

MISSION, MEDITATION AND MIRACLES:  
AN SHIGAO IN CHINESE TRADITION

釋智譽  
PHRA KIATTISAK PONAMPON  
(KITTIPANYO BHIKKHU)

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS  
IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO,  
DUNEDIN, NEW ZEALAND  
OCTOBER 2014



## ABSTRACT

---

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.

**K e y t e r m s:** An Shigao 安世高, *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經 *Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtra*, *Anban jie* 安般解, Breathing Meditation, *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經, *Yin chi ru jing zhu* 陰持入經註, *Chan shi* 禪師 meditation master, *chan shu* 禪數, Eastern Han Buddhism, *pāramī*, *abhiññā*, *hu*, *pseudoepigraphy*.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

<b>Abstract</b> .....	iv
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	vi
<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	ix
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	xii
<b>Introduction and A Literature Review</b> .....	1
<b>Chapter One: Buddhism During the Eastern Han Period</b> .....	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
<b>Chapter Two: An Shigao's Biographical Tradition</b> .....	37
2.1. A Translation of An Shigao's Biography: 安世高傳 (base text: <i>Chu sanzang ji ji</i> 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
<b>Chapter Three: Meditation texts associated with An Shigao and his school.....</b>	<b>78</b>
3.1. “Hīnayāna” meditation texts.....	81
3.1.1. <i>Foshuo da anban shouyi jing</i> 佛說大安般守意經 (T602)....	81
3.1.2. <i>Yin chi ru jing</i> 陰持入經 (T603).....	82
3.1.3A. <i>Daodi jing</i> 道地經 (T607).....	84
3.1.3B. The two versions of <i>Yogācārabhūmi</i> .....	85
3.1.4. <i>Foshuo chanxing sanshiqi pin jing</i> 佛說禪行三十七品經 (T604).....	89
3.1.5. <i>Chanxing faxiang jing</i> 禪行法想經 (T605).....	92
3.1.6. <i>Renben yusheng jing</i> 人本欲生經 (T14).....	97
3.1.7. <i>Qichu sanguan jing</i> 七處三觀經 (T150A).....	98
3.2. Mahāyāna meditation text.....	99
3.2.1. <i>Foshuo foyin sanmei jing</i> 佛說佛印三昧經 (T621).....	99
3.2.2. <i>Foshuo zishi sanmei jing</i> 佛說自誓三昧經 (T622).....	100
3.3. Graph classifying the meditation texts associated with An Shigao and his school.....	101
<b>Chapter Four: An Shigao, His School and Their Meditation Techniques.....</b>	<b>104</b>
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 <i>Anban shouyi jing</i> 安般守意經.....	107
4.3. An Shigao and the <i>Ānāpānasmṛti</i> .....	109
4.4. Breathing meditation techniques in the T-ABSJY (T602).....	111
4.5. <i>Ge yi</i> , Method of Analogy.....	112

<b>Conclusions.....</b>	<b>114</b>
<b>Appendix A: Lists of Texts Associated with An Shigao and His School Recorded in CBETA.....</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>Appendix B: Graphs of Texts Associated with An Shigao and His School Based on the CBETA catalogue.....</b>	<b>149</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>167</b>

## 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<sup>1</sup>
- 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<sup>2</sup>
- DN *Dīgha Nikāya*
- DPAD Dharma Drum Buddhist College's Place Authority Database  
地名規範檢索<sup>3</sup>
- 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)

---

<sup>1</sup> "Buddhist Glossary," *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms* (Hong Kong: Buddhistdoor), accessed December 4, 2012, <http://dictionary.buddhistdoor.com/>.

<sup>2</sup> A. Charles Muller, ed., "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism," *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* 電子佛教辭典, accessed December 4, 2012, <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>.

<sup>3</sup> Fagu fojiao xueyuan 法鼓佛教學院, ed., "*Diming Guifan Ziliao Ku* 地名規範資料庫," accessed September 17, 2013, <http://authority.ddbc.edu.tw/place/>.



- HD Handian Dictionary 漢典<sup>4</sup>
- K-ABSYJ Kongō-ji *Anban shouyi jing*
- K Korean (i.e. the main Taishō text)
- KSH Kang Senghui's 康僧會 preface to the *Da anban shou yi jing*  
大安般守意經 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* 歷代三寶紀 (T2034)
- M Ming 明
- MN *Majjhima Nik ā ya*
- 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 Tripitaka* 大正新脩大藏經
- T-ABSYJ *Taishō- Da Anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經 (T602)
- Vol Volume
- Y Yuan 元
- YCRJ *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經 (T603)
- YCRJZ *Yin chi ru jing zhu* 陰持入經註 (T1694)
- ZJMLF *Zhong jing mulu (Fajing)* 眾經目錄 (法經) (T2146)
- ZJMLJT *Zhong jing mulu (Jingtai)* 眾經目錄 (靜泰) (T2148)

---

<sup>4</sup> “Handian 漢典,” *Hanyu Cidian* 漢語辭典, accessed September 16, 2013, <http://www.zdic.net/>.

- ZJMLYC *Zhong jing mulu (Yancong)* 眾經目錄（彥琮）
- ZLZJML *Zhong li zhong jing mulu* 綜理眾經目錄
- ZXSJL *Zhenyuan xin ding Shijiao lu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (T2157, 55:778a14-c26)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

---

*Sabba dhānaṃ, dhamma dhānaṃ jināti.*  
“The Greatest gift is the gift of the Dhamma.”  
*Dhammapada 354*

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 (Dhattajivo Bhikkhu) for inspiring me, teaching me the Dhamma, and giving me the opportunity to pursue my post-graduate studies in New Zealand, and to Khun Yay Mahāratana Upāsikā Chandra Khonnokyoong.

I owe a profound debt of greatitute to Most Venerable Phra Kru Palad Nayok Worawat (Sudhammo Bhikkhu), the President of the Buddhist Federation of Australia, who has compassionately provided support for my MA thesis, and to the staff of the Dunedin Meditation Centre and to the donors at the centre for their kindness and assistance over these past few years. I want to express my gratitude to Venerable Phramaha Dr. Somchai Thanavuddho, the Rector of the Dhammachai Institute, for his encouragement and inspiration for my study abroad.

I am very grateful to my supervisors, Professor Xiaohuan Zhao, Dr. Will Sweetman and Dr Elizabeth Guthrie. Dr Zhao took time during his busy schedule to read Sengyou’s biography of An Shigao with me, Dr. Elizabeth Guthrie has always listened to my ideas with great patience and an open mind and Dr Will Sweetman took the time to read my final drafts while in India. It is an honor for me to thank Professor Nobuyoshi Yamabe who

generously shared his paper about An Shigao's sectarian affiliations with me, and Shi Guoheui who provided me with sources for analyzing the term *yi*. Associate Professor Paul Kjellberg, the Head Department of Philosophy at Whittier College, Ven. Vitsawapat Maneepattamakate, Dr. Cheng Weiyi, and Chow Wai Kee for constructive comments and corrections of my Chinese translation work, Thanks to Dr Michael Radich at the University of Victoria at Wellington for his kind guidance in finalising my translation of An Shigao's biography. Dr. Erica Baffelli, Dr. Chaisit Suwanvarangkul and the librarians at the University of Otago for their help and advice. Many thanks to Ven. Yifa, who generously gave me a scholarship to travel to China with the Woodenfish in 2012 and to Professors Chen Jinhua, Stephen Bokenkamp, John Kieschnick, Barend J. ter Haar and Seishi Karashima who taught and advised me during a summer program on Buddhism and Chinese Religions at Fudan University in 2013.

And my sincere appreciation to Dr. Kate Crosby, Professor Sukanya Sudbantad, Dr. Siriporn Sirikwanchai, Dr. Phibul Choompolpaisal, Dr. Chanida Jantrasrisalai, and Dr. Kitchai Urkasame for their invaluable suggestions.

Finally, I am forever grateful to my dearest parents, Prasert and Lan Ponampon, my brother and sister, who have given me their love and encouragement even when we are far apart, and also my friends for their support over the years. Everything that I take from you I will give the benefit to all of the sentient beings.

*Sabbe pūrentu saṅkappā cando paṇṇaraso yathā*

*Maṇi jotiraso yathā*

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

*~accesstoin sight.net~*



Dedicated to The Triple Gems

### Introduction

An Shigao was a Parthian prince who ordained as a Buddhist monk and came to Luoyang in the mid-second century CE<sup>5</sup> to propagate Buddhism. During his life in China, he translated many Buddhist sūtras from the Hu language into Chinese.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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 (?-280).<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Jan Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations: Texts from the Eastern Han "Dong Han" and Three Kingdoms "San Guo" Periods*, Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica 10 (Tokyo: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2008), 38.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> The Chinese translation of "meditation master" is *chan shi* 禪師, a term that refers to Bodhidharma and Chan Buddhism, and predates the time of An Shigao. However, contemporary Chinese and Vietnamese Buddhists also refer to An Shigao as a *chan shi*, see for example Thich Nhat Hanh, *Master Tang Hô: First Zen Teacher in Vietnam and China* (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 2001); Sheng Yan 聖嚴, *Yindu Fojiao Shi* 印度佛教史 (Taipei: Fagu wenhua 法鼓文化, 1997), 237. According to Thich Nhat Hanh, Vietnamese Buddhists believe An Shigao was a *chan shi* or "meditation master", who transmitted teachings about meditation to his disciple Tang Hô (Kang Senghui) who eventually travelled to Vietnam to teach the dharma there.

<sup>8</sup> Thich Nhat Hanh, *Master Tang Hô*, 14.; An Shigao's disciple Kang Senghui was known as Tang Hô in Vietnam.

<sup>9</sup> Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 36; also see Thich Nhat Hanh, *Master Tang*

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,<sup>10</sup> Antonino Forte,<sup>11</sup> Jan Nattier,<sup>12</sup> and Paul Harrison.<sup>13</sup> 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

---

*Hōi*, 13–18. According to Thich Nhat Hanh, 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.” Thich Nhat Hanh 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.

<sup>10</sup> Stefano Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the *Peṭakopadesa*: An Shigao's ‘Yin Chi Ru Jing’ T603 and Its Indian Original: A Preliminary Survey,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 65, no. 1 (January 2002): 74–98; Stefano Zacchetti, “Teaching Buddhism in Han China: A Study of the *Ahan Koujie Shi'er Yinyuan Jing* T1508 Attributed to An Shigao,” *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* no. 7 (2003): 197–224; Stefano Zacchetti, “An Shigao's Texts Preserved in the Newly Discovered Kongo-Ji Manuscript and Their Significance for the Study of Early Chinese Buddhism,” *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 52, no. 2 (March 2004): 898–895; Stefano Zacchetti, “A ‘New’ Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary: The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* (T602) Reconsidered,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 31, no. 1–2 (2010): 421–484; Stefano Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao's 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” ed. Shen Weirong 沈衛榮, *Science Press* no. 3 (2010): 249–270; Stefano 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,” ed. Orofino Giacomella and Vita Silvio, *Buddhist Asia 2: Papers from the Second Conference of Buddhist Studies Held in Naples in June 2004* (December 2010): 141–198; Stefano Zacchetti, “The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* 大安般守意經 T602 Reconsidered,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 31, no. 1–2 (April 2010): 421–484.

<sup>11</sup> Antonino Forte, *The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring: An Iranian Family In China* (Tokyo: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 1995).

<sup>12</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Harrison, “The Ekottarikāgama Translations of An Shigao,” ed. Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann, *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday (Indica et Tibetica 30)* (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1997): 261–284; Tillman Vetter and Paul Harrison, “An Shigao's Chinese Translation of the Saptasthanasutra,” *Suryacandraya: Essays in Honour of Akira Yuyama on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday (Indica et Tibetica 35)* (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1998): 197–216; Paul Harrison, “Another Addition to the An Shigao Corpus? Preliminary Notes on an Early Chinese Saṃyuktāgama Translation,” *Early Buddhism and Abhidharma Thought: In Honour of Doctor Hajime Sakurabe on His Seventy-Seventh Birthday [Shoki Bukkyō Kara Abidaruma E: Sakurabe Hajime Hakushi Kiju Kinen Ronshū]* (2002): 1–32.

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* 綜理衆經目錄 (hereafter called ZLZJML), a text which is no longer extant, which was compiled by Daoan 道安 (312–385) and published in 374.<sup>14</sup> 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*.

---

<sup>14</sup> Yixuan, *The Record of Linji*, ed. Thomas Yūhō Kirchner, trans. Ruth Fuller Sasaki (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 373.



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<sup>15</sup> which attributes between 29 and 172<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

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."<sup>18</sup> Hence most of the

---

<sup>15</sup> 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.

<sup>16</sup> The number of texts attributed to An Shigao varies from source to source. The *Zhong jing mulu (yan cong)* 眾經目錄 (彥琮), (T2147, hereafter called ZJMLYC) attributes 29 texts to An Shigao while the *Zhoukan ding zhong jing mulu* 大周刊定眾經目錄, (T2153, hereafter called DZKDZJML) attributes 172 texts to An Shigao. The *Lidai Sanbao Ji* juan di si, LDSBJ V.4, 歷代三寶紀卷第四, 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).

<sup>17</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 45.

<sup>18</sup> Martha P. Y. Cheung, ed., *An Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation: From Earliest Times to the Buddhist Project*, vol. 1 (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2006), 53.

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.<sup>19</sup> 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.”<sup>20</sup> 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)<sup>18</sup> 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

---

<sup>19</sup> Robert E. Buswell, “Introduction Prolegomenon to the Study of Buddhist Apocryphal Scriptures,” in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 5.

<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup>

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

---

<sup>21</sup> Erik Zürcher, "Han Buddhism and the Western Region," in *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Wilt L. Idema and Erik Zürcher (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 159–164.

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.<sup>22</sup>

Stephan Peter Bumbacher states Buddhism was brought into China by merchants travelling on the Silk Road during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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: *shou* 守, *si* 思, *sixiang* 思想, *sicun* 思存, *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 *sishen* 思神. The Daoist meditation technique of visualization of divinities in the cinnabar field was mentioned in the *Laozi zhongjing* 老子中經<sup>25</sup> 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 *Huangting waijing jing*

---

<sup>22</sup> Xinjiang 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,” ed. Victor H. Mair, trans. Xiuqin Zhou, *Sino-Platonic Papers*, no. 144 (July 2004): 32.

<sup>23</sup> Stephan Peter Bumbacher, “Early Buddhism in China: Daoist Reactions,” in *The Spread of Buddhism*, ed. Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter Bumbacher (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 203–246.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 205; also see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 26.

<sup>25</sup> CT 1032 *Laozi zhongjing* 老子中經.

黃庭外景經.<sup>26</sup> This scripture instructs the meditator to “breathe in and out and through the thatched cottage; thus [the breath] enters the cinnabar field” 呼吸廬間入丹田.<sup>27</sup> 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” 老子思想丹田.<sup>28</sup> 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 *Buddhānusmṛti*, which were translated during that period.<sup>29</sup>

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 曇果 (Dhammapala), Zhu Dali 竺大力, and Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥.<sup>30</sup> These sources provide useful information for the transmission of Buddhism to China and the social and religious context in China when Buddhism arrived.

---

<sup>26</sup> Shanghai shudian chuban she 上海書店出版社, ed., *Daozang* 道藏, 36 vols. (Beijing 北京: Wenwu chuban she 文物出版社; Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shudian 上海書店; Tianjin 天津: Tianjin guji chuban she 天津古籍出版社, 1988).

<sup>27</sup> CT 332 *Taishang huangting waijing yujing* 太上黃庭外景玉經.

<sup>28</sup> Bumbacher, “Early Buddhism in China: Daoist Reactions,” 221.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 203–228.

<sup>30</sup> Marylin M. Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia: Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin in China and Bactria to Shan-Shan in Central Asia*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 23–25.

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,<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

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 referred to as *heshang* 和尚, which Nattier translates as *upādhayāya* or preceptor.<sup>33</sup>

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,

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 32.

<sup>32</sup> Forte, *The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring*, 91–93.

<sup>33</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 39.

four of these attributions tentative and only 19 of the 30 texts in Daoan's catalogue have been preserved.<sup>34</sup> Zacchetti, on the other hand, states that only 16 texts have been preserved<sup>35</sup> 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),<sup>36</sup> *Foshuo jie shi er men jing* 佛說十二門經 (cols. 366-385),<sup>37</sup> and the anonymous commentary on the “twelve gates” (cols. 386-584).<sup>38</sup> Nattier bases her list on the 34 texts<sup>39</sup> in Sengyou's CSZJJ, comprising 40 fascicles in all, and compares this list with the compilation accounts of Ui Hakuju and Erik Zürcher.<sup>40</sup> 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

---

<sup>34</sup> Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 33. Those 19 texts are: T13, T14, T31, T36, T48, T57, T98, T105, T109, T112, T150A, T150B, T397, T602, T603, T605, T607, T792, and T1557.

<sup>35</sup> Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao's 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” 249–266. Those texts are: T13, T14, T31, T32, T36, T48, T57, T98, T101 (at least in its great part) T112, T150A, T150B, T603, T607, T1508, and T1557.

<sup>36</sup> *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.”

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* Zacchetti concludes that “Structure and content of this text are very similar to the second part of the preceding scripture.”

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 266. Zacchetti states, “This text can be identified as a commentary devoted to the twelve gates and to other subjects related to meditation.”

<sup>39</sup> 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.”

<sup>40</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 44–71.

concepts in Chinese.<sup>41</sup> To overcome this problem, An Shigao used “*Geyi*” 格義 or the “method of analogy” in his translations, something that is discussed by Victor Mair in his article “What Is Geyi, After All?”<sup>42</sup> 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* 守 “guarding or observing,”<sup>43</sup> to “denote the effort of concentration of mind.”<sup>44</sup> The use of *shou* can be seen in the title of the *Da anban shouyi jing* (T-ABSJ, T602). Because An Shigao blended Daoist terminology with Buddhism, Chinese converts were able to grasp new Buddhist concepts.<sup>45</sup>

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.<sup>46</sup> Zacchetti’s research on the recently discovered commentary on the T-ABSJ<sup>47</sup> has been important for this thesis because it provides new information about the historical context of the text, identifies the catalogues which refer to ABSJ, and asserts the authenticity of An Shigao’s authorship of the Kongō-ji *Anban shouyi jing* (K-ABSJ).

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

---

<sup>41</sup> Buddha Dharma Education Association & BuddhaNet, “The Buddhist World: Buddhism in East Asia - China, Korean, Japan.” 2011-11-18, para. 2–5, accessed November 18, 2011, <http://www.buddhanet.net/e-learning/buddhist-world/east-asia.htm>.

<sup>42</sup> Victor H. Mair, “What Is Geyi, After All?,” in *Philosophy and Religion in Early Medieval China*, ed. Alan Kam-leung Chan and Yuet Keung Lo (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2010), 243.

<sup>43</sup> Bumbacher, “Early Buddhism in China: Daoist Reactions,” 219.

<sup>44</sup> Livia Kohn and Yoshinobu Sakade, *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1989), 152.

<sup>45</sup> Buddha Dharma Education Association & BuddhaNet, “*The Buddhist World: Buddhism in East Asia - China, Korean, Japan.*,” para. 2–5.

<sup>46</sup> Zacchetti, “A ‘New’ Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary: The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* (T602) Reconsidered,” 424.

<sup>47</sup> Zacchetti, “A ‘New’ Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary: The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* (T602) Reconsidered.”



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 *Ānāpānasmṛti*, a manual completely dedicated to the mindfulness of breathing.<sup>48</sup>

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.<sup>49</sup> 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.”<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup>

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

---

<sup>48</sup> Florin Deleanu, “A Preliminary Study of An Shigao’s Translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*,” *Journal of the Department of Liberal Arts Kansai Medical University* 17 (March 1997): 33–52.

<sup>49</sup> Sengyou 僧祐, “*An Shigao Zhuan Di Yi* 安世高傳第一” (Tokyo, April 13, 2011), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.

<sup>50</sup> Xiaohuan Zhao, *Classical Chinese Supernatural Fiction: A Morphological History* (Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 1.

<sup>51</sup> Christoph 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): 325–61.

important part of this historical reality.”<sup>52</sup> Shinohara disagrees with Arthur F. Wright’s dismissal of miracle stories.<sup>53</sup> 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.”<sup>54</sup> 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.”<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup>

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

---

<sup>52</sup> Koichi Shinohara, “Biographies of Eminent Monks in a Comparative Perspective: The Function of the Holy in Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” *Zhonghua Foxue Xuebao* 中華佛學學報 7 (1994): 485.

<sup>53</sup> Arthur F. Wright, *Biography and Hagiography: Hui-Chiao’s Lives of Eminent Monks* (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1954).

<sup>54</sup> Shinohara, “Biographies of Eminent Monks in a Comparative Perspective,” 479.

<sup>55</sup> Wright, *Biography and Hagiography*, 385.

<sup>56</sup> Shinohara, “Biographies of Eminent Monks in a Comparative Perspective,” 480.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 485.

*pāramī*.<sup>58</sup>

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.

---

<sup>58</sup> For a further discussion of Buddhist *pāramī*, see chapter two.

### 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 6<sup>th</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE and began to spread outside of India along the trade routes ca. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 Aparāntaka (Modern Greece).<sup>59</sup> The *Mahāvamsa*, 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”.<sup>60</sup> (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)

---

<sup>59</sup> 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 (*meridarkh*) named Theodoros indicate that by the first century BCE there were many Greek Buddhists.

<sup>60</sup> Shanker Thapa, in *Transmission of Indian Buddhist Thought In East Asian Historiography: Dhyanaśhadra (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.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> The Chinese were interested in Buddhism from an early time. *The Records of the Great Historian* 史記<sup>65</sup> 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

---

<sup>61</sup> Department of Asian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Kushan Empire (ca. 2nd Century B.C.–3rd Century A.D.) In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History,” *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, accessed January 30, 2012, [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/kush/hd\\_kush.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/kush/hd_kush.htm).

<sup>62</sup> Jiahe Liu, “Early Buddhism and Taoism in China (A.D. 65-420),” trans. Dongfang Shao, *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 12 (January 1, 1992): 35.

<sup>63</sup> Michael LaFargue, *Lao-Tzu and the Tao-Te-Ching* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998), 78.

<sup>64</sup> Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *China: a Cultural, Social, and Political History* (Houghton Mifflin, 2006), 67.

<sup>65</sup> Sima Qian 司馬遷, “*Shiji* 史記,” 130 vols. (Suzhou 蘇州: Zhongguo guji quan lu 中國古籍全錄, 1969).

the Han court. In the accounts included in the *Hanshu* 漢書,<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> According to Foltz, the Dharmaguptakas and the Sarvāstivādins were the predominant *nikāya* (sectarian school) along the Silk Road, while the Mahāsaṃghikas were also active.<sup>69</sup> The Sarvāstivādins were also active in the Kushan Empire and had the support of King Kaniška II (c. 158-176 CE.) who convened a Buddhist synod of the Sarvāstivāda School in Kashmir.<sup>70</sup> The Sarvāstivādins were

---

<sup>66</sup> Bangu 班固, “*Hanshu - Zhangqian Li Guangli Zhuan* 漢書-張騫李廣利傳,” *Chinese Text Project*, accessed May 26, 2011, <http://ctext.org/han-shu?searchu=%E8%BA%AB%E6%AF%92>.

<sup>67</sup> Frances Wood and Mark Barnard, *The Diamond Sutra: The Story of the World's Earliest Dated Printed Book* (London: British Library, 2010), 9.

<sup>68</sup> 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.

<sup>69</sup> Richard Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Premodern Patterns of Globalization*, New Edition (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 39.

<sup>70</sup> Ahmad Hasan Dani, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations, 700 B.C. to A.D. 250* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1999), 491.

also predominant in Parthia.<sup>71</sup> An Shigao was probably affiliated with the Sarvāstivādins.<sup>72</sup>

## 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 ( 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 景廬.”<sup>73</sup>

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.<sup>74</sup>

In the beginning Buddhism was apparently regarded as a sect of Daoism and not clearly understood due to language and cultural differences.<sup>75</sup> The Buddha was considered to be a “foreign god” from the West,<sup>76</sup> and seems to have also been confused with the Queen Mother of the West, funerary cults,

---

<sup>71</sup> Lai Yonghai 賴永海, *Zhongguo fojiao tongshi* 中國佛教通史, vol. 1 (Nanjing 南京: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe 江蘇人民出版社, 2010), 66.

<sup>72</sup> Nobuyoshi Yamabe, “On the School Affiliation of An Shigao: Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra” (presented at the The International Workshop on “The Works of An Shigao,” Leiden, 1996), 19–20.

<sup>73</sup> Junko Miyajima, “The Formation and Development of Chinese Buddhist Literature,” *Institute for Cultural Interaction Studies, Kansai University, The International Academic Forum for the Next Generation Series*, 1 (March 31, 2010): 127.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959), 33.

<sup>76</sup> Bumbacher, “Early Buddhism in China: Daoist Reactions,” 209.

and with supernatural powers.<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup> Buddhism began to be accepted by elites around the Eastern Han period. A record in the *Huo Han Shu* 後漢書 states that during the first century the images of Buddha, the Yellow Emperor and Laozi were placed together for worshipping in a ceremony by members of Royal family and nobles.<sup>79</sup>

According to Jacques Gernet “the first allusion to a Buddhist community in the Han Empire dates from 65 CE.”<sup>80</sup> 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).<sup>81</sup>

### 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

---

<sup>77</sup> 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.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>79</sup> LaFargue, *Lao-Tzu and the Tao-Te-Ching*, 78.

<sup>80</sup> Jacques Gernet, *A History of Chinese Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 213.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.



the legends.<sup>82</sup> 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,<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>84</sup> While another account, LDSBJ volume 1 歷代三寶紀卷一 (T2034),<sup>85</sup> 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).<sup>86</sup> At that time, the creeks and rivers overflowed their banks, the earth quaked entirely, and a five-colored auspicious light pierced the heavens.<sup>87</sup>

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.<sup>88</sup> Other accounts such as the *Xiangyang Falin Fashi ji xu* 襄陽法琳法

---

<sup>82</sup> Chuan Yin 傳印, "Guanyu Fu Li Jinian 關於佛歷紀年," *Zhongguo Fo Xueyuan* 中國佛學院, 579, accessed August 23, 2011, <http://www.zgfyx.cn/Article/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=579>.

<sup>83</sup> Monica, "Summary of Wendi Adamek's 'The Mystique of Transmission,'" *Dharma Cowgirl*, accessed January 12, 2013, <http://dharmacowgirl.wordpress.com/2011/03/08/wendi-adameks-the-mystique-of-transmission/>.

<sup>84</sup> Wendi Leigh Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission: On an Early Chan History and Its Contexts* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2007), 302.

<sup>85</sup> Fei Changfang 費長房, "*Lidai Sanbao Ji Juan Di Yi* 歷代三寶紀卷第一" (Taipei, April 23, 2009), CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, col. T2034, 49:23a14.

<sup>87</sup> Hsüan Hua, *Records of High Sanghans*, ed. Sandra Minor, trans. Buddhist Text Translation Society, vol. 1 (Burlingame, CA: Buddhist Text Translation Society, 1983), 1.

<sup>88</sup> Fei Changfang 費長房, "*Lidai Sanbao Ji Juan Di Yi* 歷代三寶紀卷第一," col. T2034, 49:23c10.

師集序<sup>89</sup> “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”<sup>90</sup> 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,<sup>91</sup> King Aśoka Pagoda of Famen Temple 法門寺阿育王塔,<sup>92</sup> Leifeng Aśoka Pagoda 雷峰塔 天宮阿育王塔, Lianyungang Aśoka Pagoda 連雲港阿育王塔,<sup>93</sup> and the Pagoda of Aśoka Temple at Ningbo 寧波阿育王寺塔.<sup>94</sup> 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)

---

<sup>89</sup> Shi Falin 釋法琳, “*Poxie Lun Juan Shang* 破邪論卷上” (Taipei, n.d.), 15, CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka, accessed May 30, 2011. “Records about Master Fa Lin” (T2109), is located in the first volume of *Po xie lun* 破邪論卷上, compiled by Master Falin 釋法琳 (572-640), a Buddhist monk during Tang dynasty (618-907 CE).

<sup>90</sup> 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.

<sup>91</sup> Cultural China, “Journeys to the Four Sacred Mountains of Buddhism,” accessed June 2, 2011, <http://scenery.cultural-china.com/en/158Scenery8210.html>.

<sup>92</sup> Wang jia 王佳, “Famen Si de Gushi 法門寺的故事,” accessed June 3, 2011, <http://www.huaxia.com/zhwh/whrd/whrdwz/2010/06/1931933.html>.

<sup>93</sup> Wang jia 王佳, “Nanjing Ayuwang Ta 南京阿育王塔,” *Guobao Dang an* 國寶檔案, accessed June 3, 2011, <http://www.huaxia.com/zhwh/whrd/2010/06/1932272.html>.

<sup>94</sup> 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 少年兒童出版社, 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,<sup>95</sup> (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.<sup>96</sup> 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).<sup>97</sup> 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.<sup>98</sup>

### 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.<sup>99</sup> The capital city of Luoyang 洛陽, where foreigners were numerous,<sup>100</sup> played an important role as the

---

<sup>95</sup> 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.

<sup>96</sup> Xu Yi 須一, “A General Outline of Buddhism,” *Dharma Realm Buddhist Association* 25, no. 290, *The Buddhist Monthly-Vajra Bodhi Sea* (July 1994): 22.

<sup>97</sup> 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.

<sup>98</sup> Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 20.

<sup>99</sup> Gernet, *A History of Chinese Civilization*, 213.

<sup>100</sup> 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.”<sup>101</sup> 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),<sup>102</sup> who reigned during the third year of the Yung Ping reign period (67 CE), can be found in *Xiyu zhuan* 西域傳<sup>103</sup> a section of *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書.<sup>104</sup> 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.<sup>105</sup> 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.<sup>106</sup> The next day he asked his ministers about the dream. One of

---

<sup>101</sup> Wu Hung, “Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd Centuries A.D.),” *Artibus Asiae* 47, no. 3/4 (January 1, 1986): 264.

<sup>102</sup> 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.

<sup>103</sup> 世傳明帝夢見金人，長大，頂有光明，以問群臣。或曰：「西方有神，名曰佛，其形長丈六尺而黃金色。」帝於是遣使天竺問佛道法，遂於中國圖畫形像焉。楚王英始信其術，中國因此頗有奉其道者。後桓帝好神，數祀浮圖、老子，百姓稍有奉者，後遂轉盛。See details in Chinese Text Project, “*Hou Han Shu* 後漢書: *Lie Zhuan* 列傳: *Xiyu Zhuan* 西域傳 - Mingdi 明帝,” *Chinese Text Project*, accessed November 17, 2011, <http://ctext.org/hou-han-shu/xi-yu-zhuan?searchu=%E6%98%8E%E5%B8%9D#n77782>.

<sup>104</sup> Nogami Toshi Shizuka 野上俊靜, *Zhongguo Fojiao Shi Gai Shuo* 中國佛教史概說, 10.

<sup>105</sup> Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 22.

<sup>106</sup> Hsüan Hua, *Records of High Sanghans*, 1:1.

his courtiers, named Fu Yi 傅毅<sup>107</sup> (47-92 CE),<sup>108</sup> told the emperor he had heard that there was a famous man in India whom the people called “Buddha.”<sup>109</sup>

### 1.3.2. Early Chinese Buddhist iconography

According to record of Shi Laozhi 釋老志 in the *Book of Wei* 魏書<sup>110</sup> one of the first images of the Buddha to come to China was captured during a battle with the Xiongnu around 121 BCE.<sup>111</sup>

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.<sup>112</sup> 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 statutes brought to Ganquan Palace in 120 BCE

---

<sup>107</sup> Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 320.

<sup>108</sup> “Qinshu Daquan Folio 18,” accessed August 16, 2011, <http://www.silkqin.com/02qnpu/26qsdq/qs18wen.htm>.

<sup>109</sup> Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 320.

<sup>110</sup> Dharma Drum Buddhist College 法鼓佛教學院, ed., “*Zhengshi Fojiao Ziliao Lei Bian Juan Yi Ce* 正史佛教資料類編卷一冊,” August 17, 2011, Taiwan e-Learning and Digital Archives Program 數位典藏國家型科技計畫.

<sup>111</sup> 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.

<sup>112</sup> 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 worshipping 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.<sup>113</sup> 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.<sup>114</sup> (See Figures 1.7, 1.8)

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.<sup>115</sup> 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 *uṣṇiṣa* 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

---

<sup>113</sup> Roderick Whitfield, Susan Whitfield, and Neville Agnew, *Cave Temples of Mogao: Art and History on the Silk Road* (Singapore: Getty Publications, 2000), 19.

<sup>114</sup> Dunhuang Academy, “Mogao Cave 323 (Early Tang–Song 618-960AD),” accessed August 17, 2011, <http://enweb.dha.ac.cn/0012/index.htm>.

<sup>115</sup> John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), 83.

already spread from Xinjiang to Shandong and from Inner Mongolia to Sichuan.<sup>116</sup> See Fig. 1.9

During this early period of contact, Buddhist iconography seems to have been blended with early Daoism, transcendent ideology and regional indigenous cults.<sup>117</sup> 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.<sup>118</sup> Therefore the Buddha was unsurprisingly linked with the images of Dong Wanggong and Xi Wangmu in the minds of the Han people,<sup>119</sup> and they used Buddhist iconography to enhance representations of Chinese indigenous cults and traditional ideas, Buddhist legends and symbols.<sup>120</sup>

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

---

<sup>116</sup> 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,” 5.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Richard D. McBride II, “Esoteric Scriptures in the Context of Chinese Buddhist Translation Practice,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, vol. 24, Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 4 China (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 220, states that An Shigao translated the *Sūtra on Brahman's Avoiding Death* 婆羅門避死經 which tells how the 4 *bramin ṛṣis* 仙人 cultivated dharma and penetrated the five supernatural power 神通 and be able to alley death.

<sup>119</sup> Hung, “Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd Centuries A.D.),” 267.

<sup>120</sup> 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.<sup>121</sup> The process of translating Buddhism into Chinese took centuries.<sup>122</sup> Luo and Lei divide the thousand-year-long process of translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese into three phases.<sup>123</sup> 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.<sup>124</sup>

#### 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),<sup>125</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup> In Central India, they met two Indo-Scythian monks, Kasyapa Matanga 迦葉摩騰 and Dharmaratna (also known as Gobharana 竺法蘭), and persuaded them to travel to China. The two monks returned to China with the three courtiers, arriving in Luoyang in 67 CE,<sup>127</sup> the tenth year of the Yungping reign,

---

<sup>121</sup> Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, 35.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>123</sup> Xuanmin Luo and Hong Lei, “Translation Theory and Practice in China,” *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 12, no. 1 (2004): 20.

<sup>124</sup> Luo and Lei, “Translation Theory and Practice in China.”

<sup>125</sup> Bumbacher, “Early Buddhism in China: Daoist Reactions,” 438.

<sup>126</sup> Liang Qichao 梁启超 et al., *Liangqichao Quanjì 梁启超全集* (Beijing 北京: Beijing chuban she 北京出版社, 1999), 3727.

<sup>127</sup> Kumar, *A History of Sino-Indian Relations*, 39.



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.<sup>128</sup> Kaśyapa Matanga and Dharmaraksha are supposed to have translated many Buddhist scriptures into Chinese such as *Si shi er jing* 四十二經,<sup>129</sup> *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.<sup>130</sup> 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.<sup>131</sup>

The second translation phase related to the influential monk Lokakṣema,

---

<sup>128</sup> Ron Epstein, “The Sutra in Forty-Two Sections Spoken by the Buddha: Introductory Sections,” accessed May 26, 2011, <http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~rone/Buddhism/BTTStexts/S42%20Introductory%20Sections.htm>.

<sup>129</sup> It should be noted that some scholars have argued that the Scripture in forty-two section 四十二經 was produced in the fourth century, while some Japanese scholars date the translation to the sixth century, see Kumar, *A History of Sino-Indian Relations*, 39–40.

<sup>130</sup> Nahal Tajadod, “The Role of Iranians in the Spread of Buddhism, Manichaeism and Mazdaismin China,” *Diogenes* 50, no. 4 (2003): 61.

<sup>131</sup> Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Centra Asia*, 1:23–24.

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);<sup>132</sup> *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.<sup>133</sup> 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, apparently disappeared with the fall of the Han in 220 CE.<sup>134</sup>

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

---

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 1:24.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 1:25.

孟祥 who translated the earliest known narratives of the Buddha's life.<sup>135</sup>

## **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.

---

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

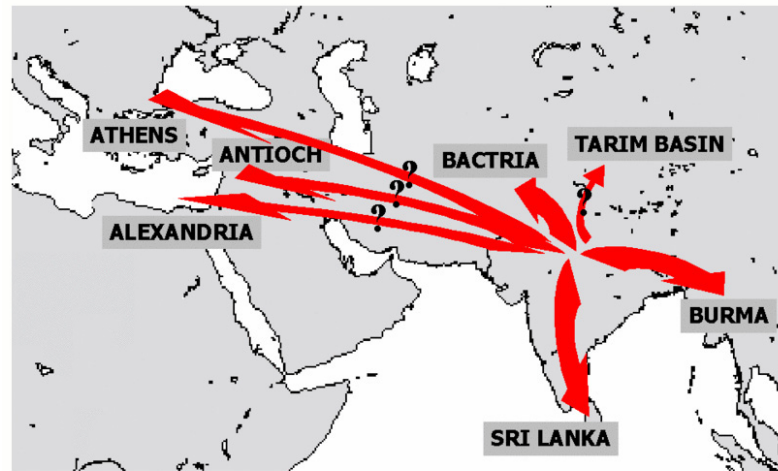


Fig. source: Wisdom Quarterly  
**Fig. 1.1** The spread of Buddhism during the Aśokan Mission.

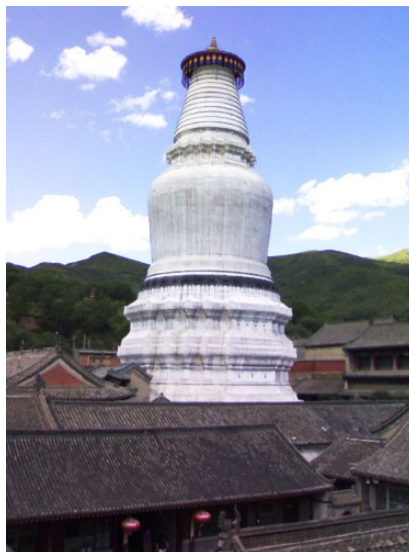


Fig. source <sup>136</sup>

**Fig. 1.2** The Great White Pagoda of Tayuan, Miaoying Temple, Beijing  
北京妙應寺, 大白塔.

---

<sup>136</sup> Qingxin jushi 清心居士, “Wutaishan Dabai Ta 五台山大白塔,” accessed January 15, 2013, <http://www.wtszx.com/wutaibaik/25-7431.html>.

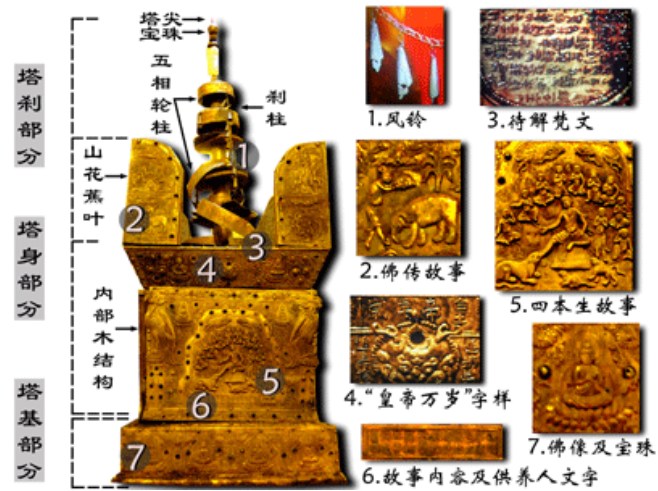


Fig. source: Alibaba

**Fig. 1.3** King Asoka Pagoda, Changgan Temple, Nanjing  
南京長幹寺, 七寶鑿金阿育王塔.



Fig. source<sup>137</sup>

**Fig. 1.4** King Asoka Pagoda, Famen Temple 法門寺阿育王塔.

<sup>137</sup> Zhongguo Chuantong Wenhua Cujin Hui 中國傳統文化促進會, "Shanxi Fufeng Famen Si Ta 陝西扶風法門寺塔," accessed November 17, 2013, <http://www.simiao.net/ftjz/2012/3/24808.html>.



Fig. source<sup>138</sup>  
**Fig. 1.5** The Silk Road map.

<sup>138</sup> Hay Forum, “The Great Silk Road & Armenia,” accessed January 15, 2013, <http://hayforum.blogspot.co.nz/2012/06/great-silk-road.html>.

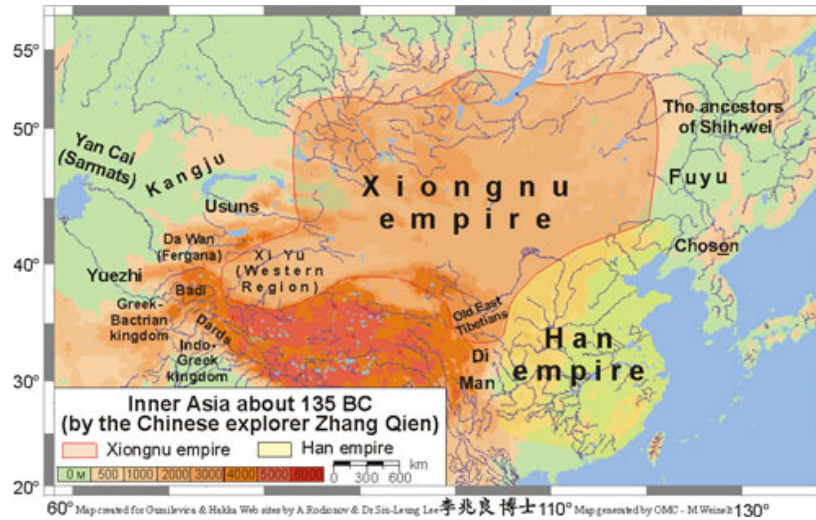


Fig. source<sup>139</sup>

**Fig. 1.6 Xiongnu Empire**



Fig. source<sup>140</sup>

**Fig. 1.7 Mogao Cave 323(Early Tang –Song 618-960AD)<sup>141</sup>**

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

<sup>139</sup> Ihsan, “The Xiongnu Empire,” *All Empires*, January 16, 2013, [http://www.allemperires.com/article/index.php?q=The\\_Xiong\\_Nu\\_Empire](http://www.allemperires.com/article/index.php?q=The_Xiong_Nu_Empire).

<sup>140</sup> Dunhuang Academy, “Mogao Cave 323 (Early Tang –Song 618-960AD).”

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.



Fig. source<sup>142</sup>

**Fig. 1.8** Fresco describing Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (156 - 87 BCE) kneels in homage to two Buddha statues, Mogao Caves 323, Dunhuang, c. 8th century CE.<sup>143</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup> Sacred Destinations, “Mogao Caves, China,” accessed January 16, 2013, <http://www.sacred-destinations.com/china/mogao-caves>.

<sup>143</sup> Harry Oldmeadow, ed., *Light From the East: Eastern Wisdom for the Modern West* (Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 2007), 139.





Fig. source<sup>144</sup>

**Fig. 1.9** Money Tree

---

<sup>144</sup> Minghuart, "Money Tree Pottery Buddha Statue *Yaoqianshu Tao Zuo Foxiang* 搖錢樹陶座佛像," accessed October 14, 2013, <http://www.minghuart.com/exhibition/zuopin.aspx?ContentID=4523#local>.

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.<sup>145</sup> 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<sup>146</sup>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.

---

<sup>145</sup> 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.

<sup>146</sup> 正 SYM KYSJL ZXSJL FYZLJ57. According to Kang Senghui's preface on the *Da anban shouyi jing* uses the word 嫡〔后〕; KSH.

惻隱之仁爰及蠢類。

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<sup>147</sup> 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<sup>148</sup> 五行之象。

[He made close] study of astronomy<sup>149</sup> the five elements,

風角雲物之占。

and meteorology, obtaining a

---

<sup>147</sup> 明 ZXSJL.

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

<sup>149</sup> *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: *Bṛhaspati*), 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<sup>150</sup>，悉窮其變<sup>151</sup>。

thorough understanding of their changes.

兼洞曉醫術妙善鍼脈<sup>152</sup>。

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

靚色<sup>153</sup>知病<sup>154</sup>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.

乃至鳥獸鳴呼聞聲知心<sup>155</sup>。

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

於是俊異之名被於西域。

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.

---

150 Cf. KSH: 七正盈縮。風氣吉凶, T602, 15:163b24.

151 要 KYSJL SYM.

152 脉 KYSJL SYM, 脈 ZXSJL. Cf. KSH: 鍼脈諸術。靚色知病, T602, 15:163b25.

153 According to Chinese Medicine, the term *du se* 靚色 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 靚色 as “face-reading”; Cheung 54.

154 Cf. KSH: 鍼脈諸術。靚色知病, T602, 15:163b25.

155 Cf. KSH: 鳥獸鳴啼無音不照, T602, 15:163b25-26.

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<sup>156</sup>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<sup>157</sup>苦空<sup>158</sup>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.

---

<sup>156</sup> *Fashi* 法施, *dharmadāna* or “*dharmadeśanā*”; BDD s.v.

<sup>157</sup> 悟 SYM.

<sup>158</sup> 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<sup>159</sup>。

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<sup>160</sup>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.

---

<sup>159</sup> 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.

<sup>160</sup> 機 SYM, KYSJL, ZXSJL.

於是宣譯衆經改胡<sup>161</sup> [read: 胡]爲漢。

He thereupon started to promulgate and translate the *sūtras*, translating [them] from foreign language[s]<sup>162</sup> 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 [*\*āyatanas*] and Fields [*\*dhātus*], 陰持入經, T603),

大小十二門

*Da xiao shi er men jing* (Larger and Smaller Twelve Gates *Sūtras*),<sup>163</sup>

及百六十品等。

and the 160<sup>th</sup> chapter of [the] *\*Ekottarikāgama*,<sup>164</sup> and so on.

初外國三藏衆護撰述經要爲二十七章。

Originally, the foreign Trepitaka Saṃgharakṣa<sup>165</sup> had composed a digest of the *sūtras* in twenty-seven chapters.

---

<sup>161</sup> 梵 YM, GSZ-YM.

<sup>162</sup> *Hu* 胡 is the Chinese term for “barbarian language”, perhaps referring to a form of hybrid Sanskrit. See for example Miyajima, “The Formation and Development of Chinese Buddhist Literature.” Also see Daniel Boucher, “Gāndhārī and the Early Chinese Buddhist Translations Reconsidered: The Case of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1998, 471–506.

<sup>163</sup> According to KYSJL, lost; T 2154, 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.)

<sup>164</sup> Shih (1968): 5 n. 18, citing the *Jiu lu* 舊錄. According to KYSJL, lost; T2154, 55:480b 24.

世高乃剖析護所集七章。

Shigao analyzed seven of the chapters collected by [Saṃgha]rakṣa

譯為漢文。

and translated them into Chinese;

即道地經也;

[the resulting text] is the \**Yogācārabhūmi sūtra*.<sup>166</sup>

其先後所出經。

The other sūtras translated by him at various times

凡四<sup>167</sup>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,<sup>168</sup>

凡在讀者。

so that the reader

皆蠢蠢而不倦<sup>169</sup>焉。

---

<sup>165</sup> Poon and Cheung incorrectly identify this author as Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (230? - 316 CE), which would, of course, be anachronistic; Cheung 54. ETC.

<sup>166</sup> *Daodi jing* 道地經 (T607).

<sup>167</sup> 三 SYM.

<sup>168</sup> Poon and Cheung translate here: "The language was eloquent without being flowery, unhewn without being coarse..." Cheung 54 ETC.



could study and keep on reading without getting tired.

世高窮理盡性自識宿緣。

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

先<sup>170</sup>身已經爲安息王子。

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.

分衛<sup>171</sup>之時施主<sup>172</sup>不稱<sup>173</sup>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 勸 GSZ-K.

170 光 ZXSJL-Sh.

171 分衛 usu. for *piṇḍapāta* “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*”, 施主が気に入らないと; 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.

世高屢加呵責。

Shigao reprimanded [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<sup>174</sup>畢宿世<sup>175</sup>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<sup>176</sup>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。

---

<sup>174</sup> Guangzhou 廣州 in this context refers to the areas covered by present-day Guangxi 廣西 and Guangdong 廣東; DPAD s.v.

<sup>175</sup> 宿世 "previous life"; Karashima /DDB s.v.

<sup>176</sup> 瞋 GSZ-K.

If I attain the Path [viz. Enlightenment], I will [come back to] save you.”

既而遂適廣州值寇賊大亂。

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<sup>177</sup>手 [read: 唾手<sup>178</sup>] 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.”

遂申<sup>179</sup> [read: 伸] 頸受刃容無懼色。

---

177 唾 ZXSJL.

178 *Tuoshou* 唾手, also 垂手; 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<sup>180</sup>還爲安息王太子。

[His] vijñānanā [soul/spirit?<sup>181</sup>] then reincarnated as the Crown Prince of the Kingdom of Parthia

即名世高時<sup>182</sup>身也。

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

世高遊化中國宣經事畢<sup>183</sup>。

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。

---

179 伸 YM.

180 神識 usu. for vijñānanā, *linghun* 靈魂, “soul, spirit”; BDD sv.

181 On this term, see Jungnok Park, *How Buddhism Acquired a Soul on the Way to China*, Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies Monographs (Oakville: Equinox Publishing, 2012).

182 今時世高 SYM KYSJL ZXSJL.

183 *Shibi* 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.<sup>184</sup>

乃杖錫<sup>185</sup>江南云。

(Shigao) then travelled to Jiangnan with his monk's staff in hand and said:

我當過廬山<sup>186</sup>度昔同學。

“I have to go to Lushan to save a former fellow monk.”

行達邾亭湖廟<sup>187</sup>。

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<sup>188</sup>。

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.

---

<sup>184</sup> Guan-Luo: the Guanzhong plain in the Shanxi and Luoyang region.

<sup>185</sup> 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.

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

<sup>187</sup> Gongtinghu miao 邾亭湖廟 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.

<sup>188</sup> 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.

常<sup>189</sup> [read: 嘗]有乞神竹者。

Once, there was [someone who] came [to the temple] to beg for the bamboo of the divinity,

未許輒取。

and took it without permission.

舫即覆沒竹還本處。

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

自是舟人敬憚莫不懾<sup>190</sup>影。

From then on, all the boatmen sailing [at Gongtinghu] were so respectful and fearful, and there were none who were so brazen [ever again]<sup>191</sup>.

世高同棕<sup>192</sup> [read: 旅]三十餘船。

Shigao travelled together with more than thirty boats.

奉牲<sup>193</sup> 請福。

They presented sacrificial offerings to request protection.

神乃降祝曰。

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

舫<sup>194</sup> 有沙門。可更<sup>195</sup> [read: 便]呼上。”

---

189 嘗 SYM GSZ KYSJL ZXSJL FYZLJ57 SSZJ1.

190 攝 KYSJL-SYM.

191 懾影: [I] *n'etait personne qui ne rodoutât son ombre*, "there was none who did not quail at his shadow" [his own shadow? or the shadow of the god?]; Shih (1968): 6.

192 旅 SYM GSZ KYSJL ZXSJL FYZLJ57 SSZJ1.

193 性 Sh.

There is a *śramāṇa* [Buddhist monk] on that boat. Have him come onland immediately.”

客咸共驚愕。

Everyone onboard was astonished

請世高入廟。

and they requested Shigao to go into the temple.

神告世高曰。

The god said to Shigao:

吾昔在外國。

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

與子俱出家學道。

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

好行布施。

[I] performed almsgiving [lit. *dāna*] well

而性多瞋怒。

but I had a bad temper and was easily angered,

今爲郟亭湖神。

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

周迴千里並吾所統。

The surrounding area for a thousand *li* is under my control.

---

194 船 GSZ KYSJL ZXSJL.

195 便 SYM GSZ SSZJ1.

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<sup>196</sup>[read: 何?]言。

Seeing you today, my fellow monk, [my mixed feelings of] happiness and sadness are difficult to express.

壽盡旦夕<sup>197</sup>而醜形長大<sup>198</sup>。

My lifetime will soon come to an end, but my ugly body is immense.

若於此捨命穢汚江湖<sup>199</sup>。

If I abandon my life here, my corpse will contaminate the rivers and lakes,

當度山西<sup>200</sup>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。

---

<sup>196</sup> 何: ZXSJL-Ky.

<sup>197</sup> 壽盡旦夕: 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.

<sup>198</sup> 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.

<sup>199</sup> 潮: ZXSJL-Sh.

<sup>200</sup> 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 嶠山, 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

可爲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<sup>201</sup>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。

---

<sup>201</sup> 現 SYM, 出 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<sup>202</sup>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<sup>203</sup>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 颺=揚.

登山頂而望衆人。

climbed to the top of the mountain, and looked down on the [assembled] crowd.

舉手<sup>204</sup> 然後乃滅。

[People] raised their hands [to wave farewell?] and then the python disappeared.

倏<sup>205</sup> 忽之頃便達豫章<sup>206</sup>。

Before long, [Shigao] arrived in Yu Zhang.

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<sup>207</sup>。

He received a *mantra* from [An Shigao],

---

204 首 YM, KYSJL, ZXSJL.

205 儵 ZXSJL, 倏 ZXSJL-Ky.

206 Yuzhang 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 *zhou yuan* 呪願 as referring to something like a *mantra* or *dhāraṇī*.

忽然不見。

and then suddenly disappeared.

世高謂船人曰。

Shigao told the people onboard :

向之少年。

“That young man a moment ago

即荊亭廟神。

was the god of the Gongting temple

得離惡形矣。

and he has already gotten rid of his evil body.”

於是廟神歇沒<sup>208</sup>。

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<sup>209</sup>陽郡<sup>210</sup>蛇村是其處也。

---

<sup>208</sup> 殊 S, 矣 YM, 末 GSZ, 滅 KYSJL ZXSJL FYZLJ57, 矣 SSZJ1.

<sup>209</sup> 潯 YM GSZ KYSJL FYZLJ57.

Today, this place is called “Snake Village” in Xunyang District.

於是頃<sup>211</sup> [read: 世高後復]到廣州。

After that, Shigao went on to Guangzhou

尋其前世害己少年。

looking for the young man who killed him in his previous life.

時少年尚在。

At that time the man was still alive,

年已六十餘。

but was already over sixty years old.

世高徑投其家。

Shigao traced his way to his [the man’s] home

共說昔日償對時事。

and explained how karmic retribution from their past lives had been affecting them.

并叙宿緣<sup>212</sup> 歡善 [read: 歡喜]<sup>213</sup> 相向云。

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

---

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* 宿緣, causes and conditions 緣 from prior lifetimes 宿 (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<sup>214</sup>。

“I still have *karma-ploti* [the consequence of karma from the former life].

今當往<sup>215</sup>會稽<sup>216</sup>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<sup>217</sup>相資供。

He provided him [Shigao] with generous financial assistance

乃隨世高東行<sup>218</sup>。

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,

---

<sup>214</sup> *Yubao* 餘報, *karmaploti*”, Hirakawa/DDB s.v.

<sup>215</sup> 復 ZXSJL.

<sup>216</sup> During the Eastern Han period, Kuaiji 會稽[郡] referred to the area of present-day Shaoxing City 紹興, Zhejiang Province 浙江; DPAD s.v.

<sup>217</sup> 原 ZXSJL-Sh.

<sup>218</sup> 從遊 ZXSJL FYZLJ57 SSZJ1 (從=東 GSZ ZXSJL-Ky).

正值市有鬪者。

just [at a moment when] there was fighting in the market.

亂相毆<sup>219</sup>擊誤中世高。

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

應時<sup>220</sup>命終。

[and] [his] life came to an end right away.

廣州客頻驗二報<sup>221</sup>。

The visitor [old man] from Guangzhou had repeatedly experienced the dual reward of previous karma.

遂精勤佛法。

He started diligently studying and practicing the Buddha's Dharma

具說事緣。

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,

---

219 毆 SYM.

220 *Yingshi* 應時, “at once; at that moment” or “at a proper time”; Karashima/DDB s.v.

221 *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.

明三世之有<sup>222</sup>徵也。

and understood [that it showed that] there is proof of the existence of past, present and future [lifetimes, i.e. reincarnation in accordance with *karma*].

高<sup>223</sup>本既王種。

Since Shigao was a scion of the royal blood

名高外國。

and was well-known overseas.

所以西方賓旅猶呼安侯。至今爲號焉。

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

天竺國自稱。

The [people of] India claim of themselves,

書爲天書。

[that their] books are heavenly ones,

語爲天語。

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

音訓<sup>224</sup>詭蹇<sup>225</sup>與漢殊異。

---

<sup>222</sup> The term *zheng* 徵 in this context refers to the “proof,” “confirming the truth of” *yanzheng* 驗證, *zhengming* 證明; HD s.v.

<sup>223</sup> (世) + 高 SYM KYSJL ZXSJL.

<sup>224</sup> Here, the term *yinxun* 音訓 refers to *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., “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&-SkipRecords=568>.



The sound and sense [of their words] are tricky and confused, and very different from Chinese,

先後傳譯多致謬濫。

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

唯世高出經爲群譯之首。

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

安公以爲若及面稟不異見聖。

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].

列代明德。咸讚<sup>226</sup>而思焉。

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

---

<sup>225</sup> 譽 YM KYSJL-YM ZXSJL-Ky.

<sup>226</sup> 贊 KYSJL-SYM ZXSJL, 贊 GSZ.

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.<sup>227</sup>

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*.<sup>228</sup> 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.<sup>229</sup> He was born as a prince of the kingdom of Anxi 安息 (= *Arsak*, the Arsacid kingdom of Parthia<sup>230</sup> / Arsacid Empire<sup>231</sup>, 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).

---

<sup>227</sup> 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.

<sup>228</sup> Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, 1:24.

<sup>229</sup> 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.

<sup>230</sup> Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 32.

<sup>231</sup> Glen Warren Bowersock, Peter Robert Lamont Brown, and Oleg Grabar, *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 351.

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 漢靈帝 (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).<sup>232</sup>

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.<sup>233</sup> However, these are "late," written centuries after his death. The earliest extant biography of An Shigao<sup>234</sup> 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)<sup>235</sup>. According to Yixuan, the CSZJJ or the *Collection of records concerning the Tripiṭaka*<sup>236</sup> comprised 15 fascicles. It was compiled by Sengyou during the Liang dynasty 梁朝 (502-557 CE) and is the oldest extant catalogue of Chinese Tripiṭaka 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

---

<sup>232</sup> Rulu, "Buddhist Masters," *Ancient Translators*, accessed April 24, 2011, <http://www.sutrasmantras.info/translators.html>.

<sup>233</sup> 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.

<sup>234</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 38.

<sup>235</sup> Sengyou 僧祐, "An Shigao Zhuan Di Yi 安世高傳第一," col. T2145, 55:94c21.

<sup>236</sup> According to Jinhua, Seng you frequently uses the expression *chu* 出 or *yichu* 譯出 to refer to the translation of Buddhist text. Jinhua translates the term *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 as "Collection of records concerning the issuing of the Tree Storehouse." I, however, propose to translate as "*Collection of records concerning the translation of Tripiṭaka*." 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.<sup>237</sup>

Catalogues	Author	Date
<i>Zongli zhongjing mulu</i> (ZLZJML) 綜理衆經目錄 (lost) "Comprehensive catalogue of sūtras"	Daoan 道安	374 CE
<i>Chu sanzang ji ji</i> (CSZJJ) 出三藏記集 "Collection of records concerning [the translation of] Tripiṭaka"	Sengyou僧祐	510 CE
<i>Gaoseng zhuan</i> (GSZ) 高僧傳 "Biographies of Eminent Monks"	Huijiao 慧皎	519 CE
<i>Fayuan zhulin juan 57</i> (FYZLJ57) 法苑珠林卷五十七	Daoshi 道世	668 CE
<i>Kaiyuan shijiao lu</i> (KYSJL) 開元釋教錄 "Catalogue of the Kaiyuan era on Buddhism"	Zhisheng 智昇	730 CE
<i>Zhenyuan xin ding Shijiao lu</i> (ZXSJL) 貞元新定釋教目錄	Yuanzhao 圓照	800 CE
<i>Shen seng chuan juan 1</i> 神僧傳卷一	unknown	unknown

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

<sup>237</sup> 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)<sup>238</sup> 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)<sup>239</sup> to the middle period of Emperor Ling’s reign 靈帝 (r.172)<sup>240</sup> 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」.<sup>241</sup>

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

The CSZJJ<sup>242</sup> 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」.<sup>243</sup> After that, he renounced secular life and become a monk and cultivated the

---

<sup>238</sup> Huijiao 慧皎, “*Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳” (Tokyo, December 11, 2013), 1. T2059, 50:324a9–a10, The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.

<sup>239</sup> “Foguang Shan Dianzi Dazang Jing 佛光山電子大藏經,” April 24, 2011.

<sup>240</sup> 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。」

<sup>241</sup> 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.

<sup>242</sup> Sengyou 僧祐, “*An Shigao Zhuan Di Yi* 安世高傳第一,” col. T2145, 55:95a07.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, col. T2145, 55:95a16.

Buddhist path. He comprehended the sūtras and Tripiṭaka 「出家修道博綜經藏」<sup>244</sup> was proficient in the Abhidharma and was able to recite meditation sūtras by heart 「尤精阿毘曇學諷持禪經」<sup>245</sup> and thoroughly mastered the true essence of these works.<sup>246</sup> 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.<sup>247</sup> 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.<sup>248</sup>

After arriving in Luoyang<sup>249</sup> 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.<sup>250</sup>

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

---

244 Ibid., col. T2145, 55:95a17.

245 Ibid., cols. T2145, 55:95a17–a18.

246 Miyajima, “The Formation and Development of Chinese Buddhist Literature,” 127.

247 Forte, *The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring*, 74–78.

248 Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 39.

249 Ibid., 38.

250 Sengyou 僧祐, “*An Shigao Zhuan Di Yi* 安世高傳第一,” col. T2145, 55:95a20.

groups considered to be ‘other’,<sup>251</sup> such as “Northern Barbarians.”<sup>252</sup> According to Beckwith<sup>253</sup> the word “*hu*” was a generic term used to refer to Khitan<sup>254</sup>, 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.<sup>255</sup> *Hu* may also refer to the West Tocharian (Kuchean) 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.<sup>256</sup> A Prākṛit recension of the *Dhammapada* and other Kharoṣṭhī documents have been excavated in Afghanistan,<sup>257</sup> Pakistan,<sup>258</sup> Xinjiang<sup>259</sup> and along the

---

<sup>251</sup> Shufen Liu, “Ethnicity and the Suppression of Buddhism in Fifth-Century North China: The Background and Significance of the Gaiwu Rebellion,” *Asia Major: A Journal of Far Eastern Studies* 14 (2003): 2–3.

<sup>252</sup> Ssu-Ma Ch’ien, *The Grand Scribe’s Records: The Memoirs of Han China*, ed. William H. Nienhauser Jr, vol. 9 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010), 203.

<sup>253</sup> Christopher I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 393.

<sup>254</sup> 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 4<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>255</sup> Ehsan Yarshater, *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, vol. 3 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 952.

<sup>256</sup> 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.

<sup>257</sup> University of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project, “Portion of the Kharoṣṭhī Fragments,” *Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project*, accessed November 23, 2012, [http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/exhibit/sakas/khvs\\_2.html](http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/exhibit/sakas/khvs_2.html).

<sup>258</sup> Ditte Bandini-König and Martin Bemann, “Rock Carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway (Pakistan),” *Heidelberger Akademie Der Wissenschaften Felsbilder Und Inschriften Am Karakorum Highway*, n.d., accessed November 23, 2012.

Indus Valley<sup>260</sup>. Moreover, the term "Hu" may have been used to refer to a form of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.<sup>261</sup>

Various forms of Sanskrit were also used in Central Asia.<sup>262</sup> Dani points out that during the period of King Kaniṣka 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.<sup>263</sup> 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 Prakrit into Chinese. During the second century BCE, however, the Parthians, Sakas, and Kushans all used both Greek and Kharoṣṭhī.<sup>264</sup> Furthermore, it should be noted that before the Fourth Buddhist Council by Kaniṣka II both the Mahāsāṃghika and Sarvāstivāda Schools equally used Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī script to write Gāndhārī Prakrit.<sup>265</sup> Neelis (nd) states that fragments of manuscripts in the Kharoṣṭhī script<sup>266</sup> and the Gāndhārī language supply

---

<sup>259</sup> "Kharoṣṭhī Documents," accessed November 23, 2012, <http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/niyadocts.html>.

<sup>260</sup> Ditte Bandini-König and Martin Bemmman, "Rock Carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway (Pakistan)."

<sup>261</sup> Boucher, "Gāndhārī and the Early Chinese Buddhist Translations Reconsidered," 500.

<sup>262</sup> Braja Bihārī Kumāra, *India and Central Asia: Classical to Contemporary Periods* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2007), 24–26; Miyajima, "The Formation and Development of Chinese Buddhist Literature."

<sup>263</sup> Dani, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, '491; Harry Falk, "The Kaniṣka Era in Gupta Records," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology: Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies* 10 (2004): 167–76; Harry Falk, "The Yuga of Sphujiddhvaja and the Era of the Kusanas," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001): 121–36.

<sup>264</sup> Xinru Liu, *The Silk Road in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 47.

<sup>265</sup> J. Harmatta, "Religions in the Kushan Empire," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilization*, vol. 2 (Paris: UNESCO, 1994), 324; Boucher, "Gāndhārī and the Early Chinese Buddhist Translations Reconsidered."

<sup>266</sup> 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.<sup>267</sup> (See Figures. 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4)

Although An Shigao translated some Mahāyāna-oriented materials,<sup>268</sup> most of his works belong to the Sarvāstivāda School and it seems likely that An Shigao was a Sarvāstivādin monk.<sup>269</sup> 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 謝朞 (d. u.) and Daoan all refer to An Shigao as a bodhisattva.<sup>270</sup> Alternatively, Yamabe Nobuyoshi asserted that An Shigao may have been connected with an early Yogācāra<sup>271</sup> (Yogāvacāra?)<sup>272</sup> 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.

<sup>267</sup> Jason Neelis, "Meditation in Multiple Contexts: Early Buddhist Manuscripts and Inscriptions," accessed August 25, 2011, [http://www.buddhism.org/board/read.cgi?board=BuddhistStudies&y\\_number=39](http://www.buddhism.org/board/read.cgi?board=BuddhistStudies&y_number=39); also see Richard Salomon, "The Senior Manuscripts: Another Collection of Gandhāran Buddhist Scrolls," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, no. 1 (January 2003): 73–92.

<sup>268</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 42.

<sup>269</sup> Paul Harrison also states that most of An Shigao translation texts are affiliated with Sarvāstivāda school: see Paul Harrison, *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. Robert E. Buswell (New York: MacMillan Publishing, 2003), 24.

<sup>270</sup> Forte, *The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring*, 70–71.

<sup>271</sup> Yamabe, "On the School Affiliation of An Shigao: Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra."

<sup>272</sup> For a discussion of the term Yogācāra and Yogāvacāra, see Jonathan A. Silk, "The Yogācāra Bhikṣu.," in *Wisdom, Compassion, and the Search for Understanding: The Buddhist Studies Legacy of Gadjin M. Nagao*, ed. Gajin Nagao (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 265–314.

often chaotic to the point of unintelligibility.”<sup>273</sup> 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.”<sup>274</sup> 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.”<sup>275</sup>

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.”<sup>276</sup> Terms such as *se* 色 (*rūpa*), *fan* 梵 (the god *Brahmā*), *Anan* 阿難 (*Ānanda*), and *tian* 天 (*Deva*, as well as heaven), and *chan* 禪 (*dhyāna*, meditation)<sup>277</sup> appeared first in An Shigao’s work, were adopted by later translators and have continued to be used down to the present day.<sup>278</sup> 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 靈帝 (r. 168-190) to travel to the south where he was killed in the marketplace by a ruffian.<sup>279</sup>

### 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

---

<sup>273</sup> Erik Zürcher, “A New Look at the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Texts,” in *From Benares to Beijing: Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religion*, ed. Koichi Shinohara and Gregory Schopen (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1991), 283; cited in Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 43.

<sup>274</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 44.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>277</sup> Seishi Karashima, “Underlying Languages of Early Chinese Translations of Buddhist Scriptures,” in *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture - Festschrift in Honour of Christoph Harbsmeier on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, ed. Christoph Anderl and Halvor Eifring (Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing, 2006), 4.

<sup>278</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 41.

<sup>279</sup> *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*"<sup>280</sup> *Abhiññā* is one of the fruits of meditative achievement<sup>281</sup> and can be understood as a this-worldly manifestation of "Buddhist charisma."<sup>282</sup> The six supernormal knowledges or *abhiññā*, consist of (1) *iddhi-vidhā* or "supernatural powers," (2) *dibba-sota* or "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."<sup>283</sup> The link between spiritual advancement and supernatural power is accepted by most Asian Buddhist communities, but not all Western Buddhologists are comfortable

---

<sup>280</sup> 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.

<sup>281</sup> 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.

<sup>282</sup> "DN I 47 Samaññaphalasutta: The Fruits of the Contemplative Life," accessed January 13, 2012, <http://www.accesstoinight.org/tipitaka/dn/dn.02.0.than.html>; also see Piyasīlo, *Charisma in Buddhism: A Study of the Work of Father Sumaṅgalo, Ānanda Maṅgala Mahā.nāyaka Thera and Dr. Wong Phui Weng in Malaysia and Singapore & Phra Ajahn Yantra Amaro: [being a Preprint of Buddhism, Society and History: Towards a Postmodern Perspective]* (Petaling Jaya: Dharmafarer Enterprises for the Community of the Dharmafarers, 1992), 77–186. In this section I sometimes cite the Pāli rather than Sanskrit when the source I am consulting uses Pāli.

<sup>283</sup> For more about *abhiññā*, see Ñāṇatiloka Maha Thera, BDD s.v. For example, Ñāṇatiloka 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 Arahatsip or Holiness.

with the supernatural.<sup>284</sup>

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,<sup>285</sup> his performance of miracles,<sup>286</sup> his ability to remember his former lives,<sup>287</sup> and his awareness of his pre-determinate destiny by himself,<sup>288</sup> 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:<sup>289</sup>

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."

---

<sup>284</sup> Phyllis Granoff, "The Ambiguity of Miracles: Buddhist Understandings of Supernatural Power," *East and West* 46, no. 1/2 (June 1, 1996): 88; also see Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, ed., *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, 1st ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1994).

<sup>285</sup> Sengyou 僧祐, "An Shigao Zhuan Di Yi 安世高傳第一." col. T2145, 55:95a20.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid., col. T2145, 55:95a12.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., col. T2145, 55:95c10.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid., cols. T2145, 55:95b011-12.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid., cols. T2145, 55:95b24-29.

神從床後出頭。乃是大蟒蛇。至世高膝邊。淚落如雨。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.”<sup>290</sup> Miraculous or supernatural beings play an important part in Chinese Buddhist hagiographic literature<sup>291</sup> which some scholars argue is a tool for proselytism.<sup>292</sup> Supernatural events are

---

<sup>290</sup> Xiaohuan Zhao, *Classical Chinese Supernatural Fiction: a Morphological History* (E. Mellen Press, 2005), 1.

<sup>291</sup> 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.

<sup>292</sup> C. P. Salguero, “‘A Flock of Ghosts Bursting Forth and Scattering’: Healing Narratives in a Sixth-Century Chinese Buddhist Hagiography,” *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* no. 32 (2010): 93.

more than a literary genre, however. For Chinese Buddhists, “they are themselves an important part of the historical reality.”<sup>293</sup>

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 *Nirvāna* which is the ultimate goals of Buddhism.<sup>294</sup> Through meditation, the Buddhist practitioner can gain insight and “reveal the true facts of existence.”<sup>295</sup> Wisdom arises and

---

<sup>293</sup> K. Shinohara, “Biographies of Eminent Monks in a Comparative Perspective: The Function of the Holy in Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” *Zhonghua Foxue Xuebao* 中華佛學學報 7 (1994): 485.

<sup>294</sup> Edward Conze, *Buddhist Meditation* (London: Unwin Books, 1956), 11.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

the meditator sees “all beings and their problems, including oneself and one’s own nature, without hatred, boredom or contempt.”<sup>296</sup>

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.<sup>297</sup> 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

---

<sup>296</sup> 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*).

<sup>297</sup> 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 (*parama*) 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 (*ānāpānasmṛti*), 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<sup>298</sup>

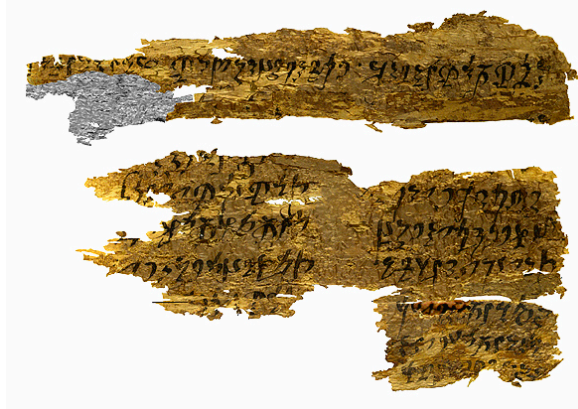


Fig. source<sup>299</sup>

Fig. 2.2 Geographical extent of Kharoṣṭhī script.

<sup>298</sup> Thomas Lessman, "World History Maps," accessed January 16, 2013, [http://www.worldhistorymaps.info/Maps.html#Ancient\\_maps](http://www.worldhistorymaps.info/Maps.html#Ancient_maps).

<sup>299</sup> I.L.Kyzlasov, V. Tomsen, and A. Mukhamadiev, "I.L.Kyzlasov - 8 Turkic Alphabets - Turkicworld," accessed January 16, 2013, [http://www.s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/31Alphabet/KyzlasovIL\\_En.htm](http://www.s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/31Alphabet/KyzlasovIL_En.htm).



**Fig. 2.3** Portion of the Kharoṣṭhī Fragments: A Gāndhārī version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra (*Khargaviṣana Sūtra*) Kushan era, 1st century CE, Ink on birch bark paper.<sup>300</sup>



Fig. source<sup>301</sup>

**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.<sup>302</sup>

---

<sup>300</sup> University of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project, “Portion of the Kharosthi Fragments.”

<sup>301</sup> Neelis, “Meditation in Multiple Contexts: Early Buddhist Manuscripts and Inscriptions.”

<sup>302</sup> Jason Neelis, “Rock Drawing of Buddhist Monks Making Offerings to a Stupa Chilas II,” accessed November 23, 2012, [http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/exhibit/sakas/chilas\\_II.html](http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/exhibit/sakas/chilas_II.html).

## CHAPTER THREE: MEDIATION 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.<sup>303</sup> 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.

---

<sup>303</sup> Buswell, "Introduction Prolegomenon to the Study of Buddhist Apocryphal Scriptures," 19.

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.<sup>304</sup> 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 Tripiṭaka.<sup>305</sup> 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).<sup>306</sup>

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),<sup>307</sup> 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),<sup>308</sup> the *Chanxing faxiang jing* 禪行法想經 (T605), the *Daodi jing* 道地經 (T607), the *Foshuo*

<sup>304</sup> Ran Yunhua 冉雲華, "Zhongguo Zaoqi Chan Fa de Liuchuan He Tedian--Huijiao, Daoxuan Suozhe 'Xi Chan Pian' Yanjiu 中國早期禪法的流傳和特點-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.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>306</sup> Dong Chu 東初, "Zhong Yin Fojiao Jiaotong Shi 中印佛教交通史," 66–67, accessed May 21, 2011, [http://dongchu.ddbc.edu.tw/html/02/cwdc\\_03/cwdc\\_030040.html#d1e2577](http://dongchu.ddbc.edu.tw/html/02/cwdc_03/cwdc_030040.html#d1e2577).

<sup>307</sup> 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.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*, 55. According to Nattier, as Zacchetti noted, T605 shares a great many peculiar features with T605.

*foyin sanmei jing* 佛說佛印三昧經 (T621),<sup>309</sup> the *Foshuo zishi sanmei jing* 佛說自誓三昧經 (T622).<sup>310</sup> and the *Qichu sanguan jing* 七處三觀經 (T150A). All of these texts are affiliated with the Hīnayāna, except for T621 and T622 which belong to the Mahāyāna. Since the rediscovery of the manuscript collection of Kongō-ji 金剛寺,<sup>311</sup> some additional texts have been ascribed to An Shigao. Among these texts, Zacchetti names the *Foshuo shi er men jing* 佛說十二門經 (cols. 283-365),<sup>312</sup> the *Foshuo jie shi er men jing* 佛說解十二門經 (cols. 366-385)<sup>313</sup> and the anonymous commentary on the “twelve gate” (cols. 386-584)<sup>314</sup> as meditation texts.

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 emphasized breath control, a practice comparable to “inhalation and exhalation.” The two most influential of An Shigao’s meditation text translations were the *Ānāpānasmr̥ti Sūtra* (T602)

---

309 Ibid., 15; “Foshuo Fu Yin Sanmei Jing 佛說佛印三昧經,” *Jing mu xiangxi ziliao* 經目詳細資料, (January 29, 2013), CBETA Digital Database of Buddhist Tripiṭaka Catalogues.

310 An Shigao 安世高, trans., “*Foshuo Zi Shi Sanmei Jing Juan Yi* 佛說自誓三昧經卷一 T622” (Taipei, October 29, 2013), CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripiṭaka.

311 Zacchetti, “An Shigao’s Texts Preserved in the Newly Discovered Kongo-Ji Manuscript and Their Significance for the Study of Early Chinese Buddhism,” 895–898.

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 (*mairī* 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* 陰持入經 (T603).<sup>315</sup> In the next section of this chapter, I will discuss nine meditation texts and separate them into two categories: Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna meditation texts.<sup>316</sup>

### 3.1. “Hīnayāna” meditation texts

There are seven Hīnayāna texts named 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 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* 佛說大安般守意經 (T602)

The *Anban shouyi jing* (ABSJ) 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 ABSJ was probably written in Gāndhārī and entitled the *Ānāpānasvādī*, it was a small manual compiled around 100 CE by Sarvāstivāda Yogācārins.<sup>317</sup> It is generally known by its Sanskrit name the *Ānāpānasamṛti 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*

---

<sup>315</sup> Yijie Tang, “The Relationships Between Traditional And Imported Thought And Culture In China: From The Standpoint of The Importation Of Buddhism,” *Dialogue Publishing Company* 15 (1988): 417.

<sup>316</sup> 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.

<sup>317</sup> Florin Deleanu, “Mindfulness of Breathing in the Dhyana Sutras,” in *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan*, vol. 37, 1992, 44–47.

*jing* 佛說大安般守意經 (T602). 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.”<sup>318</sup>

### 3.1.2. *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經 (T603)

The authenticity of the *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經<sup>319</sup> (hereafter called YCRJ), another meditation text, has long been debated by several scholars.<sup>320</sup> 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.<sup>321</sup> 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 *vipāśyanā*, the two kind of *Nirvāna*, the nine successive attainments *anupubbasaṃpatti*<sup>322</sup> 九次第思

---

<sup>318</sup> Zacchetti, “A ‘New’ Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary: The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* (T602) Reconsidered,” 430; also see Deleanu, “Mindfulness of Breathing in the Dhyana Sutras,” 47. Ochiai (2002:35) has a similar hypothesis.

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

<sup>320</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 61.

<sup>321</sup> Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the *Peṭakopadesa*,” 70.

<sup>322</sup> I could not find the Sanskrit term of this word.

惟正定, and ends with an exposition on the meaning of hindrance.<sup>323</sup>

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”<sup>324</sup> and may be connected to the *Yogācārabhūmi*, “in somewhat more specific way,” by sharing many of the same elements.<sup>325</sup>

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* 陰持入經註 (T1694, hereafter YCRJZ), is also very early.<sup>326</sup> 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.<sup>327</sup> 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*.”<sup>328</sup> Zacchetti notes that “the *peṭakopadesa*, together with the *Nettipakarāṇa*,<sup>329</sup> (a work of similar content) is considered canonical (as a part of the *Khuddakanikāya*) by the

---

<sup>323</sup> Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the *Peṭakopadesa*,” 80–88.

<sup>324</sup> Nobuyoshi Yamabe, “An Shigao as a Precursor of the Yogācāra Tradition: A Preliminary Study,” in *Buddhist Thought and History of Buddhist Culture: A Collection of Papers in Honor of Professor Watanabe Takao on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Tokyo, 1997), 157.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>326</sup> Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the *Peṭakopadesa*,” 75.

<sup>327</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 62.

<sup>328</sup> Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the *Peṭakopadesa*,” 76.

<sup>329</sup> It is considered that the *Nettipakarāṇa* is an exegetical work on the Pitakas, traditionally ascribed to Mahā Kaccāna; see G P Malalasekera, “*Nettipakarāṇa*,” ed. BDD s.v.



Burmese, but as non-canonical by other Theravādins.”<sup>330</sup> 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*.”<sup>331</sup> These texts continued to be important for Chinese Buddhists during the fourth century.<sup>332</sup>

### 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*<sup>333</sup> which referred not to the later Mahāyāna School but to its precursors.<sup>334</sup> According to Deleanu, “The *Yogācārabhūmi*, which work is attributed to Sangharakṣa 僧伽羅剎 (僧伽羅叉), translated partially by An Shigao and completed by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護.”<sup>335</sup> Likewise, the translator Sangharakṣa’s “works seem closely associated with the Sarvāstivāda tradition.” As Sangharakṣa was also the

---

<sup>330</sup> Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the *Peṭakopadesa*,” 76.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid.

<sup>333</sup> Karl H. Potter, *The Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies: Buddhist Philosophy from 100 to 350 A.D.* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1999), 88.

<sup>334</sup> Yamabe, “On the School Affiliation of An Shigao: Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra.”

<sup>335</sup> Deleanu, “A Preliminary Study of An Shigao’s Translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*,” 34.

29<sup>th</sup> patriarch of Sarvāstivādin School,<sup>336</sup> he would have been “interested in and perhaps personally involved with its related *Yogācāra* system.”<sup>337</sup>

Deleanu points out “An Shigao's *Daodi jing* is an abridged translation”<sup>338</sup> 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*.”<sup>339</sup> 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.”<sup>340</sup> 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.<sup>341</sup>

### 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* 五蘊; seem to be conceived as a sort of introduction to the

---

<sup>336</sup> Sengyou 僧祐, “*Sa Po Duo Bu Ji Mulu Xu Di Liu* 薩婆多部記目錄序第六” (Tokyo, October 10, 2013), col. T2145, 55:89b09, The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.

<sup>337</sup> Deleanu, “A Preliminary Study of An Shigao’s Translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*,”

35.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>339</sup> Ibid.

<sup>340</sup> Ibid.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid., 39.

impermanence, suffering and impurity of life.”<sup>342</sup> 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 *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* leading to the elimination of *duḥkha*.”<sup>343</sup>

I have used Yin Shun 印順’s account of the extant *Yogācārabhūmi*, to create a table to compare Dharmarakṣa’s 竺法護 translated version with An Shigao’s translated version. Dharmarakṣa remarks have 30 *vargas* in 7 chapters.<sup>344</sup>

<i>Vargas</i> 品	Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 <i>Yogācārabhūmi</i> (DYb)	An Shigao <i>Yogācārabhūmi</i> (AYb)	Remarks
1	<i>Ji san pin</i> 集散品	<i>San zhong zhang di yi</i> 散種章第一	Corresponding to 鄔陀南 <i>udāna</i> <sup>345</sup>
2	<i>Wuyin ben pin</i> 五陰本品	<i>Zhi wu yin hui zhang di er</i> 知五陰慧章第二	
3	<i>Wu yin xiang pin</i> 五陰相品	<i>Sui ying xiang ju zhang di san</i> 隨應相具章第三	
4	<i>Fen bie wu yin pin</i> 分別五陰品	<i>Wuyin fenbie guan zhi zhang di si</i> 五陰分別觀止章第四	
5	<i>Wuyin chengbai pin</i> 五陰成敗品	<i>Wuyin chengbai zhang di wu</i>	

<sup>342</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

<sup>344</sup> Yin Shun 印順, *Shuo Yiqie You Bu Wei Zhu Di Lun Shu Yu Lun Shi Zhi Yanjiu* 說一切有部為主的論書與論師之研究, 3rd ed. (Taipei: Zheng wen chuban she 正聞出版社, 1981), 399–401. (現存的『修行道地經』, 共(七卷)三十品.)

<sup>345</sup> Ibid., 403.

		五陰成敗章第五	
6	<i>Ci pin</i> 慈品		
7	<i>Chu kongbu pin</i> 除恐怖品		
8	<i>Fenbie xiang pin</i> 分別相品		
9	<i>Quan yi pin</i> 勸意品		
10	<i>Li dian dao pin</i> 離顛倒品		
11	<i>Xiaoliao shi pin</i> 曉了食品		
12	<i>Fu sheng zhu gen pin</i> 伏勝諸根品		
13	<i>Renru pin</i> 忍辱品		
14	<i>Qi jia e pin</i> 棄加惡品		
15	<i>Tiyan jian zhong shi pin</i> 天眼見終始品		
16	<i>Tian-er pin</i> 天耳品		
17	<i>Nian wang shi pin</i> 念往世品		
18	<i>Zhi ren xin nian pin</i> 知人心念品		
19	<i>Diyu pin</i> 地獄品		
20	<i>Quan yue pin</i> 勸悅品		
21	<i>Xing kong pin</i> 行空品		
22	<i>Shenzu pin</i>	<i>Shenzu xing zhang di</i>	

	神足品	<i>liu</i> 神足行章第六（一分）	
23	<i>Shu xi pin</i> 數息品		
24	<i>Guan pin</i> 觀品	<i>Wushiwu guan zhang di qi</i> 五十五觀章第七（一分） The chapter 7: The fifty-five methods to contemplate one's own body	
25	<i>Xue di pin</i> 學地品		
26	<i>Wu xue di pin</i> 無學地品		
27	<i>Wu xue pin</i> 無學品		
28	<i>Dizi san pin xiuxing pin</i> 弟子三品修行品		
29	<i>Yuanjue pin</i> ( <i>Pratyekabuddha varga</i> ) 緣覺品		
30	<i>Pusa pin</i> 菩薩品		

Because of the difference in length and content, Yamabe writes: “An Shigao’s texts represent the early stage of the systematization of Buddhist meditative methods that eventually culminated in the compilation of the voluminous *Yogācārabhūmi*.<sup>346</sup> In addition, Yamabe also presumes that the meditation texts by An Shigao may have been precursors of *Yogācārabhūmi*,

<sup>346</sup> Yamabe, “An Shigao as a Precursor of the Yogācāra Tradition: A Preliminary Study,” 155.

especially the *Śrāvakabhūmi* portion.”<sup>347</sup> Furthermore, Yamabe believes that “An Shigao was indeed connected to the tradition of *Yogācāra* meditators in northwest India that later formed the *Yogācāra* School.”<sup>348</sup> 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*.<sup>349</sup>

#### 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)<sup>350</sup> 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.<sup>351</sup> 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

---

347 Ibid.

348 Ibid., 177.

349 Zacchetti, “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the *Peṭakopadesa*,” 75.

350 An Shigao 安世高, trans., “*Foshuo Chan Xing Sanshiqi Pin Jing* 佛說禪行三十七品經 T604” (Tokyo, December 14, 2012), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.

351 Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” 261.

way.”<sup>352</sup> Furthermore 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.<sup>353</sup>

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 *bodhipakṣya-dharma* to his listeners in the form of a list which contains the seven sets of thirty-seven qualities of meditation practice.<sup>354</sup>

These are:

**1.1. Four Bases of mindfulness for *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* (*catvāri smṛtyupasthāna*<sup>355</sup> or *catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*<sup>356</sup> 四意止.** Xuanzhuang translates this as 四念住<sup>357</sup>); 1. mindfulness in contemplation of the body (*kāyānupaśyanā smṛtyupasthāna* 身止觀; 1.1. the mindfulness in contemplation of one’s own various bodies 自身身止觀, 1.2. mindfulness in contemplation of one’s own external bodies 外身身止觀, 1.3. mindfulness in contemplation of one’s internal and external bodies 內外身身止觀), 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 (*dharmānupaśyanā smṛtyupasthāna* 止觀法內外).

---

<sup>352</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 55.

<sup>353</sup> Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” 260–262.

<sup>354</sup> 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,” *Faguang Zazhi* 法光雜誌 258 (March 2011): 1.

<sup>355</sup> BDD s.v.

<sup>356</sup> BDD s.v.

<sup>357</sup> 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** (*catuḥ-samyak-prahāṇa*<sup>358</sup> 四意斷. Xuanzhuang translates this as 四正勤);<sup>359</sup> 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** (*rddhipāda*<sup>360</sup> 四神足): 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*<sup>361</sup> 五根): 1. faith (*śraddhendriya* 信力), 2. perseverance (*vīryendriya* 精進力), 3. mindfulness (*smṛtīndriya* 念力), 4. concentration (*samādhīndriya* 定力), 5. wisdom (*prajñendriya* 慧力).

**1.5. Five powers** (*pañcabalāni*<sup>362</sup> 五力): 1. faith (*śraddhābala* 信力), 2. perseverance (*vīryabala* 精進力), 3. mindfulness (*smṛtibala* 念力), 4. concentration (*samādhībala* 定力), 5. wisdom (*prajñābala* 慧力)

**1.6. Seven factors of Enlightenment** (*saptabodhyaṅgāni*<sup>363</sup> 七覺意, Xuanzhuang translates as 七覺支):<sup>364</sup> 1. mindfulness (*smṛti* 念覺意), 2.

---

358 BDD s.v.

359 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.

360 BDD s.v.

361 BDD s.v.

362 BDD s.v.

363 BDD s.v.



investigation (*dharmapracicaya* 法解覺意), 3. perseverance (*vīrya* 精進覺意), 4. joy (*prīti* 愛覺意), 5. tranquility (*praśrabdhi* 止覺意), 6. concentration (*samādhi* 定覺意), 7. equanimity (*upekṣā* 護覺意)

### 1.7. Noble Eightfold Path (*āryāstāngika-mārga*<sup>365</sup> 八正道)

1. right view *samyag-dṛṣṭi* 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)<sup>366</sup> 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*.”<sup>367</sup> According to Nattier and Zacchetti the T605 cannot be considered as the work of An Shigao but it is certainly related to the T604.<sup>368</sup>

---

<sup>364</sup> 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.

<sup>365</sup> BDD s.v.

<sup>366</sup> 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.

<sup>367</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 54.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

The T605 is a short sūtra that contains a series of objects of contemplation (想, Pāli: *saññā* / Skt: *saṃjñā*).<sup>369</sup> This text contains just 17 lines, and 276 characters. The text begins by relating that once the Buddha travelled to Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada-ārāma, in the town of Śrāvastī. Then he taught meditation techniques concerned with the 30 *saññā*<sup>370</sup> 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.

The text categorizes the 30 *saññā* 想<sup>371</sup> as: 1. *Maraṇa-saññā* 死想, 2. *Asubha-saññā* 不淨想, 3. *Āhāre patikūla-saññā* 穢食想, 4. *Sabbha-loke anabhirata-saññā* 一切世間無有樂想, 5. *Anicca-saññā* 無常想, 6. *Anicce dhukkhasaññā* 無常為苦想, 7. *Dukkhe anattasaññā* 苦為非身想, 8. 非身為空想, 9. *Pahānasaññā* 棄離想, 10. *Virāgasaññā* 卻姪想, 11. *Nirodhasaññā* 滅盡想, 12. *Anatta-saññā*<sup>372</sup> 無我想, 13. *Puḷavakasaññā* 身死為蟲食想, 14. *Lohitaka saññā* 血流想, 15. *Uddhumātaka saññā* 膨脹想, 16. *Vinīlaka saññā* 青腐想, 17. *Vipubbaka saññā* 糜爛腥臭想, 18. *Vikkhittakasaññā* 髮落肉盡想, 19. *Hatavikkhittaka saññā* 一切縛解想, 20. *Vicchiddakasaññā* 骨節分散想, 21. *Vikkhāyitaka saññā* 骨變赤白枯黑亦如鳩色想, 22. *Aṭṭhikasaññā* 骨糜為灰想, 23.<sup>373</sup> The world has the characteristics of: being unable to provide refuge (世間無所歸想) 24.

---

<sup>369</sup> Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” 260.

<sup>370</sup> Please note that I have used Pāli terms in this section because I am comparing T605 with other Pāli texts.

<sup>371</sup> 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.

<sup>372</sup> Anonymous, “Anattan,” *Pāli Dictionary*, November 15, 2012, <http://Pālidictionary.appspot.com/browse/a/anattan>.

<sup>373</sup> The terms from number 23-30 do not appear to have Pāli or Sanskrit counterpart. I have translated the terms from Chinese into English.

Instability (世間無牢固想) 25. Losing (世間為別離想) 26. Ignorance and gloominess (世間闇冥想) 27. Suffering (世間難忍想) 28. Unsustainable (世為費耗不中用想) 29. Vulnerable to catastrophe (世為災變可患厭想) 30. Needing to seek refuge in Nippāna (一切世間歸泥洹想) .

I have formulated the table below comparing An Shigao’s *Chanxing faxiang jing* 禪行法想經 and the Pāli texts.<sup>374</sup>

Text No.	<i>Chan Xing faxiang jing</i> 禪行法想經 (T605)	Pathamasaññās utta <sup>375</sup>	Dutiyasaññās utta <sup>376</sup>	Asubhasaññā อสุภัสสญญา 10 <sup>377</sup>
1	死想	<i>marāṇasaññā</i>	<i>marāṇasaññā</i>	
2	不淨想	<i>asubhasaññā</i>		
3	穢食想	<i>āhāre paṭikūlasaññā</i>	<i>āhāre paṭikūlasaññā</i>	
4	一切世間無有樂想	<i>sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā</i>	<i>sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā</i>	

<sup>374</sup> I have included the Thai terms for the 10 *Asubhasaññā* for the sake of comparison; see Phasu Karnkha พสุ การคำ, *Ariyasactipani อริยสังคิปปณี*, Tarang Samrab Lueag Samatha Kammathan 40 ตารางสำหรับเลือกสมถกรรมฐาน 40, 2546, 270.

<sup>375</sup> AN iii 79, “*Paṭhamasaññāsutta*,” Tipitaka, AN 5.61, accessed November 17, 2013, <http://suttacentral.net/an7.48/pi/>.

<sup>376</sup> AN iii 79, “*Dutiyasaññāsutta*,” Tipitaka, AN 5.62, accessed November 17, 2013, <http://suttacentral.net/an7.49/pi/>.

<sup>377</sup> Phasu Karnkha พสุ การคำ, *Ariyasactipani อริยสังคิปปณี*, 270.

5	無常想	<i>aniccasaññā</i>	<i>aniccasaññā</i>	
6	無常為苦想	<i>anicce dukkhasaññā</i>		
7	苦為非身想	<i>dukkhe anattasaññā</i>		
8	非身為空想			
9	棄離想	<i>pahānasaññā</i>		
10	卻姪想	<i>virāgasaññā</i>		
11	滅盡想	<i>nirodhasaññā</i>		
12	無我想		<i>anattasaññā</i>	
13	身死為蟲食 想		<i>puḷavaka saññā</i>	<i>puḷava kasaññā</i> ปูพวกอสุภ Worm-eaten corpse
14	血流想			<i>lohitakasaññā</i> โลหิตกอสุภ Bleeding corpse
15	膨脹想			<i>uddhu mātaka saññā</i> อุทุมตกอสุภ Bloated Corpse

16	青腐想		<i>vinīlaka saññā</i>	<i>vinīlaka saññā</i> วินีลกอสุภ Bluish corpse
17	糜爛腥臭想			<i>vipubbakasaññā</i> วิปฺพอกอสุภ Festering corpse
18	髮落肉盡想			<i>vikkhitakasaññā</i> วิกฺขิตฺตอสุภ Dismembered corpse
19	一切縛解想			<i>hatavikkhittaka saññā</i> หตวิกฺขิตฺตอสุภ Chopped off and scattered corpse
20	骨節分散想			<i>vicchiddakasaññā</i> วิจฺฉิทฺทกะ
21	骨變赤白枯 黑亦如鳩色 想			<i>vikkhāytakasaññā</i> วิกฺขายิตอสุภ Gnawed corpse
22	骨糜為灰想		<i>aṭṭhikasaññā</i>	
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)<sup>378</sup> is concerned with the twelve links in the chain of existence or *dvādaśaṅga pratīyasamutpāda*<sup>379</sup>

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

<sup>379</sup> BDD s.v.

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

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

The *Qichu sanguan jing* 七處三觀經 is recorded in the Taishō Tripiṭaka 大正藏 volume 2 冊 (Āgama 阿含部) Number 150A.<sup>384</sup> According to Zacchetti, T150A perhaps belongs to the *Samyuktāgama*. The *Qichu sanguan jing* and the *Ji gu jing* are also found in the *Samyuktāgama* anthology called *Za ahan jing* (T101).<sup>385</sup> 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.<sup>386</sup> 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」<sup>387</sup> and three contemplations *sanguan* 三觀: of the physical body as form, the

---

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.

385 Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” 256.

386 BDD s.v.

387 Shi Dagan 釋達觀, “Sanfayin - Wuchang Famen 三法印—無常法門,” *Chan Xin Xueyuan* 禪心學苑, accessed January 29, 2013, <http://zensoul.org/index/readnews.asp?newsid=5098>.

five aggregates or *pañca-skandhaka* and the six *āyatana*.<sup>388</sup> 「三觀」的教導為：「觀身為一色，觀五陰為二，觀六衰為三，故言三觀。」

### 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.<sup>389</sup> 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.”<sup>390</sup>

According to this text, once the Buddha was staying at the Gṛdhrakūṭa 耆闍崛山 in Rājagrha 羅閱祇. At that time there were innumerable Bodhisattavas, 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

---

<sup>388</sup> Buddhistdoor, ed., “*Liu Shuai* 六衰,” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*, January 28, 2013; Akira Hirakawa, “*Liu Chu* 六觸,” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*, n.d., accessed January 28, 2013. *ṣaṭspa rśāḥ, ṣaḍvidhaḥ sparśaḥ*.

<sup>389</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 15.

<sup>390</sup> Andrew Skilton, “State or Statement - Samadhi in Some Early Mahayana Sutras,” *The Eastern Buddhist* 34, no. 2 (2002): 89.



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.<sup>391</sup> According to this text, the Buddha is able to make innumerable replicate bodies.<sup>392</sup> This feat can be considered as one of the miraculous powers, or *iddhi-vidha*, known as *abhiññā*.<sup>393</sup>

### 3.2.2. *Foshuo zishi sanmei jing* 佛說自誓三昧經 (T622)

The *Foshuo zishi sanmei jing* 佛說自誓三昧經<sup>394</sup> 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

---

<sup>391</sup> The term *foyin* 佛印, is generally translated as the Buddha-seal, the sign of assurance. Here I propose that “*Buddha-Iddhividhañāṇa*” can be translated into Chinese as 佛印, Nāṇaṭiloka Maha Thera also defines *iddhi-vidha* as *abhiññā* see Nāṇaṭiloka Maha Thera, “*Abhiññā* - BDD s.v. According to Nāṇaṭiloka, the *iddhi-vidha* was explained by the Buddha as “Now, O Bhikkhus, the monk enjoys the various magical powers (*iddhi-vidha*), such as being one he becomes manifold, and having become manifold he again becomes one. He appears and disappears. Without being obstructed he passes through walls and mountains, just as if through the air. In the earth he dives and rises up again, just as if in the water. He walks on water without sinking, just as if on the earth. Cross-legged he floats through the air, just like a winged bird. With his hand he touches the sun and moon, these so mighty ones, so powerful ones. Even up to the Brahma-world he has mastery over his body.; According to the Theravāda Tipitaka, these kinds of miraculous powers can be performed by those who attained the perfection of wisdom *paññā-pāramī* / Skt: *prajñā-pāramitā*; also see *Iddhividhañāṇaniddes* “อิทธิวิญญานนิกเทศ - Phratripitaka v. 31 พระไตรปิฎกเล่มที่ ๓๑ - suttapitaka v. 23 พระสุตตันตปิฎกเล่มที่ ๒๓ Khuddaka Nikāya ขุททกนิกาย Paṭisambhidāmagga ปฏิสัมภิทามรรค.”

<sup>392</sup> Guang Xing, “The Development of the Concept of the Buddha,” in *Buddhist and Pali Studies in Honour of The Venerable Professor Kakkapalliye Anuruddha*, ed. Y Karunadasa and Ven. KL Dhammajoti (Centre of Buddhist Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 2009), 401. “the *iddhi* power of the mind-made body can create only one body at a time while the *iddhi* power of the *iddhividhañāṇa* can create as many bodies as one wishes.”

<sup>393</sup> *Iddhividhañāṇaniddes* “อิทธิวิญญานนิกเทศ - Phratripitaka v. 31 พระไตรปิฎกเล่มที่ ๓๑ - suttapitaka v. 23 พระสุตตันตปิฎกเล่มที่ ๒๓ Khuddaka Nikāya ขุททกนิกาย Paṭisambhidāmagga ปฏิสัมภิทามรรค.”

<sup>394</sup> An Shigao 安世高, trans., “*Foshuo Zi Shi Sanmei Jing* 佛說自誓三昧經 T622” (Tokyo, November 28, 2012), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.

text is categorized in the *āgama* section of the Taishō Tripiṭaka, 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,<sup>395</sup> Mahāyāna 大乘<sup>396</sup> and Six Perfections 六度,<sup>397</sup> which suggest a Mahāyāna original.

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

Text name	Daoan's catalogue 道安錄	Dong chu 東初 <sup>398</sup>	Table in Appendix B	Remarks
<i>Da shi er men jing</i> 大十二門經,	*			L
<i>Xiao shi er men jing</i> 小十二門經,	*			L
<i>Siwei jing</i> 思惟經	*			L
<i>Wumen chanfa jing</i> 五門禪法經		*		L
<i>Chan ting fangbian citi fa jing</i> 禪定方便次第法經		*		L
<i>Renben yusheng jing</i> 人本欲生經 (T14)			*	H, A
<i>Qichu sanguan jing</i> 七處三觀經 (T150A) (1) and (3)[sic] <sup>399</sup>			*	H, A

<sup>395</sup> Ibid., col. T622, 15:0344a02.

<sup>396</sup> Ibid., col. T622, 15:0344a13.

<sup>397</sup> Ibid., col. T622, 15:344a14.

<sup>398</sup> Dong Chu 東初, “Zhong Yin Fojiao Jiaotong Shi 中印佛教交通史,” 66–67.

<i>Foshuo da anban shouyi jing</i> 佛說大安般守意經 (T602)	*		*	H, A (it should be reconsidered) <sup>400</sup>
<i>Yin chi ru jing</i> 陰持入經 (T603)			*	H, A
<i>Foshuo chanxing san shi qi pin jing</i> 佛說禪行三十七品經 (T604)			*	H, I
<i>Chanxing faxiang jing</i> 禪行法想經 (T605)	*		*	H, A (it should be reconsidered) <sup>401</sup>
<i>Daodi jing</i> 道地經 (T607)	* <sup>402</sup>		*	H, A
<i>Foshuo foyin sanmei jing</i> 佛說佛印三昧經 (T621)			*	M, I
<i>Foshuo zishi sanmei jing</i> 佛說自誓三昧經 (T622)			*	M, I
<b>Total citation</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>14</b>

**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* 佛說大安般守意經 (T602), *Chanxing faxiang jing* 禪行法想經 (T605). However, according to Zacchetti only two of these texts, i.e., T602 and

<sup>399</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 51.

<sup>400</sup> 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.

<sup>401</sup> Zacchetti, "Defining An Shigao's 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research," 260–262.

<sup>402</sup> Daoan cited the name as *Dadao di jing* 大道地經

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 *yogācāra* 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 *aśubhā-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<sup>403</sup> and techniques.<sup>404</sup> 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.<sup>405</sup> 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

---

<sup>403</sup> CSZJJ: T2145, 55: 95a17-18

<sup>404</sup> Charles Willemsen, Bart Dessein, and Collett Cox, *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 129.

<sup>405</sup> Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2008), 132.

ABSYJ<sup>406</sup> and the breathing meditation technique<sup>407</sup> to the monk named Kang Senghui 康僧會 (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.<sup>408</sup> According to Zacchetti, An Shigao's translations and his exegetical works were obviously the main sources for the authors of the YCRJZ.<sup>409</sup>

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.<sup>410</sup> 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 referes to the “counting in breath” meditative technique. Zacchetti translates the term *chan shu* 禪數 as “Meditative practices and Abhidharma.”<sup>411</sup> From this he concludes that An Shigao was

---

<sup>406</sup> Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 36.

<sup>407</sup> Ran Yunhua 冉雲華, “*Zhongguo Zaoqi Chan Fa de Liuchuan He Tedian--Huijiao, Daoxuan Suozhe 'Xi Chan Pian' Yanjiu* 中國早期禪法的流傳和特點-慧皎、道宣所著「習禪篇」研究,” 71–72.

<sup>408</sup> Thich Nhat Hanh, *Master Tang Hôï*, 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.

<sup>409</sup> 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” 師 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.”

<sup>410</sup> Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 186.

<sup>411</sup> 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,” 182.

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)<sup>412</sup> concerning meditation<sup>413</sup> which are also related to the “counting in-breath” meditation (坐禪數息).<sup>414</sup>

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，无得過十息，  
 无得減十息，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

---

<sup>412</sup> 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.”

<sup>413</sup> Mair, “What Is Geyi, After All?,” 234.

<sup>414</sup> Hong Xiuping 洪修平, “Xiaosheng Chan Shu Zhi Xue Lue Shu 小乘禪數之學略述,” accessed January 26, 2012, [http://read.goodweb.cn/news/news\\_view.asp?newsid=51391](http://read.goodweb.cn/news/news_view.asp?newsid=51391).

other number than nine when it should be nine,  
start counting over from one.<sup>415</sup>

Shi Guo Huei likewise identifies the word *shu* 數 as a key term that can be 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 (ABSJ)<sup>416</sup> is a meditation text and is one of the most influential scriptures translated by An Shigao from a Sanskrit text named the *Ānāpānasmṛti-sūtra*, or the “Mindfulness of Breathing Sūtra.”<sup>417</sup> The full title of this text in the Taishō Tripiṭaka is *Foshuo Da anban shouyi jing* 佛說大安般守意經 (T602).<sup>418</sup> The ABSJ 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.”<sup>419</sup> From Sengyou’s CSZJJ we learn that there are two *Anban [shouyi] jing*

---

<sup>415</sup> Shi Guohuei, “The Textual Formation of the Newly Discovered Anban Shouyi Jing,” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 21 (2008): 125.

<sup>416</sup> An Shigao 安世高, trans., “Foshuo Da Anban Shouyi Jing Juan Shang 佛說大安般守意經卷上 T602” (Tokyo, November 28, 2011), The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.

<sup>417</sup> I follow Zacchetti’s translation of the term 安般守意經 as “the mindfulness of breathing in and out” see Zacchetti, “A ‘New’ Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary: The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* (T602) Reconsidered,” 424, also see Ran Yunhua 冉雲華, “Zhongguo Zaoqi Chan Fa de Liuchuan He Tedian--Huijiao, Daoxuan Suozhe ‘Xi Chan Pian’ Yanjiu 中國早期禪法的流傳和特點-慧皎、道宣所著「習禪篇」研究,” 68.

<sup>418</sup> Yixuan, *The Record of Linji*, 373.

<sup>419</sup> Ibid.



sūtras which were translated by An Shigao:<sup>420</sup>

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-ABSJ, T602)<sup>421</sup> 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-ABSJ was generally believed to be a mixture of An Shigao’s translation plus an interlinear commentary.<sup>422</sup> In contrast, the Kongō-ji *Anban shouyi jing* (K-ABSJ),<sup>423</sup> 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

---

<sup>420</sup> Zacchetti, “A ‘New’ Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary: The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* (T602) Reconsidered,” 425.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid., 430. Ochiai (2002:35) and Deleanu (2003:87-89) have a similar hypothesis.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid., 440.

<sup>423</sup> Guohuei, “The Textual Formation of the Newly Discovered *Anban Shouyi Jing*,” 131–132, summarizes the overall structure and contents of K-ABSJ in the following five parts. Part 1: Six Stages of Breathing (六事): Counting, Following, Fixing, Contemplating, Turning and Purifying. Part 2: Thirty-seven Aids to Enlightenment: (三十七經法) Four Bases of Mindfulness (四意止), Four Efforts to Enlightenment (四正斷), Four Occult Powers (四神足), Five Roots of Goodness (五根), Five Powers (五力), Seven Factors of Enlightenment (七覺意), and Eightfold Holy Path (八行). Part 3: Quiet and Insight (止觀): 13 Containing the contents of “Four Noble Truths” (四諦). Part 4: Four Abilities of Unhindered Understanding and Expression (四解依) (K-ABSJ, line 230-242): An Shigao used four special terms: *fajie* (法解), *lijie* (利解), *fenbitoujie* (分別投解) and *biancaibojie* (辯才搏解). Part 5: Four Fruitions (四果) (K-ABSJ, line 242-274): *sotāpanna* (須陀洹), *sakadāgāmi* (斯陀含), *anāgāmi* (阿那含), *arahat* (阿羅漢).

by An Shigao.<sup>424</sup> 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.<sup>425</sup>

### 4.3. An Shigao and the *Ānāpānasmṛti*

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<sup>426</sup>”, or *ānāpānasmṛti*. The most influential of these were the ABSYJ and the YCRJ.<sup>427</sup> 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* (*ānāpānasmṛti*), and resulting in the attainment of the three *vimokṣamukhas*.<sup>428</sup> Deleanu contends that the term “*jie* 解 may represent An Shigao’s own commentaries which are probably oral explanations noted down by his disciplines.”<sup>429</sup>

---

<sup>424</sup> Zacchetti, “A ‘New’ Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary: The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* (T602) Reconsidered,” 424.

<sup>425</sup> Guohuei, “The Textual Formation of the Newly Discovered *Anban Shouyi Jing*.”

<sup>426</sup> Zacchetti, “A ‘New’ Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary: The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* (T602) Reconsidered,” 421.

<sup>427</sup> Tang, “The Relationships Between Traditional And Imported Thought And Culture In China: From The Standpoint of The Importation Of Buddhism,” 417.

<sup>428</sup> Zacchetti, “A ‘New’ Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary: The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* (T602) Reconsidered,” 474.

<sup>429</sup> Florin Deleanu, “The Newly Found Text of the An Ban Shou Yi Jing Translated by An Shigao,” *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* 6 (March 2003): 145.

An Shigao's translation of the *Ānāpānasamṛti Sūtra* later inspired the monk Daoan,<sup>430</sup> who was interested in An Shigao's meditation translations (禪, *dhyāna*).<sup>431</sup> Daoan eventually wrote a commentary and preface on An Shigao's ABSYJ<sup>432</sup> 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.<sup>433</sup> 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 at that time.<sup>434</sup> Moreover, Zhiyi 智顓 (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.<sup>435</sup> 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.<sup>436</sup> The meditation manuals named *Concise Śamatha-vipaśyanā* (小止觀), *Mahā-śamatha-vipaśyanā* (摩訶止觀), and Six Subtle Dharma Gates (

---

<sup>430</sup> 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.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>432</sup> Zacchetti, "A 'New' Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary: The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* (T602) Reconsidered," 429.

<sup>433</sup> 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," 148–150.

<sup>434</sup> 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* 安般守意經 which remained influential into the third century CE.

<sup>435</sup> Huang Wuda 黃武達, "Foshuo Da Anban Shouyi Jing Chanxiu Liyao Zhi Yanjiu 《佛說安般守意經》禪修理要之研究" (Taiwan, March 2009).

<sup>436</sup> 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.

六妙法門), were also produced along with the influential scripture of *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經.<sup>437</sup>

#### 4.4. Breathing meditation techniques in the T-ABSJYJ (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” (*soḷasavatthuka*, 十六勝<sup>438</sup>). The second volume deals with the 37 *bodhipakṣa dharma* (三十七品法義).<sup>439</sup> The four terminologies of *an ban shou yi* 安般守意四法義: (安、般、守、意). The “six steps”(六門) refer to the breath technique: 1. “counting” [the breath] (*gaṇanā* 數, 數息), 2. “pursuing” [the breath] (*anugama* 隨, 相隨), 3. “concentration” or “stillness”<sup>440</sup> (*sthāpanā* 止), 4. observation (*upalakṣanā* 觀), 5. “the turning away” (*vivartanā* 還), 6. purification (*parisuddhi* 淨)<sup>441</sup> 數息觀中的六門 (數, 隨, 止, 觀, 還, 淨).<sup>442</sup> See the chart below in which Huang classifies how the six steps associated with other dharma.

---

<sup>437</sup> Lai Xianzong 賴賢宗, “Tiantai Zhi Guan de ‘Chi Xi Nian’ Famen Ji Qi Zai Tiantai Fojiao Zhong de Yanbian Yu Zhuanhua 天台止觀的「持息念」法門及其在天台佛教中的演變與轉化,” *Zhonghua Foxue Yanjiu Suo* 中華佛學研究所 12 (2007): 139.

<sup>438</sup> Deleanu, “Mindfulness of Breathing in the Dhyana Sutras,” 51–2.

<sup>439</sup> 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.

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

<sup>441</sup> *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.

<sup>442</sup> Chen Yingshan 陳英善, “Cong Shu Xi Guan Lun Zhongguo Fojiao Zaoqi Chan Fa 從數息觀論中國佛教早期禪法,” *Zhonghua Foxue Xuebao* 中華佛學學報 13, no. 1 (2000): 324.

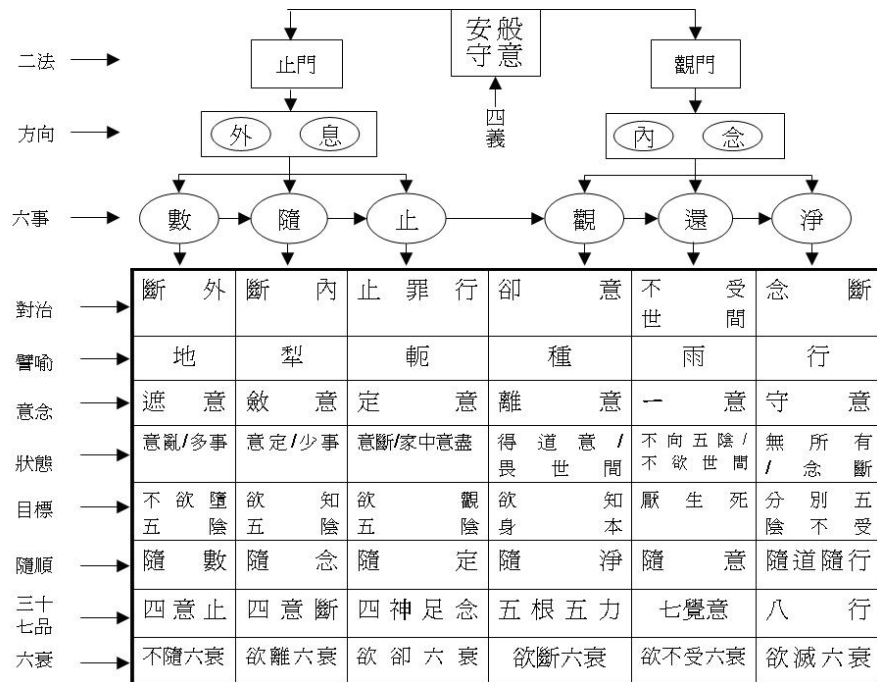


Chart source: Huang Wuda 黃武達 2009

#### 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.<sup>443</sup> These early translators employed the *ge yi* 格義 “method of analogy”, “matching concepts” or “matching meanings”, and used Daoist terms to explain Buddhist concepts.<sup>444</sup> For example, it is known that An Shogao borrowed the Daoist term *shou* 守 “guarding or observing<sup>445</sup> or the effort of concentration of mind.”<sup>446</sup> This can be seen in the Chinese

443 Buddha Dharma Education Association & BuddhaNet, “The Buddhist World: Buddhism in East Asia - China, Korean, Japan,.” para. 2–5.

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

445 Bumbacher, “Early Buddhism in China: Daoist Reactions,” 219.

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.<sup>447</sup> 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.<sup>448</sup>

## 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.

---

<sup>447</sup> Bumbacher, “Early Buddhism in China: Daoist Reactions,” 219.

<sup>448</sup> Buddha Dharma Education Association & BuddhaNet, “The Buddhist World: Buddhism in East Asia - China, Korean, Japan,,” para. 2–5.

## CONCLUSIONS

---

### CONCLUSIONS

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 was 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* 志怪 "strange tales" genre, they also have a further meaning. Buddhists believe that a monk who is able to attain *abhiññā* supernormal 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 Tripiṭaka 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 *samatha* and *vipāśyanā*, the 30 *saññā* 想 of *aśubhā-smṛti* 不淨觀, and the contemplation of one's own body (*kāyasmṛti* 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 RECORDED IN 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)<sup>449</sup> 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, 東初 "中印佛教交通史," argued that the KYSJL, which attributes 95 works comprising 115 fascicles to An Shigao, is accurate.<sup>450</sup>

---

<sup>449</sup> "Gu Jing Lu 古經錄," September 3, 2012, Taipei, CBETA Digital Database of Buddhist Tripitaka Catalogues.

<sup>450</sup> 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。開元釋教錄載九十五部，百十五卷。前說雖多，但以開元釋教錄所記為正確。」

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.<sup>451</sup> 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."<sup>452</sup> 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], scrambling [the genuine and the spurious] and making it difficult to ascertain their identity."<sup>453</sup>

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

---

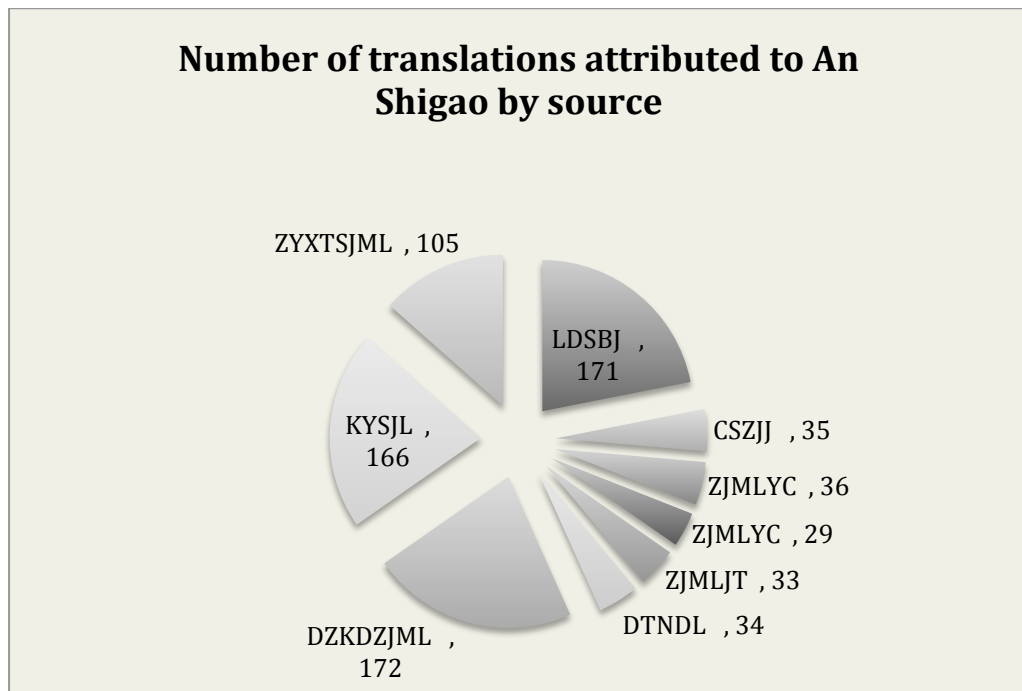
<sup>451</sup> Paul Harrison, "Email: An Shigao's Extant Meditation Texts," February 5, 2013.

<sup>452</sup> Kyoko Tokuno, "The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures in Chinese Buddhist Bibliographical Catalogues," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 32.

<sup>453</sup> Ibid.

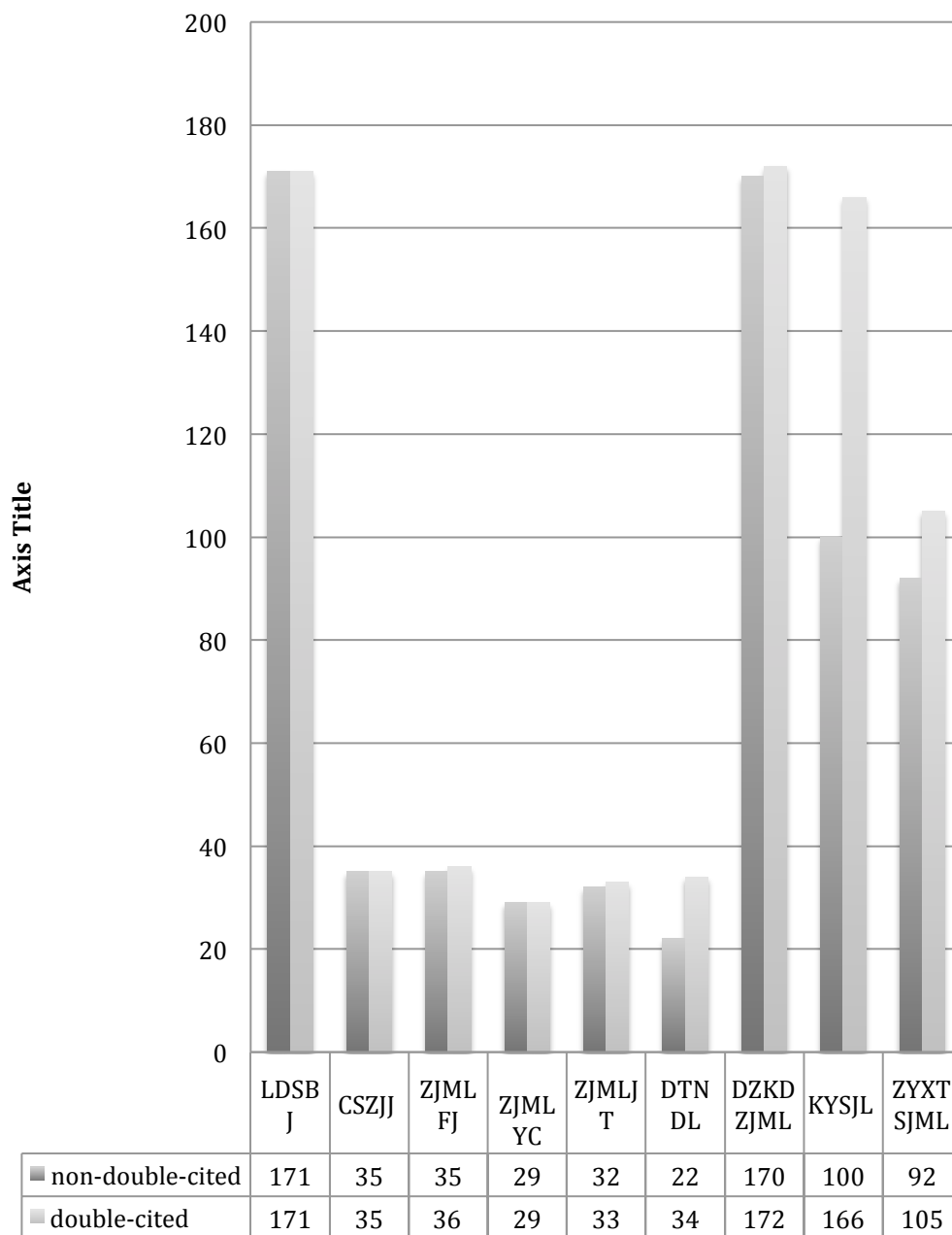
grammar patterns associated with An Shigao and his school. Texts that do not fit these patterns are rejected as inauthentic. Using this technique of internal analysis, these scholars have been able to add several manuscripts that were recently discovered in a Japanese temple to An Shigao's corpus.

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.



Graph 1

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



Graph

<b>The table shows the 9 sources used by CBETA to compile the list of An Shigao's works</b>			
<b>Name of Reference</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Date of compilation</b> <sup>454</sup>	<b>Number of translations attributed to An Shigao</b>
LDSBJ 歷代三寶紀(卷四) (T2034)	Fei Changfang 費長房	597 CE	171 <sup>455</sup>
CSZJJ 出三藏記集 (T2145)	Sengyou 僧祐	510 CE	35
ZJMLF 眾經目錄 (法經) (T2146)	Fajing 法經	594 CE	35/36
ZJMLYC 眾經目錄 (彥琮) (T2147)	Yancong 彥琮	602 CE	29
ZJMLJT 眾經目錄 (靜泰) (T2148)	Jingtai 靜泰	665 CE	32/33
DTNDL 大唐內典 錄 (T2149)	Daoxuan 道宣	664 CE	22/34
DZKDZJML 大周 刊定眾經目錄 (T2153)	Ming Quadeng 明佺等	695 CE	170/172
KYSJL 開元釋教 錄 (T2154)	Zhisheng 智昇	730 CE	100/166
ZYXTSJML 貞元 新定釋教目錄 (T2157)	Yuanzhao 圓照	800 CE	92/105

Graph 3

<sup>454</sup> Beijing gujin huihai wenhua xinxi jiaoliu zhongxin 北京古今慧海文化信息交流中心, "Fojiao Jing Lu 佛教經錄," accessed January 10, 2013, <http://read.nlc.gov.cn/jinglu/index.asp>.

<sup>455</sup> 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 費長房, "Lidai Sanbao Ji Juan Di Si 歷代三寶紀卷第四" (Taipei, July 13, 2010), CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka.

No.	Text's Name	Source of References									
		Number of citations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
			LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
1	<i>Xiuxing daodi jing</i> 修行道地經	8	*		*		*	*	*	*	*
2	<i>Faju jing</i> 法句經	4	*					*	*	*	
3	<i>Daseng weiyi jing</i> 大僧威儀經	1	*								
4	<i>Wushi xiao ji jing</i> 五十校計經 <sup>456</sup>	2	*	*							
5	<i>Mingdu wushi xiaoji jing</i> 明度五十校計經	6			*	*			*	*	*
6	<i>Za sishisi pian jing</i> 雜四十四篇經	4	*					*	*	*	*
7	<i>Qichu sanguan jing</i> 七處三觀經	9	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*
8	<i>Shibao jing</i> 十報經	2	*	*							

<sup>456</sup> This text, titled “The Bodhisattava 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 (*Mahāsammipā sūtra*); see Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 56.

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
9	<i>Da daodi jing</i> 大道地經	5	*	*	*		*		*		
10	<i>Daoyi faxing jing</i> 道意發行經 <sup>457</sup>	5	*	*					*	*	*
11	<i>Chan jing</i> 禪經	4	*						*	*	*
12	<i>Anban shouyi jing</i> 安般守意經	4	*	*	*	*					
13	<i>Da anban shouyi jing</i> 大安般守意經	6						*	*	*	*
14	<i>Yin chi ru jing</i> 陰持入經	10	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
15	<i>Zhu yin chi ru jing</i> 住陰持入經	2	*						*		
16	<i>Wuliang shou jing</i> 無量壽經	4	*						*	*	*
17	<i>Da shi er men jing</i> 大十二門經	6	*	*	*				*	*	*
18	<i>Xiao shi er men jing</i> 小十二門經	8	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*
19	<i>Ren ben yu seng jing</i> 人本欲生經	12	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

<sup>457</sup> This is a Mahāyāna text; see Ibid.

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDDZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
20	<i>Wuxing jing</i> 五行經	4	*						*	*	*
21	<i>Qifa jing</i> 七法經	8	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*
22	<i>Pufayi jing</i> 普法義經	10	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
23	<i>Loufenbu jing</i> 漏分布經	10	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
24	<i>Sidi jing</i> 四諦經	6	*	*					*	*	*
25	<i>Jiuheng jing</i> 九橫經	9	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
26	<i>Bazhengdao</i> 八正道	1	*								
27	<i>Bazhengdao jing</i> 八正道經	8		*	*	*	*		*	*	*
28	<i>Neizang jing</i> 內藏經	3	*							*	*
29	<i>Jiantuo guowang jing</i> 建陀國王經	1									*
30	<i>Shier yinyuan jing</i> 十二因緣經	4	*		*					*	*
31	<i>Wencheng shier yinyuan jing</i> 聞城十二因緣經	4				*	*	*	*		



No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
32	<i>Ahan koujie shi er yinyuan jing</i> 阿含口解十二因緣經	1					*				
33	<i>Wuyin yu jing</i> 五陰喻經	2	*	*							
34	<i>Zhuan falun jing</i> 轉法輪經	10	*	*	*	*	*		*	** *	*
35	<i>Liushe jing</i> 流攝經	2	*	*							
36	<i>Shifa feifa jing</i> 是法非法經	10	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
37	<i>Fashouchen jing</i> 法受塵經	10	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*
38	<i>Siwei jing</i> 思惟經	4		*	*	*			*		
39	<i>Benxiang yizhi jing</i> 本相猗致經	4	*	*	*	*					
40	<i>Apitan jiushiba jie jing</i> 阿毘曇九十八結經	4	*	*						*	*
41	<i>Chanxingfaxiang jing</i> 禪行法想經	11	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
42	<i>Chanxing sanshiqipin jing</i> 禪行三十七品經	1	*								

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDDZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
43	<i>Nantijialuoyue jing</i> 難提迦羅越經	6	*	*	*				*	*	*
44	<i>Dufuzhangzhe jing</i> 獨富長者經	2	*						*		
45	<i>Zhanhzhe aonao sanchu jing</i> 長者懊惱三處經	1	*								
46	<i>Shenqizhangzhe huiguo jing</i> 申起長者悔過經	1	*								
47	<i>Fo wei naju shuo genshou jing</i> 佛為那拘說根熟經	1	*								
48	<i>Zhangzhe xiongdi yifo jing</i> 長者兄弟詣佛經	2	*						*		
49	<i>Foshenli jiu zhangzhezi jing</i> 佛神力救長者子經	2	*						*		
50	<i>Jiayejie jing</i> 迦葉詰經	1								*	
51	<i>Shizhijushi bachengren jing</i> 十支居士八城人經	5	*						*	*	*

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
52	<i>Wuweiliche bai anan jing</i> 無畏離車白阿難經	1	*								
53	<i>Shouzhouyuan jing</i> 受咒願經	1	*								
54	<i>Zhishengzhangzhe shouzhouyuan jing</i> 最勝長者受咒願經	1						*			
55	<i>Zhangzhezi zhi jing</i> 長者子制經	4	*							*	*
56	<i>Yujiajushi jianfo wenfa xingwu jing</i> 郁伽居士見佛聞法醒悟經	1	*								
57	<i>De feichang guan jing</i> 得非常觀經	1	*								
58	<i>Zhangzhe yeshu de feichang guan jing</i> 長者夜輸得非常觀經	1						*			
59	<i>Shetoujian jing</i> 舍頭諫經	4	*						*	*	*

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDDZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
60	<i>Chujia yinyuan jing</i> 出家因緣經	1	*								
61	<i>Fodu zhantuoluoer chujia jing</i> 佛度旃陀羅兒出家經	1	*								
62	<i>Chuntuo shami jing</i> 純陀沙彌經	2	*						*		
63	<i>Waidao chujia jing</i> 外道出家經	2	*						*		
64	<i>Jingjin sinianchu jin</i> 精進四念處經	1	*								
65	<i>Fumuen qinbao jing</i> 父母恩勤經	1	*								
66	<i>Ahan koujie shier yinyuan jing</i> 阿銓口解十二因緣經 / or <i>Shier yinyuan jiu jing</i> 十二因緣舊經	1		*							
67	<i>Shuzi shi jing</i> 數息事經	2	*						*		
68	<i>Chanfa jing</i> 禪法經	4	*						*	*	*

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDDZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
69	<i>Alian ruo xichanfa jing</i> 阿練若習禪法經	2	*						*		
70	<i>Sibai sanmei ming jing</i> 四百三昧名經	2	*						*		
71	<i>Zishi sanmei jing</i> 自誓三昧經	8	*						*	*	**
72	<i>Luli wang jing</i> 流離王經	1	*								
73	<i>Wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing</i> 溫室洗浴眾僧經	8	*						*	*	**
74	<i>Jiaye jie jing</i> 迦葉結經	6	*						*	*	**
75	<i>Mayi jing</i> 罵意經	7	*						*	*	**
76	<i>Chuchu jing</i> 處處經	3	*							*	*
77	<i>Foshuo chuchu jing</i> 佛說處處經	1							*		
78	<i>Fowei pintou poluomen shuoxianglei jing</i> 佛為頻頭婆羅門說像類經	2	*						*		

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
79	<i>Poluomen wenfo bushi defu jing</i> 婆羅門問佛布施得福經	2	*						*		
80	<i>Fowei diaoma ju luo zhu shuofa jing</i> 佛為調馬聚落主說法經	2	*						*		
81	<i>Poluomen xing jing</i> 婆羅門行經	2	*						*		
82	<i>Douzhepoluomen lunyi chujia jing</i> 豆遮婆羅門論議出家經	2	*						*		
83	<i>Fowei shihuo poluomen shuofa wudao jing</i> 佛為事火婆羅門說法悟道經	1	*								
84	<i>Poluomen xuwei jing</i> 婆羅門虛經	2	*						*		
85	<i>Fohua daxing poluomen chujia jing</i> 佛化大興婆羅門出家經	1	*								

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
86	<i>Chanmiyao jing</i> 禪祕要經	1	*								
87	<i>Shenyue zhangzhe huiguo gongfo jing</i> 申越長者悔過供佛經	1							*		
88	<i>Yiqie xing pu heng anzhu jing</i> 一切行不恒安住經	2	*						*		
89	<i>Renshoushen ru yin jing</i> 人受身入陰經	2	*						*		
90	<i>Duodao jian zhong sheng jing</i> 多倒見眾生經	2	*						*		
91	<i>Renshen sibaisi bing jing</i> 人身四百四病經	2	*						*		
92	<i>Renbing yi puneng zhi jing</i> 人病醫不能治經	2	*						*		
93	<i>Fenbie shan-er suoqi jing</i> 分別善惡所起經	8	*						*	*	**

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
94	<i>Zhuo dushu fusheng jing</i> 斫毒樹復生經	2	*						*		
95	<i>Fanjie zuibao qingzhong jing</i> 犯戒罪報輕重經	2	*						*		
96	<i>Chanding fangbian cidi fa jing</i> 禪定方便次第法經	5	*						*	*	*
97	<i>Fowei azhiluoye shuo zita zuoku jing</i> 佛為阿支羅迦葉說自他作苦經	2	*						*		
98	<i>Poluomenzi ming zhong ainian buli jing</i> 婆羅門子命終愛念不離經	7	*						*	*	**
99	<i>Sizha poluomen chujia dedao jing</i> 四吒婆羅門出家得道經		*						*		
100	<i>Fowei jiaoman poluomen shuoji jing</i> 佛為憍慢婆羅門說偈經	2	*						*		



No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJ 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDDZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
101	<i>Poluomen fubai jing</i> 婆羅門服經	1	*								
102	<i>Poluomen wen shizun jianglaishi youjifo jing</i> 婆羅門問世尊將來世 有幾佛經	2	*						*		
103	<i>Poluomen bisi jing</i> 婆 羅門避死經	7	*						*	*	**
104	<i>Fowei poluomen shuo gengtian jing</i> 佛為婆 羅門說耕田經	2	*						*		
105	<i>Qi lao poluomen qingwei dizi jing</i> 七老 婆羅門請為弟子經	2	*						*		
106	<i>Poluomen tongda jinglun jing</i> 婆羅門通 達經論經	2	*						*		
107	<i>Fofu luo xingzi jing</i> 佛 覆裸形子經	2	*						*		
108	<i>Poluomen jiezhi zhongshu jing</i> 婆羅門 解知眾術經	2	*						*		

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
109	<i>Fowei poluomen shuo sifa jing</i> 佛為婆羅門說四法經	2	*						*		
110	<i>Fowei nianshao poluomen shuo zhi shan pushan jing</i> 佛為年少婆羅門說知善不善經	1	*								
111	<i>Ruhuan sanmei jing</i> 如幻三昧經	4	*						*	*	*
112	<i>Anban jing</i> 安般經	2	*						*		
113	<i>Da anban jing</i> 大安般經	8	*	*	*		*	*	*		
114	<i>Wumen chan yaoyongfa jing</i> 五門禪要用法經	5	*						*	*	*
115	<i>Shui yu jing</i> 水喻經	2	*						*		
116	<i>Fumu piyu jing</i> 浮木譬喻經	2	*						*		
117	<i>Bei yu jing</i> 鰲喻經	2	*						*		

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
118	<i>Tipoda shengshen ru diyu jing</i> 提婆達生身入地獄經	1	*								
119	<i>Anabindhua qizi jing</i> 阿那邠邸化七子經	2								*	*
120	<i>Shiba nili jing</i> 十八泥黎經	1									*
121	<i>Shipa diyu jing</i> 十八地獄經	1	*								
122	<i>Diyu zuiren zhong ku jing</i> 地獄罪人眾苦經	1	*								
123	<i>Diyu baoying jing</i> 地獄報應經	1	*								
124	<i>Mulian jian zhongsheng shenmao ru jian jing</i> 目連見眾生身毛如箭經	2	*						*		
125	<i>Moheyan jingjin du zhongzuibao pin jing</i> 摩訶衍精進度中罪報品經	2	*						*		
126	<i>Zunzhe bojuluo jing</i> 尊者薄拘羅經	2	*						*		

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
127	<i>Anan wenshi fo jixiong jing</i> 阿難問事佛吉凶經	5	*						*	*	*
128	<i>Jiazhanyan wuchang jing</i> 迦旃延無常經	1	*								
129	<i>Danglai bianmei jing</i> 當來變滅經	3	*							*	*
130	<i>Taizi mupo jing</i> 太子墓魄經	3	*						*	*	
131	<i>Si puke de jing</i> 四不可得經	3	*							*	*
132	<i>Jianxin zhengyi jing</i> 堅心正意經	1	*								
133	<i>Fen ming zui fu jing</i> 分明罪福經	4	*						*	*	*
134	<i>Duozeng dao Zhang jing</i> 多增道章經	3	*							*	*
135	<i>Nainu qiyu jing</i> 奈女祇域經	1	*								
136	<i>Jingse nu jing</i> 金色女經	2	*						*		
137	<i>Modeng nu jing</i> 摩鄧女經	4	*							*	*
138	<i>Qianshi zheng nu jing</i> 前世爭女經	1	*								

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
139	<i>Chengshi shengyi jing</i> 承事勝己經	2	*						*		
140	<i>Huiguo fa jing</i> 悔過法經	4	*						*	*	*
141	<i>Shelifu huiguo jing</i> 舍利弗悔過經	6	*						*	*	*
142	<i>Taizi meng jing</i> 太子夢經	3	*							*	*
143	<i>Xiao pannihuan jing</i> 小般泥洹經	4	*						*	*	*
144	<i>Ciren pusha jing</i> 慈仁不殺經	2	*						*		
145	<i>Anan tongxue jing</i> 阿難同學經	5	*						*	*	*
146	<i>Lianhua nu jing</i> 蓮花女經	1							*		
147	<i>Shelifu tan baonu shuo pu siyi jing</i> 舍利弗歎寶女說不思議經	1							*		
148	<i>Shijialuoyue liuxiang bai jing</i> 尸迦羅越六向拜經	5	*						*	*	*

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
149	<i>Shijian qiangdao bushi jing</i> 世間強盜布施經	2	*						*		
150	<i>Shangrenzi zuo foshi jing</i> 商人子作佛事經	2	*						*		
151	<i>Zhou zei jing</i> 咒賊經	4	*						*	*	*
152	<i>Cufengzei jieyi dai zhou jing</i> 卒逢賊結衣帶咒經	3	*							*	*
153	<i>Fantian yi poluomen jiangtang jing</i> 梵天詣婆羅門講堂經	2	*						*		
154	<i>Wuyin chengbai jing</i> 五陰成敗經	2	*						*		
155	<i>Baguang jing</i> 八光經	2	*						*		
156	<i>Wu zhandou ren jing</i> 五戰鬥人經	2	*						*		
157	<i>Wufa jing</i> 五法經	8	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
158	<i>Apitan wufa jing</i> 阿毘曇五法經	3	*	*					*		
159	<i>Sandu jing</i> 三毒經	2	*						*		
160	<i>Ahan zhengxing jing</i> 阿含正行經	3	*						*	*	
161	<i>Liang shi nanyu jing</i> 良時難遇經	2	*						*		
162	<i>Qiuli laoyu jing</i> 求離牢獄經	2	*						*		
163	<i>Lianhua nu jing</i> 蓮華女經	1	*								
164	<i>Gumu sang yi zi jing</i> 孤母喪一子經	1	*								
165	<i>Foshuo gumu shang yi zi jing</i> 佛說孤母喪一子經	1							*		
166	<i>Xi you er ren xiangai jing jing</i> 昔有二人相愛敬經	1	*								
167	<i>Jingmian wang jing</i> 鏡面王經	2	*						*		
168	<i>Zi ming guo jing</i> 子命過經	2	*						*		
169	<i>Jiantuo guowang jing</i> 健陀國王經	1	*								

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDDZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
170	<i>Tanbao nu jing</i> 歎寶女經	1	*								
171	<i>Dajiayeyunigan zi jing</i> 大迦葉遇尼乾子經	2	*						*		
172	<i>Zheng zhai jing</i> 正齋經	2	*						*		
173	<i>Analu siwei mulian shenli jing</i> 阿那律思惟目連神力經	2	*						*		
174	<i>Baoji sanmei wenshushili pusa wen fashen jing</i> 寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經	1	*								
175	<i>Shelifu wen baonu jing</i> 舍利弗問寶女經	1	*								
176	<i>Yuedeng sanmei jing</i> 月燈三昧經	4	*						*	*	*
177	<i>Anan huo jing</i> 阿難惑經	2	*						*		
178	<i>Foyin sanmei jing</i> 佛印三昧經	7	*						*	*	**
179	<i>Jiaye jie anan jing</i> 迦葉詰阿難經	1	*							*	



No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJ 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
180	<i>Dasheng fangdeng yao hui jing</i> 大乘方等要慧經	6	*						*	*	*
181	<i>Kong jing tian ganying sanmei jing</i> 空淨天感應三昧經	5	*						*	*	*
182	<i>Qingli youzui jing</i> 情離有罪經	2	*						*		
183	<i>Yaowang yaoshang pusa guan jing</i> 藥王藥上菩薩觀經	3	*						*	*	
184	<i>Yijue jing</i> 義決律	2	*	*							
185	<i>Zajing sishisi</i> 雜經四十四篇	4		*	*	*	*				
186	<i>Yiqie liushe shou yinyuan jing</i> 一切流攝守因緣經	5			*	*	*	*	*		
187	<i>Wu piyu jingyin</i> 五陰譬喻經	7			*	*	*		*	*	*
188	<i>Yijue lu jing</i> 義決律經	5			*	*	*		*	*	
189	<i>Shibaofa jing</i> 十報法經				*	*		*	*		

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
190	<i>Chang ahan shibaofa jing</i> 長阿含十報法經	2								*	*
191	<i>Shisi yi</i> 十四意	2			*		*				
192	<i>Shisiyi jing</i> 十四意經 458	5	*	*		*			*	*	*
193	<i>Da anban jing ji</i> 大安 般經集	1			*						
194	<i>Qing bintoulu fa</i> 請賓 頭盧法	8			*	*	*	*	*	*	*
195	<i>Ahan koujie shier yinyuan</i> 阿含口解十 二因緣	5			*	*	*	*	*		
196	<i>Apitan wufa xing jing</i> 阿毘曇五法行經	9			*	*	*	*		*	**
197	<i>Apitan wufa xing</i> 阿毘 曇五法行	1						*			
198	<i>Fanwang liushier jian jing</i> 梵網六十二見經	1				*					
199	<i>Bailiushi pin jing</i> 百 六十品經	8	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*
200	<i>Mingdu wushi jiaoji jing</i> 明度五十挈計經	4					*	*	*		*

458 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.

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
201	<i>Benxing yizhi jing</i> 本相倚致經	7					*	*	*	*	*
202	<i>Ben shier men jing</i> 本十二門經	1					*				
203	<i>Siwei yaolue</i> 思惟要略	2						*			
204	<i>Siwei yaolue jing</i> 思惟要略經	4	*				*			*	*
205	<i>Cufengzei jiedai zhou jing</i> 卒逢賊結帶咒經	1							*		
206	<i>Baoji sanmei wenshu wen fashen jing</i> 寶積三昧文殊問法身經	4							*	*	**
207	<i>Ba daren jue jing</i> 八大人覺經	4							*	*	*
208	<i>Chujia yuan jing</i> 出家緣經	4							*	*	*
209	<i>Shiba nili jing</i> 十八泥犁經	3							*	*	*
210	<i>Foshuo sandu shi jing</i> 佛說三毒事經	1							*		
211	<i>Apitan kuhui jing</i> 阿毘曇苦慧經	1							*		

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
212	<i>Jianyi jing</i> 堅意經	4							*	*	*
213	<i>Zhangzhezi aonao sanchu jing</i> 長者子懊惱三處經	4							*	*	*
214	<i>Qiantuo guowang jing</i> 捷陀國王經	3							*	*	
215	<i>Danglai bian jing</i> 當來變經	1							*		
216	<i>Modeng nu jing</i> 摩登女經	1							*		
217	<i>Zuiye baoying jiaohua diyu jing</i> 罪業報應教化地獄經	2							*		*
218	<i>Nai nuqi yu jing</i> 柰女耆域經	1							*		
219	<i>Qianshi zhengnu jing</i> 前世諍女經	1							*		
220	<i>Jiazhanyan jing</i> 迦旃延經	1							*		

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDDZJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTS/JML 貞元新定釋教目錄
221	<i>Yuanben zhi jing</i> 緣本致經	1							*		
222	<i>Fumuen qinpao jing</i> 父母恩勲報經	1							*		
223	<i>Ganlu zhengyi jing</i> 甘露正意經	1							*		
224	<i>Duo seng dao zhang jing</i> 多僧道章經	1							*		
225	<i>Hengshui jing</i> 恒水經	3							*	*	*
226	<i>Liuli wang jing</i> 琉璃王經	3							*	*	*
227	<i>Chubie jing</i> 處別經	1								*	
228	<i>Yujiajushi jianfo wenfa ti wu jing</i> 郁伽居士見佛聞法醞悟經	1							*		
229	<i>Jiatize anan shuangdu luohan yu jing</i> 迦葉責阿難雙度羅漢喻經	1							*		
230	<i>Shier yinyuan jing</i> 十二因緣經	1		*							

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
231	<i>Fo du zhantuoluo er jing</i> 佛度旃陀羅兒經	1							*		
232	<i>Diaoda shengshen ru diyu jing</i> 調達生身入地獄經	1							*		
233	<i>Foshuo monaqi quanshen ru diyu jing</i> 佛說摩那祇全身入地獄經	1							*		
234	<i>Taizi wu meng jing</i> 太子五夢經	1							*		
235	<i>Wuweiliche bai anan jing</i> 無畏梨車白阿難經	1							*		
236	<i>Jingqin sinianchu jing</i> 精懃四念處經	1							*		
237	<i>Shijian yan meise jing</i> 世間言美色經	2	*						*		
238	<i>Foweishi fawu jing</i> 佛為事火婆羅門說出家法悟道經	1							*		

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
239	<i>Fo hua huo yu poluomen chujia jing</i> 佛化火與婆羅門出家經	1							*		
240	<i>Diyu juiren zhongkushi jing</i> 地獄罪人眾苦事經	1							*		
241	<i>Da biqiu sanqian weiyi jing</i> 大比丘三千威儀經	4							*	*	*
242	<i>Hengshui pu shuo jie jing</i> 恒水不說戒經	1							*		
243	<i>Apitan jiushiba jie jing</i> 阿毘曇九十八結法	1							*		
244	<i>Taizi mu pojing</i> 太子慕魄經	3								*	*
245	<i>Yiqie liushe shou yi jing</i> 一切流攝守因經	3								*	*
246	<i>Yin shi ru jing</i> 陰時入經	1								*	
247	<i>Nai nuqi yuyinyuan jing</i> 奈女耆域因緣經	2								*	*

No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
248	<i>Zuiye yingbao jiaohua diyu jing</i> 罪業應報教化地獄經	2								*	*
249	<i>Ahan zhengxing jing</i> 阿銓正行經	2								*	*
250	<i>Fumuen nanbao jing</i> 父母恩難報經	5								*	**
251	<i>Chanxing sanshiqi jing</i> 禪行三十七經	3								*	*
252	<i>Fanjie baoying qingzhong jing</i> 犯戒報應輕重經	5								*	**
253	<i>Daodi jing</i> 道地經	5								*	**
254	<i>Falu sanmei jing</i> 法律三昧經	3						*		*	*
255	<i>Zheng qi jing</i> 正齊經	2								*	*
256	<i>Zhangahan shifa baoying jing</i> 長阿舍十法報經	1								*	
257	<i>Neizang baibao jing</i> 內藏百寶經	1						*			
258	<i>Anabin</i> 阿那邠	1									*



No.	Text's Name	Number of citations	LDSBJ 歷代三寶記	CSZJJ 出三藏記集	ZJMLF 眾經目錄【法經】	ZJMLYC 眾經目錄【彥琮】	ZJMLJT 眾經目錄【靜泰】	DTNDL 大唐內典錄	DZKDJJML 大周刊定眾經目錄	KYSJL 開元釋教錄	ZYXTSJML 貞元新定釋教目錄
259	<i>Anabinqihua qizi jing</i> 阿那分祁化七子經	1	*								
260	<i>Jiu heng jing</i> 九橫經	1		*							
<b>Subtotal of citations from each source.</b>			<b>171</b>	<b>35</b> <sup>459</sup>	<b>35 / 36</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>32 / 33</b>	<b>22 / 34</b>	<b>170 / 172</b>	<b>100 / 166</b>	<b>92 / 105</b>

Graph 4

459 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.”

## 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 歷代三寶紀卷四,<sup>460</sup> 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 Shigao's extant translation texts in The Digital Database of Buddhist Tripitaka Catalogues of CBETA 後漢安世高譯<sup>461</sup> and the list of An Shigao's work in the LDSBJ volume 4.<sup>462</sup> 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

---

<sup>460</sup> Fei Changfang 費長房, "Lidai Sanbao Ji Juan Di Si 歷代三寶紀卷第四," col. T2034, 49:49b05.

<sup>461</sup> "Digital Database of Buddhist Tripitaka Catalogues," accessed January 30, 2013, [http://jinglu.cbeta.org/index\\_e.htm](http://jinglu.cbeta.org/index_e.htm).

<sup>462</sup> Fei Changfang 費長房, "Lidai Sanbao Ji Juan Di Si 歷代三寶紀卷第四," col. T2034, 49:b05.

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,<sup>463</sup> 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.<sup>464</sup> According to Nattier most of An Shigao's translation texts belonged to the Sarvāstivāda School.<sup>465</sup> However some of them contained Mahāyāna-oriented materials.<sup>466</sup> It should be noted that

---

463 "Digital Database of Buddhist Tripiṭaka Catalogues."

464 Shi Miaobo 釋妙博, "Han Wejin Zhongguo Fojiao An Ban 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" (Ph.D. diss., Foguang daxue zongjiao xue xi 佛光大學宗教學系, 2008), 42–43; Ernst Waldschmidt, "Central Asia Sūtra Fragments and Their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas," ed. Das Mahāparinirvā, *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, 1980, 136–137. Waldschmidt categorizes An Shigao's translation as "[The texts in] *Madhyama Āgama* and *Samyukta Āgama* belong to Sarvāstivāda, *Dīrgha Āgama* belong to Dharmaguptaka, and *Ekottara Āgama* belong to Mahāsaṃghika. 「《中阿含經》和《雜阿含經》屬於說一切有部、《長阿含經》屬於法藏部、《增一阿含》屬於大眾部傳統。」

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.<sup>467</sup> 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* 阿含口解十二因緣經 (T1508)<sup>468</sup> is a record of oral explanations delivered by An Shigao to his students.<sup>469</sup> Nattier points to the record in the Sengyou's *CSZJJ* which states that there were 34 texts<sup>470</sup> comprising 40 fascicles in all. She then follows the compilation accounts of Ui Hakuju and Erik Zürcher.<sup>471</sup> Just 19<sup>472</sup> texts<sup>473</sup> appear on both Nattier and CBETA's list. Six meditation texts are common to both

---

<sup>467</sup> 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."

<sup>468</sup> 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."

<sup>469</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 41.

<sup>470</sup> 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."

<sup>471</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 44–71.

<sup>472</sup> 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.

<sup>473</sup> 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) 毓之 (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 Hīnayāna 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.<sup>474</sup> 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 Zacchetti 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),<sup>475</sup> *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),<sup>476</sup> *Foshuo jie shi er men jing* 佛說解十二門經 (cols. 366-385),<sup>477</sup> and the anonymous commentary on the "Twelve Gates" (cols. 386-584).<sup>478</sup>

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

---

<sup>474</sup> Zacchetti, "Defining An Shigao's 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research."

<sup>475</sup> Ibid., 262. Zacchetti cites Nattier (2008) who states that Harrison (2002) ascribed this text, at least in its greater part, to An Shigao.

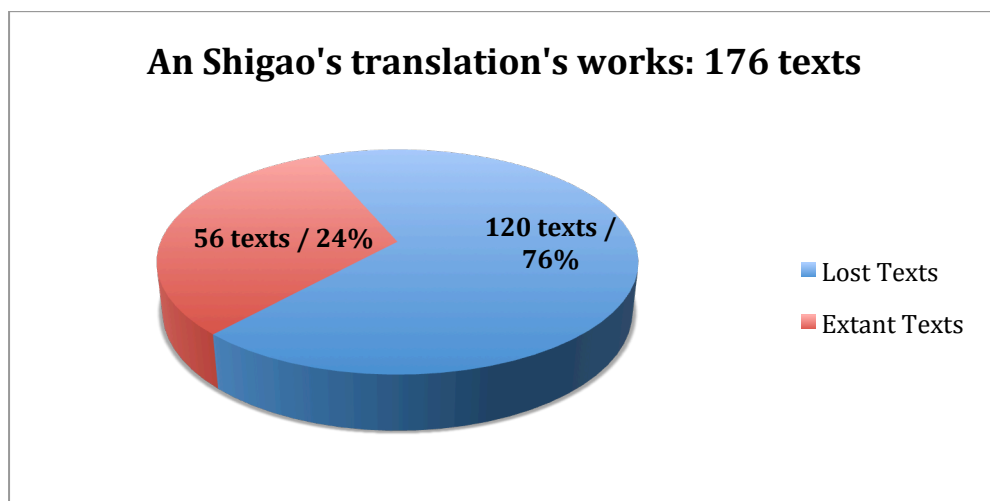
<sup>476</sup> Ibid., 265. Zacchetti states that this scripture dealing with the introduction of "a threefold series of meditative practices: the four *smṛtyupasthāna*, the four infinitudes (*maitrī* etc) and the four immaterial attainments."

<sup>477</sup> Ibid. Zacchetti concludes that "Structure and content of this text are very similar to the second part of the preceding scripture.

<sup>478</sup> Ibid., 266. Zacchetti notes, "This text can be identified as a commentary devoted to the twelve gates and to other subjects related to meditation.

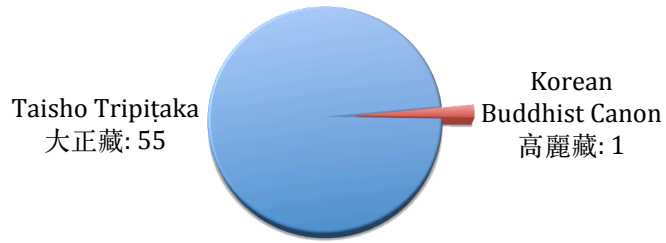
to get closer to An Shigao by multiplying his texts, in particular those concerned with meditation.

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.

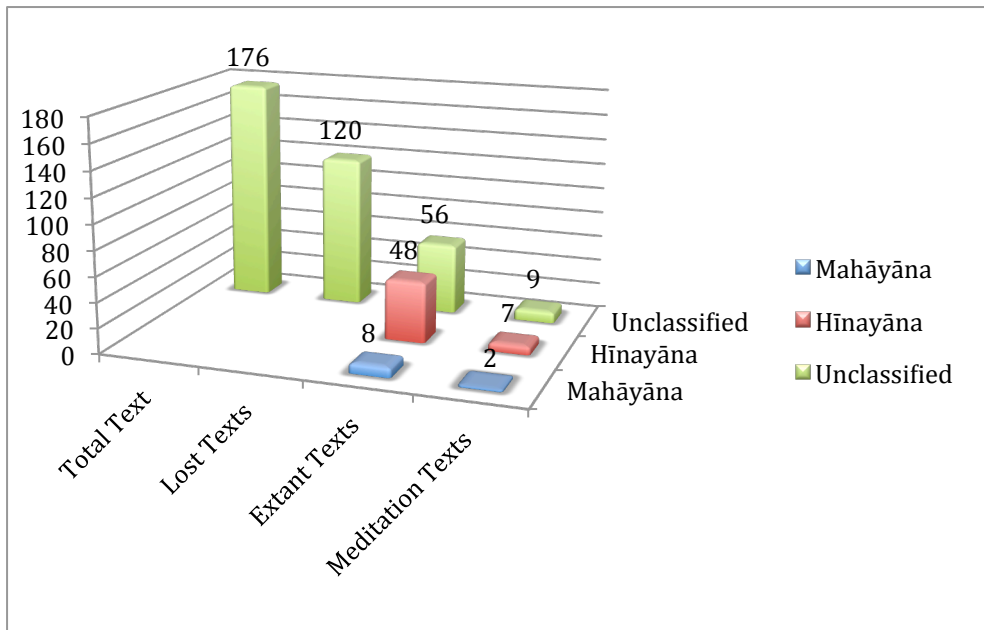


Graph 1

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

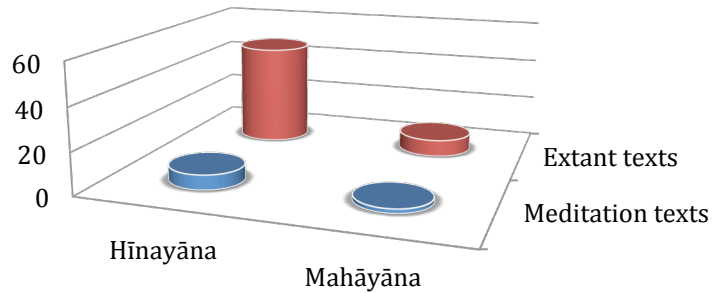


Graph 2



Graph 3A

## An Shigao's extant meditation texts



	Hinayāna	Mahāyāna
■ Meditation texts	7	2
■ Extant texts	48	8

Graph 3B

### 7 Hīnayāna 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 anbanhouyi 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)

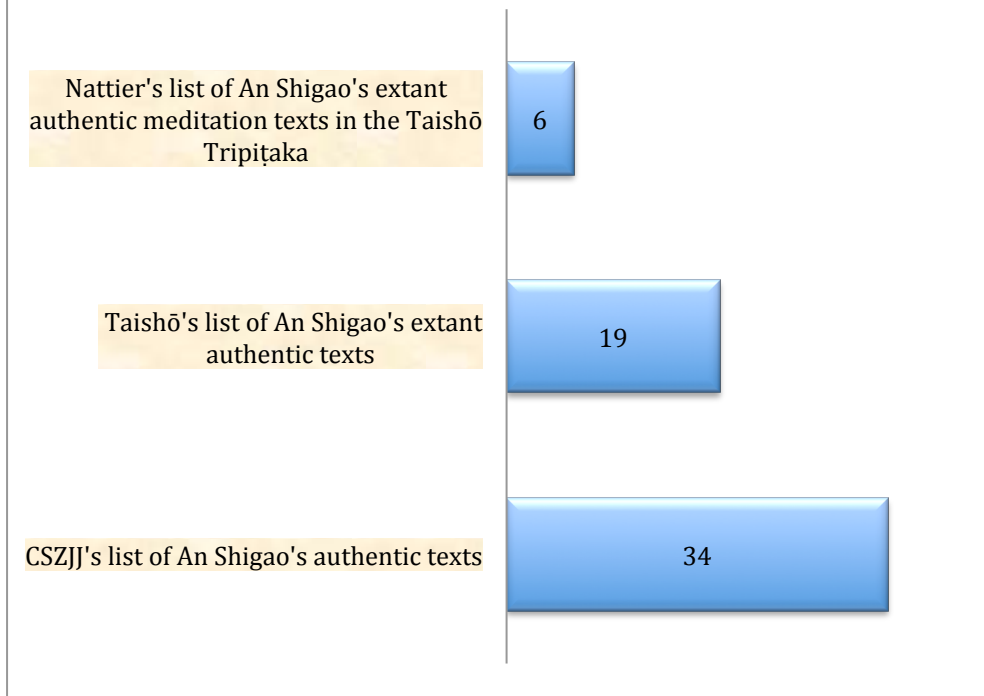
### 2 Mahāyāna meditation texts

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

Chart 4



### Comparison of Nattier's list of extant texts with Taishō's list of extant texts



Graph 5

Tripiṭaka section	No.	Sūtra name	Hīnayāna 小乘	Mahāyāna 大乘	Meditation	Nattier's List of An Shigao's authentic <sup>479</sup> texts
1. Taishō Tripiṭaka 《大正藏》Volume 第 01 冊 (Āgama 阿 含部) *This text is considered to be affiliated with the Dharmaguptaka School 法藏 部. <sup>480</sup> However, Zacchetti considers that this text belongs to the Sarvāstivāda	T13	<i>Chang ahan shi bao            fa jing</i> 長阿含十報 法經 (2 卷)	*			*, Z, E

<sup>479</sup> Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 44–71.

<sup>480</sup> 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.

School. <sup>481</sup>						
2. 《大正藏》 第 01 冊 (阿含部) *This text is affiliated with the Dharmaguptaka School 法藏部. <sup>482</sup> However, Zacchetti considers that this text belongs to the Sarvāstivāda School. <sup>483</sup>	T14	<i>Renben yusheng jing</i> 人本欲生經 (1 卷)	* 484		* 485	*, Z, E
3. 《大正藏》 第 01 冊 (阿含部)	T16	<i>Shijialuayue</i> <i>liufangli jing</i> 尸迦羅 越六方禮經 (1 卷)	* 486			
4. 《大正藏》 第 01 冊 (阿含部)	T31	<i>Yiqie liu sheshou yin</i> <i>jing</i> 一切流攝守因經 (1 卷)	*			*, Z, E
5. 《大正藏》	T32	<i>Si di jing</i> 四諦經 (1	*			*

<sup>481</sup> Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” 251.

<sup>482</sup> 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.

<sup>483</sup> Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” 252.

<sup>484</sup> Shi Dachang 釋大常, *Zhizhe Dashi Pan Shi “Sanzang Jiao” Zhi Yan Jiu 智者大師判釋「三藏教」之研究* (Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corp, 2004), 28.

<sup>485</sup> Lai Pengju 賴鵬舉, “Guan He de Chan Fa--Zhongguo Dacheng Chan Fa de Zhaoshi 關河的禪法--中國大乘禪法的肇始,” *Dongfang Zongjiao Yanjiu 東方宗教研究*, no. 5 (October 1996): 96.

<sup>486</sup> 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 <sup>487</sup>		卷)	488			Z
6.《大正藏》 第01冊 (阿含部) *This text is affiliated with the Sarvāstivāda School 說一切有部 <sup>489</sup>	T36	<i>Benxiang yizhi jing</i> 本相猗致經 (1 卷)	*			*, Z, E
7.《大正藏》 第01冊 (阿含部)	T48	<i>Shifa feifa jing</i> 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 <sup>490</sup>	T57	<i>Loufenbu jing</i> 漏分布經 (1 卷)	*			*, Z, E
9.《大正藏》 第01冊 (阿含部)	T91	<i>Poluomenzi mingzhong ainian buli jing</i> 婆羅門子命終愛念不離經 (1 卷)	*			
10.《大正藏》	T92	<i>Shizhijushi</i>	*			

<sup>487</sup> 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.

<sup>488</sup> Shi Dachang 釋大常, *Zhizhe Dashi Pan Shi “Sanzang Jiao” Zhi Yan Jiu* 智者大師判釋「三藏教」之研究, 28.

<sup>489</sup> 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.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

第 01 冊 (阿含部)		<i>bachengren jing</i> 十支居士八城人經 (1 卷)				
11. 《大正藏》 第 01 冊 (阿含部) *This text is affiliated with the Dharmaguptaka School 法藏部 <sup>491</sup>	T98	<i>Pufayi jing</i> 普法義經 (1 卷)	*			*, Z, E
12. 《大正藏》 第 02 冊 (阿含部)	T105	<i>Wuyin piyu jing</i> 五陰譬喻經 (1 卷)	*			* <sup>492</sup> , E
13. 《大正藏》 第 02 冊 (阿含部)	T109	<i>Foshuo zhuanfalun jing</i> 佛說轉法輪經 (1 卷)	*			* <sup>493</sup> , E
14. 《大正藏》 第 02 冊 (阿含部) *This text is affiliated with the Sarvāstivāda School 說一切有部 494	T112	<i>Foshuo bazhengdao jing</i> 佛說八正道經 (1 卷)	*			*, Z, E
15. 《大正藏》 第 02 冊 (阿含部)	T131	<i>Foshuo poluomen bisi jing</i> 佛說婆羅門避死經 (1 卷)	*			
16. 《大正藏》 第 02 冊	T140	<i>Anabindhua qizi jing</i>	*			

491  
Ibid.

492  
Stefano Zacchetti, "Defining An Shigao's 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research," ed. Shen Weirong 沈衛榮, *Science Press* no. 3 (2010): 249–270, does not recognize this text as an authentic translation by An Shigao.

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.

(阿含部)		阿那邠邸化七子經 (1 卷)				
17. 《大正藏》 第 02 冊 (阿含部)	T149	<i>Foshuo anan tongxue jing</i> 佛說阿難同學經 (1 卷)	*			
18. 《大正藏》 第 02 冊 (阿含部) *This text is affiliated with the Sarvāstivāda School 說一切有部 495	T150a	<i>Qichu sanguan jing</i> 七處三觀經 (1 卷)	*		* 496	* Z, E
19. 《大正藏》 第 02 冊 (阿含部) *This text is affiliated with the Sarvāstivāda School 說一切有部 497	T150b	<i>Jiuheng jing</i> 九橫經 (1 卷)	*			* 498 E
20. 《大正藏》 第 02 冊 (阿含部)	T151	<i>Foshuo ahan zhengxing jing</i> 佛說阿含正行經 (1 卷)	*			
21. 《大正藏》 第 03 冊 ( <i>Jātaka</i> 本緣部)	T167	<i>Taizi mupo jing</i> 太子慕魄經 (1 卷)		*		
22. 《大正藏》 第 12 冊 ( <i>Ratnakūṭa</i> 寶積部)	T348	<i>Foshuo dasheng fangdeng yaohui jing</i> 佛說大乘方等要慧經 (1 卷)		*		
23. 《大正藏》 第 12 冊 (寶積部)	T356	<i>Foshuobaojisanmei wenshushilipusa wen fashen jing</i> 佛說寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經				

495 Ibid.

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

497 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.

498 Zacchetti, “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research,” does not recognize this text as an authentic translation by An Shigao.

		(1 卷) Ratnakūṭasūtra		*		
24. 《大正藏》 第 14 冊 ( <i>Sūtrasannipāta</i> 經集部)	T492a	<i>Foshuo anan wenshifo jixiong jing</i> 佛說阿難問事佛吉 凶經 (1 卷)	*			
25. 《大正藏》 第 14 冊 (經集部)	T492b	<i>Anan wenshifo jixiong jing</i> 阿難問事佛吉凶經 (1 卷)	*			
26. 《大正藏》 第 14 冊 (經集部)	T506	<i>Jiantuo guowang jing</i> 犍陀國王經 (1 卷)	*			
27. 《大正藏》 第 14 冊 (經集部)	T525	<i>Foshuo zhangzhezi aonao sanchu jing</i> 佛說長者子懊惱三 處經 (1 卷)	*			
28. 《大正藏》 第 14 冊 (經集部)	T526	<i>Foshuo zhangzhezi zhi jing</i> 佛說長者子制經 (1 卷)		*		
29. 《大正藏》 第 14 冊 (經集部)	T551	<i>Foshuo modengnu jing</i> 佛說摩鄧女經 (1 卷)	*			
30. 《大正藏》 第 14 冊 (經集部)	T553	<i>Foshuo munai</i> 佛說 奈女祇域因緣經 (1 卷) <i>Amrapāli and Jīvaka Avadāna Sūtra</i>	*			
31. 《大正藏》 第 14 冊 (經集部)	T554	<i>Foshuo nai nuqi po jing</i> 佛說奈女耆婆經 (1 卷)	*			
32. 《大正藏》 第 15 冊 (經集部)	T602	<i>Foshuo da anbanshouyi jing</i> 佛說大安般守意經 (2 卷)	*		*	* <sup>499</sup> , E

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.

33. 《大正藏》 第 15 冊 (經集部)	T603	<i>Yinchiru jing</i> 陰持 入經 (2 卷)	*		*	*, Z, E
34. 《大正藏》 第 15 冊 (經集部)	T604	<i>Foshuo chanxing san shi qi pin jing</i> 佛 說禪行三十七品經 (1 卷)	*		*	
35. 《大正藏》 第 15 冊 (經集部)	T605	<i>Chanxing faxiang jing</i> 禪行法想經 (1 卷)	*		*	* <sup>500</sup> , E
36. 《大正藏》 第 15 冊 (經集部)	T607	<i>Daodi jing</i> 道地經 (1 卷)	*		*	*, Z, E
37. 《大正藏》 第 15 冊 (經集部)	T621	<i>Foshuo foyin sanmei jing</i> 佛說佛印三昧 經 (1 卷)		*	*	
38. 《大正藏》 第 15 冊 (經集部)	T622	<i>Foshuo zishi sanmei jing</i> 佛說自誓三昧 經 (1 卷)		*	*	
39. 《大正藏》 第 16 冊 (經集部)	T684	<i>Foshuo fumu ennanbao jing</i> 佛說父母恩難報經 (1 卷)	*			
40. 《大正藏》 第 16 冊 (經集部)	T701	<i>Foshuo wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing</i> 佛說 溫室洗浴眾僧經 (1 卷)	*			
41. 《大正藏》 第 17 冊 (經集部)	T724	<i>Foshuo zuiye yingbao jiaohua diyu jing</i> 佛說罪業應報教化 地獄經 (1 卷)	*			
42. 《大正藏》 第 17 冊 (經集部)	T729	<i>Foshuo Fenbie shane suoqi jing</i> 佛說分別善惡所起 經 (1 卷)	*			
43. 《大正藏》 第 17 冊	T730	<i>Foshuo chuchu jing</i> 佛說處處經 (1 卷)	*			

<sup>500</sup>

Ibid. Zacchetti notes that this text is included in a list compiled by Zürcher of texts whose attribution to An Shigao should be reconsidered.



(經集部)						
44.《大正藏》 第 17 冊 (經集部)	T731	<i>Foshuo shiba nili jing</i> 佛說十八泥犁經 (1 卷)	*			
45.《大正藏》 第 17 冊 (經集部)	T732	<i>Foshuo muyi jing</i> 佛說罵意經 (1 卷)	*			
46.《大正藏》 第 17 冊 (經集部)	T733	<i>Foshuo jianyi jing</i> 佛說堅意經 (1 卷)	*			
47.《大正藏》 第 17 冊 (經集部)	T734	<i>Foshuo gui wen mulian jing</i> 佛說鬼問目連經 (1 卷)	*			
48.《大正藏》 第 17 冊 (經集部)	T779	<i>Foshuo badarenjue jing</i> 佛說八大人覺經 (1 卷)		*		
49.《大正藏》 第 17 冊 (經集部)	T791	<i>Foshuo chujiayuan jing</i> 佛說出家緣經 (1 卷)	*			
50.《大正藏》 第 17 冊 (經集部)	T792	<i>Foshuo fashouchen jing</i> 佛說法受塵經 (1 卷)	*			*, E <sup>501</sup>
51.《大正藏》 第 24 冊 (Vinaya 律部)	T1467a	<i>Foshuo fanjie zuibaoqingzhong jing</i> 佛說犯戒罪報輕重經 (1 卷)	*			
52.《大正藏》 第 24 冊 (律部)	T1470	<i>Da biqiu sanqian weiyi jing</i> 大比丘三千威儀 (2 卷)	*			

<sup>501</sup> 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.

53. 《大正藏》 第 24 冊 (律部)	T1492	<i>Foshuo shelifu huiguo jing</i> 佛說舍利弗悔過經 (1 卷)		*	502		
54. 《大正藏》 第 28 冊 ( <i>Abhidharma</i> 毘曇部)	T1557	<i>Apitan wufaxing jing</i> 阿毘曇五法行經 (1 卷)	*				*, E
55. 《大正藏》第 49 冊 ( <i>Shizhuan bu</i> 史傳 部) historical biography section	T2027	<i>Jiaye jie jing</i> 迦葉結經 (1 卷)	*				
56. Korean Buddhist Canon 【高麗藏】 單譯 / 冊數 : 20 (小 乘經)	No. 811	<i>Chujia gongde yinyuan jing</i> 出家功德因緣經	*				
<b>Total Numbers</b>			<b>48</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>19</b>	

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.

<b>Classification of An Shigao's extant texts in the Taishō Tripiṭaka</b>			
<b>No.</b>	<b>Section</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Remark</b>
1	<i>Āgama</i> 阿含部	20	
2	<i>Jātaka</i> 本緣部	1	
3	<i>Ratnakūṭa</i> 寶積部	2	
4	<i>Sūtrasannipāta</i> 經集部	27	
5	<i>Vinaya</i> 律部	3	

502 “*Foshuo Sheli Fu Huiguo Jing* 佛說舍利弗悔過經,” *Jing mu xiangxi ziliao* 經目詳細資料 (Taipei, January 29, 2013), CBETA Digital Database of Buddhist Tripiṭaka Catalogues.

6	<i>Abhidharma</i> 毘曇部	1	
7	Historical biography section 史傳部	1	
8	Unclassified / It is not listed in Taishō Tripiṭaka but has been listed in Korean Buddhist Canon 高麗藏,	1	出家功德因緣經
Total Texts		56	

Graph 7

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

### Primary sources

#### Chinese

“*Daozang 道藏*.” 36 vols. Beijing 北京: Wenwu chuban she 文物出版社; Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shudian 上海書店; Tianjin 天津: Tianjin guji chuban she 天津古籍出版社, 1988.

“*Hanshu-Zhangqian Li Guangli Zhuan 漢書-張騫李廣利傳*.” *Chinese Text Project*. Accessed May 26, 2011. <http://ctext.org/han-shu?searchu=%E8%BA%AB%E6%AF%92>.

“*Hou Han Shu 後漢書: Lie Zhuan 列傳: Xiyu Zhuan 西域傳 - Mingdi 明帝*.” *Chinese Text Project*. Accessed November 17, 2011. <http://ctext.org/hou-han-shu/xi-yu-zhuan?searchu=%E6%98%8E%E5%B8%9D#n77782>.

“*Shiji 史記*.” Suzhou 蘇州: Zhongguo guji quan lu 中國古籍全錄, 1969.

T14 *Foshuo Ren Ben Yu Sheng Jing 佛說人本欲生經*.

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 薩婆多部記目錄序第六*.

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 佛說大安般守意經*.

T603 *Yin Chi Ru Jing* 陰持入經.

T604 *Foshuo Chan Xing Sanshiqi Pin Jing* 佛說禪行三十七品經.

T605 *Chan Xing Fa Xiang Jing* 禪行法想經.

T617 *Siwei Lue Yao Fa* 思惟畧要法.

T622 *Foshuo Zi Shi Sanmei Jing* 佛說自誓三昧經.

### English

DN 2 (D i 47) “*Samaññaphala Sutta: The Fruits of the Contemplative Life.*”

Thanissaro Bhikkhu, trans. 1997. Accessed January 13, 2012.

<http://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/dn/dn.02.0.than.html>.

MN 10 (M i 55) “*Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta: The Foundations of Mindfulness.*”

Nyanasatta Thera, trans., Kandy, 1993. Buddhist Publication Society.

MN 119 (M iii 88) “*Kāyagatāsati Sutta,*” Accessed November 25, 2013.

<http://www.metta.lk/tipitaka/2Sutta-Pitaka/2Majjhima-Nikaya/Majjhima3/119-kaya-gatasati-e.html>.

———. Thanissaro Bhikkhu, trans. 1997. Accessed November 25, 2013

<http://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/mn/mn.119.than.html>.

### Pāli

AN iii 79 *Dutiyasaññāsutta*.

AN iii 79 *Paṭhamasaññāsutta*.

### Thai

“*Iddhividhaññāniddes* อิทธีวิธญาณนิตเทศ - Phratripitaka vol. 31

พระไตรปิฎกเล่มที่ ๓๑ - *Suttapitaka* vol. 23 พระสุตตันตปิฎกเล่มที่ ๒๓

*Khuddaka Nikāya* ขุททกนิกาย *Paṭisambhidāmagga* ปฏิสัมภิทามรรค.”  
84000.org. Accessed November 23, 2012. [http://www.84000.org/  
tipitaka/pitaka2/v.php?B=31&A=2797&Z=2821](http://www.84000.org/tipitaka/pitaka2/v.php?B=31&A=2797&Z=2821).

## Secondary sources

Adamek, Wendi Leigh. *The Mystique of Transmission: On an Early Chan History and Its Contexts*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Andrew Skilton. “State or Statement -Samadhi in Some Early Mahayana Sutras.” *The Eastern Buddhist* 34, no. 2 (2002): 43.

Anonymous. “Anattan.” *Pāli Dictionary*. Accessed November 15, 2012. <http://palidictionary.appspot.com/browse/a/anattan>.

Baumer, Christoph. *China’s Holy Mountain: An Illustrated Journey into the Heart of Buddhism*. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011.

Beckwith, Christopher I. *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Beijing gujin huihai wenhua xinxi jiaoliu zhongxin 北京古今慧海文化信息交流中心. “*Fojiao Jing Lu* 佛教經錄.” Accessed January 10, 2013. <http://read.nlc.gov.cn/jinglu/index.asp>.

Bhikkhu KL Dhammajoti. “Smṛtyupasthāna.” *Sarvastivada Abhidharma, Sanskrit-English Glossary*. Buddhistdoor, n.d. Accessed November 14, 2012.

Boucher, Daniel. “Gāndhārī and the Early Chinese Buddhist Translations Reconsidered: The Case of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1998, 471–506.

- Bowersock, Glen Warren, Peter Robert Lamont Brown, and Oleg Grabar. *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Brough, John. “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.
- Buddha Dharma Education Association & BuddhaNet. “The Buddhist World: Buddhism in East Asia - China, Korean, Japan.” Accessed November 18, 2011. <http://www.buddhanet.net/e-learning/buddhist-world/east-asia.htm>.
- Buddhistdoor. “*Ba Jietuo* 八解脫.” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*. Hong Kong: 佛門網 Buddhistdoor, January 25, 2013.
- . “*Ba Zhengdao* 八正道.” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*. Hong Kong: 佛門網 Buddhistdoor, November 15, 2012.
- . , ed. “*Liu Shuai* 六衰.” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*, January 28, 2013.
- . “*Qi Jue Zhi* 七覺支.” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*. 佛門網 Buddhistdoor, n.d. Accessed November 14, 2012.
- . “*Shi'er Yinyuan* 十二因緣.” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*, n.d. Accessed January 25, 2013.
- . “*Si Di* 四諦.” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*, n.d. Accessed January 25, 2013.
- . “*Smṛtyupasthānāni* [Satipaṭṭhānā] Foundations of Mindfulness.” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*. Buddhistdoor, n.d. Accessed November 14, 2012.
- . , ed. “*Wu Gen* 五根.” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*. Buddhistdoor, n.d. Accessed November 14, 2012.

- “Buddhist Glossary.” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*. Hong Kong: Buddhistdoor. Accessed December 4, 2012. <http://dictionary.buddhistdoor.com/>.
- Bumbacher, Stephan Peter. “Early Buddhism in China: Daoist Reactions.” In *The Spread of Buddhism*, edited by Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter Bumbacher. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Buswell, Robert E. “Introduction Prolegomenon to the Study of Buddhist Apocryphal Scriptures.” In *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, 342. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1990.
- Chen, Jinhua. “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): 603–62.
- 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 chubanshe 少年儿童出版社, 2004.
- Chen Yingshan 陳英善. “Cong Shu Xi Guan Lun Zhongguo Fojiao Zaoqi Chan Fa 從數息觀論中國佛教早期禪法.” *Zhonghua Foxue Xuebao 中華佛學學報* 13, no. 1 (2000): 323–48.
- Cheung, Martha P. Y., ed. *An Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation: From Earliest Times to the Buddhist Project*. Vol. 1. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2006.
- Ch’ien, Ssu-Ma. *The Grand Scribe’s Records: The Memoirs of Han China*. Edited by William H. Nienhauser Jr. Vol. 9. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010.
- Chuan Yin 傳印. “Guanyu Fu Li Jinian 關於佛歷紀年.” *Zhongguo Fo Xueyuan 中國佛學院*. Accessed August 23, 2011. <http://www.zgfy.cn/Article/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=579>.



- Conze, Edward. *Buddhist Meditation*. London: Unwin Books, 1956.
- Cultural China. “Journeys to the Four Sacred Mountains of Buddhism.” Accessed June 2, 2011. <http://scenery.cultural-china.com/en/158Scenery8210.html>.
- Dani, Ahmad Hasan. *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations, 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1999.
- Deleanu, Florin. “A Preliminary Study of An Shigao’s Translation of the Yogācārabhūmi.” *Journal of the Department of Liberal Arts Kansai Medical University* 17 (March 1997): 33–52.
- . “Mindfulness of Breathing in the Dhyana Sutras.” In *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan*, 37:42–57, 1992.
- . “The Newly Found Text of the An Ban Shou Yi Jing Translated by An Shigao.” *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* 6 (March 2003): 170–133.
- Department of Asian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. “Kushan Empire (ca. 2nd Century B.C.–3rd Century A.D.) In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History.” *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. Accessed January 30, 2012. [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/kush/hd\\_kush.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/kush/hd_kush.htm).
- Dharma Drum Buddhist College 法鼓佛教學院. “Lushan 廬山.” *Diming Guifan Ziliao Ku 地名規範資料庫*, September 17, 2013.
- . , ed. “Zhengshi Fojiao Ziliao Lei Bian Juan Yi Ce 正史佛教資料類編 卷一冊,” August 17, 2011. Taiwan e-Learning and Digital Archives Program 數位典藏國家型科技計畫.
- “Digital Database of Buddhist Tripitaka Catalogues.” Accessed January 30, 2013. [http://jinglu.cbeta.org/index\\_e.htm](http://jinglu.cbeta.org/index_e.htm).

- Ditte Bandini-König, and Martin Bemann. “Rock Carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway (Pakistan).” *Heidelberger Akademie Der Wissenschaften Felsbilder Und Inschriften Am Karakorum Highway*, n.d. Accessed November 23, 2012.
- Dong Chu 東初. “Zhong Yin Fojiao Jiaotong Shi 中印佛教交通史.” Accessed May 21, 2011. [http://dongchu.ddbc.edu.tw/html/02/cwdc\\_03/cwdc\\_030040.html#d1e2577](http://dongchu.ddbc.edu.tw/html/02/cwdc_03/cwdc_030040.html#d1e2577).
- Dunhuang Academy. “Mogao Cave 323 (Early Tang –Song 618-960AD).” Accessed August 17, 2011. <http://enweb.dha.ac.cn/0012/index.htm>.
- Epstein, Ron. “The Sutra in Forty-Two Sections Spoken by the Buddha: Introductory Sections.” Accessed May 26, 2011. <http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~rone/Buddhism/BTTStexts/S42%20Introductory%20Sections.htm>.
- Fagu fojiao xueyuan 法鼓佛教學院, ed. “Diming Guifan Ziliao Ku 地名規範資料庫.” Accessed September 17, 2013. <http://authority.ddbc.edu.tw/place/>.
- Falk, Harry. “The Kanishka Era in Gupta Records.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology: Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies* 10 (2004): 167–76.
- . “The Yuga of Sphujiddhvaja and the Era of the Kusanas.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001): 121–36.
- Foguang dianzi da cidian 佛光電子大辭典. “Qi Chu San Guan Jing 七處三觀經.” Edited by Buddhistdoor. *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*. Accessed January 28, 2013. <http://dictionary.buddhistdoor.com/en/word/31441/%E4%B8%83%E8%99%95%E4%B8%89%E8%A7%80%E7%B6%93>.
- “Foguang Shan Dianzi Dazang Jing 佛光山電子大藏經,” April 24, 2011.

- Foltz, Richard. *Religions of the Silk Road: Premodern Patterns of Globalization*. New Edition. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Forte, Antonino. *The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring: An Iranian Family In China*. Tokyo: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 1995.
- Gernet, Jacques. *A History of Chinese Civilization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Granoff, Phyllis. "The Ambiguity of Miracles Buddhist Understandings of Supernatural Power." *East and West* 46, no. 1/2 (June 1, 1996): 79–96.
- Granoff, Phyllis, and Koichi Shinohara, eds. *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*. 1st ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1994.
- Guang xing. "The Development of the Concept of the Buddha." In *Buddhist and Pali Studies in Honour of The Venerable Professor Kakkapalliye Anuruddha*, edited by Y Karunadasa and Ven. KL Dhammajoti. Centre of Buddhist Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 2009.
- "Gu Jing Lu 古經錄," September 3, 2012. Taipei. CBETA Digital Database of Buddhist Tripitaka Catalogues.
- Guohuei, Shi. "The Textual Formation of the Newly Discovered Anban Shouyi Jing." *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 21 (2008): 123–43.
- "Handian 漢典." *Hanyu Cidian 漢語辭典*. Accessed September 16, 2013. <http://www.zdic.net/>.
- Harbsmeier, Christoph, ed. "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&-SkipRecords=568>.

- Harmatta, J. “Religions in the Kushan Empire.” In *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilization*, Vol. 2. Paris: UNESCO, 1994.
- Harrison, Paul. “Another Addition to the An Shigao Corpus? Preliminary Notes on an Early Chinese Saṃyuktāgama Translation.” *Early Buddhism and Abhidharma Thought: In Honour of Doctor Hajime Sakurabe on His Seventy-Seventh Birthday [Shoki Bukkyō Kara Abidaruma E: Sakurabe Hajime Hakushi Kiju Kinen Ronshū]*, 2002, 1–32.
- . “Email: An Shigao’s Extant Meditation Texts,” February 5, 2013.
- . *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. Edited by Robert E. Buswell. New York: MacMillan Publishing, 2003.
- . “The Ekottarikāgama Translations of An Shigao.” Edited by Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann. *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday (Indica et Tibetica 30)*, 1997, 261–83.
- 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*, edited by Durkin Desmond and Christiane Simone. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2004.
- Hay Forum. “The Great Silk Road & Armenia.” Accessed January 15, 2013. <http://hayforum.blogspot.co.nz/2012/06/great-silk-road.html>.
- Hirakawa, Akira. “Liu Chu 六觸.” *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*, n.d. Accessed January 28, 2013.
- . “Si Shenzu 四神足.” *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary*. 佛門網 Buddhistdoor, n.d. Accessed November 14, 2012.

- . “*Si Zheng Qin* 四正勤.” *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary*. 佛門網 Buddhistdoor, n.d. Accessed November 14, 2012.
- Hirakawa, Akira, and Paul Groner. *A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1993.
- Hong Xiuping 洪修平. “*Xiaosheng Chan Shu Zhi Xue Lue Shu* 小乘禅数之学略述.” Accessed January 26, 2012. [http://read.goodweb.cn/news/news\\_view.asp?newsid=51391](http://read.goodweb.cn/news/news_view.asp?newsid=51391).
- Hsüan Hua. *Records of High Sanghans*. Edited by Sandra Minor. Translated by Buddhist Text Translation Society. Vol. 1. Burlingame, CA: Buddhist Text Translation Society, 1983.
- 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.
- Huijiao 慧皎. “*Gaoseng Zhuan Juan Yi* 高僧傳卷一.” Taipei, April 14, 2011. CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripiṭaka.
- . “*Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳.” Tokyo, December 11, 2013. The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.
- Hung, Wu. “Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd Centuries A.D.).” *Artibus Asiae* 47, no. 3/4 (January 1, 1986): 263–352.
- “Iddhividhañāṇaniddes อธิวิธญาณนิตเทศ - Phratripitaka v. 31 พระไตรปิฎกเล่มที่ ๓๑ - Suttapitaka v. 23 พระสุตตันตปิฎกเล่มที่ ๒๓ Khuddaka Nikāya ขุททกนิกาย Paṭisambhidāmagga ปฏิสัมภิทามรรค.” *8400.org*. Accessed November 23, 2012. <http://www.84000.org/tipitaka/pitaka2/v.php?B=31&A=2797&Z=2821>.
- Ihsan. “The Xiongnu Empire.” *All Empires*. Accessed January 16, 2013. [http://www.allempires.com/article/index.php?q=The\\_Xiong\\_Nu\\_Empire](http://www.allempires.com/article/index.php?q=The_Xiong_Nu_Empire).

- I.L.Kyzlasov, V. Tomsen, and A. Mukhamadiev. "I.L.Kyzlasov - 8 Turkic Alphabets - Turkicworld." Accessed January 16, 2013. [http://www.s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/31Alphabet/KyzlasovIL\\_En.htm](http://www.s155239215.onlinehome.us/turkic/31Alphabet/KyzlasovIL_En.htm).
- Karashima, Seishi. "Underlying Languages of Early Chinese Translations of Buddhist Scriptures." In *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture - Festschrift in Honour of Christoph Harbsmeier on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, edited by Christoph Anderl and Halvor Eifring. Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing, 2006.
- "Kharosthi Documents." Accessed November 23, 2012. <http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/niyadocts.html>.
- Kieschnick, John. *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1997.
- . *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Kleine, Christoph. "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): 325–61.
- Kohn, Livia, and Yoshinobu Sakade. *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*. Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1989.
- Kumāra, Braja Bihārī. *India and Central Asia: Classical to Contemporary Periods*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2007.
- Kumar, Yuktेशwar. *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.
- LaFargue, Michael. *Lao-Tzu and the Tao-Te-Ching*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998.

- Lai Pengju 賴鵬舉. “*Guan He de Chan Fa--Zhongguo Dacheng Chan Fa de Zhaoshi* 關河的禪法--中國大乘禪法的肇始.” *Dongfang Zongjiao Yanjiu* 東方宗教研究, no. 5 (October 1996): 95–112.
- Lai Xianzong 賴賢宗. “*Tiantai Zhi Guan de ‘Chi Xi Nian’ Famen Ji Qi Zai Tiantai Fojiao Zhong de Yanbian Yu Zhuanhua* 天台止觀的「持息念」法門及其在天台佛教中的演變與轉化.” *Zhonghua Foxue Yanjiu Suo* 中華佛學研究所 12 (2007): 139–72.
- Lai Yonghai 賴永海. *Zhongguo fojiao tongshi* 中國佛教通史. Vol. 1. 15 vols. Nanjing 南京: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe 江蘇人民出版社, 2010.
- Lancaster, Lewis R. “Digital Input of Buddhist Texts.” Edited by Damien Keown and Charles S. Prebish. *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. Oxon: Routledge, 2010.
- Lessman, Thomas. “World History Maps.” Accessed January 16, 2013. [http://www.worldhistorymaps.info/Maps.html#Ancient\\_maps](http://www.worldhistorymaps.info/Maps.html#Ancient_maps).
- Liang Qichao 梁啟超, Zhang Pinxing 張品興, Yang Gang 楊綱, and Wang Xiangyi 王相宜. *Liangqichao Quanji* 梁啟超全集. Beijing 北京: Beijing chubanshe 北京出版社, 1999.
- 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.” *Faguang Zazhi* 法光雜誌 258 (March 2011): 1.
- Liu, Jiahe. “Early Buddhism and Taoism in China (A.D. 65-420).” Translated by Dongfang Shao. *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 12 (January 1, 1992): 35–41.
- Liu, Shufen. “Ethnicity and the Suppression of Buddhism in Fifth-Century North China: The Background and Significance of the Gaiwu Rebellion.” *Asia Major: A Journal of Far Eastern Studies* 14 (2003): 21.

- Liu, Xinru. *The Silk Road in World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Lopez, Donald S. *The Heart Sūtra Explained: Indian and Tibetan Commentaries*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1988.
- Luk, Charles. *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.
- Luo, Xuanmin, and Hong Lei. "Translation Theory and Practice in China." *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 12, no. 1 (2004): 20.
- Mair, Victor H. "What Is Geyi, After All?" In *Philosophy and Religion in Early Medieval China*, edited by Alan Kam-leung Chan and Yuet Keung Lo. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2010.
- Malalasekera, G P. "Nettipakarana." Edited by Buddhistdoor. *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*, 13:04:58. <http://dictionary.buddhistdoor.com/en/search>.
- McBride II, Richard D. "Esoteric Scriptures in the Context of Chinese Buddhist Translation Practice." In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles D. Orzech, Vol. 24. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 4 China. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Minghuart. "Money Tree Pottery Buddha Statue Yaoqianshu Tao Zuo Foxiang 搖錢樹陶座佛像." Accessed October 14, 2013. <http://www.minghuart.com/exhibition/zuopin.aspx?ContentID=4523#local>.
- Miyajima, Junko. "The Formation and Development of Chinese Buddhist Literature." *Institute for Cultural Interaction Studies, Kansai University, The International Academic Forum for the Next Generation Series*, 1 (March 31, 2010): 123–37.
- Monica. "Summary of Wendi Adamek's 'The Mystique of Transmission.'" *Dharma Cowgirl*. Accessed January 12, 2013. <http://dharmacowgirl>.



wordpress.com/2011/03/08/wendi-adameks-the-mystique-of-transmission/.

Muller, A. Charles, ed. “Digital Dictionary of Buddhism.” *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* 電子佛教辭典. Accessed December 4, 2012. <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>.

———. , ed. “*Qi Shi Zhu* 七識住, Seven Abodes of Consciousness.” *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, n.d. Accessed January 25, 2013.

Nattier, Jan. *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations: Texts from the Eastern Han “Dong Han” and Three Kingdoms “San Guo” Periods*. Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica 10. Tokyo: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2008.

Neelis, Jason. “Meditation in Multiple Contexts: Early Buddhist Manuscripts and Inscriptions.” Accessed August 25, 2011. [http://www.buddhism.org/board/read.cgi?board=BuddhistStudies&y\\_number=39](http://www.buddhism.org/board/read.cgi?board=BuddhistStudies&y_number=39).

———. “Rock Drawing of Buddhist Monks Making Offerings to a Stupa Chilas II.” Accessed November 23, 2012. [http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/exhibit/sakas/chilas\\_II.html](http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/exhibit/sakas/chilas_II.html).

Nogami Toshi Shizuka 野上俊靜. *Zhongguo Fojiao Shi Gai Shuo* 中國佛教史概說. Translated by Sheng Yan 聖嚴. Taiwan shangwu yin shuguan 臺灣商務印書館, 1993.

Nyanatiloka Maha Thera. “Abhiññā.” Edited by Buddhistdoor. *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*, n.d. Accessed October 22, 2012.

Oldmeadow, Harry, ed. *Light From the East: Eastern Wisdom for the Modern West*. Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 2007.

Park, Jungnok. *How Buddhism Acquired a Soul on the Way to China*. Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies Monographs. Oakville: Equinox Publishing, 2012.

- Phasu Karnkha พสุ การค้า. *Ariyasactipani อริยสัจที่ป็นิ*. Tarang Samrab Lueag Samatha Kammathan 40 ตารางสำหรับเลือกสมณธรรมฐาน 40, 2546.
- Piyasīlo. *Charisma in Buddhism: A Study of the Work of Father Sumaṅgalo, Ānanda Maṅgala Mahā.nāyaka Thera and Dr. Wong Phui Weng in Malaysia and Singapore & Phra Ajahn Yantra Amaro : [being a Preprint of Buddhism, Society and History : Towards a Postmodern Perspective]*. Petaling Jaya: Dharmafarer Enterprises for the Community of the Dharmafarers, 1992.
- Poo, Mu-chou. “The Images of Immortals and Eminent Monks: Religious Mentality in Early Medieval China (4-6 C. AD).” *Numen* 42, no. 2 (1995): 172–96.
- Potter, Karl H. *The Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies: Buddhist Philosophy from 100 to 350 A.D.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1999.
- Qingxin jushi 清心居士. “Wutaishan Dabai Ta 五台山大白塔.” Accessed January 15, 2013. <http://www.wtszx.com/wutaibaik/25-7431.html>.
- “Qinshu Daquan Folio 18.” Accessed August 16, 2011. <http://www.silkqin.com/02qnp/26qsq/qs18wen.htm>.
- Ran Yunhua 冉雲華. “Zhongguo Zaoqi Chan Fa de Liuchuan He Tedian--Huijiao, Daoxuan Suozhe ‘Xi Chan Pian’ Yanjiu 中國早期禪法的流傳和特點--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): 63–99.
- Rhie, Marylin M. *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia: Later Han, Three Kingdoms and Western Chin in China and Bactria to Shan-Shan in Central Asia*. Vol. 1. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Rong, Xinjiang. “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.” Edited by Victor H. Mair.

- Translated by Xiuqin Zhou. *Sino-Platonic Papers*, no. 144 (July 2004): 32.
- Rulu. “Buddhist Masters.” *Ancient Translators*. Accessed April 24, 2011. <http://www.sutrasmantras.info/translators.html>.
- Sacred Destinations. “Mogao Caves, China.” Accessed January 16, 2013. <http://www.sacred-destinations.com/china/mogao-caves>.
- Salomon, Richard. “The Senior Manuscripts: Another Collection of Gandhāran Buddhist Scrolls.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, no. 1 (January 2003): 73–92.
- Sengyou 僧祐. “*An Shigao Zhuan Di Yi* 安世高傳第一.” Tokyo, April 13, 2011. The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.
- . “*Chu Sanzang Ji Ji* 出三藏記集.” Tokyo, November 22, 2011. The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.
- . “*Sa Po Duo Bu Ji Mulu Xu Di Liu* 薩婆多部記目錄序第六.” Tokyo, October 10, 2013. The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database.
- Shanghai shudian chuban she 上海書店出版社, ed. *Daozang* 道藏. 36 vols. Beijing 北京: Wenwu chuban she 文物出版社; Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shudian 上海書店; Tianjin 天津: Tianjin guji chuban she 天津古籍出版社, 1988.
- Shanker Thapa. In *Transmission of Indian Buddhist Thought In East Asian Historiography: Dhyānabhadra (Chi-Gong) and Buddhism in 14th Century Korea.*, 31. Cheju, Korea, 2006.
- Shaw, Sarah. *Buddhist Meditation: An Anthology of Texts from the Pāli Canon*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Sheng Yan 聖嚴. *Yindu Fojiao Shi* 印度佛教史. Taipei: Fagu wenhua 法鼓文化, 1997.

- Shi Dachang 釋大常. *Zhizhe Dashi Pan Shi "Sanzang Jiao" Zhi Yan Jiu* 智者大師判釋「三藏教」之研究. Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corp, 2004.
- Shi Dagan 釋達觀. "Sanfayin - Wuchang Famen 三法印—無常法門." *Chan Xin Xueyuan* 禪心學苑. Accessed January 29, 2013. <http://zensoul.org/index/readnews.asp?newsid=5098>.
- Shi Falin 釋法琳. "Poxie Lun Juan Shang 破邪論卷上." Taipei, n.d. CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripiṭaka. Accessed May 30, 2011.
- Shih, Robert. *Biographies Des Moines Éminents de Houei-Kiao: Kao Seng Tchouan*. Vol. 54. Institut orientaliste, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1968.
- Shi Miaobo 釋妙博. "Han Wejin Zhongguo Fojiao an Ban 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." Ph.D. diss., Foguang daxue zongjiao xue xi 佛光大學宗教學系, 2008.
- Shinohara, Koichi. "Biographies of Eminent Monks in a Comparative Perspective: The Function of the Holy in Medieval Chinese Buddhism." *Zhonghua Foxue Xuebao* 中華佛學學報 7 (1994): 479–98.
- Silk, Jonathan A. "The Yogācāra Bhikṣu." In *Wisdom, Compassion, and the Search for Understanding: The Buddhist Studies Legacy of Gadjin M. Nagao*, edited by Gajin Nagao, 420. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2000.
- Sima Qian 司馬遷. "Shiji 史記." Suzhou 蘇州: Zhongguo guji quan lu 中國古籍全錄, 1969.
- Soothill, William Edward, and Lewis Hodous. "Wu Li 五力." *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. Buddhistdoor, November 15, 2012.

- Tajadod, Nahal. "The Role of Iranians in the Spread of Buddhism, Manichaeism and Mazdaismin China." *Diogenes* 50, no. 4 (2003): 61–68. doi:10.1177/03921921030504008.
- Tang, Yijie. "The Relationships Between Traditional And Imported Thought And Culture In China: From The Standpoint of The Importation Of Buddhism." *Dialogue Publishing Company* 15 (1988): 415–24.
- Thich Nhat Hanh. *Master Tang Hô: First Zen Teacher in Vietnam and China*. Berkeley: Parallax Press, 2001.
- Tokuno, Kyoko. "The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures in Chinese Buddhist Bibliographical Catalogues." In *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, edited by Robert E. Buswell, 31–74. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1990.
- University of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project. "Portion of the Kharosthi Fragments." *Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project*. Accessed November 23, 2012. [http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/exhibit/sakas/khvs\\_2.html](http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/exhibit/sakas/khvs_2.html).
- Vetter, Tillman, and Paul Harrison. "An Shigao's Chinese Translation of the Saptasthanasutra." *Suryacandraya: Essays in Honour of Akira Yuyama on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday (Indica et Tibetica 35)*, Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag 1998, 197–216.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst. "Central Asia Sūtra Fragments and Their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas." Edited by Das Mahāparinirvā. *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, 1980, 136–74.
- Wang jia 王佳. "Famen Si de Gushi 法門寺的故事." Accessed June 3, 2011. <http://www.huaxia.com/zhwh/whrd/whrdwz/2010/06/1931933.html>.
- . "Nanjing Ayuwang Ta 南京阿育王塔." *Guobao Dang an 國寶檔案*. Accessed June 3, 2011. <http://www.huaxia.com/zhwh/whrd/2010/06/1932272.html>.

- Whitfield, Roderick, Susan Whitfield, and Neville Agnew. *Cave Temples of Mogao: Art and History on the Silk Road*. Singapore: Getty Publications, 2000.
- Willemen, Charles, Bart Dessein, and Collett Cox. *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Williams, Paul. *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2008.
- Wiseman, Nigel, and Ye Feng. *A Practical Dictionary of Chinese Medicine*. 2nd ed. Toas, NM: Paradigm Publications, 1998.
- Wood, Frances, and Mark Barnard. *The Diamond Sutra: The Story of the World's Earliest Dated Printed Book*. London: British Library, 2010.
- Wright, Arthur F. *Biography and Hagiography: Hui-Chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks*. Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1954.
- . *Buddhism in Chinese History*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959.
- Xu Yi 須一. "A General Outline of Buddhism." *Dharma Realm Buddhist Association*, The Buddhist Monthly-Vajra Bodhi Sea, 25, no. 290 (July 1994): 22.
- Yamabe, Nobuyoshi. "An Shigao as a Precursor of the Yogacara Tradition: A Preliminary Study." In *Buddhist Thought and History of Buddhist Culture: A Collection of Papers in Honor of Professor Watanabe Takao on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, 153–94. Tokyo, 1997.
- . "On the School Affiliation of An Shigao: Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra," 19–20. Leiden, 1996.
- Yarshater, Ehsan. *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*. Vol. 3. 7 vols. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

- Yin Shun 印順. *Shuo Yiqie You Bu Wei Zhu Di Lun Shu Yu Lun Shi Zhi Yanjiu* 說一切有部為主的論書與論師之研究. 3rd ed. Taipei: Zheng wen chuban she 正聞出版社, 1981.
- Yixuan. *The Record of Linji*. Edited by Thomas Yūhō Kirchner. Translated by Ruth Fuller Sasaki. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2009.
- 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.
- Yu zhi (shi Juzan) 毓之 (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.
- Zacchetti, Stefano. “An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the Peṭakopadesa: An Shigao’s ‘Yin Chi Ru Jing’ T603 and Its Indian Original: A Preliminary Survey.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 65, no. 1 (January 2002): 74–98.
- . “A ‘New’ Early Chinese Buddhist Commentary: The Nature of the Da Anban Shouyi Jing (T 602) Reconsidered.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 31, no. 1–2 (2010): 421–84.
- . “An Shigao’s Texts Preserved in the Newly Discovered Kongo-Ji Manuscript and Their Significance for the Study of Early Chinese Buddhism.” *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 52, no. 2 (March 2004): 898–895.
- . “Defining An Shigao’s 安世高 Translation Corpus: The State of the Art in Relevant Research.” Edited by Shen Weirong 沈衛榮. *Science Press*, no. 3 (2010): 249–70.
- . “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.” Edited by Orofino

- Giacomella and Vita Silvio. *Buddhist Asia 2: Papers from the Second Conference of Buddhist Studies Held in Naples in June 2004*, December 2010, 141–98.
- . “Teaching Buddhism in Han China: A Study of the Ahan Koujie Shi’er Yinyuan Jing T 1508 Attributed to An Shigao.” *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, no. 7 (2003): 197–224.
- . “The Nature of the *Da Anban Shouyi Jing* 大安般守意經 T602 Reconsidered.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 31, no. 1–2 (April 2010): 421–84.
- 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.
- Zhao, Xiaohuan. *Classical Chinese Supernatural Fiction: A Morphological History*. Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005.
- Zhongguo Chuantong Wenhua Cujin Hui 中國傳統文化促進會. “*Shanxi Fufeng Famen Si Ta* 陝西扶風法門寺塔.” Accessed November 17, 2013. <http://www.simiao.net/ftjz/2012/3/24808.html>.
- Zürcher, Erik. “A New Look at the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Texts.” In *From Benares to Beijing: Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religion*, edited by Koichi Shinohara and Gregory Schopen, 277–304. Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1991.
- . “Han Buddhism and the Western Region.” In *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulswé on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Wilt L. Idema and Erik Zürcher, 158–82. Leiden: Brill, 1990.
- . *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.



