

On the Latter Half of “*Yaowang rulai pin* 藥王如來品” of the *Zheng fa hua jing* 正法華經: How Zhu Fahu 竺法護 Coined Words to Translate the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* *

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1 Introduction

The translation of “*Yaowang rulai pin* 藥王如來品” of the *Zheng fa hua jing* 正法華經 by Zhu Fahu 竺法護 in 286 CE is the earliest translation corresponding to the “Preacher Chapter (*Dharmabhāṅga-parivarta*)” of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (SP). The latter half of “*Yaowang rulai pin*” expounds the doctrine that the sentient beings who study, worship, and demonstrate the SP through their actions will attain Buddhahood quickly.

Zhu Fahu, who was a famous translator in the early Chinese Buddhist period, lived during the Western Jin 西晉 (265–314 CE). It is commonly stated that the *Zheng fa hua jing* is difficult to understand in comparison to the *Miao fa lian hua jing* 妙法蓮華經 by Kumārajīva, because during his time, Buddhist terminology had not been fixed and he had to translate the SP by employing neologisms. This paper thus aims to clarify how Zhu Fahu coined words to translate the SP.

2 Biography of Zhu Fahu

Drawing on the biography of Zhu Fahu in *Chu san zang ji ji* 出三藏記集 and *Gao seng zhuan* 高僧傳, we limit the discussion in this paper to Zhu Fahu in an attempt to present the characteristic features of his translations.

Zhu Fahu was born in Dunhuang 敦煌. At the age of eight, he entered religious practice under the guidance of Zhu Gaozuo 竺高座. He was extremely intelligent, and learned the six classics of the Confucian tradition 六經 to master the Chinese language in Western Jin. He also journeyed with his teacher to many places in the western region of China, where he mastered 36 different foreign languages, which were perhaps various forms of Prakrit, originating from Sanskrit.¹

Zhu Fahu began his career in translation in Chang’an 長安, in approximately 265 CE.² He worked with various laymen, such as Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 and his son Nie Daozhen 聶道真, as his assistants and associates in the translation workshop. Until he died at the age of 78, Zhu Fahu translated around 149 sutras in all, helping to spread and popularize the Buddhist doctrine in China in 3–4 cent.³

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¹See T55.97c20-21; T50.326c05-06; T55.97c26-28.

²See Kawano [2006: 75].

³See T55.56c17-24; T50.327a05-07; T55.97c29-98a01; T55.98a01-04.

3 The Characteristics of Zhu Fahu's Translations

The most active years of Zhu Fahu's translation career correspond to the middle of the Western Jin period (280–289 CE) in China. At almost exactly the same time as Zhu Fahu, Zuo si 左思, a man of letters, in his work *San du fu xu* 三都賦序 said that an author created a literary work according to reality.⁴ It is clear that the same purpose was carried out in *Wen zhang liu bie lun* 文章流別論, which is a literary criticism written by Zhi Yu 摯虞, who said that exaggerated expressions are not appropriate in literary work, because it is easy to lose the real meaning of a text by writing in such a manner.⁵ However, Zhu Fahu's translations, called “ancient translation 古譯” were criticized by his successors, namely Yu Falan 于法蘭, Hui lin 慧琳, and Kumārajīva, as being plain and artless.⁶ Bai [2018: 180] noted that Zhu Fahu was deeply influenced by literary realism, which originated from the words of the *Dao de jing* 道德經 by Laozi 老子 in that period: “Sincere words are not fine; fine words are not sincere.”⁷ This is the main reason why his translations were held in low esteem in the Chinese Buddhist tradition.

Let us now turn to the *Zheng fa hua jing* to identify the characteristics of Zhu Fahu's translation. The *Zheng fa hua jing* was translated in 286 CE and was the first work to introduce the One Vehicle doctrine in China. The introductory chapter of the *Tian pin miao fa lian hua jing* 添品妙法蓮華經 indicates that the manuscripts of the SP, which were held by Zhu Fahu, were written on several palm leaves and belonged to an unclear system of manuscripts.⁸ The *Zheng fa hua jing* differs from the *Miao fa lian hua jing* by Kumārajīva in that there are 27 chapters corresponding to the arrangement of the Sanskrit chapters.

Unlike Kumārajīva and his assistants who can make it easier to translate the SP by referring to pre-ceded *Zheng fa hua jing* and using it effectively⁹, Zhu Fahu led the translation teams and did the actual translating. One group of laymen, including Nie Chengyuan, oversaw the copying of the translated texts. Another group of laymen and monks, including Zhu Decheng 竺德成, assisted them actively. A third group of people, including Zhu Li 竺力, edited the translated texts twice. Finally, the translated *Zheng fa hua jing* was written in an orderly manner on white silk by a layman called Sun Bohu 孫伯虎. Because of the sophisticated workflow in Zhu Fahu's translation workshop, it is unbelievable that the SP was efficiently translated into Chinese in approximately one month.¹⁰ As Kawano [2006: 108–112] pointed out, until the *Miao fa lian hua jing* was translated by Kumārajīva, the *Zheng fa hua jing* was loved by the Chinese Buddhists, which mostly comprised monks and well-educated laymen.

According to Bai [2017: 127] and Bai [2018: 180], there are several characteristics that are found in the *Zheng fa hua jing*. These are as follows:

1. The same word or phrase is differently rendered.
2. Phrases consisting of four characters tend to be used.
3. Words are coined with synonyms.

⁴C: 『三都賦序』「美物者貴依其本。」

⁵C: 『文章流別論』「麗靡過美則與情相悖。」

⁶See T53.765a04-05; T54.427b03; T49.266b22-24.

⁷C: 『道德經』「善言不美。美言不善。」

⁸See T09.134c02-04.

⁹See Funayama [2007: 5].

¹⁰See T55.56c17-24. On the authority of *Jing chu* calendar 景初曆 or *Tai shi* calendar 泰始曆 illustrated in the *Jin shu* 晉書, *Tai kang* 太康 7 year (286 CE) is a common year 平年, there is no intercalary month 閏月 in that year. C: 『晉書·志第七·律曆志中』「以章月乘之、章歲而一、所得為定積月、不盡為閏餘。閏餘十二以上、歲有閏。」

4. Supplementary expressions are used.
5. A one-to-one correspondence between Sanskrit words and their non-literal translations exists.
6. Unintelligible doctrinal passages are not translated.
7. Inversion is in frequent use.
8. Buddhist terms are sometimes mistakenly interpreted.
9. Both five-word and four-word rhythms are used.

4 Neologisms of Zhu Fahu

Newmark [1988: 149] defined the term “neologism” as new words naming newly invented or imported objects or processes, or new expressions. As Putri [2014: 2] pointed out, the word “new” in those new words, new expressions, and new meanings, means that the word, the expression, and the meanings did not exist before. The development of a neologism takes place over several years or even longer.

Zhou [2016: 292–295] categorized neologisms into several types from the perspective of linguistics. These types are as follows:

1. Abbreviation: a shortened form of a word or phrase.
2. Loan word: a borrowed word from a source language.
3. Compound word: a word composed of more than one free morpheme.
4. Derivation: a new word based on an existing word.
5. Analogy: a cognitive process of transferring information or meaning from a source to another target.
6. Meaning Transfer: new words combined with new concepts.

Based on the definition of neologisms provided above, we will now examine Zhu Fahu’s neologism. As mentioned earlier, Bai [2017: 128] and Bai [2018: 180] pointed out that the words employed in the *Zheng fa hua jing* are coined with synonyms. If we look closely at the words that Zhu Fahu used, we can see that he created the neologisms to interpret the doctrine of the SP. We can also categorize Zhu Fahu’s neologisms based on Zhou’s classification:

1. Compound word:
 - (a) New words coined using synonyms.
 - (b) New phrases with supplementary words.
 - (c) New coinages to correspond to Sanskrit prefixes.
 - (d) New coinages to correspond to Sanskrit compound words.
2. Derivation:
 - (a) Existing words with new meanings.
 - (b) The use of archaic word meanings.

To the best of my knowledge, Zhu Fahu’s neologisms do not employ abbreviations, loan words, analogies or meaning transfer, because the construction of these is not applicable to Chinese. As Max Deeg [2007: 91–93] pointed out, a loan word is a word that keeps its phonetic form completely or partly and this is normally called transliteration or *yin yi* 音譯 in traditional Chinese terminology. In the *Zheng fa hua jing*, we may find a great number of loan words, such as *axulun* 阿須倫 for *asura*, and *jialiuluo* 迦留羅 for *garuḍa*, which are pre-existing translation words that were originally created by Zhi qian 支謙 or Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖 and were used by Zhu Fahu.

New words created by Zhu Fahu first appeared in the following sentences in the *Zheng fa hua jing* (Z).¹¹ For reference, the corresponding sentences in the Sanskrit manuscripts (KN, TH) and the *Miao fa lian hua jing* (M) are also given in the following analysis.

4.1 New Words Coined Using Synonyms

As Bai [2017: 127] pointed out, in Zhu Fahu's translation, the same word or phrase is rendered differently. Zhu Fahu created new words to express the same or similar meaning. The following example will explain this point:

1. “yangxin 殃釁”

[Z] 其人即獲 無數殃釁¹² (The man will immediately commit a great number of disasters and faults.)

[M] 獲無量重罪 (Kubo and Yuyama [2007]: His grave errors will be incalculable.)

[KN229.8 (10.10d)]: *bahuṃ naro 'sau prasaveta pāpam* || (The man will commit a great sin.)

[TH217b8 (10.10d)]: *bahun tu pāpaṃ prasaved asau naraḥ* || (The same as above.)

The word “yangxin” originates from two existing synonyms: “yanghuo 殃禍”¹³ and “xinjiu 釁咎”¹⁴, which mean “disaster” and “fault,” respectively, and correspond to the Sanskrit word “pāpam (sin).” Zhu Fahu also created a new word, “yangzui 殃罪,” which originates from “yanghuo” and “zui 罪惡”¹⁵, with a meaning similar to “disaster and error” as a substitute for the word “yangxin.”

2. “jiaomanzi 驕慢恣”

[Z] 若聲聞、遇是經法、或恐或怖、心懷畏懼¹⁶。爲驕慢恣。(If there are *śrāvakas* who hear the doctrine of this sutra and are frightened or dreadful in their minds, [know that they are people] who are arrogant, willful, and haughty.)

[M] 若聲聞人。聞是經、驚疑怖畏。當知是爲、增上慢者。(Kubo and Yuyama [2007]: If there are *śrāvakas* who hear this sutra and are confused and frightened, know that they are people who have excessive pride.)

[KN234.1-2]: *sacet punaḥ śrāvakayānīyo 'sya dharmaparyāyasyottraset saṃtraset saṃtrāsam āpadyed adhimānikaḥ sa bhaiṣajyarāja śrāvakayānikaḥ pudgalo veditavyaḥ* || (If, however, a votary of the vehicle of the *śrāvaka* is startled, feels anxiety, gets frightened at this *Dharmaparyāya*, such a person, devoted to the vehicle of the *śrāvaka*, Bhaiṣajyarāja, may be deemed a self-conceited man.)

[TH222b3-4]: *sacec chrāvakayānika iha dharmaparyāye uttraset saṃtraset saṃtrāsam āpadyeta adhimānika iti saṃjāneyāsi adhimāne caritaḥ* || (If a votary of the vehicle of the *śrāvaka* is startled, feels anxiety, gets frightened at this *Dharmaparyāya*, you [Bhaiṣajyarāja] should know that [he] is a self-conceited man and practices on the basis of the self-conceit.)

¹¹These words cannot be found in the T. and C. except in the *Zheng fa hua jing*.

¹²See T09.101a20.

¹³C: 『荀子·天論』「而殃禍與治世異、不可以怨天、其道然也。」

¹⁴C: 『說苑·正諫』「民之釁咎血成於通塗。」

¹⁵C: 『春秋公羊傳·昭公元年』「以親者弑、然後其罪惡甚。」

¹⁶Unicode 61C5 is revised to 「懼」.

The word “*jiaomanzi*” corresponding to “*adhimānika* (self-conceited)” originates from two existing synonyms “*jiaozi* 嬌恣”¹⁷ and “*aoman* 傲慢”¹⁸, which mean “arrogant and willful” and “haughty”, respectively. Besides these examples, we also find that the words “*wanxi* 翫習”¹⁹, “*fengsan* 奉散”²⁰, and “*yici* 義次”²¹ are neologisms coined by Zhu Fahu. The origin of these new words stems from the literary books of the upper classes, therefore it was difficult for uneducated laymen to understand them.

4.2 New Phrases with Supplementary Words

There is something interesting in Zhu Fahu’s new phrases. He added supplementary words to modify an existing word, thus compounding a new phrase to emphasize the meaning of the original Sanskrit phrase. For example:

“*xujian* 續見”

[Z] 所掘深乃爾 續見乾燥土²² (Digging deeply, he is continuously seeing dry earth.)

[M] 猶見乾燥土²³ (Kubo and Yuyama [2007]: He sees only dry earth.)

[KN235.14 (10.18d)]: *śuṣkapāṃsur itocchṛtaḥ* || (In digging, dry white sand appears here.)

[TH224b3 (10.18d)]: *śuṣkaṃ pāṃsuṃ ya dṛśyate* || (He sees dry white sand appearing.)

The word “*xujian*” comprises “*xu* 續” and “*jian* 見,” which mean “continuously” as an adverb and “see,” respectively, corresponding to the Sanskrit word “*dṛśyate* (see)” in TH. The word “*xu*” perhaps means “*lianxu* 連續 (continuously)”²⁴, used to modify the verb “*jian*.” Another example can also be found in “*xumeng* 續蒙 (continuously cover),” which corresponds to the Sanskrit word “*cauryam* (concealment).”

Zhu Fahu’s interpretation of “*dṛśyate*” as the present continuous tense of the word “see” is reasonable. Therefore, he employed the word “*xu*” to emphasize the continuous sense. The verb conveys the present continuous tense in Chinese with time adverbs such as “*zheng* 正 (at the moment)”²⁵ instead of “*xu*.” This represents an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Zhu Fahu to create the present continuous tense of the Chinese verb. Besides these examples, we also find that the words “*jingmo* 景摸”²⁶, “*chongjin* 崇

¹⁷C: 『後漢書·列傳』「又後妻嬌恣亂政。」

¹⁸C: 『禮記·哀公問』「淫德不倦、荒怠傲慢。」

¹⁹The word “*wanxi*” originates from two existing synonyms “*wanwen* 翫聞” and “*xuexi* 學習,” which mean “take pleasure in” and “study,” respectively. C: 『列子·楊朱』「聲色不可常翫聞。」; C: 『禮記·月令』「仲丁、又命樂正入、學習舞。」

²⁰The word “*fengsan*” originates from two existing synonyms “*fengxian* 奉獻” and “*sansong* 散送,” which mean “offer” and “present,” respectively. C: 『春秋繁露·王道』「奉獻天子而服周室。」; C: 『禮記·玉藻』「五十不散送。」

²¹The word “*yici*” originates from two existing synonyms “*daoyi* 道義” and “*cixu* 次序,” which mean “regulation” and “arrangement,” respectively. C: 『荀子·脩身』「道義重則輕王公。」; C: 『荀子·禮論』「曲得其次序、是聖人也。」

²²See T09.102a17.

²³See T09.32a11.

²⁴C: 『西京雜記』「大皆徑丈、相連續。」

²⁵C: 『吳越春秋·闔閭內傳』「吳王登臺觀望、正見斬二愛姬。」

²⁶The word “*jingmo*” comprises “*jing* 景” and “*mo* 摸” (associated with “*mo* 模”), which mean “great” as an adjective and “doctrine,” respectively. C: 『禮記·表記』「『小雅』曰、『高山仰止、景行行止。』」; C: 『說文解字』「模、法也。」

進”²⁷ are also neologisms coined by Zhu Fahu. These neologisms go against the Chinese idiom.

4.3 New Coinages to Correspond to Sanskrit Prefixes

The characteristic of a one-to-one correspondence between Sanskrit words and their non-literal translations chiefly reflected in the new coinages aim to correspond to Sanskrit prefixes created by Zhu Fahu. For example:

“*fenbieshuo* 分別說”

[Z] 以此經法、為比丘、比丘尼、清信士、清信女、天、龍、鬼神、廣分別說。²⁸ ([One] should explain this doctrine in detail for the sake of monks, nuns, laymen, laywomen, gods, nāgas, demons, and goblins.)

[M] 為諸菩薩及四衆、說是『法華經』。²⁹ (Kubo and Yuyama [2007]: One should. . . expound this Lotus Sutra for the sake of the bodhisattva and the fourfold assembly.)

[KN235.1]: *bodhisattvayānasamprasthitānām catasṛṇām paṛṣadām samprakāśayitavyaḥ* | ([One] should manifest [this *Dharmaparyāya*] before the fourfold assembly that is striving to attain the vehicle of Bodhisattvas.)

[TH223b4]: *imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ catasṛṇām paṛṣadām samprakāśayitavyaḥ* | ([One] should manifest this *Dharmaparyāya* before the fourfold assembly.)

The word “*fenbieshuo*” corresponds to the Sanskrit word “*pra-√kāś* (manifest).” Zhu Fahu interpreted the prefix “*sam-* (greatly)” as “*guang* 廣” meaning “in detail,” “*pra-* (apart)” in the word “*fenbie*” and the root “*√kāś*” in the word “*shuo* 說.” Until Zhu Fahu’s time, the word “*fenbie*” was deemed as “assort and analyze”³⁰ and not “apart”. It is easy for this compound word “*fenbieshuo*” to mislead readers and convey the meaning as “assort and analyze and then speak 分別而說.” This is entirely different from the Sanskrit meaning.

4.4 New Coinages to Correspond to Sanskrit Compound Words

Karashima [2015: 113] pointed out that in the 3rd century, the Buddhist manuscripts were written in broken Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit. We can find these characteristics in Zhu Fahu’s translation. Zhu Fahu attempted to create new coinages to correspond to the compound words in so-called Sanskrit (mainly Prakrit). For example:

1. “*shihou* 世吼”

[Z] 世吼之所遣 來化群生類³¹ (He has been sent by the roar of the world coming to convert sentient beings.)

²⁷The word “*chongjin*” comprises “*chong* 崇” and “*jin* 進,” which mean “respectfully” as an adverb and “pay tribute,” respectively. C: 『前漢記』「有為崇敬上之心。」; C: 『春秋左傳』「再拜稽首、承飲而進獻。」.

²⁸See T09.101c29-102a01.

²⁹See T09.31c28.

³⁰C: 『道德真經註』「分別、別析也。」

³¹See T09.101a03.

[M] 當知佛所使 愍念諸衆生³² (Kubo and Yuyama [2007]: Is an ambassador of the Buddha, who feels compassion for sentient beings.)

[KN228.8 (10.3ab)]: *preṣito lokanāthena sattvavaineyakāraṇāt* | (He has been sent by the lord of the world to convert sentient beings.)

[TH217a4 (10.3ab)]: *preṣato lokanāthebhiḥ sattvānām vinayād iha* | (He has been sent here by the lords of the world to convert sentient beings.)

The word “*suoqian* 所遣” is the same as “*suoshi* 所使,” which corresponds to “*preṣita*” or “*preṣato*,” meaning “sent.” It is reasonable that “*shihou*” is the same as “*fo* 佛 (the Buddha),” which corresponds to “*lokanātha* (the lord of the world).” However, “*nātha*” does not mean “roar.” The word “*hou* 吼” probably corresponds to “*nāda* (a loud sound).” As Karashima [2013: 174] pointed out, the phonetic development –th–, –dh– as –s– is peculiar to Gāndhārī. However, we cannot say for certain that this is an obvious mistranslation. Zhu Fahu created “*shihou*” to translate what he had read in the manuscripts.

2. “*rulaishui* 如来水”

[Z] 求如來水、志存佛掌。 ([They] required for water of the *Tathāgata*, and aspired for the palm of the Buddha.)

[M] 則為如來、手摩其頭。 (Kubo and Yuyama [2007]: . . .and his hand has caressed their heads.)

[KN231.4]: *tathāgatapāṇiparimārjitamūrdhānaś ca te bhaviṣyanti* | (Their heads shall be caressed by the hand of the *Tathāgata*.)

[TH219b4]: *tathāgatapāṇiparimārjitamūrdhānaś ca te kulaputrā bhaviṣyanti* | (The good men’s heads shall be caressed by the hand of the *Tathāgata*.)

The word “*rulaishui*” means “water of the *Tathāgata*” literally. It is worth examining how it can correspond to “*tathāgatapāṇi* (the hand of the *Tathāgata*).” As Karashima [2010: 16–18] demonstrated, in Gāndhārī, “*ap*” or “*apa*” means “water.” It is possible that Zhu Fahu may have first interpreted the word “*tathāgatapāṇi*” as “*tathāgata-apāṇi* (water of the *Tathāgata*, *rulaishui*),” and then may have interpreted the word “*tathāgatapāṇi*” as “*tathāgata-pāṇi* (the palm of the Buddha, *fozhang* 佛掌).” Zhu Fahu created “*rulaishui*” as a literal term for “*tathāgatapāṇi*,” and the word “*fozhang*” is its sense-for-sense translation. At first sight, the word “*rulaishui*” seemed to be an incorrect translation. An informed guess based on the well-digging metaphor³³, in which the water (*jala*) is a metaphor for omniscience, explains why Zhu Fahu employed the incomprehensible word “*rulaishui*” to insinuate the meaning of “the omniscience of the *Tathāgata*.” However, beyond Zhu Fahu’s expectancy, because the word “*shui* 水” does not mean “the hand,” nor does it mean “the omniscience” literally, when “*rulaishui*” is read, it can hardly be associated with the original Sanskrit meaning.

³²See T09.31a18.

³³See SP (10) [KN233.1–6].

4.5 Existing Words with New Senses

Zhu Fahu employed many existing words such as “*zhizhen* 至真”³⁴ and “*jianghesha* 江河沙”³⁵ to translate the Sanskrit word “*arhat*” and “*gaṅgānādivālūkā* (the sands of Ganges rivers).” Similarly, we can find another word in the following sentence:

“*shanggou* 上句”

[Z] 若聽頌音、恭敬察之。方如如來、聖尊上句。³⁶ (If [they] hear the sound uttered, [they] shall examine it respectfully, as if respectfully bowing to the saint *Tathāgata*.)

[M] 於此經卷、敬視如佛。³⁷ (Kubo and Yuyama [2007]: ...who respect this sutra as if it were a Buddha...)

[KN225.4]: *tasmimś ca pustake tathāgatagauravam utpādayiṣyanti* | ([They] shall feel veneration for the manuscripts as they do for the *Tathāgata*.)

[TH213a3]: *tatra ca pustake tathāgatagoravatām utpādayiṣyanti* | (The same as above.)

“*gou*” is usually read as “*ju* 句” when it means “sentence”. In the given sentence, it is a verb used to express the meaning of “venerate the *Tathāgata*,” corresponding to “*tathāgatagauravam utpādayiṣyanti*” in Sanskrit. The *Dong guan kao gong ji* 冬官考工記 and *Shi che* 釋車, which are explanations of the craft composed before Western Jin, defined the word “*gou*” or “*shanggou*” as follows:

The shaft is called “*gou*,” which is a shaft of a cart.³⁸

This is about the things of a cart-driver...the object called “*shanggou*” is 2 feet 2 suns (approximately 73.33 cm).³⁹

It is clear that the word “*shanggou*” is a noun that means the “shaft of a cart.” It is worth examining the word “*gou*” here. In *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字, we find that “*gou*” is used to mean “to bow or bend”⁴⁰, which is associated with “*gou* 佺.” Furthermore, “*shang*” may mean “respect,” which is associated with “*shang* 尚.” The meaning of “*shanggou* 尚佺” literally is “to respectfully bow, salute.”

Apart from the word “*shanggou*” in this sentence, we cannot find any other examples, even in Zhu Fahu’s translations, that explain this word. It is probable that Zhu Fahu was motivated to create a new meaning for the word “*shanggou*” to emphasize the veneration of the *Tathāgata*.

4.6 The Use of Archaic Word Meanings

In the latter half of “*Yaowang rulai pin*,” we can find only one example of the use of an archaic word meaning, that is “*qiqū* 崎嶇,” which appeared in the following verse:

³⁴The word “*zhizhen*,” which was first employed in Taoist doctrine, means the “ultimate situation.” C: 『文子・精誠』「懷自然、保至真。」

³⁵The word “*jianghe*” is a meaningful transliteration, which can be sounded as “*gaṅgā*” phonetically and means “great rivers” literally. C: 『說苑・辯物』「四瀆者、何謂也。江、河、淮、濟也。」. The word “*jianghesha*” means “sands of great rivers.”

³⁶See T09.100b26-27.

³⁷See T09.30c11.

³⁸C: 『釋車』「輈。句也。輈上句也。」

³⁹C: 『冬官考工記』「車人之事...上句者二尺有二寸。」

⁴⁰C: 『說文解字』「句、曲也。」

[Z] 和聲悅顏 崎嶇以獻⁴¹ (With a sweet voice and a pleasant countenance, earnestly [he] presented.)

[M] 如是供養已⁴² (Kubo and Yuyama [2007]: After having paid tribute in this way, . . .)

[KN230.3 (10.15a)]: *karitva pustāna tathaiva pūjām* (Having paid worship to the manuscripts in this way, . . .)

[TH218b1-2 (10.15a)]: *kartavyavasthāna saddharmadhārake* (Having paid tribute to those whom accepted the SP, . . .)

It is evident that the word “*xian* 獻” that Zhu Fahu employed is for “*karitva. . . pūjām*” in KN or “*kartavyavasthāna*” in TH. The words before “*xian*,” which are supplementary expressions, do not correspond to the Sanskrit manuscripts. The word “*yi* 以” is placed behind the adjective to convert the word into an adverb.

Karashima [1998: 322] pointed out that the meaning of “*qiqū*” is “sincerely, earnestly.” However, according to the classical Chinese dictionary, the meaning is “(the mountain path is) rough, rugged,” and the words “roughly I passed the hill”⁴³ from *Gui qu lai xi ci* 歸去來兮辭 serve as an example. This work created by Tao yuanming 陶淵明 (ca. 365–427 CE) is later than that of Zhu Fahu. This fact demonstrates that the meaning of “*qiqū*” as “rough” was established after Zhu Fahu. The usage of “*qiqū*” before Zhu Fahu is thus worth examining. In the *Yue fu* 樂府⁴⁴, a collection of poetry, the following example is found:

I felt your earnest love, and did not consider myself anymore.⁴⁵

The word “*qiqū*” in this poem serves to express earnest affection. All these things make it clear that the meaning concerned was archaic even in Western Jin. It is reasonable for Zhu Fahu to have employed this archaic meaning of the word as an elegant literary expression.

5 Conclusion

It should be concluded, based on the above discussion, that Zhu Fahu created neologisms most frequently through compounding and derivation. The advantage of his neologisms is that they are in high correspondence with the construction of Sanskrit words or phrases and accommodated the needs of educated people because his new words originated mainly from ancient literature. On the contrary, his non-literal translation sometimes involving mistranslation goes against the Chinese idiom and was not suitable for the uneducated masses trying to understand the doctrines found in the Buddhist sutras. This is perhaps why his successors, such as Kumārajīva, began to use the method of free translation to make it easier for more people to understand Buddhist doctrines.

Abbreviations and References

C: The Chinese Text Project.

T: The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.

⁴¹See T09.101b03.

⁴²See T09.31b12.

⁴³C: 『歸去來兮辭』「崎嶇而經丘。」

⁴⁴Composed in folk song style, *Yue fu*, which was chiefly created in the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE).

⁴⁵C: 『樂府詩集·清商曲辭六·西烏夜飛五』「感郎崎嶇情、不復自顧慮。」

- SP: [KN]: Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: Hendrik Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio eds., *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Bibliotheca Buddhica 10. St. Pétersbourg, 1908–1912. Reprint, Osnabruck: Biblio Verlag, 1970. [TH]: Toda, Hirofumi, ed., *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Central Asian Manuscripts: Romanized Text*. Tokushima: Tokushima Kyoiku Shuppan Center, 1981.
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竺法護訳『正法華經』「藥王如來品」後分における新造語の研究

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竺法護訳『正法華經』「藥王如來品」後分はサンスクリット本『法華經』「法師品」(Dharmabhāṇaka-parivarta)に相当し、『法華經』の一乗思想の聴聞・受持・書写・説示・尊崇により、衆生達は速やかに成仏し得るという趣旨を記述するものである。「藥王如來品」後分に相当する漢訳及び品名を年代順に挙げれば以下の通りである。

- ・『正法華經』「藥王如來品第十」(竺法護訳、286 CE)
- ・『妙法蓮華經』「法師品第十」(鳩摩羅什訳、406 CE)
- ・『添品妙法蓮華經』「法師品第十」(闍那崛多共笈多訳、601 CE)

本稿はこれらのうち竺法護訳『正法華經』に焦点を当てる。竺法護は西晋期(265–314 CE)に活躍し、訳経事業を遂行した名訳者である。竺法護訳は「古訳」に属する。白[2018]が指摘する通り、西晋中期の「写実精神」は同時代の竺法護に影響を与えた。彼の時代においては仏教術語が未だ漢語化されておらず、仏教思想を中国の文化風土に受容せしめるための特別の工夫が求められた。結果、彼の翻訳は難読の新造語に満ちることとなった。それにも拘らず、河野[2006]が指摘する通り、『妙法蓮華經』の訳出前において、竺法護訳『正法華經』は教養人の愛読書であった。本稿は竺法護訳『正法華經』「藥王如來品」後分を取り上げ、竺法護の新造語の特徴を明らかにすることを目的とする。

結論として、竺法護の新造語の特徴として以下の点を明らかにした。

1. 類義語を重ねる新造語が見られる。例：「殃釁」、「憍慢恣」。
2. 補足語が既存語の前に導入される。例：「續見」、「續蒙」。
3. サンスクリット語の接頭辞に対応する表現が使用される。例：「分別説」。
4. サンスクリット語の複合語の直訳表現が使用される。例：「世吼」、「如來水」。
5. 既存語に新しい意味が与えられる。例：「至真」、「上句」。
6. 西晋期に使われなくなった廃語が使用される。例：「崎嶇」。