MISSION, MEDITATION AND MIRACLES:
AN SHIGAO IN CHINESE TRADITION

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An Shigao is well known for the important role he played in the early transmission of Buddhism into China, and Chinese Buddhists have considered him to be a meditation master for centuries. However, recent scholarship on An Shigao (Zürcher, 2007; Forte, 1995; Zacchetti, 2002; Nattier, 2008) has focused on his role as a precursor of the Mahāyāna, his ordination status, and the authenticity of the texts attributed to him rather than the meditation techniques he used and taught to his followers in China. One reason for this is because his biographies are full of supernatural details, and many of the texts attributed to An Shigao are pseudepigraphia.

In the first part of this MA thesis, I explore the biographical traditions about An Shigao. The close reading of the oldest biographies of An Shigao shows that during the time he was active in China, An Shigao was respected as a missionary, a meditation master and a miracle worker as well as a translator. This reputation continued to be important for Chinese Buddhists long after his death. Despite his reputation, his biographies contain almost no information about the form of meditation that he practiced and taught. However they contain much information about his supernatural abilities.

In the second part of this MA thesis, I make a statistical analysis of all the meditation sūtras attributed to An Shigao and his school. My analysis shows that a significant number are concerned with Buddhist concepts such as skandha, dhātu, āyatana, the Four Noble Truths, the pratītyasamutpāda, etc. and can be explained as the parallel incorporation of a layer of early Abhidharmic material. Some of these sūtras are also concerned with texts associated with An Shigao, suggests the practitioner should concentrate the mind in association with the breath.
I conclude that while the firm identification of An Shigao’s meditation technique remains beyond the scope of this MA thesis, his biographies and the sutras attributed to An Shigao and his school show the importance of An Shigao for Chinese Buddhists over many centuries.

# Table of Contents

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................ iv

Table of Contents ...................................................................................................................... vi

Abbreviations ........................................................................................................................... ix

Acknowledgements ................................................................................................................... xii

Introduction and A Literature Review ................................................................................... 1

## Chapter One: Buddhism During the Eastern Han Period .............................................. 15

1.1. The spread of Buddhism from India ............................................................................. 16

1.1.1. Nikāya affiliation during the early period ............................................................. 17

1.2. The Arrival of Buddhism in China ............................................................................. 18

1.2.1. The Chinese Reception of Buddhism ................................................................... 19

1.3. The Growth of Buddhism during the Eastern Han Dynasty .................................... 22

1.3.1. Eastern Han period legends about the Buddha ................................................... 23

1.3.2. Early Chinese Buddhist iconography ................................................................... 24

1.4. Buddhist Sūtra translations in China ......................................................................... 26

1.4.1. Earliest Buddhist translation in China ................................................................. 27

1.4.2. Luoyang as the centre for Buddhist translation during Eastern Han Period .......... 28

Figures in Chapter One ........................................................................................................... 31

## Chapter Two: An Shigao’s Biographical Tradition ...................................................... 37

2.1. A Translation of An Shigao's Biography: 安世高傳 (base text: Chu sanzang ji ji 出三藏記集, T2145,55:95a7-c21.) ......................... 37

2.2. An Shigao's Mission .................................................................................................... 60

2.2.1. The Biographies of An Shigao .............................................................................. 61

2.2.2. An Shigao’s Travels, Translation Activity and the Hu language ......................... 64

2.3. An Shigao, Miracles and Pāramī .............................................................................. 69
Figures in Chapter Two…………………………………………………………76

Chapter Three: Meditation texts associated with An Shigao and his school…………………………………………………………………………………78

3.1. “Hīnayāna” meditation texts……………………………………………….81

3.1.1. Foshuo da anban shouyi jing 佛說大安般守意經 (T602)…81

3.1.2. Yin chi ru jing 隱持人經 (T603)………………………………………82

3.1.3A. Daodi jing 道地經 (T607).………………………………………………84

3.1.3B. The two versions of Yogācārabhūmi…………………………………85

3.1.4. Foshuo chanxing sanshiqi pin jing 佛說禪行三十七品經 (T604)………………………………………………………………………………89

3.1.5. Chanxing faxiang jing 禪行法想經 (T605)…………………………92

3.1.6. Renben yusheng jing 人本欲生經 (T14)……………………………97

3.1.7. Qichu sanguan jing 七處三觀經 (T150A)……………………………98

3.2. Mahāyāna meditation text………………………………………………99

3.2.1. Foshuo foyin sanmei jing 佛說佛印三昧經 (T621)………………99

3.2.2. Foshuo zishi sanmei jing 佛說自誓三昧經 (T622)………………100

3.3. Graph classifying the meditation texts associated with An Shigao and his school……………………………………………………………………101

Chapter Four: An Shigao, His School and Their Meditation Techniques…………………………………………………………………………………………104

4.1. What kind of meditation did An Shigao and his school introduce into Eastern Han China?........................................................................................104

4.2. Textual evidence for meditation in the Anban shouyi jing 安般守意經……………………………………………………………………………………………..107

4.3. An Shigao and the Ānāpānasmiṛti………………………………………109

4.4. Breathing meditation techniques in the T-ABSYJ (T602)………………111

4.5. Ge yi, Method of Analogy………………………………………………112

vii
Conclusions..........................................................................................114

Appendix A: Lists of Texts Associated with An Shigao and His
School Recorded in CBETA.................................................................116

Appendix B: Graphs of Texts Associated with An Shigao and His
School Based on the CBETA catalogue..............................................149

Bibliography........................................................................................167
ABBREVIATIONS

- ABSYJ  Anban shouyi jing 安般守意經
- AN  Aṅguttara Nikāya
- AYb  An Shigao Yogācārabhūmi 道地經 (T607)
- BCE  Before Common Era
- BDD  Buddhistdoor Dictionary
- CBETA  Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會
- CE  Common Era
- CSZJJ  Chu sanzang ji ji 出三藏記集 (T2145, 55: 95a7-c21)
- CT  Concordance du Tao-tsang number
- DDB  Digital Dictionary of Buddhism
- DN  Dīgha Nikāya
- DPAD  Dharma Drum Buddhist College’s Place Authority Database
- DTNDL  Datang neidian lu 大唐內典錄 (T2149, 55)
- DYb  Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 Yogācārabhūmi 修行道地經 (T606)
- DZKDZJML  Da zhoukan ding zhongjing mulu 大周刊定眾經目錄 (CBETA, T55, no. 2153)
- FYZLJ57  Fayuan zhulin juan 57 法苑珠林卷 57 (T2122, 53:719c09-720.b01)
- GSZ  Gao seng zhuan 高僧傳 (T2059, 50:323a24-b12)

- **HD** Handian Dictionary 漢典
- **K-ABSYJ** Kongō-ji Anban shouyi jing 大安般守意経
- **K** Korean (i.e. the main Taishō text)
- **KSH** Kang Senghui's 康僧會 preface to the Da anban shou yi jing 大安般守意経 T602, esp. portions on the biography of An Shigao, (T602, 15:163b22-29).
- **Ky** Manuscript in the collection of Otani University dated Kyōho 16 (1731) 享保十六年刊大谷大學藏本
- **KYSJL** Kaiyuan shijiao lu 開元釋教錄 (T2154, 55:481a2-c12)
- **LDSBJ** Lidai sanbao ji 歴代三寶紀 (T2034)
- **M** Ming 明
- **MN** Majjhima Nikāya
- **P** "Palace" 宮
- **S** Song 宋
- **Sh** Sheng 聖
- **Skt** Sanskrit
- **SSZJ1** Shen seng zhuan juan 1 神僧傳卷一 (T2064, 50:948c27-949b18)
- **T** The Taishō Tripiṭaka 大正新脩大藏経
- **T-ABSYJ** Taishō- Da Anban shouyi jing 大安般守意経 (T602)
- **Vol** Volume
- **Y** Yuan 元
- **YCRJ** Yin chi ru jing 陰持入経 (T603)
- **YCRJZ** Yin chi ru jing zhu 陰持入経註 (T1694)
- **ZJMLF** Zhong jing mulu (Fajing) 翁經目録（法經）(T2146)
- **ZJMLJT** Zhong jing mulu (Jingtai) 翁經目録（靜泰）(T2148)

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• ZJMLYC  Zhong jing mulu (Yancong)  眾經目錄（彥琮）

• ZLZJML  Zhong li zhong jing mulu  綜理衆經目錄

• ZXSJL  Zhenyuan xin ding Shijiao lu  貞元新定釋教目錄 (T2157, 55:778a14-c26)
First, I would like to pay my respects to the Triple Gem, and to the Most Venerable Phra Mongkolthepmuni whose teachings have inspired me to study the meditation techniques that were introduced into Central Asia and China by An Shigao. I also want to express my deep gratitude to the Most Venerable Phrathepyanmahamuni (Dhammajayo Bhikkhu) the founder of the 60th Dhammachai Education Foundation, and to the Most Venerable Phrarajbhavanajahn (Dhattajiyo Bhikkhu) for inspiring me, teaching me the Dhamma, and giving me the opportunity to pursue my postgraduate studies in New Zealand, and to Khun Yay Maharatana Upasikā Chandra Khonnoqyoong.

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Sabbe pūrentu saṅkappā cando paññaraso yathā
Maṇi jotiraso yathā

“May all your aspirations be fulfilled, as the moon on the full moon day, or as a radiant, bright gem.”

~accesstoinsight.net~
Dedicated to The Triple Gems
An Shigao was a Parthian prince who ordained as a Buddhist monk and came to Luoyang in the mid-second century CE to propagate Buddhism. During his life in China, he translated many Buddhist sūtras from the Hu language into Chinese. For many centuries, An Shigao has been known to Chinese and Vietnamese Buddhists as a meditation master, a charismatic missionary, and a miracle-working monk as well as a translator, who attracted many followers – both lay and ordained monastics. The names of some of his followers have survived: Han Lin 韓林 of Nanyang, Pi Ye 皮業 of Yingchuan, Chen Hui 陳慧 of Kuaiji, and Kang Senghui 康僧會 (A.D. 250–280). These followers carried on his teachings after his death. For example, several decades after An Shigao died, Kang Senghui assisted Chen Hui in composing the commentary on the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經 (hereafter called ABSYJ) based on An Shigao’s exegesis.

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6. The Hu language is a term used by Chinese scholars to refer to the non-Chinese languages of the Western Region of China. See more details in chapter two.


Because of An Shigao’s importance for the early transmission of Buddhism into China, many scholars have studied his work and life. Contemporary scholars who have investigated An Shigao’s translations, his sectarian affiliations, and his ordination status, include Stefano Zacchetti, Antonino Forte, Jan Nattier, and Paul Harrison. However it seems that no one has looked for information about his meditation techniques.

The primary aim of this MA thesis is to examine the earliest surviving Hôi, 13–18. According to Thích Nhất Hạnh, An Shigao spoke these words before passing away: “The person who will develop the path I have taught is Layman Chen Hui, and the person who will transmit the teachings to meditation students is Bhikshu Kang Senghui.” Thích Nhất Hạnh continues: “this passage confirms that the two people to whom An Shigao entrusted the transmission of his work were Chen Hui and Kang Senghui. Kang Senghui was later considered to be the first patriarch of the school of meditation in Vietnam.


biography of An Shigao, and the sūtras associated with him and his school, for information about his teaching and practice of Buddhist meditation. The methodology I use is a combination of translation and the analytical study of primary and secondary materials in Chinese, Sanskrit, Pāli, Thai, and English that are about An Shigao and meditation during the Eastern Han dynasty. An important source is the earliest surviving biography of An Shigao, Sengyou’s Chu sanzang ji ji 出三藏記集 (T2145 hereafter called CSZJJ). Although Sengyou composed this biography several centuries after An Shigao’s death, it is based on an earlier account Zhong li zhong jing mulu 綜理眾經目錄 (hereafter called ZLZJML), a text which is no longer extant, which was compiled by Daoan 道安 (312–385) and published in 374.  

Sengyou’s biography is important because it preserves Chinese perceptions of An Shigao during first few centuries after his death. I also work with an important sūtra translated by An Shigao that is concerned with Buddhist meditation, the ABSYJ. In addition to the translation and analysis of these primary sources, I review the secondary literature on An Shigao, his sūtras, and on both Buddhist and Daoist meditation practices in China.

This thesis is structured into four main chapters. In the first chapter I begin by surveying the secondary literature on the transmission of Buddhism from India and its reception in China during the eastern Han dynasty (25-220 CE). Then I review the secondary literature about An Shigao’s life, career and translations and on early Buddhist meditation in China.

The second chapter is concerned with An Shigao’s biography. I begin by presenting Sengyou’s biography of An Shigao, and my translation of this text. I discuss the information in this biography about An Shigao’s life and mission, his reputation as a thaumaturge, and the relationship between supernatural power, meditation, and Buddhist pāramī.

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In the third chapter I focus on the meditation texts associated with An Shigao and his school. I have collected data from two main sources: first, the Chinese traditional catalogues found today in CBETA, the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會\(^\text{15}\) which attributes between 29 and 172\(^\text{16}\) texts to An Shigao. My second source is a list of An Shigao’s authentic translations established by the current leading scholars of An Shigao such as Nattier, Ui Hakuju Zürcher, Zacchetti, et al. Their scholarship has demonstrated that most of the 176 sūtras attributed to An Shigao over the centuries are inauthentic, and ascribes only 35 translations to An Shigao.

Nattier uses Sengyou’s CSZJJ as her primary source in determining the thirty-four texts that she considers authentic. The CSZJJ catalogue itself, however, actually gives thirty-five titles. According to Nattier, the reason for this and several other discrepancies in Sengyou’s catalogue is because some titles refer to duplicate texts.\(^\text{17}\)

As Cheung writes, “texts now known have been written originally in Chinese were circulated as translations, and over the centuries An Shigao has been credited with more and more translations.”\(^\text{18}\) Hence most of the

\(^{15}\) The CBETA catalogue is a digital source based on the Taishō Tripiṭaka, and contains the traditional Chinese Buddhist canon, volumes 1–55 and 85, which use the resources from the Taishō Tripiṭaka, see Lewis R. Lancaster, “Digital Input of Buddhist Texts,” ed. Damien Keown and Charles S. Prebish, *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 293–294.

\(^{16}\) The number of texts attributed to An Shigao varies from source to source. The *Zhong jing mulu* (yan cong) 罕經目錄 (彥琮), (T2147, hereafter called ZJMLYC) attributes 29 texts to An Shigao while the *Zhoukan ding zhong jing mulu* 夏周刊定眾經目錄, (T2153, hereafter called DZKDZJML) attributes 172 texts to An Shigao. The *Lidai Sanbao Ji juan* di si, LDSBJ V.4, 經代三寶紀卷第四, compiled by Fei Changfang ascribes 176 texts to An Shigao. However, the CBETA catalogue only attributes 171 texts to An Shigao (see details in appendix A).


176 texts ascribed to An Shigao fall into the category of Chinese Buddhist apocryphal literature or “pseudepigraphia.”

According to Buswell the term “pseudepigraphia” means “writings of falsely ascribed authorship,” and “Buddhist apocryphal texts” refer to a texts falsely attributed to the Buddha. 19 In both cases, Buswell explains that false attributions are “more a literary devise to enhance the prestige and solemnity of the work than an attempt at deception.” 20 Furthermore, Buswell argues that a useful way to gain insight into the reception of Buddhism into China is to study not only authentic texts but also Buddhist apocryphal literature, or more accurately, “pseudepigraphia.”

In the absence of textual evidence for Buddhist meditation practices that can be securely attributed to An Shigao, in this thesis, I follow Buswell’s example, and argue that all of the 172 sūtras listed in the CBETA catalogue (古經錄) and associated with An Shigao and his school are part of the story of An Shigao. They contain useful information about the way An Shigao was understood in China, and also about the Chinese Buddhists who composed them. I categorise these texts based on titles and colophons for information about meditation and then divide them into two groups: texts that are clearly about meditation and texts that are not about meditation. Based on my analysis, I find that a significant number, or 9 texts, are about meditation and conclude that for many centuries, Chinese Buddhists have associated An Shigao with Buddhist meditation and with specific meditation techniques.

The fourth chapter is concerned with identifying the meditation techniques described in these texts associated with An Shigao and his school. My analysis shows that one of the techniques was the Indian Buddhist

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20 Ibid.
meditation technique of mindfulness of breathing, or ānāpānasmṛti.

Literature Review

In this thesis, I begin by surveying some of the secondary literature on the transmission of Buddhism from India and its reception in China during the eastern Han dynasty (25-220 CE). Scholars agree that Early Buddhism was transmitted from India through Central Asia into China. However, there is some controversy over when this happened. There is some evidence that Buddhism was known to the Chinese during the reign of the first Emperor Qin Shi Huang (259 BCE – 210 BCE) but was banned by the Emperor. The classic source on the transmission and reception of Buddhism in China is Erik Zürcher’s work “Han Buddhism and the Western Region.” Zürcher described Han Buddhism as a composite phenomenon which consisted of three characteristics: firstly, a hybrid court Buddhism which blended the worship of the Daoist Huanglao and the Buddha; secondly, the first nucleus of canonical monastic Buddhism which involved the translation of Buddhist texts by teams of foreign Buddhist monks and Chinese lay followers, and thirdly, the diffuse borrowing of Buddhist elements into indigenous local cults. In addition, Zürcher analyzed and divided Han Buddhism into two systems: a devotion-based system that was popular with Han court officials as well as the common people, and a saṃgha-based system that was first established in Luoyang during the end of the Eastern Han by foreign Buddhist monks such as An Shigao.

There is some controversy about the routes of transmission. According to Xinjiang Rong’s 2004 article “Land Road or Sea Route? Commentary on the Study of the Paths of Transmission and Areas in Which Buddhism Was

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Disseminated During the Han Period,” Buddhism may have first arrived in Southeastern China by sea. However there is much more information about the transmission of Buddhism from the Western Regions by land routes.  

Stephan Peter Bumbacher states Buddhism was brought into China by merchants travelling on the Silk Road during the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century CE.\textsuperscript{23} While Buddhism may have been presented in China before this time, there is good evidence for a Buddhist community in the commercial quarter of Pengcheng 彭城 in the Chu State 楚 during 65 CE.\textsuperscript{24} At the beginning the Buddha was considered by Chinese as a foreign god associated with the Cult of Queen Mother of the West (Xi Wangmu 西王母) and the King Father of the East (Dongwang Gong 東王公). In addition, at the beginning of the Buddhist transmission process, Buddhism and Daoism influenced each other. In Buddhism, An Shigao borrowed Daoist terms such as: \textit{shou} 守, \textit{si} 思, \textit{sixiang} 思想, \textit{sicun} 思存, \textit{cun} 存, for his translation. By the second half of the second century CE Daoism also was influencing some Buddhist meditation techniques such as the breathing teaching, and the visualized divinities technique \textit{sishen} 思神. The Daoist meditation technique of visualization of divinities in the cinnabar field was mentioned in the \textit{Laozi zhong jing} 老子中經\textsuperscript{25} a text composed during the end of the Eastern Han. The technique in which the breath enters the cinnabar field can also be traced to a work that may date ca. 164-225 CE, the \textit{Huangting waijing jing}


\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 205; also see Zürcher, \textit{The Buddhist Conquest of China}, 26.

\textsuperscript{25} CT 1032 \textit{Laozi zhongjing} 老子中經.
This scripture instructs the meditator to “breathe in and out and through the thatched cottage; thus [the breath] enters the cinnabar field.”

It is similar to the Wangzi Qiao’s stele (Wangzi Qiao bei 王子喬碑), mentioned by Laozi Ming ca. 165 CE which contained the sentence “[Laozi] visualized the cinnabar field.”

Bumbacher also remarks that “there still exist several early Daoist texts which focus both on body gods and how to visualize them.” Bumbacher concludes that “from the year 165 CE onwards at the latest, in various Daoist circles from Sichuan to Meng up to Luoyang, visualization was practiced as a new form of meditation,” and that this new form of Daoist visualization meditation developed as a consequence of the introduction of Buddhist texts such as the *Buddhānasmṛti*, which were translated during that period.

Marylin M. Rhie categorizes the Buddhist translation during the Han period into three phases. The first translation phase was associated with the monk An Shigao. The second translation phase related to the influential monk Lokakṣema. The third phase was produced by a group of Lokakṣema’s disciples: Zhi Liang 支亮, Tan Guo 曽果 (Dhammapala), Zhu Dalì 竺大力, and Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥. These sources provide useful information for the transmission of Buddhism to China and the social and religious context in China when Buddhism arrived.
An Shigao is one of the earliest translators of Indian Buddhist texts into Chinese. Traditional sources state that he was born as a prince of Parthia, and travelled to the capital city of Luoyang during the late Han Dynasty. He lived there for many years and produced translations into Chinese of a substantial number of Indian Buddhist texts. Chinese historians of Buddhism recognized the importance of An Shigao, and there have been several biographies written about him, for example Sengyou’s CSZJJ.

Scholars of Buddhism are still writing An Shigao’s biography; see for example Forte (1995). Forte divides the early Buddhist sources on An Shigao into three groups: biographies, genealogies and rhyme dictionaries. Based on these sources, Forte concludes that An Shigao was not a monk but a layman, who may have followed Mahāyāna Buddhism, and was sent to the Han Court as a hostage.

Nattier’s research also focuses on An Shigao’s biography; contrary to Forte, she concludes that An Shigao was in fact an ordained member of the Sangha whose title was refered to as heshang 高尚, which Nattier translates as upādhyāya or preceptor.

Nattier, Zürcher, Harrison and Zacchetti have analysed the texts ascribed to An Shigao such as the Ahan koujie shi er yinyuan jing, the Da anban shouyi jing, the Yin chi ru jing zhu, and the newly discovered Kongo-ji Manuscript for their translation style and vocabulary. This is because the extent of An Shigao’s corpus is still an unsolved problem. Some biographies such as Fei Changfang’s Lidai sanbao ji (hereafter called LDSBJ) volume 4 歷代三寶紀卷四, 597 CE, attribute 176 texts to An Shigao. However, according to Daoan’s ZLZJML, An Shigao translated 34 sūtras. According to Zürcher,

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31 Ibid. 32.
32 Forte, The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring, 91–93.
four of these attributions tentative and only 19 of the 30 texts in Daoan’s catalogue have been preserved. Zacchetti, on the other hand, states that only 16 texts have been preserved, including the rediscovered texts from Kongō-ji temple named 安般守意經 (cols. 61-275), Foshuo shi er men jing 佛說十二門經 (cols. 283-365), Foshuo jie shi er men jing 佛說十二門經 (cols. 366-385), and the anonymous commentary on the “twelve gates” (cols. 386-584). Nattier bases her list on the 34 texts in Sengyou’s CSZJJ, comprising 40 fascicles in all, and compares this list with the compilation accounts of Ui Hakujū and Erik Zürcher. According to Nattier and the CBETA Digital Database of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, only 19 of the texts listed by Daoan have survived to the present day (see Appendix B).

One reason for applying text critical analysis to the translations attributed to An Shigao is because during the first stages of transmission, translators found some difficulty in finding the exact words to explain Buddhist

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35. Ibid., 265. Zacchetti states that this scripture deals with the introduction of “a threefold series of meditative practices: the four smṛtyupasthāna, the four infinitudes (maitrī etc) and the four immaterial attainments.”
36. Ibid., 266. Zacchetti concludes that “Structure and content of this text are very similar to the second part of the preceding scripture.”
37. Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Brill, 2007), 33, states that “four works out of these were only hesitatingly ascribed to An Shigao.”
concepts in Chinese. To overcome this problem, An Shigao used “Geyi” or the “method of analogy” in his translations, something that is discussed by Victor Mair in his article “What Is Geyi, After All?” Another innovative strategy used by An Shigao was the adaptation of Daoist terminology to explain Buddhist concepts. According to Bumbacher, An Shigao borrowed the Daoist term shou “guarding or observing” to “denote the effort of concentration of mind.” The use of shou can be seen in the title of the Da anban shouyi jing (T-ABSYJ, T602). Because An Shigao blended Daoist terminology with Buddhism, Chinese converts were able to grasp new Buddhist concepts.

Recent developments have taken place in the field of An Shigao studies with the discovery of new manuscripts dating between the eleventh and the thirteenth century CE. Zacchetti’s research on the recently discovered commentary on the T-ABSYJ has been important for this thesis because it provides new information about the historical context of the text, identifies the catalogues which refer to ABSYJ, and asserts the authenticity of An Shigao’s authorship of the Kongō-ji Anban shouyi jing (K-ABSYJ).

Another approach to the translations of An Shigao is shown by Florin

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44 Livia Kohn and Yoshinobu Sakade, Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1989), 152.
Deleanu in his “A Preliminary Study of An Shigao’s Translation of the Yogācārabhūmi.” Deleanu gives an important analysis of An Shigao's Daodi jing. He argues that An Shigao made an abridged translation of the Yogācārabhūmi as a text to be read and used in conjunction with the Ānāpānasmitṛ, a manual completely dedicated to the mindfulness of breathing.48

According to the early Chinese biographies, An Shigao knew the languages of animals, was familiar with astrology, could remember his past lives, and performed miracles to help his followers.49 Many scholars have ignored, or even dismissed these supernatural elements as hagiography. However An Shigao’s supernatural abilities are clearly linked to his reputation as one of China’s great Buddhist monks. In fact, An Shigao’s biography can be understood as a form of zhiguai 志怪 or “record of the strange.”50 Miracles and the supernatural are part of the basic structure of Chinese Buddhist hagiographic literature which follow a certain format: first the lineage and birthplace of the protagonist is given, his talents and character are described, some of the religious practices performed by him/her are recounted, and references are made to dreams or visions in which the circumstances of his/her death are predicted.51

Another way of accounting for An Shigao’s supernatural power is Buddhist pāramī. According to Shinohara, “miracles and legendary stories played important roles in early Chinese Buddhism. As such they are themselves an

49 Sengyou 僧祐, “An Shigao Zhuan Di Yi 安世高傳第一” (Tokyo, April 13, 2011), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.
important part of this historical reality.”

Shinohara disagrees with Arthur F. Wright’s dismissal of miracle stories. According to Shinohara, Wright uses a “two-tier model” to interpret the framework of medieval Chinese Buddhism as “a religion of the masses that is opposed to a religion of the elite” which was “disdainful of tales of miracles and the supernatural.” Wright asserts that one of An Shigao’s biographers, “Huijiao, who was steeped in Chinese historiographical tradition”, was trying to write “a work within that tradition, one that would meet the prevailing standards for secular literary and historical writing.” Instead, Shinohara argues that Huijiao was in fact deeply interested in miracle stories and placed “miracle working monks” third in his tenfold classification of China’s eminent monks. Shinohara, in addition, criticizes the way that western scholars have selectively discarded supernatural material in their construction of a modern critical history of early Chinese Buddhism, ignoring the reality that miracles and the supernatural held for the majority of Chinese Buddhism.

Shinohara’s point is very important for the study of An Shigao as a meditation master from a Buddhist perspective. For Buddhists, a monk who is able to demonstrate his abhiññā - the power to perform miracles - is thought to have accumulated merit - manifested in his personal pāramī or Buddhist perfections - over many previous lives. Monks like An Shigao, who are charismatic and attract many followers are said to have

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54 Shinohara, “Biographies of Eminent Monks in a Comparative Perspective,” 479.
55 Wright, Biography and Hagiography, 385.
57 Ibid., 485.
In this introduction and literature review, I have stated the aims of the thesis, described the methodology I will use and briefly reviewed some of the literature and scholarship on An Shigao and Chinese Buddhist meditation that has been important for my research. In the next chapter, I will survey the legends and history about the transmission and reception of Buddhism in China.

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For a further discussion of Buddhist \textit{pārami}, see chapter two.
CHAPTER ONE: BUDDHISM DURING THE EASTERN HAN PERIOD

BUDDHISM DURING THE EASTERN HAN PERIOD

Introduction

In this chapter I will firstly survey the history and legends about the transmission of Buddhism from India and its arrival in China. Secondly, I will look at the reception of Buddhism in China during the Eastern Han Dynasty. Finally I will examine the early Buddhist Sūtra translation activities in China. I will focus on the Central Asian Buddhist missionaries who settled in Luoyang and translated various Buddhist scriptures from foreign languages into Chinese.

Today, most scholars agree that Buddhism originated in India sometime between the 6th - 4th centuries BCE and began to spread outside of India along the trade routes ca. 3rd century BCE. According to tradition the first wave of Buddhist missionaries began to travel from India to the rest of Asia including Syria, Macedonia and Egypt during the reign of King Aśoka. Aśoka is said to have sent Dhammarakkhita to propagate Buddhism in Aparântaka (Modern Greece). The Mahâvamsa, the Great Chronicle of Ceylon reports that “Parthian and Alexandrian delegates attended at a Buddhist council held by King Duttha Gamani (108-77 BC) during the first century BCE”. (See Figs. 1.1)

Under the Kushans, ca. 2nd century BCE – 3rd century CE, Buddhism became established in Central Asia (Bactria, Sogdiana, and the Tarim Basin)

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59 Akira Hirakawa and Paul Groner, A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1993), 229. Inscriptions found in the Swat and the urn containing a relic of Śākyamuni Buddha by a Greek governor (meridarsh) named Theodoros indicate that by the first century BCE there were many Greek Buddhists.

60 Shanker Thapa, in Transmission of Indian Buddhist Thought In East Asian Historiography: Dhyanabhadra (Chi-Gong) and Buddhism in 14th Century Korea. (presented at the The 3rd World Congress of Korean Studies, Cheju, Korea, 2006), 4.
and from there traveled to China along the trade routes that linked India with East Asia. At the beginning, the Han Chinese seem to have regarded Buddhism as a sect of Daoism, and Buddhist concepts were confused with Daoist ideas and ideology. During the first century CE Buddhism was accepted by the Han Court and a shrine was built for worship that contained images of the Buddha, the Yellow Emperor and Laozi placed together. Buddhist monks arrived in China from the Western Regions around the first century CE and began to translate Buddhist teachings into Chinese and Buddhism increased in popularity.

1.1. The spread of Buddhism from India

Buddhism traveled along a network of trade routes called the “Silk Road.” Wherever Buddhist missionaries went, colonies of Buddhists were established, linked to each other by their Buddhist beliefs and by trade networks. By the second century CE most of the city-states of Central Asia located on the Silk Road (Bamiyan, Kabul, Kucha, Kotan, Loulan, Turfan, and Dunhuang) were influenced by the spread of Buddhism. The Chinese were interested in Buddhism from an early time. The Records of the Great Historian compiled by Sima Qian 司馬遷 in the 1st century BCE describes the travels of Zhang Qian 張騫, who was the first Chinese official sent to Central Asia ca. 130 BCE to collect information and report back to Chinese sources.

the Han court. In the accounts included in the *Hanshu* 漢書, 66 Zhang Qian mentioned a country named Shendu 身毒, or the Indus Valley, where the people practiced Buddhism.

1.1.1. Nikāya affiliation during the early period

Chinese records and archaeological remains show that there were many Buddhist monasteries in cities along the trade routes like Bamiyan (modern Afghanistan) and Dunhuang (Gansu province). Scholars have attempted to reconstruct Central Asian Buddhism from these records and from archaeological remains. 67 Hartmann states that “Mahāyāna texts prevailed along the southern Silk Route, while so-called Hīnayāna scriptures dominated in the monasteries on the northern route; as regards school affiliation, we know that most of the canonical scriptures can be assigned to one school only, i.e. the (Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda.” 68 According to Foltz, the Dharmaguptakas and the Sarvāstivādins were the predominant nikāya (sectarian school) along the Silk Road, while the Mahāsāṃghikas were also active. 69 The Sarvāstivādins were also active in the Kushan Empire and had the support of King Kaniṣka II (c. 158-176 CE.) who convened a Buddhist synod of the Sarvāstivāda School in Kashmir. 70

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68 Hartmann Jens-Uwe, “Buddhism Along the Silk Road: On the Relationship Between the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts from Northern Turkestan and those from Afghanistan,” in *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research Into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, ed. Durkin Desmond and Christiane Simone (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2004), 125.


also predominant in Parthia. An Shigao was probably affiliated with the Sarvāstivādins.

1.2. The Arrival of Buddhism in China

Buddhism arrived in China in several “waves” over a long period of time. There are some accounts that state that “during the first year of the Yuanshou 元寿 of Emperor Ai’s reign 哀帝 in the early Han dynasty (2nd BCE), Yi Cun 伊存, the emissary of the emperor of Dayuezhi 大月氏, transmitted orally the Fotu-jing 浮屠經 (Buddhist texts) to the Boshi Dizi 博士弟子 (doctoral student) Jing Lu 景盧.”

Buddhism also arrived in Southeastern China on maritime trade routes, and is associated with the establishment of the Kingdom of Eastern Wu 東吳 (220-280 CE) on the lower of Yangtze, the plains of Canton and the Red River in Vietnam.

In the beginning Buddhism was apparently regarded as a sect of Daoism and not clearly understood due to language and cultural differences. The Buddha was considered to be a “foreign god” from the West, and seems to have also been confused with the Queen Mother of the West, funerary cults,

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74 Ibid.
and with supernatural powers. The links between Buddhism, foreigners and merchants meant that Buddhism was first popular with the lower classes and was rejected by traditional elites. There were periodic persecutions by the government of this “foreign religion.” It took some time for the Chinese Buddhist Sangha to be established securely in China. As time went by, and as more sūtras were translated into Chinese, the understanding of Buddhism became more sophisticated. Buddhism began to be accepted by elites around the Eastern Han period. A record in the *Huo Han Shu* 后漢書 states that during the first century the images of Buddha, the Yellow Emperor and Laozi were placed together for worshiping in a ceremony by members of Royal family and nobles.

According to Jacques Gernet “the first allusion to a Buddhist community in the Han Empire dates from 65 CE.” By this time Buddhism had already taken root in the commercial and metropolitan city of Gansu 甘肅 (Dunhuang 敦煌, Jiuquan 酒泉, Zhangye 張掖, Wuwei 武威) and in the capitals (Changan 長安, Luoyang 洛陽).

### 1.2.1. The Chinese Reception of Buddhism

Chinese traditional legends about the Buddha emphasize his origins in India, the Aśokan missions, and the supernatural powers possessed by the Buddha. According to these legends, the Buddha was born in *Shendu guo* 身毒國 “Sindhu/India.” However, the specific date of the Buddha’s birth varies in

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77 Rong, “Land Road or Sea Route? Commentary on the Study of the Paths of Transmission and Areas in Which Buddhism Was Disseminated during the Han Period,” 7.
78 Ibid., 13.
79 LaFargue, *Lao-Tzu and the Tao-Te-Ching*, 78.
81 Ibid.
the legends. According to the *Zhoushu yi ji* 周書異記 the Buddha was born during the reign of King Zhao of Zhou 周昭王 (995-977 BCE). The *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶紀, which was composed around the eight century CE, gives the details that the Buddha was born in the *jiayin* year (958 BCE) of the reign of King Zhao and passed into extinction in the *renshen* year (878 BCE) of King Mu. While another account, LDSBJ volume 1 歷代三寶紀卷一 (T2034), which was compiled in 597 CE by Fei Changfang 費長房, states that the Buddha was born during the same period as King Zhuang of the Zhou Dynasty 周莊王 (696-682 BCE). At that time, the creeks and rivers overflowed their banks, the earth quaked entirely, and a five-colored auspicious light pierced the heavens.

These Chinese sources mention the Aśokan missions. For example, the LDSBJ relates that 116 years after the Buddha’s parinirvāṇa, there was a King named Ashujia 阿輸伽 “Aśoka” who commanded 84,000 stūpas to be built. Other accounts such as the *Xiangyang Falin Fashi ji xu* 襄陽法琳法
“Records about Master Fa Lin” (T2109), also state that Buddhism arrived in China as part of the Aśokan missions from India. The account in Xiangyang Falin Fashi ji xu describes King Aśoka’s mission to build 84,000 stūpas or Ta 塔 “pagoda” and states that Buddhist stūpas were first built in China during the reign of King Jing of Zhou 周敬王 (520 BCE – 476 BCE). Moreover, Śramaṇa Zhipan 沙門志磐 (1220-1275 CE), who compiled Fozu tong ji 佛祖統紀卷三十四, “Chronicle of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs, volume 34,” identified 19 pagodas that were established in China as a result of the Aśokan missions. Most of these pagodas have vanished, but some are maintained, were rebuilt or rediscovered, such as the Great White Pagoda of Dayuan 大白塔, King Aśoka Pagoda of Famen Temple 法門寺阿育王塔, Leifeng Aśoka Pagoda 雷峰塔天宮阿育王塔, Lianyungang Aśoka Pagoda 連雲港阿育王塔, and the Pagoda of Aśoka Temple at Ningbo 宁波阿育王寺塔. Chinese scholars recently have begun to investigate the history of these pagodas, and the role they played in the transmission of Buddhism to China during this early period. (See Figures 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4)


90 The word ‘pagoda’ is a transposition of ‘dagoba’ which is derives from the Sanskrit word dhatugarbha ‘container of the elements’ or ‘reliquary shrine’. See Christoph Baumer, China’s Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Buddhism (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 346.


94 Chen Xiandan 沈憲旦 and Sun Xiaowen 孫曉文, Xinban shijie wuqian nian 新版世界五千年 (Shanghai 上海: Shaonian ertong chuban she 少年儿童出版社, 2004), 71.
Xu Yi 須一 (1994), who compiled the “General Outline of Buddhism,”
gives the dates of King Aśoka as 268 BCE – 232 BCE, 95 (which conflicts
with the account in LDSBJ volume 1), and asserts that Aśoka sent eighteen
Buddhist monks, including Shi Lifang 釋利防 who was possibly an Indian
monk, to China to propagate Buddhism there. 96 Kumar (2005) writes that
the book named Hongming ji 弘明集 describes how Shi Lifang carried
Buddhist texts into China during the reign of Emperor Qin Shi Huang 秦始
皇(259 – 210 BCE). 97 The emperor, unwilling to accept the doctrine,
immediately commanded that the monks be thrown in jail. But that night
they were released from the prison by a Golden Man who was sixteen feet
tall. This miracle made the emperor bow his head to the ground and beg for
pardon. 98

1.3. The Growth of Buddhism during the Eastern Han Dynasty

This second wave of Buddhism from Central Asia arrived in China along
the Silk Road during the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 CE). It seems that
the Kushan Empire (50-250 CE) played a decisive part in the spread of
Buddhism into China. The Kushans controlled the trade from Kashmir,
Afghanistan, the eastern borders of Iran, the oases of the Amu-Darya valley
and of the western end of the Tarim Valley. 99 The capital city of Luoyang
洛陽, where foreigners were numerous, 100 played an important role as the

95 The date of King Aśoka’s reign, usually given as 268-232 BCE, are based on Rock
Edict XIII; see Hirakawa and Groner, A History of Indian Buddhism, 95.
97 Yukteshwar Kumar, A History of Sino-Indian Relations: 1st Century A.D. to 7th
Century A.D.: Movement of Peoples and Ideas Between India and China from Kasyapa
Matanga to Yi Jing (New Delhi: Aph Publishing, 2005), 34.
100 Ibid.
centre of international trade. Luoyang was the centre where foreign monks translated Buddhist texts. See Figure 1.6

1.3.1. Eastern Han period legends about the Buddha

At first, the Han people seemed to be interested in the Buddha as a “foreign deity.” 101 This can be seen in the popular stories about the Buddha from this period. One traditional legend, dating from the Eastern Han dynasty, tells the story of the dream of Emperor Ming 漢明帝 (28-75 CE), 102 who reigned during the third year of the Yung Ping reign period (67 CE), can be found in Xiyu zhuan 西域傳 103 a section of Hou Hanshu 後漢書. 104 Zürcher argues that all accounts of the dream of Emperor Ming and the embassy to the Yuezhi derive from one source: the “Preface to the Sūtra in Forty-two Sections” which was incorporated in the CSZJJ at the beginning of the sixth century. 105 The account states that Emperor Ming dreamed about a golden man who had a halo of light shining around his head. This golden man flew into the imperial palace where the Emperor was sleeping. 106 The next day he asked his ministers about the dream. One of

102 Nogami Toshi Shizuka 野上俊靜, Zhongguo Fojiao Shi Gai Shuo 中國佛教史概說, trans. Sheng Yan 聖嚴 (Taiwan shangwu yin shuguan 臺灣商務印書館, 1993), 10.
104 Nogami Toshi Shizuka 野上俊靜, Zhongguo Fojiao Shi Gai Shuo 中國佛教史概說, 10.
106 Hsüan Hua, Records of High Sanghans, 1:1.
his courtiers, named Fu Yi 傅毅 (47-92 CE), told the emperor he had heard that there was a famous man in India whom the people called “Buddha.”

1.3.2. Early Chinese Buddhist iconography

According to record of Shi Laozhi 釋老志 in the Book of Wei 魏書 one of the first images of the Buddha to come to China was captured during a battle with the Xiongnu around 121 BCE. 

When Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (156-87 BCE) was on an imperial tour of inspection, Huo Qubing 霍去病 (140-117 BCE) captured a golden image over ten feet tall from King Kunxie 昆邪王 of Xiongnu 匈奴. Thinking it was a great god, the Emperor Wudi of the Han dynasty placed it in Ganquan 甘泉 “Sweet Spring” Palace, lit incense and bowed to it. (See Figure 1.8)

Zürcher, however, believed this story to be apocryphal. The record describes this golden Buddha with the statues brought to Ganquan Palace in 120 BCE

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111 Zhang Qizhi 張豈之, Wang Zijin 王子今, and Fang Guanghu 方光華, eds., Qinhan weijin nanbeichao shi 秦漢魏晉南北朝史 (Wu nan tushu chuban 五南圖書出版, 2002), 82.
112 Xu Yi 須一, “A General Outline of Buddhism.”
by Huo Qubing 霍去病, a great Han general who collected them from the region of Kara-nor. A mural in Mogao Cave 323 at Dunhuang, depicts Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 and his attendants worshiping two standing statues of these Buddhas, which are identified as the “golden men” obtained in 120 BCE by the great Han general during his campaign among the nomads.\footnote{Roderick Whitfield, Susan Whitfield, and Neville Agnew, 
_Cave Temples of Mogao: Art and History on the Silk Road_ (Singapore: Getty Publications, 2000), 19.} Because Emperor Wu of Han did not know what and who these statues depicted, he sent Zhang Qian 張騫 (?-114 BCE) to the West to get information about them. There, Zhang Qian found that they were statues of Buddha.\footnote{Dunhuang Academy, 

Other images of the Buddha in stone reliefs, tomb painting and burial goods of the Eastern Han provide further information about the entry of Buddhism into China.\footnote{John Kieschnick, 
_The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture_ (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), 83.} This iconography includes the south wall of the antechamber in the tomb of Helinger, Inner Mongolia that has a painting of a Buddha or Bodhisattva in a red robe riding on a white elephant. Further examples include stone reliefs of male figures in a tomb at Yi Nan, Shandong which were influenced by Buddhist iconography, a stone fragment unearthed in Teng county, Henan which bears the image of two six-tusked elephants, (a Buddhist legend); a seated Buddha in low relief in the Eastern Han cliff tomb at Mahao in the outskirts of Leshan, Sichuan; a seated Buddha with a halo in the rear chambers of the Eastern Han tomb in Shiziwan of Leshan; a seated Buddha with crossed legs, high and protruding _uṣṇīṣa_ and in _abhaya-mudrā_ on a clay stand, originally part of a money tree excavated from an Eastern Han tomb in Pengshan, Sichuan. Yu (1980) asserts by the time of the reigns of Huan and Ling of the Eastern Han, Buddhist iconography had
already spread from Xinjiang to Shandong and from Inner Mongolia to Sichuan.  

During this early period of contact, Buddhist iconography seems to have been blended with early Daoism, transcendent ideology and regional indigenous cults. Huang Wu (1986) writes that the Eastern Han Chinese understood the Buddha as an auspicious “foreign deity” who lived in the Western Realms, and who could help people achieve immortality. Therefore the Buddha was unsurprisingly linked with the images of Dong Wanggong and Xi Wangmu in the minds of the Han people, and they used Buddhist iconography to enhance representations of Chinese indigenous cults and traditional ideas, Buddhist legends and symbols.

It is significant for this thesis that some of the earliest Chinese representations of the Buddha, or Buddha-like figures (see Fig. 1.9) show him in meditation. These indigenous images suggest that during the Eastern Han, meditation was very popular, and that Chinese Buddhists would have welcomed foreign monks like An Shigao who were able to teach meditation.

1.4. Buddhist Sūtra translations in China

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117 Ibid.
120 Rong, “Land Road or Sea Route? Commentary on the Study of the Paths of Transmission and Areas in Which Buddhism Was Disseminated during the Han Period,” 7.
To establish Buddhism in China, the early Buddhist missionaries translated Buddhist scripture into Chinese, often in difficult conditions. The process of translating Buddhism into Chinese took centuries. Luo and Lei divide the thousand-year-long process of translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese into three phases. The first began during the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 CE). A second period of translation took place during the Tang Dynasty (618-907 CE) and a final period took place in Song Dynasty (960-1279 CE). Initially, translations were done by foreign monks, then by Chinese and foreign translators working together. Finally as Chinese translators became fluent in western languages, they took over the translation work.

1.4.1. Earliest Buddhist translation in China

After his dream, in the seventh year of the Youngping 永平 “Eternal Peace” reign in the year of Jia Zi (64CE), Emperor Ming commanded three courtiers Cai Yin 蔡愔, Qin Jing 秦景, and Wang Zun 王遵 to take eighteen people to India to seek the Buddha dharma 佛法. In Central India, they met two Indo-Scythian monks, Kasyapa Matanga 迦葉摩騰 and Dharmaratna (also known as Gobharana 竹法蘭), and persuaded them to travel to China. The two monks returned to China with the three courtiers, arriving in Luoyang in 67 CE, the tenth year of the Yungping reign,
during the year of *Ding mao*. They arrived riding on a white horse which was also carrying sūtras. The Emperor Ming built the first Buddhist monastery in China, named White Horse Monastery, to commemorate their arrival. Kaśyapa Matanga and Dharmaraksha are supposed to have translated many Buddhist scriptures into Chinese such as *Si shi er jing* 四十二經, *Shi di duan jie* 十地斷結, *Fo ben sheng* 佛本生, *Fa hai zang* 法海藏, *Fo ben xing* 佛本行. However, some of these early translations have been lost.

1.4.2. Luoyang as the centre for Buddhist translation during Eastern Han Period

During the early period of translation, from the mid-second century until the end of Han Dynasty in 220 CE, Luoyang was the centre of translation activities under the guidance of foreign monks of Parthian, Kushan (Yuezhi 月氏 or Indo-Scythian), Sogdian, and Indian descent. One of the most significant of these foreign translators was the Parthian monk, An Shigao. Rhie categorizes the Buddhist translation during the Han period into three phases. The first translation phase was associated with the monk An Shigao, who is credited with establishing in China the Dhyāna lineage of practice mainly based on the Hīnayāna tradition followed by Chen Hui 陳慧, and Kang Senghui 康僧會.

The second translation phase related to the influential monk Lokakṣema,
who came from Yuezhi and arrived in Luoyang as early as 150 CE and
worked there between 178 CE and 189 CE. Lokakṣema’s main focus was
the translation of Mahāyāna texts which became the first major corpus of
Mahāyāna scripture in China. The major translated works by Lokakṣema
consisted of the Śūraṅgama-samādhi Sūtra (Shou Lengyan Sanmei jing 首
楞嚴三昧經) that is now lost, which discusses the Samādhi of the 10th stage
Bodhisattva; the Pratyutpanna Sūtra (Banzhou Sanmei jing 般舟三昧
經); 132 A she shi wang jing 阿闍世王經 (Scripture of the King
Ajātaśatru); Za pi yu jing 雜譬喻經; the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra known as
the "Practice of the Path" (Dao Xing bore jing 道行般若經); Wu liang
qingjing pingdeng jue jing 無量清淨平等覺經, and the Baoji jing 寶積經.
Other foreign monks at Luoyang during the period of Lokakṣema include
the Yuezhi monk, Zhi Yao 支曜, and the Sogdian monk Kang Ju 康巨. 133
Significant work was also accomplished by the Parthian layman named An
Xuan 安玄 who came to Luoyang in 181 CE. Together with Yan Fo Diao 嚴
佛 (浮) 調 the first known Chinese monk, An Xuan translated the
Ugraparipṛccha Sūtra, which explains the cultivation of Buddhahood,
while still a householder. These two Buddhist translators, however,
appearedly disappeared with the fall of the Han in 220 CE. 134

The third significant translation phase in Luoyang was produced by a group
of Lokakṣema’s disciples; these were Zhi Liang 支亮, Dhammapala Tan
Guo 曇果, who was the Indian monk from Kapilavastu, together with Zhu
Dali 竺大力, his fellow countryman, and the Sogdian Kang Mengxiang 康

132 Ibid., 1:24.
133 Ibid.
134 Ibid., 1:25.
Conclusions

In this chapter I have briefly surveyed the history and legends about the transmission of Buddhism from India and its arrival in China, the reception of Buddhism during the Eastern Han Dynasty and its blending with Chinese indigenous religious concepts such as Daoism and the Queen Mother of the West, and the important role played by Central Asian missionaries in the propagation of Buddhist ideas, practices and sūtras. In the next chapter, I will look at An Shigao’s biography and the translations ascribed to him in Chinese tradition, and will discuss An Shigao and miracles.

135 Ibid.
Figures in Chapter One

Fig. 1.1 The spread of Buddhism during the Aśokan Mission.

Fig. 1.2 The Great White Pagoda of Tayuan, Miaoying Temple, Beijing

Fig. 1.3 King Aśoka Pagoda, Changgan Temple, Nanjing

南京長幹寺，七寶鎏金阿育王塔.

Fig. 1.4 King Aśoka Pagoda, Famen Temple

法門寺阿育王塔.

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Fig. 1.5 The Silk Road map.

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Zhang Qian (? -114 BCE) dispatched to the Western Region, north wall.

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140 Dunhuang Academy, “Mogao Cave 323 (Early Tang –Song 618-960AD).”
141 Ibid.
Fig. 1.8 Fresco describing Emperor Wu of Han (156 - 87 BCE) kneels in homage to two Buddha statutes, Mogao Caves 323, Dunhuang, c. 8th century CE.

Fig. 1.9 Money Tree

CHAPTER TWO: AN SHIGAO’S BIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION

AN SHIGAO’S BIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION

This chapter is divided into three parts: In the first part I will present my translation of Sengyou’s biography of An Shigao T2145. In the second part I will survey An Shigao’s life and translations ascribed to him in Chinese Buddhist tradition. In the third part, I will discuss An Shigao and miracles. I will argue that the traditional narratives that describe An Shigao as an important Buddhist scholar, translator and master of the supernatural imply that he was also a powerful practitioner and teacher of Buddhist meditation.

2.1. A TRANSLATION OF SHIGAO’S BIOGRAPHY: 安世高傳 (base text: Chu sanzang ji ji 出三藏記集, T2145, 55:95a7-c21.)

安清，字世高。

Anqing, whose style name was Shigao,

安息國王政 后 [read: 正 后] 之太子也。

was a crown prince by the principal Queen of the King of Parthia.

幼懷淳孝敬養竭誠。

When he was young, he showed filial respect to his parents and served them wholeheartedly.

145 Nattier, A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations, 38, notes that no complete translation of Sengyou’s biography of An Shigao is available in any western language. I have therefore undertaken to translate this early biography as part of my thesis. A partial translation by Cathy Poon and Martha Cheung may be found in Cheung, An Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation, 1:53–54.

146 正 SYM KYSJL ZXSJL FYZLJ57. According to Kang Senghui’s preface on the Da anban shouyi jing uses the word 嫡 [后]; KSH.
惻隱之仁愛及蠢類。
His benevolent compassion extended even to insects.

其動言立行若踐規矩焉。
All of his actions, speech and behavior were well in line with codes of conduct.

加以志業聰敏147刻意好學。
Moreover, he was steadfastly industrious and intelligent, and disciplined in will, and fond of learning.

外國典籍莫不該貫。
and of the foreign canonical texts, there was none that he did not penetrate.

七曜148五行之象。
[He made close] study of astronomy149 the five elements,

風角雲物之占。
and meteorology, obtaining a

147 明 ZXSJL.

148 Cf. KSH: 七正盈縮。風氣吉凶, T602, 15:163b24; Forte 68.

149 Qiyao 七曜 (Skt: sapta grahāḥ), the seven planets of pre-modern Chinese Astronomy and Astrology: the sun 日精為太陽 (Skt: Āditya), the moon 月精為太陰 (Skt: Soma), Mars 火精為熒惑 (Skt: Aṅgāraka), Mercury 水精為辰星 (Skt: Budha), Jupiter 木精為歲星 (Skt: Brhaspaṭī), Venus 金精為太白 (Skt: Śukra), and Saturn 土精為鎮星 (Skt: Śanaiścara); DDB s.v. Yoshikawa and Funayama suggest that this refers to both astronomy and astrology. (Yoshikawa and Funayama give a full translation of Huijiao’s biography of An Shigao, which includes significant portions borrowed from Sengyou; Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫 and Funayama Tōru 船山徹, trans., Kō sō den (ichi) 高僧伝(一) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2009), 34–45. Since I am unable to read Japanese, I relied for access to this translation upon the assistance of Dr Michael Radich. All citations from Yoshikawa and Funayama reflect information provided to me by Dr Radich.)
推步盈縮^{150}，悉窮其變^{151}。

thorough understanding of their changes.

兼洞曉醫術妙善鍼脈^{152}。

[He was] also proficient in medical skill, and marvellously proficient in acupuncture and reading pulses.

觀色^{153}知病^{154}投藥必濟。

By observing the complexion [of patients], [he was] able to diagnose [their] illness and then prescribe the medicine for certain recovery.

乃至禽獸鳴呼聞聲知心^{155}。

He could even understand the minds of birds and beasts by hearing their calls,

於斯俊異之名被於西域。

which made him famous throughout the Western Regions.

遠近隣國咸敬而偉之。

[People in] foreign countries far and near all respected him as a great man.

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151 要 KYSJL SYM.
153 According to Chinese Medicine, the term *du se* 覓色 could be interpreted as “the observing the color of the complexion” which related to the *qi* and blood systems. The color of the complexion is analyzed in terms of the five colors: blue, green, red, yellow, white and black; see Nigel Wiseman and Ye Feng, *A Practical Dictionary of Chinese Medicine*, 2nd ed. (Toas, NM: Paradigm Publications, 1998), 193. Cheung, however, may refer the term 覦色 as “face-reading”; Cheung 54.
世高雖在居家。
Although Shigao lived in the secular world,

而奉戒精峻。
[he] strictly abided by the precepts.

講集法施^{156}與時相續。
He continuously gave the gift of the dharma (*dharmadāna) in preaching assemblies.

後王薨將嗣國位。
After his father passed away, he succeeded to the throne

乃深惟^{157}苦空^{158}厭離名器。
but rejected fame and wealth because he profoundly reflected upon suffering and the sense of emptiness.

行服既畢。
Upon completing the mourning period

遂讓國與叔。
he abdicated the throne in favor of his uncle,

出家修道博綜經藏。
and renounced secular life to cultivate the Buddhist path. He gained broad and thorough erudition in the [Buddhist] scriptures.

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^{156} Fashi 法施, *dharma-dāna* or “dharma-deśanā”; BDD s.v.

^{157} 悟 SYM.

^{158} Yoshikawa and Funayama suggest that this phrase refers to the "three marks" (*trilakṣaṇa*) of impermanence, suffering and non-self; Yoshikawa and Funayama (2009): 36 n. 5.
尤精阿毘曇學。
He was particularly proficient in the Abhidharma,

諷持禪經，
and he was able to recite the meditation *sūtras* by heart.

略盡其妙既而遊方弘化遍歷諸國。
Immediately after achieving a command of the subtleties of [Buddhism], he traveled far to spread [Buddhism, i.e. missionize] and convert [sentient beings], passing through many countries.

以漢桓帝之初。
At the beginning of the Emperor Huan’s reign [146-167 CE] in the [Eastern] Han Dynasty,

始到中夏。
[he] first came to the Central Plains in China.

世高才悟幾敏一聞能達。
Shigao was perspicacious and acute, and could comprehend [everything] thoroughly at a single hearing

至止未久。
Not long after his arrival.

即通習華語。
[he] thoroughly mastered the Chinese language.

\[^{159}\]
This could refer more specifically to works translated by An Shigao, such as the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經 T602 and the *Yogācārabhūmi* 道地經 T607; Yoshikawa and Funayama (2009): 37 n. 7.

\[^{160}\] 機 SYM, KYSJL, ZXSJL.
He thereupon started to promulgate and translate the *sūtras*, translating [them] from foreign language[s] into Chinese.

出安般守意

He translated the *Anban shouyi jing* (*Ānāpānasmṛti-Sūtra*, 安般守意經),

陰持入經

the *Yin chi ru jing* (the *Sūtra on the Aggregates* [*skandhas*], Realms [*āyatana*] and Fields [*dhātu*], 陰持入經, T603),

大小十二門

*Da xiao shi er men jing* (Larger and Smaller Twelve Gates *Sūtras*),

及百六十品等。

and the 160th chapter of [the] *Ekottarikāgama*, and so on.

初外國三藏衆護撰述經要為二十七章。

Originally, the foreign Trepiṭaka Saṃgharakṣa had composed a digest of the *sūtras* in twenty-seven chapters.

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161 梵 YM, GSZ-YM.


163 According to KYSJL, lost; T2154, 55:480b17-18; Robert Shih, *Biographies Des Moines Éminents de Houei-Kiao: Kao Seng Tchouan*, vol. 54 (Institut orientaliste, Bibliothèque de l’Université, 1968): 5 n. 17. On the possible recovery of this text among the Kongō-ji manuscripts, see Zacchetti (2010): 435-436 n. 48. (Since I am unable to read French, I relied upon the assistance of Dr Michael Radich for access to Shih. All citations from Shih reflect information provided to me by Dr Radich.)

164 Shih (1968): 5 n. 18, citing the *Jiu lu* 舊錄. According to KYSJL, lost; T2154, 55:480b24.
世高乃剖析護所集七章。
Shigao analyzed seven of the chapters collected by [Samgha]rakṣa

譯為漢文。
and translated them into Chinese;

即道地經也;
[the resulting text] is the *Yogācāraḥbhūmi sūtra.*

其先後所出經。
The other sūtras translated by him at various times

凡四^{167}十五[read:三十五]部。
came to thirty-five works in total.

義理明析。文字允正。
His translations were clear in meaning, appropriate in wording,

辯而不華質而不野。
eloquent but not florid, refined but not uncouth,^{168}

凡在讀者。
so that the reader

皆亹亹而不惓
^{169}

^{165} Poon and Cheung incorrectly identify this author as Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (230? - 316 CE), which would, of course, be anachronistic; Cheung 54. ETC.
^{166} Daodi jing 道地經 (T607).
^{167} 三 SYM.
^{168} Pooh and Cheung translate here: "The language was eloquent without being flowery, unhewn without being coarse..." Chueng 54 ETC.
could study and keep on reading without getting tired.

世高窮理盡性自識宿縁。

Shigao understood the principle (li 理) and thoroughly [fathomed] the nature (xing 性), and knew previous karma directly [himself].

多有神跡世莫能量。

There were many miracles [associated with him], which no one else could equal.

初世高自稱。

Earlier, Shigao claimed that

世高窮理盡性自識宿縁。

in a former life, he had also already been the Crown Prince of Parthia.

與其國中。長者子俱共出家。

And was ordained together with the son(s?) of the high-ranking personages of his country.

分衞之時施主不稱同學輒怒。

At alms-round time, one of his fellow [monks] would be angry if the alms-giver did not reverently invite [him].

169 供 GSZ-K.
170 光 ZXSJL-Sh.
171 分衞 usu. for pindapāta “alms-collection” ; DDB s.v.
172 施主 usu. for dāna-pati “donor” ; BDD s.v.
173 Yoshikawa and Funayama read 不稱 to mean something like "if a dānapati rubbed him up the wrong way/if he did not take a liking to the dānapati", 施主が気にくわないと ; Yoshikawa and Funayama (2009): 38. Shih translates "if a dānapati refused him [alms]", [quand il mendait sa nourriture et] qu’un dānapati la lui refusait; Shih (1968): 5.
世高屡加呵責。

Shigao remprimanded [him] many times.

同學悔謝而猶不悛改。

The fellow [monk] would repent and apologise, but still did not change his ways.

如此二十餘年。

This continued for more than twenty years,

乃與同學辭訣云。

and then [Shigao] bid his fellow [monk] farewell, saying:

我當往廣州誓宿世之對。“I will go to Guangzhou to fulfill my predetermined fate from a previous life.”

卿明經精進不在吾後。

"In your understanding of the Buddha’s scriptures and your diligence in cultivation, you are not inferior to me,

而性多恚怒。

but you are by nature hot-tempered and easily angered.

命過當受惡形。

You will take an evil body [= rebirth] in your next life.

我若得道必當相度。

I shall judge you if I achieve enlightenment.
If I attain the Path [viz. Enlightenment], I will [come back to] save you.”

既而遂適廣州値寇賊大亂。

Soon afterwards he went to Guangzhou, which at that time was in great chaos due to banditry.

行路逢一少年。

Along the way, he met a young man

唾唾手拔刀曰。真得汝矣。

who spat on his hands, drew out his sword [to kill him], saying “I’ve got you!”

世高笑曰。

Shigao said with a smile:

我宿命負卿。

“I owe you [a life] from my previous life,

故遠來相償。

so I came from far away to repay to you.

卿之忿怒故是前世時意也。

Your anger now is all caused by your [accumulated discontentment] in your mind in the previous life.”

遂伸頸受刃容無懼色。

[read:伸頸] which may be a metaphor meaning “with ease”, perhaps from the idea that all one has to do is spit in one's palm and get to work in order to achieve one's goal; HD s.v.
Then [Shigao] stretched out his neck to receive the blade without showing of any sign of fear on his face.

賊遂殺之。
The bandit then killed him.

觀者填路。
The roadside was crowded with onlookers.

莫不駭其奇異。
They were all astonished by the wonder of it.

既而神識

[His] vijñānanā [soul/spirit?] \(^{181}\) then reincarnated as the Crown Prince of the Kingdom of Parthia

即名世高時

and took the name “Shigao”, this was the person he was now.

世高遊化中國宣經事畢

Afterwards, in order to complete his task, Shigao traveled all over central plains preaching the sūtras.

值靈帝之末關洛擾亂。

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179伸YM.
180神識 usu. for vijñānanā, linghun 靈魂, “soul, spirit”; BDD sv.
182今時世高SYM KYSJL ZXSJL.
183Shibi事畢, in this context, may refer to “in order to complete the mission.”
It was toward the end of the reign of Emperor Ling of Han Dynasty when Guan-Luo was in great chaos. 

乃杖錫江南云。
(Shigao) then travelled to Jiangnan with his monk's staff in hand and said:

我當過廬山度昔同學。
“I have to go to Lushan to save a former fellow monk.”

行達郝亭湖廟。
He came to the Gongtinghu Temple

此廟舊有靈驗。
which had long been the site of miraculous signs.

商旅祈禱乃分風上下各無留滯。 When merchants and travelers came to pray then the wind would be divided [to blow both] upstream and downstream, [so that] journeys in each [direction] were not delayed.

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184 Guan-Luo: the Guanzhong plain in the Shanxi and Luoyang region.

杖錫: lit. "holding [his] tin[bedecked staff]"; cf. 錫杖, Skt: khakkharaka, a staff with metal rings at the top intended to alert small animals (including dangerous ones, like snakes) in the carrier's path; DDB s.v.

186 Lushan 廬山 refers to a district located in the present-day Jiangxi Province, Jiujiang City 九江市, Lushan District 廬山區; DPAD s.v.

187 Gongtinghu miao 郜亭湖廟 refers to the ancient temple [now lost] named Gongtinghu Temple, which located at the present-day Jiujiang City 九江市 of Jiangxi Province 江西省; DPAD s.v.

188 Yoshikawa and Funayama read this to mean, "somehow, the wind would divide [to blow both] up- and downstream [at once], so that journeys in both directions met with no impediment"; なんと風が上流と下流の方向に吹き分かれて船はそれぞれ難渋することがない; Yoshikawa and Funayama (2009): 39. Shih translates in a similar sense; Shih (1968): 6.
Once, there was someone who came to the temple to beg for the bamboo of the divinity,

and took it without permission.

Their boat capsized and sank, and the bamboo stem returned [by itself] to its rightful place [the temple].

From then on, all the boatmen sailing [at Gongtinghu] were so respectful and fearful, and there were none who were so brazen [ever again].

Shigao travelled together with more than thirty boats.

They presented sacrificial offerings to request protection.

The god [of the temple] descended to tell them:

“舟中有沙門。可更便呼上。”
There is a śramaṇa [Buddhist monk] on that boat. Have him come onland immediately.”

Everyone onboard was astonished

and they requested Shigao to go into the temple.

The god said to Shigao:

“I lived in a foreign country in my former life.

You and I were ordained together to study the [Buddhist] path.

but I had a bad temper and was easily angered,

and so now I have been reincarnated as the god of Gongtinghu [temple].

The surrounding area for a thousand li is under my control.
以布施故珍玩無數。
Due to my almsgiving [‘s merit], I now have abundant treasures.

以瞋恚故墮此神中。
However, because of my anger, I have fallen to the state of this god.

今見同學悲欣可何言。
Seeing you today, my fellow monk, [my mixed feelings of] happiness and sadness are difficult to express.

壽盡旦夕而醜形長大。
My lifetime will soon come to an end, but my ugly body is immense.

若於此捨命穢汚江湖。
If I abandon my life here, my corpse will contaminate the rivers and lakes,

當度山西空澤中也。
so I have decided to end my life at the empty swamp on the west bank of the mountain.

此身滅恐墮地獄。

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196 何: ZXSJL-Ky.
197 險盡旦夕: Yoshikawa and Funayama read something like "my lifespan [is so great that] I do not know the passing of the days", 今日明日ともしれぬ命だが; Yoshikawa and Funayama (2009): 39; Shih translates Sous peu ma vie touchera (présente) touchera à sa fin. "My life will before long reach its end"; Shih (1968): 40.
198 197 So Yoshikawa and Funayama, anticipating the discovery that the god is a monstrous snake; Yoshikawa and Funayama (2009): 40; but Shih understands the phrase to mean "but even so, my ugly body [continues to] grow"; Shih (1968): 7.
199 潮: ZXSJL-Sh.
200 The term Shanxi 山西 has various meanings: 1. Shanxi Province 山西省, 2. The western slope of a mountain 山的西坡. 3. An alternate name for Mt. Xiao 嵩山, or Mt. Taixing 太行山; HD s.v.
I fear that when I die, I will fall into hell.

吾有絹千疋并雜寶物。
I have thousands of bolts of silk and miscellaneous treasures

可為我立塔營法使生善處也。
that can be used to built a pagoda and spread the Dharma on my behalf, so

that I can be reborn in a better realm [in my next lifetime].

世高曰。故來相度。
Shigao replied: “I am here just to save you, but

何不見形。
why can’t I see your body?

神曰。形甚醜異。
The god replied: “My body is very strange and ugly

衆人必懼。
and will scare the crowd.”

世高曰。但出。衆不怪也。
Shigao replied: “[Please] just show yourself [come out]. The crowd will not

be shocked.”

神從床後出頭。
The god stretched his head out of the altar [desk, 神座 “sanctum” (?)]

乃是大蟒蛇。

201現 GSZ KYSJL ZXSJL FYZLJ57 SSZJ1.
and [it turned out that he] was a giant python

至世高膝邊。
[The python slithered] onto Shigao’s knee

淚落如雨。
with tears running down like rain.

不知尾之長短。
His tail was so long that no one knew where it ended.

世高向之胡202語。
Shigao talked to him in the foreign [hu] language

傍人莫解。
which the bystanders could not understand.

蟒便還隱。
Then, the python disappeared.

世高即取絹物辭別而去。
Shigao took the bolts of silk and the treasures and left.

舟侶颺203帆。
When the crew of the boat hoisted the sails,

神復出蟒身。
and the god again appeared in the form of python

202 梵 YM ZXSJL-Ky FYZLJ57 SSZJ1.
203 颳＝揚.
登山頂而望衆人。
climbed to the top of the mountain, and looked down on the [assembled] crowd.

擧手204然後乃滅。
[People] raised their hands [to wave farewell?] and then the python disappeared.

倏205忽之頃便達豫章206。

即以廟物造立東寺。
[Shigao] used the treasures from the [Gongting] temple to build the Eastern Temple.

世高去後。神即命過。
as soon as Shigao had left, the temple god died.

暮有一少年上船。
At dusk, a young man came to the boat

長跪世高前。
and prostrated himself in front of An Shigao.

受其呪願207。
He received a mantra from [An Shigao],

204 首 YM, KYSJL, ZXSJL.
205 儵 ZXSJL, 倫 ZXSJL-Ky.
206 豫章 豫章: present-day Nanchang City 南昌市, Jiangxi Province; DPAD s.v.
207 See Yoshikawa and Funayama (2009): 42 n. 9, where they interpret 呪願 as referring to something like a mantra or dhāraṇī.
“忽然不見。”
and then suddenly disappeared.

“向之少年。”
“That young man a moment ago

“即鄴亭廟神。”
“was the god of the Gongting temple

“得離惡形矣。”
“and he has already gotten rid of his evil body.”

於時廟神歇沒，
From that time on, the god of the temple no longer appeared

無復靈驗。
and there were no more miraculous signs.

後人於西山澤中見一死蟒。
Later on, people saw a dead python in swamp on the western slopes.

頭尾相去數里。
Its length from head to tail was several miles long.

今尋陽郡蛇村是其處也。

208殊 S，矣 YM，末 GSZ，滅 KYSJL ZXSJL FYZLJ57，矣 SSZJ1.
209潯 YM GSZ KYSJL FYZLJ57.
Today, this place is called “Snake Village” in Xunyang District.

After that, Shigao went on to Guangzhou looking for the young man who killed him in his previous life.

At that time the man was still alive, but was already over sixty years old.

Shigao traced his way to his [the man’s] home and explained how karmic retribution from their past lives had been affecting them. Shigao said:

And he talked happily face to face with him about the causes and effects from their former lives. Shigao said:

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210 Xunyang jun 尋陽郡 present-day Jiangxi Province, Jiujiang City, Jiujiang District; DPAD s.v.
211 世高後復 SYM, 高後復 GSZ KYSJL ZXSJL.
212 Suyuan 宿縁, causes and conditions 縁 from prior lifetimes 縁 (Skt: pūrvayoga). Related in meaning to suye 宿業 and sushi 宿世. Also written suyuan 夙緣; DDB s.v.
213 歡喜 GSZ KYSJL ZXSJL FYZLJ57 SSZJ1.
吾猶有餘報。
“I still have *karma-ploti* [the consequence of karma from the former life].

今當往會稽畢對。
Today I should go to Kuaiji to repay my former karmic debts.”

廣州客深悟世高非凡。
The old man from Guangzhou realized that Shigao was not an ordinary person,

豁然意解追悔前愆。
and in a flash of insight, regretted his earlier transgression.

厚相資供。
He provided him [Shigao] with generous financial assistance

乃隨世高東行。
and accompanied him on his journey to the East.

遂達會稽。
When they arrived at Kuaiji

至便入市。
and entered the market,

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214. *Yubao 餘報, karma-ploti*, Hirakawa/DDB s.v.
215. 復 ZXSJL.
216. During the Eastern Han period, Kuaiji 會稽 [郡] referred to the area of present-day Shaoxing City 绍興, Zhejiang Province 浙江; DPAD s.v.
217. 原 ZXSJL-Sh.
218. 從遊 ZXSJL FYZLJ57 SSZJ1 (從=東 GSZ ZXSJL-Ky).
正値市有鬪者。
just [at a moment when] there was fighting in the market.

The combatants were striking out at random, [and] Shigao was hit by mistake,

應時命終。
[and] [his] life came to an end right away.

廣州客頻驗二報。
The visitor [old man] from Guangzhou had repeatedly experienced the dual reward of previous karma.

遂精懃佛法。
He started diligently studying and practicing the Buddha’s Dharma

具説事縁。
and also explaining the karmic reasons for events [by using Shigao as example].

遠近聞知莫不悲歎。
The people from near and far who heard about it all lamented,

\[\text{219} \text{ SYM.}\]
\[\text{220} \text{ Yingshi 應時, “at once; at that moment” or “at a proper time”; Karashima/DDB s.v.}\]
\[\text{221} \text{ Erbao 二報, “the dual reward. (1) yibao 依報 or yiguo 依果 The material environment on which a person depends, resulting from former karma, e.g. country, house, property, etc. (2) zhengbao 正報 or zhengguo 正果 his direct reward, i. e. his body, or person”; DDB s.v. Yoshikawa and Funayama interpret this phrase to mean that the man from Guangzhou "had seen two proofs of [the workings of] karmic reward in a row" (referring to the conversation with Shigao at his home, and this incident in the marketplace), 二つの報い証拠をありありと目にした; Yoshikawa and Funayama (2009): 43. Shih interprets similarly; see Shih (1968): 8.}\]
and understood [that it showed that] there is proof of the existence of past, present and future [lifetimes, i.e. reincarnation in accordance with \textit{karma}].

Since Shigao was a scion of the royal blood

and was well-known overseas.

he was called the \textit{"Parthian Marquis"} by guests and travelers from the West, and is still so-called to this day.

The [people of] India claim of themselves,

[that their] books are heavenly ones,

[and that their] language is also a heavenly language.

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222 The term \textit{zheng 徵} in this context refers to the “proof,” “confirming the truth of” \textit{yanzheng 驗證}, \textit{zhengming 證明}; HD s.v.

223 \textit{高} \textit{高} \textbf{KYSJL ZXSJL}.

224 Here, the term \textit{yinxun 音訓} refers to \textit{yinxun fa 音訓法}, “paronomastic glosses:” an explanation or glossing of a word X by the use of another word Y which is phonetically similar to X; see Christoph Harbsmeier, ed., \textit{"TLS - Rhetorical Devices - Hitlist," An Historical and Comparative Encyclopaedia of Chinese Conceptual Schemes}, accessed September 17, 2013, http://tls.uni-hd.de/procSearch/procSearchRhetFig.lasso?MaxRecords=25&S-SkipRecords=568.
The sound and sense [of their words] are tricky and confused, and very different from Chinese,

which has caused many errors in translation [of Buddhist sūtras] over the years.

Only Shigao's translations were the best of all of them.

Master An [referring to Daoan 道安 (312/314-385)] thought that seeing him would not be different from seeing an ārya-pudgala [Noble One].

Eminent worthies of successive generations have all praised and remembered him.

2.2. An Shigao’s Mission

According to his biography, An Shigao arrived in China for his mission at the beginning of Emperor Huan’s reign (漢桓帝, 146-167 CE) during the Eastern Han Dynasty. His biography describes An Shigao as gifted linguist, able to master Chinese very quickly after his arrival in China. His mission was important for the transmission of early Chinese Buddhism not only because he translated many sutras into Chinese, but also because he was able to express foreign ideas clearly in Chinese using a new Buddhist vocabulary he developed for this purpose. Many of the new Buddhist words he created were retained by the later Buddhist tradition in China. In
addition, he also played a role as a teacher of Abhidharma and as a “meditation master” who introduced Chinese Buddhists to the mysteries of Buddhist yoga.\footnote{227} The biography also lists several of the most important texts said to have been translated by An Shigao, including the *Anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經 (Scripture on the Ānāpānasmṛti), and the “Greater of Scripture of the 12 Gateways” 大十二門經 a detailed *Dhyāna sūtra*.\footnote{228} An Shigao’s translation of the *Anban shouyi jing*, which will be considered further in chapter four, inspired the monk Daoan to write a commentary during the mid-fourth century.

### 2.2.1. The Biographies of An Shigao

Further details about An Shigao’s life (?-170 CE) can be found in his biographies. His real name was Anqing 安清; Shigao was a pen name.\footnote{229} He was born as a prince of the kingdom of Anxi 安息 (= *Arsak*, the Arsacid kingdom of Parthia\footnote{230} / Arsacid Empire\footnote{231}, in present-day northeastern Iran). He was famed for honoring his parents and having broad knowledge in astrology, medicine, and sacred texts. After his father’s passing away, he gave up his throne and became a Buddhist monk. An Shigao arrived in Luoyang the capital of China, in 148 CE, the second year of the Jianhe 建和 reign of Emperor Huan 漢桓帝 of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 CE).

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\footnote{227}{The term of yoga is used by some scholars to refer to meditation, see Yamabe, “On the School Affiliation of An Shigao: Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra,” para. 11.}

\footnote{228}{Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, 1:24.}

\footnote{229}{Sengyou 僧祐, “*Chu Sanzang Ji Ji* 出三藏記集” (Tokyo, November 22, 2011), col. T2145, 55:95a07, The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.}

\footnote{230}{Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 32.}

He was given the surname An in Chinese, indicating his birthplace as Anxi. Between 148 and 170 CE, he translated many Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. During the chaos near the end of Emperor Ling’s reign (168–189 CE), An Shigao traveled to southern China. He is said to have died in Kuaiji (會稽), a city in present-day Zhejiang (浙江) Province (see Fig. 2.1).

Because of An Shigao’s important role as one of the first translators of Buddhist texts in China, there are a number of famous biographies about him. However, these are “late,” written centuries after his death. The earliest extant biography of An Shigao is located in Sengyou’s *Chu sanzang ji ji (chuan shang juan di shisan)*, CSZJJ, 出三藏記集 (傳上卷十三). According to Yixuan, the CSZJJ or the *Collection of records concerning the Tripitaka* comprised 15 fascicles. It was compiled by Sengyou during the Liang dynasty (502-557 CE) and is the oldest extant catalogue of Chinese Tripitaka texts, dated traditionally to around 510 CE. The catalogue contains material from the Eastern Han and the Liang dynasties, and consists of sūtras, treatises and vinaya texts in translation, as well as biographies of the important translators of those texts. It has to be noted that this CSZJJ was based on an earlier catalogue.

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233 M. Poo, “The Images of Immortals and Eminent Monks: Religious Mentality in Early Medieval China (4-6 c. A.D.),” *Numen* 42, no. 2 (1995): 176. An Shigao is given a pre-eminent place in Huijiao’s compilation of the biographies of the important monks who introduced Buddhism into China.
236 According to Jinhua, Sengyou frequently uses the expression chu 出 or yichu 譯出 to refer to the translation of Buddhist text. Jinhau translates the term *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 as “Collection of records concerning the issuing of the Tree Storehourse.” I, however, propose to translate as “Collection of records concerning the translation of Tripitaka.” Also see Jinhua Chen, “Some Aspects of the Buddhist Translation Procedure in Early Medieval China: With Special References to a Longstanding Misreading of a Keyword in the Earliest Extant Buddhist Catalogue in East Asia,” *Journal Asiatique* 293, no. 2 (2005): 603–662.
ZLZJML (Organized catalogue of the sūtras) a text which is no longer extant. It was compiled by Daoan 道安 (312–385 CE) and published in 374 CE. \(^{237}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogues</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zongli zhongjing mulu</td>
<td>Daoan 道安</td>
<td>374 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ZLZJML)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>綜理衆經目錄 (lost)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Comprehensive catalogue of sūtras&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu sanzang ji ji (CSZJJ) 與三藏記集 &quot;Collection of records concerning [the translation of] Tripiṭaka&quot;</td>
<td>Sengyou僧祐</td>
<td>510 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaoseng zhuan (GSZ) 高僧傳 &quot;Biographies of Eminent Monks&quot;</td>
<td>Huijiao 慧皎</td>
<td>519 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayuan zhulin juan 57 (FYZLJ57) 法苑珠林卷五十七</td>
<td>Daoshi 道世</td>
<td>668 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Catalogue of the Kaiyuan era on Buddhism&quot;</td>
<td>Zhisheng 智昇</td>
<td>730 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhenyuan xin ding Shijiao lu (ZXSJL) 貞元新定釋教目錄</td>
<td>Yuanzhao 圓照</td>
<td>800 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shen seng chuan juan 1 神僧傳巻一</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows a number of famous biographies about An Shigao.

According to Sengyou’s CSZJJ, An Shigao was born as a prince of Anxi 安西.

\(^{237}\) Yixuan, The Record of Linji, 373.
息 “Parthia” who later renounced the throne in order to serve as a Buddhist monk. As a monk, An Shigao travelled to Luoyang during the time of Emperor Huan 桓帝 of the Han Dynasty.

The biography contained in Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554 CE)’s Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳 (GSZ) states that An Shigao had been in Luoyang more than twenty years during the period from the second year of Emperor Huan’s reign 桓帝 (r.148 CE) to the middle period of Emperor Ling’s reign 靈帝 (r.172) where he translated over thirty texts. In contrast, the LDSBJ 2, “Chronological notices on the three jewels,” volume 2, T2034 states that An Shigao collaborated on the translation of approximately 174 texts comprising 188 fascicles 「合譯法句等經一百七十四部一百八十八卷」.

2.2.2. An Shigao’s Travels, Translation Activity and the Hu language

The CSZJJ states that An Shigao was a crown prince by the principal Queen of the King of Parthia. 「安清。字世高。安息國王政后[read: 正后]之太子也。」, who abdicated the throne to his uncle 「遂讓國與叔」. After that, he renounced secular life and become a monk and cultivated the

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239 “Foguang Shan Dianzi Dazang Jing 佛光山電子大藏經,” April 24, 2011.
240 Huijiao 慧皎, “Gaoseng Zhuan Juan Yi 高僧傳卷一” (Taipei, April 14, 2011), CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka. 「安世高以漢桓帝建和二年至靈帝建寧中二十餘年譯出三十餘部經。」
241 Fei Changfang 費長房, “Lidai Sanbao Ji Juan Di Er 歷代三寶紀卷第二” (Taipei, April 14, 2011), col. T2034, 49:33a23, CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka. This seems to contradict the record in the LDSBJ vol.4 which states that An Shigao translated around 176 works comprising 197 fascicles 「一百七十六部一百九十七卷經律」; further details in Appendix A.
243 Ibid., col. T2145, 55:95a16.
Buddhist path. He comprehended the sūtras and Tripiṭaka 「出家修道博総
經藏」 was proficient in the Abhidharma and was able to recite meditation sūtras by heart 「尤精阿毘曇學諷持經」 and thoroughly mastered the true essence of these works. He decided to spread and teach Buddhism, by travelling and arrived to China at the beginning of Emperor Huan of Han Dynasty.

In his important study of An Shigao, Antonino Forte contended that he was not a monk at all but was a layman who was sent to the Chinese court by the Parthian government as a diplomatic hostage. In contrast, Nattier argues that An Shigao’s lay status seems doubtful, because he is referred to as he shang 和上, a term which was used to translate to the monastic title upādhyāya “preceptor” from an early date.

After arriving in Luoyang the capital of Han Dynasty, An Shigao started to learn Chinese. He quickly became familiar with the Chinese language, and began his mission by preaching and translating various sūtras from the Hu 胡 language into Chinese.

It should be noted here that the ancient Chinese used the term Hu 胡, both to indicate a tribal language such as Yuezhi hu 月氏胡 but also “to define

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244 Ibid., col. T2145, 55:95a17.
245 Ibid., cols. T2145, 55:95a17–a18.
247 Forte, The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring, 74–78.
249 Ibid., 38.
groups considered to be ‘other’, such as “Northern Barbarians.” According to Beckwith, the word “hu” was a generic term used to refer to Khitan, Old Turkic, Sogdian, or any of the languages spoken by the Uighurs, Mongols, and others on the northern frontier, as well as earlier groups such as the Hsiung-nu or Huns and their neighbors as far as Manchuria.  

Hu may also refer to the West Tocharian (Kucheian) language spoken around the first century in Xinjiang by Indo-Scythians or to Uighur, which was also widely used for Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian scriptures. Hu was also used to refer to texts composed in Brāhmi script, which were supposed to be earlier than texts composed using Kharoṣṭhī script, and also used widely in Central Asia at that time. A Prākrit recension of the Dhammapada and other Kharoṣṭhī documents have been excavated in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Xinjiang and along the

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254 According to Prof. Zhao Xiaohuan, personal communication, this is unlikely as An Shigao came to China a couple of centuries before the formation of the Khitan people, who lived in present-day north eastern part of China after the 4th century.


256 According to Siglinde, Kharoṣṭhī have been derived from Aramaic, it supposedly originated sometime in the fourth or the fifth centuries BCE. Taxila seems to have been the birthplace of Kharoṣṭhī that later became a lingua franca of the Persian Empire during the Achaemenid era. However the Gāndhārī documents which written in Kharoṣṭhī script first appeared in Aśoka inscriptions in the middle of the third centuries BCE. See Bumbacher, “Early Buddhism in China: Daoist Reactions,” 51–52.


Indus Valley. Moreover, the term "Hu" may have been used to refer to a form of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.\(^\text{260}\) Various forms of Sanskrit were also used in Central Asia.\(^\text{262}\) Dani points out that during the period of King Kaniṣṭha II (c. 127-147 CE) who convened the Buddhist council of the Sarvāstivāda School, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit was replaced by Gāndhārī Prakrit, a language of the Silk Road, and Kharoṣṭhī script.\(^\text{263}\) Dani moreover explains that by the middle of the first century CE, Buddhism had already arrived in China, and the first translations of Buddhist texts have been made from Gāndhārī Prākrit into Chinese. During the second century BCE, however, the Parthians, Sakas, and Kushans all used both Greek and Kharoṣṭhī.\(^\text{264}\) Furthermore, it should be noted that before the Fourth Buddhist Council by Kaniṣṭha II both the Mahāsāṃghika and Sarvāstivāda Schools equally used Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī script to write Gāndhārī Prakrit.\(^\text{265}\) Neelis (nd) states that fragments of manuscripts in the Kharoṣṭhī script\(^\text{266}\) and the Gāndhārī language supply


\(^{260}\) Ditte Bandini-König and Martin Bemmann, “Rock Carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway (Pakistan).”


\(^{264}\) Xinru Liu, The Silk Road in World History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 47.


\(^{266}\) Rong, “Land Road or Sea Route? Commentary on the Study of the Paths of Transmission and Areas in Which Buddhism Was Disseminated during the Han Period,” 12; states that Kharoṣṭhī well-railing inscription discovered in Luoyang” which means some
the earliest evidence for the written transmission of Buddhist texts with references to meditation practices. (See Figures. 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4)

Although An Shigao translated some Mahāyāna-oriented materials, most of his works belong to the Sarvāstivāda School and it seems likely that An Shigao was a Sarvāstivādin monk. However, some scholars have associated An Shigao with early Mahāyāna Buddhism. Forte points out the early Chinese Buddhist accounts from Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 (d. 200 CE), Kang Senghui 康僧會 (d. 280 CE), Xie Fu 謝弈 (d. u.) and Daoan all refer to An Shigao as a bodhisattva. Alternatively, Yamabe Nobuyoshi asserted that An Shigao may have been connected with an early Yogācāra (Yogāvācāra?) movement.

Although his sectarian affiliation is still not clear, we do know that An Shigao faced many linguistic difficulties in order to translate Indian Buddhist terms into Chinese. An Shigao’s translation style has been critiqued by some scholars: Zürcher, for example, characterized the language of An Shigao’s translations as “erratic, crude, full of vulgarisms,

Buddhist texts in the Han dynasty may have been translated from the Kharoṣṭhī script; also see John Brough, “Comments on Third-Century Shan-Shan and the History of Buddhism,” Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 28, no. 03 (1965): 582–612.


270 Forte, The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring, 70–71.


often chaotic to the point of unintelligibility.” In contrast Sengyou held “An Shigao’s work in the highest esteem, ranking him as one of the three greatest translators in early Chinese Buddhist history.” Nattier notes that “the style of An Shigao’s translation idiom can be characterized with relative ease, and it remains quite consistent throughout his corpus.”

Because of his ability to communicate Buddhism effectively to the Chinese, An Shigao had “a pivotal role in introducing the Indian Buddhist literary heritage to China.” Terms such as se 色 (rūpa), f ān 梵 (the god Brahmā), Anan 阿難 (Ānanda), and tian 天 (Deva, as well as heaven), and chan 禪 (dhyāna, meditation) appeared first in An Shigao’s work, were adopted by later translators and have continued to be used down to the present day. This pivotal role lasted for two decades as An Shigao travelled around China teaching, preaching and translating Buddhist scriptures. He left Luoyang during the time of Emperor Ling (r. 168-190) to travel to the south where he was killed in the marketplace by a ruffian.

### 2.3. An Shigao, Miracles and Pāramī

An Shigao is famous for his translation skills, but here I argue that he was also regarded in the Buddhist tradition as an influential teacher and

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275 Ibid., 41.

276 Ibid., 41.


279 Ibid., 38–39.
meditation master. It is less well known that An Shigao was associated with miracles and the supernatural. This is in part because there is a tendency among some western scholars to ignore or dismiss references to the supernatural, and may be one reason why no one has bothered to translate Sengyou’s biography of An Shigao. However, the references to An Shigao’s supernatural powers in his biography are evidence that he was believed to have achieved “the higher knowledge” or “abhiññā.” Abhiññā is one of the fruits of meditative achievement and can be understood as a this-worldly manifestation of “Buddhist charisma.” The six supernormal knowledges or abhiññā, consist of (1) iddhi-vidhā “supernatural powers,” (2) dibba-sota “divine ear,” (3) ceto-pariya-ñāṇa or the “penetration of the minds of others,” or the “mind reading” (4) pubbe-nivāsānussati or the “remembrance of former existences,” (5) dibba-cakkhu or “divine eye,” and (6) āsavakkhaya, or “extinction of all cankers.” The link between spiritual advancement and supernatural power is accepted by most Asian Buddhist communities, but not all Western Buddhologists are comfortable

280 In the Samyutta Nikāya, SN 45.159, The Buddha described abhiññā as a result of the pursuit of the Noble Eightfold Path, see Walshe, Samyutta Nikāya: An Anthology Part3, BPS Online Edition (Candy: Buddhist Publication Society, 2010), 54.

281 Huijiao also emphasizes that the six-supernormal powers are the products of attainments in meditation; see John Kieschnick, The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 70.


283 For more about abhiññā, see Nāṇaṭīloka Maha Thera, BDD s.v. For example, Nāṇaṭīloka defined abhiññā as the 6 ‘higher powers’, or supernormal knowledges, which consist of 5 mundane (lokiya, q.v.) powers attainable through the utmost perfection in mental concentration (samādhi, q.v.) and one supermundane (lokuttara, q.v.) power attainable through penetrating insight (vipassanā, q.v.), i.e. extinction of all cankers (āsavakkhaya; s. āsava), in other words, realization of Arahatship or Holiness.
with the supernatural.  

According to An Shigao’s biography, after he ordained and travelled to China, his attainment of Buddhist abhiññā was manifested by his linguistic abilities with Chinese and the animal languages, his performance of miracles, his ability to remember his former lives, and his awareness of his pre-determinate destiny by himself, feats that “no-one else in the world could achieve.” Further evidence that An Shigao was regarded as having attained supernatural powers can be seen in the conversation with the magical python:

世高曰：「故來相度。何不見形？」
Shigao replied: “I am here just to save you, but why can’t I see your body?”

神曰：「形甚醜異。衆人必懼。」
The god replied: “My body is very strange and ugly and will scare the crowd.”

世高曰：「但出。衆不怪也。」
Shigao replied: “[Please] just show yourself [come out]. The crowd will not be shocked.”

286 Ibid., col. T2145, 55:95a12.
287 Ibid., col. T2145, 55:95c10.
288 Ibid., cols. T2145, 55:95b011-12.

71
神從床後出頭。乃是大蟒蛇。至世高膝邊。涙落如雨。不知尾之長短。

The god stretched his head out of the altar [desk, 神座 “sanctum” (?)] and [it turned he] was a giant python. [The python slithered] onto Shigao’s knee with tears running down like rain. His tail was so long that no one knew where it ended.

世高向之胡語。傍人莫解。蟒便還隱。

Shigao talked to him in the foreign [hu] language which the bystanders could not understand. Then, the python disappeared.

One reason for the presence of supernatural events in An Shigao’s biography is the traditional Chinese literary genre known as zhiguai 志怪 which means “records of the strange.” 290 Miraculous or supernatural beings play an important part in Chinese Buddhist hagiographic literature 291 which some scholars argue is a tool for proselytism. 292 Supernatural events are

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291 The pattern compounds: 1. lineage and birthplace of the protagonist (if known); 2. character and talents; 3. religious practices performed by him/her; 4. dreams or visions in which his/her death is predicted; 5. circumstances of his/her death; 6. miracles, dreams, omens, etc. See C. Kleine, “Portraits of Pious Women in East Asian Buddhist Hagiography. A Study of Accounts of Women Who Attained Birth in Amida’s Pure Land,” Bulletin De l’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient 85, no. 1 (1998): 329.
more than a literary genre, however. For Chinese Buddhists, “they are themselves an important part of the historical reality.”

From a Buddhist perspective, an individual who has the supernormal knowledge called abhiññā has attained it as a result of the accumulation of merit (puṇya) over many previous lives. After the merit has been fulfilled, such an individual is said to have pāramī, "perfection." An example of an individual who attained this state is the Buddha. In his previous lives, the Buddha performed many meritorious deeds and accumulated much puṇya. In his final incarnation as the Buddha, his pāramī was the force behind his enlightenment, ability to remember past lives - the abhiññā. Pāramī can be understood as a form of "Buddhist charisma". An individual who has a lot of pāramī attracts many followers; they want to associate with this perfected being. Pāramī is evidenced by deep understanding of the Dharma, but also by the display of abhiññā. These concepts abhiññā, puṇya and pāramī are important for understanding the stories about his conversations with monstrous pythons in An Shigao’s biography.

According to Buddhist tradition, meditation is at the core of the Buddhist way of life and especially for a monk who decides to follow the path of the Buddha. Buddhist meditation not only purifies the mind’s defilements, it is also the path to enlightenment or the state of Nirvāṇa which is the ultimate goals of Buddhism. Through meditation, the Buddhist practitioner can gain insight and “reveal the true facts of existence.” Wisdom arises and

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295 Ibid.
the meditator sees “all beings and their problems, including oneself and one’s own nature, without hatred, boredom or contempt.”

Like all Buddhists, Chinese people saw Buddhism and Buddhist meditation as a way to gain spiritual power. The shining lights, the supernatural beings such as the python, and references to the way to immortality, and the earth quaking, described in An Shigao’s biographies are all references to the power he was believed to have gained through meditation. This power is not just “supernatural” but is taken to be a reflection of his achievement of the Buddhist pāramī which are achieved by travelling along the path toward Enlightenment. According to Chinese Buddhist tradition, the more a monk meditates, the more power he has. The stories about An Shigao’s supernatural powers are important evidence of the Chinese belief in his Buddhist pāramī, and reflect his traditional reputation as the first and foremost Buddhist monk and meditation master in China.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have surveyed a variety of sources about An Shigao in China. These sources describe An Shigao as a Buddhist monk who came from Central Asia, may have been affiliated with the Sarvāstivādins, and

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296 Sarah Shaw, *Buddhist Meditation: An Anthology of Texts from the Pāli Canon* (Routledge, 2006), 3. One of the fruits of meditative practice mentioned by the Buddha in the *Samaññaphala-sutta* is supernatural power (Pāli: abhiññā).

297 The word pāramī is related to the word pāramitā; see Donald S. Lopez, *The Heart Sūtra Explained: Indian and Tibetan Commentaries* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1988), 21. ; also see Ajarn Chah and Paul Breiter, *Being Dharma: the Essence of the Buddha’s Teachings* (Shambhala Publications, 2001), 117. According to Lopez the term pāramitā, commonly translated as "perfection," has two etymologies. The first derives it from the word *parama*, meaning “highest,” “most distant,” and hence, “chief,” “primary,” “most excellent.” Hence, the substantive can be rendered “excellence” or “perfection.” This reading is supported by the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (vol. 4), where the twelve excellences (pāramitā) are associated with the ten perfections (pāramitā). A more creative yet widely reported etymology divides pāramitā into pāra and mita, with pāra meaning "beyond," “the further bank, shore or boundary,” and mita, meaning “that which has arrived,” or ita meaning “that which goes.” Pāramitā, then means “that which has gone beyond,” “that which goes beyond,” or “transcendent.” This reading is reflected in the Tibetan translation *pha rol tu phyin pa* (“gone to the other side”).
traveled to China where he translated Buddhist texts from the Hu language into Chinese. I have argued that An Shigao was not just a passive translator of foreign texts, but that he was also a Buddhist missionary, who taught and preached about Buddhism and Buddhist meditation in Eastern Han China. The texts associated with An Shigao contain information about Buddhist meditation techniques such as (ānāpānasamrti), the mindfulness in breath. An Shigao’s connection with Buddhist meditation is also revealed by the descriptions of miracles in his biographies. Although his biographies are part of the zhiguai 志怪 “strange tales” genre, they also show that he was regarded by Buddhists as having acquired Buddhist pāramī, one of the fruits of meditative practice. The descriptions of miracles in his biography and the many meditation sutras attributed to his name show the enduring success of An Shigao’s mission in Late Han China.

In the next chapter I will investigate the meditation techniques which were popular among people during the Eastern Han period.
Figures in Chapter Two

Fig. 2.1 Parthian Empire

Fig. source

Fig. 2.2 Geographical extent of Kharoṣṭḥī script.

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Fig. 2.3 Portion of the Kharoṣṭhī Fragments: A Gāndhārī version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra (Khargaviṣāna Sūtra) Kushan era, 1st century CE, Ink on birch bark paper.

Fig. source

Fig. 2.4 Rock drawing of Buddhist monks making offerings to a stūpa Chilas II with a Kharoṣṭhī inscription, Karakorum Highway Upper Indus River, Northern Areas of Pakistan ca. 1st century C.E.

300 University of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project, “Portion of the Kharosthi Fragments.”
301 Neelis, “Meditation in Multiple Contexts: Early Buddhist Manuscripts and Inscriptions.”
CHAPTER THREE: MEDITATION TEXTS ASSOCIATED WITH AN SHIGAO AND HIS SCHOOL

MEDITATION TEXTS ASSOCIATED WITH AN SHIGAO AND HIS SCHOOL

Introduction

In the previous chapters, I argued that An Shigao was not only a translator of Buddhist texts, but was also renowned for his supernatural powers, his preaching and meditation teaching. In this chapter I will consider the meditation texts associated with An Shigao. There is some controversy among scholars about these meditation texts. The main issue is which texts are authentic translations by An Shigao. A second issue that concerns scholars is whether his meditation texts can be classified as Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna. In this chapter I take a different approach: I analyse An Shigao’s pseudepigraphia as well as his authenticated sutras in order to understand the relationship between An Shigao and Buddhist meditation. To do this I first identify texts associated with An Shigao and his school that are concerned with meditation and put them into a database. Next, I classify the meditation texts by translation date and divide these texts into two groups: those identified as belonging to the Hīnayāna texts, and those with Mahāyāna ideas. I also indicate in my analysis any mention of nikāya affiliation. Please note that I am not trying to prove which meditation texts are authentic or inauthentic. Instead, my goal is to explore the longstanding association in China between An Shigao, his school and Buddhist meditation. A second goal is to identify the meditation techniques taught by and/or associated with An Shigao and his school.

An important source for this material is Daoan’s catalogue 道安錄. Daoan’s list of meditation texts that can be attributed to An Shigao include the *Anban shouyi jing* (hereafter ABSYJ) 安般守意經, the *Dadao di jing* 大道地經 the *Yogācārabhūmi Sūtra*, the *Da shi er men jing* 大十二門經, the *Xiao shi er men jing* 小十二門經, the *Da anban jing* 大安般經, the *Siwei jing* 思惟經 and the *Chanxing faxiang jing* 禪行法想經. Most of these texts are now lost except for the *Daodi jing* 道地經 (T607), the *Da anban jing* 大安般經 (T602) and the *Chanxing faxiang jing* 禪行法想經 (T605) which survive in the Taishō Tripitaka. In addition, Dong Chu attributed to An Shigao more meditation including the *Wumen chanfa jing* 五門禪法經 (lost), and the *Chan ding fangbian cidi fa jing* 禪定方便次第法經 (now lost).

In Appendix B I have created a table that shows nine texts were translated by or associated with An Shigao that deal with the meditation: the *Renben yusheng jing* 人本欲生經 (T14), the *Foshuo da anban shouyi jing* 佛說大安般守意經 (T602), the *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經 (T603), the *Foshuo chanxing san shi qi pin jing* 佛說禪行三十七品經 (T604), the *Chanxing faxiang jing* 禪行法想經 (T605), the *Daodi jing* 道地經 (T607), the *Foshuo zhongguo zaoqi chan fa de liuchuan he tedian huijiao dao xuan suozhe xi chan pian yanjiu* “中印佛教交通史—慧皎、道宣所著「習禪篇」研究,” *Zhonghua Xueshu Yuan Foxue Yanjiusuo* 中華學術院佛學研究所 7 (September 1984): 67.


306 Although Zacchetti has concluded that T602 is not a translation at all, however Nattier has considered this text should be viewed as “the work of An Shigao immediate disciples or someone from a later generation or as the work of An Shigao himself,” it still to be investigated. So I still have included this text as the work of An Shigao as well; see Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 60.

307 Ibid., 55. According to Nattier, as Zacchetti noted, T605 shares a great many peculiar features with T605.
Among these meditation texts, the ABSYJ is the most useful for this thesis as it contains an explanation of one of the predominant meditation techniques used in China at that time. According to Tang (1988), An Shigao translated a number of sūtras which emphasize breath control, a practice comparable to "inhilation and exhalation." The two most influential of An Shigao’s meditation text translations were the Ānāpānasīrtti Sūtra (T602)

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312 Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” 265. Zacchetti states that this scripture deals with the introduction of “a threefold series of meditative practices: the four smṛtyupasthāna, the four infinitudes (maitrī etc) and the four immaterial attainments.”

313 Ibid. Zacchetti concludes that “Structure and content of this text are very similar to the second part of the preceding scripture.

314 Ibid., 266. Zacchetti notes that “This text can be identified as a commentary devoted to the twelve gates and to other subjects related to meditation.
and the *Yin chi ru jing* (阴持入經) (T603). In the next section of this chapter, I will discuss nine meditation texts and separate them into two categories: Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna meditation texts.

3.1. “Hīnayāna” meditation texts

There are seven Hīnayāna texts named the *Foshuo da anban shouyi jing* 佛説大安般守意經 (T602), the *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持人經 (T603), the *Foshuo chanxing sanshiqi pin jing* 佛說禪行三十七品經 (T604), the *Chanxing faxiang jing* 禪行法想經 (T605), the *Daodi jing* 道地經 (T607), the *Renben yusheng jing* 人本欲生經 (T14) and the *Qichu sanguan jing* 七處三觀經 (T150A).

3.1.1. *Foshuo da anban shouyi jing* 佛説大安般守意經 (T602)

The *Anban shouyi jing* (ABSYJ) 安般守意經 is the most famous scripture that was translated by An Shigao during the Eastern Han period. According to Deleanu the ABSYJ was probably written in Gāndhārī and entitled the Ānāpānasvadi, it was a small manual compiled around 100 CE by Sarvāstivāda Yogācārins. It is generally known by its Sanskrit name the Ānāpānasmyrti Sūtra which can be translated as “Sūtra of Mindfulness of Breathing.” It should be noted that according to Sengyou’s CSZJJ, there are two Anban [shouyi] jing which were translated by An Shigao; the *Smaller Anban jing* 小安般經, and the *Larger Anban jing* 大安般經. The *Larger Anban jing* 大安般經 which corresponds to the *Foshuo da anban shouyi jing* 佛説大安般守意經.

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316 I do not discuss the two texts named *Renben yusheng jing* 人本欲生經 (T14), *Qichu sanguan jing* 七處三觀經 (T150A) because of time and space limitations.

Zacchetti and Deleanu point out that the text of the present *Da anban shouyi jing* T 602 seems to be “mixed with an ancient commentary by An Shigao, which probably consists of Chen Hui’s and Kang Senghui’s explanations and glosses added by Daoan, Zhi Dun, and Xie Fu.”

3.1.2. *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經 (T603)

The authenticity of the *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經 (hereafter called YCRJ), another meditation text, has long been debated by several scholars. The title of the sūtra mentions *skandha* 陰, *dhātu* 持 and *āyatana* 入 and can be translated as the “Canonical Text Concerning the Skandhas, the Dhātus, and the Āyatanas.”

The text begin with the statement that all that the Buddhas practice and teach can be condensed into three categories: 1. the five aggregates 五陰 (which are impermanent 非常, painful 苦, empty 空, and not-self-existent 非身); 2. the eighteen constituents 十八本持 and 3. the twelve sense-fields 十二入. The text also discusses the thirty-seven *bodhipakṣya-dharmas* (三十七品經法= 三十七菩提分法), the four stages of the noble ones (四道 聽地= 四妙門果), the practice of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*, the two kind of *Nirvāna*, the nine successive attainments *anupubbamāpatti* 九次第思.

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319 An Shigao 安世高, “*Yin Chi Ru Jing* 隱持入經” (Tokyo, November 9, 2012), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.


321 Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the *Petakopadesa*,” 70.

322 I could not find the Sanskrit term of this word.
According to Yamabe, although the YCRJ’s title contains the word sūtra, the contents of the text do not follow the conventional sūtra style. Instead, the YCRJ can be considered to be a “meditation manual” and may be connected to the Yogācārabhūmi, “in somewhat more specific way,” by sharing many of the same elements.

Zacchetti considers the YCRJ to be one of the earliest Buddhist works translated into Chinese. In addition, Zacchetti asserts that the commentary on the YCRJ, the Yin chi ru jing zhu (T1694, hereafter YCRJZ), is also very early. It should be noted that the extant version of the YCRJ (T603), is not a complete text. Nattier points out that it “ends abruptly” which suggests that the end of this text was lost in the past. In a study that compare the YCRJ and the Peṭakopadesa, Zacchetti suggests that the YCRJ may correspond to a non-canonical text in Pāli named “the sixth chapter of the Peṭakopadesa.” Zacchetti notes that “the peṭakopadesa, together with the Nettippakarana, (a work of similar content) is considered canonical (as a part of the Khuddakanikāya) by the

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325 Ibid., 177.
326 Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the Peṭakopadesa,” 75.
328 Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the Peṭakopadesa,” 76.
329 It is considered that the Nettippakarana is an exegetical work on the Pitakas, traditionally ascribed to Mahā Kaccāna; see G P Malalasekera, “Nettippakarana,” ed. BDD s.v.
Burmese, but as non-canonical by other Theravādins.” He concludes by noting that the YCRJ was considered by An Shigao’s disciples, Kang Senghui 康僧會 (? - 280 CE) and Chen Hui 陳慧, to be “one of their main doctrinal sources, together with the Anban shouyi jing.” These texts continued to be important for Chinese Buddhists during the fourth century.

3.1.3A. *Daodi jing* 道地經 (T607)

The *Daodi jing* 道地經 (T607) is one of the sūtras translated by An Shigao. The contents of this text correspond with the commentary on the *Yogācārabhūmi*. This has led several scholars to conclude that An Shigao transmitted several texts of *yogācāra* which referred not to the later Mahāyāna School but to its precursors. According to Deleanu, “The *Yogācārabhūmi*, which work is attributed to Sangharakṣa 僧伽羅刹, translated partially by An Shigao and completed by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護.” Likewise, the translator Sangharakṣa’s “works seem closely associated with the Sarvāstivāda tradition.” As Sangharakṣa was also the

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330 Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the Petakopadesa,” 76.
331 Ibid., 94.
332 Ibid.
335 Deleanu, “A Preliminary Study of An Shigao’s Translation of the Yogācārabhūmi,” 34.
29th patriarch of Sarvāstivādin School, he would have been “interested in and perhaps personally involved with its related Yogācāra system.”

Deleanu points out “An Shigao's Daodi jing is an abridged translation” which was mentioned by both Daoan and Sengyou. Daoan’s preface asserts that “An Shigao himself extracted seven chapters out of Sangharakṣa’s compilation and was translated them into Chinese.” In contrast, Sengyou remarks: “since an extensive [i.e., complete] translation was deemed difficult An Shigao himself made an abridged translation of the Yogācārabhūmi.” Demiéville, however, interprets the latter comment of Sengyou to mean that “An Shigao's abridged version was extracted from an authentic Sanskrit original and not a Chinese translation, which would have made the text apocryphal.” Deleanu supposes that An Shigao made an abridged translation of the Yogācārabhūmi as a text to be read and used in conjunction with the Ānāpānasmṛti, a manual completely dedicated to the mindfulness of breathing.

3.1.3B. The two versions of Yogācārabhūmi

According to Deleanu, “the first five chapters of the An Shigao Yogācārabhūmi (AYb), corresponding to Chapters 1 to 5 in the Dharmarakṣa Yogācārabhūmi (DYb), which focused upon the pañcaskandha; seem to be conceived as a sort of introduction to the

337 Deleanu, “A Preliminary Study of An Shigao’s Translation of the Yogācārabhūmi,”
338 Ibid., 38.
339 Ibid.
340 Ibid.
341 Ibid., 39.
impermanence, suffering and impurity of life.”

In addition, Deleanu states that “the last two chapters, corresponding to Chapter 22 and 24, respectively, in the DYb, are supposed to show the path of ūparāja and vipāśyanā leading to the elimination of duḥkha.”

I have used Yin Shun’s account of the extant Yogācārabhūmi, to create a table to compare Dharmarakṣa’s translated version with An Shigao’s translated version. Dharmarakṣa remarks have 30 vargas in 7 chapters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vargas</th>
<th>Dharmarakṣa Yogācārabhūmi (DYb)</th>
<th>An Shigao Yogācārabhūmi (AYb)</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ji san pin (集散品)</td>
<td>San zhong zhang di yi (散種章第一)</td>
<td>Corresponding to 郜柁南 udāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wuyin ben pin (五陰本品)</td>
<td>Zhi wu yin hui zhang di er (知五陰慧章第二)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wu yin xiang pin (五陰相品)</td>
<td>Sui ying xiang ju zhang di san (隨應相具章第三)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fen bie wu yin pin (分別五陰品)</td>
<td>Wuyin fenbie guan zhi zhang di si (五陰分別觀止章第四)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wuyin chengbai pin (五陰成敗品)</td>
<td>Wuyin chengbai zhang di wu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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342 Ibid., 38.
343 Ibid.
345 Ibid., 403.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>章目</th>
<th>名称</th>
<th>说明</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ci pin</td>
<td>慈品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chu kongbu pin</td>
<td>除恐怖品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Fenbie xiang pin</td>
<td>分别相品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Quan yi pin</td>
<td>勸意品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Li dian dao pin</td>
<td>離顛倒品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Xiaoliao shi pin</td>
<td>曉了食品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Fu sheng zhu gen pin</td>
<td>伏勝諸根品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Renru pin</td>
<td>忍辱品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Qi jia e pin</td>
<td>棄加惡品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Tianyan jian zhong shi pin</td>
<td>天眼見終始品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Tian-er pin</td>
<td>天耳品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Nian wang shi pin</td>
<td>念往世品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Zhi ren xin nian pin</td>
<td>知人心念品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Diyu pin</td>
<td>地獄品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Quan yue pin</td>
<td>勸悅品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Xing kong pin</td>
<td>行空品</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Shenzu pin</td>
<td>Shenzu xing zhang di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter No.</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Shu xi pin (數息品)</td>
<td>神足行章第六（一分）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Guan pin (觀品)</td>
<td>Wushiwu guan zhang di qi (五十五觀章第七（一分)) The chapter 7: The fifty-five methods to contemplate one’s own body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Xue di pin (學地品)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Wu xue di pin (無學地品)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Wu xue pin (無學品)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Dizi san pin xiu xing pin (弟子三品修行品)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Yuanjue pin (Pratyekabuddha varga) (緣覺品)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Pusa pin (菩薩品)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because of the difference in length and content, Yamabe writes: “An Shiagao’s texts represent the early stage of the systematization of Buddhist meditative methods that eventually culminated in the compilation of the voluminous *Yogācārabhūmi*. In addition, Yamabe also presumes that the meditation texts by An Shigao may have been precursors of *Yogācārabhūmi*,

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especially the Śrāvakabhūmi portion.” Furthermore, Yamabe believes that “An Shigao was indeed connected to the tradition of Yogācāra meditators in northwest India that later formed the Yogācāra School.” In contrast Zacchetti states:

The elements shared by the two texts are all very common Buddhist concepts (i.e. skandha, dhātu, āyatana, the Four Noble Truths, the pratītyasamutpāda, etc.), and are better explained as the parallel incorporation of a layer of early Abhidharmic material. This being the case, similarity, even in the sequence of the terms expounded by the two texts, does not necessarily imply a direct genetic connection between YCRJ and the Śrāvakabhūmi.

3.1.4. Foshuo chanxing sanshiqi pin jing 佛說禪行三十七品經 (T604)

The Foshuo chanxing sanshiqi pin jing 佛說禪行三十七品經 (T604) is one of the meditation texts that the canon ascribed to An Shigao. This text was first attributed to An Shigao in the LDSBJ (T2034, p.50c10) by Fei Zhangfang. But it was not listed in the record of Sengyou. However Nattier and Zacchetti both note that T604 “shares a great many peculiar features with the T605, and which must be directly related to it in some

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347 Ibid.
348 Ibid., 177.
349 Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the Petakopadesa,” 75.
350 An Shigao 安世高, trans., “Foshuo Chan Xing Sanshiqi Pin Jing 佛説禪行三十七品經 T604” (Tokyo, December 14, 2012), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.
Furthmore Zacchetti and Harrison use the internal analysis of the T604 and have affirmed that it should be rejected as the authentic text of An Shigao.

According to the text, once the Buddha was preaching at the Jetavana monastery in the Anāthapiṇḍika-ārāma in the town of Śrāvastī. The Buddha explains the bodhipākṣya-dharma to his listeners in the form of a list which contains the seven sets of thirty-seven qualities of meditation practice. These are:

1.1. **Four Bases of mindfulness for śamatha and vipaśyanā** (catvāri smṛtyupasthāna or catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni). Xuanzhuang translates this as 四念住; 1. mindfulness in contemplation of the body (kāyānupaśyanā smṛtyupasthāna 身止觀; 1.1. the mindfulness in contemplation of one’s own various bodies 身止觀), 1.2. mindfulness in contemplation of one’s own external bodies 外身止觀, 1.3. mindfulness in contemplation of one’s internal and external bodies 內外身止觀), 2. mindfulness in contemplation of the internal and external feelings (vedanānupaśyanā smṛtyupasthāna 止觀痛痒內外), 3. mindfulness in contemplation of the internal and external consciousness (cittānupaśyanā smṛtyupasthāna 止觀意內外), 4. mindfulness in contemplation of dharma (dharmanupaśyanā smṛtyupasthāna 止觀法內外).

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355 BDD s.v.
356 BDD s.v.
357 Lin Chong-an 林崇安, “Zuizao Chuan Ru Han Di de Zhi Guan Chan Fa 最早傳入漢地的止觀禪法,” 1.
1.2. Four right exertions (catuh-samyak-prahāna)\(^{358}\) Xuanzhuang translates this as 四正勤;\(^{359}\) 1. exertion to prevent bad deeds from arising (未生惡法不令生), 2. exertion to get rid of bad deeds when they have arisen (已生惡法即得斷), 3. exertion to produce good deeds (kuśala-dharma) which never done before (未生善法便發生), 4. exertion to preserve, accumulate and complete good deeds (已生善法立不忘、增行、得滿).

1.3. Four bases of power (ṛddhipāda)\(^{360}\): 1. will (chanda 欲定斷生死惟神足), 2. perseverance (vīrya 精進定), 3. concentration (citta 意定), 4. investigation (mimāṃsā 戒定斷生死惟神足).

1.4. Five faculties (pañcendriyāni)\(^{361}\): 1. faith (śraddhendriya 信力), 2. perseverance (vīryendriya 精進力), 3. mindfulness (smṛtendriya 念力), 4. concentration (samādhendriya 定力), 5. wisdom (prajñendriya 慧力).

1.5. Five powers (pañcabalāni)\(^{362}\): 1. faith (śraddhābala 信力), 2. perseverance (vīryabala 精進力), 3. mindfulness (smṛtibala 念力), 4. concentration (samādhibala 定力), 5. wisdom (prajñābala 慧力).

1.6. Seven factors of Enlightenment (saptabodhyāṅgāni)\(^{363}\) 七覺意, Xuanzhuang translates as 七覺支:\(^{364}\) 1. mindfulness (smṛti 念覺意), 2.
investigation (dharmapaviccaya 法解覺意), 3. perseverance (vīrya 精進覺意), 4. joy (prīti 愛覺意), 5. tranquility (prāśrabdhi 止覺意), 6. concentration (samādhi 定覺意), 7. equanimity (upekṣā 護覺意)

1.7. Noble Eightfold Path (āryāstāṅgika-mārga 八正道)

1. right view samyag-drṣṭi 正見; 2. right thought samyak-saṃkalpa 正思, 3. right speech samyag-vāc 正語; 4. right action samyak-karmānta 正業; 5. right livelihood samyag-ājīva 正命; 6. right effort samyag-vyāyāma 正治; 7. right mindfulness samyak-smṛti 正念 and 8. right concentration samyak-samādhi 正定.

3.1.5. Chanxing faxiang jing 禪行法想經 (T605)

The Chanxing faxiang jing 禪行法想經 (T605) is a text which has been accepted by Daoan, Ui and Zürcher as the work of An Shigao. However Harison identifies this text as “corresponding, at least in part, to materials found in the Pāli Aṅguttara-nikāya.” According to Nattier and Zacchetti the T605 cannot be considered as the work of An Shigao but it is certainly related to the T604.

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364 Lin Chong-an 林崇安, “Zuizao Chuan Ru Han Di de Zhi Guan Chan Fa 最早傳入漢地的止觀禪法,” I.
365 BDD s.v.
366 An Shigao 安世高, trans., “Chan Xing Fa Xiang Jing 禪行法想經 T605” (Tokyo, December 22, 2012), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.
368 Ibid., 55.
The T605 is a short sūtra that contains a series of objects of contemplation (想, Pāli: saññā / Skt: samjñā). The text contains just 17 lines, and 276 characters. The text begins by relating that once the Buddha travelled to Jetavana Anāthapindāda-ārāma, in the town of Śrāvastī. Then he taught meditation techniques concerned with the 30 saññā of asubha-bhāvanā 不淨觀 such as; maraṇa-saññā 死想, asubha-saññā 不淨想, āhāre patikūla-saññā 穢食想, sarva-loke’ nabhirati-saññā 一切世間無有樂想, anitya-saññā 無常想 and so on.


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370 Please note that I have used Pāli terms in this section because I am comparing T605 with other Pāli texts.
373 The terms from number 23-30 do not appear to have Pāli or Sanskrit counterpart. I have translated the terms from Chinese into English.

I have formulated the table below comparing An Shigao’s *Chanxing faxiang jing* 萬行法想經 and the Pāli texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text No.</th>
<th>Chan Xing faxiang jing 萬行法想經 (T605)</th>
<th>Pathamasaññāsutta 375</th>
<th>Dutiyasaññāsutta 376</th>
<th>Asubhasaññā อสุภสัญญา 10 377</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>死想</td>
<td>maranāsānānā</td>
<td>maranāsānānā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>不淨想</td>
<td>asubhaśaṇānā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>禪食想</td>
<td>āhāre paṭikūlasānānā</td>
<td>āhāre paṭikūlasānānā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>一切世間無有樂想</td>
<td>sabbaloke anabhiraṭasānānā</td>
<td>sabbaloke anabhiraṭasānānā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

374 I have included the Thai terms for the 10 Asubhasaññā for the sake of comparison; see Phasu Karnkha พสุการค้า, *Ariyasactipani อริยสัจทีปนี*, Tarang Samrab Lucag Samatha Kammathan 40 ตารางสําหรับเลือกสมถกรรมฐาน 40, 2546, 270.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Thai Word</th>
<th>Pali Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>無常想</td>
<td>aniccasāññā</td>
<td>aniccasāññā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>無常為苦想</td>
<td>anicce dukkhasāññā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>苦為非身想</td>
<td>dukkhe anattasaññā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>非身為空想</td>
<td>pahānasāññā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>棄離想</td>
<td>virāgasāññā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>滅盡想</td>
<td>nirodhasāññā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>無我想</td>
<td>anattasaññā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>身死為蟲食想</td>
<td>pulavaka saññā</td>
<td>pulava kasaññā ปุฬวกอสุภ Worm-eaten corpse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>血流想</td>
<td>lohitakasaññā โลหิตกอสุภ Bleeding corpse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>膨脹想</td>
<td>uddhatasaññā อุทุธมาตกอสุภ Bloated Corpse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 16 | 青腐想 | vinīlaka saññā | vinīlaka saññā วินิลกอสุภ  
| Bluish corpse  |
| 17 | 麹爛腥臭想 | vipubbakasaññā | vipubbakasaññā วิปุพฺพกอสุภ  
| Festering corpse  |
| 18 | 髪落肉盡想 | vikkhitakasaññā | vikkhitakasaññā วิกฺขิตฺตกอสุภ  
| Dismembered corpse  |
| 19 | 一切縛解想 | hatavikkhittaka saññā | hatavikkhittaka saññā หตวิกฺขิตฺตกอสุภ  
| Chopped off and scattered corpse  |
| 20 | 骨節分散想 | vicchiddakasañña | vicchiddakasangā วิจฉิททกะ  
| 21 | 骨變赤白枯黑亦如鳩色想 | vikkhāyatakasañña | vikkhāyatakasañña วิกฺขายิตกอสุภ  
| Gnawed corpse  |
| 22 | 骨糜為灰想 | aṭṭhikasañña | aṭṭhikasañña  
| 23 | 世間無所歸想 | | Thai equivalent unknown  |
| 24 | 世間無牢固想 | Thai equivalent unknown |
| 25 | 世間為別離想 | Thai equivalent unknown |
| 26 | 世間闇冥想 | Thai equivalent unknown |
| 27 | 世間難忍想 | Thai equivalent unknown |
| 28 | 世為費耗不中用想 | Thai equivalent unknown |
| 29 | 世為災變可患厭想 | Thai equivalent unknown |
| 30 | 一切世間歸泥洹想 | Thai equivalent unknown |

### 3.1.6. Renben yusheng jing 人本欲生經 (T14)

The *Renben yusheng jing* 人本欲生經 (T14) is concerned with the twelve links in the chain of existence or *dvādaśanga pratītyasamutpāda*.

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378 An Shigao 安世高, trans., “*Foshuo Ren Ben Yu Sheng Jing* 佛説人本欲生經” (Tokyo, January 25, 2013), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.

379 BDD s.v.
十二因緣, the four noble truths or *catvāri-ārya-satyāni* 380四諦, five aggregates or *pañca-skandhaka* 381五陰, the seven types of sentient beings in which consciousness is a significant phenomenon or *sapta viññāna-sthitayah* 382七識住, and the *aṣṭā-vimokṣa* 383八解脫.

### 3.1.7. *Qi chu sanguan jing* 七處三觀經 (T150A)

The *Qi chu sanguan jing* 七處三觀經 is recorded in the Taishō Tripitaka 大正藏 volume 2 冊 (Āgama 阿含部) Number 150A. 384 According to Zacchetti, T150A perhaps belongs to the *Samyuktāgama*. The *Qi chu sanguan jing* and the *Ji gu jing* are also found in the *Samyuktāgama* anthology called *Za ahan jing* (T101). 385 The scripture is considered to be a meditation text concerned with the *Qi chu* 七處; *sedi* 色諦, *sexi* 色習, *sejin* 色盡, *semie* 色滅, *sewei* 色味, *sechuyao* 色出要, and *seku* 色苦. 386 In addition the text provides the process of the contemplation as; *zhi wuyun* 知五蘊 → *wuyun ji* 五蘊集 → *wuyun mie* 五蘊滅 → *wuyun mie dao ji* 五蘊滅道跡 → *wuyun wei* 五蘊味 → *wuyun huan* 五蘊患 → *wuyun li* 五蘊離. 387

and three contemplations *sanguan* 三觀: of the physical body as form, the

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380 BDD s.v.
381 DDB s.v.
382 DDB s.v.
383 BDD s.v.
384 An Shigao 安世高, trans., “*Qi Chu San Guan Jing* 七處三觀經 T150A” (Tokyo, January 25, 2013), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.
386 BDD s.v.
3.2. Mahāyāna meditation text

There are only two Mahāyāna meditation texts recorded in the Canon that have been attributed to An Shigao. These are: Foshuo foyin sanmei jing 佛說佛印三昧經 (T621), and the Foshuo zishi sanmei jing 佛說自誓三昧經 (T622).

3.2.1. Foshuo foyin sanmei jing 佛說佛印三昧經 (T621)

The Foshuo foyin sanmei jing 佛說佛印三昧經 (T621) is a Mahāyāna text which was ascribed by Fei Changfang to An Shigao. Nattier has used the internal evidence to analyze this text and concluded that it is “filled with vocabulary that An Shigao does not use” and is not authentic. It should be noted that the term sanmei 三昧 generally refers to samādhi or meditation. However, Andrew Skilton notes, “a number of texts consistently failed to make sense or to meet our expectations regarding a meditation text.”

According to this text, once the Buddha was staying at the Grdharkuta 峨眉山 in Rājagṛha 羅閱祇. At that time there were innumerable Bodhisattvas, Arhats and monks assembled to listen to the Buddha. After the Buddha entered meditation, a marvelous light shone in all direction, then innumerable Buddhas appeared in innumerable Buddha lands. Maitreya and

Śāriputra asked the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī where the Buddha was. Mañjuśrī then entered meditation to investigate. No one could see them, and then a moment later, the Buddha appeared to the assembly and told them that he had entered, through the deep achievement of the perfection of wisdom (prajñā-pāramitā), the so-called meditation on the Buddha called “Buddha-seal” 佛印. 391 According to this text, the Buddha is able to make innumerable replicate bodies. 392 This feat can be considered as one of the miraculous powers, or iddhi-vidha, known as abhiññā. 393

3.2.2. *Foshuo zishi sanmei jing* 佛説自誓三昧經 (T622)

The *Foshuo zishi sanmei jing* 佛説自誓三昧經 394 is another Mahāyāna meditation text recorded in the canon as the translation work of An Shigao. Nattier does not mention or attribute this text to An Shigao. Because this

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391. The term *foyin* 佛印, is generally translated as the Buddha-seal, the sign of assurance. Here I propose that “Buddha-Iddhividhañāna” can be translated into Chinese as 佛印, 願力佛印. 願力也可稱之為脅生佛印. The term “iddhi-vidha” is also defined as abhiññā, see Nāṇātiṭika vol. 23 Khuddaka Nikāya 395 Patissambhidamagga ปฏิสัมภิทามรรค.

392. “iddhi-vidha” power of the mind-made body can create only one body at a time while the iddhi power of the mind-made body can create as many bodies as one wishes. 393

393. An Shigao 安世高, trans., *Foshuo Zi Shi Sanmei Jing* 佛説自誓三昧經 394 (Tokyo, November 28, 2012), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.
text is categorized in the *āgama* section of the *Taishō Tripitaka*, I, at the
beginning, supposed that it belongs to Hīnayāna School. However, after
reading the text thoroughly, I found that the text contains some words and
ideas such as countless Bodhisattvas 菩薩無數,\(^{395}\) Mahāyāna 大乘\(^{396}\) and
Six Perfections 六度,\(^{397}\) which suggest a Mahāyāna original.

### 3.3. Graph classifying the meditation texts associated with An Shigao
and his school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text name</th>
<th>Daoan’s catalogue</th>
<th>Dong chu 東初</th>
<th>Table in Appendix B</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Da shi er men jing</em> 大十二門經,</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Xiao shi er men jing</em> 小十二門經,</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Siwei jing</em> 思惟經</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Wumen chanfa jing</em> 五門禪法經</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chan ting fangbian citi fa jing</em> 禪定方便次第法經</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Renben yusheng jing</em> 人本欲生經 (T14)</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>H, A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Qichu sanguan jing</em> 七處三觀經 (T150A) (1) and (3)[sic]</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>H, A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{395}\) Ibid., col. T622, 15:0344a02.

\(^{396}\) Ibid., col. T622, 15:0344a13.

\(^{397}\) Ibid., col. T622, 15:344a14.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text in Chinese</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 佛説大安般守意經 (T602) | Foshuo da anban shouyi jing | * | H, A (it should be reconsidered)
| 陰持入經 (T603) | Yin chi ru jing | * | H, A |
| 佛説禪行三十七品經 (T604) | Foshuo chanxing san shi qi pin jing | * | H, I |
| 禪行法想經 (T605) | Chanxing faxiang jing | * | H, A (it should be reconsidered) |
| 道地經 (T607) | Daodi jing | *<sup>402</sup> | H, A |
| 佛説佛印三昧經 (T621) | Foshuo foyin sanmei jing | * | M, I |
| 佛説自誓三昧經 (T622) | Foshuo zishi sanmei jing | * | M, I |

**Total citation**: 6 2 9 14

**Remarks**: L = Lost text, H = Hīnayāna texts, M = Mahāyāna texts, A = Authentic, I = Inauthentic

For the graph above, I have collected the data from three sources: 1. Daoan’s catalogue 道安錄, 2. Dong chu (東初)’s catalogue, and 3. the Table in Appendix B. The graph shows the classification of all the meditation text ascribed to An Shigao and his school. There are six meditation texts ascribed to An Shigao by contemporary scholars, i.e. Nattier, Zacchetti, namely Renben yusheng jing 人本欲生經 (T14), Qichu sanguan jing 七處三觀經 (T150A), Yin chi ru jing 陰持入經 (T603), Daodi jing 道地經 (T607), Foshuo da anban shouyi jing 佛説大安般守意經 (T602), Chanxing faxiang jing 禪行法想經 (T605). However, according to Zacchetti only two of these texts, i.e., T602 and

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400 According to Zacchetti this text needs more research before it can be classified as authentic or inauthentic, see Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” 259; also see Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 60.
402 Daoan cited the name as Dadao di jing 大道地經

102
T605, should be reconsidered for the classification of authentic text. All of these six texts belong to the Hīnayāna school.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have examined the extant meditation texts associated with An Shigao and his school, whether or not they are to be regarded as authentic works of An Shigao. The majority of these meditation texts belong to the Hīnayāna School, but there are a few Mahāyāna meditation texts. The fact that the majority of the texts are Hīnayāna rather than Mahāyāna, and that several seem to be precursors of the yoga-cāra tradition may be due to his affiliation with the Sarvāstivādin.

As noted, only four to six of these texts are accepted as authentic by contemporary scholars. It is interesting that these texts introduce several kinds of meditation techniques including breathing meditation, the Four Bases of Mindfulness (catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni 四意止) for śamatha and vipaśyanā, and the 30 saññā 想 of asubhā-smṛti 不淨觀. Based on my analysis of these texts, I conclude that there is a long-standing association between An Shigao and several kinds of meditation practice. I also conclude that two of his most important authentic translations, namely the Anban shouyi jing and the Yin chi ru jing, are concerned with breathing meditation.
CHAPTER FOUR: AN SHIGAO, HIS SCHOOL AND THEIR MEDITATION TECHNIQUES

AN SHIGAO, HIS SCHOOL AND THEIR MEDITATION TECHNIQUES

Introduction

In this chapter I explore the Indian Buddhist meditation techniques introduced by An Shigao and his school into Eastern Han China. According to his biography, after An Shigao was ordained he studied abhidharma and mastered a number of meditation texts and techniques. I argue that my analysis of the texts associated with An Shigao and his school demonstrates that the Indian Buddhist meditation technique of mindfulness breathing, or ānāpānasmṛti, was popular during this early period.

4.1. What kind of meditation did An Shigao and his school introduce into Eastern Han China?

We know that Buddhism was popular among traders and merchants, but apparently by the Eastern Han period, Central Asian Buddhist monks were welcomed into China (25-220 CE) by cultured elites who were interested in learning about Buddhism and about Buddhist meditation. An Shigao’s translation of Anban shouyi jing 安般守意經 which mentions the “counting in breath” shows that breathing meditation was one of the techniques that he was familiar with and taught to his followers. According to the biographies of An Shigao, his laymen followers Han Lin 韓林 of Nanyang, Pi Ye 皮業 of Yingchuan, and Chen Hui 陳慧 of Kuaiji transmitted his teachings on the

403 CSZJJ: T2145, 55: 95a17-18
ABSYJ and the breathing meditation technique to the monk named Kang Senghui (ca. ? – 280 CE). Kang Senghui then assisted Chen Hui 吳陳慧 to compose the commentary on the ABSYJ based on what he learned from An Shigao. According to Zacchetti, An Shigao’s translations and his exegetical works were obviously the main sources for the authors of the YCRJZ.

According to Daoan there are some texts, namely the Daodi jing 道地經 (T607), the Yin chi ru jing 陰持入經 (T603), the large and small Shi er men jing 大/小十二門經 (lost), the Renben yusheng jing 人本欲生經 (T14), and the Anban shouyi jing 安般守意經 that contain classified and sub-classified lists of terms and concepts of chan shu 禪數. It is not really clear from these texts if the term chan shu 禪數 refers to meditation and the Abhidharma or if it is also refers to the “counting in breath” meditative technique. Zacchetti translates the term chan shu 禪數 as “Meditative practices and Abhidharma.” From this he concludes that An Shigao was...

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408 Thich Nhat Hanh, *Master Tang Hôi*, 133–134, in contrast, states that Kang Senghui learned meditation directly from An Shigao and transcribed An Shigao's teachings into text form. Kang Senghui assisted Chen Hui by polishing the texts, but Chen Hui wrote the commentary of the ABSYJ.

409 Zacchetti, “Some Remarks on the Authorship and Chronology of the *Yin Chi Ru Jing Zhu* 陰持入經註: The Second Phase in the Development of Early Chinese Buddhist Exegetical Literature,” 148–158, concludes that “The group consisted of several laymen, including the “Master Chen” 陳氏 to whom the YCRJZ is ascribed and who might be Chen Hui (though this remains uncertain), and at least one prominent monk, Kang Senghui—the “Master” 般 whose explanations are quoted therein. From a doctrinal point of view, this circle, while dedicated to the transmission and interpretation of An Shigao’s teachings, was also open to the influence of other trends and of non-Buddhist ideas as well.”


a monk who had mastered both meditation and Abhidharma. According to Mair (2010), however, the term *chanshu* 禪數, which occurs in Daoan’s preface to An Shigao ‘s translation of the *Anban shouyi jing*, refers to the enumerated categories (事數) which are also related to the “counting in-breath” meditation (坐禪數息).

However, the meaning of *shu* 數 is explained in *Anban shouyi jing* as a meditation technique:

數為何等？入息出息數十息，無得過十息，
無得減十息，入息至竟投一，出息至竟投二，
若投二意誤，更從一投起，若至九投意誤，
更從一數起。(K-ABSYJ, line 71-73)

What is “counting” (*gaṇanā*)? Counting the in-breath and the out-breath from one to ten. Do not count over ten, and do not count less than ten. Count one at the end of breathing in, and count two at the end of breathing out. If you count any other number than two when it should be two, start counting over from one. If you count any

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412 Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 33, 184. According to Zürcher “an explanation of *shishu* 事數 - numerical categories, is probably found in the archaic *dhyāna* and abhidharma treatises and scriptures which were so much en vogue in the North and which were so eagerly studied by Daoan in the first phase of his career.” Those numerical categories such as “the six *āyatana* 六入, the five *skandha* 五陰, the four *ṛddhipāda* 四神足, the five *bala* 五力, the four *smṛtyupasthānāni* 四意止 etc.”


other number than nine when it should be nine, start counting over from one.

Shi Guo Huei likewise identifies the word shu 數 as a key term that can used to identify the kind of meditation associated with An Shigao.

4.2. Textual evidence for meditation in the Anban shouyi jing 安般守意經

The Anban shouyi jing 安般守意經 (ABSYJ) is a meditation text and is one of the most influential scriptures translated by An Shigao from a Sanskrit text named the Ānāpānasmita-sūtra, or the “Mindfulness of Breathing Sūtra.” The full title of this text in the Taishō Tripitaka is Foshuo Da anban shouyi jing 佛說大安般守意經 (T602). The ABSYJ contains several basic Buddhist meditation practices such as si nian chu 四念處 “the four objects of contemplation,” wu gen 五根 “the meditation on the five sense organs,” qi jue zhi 七覺支 “the seven aids to the enlightenment,” and ba zhengdao 八正道 “the eight-fold noble path.” From Sengyou’s CSZJJ we learn that there are two Anban [shouyi] jing

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416 An Shigao 安世高, trans., “Foshuo Da Anban Shouyi Jing Juan Shang 佛説大安般守意經卷上 T602” (Tokyo, November 28, 2011), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.
418 Yixuan, The Record of Linji, 373.
419 Ibid.
sūtras which were translated by An Shigao:

安般守意經 一卷 安錄云：『小安般經』。 （CSZJJ p.5c 23: “corresponding to a Smaller Anban jing”)

大安般經一卷 (CSZJJ p. 6a15): “corresponding to a Larger Anban jing”

Zacchetti points out that the text of the present Da anban shouyi jing (T-ABSYJ, T602) seems to be “mixed with an ancient commentary, which probably consists of Chen Hui’s and Kang Senghui’s explanations and glosses added by Daoan.” According to Zacchetti, the T-ABSYJ was generally believed to be a mixture of An Shigao’s translation plus an interlinear commentary. In contrast, the Kongō-ji Anban shouyi jing (K-ABSYJ), which may be similar to the Smaller Anban jing recorded by Sengyou, gives every appearance of being just a translated text with no traces of any interpolated commentary and seems to be a genuine translation.

421 Ibid., 430. Ochiai (2002:35) and Deleanu (2003:87-89) have a similar hypothesis.
422 Ibid., 440.
by An Shigao. However, upon closer examination, Shi Guohuei concludes that K-ABSYJ seems to be a text that compiled by An Shigao, citing the contents from the Chapter on Counting in Breath of *Xiu xing dao di jing* 修行道地經數息品 and the model of “six stages of breathing” of ānāpāsati practice associated with the Sarvāstivāda.

### 4.3. An Shigao and the Ānāpānasūrti

An analysis of An Shigao’s corpus shows that he translated a number of influential sūtras that emphasized “the mindfulness of breathing in and out”, or ānāpānasūrti. The most influential of these were the ABSYJ and the YCRJ. According to Zacchetti, the YCRJZ contains the four quotations from the *Anban jie* 安般解. Zacchetti hypothesizes that the first quotation in the *Anban jie* might be a commentary on a passage of the K-ABSYJ describing the practice of the four *smṛtysthānas* associated with the breath (ānāpānasūrti), and resulting in the attainment of the three vimokṣamukhas. Deleanu contends that the term “jie 解 may represent An Shigao’s own commentaries which are probably oral explanations noted down by his disciplines.”

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425 Guohuei, “The Textual Formation of the Newly Discovered Anban Shouyi Jing.”
An Shigao’s translation of the Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra later inspired the monk Daoan, who was interested in An Shigao’s meditation translations (禪, dhyāna). Daoan eventually wrote a commentary and preface on An Shigao’s ABSYJ in the mid fourth century, including the “Greater of Scripture of the 12 Gateways,” Da shi er men jing 大十二門經, a detailed meditation or dhyāna sūtra 禪. The popularity and longevity of breathing meditation techniques for Chinese Buddhists suggests that the Anban shouyi jing 安般守意經 was one of the most influential Buddhist meditation texts of that time. Moreover, Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597 CE) a founder of the Tiantai School, was also significantly influenced by An Shigao’s Anban shouyi jing 安般守意經 scripture. He composed several treatises based on the analysis and systematization of Buddhist meditation practices and techniques from various scriptures including the Anban shouyi jing 安般守意經.

The meditation manuals named Concise Śamatha-vipaśyanā (小止観), Mahā-śamatha-vipaśyanā (摩訶止観), and Six Subtle Dharma Gates (陰持入經). Daoan, the great specialist on archaic translations, praised the products of An Shigao and his school as masterpieces and classical examples of the art of translating; see Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China, 34.

Ibid., 186.


Rhie, Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia, 1:24. Rhie states that the most important and influential text translated by An Shigao was the Anban Shouyi Jing 大安般守意經 which remained influential into the third century CE.

Huang Wuda 黃武達, “Foshuo Da Anban Shouyi Jing Chanxiu Liyao Zhi Yanjiu 《佛說大安般守意經》禪修理要之研究” (Taiwan, March 2009).

Charles Luk, The Secrets of Chinese Meditation. Self-Cultivation by Mind Control as Taught in the Ch’an, Mahāyāna and Taoist Schools in China (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1964), 101.
were also produced along with the influential scripture of *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經.

### 4.4. Breathing meditation techniques in the T-ABSYJ (T602)

The *Foshuo da anban shouyi jing* 佛說大安般守意經 (T602) is divided into two volumes. The first volume deals with the fourfold terminologies of *an ban shou yi* 安般守意 (四法義), the “six steps” (六門), and the “sixteen bases” (solasavatthuka, 十六勝).

The second volume deals with the 37 *bodhipakṣa dharma* (三十七品法義). The four terminologies of *an ban shou yi* 安般守意四法義: (安、般、守、意).


See the chart below in which Huang classifies how the six steps associated with other dharma.

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439 Huang Wuda 黃武達, “Foshuo Da Anban Shouyi Jing Chanxiu Liyao Zhi Yanjiu《佛說大安般守意經》禪修理要之研究,” 6.

440 Deleanu, “Mindfulness of Breathing in the Dhyana Sutras,” 52, translates this term as "concentration," but I have translated this as a “stillness.”

441 Ibid., 52–53; Huang Wuda 黃武達, “Foshuo Da Anban Shouyi Jing Chanxiu Liyao Zhi Yanjiu《佛說大安般守意經》禪修理要之研究,” 6.

4.5. *Ge yi*, Method of Analogy

By the middle of the first century CE, a Buddhist community was already in existence in China, and growing. The arrival of translators from Central Asia and India was a consequence of the great demand for Buddhist texts to be translated from foreign languages into Chinese. At first, translators had some difficulty in finding the exact words to explain Buddhist concepts in Chinese. \(^443\) These early translators employed the *ge yi* 格義 “method of analogy”, “matching concepts” or “match\ing\ mean\ings”, and used Daoist terms to explain Buddhist concepts. \(^444\) For example, it is known that An Shogao borrowed the Daoist term *shou* 守 “guarding or observing” \(^445\) or the effort of concentration of mind.”. \(^446\) This can be seen in the Chinese

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444 Mair, however, argues against this, see Mair, “What Is Geyi, After All?,” 228–243.


446 Kohn and Sakade, *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, 152.
translation of the title of the Da anban shouyi jing 大安般守意經 “Great Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra.”

Toward the end of the Eastern Han Period (25-220 CE) Daoist meditation terms such as si 思 “think or contemplate”, sixiang 思想 “contemplate and imagine”, sicun 思存 “contemplate and preserve”, and cun 存 “preserve” were borrowed by the Buddhist missionary to explain another type of Buddhist meditation.447 Some scholars have argued that the use of Daoist terminology to translate Buddhist concepts helped Chinese people to accept the “foreign” teachings of the Buddha during this early period.448

Conclusions

In this chapter I have reviewed the extant meditation texts attributed to An Shigao and his school. I have argued that these texts link An Shigao and his school to several meditation techniques that were introduced into China from Central Asia during the Eastern Han period. The foremost meditation technique taught by An Shigao and his school seems to have been a form of breathing meditation. And I have demonstrated that An Shigao was familiar with and used Daoist terminology to translate the concepts associated with ānāpānasmṛti meditation into Chinese.

In this thesis, I have surveyed a variety of sources about the transmission of Buddhism from India and its arrival in China including Daoan’s biography of An Shigao, and the sutras associated with An Shigao and his school. These sources suggest that during his long mission in China, An Shigao was recognized by the Chinese not only as a translator of “Hu” texts, but also as a teacher of abhidharma and a miraculous meditation master who taught his students Buddhist meditation techniques, including the mindfulness of breath technique, or ānāpānasmṛti.

An Shigao’s reputation as a powerful meditation master is also revealed by stories in his biography about his work as a missionary and his ability to perform miracles. While such stories are part of the zhiguai “strange tales” genre, they also have a further meaning. Buddhists believe that a monk who is able to attain abhiññā supernatural knowledge that confers the ability to perform miracles reflects the fact that the monk has accumulated merit, manifested as pāramī or Buddhist perfections, over many previous lives. Such monks attract followers with their pāramī. His biography describes some of the many followers and students who were attracted to An Shigao. We also know that two of his students, Chen Hui and Kang Senghui, went on themselves to become famous teachers of abhidharma and meditation.

My analysis of the extant meditation texts attributed to An Shigao shows that a majority belonged to the Hīnayāna School. There are a small number of Mahāyāna meditation texts attributed to him in the traditional catalogues found in the Taishō Tripitaka but these texts have largely been ignored by western scholars. These meditation texts suggest links with the Hīnayāna School (probably the Sarvāstivādins) and with the yogācāra tradition. These links are supported by my analysis of his translations of...
texts concerned with breathing meditation techniques as well as the Four Bases of mindfulness (*catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni* 四意止) for ānāttha and vipaśyanā, the 30 saññā of *āsūbhā-smṛti* 不淨觀, and the contemplation of one’s own body (*kāyasmti* 身觀). Of these translations, the most influential and important text associated with An Shigao and his school seems to be the *Anban shouyi jing*, which emphasizes breathing techniques.
APPENDIX A: LISTS OF TEXTS ASSOCIATED WITH AN SHIGAO AND HIS SCHOOL記錄在CBETA

LISTS OF TEXTS ASSOCIATED WITH AN SHIGAO AND HIS SCHOOL
RECORDED IN CBETA

In this appendix, I have collected and analysed the nine sources which are represented in the CBETA gujinglu catalogue (古經錄) to compile lists of the translations attributed to An Shigao, and entered them into four graphs (below). Graph 1 shows the number of An Shigao’s translations in the nine sources. Graph 2 compares the nine sources that contain double and triple citations for the same translation. Graph 3 shows the author, date and number of works belonging to each source. Finally, Graph 4 shows the details of each text cited by each source; this information is useful for comparing citations and analyzing texts.

By looking at these graphic representations of An Shigao’s corpus, the variation between the nine sources can be easily seen. The earliest scholar of An Shigao, Daoan, in his CSZJJ, attributed the smallest number of translations to An Shigao, namely 34. Later scholars attributed hundreds of translations to An Shigao. For example, Dong Chu, the Chinese Chan master and founder of the Chung Hwa Institute of Buddhist Culture (CHIBC), “Zhong Yin Fojiao Jiaotong Shi, 中印佛教交通史,” argued that the KYSJL, which attributes 95 works comprising 115 fascicles to An Shigao, is accurate.

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450 Dong Chu 東初, “Zhong Yin Fojiao Jiaotong Shi 中印佛教交通史,” 66–67. 「出三藏集記載有三十四部凡四十卷, 歷代三寶紀載一百七十六部, 合一百九十七卷。開元釋敎錄載九十五部, 百十五卷。前說雖多, 但以開元釋敎錄所記為正確。」
One reason for the increasing number of texts attributed to An Shigao is that in some sources, the same translations are cited two or three times. For example, the first text in the table, the *Xiuxing daodi jing*, is cited in the DTNDL twice. It should be noted that, according to these graphs, there are only three sources (LDSBJ, CSZJJ, ZIMLJT) which lack multiple citations. The other six sources, and in particular, the DZKDZJML, KYSJL and ZYXTSJML have multiple citations of the same titles. These multiple citations were replicated in CBETA’s list of texts attributed to An Shigao. However there are some texts that have been excluded from CBETA’s list but have been preserved in the SAT Daizōkyō Text Database. Another reason for the increasing number of texts attributed to An Shigao is because other authors wished to associate their work with the earliest and foremost translator of Buddhist texts in China. According to Harrison (personal communication) identifying and excluding these false attributions is a priority for current Buddhist scholarship on An Shigao.\(^451\) The evolution of Chinese apocryphal scripture (called indigenous scripture in Tokuno’s article, *The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures in Chinese Buddhist Bibliographical Catalogues*) have been an integral part of Buddhist catalogues since the fourth century.”\(^452\) Tokuno citing Zhisheng who compile the KYSJL ca. 730 CE, noted that “from time to time odd persons added spurious and fallacious [scripture to the canon], scrambing [the genuine and the spurious] and making it difficult to ascertain their identity.”\(^453\)

Over the past few decades, western scholars have tried to find An Shigao's authentic texts using methods of text criticism. Based on Daoan's original list of 34 translations they have constructed a set of vocabulary and

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453 Ibid.
grammar patterns associated with An Shigao and his school. Texts that do not fit these patterns are rejected as inauthentic. Using this technique of internal analysis, these scholars have been able to add several manuscripts that were recently discovered in a Japanese temple to An Shigao's corpus.

The graphs in this appendix, however, show the number of translations attributed to An Shigao varies based on the sources accepted by traditional Chinese scholars such as Fei Changfang, Sengyou, Fajing, Yancong, Jingtai, Daoxuan, et al. as authentic. However, even though the definition of authenticity has changed over the centuries, and many texts that were once accepted as genuine are now excluded, they are all an important part of the narrative traditions about An Shigao.

**Number of translations attributed to An Shigao by source**

Graph 1
Numbers of translations attributed to An Shigao by source; comparison between non-double-cited and double-cited

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<th>Source</th>
<th>Non-double-cited</th>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>ZJMLFJ</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZJMLT</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTNDL</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DZXDJML</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KYSJL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZYXTSJML</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows the 9 sources used by CBETA to compile the list of An Shigao’s works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Reference</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date of compilation</th>
<th>Number of translations attributed to An Shigao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LDSBJ 历代三宝纪 (卷四) (T2034)</td>
<td>Fei Changfang 费长房</td>
<td>597 CE</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSZJJ 出三藏记集 (T2145)</td>
<td>Sengyou 僧祐</td>
<td>510 CE</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZJMLF 署经目録 (法經) (T2146)</td>
<td>Fajing 法經</td>
<td>594 CE</td>
<td>35/36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZJMLYC 署经目録 (彦琮) (T2147)</td>
<td>Yancong 彦琮</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZJMLJT 署经目録 (静泰) (T2148)</td>
<td>Jingtai 静泰</td>
<td>665 CE</td>
<td>32/33</td>
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<tr>
<td>DTNDL 大唐内典录 (T2149)</td>
<td>Daoxuan 道宣</td>
<td>664 CE</td>
<td>22/34</td>
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<tr>
<td>DZKDZJML 大周刊定眾經目録 (T2153)</td>
<td>Ming Quadeng 明佺等</td>
<td>695 CE</td>
<td>170/172</td>
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<tr>
<td>KYSJL 開元释教録 (T2154)</td>
<td>Zhisheng 智昇</td>
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<td>100/166</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZYXTSJML 貞元新定释教目録 (T2157)</td>
<td>Yuanzhao 圜照</td>
<td>800 CE</td>
<td>92/105</td>
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</table>

Graph 3

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455 According to LDSBJ V.4 which compiled by Fei Changfang ascribes 176 texts to An Shigao, it however has been shown in CBETA catalogue only 171 texts. see Fei Changfang 费长房, “Lidai Sanbao Ji Juan Di Si 历代三宝纪卷第四” (Taipei, July 13, 2010), CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka.
This text, titled “The Bodhisattva of the Ten Directions” 十方菩薩品 T397, 13 is considered to be a Mahāyāna text that was collated into an entirely unrelated collection, the Dafangdeng da ji jing 大方等大集經 (Mahāsamnipā sūtra); see Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 56.

<table>
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<th>Source of References</th>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Wushi xiao ji jing 五十校計經</td>
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<td>Shibao jing 十報經</td>
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456 阿僧威儀經456

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This is a Mahāyāna text; see Ibid.

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The texts named *Shisi yi* 十四意, *Shisi yi jing* 十四意經, *Pusa si yi jing* 菩薩四意經 all seem to be the same text. According to Nattier, this is a Mahāyāna text; see Ibid., 60.

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According to Sengyou catalogue, there are 34 works ascribed to An Shigao. Nattier, however, states that “this catalogue as we have it actually gives thirty-five titles, a discrepancy which suggests that one of the titles was added to the list after it left Sengyou’s hand.”

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Graph 4
APPENDIX B: GRAPHS OF TEXTS ASSOCIATED WITH AN SHIGAO AND HIS SCHOOL BASED ON THE CBETA CATALOGUE

GRAPHS OF TEXTS ASSOCIATED WITH AN SHIGAO AND HIS SCHOOL BASED ON THE CBETA CATALOGUE

Because of An Shigao’s reputation as the earliest and foremost translator of Buddhist texts into Chinese, many texts have been attributed to him over the centuries. For example, the LDSBJ volume 4 历代三寶紀卷四， which was compiled in 597 CE by Fei Changfang 費長房, attributes 176 texts to An Shigao. However, today most scholars consider only a small number of these texts to be genuine.

For this appendix, I have developed several graphs of An Shigao’s translations. It should be noted here again that my intention is not to argue which of the texts attributed to An Shigao are genuine. My goal here is to explore An Shigao’s corpus (both authentic and inauthentic) using the visual aid of graphs. These graphs show certain patterns, most noticeably the number of meditation texts attributed to An Shigao and of those, the number that are categorized as Hīnayāna.

The first graph compares the list of An Shiago’s extant translation texts in The Digital Database of Buddhist Tripiṭaka Catalogues of CBETA 後漢安世高譯 and the list of An Shigao’s work in the LDSBJ volume 4， which was compiled in 597 CE by Fei Changfang. Out of the LDSBJ’s list of 176 texts, only 56 texts are recognized by CBETA as the works

translated by An Shigao.

The second graph divides the 56 texts accepted by CBETA as genuine into 2 categories base on sources: the first 55 texts are preserved in the Taishō Tripiṭaka 大正藏 and the last one is preserved in the Korean Buddhist Canon 高麗藏.

The third graph further categorizes these 56 texts into Hīnayāna 小乘 or Mahāyāna 大乘, and notes which texts are concerned with meditation 禪. From this graph, it can be seen that An Shigao translated eight Mahāyāna texts, of which two are meditation texts. He translated 48 texts that can be categorized as Hīnayāna texts. Of these, seven texts deal with meditation.

The fourth graph shows a total of nine meditation texts, based on the CBETA catalogue, that are attributed to An Shigao. Seven of these are identified as Hīnayāna meditation texts, and two are Mahāyāna meditation texts. Four of the seven Hīnayāna meditation texts may be further categorized as Sarvāstivādin, one of them is considered as Dharmaguptaka. According to Nattier most of An Shigao’s translation texts belonged to the Sarvāstivāda School. However some of them contained Mahāyāna-oriented materials. It should be noted that

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463 “Digital Database of Buddhist Tripiṭaka Catalogues.”
465 Harrison also states that most of An Shigao translation texts affiliated with the Sarvāstivāda school, see Harrison, Encyclopedia of Buddhism, 24.
466 Nattier, A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations, 42.
according to an analysis of the contemporary scholars i.e., Nattier, Zacchetti et. al., there are only four to six texts are considered to be the authentic texts ascribed to An Shigao i.e., T14, T105a, T602, T603, T605, T607.

The fifth graph compares Nattier’s analysis of An Shigao’s extant translation works with CBETA’s analysis. According to Nattier, these texts are “in the form of āgama-style narrative texts” that deal with basic Buddhist teachings, meditation practices, and various numerical lists. There are also a small number of treatises, and at least one of them, the *Ahan koujie shi er yinyuan jing* 阿含口解十二因缘经 (T1508) is a record of oral explanations delivered by An Shigao to his students. Nattier points to the record in the Sengyou’s *CSZJJ* which states that there were 34 texts comprising 40 fascicles in all. She then follows the compilation accounts of Ui Hakuju and Erik Zürcher. Just 19 texts appear on both Nattier and CBETA’s list. Six meditation texts are common to both Nattier’s calculations of An Shigao’s authentic texts differ from CBETA’s list of 56 texts. Nattier, personal communication noted that “the CBETA edition simply accepts all attributions given by Taishō edition of canon, many of which are false. No research was done by CBETA committee in the process of preparing their edition.”

467 Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 63, points out that this text was assigned, by the editors of the Taishō Canon, to An Xuan. However, Nattier and Zacchetti attribute authorship of this text to an Shigao, see also Zacchetti, “Teaching Buddhism in Han China.”


470 Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Brill, 2007), 33, states that there are “four works out of these were only hesitatingly ascribed to An Shigao.”


472 Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Brill, 2007), 33, also states that there are 19 texts among 30 texts in Daoan’s catalogue have been preserved, T13, T14, T31, T36, T48, T57, T98, T105, T109, T112, T150A, T150B, T397, T602, T603, T605, T607, T792, T1557. There is one text, T397, is not listed in the Graph Six.

473 It contrast with the statement of Yuzhi who states that there are 22 texts that have survived, most scholars today exclude three texts named: *Ji gu jing* 積骨經, *Za jing sishisi pian* 雜經四十四篇 and *Wushi xiao jing* 五十校計經, see Yu zhi (shi Juzan) 譯之 (釋巨贊), “An Shigao Suo Yi Jing de Yanjiu 安世高所譯經的研究,” *Xiandai Fojiao Xueshu Congkan* 現代佛教學術叢刊 n.38 (October 1980): 31–44.
lists seen in Graph Five. This list excludes two Mahāyāna meditation texts named; Renben yusheng jing 人本欲生經 (T14), Qichu sanguan jing 七處三觀經 (T150A) and a Hinayāna text named, Foshuo chanxing san shi qi pin jing 佛說禪行三十七品經 (T604) show in the Graph Five.

According to Zacchetti there are 17 texts attributed to An Shigao. If we compare Zacchetti’s list to Graph Six, there are only 12 texts that correspond. In addition there are two texts on the Graph Six which Zürcher attributed to An Shigao, but Zacchitti did not attribute to An Shigao. Zacchetti’s list of the excluded texts that are listed in the Graph Six are: Za ahan jing 雜阿含經 (T101), Ahan koujie shi er yinyuan jing 阿含口解十二因緣經 (T1508), Apitan wufaxing jing 阿毘曇五髮行經 (T1557), Foshuo shi er men jing 佛說十二門經 (cols. 283-365), Foshuo jie shi er men jing 佛說解十二門經 (cols. 366-385), and the anonymous commentary on the “Twelve Gates” (cols. 386-584).

My analysis of An Shigao’s total corpus (the texts considered genuine and those considered later attributions) shows that Chinese Buddhists have associated An Shigao with meditation for centuries. Another finding of my analysis is the division between Western scholars and Chinese scholars. The graphs show that in general, Western scholars have de-mythologized the life and career of An Shigao. In contrast traditional Chinese scholars have tried

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476 Ibid., 265. Zacchetti states that this scripture dealing with the introduction of “a threefold series of meditative practices: the four smṛtyupasthāna, the four infinitudes (maitrī etc) and the four immaterial attainments.”
477 Ibid. Zacchetti concludes that “Structure and content of this text are very similar to the second part of the preceding scripture.
478 Ibid., 266. Zacchetti notes, “This text can be identified as a commentary devoted to the twelve gates and to other subjects related to meditation.”
to get closer to An Shigao by multiplying his texts, in particular those concerned with meditation.

In conclusion, these graphs show that although the number of extant texts accepted as genuine varies depending on the scholar, the proportion or percentage of Hīnayāna and meditation texts translated by An Shigao remains similar, and is something that needs further research.

Graph 1
The graph divides the 56 texts accepted by CBETA as genuine into 2 sources

Graph 2

Graph 3A
An Shigao's extant meditation texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hinayāna</th>
<th>Mahāyāna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meditation texts</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extant texts</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph 3B

7 Hinayāna meditation texts

- *Renben yusheng jing* 人本欲生經  T14 (Dharmaguptaka or Sarvāstivādin?)
- *Qichu sanguan jing* 七處三觀經  T150a (Sarvāstivādin)
- *Foshuo da anbanshouyi jing* 佛說大安般守意經  T602 (Sarvāstivādin)
- *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經  T603 (Sarvāstivādin)
- *Foshuo chanxing san shi qi pin jing* 佛說禪行三十七品經  T604
- *Chanxing faxiang jing* 禪行法想經  T605
- *Daodi jing* 道地經  T607 (Sarvāstivādin)

2 Mahāyāna meditation texts

- *Foshuo foyin sanmei jing* 佛說佛印三昧經  T621
- *Foshuo zishi sanmei jing* 佛説自誓三昧經  T622

Chart 4
Comparison of Nattier’s list of extant texts with Taishō’s list of extant texts

- Nattier’s list of An Shigao’s extant authentic meditation texts in the Taishō Tripiṭaka: 6
- Taishō’s list of An Shigao’s extant authentic texts: 19
- CSZJJ’s list of An Shigao’s authentic texts: 34

Graph 5
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tripitaka section</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sūtra name</th>
<th>Hinayāna 小乘</th>
<th>Mahāyāna 大乘</th>
<th>Meditation</th>
<th>Natțier’s List of An Shigao’s authentic texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Taishō Tripitaka 《大正藏》Volume 第 01 冊（Agama 阿含部）</td>
<td>T13</td>
<td>*Chang ahan shi bao fa jing 長阿含十報法經 (2 卷)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>* Z E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This text is considered to be affiliated with the Dharmaguptaka School 法藏部. However, Zacchetti considers that this text belongs to the Sarvāstivāda.*

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480 Shi Miaobo 釋妙博，“Han Wejin Zhongguo Fojiao Anban Chan Guan--Yi ‘Anban Shouyi Jing’ Wei Zhongxin 漢魏晉中國佛教安般禪觀--以《安般守意經》為中心,” 42.
<p>| | | | |</p>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>《大正藏》</td>
<td>T14</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>第01冊 （阿含部）</td>
<td>Renben yusheng jing 人本欲生經 (1卷)</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>485</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>《大正藏》</td>
<td>T31</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*， Z, E</td>
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<td>第01冊 （阿含部）</td>
<td>Yiqie liu sheshou yin jing 一切流攝守因經 (1卷)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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482 Shi Miaobo 釋妙博, “Han Wejin Zhongguo Fojiao Anban Chan Guan--Yi ‘Anban Shouyi Jing’ Wei Zhongxin 漢魏晉中國佛教安般禪觀--以《安般守意經》為中心,” 43.
486 An Shigao 安世高, trans., “Yiqie Liu She Shou Yin Jing Juan Yi 一切流攝守因經卷一” (Taipei, February 26, 2010), col. T31, 1:813a05; CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka.
| 第 01 冊  
(阿含部)  
*This text is affiliated with the Dharmaguptaka School  
法藏部 |  |  |  |
| 6.《大正藏》第 01 冊  
(阿含部)  
*This text is affiliated with the Sarvāstivāda School 說一切有部 | T36 | Benxiang yizhi jing  
本相猗致經 (1 卷) | * | *, Z, E |
| 7.《大正藏》第 01 冊  
(阿含部)  
*This text is affiliated with the Dharmaguptaka School  
法藏部 | T48 | Shifa feifa jing  
是法非法經 (1 卷) | * | *, Z, E |
| 8.《大正藏》第 01 冊  
(阿含部)  
*This text is affiliated with the Dharmaguptaka School  
法藏部 | T57 | Loufenbu jing  
漏分布經 (1 卷) | * | *, Z, E |
| 9.《大正藏》第 01 冊  
(阿含部)  
*This text is affiliated with the Dharmaguptaka School  
法藏部 | T91 | Poluomenzi mingzhong ainian buli jing  
婆羅門子命終愛念不離經 (1 卷) | * | |
| 10.《大正藏》第 01 冊  
(阿含部) | T92 | Shizhijushi | * | |

487 Shi Miaobo 釋妙博, “Han Wejin Zhongguo Fojiao Anban Chan Guan--Yi ‘Anban Shouyi Jing’ Wei Zhongxin 漢魏晉中國佛教安般禪觀--以《安般守意經》為中心,” 43.
488 Shi Dachang 釋大常, Zhizhe Dashi Pan Shi “Sanzang Jiao” Zhi Yan Jiu 智者大師判釋「三藏敎」之研究, 28.
489 Shi Miaobo 釋妙博, “Han Wejin Zhongguo Fojiao Anban Chan Guan--Yi ‘Anban Shouyi Jing’ Wei Zhongxin 漢魏晉中國佛教安般禪觀--以《安般守意經》為中心,” 43.
490 Ibid., 50.
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<td>491</td>
<td>bachengren jing 十支居士八城人經 (1 卷)</td>
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<td>《大正藏》第 02 冊（阿含部）</td>
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<td>494</td>
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<td>494</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>《大正藏》第 02 冊</td>
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<td>Anabindihua qizi jing 安般守意經</td>
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491 Ibid.
493 Ibid.
494 Shi Miaobo 釋妙博, “Han Wejin Zhongguo Fojiao Anban Chan Guan--Yi ‘Anban Shouyi Jing’ Wei Zhongxin 漢魏晉中國佛教安般禪觀--以《安般守意經》為中心,” 43.
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<td>18.</td>
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<td>Qichu sanguan jing 七處三觀經 (1 卷)</td>
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<td>Jiuheng jing 九横經 (1 卷)</td>
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<td>22.</td>
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<td>Foshuo dasheng fangdeng yaohui jing 佛說大乘方等要慧經 (1 卷)</td>
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<td>23.</td>
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<td>Foshuobaojisanmei wenshushilipusa wen fashen jing 佛說寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經</td>
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495  Ibid.

496  Foguang dianzi da cidian 佛光電子大辭典, “Qi Chu San Guan Jing 七處三觀經.”


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499 Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” notes that this text is included in a list compiled by Zürcher of texts whose attribution to An Shigao should be reconsidered and remarks that columns 61-275 can be ascribed to An Shigao.
<table>
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<td>34.</td>
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<td>35.</td>
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<td>36.</td>
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<td>T607</td>
<td>Daodi jing</td>
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<td>37.</td>
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<td>T621</td>
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<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>《大正藏》第 15 冊 (經集部)</td>
<td>T622</td>
<td>Foshuo zishi sanmei jing</td>
<td>佛說自誓三昧經 (1 卷)</td>
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<td>T684</td>
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<td>40.</td>
<td>《大正藏》第 16 冊 (經集部)</td>
<td>T701</td>
<td>Foshuo wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing</td>
<td>佛說溫室洗浴眾僧經 (1 卷)</td>
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<td>41.</td>
<td>《大正藏》第 17 冊 (經集部)</td>
<td>T724</td>
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<td>42.</td>
<td>《大正藏》第 17 冊 (經集部)</td>
<td>T729</td>
<td>Foshuo Fenbie shane suqi jing</td>
<td>佛說分別善惡所起經 (1 卷)</td>
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<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>《大正藏》第 17 冊 (經集部)</td>
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<td>Foshuo chuchu jing</td>
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</table>

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Ibid. Zacchetti notes that this text is included in a list compiled by Zürcher of texts whose attribution to An Shigao should be reconsidered.
| 44. 《大正藏》第 17 冊（經集部） | T731 | Foshuo shiba nili jing 佛說十八泥犁經 (1 卷) |  |
| 45. 《大正藏》第 17 冊（經集部） | T732 | Foshuo muyi jing 佛說罵意經 (1 卷) | * |
| 46. 《大正藏》第 17 冊（經集部） | T733 | Foshuo jianyi jing 佛說堅意經 (1 卷) | * |
| 47. 《大正藏》第 17 冊（經集部） | T734 | Foshuo gui wen mulian jing 佛說鬼問目連經 (1 卷) | * |
| 48. 《大正藏》第 17 冊（經集部） | T779 | Foshuo chujiaoyuan jing 佛說出家緣經 (1 卷) | * |
| 49. 《大正藏》第 17 冊（經集部） | T791 | Foshuo fashouchen jing 佛說法受塵經 (1 卷) | * |
| 50. 《大正藏》第 24 冊（Vinaya 律部） | T1467a | Foshuo fanjie zuibaoqingzhong jing 佛說犯戒罪報輕重經 (1 卷) | * |
| 52. 《大正藏》第 24 冊（律部） | T1470 | Da biqiu sanqian weiyi jing 大比丘三千威儀 (2 卷) | * |

Zürcher attributes this text to An Shigao, but Zacchetti notes that it should be reconsidered; see Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” 262.
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Graph 6

Remarks (graph6): Z refers to Stefano Zacchetti’s list of An Shigao’s authentic texts. E refers to Erik Zürcher’s list of An Shigao’s authentic texts.

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<td>8</td>
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**Total Texts**: 56

Graph 7
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

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T14 Foshuo Ren Ben Yu Sheng Jing 佛説人本欲生經.

T150A Qi Chu San Guan Jing 七處三觀經.

T1694 Yin Chi Ru Jing Zhu 陰持入經註.

T2034 Lidai Sanbao Ji Juan Di Er 歷代三寶紀.

T2145 Chu Sanzang Ji Ji 出三藏記集.

T2145, 55:88c26 Sa Po Duo Bu Ji Mulu Xu Di Liu 薩婆多部記目録序第六.

T2145, 55:95a06 An Shigao Zhuan 安世高傳.

T31 Yiqie Liu She Shou Yin Jing Juan Yi 一切流攝守因經.

T602 Foshuo Da Anban Shouyi Jing 佛説大安般守意經.
English


Pāli

AN iii 79 Dutiyaśaṅkāsutta.

AN iii 79 Paṭhamasaṅkāsutta.

Thai

“Iddhividhañāṇaniddes อิทธิวิธญาณนิทเทส” - Phatthipitaka vol. 31 พระไตรปิฎกเล่มที่ ๓๑ - Suttapitaka vol. 23 พระสุตตันตปิฎกเล่มที่ ๒๓
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