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## Vernacularisms in Medieval Chinese

by

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*Vernacularisms in Medieval Chinese Texts*

Erick Zürcher, Seishi Karashima, and Huanming QIN

Selected papers from the International Workshop on Medieval Vernacular Sinitic  
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The workshop was attended by 25 participants from China, Italy, Holland, Japan, Russia, and the United States of America. Many of the papers presented at the workshop have already been published separately elsewhere.

Erik Zürcher:

**Vernacular Elements in Early Buddhist Texts:  
An attempt to define the optimal source materials**

This paper does not deal with one particular text but rather with a method to be applied in order to define, within the huge mass of early medieval Chinese Buddhist texts, those materials that are most suited to the purpose of this conference, i.e. those materials from which we may expect to reap the richest harvest of early vernacularisms.

The first step to be taken is to set a lower limit in time for the texts to be included in our corpus. I propose to put that lower limit around 410 AD, i.e. the approximate date of the death of the famous Kuchean master Kumārajīva at Chang'an (actually the exact date is still disputed; Kumārajīva either died in 409 or 413 AD). The main reason for doing so is that one of the main contributions of Kumārajīva and his school lies in the fact that they have set a standard for later translators; they have created a characteristic type of Buddhist written Chinese that was soon afterwards adopted by all other translators of the early medieval period, as a kind of written "church-language". In other words: they created a medium that, by becoming petrified, no longer absorbed new elements from the vernacular and that unavoidably became ever farther removed from the living language. Before Kumārajīva, translators experimented in a variety of styles, ranging from pure *wenyan* to semi-vernacular.

At first sight this definition of our materials in time appears to be an easy task: just take the *Taishō Canon* and see what you find. In actual fact, it is not at all so easy to do so, for the attributions which are found in the *Taishō Canon* are based upon those made in the large catalogues of Tang times that, especially for the earliest periods, are teeming with false ascriptions. As a result, the translations attributed to early masters have multiplied as time went on: in the earliest catalogue the Parthian An Shigao 安世高, who was active about the middle of the second century AD, is credited with 34 works, whereas in Tang times that number has swollen to 176, and many of these later and unreliable attributions are now found in the *Taishō Canon*. In addition, we also have to deal with the problem of anonymous translations, hundreds of which are mentioned in earlier and later bibliographies. In order to be quite sure and rigorous, I have limited the enquiry to texts mentioned in the earliest

bibliography that has been preserved in its entirety, i.e. Sengyou's 僧祐 *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 of 515 AD, with a few additions taken from the roughly contemporary *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, and starting from those data I have listed the texts that have been preserved in the *Canon*. This yields a total of 266 texts in about 850 *juan*. This of course is a staggering amount of written materials; in fact, it amounts to more than twice the size of *Shiji*, *Hanshu*, *Hou Hanshu*, and *Sanguo zhi* taken together.

Apart from this criterium based upon external bibliographical sources, we can also define our initial corpus on the basis of internal characteristics, i.e. features of style, translation and transcription. We can do so because we can observe certain shifts that can be dated rather accurately. Those shifts were made by almost all known translators - and they took place just around the lower limit of our time-span, i.e. about 400 AD, stretching into the first decades of the fifth century. Some old absolutely stereotyped forms were discarded, and were replaced by equally standardized new forms, and those new forms then became part of the petrified "church language" that I have mentioned before.

By far the most important shift concerns a standard phrase that occurs in practically all scriptures that pretend to contain sermons or statements made by the Buddha himself (hence the *sūtra* and *vinaya* texts), and this phrase is moreover most conspicuous, because it is the opening line of every scripture. I am referring to the well-known formula *Evaṃ mayā śrutam*, "Thus I have heard" - words traditionally attributed to the disciple Ānanda who after the Buddha's passing away is said to have recited all the scriptures by heart.

In Chinese archaic and ancient translations this formula invariably is rendered by *Wen ru shi* 聞如是, "I've heard like this". However, for reasons that are not quite clear (maybe just in order to keep closer to the word-order of the Indian original) it was changed to *Ru shi wo wen* 如是我聞, "Like this I've heard". The new formula for the first time appears in the late fourth century, and no doubt became popularized by Kumārajīva and his school in the first decade of the fifth century. It was immediately taken over by all other major translators; the shift was indeed so general that in the whole *Taishō Canon* I have only found twenty-four "post-Kumārajīva" texts that still open with the *Wen ru shi* formula. It is therefore an excellent internal criterium for defining the *terminus ante quem* for any Chinese scripture.

A second equally consistent and universal shift regards the transcription of the word *Nirvāṇa*, changing from archaic and ancient *nihuan* 泥洹 to the familiar *niepan* 涅槃, and also in this case the shift took place around 400 AD.

Basing our selection also on these internal criteria has the advantage that they are purely formal, and therefore independent from the judgement of early cataloguers. But those criteria are especially important in the case of early anonymous scriptures, many of which are short to very short, rather obscure, written in a popular or even vulgar style - and therefore very valuable for us. The catalogues do contain lists of such texts under the heading *shi yi* 失譯, "translator unknown". However, there is ample evidence that they simply did not know (or overlooked) many of such texts, and in all those cases the two formal criteria (*wen ru shi* versus *ru shi wo wen*, and *nihuan* versus *niepan*) become decisive.

We can therefore make a second exercise in order to define the gross list of texts from which we start, by collecting all texts containing those two formulas. This yields a total of nearly 300 texts, in about 900 *juan*. Again: this is a staggering, almost unwieldy mass of materials.

However, only a comparatively small part of it is really useful for the present purpose. In this paper I shall make an attempt to survey these materials, to weed out in successive stages those types of texts that are useless, hardly useful, or only moderately useful, and so to reduce the corpus to what is fully acceptable and, finally, optimal. Some types of texts, as we shall see, can be discarded at once; in other cases we have to do with certain obstructing factors: peculiarities that in various ways distort the vernacular element. I shall treat them one by one like a series of sieves and at every step I shall illustrate the argument by means of a text sample. At the final stage we shall have reached the point when we are able to define our optimal materials, the real nuggets extracted from the ore. At the end of this paper I shall present a few text fragments that in my opinion constitute the nearest we can get to the early medieval vernacular.

The first type of texts that has to be eliminated from our collection obviously consists of all those works written in a pure or almost pure literary Chinese. In this category we find quite a number of texts, most of which date from the third century. The most important representative of this type of translation is the third-century Sogdian master Kang Senghui 康僧會 who was active at the court of Wu in Nanking, apparently for a high-class

readership. Here we find all the characteristics and trappings of standard *wenyan*, such as the use of rare literary expressions, prosody, obsolete or even archaic particles and, occasionally, even Chinese-type parallelism. Of course, the phenomenon in itself is highly interesting in social terms, but that does not concern us here and now. The following text fragment is a typical example of this pure, sophisticated literary style; it consists of a few lines from a "birth-story", one of the many translated by Kang Senghui.

T 152 *Liu du ji jing* 六度集經 ; collection of *jātakas* translated by Kang Senghui 康僧會, mid-third cent.  
j. 6 (nr. 70), p. 37<sup>b</sup>.

The future Buddha and his brother (also a Bodhisattva) have sacrificed their lives in order to free a country from the power of an evil *nāga* (long 龍).

菩薩終生第四天上。一國全命。抱屍哀號。諸天稱善靡不救仁。兩  
曰。斯必雷神矣。孰仁若茲。門徒尋之。觀師  
普慈殺身濟衆。哀慟稱德。各又進行宣師  
道化。王逮臣民始知有佛。率土僉曰。佛  
之仁化乃至於茲乎。殯葬二屍。舉國哀慟。

var.: 神 = 天 (三) ; 號 = 舉 (三).

"The gods praised them, and without exception they admired their love. After the two Bodhisattvas had died they were reborn in the Fourth Heaven. As [the people of the] whole country had been saved from death [by their self-sacrifice], they embraced the corpses and wailed mournfully, saying: "These must have been divine beings! Who [else] would be so loving?" Their [= the two Bodhisattvas'] disciples [had gone out] to search for them, and when they saw how their masters in their universal compassion had killed themselves to rescue the people, they [likewise] mourned for them and praised their virtue. And again they all went on to proclaim how their masters [had realized] the transforming power of the Way. Only then the king as well as his ministers and subjects knew that there was [the way of] the Buddha, and within his whole territory all said: 'Does the transforming power of the Buddhas really go as far as that?' They buried the two corpses, and the whole country mourned for them."

*Wenyan* elements: negative *mi* 靡 ; direct speech introduced by *yue* 曰 ;

demonstratives *si* 斯 and *zi* 茲 ; perfective *yi* 矣 ; interrogative *shu* 孰 ; *dai* 逮 in the sense of *ji* 及 "as well as"; *率* "all, all-over"; *xian* 僉 "all"; *juguo* 舉 (國) "the whole country".

A second type of texts that should not be included consists of "wenyan-izing" versions, sometimes made on the basis of already existing less sophisticated translations; it is what in Chinese is called *run* 潤 or *run se* 潤色, "polishing". Some early translators are known especially to have indulged in that kind of literary reworking, most of all the mid-third century Zhi Qian 支謙 (of Indoscythian descent, but completely sinicized). The process of "polishing" most clearly appears in those cases in which both the earlier crude translation and Zhi Qian's "wenyanized" version have been preserved, because there we see the polisher at work and we can note in detail the changes made. The process is clearly illustrated by the following two samples: two versions of a fragment from the story of the Bodhisattva Sadapararudita in two translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*.

- (a) Semi-vernacular style, trsl. Lokakṣema, 2nd half second cent. AD; T 225 *道行經*;  
(b) Semi-wenyan style, trsl. Zhi Qian 支謙, mid-third cent. AD; T 226 *Da mingdu jing* 大明度經, j. 6, p. 505<sup>a</sup>.

S. meets the daughter of a rich house-holder who wants to join him in visiting the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata; she first wants to take leave of her parents.

var.: (Lokakṣema) 是 = 一(聖); 報 = 辭(元明);

汝 = 如汝(元明); 共 = 偕(聖); 女 = 汝(元明)

(Zhi Qian) 女具陳之 = 具陳之(明聖).

Lokakṣema

Zhi Qian

時長者女語薩陀波倫菩薩言。共歸至我父母所。索金銀珍寶琦物。并<sup>④</sup>報父母去。薩陀波倫菩薩即隨至父母舍。女歸\*以具爲父母說是事。父母即報女言。④汝所說甚快難得聞。我亦復欲與汝<sup>④</sup>共行。自惟年老不能自行。汝所欲得便自說。女言。我欲得金銀珍寶琦物。父母言。④女自恣取之。

長者女語普慈言。願見吾親索寶辭去。闍士觀彼女親。④女具陳之。親曰。甚善吾亦有志。傷年西垂體違心願矣。若欲所得便自說之。女言我欲得珍寶\*琦物。父母言。自恣取之。



(Lok.):

"At that time the householder's daughter said to the Bodhisattva Sadaparudita: : 'Go with me to my parents' place to ask them for gold, silver, jewels and costly things, and also in order to take leave of my parents". The Bodh. S. then followed her to her parents' home. When the girl had come home (read 已 for 以), she told the whole story to her parents. Her parents then answered her, saying: "What you tell us is a very happy [tiding]; it's hard to hear about [such a thing]. We too would have liked to go with you, but we think we are [too] old, [so] we cannot go ourselves. If there's something you want to have, just say so [for] yourself'. The girl said: 'I want to have gold, silver, jewels and costly things'. Her parents said: 'Take them, as much as you want!'"

Note the following changes:

我父母 → 吾親;  
索金... 琦物、并報 (v. 辭) 父母去 → 索寶辭去;  
具為父母說是事 → 具陳之;  
言 → 曰;  
我亦復欲與汝共行 → 吾亦有志;  
自惟年老 → 傷年西垂;  
一 → ...矣.

The third kind of written language that we definitely cannot use here is what I somewhat unceremoniously would call "translationese", i.e. texts in which the Chinese is utterly distorted by an attempt to remain as close as possible to the non-Chinese original and which in the most extreme (but by no means rare) cases are only intelligible - at least to modern scholars - if one has the Indian original at one's disposal. Our corpus contains many of such texts. They generally contain very few cases of vernacularism, apart from some very common expressions like *yunhe* 云何 for "how", or *heyi gu* 何以故 for "why". At the lexical level the texts are teeming with technical neologisms, mainly compounds such as *fadeng ju* 法等聚, "complex of *dharmas*", and many Chinese words are used in an atypical, technical sense such as *yin* 陰 for *skandha*. We find this kind of deformed Chinese not only in purely scholastic texts of the *Abidharma* type but also in a great number of *sūtras* devoted to a systematic exposition of the doctrine. As a phenomenon in itself the use of such extremely artificial meta-language is of course very interesting, but for the present purpose such texts obviously have to be excluded. Let us just have a look at a small sample: a small

fragment from section 2, *Xing pin* 行品 "On [mental] Formations", of T 1550 *Apitan xin lun* 阿毘曇心論 (p. 810<sup>b-c</sup>), the *Abhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra*, a scholastic compendium translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva, 391 AD.

Every (momentary) thought (*xin* 心, *citta*) is a compound. Conscious thought as such does not produce a mental image; in order to do so it needs a number of "concomitant factors" (*ju* 俱) such as an object (*yuan* 緣), time (*shi* 時), perception (*xiang* 想), attachment (*yu* 欲), contact (*gengle* 更樂) and discernment (*hui* 慧), memory (*nian* 念), reflexion (思), non-obstruction (*jietuo* 解脫), attention (*zuo yi* 作意), concentration (*sanmotti* 三摩提, *samādhi*) and sensation (*tong* 痛).

The argument is first presented, in an extremely terse and concentrated form, in four five-syllable mnemonic verse, after which it is explained in prose.

今當說  
若心有所起 是心必有俱  
心數法等聚 及不相應行  
心者意。意者識。實同而異名。此心若依若緣  
若時起。彼心共俱。心數法等聚生。問何者心  
數法等聚。答  
想欲更樂慧 念思及解脫  
作意於境界 三摩提與痛  
想者事立時隨其像貌受。欲者受緣時欲受。  
更樂者。心依緣和合不相離。

"We shall now explain how thought arises from association.

When thought is activated by something  
that thought needs to have [mental] concomitants;  
the complex of [indispensable] *dharma*s of discursive thought

as well as the not [necessarily] proportional formations.  
'Thought' [here] means 'mentation', 'mentation' means 'being conscious [of something]'; these really refer to the same thing under different names. If this thought relies upon [something external], if it takes an object, if it arises at one moment, then that [whole] complex of [concomitant] mental factors associated with thought will arise.

Question: "What is that complex of mental factors?"

Answer:

Perception, attachment, contact, discernment,  
memory, reflexion, as well as non-obstruction,  
attention as regards the sense-domain,  
concentration and sensation.

'Perception' means that a thing immediately is received according to its physical shape.

'Attachment' means that at the moment of [sensory] reception there is the willingness to receive it.

'Contact' means that the thought relies upon the object, is joined to it, and does not become dissociated from it -----".

Fourth: also generally to be excluded are expositions of the doctrine using a standardized, formulaic, and often extremely repetitive style, and this again will lead to a considerable reduction of our corpus. Many scriptures contain such enumerative passages and some scriptures virtually consist of such formulas from beginning to end. The school example is, of course, furnished by the various scriptures of the *Prajñāpāramitā*-, or "Perfection of Wisdom"-class with their almost interminable litany of negation. By way of illustration we may have a look at the following passage from T 221 *Fang guang banruo jing* 放光般若經 (*Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*), translated by Kumārajīva, early 5th century (fragment from section 44, j. 9, p. 67<sup>b</sup>). The text contains an enumeration of the qualities of an advanced Bodhisattva.

便知有六波羅  
蜜。知有內外空及有無空。便知有薩云若。以  
是故名爲珍寶度。名爲般若波羅蜜。於珍寶  
度中。亦無生者亦無滅者。亦無著者亦無斷  
者。亦無取者亦無棄者。所以者何。亦無有法  
有生滅者。有著斷者有取放者。須菩提。般若  
波羅蜜無有善法亦無惡法。亦無道法亦無  
俗法。亦無漏不漏亦無有爲法亦無無爲法。

"He then will know the Six Perfections; he knows that there is the Emptiness of internal and external [phenomena] and the Emptiness of Being and Non-being. Then he will know [the true meaning of] Omniscience. That is why it is called Precious Transcendence; why it is called Perfection of Wisdom. In Precious Transcendence there is nothing that arises and nothing that is extinguished; there is none who is attached and none who is detached; none who grasps and none who abandons. Why is that? There is no phenomenon at all that arises or is extinguished; that is [the object of] attachment or detachment; that is grasped or abandoned. Subhuti, in the Perfection of Wisdom there are neither good nor bad phenomena; neither religious nor profane phenomena; neither soiled nor unsoiled; neither active nor non-active phenomena ---- "

However, at this point we must become somewhat less rigorous. More than ninety percent of the "Perfection of Wisdom" indeed consists of endless enumerations of phenomena that are declared to be void and unreal and such formulas contain little of the stuff we are after. But quite unexpectedly the monotonous enumeration may be interrupted by short illustrative, narrative passages that are written in a lively style and that may contain a wealth of vernacular intrusions, and the last two sections of the early *Prajñāpāramitā* versions are completely atypical and completely narrative. In other words, at this point the selection must no more be focussed upon discarding whole texts or even classes of texts: from now on we must talk in terms of passages or even small fragments of semi-vernacular that are found in

texts. We can conclude already in this stage that our final corpus of optimal materials will not consist of texts but of such passages and fragments.

The next distorting factor consists of the effect of versification. As we all know, innumerable early Buddhist texts already from Later Han times onward contain passages written in unrhymed *gāthās*, the length of which may vary from three to seven syllables. To gifted poets this would not present any obstacle because they would be able to preserve the verse form without distorting the language, but the monks who wrote these things were no poets but versifiers turning out their rather monotonous products by the yard. In their attempt to construct stanzas of the required length they appear often to have distorted the language either by inserting redundant words or syllables or by unnaturally condensing binomes to a single syllable. This tendency is reinforced by another stylistic feature: the interesting fact that the versifiers rather consistently try to place a *caesura* in each line, as in indigenous Chinese poetry, especially in 5- and 7- syllable lines (respectively, after the second and the fourth syllable). The use of the *caesura* is by no means as rigid as in secular poetry, and of course in many cases the regular pattern is disturbed by polysyllabic transcriptions. But the tendency is unmistakable, and this again could easily lead to distortion. Here again we should not discard versified passages as a whole, and it would be unwise to ascribe any unexpected form to this kind of distortion. But in any case such forms cannot be accepted at face value unless they are corroborated by other cases that are found in a prose context. For an example of what may be lengthened forms let us look at the following verse (only three of which have an irregular *caesura*, from T 6 *Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (*Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra*), translated by Faxian 法顯; early fifth century (j. 2, p. 205<sup>b</sup>).

*Gāthās* pronounced by various gods immediately after the Buddha has entered into *Parinirvāna*.

如燈盡光滅	恬然絕思慮	心意會諸法	如來於今日	爾時阿菟樓駄。卽說偈言	無有大悲雲	三毒熾然火	兩足最勝尊	一切諸行性	爾時天帝釋卽說偈言	猶尙不得免	永斷諸煩惱	會亦皆棄捨	如來金色身	薰餘以香華	一切諸衆生	猶不免無常	如來天人尊	無有諸衆生	過去與未來
如來滅亦然	亦復無諸受	而棄於此身	諸根不搖動		誰能雨令滅	恒燒諸衆生	亦復歸於盡	實是生滅法		況餘結累者	成一各種智	應入般涅槃	相好以莊嚴	不知當毀滅	愛惜保其身	而況於餘人	金剛身堅固	不歸無常者	及以今現在

爾時大梵天王。卽說偈

Note the following forms that may be "expletive":

及以；諸衆生；而況於餘人；一切諸……  
猶尙；亦復；棄於此身。

The last disturbing factor which we have to take into account is found in a very great number of Buddhist scriptures: it is the general tendency to break up sentences into prosodic modules according to a consistent four-syllable pattern. The origin of this prosodic feature is not quite clear. Of course, we find it quite regularly in regular mainstream *wenyan* where it often is combined with syntactic and lexical parallelism. It may be that the Buddhist practice was inspired by such secular examples, although the social gap between the high-class literati and the circles in which these texts were produced makes such a direct borrowing not very probable. It may also be that the Buddhist four-syllable pattern had something to do

with the way in which such texts were recited or chanted. But whatever the origin, the fact remains that many Buddhist texts already since Han times show this feature very prominently, sometimes up to ninety percent of the text. Notorious examples of prosodic style are the many texts translated by the late 3rd-early 4th century Dharmarakṣa, and unfortunately almost all texts produced by Kumārajīva are highly prosodic. The problem created by four-syllable prosody is akin to the one created by versification. Here, too, we must take into account the possibility that the language is distorted (either inflated or condensed) by the effort to force it into the Procrustes-bed of the four-syllable pattern. Here again, the effect can be shown most clearly when we have two parallel versions of the same text, the first one being written in a free non-prosodic style and the second one constituting a prosodic reworking. For such an example we again turn to two parallel fragments from the *Sadāprarudita* episode as found in the translations by Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian (cf. above, no. 2), showing the contrast between Lokakṣema's free narrative style and Zhi Qian's use of prosody.

T 224, j. 9, p. 470<sup>c</sup>-471<sup>a</sup>; T 225, j. 6, p. 503<sup>c</sup>-504<sup>a</sup>.

In a dream the Bodhisattva *Sadāprarudita* (= "Ever-weeping") is exhorted by a god to seek the Doctrine; S. is desperate because he does not see any way to do so. His grief is compared to that of a convict whose property is confiscated and who is thrown into prison along with his parents.

Var.: (Lokakṣema) 不得 = 不能得 (三密聖) .

Lokakṣema

即行求索了不得。其意惆悵不樂。欲得見佛。欲得聞經索之了不能得。亦無有菩薩所行法則。用是故。甚大愁憂啼哭而行。譬如人有過於大王所。其財產悉沒入縣官。父母及身皆閉在牢獄。其人啼哭愁憂不可言。薩陀波倫菩薩愁憂啼哭如是。

Zhi Qian

求之。求之不睹其意惆悵。欲得佛聞大明法。時世無佛。國無闍士所行淨法。是故哀慟。如人有過在國王所。財物悉沒。父母及身閉在牢獄。

寤卽

Lok.:

"As soon as he had woken up he went in search [of the Doctrine], but he could not get it at all. In his mind he became grieved and unhappy: he wanted to be able to meet a Buddha and to listen to the scriptures, but he was not at all able to do so. Also there were not the religious rules practised by the Bodhisattva. For that reason he became deeply grieved, and he wailed as he went along. He was to be compared to a man who has committed an offense at the great king's court: all his property is confiscated by the authorities, and his parents and he himself all locked up in prison; that man will wail, and his grief will be beyond words - in such a way the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita was grieved and wailing."

We are now approaching the final stage in our quest for the optimal materials. As a result of the successive six steps in eliminating useless and less useful materials, what is left is a core body of texts and passages that are written in a free narrative style, not hampered by the distorting factors that have been mentioned so far. In order to avoid any misunderstanding on this point: I do not flatter myself with the hope that those materials truly represent the early medieval vernacular. The very fact that the narrative has been written



down - in Chinese script - must always have led to some degree of formalization. In China, as in other civilizations, the conscious attempt to reproduce living speech in writing is a rather late phenomenon. At best our texts more or less dimly reflect the vernacular, but considering the other written sources of that period we can say that they do so much more faithfully than any other materials.

There is, however, one more step to take, a last stage of refinement that will bring us as close to the vernacular as we can get. When going through texts of this type I have got the strong impression that even in this free narrative style vernacularisms tend to be more frequent in passages containing direct speech: monologue and dialogue. It is hard to make out to what extent this is due to any conscious effort on the part of the writers. In any case: although the core body as a whole can fruitfully be used for linguistic analysis, special attention should be given to passages representing the *oratio directa*. For that reason the remaining samples given below have been limited to such passages: I have reproduced, and in most cases also translated, the words spoken by the personages, and I have summarized the connecting narrative, just in order to preserve the original context.

- a. T 78 *Doutiao jing* 兜調經, a probably early fourth century anonymous translation of a short scripture from the *Madhyamāgama* (T 26 *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經; Pāli version in *Majjhima-nikāya* 135, entitled *Cūla-kammavibhaṅga-sutta*).

Because of his aggressive behaviour the brahmin *Doutiao* (= Pali "Todeyya") has been reborn as a dog in his own household. His son, named *Gu* 谷 (= Pali "Cūla") is very fond of the dog; he pampers it excessively. One day, when *Gu* has gone to the market, the Buddha comes at his door and is fiercely barked at by the dog.

Var.:

B.: "[In the past] you always used to raise your hands and to scare people by your talk; now again when you are a dog you [still] bark at me, without knowing any remorse!"

The Buddha leaves, and the dog grows sad and listless.

Gu returns and asks his relatives:

Q.: "Why is the dog like that?"

R.: "There happened to be a monk who came along. I don't know what he has said, but as a result the dog went under the bed and lay down on the floor, and when I [tried to] feed it it wouldn't eat".

Q.: "What way did that monk go?"

R.: "To the east."

Gu is furious and goes to the Buddha who is sitting under a tree, talking with his disciples. He sees Gu from afar and says to his disciples:

B.: "Gu is coming! If he does not make it and he dies on the way, then he will go down to hell."

D.: "Why will he go down to hell?"

B.: "That man is coming with a bad intention, because he wants to harm other people. That's why he is bound to go down to hell."

Gu arrives, and standing in front of the Buddha he asks him brusquely:

Q.: "Which monk happened to pass along my door and scold my dog, so that it does not eat anymore, and no more lies down at its [proper] place?"

The Buddha tells Gu how he has been barked at, and what he has told the dog.

\*  
嚇不知慚愧。  
佛卽言。汝平常時舉手言咆。今反作狗。

問家言。狗何爲  
如是家言。屬者有一沙門來過。不審何言。狗  
因走入牀下臥地。\*食之不食。谷者。沙門向  
何道去。家言東去。

佛告諸比丘。谷  
來不至道死者。便墮地獄中。諸比丘問佛。何  
爲墮地獄中。佛言。是人持惡意來欲害人故。  
當墮地獄中。谷至佛前因問。屬者何沙門過  
我門罵我狗。令不食不臥其處。

耶。佛言。不須問。聞者令汝不樂。谷言。聽爲  
我說之。佛言。說者令汝瞋怒。谷言。不敢瞋。  
願欲聞之。佛言。是汝父兜調也。谷言。我父  
兜調在世時明經道經不作狗。

谷問佛。是狗於我何等

知自貢高故作狗耳。汝欲知審是汝父不。還  
歸於家語狗言。汝審是我父兜調者。當於故  
器中食。汝審是我父者。當還於故處臥。汝審  
是我父者。先時所有珍寶藏物當示我處。

佛言。但坐所

G.: "What then is that dog to me?"

B.: "You must not ask me that. If you hear [the story] it will make you unhappy."

G.: "Please tell it to me!"

B.: "If I tell you, it will make you angry."

G.: "I won't dare to be angry. I want to hear it!"

B.: "It's your father Doutiao."

G.: "When my father Doutiao was alive he was well-versed in the Scriptures, so he never (reading 終 instead of 經) [can] be a dog!"

B.: "Just sit down. What you [should] know is that only because of his conceit he has become a dog. If you want to know whether he [really] is your father or not, go home and say to the dog: 'If you really are my father Doutiao, you must [again] eat from your own bowl. If you really are my father, you must go back to your old place to lie down. If you really are my father, then you must show me the place where you in your former [life] have [buried] your store of precious things'."

Gu goes home and does as he was told; the dog points with its nose to a spot near the bed and scratches the floor with his paws; at that spot Gu discovers his father's hidden treasure; Gu is overjoyed and returns to the Buddha, and he becomes a devout lay believer.

Note the following features:

- yan 言 introducing direct speech; yue 曰 and yun 云 point to "wenyanizing".
- ru 汝 "you"; er 爾 and ruo 若 only in a wenyan context.
- pingchang 平常. "normal, common".
- zuo 作 as semi-copula "to be" (zuowei 作為 is also attested).
- zhu 屬 "just; by accident".

- *laiguo* 來過: a common type of directional compound.
  - *hedeng* 何等 "what [kind of]"; extremely common.
  - ... *zhe* ...者: "in case that ...", "if ..." (common, also without introductory *ruo* 若 or *ru* 如).
  - *ting* 聽 "please allow me ..."; *ting wei wo shuo zhi* 聽為我說之 appears to be a conflation of "allow me to hear it" and "please tell me".
  - *yuan yu* 願欲 and *huan gui* 還歸 (or *guihuan*): common compounds.
  - *dan zuo* 但坐 "it is only because ...".
- b. T 1435 *Shi song lü* 十誦律 (*Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, also called *Yiqueyoubu lü* 一切有部律, the "Disciplinary Rules of the Sarvāstivāda School"), translated by Kumārajīva, early 5th century.

*j.* 16, p. 115<sup>b</sup>-116<sup>a</sup>: a "case story" about the circumstances that prompted the Buddha to pronounce the rule that monks are not allowed to travel in female company.

Near Vaiśālī, in a weavers' village, a woman has been beaten up by her husband, and she decides to run away from him, back to her parents' home in Vaiśālī. At that moment she meets a monk who is travelling from Vṛjji to Vaiśālī. The woman asks him where he is going.

Var.: 俱 = 共 (三空); 他 = 他耶 (三空); 我自 = 自 (空); 婢 = 婦 (聖)

是婦生在維耶離。必當還歸。  
我婦或當走去。  
婦言。俱去。  
問言。善人那去。答言。向維耶離。

W.: "Good man, where are you going?"

M.: "To Vaiśālī."

W.: "Let us go together."

So they do, but when walking close to the woman the monk cannot control his passion; he starts flirting and touching her.

In the meantime the weaver realizes that his wife is missing.

Wv.: "My wife may well have run away".

Finally he thinks:

Wv.: "That woman has been born in Vaiśālī, she surely must have gone home,"

and he indeed finds her walking with the monk; he grabs the monk and scolds him:

小婢。汝必共作不淨事。  
 比丘不將我來。我自向維耶離。夫語婦言。  
 何以打他此  
 去耶。答言。我不將去。我自向維耶離。汝婦  
 自隨我來。夫言。云何肯直首。  
 汝比丘法。應將我婦

Wv.: "Is that the doctrine of you monks, that you should carry away my wife?"

M.: "I don't take her away - I myself am going to Vaiśālī, and your wife has come with me by herself."

Wv.: "You'd better confess right away!"

As he starts beating and kicking the monk, the woman intercedes:

W.: "Why do you beat him? This monk has not carried me away; I myself was going to Vaiśālī."

Wv.: "You little slave! For sure you've been doing dirty things together!"

He again gives the monk a thorough beating and then lets him go. The monk goes to Vaiśālī and tells his story, after which the Buddha proclaims the rule that a monk is not allowed to travel together with a woman.

Note:

- adverb *na* 那 "where?" (to my knowledge not attested as "which?").
- directional compound *zouqu* 走去 .
- *huo dang* 或當 ... "perhaps must" - a curious combination.
- *bidang* 必當 "surely must".
- *jiang ... qu* 將...去 : split-up directional compound; cf. *jiangqu* 將去 in the monk's answer.
- *sui ... lai* 隨...來 : another split-up directional compound.
- *yunhe ken zhishou* 云何肯直首 (also in the next story) is somewhat enigmatic; the translation is conjectural.
- *ta* 他 : a very early occurrence of personal pronoun "him" (unless we would take it to mean "other [people]", but that is less probable in this context).

- c. *Ibid.*, j. 16, p. 116<sup>a-b</sup>: a case story illustrating the rule that monks are not allowed to travel in the company of robbers.

When travelling to Vaiśālī a group of monks have lost their way in the forest. They run into a band of robbers who infest the region. The robber chief interrogates the monks, and after duly warning them allows them to accompany them.

Var.: 我等是賊 = 我是賊 (三, 宮); 濟渡 = 濟度 (三, 宮), 滲渡 (聖);  
以失 = 已失 (三, 宮); 邏人問 = 語 (宮); 汝肯 = 肯 (聖); 治 = 所 (三, 宮);  
不作 = 不能作 (三, 宮); 必是失道 —— (三, 宮); 汝去 = 汝 (聖).

離。賊言。此非維耶離道。諸比丘言。我等亦  
知非向維耶離道。我等失道故。諸比丘問賊。  
汝等那<sup>①</sup>去。答言。向維耶離。諸比丘言。我  
曹與汝等共去。諸賊言。不知我<sup>②</sup>等是賊耶。  
我等或隨道行。或不隨道行。或從<sup>③</sup>濟渡恒  
河。或不從濟渡。或由門入。或不由門入。若  
共我等去者。或得衰惱事。

比丘那去。答言。向維耶

R.: "Where are you going, monks?"

M.: "To Vaiśālī."

R.: "This is not the way to Vaiśālī!"

M.: "We too know that this is not the way to Vaiśālī.  
It's because we have lost our way."

The monks then ask the robber:

M.: "Where are you going?"

R.: "To Vaiśālī."

M.: "Let us go together with you."

R.: "Don't you know that we are robbers? Sometimes  
we use a ford to cross the Ganges, sometimes we don't;  
sometimes we enter by a door, sometimes we don't. If  
you go together with us, you may get into trouble!"

行。 語比丘言。今放汝去。後莫復與惡人共道。  
 沙門釋子不作惡事。必是失道。  
 問。汝肯直首耶。當將詣官治。衆官問言。汝  
 等亦是賊耶。答言。我等非賊。以失道故。  
 非賊。以失道故。 邏人  
 以失道有事無事爲當共去。答言。隨意。  
 諸比丘言。我等

M.: "We have already lost our way - trouble or no trouble, we shall have to go with you."

R.: "Do as you like."

As they are crossing the Ganges they are arrested by a patrol; the patrolling soldiers ask the monks:

P.: "Are you also robbers?"

M.: "We are not robbers. It's [just] because we have lost our way."

The patrolling soldiers say:

P.: "You'd better confess straight away! We [now] must take you to the magistrate."

After interrogation the magistrate, who is a believer, says:

Mg.: "Monks, the sons of Śākya, cannot do evil things; they surely have lost their way."

And he berates them:

"I now set you free. [But] hereafter you [must] no more travel with [such] bad people!"

(Stereotyped ending: the case is reported to the Buddha, who proclaims the rule).

Note:

- na 那, as in the preceding sample.
- plural forms wodeng 我等, rudeng 汝等, wocao 我曹.
- ruo ... zhe 若...者 "if".
- wei dang gong qu 爲當共去 : "it so happens that ..."?
- yi shi zei ye 亦是賊耶 : clear case of shi as a copula.
- fang ... qu 放...去 : split-up directional compound.
- mo 莫 "don't" (wu 勿 only in a wenyan context).

d. *Ibid.* j. 46, p. 330<sup>b-c</sup>: a case story illustrating the rule that it is forbidden to ordain a woman without her husband's consent.

A householder's wife runs away from her husband who beats and kicks her; she takes refuge to the convent of a nun whom she knows well, because she used to frequent her home. The husband suspects that she is hiding in the convent.

Var.: 好 — (三寔).

H.: "Could it be that my wife has run away?"

After having made a search, he thinks:

"For sure my wife has gone to [that] nun's convent!"

and again:

"Let her just stay there; [they will] tame her, and later on I shall take her back."

After a few days the woman says to the nun:

W.: "Good sister, why don't you ordain me?"

N.: "Your husband is still there, how [can I] ordain you?"

W.: "My husband has no use for me; if he needs me, he must come himself, [or else] he must send somebody."

The nun then ordains her. The husband is furious:

H.: "You bad nun! You wicked nun! You have ruined my family!"

N.: "Why [do you say that] I have ruined your family?"

H.: "You have taken my wife away and made her a nun!"

N.: "If this is your wife, then you may take her away."

The other householders are indignant"

HH.: "All those nuns say of themselves that they are good and have [gained] merit, [and yet] without the master's consent they ordain his wife! How about (?) the king's spouse, and the wives of the great ministers?"

我婦將無走去耶

我婦必往至比丘尼精舍

置使在彼令好調伏。後當將還

善女何不度我。答言

汝婿尚在。云何度汝。婦言。夫不用我。若須我者。應當自來。亦當遣使。

語婦師言。汝惡比丘

尼賊比丘尼。汝破我家。何故破汝家

去。我婦作比丘尼。比丘尼言。此是汝婦。汝便將

答言。奪

德。主不聽便度他婦。如王夫人大臣婦。諸比丘尼自言善好有功



Note:

- *jiang wu ... ye* 將無...耶 : rhetorical question.
- *wangzhi* 往至 : directional compound.
- *ruo ... zhe* 若...者 "if."
- *yingdang* 應當 "must".
- *hegu po ru jia* 何故破汝家 : direct speech without introductory *yan* 言 .
- *ci shi ru fu* 此是汝婦 : *shi* copula.
- *jiangqu* 將去 : directional compound.
- *du tuo fu* 度他婦 : here again *tuo fu* also could be interpreted as "another [man's] wife". If *zhu* 主 here specifically refers to the husband of this story, *tuo* must be taken in the sense of "his".

- e. T 551 *Modeng nü jing* 摩登女經, an anonymous (3rd cent.?) translation of the *Mātāngī-sūtra*, in later catalogues attributed to An Shigao 安世高 (mid-2nd cent.).

Ananda meets a girl, the daughter of the witch Mātāngī; she immediately falls in love with him. She goes home and weeps bitterly; Mātāngī asks why she is crying.

Var.: 問何字名 = 隨問名名曰(元明)

通。者便自殺。阿難言。我師佛。不得與女人共交  
 言。我持戒不畜妻。復言。我女不得卿爲夫  
 也。母語阿難。我女欲爲卿作妻。阿難  
 也。字名阿難。我得阿難乃嫁。母不得者我不嫁  
 人。我於水邊見一沙門從我匄水。我問何  
 女言。母欲嫁我者莫與他

D.: "Mother, if you wish to give me in marriage, don't give me to [any] other man. At the riverside I have met a monk who begged for water from me. I asked him how he was called; his name was Ānanda. If I get Ānanda then I shall marry, but if you, mother, do not get him [for me] I shall not marry."

Mātāngī soon finds out that Ānanda, being a monk, will not marry anyone. Since she is a witch, she plans to invite Ānanda for a meal and to bewitch him. She tells Ānanda:

M.: "My daughter wants to be your wife, Sir."

Δ.: "Since I am observing the Rules, I don't keep a wife."

M.: "If my daughter does not get you, Sir, as her husband, she will kill herself!"

Δ.: "I have the Buddha as my teacher, [so] I cannot have intercourse with women."

Mātāngī goes home and tells her daughter:

母入語女。阿難不肯爲汝作夫。言其有經  
道者不得畜婦。女對母啼言。母道所在。母  
言。天下道。無有能過佛道及阿羅漢道。摩鄢  
女復言。但爲我閉門戶。無令得出。暮自當爲  
我作夫。

汝不爲我女作夫。我擲汝火中。  
我昨日行囚食。於水邊見一女人。我從囚水。  
我還到佛所。明日有一女人名摩鄢。請我欲  
得歸飯我。出便牽我。欲持女與我作妻。

M.: "Ānanda is not willing to be your husband. He says since he [has =] follows the Way of the Scriptures he cannot keep a woman."

D.: "It [now all] depends on your Way, mother!" (= referring to her witchcraft).

M.: "Of [all] the ways in the world there is none that can surpass the Way of the Buddha and the Way of the Arhat."

D.: "You just [magically] close the gate-doors, and don't let him be able to get out. In the evening he is bound to be my husband."

After Ānanda has arrived, Mātāṅgī closes the doors and casts a spell over Ānanda. She spreads the bed, but Ānanda still is unwilling. She then creates a big fire and says:

M.: "If you don't want to be my daughter's husband, I'll throw you into the fire!"

At that moment the Buddha breaks the spell, and Ānanda can escape. The next day he tells the Buddha about his adventure.

A.: "Yesterday, when I was begging for food, I met a girl on the shore, and I begged her for water; [then] I returned to the Buddha's place. The next day there was a woman, named Mātāṅgī, who invited me and wanted me to go to her home for a meal. [But] when I had gone out [and paid her a visit] she forced me, and she wanted to give her daughter to me as my wife."

The daughter is desperate; she cannot get Ānanda off her mind, and the next day she pursues Ānanda, trailing behind him on his begging round. When Ānanda has returned to the monastery, she keeps waiting at the gate. Finally she leaves in tears, but then the Buddha calls her back and asks her:

B.: "You are pursuing Ānanda; what do you seek [from him]?"

D.: "I heard that Ānanda has no wife, and I on my part have no husband. I want to be Ānanda's wife!"

B.: "Ānanda is a monk, without hair. You have [your] hair. Would you be able to shave<sup>off</sup> your hair? [If you are,] I shall make Ānanda be your husband!"

D.: "I am able to shave<sup>off</sup> my hair!"

B.: "Go home and tell your mother, and [let her] shave<sup>off</sup> your hair!"

The daughter goes home and reports the Buddha's words to her mother, who is appalled by the proposal.

M.: "Child, since I have given birth to you I have protected your hair. Why do you want to be [that] monk's wife? In the land there are powerful and rich families, and I myself can give you in marriage to [one of] them."

D.: "In life and death I must be Ānanda's wife!"

M.: "Why do you bring shame upon our caste?"

D.: "Mother, if you love me, you must act in accordance with my heart's delight."

佛問汝追逐阿難。何等索。女言。我聞阿難無婦。我又無夫。我欲爲阿難作婦也。佛告女言。阿難沙門無髮。汝有髮。汝寧能剃汝頭髮不。我使阿難爲汝作夫。女言。我能剃頭髮。佛言。歸報汝母。剃頭髮來。

母言。子我生汝。護汝頭髮。汝何爲欲爲沙門作婦。國中有大豪富家。我自能嫁汝與之。女言。我生死當爲阿難作婦。母言。汝何爲辱我種。女言。母愛我者。當隨我心所喜。

難聲。愛阿難行步。  
難眼。愛阿難鼻。愛阿難口。愛阿難耳。愛阿  
頭髮。佛言。汝愛阿難。何等。女言。我已剃  
髮。佛言。汝愛阿難。何等。女言。我已剃

Mātāngī is weeping, but she still does as she is told and performs the tonsure, after which her daughter returns to the Buddha.

D.: "I have shaved off my hair!"

B.: "[Now] what do you love in Ānanda?"

D.: "I love Ānanda's eyes; I love Ānanda's nose; I love Ānanda's mouth; I love Ānanda's ears; I love Ānanda's voice; I love Ānanda's way of walking!"

The Buddha then explains how the body is impure and disgusting, impermanent, and a source of suffering. Mātāngī's daughter is convinced and she enters the Order.

Note:

- ... *zhe* 者 : "if ...".
- *mo* 莫 prohibitive: "don't".
- ... *wo bu jia ye* 我不嫁也 : *ye* appears to be a *wenyan* intrusion.
- *bian* 便 ubiquitous for "then"; (*ze* 則 ) is no doubt *wenyan*.
- *yu ... gong* 與...共 "together with".
- *mu dao suo zai* 母道所在: in this context ... *suo zai* in its literal sense; elsewhere it occurs as a curious idiom meaning "where?"
- *wu* 無 as a prohibitive (= *mo* 莫): a *wenyan* intrusion?
- *huandao* 還到 : directional compound.
- *chi nü yu wo* 持女與我: *chi* 持 or *chiyong* 持用 as a subordinated preverb "taking ...", like *jiang* 將 in *wenyan* or *ba* 把 in modern *putonghua* (very common).
- *hedeng suo* 何等索: verb - interrogative object in version.
- *ning* 寧 in a weak sense: sign of a rhetoric question (*wenyan qi* 豈 ).
- *ti toufa lai* 剃頭髮來 : note the exhortative ... *lai*, "come on and ...".

- f. T 526 *Zhangzhe zi Zhi jing* 長者子制經, "The Scripture of the Householder's Son Zhi (= Jeta?)" ; an early (4th cent.?) anonymous translation, falsely attributed to An Shigao.

A sixteen years old boy, the son of a rich citizen of Rājagṛha, is deeply impressed by the Buddha; when one day the Buddha on his begging-round stands at the gate of his mansion, Zhi implores his mother to give him some food, but his mother refuses to do so.

Var.: 以來 = 已來 (三); 哀用 = 用哀 (三, 宅).

我見一人來。大端正絕妙。天下無有輩。我生  
以來未曾見人如是。今在門住欲乞食。  
當哀用我故。與是人。與是人者如病者得  
良醫。制復言。與是人者名字達於天上天下。  
是人今續在外住。

Z.: "I see a man coming, who is very beautiful and quite wonderful; he has no equal in the world. Since my birth I have never seen a man like him. He is now standing at the gate, begging [for food]."

The mother is niggardly and refuses to give him anything.

Z.: "Mother, have pity! For my sake, give something to that man! One who gives something to that man is like a patient who has found a good doctor."

"One who gives something to that man will be famous in heaven and under heaven. Now that man is still standing outside."

值。 與是人。恐是人棄我去。是人棄我去是人難	飯分來。我寧一日不食。哀我疾持來。我欲	母不肯勾與者。自持我今日	欲欺調汝耳。今汝小癡兒當何等知。汝所索	不止者。會得我捶杖乃止耳。	令我煩亂。 是人不用是乞勾故來。但	汝 饒我不止者。汝
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M.: "If you don't stop harassing me, you'll drive me crazy! That man does not come [here] for that, for begging, he just wants to cheat you. Now you are a foolish child; what do you know? If you don't stop asking, it may well happen that you'll get a [sound] beating with a stick - only then you'll stop!"

Z.: "Mother, if you don't want to give him something, then take my today's portion of rice [and give it to him]. I'd rather not eat for a whole day. Have pity and fetch it quickly!. I want to give it to that man, and I am afraid that that man will abandon me. If that man abandons me, [I realize that] it is hard to meet him [again]."

The boy finally fetches his portion of rice himself, as well as his finest clothes, and he goes to offer them to the Buddha, expressing his wish to enter the Bodhisattva career.

Note:

- *mu dang ai, yong wo gu ... 母當哀, 用我故* : this reading is to be preferred, although it only occurs in Korean recension (cf. the variant readings). *Yong ... gu* "because of" is very common.
- *buyong shi qigai gu lai 不用是乞勾故來* is somewhat enigmatic; it either is a contamination of *buyong shi gu lai* and *buyong qigai gu lai* (as in my translation), or *shi* defines *qigai*: "does not come because of that begging".
- *hedeng zhi 何等知* : metathesis of verb and interrogative object.
- ... *lai 來* adhortative postverb: "come on, and ...".
- *qi ... qu 棄 ... 去* : split-up directional compound.

LIST OF EARLY ( $\pm 150 - \pm 410$  A.D.) TEXTS IN "FREE STYLE"

C = 出三藏記集 ; D = 道安 ; G = 高僧傳 ; "w.r.s." = "聞如是".

Taishō vol.	No.	Title and attribution in Taishō Canon	juan	Earliest reference; criterion for selection
I	5	佛般泥洹經; 帛法祖	2	"聞如是" (= "w.r.s.")
	6	般泥洹經; anon. W. Jin (cf. 7: <u>Wenyan</u> version)	2	"w.r.s."
	16	尸迦羅越六方禮經; 安世高	1	"w.r.s."
	17	善生子經; 支法度	1	"w.r.s."
	21	梵網六十二見經; 支謙	1	"w.r.s."
	23	大樓炭經; 法立 and 法炬	4	D
	27	七智經; 支謙	1	"w.r.s."
	29	鹹水喻經; anon. W. Jin	1	D
	33	恒水經; 法炬	1	"w.r.s."
	42	(cf. 34 and 35: <u>Wenyan</u> versions) 鐵城泥犁經; Dharmaratna	1	"w.r.s."
	47	(cf. 43: <u>Wenyan</u> version) 離睡經; Dharmarakṣa	1	C ("anon.")
	48	是法非法經; 安世高	1	D
	49	求欲經; 法炬	1	C
	51	梵志計水淨經; anon. W. Jin	1	C
	53	苦陰經; anon. Han		"w.r.s."
	55	苦陰因事經; 法炬	1	"w.r.s."
	56	樂想經; Dharmarakṣa	1	"w.r.s."
	58	阿耨風經; Dharmarakṣa		"w.r.s."
	64	瞻婆比丘經; 法炬	1	"w.r.s."
	66	魔嬈亂經; anon. Han	1	C
	68	(cf. 67: <u>Wenyan</u> version) 賴吒和羅經; 支謙		D
	70	數經; 法炬	1	C ("anon.")
	71	梵志頌波羅延問種尊經; Dharmaratna	1	"w.r.s."
	72	三歸五戒慈心厭離功德經; anon. W. Jin	1	"w.r.s."

	76	梵志渝經; 支謙	1	D
	78	兜調經; anon. W. Jin	1	D
	86	泥犁經; Dharmaraksā	1	C ("anon.")
	91	婆羅門子念終愛念不離經; 安世高	1	"w.r.s."
	92	十支居士八城人經; 安世高	1	"w.r.s."
	94	箭喻經; anon. W. Jin	1	C
II	101	雜阿含經; anon., Three Kingdoms period.	1	C
	113	難提釋經; 法炬	1	C ("anon.")
	115	馬有八態譬人經; 支曜	1	"w.r.s."
	119	鶯摩譬經; 法炬	1	C (anon.)
	128	須摩提女經; 支謙	1	"w.r.s."
	129	三摩竭經; 竺律炎	1	"w.r.s."
	131	婆羅門避死經; 安世高	1	"w.r.s."
	144	大愛道般泥洹經; 帛法祖	1	"w.r.s."
	146	金衛國王夢見十事經; anon. W. Jin (cf. 147 = <u>Wenyan</u> version).	1	"w.r.s."
	148	國王不黎先泥十夢經; Dharmaratna	1	"w.r.s."
III	178	前世三轉經; 法炬	1	"w.r.s."
IV	195	十二遊經; Kālodaka	1	C (anon.)
	198	義足經; 支謙	2	D
	205	雜譬喻經; anon. Han	2	C
	206	舊雜譬喻經; 康僧會	2	G
VIII	224	道行般若經; Lokakṣema (cf. 225 = <u>Wenyan</u> version)	10	D
X	280	兜沙經; Lokakṣema	1	D



	282	諸菩薩求佛本業經, 聶道真	1	"w.r.s."
XI	310.19	(寶積經) 郁伽長者會, 康僧會	1	G
	313	阿閼佛國經, Lokaksema	2	D
XII				
	322	法鏡經, 安玄 and 嚴佛調	1	D
	337	阿闍鞞女阿術蓮菩薩經, Dharmarakṣa	1	D
	344	太子和休經, anon. W. Jin	1	D
	350	遺日摩尼寶經, Lokaksema	1	C ("anon.")
	356	寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經, <sup>安世高</sup>	1	"w.r.s."
	361	無量清淨平等覺經, Lokaksema	4	"w.r.s."
		(cf. 362: <u>Wenyan</u> version)		
	393	迦葉赴佛般泥洹經, Dharmaratna	1	C (anon.)
XIII				
	417/418	般舟三昧經, Lokaksema	1	D
	419	拔陂菩薩經, anon. Han	1	C
XIV				
	457	彌勒來時經, anon. W. Jin	1	C
	458	文殊師利問菩薩署經, Lokaksema	1	D
	483	三曼陀跋陀羅菩薩經, 聶道真	1	"w.r.s."
	504	比丘聽施經, Dharmaratna	1	"w.r.s."
	506	健陀國王經, 安世高	1	"w.r.s."
	526	長者子制經, 安世高	1	"w.r.s."
		(cf. 527: <u>Wenyan</u> version)	1	
	528	菩薩逝經, 帛法祖	1	"w.r.s."
	529	阿鳩留經, anon. Han	1	C
	537	越難經, 聶子遠	1	"w.r.s."
	538	呵離阿那鎗經, Dharmaratna	1	"w.r.s."
	557/552	摩訶女經, 安世高	1	C ("anon.")
	556	七女經, 支謙	1	D
	561	老母經, anon. E. Jin	1	"w.r.s."

XV	624	他真陀羅所問如來三昧經, Lokaksema	3	D
	626	阿闍世王經, Lokaksema	2	D
	629	放鉢經, anon., W. Jin	1	D
	657	寶如來三昧經, Gītamitra	2	C
XVI	692	作佛形像經, anon. Han (+ 693 = <u>Wenyan</u> version)	1	C
XVII	729	分別善惡所起經, 安世高	1	"n.r.s."
	730	處處經, 安世高	1	C ("anon.")
	740	頌多和多耆經, anon. W. Jin	1	D
	760	惟日雜南經, 支謙	1	"n.r.s."
	792	法受塵經, 安世高	1	"n.r.s."
	807	內藏百寶經, Lokaksema	1	D
XIX	1262	鬼子母經, anon. W. Jin	1	D
XXII	1428	四分律, Buddhayaśas & 竺佛念	60	C
XXIII	1435	十誦律, Puṅyatara & Kumārujīra	61	C

total corpus = 86 texts = 227 juan.

# On Vernacularisms and Transcriptions in Early Chinese Buddhist Scriptures \*

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It is a fact that the early Chinese Buddhist scriptures, which range from the Later Han to the Northern and Southern Dynasties, have received little attention despite their great significance for Chinese philology as well as Buddhist studies. However, it is also true that the philological approach to these materials requires a solid knowledge of many languages ranging from Middle Indic to the Chinese vernaculars, which makes scholars decline taking on such a task. In spite of such difficulties, it is more than desirable that one investigate them both from the Indian and Chinese philological standpoints, as long as these texts are translations from Indian (or Central Asian) languages. This essay is intended to be a small step in this direction.

## 1. Mediaeval Vernacular Sinitic in Chinese Buddhist Scriptures

### 1.1. A Method to Investigate Vernacularisms in Chinese Buddhist Scriptures

Anyone who reads an early Chinese Buddhist scripture will be struck by peculiarities of the language used in it. Its difference from Classical Chinese may be partly due to the fact that many of the translators, who came from India or Central Asia, had not mastered Chinese well enough to translate by themselves, and thus worked in collaboration with native Chinese or sinicized assistants (misunderstanding between them must have been inevitable). The difference may be also due to the wide usage of neologisms in Buddhist scriptures — most of them are Buddhist technical terms —, which were invented in order to express foreign ideas and notions; and to vernacular words and usages used in the texts which were aimed at the illiterate masses rather than the literati.

Such vernacularisms and neologisms in Buddhist texts have long been neglected in Chinese dictionaries and grammatical books. Fortunately, there are more and more sinologists who are taking an interest in this field. For example, Shinjō Mizutani(水谷真成), Erik Zürcher, Shigeo Morino(森野繁夫), Zhū Qingzhī(朱慶之) are some of those sinologists who have written important works on this topic. There also exists an excellent introduction to Buddhist Sinitic written by Shōkō Kanaoka(金岡照光).

However, most of studies that have appeared hitherto on this topic are devoted to piecing together instances of vernacularisms from various Buddhist scriptures or to comparing them with similar expressions in the native secular literature in order to define their meaning inductively, without making the best use of the special character of Buddhist scriptures, i. e., the fact that they are translations and in most cases there are corresponding texts in Sanskrit, Pāli or Tibetan languages as well as variations in Chinese. Similarly, the meanings and history behind neologisms invented by Japanese translators in the Meiji era, e. g., “哲學”(philosophy), “科學”(science), can be clarified only when one compares them with the original words and other Japanese equivalent terms used by other Japanese translators at that time. This is true in the case of vernacularisms and neologisms in Buddhist texts; they

may be clarified when one compares them with their equivalents found in Sanskrit, Pāli, or Tibetan versions and other Chinese translations.

## 1.2. Instances of Difficult Words in Chinese Buddhist Scriptures

Here two instances will be given in order to illustrate the method stated above.

The late Prof. Kōjiro Yoshikawa (吉川幸次郎) wrote an essay on the colloquial style of a Chinese translation of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* ("Bussetsu muryōjūkyō no bunshō" [仏説無量壽經の文章], in *Collected Works*, vol. 7). In it he cited the following passage from the sutra as an instance of vernacular expressions found in the sutra: "恣心蕩逸, 魯扈抵突" (Taishō vol. 12, 277a7. "[They] are self-indulgent, dissolute, insolent, offensive"), and he admitted that the meaning of "魯扈" (lūhù), which is a bisyllabic word having the same vowel formation (so-called "疊韻"), was obscure to him. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Karashima 1994a: 211, fn. 103), a bisyllabic word similar to it is found in other Buddhist texts: "闌怒比丘虜扈自用" (Taishō vol. 1, 26a18. "The bhikṣu Channa is insolent, self-willed"), "常欲滅虜扈自用" (Taishō vol. 8, 27a27. "[One] wants always to extinguish insolence [and] self-willedness"). "虜扈" (lūhù), which is a homophone of "魯扈" and occurs in very similar contexts to that of the latter, must have the same meaning. Fortunately, a Sanskrit parallel to the former example is to be found in *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* 29. 14.: Chandaś caṇḍo rabhasaḥ paruṣo roṣita ākrośako ("Chanda is violent, impetuous, harsh, furious, abusive"); and the latter has parallels in other Chinese translations: "破憍慢業" (Taishō vol. 7, 82c16. "[one] demolishes [one's] acts of overweening pride"), "破憍慢" (Taishō vol. 8, 256c19. "[one] demolishes [one's] overweening pride"). From these parallels and others (cf. Karashima loc. cit.) one may use deduction and therefore assume the meaning of the words "魯扈", "虜扈" as "insolent, self-willed, haughty, rude".

The second example is taken from Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什)'s translation of the Lotus-sutra (妙法蓮華經): "當以衣袂若以机案從舍出之" (Taishō vol. 9, 12b24. "[I] should, [carrying them] in the fold of my garment or on a table, take [them] out of the house."), "各以衣袂盛諸天華" (23a27 = 23c4, 24a12, 24b20. "Each [Brahmā god king] fills the fold of his garment with celestial flowers"). The word "衣袂", which is also mentioned in Zhū (朱慶之) 1992: 216-217, is rather troublesome, and it seems to have become obscure even to the later Chinese commentators, who took it for a neckband, the front of a robe, or a foreign vessel for flowers (cf. Karashima 1992: 297). While no parallels of the latter sentence are found in other versions, the former one has a parallel in the so-called 'Kashgar' manuscript of *Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra* (1): yaṃ nv ahaṃ sarvāṇimāni kumārakāny ekasmiṃ samāvartya[m] pīṭha-kena (2) vā utsaṃgena vā-m-ādāyāsmād grhā nirgaccheyaṃ (Toda 1981: p. 40, l. 14-15. "Suppose I, having gathered all the boys together and taken [them] on a stool or in the folds of [my] garment, go out of the house."). It is clear that "衣袂" of Kumārajīva's translation parallels *utsaṃga* of the Sanskrit version. The Sanskrit word in this context may not mean "lap" but "fold of garment, pouched garment serving as a bag, a sort of an apron used for carrying things" (cf. CPD, s. v. ucchaṅga; Gotō 1980). Presumably its Chinese equivalent has the same meaning.

The two instances stated above may be enough to illustrate the necessity to

compare Sanskrit, Pāli (and if necessary Tibetan) texts as well as other Chinese versions in order to make clear the meanings of obscure words in Chinese Buddhist texts.

### 1.3. Some Vernacular Words and Usages Found in

#### Dharmarakṣa's Translation of the Lotus-sutra

Many existing studies on Mediaeval Chinese found in Chinese Buddhist texts have a tendency to 'glean' the most interesting colloquial words and usages from a large amount of vernacularisms found in the texts. There can be, however, another type of study of this topic; namely, to make a detailed glossary, which may list and define mediaeval vernacular words and usages, semantic peculiarities, Buddhist technical terms, transcriptions etc., for each Buddhist scripture. On the basis of such a glossary, one could further compile a larger glossary which covers all translations done by a particular translator (or a team of translators).

I am preparing such a glossary of Dharmarakṣa (Zhú Fāhù 竺法護)'s translation of the Lotus-sutra (Zhèngfāhuájīng 正法華經 [abbr. Z], translated in 286 A. D. Taishō vol. 9, pp. 63-134), comparing it with other Chinese translations and Sanskrit versions (*Saddharmapūṇḍarīka-sūtra*, ed. H. Kern and B. Nanjio [abbr. K]; *Saddharma-pūṇḍarīka-sūtra. Central Asian Manuscripts*, ed. H. Toda). Even in this single text one finds plenty of words and usages which are hardly to be found in dictionaries and grammar texts. Here I will list some of these expressions.

#### i. Personal pronouns

In Z. “仁, 仁者, 仁等, 仁輩, 諸仁” are used with the meaning of “you” (sg. and pl.): e. g. (3) “今故語仁” (Taishō vol. 9, 118b3. “Now [I] tell you”. K. 348. 4. ārocayāmi te 'jita), “聞空中音聲而歌頌曰仁者...” (124a29. “[They] heard a voice in open space singing praises: “You! ...”. K. 389. 5. evaṃ cāntarīkṣād ghoṣam aśrauṣuḥ “eṣa mārsā ...”), “止族姓子! 仁等無乃建發是計” (110b22. “Cease! Sons of great clans! I suppose you need not put forward such an plan” K. 297. 6-7. aḥ kulaputrāḥ kim yuṣmākam anena kṛtyena.), “仁輩如是 信大法典” (78c11. “You[pl.] believe the great scripture on Dharma in this way”. K. 93. 10. - (4)), “諸仁當志 一切敏慧” (94b13. “You[pl.] should set your mind on all the penetrating wisdom”. K. 198. 7. sarvajña-jñānasya kṛtena yūyam).

On the other hand, when a speaker humbly announces himself, “鄙” (“I”) is used (5): e. g. “如是之誼 鄙何所失” (73c12. “[I ask] something like this meaning, ‘What have I lost?’” K. 62. 8. eva bhraṣṭo 'haṃ asmi; ‘Kashgar’ manuscript: idaṃ eva-m-arthaṃ kim bhraṣṭa evāsmi. Cf. Karashima 1992: 62), “如來為鄙說法” (80a14. “The Thus Come One preached the Dharma to us.” K. 100. 12-101. 1. vāyam ... bhagavato dharmam deśaya-mānasya.), “今鄙等懷疑” (68c26. “Now we harbour doubts.” K. 34. 13. adyēme saṃśaya-prāptā.), “鄙之徒等” (97a27. “the lot of us”. K. 210. 1. vāyam.), “鄙之徒類來造忍界” (110b19. “The lot of us have come to the world of Endurance.” K. 297. 4. vāyam ... tasyāṃ Sahāyāṃ lokadhātau.).

#### ii. 諸所 (“all, many”), 爾所 (“so many”)

In Z. one finds several instances of “諸所” which means not “every where” as expected but presumably “all, many”: e. g. (6) “或有放捨 諸所財業 而行布施” (64b14. “Or some throw away all [their] valuables and business and practise the spread of

gifts.” K. 10. 11. dadanti dānāni tathāiva kecid dhanam.), “床臥机榻 諸所珍異 ... 皆用惠賜”(64b16. “Beds, desks, couches and all precious things ... [They] kindly give all [of them].” K. 10. 13. śivikās tathā ratna-vibhūṣitāś ca dadanti dānāni.).

In Z. “爾所” is used with the meaning of “so many” just like the commoner compound word “爾許”: e. g. (7) “吾逮無上正真道, 成最正覺已來, 其劫之限過於爾所塵數之劫”(113b25-27. “The limit [of the number] of *kalpas* since I accomplished the unsurpassed, right, and true way and achieved supremely right enlightenment exceeds [the limit of] so many *kalpas* which are numerous as the dust particles.” K. 317. 8. na tāvanti paramānurajāmsi samvidyante, yāvanti mama .... anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhasya.).

Presumably “所” of both “諸所” and “爾所” have the same meaning as “許”(“about, or so, approximately”). Because these two words had the same final, they were used interchangeably at times.

### iii. 載(“in number”)

When “載” is placed after a numeral, it is usually a numerical designation for years, but in Z. it seems to mean “in number”: e. g. (8) “誦斯經者 ... 引無央數 億載譬喻”(79c14-15. “One who recites this scripture .... drawing infinite numbers of millions of similes”. K. 98. 7-8. yo dharmu bhāṣe .... drṣtānta-koṭī-nayutair anekais.). “見無央數億載諸佛”(66b15. “[They] saw infinite numbers of millions of Buddhas”. K. 22. 1-2. bahūni buddha-koṭī-nayuta-śata-sahasrāni drṣtāni.), “說法救護無數億百千姪兆載聲聞衆”(92a23. “[The sixteen princes] preach the Dharma and save multitudes of voice-hearers innumerable hundreds of thousands of millions of milliards of billions in number.” K. 184. 5-6. bahūnāṃ śrāvaka-...-koṭī-nayuta-śata-sahasrāṇāṃ dharmam deśayanti.).

### iv. Passive

In Z. a passive sentence is sometimes expressed by “(爲) ... 所見”(9): e. g. (10) “其不篤信 諸佛音聲 ... 爲一切世 所見謗毀”(89b10-12. “Those who do not believe sincerely the sounds of the Buddhas ... will be maligned by all the worlds.” K. 162. 3-4), “諸佛世尊所見謗嗟”(63a15. “[The bodhisattvas] are praised by the Buddhas, the World-Honoured Ones.” K. 3. 1. bahu-buddha-śata-sahasra-saṃstutair.).

### v. Conditional, Concessive Clauses and Rhetorical Questions

In Z. “設使”(11) and “若令”(12) are used to make conditional clauses: e. g. (13) “設使人見此 如是像法師 當持此經卷 奉敬加供養”(117c14-15. “If one sees a Dharma-master such as this, [one] will hold this scriptural roll [and] make offerings reverently.” K. 343. 9-10. yadi kaścin naraḥ paśyed īdrśaṃ dharmabhāṇakam / dhārayantam idaṃ sūtram kuryād vai tasya satkriyām[ ‘Kashgar’ manuscript reads here “pūjanā” ] //); “若令有人(14) 還及彼土 須臾得聞 於斯經卷 ... 在在所由 無有大病”(118c24-26. “If one, having returned to that land, is able to hear this scriptural roll for a moment, ... one shall have no grave illness wherever one is.” K. 352. 5-6. sa[ ‘Kashgar’ manuscript reads here “yaś” ] cāpi protsāhitu tena sattvaḥ śruṇeya sūtrēma muhūrtakam pi / .... mukha-roga tasya na kadāci bhoti //).

The usage of the word “假當”(“in case, if”) in the following sentence is not to

be found in dictionaries: “吾之所有 財業廣大 假當壽終 無所委付” (81c5-6. “The wealth and business which I possess are vast. In case my life comes to an end, [I] have no one to whom to bequeath [them].” K. 112. 2. *ayaṃ ca koṣo vipulo mamāsti kāla-kriyā co mama pratyupasthitā.*).

In Z. one may find several instances of “正使”(“even if, though”), which is also not uncommon in both Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts of this period<sup>(115)</sup>: e.g. “正使生天及在人間, 與不可會, 恩愛別離”(75c22. “Even when [they] are born in the heavens or in the midst of men, [they] meet with what [they] hate, separate from what [they] love.” K. 78. 1-2. *deva-manuṣya-dāridryam aṅiṣṭa-samyogam iṣṭa-vinābhāvikāni ca duḥkhāni pratyānubhavanti.*), “正使我等不退轉地諸菩薩, 尚不能知”(113b17-18. “Even we bodhisattvas, who [stay on] the ground from which there is no turning-back, do not know [it]” K. 317. 2-3. *asmākam api ... avaiivartya-bhūmi-sthitānām bodhisattvānām ... asmin sthāne citta-gocarō na pravartate.*).

Three words “寧”, “當”, and “將” are used to stress rhetorical questions: “唯一乘 豈寧有二?” (70b19. “There is only one vehicle. How can there be two!” K. 46. 14. *ekaṃ hi kāryaṃ[v. l. yānaṃ. cf. Karashima: 52] dvitīyaṃ na vidyate.*), “尚無有二. 豈當有三?” (81b6-7. “There are not even two [vehicles]. How can there be three!” K. 110. 10. -), “豈將異乎”(100a3. “How can [the king Jewelled-Canopy] possibly have been anyone else!” K. 224. 1. -).

#### vi. Obscure words

There are still many words in Z. whose meanings remain obscure and await further investigations. For example, the meaning of “乙密”(yimi), a bisyllabic word having the same vowel formation(疊韻), is not clear in the following sentences: “心念此已, 發願乙密”(97c29. “Having thought thus inwardly, [Ānanda] made a vow earnestly[?].” K. 215. 2. *evaṃ ca cintayitvā ’nivicintya prārthayitvā*), “假使菩薩乙密<sup>(116)</sup>觀察斯一切法”(107c16. “If a bodhisattva observes minutely[?] all the dharmas, ...” K. 278. 3-4. *evaṃ hi ... bodhisattvo mahāsattvo ’bhikṣṇaṃ sarvadharmān vyavalokayan viharati.*).

Taking the case of Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the Lotus-sūtra alone, there are still many words and usages which are not to be found in dictionaries and remain to be investigated.

## 2. Chinese Buddhist Transcriptions as Material for

### Reconstructing the Chinese Sound System

In order to identify the original language of the Chinese translation of *Dīrghāgama* (abbr. DĀ. 長阿含經. Taishō vol. 1, pp. 1-149), which was rendered in Chinese by Buddhayaśas(佛陀耶舍) and Zhū Fóniàn(竺佛念) in Chángān(長安) 413 A. D., the present author has analysed approximately 500 transcriptions found in it, comparing them with corresponding Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan words and other Chinese transcriptions(Karashima: 1994b). In that study, some problems concerning Chinese phonology were also discussed; two of them will be brought up here. MC reconstructions follow the system devised by Karlgren(1954) and emended by Li Fang-kuei(李方桂 1971) with some notational changes proposed by Coblin(1983: 41).

## 2.1. On the value of MC. ji-(羊母) reflected in transcriptions

Relying on his analysis of phonological glosses of the Wèi-Jin Period, Coblin assumed the value of MC. *ji-* was *ʒ-* in this period (1974-75: 310-311). On the basis of Chinese transcription of foreign words, Pulleyblank also assumed the value of MC. *ji-* was *ʒ-* in the period between Hàn and Táng (1962: 115). Coblin, who analysed transcriptions found in Hàn Buddhist scriptures, reconstructed MC. *ji* again as *ʒ-* (1983: 62-63).

However, on the following grounds, the value of MC. *ji-* in DĀ. (413 A.D.) seem to have been not *ʒ-* but *ji* which corresponds to the semi-vowel *y-* in Indian languages.

In DĀ. there are five cases, where MC. *ji-* corresponds to Skt. *-k-*: e.g. (17) “延” (MC. *jiān*) of “尼延豆” (Taishō vol. 1, 80a11) corresponding to “kaṇ” of BHS. *nikaṇṭho*. A phonetic development such as *-k- > -j-* is not known in Indian and Central Asian languages; rather one may assume that this transcription reflects the Prākṛit development *-k- > -y-* in the underlying language of DĀ.

There are also seven examples, where MC. *ji-* corresponds to Skt. *-c-*: e.g. (18) “耶” (MC. *jia*) of “婆耶” (80a26) corresponding to “cā” of Skt. *vācāsu*, Pa. *vācāhi*. The development *-c- > -j-* is exceptional in the Middle Indic (cf. Brough 1962: 226; Norman 1970: 134-35), thus one may assume that these transcriptions reflect the common Prākṛit development *-c- > -y-* in the underlying language.

Skt. consonant groups *ʃy-*, *dy-* in initial position are assimilated to *j-* in the Middle Indic. If MC. *ji-* (羊母) had the value of *ʒ-* in this period as Pulleyblank supposes, then such Middle Indic initials would have been transcribed by MC. *ji*. But in fact they are transcribed by MC. *z-* (禪母): e.g. (19) “樹(MC. *zju:*, *zju-*)提” (80b26. Skt. *ʃyoti-*), “雞(MC. *zjəu*)地” (80b12. Skt. *dyuti*).

Thus in DĀ. MC. *ji-* corresponds distinctively to *y* of the underlying Prākṛit, while MC. *z-* corresponds to Pkt. *j*. We may assume that the value of MC. *ji-* (羊母) at least at the beginning of the fifth century in Chángān was not *ʒ-* but *ji-*.

In DĀ. MC. *s-* (心母), *ś-* (書母), *ʒ-* (禪母), *ji-* (羊母) correspond to Skt. (or Pkt.) *s*, *ś*, *j*, *y* respectively, while in Chinese Buddhist scriptures from the middle of the second century A.D. till the fourth century MC. *ji-* corresponds to these Skt. sounds (cf. Pulleyblank 1983: 85).

## 2.2. On the value of finals of OC. *yu*(魚) category reflected in transcriptions

Coblin (1983: 100-103) assumed that MC. finals *-wo* (MC. *mó* 模 rime), *-jwo* (MC. *yú* 魚 rime) and *-ju* (MC. *yú* 虞 rime), which belong *yú* 魚 category in OC., had a-vocalism in most Eastern Han sound glosses and o-vocalism in the language of the Eastern Han Buddhist transcriptions.

In DĀ. the transcriptions with these finals correspond primarily to Sanskrit (or Pāli) syllables having the vowels *u*, *o*, and *au*. Therefore, one may assume that these finals had o-vocalism also in the language of DĀ. The transcriptions with finals in question found in DĀ. are listed under.

i. *-wo* (MC. *mó* 模, *mū* 姥, *mù* 暮 rimes)

80b28. “鳴(MC. *ʔwo*)摩” (Pa. *ummā*, BHS. *umā-*), 2b2. “烏(MC. *ʔwo*)暫婆羅” (Skt. = Pa. *udumbara*), 47a23. “烏(MC. *ʔwo*)暫婆利” (Skt. = Pa. *Udumbarikā*), 80b28. “擡(MC. *lwo*)耶” (Pa. *Rojā*), 80b13. “鞞(MC. *nwo:*)” (Pa. *Venhu-*, Skt. *Viṣṇu-*), 33a22. “布(MC. *pwo-*)和” (Skt. *Ṗotana*), 109c22. “布(MC. *pwo-*)吒婆樓” (Pa. *Ṗoṭṭhapādo*), 80b9. “蘇(MC. *swo*)彌” (Pa.



- Soma), 80b15. “梅大蘇(MC. swo)婆尼捎”(Skt. Candrasūyōpaniṣad, Pa. Candassūpanisā),  
80b16. “蘇(MC. swo)黎耶蘇(MC. swo)婆尼捎”(Skt. Sūryasyōpaniṣad, Pa. Suriyassūpanisā),  
80b17. “蘇(MC. swo)提耶”(Skt. Sūrya-, Pa. Suriya-), 80a27. 素(MC. swo-)槃瓮”(Skt. suparṇa-,  
Pa. suparṇa-), 80b12. “暮(MC. mwo-)陀婆那”(Skt. = Pa. modamānā), 33a24. “路(MC. lwo-)樓  
(Skt. = Pa. Roruka), 112c20. “露(MC. lwo-)遮”(Skt. Lauhitya, Pa. Lohicca).  
ii. -jwo(MC. yú 魚, yú 語 rimes)  
34b20. “居(MC. kjwo)薩羅”(Skt. = Pa. Kosala), 34b21. “居(MC. kjwo)樓”(Skt. = Pa. Kuru),  
23b10. “初(MC. tshjwo)摩”(Skt. ksauma, Pa. khoma), 80b22. “摩瓮疏(MC. sjwo, sjwo-)多摩”  
(Skt. Mānusottama-, Pa. Mānusuttama).  
iii. -ju(MC. yú 虞 rime)  
63c3. “瞿(MC. gju)夷”(Skt. = Pa. Gopikā), 105b27. “瞿(MC. gju)曇摩”(Skt. = Pa. Gotama),  
107b15. “瞿(MC. gju)舍利”(BHS. Gośālī), 126a16. “瞿(MC. gju, kju)波梨”(BHS. Kokālika).

### Notes

\* I am indebted to Prof. Victor H. Mair, who read the earlier version of this paper, for his valuable comments and suggestions.

- (1) Other Sanskrit manuscripts read differently: K. 73. 2-3. yan nv ahaṃ sarvān imān kumārakān ekapiṇḍayitvōtsangenādāyāsmād grhān nirgamayeyam. Cf. Karashima 1992: 67.
  - (2) Although the reading *pīthakena* (“with a stool”) agrees with the reading of the Chinese translation, it could have been originally *piṭakena* (“with a basket”). Cf. Vinayapīṭaka I 225. 13-14. piṭakāni pi ucchange pi pūresum. For a confusion among *piṭaka*, *pīthaka*, and *pīthaka*, cf. BHS, s. vv.
  - (3) Other instances of “仁者”: 64b8. 仁者, 溥首(“You, Broad-Head!” K. 10. 7. Mañju-ghoṣa), 65b26. 渴仰仁者(“[People] are looking up with thirst to you”. K. 15. 11. tvāṃ cābhivikṣanti). “仁者” is used also with the meaning of “a benevolent man”: e. g. 98a24. 仁者阿難(“the benevolent one, Ānanda” K. 217. 8. Ānandabhadro mama dharmadhāraḥ).
- For the usage of “仁”, “仁者” in Buddhist texts, cf. Mizutani(水谷真成) 1961; Kanaoka(金岡照光): 91-92.
- (4) This sign denotes that a passage in Z. lacks its parallel in the Sanskrit versions.
  - (5) Wang/Fang(王云路·方一新: 25) cite some instances of this usage from *Jin Shū* (晉書 646 A. D.).
  - (6) Other instances: 64b6. 見佛殊異 諸所經籍(“[Some] have seen all the outstanding scriptural texts of the Buddha”. K. 10. 5. ye cāpi anye sugatasya putrā. Cf. Karashima 1992: 30), 71a19. 其有滅度 諸所如來(“All the Thus Come Ones who have passed into extinction”. K. 50. 1. parinirvṛtānāṃ ca jināna teṣāṃ.), 84b27. 諸藥品類 各各異種 碎小段段 諸所良藥 迦葉且聽 吾悉當說(“Sorts of medicinal herbs are various. All good medicinal herbs are broken in pieces. Listen, Kāśyapa! I will explain all.” K. 129. 7-8. kṣudrānuḥkṣudrā ima oṣadhīyo ... anyā ca madhyā mahatī ca oṣadhī śṛnotha tāḥ sarva prakāśayiṣye.), 120c7. 諸所種類(“all sorts [of cows]”. K. 363. 10. -), 121c 11. 諸所鬼神(“all ghosts [and] spirits”. K. 369. 5. yakṣāṇa).
  - (7) Other instances: 111a23. 從古以來 未曾見聞 乃有爾所 菩薩之衆(“From of old [we] have never seen nor heard that there are so many multitudes of bodhisattvas.” K. 302. 12-13. adrṣṭa-pūrvo ’yam asmābhir [ ‘Kashgar’ and Farhād-Bēg manuscripts add

- here “evarūpau”, “evarūpo” respectively, which agree with “爾所” of Z. ] mahā-bodhisattva-gaṇo mahā-bodhisattva-rāṣir aśruta-pūrvaś ca.), 113b9 = 113b23. 如是次取, 越爾所國土, 復著一塵(“In this manner, again he takes another particle of dust, and then, after passing over so many lands, again deposits it.” K. 316. 8. -. Cf. Karashima 1992: 185).
- (8) Other instances: 64c21. 而現報應 兆載難計(“[I preach the Dharma] and show the rewards and retribution which are billions in number and hard to calculate.” K. 12. 10. drṣṭānta-hetū-nayutair anekaiḥ.), 67b14. 即起塔廟 無量億載(“Then [they] constructed immeasurable millions of stūpa-shrines.” K. 26. 8. stūpāna koṭī-nayutā anantakā.), 69a20-21. 有無央數億百千載蚊行喘息蜎蠕動群生之類(“There are infinite numbers of hundreds of thousands of millions of crawling, panting, flying, wriggling living creatures.” K. 36. 5-6. bahūni prāṇi-śatāni ... bahūni prāṇi-koṭī-nayuta-śata-sahasrāṇi.), 77c16-17. 奇異珍寶 無量兆載(“countless millions of unusual and rare treasures”. Here the reading of Z. has a close resemblance to that of the ‘Kashgar’ manuscript: varaiś ca koṭyai bahu-haṃsa-lakṣanaiḥ. K. 89. 6. varaiś ca koccair baka-haṃsa-lakṣanaiḥ. Cf. Karashima: 1992: 75). 118a16. 無數千載四域天下(“in innumerable thousands of four-continent worlds”. K. 346. 7. caturṣu loka-dhātuṣv asaṃkhyeya-śata-sahasreṣu.), 126c11-12. 覩見七十二億兆載江河沙諸如來衆(“[He] will see a multitude of Thus Come Ones equal in number to the sands of seventy-two millions of billions of Ganges rivers.” K. 419. 8. dvāsaptati-gaṅgā-nadī-vālika-samāṃs tathāgatān[a fragment from the Petrovsky Collection reads here “tathāgata-koṭī-nayuta-śata-sahasrāṇi”, which agrees with the reading of Z. Cf. Karashima 1992: 221] drakṣyati.).
- In this connection it could be noteworthy to mention that in Z. the compound word “稱載” is found several times(125a27, 126c5, 129b15, 130c16) with the meaning of “calculates, measures”.
- (9) For this usage in non-Buddhist texts, see Ushijima(牛島德次): 323-324; Liū(柳士鎮): 320-321; Wú(吳金華).
- (10) Other instances: 77c24-25. 爲三界欲 所見纏縛(“[They] are tied to the desires of the three spheres.” Cf. K. 89. 12.), 78c29. 爲諸品類 所見賤穢(“[They] are despised by various kinds of sentient beings.” Cf. K. 89. 12.), 98c11-12. 無數億佛 所見哀愍(“[Rāhula] will receive compassion from innumerable millions of Buddhas.” Cf. K. 220. 11), 113a12-13. 爲雄導師 所見諮嗟(“[They] are praised by the Heroes, Guides.” Cf. K. 313. 14), 117a10. 則爲如來所見擁護(“Then [they] are protected by the Thus Come One.” Cf. K. 338. 4.), 119a3. 常爲衆人 所見愛敬(“[They] will be always loved and honoured by a multitude of men.” Cf. K. 352. 11.), 122a2. 爲一切人 所見愛敬(“[They] will be always loved and honoured by all men.” Cf. K. 370. 11.).
- (11) For this usage in non-Buddhist texts, cf. Wang(王政白): 276.
- (12) For this usage in non-Buddhist texts, cf. Ushijima(牛島德次): 304.
- (13) Other instances of “設使”: 71b16. 設使各各 作奇異行(Cf. K. 51. 5), 101a17. 設使聞者 書寫執持(Cf. K. 229. 6.), 112c19. 設使聞者 令不沈吟(“[How excellent that the World-Honoured One explains this meaning! ...] If someone hears it, it causes him not to harbour doubts.” K. 312. 12. śrutvā na vicikitsām āpadyeran.), 114c29-115a2. 設使衆生 見是世界 水火災變 劫燒天地 當斯之時 吾此佛土 具足微妙 柔軟安雅(“When[!] the beings see that the world is in calamities of floods and conflagrations [and that the fire at the end of] a *kalpa* burns heaven and earth, at that

time this Buddha-land of mine is fully refined, delicate, peaceful [and] fine." K. 324. 13-14. *yadā 'pi sattvā ima lokadhātum paśyanti kalpentī ca dahyamānam / tadā 'pi cēdam mama buddha-kṣetram paripūrṇa bhotī maru-mānuṣāṇām //*, 124b21. 設使有人齋此經行(Cf. K. 391. 6).

Another instance of “若令”: 119a22-25. 彼人若令眼根清淨而以肉眼觀諸所有……故曰肉眼”(K. 354. 6-9. *sa evaṃ pariśuddhena cakṣur-indriyeṇa prākṛtena māmsacakṣuṣā ... tat sarvaṃ draṅsyati.*).

(14) Here the Korean Edition(高麗藏) reads “若今”.

(15) Cf. Hān(韓山嶽): 604.

(16) Here the Taishō Edition(大正藏) reads “乙蜜”, which is a mere misprint.

(17) For other instances, see Karashima 1994b: 15-16.

(18) For other instances, see Karashima 1994b: 63, fn. 21.

(19) Cf. Karashima 1994b: 70, fn. 98.

### Abbreviations and Signs

BHS. ....	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHSD. ....	Franklin Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> , New Haven 1953 (repr. Delhi, 1970, 1972).
CPD. ....	<i>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> , begun by V. Trenckner, ed. D. Andersen et al., Copenhagen, 1924-.
DĀ. ....	the Chinese translation of <i>Dīrghāgama</i> (Chángāhánjīng 長阿含經).
K. ....	<i>Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra</i> , ed. H. Kern and B. Nanjio.
MC. ....	Middle Chinese or Ancient Chinese
OC. ....	Old Chinese or Archaic Chinese
Pa. ....	Pāli
Skt. ....	Sanskrit
Z. ....	Dharmarakṣa (Zhú Fāhù 竺法護)'s translation of the Lotus-sutra (Zhèngfāhuájīng 正法華經).
- .....	absence of parallel word(s)

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**ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES OF VERNACULARISMS  
IN THE POETRY OF THE SIX DYNASTIES THROUGH SUNG**

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Although poetry was generally considered as elegant literature from the Six Dynasties to Sung in China, especially compared with the developing popular literature at that time, we should not ignore its vernacular aspects. On one hand, in this period, Chinese classical poetry achieved its most perfect expression, but to some degree, it represented a kind of deviation from ordinary language or in the opposite direction of vernacularization; on the other hand, poets writing during this period often adopted vernacular words and used elements of vernacular grammar. This paper will give a brief discussion of this phenomenon.

The folk songs and ballads of the Six Dynasties known as *yüeh-fu* 樂府詩, especially southern *yüeh-fu*, were very vernacular. As folk songs, the diction of these poems was quite popular. Let us see the following poems selected from *Yüeh-fu shih chi* 樂府詩集, vols. 44 & 46.

Midnight Song (Tzu-yeh ko)

When my lover worries, I worry too;  
When my lover laughs, I am happy.  
Don't you see the intertwined trees,  
Whose branches join despite their separated roots?

子夜歌

歡愁儂亦慘  
郎笑我便喜  
不見連理樹  
異根同條起。

Unaccompanied Song (Tu-ch'ü ko)

I love you so much, how could I call your name directly?  
I miss you so much, I couldn't address your style.  
I'll call you my lover again and again when we meet,  
We swear not to depart from each other forever.

讀曲歌

憐歡敢喚名  
念歡不呼字  
連喚歡復歡  
兩誓不相棄。

In the above poems, *huan* 歡 means "lover," *nung* 儂 means "I" or "me," *lang* 郎 is "sweetheart". These expressions were all drawn from the spoken language of the south in this period. Meanwhile, some literary poets also employed vernacularisms, such as "Charming Girl" 嬌女詩 written by Tso Ssu 左思, "Blaming Sons" 責子 written by T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛, and "In Imitation of the Difficult Journey" 擬行路難 written by Pao Chao 鮑照. We can see many common words in these poems. Yet we must also say that the expressions of literary poetry, more influenced by the rhapsody (*fu* 賦), were magnificent, ornate, and elegant.

In the T'ang Dynasty, especially in the mid-T'ang, literary poetry embodied more vernacular than ever. "All the popular expressions of the world were used by Lo-t'ien (Po Chü-i) 世間俗語言, 已被樂天道盡," remarked Ch'en Fu-chih 陳輔之 of the Sung period in his *shih-hua* (詩話 "poetry talks"). Nonetheless we must also point out that literary poets were often in a dilemma. Let us read the following poem written by Ku K'uang (顧况), a poet of the mid-T'ang.

Son (Chien)

[Chien, worry for the Min area.... In the light of Min customs, the son is called *chien* and the father *lang-pa*.]

The son was born in the Min area,  
He was caught and castrated by government officials.  
The officials enslaved him and got a great quantity of gold.  
The son was punished as the grasses and trees.  
"Heaven is ignorant and lets me suffer from persecution.  
God is ignorant and lets them receive happiness."  
When the father had to part from his son, he said,  
"I regret giving you birth.  
When you were born,  
Somebody suggested to me not to bring you up.  
I didn't follow the suggestion.  
Now you have suffered this pain."  
The son had to part from his father,  
Fretting and bursting into tears,  
"Heaven is cut off from the earth,

因

《因》，哀閩<sup>①</sup>也。……閩俗呼子為因，父為郎罷。

因生閩方，  
閩吏得之，乃絕其陽。  
為臧為獲<sup>②</sup>，致金滿屋。  
為髡為鉗<sup>③</sup>，如視草木。  
"天道無知，我罹其毒。  
神道無知，彼受其福。"  
郎罷別因：  
"吾悔生汝。  
及汝既生，  
人勸不舉。  
不從人言，  
果獲是苦。"  
因別郎罷，  
心摧血下：  
"隔地絕天，



Until I go to Yellow Springs,

及至黃泉<sup>④</sup>

I'll never be able to meet you".

不得在郎罷前。

1. 閩 : modern Fu-chien(福建) province .
2. 臧、獲 : derogatory words referring to the slave.
3. 髡、鉗 : two kinds of punishment. *K'un* 髡 is to cut off one's hair and *ch'ien* 鉗 is to put an iron ring on the slave's head.
4. 黃泉 : means netherworld, death.

It is not difficult for us to see that, in form and style, this is a quatrissyllabic 四言體 poem, which derived from *The Classic of Poetry* (*Shih-ching* 詩經), so we can say that it imitated the ancient poetry and revived the tradition. But we can also see that this poem adopts many common terms from Min language, which went counter to the usual classical tradition. "Make the old serve the new, make the popular serve the elegant 以故為新,以俗為雅." This statement was repeated by Mei Yao-ch'en 梅堯臣, Su Shih 蘇軾, Huang T'ing-chien 黃庭堅, and Yang Wan-li 楊萬里 of the Sung Dynasty. They faced the contradiction and tried to do their best to find a way out of it. But as we have seen above, this contradiction existed before the Sung Dynasty.

The solution to the problem of the contradiction between living language and poetic language still had not been worked out by the poets of the Sung. They laughed at Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫 of the T'ang Dynasty who dared not use the common word "cake" (*kao* 糕) in his poems. Meanwhile, they tried to find the source of this word (See Chu Pien's *Feng yüeh t'ang shih-hua* 朱弁: 風月堂詩話, Shao Po's *Shao shih wen-chien hou lu* 邵博: 邵氏聞見後錄, etc.). Yet this ridicule itself

indicated that Sung poets had more courage than those of the T'ang to face the problem.

Let us examine the following poem written by K'ung P'ing-chung (孔平仲), a poet of the Northern Sung Dynasty.

Written To His Grandfather for My Son

Since my father came to Mi-chou,  
He has gotten two sons in the two years.  
Ya-erh is lovely and strong.  
Chêng-chêng has cut a tooth,  
You haven't seen them;  
If you see them you'll be very happy.  
I have read many books  
And can write out two pieces of paper at once.  
San-san is full of energy, and  
Ta-an is able to walk now.  
Though you have seen them,  
Their skills are much better than before.  
When we meet together,  
We'll all kneel respectfully around you.  
Grandmother has been in the capital,  
You are an official in the ministry.  
Great-grandmother is eighty-five years old,  
How about her eating and sleeping recently?  
My father and mother  
Miss you every day.  
When we have a good time or a festival is coming,

代小子廣孫寄翁翁

爹爹來密州，  
再歲得兩子。  
牙兒秀且厚，  
鄭鄭已生齒。  
翁翁尚未見，  
既見想歡喜。  
廣孫讀書多，  
寫字輒兩紙。  
三三足精神，  
大安能步履。  
翁翁雖舊識，  
伎倆非昔比。  
何時得團聚，  
盡使羅拜跪。  
婆婆到輦下，  
翁翁在省裡。  
大婆八十五，  
寢膳近何似？  
爹爹與妳妳，  
無日不思爾。  
每到時節佳，

Or even when food is delicious,  
We all miss you very much,  
And often count the days till we return on our fingers.  
We used a stove yesterday;  
The north wind blew at night.  
After eating we all felt alone;  
We looked into the distance for thousands of li.

或對飲食美，  
一一俱上心。  
歸期常屈指，  
昨日又開爐。  
連夜北風起，  
飲闌却蕭條；  
舉目數千里。

This poem imitates a child's words to write a letter. Many vernacular words are used, especially such as *tieh-tieh* 爹爹, *weng-weng* 翁翁, *p'o-p'o* 婆婆, *t'ai-p'o* 大婆, etc. which all were contemporaneous appellations and there are also many pronouns, prepositions, and conjunctions in this poem. The poem is very close to a spoken letter.

Without in-depth research, many words in Sung poetry are difficult for people to understand, because Sung poets liked to quote many allusions and literary quotations in their poems. But grammatically Sung poetry is more vernacular than that of the T'ang. In Sung poetry, subject, time and space markers, and other function words (*hsü-tz'u* 虛詞) were more used, so "who," "when," "where," "what to do," and "how to do," which offer clues to the poetic meaning, are often more explicit in Sung poetry. If we say the words of T'ang poetry are descriptive, the words of Sung poetry may be said to be narrative and analytical, which makes them closer to the spoken language.

Let us compare the following two poems, the first written by Mêng Hao-jan 孟浩然 of the T'ang and the other written by Huang Ting-chien 黃庭堅 of the Sung.

Mooring on the River at Chien-tê

The boat moves to moor by the misty shore,  
Sun sinking, the traveler's sadness increases.  
Boundless plain with trees at the horizon,  
The clear water reflects a neighboring moon.

宿建德江  
移舟泊煙渚，  
日暮客愁新。  
野曠天低樹，  
江清月近人。

Following the Rhymes of Tung-p'o's "Nine Glories  
Mountain in a Jug"

Someone carried the mountain away at midnight,  
It was felt at once that drifting mists warmed azure sky.  
May I ask, it was set in a splendid chamber,  
And how to be fallen and lost amid the jumbled clouds now?  
Where is that person who can bring back Chao's ring of jade?  
So even if having gone into Southern Branch land,  
the dreams still can't get through.  
Fortunately the frosty bell mountain hasn't been rolled up,  
With bludgeon in sleeve, I go to listen to its perfect sound.

追和東坡壺中九華

有人夜半持山去，  
頓覺浮嵐暖翠空。  
試問安排華屋處，  
何如零落亂雲中。  
能回趙璧人安在，  
已入南柯夢不通。  
賴有霜鐘難席捲，  
袖椎來聽響玲瓏。

(In addition to standard reference works, I have also consulted the translation of Professor Stephen Owen.)

In the latter poem, there are many words and phrases, such as *yu jen* 有人, *tun chiieh* 頓覺, *shih wen* 試問, *ho ju* 何如, *neng hui* 能回, *an tsai* 安在, *i ju* 已入, and *lai yu* 賴有 which have the characteristics of exposition and analysis. But the former poem does not have these characteristics. In the latter, there are many allusions, such as *ch'ih shan* 持山, *hua wu* 華屋, *Chao pi* 趙璧, *Nan k'e* 南柯, and *hsiu chui* 袖椎, while the former poem lacks them. So we can say that

when the poetry bases itself upon the expression of the feeling, the poet will try his best to break the conventional grammatical rules and its words will be popular; when the poetry bases itself upon the expression of experience, even if its words may be ornate or elegant, its grammar must be close to the vernacular.

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