

THE SHIFT OF MEANING AND GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION OF THE CHARACTER 善 IN BUDDHIST TEXTS

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The scholar, to whom we pay tribute in the present volume, had this to say of Chinese translations of Buddhist texts: "In the second and third centuries almost all Buddhist monks in China were foreign missionaries. Their contacts were chiefly with the Chinese intelligentsia, who regarded them as exponents of a sort of foreign Taoism. The translations they made were thus intended for literary laymen with only a superficial knowledge of Buddhism. Good literary style (supplied of course by Chinese assistants) was essential, only a moderate use of technical terms could be made and fairly short texts were preferable . . . Gradually, however, the number of Chinese monks increased and ultimately (say about A.D. 400), the foreigners became a small minority. Translations were now addressed not to the cultivated laity but to monks well versed in Buddhist terminology. They became fuller, more literal and less Chinese in style, *till ultimately a jargon was developed that no Chinese without special training could understand.*"¹

The last words which I have italicized admirably describe the linguistic situation. To start with, I shall choose a simple example. It is the clause *neng shann tyaufwu ru dah shianqwang* 能善調伏如大象王 occurring in the beginning of Yih Jinq's 義淨 translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāṣotamasūtra* (*ṅguangming-tzueysheng-wangjing*).²

A Chinese reader not acquainted with Buddhist Chinese is likely to feel a little uneasy about the sequence of the first two characters, for even in Buddhist literature he is more used to meeting them in the reverse order, *shann neng* 善能, forming a compound which means "good at, skilled in". He will then probably feel resigned about the "uneducated" way the Buddhists wrote or attribute such an un-Chinese word order to foreign monks who must have established this precedent for Chinese translators, like Yih Jinq, who came after them. Then he will proceed to consider the

meaning of the next two characters, and, if he were acquainted with English grammatical terms, he would think to himself thus: "This compound evidently means 'to tame', and it is an active verb". Thus the eight characters are likely to be translated by him as follows: "(The arhats) are very skilled in taming, like the great elephant king". Not knowing exactly what the habit of the great elephant king was, the reader has no alternative but to deduce from this context that the elephant king was skilled in taming, and the object understood would probably be his subjects, the elephants, just as in the case of the arhats it would be their fellow men. Not only a Chinese layman is in danger of misunderstanding the simplest statement in a Buddhist text, but even a Japanese scholar who is used to Buddhist writings might not be aware of all the pitfalls when he has not at his elbow a Sanskrit or Tibetan version of the same passage to help him along. The eight characters above are in the tradition of the 4-4 rhythm, a smooth rhythm inherent in the Chinese language. In order not to spoil this rhythm, Yih Jinq has put its consideration above that of clarity, with the result that the accepted Japanese rendering of his translation, as included, for example in the *Kokuyaku-daizōkyō*, reads as follows: "(The arhats) well and skilfully tame, like the elephant king".³ The Tibetan version, however, serves to correct the wrong impression given by the translation above, for it runs as follows: *glañ-po-chei rgyal-po ltar śin-tu dul-ba*,⁴ which supports Nobel's translation of Yih Jinq's rendering: "waren ganz gezähmt, wie der grosse Elefanten-König".⁵ Ignoring for the moment the meaning and function of *neng* 能, the ordinary Chinese reader would, in the light of the foregoing Tibetan rendering, have to learn the following about the character *shann* 善: *one* that in this context it does not mean "good at" but "very well, perfectly, completely, entirely"; *two* that in modifying the verbal compound *tyaufwu* 調伏 "to tame", *shann* changes it, as it were, from an active to a passive meaning ("tamed"). *Shann tyanfwo* therefore means "perfectly subdued".

A little further down in the same passage, Yih Jinq gives us the following eight characters: 心善解脫慧善解脫. Once more it can be assumed that the ordinary Chinese reader would take them to mean "(The arhat's) heart is good at releasing (something). (The arhat's) wisdom (or mind) is good at releasing (something)." The Japanese translators apparently rendered the passage superficially, as the convention of *Kanbun* style

³ *Yoku* (能) *yoku* (善) CHŌBUKU-suru koto, DAIZŌ no gotoku, tr. by K. Watanabe 渡邊海旭, *Kokuyaku daizōkyō, kyōbu*, No. 11, p. 1, ll. 4-5. It would have been a clearer and more definite rendering of the passage had the translator used the passive form *seraruru* instead of *suru* after CHŌBUKU.

⁴ *Suvarṇaprabhāṣotamasūtra* II, ed. by Johannes Nobel, Leiden, 1958, p. 2. The Sanskrit of this particular passage happens not to be available. For the normal Sanskrit equivalents of the terms concerned see table p. 205, last column.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 3.

⁶ See pp. 202-3.

¹ *The Real Tripitaka*, by Arthur Waley, London, 1952, p. 86.

² 金光明最勝王經 *Taishō Tripitaka*, hereafter abbreviated as *TT*, Vol. 16, No. 665, p. 403(a), ll. 3-4.

dictated, without endeavouring to make the meaning clear: "The heart skilfully releases. The wisdom (or mind) skilfully releases."⁷ An ordinary Japanese reader might, in this case, however, stumble to the correct meaning owing to his acquaintance with such familiar Buddhist terminology and he would probably take these characters to mean "The heart is thoroughly released. The mind is thoroughly released." But then it would be the context rather than the actual grammatical forms which would lead him to take GEDATSU-*shi* in the passive sense. For the ordinary Chinese reader, however, there is no inflexion or clue in *shann* to indicate to him that it should be taken as an adverb, nor is there any apparent reason for him to entertain the doubt that the verb "release" might not be used in the active sense, for this would be the meaning that such a construction warrants.

In the Tibetan translation, on the other hand, the meaning of the Sanskrit original is clear for all to see. It is not the heart and wisdom (or mind) of the arhat which effect the release: it is, in fact, the heart and mind which have been completely released.⁸ Here again *shann* precedes what must be understood in the passive sense (released). Such usages, being alien to the spirit of the Chinese literary language, must have been considered very un-Chinese among Buddhist writers who were born into, or had grown up with, the Chinese literary language.

The example above was chosen intentionally from a late phase in the development of the "jargon". There is a long history between this phase and the beginning of attempts to render Indian Buddhist texts into elegant literary Chinese. In the present paper I shall not attempt even to sketch this history, nor shall I make an appraisal of the all important rôle played by Kumārajīva in giving the eventually developed "jargon" authenticated currency. As it is my intention to go into a fuller discussion of the subject in a separate paper I shall limit myself here to dealing at some length with the shift of meaning and function of one single word, *shann*.

The first meaning of *shann* 善 is "good, to be good"⁹ (as an adjective or copula + adjective) or "goodness" (as a noun). It can also stand for the good man or men, the good thing or things. When placed in front of a verb it means "good at, skilled in" as used in the expressions: 長袖善舞 "with

long sleeves, one cannot but be good at dancing"; 多錢善賈 "with much money one cannot but be good at business".¹⁰ As a verb, it means "to consider something good" as used in 王如善之 "if Your Majesty considers it good";¹¹ 所善荊卿可使也 "One whom I consider a good friend (=who is my friend), Jing Ching, may be sent".¹² By extension of the meaning "good" to "in a good manner" *shann* is often used before a verb as follows: 夫子循循然善誘 "Step by step the Master skilfully lures one on";¹³ 燕之處士田光先生亦善待之. "The scholar recluse Tian Guang of Yan also treated him well (with goodness, with kindness)."¹⁴ Of texts in which *shann* occurs, the following examples from the Dawderjing appear somewhat more difficult than usual: 居善地心善淵.¹⁵

At first sight the uninitiated would take the first phrase to mean "Live in a good place" and, by analogy, render the second as "Put-the-heart (concentrate) in the good deep-pool". By further perusal and by working through the commentaries one realizes that these phrases are rather technical, like the Buddhistic ones mentioned above. As each phrase consisted of only three syllables (like some hymns of the Hann 漢 period), a great deal of meaning had to be compressed into the pattern.

Helped by further examples of similar three-syllable phrases 與善仁言善信政善治事善能動善時¹⁶ one would be fairly safe in rendering the passage literally as follows: "As regards abode, one considers the (right) place best; heart, depth best; companions, kind men best; words, trust-worthy ones best; administration, orderly one best; (managing of) affairs, capability best; action, (right) time best".¹⁷ Thus the meaning of *shann* here is no more than "to consider as the best" and the function no more than verbal. On the face of it, however, the first two phrases are almost as baffling as any Buddhist ones. This rather weighted usage of *shann* must have encouraged Buddhist writers who were well versed in this Taoist text to experiment further in the use of this familiar character.

Passing on to Buddhist usage *shann* did not evince a sudden and spectacular change at first. In early writings such as the *Syshyrelljangjing* 四十二章經¹⁸ attributed to Kāśyapa Mātanga? (who arrived at

¹⁰ See Harnfeitzyy Jyjtjee 韓非子集解: 五蠹, *Gwoshyue-jibeen-tsongsu*, *Basic Sinological Series*, chap. 49, J.4, p. 61, col. 9.

¹¹ Mencius, Bk. I, Pt. II, chap. V4, Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 2nd ed., 1895, Vol. II, p. 162.

¹² *Shyyjih* 史記, J.86, ed. by Takigawa Kametarō, Tokyo, 1932-4, p. 26.

¹³ See A. Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, London, 1938, p. 140.

¹⁴ *Shyyjih*, loc. cit., p. 22.

¹⁵ *Laotzyy Beenyih* 老子本義, by 魏源, *Basic Sinological Series*, p. 8.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁷ See Waley's translation of the same passage, *The Way and its Power*, London rep. 1942, p. 151.

¹⁸ e.g. 衆生以十事爲善 (adj.); 重以惡來者吾重以善往 (noun); 飯凡人百不如飯一善人 (adj.). *TT*, Vol. 17, No. 784, p. 722(b), 1.6 and 1.15.

⁷ *Kokoro yoku* (善) GEDATSU-*shi*, *E yoku* (善) GEDATSU-*shi*, loc. cit. 11.6-7.

⁸ The Tibetan text is as follows: *sems śin-tu rnam-par grol-ba / śes-rab śin-tu rnam-par grol-bar*. *Ibid*, II, p. 2; the same passage in Yih Jinq's version has been translated by Nobel as follows: "ihr Sinn war ganz erlöst, ihre Erkenntnis war ganz erlöst" *Ibid* I, pp. 3-4.

⁹ There are other meanings of *shann* which are rare, e.g. (a) in the sense of "many", as in 女子善懷: 載馳. The commentary gives 善猶多也. *Maushy Juhshu* 毛詩注疏, *Basic Sinological Series*, J.3, p. 282. Cf. A. Waley's translation, *Book of Songs*, No. 102, stanza 4, 1.3, London, 1937, p. 94. (b) In the sense of "to wipe, to clean (a knife)" as in 善刀而藏之. The commentary gives 善猶拭. See *Juangtzyy* 莊子: 養生主, *Basic Sinological Series*, p. 19, col. 7. But these do not concern the present study.

Luohyang 洛陽 in A.D. 67,¹⁹ Later Hann), and in the *Moutzzy* 牟子²⁰ c. A.D. 194? (Later Hann) *shann* is used as an adjective "good" or as a noun "good, good deeds, goodness". Numerous examples of such usage could be found, but a few will suffice. From the translations of the Parthian, An Shyhgau 安世高 (who arrived at Luohyang A.D. 147, and worked there till A.D. 170), I have taken at random an example for each usage: 身亦少病安善 in which *shann* means "to be in good health"²¹; and 教之作善 "teach them to do good"²². From those of the Scythian, Jy Loujiachenn 支婁迦讖 (who arrived at Luohyang A.D. 167) 善哉 "good", 善師 "good teacher"²³ *shann* is again playing its usual role, as an adjective, but in a line of verse of his 意善解便離欲 "the mind very well (or perfectly) released, then it has left behind all desires",²⁴ the function of *shann* is adverbial, modifying the past participle "released" which is in the passive, as it were.²⁵ This translator was, however, not one of the more elegant stylists, so much so that one of his disciples two generations removed, Jy Chian²⁶ 支謙 (who worked in Nanking A.D. 223-53) was said to have rewritten or polished some of his translations. As far as Jy Chian's translations were concerned, it was not to be expected that he would do great violence to Chinese syntax as he was steeped in Chinese classical style as well as Taoist writings. A few examples taken from two of his works serve to illustrate this: 師言大善, "The teacher said, 'very good'" (adj.); 去惡就善善可常行惡不可久; here *shann* means "good, goodness" (noun);²⁷ 衆惡已斷諸善普會 "good (qualities)" (noun); 其知此者是爲善解 "good at or skilled in (understanding)"²⁸. As Jy Chian worked almost a century after Jy Loujiachenn, it may be inferred that the former wished to keep the meaning and function of *shann* within the Chinese literary tradition. Instead of continuing the innovation (using *shann jie* 善解 to stand for "perfectly released") begun by his master, Jy Loujiachenn, he in fact used the same characters in the meaning of "good at understanding". Another great name among Buddhist writers is the scholarly

Chinese monk, Daw An 道安 (of Western Jinn period, d. A.D. 385). He naturally used *shann* in the Chinese fashion. The usage in 恂恂善誘 "to be good at leading (pupils on to the right way)" (adj.) and 子謂三教雖殊勸善義一. "You say that although the three doctrines are different, they have but one aim (meaning)—urging people to (practise) the good" (noun)²⁹ is orthodox and shows that the career of *shann* has not changed radically as yet.

Meanwhile translation of sūtras became more widespread which made it necessary to speed up the work of translation itself. This was bound to result in a more mechanical equation of terms and eventually in their standardization. *Shann* was naturally included in this process, since it was used to translate the frequently recurring Sanskrit prefix *su-*, which means "good, well, indeed, right, very, thoroughly". While *su-* can be compounded easily with various parts of speech in Sanskrit, with its meanings ranging from "good" (as an adjective before a noun) to "thoroughly, etc." (in an adverbial function before a verb, a participle and so on), *shann* cannot be easily forced into such a service in a language like Chinese in which each ideograph is written as a separate unit. To do so would be to do violence to Chinese word combination. But the period of development in the career of *shann* has arrived. Where Dharmarakṣa (who worked in China A.D. 265-313) translated *su-pratividdha* as 普達逮 "universally or completely reached" Kumārajīva and others after him rendered it shortly as 善得 equating mechanically *shann* with *su-* even though a Chinese layman might very well take the compound to mean "good at getting", and not "completely attained"³⁰. This equation occurs also in the translation of *sugata* 善逝, "well (and truly) gone"³¹ even though it may mean "good at disappearing" to the uninitiated.

By the time of Kumārajīva when the translators of sūtras often had to work under great pressure, *shann* was freely equated with *su-*, and there was then no stopping it in its career of shift of meaning and grammatical function as it had taken on the service of a Sanskrit prefix and the compounding of *shann* with a verb as one compound led to a further revolutionary pattern in Chinese Buddhist texts, namely, its combination with *neng*, so its purely Chinese career was changed into an un-Chinese one in which it had to bear the weight of further significance and connotation according to how it was combined and what it preceded. It would be easy

¹⁹ All dates of Buddhist authors and translators have been reproduced from the "Table des auteurs et traducteurs", *Hōbōgirin, Fascicule Annexe*, 1931, pp. 127-52.

²⁰ e.g. 所謂無一日之善 (noun); 發善意 (adj.). *TT*, Vol. 52, No. 210, p.3 (b), l.19; p. 4(b), l.11.

²¹ 長阿含十報法經, *TT*, Vol. I, No. 13, p. 234(b), l.15.

²² 尸迦羅越六方禮經, *TT*, Vol. I, No. 16, p. 251(a), l.13.

²³ 佛說般舟三昧經, *TT*, Vol. 13, No. 417, p. 898(a), l.5, and p. 899(c), l.3 of 四事品第三.

²⁴ *loc. cit.*, l.16.

²⁵ *Cf. n.28*

²⁶ Another Scythian. He was, however, well versed in the Chinese literary tradition and was an acknowledged stylist. See Tang Yonqtorng 湯用彤: 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史, rev. ed., Chungwa Press, 1955, p. 128.

²⁷ 佛開解梵志阿闍經, *TT*, Vol. No. 20, p. 259, last line, and p. 263(b), ll.20-21.

²⁸ 佛說維摩詰經, *TT*, Vol. 14, No. 474, p. 523(b), l.27 and p.523(a), l.26.

²⁹ 二教論, 廣弘明集, *TT*, Vol. 52, No. 2103, p. 136(b), ll.5-6, p. 137(b), ll.3-4.

³⁰ J. Rahder, *Glossary of the Daśabhūmikāsūtra*, Paris, 1928, p. 118.

³¹ An explanation of this term occurs in a passage of the 菩薩地持經 (*Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, translated into Chinese by Dharmakṣema, fl. A.D. 412): 上升永不復還故名善逝 "[The Tathāgata] ascends upwards [to the heavens] and never returns. That is why he is called the well [and truly] gone". *TT*, Vol. 30, No. 1581, p. 902(a). The quotation shows the consolidation of the equation *su-* = *shann*.

now to find examples of such usage, for instance, *Suvisuddhā* "very pure" was translated as 善淨,³² *shann* being used to convey the meaning of "very, entirely". Among phrases in the *Shyhsyhyh yawlaan* 釋氏要覽,³³ there is the passage 能善言也, taken from the *Dhammapada* 法句集經 translated by Vighna 維祇難 of Wu 吳 (fl. A.D. 224) who had *shann yan* 善言, "speak well" preceded by *neng* 能 "to be able", thus "to be able" was used to introduce "speak well", whereas in a strictly Chinese pattern "to be able" is used to introduce a verb without any modification (such as *shann*, compounded with it). Now Kumārajīva used both the Chinese patterns *shann neng* "well able to, skilled in" e.g. 善能教化衆生之類 and 善能次第習諸善法³⁴ and the pattern with the two characters reversed (as in 又能善說法),³⁵ and the latter pattern was used by Shyuan Tzanq 玄奘 as well, e.g. 能善分別諸法相,³⁶ for by then the pattern had been well established.

We shall now look once more at Yih Jinq's phrase *neng shann tyaufwu* 能善調伏. We must now consider the question whether this may be translated as "able to well-tame". To decide this we must look also into the career of *neng*, as its path of development crosses that of *shann* at a point. A few examples from the *Glossary of the Daśabhūmika-sūtra*³⁷ will show that the meaning "very much, entirely" has also entered the semantic field of *neng*.

pramukta	(rab tu) gtoñ ba; rab tu ḥbyuñ bar ḥgyur (能) 放 K. ³⁸ Bo. ³⁹
pravacinoti	rnam par ḥbyed pa; rnam par dpyod de; rnam par dbye ba 能 (善) 入 KB. ⁴⁰ Bu. ⁴¹ S. ⁴² Bo. 能正思擇 K. 撰擇 D. ⁴³
praviṣati	rab tu ḥjug pa 能入 K. 能知 S. Bo. KB. Bu.
bhājanatā	snod 悉具足其道器 D. (NB. Dharmarakṣa used 悉 for "completely" as a Chinese writer would normally do). 能持 Bo. Bu. KB.

³² 妙法蓮華經, translated by Kumārajīva, *TT*, Vol. IX, No. 262, p. 28(a), l.5.

³³ By 道誠 of Song 宋, *TT*, Vol. 54, No. 2127, p. 300(e), l.13.

³⁴ 妙法蓮華經, *TT*, Vol. IX, No. 262, p. 28(a), l.2 and p. 41(c), l.19.

³⁵ *loc. cit.*, p. 6(a), l.12.

³⁶ 說無垢稱經, *TT*, Vol. 14, No. 476, p. 558(c), l.1.

³⁷ J. Rahder, Paris, 1928.

³⁸ K = Śīladharma, T'ang Dynasty.

³⁹ Bo = Bodhiruci, A.D. 508-11.

⁴⁰ KB = Kumārajīva-Buddhayaśas, A.D. 384-417.

⁴¹ Bu = Buddhahadra, A.D. 418-20.

⁴² S = Śikṣānanda, A.D. 695-9.

⁴³ D = Dharmarakṣa, A.D. 297. Dharmarakṣa conformed more strictly to Chinese syntax at all times.

samdhṛ-	yañ dag par ḥdsiñ (gzuñ ba), 能度 K. 能持 Bo. 普能任持 K.
samavasṛ	yañ dag par gshol ba; rab tu gshol ba 普入 S. 能證入 K.
samudānayana	(a) yañ dag par sdud pa; (b) yañ dag par bsgrub pa 普集 K. 能積集 K.

The above examples will suffice to show that *neng* was used in the specialized sense of "entirely, universally" by Kumārajīva and others after him. Now we have to decide from the context whether *neng* in 能善調伏 must be translated as "to be able" or as "entirely, very much". Apart from the Tibetan text of the same passage which supports the translation of *neng* as "entirely, very much" we must look at *tyaufwu* in Chinese translations and discover what their authors wished it to mean. *Tyaufo* occurs in the following passage of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*: 而自調伏 "subduing oneself"; 應如是調伏其心 "ought to subdue one's heart thus"⁴⁴ (fifth century), whereas Jy Chian renders the same idea by 其意不亂 "his mind is unperturbed (not affected by distractions)"⁴⁵ (third century). As the epithet about the subdued or tamed elephant king occurs in translations of the *Kāśyapa-parivarta*, it will be interesting to compare how it is rendered in the various versions.

Sanskrit version	Tibetan version
(a) sudāntaḥ kumjaro [Kuñjara]	ḥdi-lta-ste dper-na-bal-glañ-glañ-po-che-ḥin-tu-dul-ba-ni
nāgas	
(b) sudāntacitto bodhisattva	byañ-chub-sems-dpañ-sems-ḥin-tu-dul-ba
.	
(1) Version of the Jinn 晉 period (A.D. 265-420)	
(a) 譬如象王 "like the elephant king"	
(b) 菩薩善調御心 "the bodhisattva was skilled in controlling his heart" 爲一切衆生堪任重擔 (thus he could) "on behalf of all living creatures bear the heavy load".	
(2) Version of the Chyn 秦 period (A.D. 350-431)	
(a) 譬如善調象王 "like the well tamed elephant king"	
(b) 菩薩亦爾善調心故能爲衆生作大利益 "it was the same with the bodhisattva, who, owing to the fact that he was skilled in subduing his heart, was able to secure great benefit for all creatures". ⁴⁶	

⁴⁴ 維摩詰所說經, *TT*, Vol. 14, No. 475, p. 545(b), ll.23-4.

⁴⁵ 佛說維摩詰經, *TT*, Vol. 14, No. 474, p. 526(a), l.9, p. 526(b), ll.3-4, p.526(c), l.3.

⁴⁶ A. von Staël-Holstein, *The Kāśyapa-parivarta*, Peking, 1926, p. 66.

Period	Translator	Kṣīṇāsrava (1)	Niṣkleśa (2)	Vasībhūta (3)	Suvimuktacitta (4)	Suvimuktaprajñā (5)	Mahānāga (7)
Western Jinn 西晉	無羅義 Worked in Chernliou 陳留 A.D. 291	諸漏已盡 <i>a-c:</i>	無垢	—	意解	衆智自在	(譬如)大龍
"	竺法護 Dharmarakṣa, worked in Charngan 長安 A.D. 265-313		無有塵垢	(而)得自在	心安解脫	智慧善度	—
"	"	—	無復欲塵	已得自在	心解得度	已脫於慧	—
Chyan Chyn 前秦	曇摩蜚 and 竺佛念 Dharma- priya, Arrived at worked in Charngan A.D. 382		垢濁以索	—	已脫於心	度於智慧	—
How Chyn 後秦	鳩摩羅什 Kumārājīva, arrived in Charngan A.D. 401	諸漏已盡 <i>e-f:</i>	無復煩惱	—	心得好解脫	慧得好解脫	摩訶那伽
"	"	諸漏已除	—	—	—	—	象王
T'ang 唐	義淨 b. A.D. 635		無復煩惱	—	心善解脫	慧善解脫	(如)大象王

(a) 放光般若經

(b) 光讚經

(c) 正法華經

(d) 摩訶般若波羅蜜經

(e) 摩訶般若波羅蜜經

(f) 摩訶般若波羅蜜經

(g) 金光明最勝王經

Period	Translator	Kṛtakṛtya (8)	Apahṛtabhāpa (10)	Parikṣīṇabhava- samyojana (11)	Anuprāpta- svakārtha (12)	Samyagājñā- suvimuktacitta (13)	Sudānta
Western Jinn 西晉	無羅義 Worked in Chernliou 陳留 A.D. 291	所作已辦 <i>a-b:</i>	離於重擔	—	逮得所願	正解已解	—
"	竺法護 Dharmarakṣa, worked in Charngan 長安 A.D. 265-313		棄捐重擔	乘結即斷	—	<i>b-c:</i> 逮得已利	—
"	"	所作已辦 <i>d-f:</i>	離於重擔	所有已盡	—	獲度無極	—
Chyan Chyn 前秦	曇摩蜚 and 竺佛念 Dharma- priya, Arrived at worked in Charngan A.D. 382		棄擔能擔	捨於重擔	盡諸有結 <i>e-g:</i>	—	其智已脫 心即從計
How Chyn 後秦	鳩摩羅什 Kumārājīva, arrived in Charngan A.D. 401	所作已畢	捨諸重擔	—	—	正智已得解脫 心得自在	(如)調
"	"	所作已畢	捨諸重擔	—	—	得大自在	能善調伏
T'ang 唐	義淨 b. A.D. 635		—	—	—	—	—

(a) 放光般若經

(b) 光讚經

(c) 正法華經

(d) 摩訶般若波羅蜜經

(e) 摩訶般若波羅蜜經

(f) 摩訶般若波羅蜜經

(g) 金光明最勝王經

Kumārajīva renders the same epithet in two of his translations as follows:

- (1) 其心調柔軟摩訶那伽 "his heart is subdued to softness (like the) Mahānāga,⁴⁷ translated in A.D. 403.
- (2) [諸漏已盡] 如調象王 "[All the afflictions (āsrava) have been eliminated] like the subdued elephant king",⁴⁸ translated in A.D. 408.

It is clear in the last quotations that the forming period of the "jargon" passed on to the stage of consolidation at the time of Kumārajīva and the verb *tyau* (shortened form of *tyaufwu*) has been forced into a function not in current use in non-Buddhist Chinese syntax. It is used here to translate the past participle, "subdued" in the passive sense. Apart from giving the meaning of *sudānta* as "well tamed, well restrained" (as horses), adj., Monier-Williams notes (from lexicographical sources) that this is the name of a Pratyeka Buddha, meaning "very self controlled". According to Professor F. Edgerton⁴⁹ this name occurs in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.⁵⁰ It is therefore reasonable to surmise that Yih Jinq meant *tyau-fwu* to translate *dānta* "subdued" and *neng shann* to translate *su-*, "entirely and perfectly" (making up a four-syllable phrase as required by the style), since the translation of *neng* as "to be able" would not render correctly the meaning of *su-*. A similar use of an adverbial "prefix" before a "past participle" in the passive sense can be observed also in a line of verse in Yih Jinq's translation of the *Satapañcāśatka* of Mātṛceta 善斷諸惑種 "(From whom) all the kleśas have been completely cut off",⁵¹ whereas an ordinary reader would have taken the line to mean "(He) is skilled in cutting off all (seeds of) evil".

In order to show the process of this development twelve epithets which are frequently used to describe the Arhats have been listed on pages 204 and 205 in a tabulated form⁵² which sets out their various translations in chronological order.

⁴⁷ 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, *TT*, Vol. VIII, No. 223, p. 217(a).

⁴⁸ 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (小品), *TT*, Vol. VIII, No. 227, p. 537(a), l. 2.

⁴⁹ *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. 2 (1953), p. 598.

⁵⁰ *Ārya-Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, ed. Gaṇapat Śāstri, Vol. I, Trivandrum, 1920, p. 42, l. 5.

⁵¹ *Sarvadā sarvathā sarve yasya doṣā na santi ha*. Tibetan translation: *gañ zhig la ni ñes pa kun // gtan nas yon ye mi mñah zhñ*/ (Ed. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge University Press, 1957, p. 28).

⁵² For the sake of convenience I have followed the sequence of the epithets as they occur in the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* in Chapter 48 (see editions of Sakaki and Wogihara). *Sudānta* is placed at the end of the list since it is not included in the *Mahāvīyūtpatti*.

INSCRIPTIONS, STYLISTIC ANALYSIS, AND TRADITIONAL JUDGMENT IN YÜAN, MING AND CH'ING PAINTING

by H. C. CHANG

The student of Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing painting is less troubled by problems of historical development than the student of earlier Chinese painting. Whereas Sung and earlier pictures were as often unsigned as signed, the artist is seldom anonymous from the Yüan period onwards,¹ and his signature and inscription form part of the picture itself. Artists' activities are well documented; their localities, schools and artistic genealogies are clearly differentiated; their respective manners are known. Of the work of the Yüan masters, Huang Kung-wang, Ni Tsan, Wu Chen, Wang Meng, and their Ming and Ch'ing followers, Wang Fu, Shen Chou, Wen Cheng-ming, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, the four Wang, Wu Li, K'un-ts'an and Tao-chi, many specimens are preserved the relative authenticity of which is undoubted. Detailed study of individual painters is possible, and the student is often only concerned to relate a single picture to the entire output of an artist, to see whether it conforms to the standard set by his accepted works. There are few puzzles of identity—of person or of style, certainly none so enigmatic as, for instance: What was Wang Wei's work really like?

These considerations are reflected in a change of plan in Part Two of Professor O. Sirén's *Chinese Painting, Leading Masters and Principles*.² In Part One (Vols. i-iii) of this work, dealing with painting down to the Sung, the emphasis was on the tradition of painting found in literary sources, of which surviving pictures were, in the main, regarded as illustrations. But the wealth of material from the later period makes it possible for the author

¹ See, e.g., Ch'ien Tu, *Sung-hu hua-i* 錢杜, 松壘畫憶 and Cheng Chi, *Meng-huan-chü hua-hsüeh chien-ming* 鄭績, 夢幻居畫學簡明 in *Chung-kuo hua-lun lei-pien*, ii, 937; 973; also *Chinese Painting*, iv, 52. The statement is best verified through reference to a standard catalogue, e.g., *Ku-hung shu-hua lu*. Dr. Sirén's *Annotated Lists* (in *Chinese Painting*, ii and vii) include sections on anonymous pictures.

² *Chinese Painting, Leading Masters and Principles*. Part II, The Later Centuries, Vols. iv-vii, 1958. Vol. iv, *The Yüan and Early Ming Masters*; Vol. v, *The Later Ming and Leading Ch'ing Masters*; Vol. vi, *Plates*; Vol. vii, *Annotated Lists of Paintings and Reproductions of Paintings by Chinese Artists*. There are 464 plates in Vol. vi; in addition, 12 plates accompany the text of Vols. iv and v, each of which has a coloured frontispiece. But the abundance of the material on "The Later Centuries" is most clearly indicated by the *Annotated Lists*, which now form a separate volume.