers” in Baoyun’s translation; T189 intended the character *tian* 天 as a reference to celestial deities.

⁶²⁷ The addition of the determiner *pusa* 菩薩 is also noticeable.

New elements are added to define space or time, as in the case of 決定成於今 (T192), expanded into 今日決定於此樹下 (T189) – there is no mention of a tree (此樹下, T189) in *Bc* 13.67 or in the corresponding translation.

In *Bc* 13.70 we see the demon-king Māra going away dejected (*jagāma māro vimano*). In the current edition of the Sanskrit poem we do not have any reference to the place to which Māra retired; while T192 contains a reference to Māra returning to the sky (復道還天上), the account in T189 further elaborates this point by depicting Māra as going back to a celestial palace (即便復道, 還歸天宮). Some elements are added in T189 that are absent from the *Buddhacarita* and T192 – see for example 心意泰然 “firm in the intentions” and 成無上道 “to achieve the insuperable path” (alongside the translation of *Bc* 13.57 and *Bc* 13.67, respectively).⁶²⁸

Similar appellatives are permuted, such as *damouni* 大牟尼 “great *muni*”, substituted with *mouni zun* 牟尼尊 “venerable muni”; more specific terms are employed in lieu of general ones, for example the verb *jue* 掘 “dig”, substituted with *chuan* 穿 “pierce through”.

In several cases T189 is more synthetic than T192. The authors of T189 “smoothened” the text by eliminating redundant plural markers, as in 種種醜類身(T192/*Bc* 13.55), which became 種種醜身 (T189).⁶²⁹ There are many cases of five-character verses abbreviated into four-character sentences – for example, 菩薩正思惟, 精進勤方便 (T192) became 正思惟定, 精勤方便 (T189); instances of two verses merged into one are less frequent (眾生悉漂沒, 生死之大海 [T192] condensed to 眾生今者沒生死海[T189]). Specific concepts may be summarized as well, as in the case of 貪恚癡毒 (T192), changed into 三毒 (T189).

In the passage on Māra’s defeat, we also observe two interesting cases of abridging. The first is the verse 寂靜默然住 (T192). This reference to silence (寂靜默) is not present in the Sanskrit source,⁶³⁰

⁶²⁸ The expression 成無上道 is repeated three times in T189, and in one case it seems that a whole passage is repeated twice. Compare “過去諸佛, 以何為座, 成無上道? 即便自知以草為座” (T3, no. 189, p. 639c4-5) to “成無上道. 此地乃是過去諸佛金剛之座” (T3, no. 189, p. 641a21-22). Repetition is not an uncommon device in Buddhist doctrinal texts, but it is much rarer in the case of poetic narratives like the *Buddhacarita* – the lack of refrain is evident in T192 as well.

⁶²⁹ A similar intervention led to some ambiguity in the case of 諸魔悉憂惑 (T192) and 魔益憂愁(T189) - in T192, *mo* 魔 is marked as plural and clearly refers to the “demons”; in T189 the plural marker is removed and the name *mo* seems to be addressing the king, Māra. In this peculiar case the meaning in T189 is closer to the Sanskrit source (*śokācca roṣācca sasāda māraḥ*, “Māra became despondent with sorrow and rage”) than is T192.

⁶³⁰ While the *Buddhacarita* contains no more than a handful of references to “silence”, the character *ji* 寂 “silent” appears thirty-three times in the first fourteen chapters of the translation (T192). The reasons for this accretion should be further investigated.

and is also missing in T189. Second, two verses from T192 are not reported in T189 – it is the case of 如人殺怨主 怨黨悉摧碎 (T192), a translation of *Bc* 13.71, *camūr hatāśray eva dviṣatā dviṣaccamūḥ* “like enemy troops when their enemy has killed their chief”.⁶³¹

9.4 On Māra’s sisters *Meghā and *Kālī

The contribution of the Indian monk Guṇabhadra to the composition of T189 may be supported by Radich’s (2018, 23) conclusion that “the authors [of T189] had direct access to Indic traditions and probably texts in some form”. However, some of the examples proposed by Radich to prove this point are more conveniently explained by the use of Chinese sources.

Radich (2018, 20) uses an apparent misinterpretation in T189 as proof that the text was partly based on some Indian source. Apparently, a description of Māra’s sister as *meghakālī* “black as a cloud”, derived from stanza 13.49 of the *Buddhacarita*, is changed in T189 into two proper names attributed to two sisters of the demon king Māra. Verse 13.49 from the *Buddhacarita* is the following:

*strī meghakālī tu kapālahastā kartum maharṣeḥ kila cittamoham /
babhrāma tatrāniyataṃ na tasthau calātmano buddhir ivāgameṣu // Bc_13.49 //*

A woman, black as a cloud and carrying a skull, in order to seduce the mind of that great seer, flitted about there unrestrained and did not halt, like a fickle man’s mind amidst scriptural texts (Olivelle 2009, 389)

The parallel passage in T189 by Guṇabhadra is as follows:

魔有姊妹，一名彌伽，二名迦利，各各以手執髑髏器，在菩薩前作諸異狀，惱亂菩薩

Māra had two sisters, one named Meghā, the other named Kālī. They both had a skull cup in their hands, standing in front of the Bodhisattva and taking many different forms, trying to provoke him.⁶³²

Radich is correct in pointing out this case as a misinterpretation –⁶³³ however, the fact that the authors were looking to an Indic text is much doubtful. In fact, in Baoyun’s translation of the

⁶³¹ Guṇabhadra was living in a monastery in Jingzhou under the patronage of the prince Liu Yixuan, who tried to revolt against the emperor Wen but was defeated and forced to suicide; see Cutter (2014, 36-54). Initially, Guṇabhadra supported Liu Yixuan and left the court with him; after the rebellion, emperor Xiaowu forgave Guṇabhadra for having supported his opponent’s party; see Robert Shih (1968, 152-153). Considering the historical scenario in which the composition of T189 probably took place, this reference to the assassination of the chief of the enemies’ army may have been intentionally skipped.

⁶³² T3, no. 189, pp. 640c24-26.

⁶³³ Radich (2018, 19-20) explains: “It seems that the authors of T189 misread the adjectival *meghakālī* as a pair of names, but did not notice that their interpretation would have required the word to be a dvandva, in the dual (if they were indeed translating from Skt., and not from a Prakrit, in which case this would be moot); and then introduced the idea

Buddhacarita (T192), we find a strikingly similar transcription of the name *meghakālī*, which was not taken as a *karmadhāraya* compound and translated as “black as a cloud”, but rather changed into the transcription of a proper name – the wording is very similar to the one in T189:

魔王有姊妹	名彌伽迦利
手執髑髏器	在於菩薩前
作種種異儀	姪惑亂菩薩

The king Māra had a sister named Meghakālī

[her] hand holding a skull, staying in front of the bodhisattva

Making all sorts of different poses and obscenities [trying] to delude and confuse the bodhisattva.⁶³⁴

This case of transcription was already clear to Johnston (1936, 197n49). It is not clear whether the term *meghakālī* can be considered to be a proper name of a female demon,⁶³⁵ or why Baoyun chose to translate *strī* “woman” as *zimei* 姊妹 “sister[s]” – we should point out that throughout T192 plural forms are marked in almost all occurrences, often using multiple plural markers, while in this case we find no plural marks and a collective noun. Both Beal (1883, 153) and Willemen (2009a, 96), however, chose to translate it as singular.⁶³⁶ A consistent difference between the manuscript that the translators of T192 were using and the modern critical edition of the *Buddhacarita* is also possible.

However, as it appears clearly from this example, the authors of T189 were not translating directly from an Indian text in this case.⁶³⁷

The most probable explanation is that the compilers of the T189 saw the term *zimei* 姊妹 as a collective noun. According to Radich (2018, 20), the name “Kālī” for Māra’s sister was well-known.⁶³⁸ The fact that T189 changes *Migajiali* 彌伽迦利 into two proper names might be surprising; however,

that Māra had two sisters to make sense of their reading. At the same time, however, this very mistake seems to indicate that the authors must indeed have been looking at an Indic text, and therefore adds to the impression that the text cannot have been prepared purely on the basis of Chinese sources.”

⁶³⁴ T4, no. 192, pp. 26a26-28. The ineffectiveness of the sister’s (or sisters’) attack on the Buddha is described in identical terms in the two accounts; compare: 終不能動菩薩一毛, 魔益憂愁 (T3, no. 189, pp. 640c27-28) and 不能動一毛, 諸魔悉憂惑 (T4, no. 192, p. 26b02).

⁶³⁵ The Monier-Williams Dictionary reports the *Buddhacarita* as the only source for this interpretation.

⁶³⁶ Beal (1883, 153) reads “Now Mara had an aunt-attendant, whose name was Ma-kia-ka-li” while Willemen (2009, 96) translates “King Māra had an elder sister, called Meghakālī”. In neither case is this choice justified.

⁶³⁷ On the assumption that Guṇabhadra authored T189, much probably with the help of some Chinese collaborator, then the question arising is how could Guṇabhadra, apparently a converted brahmin, make such a mistake in translating from an Indian source? It is easier to suppose that the author was not consulting an Indian text, but paraphrasing a Chinese source. Incidentally, we may note that while the text of the *Buddhacarita* is divided in stanzas, the text of the *Fo suoxing zan* is only divided in chapters; moreover, to each Sanskrit stanza corresponds a different number of verses in Chinese. This means that the comparison between specific passages in the *Buddhacarita* and the corresponding Chinese translation cannot be done without much effort and a considerable knowledge of Sanskrit and Chinese. This work was accomplished for the first fourteen chapters by Huang Baosheng (2015).

⁶³⁸ See Bautze-Picon (2010) for an account of some representations of Kālī in Buddhist iconography in India.

thanks this editing at least one of the supposed two sisters received the name Kālī, thus partly restoring the traditional account. The authors of T189 apparently trusted T192 as a reliable source, considering it the actual translation of Āśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, although they did not have any original Indian document with which to compare it and check for mistakes or misinterpretations. Thus, they preferred to get along with the idea that there were two sisters.⁶³⁹

Through this mistake Meghā and Kālī entered the scene, and we can thus admire the two sisters, holding a skull, represented on a late 13th-century Japanese scroll representing the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁶⁴⁰ It is interesting to point out how Āśvaghoṣa's poetic genius indirectly influenced East Asian Buddhist art for centuries.

As we have seen, Radich (2018) may be right in thinking that the authors of T189 were using Indian sources as well as Chinese translations, but the example of Māra's sisters does not support this idea.⁶⁴¹ In fact, this case is consistent with other two examples used by Radich (2018, 19-20) to support the claim that the authors were using Chinese sources – as the cases of Trapuṣa and Bhallika⁶⁴² and of Arāḍa Kālāma.⁶⁴³

Another peculiar case of a proper name shared by the two texts is the name of “the best of snakes”, Kāla, present in *Bc* 12,116-118. The mighty animal is awakened by the sound of the prince's feet, and utters a eulogy to praise him and to predict his future achievement.⁶⁴⁴ The name of “the best of snakes”

⁶³⁹ Similar cases of misinterpretations of Indian names are not infrequent in T192; besides, several Chinese ideas are added in the translation. This might indicate that the translator was Chinese, meaning in turn that Baoyun was the most probable author. It is indeed true that translations were the outcome of a collective effort by Indian and Chinese monks, but whereas this might justify the presence of Chinese concepts and ideas, it does not explain misinterpretations of the Sanskrit text.

⁶⁴⁰ Accession Number 2015.300.7. On the traditional representation of the T189 in Japan and its possible antecedents, see Lee (1993, 351).

⁶⁴¹ The tendency by T189 to note proper names and make them more explicit is found also in other sections of the text, such as in the very similar case of the *bhūta*-spirit talking to Māra from the sky (空中負多神 “A *fuduo* spirit in the sky” that became 空中有神, 名曰負多 “there was a spirit in the sky whose name was *fuduo*) from *Bc* 13.56.

⁶⁴² Radich (2018, 19-20) proposes the name 多謂娑[v.l.婆]跋利村 “Trapuṣabhallika” – an *hapax legomenon*, intended as the proper name of a village – as a proof that the authors of T189 were ill informed on Indian languages. A different reading may be the “village of Trapuṣa and Bhallika”, the proper names of the two merchants being the determiner of *cun* 村. There is, however, a village named Bhadrīka in the twenty-first chapter of T192 (跋提村), see also Willemen (2009, 152).

⁶⁴³ Radich (2018, 18) noted that name of the sage Arāḍa Kālāma (阿羅邏加[v.l. 迦]蘭) is changed in two different proper names in T189, as it the case of Māra's sisters. This incongruence may be related to the filter of T192, in which the proper name and family name of the sage are split in two different verses; see, for example: “大仙阿羅藍 迦藍玄族子” (T4, no. 192, p. 22b15-16); it is plausible to interpret as “the great sage Arāḍa [and] the disciple of the *gotra* of Kālāma”. As Radich (2018, 18) noticed, the *bodhisattva* is advised to go north to meet Arāḍa, an information that appears also in T192 in the translation of *Bc* 7.41, on which see Olivelle (2008, 453) and Huang (2015, 185). However, the characters used for the phonetic renderings of these two names are different in T189 and T192.

⁶⁴⁴ See Olivelle (2008, 368-371).

is strangely translated in the T192 as *manglong* 盲龍 “blind dragon”,⁶⁴⁵ although some edition of the Canon has *heilong* 黑龍 “black dragon”. This second translation might be closer to the Sanskrit, since *kāla* also means “black”. The following verse, referring to the snake/dragon awakening at hearing Siddhārtha’s footsteps, reads *huanxi mu kaiming* 歡喜目開明 “happily [his] eyes opened to the light”. This verse might have led later copyists or editors of T192 to think that the dragon was in fact *mang* 盲 “blind” and thus he miraculously opened his eyes. The name *manglong* 盲龍 was uncritically adopted in T189; we are quite certain that this passage is quoted directly from T192 since the eulogies uttered by Kāla are almost identical in the two texts.⁶⁴⁶

9.5 The narrative frame of T189

After these examples of the influence of T192 on T189 it is easier to infer that the “*Buddhacarita*-structure” of this narrative was filtered through the Chinese translation by Baoyun. For a list of similarities between the plot of the *Buddhacarita* and the account in T189 and a description of the narrative frame in T189 we may refer to Radich (2018, 39-41). The first and second fascicles of T189 derive their content from T192 in a very cautious way. The similarities are there in content and structure, but almost no literal quotation can be spotted at a glance: this state of affairs might easily trick the readers and make them think they are dealing with the translation of some other *Buddhacarita*-like text. The elegant structure of the *Buddhacarita* is here enriched with quotations from other texts – in fact T189 transforms T192 into a Mahāyānic account, more similar to the *Lalitavistara*.

T189, however, was issued as a translation – the important borrowing of content and structure from T192 was intentionally concealed. There were different fashions of constructing Buddhist texts in Medieval China. Funayama (2006, 42-43) offered some examples in which a prologue and an epilogue were added to texts produced in China to try to camouflage the works as translations. The case of T189 is quite similar: the story of the *Buddhacarita* is encapsulated in a Buddha-Dīpaṃkara narrative frame. The habit of adding a narrative frame to old stories was widespread in India and served numerous purposes;⁶⁴⁷ according to Matsumura’s (2012) interpretation, the Dīpaṃkara story is usually meant to justify Siddhārtha’s marriage and his paternity. In this case, however, the Dīpaṃkara prologue and

⁶⁴⁵ This appears to be the earliest occurrence of this term apart from a similar case in Faxian’s travelogue.

⁶⁴⁶ Compare T4, no. 192, pp. 24c26-a06 and T3, no. 189, pp. 639b20-c04.

⁶⁴⁷ See Hildebrandt (2001, 92-104).

epilogue were also quite successful in masquerading the text as a translation of an authentic Indian source.⁶⁴⁸

Given its function (to camouflage T189 into the translation of a previously untranslated source) and its peculiarities (presence of translations of proper names, *hapax legomena*), the narrative frame is the section of T189 more likely to contain direct references to Indic sources. Further research on the structure of the Dīpaṃkara-narrative frame may clarify if it was at least partially based on previously untranslated material;⁶⁴⁹ an analysis of peculiar transcriptions may individuate internal evidence of the actual intervention of Guṇabhadra in the compilation of T189.

Radich (2018, 23) noticed that in the Dīpaṃkara narrative from T189, the Buddha Dīpaṃkara is addressed as Puguang 普光.⁶⁵⁰ Radich also noticed the presence of the ambiguous name of the

⁶⁴⁸ The narrative involving the Buddha Dīpaṃkara 普光 and the bodhisattva Sumati's father, king Dengzhao 燈照王, is present in the Fangshan canon (F02n0069) as an independent text, one fascicle in length, and is attributed to Guṇabhadra. On the Fangshan canon, see Lancaster (1989). It might be improper to refer to this text as "fascicle" since the Fangshan canon is carved in stone.

⁶⁴⁹ A starting point to individuate original parts in the Dīpaṃkara's narrative frame may be the analysis provided by Matsumura (2012).

⁶⁵⁰ The name Puguang rulai 普光如來 for Tathāgata Dīpaṃkara is unusual, but the name *Puguang rulai* in itself is not rare; however, it is important to note the concomitant presence of the expression *wuliang asengzhi qie* 無量阿僧祇劫, translation of **aprameyāsamkhyeya kalpān*, "immeasurable, uncountable kalpas". There is only one other text sharing these two expressions in same context, the *Shengman shizi hou yicheng da fangbian fanguang jing* 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方廣經 or **Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādasūtra* (T353). This translation is attributed to Guṇabhadra and Baoyun in a detailed preface written by Huiguan and collected in Sengyou's catalogue. The preface can be found at T55, no. 2145, p. 67a14-b9, under the shortened title of *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經. The preface includes references to Guṇabhadra as holder of the text, with Baoyun acting as translator and Huiguan as scribe. The translation was begun and completed in the year 436.

The narrative frame in both T189 and T353 focuses on a prophecy; although addressed to different recipients, these prophecies share a very similar wording:

當復供養無量阿僧祇佛，[...] 劫當得作佛，號普光如來、應、正遍知 (T12, no. 353, p. 217b15-16)

You will also make offerings to the immeasurable numbers of buddhas for more than twenty thousand immeasurable periods of time. Then you (Śrīmālā) will become the buddha named Universal Light (Samantaprabha), the Tathāgata, Arhat, Perfectly Enlightened One (Paul and McRae [2004, 11]).

過無量阿僧祇劫，當得成佛，號釋迦牟尼如來、應供、正遍知... (T3, no. 189, p. 622b12-14)

In thousand immeasurable periods of time you will obtain Buddhahood, will be named Śākyamuni, the Thatāgata, Perfectly Enlightened One...

A similar description of the state of Buddhahood is shared by a wide range of texts, making us question the originality of T353 on this point. T353 is a *tathāgatagarbha* text promoting the *ekāyana* doctrine. Huiguan was a promoter of the *ekāyana* doctrine in China. Further research may clarify Huiguan's role in the translation of T353. There is also a commentary on this text listed as C97, no. 1812, accessible through the CBETA database.

bodhisattva's father, Dengzhao wang 燈照王, a king “shining as a lamp” and the *hapax legomenon* 提播婆底 for *Dipāvātī, the name of the city where the narrative frame is set. The narrative frame also contains a very peculiar list of kings, princes and kingdoms.⁶⁵¹ The narrative about Dīpaṃkara is absent from the *Buddhacarita* and consequentially there is no mention of Dīpaṃkara in T192. As for Dengzhao wang 燈照王, the origin of this strange translation might be traced back to the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192), in the translation of *Bc* 9.71.

*evaṃvidhā dharmayaśahpradīptā vanāni hitvā bhavanāny atīyuh /
tasmān na doṣo 'sti grhaṃ prayātuṃ tapovanād dharmanimittam eva // Bc_9.71 //*

People like these, who blazed with the fame of dharma, / left the forest and returned to their homes; / When it's for dharma's sake, therefore, it is not wrong to return home from the ascetic grove. (Olivelle 2009, 269).

如是等先勝， 正法善名稱，
悉還王領國， 如燈照世間。
是故捨山林， 正法化非過。

Even more excellent ones like these were famous for being apt at the right dharma,
[But] they all returned to be kings, leading their countries like lamps shining on the world.
Thus abandoning the forest does not mean trespassing the right dharma.⁶⁵²

It seems that the verse 如燈照世間 was interpreted by the compilers of T189 as “like in the world [era] of Dengzhao 燈照”, or “like Dengzhao 燈照 [leads] the world”; in fact, T189 presents the kingdom of king Dengzhao as a utopian one.⁶⁵³

At the end of the Dīpaṃkara narrative/prologue of T189, we find a celestial deity lamenting his fate and crying: the *bodhisattva* is leaving the sky to be reborn on Earth and there he will become a Buddha, so the celestial being will not be able to ride the boat of *dharma* to salvation.⁶⁵⁴ Being lost and without a guide, like a baby without his mother,⁶⁵⁵ having waited through a long night, the celestial deity is now transfixed by the arrow of doubt: the Great king of physicians (大醫王) being missing, the deity laments of having been left alone and without remedies.⁶⁵⁶ Following with the narrative of T189,

⁶⁵¹ Radich (2018, 23n86).

⁶⁵² T4, no. 192, pp. 018c01-03.

⁶⁵³ 爾時有王，名曰燈照；城名提播婆底；其國人民，壽八萬歲，安隱豐樂，極為熾盛，所欲自在，猶如諸天。時彼國王，正法治世，不枉人民，無有殺戮楚撻之苦，視諸人民，有如一子 (T3, no. 189, pp. 621a14-18).

⁶⁵⁴ T3, no. 189, pp. 623b27-c13. The whole narrative seems to be inspired by the visit by the sage Asita to the court of king Śuddhodana. Asita cries for his own fate and foresees the future of the prince, describing it with metaphors involving rivers and waters. See Olivelle (2008, 22-31).

⁶⁵⁵ The maternal element and some references to filial piety are reintroduced in T189 but are almost completely missing in the *Buddhacarita* and in T192.

⁶⁵⁶ It is very interesting to note that the comparison between the Buddha and the 大醫王 successful in recognizing maladies, their origin, and in contrasting and healing, them is narrated in T99, a version of the **Samyuktāgama* that Guṇabhadra and Baoyun translated together. This similarity may be a coincidence, since many texts deal with the figure of

the *bodhisattva* consoles the celestial deity, saying that salvation will come for all – even creatures in hell – and then chants some verses directly quoted from a version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* attributed to Faxian (T7).⁶⁵⁷ At the end of the prologue, the *bodhisattva* prophesizes the name of the family in which his human rebirth will take place by chanting the very incipit of the *Buddhacarita* as reported in the *Fo suoxing zan*, for which compare:⁶⁵⁸

甘蔗苗裔，釋姓種族，白淨王家 (T03n0189_p0623c28 ~ T03n0189_p0623c29)
The offspring of Ikṣvāku, in the family of king Śuddhodana from the race of the Śākya family...

甘蔗之苗裔，釋迦無勝王，
淨財德純備，故名曰淨飯。(T4, no. 192, p.0001a08 ~ T4, no. 192, p.0001a09)
The offspring of Ikṣvāku, of the unconquerable king of the Śākyas,
Provided of pure wealth and virtues and thus named Śuddhodana...⁶⁵⁹

Then the *bodhisattva* explains that he will raise the banner of the right *dharma* - *jianli zhengfa chuang* 建立正法幢.⁶⁶⁰ We find the same expression in T192, in a loose translation of the sage Asita's words, corresponding to *Bc* 1.58.⁶⁶¹ This expression recurs in a set of texts that seem to be linked to the same group of monks: beside the translation of the *Buddhacarita* (T192), we find the same

大醫王. In at least one other case, however, the T189 seems to borrow more openly from the **Samyuktāgama* (T99), as in the definition of the four components of the king's army; compare for example “彼雖不以象、馬、車、步四軍自防，而實自護”(T02, no. 99, pp. 336b13-14), which may be the source for “又復勅外，嚴辦四軍，象兵、馬兵、車兵、步兵”(T3, no. 189, pp. 625a11-12).

⁶⁵⁷ See T3, no. 189, pp. 623c20-23 and the parallel in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (T1, n. 7, pp. 204c22-24). On the different versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, see Durt (1994). Although attributed to Faxian, a preface collected in Sengyou's catalogue reports Baoyun as translator – Faxian was only responsible for bringing the text back from India. On the topic, see Hodge (2012). Radich (2018) demonstrated that there is a high number of similarities, measured in terms of shared n-grams, between T189, the T7 version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, and T383, a version of the *Mahāmāyā sūtra*. We may suppose that the hidden link between T189 and T7 is still T192. In fact, Baoyun is reported as translator of T192 and of a version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, later attributed to Faxian, as it is T7. Further research is needed on this point. As for T383, the authorship is attributed to Tanjing 曇景 (479-502?) in the Taishō, while Sengyou listed it as anonymous (T55, no. 2145, p. 21c28) but still considered it as an authoritative source on the life of the Buddha (see Durt [2008]). Radich (2018, 16) concludes that the text was fabricated in Southern China – we may say that T383 and T189 share a similar origin.

⁶⁵⁸ Unfortunately, the seven opening stanzas of the *Buddhacarita* are missing in the Sanskrit text. The Tibetan version, in the German translation by Weller (1929, 3), reads “Unter den Śākya, die schwer zu besiegen, (vom) Geschlecht(e) des Ikṣvāku, erschien der König Śuddhodana mit Namen...”.

⁶⁵⁹ T192 also refers to Śuddhodana as *baijing wang* 白淨王; see T4, no. 192, p. 003c02.

⁶⁶⁰ T3, no. 189, pp. 624a13.

⁶⁶¹ *śrutvā vacastacca manaśca yuktva jñātvā nimittaiśca tato 'smyupetaḥ / didṛkṣayā śākyakuladhvajasya śakradhvajasyeva samucchritasya // Bc_1.58 //*

“When I heard those words, I focused my mind, and comprehended by means of omens; So, I have come with the desire to see this banner of the Shakya race, like the banner of Shakra, raised up high”, Olivelle (2008, 20-21).

The corresponding translation in T192 is “并見先瑞相，今故來到此，欲觀釋迦王，建立正法幢”(T4, no. 192, pp. 002c23-24).

verse in the translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (T278) by Buddhābhadda, Baoyun’s venerated master.⁶⁶²

In the *Buddhacarita*, the sage Asita cries at the sight of the newborn prince (*Bc* 1.61-62) – he briefly lists the signs on his body and then deplores his own destiny (*Bc* 1.68-69) and explains to the distraught king that he is too old to listen to the prince’s new *dharma*, which he compares to a cold stream for those who are thirsty (*Bc* 1.71), and the Buddha-to-be to a guide for lost travelers (*Bc* 1.72), and finally *dharma* to the rain that extinguishes the fire of passion (*Bc* 1.73), bursting open the door locked by thirst, whose panels are delusion and torpor (*Bc* 1.74).⁶⁶³ This episode is reported in T189, but in that instance Asita lists the thirty-two marks of Buddhahood with pedantic precision, as also happens in the *Lalitavistara*.⁶⁶⁴ The list of thirty-two signs in T189, however, may not be derived from an Indian original, since it bears close similarity to the one presented in the *Dirghāgama* translated by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian.⁶⁶⁵

It is also very interesting to note that the content of the T189 departs from the *Buddhacarita* in the very same fashion as the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) does. A good example is the manifestation of the auspicious signs following the birth of the prince. In the *Buddhacarita* these signs comprise white elephants arriving from the mountains, the acquisition of wonderful horses by the king, the fertility of milch cows, and the obtainment of rich treasures. But in *Bc* 2.4 horses are acquired “by force, purchased, or given by allies” (*turaṅgairbalena maitryā ca dhanena cāptaiḥ*), and in the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) they arrive spontaneously (*yingshi ziran zhi* 應時自然至).⁶⁶⁶ In the same way, while in *Bc* 2.2 the king “won treasures”, in the *Fo suoxing zan* treasures appear spontaneously from the earth (無量諸伏藏 自然從地出).⁶⁶⁷ The same descriptions are found in T189, giving us the impression that these images transited from the *Buddhacarita* to Guṇabhadra’s compilation through the filter of the *Fo suoxing zan*:

天紺馬寶自然而來

The celestial precious horse spontaneously arrived.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶² Other texts in which this term recurs were composed later; a peculiar case is T397, whose first 26 chapters are attributed to Dharmakṣema, while the rest is made up of translations attributed to different authors, among whom we also find Baoyun and Zhiyan. The expression 建立正法幢 recurs in fascicle 46 which is attributed to Narendrayaśas (那連提耶舍) and appears to be a later composition.

⁶⁶³ For the translation, see T4, no. 192, pp. 002c29-003b08.

⁶⁶⁴ See Foucaux (1860, 107). For the Sanskrit text, see Vaidya 74 and 75, also available on GRETEL at http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel/1_sanskr/4_rellit/buddh/bsu022_u.htm.

⁶⁶⁵ For a comparison, see T1, n. 1, pp. 05a26-b18 and T3 n. 189 pp. 627a25-b25. See also Radich (2018, 20-21).

⁶⁶⁶ T4, no. 192, p. 004a09.

⁶⁶⁷ T4, no. 192, p. 004a04.

⁶⁶⁸ T3, no. 189, pp. 625c03-05.

爾時宮中，五百伏藏，自然發出

That time in the court palace, five hundred treasures spontaneously appeared⁶⁶⁹

The main narrative in T189 ends with the ordination of Kāśyapa, who is renamed Mahākāśyapa (大迦葉) because of the widespread fame of his virtue. The same passage – with similar wording – is found at the end of the seventeenth chapter of the T192.⁶⁷⁰ After this event, T189 ends with an epilogue that reconnects with Dīpaṃkara’s narrative presented in the prologue, providing the hagiography with a narrative frame.

9.6 Textual quotations, rare transcriptions and *hapax legomena*

The peculiarities of T189 make the study of that text a treasure trove of references and quotations. As Radich (2018, 16-18) showed, T189 is also indebted to other hagiographic material, and with the texts collected as T185, T186 and T184/T196 in particular.⁶⁷¹ Among the similar passages that Radich (2018, 16n53) evidenced, there are the description of the five hundred concubines, the description of the prince’s disgust at the sight of the concubines, the episode in which Uruvilvā Kāśyapa and his followers throw their “fire-worshipping” paraphernalia into the river. The episode involving Uruvilvā Kāśyapa is also present in T192, in some cases the two texts present the same wording.⁶⁷² It may be interesting to investigate the reasons that led the authors of T189 to borrow the descriptions of

⁶⁶⁹ T3, no. 189, pp. 626a23-26. The full passage reads: 時王廐中，象生白子；馬生白駒；牛羊亦生五色羔犢；如是等類，數各五百。王家青衣，亦生五百蒼頭 “That time, in the royal stables, the elephant gave birth to a white calf, the horse gave birth to a white colt, cows and sheep also gave birth to colorful lambs and calves – if one counted them, the count would reach five hundred. The servants in the royal house also gave birth to five hundred servants”. All these signs are present in the second *sarga* of the *Buddhacarita*, although there is no mention of servant maidens giving birth; there is only mention of women giving birth without pain. See Olivelle (2008, 38-41). Incidentally, we may note that the spontaneous appearance of treasures and lotuses is a very common feature of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, a version of which was translated by Baoyun’s meditation teacher, Buddhābhadrā. There is a possibility that the composers of T189 and of T192 were referring to the same Sanskrit manuscript, supposedly differing in content from the edition in Johnston (1936), but this assumption cannot be fully proven. Sengyou does not mention how Baoyun obtained the manuscript of the *Buddhacarita*. We only know that Baoyun had been to India, and that he translated the *Buddhacarita* at the Liuhe shan temple.

⁶⁷⁰ Compare “有大威德，智慧聰明，是故名之為大迦葉” (T3, no. 189, pp. 653b10-b11) and “大德普流聞，故名大迦葉” (T4, no. 192, pp. 034a07). The translation of the *Buddhacarita* is in twenty-eight chapters in total. For a summary and commentary of the chapters missing in Sanskrit, see Olivelle (2008, 417-431).

⁶⁷¹ For an analysis of the possible relationships between these texts see Nattier (2008, 103-110) and Kawano (2007).

⁶⁷² For example, only T189 and T192 mention the presence of an evil dragon dwelling in Kāśyapa’s fire-cave, compare “然有惡龍，居在其內” (T3, no. 189, p. 646a25) and “彼有事火窟，惡龍之所居” (T4, no. 192, p. 31b12).

concubines from hagiographic texts other than T192 – descriptions of courtesans are present in T192 as well, although much abridged if compared to the Sanskrit source.

As an example of textual quotation, Radich (2018, 40) noted that a reference to a donation of five hundred carts with supplies being sent to the prince by his father is missing in the *Buddhacarita*, whereas in one *Parinirvāṇasūtra* (T7) we find a reference to the Licchavis (離車) sending five hundred carts to the Buddha, knowing that he was about to reach enlightenment. The sentence used to define the dispatch of the carts is identical in the two texts (辦五百乘), and is nowhere to be found in the Canon but in T190, a later composition on the life of the Buddha. Incidentally, we may note that the expression *Liche changzhe* 離車長者 “elders of the Licchavis” is only present in the *Parinirvāṇasūtra* (T7) attributed to Faxian, in the **Samyuktāgama* (T99) translated by Baoyun and Guṇabhadra, in the translation of the *Buddhacarita* by Baoyun (T192), and in an anonymous translation (T1394).

Radich (2018, 19-20) lists several rare transcriptions⁶⁷³ and *hapax legomena*; these occurrences are a possible evidence that the authors of T189 had direct access to Indian sources.

A *hapax legomenon* proposed by Radich (2018, 22) is 阿闍婆羅 **Ajapāla*, as the name of a river where the Buddha stopped to meditate. A close parallel with a reference to the waters of a river **Pāla*, on the bank of which the Buddha stopped for the night, is found in the translation of the *Mahīśāsaka vinaya*.⁶⁷⁴

Radich (2018, 23n85) also proposed the interesting case of the names of the five disciples of the Buddha. The first disciple is 憍陳如 for **Kaundinya* - similar to 憍陳 in T192. The name of the second disciple is 摩訶那摩 for **Mahānāma* – in this case, T189 differs from T192, that has 十力迦葉 for **Daśabala Kāśyapa*. The third disciple is 跋波 or **Vappa* (a name also found in T374 and T375; in T192 we have the transcription 婆澁波 for **Vaśpa*). The fourth disciple is 阿捨婆闍 **Aśvajit* (an *hapax legomenon* although the transcription in four syllables is quite similar to 阿濕波誓 in T192) and the fifth disciple is 跋陀羅闍 **Bhadrika* (very similar to 跋陀羅 in T192).⁶⁷⁵ An accurate

⁶⁷³ An example of rare occurrence is the name of the royal chaplain's son, 憂陀夷 Udayin (T189), probably just a variation of 優陀夷 (T192).

⁶⁷⁴ Compare 次到阿闍婆羅水側，日暮止宿，而便入定 (T3, no. 189, p. 644a2-3) and 便往婆羅水邊，敷草坐宿 (T22, no. 1421, p. 105a27-28). This parallel, however, does not explain 阿闍 **Aja* in T189.

⁶⁷⁵ I suggest not to follow the punctuation of the Taishō in this point. The alternative reading by Radich (2018, 23n85) is 跋波阿捨 **Aśvajit*? and 跋陀羅闍 for **Bhadrika*. The character 闍 may have a semantic rendering at the end of the two transcriptions. Two names of disciples out of five are very similar in T189 and T192 (**Kaundinya*, **Bhadrika*), two other names are transcribed with different characters (**Vappa*/**Vaśpa* or **Aśvajit*). The name of the second disciple is

comparison of the lists of the five disciples in other hagiographic accounts may clarify if the origin of these names can be related directly to an Indic source.⁶⁷⁶

There are several cases of very similar - albeit not identical – transcriptions that may be parts of a pattern, see for example Udayin as 憂陀夷(T189) or 優陀夷 (T192), Arāḍa Kālāma as 阿羅邏加[迦]蘭 (T189) or 阿羅藍 迦藍 (T192), *Aśvajit as 阿捨婆闍(T189) or 阿濕波誓 (T192).

9.7 Conclusions

This analysis has shed new light on T189, demonstrating that it is a collage of many sources. This conclusion was also reached by Radich (2018), although the present study has also proven that the collage of texts was mostly based on the Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita*, and, considering the numerous misinterpretations borrowed by T189 from T192 – including the case of Māra’s sisters – it seems unlikely that the compilers of T189 were able to access any Sanskrit manuscript of the *Buddhacarita*.

The comparison of Chinese translations with their possible Sanskrit/Indian originals, although not immune to hermeneutical problems, still proves very useful in order to understand the relationships among Chinese Buddhist texts produced in contiguous periods. In this case, the careful comparison between the critical edition of the *Buddhacarita* and the text of the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) have led us to understand that the latter is based on an Indian original, while the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* (T189) consistently borrows from it and from other Chinese translations. We can agree with Passi (1979, 243) that the *Buddhacarita* did not indulge in the same taste for the fantastic and the miraculous as much as other hagiographical accounts did – the adjustments attributed to Guṇabhadra surely diverted the narrative by including many more spectacular events.

Given the importance of T189 in the field of art history – this text is considered the source of mural paintings at many different archaeological sites – a careful reconstruction of the collated sources

completely different, and in this specific case the name proposed in T192 is partly translated (十力迦葉 for *Daśabala Kāśyapa, while T189 has 摩訶那摩 for *Mahānāma).

⁶⁷⁶ Radich (2018, 22) also proposes the case of Botuoluosina 跋陀羅斯那*Bhadrāsena and Boduoluoli 跋陀羅梨 *Bhadrāśrī, unusual names of the two merchants who encountered the Buddha after enlightenment. These names may be related to Botili 跋提梨 *Bhadravālin and Botuoluo 跋陀羅 *Bhadra, two demons converted by the Buddha in the village of Bhadrīka, in the twenty-first chapter of T192. In the same chapter the Buddha meets other three demons with similar names - Botuoluojia 跋陀羅迦 *Bhadraka?, Botuoluoqiemmo 跋陀羅劫摩 *Bhadrakarma?, Botuoluo 跋陀羅 *Bhadra?. See also Willemsen (2009, 152).

is advisable. Any project of linguistic analysis based on T189 should take into consideration the composite nature of the account, created through the elaboration of heterogeneous materials.

As Radich (2018) has pointed out, the presence of peculiar transcriptions of proper names (as in the case of the Buddha's five disciples, the name of the city 提播婆底 for *Dipāvātī, the list of kings and kingdoms from the narrative frame) may prove that the compilers had access to Indic sources in some form. However, *hapax legomena* can be used as definitive proof in this sense only if their Indic sources are unambiguously identified, so as to exclude the possibility of a derivation from lost Chinese sources.

If we admit oral textuality as the possible source of rare transcriptions and *hapax legomena* in T189, these features may support the claim that Guṇabhadra took part in the composition of T189. It may not be possible, however, to define a translation style proper to Guṇabhadra:⁶⁷⁷ the translations attributed to Guṇabhadra in the first phase of his life in China were probably made by Baoyun and, as the case of T189 demonstrated, the texts attributed to Guṇabhadra during his stay in Jingzhou may not be actual translations and their nature and origin should be investigated. In his first phase in China, Guṇabhadra may have worked as a figurehead for the authorship of texts translated by Baoyun and promoted by Huiguan; in the second phase, his name was associated with T189, a text that was sported as a translation. Further research on the role of foreign Buddhist monks in translation bureaus in southern China may prove to be rewarding.

The fact that T189 was produced and intentionally passed on as a proper translation is indeed a crucial point. The distinction between the genres (translations/anthologies/apocrypha) was of primary importance in fifth-century China. In his precious catalogue of Buddhist scriptures, the *Chu sanzang jiji*, Sengyou critically scrutinized hundreds of texts and carefully sorted translations from apocrypha and dubious texts. Sengyou's attitude proves that apocrypha and dubious texts were not accepted as Canonical scriptures by early catalogue compilers. T189, however, passed the test and was identified as a genuine translation, with the name of Guṇabhadra ratifying its Indian origin.⁶⁷⁸ From this we might infer that the text was not meant to be an adaptation of the life of the Buddha for a Chinese audience, but rather was sported as a translation of some authentic Indian source, and its construction clearly tries to conceal evident connections with other existing texts in Chinese.

⁶⁷⁷ I must thank an anonymous reviewer of the *Journal of Chinese Religions* for suggesting this interesting point of view.

⁶⁷⁸ Sengyou trusted this text to the point of quoting it extensively in his anthology on the life of the Buddha, the *Shijia pu* (T2040). A similar case is that of the *Guanfo sanwei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經 T643, attributed to the Indian monk Buddhahadra. As pointed out by Yamabe (1999, 31), however, no specific date or place are associated to the translation of T643, while for T189 we have at least the possible location.

The tendency by Buddhist cataloguers of shunning the attribution of translations to Chinese monks while favoring authoritative Indian names proved to be deceptive. In this case it was a Chinese monk (Baoyun) who produced a translation based on an Indian original (*Buddhacarita/Fo suoxing zan*), while we find a collage of different translations (T189) attributed to an Indian monk (Guṇabhadra) and passed on as a translation of Indian sources.

The idea of producing comprehensive compilations of existing translations was not alien to Buddhist monks in Medieval China: only some decades after the completion of T189, Sengyou attempted the compilation of a comprehensive anthology on the life of the Buddha, the *Shijia pu* (T2040). As opposed to the authors of T189, and in a strikingly modern attitude, Sengyou made the conscious and explicit effort of citing his sources.

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Appendix¹

生品第一

First chapter — The birth²

甘蔗之苗裔， 釋迦無勝王，
淨財德純備， 故名曰淨飯，

The offspring of Ikṣvāku, the undefeated king of the Śākya
was provided with wealth and faultless virtue – thus his name was Śuddhodana.³

群生樂瞻仰， 猶如初生月。
王如天帝釋， 夫人猶舍脂，

All the living beings cheerfully looked in admiration, [as if he was] like a crescent moon.
The king was like the celestial emperor Śakra, his wife like Śacī.⁴

執志安如地， 心淨若蓮花，
假譬名摩耶， 其實無倫比。
於彼象[像]天后， 降神而處胎。

Her determination was as steady as the earth, her mind pure like a lotus flower:
[she was] named Māyā by way of analogy, in fact there was no comparison.⁵
For her, similar to a celestial empress, a spirit descended from the sky and dwelt in [her] womb.⁶

- 1 The text used in this translation is quoted from CBETA and corresponds to the first six chapters of T192. Alternative readings will be embedded in square brackets. The sequencing of the text in short passages corresponding to Sanskrit stanzas is consistently derived from Huang Baosheng (2015). Whenever the partition by Huang is not respected, I will pinpoint it in the footnotes.
- 2 *iti buddhacarite mahākāvyē bhagavatprasūtirnāma prathamah sargaḥ* The title is at the end of the Canto in the source text; the first eight verses are missing in our edition of the source text.
- 3 The translation of the proper name Ikṣvāku as 甘蔗 “sugar-cane” derives from the different etymologies of this proper name, see Salomon and Baums (2007). The verse 釋迦無勝王 probably hides a pun with the words Śākya/aśakya as “mighty” and “unconquerable”; this pun was already pointed out by Johnston (1936, 1), that also quotes the Saundarananda 2.45: aśakyaḥ śakyasāmantaḥ śākyarājaḥ sa śakravat. The words 勝 and 殊勝 “victorious, surpassing” are widely used in the translation as adjectives or verbs. The proper name of the king is translated as 淨 Śuddha + 飯 dana (literally “pure rice” or “pure meal”) and explained by the previous verse 淨財德純備. A long description of the qualities of the king can be found also in the second sarga of the Buddhacarita and in Saundarananda 2.1. The incipit of T192 is taken as a long quote in the Shijia pu of Sengyou: 佛所行讚經云。甘蔗之苗裔。釋迦無勝王 淨財德純備。故名曰淨飯。案淨飯遠祖乃是瞿曇之後身。以其前世居甘蔗園。故經稱甘蔗之苗裔也。 (T50, no. 2040, p. 3a25-28). Here it is explained that the name 甘蔗 derives from the king being born in a garden of sugar canes – the same definition is also in the Fayuan Zhulin (T53, no. 2122, p. 337c19-21). It is interesting to note two alternative forms in different versions of the Canon: we have 故名 and 名故. The particle 故 can be intended as an adverb or as a conjunction (Rouzer 2007, 93-94).
- 4 Quotes from the HYDCD show that the verb 瞻仰 is often connected to watching the moon. Śakra as a name for Indra, the king of the gods, appears frequently in the poem; Śacī, also known as Paulomī, is the wife of Indra (Böhrtlingk 6, 197). T192 has Śaśī (see note 8). Johnston (1936: 1) compared the Chinese and the Tibetan texts and proposed that the Sanskrit source may have referred to the autumn moon. In the Sanskrit text there may have been a pun between Śacī and Śaśī, a name of the moon.
- 5 Beal (1883, 1) translates as “her name, figuratively assumed, Māyā, she was in truth incapable of class comparison”; Willemen (2009a, 3) has “By way of comparison she was called Māyā, but she was beyond compare”. The Tibetan translation according to Weller (1929, 1) has “Es erschien, die Māyā geheißen, einer unvergleichlichen Illusion gleich, die fest wie die Erde”. It is possible to speculate a pun involving the many meanings of the name Māyā, as “art”, “wisdom”, “phantom”, “illusion”; the same reading is given by Huang (2015, 3); in this perspective the author might have wanted to underline how the comparison between the queen and an illusion or artifact has no ground.

母悉離憂患， 不生幻偽心，
厭惡彼誼[誼譚]俗， 樂處空閑林。
藍毘尼勝園， 流泉花果茂，
寂靜順[樂]禪思， 啟王請遊彼。

The mother abandoned every kind of anxiety, she did not nurture a deluded mind,⁷
She despised boisterous habits and [desired to] happily reside in an empty groove,
in the excellent park of Lumbinī, with flowing springs, luxuriant flowers and fruits;
tranquil and happy, longing for meditation - she beseeched the king, asking to go there.⁸

王知其志願， 而生奇特想，
勅內外眷屬， 俱詣彼園林。

The king knew her determination and marveled,⁹
he ordered all the internal and external retinue, to move together to that park.¹⁰

爾時摩耶后， 自知產時至，
偃寢安勝床， 百千嫔女侍。

At that time the queen Māyā herself perceived that the time for delivery had come,
She lied down on a safe couch, with uncountable maids providing assistance.¹¹

時[於]四月八日， 清[時]和氣調適，
齋戒修淨德， 菩薩右脇生，
大悲救世間， 不令母苦惱。

On the eight day of the fourth month, the season was mild and the atmosphere harmonious,
[her] virtue purified through fasting precepts, the *bodhisattva* was born from the right side;
In the great compassion of saving the world [he] did not let his mother suffer.¹²

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- 6 Huang (2015, 3) reads 象天后 as “如同天后”. The presence of an elephant is questionable, see Weller (1929, 1).
- 7 The expression 幻偽心 is very rare; it is shared with T278, attributed to Buddhābhaddra and T376 attributed to Faxian. In all the cases it is used in negative terms.
- 8 An alternative translation may be: “[Lumbinī was] tranquil and suitable for meditative thoughts, so the king was asked to move there”.
- 9 Willemen (2009a, 3) has “The king understood her earnest wish and thought that it was wonderful”. The expression 奇特想 is repeated several times in T192; in the translation of Bc 6.64 seems to be the equivalent of *visismiṃyāte*, “he marvelled”.
- 10 Quotes of 內外眷屬 in later biographical accounts are found in T187, T189, T190, T191.
- 11 *tasminvane śrīmati rājapatnī prasūtikālaṃ samaveśamānā / śayyāṃ vitānopahitāṃ prapede nārīśahasrairabhinandya mānā* // Bc_1.8 // 侍 “wait upon” may refer to the present passive participle (fem. plur.) *abhinandya mānā*. The verb *abhi√nand* is listed as “to rejoice at, to salute, to welcome” in MW. Johnston (1936: 3) translates the compound as “waiting-women”, while Olivelle (2008, 7) has “to the welcome words of thousands of maids”. Huang (2015, 4) translates as “数以千计妇女欢迎鼓舞”.
- 12 *tataḥ prasannaśca babhūva puṣyastasyāśca devyā vrataṣṃskṛtāyāḥ / pārśvātsuto lokahitāya jajñe nirvedanaṃ caiva nirāmayam ca* // Bc_1.9 // *tataḥ prasannaśca babhūva puṣyas* “then, as Puṣya turned propitious” (Olivelle 2008,3). Puṣya is defined in Böthlingt as the sixth house of the moon or the time when the moon stands in the constellation *puṣya*. On the birth date of the Buddha in Chinese Buddhism see Wang-Toutain (1996). For an overview of the attempts to define the birth year of the Buddha in Chinese Buddhism see Lancaster (1991). 清和氣調適 Beal (1883, 2) translates the Chinese verse as “a season of serene and agreeable character”. Willemen (2009a, 3) “the moment was serene and the atmosphere harmonious”. 齋戒修淨德 is the translation of *vrataṣṃskṛtāyāḥ*. We have a five characters verse to translate a compound word, a pattern that can be found often in the text. 齋戒 is usually a translation of *upavāsa* (see DDB; other two occurrences in T192 are in the verses 齋戒求天神 and 淨心守齋戒). The Sanskrit *vrataṣṃskṛtāyāḥ*, is a feminine genitive related to the side of the queen, as “from the side of the queen consecrated by rites” (Olivelle 2008,7). On the vows (*vrata*) undertaken by the queen see Windisch (1908 [2010]); on divine

優留王股生， 卑偷王手生，
曼陀王頂生， 伽叉王腋生。
菩薩亦如是， 誕從右脇生，

King Aurva was born from the thigh, king Pṛthu was born from the hand,
king Māndhātṛi was born from the head and king Kakṣīvat was born from the armpit:
the *bodhisattva* was also like that, his birth was from the right flank.¹³

漸漸從胎出， 光明普照耀，
如從虛空墮， 不由於生門。
修德無量劫， 自知生不死[亂]，

He gradually came out from the womb, a bright light shone everywhere;
like fallen from the sky, not through the door of birth,
having cultivated his virtue for countless *kalpa*, he was born aware and unconfused.¹⁴

安諦不傾動， 明顯妙端嚴。
晃然後[從]胎現， 猶如日初昇，
觀察極明耀， 而不害眼根。
縱視而不耀 如觀空中月

Serene and without shaking, [his] wonderful majesty glowed,
he appeared from the womb shining, just like the first sun rises.
Staring at the utmost radiance, though, was not harmful to the eyes:
one was not dazzled by watching, as if looking at the moon in the empty sky.¹⁵

pregnancies and births in ancient India see Hara (2009). The term *pusa* 菩薩, *bodhisattva*, it is used to translate *suto*, “son”. References to Śākyamuni are very often translated with 菩薩. Liang Xiaohong (2002, 7-8). For an evolution of the term 菩薩 in the Chinese canon see Lancaster (1981). The expression 大悲 is not present in the source text.

- 13 *ūroryathaurvasya prthośca hastānmāndhāturindrapratimasya mūrdhnaḥ / kakṣīvataścaiva bhujaṃsadeśāttathāvidhaṃ tasya babhūva janma* // Bc_1.10 // The passage is fully quoted in the *Shijia pu* of Sengyou (T2040), with only minor adjustments (see T50, no. 2040, p. 5b6-8). For the epic characters mentioned, see Olivelle (2008, 433). The expression 誕從右脅生 translates *tasya babhūva janma*. In this sentence 誕 can be verb (either “to be born” or “to give birth to”), the subject being the *bodhisattva* or it can be a noun meaning “birth”, acting as the subject. Pulleyblank (1995: 52) says that 從 is used more frequently as a verb (“to follow”, “to pursue”) than as preposition (“from”); it can also be an auxiliary word put at the beginning of the sentence. In fact, Sengyou did not report 誕 in his quote, probably perceiving it as redundant. 菩薩亦如是 here as *tathāvidhaṃ*, the Chinese expression is repeated twice in the first juan; The expression 如是 is very frequent in the text, with an overall forty-six occurrences, among which the expression 亦如是 is counted eleven times.
- 14 *krameṇa garbhādhābhiniḥsṛtaḥ san babhau cyutaḥ khādiva yonyajātaḥ / kalpeṣvanekeṣu ca bhāvitātmā yaḥ saṃprajānansuṣuve na mūḍhaḥ* // Bc_1.11 // 漸漸從胎出 *krameṇa garbhādhābhiniḥsṛtaḥ*; 光明普照耀 translates *babhau*; 修德無量劫 *kalpeṣvanekeṣu ca bhāvitātmā*; 自知生不死 *saṃprajānansuṣuve na mūḍhaḥ*; 如從虛空墮 不由於生門, *khādiva yonyajātaḥ*. The expression 光明普照耀 is popular in later texts in the Canon, as it probably changed into a *dhāraṇī* formula. 修德 here translates *bhāvitātmā*, see Bohtlingt, s.v. “dessen Geist geläutert ist oder der seine Gedanken auf den Geist gerichtet hat”. A similar 修淨德 was the rendering of *saṃskṛtāyāḥ*. For 劫 an explanation is found in Liang Xiaohong (2002, 9), that suggests it is the shortening of the phonetic rendering 却波. On the different interpretations of this verse of the *Buddhacarita* see De La Vallee-Poussin (1913).
- 15 *dīptyā ca dhairyeṇa ca yo rarāja bālo ravibhūmimivāvatīrṇaḥ / tathātidīpto 'pi nirīkṣyamāṇo jahāra cakṣuṃṣi yathā śaśāṅkaḥ* // Bc_1.12 // 安諦不傾動, 明顯妙端嚴 probably translates *dīptyā ca dhairyeṇa ca*, though the order of the elements is inverted. 猶如日初昇 translates *bālo ravibhūmimivāvatīrṇaḥ*. 晃然後胎現 seems to have no corresponding Sanskrit. 觀察極明耀 而不害眼根 縱視而不耀 如觀空中月 *tathātidīpto 'pi*

縱視而不耀， 如觀空中月，
自身光照耀， 如日奪燈明，
菩薩真金身， 普照亦如是。

His own body's splendour was shining, like the sun seizing the light of the lamps,
the *bodhisattva* was true gold, just like that illuminating everything.¹⁶

正[22]真心不亂， [23]安庠行七步，
足下安平趾， 炳徹猶七星。

Upright, with unconfused mind, composedly walked seven steps,
the feet lowering in well shaped traces, of piercing luminosity, like the seven stars.¹⁷

獸王師子步， 觀察於四方，
通達真實義， 堪能如是說。
此生為佛生， 則為後邊生，
我唯此一生， 當度於一切。

The gait of a lion, king of beasts, he watched in the four directions
understanding the real truth, thus he was able to speak:
“this birth is the birth of a Buddha, therefore it is the ultimate one;
in this very life of mine I must save everything”.¹⁸

應時虛空中， 淨水雙流下，
一溫一清涼， 灌頂令身樂。

At the appropriate moment, from the middle of the empty sky,
two streams of pure water fell,
one warm, the other refreshing cold,
they poured on his head, giving pleasure to his body.¹⁹

nirīkṣyamāṇo jahāra cakṣūṃṣi yathā śaśāṅkaḥ; the expression *jahāra cakṣūṃṣi* meaning is “seizing the eyes” or “captivating the eyes”, a nuance lost in the translation.

16 *sa hi svagātraprabhayaḥ jvalantī dīpaprabhāṃ bhāskaravanmumosa / mahārhaḥajāmbūnadacāruvarṇo vidyotayāmāsa diśaśca sarvāḥ // Bc_1.13 //*

17 *anākulānyubhasamudgatāni niṣpeṣavadvyāyavikramāṇi / tathaiḥ dhīrāṇi padāni sapta saptarṣitārāsadrśo jagāma // Bc_1.14 //* For the various uses of *vikramāṇi* see Olivelle (2007, 590-591). The Buddha was born aware and not oblivion; however, he will learn about the harshness of life during the four encounters. On this paradox see Silk (2003).

18 *bodhāya jāto 'smi jagaddhitārthamantyā bhavotpattiriyam mameti / caturdiśaṃ siṃhagatirvilokya vāṇī ca bhavyārthakarīmuvāca // Bc_1.15 //*
通達真實義 堪能如是說 translates *vāṇī ca bhavyārthakarīm uvāca*. 獸王師子步 觀察於四方, *caturdiśaṃ siṃhagatirvilokya*; 此生為佛生 *bodhāya jāto 'smi*. 則為後邊生 *antyā bhavotpattiriyam mameti*. The verb 通達 is glossed by MoEDict as 明白事理, in HDCE as 通曉 and 洞達; all these entries quotes Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824). The expression 通達 it is particularly used to describe precocious intelligence. 我唯此一生 當度於一切 *jagaddhitārtham*; Zacchetti (2005, 248) notes the insertion of 於 after 度 to preserve a specific pattern, as it is probably the case here. 於 is listed by Pulleyblank as a coverb of place (53-54). Rouzer (2007, 428) list it as a multipurpose preposition. Huang (2015, 7) details the second verse as “为了救度一切众生”. On 度 see also Liang Xiaohong (2002, 55). In the Chinese translation, the order of the Sanskrit is apparently inverted: the direct speech is placed after the comparison to the lion. From the Sanskrit poem we know that the new-born prince was able to predict “what was to come” (Olivelle 2008, 8-9); the Chinese text somehow adds an explanation of this ability, pointing out that he could do so because of his capacity of “understanding the real truth”.

19 *khātpasrūte candramarīciśubhre dve vāridhāre śiśiṣṇavīrye / śarīrasaṃsparśasukhāntarāya nipetaturmūrdhani tasya saumye // Bc_1.16 //* 應時虛空中,淨水雙流下 *khātpasrūte candramarīciśubhre dve vāridhāre*; 應時 is

安處寶宮殿， 臥於琉璃床，
天王金華手， 奉[捧]持床四足。

[He was] peacefully resting in the precious palace, lying on a bed made of beryl gems,
the heavenly kings, golden lotuses in their hands, respectfully maintained the bed's four feet.²⁰

諸天於空中， 執持寶蓋侍，
承威神讚歎， 勸發成佛道。

The gods in the empty sky held strong a precious canopy in attendance,
acknowledging his majesty, [they] uttered their appraisal, exhorting the inception of the Buddha's
path.²¹

諸龍王歡喜， 渴仰殊勝法，
曾奉過去佛， 今得值菩薩。
散曼陀羅花， 專心樂供養，

The dragon kings rejoiced, thirsty for the extraordinary *dharma*:
having paid respect to the past Buddhas, now they were able to see the *bodhisattva*;
they scattered *mandāra* flowers, their minds joyfully absorbed in worship.²²

not present in the Sanskrit text. The difficult compound *candramarīci* (Olivelle 2008, 433) was not translated literally; the meaning is somehow given by 淨水雙流下; 灌頂 (*nipetaturmūrdhani*) is a term used for referring to *abhiṣecanam* or other rituals implying the sprinkling of water on the head. The bathing of the Buddha is now celebrated as 浴佛节 or 洗佛放生节, see Boucher (2015).

20 *śrīmadvitāne kanakojjvalāṅge vaiḍūryapāde śayane śayānam /*

Yad gauravāt kāñcanapadmahastā yakṣādhipāḥ saṃparivārya tasthuḥ // Bc_1.17 //

安處寶宮殿 臥於琉璃床, *śrīmadvitāne kanakojjvalāṅge vaiḍūryapāde śayane śayānam*. In the Sanskrit there is no mention of a “palace” or “mansion”, 宮殿 in Chinese - instead there is reference to a *vitāna*, or canopy, as in *BC* 1.8, where it was translated as 安勝床, “safe couch” or “safe bed”; in this case, however, we have 安處宮殿 a safe (or suitable) dwelling. Huang (2015, 8) suggests that the different rendition may be due to the similar readings of the words *vitāna*, “couch, canopy” and *vimāna* as “palace”.

天王 *yakṣādhipāḥ*; 金華手 *kāñcanapadmahastā*; 奉持 translates, not without a drastic simplification, *gauravāt... tasthuḥ*. The term *kanakojjvalāṅge* was not translated; *vaiḍūrya*, is listed in Böhtlingk as “beryll”, an umbrella definition for many kinds of precious gems; it is translated with 琉璃, a phonetic rendering, being originally either 吠琉璃 or 吠琉璃耶. The term came to be used to define coloured glass or a silicate of aluminium and sodium that gives ceramics a greenish or translucent glare.

21 *adrśyabhāvāśca divaukaśaḥ khe yasya prabhāvāt praṇataiḥ śīrobhiḥ /*

ādhārayan pāṇḍaramātapatram bodhāya jepuḥ paramāśiṣaśca // Bc_1.18 //

諸天 *divaukaśaḥ*; 勸發成佛道 *bodhāya jepuḥ paramāśiṣa*. The first five syllables of the manuscript are not extant, the reconstruction proposed by Johnston (1936: 5) is *adrśyabhāvāśca* “not visible”, is not supported by the Chinese translation. 諸 is a plural marker (Rouzer 2007, 81). The main verb is 侍 “attend”, “wait upon” is put at the end of the verse, translating *ādhārayan*. 承威神讚歎 *yasya prabhāvātpraṇataiḥ śīrobhiḥ*; “their head bowed because of his majesty”, see Olivelle (2008, 9). Huang (2015, 8) points out that 威神 is a translation of *prabhāva*, that indicates the power of the *bodhisattva*, also 威力, that in Chinese translations has also the meaning of “magical powers”.

22 *mahoragā dharmaviśeṣatarṣād buddheṣvatīteṣu kṛtādhikārāḥ /*

yam avyajan bhaktiviśiṣṭanetrā mandārapuṣpaiḥ samavākiraṃśca // Bc_1.19 //

諸龍王歡喜，渴仰殊勝法 *mahoragā dharmaviśeṣatarṣād*; 歡喜 does not seem to be a direct translation from the Sanskrit. *Mahoragā* is translated as “mighty serpents” (Olivelle 2008, 9) or “mighty snakes” (Johnston 1936, 5). 曾奉過去佛，今得值菩薩 *buddheṣvatīteṣu kṛtādhikārāḥ*; 散曼陀羅花 專心樂供養 *bhaktiviśiṣṭanetrā mandārapuṣpaiḥ samavākiraṃśca*. The word 供養 here translates the Sanskrit *bhakti*, although the whole compound is *bhaktiviśiṣṭanetrā* – the translation has no reference to “eyes” (*netrā*). The term 供養, generally meaning “donor”, is also used to describe acts of worship related to the offering of flowers - see also Zacchetti

如來出興世， 淨居天歡喜。
已除愛欲歡， 為法而欣悅，
眾生沒苦海， 令得解脫故。

When the *tathāgata* was born to this world, the gods of the pure abodes rejoiced.
Already devoid of love, desire and joy, they were jubilant for the *dharma*;
the living beings drowning in a sea of suffering can now get a cause of liberation.²³

須彌寶山王， 堅持此大地，
菩薩出興世， 功德風所飄，
普皆大震動， 如風鼓浪舟。
栴檀細末香， 眾寶蓮花藏，

The precious mountain king Sumeru that firmly holds this earth,
at the *bodhisattva*'s birth in this world, was swayed by winds of merits and virtue.
Everything shook all over, as when the wind hits a boat among the waves;
fine powder of sandalwood scented and a multitude of precious lotus flowers heaped.²⁴

風吹隨空流， 繽紛而亂墜，
天衣從空下， 觸身生妙樂。
日月如常度， 光耀倍增明，
世界諸火光， 無薪自炎熾。

Winds blew along the sky, flowing randomly and in profusion.
The garments of the gods fell from the sky, causing a subtle pleasure when touching the body.²⁵
Sun and moon rose as ever, but their radiance doubled in luminosity;
in the world, all the flames got ablaze spontaneously and without fuel.²⁶

(2005, 409); as Johnston (1936, 6) suggests, it might be due to the confusion of *avyajan* “they fanned” with *ayajan* “they worshipped”.

23 *tathāgatotpādaguṇena tuṣṭāḥ śuddhādhivāsāśca viśuddhasattvāḥ / devā nanandurvigate 'pi rāge magnasya duḥkhe jagato hitāya // Bc_1.20 //* 如來出興世 淨居天歡喜 *tathāgatotpādaguṇena tuṣṭāḥ śuddhādhivāsāśca viśuddhasattvāḥ... devā nanandur*; 眾生沒苦海 令得解脫故 *magnasya duḥkhe jagato hitāya*; 已除愛欲歡 為法而欣悅 *vigate 'pi rage*. The character 故 here probably translates *hita*, although it is more commonly used as the translation of *hetu*. The expression 眾生沒苦海 is repeated twice in T192.

24 *yasya prasūtau girirājakīlā vātāhatā naur iva bhūś cacāla / sacandanā cotpalapadmagarbhā papāta vṛṣṭir gaganād anabhrāt // Bc_1.21 //* 須彌寶山王 堅持此大地 *girirājakīlā... bhūś*; the translators demonstrate to have a good grasp on Sanskrit grammar by explaining clearly the *bahuvrīhi* compound *girirājakīlā* “having the king of mountains as fulcrum”. Huang (2015, 9) underlines that there is no mention of the mount Sumeru in the Sanskrit, while the T192 mentions 須彌寶山王, the precious mountain Sumeru, as if explaining the compound. 菩薩出興世 *yasya prasūtau*. 功德風所飄 *vātāhatā* (功德 is not expressed in Sanskrit); 普皆大震動, 如風鼓浪舟 *naur iva bhūś cacāla*. Lancaster (1991) provides an interesting account of the attempts Chinese historians made to define the birth year of the Buddha by looking through records of earthquakes in historical records. 栴檀細末香 眾寶蓮花藏 *sacandanā cotpalapadmagarbhā*; the Sanskrit has *papāta vṛṣṭir gaganādanabhrāt*, “and from a cloudless sky fell a shower” (Olivelle 2008, 11). Willemen links this verse to the following one, abiding on the punctuation of the Taishō edition. In this view, in the Chinese text part of stanza Bc 1.21 is fused with Bc 1.22. I am here trying to translate them separately, taking 藏 as a verb; the construction 眾...藏 “a multitude of... gathered/stored” is not unfrequent in other hagiographies; in the same way 香 might be taken as a predicate. This view is supported by Huang (2015, 9), that explains 藏 as “含有”.

25 *vātā vavūḥ sparśasukhā manoḥjñā divyāni vāsāmsyavapātayantaḥ / Bc_1.22a* “Charming breezes blew, pleasing to the touch, bringing down showers of garments divine” (Olivelle 2008, 11). In the *BC* the falling of the garments from the sky is clearly the result of the blowing of the wind. In a different interpretation, the term 流 in Chinese may be a reference to *vṛṣṭi*, “rain” from stanza Bc 1.21.

26 *sūryaḥ sa evābhyadhikaṃ cakāśe jajvāla saumyārciranīrito 'gniḥ // Bc_1.22b //*

Huang (2015, 10) suggests that 無薪 translates *anīrito*, of which a better translation would be “不动”.

淨水清涼井， 前後自然生。
中宮嫔女眾， 怪歎未曾有，
競赴而飲浴， 皆起安樂想。

A well of fresh and pure water sprang spontaneously,
all the maidens in the palace were amazed at this unprecedented marvel,
they were rushing to visit [the ponds], and drink and bathe; all of them made wishes for happiness.²⁷

無量部多天， 樂法悉雲集，
於藍毘尼園， 遍滿林樹間。
奇特眾妙花， 非時而敷榮。

Uncountable gods, joyful for the *dharma*, came together,
they gathered among the trees in Lumbini's park;
unusually, a multitude of marvellous flowers bloomed out of season.²⁸

凶[兇]暴眾生類， 一時生慈心，
世間諸疾病， 不療自然除。
亂鳴諸禽獸， 恬默寂[寂默而]無聲，

All the kinds of ferocious animals, for a moment bore a compassionate mind,
all the ailments in the world were removed naturally, without medicine.
Birds and beasts' loud crying became quiet still, not perceivable.²⁹

萬川皆停流， 濁水悉澄清，
空中無雲翳， 天鼓自然鳴。

Myriad rivers ceased flowing, muddy water became clean.
There was no cloud shading the sky, but the drums of the gods were loud.

一切諸世間， 悉得安隱樂，
猶如荒難國， 忽得賢明主。
菩薩所以生， 為濟世眾苦，
唯彼魔天王， 震動大憂惱。[獨憂而不悅]

The whole world obtained a tranquil happiness:
like a country in ruins suddenly obtaining the guide of a wise ruler.

27 *prāguttare cāvasathapradeśe kūpaḥ svayaṃ prādurabhūtsitāmbuḥ / antaḥpurāṇyāgatavismayāni yasmin kriyāstīrtha iva pracakruḥ* // Bc_1.23 // 淨水清涼井 前後自然生 *prāguttare cāvasathapradeśe kūpaḥ svayaṃ prādurabhūtsitāmbuḥ*; here *prāguttare* is translated as 前後, while the original meaning should be “north-west” or “东北” (Huang 2015,10). 中宮嫔女眾 怪歎未曾有 *antaḥpurāṇyāgatavismayāni*. The word 未曾有 was used to define one of the twelve divisions of the Buddhist Canon, the *adbhūta* 阿浮陀磨, accounts of miracles performed by the Buddha or other deities. Also translated as 希法, 胜法, 奇特法, 未曾有法, and 未曾有经, and transcribed as 阿浮陀达磨, 阿浮多达磨, 頽浮陀达磨, and 阿浮达磨。

競赴而飲浴 皆起安樂想, *yasmin kriyāstīrtha iva pracakruḥ*; “[ladies] performed the rituals there, as at a sacred ford” (Olivelle 2008, 11). There is no mention of performing rituals in Chinese, but a reference to wishes for happiness (安樂想)。

28 *dharmārthibhirbhūtagaṇaiśca divyaistaddarśanārtha vanamāpupūre / Kautūhalena iva ca pādapebhyaḥ puṣpāṇyakāle 'pyavapātayadbhiḥ* // Bc_1.24 // 無量部多天 樂法悉雲集 *dharmārthibhirbhūtagaṇaiśca divyaistaddarśanārtha*. 部多 translates *bhūta* (Huang 2015, 10). 於藍毘尼園 遍滿林樹間 *vanamāpupūre / pādapebhyaḥ*. 奇特 seems to be the translation of *kautūhalena iva*. 眾妙花 非時而敷榮, *ca ... puṣpāṇyakāle 'pyavapātayadbhiḥ*.

29 Verses 1.25 to 1.40 of the Sanskrit text are not extant.

The *bodhisattva* was born to relieve all the sufferance of the world.
The god-king Māra alone was sorrowful and did not rejoice.³⁰

父王見生子， 奇特未曾有，
素性雖安重， 驚駭改常容，
二息交胸起[自慮交心胸]， 一喜復一懼。

The king father saw his son's unprecedented peculiarity;
and although his temperament was discreet, his usual countenance was altered:
he pondered by himself and his mind and heart were knotted by happiness and distress.³¹

夫人見其子， 不由常道生，
女人性怯弱， 怵惕懷冰炭，
不別吉凶相， 反更生憂怖。

[His] wife, seeing that the baby was not born in the usual way,
[since] female nature is weak, was alarmed, harbouring clashing feelings:
undiscerning good and bad omens, she started to be afraid.³²

長宿諸母人， 互亂祈神明，
各請常所事， 願令太子安。

The older maidens were confused and prayed the gods,
respectively preaching the usually attended one and wishing to bestow serenity to the prince.³³

時彼林中有， 知相婆羅門，
威儀具多聞， 才辯高名稱，
見相心歡喜， 踊躍未曾有。

At that time in the grove there were *brahmans* who understood omens,
with impressive deportment and possessing high learning, with talent and wisdom and high
reputation: having seen the signs his heart rejoiced of enthusiasm for the marvel.³⁴

知王心驚怖， 白王以真實：
「人生於世間， 唯求殊勝子。
王今如滿月， 應生大歡喜。

Knowing that the king was alarmed, they explained him the truth:
“When someone is born to the world, the only wish is for an outstanding son;
Today the king is like a full moon and should highly rejoice for deserving this birth.³⁵

今生奇特子， 必光顯宗族。
安心自欣慶， 莫生餘疑慮，

30 The verse 一切諸世間 is repeated four times in the poem. It is also notable the repetition of plural markers such as 一切, 諸 and 悉.

31 Willemen (2009, 6) has “In his anxiety he had mixed feelings of both joy and distress”.

32 Compare the Tibetan translation in Weller (1929, 6[29]).

33 Huang (2015, 11) explains 長宿諸母人 as 年长的妇女们. See also Weller (1929, 6[30]).

34 See Weller (1929, 6[31]).

35 Weller (1929, 7[31]).

靈祥集家國， 從今轉休[興]盛。
所生殊勝子， 必為世間救。

Today a peculiar son his borh, he will add lustre to the patriarchal clan;
ease your heart and rejoice for yourself, do not be afflicted with further doubts.
Auspicious deities will gather in your land [that] from today will turn to magnificence,
the extraordinary son that is born [to you] will be the world's salvation.

惟此上士身， 金色妙光明，
如是殊勝相， 必成等正覺；
若習樂世間， 必作轉輪王，

Only this superior person's body is gold-coloured and sparkles splendid light:
If one has these sings of excellence, he will attain the perfect awakening.
If he exherts in the realm of pleasures, he must become a *cakravartin*.³⁶

普為大地主， 勇猛正法治，
王領四天下， 統御一切王。
猶如世光明， 日光為最勝，

Being the universal lord of the earth, bravely setting the rule of *dharma*,
a king commanding under the four skies, governing over all the kings.
As the light of the sun is more powerful than any other light in the world.³⁷

若處於山林， 專心求解脫。
成就實智慧， 普照於世間，

He will choose to dwell in a mountain forest, being focused on obtaining liberation,
he will achieve the knowledge of what is real, illuminating everything in the world.

譬如[若]須彌山， 普為諸山王[諸山中之王]。
眾寶金為最， 眾流海為最，
諸宿[星]月為最， 諸明日為最，
如來處世間， 兩足中為最[尊]。

Like mount Sumeru is the king of all the mountains,
among all the treasures gold is the most [precious]; among all the streams, the sea is the [biggest],
among all the stars, the moon is supreme; among all the lights, the sun is the most [powerful];³⁸
when the *tathagata* dwells in this world, he is the most revered among the bipeds.

淨目脩且廣， 上下瞬長睫，
瞪矚紺青色， 明煥[猶如]半月形，
此相云何非， 平等殊勝目？」

36 Willemsen has “Or he will bring happiness in the world, certain to be a wheel-turning king”. To support this translation there is a quote from T192, pp. 021c26: 若習三品樂 是名世丈夫 in which 三品 is *trivarga*. For the Tibetan translation see Weller (1929, 7[34]). Very different is the interpretation by Johnston (1936, 8[34]): “should he practice enjoyment in the world, certainly he will become a *cakravartin*”.

37 See the parallel description in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*: “然後得成轉輪聖王。領四天下七寶具足” (T01, no. 7, p. 202c11)

38 T190 report this verse as a quote. See T03, no. 190, p. 835a28.

Pure eyes, nice and wide, the long eyelashes go up and down in winking;
His steady gaze is blue in colour, like a half moon in shape.³⁹
How these signs can be not right, since they are universal marks of superiority?"

時王告二生： 「若如汝所說，
如此奇特相， 以何[是]因緣故，
不應於先王， 乃現於我世？」

Then the king told to the twice-born man:⁴⁰ "According to what thou said about these peculiar signs, these are due to the chain of cause and effect. They did not belong to previous kings, yet they appear in my times."

婆羅門白王： 「不應如是說。
多聞與智慧， 名稱及事業，
如是四事者， 不應顧先後
物性之所生， 各從因緣起，
今當說諸譬， 王今且諦聽。

The *brahman* addressed the king: "One should not speak like this. Learning and intelligence, reputation and deeds: about those who owned such four things, there should be no scrutiny between ancestors and progeny.⁴¹ The inner nature of each thing is produced arising from specific causes. Now we shall tell some examples, listen to me carefully, oh king!

毘求央耆羅， 此二仙人族，
經歷久遠世， 各生殊異[勝]子。
毘利訶鉢低， 及與儵迦羅，
能造帝王論， 不從先族來。

[In the case] Bhṛgu and Aṅgirā, the ancestry of these two sages went through a long line of generations; to each of them an excellent son was born, Śukraś and Bṛhaspati, [and they] were able to create the treatise on the kings, who did not come forth from their ancestors.⁴²

薩羅薩仙人， 經論久斷絕，
而生婆羅婆[娑]， 續復明經論。
現在知見生， 不必由先[17]胄，

39 紺青色, in medieval Chinese texts could also be a kind of reddish black. The Tibetan text mention black and white eye-lashes, see Weller (1929, 7[38]).

40 二生 or *dvija*, literally means "born twice as human being"; it indicates persons belonging to the three upper castes or, according to narrower definition, to the brahmin caste.

41 The expression 不應顧先後 is twice repeated in the brahmans discourse to the king.

42 *yadrājaśāstram bhr̥guraṅgirā vā na cakraturvaśakarāvṛṣī tau /*

tayoḥ sutau saumya sasarjatusatkālena śukraśca bṛhaspatiśca // Bc_1.41 //

毘求央耆羅 此二仙人族 *bhr̥guraṅgirā...vaśakarāvṛṣī tau*; the term 仙人 is used to define *mahārṣis* and sages, while 二生 is the term mainly defining brahmans. 經歷久遠世 各生殊異子 *tayoḥ sutau.śukraśca bṛhaspatiśca*; see Olivelle (2006, 434). 能造帝王論 不從先族來 *sasarjatus... rājaśāstram... na cakraturvaśakarāvṛṣī*. Apparently, the concept of *vaśakara* is mentioned twice, each time it is translated as 族, 人族 or 先族. The only missing part in Chinese is the vocative of *saumya*. From here starts a long list of *mahārṣis* as examples of sons who exceeded their fathers. 帝王論 translates *rājaśāstram*, see Olivelle (2008, 435).

The *sūtras* and *śāstras* of the sage Sārasvata were severed apart since long time,
and then Parāśara was born, who linked again and explained the *sūtras* and *śāstras*.⁴³
The knowledge produced today, does not have to be linked to the past.

昆耶娑仙人， 多造諸經論，
末後胤跋彌， 廣集偈章句。

The sage Vyāsa created various *sūtras* and *śāstras*;
his last heir Vālmīki extensively collected hymns, chapters and sections.⁴⁴

阿低利仙人， 不解醫方論，
後生阿低離， 善能治百病。

The sage Atreya did not expound the treatise on medicine,
and then Atri was born, who was good at healing one hundred ailments.⁴⁵

二生駒尸仙， 不閑外道論，
後伽提那王， 悉解外道法。
甘蔗王始族， 不能制海潮，
至娑伽羅王， 生育千王子，
能制大海潮， 使不越常限。

Being a twice-born man, the sage Kuśika was not versed in outside doctrines' discourses,⁴⁶

43 Verses *Bc* 1.42 and 1.43 are partially translated and fused in the same passage. The portions that are translated include the initial part of stanza *Bc* 1.43 *sārasvataścāpi jagāda naṣṭaṃ vedaṃ punaryam dadṛṣurna pūrve* "Sārasvata proclaimed again the lost Veda, which men of earlier times had failed to see" (Olivelle 2008, 19). 薩羅薩仙 is Sārasvata māhaṛṣi (Olivelle 2008, 435). The mention of Parāśara is missing in our version of the *Bc* (it was perceived as an erroneous translation by of the final word *pūrve* by Johnston [1936, 43n10]). Willemen (2009a, 7) translates "After the scriptures were long ceased, Sārasvata produced Parāśara, who continued the scriptural texts of the Vedas." This translation is problematic since Parāśara is not known to be the son of Sārasvata, he is considered to be Śakti's son. If we take 而 as "then", with no reference to Sārasvata as the subject (and father of Parāśara), the verse would agree with the description of the role of Parāśara in epic literature, for which see Dikshitar (1951.2, 293-294). Since the mention of Parāśara is not present in the Sanskrit, we might argue that our edition is missing two half stanzas (end of 1.42 and beginning of 1.43) or that the translators were well versed in vedic mythology as to add an explanatory gloss to this passage. The last part of the verse, the verse 現在知見生 may be translating *punaryam dadṛṣurna pūrve*.

44 This verse partly recalls the end of *Bc* 1.42 *vyāsastathainaṃ bahudhā cakāra na yaṃ vasiṣṭhaḥ kṛtavānaśaktiḥ* "Vyasa, likewise, split it [the Veda] into many sections, something Vasishtha could not accomplish".

T192 seems to be referring to stanza *Bc* 1.43 (I put the untranslated text in square brackets): *vālmīkirādaḥ ca sasarja padyam [jagrantha yanna cyavano maharṣiḥ]* "Vālmīki was the first to create a verse text, [something Cyavana, the great sage, failed to produce]", see Olivelle (2008, 19). In T192 there is no mention of Vasiṣṭha and Cyavana; Vasiṣṭha was Vyāsa great-grandfather; the relationship of Cyavana with Vālmīki seems to be unclear, see Olivelle (2008, 435). In T192 Vyāsa is credited with the creation of scriptural texts, Vālmīki for their collection; the two sages are traditionally recognized as the authors of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmayaṇa, respectively. It is possible that the translators linked them together for this reason.

45 This passage completes the translation of *Bc* 1.43 *cikitsitaṃ yacca cakāra nātriḥ paścāttadātreyā ṛṣirjagāda* // See Olivelle (2008, 435).

46 This passage translates *Bc* 1.44 *yacca dvijatvaṃ kuśiko na lebhe tadgādhinaḥ sunūravāpa rājan* "the twice-born status that Kuśika could not win" Olivelle (2008, 19). It seems that the Chinese translators took *dvijatvaṃ* as a determinant of Kuśika, not as an accusative of the verb *lebhe*. The translation follows the order of the Sanskrit text word by word; the reading given by the translator was influenced by the syntactical structure of the Sanskrit text.

In fact, the translator added an object to complete the sentence, 外道論. With *dvijatvaṃ* Āśvaghōṣa is referring to brahmins, for which see Olivelle (2008, 435). According to Huang (2015, 15) 外道 refers to brahmins as well. 外道 may define any kind of heterodoxy, the non-buddhist doctrines in general; it is interesting that the brahmins are using this word. The word 法 may also mean "principles" or "rules"; it has no equivalent in the Sanskrit text.

afterwards the king Gādhin completely understood the outside doctrines' *dharma*.
The king Ikṣvāku's original clan was not able to control the ocean tides,
until king Sagara brought up thousands of princes
able to control the big ocean tides, forcing [them] not to exceed the normal limits.⁴⁷

闍那駒仙人， 無師得禪道。
凡得名稱者， 皆生於自力，

The sage Janaka achieved the path of meditation without a teacher.⁴⁸
All those who got fame, made it come from their personal effort.

或先勝後劣， 或先劣後勝。
帝王諸神仙， 不必承本族，
是故諸世間， 不應顧先後。

Either the ancestors excelled, and the later generations failed or the ancestors failed and the later generations excelled.

King, emperors and celestial sages do not have to succeed by family line:
therefore, for every generation we should not discriminate between ancestors and progeny.⁴⁹

大王今如是， 應生歡喜心，
以心歡喜故， 永離於疑惑。

The king should do the same today, and nurture a joyful mind.
As long as your mind will be joyful, you will always be detached from doubts.⁵⁰

王聞仙人說， 歡喜增供養。
「我今生勝子， 當紹轉輪位，
我年已朽邁， 出家修梵行，
無令聖王子， 捨世遊山林。」

The king, having listened to the *holy men*' words, rejoiced and increased his offerings.⁵¹

47 Translation of the second part of *Bc* 1.44, *velāṃ samudre sagaraśca dadhre nekṣvākavo yāṃ prathamam babandhuḥ*. T192 adds information which is not provided in the *Bc*. Probably, the Chinese translators could rely on someone able to add more information on the myth of Sagara and his sixty thousand sons – a possible reference for this myth is provided by Olivelle (2008, 435).

48 Translation of *Bc* 1.45 *ācāryakam yogavidhau dvijānāmaprāptamanyairjanako jagāma*; for references to the sage Janaka teaching yoga to brahmins see Olivelle (2008, 436). The second part of stanza *Bc* 1.45 diverges much from the source text: *khyātāni karmāṇi ca yāni śaureḥ śūrādayasteṣvabalā babhūvuḥ*. The translator misses the reference to *śaureḥ* and *śūrā* and probably reads the second verse 皆生於自力 as a reference to *te ṣvabalā* (the split should be *teṣv abalā*). See also Johnston (1936, 10).

49 *tasmātpramāṇam na vayo na vaṃśaḥ kaścitkvacicchraiṣṭhyamupaiti loke / rājñāmṛṣṇām ca hi tāni tāni kṛtāni putrairakṛtāni pūrvaiḥ* // *Bc*_1.46 //
“So, age and lineage are not a yardstick; anyone anywhere may attain pre-eminence in the world; Among kings and seers there are many deeds not performed by the elders but accomplished by their sons”. Olivelle (2008, 16-17). The repetition 或... 或 is an usual way to translate the repeated pronoun *kimcit*; in this case it may also indicate the repetition of *tāni*. *rājñāmṛṣṇām* is translated as 帝王諸神仙。

50 *evam nṛpaḥ pratayitairdvijaistairāśvāsitaścāpyabhinanditaśca / śaṅkāmaniṣṭhām vijahau manastah praharṣamevādhikamāruroha* // *Bc*_1.47 //
Huang (2015, 16) notes that these words are not intended as a direct speech of the brahmins in *Bc*; they are changed into direct speech in T192.

51 Willemen (2009, 8) has “his worship increased”, while Beal (1883, 12) has “offered him increased gifts”. My translation of 供養 may be supported by *Bc* 1.48, in which there is mention of “rich gifts” in the expression

“Today I gave birth to an excellent son, he must carry on the role of *cakravartin*,⁵²
As my age will be advanced, I must leave the household to practice on the path of purity,
I will not allow the prince to abandon the secular world and wander in a forest.”⁵³

時近處園中， 有苦行仙人，
名曰阿私陀， 善解於相法，

That time, in a nearby grove, there was a sage following the path of austerities,
his name was Asita; he was good at understanding the code of signs.⁵⁴

來詣王宮門， 王謂梵天應。
苦行樂正法， 此二相俱現，
梵行相具足， 時王大歡喜。
即請入宮內， 恭敬設供養，

He came at the gates of the king’s court, the king sensed that he was worthy of the heaven of
Brahma:
practising austerities, he was delighted by the right *dharma* - these two signs were both evident.⁵⁵
He had all the signs of the practice of purity, then the king was glad,
promptly invited [him] to enter the palace, disposing offerings with reverence.⁵⁶

pradadau dhanāni. Nine verses later, as the sage Asita enters the palace, in the description of the king warm welcoming of the sage, we have the expression 恭敬設供養 which can be translated as “deferentially disposed offerings” - since the verb 設 usually is not related to “worship”, we may suppose that the translators were referring to material offerings. The expression 王聞仙人說 is repeated twice in this chapter.

52 The Sanskrit does not have “wheel-turning king” but a *bhūmipatir*, “father of the land”. See also Huang (2015, 17).

53 *prītaśca tebhyo dvijasattamebhyaḥ satkārapūrvā pradadau dhanāni /*
bhūyādayaṃ bhūmipatiryaṭhokto yāyājjarāmetya vanāni ceti // Bc_1.48 ///

As we understand from the final *ca iti* the second part of this stanza is reporting the direct speech of the king. Olivelle (2008, 18-19) has the following “May he become a king as predicted, and go to the forest when he is old.” The Chinese translators re-elaborated the text; the Sanskrit verbs *bhūyāt* and *yāyāj* are extremely rare forms of benedictive that can be rendered as “may he become” and “may he go”. While the first form seems to be intended as it was in the *Bc* (may he become a king), the second form *yāyāt* “may he go” in Chinese is intended as the king is addressing it to himself (“I must leave”, “I should leave”). In the source text, Śuddhodana is probably alluding to the four stages of life (*aśrama*); in the last stage (*jarām*) householders are supposed to retire in the forest (*vanāni*). T192 is more explicit by introducing the expression 出家修梵行, referring to the last stage of life and thus explaining what the elderly are supposed to do in the forest. The hybrid word 梵行 is usefully explained by Zacchetti (2005, 265) as a calque of *brahmacarin*; however, the term *brahmacarin* is not appropriate to define the last stage of life.

54 *atho nimittaiśca tapobalācca tajjanma janmāntakarasya buddhvā /*
śākyeśvarasyālayamājagāma saddharmatarṣādasito maharṣiḥ // Bc_1.49 //

“Through omens and by his ascetic might, alerted, to the birth of the one who would put an end to birth” (Olivelle 2008, 21); the expression *tajjanma janmāntakarasya buddhvā* and the compound *saddharmatarṣād*, “Thirsting for the true *dharma*” Olivelle (2008, 21) are not present in the translation.

55 Johnston (1936, 11) notes that T192 insists on the evidence of the signs of purity in the person of Asita; he supposed this verse in the *Bc* to be an attempt to justify the admittance of the sage to the women’s quarters.

56 *taṃ brahmavidbrahmavidam jvalantaṃ brāhmyā śrīyā caiva tapaḥśrīyā ca /*
rājño gurugauravasatkriyābhyāṃ praveśāyāmāsa narendrasadma // Bc_1.50 //

This verse is characterized by a noticeable word refrain (Olivelle [2008, 436]), we have *brahmavid*, *brahmavidam*, *brāhmyā*, *brāhmyā śrīyā caiva tapaḥśrīyā ca*, and then *gurur gaurava*. In T192 we can observe a repetition of morphemes that may be not casual, but meant to reproduce the original: 梵天, 苦行, 正法, 相俱, 相法 梵天應, 梵行. Huang (2015, 17) notes that 梵天應 is used to translate *brahmavid* (an alternative reading may be 知梵者). 即請入宮內 恭敬設供養 *gauravasatkriyābhyāṃ praveśāyām āsa narendrasadma*. 請入 is meant to translate the causative periphrastic perfect (*praveśāyām āsa*). It is not clear what 即 is meant to translate. The term *satkriyā*

將入內宮中， 唯樂見王子。
雖有嫫女眾， 如在空閑林，

When [he] was entered inside the palace, [his] only joy was to see the prince.⁵⁷
Although there was a multitude of maidens, [he behaved] as if being in a desolate forest.⁵⁸

安處正法座， 加敬尊奉事，
如安低牒王， 奉事波尸吒。

Sitting comfortably and appropriately, [he was] also offered respectful attendance,
like Antideva attended upon Vasiṣṭa.⁵⁹

時王白仙人： 「我今得大利。
勞屈大仙人， 辱來攝受我，
諸有所應為， 唯願時[垂]教勅。」

Then the king spoke to the sage: “Today I have obtained a big reward,
I bend down to you, great sage, humiliating yourself by coming to visit me;
as for all that must be done, your simple desire will be considered an instruction.”⁶⁰

如是勸請已， 仙人大歡喜：

Being so wishfully invited, the sage was very happy:⁶¹

「善哉常勝王， 眾德悉皆備。
愛樂來求者， 惠施崇正法，

“Oh excellent victorious king, provided with all virtues,
Showing care for petitioners, forbearing executor of the most righteous *dharma*,⁶²

仁智殊勝族， 謙恭善隨順。
宿殖[植]眾妙因， 勝果現[見]於今，

“hospitality, due manner” ablative dual is rendered in Chinese with 設供養. There is no mention of a *gurur*, a preceptor of the king, in the translation. On the difficult narrative progression see Weller (1939).

57 Corresponds to the first part of Bc 1.51: *sa pārthivāntaḥpurasaṃnikarṣa kumārajanmāgataharṣavegaḥ /*

58 *viveśa dhīro vanasaṃjñāyeva tapaḥprakarṣācca jarāśrayācca // Bc_1.51 //* The subject is not explicit in the translation. There is no reference to tapas and old age (*jarā*) as the causes of the old man’s lack of interest in the ladies – his devotion and the signs of it were stressed in the previous verses.

59 *tato nṛpas taṃ munim āsanasthaṃ pādyaṛdhyapūrvam pratipūjya samyak / nimantrayām āsa yathopacāram purā vasiṣṭhaṃ sa ivāntidevaḥ // Bc_1.52 //* T192 does not mention the offering of water for the feet.

60 Translates Bc 1.53. 時王白仙人 我今得大利 translates *dhanyo 'smy anugrāhyam idaṃ*; 勞屈大仙人 辱來 corresponds to *bhagavān upetaḥ*; 攝受我 translates *yan mām didṛkṣur*; 諸有所應為 *kiṃ karavāṇi*; 唯願時教勅 *ājñāpyatām... viśrambhitumarhasīti*. The expression 大仙人 is usually used to translate *mahārṣi*; here it renders the Sanskrit *bhagavān*. We might incidentally note that the king does not state himself of being disciple of the sage (*śiṣyo 'smi*).

61 *evaṃ nṛpeṇopanimantritaḥ sansarveṇa bhāvena muniryathāvat / sa vismayotphullaviśāladr̥ṣṭirgambhīradhūrāṇi vacāṃsyuvāca // Bc_1.54 //*

“When he was entreated thus by the king, in a fitting manner and full of love, the sage uttered these words, wise and profound, his large eyes in amazement opened wide” (Olivelle 2008, 23).

62 *mahātmani tvayyupapannametapriyātithau tyāgini dharmakāme / sattvānvayajñānavayo 'nurūpā snigdha yadevaṃ mayi me matiḥ syāt // Bc_1.55 //*

The compound *sattvānvayajñānavayo* has been paraphrased. This verse is a rare case in which Johnston (1936, 12) agreed with the interpretation by T192.

From a benevolent, wise and illustrious clan, [whose] modesty and courtesy and kindness proceed accordingly,

[that] lodged and nurtured a myriad of seeds, [so that] today the excellent fruits are manifested.⁶³

汝當聽我說， 今者來[之]因緣。
我從日道來， 空中天說，
言王生太子， 當成正覺道。

Thou shall listen to me telling the cause that made me arrive here today.

I came from the path of the sun, and I heard a celestial voice in the empty sky.

It said that “to the king a prince was born, ought to accomplish the path for awakening”⁶⁴

并見先瑞相， 今故來到此，
欲觀釋迦王， 建立正法幢。 」

I connected it with previous auspicious signs I saw, that led me to arrive here today, wishing to see the Śākya king raising high the banner of the right *dharma*.⁶⁵

王聞仙人說， 決定離疑網，
命持太子出， 以示於仙人。

Having heard the sage’s words, determined to abandon the net of doubts; he ordered to bring out the prince, and showed [him] to the sage.⁶⁶

仙人觀太子， 足下千輻輪，
手足網縵指， 眉間白毫跢[峙]，
馬藏隱密相，

The sage observed the prince: under the feet thousand spiked wheels; the fingers of hands and feet webbed as plain silk; among the eyebrows a tuft of white hair standing; like a horse [he had] the intimate parts hidden in the abdomen,⁶⁷

63 *etacca tadyena nṛparṣayaste / dharmeṇa sūkṣmeṇa dhanānyavāpya / nityaṃ tyajanto vidhivadhabhūvustapobhirāḍhyā vibhavairdaridrāḥ* // Bc_1.56 //

“And this is that subtle dharma by which those royal sages, having obtained wealth, Always ceded it according to rule, becoming thus poor in wealth but rich in austerities”, see Olivelle (2008, 20-21). 善隨順 seems to be recalling the previous verse in *aurūpā snigdā*, or it might as well be a reference to the generosity of the clan, although less explicit than the source text (*dhanānyavāpya / nityaṃ tyajanto*). It is interesting to note that the specific reference to the missing reference to the donation of wealth. *nityaṃ tyajanto* may also be intended as *nityaṃ yajanto* “performed sacrifices according to the rule”.

64 *prajojanaṃ yattu mamopayāne tanme śṛṇu prītimupehi ca tvam / divyā mayādityapathe śrutā vāgbodhāya jātastanayastaveti* // Bc_1.57 //

Direct speech is often translated more accurately, as in this case. The expression 王生太子 is repeated five times in the first two chapters.

65 *śrutvā vacastacca manaśca yuktvā jñātvā nimittaiśca tato 'smyupetaḥ / didṛkṣayā śākyakuladhvajasya śakradhvajasyeva samucchritasya* // Bc_1.58 // “so I have come with the desire to see this banner of the Śākya race, like the banner of Śakra, raised up high”(Olivelle [2008, 23]). Here 并 may be the translation of *yuktvā*. The overall meaning of the verse was translated although the reference to Śakra is missing. The translators paid attention to translate the desiderative conjugation of the verb, as in *didṛkṣayā* or 欲觀.

66 *ityetadevaṃ vacanaṃ niśamaṃ praharṣasaṃbhrāntagatinarendraḥ / ādāya dhātṛyaṅkagataṃ kumāraṃ saṃdarśayāmāsa tapodhanāya* // Bc_1.59 //

In Bc the king is described has *bhrāntagati*, “having unsteady step”; the kid is taken from “the lap of his nurse” *dhātṛyaṅka* – both elements are not reported in the translation.

67 *cakrāṅkapādaṃ sa tato maharṣirjālāvanaddhāṅgulipāṇipādam / soraṇabhravaṃ vāraṇavastikoṣaṃ savismayaṃ rājasutaṃ dadarśa* // Bc_1.60 //

容色炎光明， 見生未曾想[相]，
流淚長歎息

the face brilliant like a fire shining. Seeing the new-born rare marks, he started crying, heaving long sighs.⁶⁸

王見仙人泣， 念子心戰慄，
氣結盈心胸， 驚悸不自安。
不覺從坐[座]起， 稽首仙人足，
而白仙人言：

As the king saw the sage sobbing, he was worried for [his] son, his heart trembled.
A knot blocked the energy in his bosom, palpitating with fear, he could not ease himself.
Unconsciously standing up from [his] seat, he bowed his head at the sage's feet
and spoke to the sage:⁶⁹

「此子生奇特，
容貌極端嚴， 天人殆不異，
汝言[當為]人中上， 何故生憂悲？」

“This son' birth was peculiar,
his features are extremely august, almost indiscernible from the gods',
he will act as superior among people, then what is the cause that brings grievance and sadness?⁷⁰

將非短壽子， 生我憂悲乎？
久渴得甘露， 而反復失耶？ [而復反棄乎]

Will the kid not have a long life? Will he bring me sorrow?
For long time I have been thirsty, [now] I am getting some nectar: am I to waste it again?⁷¹

將非失財寶， 喪家亡國乎[子]？
若有勝子存， 國嗣有所寄，

馬藏隱密相 translatea *vāraṇavastikośaṃ*. Some hypothesis about this Sanskrit compound can be found in Olivelle (2008, 437). Willemen (2009a, 9) is more explicit in translating the verse as “He was characterized by cryptorchidism, like a horse”. The peculiar description of the prince male organ proved to be very suggestive; a collection and interpretation of stories on this topic has been written by Nobuyoshi Yamabe in Kieschnick and Shahar (ed. 2014, 61-80). On the sexual connotations and animal-like metaphor pertaining the Buddha's body see also Powers (2012).

68 *dhātṛyaṅkaśaṃviṣṭamavekṣya cainaṃ devyaṅkaśaṃviṣṭamivāgnisūnum /
babhūva pakṣmāntavicañcitāśrurniśvasya caiva tridivonmukho 'bhūt // Bc_1.61 //*
A comparison with the son of Agni (*devyaṅkaśaṃviṣṭamivāgnisūnum*) is translated as a comparison with a blazing fire.

69 *dr̥ṣṭvāsitaṃ tvaśrupariplutākṣaṃ / snehāttanūjasya nr̥paścakampe /
sagadgadaṃ bāṣpakaṣāyakaṇṭhaḥ papraccha sa prāñjalirānatāṅgaḥ // Bc_1.62 //*
“with faltering speech, his throat choked with tears, with bent body and folded palms”, see Olivelle (2008, 25); in translating this passage, it is noteworthy the use of a term from traditional Chinese medicine such as 氣結.

70 *alpāntaraṃ yasya vapuḥ surebhyo bavadbhutaṃ yasya ca janma dīptam /
yasottamaṃ bhāvinamāttha cārtha taṃ prekṣya kasmāttava dhīra bāṣpaḥ // Bc_1.63 //*

71 *api sthīrāyurbhagavan kumāraḥ kaccinna śokāya mama prasūtaḥ /
labdhaḥ kathaṃcit salilāñjalir me na khalvimaṃ pātumupaiti kālāḥ // Bc_1.64 //*
“This handful of water I have somehow obtained, surely Time will not come to lap it up?” Olivelle (2008, 25). The translation makes a curious mention of *aṃṛta* 甘露, that may be a reference to *salilā* in the source text.

我死時心悅， 安樂生他世，
猶如人兩目， 一眠而一覺。

Will he not lose my wealth? Ruin the family and waste the country?
If an excellent son will survive and the succession of the reign is secured,
I will die with my heart at ease, tranquil and happy [because] I gave birth to him,
like a man whose two eyes are one asleep and one awake.⁷²

莫如秋霜花， 雖敷而無實，
人於親族中， 愛深無過子。
宜時為記說， 令我得蘇息。」

May he not be like the flowers in the autumn frost, although they spread, they will not be fruitful!
A person, among all the relatives, does not love anyone more deeply than a son.
It is the proper time to utter an explanation, let me catch my breath anew”.⁷³

仙人知父王， 心懷大憂懼，
即告言大王： 「王今勿恐怖，
前已語大王， 慎勿自生疑，

The sage knew that the king-father was harboring worries and apprehension,
being promptly requested, he told the kind: “The king today must not be afraid.
As I have told you before, great king, be cautious not to nurture your own doubts!⁷⁴

今相猶如前， 不應懷異想；
自惟我年暮， 悲慨泣歎耳 [不及故悲泣]
今我臨終時， 此子應世生[王]，
為盡生故生， 斯人難得遇。

Today’ signs are the same as the previous ones: one should not harbor any different thought.
My years are at the sunset, I weep of grief because I did not make it:
now that I am facing the end of my time, this child will become the king of the world.
He is born for putting an end to rebirth, a person like him is hard to meet.⁷⁵

當捨聖王位， 不著五欲境，
精勤修苦行， 開覺得真實。

72 *apyakṣayaṃ me yaśaso nidhānaṃ kacciddhruvo me kulahastasāraḥ /*
api prayāsyāmi sukhaṃ paratra supto 'pi putre 'nimiṣaikacakṣuḥ // Bc_1.65 //
An explanation of the different interpretations of the last part of this verse (“In death, will I enter the yonder world in bliss, although asleep, with one eye open in my son?”), see Olivelle (2008, 25-26) see Johnston (1936, 14).
73 *kaccinna me jātamaphullameva kulapravālaṃ pariśoṣabhāgi /*
kṣipraṃ vibho brūhi na me 'sti śāntiḥ snehaṃ sute vetsi hi bāndhavānām // Bc_1.66 //
The first part of this stanza is glossed (there is no mention of autumn frost 秋霜 in Sanskrit); the genitive *bāndhavānām* was taken as a partitive in 於親族中. In the *Bc* the king is said to “have no peace” (*na me 'sti śāntiḥ*), while in the translation he says he need to “breath anew” (得蘇息).
74 *ityāgatāvegamaniṣṭabuddhyā buddhvā narendram sa munir babhāṣe /*
mā bhūnmatiste nṛpa kācidanyā niḥsaṃśayaṃ tadyadavocamasmi // Bc_1.67 //
75 *nāsyānyathātvaṃ prati vikriyā me svām vañcanām tu prati viklavo 'smi /*
kālo hi me yātumayaṃ ca jāto jātikṣayasyāsulabhasya boddhā // Bc_1.68 //
Direct speech is translated quite correspondingly, although the sage states quite clearly “I am perturbed not because he’ll come to harm; I have been cheated, that’s why I am distressed” see Olivelle (2008, 24-25). This is substitute in Chinese with a reference to the omens Asita had perceived before arriving at the court (今相猶如前). I am taking 耳 as 而已 according to HCD s.b. 耳. On 為盡生 see also Huang (2015, 24).

常為諸群生， 滅除癡冥障，
於世永熾燃， 智慧日光明。

When he will abandon the sacred post of king, he will not be attached to the boundary of the five desires,
assiduously practicing the path of austerities, he will awaken and get to [know] the truth.
For all the creatures compelled to constant rebirth, he will remove the obscure hindrance of delusion:
for the world [he will be] an ever-burning flame, the bright light of a sun of knowledge.⁷⁶

眾生沒苦海， 眾病為聚沫，
衰老為巨浪， 死為海洪濤。
乘輕智慧舟， [8]渡此眾流難，

The living beings sinking in a sea of sorrow - all the ailments being like froth,
old age being like a huge wave, death being like the sea billows, -
[can] ride the gentle boat of wisdom to cross all these flowing perils.⁷⁷

智慧泝流水， 淨戒為傍岸。
三昧清涼池， 正受眾奇鳥，
如此甚深廣， 正法之大河。
渴愛諸群生， 飲之以蘇息

Wisdom is a flowing current, the discipline of purity being the side shores;
the fresh pond is *samādhi*, the right vows are wonderful birds
as this vast profundity is the mighty river of the righteous *dharma*:
all the hoards of thirsty living creatures can drink it and revive.⁷⁸

76 *vihāya rājyaṃ viśayeśvanāsthastīvrāiḥ prayatnairadhigamya tattvam / jagatyayaṃ mohatamo nihantuṃ jvaliṣyati jñānamayo hi sūryaḥ* // Bc_1.69 //
常為諸群生 滅除癡冥障 *jagatyayaṃ mohatamo nihantuṃ*，於世永熾燃 智慧日光明 *jvaliṣyati jñānamayo hi sūryaḥ*. T192 adds a reference to the 五欲境 “five desires”. This term here is always used to translate *viśayeṣu*. Both Olivelle (2008, 27) and Johnston (1936, 15) translate this *viśayeṣv* as “pleasures” or “wordly pleasures”, while Passi (1979: 25) has a more accurate “oggetti dei sensi” or sensory objects.

Every occurrence of the term *viśaya* appears in the source text, it is translated with the Chinese terms *wuyu* 五欲 or *wuyujing* 五欲境. Olivelle (2008, 27) and Johnston (1936, 15) translate the plural *viśayeṣv* as “pleasures” or “wordly pleasures”, while Passi (1979, 25) has a probably more accurate “oggetti dei sensi” or sensory objects.

In T192, *wuyujing* 五欲境 is consistently used to indicate the “realm of the senses”, i.e. the sensory objects, although *wuyu* 五欲 would be closer in meaning to *pañcakāma* than to *viśaya*, which per se, does not include a precise reference to “pleasure”. It seems that with this choice, the translators of T192 were identifying the objects of perception (*viśaya*) and the organs of perception (*indriya*), and then flattening these two concepts with the idea of “sensorial pleasure” (*kāma*). The two terms *wuyujing* 五欲境 and *wuyu* 五欲 are used indifferently to translate every occurrence of *viśaya*. The reason for this habit may also be that he was shortening 五欲境 in 五欲 with the aim to fit the expression in a five-character sentence; in this perspective, it may have been more appropriate to use *jingjie* 境界 as a two-characters expression and translation for *viśaya*.

While the term *wuyu* 五欲 is very common in the Canon, the expression *wuyu jingjie* 五欲境界 is less common, and apparently it occurs only a handful of times before its appearance in the translation of the *Buddhacarita*. Particularly interesting seems to be the definition found in the *Sanfa dulun* 三法度論 a treatise attributed to Saṃghadeva; in this text the “realm of the five desires” appears to be associated explicitly with lust, thus being closer to the translation of *pañcakāma*. In the *Buudhāvataṃsaka* translated by Buddhahadra (T278), however, the term seems to be closer to the meaning associated to it in the translation of the *Buddhacarita*; the expression in fact seems to be referring all “sensory objects” in general.

77 *duḥkhāraṇāvādyādhipikīrṇaphenājjarātaraṅgānmarāṇogragegāt / uttārayiṣyatyayamuhyamānamārta jagajjñānamahāplavena* // Bc_1.70 //

78 *prajñāmbuvegāṃ sthiraśīlavaprāṃ samādhiśītāṃ vratacakravākāṃ / asyottamāṃ dharmanadī pravṛtāṃ / tṛṣṇārditaḥ pāsyati jīvalokaḥ* // Bc_1.71 //

染[深]著五欲境， 眾苦所驅迫，
迷生死曠野， 莫知所歸趣；
菩薩出世間， 為通解脫道。

[For those] deeply affected by the five desires, being tyrannized by all the sufferings, confused by the wilderness of life and death, without knowing the place and the direction, the bodhisattva came to this world to explain the path of liberation.⁷⁹

世間貪欲火， 境界薪熾然；
興發大悲雲， 法雨雨令滅。

The world is the fire of greed,⁸⁰ the phenomenal realm is the fuel [that] burns fiercely, [he] bestows a big cloud of mercy, a rain of *dharma* [that] will rain and extinguish [it].⁸¹

癡闇門重扇[毛]， 貪欲為關鑰，
閉塞諸群生， 出要解脫門；
金剛智慧鑷， 拔恩愛逆鑽[扉]。

The door whose heavy shutters are delusion and darkness, [whose] bolt is greed, blocking all the living beings that need to go out through a door of deliverance, [He] will knock out with the steel tweezers of knowledge, with the drill of grace and love.⁸²

愚癡網自纏， 窮苦無所依；
法王出世間， 能解眾生縛

One is entangled by the net of foolishness, poverty and sufferance, with nowhere to rely on, the king of *dharma* is born in this world, [he who] can release all the living beings from bondage.⁸³

The metaphors are translated quite on point; every single image is described in a verse of five characters. The expression 蘇息 is repeated four times in the text. It does not have occurrences in other biographies. Huang (2015, 26) sees 正受 as the translation of *vrata*, which Willemen (2009a, 10) seems to have dismissed, having translated this passage as “rightly receiving wondrous birds”.

79 *duḥkhārditebhyo viṣayāvṛtebhyaḥ saṃsāra-kāntārapathasthitebhyaḥ / ākhyāsyati hyeṣa vimokṣamārga mārgapraṇaṣṭebhya ivādhvagebhyaḥ* // Bc_1.72 // 五欲境 is again a translation of *viṣayā*, as “world of sensory objects”. See also Huang (2015, 26). This demonstrates that the translator had a strong prompt for translating the specific term with 五欲境. See also note to stanza Bc 1.69. There is no mention of bodhisattva 菩薩 in the *Bc*, which only has a pronoun, *eṣa*, “this one”.

80 It is unclear if 貪欲 has to be translated together as “greed”, or 貪 has to be intended as a verb, the sentence thus becoming “The world is greed for the fire of desire”. This translation may sound more appropriate, although in the translation of *Bc* 1.74 the two characters 貪欲 are apparently intended as a single word.

81 *vidahyamānāya janāya loke rāgāgnināyaṃ viṣayendhanena / pralhādamādhāsyati dharmavṛṣṭyā vṛṣṭyā mahāmegha ivātapānte* // Bc_1.73 // 欲 is used again to translate *viṣaya*, this time in the expression *rāgāgnināyaṃ viṣayendhanena* translated as 世間貪欲火. The repetition of 雨 reflects the repetition of *vṛṣṭyā*.

82 *trṣṇārgalam mohatamaḥkapātāṃ dvāraṃ prajānāmapayānahetoḥ / vipātayīṣyatyayamuttamena saddharmatādena durāsadena* // Bc_1.74 // In translating this *upajāti*, the translators kept the same syntactic order of the Sanskrit text. I reversed the order (as Olivelle did translating the Sanskrit) because the direct object (*dvaram*) has too many relative clauses as appositions. The T192 does not translate *saddharma* literally, thus changing the second term of the metaphor. Johnston (1936, 16) did not appreciate the Chinese rendition.

83 *svairmohapāśaiḥ pariveṣṭitasya duḥkhābhibhūtasya nirāśrayasya /*

王莫以此子， 自生憂悲患，
當憂彼眾生， 著欲違正法。

For this kid, oh king, do not nurture your own worries, sorrow and anxiety.
You should worry instead for those beings affected by desire and violating the right *dharma*.⁸⁴

我今老死壞， 遠離聖功德，
雖得諸禪定， 而不獲其利。
於此菩薩所， 竟不聞正法，
身壞命終後， 必生三難天。 」

Now I am collapsing under old age and death, kept away from the supreme merit,
though I have obtained the fortitude of *dhyāna*, I cannot obtain its benefits.
Eventually I will not hear the right *dharma* of this *bodhisattva*,
My body broken [since] after the end of my life I must be born in the three perilous heavens.⁸⁵

王及諸眷屬， 聞彼仙人說，
知其自憂歎， 恐怖悉以[已]除。
「生此奇特子， 我心得大安。

The king and all the retinue, having heard the sage's words,
understood that he was worrying about himself, and every fear was already ceased.
“Having this peculiar son, my heart gets a great tranquility.”⁸⁶

出家捨世榮， 修習仙人道，
遂不紹國位[不紹國嗣]， 復令我不悅。 」

Leaving the house and abandoning the glory of the world to practice the path of sages,
not carrying on the country, not inheriting the throne, again it makes me unhappy”.⁸⁷

lokasya sambudhya ca dharmarājah kariṣyate bandhanamokṣameṣaḥ // Bc_1.75 // The term *sambudhya* was not translated.

84 *tanmā kṛthāḥ śokamimam prati tvamasminsa śocyō 'sti manuṣyaloke / mohana vā kāmasukhairmadādvā yo naiṣṭhikam śroṣyati nāśya dharmam* // Bc_1.76 //

85 *bhraṣṭasya tasmācca guṇādato me dhyānāni labdhvāpyakṛtārthataiva / dharmasya tasyāśravaṇādahaṃ hi manye vipattiṃ tridive 'pi vāsam* // Bc 1.77 // Here Johnston's edition and Olivelle's translation offer two slightly different interpretations. Johnston (1936, 21) has "... I have not won through the goal, in that I have fallen short of this merit.", while Olivelle (2008, 31) has "Because I am deprived of that distinction, I have failed to attain the final goal.", Passi (1979, 26) has "Così io sono escluso da questo merito, (...) non ho affatto raggiunto il mio fine". The T192 translates *guṇād* with 功德. The rebirth in heaven is seen as perilous because one cannot obtain Buddhahood in heaven. The expression 三難天 is *hapax legomenon*.

86 *iti śrutārthaḥ sasuhṛtsadārastyaktvā viśādaṃ mumude narendrah / evaṃvidho 'yaṃ tanayo mameti mene sa hi svāmapī sāravattām* // Bc_1.78 //

Different interpretations lay here in *sāravattām*, translated by both Johnston (1936, 17) and Olivelle (2008, 31) as "good fortune", while Passi (1979, 27) has "eccellenza". T192 opts for 大安, or tranquility, and translates it as part of a direct speech of the king.

87 *ārṣeṇa mārgeṇa tu yāsyatīti cintāvidheyam hṛdayam cakāra / na khalvasau na priyadharmapakṣaḥ / saṃtānanāśāttu bhayaṃ dadarśa* // Bc_1.79 //

In Chinese the whole passage becomes the direct speech of the king, while in *Bc* the direct speech only comprehends the first part of the verse "*ārṣeṇa mārgeṇa tu yāsyatīti*". On direct speech in T192 see also Liao Guey-Lan (2011).

爾時彼仙人， 向王真實說：
「必如王所慮， 當成正覺道。」
於王眷屬中， 安慰眾心已，
自以己神力， 騰虛[空]而遠逝。

Then the sage sincerely said to the king:
“it must be considered by the king, that [he] will accomplish the right path to awakening”.
Having bestowed courage in the heart of the king and his retinue,
he used his personal superhuman power to rise into the empty space and get far away.⁸⁸

爾時白淨王， 見子奇特相，
又聞阿私陀， 決定真實說。
於子心敬重， 珍[倍]護兼常念，

That time the king Śuddhodana, having seen the strange signs of the kid
and having heard the words of Asita, resolved that [he] had said the truth.
For the child [he had] utmost respect, improved the protection and increased the constant care.⁸⁹

大赦於天下， 牢獄悉解脫。
世人生子法， 隨宜取捨事，
依諸經方論， 一切悉皆為。

An amnesty [was proclaimed] in the reign, all the prisons were unlocked.
the rule for people giving birth to a son is to decide if accept it or reject it
everything was carried on according to the *texts* and the prescriptions in the *treatises*.⁹⁰

生子滿十日， 安隱心已泰，
普祠諸天神， 廣施於有道。
沙門婆羅門， 呪願祈吉[告]福，

Ten days after the birth, the steady mind was already peaceful,
There was a popular worshipping to the celestial deities, [the king] widely bestowed grants with
justice and wisdom;

88 *atha munirasito nivedya tattvaṃ sutaniyataṃ sutaviklavāya rājñe /
sabahumatumudīkṣyamānarūpaḥ pavanapathena yathāgataṃ jagāma* // Bc_1.80 //
The expression *pavanapathena yathāgataṃ jagāma* is translated as 騰虛而遠逝。

89 *kṛtamitiranujāsutaṃ ca dṛṣtvā munivacanaśravaṇe ca tanmatau ca /
bahuvidhamanukampayā sa sādhuḥ priyasutavadviniyojayāmcakāra* // Bc_1.81 //
“Seing his younger sister’s son, that holy man, having attained right knowledge, in his compassion, instructed him
in many ways, as if he were his own dear son, to listen to the sage’s words, and to follow his advice” See Olivelle
(2008, 438). The discrepancy with the Sanskrit has been noted by Johnston (1936, 81) and Huang (2015, 30). As it
is correctly underlined by Olivelle (2008, 438), the poem introduces a new character rather abruptly; a reference to
this new character cannot be found in Chinese.

90 *narapatirapi putrajanmatuṣṭo viṣayagatāni vimucya bandhanāni /
kulasadr̥śamacīrakaradyathāvatpriyatanayanastanayasya jātakarma* // Bc_1.82 //
The expression 取捨事 is problematic, since it implies some form of choice (or maybe a ritual) which is not
present in the Sanskrit. Olivelle (2008, 30-31) translates the Sanskrit as “he performed his son’s birth rite as
prescribed, in a way befitting his family, out of deep love for his son”. Willemsen (2009a, has “When a person of
this world has a son, he may accept or reject the fact, according to what is proper. Everything is done relying on the
instructions found in the scriptural texts”. Johnston (1936, 17) sees 依諸經方論 as a reference to a possible
different reading at the beginning of the second half of the stanza as *śrutisadr̥śa*.

Sramanas and brahmanas uttered formulas praying for auspicious fortune.⁹¹

嚠施[親族]諸群臣， 及國中貧乏。
村城婣女眾， 牛馬象財錢[錢財]，
各隨彼所須， 一切皆給與。

[He] gave alms to all the subjects and to all the needy in the country,
A multitude of maidens from the towns and from the countryside, cows, horses, elephants, wealth
and properties: all of this was given to everyone according to what was needed.⁹²

卜擇選良時， 遷子還本宮，

Through divination [it was set] the most suitable time to move the son back in the court palace.⁹³

二飯白淨牙， 七寶莊嚴輿。
雜色珠絞絡， 明焰極光澤，
夫人抱太子， 周匝禮天神。

A chariot of pure ivory of elephants' tusks was adorned with the seven precious stones
necklaces of amulets of many colors, lights ablaze in extreme luster
the queen carrying the prince in her arms paid homage to all the deities in the surrounds.⁹⁴

然後昇寶輿， 婣女眾隨侍，
王與諸臣民， 一切[眷屬]俱導從。
猶如天帝釋， 諸天眾圍遶，

And then she ascended in the precious chariot, all the maidens following and attending.
The king and all the subjects followed among the retinue,
like the god Śakra is surrounded by the gods.⁹⁵

91 *daśasu pariṇateṣvahaḥsu caiva prayatamanāḥ parayā mudā parītaḥ /
akuruta japahomamaṅgalādyāḥ paramabhavāya sutasya devatejyāḥ* // Bc_1.83 //

The *Bc* is referring to a period of impurity following the birth of a son (Olivelle 2008, 439). The verse is summarized, the *Bc* mentioning *japa* “prayers”, *homa* “offerings”, *maṅgalādyāḥ* “auspicious rites” as well as *devatejyāḥ* “incantation to the gods”. 沙門婆羅門 are the explicit ministers of the rites mentioned; there is no mention of brahmins in this verse; they appears (*dvijebhyaḥ*) in the following verse.

92 *api ca śatasahasrapūrṇasaṃkhyāḥ sthirabalavattanayāḥ sahemaśṛṅgīḥ /
anupagatajarāḥ payasvinīrgāḥ svayamadadātsutavṛddhaye dvijebhyaḥ* // Bc_1.84 //

Huang (2015, 31) chose the reading *chenshi* 嚠施 as *dakṣina* and notes that this term is not used in *Bc*. Willemen (2009a, 11) chose the alternative form 親族 and translates according to the Taishō punctuation, connecting this verse to the previous one as “The śramaṇas and brahmins offered incantations and prayed for good fortune for [the king’s] close family and for all his ministers, and also for the poor of the land”. It is in fact unclear why the brahmins would pray for the poor. In any case, the *Bc* makes explicit mention of donating exclusively to brahmins, while in T192 this reference is omitted.

93 *bahuvidhaviṣayāstato yatātmā svahrdayatoṣakarīḥ kriyā vidhāya /
guṇavati niyate śive muhūrte matimakaronmuditaḥ purapraveśe* // Bc_1.85 //

T192 does not mention the king administering rites and “bringing joy to his heart” (Olivelle 2008, 35).

94 *dviradaradamayīmatho mahārḥa sitasitapuṣpabhṛtām maṇipradīpām /
abhajata śivikām śivāya devī tanayavatī praṇipatyā devatābhyaḥ* // Bc_1.86 //

Note 二飯 *dvirada* for elephants. See also Huang (2015, 32).

95 *puramatha purataḥ praveśya patnīm sthvirājanānugatāmapatyanāthām /
nṛpatirapi jagāma paurasaṃghairdivamamarairmaghavānīvārcyamānaḥ* // Bc_1.87 //

如摩醯首羅， 忽生六面子。
設種種眾具， 供給及請福，
今王生太子， 設眾具亦然。

Like Maheśvara unexpectedly giving birth to a six-faced son,
and disposing many kinds of arrangement, provision and acts of blessing,
today the king gave birth to the prince and he disposed many arrangements in the same manner.⁹⁶

毘沙門天王， 生那羅鳩婆，
一切諸天眾， 皆悉大歡喜。
王今生太子， 迦毘羅衛國，
一切諸人民， 歡喜亦如是。

Vaiśranava, the heavenly king, gave birth to Nalakubara,
all the heavens knew a great happiness,
today the king gave birth to the prince, and in the country of Kapilavastu
every citizen is joyful in the same way.⁹⁷

96 *bhavanamatha vigāhya śākyarājo bhava iva ṣaṇmukhajanmanā pratītaḥ / idamidamiti harṣapūrṇavaktro bahuvīdhapuṣṭiyaśaskaram vyadhatta* // Bc_1.88 // The name Maheśvara is not present in the Sanskrit, where the same god is named with the epithet Bhava, who gave birth to Ṣaṇmukha “Six-faced”. The expression 猶如天帝釋 is repeated four times in the poem. The Tibetan text has Bhava, like the Sanskrit, see Weller (1929, 13).

97 *iti narapatiputranmanavṛddhyā sajanapadaṃ kapilāvhaṇyaṃ puraṃ tat / dhanadapuramivāpsaro 'vakīrṇa muditamabhūnnalakūbaraprasūtau* // Bc_1.89 // On Vaiśranava in China see Forte E. (2014). The expression 一切諸天眾 is repeated twice, in the first chapter and once in the fifth. The toponym 迦毘羅衛國 is repeated twice in the poem.

處宮品第二

Second chapter – Living in the palace⁹⁸

時白淨王家， 以生聖子故，
親族名子弟， 群臣悉忠良。

That time in the family of the king Śuddhodana, due to the birth of the holy son,
all the kinsmen were called sons and brothers, all the ministers were loyal and honest.⁹⁹

象馬寶車輿， 國財七寶器，
日日轉增勝， 隨應而集生。
無量諸伏藏， 自然從地出，
清淨雪山中， 兇狂群白象。
不呼自然至， 不御自調伏，

Elephants, horses and precious vehicles, the wealth of the whole country, the seven treasures, and utensils

day by day turned to be more, and better; according to the needs [they] appeared in collections;
Uncountable treasures spontaneously emerged from the earth.¹⁰⁰

From among the pure snows on the mountains, a herd of maddened white elephants
arrived spontaneously, without call - without training, by themselves, they became subdued.¹⁰¹

種種雜色馬， 形體極端嚴。
朱髦纖長尾， 超騰駿若飛，
又[朝]野之所生， 應時自然至。

All sorts of multicolored horses, extremely dignified in their demeanour,
with vermilion bangs, with long and slender tails, galloping steeds that looked like flying,

98 The title of the sarga is *iti buddhacarite mahākāvyē antahpuravihāro nāma dvitīyaḥ sargaḥ*, at the end of the *sarga* in the Sanskrit text.

99 *ā janmano janmajarāntakasya tasyātmajasyātmajitaḥ sa rājā / ahanyahanyarthagajāśvamiṭrairvṛddhiṃ yayau sindhur ivāmbuvegaiḥ* // Bc_2.1 // “Ever since the birth of his son, who had reached the end of birth and old age, the self-controlled king prospered day by day, with wealth, elephants, horses and allies, like the Indus with the rush of waters” (Olivelle 2008, 39). In the first part of the *sarga*, the translation follows the Sanskrit text quite loosely and the comparison with the Indu river is completely skipped: the Chinese text stresses the good quality of family relations and the loyalty of ministers. Here Śuddhodana is referred to as 白淨, while in the first canto it was translated as 淨飯; 故 is here employed as a noun. 親族名子弟 is translated by Willemen as “his close family and namesake brethren” (2009a, 13); the text is probably related to BC 2.6.

100 *dhanasya ratnasya ca tasya tasya kṛtākṛtasyaiva ca kāñcanasya / tadā hi naikānsa nidhīn avāpa manorathasyāpyatibhārabhūtān* // Bc_2.2 // “For at that time he won untold treasures, all sorts of wealth and gems, gold, both wrought and unwrought, treasures that are too much to bear even for that chariot of the mind called desire.” Olivelle (2008, 36-37). 日日轉增勝, 隨應而集生 may be the translation of *naikānsa nidhīnavāpa manorathasyāpyatibhārabhūtān*, the insertion of the verbs 轉 and of the 隨 are probably an attempt to reproduce a metaphor involving chariots. The Sanskrit text is in fact alluding to the idea that all the riches received by the king were more than what one can desire (*manorathasyāpy atibhārabhūtān*). The Chinese text actually states the opposite, that they were appropriate to the needs (隨應) and 集生 (well collected). Huang (2015, 34) notes that 伏藏 is the translation of *nidhīn*, which he translates as 寶藏.

101 *ye padmakalpairapi ca dvipendrain na maṇḍalaṃ śakyamihābhinetum / madoṭkaṭā haimavatā gajāste vināpi yatnādupatasthurenam* // Bc_2.3 // *haimavatā* is 雪山 or “snowy mountains”. The Chinese text does not mention Padma, *dvipendrain* or “lord of the elephants”, but describes the herd of elephant as “white”.

they were born in the town and in the countryside, and in due time arrived spontaneously.¹⁰²

純色調善牛， 肥壯形端正，
平步淳香乳， 應時悉雲集。

Docile cows of pure colour, firm and strong and in proper shape,
with even steps, with clean and fragrant milk, for this occasion gathered in crowds.¹⁰³

怨憎者心平， 中平益淳厚，
素篤增[者]親密， 亂逆悉消除。

Resentful ones got peace in their heart, and normal persons increased in honesty and kindness.
Quiet and sincere ones became intimate, all the disputes were cleared up.¹⁰⁴

微風隨時雨， 雷霆不震裂，

Gentle breezes and suitable rains, thunderbolts did not shock or crack.¹⁰⁵

微風隨時雨， 雷霆不震裂，
種[*]殖不待時， 收實倍豐[3]積。
五穀鮮香美， 輕軟易消化，

Growing plants did not require awaiting, when collecting fruit, the harvest was doubled;
the five cereals had a beautiful fragrance, [they were] light and soft and easy to digest.¹⁰⁶

諸有懷孕者， 身安體和適。

The pregnant ones were tranquil and at ease in their body.¹⁰⁷

除受四聖種， 諸餘世間人，
資生各自如， 無有他求想。

Except for those who accepted the four holy seeds, for all the remaining person in the world,
there were necessary goods in proportion, and there were no other needs.¹⁰⁸

-
- 102 *nānāṅkacinhairnavahemabhāṇḍairvibhūṣitairlambasātaistathānyaiḥ*
saṃcuḥṣubhe cāsyā puraṃ turaṅgairbalena maitryā ca dhanena cāptaiḥ // Bc_2.4 //
HDC explains 朱髦 as a valuable breed of horses. Willemen (2009a, 13) translates it as “born in the wilds at dawn”
- 103 *puṣṭāśca tuṣṭāśca tathāsyā rāṇye sādhyo 'rajaskā guṇavatpayaskāḥ / udagravatsaiḥ sahitā babhūvurbavhyo*
bahukṣīraduḥaśca gāvaḥ // Bc_2.5 // 純色 here translates *arajaska*, “pure in colour”, i.e. white, see Johnston (1936, 21).
- 104 *madhyasthatām tasya ripurjagāma madhyasthabhāvaḥ prayayau suhṛttvam / viśeṣato dārḍhyamiyāya mitram*
dvāvasya pakṣāvaparastu nāsa // Bc_2.6 // “His enemies became neutrals, the neutrals turned into allies, allies became markedly strong: he had two parties, the third disappeared” (Olivelle 2008, 39). The Sanskrit *ripur* can be intended as “cheater” or “treacherous” and “enemy”. In Chinese 怨憎者 is intended to translate *ripur*, and there is no reference to enemies. *viśeṣato dārḍhyamiyāya mitram* “allies became markedly strong” is translated as 素篤[2] 增親密. The last pada is translated more loosely. The Sanskrit is clearly hinting at a king with no enemies, only good allies and neutral parties, while the T192 mentions some general 亂逆 “disputes”.
- 105 *tathāsyā mandānilameghaśabdaḥ saudāminikuṇḍalamaṇḍitābhrah / vināśmavarṣāśanipātadoṣaiḥ kālē ca deśe*
pravavarṣa devaḥ // Bc_2.7 // In translating long descriptions, the Chinese author chose to be very concise, as in this case.
- 106 *ruroha sasyaṃ phalavadyathartu tadākṛtenāpi kṛṣīśrameṇa /*
tā eva cāsyauśadhayo rasena sāreṇa caivābhyadhikā babhūvuḥ // Bc_2.8 // “Grain grew fruitful then at the right season even without laborious tilling / those same medical herbs became for him even more fruitful in juice and potency”. Olivelle (2008, 439) explains the difficulty of translating the term *cāsyauśadhayo*. In the T192, the medical herbs became 五穀, “five cereals”.
- 107 *śarīrasaṃdehakare 'pi kālē saṃgrāmasaṃmarda iva pravṛtte / svasthāḥ sukhaṃ caiva nirāmayam ca prajajñire*
kālavaśena nāryaḥ // Bc_2.9 // The role of women is diminished. The Sanskrit text apparently compares the moment of the danger of child delivery to that of an armed battle, a comparison not present in Chinese.

無慢無慳嫉， 亦無恚害心，
一切諸士女， 玄同劫初人。

There was no rudeness, no misery or illness, no anger and no evil,
everybody, men and women, were as the people in the beginning of the *kalpa*.¹⁰⁹

天廟諸寺舍， 園林井泉池，
一切如天[皆如天上]物， 應時自然生。

Temples of the gods, monasteries, wells and ponds,
all the like products of nature emerged spontaneously in due time.¹¹⁰

合境無飢餓， 刀兵疾疫息，
國中諸人民， 親族相愛敬。

Nobody was starving within the whole borders, armed conflicts and diseases ceased,
all the people in the state respected each other like members of the same clan.¹¹¹

法愛相娛樂， 不生染污欲，
以義求財物， 無有貪利心。
為法行惠施， 無求反報想，
脩習四梵行， 滅除恚害心

[With] love for the dharma [people] delighted each other, nobody developed a cause of worries.
[They] sought wealth by righteous means, [they] did not have the intention to covet profits.
For the sake of the *dharma* they practiced charity, they did not try to wish for a payback.

108 *vibhave 'pi garhye na prārthayanti sma narāḥ parebhyah / abhyarthitah sūkṣmadhano 'pi cāryastadā na kaścidvimukho babhūva* // Bc_2.10 / 除受四聖種 translates *prthagvratibhyo* “except the men who had taken the vow”, see Olivelle (2009, 41). Huang points out that the translators interpreted “taking the vow” as the *catvāra āryavamsa*, or the correct eating, dressing, dwelling and practicing austerities. Olivelle (2008, 439) explains that the text is referring to specific categories of people that were allowed to beg for their food for religious reasons. The text is subtly transformed: in Sanskrit there is stated that “no one begged from others (*na prārthayanti sma narāḥ parebhyah*)”, while T192 states that there were goods in proportion to the needs. The last pada the Sanskrit text is eluded, since there is no mention generosity in difficult times “a noble man of even small means never turned his back on someone who begged” (*abhyarthitah sūkṣmadhano 'pi cāryastadā na kaścidvimukho babhūva*).

109 *nāgauravo bandhuṣu nāpyadātā naivāvrato nāṇṛtiko na hīmsrah / āsītadā kaścana tasya rājye rājño yayāteriva nāhuṣasya* // Bc_2.11 // It is interesting to note the repetition of 無 reproducing the Sanskrit *na*. The comparison with Yāyati, son of Nāhuṣa, is changed in a reference to the first *kalpa*, that according to brahmanical cosmology corresponds to a golden age.

110 *udyānadevāyatanāśramāṇām kūpaprapāpuṣkariṇīvanānām / cakruḥ kriyāstatra ca dharmakāmāḥ pratyakṣataḥ svargīnavopalabhya* // Bc_2.12 // In BC the subject is *dharmakāmāḥ pratyakṣataḥ svargīnavopalabhya* “the lovers of dharma as if they have seen the heaven with their own eyes”; the main verb is *cakruḥ* “they made”. The text is probably referring to the citizens of the previous verse. In the T192 temples, monasteries, appear spontaneously.

111 *muktaśca durbhikṣabhayāmayebhyo hr̥ṣṭo janaḥ svarga ivābhireme / patnīm patirvā mahiṣṭ patiṁ vā parasparaṁ na vyabhiceratuśca* // Bc_2.13 // The second verse reads “husbands were never unfaithful to wives, or wives to their husbands”, see Olivelle (2009, 43). Willemen (2009a, 14) translates the second part of this verse as “The whole population in the land was like a close family, with mutually affectionate reverence”. Huang (2015, 38) notes that 親 “relative” has also the possible variant reading 諸 “all”; although the Taishō version (親族) is somehow closer to the Sanskrit, hinting at the respect that close relatives pay to each other, the use of 諸 would make sense too, since 諸族相愛敬 “all the clans respected each other” would not force 親族 to become a term of comparison (“like a close family” or “like members of the same clan”), - the forced interpretation is particularly evident if we consider there is no comparison particle as 如 or 若 to (elsewhere both very frequent in the text).

The exercise of the four *brahmavihāras* eliminated anger and evil will. ¹¹²¹¹³

過去摩菟王， 生日光太子，
舉國蒙吉祥， 眾惡一時息。

In the past, the king Manu gave life to the prince Aditya,
the whole nation received auspicious signs, all the evils were ceased at once.¹¹⁴

今王生太子， 其德亦復爾，
以備眾德義[眾德義備故] 名悉達羅他。

Today the king gave birth to a prince, thus his virtue has doubled:
for the endowing of so much virtue, [he] the named [his son] Sarvārthasiddha.¹¹⁵

時摩耶夫人， 見其所生子，
端正如天童， 眾美悉備足，
過喜不自勝， 命終生天上。

Then the queen Māyā, having seen the son she gave birth to,
upright like a heavenly baby, endowed with every merit,
was overwhelmed with joy and could not control herself, her life ended, and she was born [again] in
heaven.¹¹⁶

大愛瞿曇彌， 見太子天童，
德貌世奇挺[特]， 既生母命終，
愛育如其子， 子敬亦如母。

The great love Gautamī, having seen the kid as a heavenly child,

112 *kaścitsiṣeve rataye na kāmam kāmārthamarthaṃ na jugopa kaścit /*
kaściddhanārthaṃ na cacāra dharma dharmāya kaścinna cakāra hiṃsām // Bc_2.14 //

An analysis of the translation of 2.14 could be the following:

kaścit siṣeve rataye na kāmam “No one sought pleasure for the sake of lust” in T192 is changed in 法愛相娛樂;
kāmārthamarthaṃ na jugopa kaścit “no one protected wealth for pleasure sake” is changed in 不生染污欲，
kaściddhanārthaṃ na cacāra dharma “no one served dharma for the sake of wealth” corresponds to 以義求財物，
無有貪利心; *dharmāya kaścinna cakāra hiṃsām* “no one caused injury for dharma’s sake” - there is here a
reference to sacrifices of animals in rites, as explained by Olivelle (2008, 249) – this passage was changed in the
translation, which assumes the form of a commentary, by explaining that violence was in fact connected to the four
brahmavihāras or 四梵行; these are benevolence (*maitrī* or *cī*慈), compassion (*karuṇā* or *bei* 悲), empathy
(*muditā* or *xi* 喜) and equanimity (*upekṣā* or *she* 捨). Huang (2015, 39) gives the following definition of 四梵行:
“又云四梵住。慈悲喜捨之四無量心也。此四心為生梵天之行業，故名梵行。智度論二十五曰：「四梵行心說，
故名梵輪”。

113 Stanza Bc 2.15 was not translated: *steyādibhiścāpyaribhiśca naṣṭam svastham svacakram paracakramuktam /*
kṣemam subhikṣam ca babhūva tasya purānaranyasya yathaiva rāṣṭre // Bc_2.15 // Johnston (1936, 22) suspect it
as spurious; however, it is present in the Tibetan version, see Weller (1929, 15). The stanza contains a description of
the king and its kingdom as independent and free of theft.

114 *tadā hi tajjanmani tasya rājño manorivādityasutasya rājye / cacāra harṣaḥ praṇanāśa pāpmā jajvāla dharmah*
kaluṣaḥ śaśāma // Bc_2.16 //

115 *evamvidhā rājakulasya sampatsarvārthasiddhiśca yato babhūva / tato nṛpastasya sutasya nāma sarvārthasiddhi*
'yamiti pracakre // Bc_2.17 //

116 *devī tu māyā vibudharṣikalpaṃ drṣṭvā viśālaṃ tanayaprabhāvam /*
jātaṃ praharṣa na śaśāka soḍhum tato nivāsāya divaṃ jagāma // Bc_2.18 // The comparison *vibudharṣikalpaṃ*
“like that of a seer divine” (Olivelle 2008, 43) was substituted with 正如天童。

for virtue and appearance peculiar in the world, since the life of the natural mother ended, he loved and raised him like a son, respected by the child like a mother.¹¹⁷

猶日月光，從微照漸廣，
太子長日新，德貌亦復爾。

Like the blazing fire of sun and moon, from slightly shining then gradually spreading, the prince renewed with every passing day, his virtue and appearance also restored in this way.¹¹⁸

無價栴檀香，閻浮檀名寶，
護身神仙藥，瓔珞莊嚴身。
附庸諸隣國，聞王生太子，
奉獻諸珍異，牛羊鹿馬車，
寶器莊嚴具，助悅太子心。

Invaluable sandalwood incenses, famous treasures of *jāmbūnada*, supernatural medicine for the protection of the body and precious stones necklaces to properly decorate the body.¹¹⁹

Vassals from neighbouring countries, hearing that to the king a prince was born, all offered tributes in precious things, chariots with oxen, goats, deers and horses, [like] regal precious objects, ornaments and solemn utensils, to help the heart of the prince be happy.¹²⁰

雖有諸嚴飾，嬰童玩好物，
太子性安重，形少而心宿。

Although having all these ornaments and good toys for babies, the character of the prince was tranquil and steady; he was little in shape but settled in his mind.¹²¹

117 *tataḥ kumāraṃ suraḡarbhakalpaṃ snehena bhāvena ca nirviśeṣam / mātṛśvasā mātṛsamaprabhāvā saṃvardhayāmātmajavadbabhūva* // Bc_2.19 // 大愛 is translation of *snehena bhāvena*; 太子天童 translates *kumāraṃ suraḡarbhakalpaṃ*.

118 *tataḥ sa bālārka ivodayasthaḥ samīrito vanhirivānilena / kramena samyagvavṛdhe kumārastārādhipaḥ pakṣa ivātamaskē* // Bc_2.20 // “Then gradually, the prince grew up well, like the young sun over the western hills, like a fire that’s fanned by the wind, like the moon in the bright fortnight”, see Olivelle (2008, 45). The three term of comparison, *bālārka*, *vanhi*, *tārādhipaḥ* i.e. the young sun, fire and the moon (lord of the stars) are condensed together in the Chinese: 日月光, so the overall meaning of the metaphor, the growing of intensity of light is still present in the translation.

119 *tato mahārḥaṇi ca candanāni ratnāvalīścauśadhibhiḥ sagarbhāḥ / mṛḡaprayuktān rathakāṃśca haimānācakraire 'smai suhrdālayebhyaḥ* // Bc_2.21 // 閻浮檀 is the phonetic rendering of *jāmbūnada*, which is a kind of gold. The word 閻浮檀 is not present in the corresponding Sanskrit verse but it has three other occurrences in T192. The third *pāda* is *mṛḡaprayuktān rathakāṃśca haimān* is translated along with the following verse – though the reference to gold (*haimān*) maybe connected to 閻浮檀. The fact that the translator used a specific transcription may be due to a substantial difference in the source text.

120 *vayo 'nurūpāṇi ca bhūṣaṇāni hiraṇmayān hastimṛḡāśvakāṃśca / rathāṃśca goputrakasamprayuktān putriśca cāmīkararūpyacitrāḥ* // Bc_2.22 // For 寶器莊嚴具 Willemen (2009a, 14) has “precious objects and ornaments”. 助悅太子心 seems to be an adjunct or somehow to be derived to a different reading of *asmai suhrd*.

121 *evaṃ sa taistairviśayopacāirvayo 'nurūpairupacaryamāṇaḥ / bālo 'pyabālapratimo babhūva dhṛtyā ca śaucena dhiyā śriyā ca* //2.23// *vayo 'nurūpāṇi* “appropriate for his age” is rendered by 嬰童 “for children”; the expression recurred also in the previous verse, where it was not translated. It

心栖高勝境，不染於榮華，
修學諸術藝，一聞超師匠。

The mind dwelling on a higher, beautiful spot, not polluted by the mundane glory,
versed in studying and in all the skills, he was superior to the teacher after the first try.¹²²

父王見聰達，深慮踰[喻]世表，

The king-father, seeing him smart and able, was deeply worried [he] was going forth the wordly
standard.¹²³

廣訪名豪族，風教禮義門。
容姿端正女，名耶輪陀羅，
應娉太子妃，誘導留其心。

From a noble clan's name was widely famous for customs and teaching, courtesy and justice,
the woman with more appropriate demeanor was called Yaśodharā:
[she was] suitable to marry the prince as [his] wife, guiding and taking care of him.¹²⁴

太子志高遠，德盛貌清明，
猶梵天長子，舍那鳩摩羅。
賢妃美容貌，窈窕淑妙姿，
環艷若天后，同處日夜歡。

The prince attitude was lofty, the virtue prosperous, appearance clear and bright,
like the eldest son of Brahma, Sanatkumāra;
the virtuous wife was of beautiful appearance, gentle and graceful, pure and excellent in posture,
like an empress extraordinarily charming – they were happy together day and night.¹²⁵

為立清淨宮，宏麗極莊嚴，
高峙在虛空，猶如秋白雲[迢遼若秋]，

A peaceful palace was built, majestic and much dignified,
towering high in the sky like the white autumn clouds.¹²⁶

is interesting the choice of the term 宿 which can mean “lodge”, “stop”, “be satisfied”, “old” to translate the Sanskrit *dhr̥tyā ca śaucena dhiyā śriyā ca* “steadfastness, (...) purity, wisdom and nobility” (Olivelle 2008, 45).

122 *vayaśca kaumāramatītya samyak saṃprāpya kāle pratipattikarma /alpairahobhirbahavarṣagāmyā jagrāha vidyāḥ svakulānurūpāḥ* // Bc_2.24 // “He passed through his childhood years in the proper way, he went through initiation at the proper time; in a few days he grasped the sciences that were suitable for his family, that commonly take many years to grasp”, see Olivelle (2008, 42-43). There is no mention to initiation in the Chinese text; the description of his personal growth seems to be exchanged with a description of his high and unspotted nature. *bahavarṣagāmyā jagrāha vidyāḥ svakulānurūpāḥ* is redescribed as “he was superior to the teacher after the first try”. The sentence 心栖高勝境 is twice in T192.

123 *naiḥśreyasaṃ tasya tu bhavyamarthaṃ śrutvā purastādasitānmaharṣeḥ / kāmēṣu saṅgaṃ janayāmbabhūva vanāni yāyāditi śākyarājah* // Bc_2.25 // “He had heard earlier from Asita, the great sage, that the highest bliss would be his son future lot, so the Śākya king made him attracted to pleasures, fearing that his son would repair to the forest”. Olivelle (2008, 44-45).

124 *kulāttato 'smāi sthiraśīlayuktātsādhvīm vapurhrīvinayopapannām /yaśodharām nāma yaśoviśālām vāmābhidhānām śriyamājūhāva* // Bc_2.26 // The translators chose the uncommon expression 風教禮義.

125 *vidyotamāno vapuṣā pareṇa sanatkumārāpratimaḥ kumārah / sārḍha tayā śākyanarendravadhvā śacyā sahasrākṣa ivābhireme* // Bc_2.27 // The Chinese text did not translate śākyanarendravadhvā, “daughter-in-law of the Śākya king”. The character 志 also means “will”, “resolution”, “wish”.

溫涼四時適， 隨時擇善居。
伎女眾圍遶， 奏合天樂音，
勿隣[憐]穢聲色， 令生厭世想。

[it was] temperate and suited to the four seasons, according to the season the best dwelling was picked.

Skilled courtesans surrounded [him], playing music according to the circumstances;

[He was] not attracted by immoral countenance, having caused the arising of a detachment for the world.¹²⁷

如天鍵[捷]捷婆，
自然寶宮殿， 樂女奏天音，
聲色耀心目； 菩薩處高宮，
音樂亦如是。

Like *gandharvas* in the sky,
at ease in the precious abode, female musicians played celestial music,
with beautiful sounds and shapes dazzling mind and eyes, the *bodhisattva* dwelled in the high
palace and so there was music.¹²⁸¹²⁹

父王為太子，
靜居修純德， 仁慈正法化，
親賢遠惡友，

The king-father for the sake of the prince
resided in calm, practiced pure virtue, [he] turned to benevolence and right law.
He related with the worthy and kept away the evil things.¹³⁰

126 *kiṃcinmanahkṣobhakaram pratīpaṃ katham na paśyediti so 'nucintya / vāsaṃ nrpo vyādiśati sma tasmai harmyodareṣveva na bhūpracāram* // Bc 2.28 // “‘How will he not see anything evil, that would cause his mind to become distressed?’ So thinking, the king assigned him chambers confined to the top floor of the palace, far away from the bustle of the ground”, (Olivelle 2008, 44-45). Two Sanskrit stanzas are merged together in the translation; Bc 2.28 and 2.29 (the comparison with “white autumn clouds” is related to *tataḥ śarattoyadapāṇḍareṣu* in Bc 2.29) The thoughts of the king-father (*kiṃcinmanahkṣobhakaram pratīpaṃ katham na paśyediti*) were not translated – either it was missing in the translator’s reference text or it was neglected. In general, the translator was able to report direct speech quite well.

127 *tataḥ śarattoyadapāṇḍareṣu bhūmau vimāneṣviva rañjiteṣu / harmyeṣu sarvaṛtusukhāśrayeṣu strīnāmudāirvijahāra tūryaiḥ* // Bc_2.29 // *sarvaṛtu* “all season” became 四時 “four seasons” in Chinese. 勿隣穢聲色，令生厭世想 is simply added to the text, does not seem to correspond to any passage in the Sanskrit.

128 *kalairhi cāmīkarabaddhakakṣairnārīkarāgrābhīhatairmṛdaṅgaiḥ / varāpsaronṛtyasamaiśca nṛtyaiḥ kailāsavattadbhavanam rārāja* // Bc_2.30 // “His residence sparkled like Kailasa, with soft-sounding tambourines bound with gold, women beating them with their finger tips, dances rivaling those of lovely apsaras”. Olivelle (2008, 44-45). Kailāsa is the name of a mountain as well as the abode of Kubera and Śiva (Bohtlingt, s.v.). The translators did not translate this comparison; the musicians are compared to *apsaras*, this reference is substituted it with a comparison to the *gandharvas* in the sky.

129 The following two stanzas are missing in the translation:
vāgbhiḥ kalābhirlīlataiśca hāvairmadaiḥ sakhelairmadhuraiśca hāsaiḥ / taṃ tatra nāryo ramayāmbabhūvurbhūvañcitairardhīnarīkṣitaiśca // Bc_2.31 //
tataḥ sa kāmāśrayapaṇḍitābhiḥ strībhīrgrhīto ratikarkaśābhiḥ / vimānaprṣṭhāna mahīm jagāma vimānaprṣṭhādiva puṇyakarmā // Bc_2.32 //

The reason for this omission can be quite easily identified with the presence of women “skilled in erotic arts” (Olivelle 2008, 49). From this verse on, the structure of five characters couplets is altered, the full meaning of each stanza ending in the middle of a Chinese couplet.

130 *nṛpastu tasyaiva vivṛddhihetostadbhāvinārthena ca codyamānaḥ / śame 'bhireme virarāma pāpādbheje damaṃ saṃvibabhāja sādḥūn* // Bc_2.33 //

心不染恩愛，
於欲起毒想，攝情檢諸根，
滅除輕躁意，和顏善聽訟[說]，
慈教厭眾心。

The heart was not contaminated with love or affection,
[since] noxious thinking arises from desire, he conserved his feelings, picked up all roots,¹³¹
eliminated all the intentions of hasty impulses, he listened kindly and with a calm expression to
what was said,
he gave instructions kindly, despised trivial intentions.¹³²

宣化諸外道，
斷諸謀逆術，教學濟世方，
萬民得安樂。如令[今]我子安，
萬民亦如是，

[His] proclaims changed the heterodox doctrines,
Every plotting scheme was ceased; teachings were for the benefit of society,
all the people obtained happiness. “Like today my son is happy,
all people should also be the same.”¹³³

事火奉諸神。

He attended to the fire, made offerings to the deities¹³⁴

In the Sanskrit text it is explained that the king is still worried by what was foretold to his son. The actions in which the king engages for the sake of his son are “[he] delighted in calm, desisted from sin, practiced restraint, gave gifts to holy man” (Olivelle 2008, 49). We should note that 遠惡 is an interesting translation of *virarāma pāpād*; while 靜居 stands for śame 'bhireme. The expression *saṃvibabhāja sādhuṇ* referring to gifts for the holy men it is probably what 仁慈正法化 is meant to translate, although references to gifts awarded to holy men is not evident.

131 Willemen (2009a, 15) translates it as “His mind was not tainted by lust. He believed that desire was poison. Controlling his feelings, he restrained his faculties and dispelled any fickle intention”. The expression 攝情 recurs nine times in the Canon; 檢根 recurs only three times. A similar expression 善攝情根無能亂者 is present in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* attributed to Faxian but probably translated by Baoyun, for which see the chapter on Baoyun’s translation activities. (T01, no. 7 pp. 0197c21-c22).

132 *nādhīravatkāmasukhe sasañje na saṃrarañje viṣamaṃ jananyām /*
dhrtyendriyāśvāmścapalānvijigye bandhūmśca paurāmśca guṇairjigāya // Bc_2.34 //
“He did not, like a fickle man, cling to sexual delights, with his women he did not engage in improper love, the unruly horses of senses he firmly controlled, he won over by his virtues, his kin and citizens.” See Olivelle (2008, 49). Here the metaphor involving horses is omitted, as well as the mention of women. The reference to the king respected social status due to his virtues *bandhūmśca paurāmśca guṇairjigāya*, is changed in Chinese to a reference to the king equanimity when listening. Willemen (2009a, 15) translated as “He heard disputes well, with a serene countenance”; this translation is in accord with a different version annotated in the Taishō: for 和顏善聽訟, the Song and Ming editions have the different reading 和顏善聽說.

133 *nādhyaīṣṭa duḥkhāya parasya vidyām jñānaṃ śivaṃ yattu tadadhyagīṣṭa /*
svābhyah prajābhyo hi yathā tathāiva sarvaprajābhyah śivamāśaśamse // Bc_2.35 // “He did not acquire learning to hurt other men; he mastered the knowledge that was beneficial; as to his own people, he only wished what was beneficial”. The reference to *duḥkhāya parasya vidyām*, or a knowledge for the sake of hurting other people, as been substituted with a reference to 外道, here probably referring to unorthodox doctrine connected with plotting against the state (謀逆); *jñānaṃ śivaṃ yattu tadadhyagīṣṭa* is translated by 教學濟世方. There is no apparent reference to “plotting” in the Sanskrit text. Interestingly, the wish of the king was changed in a direct speech. The speech is also changed in content, in the Sanskrit text we have a universal wish that goes beyond the king’s own citizens, in Chinese we have a comparison between the happiness of little prince and that of all the citizens. As Johnston (1936, 27) suggests, here *vidyām* might indicate magics, or some doctrine despised by Buddhist practitioners, that is the reason why it is translated as 外道 in Chinese.

134 *bhaṃ bhāsuraṃ cāṅgirasādhivevaṃ yathāvadānarca tadāyuṣe saḥ /*

叉手飲月光。 恒水沐浴身，
法水澡其心， 祈福非存己，
唯子及萬民。

With folded hands he drank soma, He bathed his body in the water of the Ganges,
with the water of dharma he cleansed his mind. Prayers and blessing were not addressed to himself,
[they were] for the kid alone, and for all the people.¹³⁵

愛言[語]非無義，
義言非不愛， 愛言非不實，
實言非不愛。 以有慚愧故，
不能如實說， 於愛不愛事，
不依貪恚想。 志存於寂默，

[His] loving words were never unfair,
Fair words were never without love. The lovely words were not without honesty,
the honest words were not without love. If there were reasons of embarrassment,
that he could not speak honestly about a pleasant or unpleasant thing.¹³⁶
[He] did not rely on greedy or angry thoughts, his will was to keep silent.¹³⁷

平正[心]止諍訟， 不以祠天會，
勝於斷事福。

[He] was straight and even in ceasing controversies, he thought that sacrificial gatherings
were no better than the blessing of resolving a controversy.¹³⁸

見彼多求眾[多求眾生]，豐施過其望，

juhāva havyānyakṛṣe kṛṣānau dadau dvijebhyaḥ kṛṣanam ca gāś ca // Bc_2.36 // This verse is shortened in the Chinese text. Olivelle (2008, 439) explains the bath ritual related to the period of Aṅgīrasa. The offering to the fire (*juhāva havyānyakṛṣe kṛṣānau*) is present in Chinese, while there is no mention to the offerings of gold and cows to twice-born men. The wish for the well being of his son (*yathāvadānarca tadāyuṣe saḥ*) may be implicit in the previous stanza (See note 131).

135 *sasnau śarīraṃ pavitum manāśca tīrthāmbubhiścaiva guṇāmbubhiśca / vedopadiṣṭam samamātmajam ca somam papau śāntisukham ca hārdam // Bc_2.37 //*
The Sanskrit text does not mention the Ganges river, the water for bathing is *tīrthāmbu*, “water from sacred fords”. The waters of *dharma* in Sanskrit is *guṇāmbu* or “water of virtue”. The *soma* mentioned is the juice used in vedic sacrifices; in the Chinese text it is translated with the secondary meaning of “moon”. The translation of the last two Sanskrit verses is “he imbibed the Soma that is prescribed by the Vedas with the tranquil bliss of heart produced by himself”. The Chinese text extends the blessing to all the citizens.

136 *sāntvaṃ babhāṣe na ca nārthavadyajjalpa tattvaṃ na ca vipriyaṃ yat / sāntvaṃ hyatattvaṃ paruṣaṃ ca tattvaṃ hriyāśakannātmana eva vaktum // Bc_2.38 //*
“He spoke only what was pleasant, never anything useless; he spoke only what was true, never anything unpleasant; he was unable, through shame, to say even to himself, anything pleasant but untrue, anything harsh though true”, see Olivelle (2008, 48-49). T192 simplifies the Sanskrit, adopting a symmetrical structure. 以有慚愧故 translates *hriyā*, female instrumental from the root *hr*, “to feel ashamed”.

137 Willemen (2009a, 16) translates 不依貪恚想 together with this stanza (*Bc* 2.38) “If he could not speak truthfully because he was ashamed, he did not, concerning anything pleasant or unpleasant, rely on any notion of covetousness or anger”. Huang (2015, 48) connects this verse with the following stanza, since 不依貪恚想 seems a very good translation of *na rāgadoṣāśrayatām prapade* “he never displayed either love or hate” (*Bc* 2.39). It is not clear where the reference to silence (志存於寂默) comes from; it is probably connected to the inability or unwillingness of speaking unpleasant words (*āśakannātmana eva vaktum*).

138 *iṣṭeṣvaniṣṭeṣu ca kārya vatsu na rāgadoṣā śrayatām prapade / śivaṃ siṣeve vyavahārasuddham yajñam hi mene na tathā yathā tat // Bc_2.39 //*
The *Bc* describes also the equanimity of the king toward friends or enemies *iṣṭeṣvaniṣṭeṣu*, towards whom he did not tend to love or hate (*na rāgadoṣāśrayatām prapade*) in resolving controversies. of the previous verse.

心無戰爭想，以德降怨敵。

Seeing the multitudes of beggars, [he] gave rich gifts beyond their expectations;
in [his] heart there was no conflict, his thoughts were pure; through virtue he made enemies
surrender.¹³⁹

調一而護七，
離七防制五，得三覺了三，
知二捨於二。

He controlled one and protected five,
abandoned seven and opposed five, obtained three and understood three,
he knew two and abandoned two.¹⁴⁰

求情得其罪，應死垂仁恕，
不加麤惡言，軟語[言]而教勅，

People that asked for leniency obtained his reproach, [those who] deserved to die were considered
with benevolence; he did not insult with coarse words, with soft words imparted imperial edicts.¹⁴¹

務[矜]施以財物，指授資生路，

[he] used money and goods charitably, pointing out the way to manage money.¹⁴²

受學神仙道，
滅除怨恚心，名德普流聞，
世間[累]永消亡。

He accepted to study the path of the holy seers, he eliminated the hateful feelings,
his fame circulated everywhere; the worldly indrance withered away forever.¹⁴³

139 *āśāvate cāhigatāya sadyo deyāmbubhistaṣamacecchidiṣṭa /
yuddhādrte vṛttaparaśvadhena dviḍdarpamudvṛttamabebhidiṣṭa* // Bc_2.40 //

In Chinese the metaphor involving water is omitted; in the second verse “and he squelched the swollen pride of his
foes with the battle ax of virtue, not war”, see Olivelle (2008, 48-49) the war seems to point out that the king is not
moving wars against enemies, who surrender spontaneously to his virtue.

140 *ekaṃ vinīnye sa jugopa sapta saptaiva tatyāja rarakṣa pañca /
prāpa trivarga bubudhe trivarga jajñe dvivarga prajāhau dvivargam* // Bc_2.41 //

The possible explanations of these sets of numbers are given in Olivelle (2008, 439) and Willemen (2009a, 209).
No explanation of the meaning of the numbers was given in the Chinese translation.

141 *kṛtāgaso 'pi pratipādyā vadhyānnājīghanannāpi ruṣā dadarśa /
babandha sāntvena phalena caitāṃs tyāgo 'pi teṣāṃ hyanayāya dṛṣṭaḥ* // Bc_2.42 //

“Even criminal judged to be worthy of death, he did not kill or even look at them with rage; he inflicted on them
lenient punishments, for their release too is viewed as wrong policy” (Olivelle 2008, 53). Willemen (2009a, 16)
translates 求情得其罪 as “When someone interceded, he excused himself”. The T192 omits to note that the
release of criminals is seen as a wrong policy (*tyāgo 'pi teṣāṃ hyanayāya dṛṣṭaḥ*). This reference is substituted with
a description of the king’s controlled manners.

142 *na cājihṛṣid valim apravṛttaṃ na cācīkṛṣit paravastvabhidhyām /
na cāvivākṣīd dviṣatām adharma na cāvivākṣīd hṛdayena manyum* // Bc_2.44 //

Here the BC only discuss the application of laws and policies, it does not mention the managing of wealth.
Probably this is an anticipation of stanza Bc 2.44, otherwise missing in the translation. We do not know if the
translators were dealing with a different text or simply preferred to change the order of the verses. The translation in
T192 is very loose in this point.

143 *ārṣāṇyacārītparamavratāni vairāṇyahāśiccirasambhṛtāni /
yaśāṃsi cāpadguṇagandhavanti rajāṃsyahārṣīnmalinīkarāṇi* // Bc_2.43 //

主匠修明德，
率土皆承習， 如人心安靜，
四體諸根從。

When a lord crafts and polishes his bright virtue, the leading officials all follow the practice;
as when the mind of a person becomes quiet, the four limbs and all senses follow.¹⁴⁴

時白淨太子， 賢妃耶輸陀，
年並漸長大， 孕生羅睺羅。

In due time, the consort of Suddhodana crown prince
with the passing of the years gradually became mature, got pregnant and gave life to Rāhula.¹⁴⁵

白淨王自念， 太子已生子，
歷世相繼嗣[遺嗣相紹續]， 正化無終極。

The king Suddhodana thought to himself “The prince fathered a son now,
The transmission of [my] lineage will continue in succession, direct descents have not ceased.”¹⁴⁶

太子既生子， 愛子與我同，
不復慮出家， 但當力修善。
我今心大[太]安， 無異生天樂，

“The prince will have a son, he will love his son like I did.
He will not resume considering going forth, instead [he] will apply [himself] with dedication to
improve for the good.
Today my mind is very peaceful, it is no different from the happiness of a heavenly rebirth.”¹⁴⁷

“He performed severe vows that were practiced by seers, he eliminated long-standing enmities; he attained fame that was perfumed by his virtues, he abandoned passions that produce defilement”. See Olivelle (2008, 53). 世累，永消亡 seems to be the translation of *rajāṃsy ahārṣṇ malinīkarāṇi*.

144 *tasmīṃstathā bhūmipatau pravṛtte bhṛtyāśca paurāśca tathaiḥ ceruḥ / śamātmake cetasi viprasanne prayuktayogasya yathendriyāṇi // Bc_2.45 //*

There is no reference to the practice of calming the mind through yogic practice like in *prayuktayogasya*, although this is what the translator probably meant with 匠修; I intend 匠 as a verb; it’s not clear if there is a clear reference to craftsmanship here; in the HDC there is a clear reference to 匠 in the meaning of “ruling, regulation”; these references come from texts of the third-fourth centuries. Willemen (2009a, 16) “When a master craftsman develops his bright virtue, the entire land carries on the practice.”

145 *kāle tataścārupayodharāyām yaśodharāyām svayaśodharāyām / śuddhodane rāhusapatnavaktro jajñe suto rāhula eva nāmnā // Bc_2.46 //*

In Chinese there is no explanation of the name of Yashodara as “bearer of fame”, bearing alluring breasts and bearing her own fame”, neither of the name Rāhula “a son who had a face like Rahu’s foe”. The explanations of these similes are given by Olivelle (2008, 440). Reference is made to the growing and becoming mature of Yashodara, while there is no mention to her age in the Sanskrit. Johnston (1936, 29) suggests that the Chinese maybe reading *svavayodharāyām* “endowed with her age”.

146 *atheṣṭaputraḥ paramapratītaḥ kulasya vṛddhiṃ prati bhūmipālaḥ / yathaiḥ putraprasave nananda tathaiḥ putraprasave nananda // Bc_2.47 //*

“Then, having obtained the son he desired, family success being fully assured, just as the king rejoiced at the birth of his son, he rejoiced also at the birth of his grandson”. The Chinese text makes this verse a direct speech from the king, in the form of his thoughts (自念), probably in accord with what happens in the following verse. 正化無終極 is sort of difficult interpretation; Willemen suggests “the right changes will never end”; in the HDC there are quotes to 正化 as meaning “succession by blood line”, from texts of the Han and Tang dynasties. The reference to the king rejoicing is missing here but recovered in the following verse.

147 *putrasya me putragato mameva snehaḥ katham syāditi jātaharṣaḥ / kāle sa taṃ taṃ vidhimālalambe putrapriyaḥ svargamivāruruḥṣaṇ // Bc_2.48 //*

猶若劫初時， 仙王所住道。
愛[受]行清淨業， 祠祀不害生，

Like at the beginning of the *kalpas*, resided in the path of the king-seers,
he cared to practice pure actions, in performing sacrifices he did not harm living beings.¹⁴⁸

熾然修勝業， 王勝梵行勝。
宗族財寶勝， 勇健伎[技]藝勝，
明顯照世間， 如日千光耀。

Brightly practicing victorious actions, he was the victorious king winning on the path of purity.
The riches of his clan were winning [on others], he won in bravery, strength and skills. He clearly
shone on the world, with the radiance of a thousand suns.¹⁴⁹¹⁵⁰

所以為王者[人王]， 將[正]為顯其子，
顯子為宗族， 榮族以名聞，
名高得生天， 生天為樂[樂為]己，
己樂智慧增， 悟道弘正法，

Being such a king, was for the sake of fostering his son,
the son was fostered for the sake of the clan, the glory of the clan being for [his] name's prestige,
the high name to obtain a celestial rebirth, the celestial rebirth was meant for happiness,
and happiness to increase knowledge, to awaken in the truth and to the magnificence of the true
dharma.¹⁵¹

There is no mention of rituals performed by the king. There is also a component of censoring brahmanical rites. The expression *svargamivāruruṣaṇ* is interpreted by Johnston (1936, 29) as “as if (...) he were on the point of mounting to Paradise”; whereas Olivelle (2008, 55) proposes “as if longing to ascend to heaven”.

148 *sthitvā pathi prāthamakālpikānām rājavarṣabhānām yaśasānvitānām /*
śuklānyamuktivāpi tapāmsyatapta yajñaiśca himsārahitairayaṣṭa // Bc_2.49 //
rājavarṣabhānām is translated as “bull among kings” by Olivelle (2008, 55); Johnston (1936, 30) has “abiding on the path of the great kings of the golden age”; T192 translated the expression as 仙王; apparently, the translator is taking *rṣabha* as if stemming from *ṛṣi*. Most of the comparisons between human beings and animals are censored, we cannot know if this is a genuine mistake or an omission. An example of sure abridging here is the omission of the reference to the practice *tapas*, in this case “without casting off white garments” (*śuklānyamuktivāpi*); the *Bc* is here mentioning a peculiar cultural habit, for which see Olivelle (2008, 440), we may suppose that the translators omitted it because it was too culture-specific.

149 *ajājvaliṣṭātha sa puṇyakarmā nṛpaśriyā caiva tapaśśriyā ca /*
kulena vṛttena dhiyā ca dīptastejaḥ sahasrāṁśurivotsisṛkṣuḥ // Bc_2.50 //
With the obsessive repetition of the adjective-verb 勝, the translator was trying to reproduce, in this case, different Sanskrit terms like *puṇyakarmā* is 勝業, *nṛpaśriyā* is 王勝, *tapaśśriyā* is 梵行勝, 宗族財寶勝, while 勇健伎藝勝 is *kulena vṛttena dhiyā ca dīptas*.

150 Two Sanskrit verses are apparently missing.
svāyaṁbhuvam cārcikamarayitvā jajāpa putrasthitaye sthitaśrīḥ /
cakāra karmāṇi ca duṣkarāṇi prajāḥ sisṛkṣuḥ ka ivādikāle // Bc_2.51 //
tatyāja śāstraṁ vimamarśa śāstraṁ śamaṁ siṣeṣe niyamaṁ viṣeṣe /
vaśīva kaṁcidviṣayaṁ na bheje piteva sarvānviṣayāndadarśa // Bc_2.52 //

Both verses refer to the king and his performing of rites; there is a comparison with Ka as creator. The reference to *svāyaṁbhu* according to Johnston (1936, 30) and Olivelle (2008, 440) is not clear. The king is also described as depositing the sword and dedicating himself to the study of texts, pursuing calm and practicing restraints. He regarded all the regions like a father. All these references may have been intentionally omitted in the translation.

151 *babhāra rājyaṁ sa hi putrahetoḥ putraṁ kulārthaṁ yaśase kulaṁ tu /*
svargāya śabdaṁ divamātmahetordharmārthamātmasthitimācakāṅkṣa // Bc_2.53 // It is quite important to point out the different interpretations of the word *śabdaṁ*: Johnston (1936, 30) and Passi (1979, 37) both have “fame”, choosing a secondary meaning of the word which seems to be in accord with the cause-effect relationships

先勝名[多]聞所， 受行眾妙道。
唯願令太子， 愛子不捨家，

Through the good deeds of ancestors and their knowledge, [who] endured the practice of many excellent paths,
[his] only wishing [was] to lead the prince to love his son and not leave the house.¹⁵²

一切諸國王， 生子年尚小。
不令王國土， 慮其心放逸，
縱情著世樂， 不能紹王種。
今王生太子， 隨心恣五欲，
唯願樂世榮， 不欲令學道。

All the kings who have sons still in their youth,
do not let [them] rule the kingdom's domains; considering that their minds are undisciplined,
led by feelings, affected by worldly pleasures, not suited to carry on the royal strain.
Now that the king has a son, [he] let his mind indulge in the five desires,
Only wishing [for him] the mundane luxury of pleasures, not aspiring [[for him]] to be led on the path of knowledge.¹⁵³

過去菩薩王， 其道雖深固，
要習世榮樂， 生子繼宗嗣，
然後入山林， 修行寂默道。

In the past, the bodhisattvas kings, even if their path was firmly settled,
chose to experience the glory and pleasure of the world;
when they had a son to carry on the family line,
they entered the mountain groves, to practice austerities and the path of silence.¹⁵⁴

described in the verse; while Olivelle (2008, 56) translates it as “scriptures” - meaning probably “knowledge”. In the Chinese translation, the good name (名高) will grant a rebirth in heaven (生天) that will resort to the obtainment of happiness (為樂已) and that will eventually increase knowledge (已樂智慧增). So it is clear that *śabdaṃ* was translated as “fame”. In any case, the reference to heaven as a place to increase knowledge and get to awakening is not present in the source text. The Tibetan translation is closer to the Sanskrit, see Weller (1929, 20).

152 *evaṃ sa dharma vividhaṃ cakāra sidbhir nipātaṃ śrutitaśca siddham /*
dr̥ṣṭvā kathaṃ putramukhaṃ suto me vanaṃ na yāyāditi nāthamānaḥ // Bc_2.54 //

The meaning of the first verse (先勝名[多]聞所) is controversial; Willemen translates as “When one’s ancestors have excelled in learning, one may observe many fine paths”. Huang (2015, 53) explains 先勝 as a translation of *sidbhir*, while 多聞 seems to be the translation of *śrutitaś*; 所 seems to be reflecting the ablative case. In the corresponding Sanskrit we have “Thus he performed diverse acts of dharma, followed by good men, ordained by scripture”; see also Johnston (1936, 30-31); it is not clear who is the subject of “受行眾妙道”. It is evident the transformation of the “acts of dharma” in a more general reference to the practice of purity.

153 *riraḥṣiṣantaḥ śriyamātmasaṃsthāṃ rakṣanti putrān bhuvi bhūmipālāḥ /*
putraṃ narendraḥ sa tu dharmakāmo rarakṣa dharmādviṣayeṣu muñcan // Bc_2.55 // The translation here is consistently different “Desiring to guard their own sovereign power, the lords of the earth guard on earth their sons; but though he was a lover of dharma, the king guarded his son against dharma, letting him loose among sensual pleasures”. Johnston (1936, 31) provides also a “more sinister” interpretation, which defines the son as the most dangerous enemy of the king. The same interpretation is given by Passi (1999, 37). That the translator was dealing with a verse with the same content is made evident by the use of the term 五欲, here and elsewhere used to translate *viṣaya*.

154 *vanamanupamasattvā bodhisattvāstu sarve viṣayasukharasajñā jagmurutpannaputrāḥ /*
ata upacitakarmā rūḍhamūle 'pi hetau sa ratimupasiṣeṣe bodhimāpanna yāvat // Bc_2.56 // The translation has bodhisattva-kings while in the BC we have “of unrivaled spirit” 其道雖深固 is probably meant to translate *ata upacitakarmā rūḍhamūle 'pi hetau*. The “path of silence” 寂默道 is mentioned only in translation and it seems to

have some parallel in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* at T09, no. 278, pp. 453c24-25 or in the meditation treatise of Dharmatrāta (T618), both texts are attributed to Buddhābhaddra.

厭患品第三

Third chapter: Detachment from pain¹⁵⁵

外有諸園林， 流泉清涼池，
眾雜華果樹， 行列垂玄蔭。
異類諸奇鳥， 奮飛戲其中，
水陸四種花， 炎色流妙香。
伎[妓]女因奏樂， 弦歌告太子，

Outside were the parks, with springs and ponds of clear water,
with rows of many magnificent fruit trees, bending down with dense foliage:
Various kinds of rare birds raised and flied playfully among them,
On the land and in the waters [there were] the four kinds of flowers, in sparkling colors, made an
excellent perfume flow.
Female courtesans played music, with strings and songs [they] adressed the prince.¹⁵⁶

太子聞音樂， 歎美彼園林。
內懷甚踊悅， 思樂出遊觀，
猶如繫狂象， 常慕閑曠野。

The prince heard the music, appraised these beautiful gardens.
In his mind he became extremely happy, desiring to go out and look,
Like a chained, mad elephant, yearning for the free wilderness.¹⁵⁷

父王聞太子， 樂出彼園遊，
即勅諸群臣， 嚴飾備羽儀。

The king-father hearing that the prince wanted to do an excursion outside,
immediately ordered a group of officials to put ornaments and prepare the cerimonial plumes.¹⁵⁸

平治正王[王正]路， 并除諸醜穢，

155 *iti buddhacarite mahākāvye samvegopattirnāma tṛtīyaḥ sargaḥ* // 3 //

156 *tataḥ kadācinnṛduśādvalāni puṃskokilonnāditapādapāni /
śuśrāva padmākaramaṇḍitāni gītairnibaddhāni sa kānanāni* // Bc_3.1 //

Johnston (1936, 32) followed the Chinese translation to edit this verse and interpreting *nibaddhāni*. The description is altered in the details: *puṃskokilo* “male cuckoo”, became a general reference to birds; 四種 here apparently meaning “many”, is an emphasis probably meant to stress the plural forms in the source. The reference to women, not present in Bc 3.1, is probably derived from the following verse (Bc 3.2). In fact, in the Bc we only have a brief reference to the prince hearing songs (*śuśrāva... gītairnibaddhāni*). It is probably noteworthy that the character 伎 was recorded as 妓 in the Ming and Yuan versions. Johnston (1936, 32) opinion is that the Chinese translation is very loose for this *sarga*.

157 *śrutvā tataḥ strījanavallabhānām manojñabhāvaṃ purakānanānām /
bahiḥprayāṇāya cakāra buddhimantargṛhe nāga ivāvarūddhaḥ* // Bc_3.2 //

Here, differently that in many other occurrences, the simile involving animals (the elephant) was preserved. The parks “were very much loved by the women folk” (Olivelle 2008, 63); as we have seen, the Chinese text makes women play the music themselves. The expression 猶如繫狂象 is repeated in the second and in the fifth chapters.

158 *tato nṛpastasya niśamya bhāvaṃ putrābhīdhānasya manorathasya /*

snehasya lakṣmyā vayasasca yogyāmājñāpayāmāsa vihārayātrām // Bc_3.3 // 羽儀 is not mentioned in the Sanskrit text. The sentence 即勅諸群臣 is repeated twice in the chapter. The sentence 父王聞太子 is repeated in chapter three and chapter four.

老病形殘類， 羸劣貧窮苦，
無令少樂子， 見起厭惡心。

He disposed to make the royal road proper and to eliminate all the hideous;
the old, the sick, the crippled ones, the emaciated, those in the hardship of poverty
in order not to diminish the joy for the prince, in seeing [them] he would raise disgust in [his]
mind.¹⁵⁹

莊嚴悉備已， 啟請求拜辭，
王見太子至， 摩頭瞻顏色，
悲喜情交結， 口許而心留。

[when everything was] dignified and fully adorned, [the prince] stated his request to take a leave.
The king looked at the prince approaching, caressed his head and gazed at his countenance;
The feelings of sadness and happiness were knotted together, he gave his verbal permission, but his
heart was not complying.¹⁶⁰

眾寶軒飾車， 結駟駿平流，
賢良善術藝， 年少美姿容，
妙淨鮮花服， 同車為執御。

On a chariot adorned with many treasures, a quadriga with five horses moving swiftly,
Able and virtuous and with good skills, young, beautiful in appearance,
in a clean garment with fresh flowers, on the same chariot there was a charioteer.¹⁶¹

街巷散眾華， 寶幔蔽路傍，
垣樹列道側， 寶器以莊嚴，
繒蓋諸幢幡， 繽紛隨風揚[颺]。

159 *nivartayāmāsa ca rājamārge saṃpātamārtasya prthagjanasya /
mā bhūtkumāraḥ sukumāracittaḥ saṃvignacetā iti manyamānaḥ // Bc_3.4 //*
*pratyāṅgahīnānvikalendriyāṃśca jīrṇātūrādīn kṛpaṇāṃśca dikṣu /
tataḥ samutsārya pareṇa sāmṇā śobhāṃ parāṃ rājapathasya cakuḥ // Bc_3.5 //*

類 translates *ādīn*, masculine accusative plural that at the end of a compound takes the meaning of “et cetera”. I am here altering the order proposed by Huang (2015, 56), by taking two verses together; the two verses seem to be inverted in the translation. The thoughts of the king are reported as a direct speech in *Bc* but rendered as indirect in translation (*mā bhūtkumāraḥ sukumāracittaḥ saṃvignacetā iti*).

160 *tataḥ kṛte śrīmati rājamārge śrīmānvīnītānucaraḥ kumāraḥ /
prāsādapṛṣṭhādavatīrya kāle kṛtābhyanujñō nṛpamabhyagacchat // Bc_3.6 //*
*atho narendraḥ sutamāgatāśruḥ śirasyupāghrāya ciraṃ nirīkṣya /
gaccheti cājñāpayati sma vācā snehāṇna cainaṃ manasā mumoca // Bc_3.7 //*

There is no mention to the fact that the prince had to wait the right time and to get a permission to see the king (*prāsādapṛṣṭhādavatīrya kāle kṛtābhyanujñō*). The translation is also missing *āgatāśruḥ* “eyes filled with tears” referred to the king. Here again the direct speech of the king is not translated. The idea of “mixed feelings” of the king is depicted more directly in the translation, where the feelings are the subject of the sentence, while in *Bc* the subject is still the king.

161 *tataḥ sa jāmbūnadabhāṇḍabhr̥dbhir yuktam caturbhīr̥nibhr̥taisturaṅgaiḥ /
aklībavidvacchuciraśmidhāraṃ hiraṇmayam syandanamāruroha // Bc_3.8 //*

Here the translation adds some elements to describe Chandaka, the charioteer; in *Bc* he is simply *aklībavidvacchuciraśmidhāraṃ* “a manly charioteer, a man both trustworthy and skilled” (Olivelle 2008,65). The word for charioteer is *raśmidhāra*, one who “hold the reins”. The Chinese has 執御, the first character, 執, is close to “hold” and “maintain”, while 御 has both the meanings of “ruling” and “driving”, although it does not seem to be connected to “reins”. In *Bc* the horses are depicted as having golden trappings (*jāmbūnadabhāṇḍabhr̥dbhir*) – this reference is missing, although both chariots (in the source text and in the translation) are described as pulled by four horses.

Streets and alleys were sprinkled with flowers, precious silk screened the sides of the road,
Trees were lined along the streets like fences, precious things were used as ornaments,
banners and flags made a canopy of silk, in profusion they scattered following the wind.¹⁶²

觀者挾[俠]長路，側身目連[蓮]光，
瞪矚而不瞬，如並青蓮花。

Spectators milled along the roadsides, they moved sideways, their eyes were bright all in a strew,
They stared and gazed without winking, like blue lotuses standing side to side.¹⁶³

臣民悉扈從，如星隨宿王，
異口同聲歎，稱慶世希有。

All the subjects in the retinue walked like the stars following the king of a constellation,
praising [him] in unison, congratulating [him] for such a peculiar offspring.¹⁶⁴

貴賤及貧富，長幼及中年，
悉皆恭敬禮，唯願令吉祥。

Noble and lowly, rich and poor, old, young and middle aged
everybody respectfully presented his salutation, only wishing to bring auspiciousness.¹⁶⁵

郭邑及田里，聞太子當出，
尊卑不待辭，寤寐不相告。
六畜不遑收，錢財不及斂，
門戶不容閉，奔馳走路傍。

From the town and from among the fields, hearing that the prince was coming out,
nobles and humbles did not wait to take leave, those who were awake did not take the time to call
the ones who were sleeping,
the six animals were not taken care of, the wealth was not locked down,
the doors were not shut, quickly [they] went to the sides of the road.¹⁶⁶

162 *tataḥ prakīrṇojjvalapuṣpajālaṃ viśaktamālyam pracalatpatākam /
mārgaṃ prapade sadrśānuvātraś candraḥ sanakṣatra ivāntarīkṣam* // Bc_3.9 // There is no mention of a retinue in T192; the comparison with the moon is missing as well (*sadrśānuvātraś candraḥ sanakṣatra ivāntarīkṣam*).

163 *kautūhalātsphītataraiśca netrairñilotpalārdhairiva kīryamāṇam /
śanaiḥ śanai rājapathaṃ jagāhe pauraḥ samantādabhivīkṣyamāṇaḥ* // Bc_3.10 //
Huang (2015, 58) suggests that 並 might as well be 半, translating the Sanskrit ārdha, referring to “eyes like blue lotus halves (Olivelle 2008, 65). The expression 側身 is somewhat unclear; Willemen (2009a, 20) translates it as “bowing”; there is no reference to bowing in the Sanskrit text; it may be referring to citizens crowding on the side of the road to greet the prince.

164 *niḥsṛtya kubjāśca mahākulebhyo vyūhāśca kairātakavāmanānām /
nāryaḥ kṛṣebhyaśca niveśanebhyo devānuvānadhvajavatpraṇemuḥ* // Bc_3.12 //
This passage is either a translation of 3.12 or, more probably, a reference to verse 3.9, which includes a simile to the moon followed by the stars. The description provided by Aśvaghoṣa here is very variegated, including humpbacks (*kubjāś*), dwarfs (*vāmanānām*), Kairatakas or “forest-dweller”, and women from low families (*nāryaḥ kṛṣebhyaśca niveśanebhyo*). In the second part of the verse there is a comparison between the Buddha and a god carried in procession, see Olivelle (2008, 441).

165 *taṃ tuṣṭuvuḥ saumyaaguṇena kecidvavandire dīptatayā tathānye /
saumukhyatas tu śriyamasya kecidvaipulyamāśamsiṣurāyusaśca* // Bc_3.11 // This stanza presents a description of citizens of all social background greeting the prince. However, T192 does not present any mention of the qualities of the prince, gentleness (*saumyaaguṇena*), majesty (*dīptatayā*), benignity (*saumukhyatas*). The expression 長幼及中年 occurs twice, once in the third and once in the fourth chapter.

樓閣堤塘樹， 窓牖衢巷間，
側身競容目， 瞪矚觀無厭。

On the pavilions, from embankments and trees, from shutters and windows between streets and alleys
side by side contending the possibility of a glance, staring and watching and being never tired of it.¹⁶⁷

高觀謂投地， 步者謂乘虛，
意專不自覺， 形神若雙飛。

Those who looked from above wanted to be cast on the ground, passers by felt like rising in the empty sky:
their desires being so focused that they were not aware that body and soul were flying in pairs.¹⁶⁸

虔虔恭形觀， 不生放逸心，

Respectful at the sight of his appearance, they did not let their minds indulge loosely in pleasures.¹⁶⁹

圓體臚支節， 色若蓮花敷，
今出處園林， 願成聖法仙。

Rounded body and straight limbs, the color of blossomed lotuses,
Now he comes out to stay in the gardens, willing to become a seer of the holy law.¹⁷⁰

太子見修塗， 莊嚴從人眾，
服乘鮮光澤， 欣然心歡悅。

166 Huang (2015, 60) defines this passage a 增飾, “embellishment” or “decoration”. The passage is not simply an addition in T192, it is probably a patch meant to summarize eight stanzas (from *Bc* 3.13 to *Bc* 3.20) that are omitted in the translation: their content is a vivid description of women rushing to see the prince without taking care of their loose garments nor of their tattered appearance. There might be a subtle net of cross-references to the omitted portion of the Sanskrit poem: in *Bc* there is reference to women hearing that the prince is going out (*kumāraḥ khalu gacchatīti śrutvā* in 3.13), and do not wait for permission to go and see the prince (*kṛtābhyanuññāḥ*) and not being just woke up from sleep (*suptaprabuddhākulalocanāśca*, 3.14); although it is quite a loose correspondence, there is reference to domestic birds (*vitṛṣayantyo gṛhapakṣisaṅghān* 3.15); windows are opened by excited women (*kautūhalodghāṭitavātayānaiḥ*). The translators completely omitted any reference to women, but apparently, in some cases, T192 kept some reference to the source. The translators did not simply cut off the stanzas they did not want to translate, they made sure to write something to replace the missing content.

167 *vātāyanānāmaviśālabhāvādanyonyagaṇḍārpitakuṇḍalānām / mukhāni rejuḥ pramodottamānām baddhāḥ kalāpā iva pañkajānām* // *Bc*_3.21 //
In line with what stated in note 13, there is only a vague correspondence in meaning and some word by word reference: women are compared to lotus bouquets tied to windows (*baddhāḥ kalāpā iva pañkajānām*), since the space in little, the earrings of these ladies rests on each others cheeks (*vātāyanānāmaviśālabhāvādanyonyagaṇḍārpitakuṇḍalānām*), probably corresponding to the Chinese 側身.

168 *taṁ tāḥ kumāraṁ pathi vīkṣamāṇāḥ striyo babhurgāmiva gantukāmāḥ / ūrdhvonmukhāścainamudīkṣamāṇā narā babhurdyāmiva gantukāmāḥ* // *Bc*_3.22 // In Sanskrit the difference in perspective involves a difference between men and women (missing in the translation).

169 *dr̥ṣtvā ca taṁ rājasutaṁ striyastā jājvalyamānaṁ vapuṣā śriyā ca / dhanyāsyā bhāryeti śanairavocaṇṣuddhairmanobhiḥ khalu nānyabhāvāt* // *Bc*_3.23 //
The description of women is censored and their direct speech “Blessed his wife” (*dhanyāsyā bhāryeti*) is not reported. The expression 不生放逸心 is very rare, with only three occurrences in the Canon, one of which in T278.

170 *ayaṁ kila vyāyatapīnabāhū rūpeṇa sāksādiva puṣpaketuḥ / tyaktvā śriyaṁ dharmamupaiśyatīti tasmin hi tā gauravameva cakruḥ* // *Bc*_3.24 //
The comparison with the “flower-bannered god” (*iva puṣpaketuḥ*) and the reference to *tyaktvā śriyaṁ* “giving up sovereign power” are not translated. The expression *tasmin hi tā gauravameva cakruḥ* is already mentioned in the previous verse 虔虔恭形觀.

國人瞻太子，嚴儀勝羽從，
亦如諸天[王]眾，見天太子生。

The prince, viewing the refined road dignified with a crowd of followers,
the clothes, carriages, the fresh scenery and the luster, was joyfully happy in his heart.
The citizens looking up to the prince, stern in appearance, with the superior imperial retinue,
like a crowd of royals, realized that he was born as a celestial prince.¹⁷¹

時淨居天王，忽然在道側，
變形衰老相，勸生厭離心。

That time the king of the gods in the pure abodes, all of a sudden on the side of the road
transformed in the resemblance of an old, decrepit person, urging the start of a forsaking mind.¹⁷²

太子見老人，驚怪問御者：

The prince saw the old man, in big surprise asked the driver.¹⁷³

「此是何等人？頭白而背僂，
目冥身戰搖，任杖而羸步。
為是身卒[暴]變，為受性自爾？」

What kind of person is this one? White hair and crooked back,
Dim eyes, body shivering, relying on a cane and with unsteady steps,
Did his body became like this all of a sudden? Did he naturally acquire these characteristics?¹⁷⁴

御者心躊躇，不敢以實答，
淨居加神力，令其表真言：

The charioteer hesitated in his mind, not daring to handle an actual answer,
the gods of the pure abodes intensified their spiritual power, leading him to express a true
statement:¹⁷⁵

「色變氣虛微，多憂少歡樂，
喜忘諸根羸，是名衰老相。

The appearance changes, his vital energy is void and in decline, he has too much sorrow and little to
be happy,
happiness is forgotten and all the roots are weak, the name of this [condition] is old age.¹⁷⁶

171 *kīrṇa tathā rājapathaṃ kumāraḥ pauraivinītaiḥ śucidhīraveṣaiḥ /*

tatpūrvamālokyā jaharṣa kiṃcinmene punarbhāvamivātmanaśca // Bc_3.25 //

The source text reports the prince thinking; he feels like he is “born again” (*mene punarbhāvamivātmanaśca*).

Huang (2015, 63) points out that 塗 translates *rājapatha*, but it is not clear why this character has been chosen.

172 *puraṃ tu tatsvargamiva prahr̥ṣṭaṃ śuddhādhivāsāḥ samavekṣya devāḥ /*

jīrṇaṃ naraṃ nirmamire prayātum saṃcodanārthaṃ kṣitipātmajasya // Bc_3.26 //

173 *tataḥ kumāro jarayābhibhūtaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā narebhyaḥ prthagākṛtiṃ tam /*

uvāca saṃgrāhakamāgatāsthastatraiva niṣkampaniviṣṭadr̥ṣṭiḥ // Bc_3.27 //

174 *ka eṣa bhoḥ sūta naro 'bhyupetaḥ keśaiḥ sitair yaṣṭiviṣaktahaṣṭaḥ /*

bhrūsaṃvṛtākṣaḥ śīthilānatāṅgaḥ kiṃ vikriyaiṣā prakṛtiryaḍṛcchā // Bc_3.28 //

175 *ityevamuktaḥ sa rathapraṇetā nivedayāmāsa nṛpātmajāya /*

saṃrakṣyamapyarthamadoṣadarśī taireva devaiḥ kṛtabuddhimohaḥ // Bc_3.29 //

In this case the hesitation of the charioteer (*rathapraṇetā*) was not present in the source text, where the man reveals the truth quite directly (*nivedayāmāsa*) under the influence (*kṛtabuddhimohaḥ*) of the gods (*taireva devaiḥ*).

176 *rūpasya hantrī vyasanaṃ balasya śokasya yonirnidhana ratinām /*

nāśaḥ smṛtīnām ripurindriyāṇāmeṣā jarā nāma yayaiṣa bhagnaḥ // Bc_3.30 //

此本為嬰兒，長養於母乳，
及童子嬉遊，端正恣五欲，
年逝形枯朽，今為老所壞。」

At the beginning he was an infant, then he grew up, fed by his mother's milk,
as a boy he happily wandered around, in due course he indulged in the five desires,
with the passing years his body was decayed and rotten, now he is old and ruined.¹⁷⁷

太子長歎息，而問御者言：
「但彼獨衰老，吾等亦當然？」
御者又答言：

The prince had a long sigh and asked the charioteer with these words_
“is it only him affected with this old age, or will I also necessarily get through it?”
The charioteer replied again:¹⁷⁸

「尊亦有此分，
時移形自變，必至無所疑，
少壯無不老，舉世知而求。」

The honorable one will share this too,
With the passing time the body changes spontaneously, this is certain, there are no doubts;
young and vigorous cannot avoid aging, all the world knows it and still wishes for it.¹⁷⁹

菩薩久修習[習修]，清淨智慧業，
廣[*]殖諸德本，願果華[萃]於今。
聞說衰老苦，戰慄身毛豎，
雷[電]霆霹靂聲，群獸怖奔走。

The bodhisattva had practiced austerities for a long time, purified his acts of wisdom
widely grew all the roots of virtue, and he was willing to gather the fruits in this time.
Hearing about the sufference of old age, his body shivered and his hair bristled,
like struck by the noise of a thunderbolt, the herd of animals are afraid and run.¹⁸⁰

Old age is also defined as “origin of sorrow” (*śokasya yonir*), destroyer of memory (*nāśaḥ smṛtīnām*), “foe of sense organs” (*ripur indriyāṇām*). The syntax of 喜忘諸根羸 appears somewhat unclear, if in fact 喜 is the subject, the verb has no passive form. The word 根 “root”, if we take it as the subject, is used to describe senses or sensory faculties (*indriya*).

177 *pītaṃ hyanenāpi payaḥ śiśutve kālena bhūyaḥ parisṛptamurvyām /
krameṇa bhūtvā ca yuvā vapuṣmān krameṇa tenaiva jarāmupetaḥ* // Bc_3.31 //

There is no mention at all of the indulging in the five desires (恣五欲) in Sanskrit, while T192 evidences a connection between indulging in passion and the decay of the body.

178 *ityevamukte calitaḥ sa kiṃcidrājātmajaḥ sūtamidaṃ babhāṣe /
kimeṣa doṣo bhavitā mamāpītyasmai tataḥ sārathirabhyuvāca* // Bc_3.32 //

Yan 言, as a verb, is probably a translation of *babhāṣe*.

In the source text as we can read it the prince does not ask if the man is the only one affected by old age.

179 *āyusmato 'pyeṣa vayahprakarṣo niḥsaṃśayaṃ kālavaśena bhāvī /
evaṃ jarāṃ rūpavināśayitṛṃ jānāti caivecchati caiva lokāḥ* // Bc_3.33 //

Willemsen (2009a, 21) translates 舉世知而求 as “The whole world knows [this truth], but still hopes otherwise”; I think the translators tried to follow the Sanskrit “people knows this and still they desire it” as in *jānāti caivecchati caiva lokāḥ*.

180 *tataḥ sa pūrvāśayaśuddhabuddhivistīrṇakalpācītapuṇyakarmā /
śrutvā jarāṃ savivije mahātmā mahāśanerghoṣamivāntike gauḥ* // Bc_3.34 //

The verse is translated quite correspondingly, but the choice of translating *mahātmā* with 菩薩.

菩薩亦如是，震怖長嘯息，
繫心於老苦，頷頭而瞪矚，

The bodhisattva was like that, shaking with fear and long breaths
his mind concentrated on the suffering of old age, shaking his head and gazing with wide eyes.¹⁸¹

念此衰老苦，世人何愛樂？
老相之所壞，觸類無所擇，
雖有壯色力，無一不遷變。
目前見證相，如何不厭離？

Considering this sufference of old age, how can people in this world be fond of pleasures?
Being ruined by the manifestation of old age, every kind of being cannot be differentiated,
although there are strenght and energy, vicissitudes cannot be subverted,
seeing this proofs in front of his own eyes, how can one not be disgusted?¹⁸²

菩薩謂御者，宜速迴車還，
念念衰老至，園林何足歡？

The bodhisattva talked to the charioteer, urging to revert the chariot route and go back,
thinking on the advent of old age, how could the pleasure of the gardens be satisfying?¹⁸³

[4]受命即風馳，飛輪旋本宮。
心存朽暮境，如歸空塚間，

Receiving the order, fast like the wind, the wheel were reverted toward the same imperial palace,
his mind lingering on senility and decay, it was like going back to an empty mound.¹⁸⁴

觸事不留情，所居無暫安。
王聞子不悅，勸令重出遊，
即勅諸群臣，莊嚴復勝前。

Stricken by the events, he could not concentrate, in his dwelling he could not find a brief tranquillity.
The king heard that the prince was not happy and ordered that he started a journey again
immediately decreed that a retinue of servants adorn even better than before.¹⁸⁵

181 *niḥśvasya dīrgham svaśiraḥ prakampya tasmimśca jīrṇe viniveśya cakṣuḥ /*
tām caiva dṛṣṭvā janatām saharṣām vākyaṃ sa saṃvigna idaṃ jagāda // Bc_3.35 //

The first verse corresponds to the translation almost word by word, although in the Sanskrit the prince is said to be staring at the old man (*tasmimśca jīrṇe viniveśya cakṣuḥ*), while in T192 the prince is concentrated on the suffering of old age (繫心於老苦). The second part of the stanza is elided. It reads “and, seeing the people full of joy, dejected, he uttered these words”.

182 *evaṃ jarā hanti ca nirviśeṣaṃ smṛtiṃ ca rūpaṃ ca parākramaṃ ca /*
na caiva saṃvegamupaiti lokāḥ pratyakṣato 'pīdṛśamīkṣamāṇaḥ // Bc_3.36 //

觸類無所擇 is the translation of *nirviśeṣaṃ*, “without distinction”. In the source text the attention of the prince is on the figure of the old man, while T192 chose to focus on more generic terms, on the “signs” of old age like in 老相 or 目前見證相.

183 *evaṃ gate sūta nivatayāśvān śīghraṃ grhāṇyeva bhavānprayātu /*
udyānabhūmau hi kuto ratirme jarābhaye cetasi vartamāne // Bc_3.37 //

As in other occurrences, direct speech is better translated than narrative or description. An understanding of the free direct speech in the T192 can be found in Liao Guey-lan (2011).

184 *athājñayā bhartusutasya tasya nivatayāmāsa rathaṃ niyantā /*
tataḥ kumāro bhavanam tadeva cintāvaśaḥ śūnyamiva prapede // Bc_3.38 //

It is not clear were the idea of an empty mound comes from. Willemen (2009a, 22) translates it as the speech of the prince: “My life rushes on like the wind. Turn back to my palace with flying wheels!”.

天復化病人， 守命在路傍，
身瘦而腹大， 呼吸長喘息，
手脚攣枯燥， 悲泣而呻吟。
太子問御者： 「此復何等人？」

The gods again created a sick person, waiting for his destiny on the side of the road.
His body fickle and his abdomen big, breathing with long wheezes.
Hands and feet contracted, dry and dull, he cried in suffering and groaned.
The prince asked to the charioteer: “What kind of person is this, again?”¹⁸⁶

對曰：「是病者， 四大俱錯亂，
羸劣無所堪， 轉側恃仰人。」

He answered: “It’s a sick person, the four elements are all in disorder,
he is feeble and incapable. In his situation, he has to rely on others.”¹⁸⁷

太子聞所說， 即生哀愍心，
問：「唯此人病， 餘亦當復爾？」

The prince, hearing what was said, was immediately caught by pity in his heart,
he asked: “Is this the only sick person, or others will be also like that?”¹⁸⁸

對曰：「此世間， 一切俱亦然，
有身必有患， 愚癡樂朝歡。」

[He] replied: “In this world, it is the same for everyone,
if there is a body, there must be sufferance. [People] ignores it, and enjoy happiness in the court.”¹⁸⁹

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- 185 *yadā tu tatraiva na śarma lebhe jarā jareti praparīkṣamāṇaḥ /*
tato narendrānumataḥ sa bhūyaḥ krameṇa tenaiva bahirjagāma // Bc_3.39 //
“But when even there he found no relief, lost in deep reflection: “old age, old age!” in due course, then, permitted by the king, he ventured out again with the same man”. The king is more active in his role in the Chinese translation, where we read 勸令 “urge” plus “order”.
- 186 *athāparaṃ vyādhiparītadehaṃ ta eva devāḥ sasrjurmaṇuṣyam /*
dr̥ṣṭvā ca taṃ sārathimābabhāṣe śauddhodanistadgataḥ dr̥ṣṭireva // Bc_3.40 //
sthūlodarah śvāsacalaccharīraḥ srastāmsabāhuḥ kṛśapāṇḍugātraḥ /
ambeti vācaṃ karuṇaṃ bruvāṇaḥ paraṃ samāśritya naraḥ ka eṣaḥ // Bc_3.41 //
I am not following the division proposed by Huang (2015, 69), since it splits the two stanzas. Willemen (2009a, 22) chose to translate all the text as direct speech. 守命在路傍 is not present in the Sanskrit text; T192 does not mention the prince gazing at the sick person (*dr̥ṣṭvā ca taṃ...dr̥ṣṭireva*), nor the sorrowful lamenting of the sick man (*ambeti vācaṃ karuṇaṃ bruvāṇaḥ*) and his relying on others (*paraṃ samāśritya*). Pisani (1954) discusses if the exclamation of the sick man should be intended as *amba* “mother” or *ambu*, “water”.
- 187 *tato 'bravītsārathirasya saumya dhātuprakopaprabhavaḥ pravṛddhaḥ /*
rogābhīdhānaḥ sumahānanārthaḥ śakto 'pi yenaīṣa kṛto 'svatantraḥ // Bc_3.42 //
The peculiarity of this passage is 四大俱錯亂, used to translate *dhātuprakopaprabhavaḥ* “rising from the clash of humors”; 四大 or four elements is a concept derived from traditional Chinese medicine.
- 188 *ityūcivān rājasutaḥ sa bhūyastaṃ sānukampo naramīkṣamāṇaḥ /*
asyaiva jāto prthageṣa doṣaḥ sāmānyato rogabhayaṃ prajānām // Bc_3.43 //
- 189 *tato babhāṣe sa rathapraṇetā kumāra sādharmaṇa eṣa doṣaḥ /*
evaṃ hi rogaiḥ paripīḍyamāno rujāturo harṣamupaiti lokaḥ // Bc_3.44 //
The second verse reads “And although they are tormented by pain, people continue to enjoy themselves”. My translation presumes a correspondence with the source; Willemen (2009a, 22) has “Yet in one’s foolishness one may enjoy the joys of the court”.

太子聞其說， 即生大恐怖，
身心悉戰動， 譬如揚波月。

The prince heard these words and immediately a great terror arised [in me],
Body and mind both shaking, like the moon [reflected] on rising waves.¹⁹⁰

處斯大苦器， 云何能自安？
嗚呼世間人， 愚惑癡闇障，
病賊至無期， 而生喜樂心。

“Dwelling in this receptacle of maladies, how can we be tranquil?
Alas! All the human beings are confused and foolish, impeded by darkness:
Sickness is like a traitor that arrives without announcing, but (they are) happy in their hearts.¹⁹¹

於是迴車還， 愁憂念病苦，
如人被打害， 捲[卷]身待杖至，

So turn the chariot and go back!” - Distressed by the thought of the sufferance of sickness, he was
like a person being beaten, that crouch his body waiting for the next stroke.¹⁹²

靜息於閑宮， 專求反世樂。
王復聞子還， 勅問何因緣？

Quietly resting in the leisure palace, he only wanted to refuse the happiness of the world.
The king, hearing again that the prince had returned, ordered to enquire on the reason.¹⁹³

對曰見病人[若]， 王怖猶失身。
深責治路者， 心結口不言，

It was answered to him: “He saw a sick person”. The king was afraid as to lose him [forever].
He investigated more and punished the street cleaners, his heart hardened and his mouth
speechless.¹⁹⁴

復增[妓]伎女眾， 音樂倍勝前。
以此悅視聽， 樂俗不厭家，

Again he increased the [number of] courtesans, the music was times better than before.
Through the pleasure of the sight and ears, in this pleasurable habits, [he might not] despise [his]
house.¹⁹⁵

190 *iti śrutārthaḥ sa viṣaṇṇacetāḥ prāvepatāmbūrmigataḥ śaśīva /*
idaṃ ca vākyam karuṇāyamānaḥ provāca kiṃcinmṛdunā svareṇa // Bc_3.45 //

191 *idaṃ ca rogavyasanaṃ prajānāṃ paśyaṃśca viśrambhamupaiti lokaḥ /*
vistīrṇamajñānamaho narāṇāṃ hasanti ye rogabhayairamuktāḥ // Bc_3.46 //
病賊至無期 seems quite deliberately added by the translator.

192 *nivartyatāṃ sūta bahiḥprayāṇānnarendrasadmaiva rathaḥ prayātu /*
śrutvā ca me rogabhayaṃ ratibhyaḥ pratyāhataṃ saṃkucatīva cetāḥ // Bc_3.47 //
There is no apparent comparison with a man being beaten in the source text. All the verse is translated as a direct
speech of the prince.

193 *tato nivṛttaḥ sa nivṛttaharṣaḥ pradhyānayuktaḥ praviveśa veśma /*
taṃ dvistathā prekṣya ca saṃnivṛttaṃ paryeṣaṇaṃ bhūmipatiścakāra // Bc_3.48 //

194 *śrutvā nimittaṃ tu nivartanasya saṃtyaktamātmāmanena mene /*
mārgasya śaucādhikṛtāya caiva cukrośa ruṣto 'pi ca nogradaṇḍaḥ // Bc_3.49 // 路者

晝夜進聲色，其心未始歡。
王自出遊歷，更求勝妙園，

Day and night in the presence of sensual pleasures, his heart was not happy.
The king himself started a journey, looking for even more marvelous gardens.¹⁹⁶

簡[揀]擇諸姝女，美艷極姿顏。
諂[智]黠能奉事，容媚能惑人，

He chose many courtesans, beautiful, gorgeous and extremely gracious in countenance.
[they] knew the crafts and were able to entertain, easy in flattering and able to fascinate a man.¹⁹⁷

增修王御道，防制諸不淨，
并勅善御者，瞻察擇路行。

Again polishing the royal road, guarding against any impurity,
and ordering to a good driver to watch out and select the good path to follow.¹⁹⁸

時彼淨居天，復化為死人，
四人共持輿，現於菩薩前，
餘人悉不覺，菩薩御者見。

Then those same gods of the pure abodes turned again into a dead man,
four man were jointly sustaining a carriage, and firstly stepped in front of the prince,
the other persons were not aware, [only] the prince and the charioteer saw [it].¹⁹⁹

問：「此何等輿？幡花雜莊嚴，
從者悉憂感，散髮號哭隨。」

[The prince] asked: “What sort of carriage is that? With a rich decoration of streamers and flowers,
the people that follow it are all weeping with sorrow, [their] hair loose and crying loudly as they
follow [him]?”²⁰⁰

天神教御者，對曰：「為死人。」

195 *bhūyaśca tasmai vidadhe sutāya viśeṣayuktaṃ viśayapracāram / calendriyatvādapi nāma sakto nāsmānvijahyāditi nāthamānaḥ* // Bc_3.50 // The direct speech of the king is not marked in the translation.

196 *yadā ca śabdādibhirindriyārthairantaḥpure naiva suto 'sya reme / tato bahirvyādiśati sma yātrāṃ rasāntaraṃ syāditi manyamānaḥ* // Bc_3.51 // “But when within the seraglio his son found / no delight in sounds and other objects of sense, / he then ordered another excursion outdoors, / thinking that it might produce a different effect” Olivelle (2008, 79). It is not clear how the periphrastic perfect *vyādiśati sma* “he ordered” or “he prescribed” has become an active sentence with the king as agent, 王自出遊歷 sounding like “the king himself experienced an excursion”.

197 *snehācca bhāvaṃ tanayasya buddhvā sa rāgadoṣānavicintya kāmścit / yogyāḥ samājñāpayati sma tatra kalāsvabhijñā iti vāramukhyāḥ* // Bc_3.52 // Curiously, the translators indulge in the description of the courtesans and do not take into account what seems to be the most important information, that is to say the king acting immorally or “disregarding any evil of lust” (*sa rāgadoṣānavicintya kāmścit*) because he is anxious for his son.

198 *tato viśeṣeṇa narendramārgaḥ svalaṃkrte caiva parīkṣite ca / vyatyasya sūtaṃ ca rathaṃ ca rājā prasthāpayāmāsa bahiḥ kumāraṃ* // Bc_3.53 // 瞻察擇路行 the instruction to the driver is an adding of the translators.

199 *tatastathā gacchati rājaput্রে taireva devairvihito gatāsuḥ / taṃ caiva mārgaḥ mṛtamuhyamānaṃ sūtaḥ kumāraśca dadarśa nānyaḥ* // Bc_3.54 // 輿 can be different kinds of carriage; here we chose the most generic term, although it may also be closer to “litter”, “sedan” or “bier” (as translated by Willemsen [2009a, 23]). Since the prince asks what kind of “carriage” is that in the following verse, and the translator kept using the same character, we opted for the more generic term possible, as to show that the prince himself was not aware of the specific purpose that carriage was meant for.

200 *athabravidrājasutaḥ sa sūtaṃ naraiś caturbhiḥri yate ka eṣaḥ / dīnairmanuṣyairanugamyamāno yo bhūṣitaścāpyavarudyate ca* // Bc_3.55 //

The gods instructed the charioteer, who replied “It’s a dead person”²⁰¹

諸根壞命斷， 心散念識離，
神逝形乾燥， 挺直如枯木。
親戚諸朋友， 恩愛素纏綿，
今悉不喜見， 遠棄空塚間。 」

“All his faculties are ruined, his life has ended; his mind is deprived of reason and knowledge has left [him],
his spirit has gone and his body is stiff, straighten like a log.
Relatives and friends loved [him] deeply, are wrapped in white silk,
Today they are not happy to see him, they are going to discard him in an empty grave.”²⁰²

太子聞死聲， 悲痛心交結。
問：「唯此人死， 天下亦俱然？」

The prince heard about death, he was sorrowful and his mind was entangled.
[He] asked: Is he the only dead person, or is it like that for all creatures?”²⁰³

對曰：「普皆爾， 夫始必有終，
長幼及中年， 有身莫不壞。 」

[He] replied “It is universal, for all: if there is a beginning there must be an end.
Old, young and middle-aged: if there is a body, it cannot avoid decay.”²⁰⁴

太子心驚怛， 身垂車軾前，
息殆絕而嘆，

The prince was terrified in his mind, his body leaning on the crossbar of the chariot.
With his breath almost broken he exclaimed:²⁰⁵

世人一何誤？
公見身磨滅， 猶尚放逸生。
心非枯木石， 曾不慮無常？

Are men so deceived?

Anyone can see how the body wears away, yet indulge in a life of pleasures.

If the mind was not of log or stone, how can one avoid pondering its impermanence?”²⁰⁶

201 *tataḥ sa śuddhātmabhīreva devaiḥ śuddhādhivāsairabhibhūtacetāḥ / avācyamapyathīmimam niyantā pravyājahārārthavadīśvarāya* // Bc_3.56 //

202 *buddhīndriyapraṇāgaṇairviyuktāḥ supto viśaṃjñāstrṇakāśṭhabhūtaḥ / saṃvardhya saṃrakṣya ca yatnavadbhiḥ priyapriyaistyaṇyāta eṣa ko 'pi* // Bc_3.57 // 素纏綿 Willemen (2009a, 23) has “His relatives and friends were bound by their love before”.

203 *iti praṇetuḥ sa niśamya vākyam saṃcukṣubhe kiṃciduvāca cainam / kiṃ kevalo 'syaiva janasya dharmāḥ sarvaprajānāmāyamīdṛśo 'ntaḥ* // Bc_3.58 //

204 *tataḥ praṇetā vadati sma tasmai sarvaprajānām idam antakarma / hīnasya madhyasya mahātmāno vā sarvasya loke niyato vināśaḥ* // Bc_3.59 // Apparently, the Sanskrit text stresses the inescapability of death for members of all social classes.

205 *tataḥ sa dhīro 'pi narendrasūnuḥ śrutvaiva mṛtyuṃ viśasāda sadyaḥ / aṃsena saṃśliṣya ca kūbarāgraṃ provāca nīhrādavatā svareṇa* // Bc_3.60 //

206 *iyam ca niṣṭhā niyatā prajānām pramādyati tyaktabhayaśca lokaḥ / manāṃsi śaṅke kaṭhināni nṛṇām svasthāstathā hyadhvani vartamānāḥ* // Bc_3.61 // It should be noted that the Chinese translator intended *pramādyati* as it is read by Olivelle (2008, 83), with corresponding note at (2008, 441).

即勅迴車還， 非復遊戲時，
命[10]絕死無期， 如何縱心遊？

He immediately ordered to invert the route of the chariot an go back, “It is not time for excursion, life is hopeless and death is unexpected: how can we set our mind to wander?”²⁰⁷

御者奉王勅， 畏怖不敢旋，
正御疾驅馳， 徑往[11]至彼園。

The charioteer received the order of the king, and was afraid so did not dare to turn back:
He drove on straight and quickly whipped the horses on the track to the gardens.²⁰⁸

林流[12]滿清淨， 嘉木悉敷榮，
靈禽雜奇獸， 飛走欣和鳴，
光耀悅耳目， 猶[13]天難陀園。

In the grove, streams were perfectly clean and pure, majestic trees were blossoming.
Marvelous birds and various rare beasts were flewing and roaming and humming joyfully and harmoniously.

The brilliant atmosphere was pleasant to the hear and to the eyes, like the celestial park of Nanda.²⁰⁹²¹⁰

207 *tasmādrathaḥ sūta nivartyatā no vihārabhūmerna hi deśakālaḥ / jānanvināśaṃ kathamartikāle sacetanaḥ syādiha hi pramattaḥ* // Bc_3.62 //

208 *iti bruvāṇe 'pi narādhipātmaje nivartayāmāsa sa naiva taṃ ratham / viśeṣayuktaṃ tu narendraśāsanātsa padmaśaṇḍaṃ vanameva nirayau* // Bc_3.63 //

209 With this verse we still have proof that the translators were following a manuscript quite close to the one we use today, since the reference to the Nandana park comes exactly at the end of the III Canto. The description here follows the Sanskrit quite loosely, with some significative deviation: the trees, although described as in full bloom, are said to be “young” (*bāla*); there is no mention of beasts, and the birds are *paribhramatpramuditamattakokilam* “cuckoo birds flying around excited and intoxicated”; there is mention of pavilions (*vimānavat*) and instead of streams of clean water (流滿[肅]清淨) there are “ponds lovely with lotuses” (*kamalaśāradīrghikam*).

210 The last stanza of Canto 3, Bc 3.65, seems to be elided in the Chinese translation. Besides a description of the women in the garden as “lovely girls” and “lovely *apsaras*”, it contains a description of the prince being “led into that park by force” (*tato balād vanam atin*) and “like a novice hermit fearful of obstacles” (*navavrato muniriva vighnakātarah*).

離欲品第四

Fourth chapter: Distancing from desire²¹¹

太子入園林， 眾女來奉迎，

The prince entered the gardens, a group of women came to welcome [him].²¹²

並生希遇想， 競媚進幽誠，
各盡[15]伎姿態， 供侍隨所宜。

Everyone of them was nurturing the hope of receiving [his] attention;²¹³ contending in charme, they advanced, hiding [their] honesty,²¹⁴

They tried their best skills and attitudes, waiting upon him and pursuing him.²¹⁵

或有執手足， 或遍摩其身，
或復對言笑， 或現憂感容，
規以悅太子， 令生愛樂心。

Some grasped [his] hands and feet, some rubbed his body all over,
some answered smiling, some showed a worried attitude;
they planned to please the prince, to lead him towards the enjoiment of pleasure.²¹⁶

眾女見太子， 光顏狀天身，
不假諸飾好， 素體踰莊嚴，

The crowd of women saw the prince, [his] bright countenance and the body of a celestial being,
not faked by embellishments, in [his] plain form, striding majestically.²¹⁷

一切皆瞻仰， 謂月天子來。

They all looked [at him] with reverence, “the son of the Moon emperor has come”, they said.²¹⁸

211 *iti buddhacarite mahākāvyē strīvighātano nāma caturthaḥ sargaḥ* // 4 //

212 The opening stanza of the *Bc* has a much more vivid description, in which women are said to receive the prince “as if going to receive an approaching bridegroom” (*prāptaṃ varamiva striyaḥ*).

213 並生希遇想 Willemen (2009a, 24) “They all gave rise to the idea that [such beauties] are rarely encountered”. Beal (1883, 38): “and to arouse in him thoughts frivolous”.

214 競媚進幽誠 Willemen (2009a, 25) “Rival in attractiveness, they presented their subtle sincerity”.

215 *abhiḡamya ca tāstasmai vismayotphullalocanāḥ / cakrire samudācāraṃ padmakośanibhaiḥ karaiḥ* // *Bc*_4.2 // “When the women came up to him, their eyes open wide in wonder, they greeted him in due respect, their hands folded like lotus buds”, see Olivelle (2008, 86-87).

216 This passage may refer to various passages in the source text. In the *Bc* 4.3 women “greeted him [the prince] with due respect” (*cakrire samudācāraṃ*), and “they stood there surrounding him” (*tasthuśca parivāryainam*). They also were “trying to hold back” (*nigṛhītaṃ jajṛmbhire*) as in *Bc* 4.6. The choice to employ the pronoun 或 to enumerate is difficult to trace back to the Sanskrit, as well as the actions described in Chinese.

217 Willemen (2009, 25): “which did not require any ornamentation but whose plain person surpassed all adornment”. This passage may have some correspondence with: *taṃ hi tā menire nāryaḥ kāmo vighrahavāniti / śobhitaṃ lakṣaṇairdīptaiḥ sahaḥairbhūṣāṇairiva* // *Bc*_4.4 //. “For those women imagined him to be / Kama, god of love, in bodily form; for he was resplendent with brilliant marks, as if with adornments that were inborn”. The reference to Kama is not present in T192, while the reference to ornaments is kept, although rephrased. The term 莊嚴 occurs thirty-four times in the translation.

218 If not for the corresponding reference to *candramā*, the moon prince as 月天子, at stanza *Bc* 4.5, the striking difference between Sanskrit text and translation at the beginning of this *sarga* might led us to wonder if the translator was actually dealing with a completely different source text. I chose to translate 謂 as a verb introducing direct speech because it is presented as a thought of the prince in the source text.

種種設方便， 不動菩薩心，
更互相顧視， 抱愧寂無言。

Having displayed all their skills, they could not move the mind of the *bodhisattva*;
they glanced at each other, they were ashamed and kept silent, speechless.²¹⁹

有婆羅門子， 名曰[1]優陀夷，
謂諸婬女言：

There was the son of a brahmin, his name was Udayin,
That addressed to those maidens by saying:²²⁰

「汝等悉端正，
聰明多技[伎]術， 色力亦不常，
兼解諸世間， 隱祕[密]隨欲方，

All of you are fit,
clever and very skilled, the might of your charm is extraordinary,
at the same time, you fully understand the world and the secret ways to comply with desires.²²¹

容色世希有， 狀如王[玉]女形。

Your appearance is rare in the world, your form is like shaped in jade.²²²

天見捨妃后， 神仙為之傾，
如何人王子， 不能感其情？

If the goods see (you), they may abandon concubines and queens, immortal seers may be corrupted,
as for this prince, how can't you move his feelings?²²³²²⁴

今此王太子， 持心雖堅固，
清淨德純備， 不勝女人力。

Today this royal prince controls his mind and although he is firm and steady,
of clear virtue and pure in every respect, he cannot win the power of women.²²⁵

219 *evaṃ tā dṛṣṭimātreṇa nāryo dadṛśureva tam / na vyājahurna jahasuḥ prabhāveṇāśya yantritāḥ* // Bc_4.7 // : “Thus those women did nothing else, but look at him with just their eyes” (*tāstathā nu nirārambhā dṛṣṭvā prañayaviklavāḥ*). From verses 4.6 and 4.7 a closer correspondence with the Sanskrit is established.

220 *tāstathā nu nirārambhā dṛṣṭvā prañayaviklavāḥ / purohitasuto dhīmānudāyī vākyamabravīt* // Bc_4.8 // Udayin (udāyin) is the son of a court chaplain (purohitasuto).

221 *sarvāḥ sarvakalājñāḥ stha bhāvagrahaṇapaṇḍitāḥ / rupacāturyasaṃpannāḥ svaguṇairmukhyatām gatāḥ* // Bc_4.9 // “You are all skilled in all fine arts, experts at capturing the heart; you are all lovely and artful, your qualities make you excel”.

222 *śobhayeta guṇairebhirapi tānuttarān kurūn / kuberasyāpi cākṛīḍaṃ prāgeva vasudhāmimām* // Bc_4.10 // The reference to the “Kuru of the north” (*uttarān kurūn*) is explained by Olivelle (2008, 442). The translators clearly substituted the reference to a specific cultural notion with the mention of something closer to the arrival culture of the translation, as jade.

223 *śaktāścaliyitum yūyaṃ vitarāgānuṣṇinapi / apsarobhiṣca kalitān grahitum vibudhānapi* // Bc_4.11 // The translation is almost the same, except for apsaras being substituted by concubines and queens (妃后). I chose to translate the verse with the plural although there is no plural marker in Chinese assuming that the translators were following the number of the Sanskrit.

224 Verses 4.12, 4.13 and 4.14 are not translated. 4.12 contains a description of the skills of the concubines, which are said to be able to arouse passion “even in women” (*strīṇāmeva ca śaktāḥ stha saṃrāge*), while verses 4.13 and 4.14 contains a reproach for women that, in their failure to seduce the prince, are accused to be acting with honesty (*ārjavena*) and like “new brides” (*navavadhūnām*) or like “wives of cowherds” (*gopāyoṣitām*).

古昔孫陀利， 能壞大仙人，
令習於愛欲， 以足蹈其頂。

Long ago Sundarī was able to waste a great holy man,
She led him to be used to lovely desires and was able to step on his head.²²⁶²²⁷

長苦行瞿曇， 亦為天后壞，

[After] long austerities, Gautama was ruined by a celestial queen.²²⁸

勝渠仙人子， 習欲隨汨流。

Śṛṅga, son of a ṛṣi, got used to desire and went along with the flow.²²⁹

毘尸婆梵仙， 修道十千歲，
深著於天后， 一日頓破壞。

The sage Viśvāmitra practiced austerities for ten thousand years,
got deeply in touch with a celestial queen, in the span of a day [he] was ruined.²³⁰

如彼諸美女， 力勝諸梵行，
況汝等技[伎]術， 不能感王子？

All this beautiful women's power won over all the practice of austerities,
Your rank and skills being comparable [to those], [how] aren't [you] able to arouse the prince?²³¹

當更勤方便， 勿令絕王嗣，

225 *yadapi syādayaṃ dhīraḥ śrīprabhāvēn mahāniti / strīṇāmapī mahatteja itaḥ kāryo 'tra niścayaḥ* // Bc_4.15 //

226 *purā hi kāsīsundaryā veśavadvā mahānṛṣiḥ / tāḍito 'bhūtpadā vyāso durdharṣo devatairapi* // Bc_4.16 // “Long ago, Kasisundhari, / the prostitute, kicked with her foot / Vyasa, the great seer, whom even / the gods found it hard to assail” (Olivelle 2008, 53). Hiltebeitel (2006, 246) thinks Aśvaghoṣa is making this quote from the epics “with a little play”. This topic is treated also by Sullivan (1990).

227 *manthālagautamo bhikṣurjaṅghayā vāramukhyayā / pipṛṣuṣca tadarthārthaṃ vyaśūnniraharatpurā* // Bc_4.17 // This verse is missing in the translation; Johnston (1936, 46) thinks it is spurious. Olivelle (2008, 443) points out that the names in this verse are not traceable to other sources.

228 *gautamaṃ dīrghatapasaṃ maharṣi dīrghajīvinam / yoṣitsaṃtoṣayāmāsa varṇasthānāvarā satī* // Bc_4.18 // While the subject that ruins the sage in Chinese is 天后, “a celestial queen”, in Sanskrit we have *varṇasthānāvarā*, “she was low in rank and caste”, an incongruence pointed out also by Huang (2015, 84)..

229 *ṛṣyaśṛṅgaṃ munisutaṃ tathaiṣa strīṣvapaṇḍitam / upāyairvividhaiḥ śāntā jagrāha ca jahāra ca* // Bc_4.19 // Olivelle (2008, 443) explains the epic reference for this quote. 勝渠 is probably the transcription of śṛṅgaṃ, a part of the proper name *ṛṣyaśṛṅgaṃ* – the translator probably took ṛṣya as an appellative and did not translate it; on this point Huang (2015, 85) seems skeptical, pointing out that the verse could be intended as 勝渠仙的人子 or 仙人之子勝渠, and that both the proper name of the father (VibhANDaka) and the proper name *ṛṣyaśṛṅgaṃ* itself can hardly be correspondent to the Chinese 勝渠. Willemen (2009a, 209) instead, quoted 勝渠 as Vibhāṇḍaka. By the way, *ṛṣyaśṛṅgaṃ* is said to be “entrapped and dragged off” by Śāntā, while in Chinese there is no reference to the female character and *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga* / 勝渠 is simply flowing along the stream, which Willemen (2009a, 26) points out to be the stream of *saṃsara*.

230 *viśvāmitro maharṣiṣca vigāḍho 'pi mahattapaḥ / daśa varṣāṇyaharmene ghṛtācyāpsarasā hṛtaḥ* // Bc_4.20 // Olivelle (2008, 444-5) explains this reference to the epics; in Sanskrit we have “ten years seemed a day” *daśa varṣāṇyaharmene*; again the reference to the female character is simplified in 天后, while the Sanskrit as “the apsaras Ghṛtachi” (*ghṛtācyāpsarasā*).

231 *evamādīnṛṣīstāmstānanayanavikriyāṃ striyaḥ / lalitāṃ pūrvavayasam kiṃ punarṇṛpateḥ sutam* // Bc_4.21 // In this case the translator chose to change the object of comparison: in the Sanskrit text seers (*ṛṣīms*) are compared to the son of the king (*ṇṛpateḥ sutam*), the last one being easier to be aroused by the power of women; in the translation, the women of the past are compared with today's courtesan, which, given their range of skills, should be able to entice the prince. The reasons behind such a change are not clear.

Apply your means more diligently, do not lead the royal succession to exhaustion.²³²

女人性雖賤，尊榮隨勝天[夫]。
何不盡其術，令彼生染心？」

Although the character of women is weak, they conquer men, even respectful ones,²³³
why don't you use all your skills, so to lead him arise a tainted mind?²³⁴

爾時嫖女眾，慶聞優陀說，
增其踊悅心，如鞭策良馬，
往到太子前，各進種種術。

That time the crowd of courtesans ceremoniously listened to Udayin's speech,
increased the rush of their joyful disposition, like fine horses being spurred on,
they went in front of the prince, employing every kind of technique.²³⁵

歌舞或言笑，揚眉露白齒，
美目相眇眇，輕衣現[見]素身。
妖搖而徐步，詐親漸習近，

Songs, dances or chat and laugh, rising eyebrows or revealing their white teeth,
beautiful eyes casting love glances to each other, with light dresses revealing their bare bodies,
shaking like witches and walking slowly, faking intimacy, gradually, they approached him.²³⁶

情欲實其心，兼奉大王旨[言]，
慢[漫]形嫖[褻]隱陋，忘其慚愧情。

With sexual desire filling their mind and at the same time accepting the orders uttered by the king,
their attitude unrestrained, lusting for the vulgar, they forgot their sense of shame.²³⁷

232 *tadevaṃ sati viśrabdhaṃ prayatadhvaṃ tathā yathā / iyaṃ nṛpasya vaṃśāśrīto na syātparāṇmukhī* // Bc_4.22 //

233 Willemen (2009a, 26) "A woman may be low by nature, yet the worthy will subsequently be overcome by her";

234 *yā hi kāścidyuvatayo haranti sadṛśaṃ janam / nikṛṣṭotkrṣṭayorbhāvaṃ yā grhṇanti tu tāḥ striyaḥ* // Bc_4.23 // "For any girl can captivate the hearts of men of equal class; But true women capture the love of both the high born and the low." There are specific references to high and low "classes" (*sadṛśaṃ janam / nikṛṣṭotkrṣṭayorbhāvaṃ*) that has been substituted with an exhortation.

235 *ityudāyivacaḥ śrutvā tā viddhā iva yoṣitaḥ / samārururhātmanāṃ kumāragrahaṇaṃ prati* // Bc_4.24 // Women are like "being struck", *viddhā iva*, but there is no reference to "fine horses" or 良馬. The expression 增其踊悅心 is problematic. Willemen (2009a, 26) translates as "they increased their joy"; it is the translation of *samārururhātmanāṃ* 踊. On the comparison between the mind and a "wish-car" see Bloomfield (1919).

236 *tā bhrūmiḥ prekṣitairhāvairhasitair līḍitairgataiḥ / cakrurākṣepikāśceṣṭā bhītabhītā ivāṅganāḥ* // Bc_4.25 // "Somewhat timidly, then, those damsels / made gestures aimed at arousing love; / with eyebrows, glances and flirtations, and with laughter, frolicking, and gait". There is no reference to dances and songs in Sanskrit 歌舞或言笑, although in stanza Bc 4.34 (ten verses later) there is mention of a girl singing a sweet song, accompanying it by her gestures *madhuraṃ gītamanvarth kācitsābhinayaṃ jagau* nor to light clothes that let the body show 輕衣現[見]素身. This last reference might be an anticipation of stanza Bc 4.34 *babhrumurdarśayantyo 'sya śroṇīstanvaṃśukāvṛtāḥ* // Bc 4.34 // "displaying to him their hips, covered with fine see-through cloth". 詐親 "faking intimacy" is somewhat unclear; besides these examples, there seems to be some word by word translation going on in this verse: *bhrūmiḥ* 揚眉, *hasitair l* 露白齒, *līḍitairgataiḥ* 美目相眇眇, *ākṣepikāśceṣṭā* 妖搖而徐步, *bhītabhītā ivāṅganāḥ* 漸習近. For an account of the influence of this verse on Chinese literature see Wang Chunhong 汪春泓 (1991).

237 *rājñastu viniyogena kumārasya ca mārḍavāt / jahuḥ kṣipramaviśrambhaṃ madena madanena ca* // Bc_4.26 // 情欲實其心 may be referring to *kumārasya ca mārḍavāt* "the gentle nature of the prince", 其 referring to the prince; we take 其 as referring to their (the ladies'), and the phrase as translating *madena madanena ca*, although there is

太子心堅固， 傲然不改容，
猶如大龍象， 群象眾圍遶，
不能亂其心， 處眾若閑居。

The mind of the prince was steady, and proudly unmovable,
just like a great dragon-elephant, in the middle of a elephant herd surrounding [him],
it was not possible to confuse his mind: [he was] dwelling in the crowd like in a secluded abode.²³⁸

猶如天帝釋， 諸天女圍繞，
太子在園林， 圍繞亦如是。

Just like the celestial god Shakra, encircled by the celestial women,
the pince stayed in the garden, surrounded just like that.²³⁹²⁴⁰

或為整衣服， 或為洗手足，
或以香塗身， 或以華嚴飾。
或為貫瓔珞， 或有扶抱身，
或為安枕席， 或傾身密語。
或世俗調戲， 或說眾欲事，
或作諸欲形， 規以動其心。

Some acted as if fixing [their] clothes,²⁴¹ some as if washing hands and feet,
some used fragrance to smear the body,²⁴² some used flowers as ornaments,²⁴³
some strung necklaces of jade and pearls,²⁴⁴ some others embraced [his] body with both arms,²⁴⁵
some laid down on cushions,²⁴⁶ some inclined their bodies while uttering secrets,²⁴⁷

no reference to liquor (*madena*) in Chinese; 忘其慚愧情 translates *jahuḥ kṣipramaviśrambhaṃ* “they quickly dropped their timidity” - in this case 其 is referring to the ladies’.

238 *atha nārījanavṛtaḥ kumāro vyacaradvanam / vāsītāyūthasahitaḥ karīva himavadvanam* // Bc_4.27 // “Surrounded, then, by those women, the prince strolled about in the grove, / like an elephant with a female herd, / in a Himalayan grove.”

239 *sa tasmin kānane ramye jajvāla strīpuraḥsarah / ākrīḍa iva vibhrāje vivasvānapsarovṛtaḥ* // Bc_4.28 // The god Vivasvat is not known, Olivelle (2008, 444); Johnston relates it to an appellative of Indra.

240 Stanzas from Bc 4.29 to Bc 4.52 are not translated word by word, rather “condensed” in a very short description, Huang (2015, 98) shares the same idea; again as in the beginning of the third *sarga*, there is a “patch” of text to hide the missing parts.

241 *muhurmuhurmadavyājasrastanīlāmśukāparā / ālakṣyaraśanā reje sphuradvidyudīva kṣapā* // Bc_4.33 // I am intending 為 as “doing as if” or “pretending”, while Willemen (2009a, 26) translates it as “for him”; women are described as faking some form of drunkenness throughout the scene, in this particular verse we have madavyāja “pretending that she was drunk” (Olivelle 2008,99); see also Bc 4.29 madenāvarjitā nāma “under the pretense of being drunk” (Olivelle 2008, 47). In stanza Bc 4.30 a girl “feigned to stumble” *anṛtaṃ skhalitaṃ*.

242 *kācidājñāpayantīva provācādrānulepanā / iha bhaktīm kuruṣveti hastasaṃśleṣalipsayā* // Bc_4.32 // “One girl, still wet with unguents, said, as if she were commanding: ‘Make a line here!’ longing to be touched by his hand”.

243 There are many references to flowers throughout all the elided paragraph, like in Bc 4.35 *cūtaśākhāṃ kusumitām* “branches of mango in full bloom”, the entire stanza Bc 4.36 has five repetitions of the name padma, “lotus”; verses Bc 4.44 to 4.49 all mentions different kinds of flowers and trees, for example *citaṃ cūtaṃ kusumairmadhugandhibhiḥ* “this mango tree full of honey-scented blooms”(4.44) , *nīlamutpalam* or a “blue lotus bloom”, *phullam kurubakam* “kurubaraka tree in bloom”(Bc 4.47). See also Olivelle (2008, 444-445).

244 It is probably derived from a reference to “garland chains” with which the women try to bind the prince *babandhurmadāyadāmbhiḥ* (4.40). There is also reference to jewels like “golden girdles” *kanakakāñcībhir* (4.34), “earrings shaking” at a girl’s laugh *hāsāghūrṇitakuṇḍalā* (4.39).

245 There are different passages in which the prince is embraced by the women, as in *mṛdubāhulatābalā... ainaṃ sasvaje balāt* (Bc 4.30) “with tender tendril-like arms... embraced him by force”, or bound with garlands.

246 Nobody is resting in the original scene, since the prince is trying to escape from the women ceasing him. There also are two descriptions of women paroding him (or a manly bearing), as in Bc 4.38 and 4.42.

247 The more explicit reference to murmuring secrets is in stanza Bc 4.31, in which a woman, smelling of liquor, whispers in the ear of the prince the words “Listen to a secret!” *rahasyaṃ śrūyatām*.

some took profane liberties, or spoke a multitude of lascivious things,²⁴⁸
some assumed wishful poses, having been advised to move his heart.²⁴⁹

菩薩心清淨， 堅固難可轉，
聞諸婬女說， 不憂亦不喜。

The mind of the bodhisattva was pure, firm and difficult to subvert,
he heard all the maidens'talking, with no sorrow and no appreciation.²⁵⁰

倍生厭思惟， 嘆此為奇怪，
始知諸女人， 欲心盛如是。

The thoughts of disgust increased, he sighed: “This is weird,²⁵¹
For the first time I know that women's lustful minds are so exuberant,²⁵²

不知少壯色， 俄頃老死壞，
哀哉此大惑， 愚癡覆其心。

They do not know that young age and strenght are ruined in a moment by old age and death,
Such a pity! These are confused, ignorance is obscuring their mind.²⁵³

當思老病死， 晝夜勤勗勵，
鋒刃[劍]臨其頸， 如何猶嬉笑？

When one considers old age, sickness, death, day and night are constantly enjoining,
a blade is about to fall on their neck: how can they be so playfully laughing?^{254,255}

見他老病死， 不知自觀察，
是則泥木人， 當有何心慮？

²⁴⁸ *kāścitsākṣepamadhurairjagṛharvacanānkuṣaiḥ* // Bc_4.40 // “some restrained him with goads of words, sweetened with seductive hints”.

²⁴⁹ It is a reference to the words of Udayin (*ityudāyivacaḥ śrutvā*, or 慶聞優陀說), and to the orders of the king (兼奉大王旨).

²⁵⁰ *evamākṣipyamāṇo 'pi satu dhairyāvṛtendriyaḥ / martavyamiti sodvego na jaharṣa na vivyathe* // Bc_4.54 //

²⁵¹ 嘆此為奇怪 in which cases object is before subject

²⁵² *tāsām tattve 'navasthānaṃ dṛṣṭvā sa puruṣottamaḥ / samaṃ vignena dhīreṇa cintayāmāsa cetasā* // Bc_4.55 // I am taking this verse as a direct speech of the prince, since there are no other direct speech marker than the verb 嘆, which was already used as a marker of direct speech in the poem. Willemen (2009a, 27) translates as “He sighed, thinking all this was strange. He knew for the first time that lustful thoughts of women were so abundant.” However, Huang (2015, 95) shares the same view as Willemen, and there is no direct speech in the Sanskrit verse.

²⁵³ *kiṃ tvimā nāvagacchanti capalaṃ yauvanaṃ striyaḥ / yato rūpeṇa saṃmattaṃ jarā yannāśayiṣyati* // Bc_4.56 // In Sanskrit women are said to be “drunk with their beauty” *rūpeṇa saṃmattaṃ*.

²⁵⁴ *nūnametā na paśyanti kasyacidrogasamplavam / tathā hrṣṭā bhayaṃ tyaktvā jagati vyadhidharminī* // Bc_4.57 // 晝夜勤勗勵 is difficult to translate. Willemen (2009a, 27) translates as “and night and day apply and exert themselves”, keeping women as the subject; in this way the overall meaning of the sentence looks like the instructions of an abbot as directed to an audience of monks. Surely Gautama has not reached the nirvana at this point, nor he has any idea on how to overcome sufferance, so it would be difficult for him to admonish and instruct those women. Although the life story of the Buddha presents some paradoxical aspects (see Silk, 2003), here we should note that the Sanskrit text contains only a feeling of contempt, not a didactic aim. This is why I consider 晝夜 as a subject, indicating the passing of time. *Vyadhidharminī* presents an interesting use of the term *dharma*, as “regulated” or “doomed”. This compound is probably the source for the image in 鋒刃臨其頸, although there is no reference to blades and necks in Sanskrit, there are reference to the term *dharma* being intended as “punishment” or “punishment by sword”.

²⁵⁵ *anabhijñāśca suvyaktaṃ mṛtyoḥ sarvāpahāriṇaḥ / tataḥ svasthā nirudvignāḥ krīḍanti ca hasanti ca* // Bc_4.58 // *jarāṃ vyādhiṃ ca mṛtyuṃ ca ko hi jānansacetanaḥ / svasthastiṣṭhenniṣīdedvā śayedvā kiṃ punarhaset* // Bc_4.59 // These two verses are not translated, probably because they are quite close, in content, to Bc 4.57.

They see an old, sick or dead person and do not know any introspection:
they are like a puppet in wood and clay, what anxious mind do they have?²⁵⁶

如空野雙樹， 華葉俱茂盛，
一已被斬伐， 第二不知怖。
此等諸人輩， 無心亦如是。

Like two trees in the open wilderness, flowers and leaves very luxuriant,
when one is chopped and fall, the second does not know any fear
thus are people of this kind, [they] just do not mind.²⁵⁷

爾時優陀夷， 來至太子所，
見宴默禪思， 心無五欲想，
即白太子言：

That time Udayin, approaching the place where the prince was,
saw [him] silently meditating, in his mind no consideration of the five desires,
then he said to the pure prince:²⁵⁸

「大王先見勅，
為子作良友， 今當奉誠言。

The great king saw [me] and gave [me] orders
to be a good friend for [his] son, now I will respectfully present my earnest words:²⁵⁹

朋友有三種， 能除不饒益，
成人饒益事， 遭難不遺棄。

There are three kinds of friends: those who can get rid of unprofitable things,
those who lead a person to favorable things, those who in misfortune do not choose to leave.²⁶⁰

我既名善友， 棄捨丈夫義[儀]，
言不盡所懷， 何名為三益？

I was appointed as good friend, [and you] detached from the masculine custom,
if my words do not comply with what I ponder, why one call them the three gains?²⁶¹

256 *yastu dr̥ṣṭvā param̐ jīrṇa vyādhitaṃ mṛtameva ca / svastho bhavati nodvigno yathācētāstathaiva saḥ* // Bc_4.60 //
He translates *param̐*; 泥木人 is very interesting, it does not recur elsewhere, there are frequent references to wooden puppet but no mention to 泥. It translates the quite simpler *ācētās* “unconscious, insensible”.

257 *viyuḥyamāne hi tarau puṣpairapi phalairapi / patati cchidyamāne vā taruranyo na śocate* // Bc_4.61 // The first part of this verse reads “For when one tree is stripped of its flowers or fruits”.

258 *iti dhyānaparam̐ dr̥ṣṭvā viṣayebhyo gatasprham / udāyī nītiśāstrajñastamuvāca suhṛttayā* // Bc_4.62 //
dhyānaparam̐ is translated with 禪思, *nītiśāstrajñastam* “expert in the science of polity” was not translated.
viṣayebhyo gatasprham “without desire for any sensual thing”, in Chinese there are “five desires” 五欲.

259 *ahaṃ nṛpatinā dattaḥ sakḥā tubhyaṃ kṣamaḥ kila / yāsmāttvayī vivakṣā me tayā prañayavattayā* // Bc_4.63 //

260 *ahitātpṛatiṣedhaśca hite cānupravartanam / vyasane cāparityāgastrividhaṃ* // Bc_4.64 // The text does not speak of three kinds of friends, but mentions three characteristics of friends or *mitralakṣaṇam*.

261 *tso 'haṃ maitrīm pratijñāya puruṣārthātparāṇmukhaḥ / yadi tvā samupekṣeya na bhavenmitratā mayi* // Bc_4.65 //
Oilville (2009: 465-466) explains *parāṇmukhaḥ* with different hypotheses. The overall meaning would be that Udayin wants to comply with the three gains of good friendship, so he must help Siddhartha who apparently decided to go astray from the path of masculinity. Willemen (2009a, 27) decided to associate the term with Udayin (rather than Siddhartha) and translates “If, after having been called your good friend, I was to abandon my duty as a man and if my words do not fully reveal my feelings, why use the term ‘three gains’?”.

今故說真言， 以表我丹誠。
年在於盛時， 容色德充備，
不重於女人， 斯非勝人體。

Therefore I tell the truth today, to manifest my sincerity.
You are in the prime of your life, in countenance and virtue well provided,
if you are not attached to women, this is not [proper] of an excellent human being.²⁶²

正使無實心， 宜應方便納，
當生軟下心， 隨順取其意。

Even if your not sincere, you should find the way to enjoy it.
You should develop a mild mind and try to acquiesce to their desires.²⁶³

愛欲增嬌慢， 無過於女人，

Affection increases pride, and nothing surpasses women [in this]²⁶⁴

且今心雖背， 法應方便隨。

Although now your mind might be turned away, the norm imposes that you get along with it
conveniently.²⁶⁵

順女心為樂， 順為莊嚴具，
若人離於順， 如樹無花果。

[When you] court a woman, [her] heart is happy, courtesy is a refined tool,
a person than retreat from courtesy is like a tree without flowers or fruits.²⁶⁶

何故應隨順？ 攝受其事故，
已得難得境， 勿起輕易想。

For what is the reason to comply with courtesy? To enjoy this situation!
You have obtained a position that is difficult to get, do not raise any consideration of contempt!²⁶⁷

262 *tadbravīmi suhr̥dbhūtā taruṇasya vapuṣmataḥ / idaṃ na pratirūpaṃ te strīśvadākṣiṇyamīdṛśam* // Bc_4.66 // 斯非勝人體 is the translation for *idaṃ na pratirūpaṃ te*, 非勝 recalling na prati and 人體 translates *rūpaṃ*

263 *anṛtenāpi nārīṇāṃ yuktaṃ samanuvartanam / tadvrīḍāparihārthamātmaratyarthameva ca* // Bc_4.67 // “It’s fit to pander to women / even by telling a falsehood, / to rid them of their bashfulness, / to gratify oneself as well”. 隨順 apparently refers to samanuvartanam.

264 *saṃnatiścānuvṛttiśca strīṇāṃ hr̥dayabandhanam / snehasya hi guṇā yonirmānakāmāśca yoṣitaḥ* // Bc_4.68 // “To submit and pander to them, that’s what bind the hearts of women; / For virtues are the womb of love, and women long to be admired”. We can see how the translator purportedly translates the negative part of the verse to put women in a bad light.

265 *tadarhasi viśālākṣa hr̥daye 'pi parāṇmukhe / rūpasyāsyānurūpeṇa dākṣiṇyenānuvartitum* // Bc_4.69 // 背 translates *parāṇmukhe*. 方便, according to Huang (2015, 100) translates *dākṣiṇyena*; this statement is dubious since in the following verse *dākṣiṇya* is translated twice as 順. I suppose that 方便 is translating *ānurūpeṇa*. 隨 translates *ānuvartitum*.

266 *dākṣiṇyamauśadhaṃ strīṇāṃ dākṣiṇyaṃ bhūṣaṇaṃ param / dākṣiṇyarahitaṃ rūpaṃ niṣpuṣpamiva kānanam* // Bc_4.70 // 順 translates *dākṣiṇya*. Willemen (2009a, 28) translates it as “courtesy”.

267 *kiṃ vā dākṣiṇyamātrena bhāvenāstu parigrahaḥ / viśayāndurlabdhāmllabdhvā na hyavajñātumarhasi* // Bc_4.71 // This verse is of difficult interpretation according to Olivelle (2008, 446), although his translation (111) seems to be very complying with the interpretation given by the Chinese translator. In Chinese 事故 is a very generic term translating *bhāvena* – Willemen (2009a, 28) translates it as “services”, “In order to receive their services!”; 已得難

欲為最第一， 天猶不能忘，
帝釋尚私通， 瞿曇仙人妻。

Desire being the best of best, the gods as well could not ignore it
Lord Shakra, the venerable, had an affair with the wife of the sage Gautama.²⁶⁸

阿伽陀仙人， 長夜脩苦行，
為以求天后， 而遂願不果。

The sage Agatsya during long nights practiced austerities,
it happened that because he ceased a celestial queen and then all his vows became fruitless.²⁶⁹

婆羅墮仙人， 及與月天子，
婆羅舍仙人， 與迦賓闍羅，
如是比眾多， 悉為女人壞，
況今自境界， 而不能娛樂？

The sage Bṛhaspati, the celestial prince Candrama,
the sage Parāśara and Kapiñjalādaṃ
and many more like them, were all ruined by women.
The situation is now that you are in this realm and you are not able to enjoy it?²⁷⁰

宿世[*]殖德本， 得此妙眾具，
世間皆樂著， 而心反不珍？」

In previous lives you planted meritorious seeds, now you get these marvelous, great possibilities,
all the world would enjoy, and your mind turns over and refuse to enjoy [it]?²⁷¹

得境 translates *viṣayāndurlabhāṃllabdhvā* quite literally, with 境 referring to *viṣaya*, a common translation in the Buddhist context, see Bc 4.66.

268 *kāmaṃ paramiti jñātvā devo 'pi hi purāṇdaraḥ / gautamasya muneḥ patnīmahalyāṃ cakame purā* // Bc_4.72 // For the reference see Olivelle (2008, 446).

269 *agastyah prārthayāmāsa somabhāryā ca rohiṇīm / tasmāttatsadrṣī lebhe lopāmudrāmiti śrutiḥ* // Bc_4.73 // See also Olivelle (2008, 446). The name of the “celestial queen” or 天后 is *rohiṇī* but was not translated.

270 *utathasya ca bhāryāyāṃ mamātāyaṃ mahātapaḥ / mārutyāṃ janayāmāsa bharadvājaṃ bṛhaspatiḥ* // Bc_4.74 // *bṛhaspatermahīṣyāṃ ca juvhatyāṃ juvhatāṃ varah / budhaṃ vibudhakarmāṇaṃ janayāmāsa candramāḥ* // Bc_4.75 //

kālīm caiva purā kanyāṃ jalaprabhavasambhavām / jagāma yamunātīre jātārāgaḥ parāśaraḥ // Bc_4.76 // *mātāṅgayamākṣamālāyāṃ garhitāyāṃ riraṃsayā / kapiñjalādaṃ tanayaṃ vasiṣṭho 'janayanmuniḥ* // Bc_4.77 // *yayātiścaiva rājarṣirvayasyapi vinirgate / viśvācyāpsarasā sārḍhaṃ reme caitrarathe vane* // Bc_4.78 // *strīsaṃsarga vināśāntaṃ pāṇdurjñātvāpi kauravaḥ / mādrīrūpaguṇākṣiptaḥ siṣeve kāmajaṃ sukham* // Bc_4.79 // *karālaajanakaścaiva hṛtvā brāhmaṇakanyakām / avāpa bhraṃśamapyevaṃ na tu seje na manmatham* // Bc_4.80 // *evamādyā mahātmāno viṣayān garhitānapi / ratihetorbubhujire prāgeva guṇasaṃhitān* // Bc_4.81 // These seven verses are all translated briefly in a short passage of four verses; interestingly, most proper names are reported in the translation. Here we have 婆羅墮 *bṛhaspatiḥ*, 月天子 *candramāḥ*, 婆羅舍 *parāśaraḥ*, 迦賓闍羅 *kapiñjalādaṃ*. Huang (2015, 104) reports the list with Mandarin transcriptions. It is noticeable the use of Buddhist “technical” terms such as 境界, the realm of sensory objects, the translation of *viṣayān*; instead, Udayin praises the beauty of the body of the prince several times: he suggests that the prince should behave with gallantry according to his youth and beauty – while the Chinese text insists to his realm of rebirth. Verse 4.81 recapitulates the previous ones, suggesting that “men of eminence” were ready to “enjoy abject pleasures” in order to satisfy their lust, and so “excellent men” are expected to enjoy “much more”.

271 *tvaṃ punarṇyāyataḥ prāptān balavān rūpavānyuvā / viṣayānavajānāsi yatra saktamidaṃ jagat* // Bc_4.82 // The translation moves again the perspective into a Buddhist spectrum: Udayin is suggesting that the Sarvārthasiddha has the right to enjoy pleasures because he “planted meritorious seeds” (translation based on Willemsen [2009a, 28]) in his past lives. The translation is probably glossing *nyāyataḥ prāptān*, “rightly obtained”, although it is not clear if Udayin is referring to “meritorious deeds” in past lives or simply to the condition of being born as a prince (which implies an outstanding curriculum of past lives).

爾時王太子， 聞友優陀夷，
甜辭利口辯， 善說世間相。
答言優陀夷：

Then the prince heard the speech of the mate Udayin,
sweet words and smooth rhetoric, beautifully explaining the semblance of the world,
he replied to Udayin.²⁷²

「感汝誠心說，
我今當語汝， 且復留心聽。

I feel your sincere speech,
and now I properly reply to you, therefore listen carefully to this answer.²⁷³

不薄妙境界， 亦知世人樂，
但見無常相， 故生患累心。

I do not despise this marvelous realm, I already know that people rejoice at it,
but I see [there is] no permanence, and so I nurtured these feelings of hostility.²⁷⁴

若此法常存， 無老病死苦，
我亦應[1]受樂， 終無厭離心。

If this law was permanent, there would not be old age, maladies, death and sufferance,
then I would be able to enjoy pleasure, in the end I would not have the feeling of rejection.²⁷⁵

若令諸女色， 至竟無衰變，
愛欲雖為過， 猶可留人情。

If one could lead the maidens' beauty not to decay, till forever,
although sensual love is excessive, it still might be possible to indulge in human feelings.²⁷⁶

人有老病死， 彼應自不樂，
何況於他人， 而生染著心？

People have old age, sickness and death, for these [reasons, they] should not rejoice,
let alone if there is a feeling of attachments for others.²⁷⁷

272 *iti śrutvā vacastasya ślakṣṇamāgamasamhitam / meghastanitanirghoṣaḥ kumāraḥ pratyabhāṣata* // Bc_4.83 // The translation reports the overall meaning; it is a pity that it does not report the probably ironical *āgamasamhitam* “supported by scriptural texts”, a reference to the fact that Udayin discourse is based on examples taken from the epics; nor is translated *meghastanitanirghoṣaḥ* “like the thunder clap of a cloud”, describing the voice of the prince answering Udayin. Being it so, the answer given by the prince sounds very placid in the Chinese translation.

273 *upapannamidaṃ vākyam sauhārdavyaṅjakaṃ tvayi / atra ca tvānuneṣyāmi yatra mā duṣṭhu manyase* // Bc_4.84 // Anticipation of the object.

274 *nāvajānāmi viṣayān jāne lokaṃ tadātmakam / anityaṃ tu jagamatvā nātra me ramate manaḥ* // Bc_4.85 // 患累心 needs to be further investigated, it appears in other works in the same period. Direct speech is translated fairly better than other parts of the poem. 境界 here is translating *viṣayān*. There is probably a reason why *viṣayān* is always translated the same way.

275 *jarā vyādhiśca mṛtyuśca yadi na syādidam trayam / mamāpi hi manojñeṣu viṣayeṣu ratirbhavet* // Bc_4.86 // The translation reverses the order of first and second verse; it adds a reference to impermanence 法常存 of difficult interpretation (what is 法 referring to?) here it does not employ 境界 to translate *viṣayeṣu*.

276 *nityaṃ yadapi hi strīṇāmetadeva vapurbhavet / doṣavatsvapi kāmēṣu kāmam rajyeta me manaḥ* // Bc_4.87 //

非常五欲境， 自身俱亦然，
而生愛樂心， 此則同禽獸。

The impermanent realm of the five desires, and the same is for the body, with no exception;
so if feelings of happiness arise, this is indeed like that of birds and beasts.²⁷⁸

汝所引諸仙， 習著五欲者，
彼即可厭患， 習欲故磨滅。

The sages you are praising all indulged in the five desires,
these are immediately repugnant, the indulging in desires caused [their] destruction.²⁷⁹

又稱彼勝[2]士， 樂著五欲境，
亦復同磨滅， 當知彼非勝。

The also mentioned superior man who took pleasure in the realm of five desires
he also was destroyed the same, and so you should know he was not superior.²⁸⁰

[3]若言假方便， 隨順習近者，
習則真染著， 何名為方便？

If to say a falsity as a convenient mean, if one approaches them with courtesy,
this practice will indeed result in attachment: how can we call it skillful?²⁸¹

虛誑[4]偽隨順， 是事我不為，
真實隨順者， 是則為非法。

To deceive through faking courtesy, it is something I am not supporting,
Really being courteous instead, it must be considered as immoral.²⁸²

此心難裁抑， 隨事即生著，
著則不見過， 如何方便隨？

These thoughts are difficult to hold back, attachment rises according to circumstances,
there is attachment and still one cannot perceive error, how can courtesy be considered
convenient?²⁸³

277 *yadā tu jarayāpītaṃ rūpamāsāṃ bhaviṣyati / ātmano 'pyanabhipretaṃ mohāttatra ratirbhavet* // Bc_4.88 //

278 *mṛtyuvyādhijarādharmaṃ mṛtyuvyādhijātmaḥ / ramamāṇo hyasaṃvignaḥ samāno mṛgapakṣibhiḥ* // Bc_4.89 //
The reference to death, sickness and old age is made up in the previous verse; there is no reference of women in particular; practically this verse only reports the comparison with “birds and beasts” *mṛgapakṣibhiḥ* or 同禽獸, substituting other content with verses tuned on Buddhist rhetoric.

279 *yadapyāttha mahātmānaste 'pi kāmātmakā iti / saṃvego 'traiva kartavyo yadā teṣāmapī kṣayaḥ* // Bc_4.90 //
Willemen (2009a, 29) translates the last verse as “They were ruined because they indulged in desire”; this reading is closer to the Sanskrit *yadā teṣāmapī kṣayaḥ*; it may be possible that the translators chose to refer *teṣām* to pleasures (*kāma*), the over-all meaning of the final verse being “the practice of desires hence should be destroyed”. This hypothesis is not sustained by the following verse, in which is clear that a “superior man” or “excellent king” is destroyed by the five desires.

280 *māhātmyaṃ na ca tanmanye yatra sāmānyataḥ kṣayaḥ / viṣayeṣu prasaktirvā yuktirvā nātmavattayā* // Bc_4.91 //
Here the translator chose to personalize a verse that was originally written to be impersonal in Sanskrit.

281 *yadapyātthānṛtenāpi strījane vartyatāmiti / anṛtaṃ nāvagacchāmi dākṣiṇyenāpi kiṃcana* // Bc_4.92 //

282 *na cānuvartanaṃ tanme ruciṭaṃ yatra nārjavam / sarvabhāvena saṃparko yadi nāsti dhigastu tat* // Bc_4.93 //

283 *adhrteḥ śraddadhānasya saktasyādoṣadarśinaḥ / kiṃ hi vañcayitavyaṃ syājñātārāgasya cetasaḥ* // Bc_4.94 //
Willemen (2009a, 29) translates 方便 with “effort”, the overall verse becoming “Why make an effort for [the sake of] courtesy?”

處[虛]順而心乖， 此理我不見。

A shallow courtesy but a detached mind: I do not see a logic in this.²⁸⁴

如[知]是老病死， 大苦之積聚，
令我墜其中， 此非知識說。

Knowing that there is old age, sickness and death, one foresees the accumulation of great sufferance.
To lead me sink among these [things] - this is not of a friend to tell.²⁸⁵

嗚呼優陀夷， 真為大肝膽。
生老病死患， 此苦甚可畏，
眼見悉朽壞， 而猶樂追逐。

Alas, Udayin, indeed you are daring so much!

The anxiety of old age, sickness and death having arisen, how dreadful is this sufferance.
[You] see with your eyes [that everything] will be rotting, and yet [you] pursue happiness.²⁸⁶

今我至儻劣， 其心亦狹小，
思惟老病死， 卒至不預期。
晝夜忘睡眠， 何由習五欲？
老病死熾然， 決定至無疑，
猶不知憂感， 真為木石心。 」

Now I have arrived to such a low, my mind is so narrow:

I am considering old age, sickness and death that eventually will arrive, unannounced,
Night and day I forget to sleep - how can one be indulging in the five desires?
Old age, sickness and death burn fiercely: being sure of [their] arrival, without doubts,
those who do not know any sadness, indeed [their] mind is made of wood or stone.²⁸⁷

太子為優陀， 種種巧方便，
說欲為深患， 不覺至日暮。

The prince fo Udayin skilfully explained it

telling that desire is a deep trouble, he did not see the arrival of dusk.²⁸⁸

284 *vañcayanti ca yadyevaṃ jātarāgāḥ parasparam / nanu naiva kṣamaṃ draṣṭuṃ narāḥ strīnāṃ nṛnāṃ striyaḥ* // Bc_4.95 // This verse is completely changed in the translation. The fact that 不見 is used to translate “to understand” or “to comprehend” may be related to the original *draṣṭuṃ*. The syntax order in the second verse is object- subject – verb.

285 *tadevaṃ sati duḥkhārta jarāmarañabhāginam / na mām kāmeṣvanāryeṣu pratārayitumarhasi* // Bc_4.96 // 知識 here has the meaning of “friend” or “acquaintance”.

286 *aho 'tidhīraṃ balavacca te manaścaleṣu kāmeṣu ca sāradaśīnaḥ / bhaye 'titīvre viṣayeṣu sajjase nirīkṣamāṇo marañādhvani prajāḥ* // Bc_4.97 // I imply Udayin as the subject of the last two verses, as the main sentence opens with a vocative referring to Udayin.

287 *ahaṃ punarbhūrurativaviklavo jarāvīpadvyādhībhayaṃ vicintayan / labhe na śāntiṃ na dhṛtiṃ kuto ratiṃ niśāmayandīptamivāgninā jagat* // Bc_4.98 // *asaṃśayaṃ mṛtyuriti prajānato narasya rāgo hr̥di yasya jāyate / ayomayīm tasya paraimi cetanāṃ mahābhaye rajyati yo na roditi* // Bc_4.99 // The translator added a reference to insomnia; verses Bc 4.97 and 4.98 are read together since the reference to “fire” and “burning” is not at the end of the preceding couplet (as it is in Sanskrit, *niśāmayandīptamivāgninā jagat*), it is at the beginning of the following one – (老病死熾然), besides that, it is in fact referring to old age, sickness and death, and not to the whole world.

288 *atho kumāraśca viniścayātmikāṃ cakāra kāmāśrayaghatinīm kathām / janasya cakṣurgamanīyamaṇḍalo mahīdharaṃ cāstamiyāya bhāskarāḥ* // Bc_4.100 // The literary sophistication of this verse has been noticeably simplified; *cakṣurgamanīyamaṇḍalo* “upon whose orb people could gaze”, a compound describing the sun, has been elided, although some reference to perception and sight might be implied by 覺.

時諸嫖女眾， [7]伎樂莊嚴具，
一切悉無用， 慚愧還入城。

Then the herd of courtesans, skills, music, ornaments and instruments
all being useless, ashamed went back to the town.²⁸⁹

太子見園林， 莊嚴悉休廢，
[8]伎女盡還歸， 其處盡虛寂，
倍增非常想， 俛仰還本宮。

The prince saw the parks, all the beauty deemed to decay,
the exhausted courtesan going back, the place, in the end, void and empty,
increased the thought of impermanence, he perfunctorily went back to the palace.²⁹⁰

父王聞太子， 心絕於五欲，
極生大憂苦， 如利刺貫心。
即召諸群臣， 問欲設[9]何方？
咸言非五欲， 所能留其心。

The king father hearing that the prince in his mind was detached from the five pleasures,
developed a very heavy anxiety, like a sharp thorn entering his heart.
Immediately summonned all the ministers: “where is desire to be found?”
All replied: “None of the five desires has the potential to captivate his mind.”²⁹¹

289 *tato vr̥thādhāritabhūṣaṇasrajaḥ kalāguṇaiśca praṇayaiśca niṣphalaiḥ / sva eva bhāve vinigr̥hya manmathaṃ puram yayurbhagnamanorathāḥ striyaḥ* // Bc_4.101 // *manorathāḥ* it recurs at the beginning of the second *sarga*.

290 *tataḥ purodyānagatāṃ janaśriyaṃ nirīkṣya sāyaṃ pratisaṃhṛtāṃ punaḥ / anityatāṃ sarvagatāṃ vicintayanviveśa dhiṣṇayaṃ kṣitipālakātmajaḥ* // Bc_4.102 // 俛仰 has no apparent corresponding in Sanskrit, Willemen (2009a, 29) translates it as “quickly”; There is no “quickly” in the Sanskrit text, although the term might be referring to *kṣiti*, as a wrong reading for *kṣipram*. The HDC lists six main meanings: nodding the head, a crooked pose of the body, to go up and down, a definition of a short lapse of time, look down with humility, or deal with, do something perfunctorily, circle around. Huang (2015, 112) underlines that *anityatāṃ* is translated with 非常, while it is usually 无常.

291 *tataḥ śrutvā rājā viṣayavimukhaṃ tasya tu mano na śiṣye tām rātriṃ hṛdayagataśalyo gaja iva / atha śrānto mantre bahuvidhamārge sasacivo na so 'nyatkāmebhyo niyamanamapaśyatsutamateḥ* // Bc_4.103 //

Comparison between the king and one elephant is elided (*gaja iva*). The king “besides pleasures he did not see another path to refrain the mind of his son”. It is interesting that failure to find a solution has been attributed to the ministers (臣, referred to also as 咸, “They all”). For the very last verse (非五欲, 所能留其心) I am following Beal () “these sources of desire are not enough to hold and captivate his heart”, while Willemen (2009a, 30) has “It is not the case that what the five desires are capable of will hold his attention.”

出城品第五

Fifth chapter: Leaving the court²⁹²

王復增種種， 勝妙五欲具，
晝夜以娛樂， 冀悅太子心。
太子深厭離， 了無愛樂情，
但思生死苦， 如被箭師子。

The king then increased every kind of wonderful whim of the five senses,
night and day through amusement he hoped to delight the prince's mind.
The prince was deeply disgusted, he hadn't the least pleasure feeling,
instead, he was thinking of life, death and sufferance, like a lion shot by an arrow.²⁹³

王使諸大臣， 貴族名子弟，
年少勝姿顏， 聰慧執禮儀，
晝夜同遊止， 以取太子心
如是未幾時， 啟王復出遊。

The king then made al the ministers', aristocrat famous sons and brothers
young in age and superior in appearance and countenance, bright and with a good grasp of
ceremony and propriety,
night and day to accompany and stay [with him], aiming to the prince's thoughts,
So it was that, in a short time, [he] informed the king that was again going out for an excursion.²⁹⁴

服乘駿足馬， 眾寶具莊嚴，
與諸貴族子， 圍遶俱出城。

Then he mounted on a fine horse, adorned with a multitude of treasures,
with all the young aristocrats, made a tour, exiting the city wall.²⁹⁵

譬如四種華， 日照悉開敷，
太子耀神景， 羽從悉蒙光。
出城遊園林， 修路廣[11]且平，
樹木花果茂， 心樂遂忘歸。

As for the four kind of flowers all blossoming open at the shining sun,
the prince was sparkling like a god, the armed retinue all received his light.
Out from the city, they traveled the parks, the road restored, even and flat,
the trees magnificent in wood, flowers and fruits, the mind was happy as if forgotten was the
return.²⁹⁶

292 *iti buddhacarite mahākāvye 'bhiniṣkramaṇo nāma pañcamah sargaḥ*

293 *sa tathā viṣayairvilobhyamānaḥ paramārhairapi śākyarājasūnuḥ / na jagāma dhṛtiṃ na śarma lebhe hṛdaye siṃha ivātidigdhaviddhaḥ* // Bc_5.1 // The active role of the king is added in the translation.

294 *atha mantisutaiḥ kṣamaiḥ kadācitsakhibhiḥcitrakathaiḥ kṛtānuyātraḥ / vanabhūmididṛkṣayā śamepsurnaradevānumato bahiḥ pratasthe* // Bc_5.2 // Again here the active roles of the king is enhanced in the translation, where he is described as summoning sons of ministers to accompany his son. This does not happen in the Sanskrit,

295 *navarukmakhalīnakiṇīkaṃ pracalaccāramaracāruhemabhāṇḍam / abhiruhyā sa kanthakaṃ sadaśvaṃ prayayau ketumiva drumābjaketuḥ* // Bc_5.3 // Several details are not translated, starting from the name of the horse, kanthaka, then the fact that the harness' decoration is made in gold. At the end, there is a reference to the drumābja flower, that is missing in the translation. The Chinese text seems to be willing to insist on the fact that the prince was accompanied by an aristocratic retinue.

路傍見耕人， 墾壤殺諸虫，
其心生悲惻， 痛踰刺貫心。

At the sides of the street he saw men plowing, killing all the insects while cultivating the soil,
his mind was grieved, the pain being more of than a thorn deep in the heart.²⁹⁷

又見彼農夫， 勤苦形枯悴，
蓬髮而流汗， 塵土全其身。
耕牛亦疲困， 吐舌而急喘，
太子性慈悲， 極生憐愍心。

Again he saw farmers, hardworking and dried up and downcast,
Messy hair and sweaty, dust covering their bodies.
The plowing ox was fatigued too, tongue sticking out and breathing with difficulty,
the disposition of the prince was compassionate, and he nurtured the utmost compassion in his
mind.²⁹⁸

慨然興長歎， 降身委地坐，
觀察此眾苦， 思惟生滅法。
嗚呼諸世間， 愚癡莫能覺，

The mighty feeling provoked long sighs, he got off and sat on the ground, dejected,
he observed all this suffering, reflected on the necessity of life and death,
he shouted: “the whole world is so ignorant and it cannot be aware of it!”²⁹⁹

安慰諸人眾， 各令隨處坐。
自[12]蔭[13]閭浮樹，

He comforted all the crowd of people, he made every one seating where it was suitable,
alone in the shadow he rested under a Jambu tree.³⁰⁰

端坐正思惟，
觀察諸生死， 起滅無常變。

Properly sitting and righteously thinking,
he observed life and death rising and declining without interruption.³⁰¹

296 *sa vikṣṭatarāṃ vanāntabhūmiṃ vanalobhācca yayau mahīguṇācca / salilormivikārasīramārgāṃ vasudhāṃ caiva dadarśa kṣyamāṇām* // Bc_5.4 // The Sanskrit text mentions men plowing the field. This description is missing in Chinese. The translation mentions the retinue and the splendour of the prince again. The description of the plowing is delayed in the following verse.

297 *halabhinnavikīrṇaśāspadarbhā hatasūkṣmakrimikīṭajantukīrṇām / samavekṣya rasāṃ tathāvidhāṃ tām svajanasyeva vadhe bhr̥śaṃ śuśoca* // Bc_5.5 // The Sanskrit text tells us that the prince was suffering “as if a kinsman had been killed” *tathāvidhāṃ tām svajanasyeva vadhe bhr̥śaṃ*, this comparison is missing in the Chinese text, which is dried out of many details like “Clumps of grass, dug up by the plow littered the earth”.

298 *kṣataḥ puruṣāṃśca vīkṣamāṇaḥ pavanārkaśurajovibhinnavarṇān / vahanaklamaviklavāṃśca dhuryān paramāryaḥ paramāṃ kṛpāṃ cakāra* // Bc_5.6 //

299 *avatīrya tatasturaṅgapr̥sthācchanakaigā vyacaracchucā parītaḥ / jagato jananavyayam vicinvan kṛpaṇaṃ khalvidamityuvāca cārtaḥ* // Bc_5.7 // 降身 “got off the horse”, as *avatīrya tatasturaṅgapr̥sthāc*; 法, translated as “necessity”, has no evident correspondence in Sanskrit.

300 *manasā ca viviktatāmabhīpsuḥ suhr̥dastānanuyāyino nivārya / abhitaścalacārūparṇavatya vijane mūlamupeyivān sa jambvāḥ* // Bc_5.8 // In the Sanskrit text the retinue is simply dismissed (*suhr̥dastānanuyāyino nivārya*), while in Chinese the prince is said to lead them to sit. Willemen (2009, 32) translates it as “bade each one sit down where they were”.

心定安不動， 五欲廓雲消，
有覺亦有觀， 入初無漏禪。

His mind firm, tranquil and with no agitation, removed the vaste cloud of the five desires
With awareness and consideration, he entered the first uncontaminate meditation.³⁰²

離欲生喜樂， 正受三摩提，

He abandoned desires, nurtured bliss, and properly enjoyed samadhi,³⁰³

世間甚辛苦， 老病死所壞。
終身受大苦， 而不自覺知，
厭他老病死， 此則為大患。

How much sufferance in this world, wasted by old age, illnesses, death.
All life long one experiences great sufferance, and he is not aware of it himself,
Despises other people old age, sickness and death, while these are in fact a big calamity.³⁰⁴

我今求勝法， 不應同世間，
自嬰老病死， 而反惡他人。

So today I seek the supreme *dharma*, not as the rest of the world,
itself running into old age, sickness and death and then fiercely opposing others'.³⁰⁵

如是真實觀， 少壯色力壽，
新新不暫停， 終歸磨滅法。

So he saw rightly that young and vigorous, youth, strenght, beauty, energy and a long life,
continually renovating and never stopping, eventually [they will] end by the law of destruction.³⁰⁶

不喜亦不憂， 不疑亦不亂，
不眠不著欲， 不壞不嫌彼，

301 *niṣasāda sa yatra śaucavatīyāṃ bhuvi vaidūryanikāśaśāḍvalāyāṃ / jagataḥ prabhavavyayau vicinvaṇmanasaśca sthitimārgamālalambe* // Bc_5.9 // The translation misses a description of the surroundings as “a field of grass as green as beryll” *vaidūryanikāśaśāḍvalāyāṃ*. The sentence 端坐正思惟 is repeated three times in the poem.

302 *samavāptamanahsthitīśca sadyo viṣayecchādibhirādhibhiśca muktaḥ / savitarkavicāramāpa śāntaṃ prathamam dhyānamānāsravaprakāram* // Bc_5.10 // The translator insists in mentioning the five desires, in this case the freedom is that from “objects” (*viṣayec*). This verse has a very close parallel in T618, see 有覺亦有觀 離欲生喜樂 寂然入初禪.

303 *adhigamya tato vivekajam tu paramaprītisukham manasamādhim / idameva tataḥ param pradadhyau manasā lokagatiṃ niśāmya samyak* // Bc_5.11 // 生喜樂 probably translates paramaprītisukham “with the joy of supreme bliss”. Willemen (2009, 32) has “Free from desire, he produced joy and happiness”.

304 *kṛpaṇam bata yajjanaḥ svayam sannavaśo vyādhijarāvīnāśadharmā / jarayārditamāturaṃ mṛtaṃ vā paramajño vijugupsate madāndhaḥ* // Bc_5.12 // It seems that 大患 translates *dharma* in this verse.

305 *iha cedahamīdrśaḥ svayam sanvijugupseya param tathāsvabhāvam / na bhavetsadrśaḥ hi tatṣamam vā paramam dharmamimam vijānato me* // Bc_5.13 // Here paramam dharmam is translated as 勝法.

306 *iti tasya vipaśyato yathāvajagato vyādhijarāvīpattidoṣān / balayauvanajīvitappravṛtto vijagāmātmagato madaḥ kṣaṇena* // Bc_5.14 // Willemen (2009, 32) translated it as a direct speech. “Youth, beauty, strength, and long life are constantly and ceaselessly renewed. In the end they disappear [according to] the law of destruction”; Beal (1875, 49) has it translated as a consideration made by the prince, not in direct speech “Thus lost in tranquil contemplation, (he considered that) youth, vigour and strenght of life, constantly renewing themselves, without long stay, in the end fulfil the rule of ultimate destruction”. The Sanskrit has no direct speech. The Sanskrit as a reference to madaḥ, “intoxication”, that Olivelle (2008, 131) translates as “pride”.

There was no pleasure, nor attachment, no doubt and no disorder,
no envy and not a single pleasure, no evil and no resentment towards others.³⁰⁷

寂靜離諸蓋， 慧光轉增明。
爾時淨居天， 化為比丘形，
來詣太子所，

Silently abandoning every hindrance, the light of wisdom was turning more bright,
And that time the god of the pure abodes changed in the form of a bikshu
and came where the prince was seating.³⁰⁸

太子敬起迎，
問言：「汝何人？」 答言：「是沙門。
畏厭老病死， 出家求解脫，

The prince respectfully stood up to greet him,
and asked: “Who are you?”, he replied “I am a shramana
for fear and disgust for old age, illness and death, I abandoned my house to look for liberation.”³⁰⁹

眾生老病死， 變壞無暫停。
故我求常樂， 無滅亦無生，
怨親平等心， 不務於財色。

All beings grow old, get sick and die, degeneration cannot be paused nor stopped.
For this reason I am looking for a permanent happiness, that does not go out and also is not
produced,
I despise marriage and with an equal mind I am not engaged in material goods and body
pleasures.³¹⁰

安唯山林， 空寂無所營，
塵想既已息， 蕭條倚空閑，
精羸無所擇， 乞求以支身。 」

Tranquilly leaving alone in the mountain forrest, in an empty silence with nothing to do,
I ceased any dusty thought, isolated in an empty dwelling,
I do not pick fine or rough [food], I beg for sustaining myself.³¹¹

307 *na jaharṣa na cāpi cānutepe vicikitsām na yayau na tandrinidre / na ca kāmagaṇeṣu saṃrarañje na vididveṣa param na cāvamene* // Bc_5.15 //

308 *iti buddhiriyam ca nīrajaskā vavṛdhe tasya mahātmano viśuddhā / puruṣairaparairadrśyamānaḥ puruṣaścopasasarpa bhikṣuveśaḥ* // Bc_5.16 // The Sanskrit text does not mention a god in disguise; the term 比丘 translates bhikṣu. The sentence 來詣太子所 is repeated twice in the same chapter. The expression 爾時淨居天 is also repeated twice.

309 *naradevasutastamabhyapṛcchadvada ko 'sīti śaśaṃsa so 'tha tasmai / narapuṃgava janmamṛtyubhītaḥ śramaṇaḥ pravrajito 'smi mokṣahetoḥ* // Bc_5.17 // The Chinese text misses the reference to an animal, which happens quite often, so there is no reference to narapuṃgava, “bull among men”.

310 *jagati kṣayadharmake mumukṣarmṛgaye 'haṃ śivamakṣayam padaṃ tat / svajane 'nyajane ca tulyabuddhirviśayebhyo vinivṛttarāgadoṣaḥ* // Bc_5.18 // 眾生老病死,變壞無暫停 is a comment more than the translation of jagati kṣayadharmake.

311 *nivasan kvacideva vṛkṣamūle vijane vāyatane girau vane vā / vicarāmyaparigraho nirāśaḥ paramārthāya yathopapannabhaikṣaḥ* // Bc_5.19 // The Sanskrit lists different kinds of dwelling such as vṛkṣamūle the foot of a tree, vijane vāyatane an empty temple, girau hill or vane forest. It uses the technical term aparigraho to describe the attitude of an hermit that does not accept more than what is strictly necessary.

即於太子前，輕舉騰虛逝。
太子心歡喜，惟念過去佛，
建立此威儀，遺像[1]見於今。

Suddenly, in front of the prince, the saint rose in the sky and fled away.
The prince was happy in his heart, considering the Buddhas of the past,
[who] established such a majesty that remained till today.³¹²

端坐正思惟，即得正法念，
當作何方便？遂心長出家。

[he] sat upright, rightly thinking, suddenly obtained the idea of the right dharma.
What is the appropriate mean to apply? Therefore [he] resolved to abandon the house for long.³¹³

歛情抑諸根，徐起還入城，
眷屬悉隨從，謂止不遠逝。

Holding back affection and repressing all senses, he slowly stood up, and reverted to the town.
Followed by all the dependants, they led [him] to stop and not to go away.³¹⁴

內密興[2]愍念，方[3]欲超世表，
形雖隨路歸，心實留山林，
猶如繫狂象，常念遊曠野。

In the secret self compassion was rising, the skillful means exceeding the worldly standard,
Although pursuing the way back with his body, his mind in fact stayed at the mountain grove,
Just like a fastened mad elephant, always thinking to stroll in the vast wilderness.³¹⁵

312 *iti paśyata eva rājasūnoridamuktavā sa nabhaḥ samutpapāta / sa hi tadvapuranyabuddhadarśī smṛtaye tasya sameyivāndivaukāḥ* // Bc 5.20 // The second verse in the Sanskrit is translated as “for he was a deity who in that form had seen other Buddha and has come down to arouse the attention of the prince”. The T192 changes the subject, here the prince is considering about past Buddhas’ legacy. The expression 太子心歡喜 is repeated twice.

313 *gaganam khagavadgate ca tasminṣvaraḥ saṃjagrṣe visismiye ca / upalabhya tataśca dharmasaṃjñāmbhiniryaṇavidhau matiṃ cakāra* // Bc_5.21 // The Sanskrit text insist in describing the god rising in the sky, while the translation omits it. The term *dharmasaṃjñām* was translated as “awareness of dharma” by Johnston (1936,), while Olivelle has “emblem of dharma”. Olivelle (2008, 448) explains this interpretation by suggesting that *dharmasaṃjñām* is describing the monk rising in the sky. The Chinese translator intended it as 正法念, so somewhat closer to Johnston interpretation of it. Willemen (2009a, 33) translates as “Sitting upright and given to right consideration, he obtained mindfulness of the Right Law. / ‘What means should I apply myself to for a lasting going-forth, as I wish to?’” Beal (18XX, 50) has “Thus calling thing to mind with perfect self-possession, he reached the thought of righteousness, and by what means it can be gained. Indulging thus for length of time in thoughts of religious solitude...”

314 *tata indrasamo jitendriyāśvaḥ pravivikṣuḥ puramaśvamāruha / parivārajanam tvavekṣamāṇastata evābhimatam vanam na bheje* // Bc_5.22 // The metaphor involving the horse of senses (jitendriyāśvaḥ) is eluded, as well as the description of the prince mounting on his horse (aśvamāruha). The last part 謂止不遠逝 is translated in very different fashion by Willemen (2009a, 33) “thinking he would stop and not go far” and Beal (18xx, 50) “calling him to stop and not go far from them”. The corresponding Sanskrit is “out of concern for his men he did not go directly to the forest he loved”. Actually, the Chinese translator might have been closer to the Sanskrit text, since the verb 謂 “to think”, “to say”, “to call” was also glossed as 使 or 令 “to lead”, “to make to” in 3rd century encyclopedias like the 廣雅 and the 爾雅 (see HDC). The translation is suggesting that it was his retinue that made him stop.

315 *sa jarāmaraṇakṣayaṃ cikīrṣurvanavāsāya matiṃ smṛtau nidhāya /praviveśa punaḥ puram na kāmādvānabhūmeriva maṇḍalaṃ dvipendraḥ* // Bc_5.23 // The most difficult part is probably 方欲[便]超世表. Beal “devising means by which to escape from the world”, Willemen “he strived to surpass the worldly external”. The problem is that there is no reference to this in Sanskrit, where it is only stated that the prince was “intending to destroy old age and death” *sa jarāmaraṇakṣayaṃ cikīrṣuḥ*. The simile about the elephant is posed in slightly

太子時入城， 士女[4]挾路迎，
老者願為子， 少願為夫妻，
或願為兄弟， 諸親內眷屬。

Then the prince entered the city, men and women crowded the streets in greeting,
Old ones wished [to have him] as son, young ones as husband, or wife [him],
some wanted to be brothers, others to be a relative in his retinue.³¹⁶

若當從所願， 諸集悵望斷，
太子心歡喜， 忽聞斷集聲，
[5]若當從所願， 斯願要當成，
深思斷集樂， 增長涅槃心。

“If I complied with what is desired, all the accumulated expectations would be cut off”,
the prince was happy in his mind suddenly hearing the sound of “cut off accumulation”,
“these sounds make me happy, these aspirations must be realized”
He deeply considered the happiness of interrupting accumulations, and the thought of Nirvana
increased.³¹⁷

身如金山峰， 臂如象手，
其音若春雷， 紺眼譬牛王。
無盡法為心， 面如滿月光，
師子王遊步， 徐入於本宮。

The body as a golden mountain peak, upper arms like elephants paws,
his voice like a spring thunder, dark eyes like a bull king.
His mind to the imperishable *dharma*, his face like the light of a full moon,
the gait of a lion king, slowly entered the palace.³¹⁸

猶如帝釋子， 心敬形亦恭，
往詣父王所，

Like the son of Lord Shakra, his mind was respectful and so was the attitude
when he went towards the king-father.³¹⁹

different terms, since in the Sanskrit there is “an elephant king from the forest entering a corral”. It might be just a case that there is no reference to a “elephant king”.

316 *sukhitā bata nirvṛtā ca sā strī patirīdṛkṣa ihāyatākṣa yasyāḥ / iti taṃ samudīkṣya rājakanyā praviśantaṃ pathi sāñjalirjagāda* // Bc_5.24 // The description of festive citizens substitutes the image of a woman, as shown in this verse. She says “Happy indeed and fulfilled is the wife...” The world for fulfilled *nirvṛtā* suggests to the prince the idea of nirvana (as explained in stanza Bc 5.25).

317 *atha ghoṣamimaṃ mahābhraḥṣaḥ pariśuśrāva śamaṃ paraṃ ca lebhe / śrutavāṃsa hi nirvṛteti śabdaṃ parinirvāṇavidhau matiṃ cakāra* // Bc_5.25 // The words that in the BC were pronounced by a random woman, became thoughts of the prince in the translation. There is still the idea of “hearing a voice” 此音我所樂 as *ghoṣam... pariśuśrāva*, but it appears to be the internal voice of the prince himself. In Sanskrit the word heard by the prince is *nirvṛtā*. Having cut out the previous scene and re-described the situation, now Baoyun poses the accent on two other words 斷 and 集, “to cut off, to interrupt” and “accumulation”, “collection”. The interesting thing is that in Chinese Siddhartha comes up with this thought by himself. The expression 若當從所願 is repeated twice in the same verse.

318 *atha kāñcanaśailaśṛṅgavarṣmā gajamegharṣabhabāhunīśvanākṣaḥ / kṣayamakṣayadharmajātārāgaḥ śāśisimhānanavikramaḥ prapede* // Bc_5.26 // *Akṣayadharma* is translated as 無盡法.

稽首問和安，
并啟生死畏， 哀請求出家。
一切諸世間， 合會要別離。
是故願出家， 欲求真解脫。

He bowed and asked about his wellness and also informed about [his] fear of birth and death and then asked permission to go forth.

“In every era, all that is united is bound to be dispersed.

This is the reason I want to leave the family: I want to look for a real liberation.”³²⁰

父王聞出家， 心即大戰懼，
猶如大狂象， 動搖小樹[6]枝。
前執太子手， 流淚而告言：

The king-father heard about going-forth, a great feeling of fear arose in his mind, just like a big maddened elephant makes the brunch of little trees to wave.

At first he hold the prince’s hand, cried and then spoke:³²¹

「且止此所說， 未是依法時，
少壯心動搖， 行法多生過。

For the time being, stop talking about these, this is not the time to dedicate [oneself] to dharma, You are not strong [enough], your mind is frightened, performing austerities many accidents can happen.³²²

奇特五欲境， 心尚未厭離，
出家修苦行， 未能決定心。
空閑曠野中， 其心未寂滅，

Marvelous things are in the realm of the five desires, and your mind is not ready to be detached, to go forth and practice austerities, you still cannot resolve your mind.

In an empty grove, in the wilderness, your mind won’t be able to get release.³²³

汝心雖樂法， 未若我是時。
汝應領國事， 令我先出家，
棄父絕宗嗣， 此則為非法。

319 *mrgarājagatistato 'bhyagacchannrpatim mantrigaṇairupāśyamānam / samitau marutāmiva jvalantaṁ maghavantaṁ tridive sanatkumāraḥ* // Bc_5.27 // The Sanskrit mentions a group of ministers attending the king *mantrigaṇairupāśyamānam*.

320 *praṇipaty ca sāñjalirbabhāṣe diśa mahyaṁ naradeva sādhanuññām / parivivrajiṣāmi mokṣahetorniyato hyasya janasya viprayogaḥ* // Bc_5.28 // Olivelle (2008, 137) translated it as “for separation is appointed to this man”, so *asya janasya* is intended as referred to the prince himself – while the Chinese translator intended it as a collective name for all the people in the world.

321 *iti tasya vaco niśamya rājā kariṇevābhīhato drumaścacāla / kamalapratime 'ñjalau grhītvā vacanaṁ cedamuvāca bāṣpakaṇṭhaḥ* // Bc_5.29 // The tree is not little in Chinese; the hands of the prince are not compared to lotus buds *kamalapratime*. 流淚 is *bāṣpakaṇṭhaḥ*.

322 *pratisaṁhara tāt buddhimetām na hi kālāstava dharmasaṁśrayasya / vayasi prathame matau calāyām bahudoṣām hi vadanti dharmacaryām* // Bc_5.30 // Direct speech is translated with more accuracy.

323 *viśayeṣu kutūhalendriyasya vratahedeṣvasamarthīniścayasya / manaścalatyaṇyādanabhijñāśca viśeṣato viveke* // Bc_5.31 // “above all he is not used to solitude”. As in other instances, the reference to silence – in this case, to final release intended as silence (寂滅)- was not present in the source text. Similar cases can be found in Bc 2.56, 4.102, 5.19 and 5.30.

Although your mind is happy in pursuing dharma, it is in fact the time for me to.
You should take on the leading of the reign, and let me go forth first,
to throw away your father and be severed by the duty to your clan, this is indeed *adharmā*.³²⁴

當息出家心， 受習世間法，
安樂善名聞， 然後可出家。 」

Now cease your resolution of going forth, accept your duty as the law of the world,
Rejoice of a honest and good reputation, and then, later on, you can go forth.”³²⁵

太子恭遜辭， 復啟於父王：
「惟為保四事， 當息出家心。

The prince respectfully expressed refusal, and again appeal to the king-father
“if you can preserve four things, then I will cease my resolution of going-forth”³²⁶

保子命常存， 無病不[7]衰老，
眾具不損減， 奉命停出家。 」

Preserve the perpetual existence of the life of your son, with no illness, no senility,
all the faculties not decaying, then I'll accept the order and not live the family.³²⁷

父王告太子： 「汝勿說此言，
如此四事者， 誰能保令無？
汝求此四願， 正為人所笑。
且停出家心， 服習於五欲。 」

The king-father told the prince: “You should not speak these words,
since these four things, who is able to ensure and decree [them] not to be?
If you ask for these four wishes, you want to be laughed at, indeed.
Just stop considering going forth, and persuade yourself to practice the five desires.”³²⁸

太子復啟王： 「四願不可保，
應聽子出家， 願不為留難。
子在彼燒舍， 如何不聽出？

The prince replied to the king “Since these four wish cannot be granted,
then you should acknowledge that your son is going forth, with the hope that you not prevent it.”³²⁹

324 *mama tu priyadharma dharmakālastvayi lakṣmīnavasṛjya lakṣmabhūte / sthīravikrama vikrameṇa dharmastava hitvā tu guruṃ bhavedadharmāḥ* // Bc_5.32 // *vikrameṇa* 絕宗嗣; *adharmā*非法。

325 *tadimaṃ vyavasāyamutsṛja tvam bhava tāvannirato gr̥hasthadharme / puruṣasya vayahsukhāni bhuktṛvā ramaṇīyo hi tapovanapraveśaḥ* // Bc_5.33 // Sanskrit has “when one goes to the ascetic grove after he has enjoyed the joys of youth, it’s truly a wonderful sight”.

326 *iti vākyamidaṃ nīsamya rājñāḥ kalaviṅkasvara uttaram babhāṣe / yadi me pratibhūtaścaturṣu rājan bhavasi tvam na tapovanam śrayiṣye* // Bc_5.34 // *kalaviṅkasvara* apparently is not translated.

327 *na bhavenmarāṇāya jīvitaṃ me viharetsvāsthyamidaṃ ca me na rogaḥ / na ca yauvanamākṣipejjarā me na ca sampattimimāṃ haredivipattiḥ* // Bc_5.35 //

328 *iti durlabhamarthamūcivāmsaṃ tanayaṃ vākyamuvāca śākyarājāḥ / tyaja buddhimimāmatipravṛttāmavahāsyō 'tīmanoratho 'kramaśca* // Bc_5.36 // 'krama as Olivelle (2008, 5.36) points out 'krama here means simply “improper”. This critic to anticonformism is posed in different terms in Chinese, where the risk of being exposed to laughter is aired and the idea of “five desires” 五欲 is reiterated.

329 願不為留難 may also be read as “the wishes are not more difficult than staying (home)”.

Your son is in a burning house, how can't you grant him to leave?³³⁰

分析為常理，孰能不聽求？
脫當自[8]磨滅，不如以法離，
若不以法離，死至孰能持？」

Separation is a common principle; how can one not listen to this request?
Escaping from annihilation, isn't it better to separate for the sake of dharma,
than not leave for the sake of dharma? When death arrives, who can oppose it?"³³¹

父王知子心，決定不可轉，
但當盡力留，何須復多言？
更增諸嫖女，上妙五欲樂，
晝夜苦防衛，要不令出家。

The king-father understood his son's mind, resolved and unchangeable.
But he ought try all his best to let [him]stay - what was the need of replying even more words?
He increased the number of courtesans, with more marvels and pleasures for the five desires,
day and night, he painstakingly guarded him, not to let [him] leave the house.³³²

國中諸群臣，來詣太子所，
廣引諸禮律，勸令順王命。
太子見父王，悲感泣流淚，
且還本宮中，端坐默思惟。

Groups of officials from all the country came to the prince,
extensively citing all the rules of etiquette, to persuade him to abide to [his] royal destiny.
The prince, seeing the king-father, was moved by sorrow and shed tears,
temporarily went back to the court, properly sitting and silently thinking.³³³

330 *atha merugurugurum babhāṣe yadi nāsti krama eṣa nāsmi vāryaḥ / śaraṇājjvalanena dahyamānānna hi niścikramiṣuḥ kṣamaṃ grahītum* // Bc_5.37 // There is no comparison to Mount Meru in Chinese. The prince repeats the verb 保 “grant, assure”, while in Sanskrit idea of *nāsti krama* is repeated in the same words. Huang (2015, 127) shares the same view. There is an interesting reference to children in a burning house 子在火燒舍，如何不聽出。被燒舍 is shared exclusively by T618

331 *jagataśca yadā dhruvo viyogo nanu dharmāya varam svayaviyogaḥ / avaśaṃ nanu viprayojayenmāmakṛtasvārthamatṛptameva mṛtyuḥ* // Bc_5.38 // We should intend 分析 as “to separate” (this meaning is attested in the HDC is found in quote from the Jin dynasty) we will see that it translates *viyogo*, so we can see that the Chinese text is quite close to the Sanskrit. Willemen translated as “Since my analysis is [in accord with] the eternal truth, who could not honor my request?” This translation is not very meaningful, since it is also not clear which analysis is the prince talking about, nor which “eternal truth”. The rest of Willemen's translation for this verse is not clear as well “In escaping the coming self-destruction, there is nothing like transcending it with the Law. If one did not transcend with the Law, who could maintain oneself in the face of death?”

332 *iti bhūmipatirniśamya tasya vyavasāyaṃ tanayasya nirmumukṣoḥ / abhidhāya na yāsyatīti bhūyo vidadhe rakṣaṇamuttamāṃśca kāmān* // Bc_5.39 // This verse contains a direct speech by the king, *na yāsyatīti*. It does not look like the Chinese text is reporting it, although Willemen translates this verse as it did: “The king, the father, knew that his son's mind was certain and could not be changed. He just had to do his utmost to hold him back. ‘Why the need for more words!’”.

333 *sacivaistu nidarśito yathāvad bahumānātpraṇayācca śāstrapūrvam / guruṇā ca nivārīto 'śrupātaiḥ praviveśāvasathaṃ tataḥ sa śocan* // Bc_5.40 // *śāstrapūrvam* “according to the scriptures” becomes in Chinese 禮律。

宮中諸媛女， 親近圍遶侍，
伺候瞻顏色， 矚目不暫瞬。
猶若秋林鹿， 端視彼獵師，

All the courtesan in the palace closely surrounded and attended [him],
They attended [him], gazing at his face, without turning their eyes,
just like a deer in an autumn grove watched closely by hunters.³³⁴

太子正容貌， 猶若真金山。
[9]伎女共瞻察， 聽教候音顏，
敬畏察其心， 猶彼林中鹿。

The very appearance of the prince, was like that of a golden mountain,
skilled ladies all looked at him, listening for his orders and waiting [his] voice or facial expression.
They revered him and scrutinize his feelings, just like deers in the forest.³³⁵

漸已至日暮，
太子處幽夜， 光明甚輝耀，
如日照須彌。

Afterwards, gradually, dusk approached,
the prince was in a secluded dwelling for the night [but] he was extremely shining with light,
like the light of the sun on mount Sumeru.³³⁶

坐於七寶座，
薰以妙梅檀，

[He was] sitting on a seat with the seven treasures
with a fragrance of fine sandalwood.³³⁷

媛女眾圍遶，
奏鞞撻婆音， 如毘沙門子，
眾妙天樂聲。

All the courtesans surrounded him,
playing ghandarva music, like the son of Vaisranava,
with all the wonderful celestial and cheerful sounds.³³⁸

334 *Calakuṇḍalacumbitānanābhīrghananiśvāsavikampitastanībhiḥ*
/vanitābhīradhīralocanābhīmṛgaśāvābhīrivābhyudīkṣyamāṇaḥ // Bc_5.41 // The description of women is altered,
the metaphor involving hunters is a new addition, original being “their eyes darting hither and thither, gazed up at
him like young does”.

335 *sa hi kāñcanaparvatāvadāto hṛdayenmādakaro varāṅganānām* /
śravaṇāṅgavilocanātmabhāvānvacanasparśavapurguṇairjahāra // Bc_5.42 // In the source text it is the prince that
fascinates the ladies with his attitude, while in Chinese is the opposite. It’s not clear why the metaphor of deers is
repeated.

336 *vigate divase tato vimānaṃ vapuṣā sūrya iva pradīpyamānaḥ* / *timiraṃ vijighāmsurātmabhāsā ravirudyanniva*
merumāruroha // Bc_5.43 //

337 *kanakojjvaladīptadīpavṛkṣaṃ varakālāgurudhūpapūrṇanagarbham* / *adhiruḥya sa vajrabhakticitraṃ pravaraṃ*
kāñcanamāsaṇaṃ siṣeḥ // Bc_5.44 // The description is very simplified. Kālāguru.

338 *tata uttamamuttamāṅganāstaṃ niśi tūryairupatasthurindrakalpam* / *himavacchirasīva candragaure*
draviṇendrātmajamapsarogaṇaughāḥ // Bc_5.45 // The translator is demonstrating some good knowledge of
mythology by translating *draviṇendrātmajam* “the son of the Lord of Wealth” with 毘沙門子, the son of Vaisranava.
He already mentioned Vaisranava at the end of Canto I. It is also mentioned in T374 and T375. Apsaras became
gandharvas, the comparison with Indra disappeared.

太子心所念，
第一遠離樂， 雖作眾妙音，
亦不在其懷。

In his heart the prince was considering
the utmost joy of leaving everything aside and although they were making very marvelous sounds,
[these] could not reside in [his] mind already.³³⁹

時淨居天子，
知太子時至， 決定應出家，
忽然化來下， 厭諸[*]伎女眾，
悉皆令睡眠。 容儀不斂攝

Then the Gods of the pure abodes
knowing that the time for the prince had come to resolve to leave the family,
suddenly [they] made a transformation – despising all the courtesans
led them all to fall asleep, [their] bearing had no countenance.³⁴⁰³⁴¹

容儀不斂攝，
委縱露醜形， 惛睡互低仰，
樂器亂縱橫。 傍倚或反[1]側，
或復似投[2]深， 纓絡如曳鎖，
衣裳絞縛身。 抱琴而偃地，
猶若受苦人， 黃綠衣流散，
如摧迦尼華。 縱體倚壁眠，
狀若懸角弓， 或手攀窓牖，
如似絞死尸。 頻呻長欠呿，
[3]魔呼涕流涎， 蓬頭露醜形，
見若顛狂人。 華鬢垂覆面，
或以面掩地， 或舉身戰掉，
猶若獨搖鳥。 委身更相枕，
手足互相加， 或顰蹙皺眉，
或[4]合眼開口， 種種身散亂，
狼籍猶橫屍。

339 *paramairapi divyatūryakalpaiḥ sa tu tairnaiva ratiṃ yayau na harṣam / paramārthasukhāya tasya sādhorabhiniścikramiṣā yato na reme* // Bc_5.46 // *paramārthasukhāya* translates 第一遠離樂, see also (Huang 2015, 130).

340 *aiha tatra suraiḥ tapovariṣṭhair akaniṣṭhair vyavasāyam asya buddhvā / yugapat pramadājanasya nidrā vihitāsīd vikṛtāśca gātraceṣṭāḥ* // Bc_5.47 // *chujia*出家 is literally “to go forth”. The expression 時淨居天子 is repeated twice, in the first and in the second juan. In this case, the deities are not the gods of the pure abodes, they are in fact called *akaniṣṭhair* (literally “the oldest ones”). Here it is also possible to take *yuan* 厭 as “everywhere” or “scattered everywhere”; a peculiar meaning this morpheme acquired in the Southern Dynasties, for which see HDCD. Willemen (2009a, 34) translates “disdainful of the multitude of singing women”. We should point out that the idea of the gods despising the women is not present in the Sanskrit text; a feeling of disdain is however expressed by the description *vihitāsīd vikṛtāśca gātraceṣṭāḥ* “and in unsightly postures positioned their limbs” (Olivelle 2008, 144-145). 容儀不斂攝 may also be a reference to Bc 5.47 *vikṛtāśca gātraceṣṭāḥ*.

341 Verses from 5.48 to 5.62 are censored and substitutes with verses of different content.

In their looseness they betrayed hideous shapes, oblivion and asleep [they were laying] upside down and one on the other,
the musical instruments were leaning in lenght and breadth.³⁴² Some were leaning on one side and others tossing to and fro,
some looked as if they were thrown in an abyss, [their] necklaces like dragging chains,³⁴³
their clothes were entangling and fasting their bodies.
Some embraced the *qin* and while laying on the ground,³⁴⁴
like persons experiencing pain.
Yellow-green dresses were spreading out, like ravaged karni flowers.³⁴⁵
Releasing [their] bodies and lying on the walls, sleeping,
their shapes bowed like animal horns, some others were like climbing windows with their hands, looking like hanging corpses.³⁴⁶
Snoring repeatedly or with long yawns,³⁴⁷
disgustingly dirty with mucus and slobbering,³⁴⁸
with hair unkempt [they] betrayed hideous shapes,³⁴⁹
[they] looked like demented persons. Flower garlands were hanging and covering their faces.³⁵⁰
Some had their face squeezed on the ground, others, their bodies raised, were shaking,
just like lonely birds. Losing control over [their] bodies, they were using each other as pillows, hands and feet one over the others,³⁵¹ some were wrinkling their forehead and frowning their eyebrows,³⁵²
others, eyes closed, opened their mouths.³⁵³ Each and every body scattered in disorder,³⁵⁴
completely messy, like corpses lying down.

時太子端坐，
觀察諸嫖女：「先皆極端嚴，
言笑心諂黠，妖豔巧姿媚，
而今悉醜穢。

The prince was sitting upright,
observing the courtesans: “They all looked extremely appropriate before,
chit-chatting, flattering and cunning in their mind, beautiful, skillful, and charming
but now they’re so ugly and rough.”³⁵⁵

女人性如是，
云何可親近？沐浴假[5]緣飾，
誑惑男子心。

342 In *Bc* 5.48 to 5.50 all mention musical instruments; also 5.56 mentions a drum

343 See also *Bc* 5.55

344 There is reference to a lute in *Bc* 5.48.

345 Yellow dresses, Karni flowers are mentioned in *Bc* 5.51

346 Comparison with a horn, and mention of a window is at *Bc* 5.52 the comparison is not with a corpse but with a salabanjika; in *Bc* 5.60 there is comparison to a corpse.

347 At *Bc* 5.59 there is mention of open mouths.

348 See also *Bc* 5.51.

349 See *Bc* 5.58 for hair unkempt and a comparison with a girl trampled over by an elephant.

350 At *Bc* 5.60 there is mention of garlands fallen down.

351 See *Bc* 5.54 *parasparam virejur* “hanging to each other”.

352 *Bc* 5.57 mentions eyebrows and eyes closed.

353 *Bc* 5.59 mentions mouths agape.

354 In *Bc* 5.62 there is reference to family and pedigree.

355 The translator “condensed” the scene, eluding some details and adding others. See paragraph 5.2.

Like that is the nature of women,
how can one be intimate with them? [they] bathe and put on ornaments
to fool the heart of men.”³⁵⁶

我今已覺了，
決定出無疑。 」
爾時淨居天， 來下為開門。

“Today I realized this, and decided to go further, without doubts.”
That time the gods of the pure abodes came down [to earth] to open the door.³⁵⁷

太子時徐起， 出諸婬女間，
踟躕於內[6]閣，

Then the prince rised slowly, and went out the courtesans’ quarters
hesitating towards the inner chamber.³⁵⁸

而告車匿言：
「吾今心渴仰， 欲飲甘露泉，
[7]被馬速牽來， 欲至不死鄉。

Then he informed Chandaka:
“My mind today is thirsty for elevation, I want to drink from the spring of amṛta.
Make the horse come here swiftly, I want to reach the country of immortality.”³⁵⁹

自知心決定， 堅固誓莊嚴，

I am aware my mind is resolved to firmly pledge to discipline.³⁶⁰

婬女本端正， 今悉見醜形。
門戶先關閉， 今已悉自開，
觀此諸瑞相， 第一義之筌。 」

The courtesans that were beautiful, today showed [themselves] in a messy state.
The doors that were shutted, today opened spontaneously.
[I] see these auspicious signs as a lure of an highest attainment.³⁶¹

356 *aśucirvikṛtaśca jīvaloke vanitānāmāyāmīdṛśaḥ svabhāvaḥ / vasanābharāṇaistu vañcyamānaḥ puruṣaḥ strīviṣayeṣu rāgameti* // Bc_5.64 // Verse 5.65 (a further explanation) is missing.

357 *vimṛśedyadi yoṣitām manuṣyaḥ prakṛtiṃ svapnavikāramīdṛśaṃ ca / dhruvamatra na vardhayetpramādaṃ guṇasaṃkalpahatastu rāgameti* // Bc_5.65 // and *iti tasya tadantaram viditvā niśi niścikramiṣā samudbabhūva / avagāmya manastato 'sya devairbhavanadvāramapāvṛtaṃ babhūva* // Bc_5.66 //

358 *atha so 'vatatāra harṃyapṛṣṭhādyuvatīstāḥ śayitā vīgarhamāṇaḥ / avatīrya tataśca nirviśaṅko gṛhakakṣyāṃ prathamāṃ vinirjagāma* // Bc_5.67 // There is no description of hesitation in the Sanskrit text, where the prince is said to be resolute.

359 *turagāvacaram sa bodhayitvā javinaṃ chandakamitthamityuvāca / hayamānaya kanthakaṃ tvarāvānamṛtaṃ prāptumito 'dya me yiyāsā* // Bc_5.68 // The name of the horse is not translated. It seems like Baoyun is translating amṛtaṃ twice, once as 甘露 and the other as 不死鄉。

360 *hr̥di yā mama tuṣṭiradya jātā vyavasāyaśca yathā matau niviṣṭaḥ / vijane 'pi ca nāthavānīvāsmi dhruvamārtho 'bhīmukhaḥ sameta iṣṭaḥ* // Bc_5.69 // This verse is very simplified. 莊嚴 is repeated very frequently in the translation.

361 *hriyameva ca saṃnatim ca hitvā śayitā matpramukhe yathā yuvatyah / vivṛte ca yathā svayaṃ kapāṭe niyataṃ yātumato mamādya kālaḥ* // Bc_5.70 // Practically the same, but it seems that the translator added the figure of a lure by himself.

車匿內思惟，應奉太子教，
脫令父王知，復應深罪責。
諸天加神力，不覺牽馬來，

Chandaka was considering within himself if he should have accepted the instruction of the prince, if he avoided to let the king-father know [about it], then he had to cope with the responsibility for [this] offence.

Then the gods increased their power, and so he inadvertently lead along the horse.³⁶²

平乘駿良馬，眾寶鏤乘具。
高翠長髦尾，局背短毛耳，
鹿腹鵝王[8]頸，額廣圓[9]瓠鼻，
龍咽[10]臆臆方，具足[11]驕驕相。

It was a peaceful mount, the fast and amiable and horse, with precious inlaid reins.
With high, jaded and long tail,³⁶³ with curved back and short ears' hair,
the belly of a deer, the head of the king of goose, with an ample forehead and the nose like a gourd,
the neck of a dragon, squared kneekaps and chest: all the necessary marks of an excellent horse.³⁶⁴

太子撫馬頸，摩身而告言：

The prince patted the horse' head, caressed its body and said:³⁶⁵

「父王常乘汝，臨敵輒勝怨，
吾今欲相依，遠涉甘露津。

The king-father often mounted you, to face enemies and then win their resentment.
Today I wish we rely on each other, and swiftly go through the state of *amrita*.³⁶⁶

戰鬪多眾旅，榮樂多伴遊，
商人求珍寶，樂從者亦眾。
遭苦良友難，求法必寡朋，
堪此二友者，終獲於吉安

On the battlefield one has numerous troops, in leisure times many companions,
merchants looking for precious stones, they have many followers too.³⁶⁷

362 *pratigrhya tataḥ sa bharturājñāṃ viditārtho 'pi narendraśāsanasya / manasīva pareṇa codyamānasturagasyānāyane matiṃ cakāra* // Bc_5.71 // The description is slightly different, with no mention of punishment or responsibility. Chandaka's mind is "as if goaded by someone else" *ānāyane matiṃ cakāra*, the Chinese text added the explanation about the gods leading him to do it.

363 "[The horse had] long bright blue [plumes] and a long mane and tail," in Willemen (2009a, 37); "high maned, with flowing tail" (Beal 1883, 57).

364 *atha hemakhalīnapūṇṇavaktraṃ laghuśayyāstaraṇopagūḍhaprṣṭham / balasattvajavānvayopapannam sa varāśvaṃ tamupānināya bhartre* // Bc_5.72 // *pratatrikapucchamūlapārṣṇi nibhṛtahṛsvatanūjapucchakarṇam / vinatonnataprṣṭhakukṣipārśva vipulaprothalalāṭakatyuraskam* // Bc_5.73 // Different descriptions of the horse. Chinese uses comparisons with other animals. On stanza Bc 5.72 see the note by Hopkins (1901, 387).

365 *upaguhya sa taṃ viśālavakṣāḥ kamalābhena ca sāntvayan kareṇa / madhurākṣarayā girā śaśāsa dhvajinūmadhyamiva praveṣṭukāmaḥ* // Bc_5.74 // The description of the prince voice is eluded, it reads "as if wishing to charge into enemies' line". *Amrita* deadless/

366 *bahuśaḥ kila śatravo nirastāḥ samare tvāmadhiruḥya pāṛthivena / ahamapyamṛtaṃ padaṃ yathāvatturagaśreṣṭha labheya tatkurūṣva* // Bc_5.75 // There is a rare mention of enemies.

In adversities is difficult to meet good friends. In the search for the dharma friends are inevitably scarce.

堪此二友者， 終獲於吉安。

May these two friends obtain peace in the end.³⁶⁸

吾今欲出遊， 為度苦眾生，
汝今欲自利， 兼濟諸群萌，
宜當竭其力， 長驅勿疲[12]倦。 」

Now I desire to go away, to save from sufferance all the human beings
Now [if] you desire your own good, and the well being for all the people,
then [you] should exhaust all your energy and gallop away, with no fatigue or distress.³⁶⁹

勸已徐跨馬， 理轡脩晨征，
人狀日殿流， 馬如白雲浮。

Having thus encouraged [it], he gently mounted the horse, controlled the rain [and then], in the sudden dawn, he started the journey.
The man was like a sun setting from an imperial palace, the horse fluctuating like a white cloud.³⁷⁰

束身不奮迅， 屏氣不噴鳴，

Controlling his body not to exceed in the rush, [the horse] hold its breath not to neigh.³⁷¹

四神來捧足， 潛密寂無聲。

Four deities came to held [its] feet, secretly keeping [it] quiet and without sounds.³⁷²

重門固關鑰， 天神[13]令自開。

The heavy door, solidly fastened, the gods made open by itself.³⁷³

367 *sulabhāḥ khalu saṃyuge sahāyā viśayāvāptasukhe dhanārjane vā /*
puruṣasya tu durlabhāḥ sahāyāḥ patitasyāpadi dharmasaṃśraye vā // Bc_5.76 // The reference to object of
pleasure was eluded (*viśayāvāptasukhe*).

368 *iha caiva bhavanti ye sahāyaḥ kaluṣe karmaṇi dharmasaṃśraye vā /*
avagacchait me yathāntarātmā niyataṃ te 'pi janāstadaṃśabhājaḥ // Bc_5.77 // The sentence can be also intended
as “May these two friends obtain peace in the end”. The verse is summarized. The Sanskrit is apparently alluding to
the law of retribution, explaining that friends that shared fool acts or meritorious acts will obtain a “proportionate”
retribution.

369 *tadidaṃ pariṇāmya dharmayuktaṃ mama niryāṇamito jagaddhitāya / turagottama vegavikramābhyāṃ*
prayatasvātmahite jagaddhite ca // Bc_5.78 // There is no dharmayuktaṃ.

370 *iti suhṛdamivānuśīṣya kṛtye turagavaraṃ nṛvaro vanaṃ yīyāsuḥ / sitamasitagitidyutirvapuṣmān raviriva*
śāradamabhramāruroha // Bc_5.79 // The handsome prince (), wishing to go to the forest, instructed the horse like
it was his friend (*suhṛdamivānuśīṣya*), then, blazing like a fire, he mounted the horse like a sun the autumn cloud.

371 *atha sa pariharanniśīthacaṇḍaṃ dhvanīm sadaśvaḥ / vigatahanuravaḥ praśāntaheṣaścakitavimuktapadakramo*
jagāma // Bc_5.80 // No mention is made of the importance of not awakening the attendants (*pariṇābodhakaram*).

372 *kanakavalayabhūṣitaprakoṣṭhaiḥ kamalanibhaiḥ kamalāniva pravidhya / avanatatanavastato 'sya*
yakṣāścakitagatairdīdhare khurān karāgraiḥ // Bc_5.81 // Extreme simplification.

373 *gurupariṣhākapāṭasamvṛtā yā na sukhamapi dviradairapāvriyante /*
vrajati nṛpasute gatasvanāstāḥ svayamabhavanvivṛtāḥ puraḥ pratolyaḥ // Bc_5.82 // *dviradairapā* “even by
elephants”.

敬重無過父， 愛深莫踰子，
內外諸眷屬， 恩愛亦纏綿。
遣情無遺念， 飄然超出城，

A father that was respected without compare, a son deeply loved, more than any other.
Inside and outside [the court] all the family dependants, deeply loved [him] and where inseparable,
Discarding [his] feelings without giving up [his] idea, floating on air he went beyond the city walls.³⁷⁴

清淨蓮花目， 從淤泥[14]中生。
顧瞻父王宮， 而說告離篇，
不度生老死， 永無遊此緣。

With pure eyes as pure lotuses raising from the mud of rebirth,
[as from] the shelter of the king-father palace, he pronounced some farewell line
“having not overcome birth, old age and death, I will never wander again in this fate”³⁷⁵

一切諸天眾， 虛空龍鬼神，
隨喜稱善哉， 唯此真諦言。

All the celestial deities, the *nagas* and the supernatural beings,
Were moved by this deed and said it was excellent, considering his statement as true.³⁷⁶

諸天龍神眾， 慶得難得心，
各以自力光， 引導助其明。

All the celestial dragons and spirits, congratulated for the obtainment of a resolution that is difficult to obtain,
Each one used the light of his power to guide and support his brightness.³⁷⁷

人馬心俱銳， 奔逝若流星，
東方猶未曉， 已進三由旬。

The man and the horse's mind were on the same, swiftly proceeding, like a shooting star,
In the East it was still dawn, and they had already advanced three *yojana*.³⁷⁸

374 *pitaramabhimukhaṃ sutaṃ ca bālaṃ janamanuraktamanuttamāṃ ca lakṣmīm / kṛtamatirapahāya nirvyapekṣaḥ pitṛnagarātsa tato vinirjagāma* // Bc_5.83 // The Sanskrit describes the prince leaving the city of his father (*pitṛnagarātsa tato vinirjagāma*), firm in his resolve and unwavering (*kṛtamatirapahāya nirvyapekṣaḥ*), leaving his loving father and young son (*pitaramabhimukhaṃ sutaṃ ca bālaṃ*), as well as his subjects and highest fortune (*janamanuraktamanuttamāṃ ca lakṣmīm*). Willemen (2009a, 38) has a different reading: “Their reverence for the father was unsurpassed, but their affection was deeper for no one than for the son”, although it is not clear who “they” are.

375 *atha sa vimalapaṇkajāyātākṣaḥ puramavalokya nanāda siṃhanādam / jananamaraṇayoradr̥ṣṭapāro na puramaḥ kapilāvhaṇyaṃ praveṣṭā* // Bc_5.84 // 緣 is also *karma* or human realm (see HDC, s.v.). There is no mention of the city of Kapila in the translation, it being referred to as the king-father's palace. The translators added a reference to the “mud of rebirth”, and omitted a comparison with a lion: *nanāda siṃhanādam*. Here 度 is used with the meaning of “to cross”, to get to the other shore, thus implying the Sanskrit *pāro*.

376 *iti vacanamidaṃ niśamya tasya draviṇapateḥ pariśadgaṇā nananduḥ / pramuditamanasaśca devasaṅghā vyavasitapāraṇamāśaśamsire 'smai* // Bc_5.85 // 真諦 is a technical term that indicates the “essence” and “real meaning”.

377 *hutavahavapuṣoḥ divaukaso 'nye vyavasitamasya suduṣkaraṃ viditvā / akṛṣata tuhine pathi prakāśaṃ ghanavivaraprasṛtā ivendupādāḥ* // Bc_5.86 // The metaphor involving the beam of light on the frosty path (the poet is probably referring to the path the prince is galloping on his horse) is not translated in Chinese.

車匿還品第六

Sixth chapter: The return of Chandaka³⁷⁹

須臾夜已過， 眾生眼光出，
顧見林樹間， 跋伽仙人處。

The night was over in an instant, the light of the eye of the multitude of living beings arose,
[he] saw in the middle of a grove the dwelling of the sage Bargha[va].³⁸⁰

林流極清曠， 禽獸親附人，
太子見心喜， 形勞自然息。
此則為祥瑞， 必獲未曾利。

The forest spread with extreme luxury, wild animals befriended the persons
The prince saw [that] and was joyful in his heart, [his] tired body spontaneously relaxed
He thought this was a good omen, that must get an unprecedented benefit.³⁸¹

又見彼仙人， 是所應供養，[所應供養者]
并自護其[威]儀， 滅除高[憍]慢跡。

Then he saw those sage, and knew he was to be respected,
Keeping is dignified countenance, he dismissed any trace of pride.³⁸²

下馬手摩頭， 汝今已度我。
「慈目視車匿， 猶清涼水[24]洗，

Having dismounted he caressed the head with the hand: so it is that today you have taken me across.
With compassion eyes he looked at Chandaka, like a cleansing, clean water.³⁸³

駿足馳若飛， 汝常係馬後。[馬馳駛猶若鳥迅飛]
感汝深敬勤， [精勤無懈倦，[精勤無懈倦]

“The steed galloped as flying, and you have kept constantly after the horse
I feel your devotion is deep, your dedication is never idle”³⁸⁴

379 *iti buddhacarite mahākāvyē chandakanivartano nāma śaṣṭhaḥ sargaḥ* // 6 /

380 *tato muhūrtābhyudite jagaccakṣuṣi bhāskare /
bhārgavasyāśramapadaṃ sa dadarśa nṛṇāṃ varaḥ* // Bc_6.1 //

381 *suptaviśvastahariṇaṃ svasthasthitavihaṅgamam /
viśrānta iva yaddṛṣṭvā kṛtārtha iva cābhavat* // Bc_6.2 // The reference to deer (*hariṇaṃ*) and birds (*vihaṅgamam*)
is simplified in the expression 禽獸; the BC has *kṛtārtha iva* “as if he attained the goal”, while in the T192 it is
rendered as 獲未曾利。

382 *sa viśmayanivṛttyartha tapaḥpūjārthameva ca /
svām cānuvartitā rakṣannaśvapṛṣṭhādavatārat* // Bc_6.3 // Both Olivelle (2008, 163) and Johnston (1936, 81)
agreed with the T192 version that sees in *viśmaya* a reference to arrogance. The reference to the prince descending
from the horse (*śvapṛṣṭhādavatārat*) is recovered in the following verse.

383 *avatīrya ca pasparśa nistūrṇamiti vājinam /
chandakaṃ cāvraṇīprītaḥ snāpayanniva cakṣuṣā* // Bc_6.4 //

384 *imaṃ tārksyopamajavaṃ turaṅgamanugacchatā /
darśitā saumya madbhaktirvikramaścāyamātmanaḥ* // Bc_6.5 //

餘事不足計， 唯[惟]取汝真心。
心敬形堪[甚]勤， 此二今始見，

Other things may not be taken into account, but [the fact that] I am cherished by your sincere heart,
That the devotion of your heart is so constant: these two things are evident today.³⁸⁵

人有心至誠， 身力無所堪。
力堪心不至， 汝今二俱備，

People have reached honesty in their heart, but the strength of the body is not stable.
If the strength is stable, then the mind has not reached [honesty]: today you were equipped of both.³⁸⁶

捐棄世榮利[祿]， 進步隨我來。

Rejecting any mundane reward, you walked forward, coming along with me.³⁸⁷

何人不向利？ 無利親戚離，
汝今空隨我， 不求現世報。

What person does not aim for a reward? If there's no reward, kinsmen fall apart,
Today you followed me for nothing, without looking for a compensation in this world.³⁸⁸

夫人生育子[何以育養子]， 為以紹宗嗣，[紹嗣宗族]
所以奉敬王[父]， 為以報恩養。[其育子故]
一切皆求利， 汝獨背利遊。

What is the use to nurture kids? It is for fostering the clan,
Paying homage to the father, it is so that the son will get sustenance,
Everybody looks for a benefit, only you came on the journey giving your back to a reward.³⁸⁹

至言不煩多[多言何所解]， 今當略告汝，
汝事我已畢， 今且乘馬還。
自我長夜來， 所求處今得。 」

What is there to be explained with so many words? Now I will tell you shortly:
Your service to me is over: now, just ride the horse back.
Now I reached the place I was seeking for during this long night.³⁹⁰

385 *Sarvathāsmi anyakāryo 'pi grhīto bhavatā hr̥di /*

bhartusnehaśca yasyāyamīdr̥śaḥ śaktireva ca // Bc_6.6 // The translation is literal, except for the first part, 餘事不足計, which may be translating the opening of the stanza that reads “I’m given wholly to other pursuit” (Olivelle 2008, 163).

386 *asnigdho 'pi samartho 'sti niḥsāmarthyo 'pi bhaktimān /*

bhaktimānścaiva śaktaśca durlabhasvadvidho bhuvi // Bc_6.7 //

387 *tatprīto 'smi tavānena mahābhāgena karmaṇā /*

yasya te mayi bhāvo 'yaṃ phalebhyo 'pi parānmukhaḥ // Bc_6.8 // The translation gives more importance on the act performed by Chandaka, who followed the prince outside the palace.

388 *ko janasya phalasthasya na syādabhimukho janaḥ /*

janībhavati bhūyiṣṭhaṃ svajano 'pi viparyaye // Bc_6.9 //

389 *kulārtha dhāryate putraḥ poṣārtha sevyate pitā /*

āśayācchilaṣyati jagan nāsti niṣkāraṇā svatā // Bc_6.10 // *nāsti niṣkāraṇā svatā* literally means “kinship cannot endure without a cause”; this part is changed in a direct reference to Chandaka.

390 *kimuktivā bahu samkṣepātkṛtaṃ me sumahatpriyam /*

nivartasvāśvamādāya samprāpto 'smīpsitaṃ padam // Bc_6.11 //

即脫寶瓔珞，以授於車匿，
具持是[持是以]賜汝，以慰汝憂悲。

[He] suddenly removed [his] precious ornaments, and hand [them] down to Chandaka
I took off these to award [them] to you, to relieve your grievance.³⁹¹

寶冠頂摩尼，光明照其身，
即脫置掌中，如日曜須彌。

The light of the mani at the top of his precious crown illuminated [his] body,
[he] promptly removed it and posed it in [Chandaka's] hands, like the sun shining on Sumeru.³⁹²

「車匿持此珠，還歸父王所，
持珠禮王足，以表我虔心。
為我啟請王，願捨愛戀情，

Chandaka, take this jewel, bring it back to the king-father's quarters
Pose it to honor the king's feet, to demonstrate my sincere heart.
To inform the king for me and ask [him] to willingly abandon the feeling of attachment,³⁹³

為脫生老死，故入[?]苦行林。
亦不求生天，非無仰戀心，
亦不懷結恨，唯[惟]欲捨憂悲。

To win over birth, old age and death: that's the reason I am entering this ascetic grove,
And not [because I] want to be reborn in heaven, it's not that my heart is not respectful or caring,
And yet I am not harboring any regret: my only desire is to abandon sufferance and grievance.³⁹⁴

長夜集恩愛，要當有別離，

An affection, [even if] stored for a long time, must encounter a separation.³⁹⁵

391 *ityuktvā sa mahābāhuranuśaṃsacikīrṣayā /
bhūṣaṇānyavamucyāsmāi saṃtaptamanase dadau* // Bc_6.12 //

392 *mukutāddīpakarmāṇaṃ maṇīmādāya bhāsvaram /
bruvanvākyamidaṃ tasthau sāmḍitya iva mandaraḥ* // Bc_6.13 // It is interesting to note that the word *maṇi* had entered Chinese since long, the first literary quote in the HDC comes from the *Baobuzi*. The name of the sacred Mount Mandara has been simplified with the name of Mount Sumeru.

393 *anena maṇinā chanda praṇamya bahuśo nṛpaḥ /
vijñāpyo 'muktaviśrambhaṃ saṃtāpavinivṛttaye* // Bc_6.14 // According to Johnston (1936, 83) and Olivelle (2008, 167) '*muktaviśrambha* stays for “in full confidence”; it refers to Chandaka, that is probably afraid to report this news to the king. Apparently, it is not translated; the jewel must be returned with a message to *saṃtāpavinivṛttaye* “to relieve the anguish” of the king. in the translation is rendered as an active invitation (願捨愛戀情).

394 *janmamaraṇanāśārtha praviṣṭo 'smi tapovanam /
na khalu svargatarṣeṇa nāsnehena na manyunā* // Bc_6.15 // The reference to sufferance is added as an explanation in the translation

395 *tadevamabhiniṣkrāntaṃ na mām śocitumarhasi /
bhūtvāpi hi ciraṃ śleṣaḥ kālena na bhaviṣyati* // Bc_6.16 // The prince here is explaining that no matter how long and fond is a relationship, it must come to end: it is so praying Chandaka, and the king through him, not to suffer for his departure (na mām śocitumarhasi). Only the second part of this verse appears to be translated. It is interesting here to note that the untranslated section, *tadevamabhiniṣkrāntaṃ na mām śocitumarhasi*, is almost identical to the first part of stanza Bc 6.18: *śokatyāgāya niṣkrāntaṃ na mām śocitumarhasi*.

以有當[常]離故， 故求解脫因。
若得解脫者， 永無離親期，

Since there will always be a reason for separation, one must find a cause of liberation.
If I will be the one who obtains liberation, the never-ending separation from my relatives will be over.³⁹⁶

為斷[9]憂出家， 勿為子生憂；
五欲為憂根， 應憂著欲者。

I am going forth to put an end to affections, do not nurture worries for me.
The five desires are the origin of worries, one should worry for those who are attached to desires.³⁹⁷

乃祖諸勝王， [10]堅固志不移，
今我襲餘財， [*]唯法捨非宜。

So the ancestors of every victorious [Sakya] king's will is strong and not swaying;
Today I inherit an invaluable fortune – for the sake of the way [/dharma], I reject [what] is not appropriate³⁹⁸

夫人命終時， [11]財產悉遺子，
子多貪俗利， 而我樂法財。

At the end of someone's life, earned wealth has to be passed over to descendants
Descendants mostly pursue mundane profit – I delight in the wealth of the Law [dharma].³⁹⁹

若言年少壯， 非是遊學時，
當知求正法， 無時非為時。

Let's say that young and vigorous years are not the right time to go [forth] to study,
Then know that to pursue the right dharma there is no inappropriate timing.⁴⁰⁰

無常無定期， 死怨常隨[12]伺，
是故我今日， 決定求法時。

Our time is not lasting, nor settled; the enemy of death will surely await [us] one by one,
That is the reason I decided that today is the day to pursue dharma.⁴⁰¹

396 *dhruvo yasmācca viśleṣastasmānmokṣāya me matiḥ /
viprayogaḥ kathaṃ na syād bhūyo 'pi svajanāḍiti* // Bc_6.17 //

397 *śokatyāgāya niṣkrāntaṃ na māṃ śocitumarhasi /
śokahetuṣu kāmeṣu saktāḥ śocyāstu rāgiṇaḥ* // Bc_6.18 // Here the translator used the expression 五欲 although there is no mention of *viśaya*, the expression is probably referred to *kāmeṣu*.

398 *ayaṃ ca kila pūrveṣāmasmākaṃ niścayaḥ sthiraḥ /
iti dāyādyabhūtena na śocyo 'smi pathā vrajan* // Bc_6.19 // *dāyādyabhūtena* is read as “patrimony” by Olivelle (2008, 169), while Johnston reads it with *pathā* as “hereditary road”. It is interesting that the translators chose to use 財 “wealth”, which might as well indicate an innate talent (such as the strong will-power mentioned in the previous verse). 唯法捨非宜 might be intended as an adjunct; it is difficult to read it as a translation of *na śocyo 'smi pathā vrajan* “do not grieve for me as I walk on the path”, in this case the Chinese might be translated as “for the sake of dharma one should reject what is not proper”.

399 *bhavanti hyarthadāyādāḥ puruṣasya viparyaye /
prthivyāṃ dharmadāyādāḥ durlabhāstu na santi vā* // Bc_6.20 // There is no complete translation of the second half of the verse: “Heirs to dharma on this Earth are absent or hard to find”.

400 *yadapi syādasamaye yāto vanamasāviti /
akālo nāsti dharmasya jīvite cañcale sati* // Bc_6.21 // The translation misses the reference to *vanamasāviti* “going to the forest” and the reference to the uncertainty of life (*jīvite cañcale sati*).

如上諸所啟， 汝悉為我宣，
[*]唯願[13]今父王， 不復[14]我顧戀。

With appeals such as these, you thoroughly express [to the king] in my name
[my] only wish that the king-father will not be worried for me again.⁴⁰²

若以形毀我， 令王割愛[15]者，
汝[16]慎勿惜言， 使王念不絕。 」

You can accuse and defame me, let the king suppress his feelings of love,
Your words of disesteem, [will just] induce the king to feel not dejected.⁴⁰³

車匿奉教勅， 悲塞情昏迷，
合掌而踟跪， 還答太子言：

Chandaka in receiving the instructions felt so overcome by grief as to fall in a stupor,
Clasping hands he kneeled, and answered the prince by saying.⁴⁰⁴

「如勅具宣[17]言， 恐更增憂悲，
憂悲增轉深， 如象溺深泥。

“Your orders expressed like this, I am afraid would increase [my] feeling of sorrow-
Sorrow will deepen again, like an elephant drowning in deep mud.⁴⁰⁵

決定恩愛[18]乖， 有心孰不哀？
金石尚摧[19]碎， 何況溺哀情？

When a loved one is determined to leave, is there a mind who can bear it without grief?
Metal and stone are subject to destruction, [but] how can the sentiment of sorrow be suppressed?⁴⁰⁶

太子長深宮， 少樂身細軟，
投身刺棘林， 苦行安可堪？

The prince has grown inside the palace, an happy child, [his] body is delicate,

401 *tasmādadyaiva me śreyaścetavyamiti niścayaḥ /jīvite ko hi viśrambho mṛtyau pratyarthini sthite* // Bc_6.22 // *jīvite ko hi viśrambho* “What trust can be put in life...” is missing in the translation. Interestingly, the simile of death as an enemy is preserved in the T192.

402 *evamādi tvayā saumya vijñāpyo vasudhādhipaḥ /prayatethāstathā caiva yathā māṃ na smaredāpi* // Bc_6.23 //

403 *api nairgunyamasmākaṃ vācyam narapatau tvayā /nairgunyāttyajyate snehaḥ snehatyāgānna śocyate* // Bc_6.24 //
In the last sentence Willemen (2009a, 41) has “do not let the king affection remain uninterrupted”. This translation makes sense, although to produce this meaning we should imply a double negation.

404 *iti vākyam idaṃ śrutvā chandaḥ saṃtāpaviklavaḥ /bāṣpagrathitayā vācā pratyuvāca kṛtāñjaliḥ* // Bc_6.25 //

405 *anena ta va bhāvena bāndhavāyāsādāyinā /bhartaḥ sīdati me ceto nadīpaṅka iva dvipaḥ* // Bc_6.26 // Bc presents Chandaka as a more assertive figure; he is in fact talking for himself (*sīdati me ceto*, my mind sinks). Willemen attributes the feeling of sorrow to the king, although it is not explicitly stated.

406 *kasya notpādayed bāṣpaṃ niścayas te 'yamīdrśaḥ /ayomaye 'pi hṛdaye kiṃ punaḥ snehaviklave* // Bc_6.27 // The ideal meaning of the BC is that even a heart carved in steel would suffer for a decision such as this; the T192 apparently misses the focus of the simile. Willemen’s translation is close to mine (“Even metal and stone break down”).

Throwing himself in a forest of thorny bushes, can he safely endure the practice of austerities?⁴⁰⁷

初命我索馬， [20]下情甚不安，我意已
天神[21]見驅逼， 命我速莊嚴。

At first, when you ordered me to rein the horse, my thought were not tranquil,
A celestial god forced me, ordered me to harness it quickly.⁴⁰⁸

何意令太子， 決定捨深宮？
迦毘羅衛[22]國， [23]合境生悲痛。

What [was I] thinking when I lead the prince is resolve to abandon the inner palace?
The people of Kapilavastu, in all the country, will be full of sorrow.⁴⁰⁹

父王年已老， 念子愛亦深，
決定捨出家， 此則非所應。
邪見無父母， 此則無復論。

The king father is already old and the son he cherishes and deeply love,
Has decided to forsake [him] and go forth, this then it is not acceptable,
It's evil not to take into account your father and mother; this then does not comply with the
treatises.⁴¹⁰

瞿曇彌長養， 乳哺形枯乾，
慈愛難可忘， 莫作背恩人。

Gautami has brought you up, nourishing you to the point of consumption,
A care and affection hardly forgettable, no one would forsake a kind person.⁴¹¹

嬰兒功德母， 勝族能奉事，
得勝而復棄， 此則非勝人。

The virtuous mother of an infant son, from a illustrious clan, able to stand to commitments,
Having obtained luster, still [you are] forsaking [her], this is not [proper of] an illustrious man.⁴¹²

407 *vimānaśayanārhaṃ hi saukumāryamidaṃ kva ca / kharadarbhāṅkuravatī tapovanamahī kva ca* // Bc_6.28 // *darbha* grass became 刺棘林 in Chinese.

408 *śrutvā tu vyavasāyaṃ te yadaśvo 'yaṃ mayāhṛtaḥ / balāt kāreṇa tannātha daivenaivāsmi kāritaḥ* // Bc_6.29 // The Bc shows that Chandaka was aware of the prince's resolve. The T192 is more explicit that the BC in the second part: in the translation Chandaka states that it was a celestial spirit that forced him twice (驅逼我，命我)。

409 *kathaṃ hyātmavaśo jānan vyavasāyam imaṃ tava / upānayeyaṃ turagaṃ śokaṃ kapilavāstunaḥ* // Bc_6.30 // *vyavasāya* or “resolve” is carefully translated with the same 意 in verse 6.29 and 6.30. The problem is that the resolve is the prince's (*vyavasāyaṃ te, vyavasāyam imaṃ tava*) while in the T192 Chandaka refers it to himself.

410 *tannārhasi mahābāho vihātuṃ putralālasam / snigdhaṃ vṛddhaṃ ca rājānaṃ saddharmamiva nāstikaḥ* // Bc_6.31 // *saddharmamiva nāstikaḥ* “like infidels forsaking true dharma” has been changed to a reference to “doctrine”, lun

411 *saṃvardhana pariśrāntāṃ dvitīyāṃ tām ca mātaram / devīm nārhasi vismartu kṛtaghna iva satkriyām* // Bc_6.32 // The Bc does not mention Gautamī by name; it refers to her as “second mother” (*dvitīyāṃ ... mātaram*).

412 *bālaputrāṃ guṇavaratī kulaślāghyāṃ pativratāṃ / devīm arhasi na tyaktuṃ klībaḥ prāptāmiva śriyam* // Bc_6.33 // The text in Bc is stating that the queen (*devīm*) comes from an illustrious clan (*kula ślāghyāṃ*) and is faithful to her husband (*pativratāṃ*). The Chinese is less clear: it is not clear if the subject of 能奉事 “able to stand to commitments” and 得勝 “to obtain glory” or “to obtain victory” is the queen or her clan (in this second case, the clan would be up to his commitments and victorious). *klībaḥ* or “coward” is translated by 非勝人; this can be rendered as “unworthy” or “unaccomplished”; I am choosing to use “victorious” to underline the repetition of 勝

耶輸陀勝子， 嗣國掌正法，
厥年尚幼[24]少， [25]是亦不應[26]捨。

Yasodharā's illustrious child will ascend to the throne, holder of the right law,
[but] he is still too young - it is early yet to go forth.⁴¹³

已違捨父王， 及宗親眷屬，
勿復[27]遺棄我， 要不離尊足。

If you already [want to] disobey, to abandon the king father and your kinsmen and retinue
Do not persist in abandoning me , please do not separate me from your honorable feet.⁴¹⁴

[28]我心懷湯火， 不堪獨還國。
今於空野中， 棄[29]捐太子歸，
則同[30]須曼提， 棄捨於羅摩，

[My] mind is like boiling water on fire, cannot endure of going back alone to the reign,
Today in the middle of the hollow fields, to abandon the prince and go back,
Just like Sumitra abandoned Rāma.⁴¹⁵

今若獨還宮， 白王當何言？
合宮同見責， 復以何辭答？

If I go back to the court alone today, what should I say to the king?
All the court will unanimously accuse [me], what words should I use in responding?⁴¹⁶

太子[31]向告我， 隨方便形毀。
牟尼功德所， 云何而虛說？

Prince, you told me [that] it is a convenient mean to and accuse and defame [you],
A muni of such virtue, wouldn't saying this be a sheer nonsense?⁴¹⁷

我深慚愧故， 舌亦不能言，
設使有[32]所說， 天下誰復信？

For I am very ashamed, my tongue can't even speak

in the previous sentence – a good alternative may be “victory/victorious”. It is noteworthy that 勝 was often used to translate Sakya, which is also a proper name. The term is trying to refrain is ślāghyāṃ, which is repeated in the following stanza (6.34) as well.

413 *putraṃ yāsodharaṃ ślādhyāṃ yaśodharmabhṛtāṃ varam /bālaṃ arhasi na tyaktuṃ vyasan īvottamaṃ yaśaḥ //* Bc_6.34 // Olivelle (2008, 449) explains the connection between *yāsodharaṃ* / *yaśodharmabhṛtāṃ*. Here the T192 is explaining the content of the Bc with a commentary. There is no explicit mention of Rahula succeeding on the throne, nor to his young age in the Bc as we read it.

414 *atha bandhuṃ ca rājyaṃ ca tyaktumeva kṛtā matiḥ /māṃ nārhasi vibho tyaktuṃ tvatpādaḥ hi gatirmama //* Bc_6.35 //

415 *nāsmi yātuṃ puraṃ śakto dahyamānena cetasā /tvāmarāṇye parityajya sumantra iva rāghavam //* Bc_6.36 //

416 *kiṃ hi vakṣyati māṃ rājā tvadṛte nagaraṃ gatam /vakṣyāmyucitadarśitvātkiṃ tavāntaḥpurāṇi vā //* Bc_6.37 //

417 *yadapyāthāpi nairguṇyaṃ vācyaṃ narapatāviti /kiṃ tadvakṣyāmyabhūtaṃ te nirdoṣasya muneriva //* Bc_6.38 //

Even if it spoke, who on Earth would trust [it] in turn?⁴¹⁸

若言月光熱， 世間有信者；
脫有信太子， 所行非法行？

If one says the moon's light is warm, in the world there [might] be someone who believe [it],
There can possibly be someone who believe [that] the prince conduct is not a right conduct?⁴¹⁹

太子心柔軟， 常慈悲一切，
深愛而棄捨， 此則違宿心。
願可思還宮， 以慰我愚誠。 」

The prince's heart is gentle, always benevolent towards everybody,
Deep in love, and yet forsaking [us] thus violating the usual order.
I wish [you] can consider returning to the court, as a prize for the sincerity of my feelings".⁴²⁰

太子聞車匿， 悲切苦諫言，
心安轉堅固， 而復告之曰：

The prince heard Chandaka, lamenting at this bitter advice,
The peace of mind became steadier, and thus he replied him saying:⁴²¹

「汝今為我故， 而生別離苦，
當捨此悲念， 且自慰其心，
眾生各異趣， 乖離理自常。

“For my sake today you are feeling the pain of separation,
Accept to abandon this idea of sorrow – just console your mind
All living beings [have] different interests [but] the principle of separation is unchangeable.”⁴²²

縱令我今日， 不捨[33]諸親族，
死至形神乖， 當復云何留？

Even if I do not abandon my kinsmen today,
Death will come to spoil body and mind, so what is the reason to stay?⁴²³

慈母懷妊我， 深愛[34]常抱苦。
生已即命終， 竟不蒙子養，
存亡各異路， 今為何處求？

The compassionate mother [who was] pregnant of me, [out of] deep love nurtured pain,
[she] gave birth and suddenly died, eventually [she] did not cope with the raising of a child.
Existence ends in many different ways, what is the reason to strive to get along it today?⁴²⁴

418 *hrdayena salajjena jivhayā sajjamānayā /ahaṃ yadapi vā brūyāṃ kastacchraddhātumarhati // Bc_6.39 //*

419 *yo hi candramasastaikṣṇyaṃ kathayecchraddadhīta vā /sa doṣāṃstava doṣajña kathayecchraddadhīta vā //*
Bc_6.40 //

420 *sānukrośasya satataṃ nityaṃ karuṇavedinaḥ /snigdhatyāgo na sadṛśo nivartasva prasīda me // Bc_6.41 //*

421 *iti śokābhībhūtasya śrutvā chandasya bhāṣitam /svasthaḥ paramayā dhṛtīā jagāda vadatāṃ varaḥ // Bc_6.42 //*

422 *madviyogaṃ prati cchanda saṃtāpastyaḥ prajāyātāmayam /nānābhāvo hi niyataṃ pṛthagjātiṣu dehiṣu // Bc_6.43 //*

423 *svajanaṃ yadyapi snehānna tyajeyamahaṃ svayam /mrtyuranyonyamavaśānasmān saṃtyājayaṣyati // Bc_6.44 //*

曠野[35]茂高樹， 眾鳥群聚[36]栖，
暮集晨[37]必散， 世間離亦然。

In the vast wilderness with high, imposing trees, where flocks of birds have shelter,
They gather at dusk and part at dawn, in the world separation is necessary.⁴²⁵

浮雲[38]興高山， 四集盈虛空[於空中]，
俄[40]而復消散， 人理亦復然。

Floating clouds raise above peaks, the four converge in emptiness,
Suddenly part and scatter again - human nature abide to [this] principle as well.⁴²⁶

世間本自乖， 暫會恩愛纏，
如夢中聚散， 不應計我親。

This world changes all along, temporarily in unity and tangled by deep affection,
Aggregation and dissipation [happen] like in a dream, so better not to count on kinsmen.⁴²⁷

譬如春生[1]樹， 漸長柯葉[2]茂，
秋霜遂零落， 同體尚分離，
況人暫合會， 親戚豈常俱？

Just like a log that in spring gradually grows in brunches and leaves,
Frost in autumn and then they wither in winter - [the were] the same body yet they separate:
The more people that meet temporarily, and how can relatives be together without changing?⁴²⁸

汝且息憂苦， 順我教而歸，
歸意猶存我， 且歸後更還。

Yet you linger in worries: obey to my orders and go back,
Mind to go back and if you still will miss me, then after you went back you can come here again.⁴²⁹

迦毘羅衛人， 聞我心決定，
顧遺念我者， 汝當宣我言，

People in Kapilavastu will hear about the resolution in my heart
Will go on and be cherishing my memory – accept the words I proclaimed.⁴³⁰

[3]越度生死海， 然後當來還；
情願若不[4]果， 身滅山林間。 」

Having crossed the sea of life and death, only then I will come back
If my will won't succeed, then my body will die out in the mountain groves.⁴³¹

424 mahatya trṣṇayā duḥkhaigarbheṇāsmi yayā dhṛtaḥ /tasyā niṣphalayatnāyāḥ kvāhaṃ mātulḥ kva sā mama // Bc_6.45 //

425 vāsavṛkṣe samāgamya vigacchanti yathāṇḍajāḥ /niyataṃ viprayogāntastathā bhūtasamāgamah // Bc_6.46 //

426 sametya ca yathā bhūyo vyapayānti balāhakāḥ /saṃyogo viprayogaśca tathā me prāṇināṃ mataḥ // Bc_6.47 //

427 Yasmād yāti ca loko 'yaṃ vipralabhya paramparam /mamattvaṃ na kṣamaṃ tasmāt svapnabhūte samāgame // Bc_6.48 // 恩愛纏 has a parallel in a coeval poem by Tao Qian

428 sahajena viyujyante parṇarāgeṇa pādapāḥ anyenānyasya viśleṣaḥ kiṃ punarṇa bhaviṣyati // Bc_6.49 //

429 tadevaṃ sati saṃtāpaṃ mā kāṛṣī saumya gamyatām / lambate yadi tu sneho gatvāpi punarāvraja // Bc_6.50 //

430 brūyāścāsmatkṛtāpekṣaṃ janam kapilavāstuni /tyajyatām tagdataḥ snehaḥ śrūyatām cāśya niścayaḥ // Bc_6.51 //

431 kṣiprameṣyati vā kṛtvā janmamṛtyukṣayaṃ kila /akṛtārtho nirārambho nidhanaṃ yāsyatīti vā // Bc_6.52 //

白馬聞太子，發斯真實言，
屈膝而舐足，長息淚流連。

The white horse heard the prince pronounce this very precious words
It bent its knees and lapped his feet, longly breathing, suddenly reluctant to leave.⁴³²

輪掌網[5]鞚手，順摩白馬頂，

The wheel-marked hand, webbed like silk, smoothly caressed the white horse's head.⁴³³

汝莫生憂悲，我今懺謝汝，
良馬之勤勞，其功今已畢，
惡道苦長息，妙果現於今。

Do not grieve, I offer thanks to you now
A fine, hardworking horse, whose merit now has been accomplished,
The sufferance on the evil path after long time come to a rest, and marvelous fruit are realized
now.⁴³⁴

眾寶莊嚴劍，車匿常執隨，
太子拔利劍，如龍曜光明，

A majestic sword with a multitude of jems, that Chandka hold along with him
The prince pulled out the sharp sword, like a dragon shone in the light.⁴³⁵

寶冠籠玄髮，合剃置空中。
上昇凝虛境，飄若鸞[6]鳥翔，

The gem-set tiara collecting [his] black hair, was also shaved away in the air,
Raising as vapor in the realm of emptiness, floating like a phoenix twirling.⁴³⁶

忉利諸天[7]下，執髮還天宮。
常欲奉事足，況今得頂髮？
盡心加供養，至[8]於正法盡。

The gods of the Trayastrimsa, grabbed the hair and returned to the celestial palace.
They had always desired to honor [his] feet, now they could obtain the hair from his head!
With all [their] heart they offered their worship until the final accomplishment of the rightful
dharma.⁴³⁷

432 *iti tasya vacaḥ śrutvā kanthakasturagottamaḥ /jivhayā lilihe pādaḥ bāṣpamuṣṇaṁ mumoca ca // Bc_6.53 //*

433 *jālinā svastikāṅkena cakramadhyena pāṇinā /āmamarśa kumārastaṁ babhāṣe ca vayasavyat // Bc_6.54 //*

434 *muñca kanthaka mā bāṣpaṁ darśiteyaṁ sadaśvatā /*

mṛṣyatām saphalaḥ śīghraṁ śramaste 'yaṁ bhaviṣyati // Bc_6.55 // Repetition of 今; difference in the attitude toward animals.

435 *mañitsaruṁ chandakahastasaṁsthaṁ tataḥ sa dhīro niśitaṁ grhītvā
kośād asim kañcanabhakticitraṁ bilād iv aśviṣamudbabarha // Bc_6.56*

436 *niṣkāśya taṁ coṭpalapattraṇīlaṁ ciccheda citraṁ mukuṭaṁ sakeśam /
vikīryamāñāṁśukamantarīkṣe cikṣepa cainaṁ sarasīva haṁsam // Bc_6.57 //* In Sanskrit there is a swan.

太子時自念，莊嚴具悉除，
[*]唯有素繒衣，猶非出家儀。

Then the prince thought to himself : all the ornaments have been removed,
[I] only have my raw silk dress – still I do not have the appearance of [a person] going forth.⁴³⁸

時淨居天子，知太子心念，
化為獵師像，持弓佩利箭，
身被[9]袈裟衣，徑至太子前。

Then the gods from the Pure Abodes understood the thought in the prince's mind
And transformed in the form of a hunter, grabbing a bow and carrying sharp arrows
He was wearing the Kasaya robe, and stopped straight in front of the prince.⁴³⁹

太子念此衣，染色清淨服，
仙人上[10]標飾，[11]獵者非所應。
即呼獵師前，軟語而告曰：
「汝於此衣服，貪愛似不[12]深，
以我身上服，與汝相貿易。」

The prince thought that his robe, of dyed and pure cloth,
Were good for a sage, unsuitable for a hunter -
He approached and called the hunter in front, then with soft words told him:
About that robe of yours, it's lovely but it seems that [you're] not attached [to it]
Would you use the one I am wearing, so [I] can exchange it with you?⁴⁴⁰

獵師白太子：「非不惜此衣，
用媒於群鹿，誘引而殺之。
苟是汝所須，今當與交易。」

The hunter told the prince, it is not that I do not cherish this dress,
Useful to mingle among deer herds, mingle and kill them.
However, it this is suitable for you, I'll trade it now.⁴⁴¹

獵者受妙衣，還復於天身

The hunter took the beautiful garment and returned among the divine beings.⁴⁴²

437 *pūjābhilāṣeṇa ca bāhumānyāddivaukasastaṃ jagṛhuḥ praviddham /*
yathāvadenaṃ divi devasaṅghā divyairviśeṣāirmahayāṃ ca cakruḥ // Bc_6.58 // The reference to the
accomplishment of *dharma* is not present in Sanskrit.

438 *muktvā tvalaṃkāṛakalatravattāṃ śrīvīpravāsaṃ śirasaśca kṛtvā /*
dṛṣṭvāṃśukaṃ kāñcanaḥsaṃsacinaṃ vanyaṃ sa dhīro 'bhicakāṅkṣa vāsaḥ // Bc_6.59 // the prince desires the robe

439 *tato mṛgavyādhanapurdivaukā bhāvaṃ viditvāsya viśuddhabhāvaḥ /*
kāśāyavastro 'bhiyayau samīpaṃ taṃ śākyarājaprabhavo 'bhyuvāca // Bc_6.60 //

440 *śivaṃ ca kāśāyamṛṣidhvajaste na yujyate hiṃsramidaṃ dhanuśca /*
tatsaumya yadyasti na saktiratna mahyaṃ prayacchedamidaṃ grhāṇa // Bc_6.61 // 染 apparently has two
different meanings.

441 *vyādho 'bravītkāmada kāmamārādanena viśvāsya mṛgāgniḥanmi /*
arthastu śakropama yadyanena hanta pratīcchānaya śuklametat // Bc_6.62 //

442 *pareṇa harṣeṇa tataḥ sa vanyaṃ jagrāha vāso 'śukamutsasarja /*
vyādhasu divyaṃ vapureva bibhrattacchuklamādāya divaṃ jagāma // Bc_6.63 //

太子及車匿， 見生奇特想，
此必無事衣， 定非世人服。
內心大歡喜， 於衣倍增敬，

The prince and Chandaka saw the happening of [this] prodigy and thought
that must not be a common robe, surely it is not a wordly cloth.
In their hearth they were happy [and] their reverence for the dress increased.⁴⁴³

即與車匿別， 被著袈裟衣。
猶若青絳雲， 圍繞日月輪，
安[18]詳而諦步， 入於仙人窟。

Then [the prince] parted from Chandaka, wearing the kaśaya robe.
Like a light red cloud surrounding the disk of sun and moon,
With a serene and disposed gait he entered in the abode of the sages.⁴⁴⁴

車匿自[目]隨矚， [20]漸隱不復見，
[21]太子捨父王， 眷屬[22]及我身，
[23]愛著袈裟衣， 入於苦行林。
舉[24]首仰呼天， [25]迷悶而躋地，

Chandaka's eyes went after him, gradually disappearing and not more visible
“The prince abandoned the king-father, the family and me,
He wears a kaśaya robe and entered the ascetic grove”
Raising his hands [he] shouted to the sky, confused and depressed he fell on the ground.⁴⁴⁵

起抱白馬頸， 望絕隨路歸。
徘徊[26]屢反顧， 形往心反馳，

Raising up, he hugged the white horse neck, abandoned hope he followed the road back.
He wandered and often turned back to watch, apparently he went on, but his mind was running
back.⁴⁴⁶

443 *tataḥ kumāraśca sa cāśvagopastasmimstathā yāti visismiyāte /*
āraṇyake vāsasi caiva bhūyastasminnakārṣṭām bahumānamāśu // Bc_6.64 / There is no proper name for Chandaka
in Sanskrit – the helper is referred to as aśvagopas “horse caretaker”.

444 *chandaṃ tataḥ sāśrumukhaṃ viśṛjya kāśāyasambhṛddhṛtikīrtibhṛtsaḥ /*
yenāśramastena yayau mahātmā saṃdhyābhraṣaṃvīta ivoḍurājaḥ // Bc_6.65 // 青絳 is translated by Willemen as
“ochre”, and it might just in fact be a reference to the color of the dress worn by the Buddha-to-be. The
corresponding Sanskrit is saṃdhyābhra “twilight clouds”. Olivelle explains uḍurājaḥ “the king of stars” as the
moon; in Chinese we see both moon and sun mentioned. āśrumukhaṃ “tearful” - referred to Chandaka - was not
translated.

445 *tatastathā bhartari rājyāniḥsprhe tapovanaṃ yāti vivaṇavāsasi /*
bhujau samutkṣipya tataḥ sa vājibhṛd bhṛṣaṃ vicukrośa papāta ca kṣītau // Bc_6.66 // By adding ji woshen 及我身
“and myself”, the translator introduced a direct speech that is not present in the Sanskrit poem.

446 *vilokya bhūyaśca ruroda sasvaraṃ hayaṃ bhujābhyāmupaguhyā kanthakam /*
tato nirāśo vilapananmuhurmuhuryayau śarīreṇa puraṃ na cetasa // Bc_6.67 // The white horse Kanthaka is never
called by his proper name, always referred to as baima 白馬 “white horse”. In Sanskrit Chandaka “embraces
Kanthaka with his arms” bhujābhyāmupaguhyā kanthakam.

或沈思失魂， 或俯仰垂身，
或倒而復起， 悲泣隨路還。

He thought [about it] and felt dispirited, bent and lift the head, and let [his] body loose,
He fell and raised again, wept with grief, following on the road back.⁴⁴⁷

447 *kvacitpradadhyau vilalāpa ca kvacit kvacitpracaskhāla papāta ca kvacit /
ato vrajan bhaktivaśena duḥkhitaścacāra bāvīravaśaḥ pathi kriyāḥ // Bc_6.68 //*