

A Study of the Apocryphal Sūtra: *Fumu Enzhong Jing*

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There are two texts with the theme on the profundity of parents' filial love to their children found in the Taisho Tripiṭaka: the Fumuen Nanbao Jing attributed to An Shigao's translation and the Fumuenzhong Jing collected from Dunhuang caves. The latter version is considered nearly by all scholars as apocryphal while the former is virtuously left without scholarly studies. After a study, I consider the Fumuen Nanbao Jing as translated by An Shigao the authentic text from India but it is forgotten by people in the long history. But on the other hand, the apocryphal text Fumuenzhong Jing became quite popular amongst the ordinary Chinese people. Then many questions arise: How can there be an apocryphal text even though there is an authentic one? Why the authentic version is forgotten while the apocryphal version became popular? What is the relationship between the two versions? How the apocryphal text came into being? In my opinion, the appearance of the apocryphal version is due to the fact that in the authentic version, there is a paragraph on how to repay parents' debts in five ways, particularly the way

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to establish immoral parents in morality, which is not in conformity with the Confucian concept of filial piety. According to Confucianism, in filial piety children's respect and reverence to parents are essential; otherwise it is not different from dogs and horses if parents are only provided with material and service. So as a result, the authentic version could not be preached and taught in Chinese society in order to show the Confucian critics that Buddhism also teaches filial piety. Therefore, the Chinese Buddhists created another version by collecting ideas and paragraphs from other Mahāyāna sūtras translated earlier such as the Mahāparinirvāṣasūtra, and the Ullambana on how to repay parents' kindness. Thus, the filial ideas in the apocryphal text are in consistency with the Chinese culture that is centered on Confucian ideology. This explains all the questions mentioned above.

Key words: Filial Piety, Repay the Debt, Parents,
Fumuen Nanbao Jing, Fumuenzhong Jing.

I. Introduction

There are two versions of the text on filial piety in the Taisho edition of *Tripitaka*: no.684, the *Foshuo Fumuen Nanbao Jing*—(*Sūtra on the Difficulties of Repaying Parents' Kindness, Spoken by the Buddha*), allegedly translated by An Shigao in the second century, which, as my study shows below, is an authentic version—and No.2887, the *Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing*—(*Sūtra on the Great Kindness of Parents, Spoken by the Buddha*) taken from Dunhuang, but considered apocryphal by all scholars. The authentic sūtra became oblivious in Chinese history while the apocryphal text has been widely circulated at the popular level in Chinese society up to the present day so much so that it has been expressed in different forms such as in mural paintings, popular literature, stone carving and much more. So, one might immediately ask the following questions: How can there be an apocryphal text even though there is an authentic one? What is the relationship between

these two versions? Why did the apocryphal *sūtra* become widely circulated in Chinese society while the genuine one has been forgotten? In this paper I discuss all these problems and try to find an answer to each question.

The apocryphal text *Fumu Enzhong Jing* has been subjected to extensive scholarly treatment, but literally no study has been done on the authentic one. Most of the scholars who have studied the apocryphal text are Japanese and Chinese, such as K. Ogawa, K. Arai, Shichang Ma, Xiusheng Sun and Acai Cheng, and they have produced many articles and even books on the topic. Amongst these scholars, K. Ogawa, the only person who has tried to find out the origin of the apocryphal *sūtra*, asserts that the sources for the creation of the *sūtra* are perhaps the Chinese classic *Shi Jing* following Zongmi (780-841), who quoted a few verses from the classic in his commentary to the *Ullambana Sūtra*. However, K. Ogawa's argument is not convincing, so subsequent scholars have not continued along this line of thinking. Therefore, the fundamental question still remains unclear or unexplained: why and how was the apocrypha *sūtra* first composed?

II. The Two Versions of the *Filial Piety Sūtra*

The authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* is mentioned in all extant Buddhist catalogues. In his *Chu Shanzang Jiji* (the *Catalogue of Tripiṭaka*), which is the earliest available catalogue compiled in 518, Sengyou recorded the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* under the new collection of miscellaneous *sūtras* without translators.¹ In this collection, Sengyou listed twenty-six *sūtras* each on two scrolls and more than five hundred *sūtras* each on one scroll. At the beginning of this collection, Sengyou explained that he spent many years to coordinate, collate, edit and proofread those *sūtras* and checked them against the existing catalogues; he found out that the five hundred *sūtras*, each on one scroll, were actually extracted from some large works, such as the four *Āgama*, the *Liudu Ji Jing* (a collection of Buddhist stories), and the

¹ The *Fumuen nanbao jing*, CBETA, T55, no.684, 29c.

Yogacārabhūmi Sūtra etc., and then the titles forcibly given to them (CBETA, T55, no.2153, 21c). With regard to the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*, Sengyou explained that the *sūtras* is an extract from the *Madhyamāgama*.² But when we check the extant *Madhyamāgama* translated by Gautama Saṃghadeva, there is no *sūtra* either bearing the title of *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* or discussing the idea of filial piety as a subject matter. According to Sengyou's *Chu Shanzang Jiji*, two versions of the *Madhyamāgama* existed in his time: the first translation was done in fifty-nine scrolls by Dharmānandi around 384-385, and the second one was translated in sixty scrolls by Gautama Saṃghadeva in 397 (CBETA, T55, no.2153, 10b-c). Sengyou noted under the *Madhyamāgama* translated by Gautama Saṃghadeva that it differs greatly from Dharmānandi's translation (CBETA, T55, no.2153, 10c).

However, Zhisheng in his *Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu* (the *Kaiyuan Buddhist Catalogue*), which was compiled in 730, examines the *sūtra* in question carefully and states, "As for the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*, also known as *Qinbao* in one scroll, Fei Zhangfang says that it is extracted from the *Madhyamāgama* but it cannot be found there."³ In another place, Zhisheng again says: "The *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* in one scroll, also known as *Qinbao*, translated by An Shigao in the Latter Han dynasty." Then Zhisheng further explains under this record,

The above three *sūtras* [*Fumuen Nanbao Jing* and two others] are extracted from the *Madhyamāgama* according to the *Dazhou Kanding Zhongjing Mulu*, but they are not found there when the text is examined. Although we find a similar *sūtra* concerning Raining Retreat in the *Ekottarāgama* scroll 24, the causes [for the Buddha to deliver the *sūtra*] and the contents are totally different [from the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*].⁴

2 Yao Menjun in his master's dissertation says that this is probably copied from Daoan's catalogue by Sengyou. In other words, Daoan already made the note in his catalogue that the *Fumuen nanbao jing* is an extract from the *Madhyamākāgama*. But as discussed in the text, it is Sengyou who made the note, not Daoan.

3 CBETA, T55, no.2154, 480a. I think that *qinbao* is a mistake for *nanbao*.

4 CBETA, T55, no.2154, 618a. Hereafter, unless otherwise stated, all the translations from ancient Chinese Buddhist and Confucian Texts are mine.

So Zhisheng checked at least two catalogues, Fei Zhangfang's *Lidai Sanbao Ji* (the Record of the Triple Treasures in History) compiled in 597 and Mingque's *Dazhou Kanding Zhongjing Mulu* (the Catalogue of Great Zhou) in 695, but he could not find the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* in the *Madhyamāgama* extant in his time. This makes us wonder which translation of the *Madhyamāgama* Zhisheng checked against: Dharmānandi's or Gautama Saṃghadeva's? In Zhisheng's catalogue we also find the record of the two versions of the *Madhyamāgama* translated by the above two people.⁵ But under the entry: *Madhyamāgama* translated Gautama Saṃghadeva, Zhisheng explained that there were two translations of the text, of which this is the second and the first one is lost (CBETA, T55, no.2154, 610c). In other words, Dharmānandi's translation of the *Madhyamāgama* was lost at least by the time of Zhisheng, around 730. Thus the version of the *Madhyamāgama* Zhisheng checked must be Gautama Saṃghadeva's translation, and therefore he could not find the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* in it. But the version of the *Madhyamāgama* from which Sengyou found the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* must be Dharmānandi's translation, since he said that it was quite different from Gautama Saṃghadeva's version. But Dharmānandi's translation got lost at least before Zhisheng in 730. However, later, authors of catalogues, such as Fei Zhangfang, Fajing, Yanzhong, Jingtai, Daoxuan etc., just followed Sengyou blindly without verifying the sources.⁶ When we examine the extant Chinese *Ekottarāgama*, we find one *sūtra* in eleven scrolls, which is very much the same as the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* in question, but without a title (CBETA, T2, no.125, 600c-601a). So we think that the extant *Ekottarāgama* and the

5 Zhisheng's catalogue: 1. "*Madhyamāgama*, fifty-nine scrolls translated by Dharmānandi (Twentieth year of Jianyuan (384-385), first translation, Zhu Fonian was the scribe. See Zhu Daozhu's miscellaneous catalogue of Jin dynasty and Sengyou's catalogue) (CBETA, T55, no.2154, 511b). 2. "*Madhyamāgama*, sixty scrolls translated by Gautama Saṃghadeva [second translation or fifty-eight scrolls, started on the tenth day of the eleventh month of the first year of Lunan (397) and ended on the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month of the second year (of Lunan) (398). The same original as Dharmānandi's translation, Śramaṇa Daoci was the scribe. See Daozhu's catalogue]" (CBETA, T55, no.2154, 505a).

6 Fei Zhangfang's *Lidai Sanbaoji*, CBETA, T49, no.2034, 52b; Fajing's *Zhongjing Mulu*, CBETA, T55, no.2146, 134b; Yanzhong's *Zhongjing Mulu*, CBETA, T55, no.2147, 166a; Jingtai's *Zhongjing Mulu*, CBETA, T55, no.2148, 200c; Daoxuan's *Datang Neidianlu*, CBETA, T55, no.2149, 221c.

Madhyamāgama both translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva would belong to one school and the *Madhyamāgama* translated by Dharmānandi would belong to another school, as different schools classify and collect sūtras in different collections. So the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* recorded in all these ancient catalogues is an extract from either the *Ekottarāgama*, or the *Madhyamāgama* of another school, and then a title was given according to its content, which is about the deep kindness of parents and the difficulty in repaying it. And this extract is found in the Taisho *Tripitaka* as no.684 and its translator is attributed to An Shigao.

Concerning the apocryphal *Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing*, Minque is perhaps the first person who recorded it in his catalogue and also pointed out that it is an apocryphal text (CBETA, T55, no.2153, 474a). This is because there is no mention of this text in the catalogues compiled before him such as that of Sengyou, Fei Zhangfang, Fajing, Yanzhong, Jingtai, Daoxuan and Jingmei. Minque listed the *Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing* under the list of apocryphal *sūtras* and explained that

From ancient times these *sūtras* have been traditionally considered apocryphal. Judging from the language, they are redundant and superfluous; the contents are rash and faithless. Although they steal [the name of the Buddha by saying] “It is said by the Buddha,” they still reveal their being created by men (CBETA, T55, no.2153, 474c).

Then nearly forty years later, Zhisheng, in his *Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*, gave the reasons why the sūtra in question is considered an apocryphal work: the *sūtra* mentions three Chinese filial sons, Dinglan, Dongan and Guju (CBETA, T55, no.2154, 673a). Thus, later almost all Buddhists and scholars alike have thought that the *Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing* is an apocryphal text.

Thus, we may come to the conclusion that in the ancient catalogues, there were two different versions of the *sūtra* on filial piety: one was considered authentic, named *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* and its translation was attributed to An Shigao while the other was considered apocryphal by the ancient compilers of catalogues and named *Fumu Enzhong Jing*. Now let us first discuss the authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*.

III. The Authentic Version of the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*

The authentic version of the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* has not been questioned, having been ignored by most modern scholars, and only a few, such as Ryoshū Michihata and Ono Genmyo, discussed it in their works.⁷ At present, we find another identical version of the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* in the Pali *Aṅguttara Nikāya* entitled *Kataññu Sutta* (grateful) apart from the version in the Chinese *Ekottarāgama* and the independent *Sūtra* allegedly translated by An Shigao. As I have discussed in another article about the first two versions which are authentic and transmitted from India, Ven. Guang Xing (2005: 82-106) now we compare the independent authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* with these two genuine versions to test the truth. For the convenience of discussion and comparison, I have divided the sūtras into three sections.

1. Section One: About the Deep Kindness of Parents and the Difficulty in Repaying it

A. The *Kataññu Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*:

Monks, one can never repay two persons, I declare. What two? Mother and father. Even if one should carry about his mother on one shoulder and his father on the other, and so doing should live a hundred years, attaining a hundred years; and if he should support them, anointing them with unguents, kneading, bathing and rubbing their limbs, and they meanwhile should even void their excrements upon him,—even so could he not repay his parents.

Moreover, monks, if he should establish his parents in supreme authority, in the absolute rule over this mighty earth abounding in the seven treasures,—not even by this could he repay his parents. What is the cause for that? Monks, parents do much for their children: they bring them up, they nourish them, they introduce them to this world (*A* I: 61.).

⁷ Ryoshū Michihata thought that it is apocryphal (1986: 208-209).

B. The sūtra from the Chinese *Ekottarāgama*:

Thus have I heard, at one time, the Buddha who was in Anāthapiṇḍaka's park in Śrāvastī told the bhikṣus thus: there are two people to whom for service rendered [one] should not ask for repay. Who are they? They are parents. Even if a bhikṣu should carry about his father on the left shoulder and his mother on the right shoulder, and [if he should support them with] clothes, food, blankets, beds and medicine when ill; and [they meanwhile] should even void their excrements upon him, and by so doing should he live a thousand or ten thousand years, even so could he not repay his parents. You should know, bhikṣus, parents' kindness [to their children] is so great—they raise, educate and protect them at all times according to the changes of seasons [literally, "not fall behind the seasons by looking at the sun and moon"]. So by this way, [you should know] that [parents'] kindness is difficult to repay.

Thus, bhikṣus, you should support and sustain your parents according to the changes of seasons. Hence, bhikṣus, you should learn in this way. At the time, the bhikṣus heard and delighted in the Buddha's teaching (CBETA, T2, no.125, 601a).

C. Taisho no.684, the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*:

Thus have I heard, at one time, the Bhagavan who was in Anāthapiṇḍaka's park in Śrāvastī. At that time the Blessed One told the bhikṣus thus, parents have great benefit to their children—they raise them up, educate them, thus the physical body [literally, the four great elements] of their children is fully grown. Even if a child should carry about his father on the right shoulder and his mother on the left shoulder for a thousand years, and [they meanwhile] should even void their excrements upon him, but he does not have any complaint, even so could he not repay his parents (CBETA, T16, no.684, 778c-779a).

2. Section Two: About How to Repay Debts to One's Parents**A. The *Kataññu Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*:**

Moreover, monks, whoso incites his unbelieving parents, settles and establishes them in the faith; whoso incites his immoral parents, settles and establishes them in morality; whoso incites his stingy

parents, settles and establishes them in liberality; whoso incites his foolish parents, settles and establishes them in wisdom,—such an one, just by so doing, does repay, does more than repay what is due to his parents (*A* I:61).

This paragraph is missing in the *sūtra* from the Chinese *Ekottarāgama*.

B. Taisho no.684, the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*:

If anyone could establish his unbelieving parents in faith, they would obtain peace; if anyone could establish his immoral parents in morality, they would obtain peace; if anyone could establish his ignorant parents in knowledge, they would obtain peace; if anyone could establish his stingy parents in generosity by persuasion and education, they would obtain peace; if anyone could establish his foolish parents in wisdom by persuasion and education, they would obtain peace (CBETA, T16, no.684, 779a4-7).

3. Section Three: About the Triple Gem

The first two versions do not have this section.

A. Taisho no.684, the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*:

Thus, they believe in the *Tathāgata*, the worthy one (*arhan*), the righteously and fully enlightened one (*samyaksambuddho*), one endowed with science and conduct (*vidyācaraḥasatīppannaḥ*), well gone (*sugato*), knower of the world (*lokavid*), the incomparable (*anuttaro*), tamer of men (*puruṣadamyasārathiḥ*), teacher of gods and men (*śāstā devānām ca manuṣyāḥ*), the enlightened and blessed one (*buddhobhagavā*). Teach them to have faith in the Dharma, they obtain peace. The Dharma is profound, and the meaning is also profound; the fruits can be obtained in this life. The wise understands it, teaches them to have faith in the *Sravaka Sangha*. The *Sangha* is pure in conduct, righteous in action and always harmonious. They are accomplished in Dharma, precepts, concentration, wisdom, liberation and the vision of liberation. They are those who have attained the eight grades of the four categories; they are the holy *Sangha* who are venerable, deserve respects and are the field of merits for the world.

Thus, children should teach their parents to practice kindness. Bhikṣus, there are two kinds of sons: naturally born and adopted, thus, Bhikṣus, there are two kinds of sons. Bhikṣus, you should learn the son naturally born [from parents], the flavour of the Dharma comes out from his mouth. Thus, Bhikṣus should learn. At that time, those Bhikṣus are delighted in hearing from the Buddha (CBETA, T16, no.684, 779a7-20).

The above comparison shows that the three texts are almost the same in emphasizing the great kindness of parents to their children and the difficulty in repaying it by the latter in section one, especially the idea that even if one should carry about his mother on one shoulder and his father on the other, and serve them for a hundred years, he could not repay his parents' kindness. In this connection, the title of independent Chinese translation named as the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*, meaning "Sūtra on the Difficulty in Repaying Parents' Kindness," is quite precise in expressing the meaning of the *sūtra*.

In section two, both the Pali version and the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* mention how to repay parents' kindness, but it is missing in the version of the Chinese *Ekottarāgama*. However, the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* adds one more way to repay parents' kindness in addition to the four ways mentioned in the Pali version. That is "if anyone could establish his ignorant parents in knowledge, they would obtain peace." Is this an addition by Chinese people? We find the entire *sūtra* similar to the Pali version with some variations in the *Benshi Jing* translated by Xuanzang in 650 (CBETA, T17, no.765, 682c-683a). This *sūtra* also mentions five ways of repaying parents' kindness which are the same as those found in the independent translation of the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* in question. The extra one is also about knowledge. It reads thus,

If parents have not heard much, their son should make them listen to the righteous teachings of the Buddhas by skilful means with various demonstrations, persuasions, praises and comforts (CBETA, T17, no.765, 682c).

This is the same as in the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*, but with detailed

explanation. Since it is found in the *Benshi Jing* translated by the trust worthy person, Xuanzang, so this could not be an addition by Chinese but by Indians.

The third section is only found in the independent translation of the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*, which elaborates that the faith one should establish their parents in is the faith in the triple gem. And the text further explains what the triple gem is.

From this comparison, we come to the conclusion that the Taisho no.684, *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* allegedly translated by An Shigao, is authentic, but it had been revised with additions by the Indians just as other Mahayana *sūtras*.

IV. The Probable Date and Translator of the Authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*

As discussed above, Sengyou listed the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* in the collection of miscellaneous *sūtras* without translators in his catalogue. At the beginning of this collection, Sengyou said,

To examine their origin, should they (*sūtras*) come from the heaven or appear from the earth? They may have been translated during the Han and Wei dynasties [CE25-265] and the records are lost due to the lapse of a long time, or they may have been translated from Sanskrit in the Qing and Liang dynasties [351-439], or they may have been translated recently during Jin and Song dynasties [317-479], but it is not clear. Thus, the translator is not known.⁸

However, in his *Lidai Sanbaoji* compiled seventy-nine years later than Sengyou's, Fei Zhangfang listed the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* under An shigao's translation and further explained that it is an extract from the *Madhyamāgama* following the latter's catalogue (CBETA, T49, no.2034, 51a13). Fei listed 176

⁸ CBETA, T55, no.2145, 21c2-5. During the Southern and Northern dynasties, China was divided into two parts, the Northern and the Southern, and even within these two geographically different places, there existed many different kingdoms, as a result the dates of these kingdoms overlap.

sūtras as translated by An Shigao instead of 39 in other catalogues such as Daoan's and Sengyou's. Fei explained his reasons for the additions, that An Shigao came to Luoyang in 148 and learnt Chinese first, then started translation (CBETA, T49, no.2034, 52b23-c14). By the end of Emperor Lingdi's reign (167-189) central China was in chaos, so An Shigao went south and continued his translation activities. However many of these translations were not known in other places, so Fei coordinated and collated many records. Those with titles were mostly extracts from large works translated by An Shigao while he was either in the northwest corridor or in the southern part of China. So Fei had no doubt about the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* being translated by An Shigao.

Then later compilers of catalogues, such as Jingmai who compiled the *Gujing Yijing Tuji* (The Record of the Translated Sūtras from Ancient Times) and even the most careful Zhisheng, just followed Fei Zhangfang in recording the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* as translated by An Shigao.⁹ If the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* is not translated by An Shigao as recorded in Sengyou's catalogue, then the date of translation is also in question. In order to determine the date of translation and the translator of the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*, we have to examine the text itself for evidence since we find different records from these ancient catalogues.

The text uses a few quite archaic technical terms in the ten titles of the Buddha that are not found in later translations, particularly after Kumārajīva who created new terms which became a standard for later translators. The following is a table of comparison of the ten titles found in both the authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* and Kumārajīva's Chinese translation of the *Samdharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*.¹⁰

Table. 1. shows that the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* uses four archaic terms: *Zhizhen* 至真 for *Yinggong* 應供, meaning worthy one (*arhan*), *Dengzhengjue*

9 Jingmei, *Gujing Yijing Tuji*, "Fumuen *Qingbao Jing*, one scroll (another title: *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*), An Shigao translated in Latter Han, quoted from Fei Zhangfang's catalogue" (CBETA, T55, no.2152, 419c), Zhisheng, *Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*: "Fumuen *Qingbao Jing*, one scroll, An Shigao translated in Latter Han" (CBETA, T55, no.2154, 667b).

10 *Samdharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, CBETA, T9, no.262, 3c; *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, CBETA, T8, no.227, 541a.

Table. 1. Ten titles of the Buddha in the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*.

The <i>Fumuen Nanbao Jing</i>	Kumārajīva's translation
<i>Rulai</i> 如來	<i>Rulai</i> 如來 (<i>Tathāgata</i>)
<i>Zhizhen</i> 至真	<i>Yinggong</i> 應供 (<i>arhat</i> , worthy one)
<i>Dengzhengjue</i> 等正覺	<i>Zhengbianzhi</i> 正遍知 (<i>samyaksaṃbuddho</i> , righteously and fully enlightened one)
<i>Mingxingchengwei</i> 明行成為	<i>Mingxingzu</i> 明行足 (<i>vidyācaraṇasaṃpannaḥ</i> , endowed with science and conduct)
<i>Shanshi</i> 善逝	<i>Shanshi</i> 善逝 (<i>sugato</i> , well gone)
<i>Shijianjie</i> 世間解	<i>Shijianjie</i> 世間解 (<i>lokavid</i> , knower of the world)
<i>Wushangshi</i> 無上士	<i>Wushangshi</i> 無上士 (<i>anuttaraḥ</i> , incomparable)
<i>Daofayu</i> 道法御	<i>Tiaoyuzhangfu</i> 調御丈夫 (<i>puruṣadamyasārathiḥ</i> , tamer of men)
<i>Tianrenshi</i> 天人師	<i>Tianrenshi</i> 天人師 (<i>śāstā devānāṃ ca manuṣyāṃāṃ</i> , a teacher of gods and men)
<i>Foshizun</i> 佛世尊	<i>Foshizun</i> 佛世尊 (<i>buddho bhagavān</i> , Enlightened One, blessed one)

等正覺 for *Zhengbianzhi* 正遍知, righteously and fully enlightened one (*samyaksaṃbuddho*), *Mingxingchengwei* 明行成為 for *Mingxingzu* 明行足, endowed with science and conduct (*vidyācaraṇasaṃpannaḥ*), and *Daofayu* 道法御 for *Tiaoyuzhangfu* 調御丈夫, tamer of men (*puruṣadamyasārathiḥ*).

These four terms were used before Kumārajīva, but they fell into disuse when the new terms were created.¹¹ However these archaic terms were still used in the fringe areas such as Liangzhou in northwest part of China during and also a little later than Kumārajīva's time. Please see the table of the Chinese translations of the ten titles of the Buddha above and at the time of

¹¹ Although we find two *sūtras* in the Taisho *Tripitaka* which are allegedly translated by Kumārajīva and in which some of the archaic terms of the ten titles of the Buddha are used, their credibility is very much doubted. Both the *Zhufaxing jing* (CBETA, T15, no.650, 752b-752c) and the *Foshuo Xumotipusha jing* (CBETA, T12, no.334, 80b) use the archaic term *Daofayu* while the latter one uses some irregular words which are not used other *sūtras*.

Kumārajīva below.

Table. 2. shows that starting from the latter Han dynasty (25-220), these four archaic terms were used together by some translators, such as Zhu Dali (Mahābala?), Kang Menxian and Tanguo (Dharmaphala?) and Zhiqian in Shanguo dynasty. But the four archaic terms became more and more standardized from Western Jin (265-316) on as shown in Dharmarakṣa's translations. In fact, we find these four archaic terms in numerous texts translated by Dharmarakṣa apart from the *Samddharmapuṇḍarikā Sūtra* and *Guangzan Jing* (*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*) as listed above in the table. However, after Kumārajīva these four archaic terms were rarely used except in a few cases such as Kiṃkārya's translation of the Kusumaśāncayasūtra in 472 CE. So I suggest that the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* may have been translated into Chinese before Kumārajīva came to Chang'an at the beginning of fifth century, but the translator is difficult to establish.

Table. 2. The Chinese translation of the ten titles of the Buddha before and at the time of Kumārajīva.

Translator	Text	Terminology
	<i>Foshuo Fumuen Nanbao Jing</i>	Rulai, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, Foshizun. ¹²
Latter Han (25-220)		
Lokakṣema	<i>Bhadrapāla sūtra</i>	Shihemoti (Sahapati?), <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, Foshizun (CBETA, T13, no.417, 902a).
Zhu Dali and Kang Menxian	<i>Xiuxing Benqi Jing</i>	Rulai, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, called Foshizun (CBETA, T3, no.184, 472b).

¹² The italics are mine in order to highlight the four archaic words used in the translation of the ten

Kang Menxian	<i>Foshou Xingqixing Jing</i>	Rulai, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, called Foshizun (CBETA, T4, no.197, 170c).
Tanguo and Kang Menxian	<i>Zhongbenqi Jing</i>	Rulai, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi (CBETA, T4, no.196, 147c11-12).
The Period of Three Kingdoms (220-280)		
Zhi Qian	<i>Sumāgadhāvādāna sūtra</i>	Rulai, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, called Fozhongyou (Buddha bhagavat) (CBETA, T2, no.182b, 842c).
Zhi Qian	<i>Vimalakīrtinirdeśa sūtra</i>	Rulai, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, called Foshizun (CBETA, T14, no.474, 535c).
Kang Senghui	<i>Liudu Ji Jing</i>	Rulai, Wusuo Zhao, Zhengzhendao, Zuizhengjiao, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, Dubusanjie, becoming the king of all holy ones (CBETA, T3, no.152, 11a).
Western Jin (265-316)		
Dharmarakṣa	<i>Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra</i>	Riyuedengming, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, becoming Foshizun (CBETA, T9, no.263, 65c).

Dharmarakṣa	<i>Guangzan Jing</i>	Rulai, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, called Fozhongyou (Buddha bhagavat) (CBETA, T8, no.222, 160c).
Nie Chengyuan	<i>Foshuo Chaoriming sanmei jing</i>	Rulai, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, called Foshizun (CBETA, T15, no.638, 542a).
Eastern Jin (317-420)		
Gautama Saṃghadeva	<i>Madhyama Āgama</i>	Rulai, Wusozhao, <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, called Fo (Buddha). (CBETA, T1, no.26, 429c)
Dharmakṣema	<i>Foshuo Jizhiguo Jing</i>	Rulai, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, Called Foshizun (CBETA, T1, no.22, 272b-c).
Dharmakṣema	<i>Chaihuaweiwan shangfo shoujuehou miaohua jing</i>	Rulai, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, called Foshizun (CBETA, T14, no.510, 778c).
After Eastern Jin (317-420) with translation date		
Zhu Fonian	<i>Dharmapāda</i> (374 CE)	Mile (Maitreye), <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, called Foshizun (CBETA, T14, no.434, 87a).

Zhu Fonian	<i>Shizhu Duanjie Jing</i> (365-385 CE)	Ruali appearing in the world, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, called Foshizun (CBETA, T4, no.212, 610a).
Kimkārya	<i>Kusumasañcaya sūtra</i> (472 CE)	Ruali appearing in the world, <i>zhizhen</i> , <i>Dengzhengjue</i> , <i>Mingxingchengwei</i> , Shanshi, Shijianjie, Wushangshi, <i>Daofayu</i> , Tianrenshi, called Fozhongyou (Buddha bhagavat) (CBETA, T10, no.309, 983c).

V. The Apocryphal Text of *Fumu Enzhong Jing*

As discussed above, since the time of Mingque and Zhisheng, the *Fumu Enzhong Jing* has been considered apocryphal and as a result, both educated and elite monks and lay Buddhists do not take it seriously. However, at the popular level, this *sūtra* became widely spread in Chinese society and was expressed in different forms such as *bianwen*, a kind of popular literature, and *bianxiang* or tableau, a kind of artistic illustration. Thus, the *sūtra* influenced the popular masses greatly. Since the *sūtra* has been transmitted at the popular level and copied by ordinary monks and laymen who were not like the cautious scholarly monks, so there came up many different versions with different contents. According to Acai Cheng, there are at least sixty manuscripts found in Dunhuang which have been preserved in many libraries in the world (Cheng 2003: 30).

The editors of the Taisho *Tripitaka* have included a version of the apocryphal *Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing* in volume 85 (no.2887), which is an edited version based on a manuscript S.2048 in British Library collated with a manuscript S.190 found in the Fusetsu Nakamura Collection.¹³ This version is quite old because Zongmi, the well known Chinese Buddhist scholar monk of

13 Cited from Cheng Acai (2003: 28).

the Tang Dynasty, quoted at length from this *sūtra* in his commentary to the *Ullambana Sūtra*. Although many scholars point out this fact, no one has made a detailed comparison of it as far as I know. Here is a comparative table to show that the version of the apocryphal *sūtra* entitled *Fumu Enzhong Jing* quoted by Zongmi is very much the same as no.2887 in the Taisho *Tripiṭaka*.

Table. 3. of comparison shows that the version of the *Fumu Enzhong Jing* quoted by Zongmi in his commentary is almost the same as the apocryphal *Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing* in volume 85 of the Taisho edition of *Tripiṭaka*. So we may conclude that the apocryphal *Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing* in the Taisho edition of *Tripiṭaka* is old and probably composed before Zongmi (780-841).¹⁴ However, Shichang Ma thinks that this version misses the few names of filial people such as Dinglan, Dongan, Guju and Syama so he has reedited it by adding the names of these people (Ma 2001: 471-474).

Table. 3. Comparison of *Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing* with the quotations from it found in Zongmi's commentary to the *Ullambana Sūtra*.

no.2887, <i>Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing</i> . ¹⁵	no.1792, Quotations from Zongmi's commentary to the <i>Ullambana Sūtra</i> . ¹⁶
Parents hold [the child] in their arms playing with amusing sound, being happy and smiling. When hungry and thirsty [the child] feeds on nothing but mother's milk.	<i>Fumu Enzhong Jing</i> said, Parents hold [the child] in their arms playing with amusing sound, being happy and smiling. When hungry and thirsty [the child] feeds on nothing but mother's milk.
The mother's kindness is like great Heaven, illimitable. How could the compassionate mother's debts be repaid?	The mother's kindness is like great Heaven, illimitable. How could the compassionate mother's debts be repaid?
When the mother is in the neighbourhood, she returns home now and then. "My son cries at home	When the mother is in the neighbourhood, she returns home now and then. When the other's heart

¹⁴ In our discussion of the apocryphal *Foshuo fumu enzhong jing*, we will use the version included in the Taisho *Tripiṭaka* since this is probably the oldest extant one.

<p>and calls me,” [so thinking,] she returns home.</p>	<p>shakes, milk comes out from her two breasts and she knows that “my son calls me at home,” so she returns home.</p>
<p>The son sees his mother coming from a distance; he either shakes his head in the cradle or creeps toward her. The mother bends herself down, stretches out her arms, wipes dust and shows her breast to the son to milk him. The mother is happy upon seeing her son and the son is glad upon seeing his mother. Thus nothing excels the emotions of the two loved ones.</p>	<p>The son sees his mother coming from a distance; he either shakes his head in the cradle or walks toward her. The mother bends herself down, stretches out her arms, wipes dust and shows her breast to the son to milk him. The mother is happy upon seeing her son and the son is glad upon seeing his mother. Thus nothing excels the emotions of the two loved ones.</p>
<p>When the son grows up, accompanied by friends, he combs his hair and wants good cloth to cover his body. The parents wear the old and damaged cloth and give the new ones first to the son. When it comes to lawsuits, their minds are scattered and they send their son north or south, but disaster still befalls on their heads. After marriage with a lady from another family, the son neglects his parents, but indulges in merrymaking [with his wife] in their private room. When the parents grow old and their strength becomes more and more emaciated, the son does not make any inquiry of them from morning till evening. Or when the father is a widower or the mother is a widow, he or she is left alone in empty houses, feeling like a guest</p>	<p>When the son grows up, accompanied by friends, he combs his hair and wants good cloth to cover his body. The parents wear the old and damaged cloth and give the new ones first to the son. When it comes to lawsuits, their minds are scattered and they send their son north or south, but disaster still befalls on their heads. When the son grows old enough, he is given to marriage with a lady from another family, but the son neglects his parents and indulges in merrymaking [with his wife] in their private room. When the parents grow old and their strength becomes more and more emaciated, the son does not make any inquiry of them from morning till evening. Or when the father is a widower or the mother is a widow, he or she is left</p>

<p>staying in another's house without love and compassion. Or they may not have a blanket and suffer from cold and hardship, which is so intense that it makes them more withered and old. Thus full of cooties or lice, they could not sleep all night. They exclaim: "What kind of bad karma was done in the past that we have such an unfilial son?" Or they may call [their son], but meet with angry eye and fury. The daughter-in-law laughs with head down after scolding them.</p>	<p>alone in empty houses, feeling like a guest staying in another's house without love and compassion. Or they may not have a blanket and suffer from cold and hardship, which is so intense that it makes them more withered and old. Thus full of cooties or lice, they could not sleep all night. They exclaim: "What kind of bad karma was done in the past that we have such an unfilial son?" Or they may call [their son], but meet with angry eye and fury. The daughter-in-law laughs with head down after scolding them.</p>
<p>Sakka, the king of the Brahma realm, all devas and people, and all sentient beings are happy upon hearing this <i>sūtra</i> and have awakened the bodhi mind. Thus they cry so loud that the earthquakes and tears fall like rain.</p>	<p>Sakka, the king of the Brahma realm, all devas and people, and all sentient beings are happy upon hearing this <i>sūtra</i> and have awakened the bodhi mind. Thus they cry so loud that the earthquakes and tears fall like rain.</p>

When we look at the *Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu* (*Kaiyuan Buddhist Catalogue*), which was compiled in 730, it records thus,

Fumu Enzhong Jing, one scroll (the *Sūtra* cites Dinglan, Dongan, Guju etc., so we know that it is created by men, three sheets of paper) (CBETA, T55, no.2154, 673a).

Then Yuanzhou's *Zhenyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu* (*New Buddhist Catalogue of Zhenyuan*), which was compiled in 800, records,

15 CBETA, T85, no.2887, 1403b-1404a.

16 CBETA, T39, no.1792, 508b-508c.

Fumu Enzhong Jing, one scroll, the *Sūtra* cites Dinglan, Dongan, Guju etc., so we know that it is created by men, ten sheets of paper (CBETA, T55, no.2157, 1017a).

Therefore the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* had been enlarged with additions so that it was tripled from three to ten sheets of papers within seventy years. According to K. Ogawa, who has made a brilliant study of the text, the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* had been enlarged by taking the ideas and passages from the following texts.¹⁷ On the one hand, we find in the *Dacheng Bensheng Xindi Guan Jing* translated by Prajñā in 790 that it praises the ten virtues of mother in the chapter on “Repaying Parents’ Kindness” (CBETA, T3, no.159, 297a-c). The text just lists the ten virtues and explains briefly,

Thus, the mother has ten virtues: (1) like earth, [the child] takes refuge in the mother’s womb; (2) giving birth, the mother gives birth after experiencing much pain; (3) able to correct, the mother always takes care of the child’s five organs with her own hands; (4) bringing up, the mother takes care of her child according to the four seasons; (5) being wiser, the mother skillfully takes care of the child with wisdom; (6) decoration, the mother decorates her child with all kinds of precious things; (7) giving peace, the mother holds her child in her arms so as to protect; (8) being an educator, the mother skillfully guides her child; (9) being an adviser, the mother prevents her child from falling into evil by good words; (10) giving of inheritance, the mother gives the child family inheritance (CBETA, T3, no.159, 297b23-c2).

On the other hand, Fazhao, the Pure Land patriarch, composed “Verses in Praise of Parents’ Kindness” in his *Brief Introduction to the Practices of the five Ways of Intoning Amitābha* in the late eighth century (CBETA, T47, no.1983, 490a). There are nine four-line verses in praising parents, but the verses are not divided according to the ten virtues. So people took the idea of the ten virtues of mother from the above *sūtra* and divided Fazhao’s verses in praising parents accordingly with little modification and then added it to the

17 For a detailed discussion, please see Ogawa Kanichi (1984: 212-216).

Fumu Enzhong Jing. Ogawa's suggestion is most probably true because the verses on the ten virtues of mother found in the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* are very much similar to Fazhao's verses.

Table. 4. Comparison of Fazhao's "Verses in Praise of Parents' Kindness" and the ten kindnesses of parents in the *Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing*.

Fazhao's Verses in Praise of Parents' Kindness	The ten kindnesses of parents in the <i>Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing</i>
<p>1. The causes and conditions from accumulated kalpas are there, until in this life the child ends up in its mother's womb.¹⁸ As the months pass, the five vital organs develop; within seven weeks the six sense organs start to grow. [The mother's body] gradually becomes as heavy as a mountain; the movements of the fetus are like a kalpic wind disaster. The mother's fine clothes no longer hang properly, and so her mirror gathers dust.</p>	<p>1. The kindness of providing protection and care while the child is in the womb. The causes and conditions from accumulated kalpas grows heavy, until in this life the child ends up in its mother's womb. As the months pass, the five vital organs develop; within seven weeks the six sense organs start to grow. The mother's body becomes as heavy as a mountain; the stillness and movements of the fetus are like a kalpic wind disaster. The mother's fine clothes no longer hang properly, and so her mirror gathers dust.</p>
<p>2. The pregnancy approaches the tenth lunar month and culminates in difficult labor at the birth. Meanwhile, each morning the mother is seriously ill and every day she intones herself, her fear and agitation are difficult to describe; grieving and tears fill her breast. She painfully calls her family that she is only afraid that death will overtake her.</p>	<p>2. The kindness of bearing suffering during birth. The pregnancy approaches the tenth lunar month and culminates in difficult labor at the birth. Meanwhile, each morning the mother is seriously ill and every day she intones herself, her fear and agitation are difficult to describe; grieving and tears fill her breast. She painfully calls her family that she is only afraid that death will overtake her.</p>
<p>3. The months are full and the birth is around corner, it is really difficult</p>	<p>3. The kindness of forgetting all the pain once the child has been born.</p>

<p>for the mother to bear the child, her five organs are like being cut, neighbors all come to see. The child is born on grass; lookers say that it is a boy, upon hearing it the mother is joyful and calls the child, forgetting all the pain that covers her body.</p>	<p>On the day the compassionate mother bears the child, her five organs all open wide, leaving her totally exhausted in body and mind. The blood flows as from a slaughtered lamb; yet, upon hearing that the child is healthy, she is overcome with redoubling joy, but after the joy, the grief returns, and the agony wrenches her very insides.</p>
<p>4.2. Without reservation, the mother saves the sweet for the child, and without complaint she swallows the bitter herself. Only wanting the child to get its fill, the compassionate mother doesn't speak of her own hunger.</p>	<p>4. The kindness of eating the bitter herself and saving the sweet for the child. The kindness of both parents is profound and deep, their care and devotion never cease. Never resting, the mother saves the sweet for the child, and without complaint she swallows the bitter herself. Her love is weighty and her emotion is difficult to bear; her kindness is deep and so is her compassion. Only wanting the child to get its fill, the compassionate mother doesn't speak of her own hunger.</p>
<p>4.1. The mother moves to the wet place so that the child can be dry. With her blood milk she satisfies its hunger and thirst; covering it with her cloth, she protects it from the wind and cold.</p>	<p>5. The kindness of moving the child to a dry place and lying in the wet herself. The mother is willing to be wet so that the child can be dry. With her two breasts she satisfies its hunger and thirst; covering it with her sleeve, she protects it from the wind and cold. In kindness, her head rarely rests on the pillow, and yet she does this happily; so long as the child is comfortable, the kind mother seeks no solace for herself.</p>
<p>6. When growing older, a boy would serve in army while a girl would</p>	<p>6. The kindness of suckling the child at her breast and nourishing and</p>

<p>serve in another's house. The mother cries in thinking of them when the winter festival comes. [The parents] think of their boy or girl every day and enquire about peace daily. If they get good news they would make meritorious deeds.</p>	<p>bringing up the child. The kind mother is like the great earth. The stern father is like the encompassing heaven; one covers from above the other supports from below. The kindness of parents is such that they know no hatred or anger toward their offspring, and are not displeased, even if the child is born crippled. After the mother carries the child in her womb and gives birth to it, the parents care for and protect it together until the end of their days.</p>
	<p>7. Kindness of washing away the unclean. Originally she had a pretty face and a beautiful body, her spirit was strong and vibrant. Her eyebrows were like fresh green willows, and her complexion would have put a red rose to shame. But her kindness is so deep she will forego a beautiful face. Although washing away the filth injures her constitution, the kind mother acts solely for the sake of her sons and daughters and willingly allows her beauty to fade.</p>
<p>5. Parting from loved ones, the emotion is difficult to endure. But separation is also painful. When the child travels even within a hundred <i>li</i>, the compassionate mother sheds a thousand tears. When a boy grows older, he would serve in the army, when a girl grows older, she would be away in another's house, and a thousand tears fall from her eyes. When festival comes at the end of</p>	<p>8. The kindness of always thinking of the child when it has travelled far. The death of loved ones is difficult to endure. But separation is also painful. When the child travels afar, the mother worries in her village. From morning until night, her heart is with her child, and a thousand tears fall from her eyes. Like the monkey weeping silently in love for her child, bit by bit her heart is</p>

<p>winter, the compassionate mother wets her cloth with tears.</p>	<p>broken.</p>
	<p>9. The kindness of deep care and devotion. How heavy is the parents' kindness and emotional concern! Their kindness is deep and difficult to repay. Willingly they undergo suffering on their child's behalf. If the child toils, the parents are uncomfortable. If they hear that he has travelled afar, they worry that at night he will have to lie in the cold. Even a moment's pain suffered by their sons or daughters will cause the parents sustained distress.</p>
<p>7. Although the parents are old, their tender concern never ceases. Even if they live for a hundred years, they will constantly worry about their eighty-year-old child! Thus one knows the profound and importance of parents' kindness. Now, although the five consciousnesses separate, they still worry even as ghosts in the other world.</p>	<p>10. The kindness of ultimate pity and sympathy. The kindness of parents is profound and important. Their tender concern never ceases. From the moment they awake each day, their thoughts are with their children. Whether the children are near or far away, the parents think of them often. Even if a mother lives for a hundred years, she will constantly worry about her eighty-year-old child! Do you wish to know when such kindness and love ends? It doesn't even begin to dissipate until her life is over.</p>

From the Table. 4. we can see that only seven four-line verses in Fazhao's "Verses in Praise of Parents' Kindness" are used. The other two verses are not on mother's kindness, but about the merits of filial piety. This table of comparison shows how similar the ten virtues found in the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* to the virtues discussed in Fazhao's "Verses in Praise of

18 In the original text, there is no number. I have added the numbers in order to make comparison.

Parents' Kindness." Only the seventh and ninth virtues are not found in that of Fazhao's and others are almost the same.

Apart from the ten virtues of mother pointed out by K. Ogawa, we also find another minor point that the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* has probably copied from the *Dacheng Bensheng Xindi Guan Jing* translated by Prajña. The text mentions that a child would have drunk mother's milk "one hundred and eighty *hu*" from the womb to a few years old (CBETA, T3, no.159, 297b). This is the same as mentioned in the *Antarābhava sūtra*, translated by Zhu Fonian during the latter Liang dynasty (384-417), that a child would have drunk "one hundred and eighty *hu*" from the womb till three years old (CBETA, T12, no.385, 1059b). The apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* mentions that a child drinks mother's milk "eight *hu* and ten *dou*." So it is probably by the time Yuanzhou compiled his *Zhenyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu* in 800 that the *Fumu Enzhong Jing* had already been enlarged with all the above additions.

VI. How was the apocryphal text of Fumu Enzhong Jing created?

Many modern scholars such as K. Ogawa, K. Arai, Acai Cheng, Shichang Ma and Xiusheng Sun think that the *Fumu Enzhong Jing* is purely a creation of Chinese Buddhists influenced by the Confucian emphasis of filial piety, and thus it is apocryphal.¹⁹ However, how and when this text was created are not clear and there are only a few who have attempted to address the issue. K. Ogawa, following Zongmi who quoted a few verses from the "Liao E" in the Chinese classic *Shi Jing* in his commentary to the *Ullambana Sūtra* in praising of parents' kindness,²⁰ thinks that the apocryphal *Fumu*

19 Ogawa Kanichi (1984: 209), Arai Keiyo (2002: 153), Ma Shichang (2001: 467), and Sun Xiusheng (1996: 240).

20 Zongmi quoted in his commentary to the *Ullambana Sūtra* the following verses from the *Shi Jing* (the *Book of Odes*): "Long and large grows the e ; — It is not the e but the hao. Alas! alas! my parents, With what toil ye gave me birth! ... Fatherless, who is there to rely on? Motherless, who is there to depend on? When I go abroad, I carry my grief with me; When I come home, I have no one to go to. O my father, who begat me! O my mother, who nourished me! Ye indulged me, ye fed me, Ye held me up, ye supported me, Ye looked after me, ye never left me, Out and in ye

Enzhong Jing is probably first composed by taking the ideas from the *Shi Jing* (Ogawa 1984: 214). K. Ogawa also quotes the same verses from the *Shi Jing* as Zongmi in praising the parents' kindness. He notices that the following lines are quite similar to some sentences in the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing*.

Alas! alas! my parents, with what toil ye gave me birth! ...
 Alas! alas! my parents, with what toil and suffering ye gave me birth! ...
 If I would return your kindness, It is like great Heaven, illimitable.²¹

Thus, K. Ogawa suggests that the *Shi Jing* is probably the original sources for the creation of the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing*. But, I think that this is not possible because, firstly, the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* is not in verse but in prose in its early form, particularly before Zongmi as discussed above, although it uses four character sentences, which is quite common in other Chinese translations of Buddhist *sūtras* as well. Secondly, in ancient Chinese literature, there are numerous places praising parents's kindness, so we cannot say that because the classic *Shi Jing* uses four-character verses in praising parents, so it is the source for the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing*.

However, I think that the apocryphal *sūtra* is not entirely a Chinese creation, but a revised and modified version of the authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* and later enlarged with many additions. Or at least, the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* is composed by borrowing the title from the authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* and selecting passages related to filial piety in other *sūtras*. Then, one may ask why and for what purposes the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* had been created even though there is an authentic version? I have the

bore me in your arms. If I would return your kindness, It is like great Heaven, illimitable" (CBETA, T39, no.1792, 508a29-b4). The English translation of the *Shi Jing* is cited from the Virginia University Library e-text, <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/chinese/shijing/AnoShih.html>. Accessed June 26, 2006.

21 *Shi Jing* cited from the Virginia University Library e-text, English translation anonymous, <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/chinese/shijing/AnoShih.html>. Accessed June 26, 2006.

following reasons to support my suggestion.

Firstly, as discussed above, in the second paragraph of the authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* it says that one can repay parents' kindness by doing five things: to establish parents in faith, morality, knowledge, generosity and wisdom. This idea opposes the Confucian thought of filial piety, particularly the idea to establish the immoral parents in morality. According to the Confucian concept of filial piety, a child can never disobey his parents even if they are wrong. The only thing children can do to their parents is to serve them and do whatever they ask for without any complaint. This is because the Confucian filial piety emphasizes on respect and reverence towards parents as the *Lunyu* or *Analects* says,

Ziyou asked what filial piety was. The Master said, "The filial piety nowadays means the support of one's parents. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support; without reverence, what is there to distinguish the one support given from the other?"²²

So according to this passage, reverence to parents is the most important aspect of filial piety. Otherwise there is no difference between human beings and animals if parents are only supported with material and service such as food and cloth without reverence and respect. This idea is also reflected in the *Xiaojing* or *Classic of Filial Piety* as it says,

The Master said, "The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows: In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence. In his nourishing of them, his endeavor is to give them the utmost pleasure. When they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety. In mourning for them [dead], he exhibits every demonstration of grief. In sacrificing to them, he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things, [he may be pronounced] able to serve his parents."²³

²² *The Analects*, 2:7. In this paper, English translations of *The Analects*, *The Works of Mencius*, *The Li Ki*, *Classic of Filial Piety*, *The Doctrine of the Mean*, *Book of Poetry* are by James Legge, sometimes with minor changes where appropriate. Following conventional practices, the source is indicated, for example, as "*The Analects*, 2:7," which stands for *The Analects*, chapter 2, section 7.

Thus, parents should be respected with the utmost reverence in children's general conduct towards them. On the other hand, if filial piety is not carried out properly then it is considered one of the five grave crimes that deserve punishment as pointed out in the same *Xiaojing*.

The Master said, "There are three thousand offenses against which the five punishments are directed, and there is not one of them greater than being unfilial. When constraint is put upon a ruler, that is the disowning of his superiority. When the authority of the sages is disallowed, that is the disowning of [all] law. When filial piety is put aside, that is the disowning of the principle of affection. These [three things] pave the way to anarchy."²⁴

Thus, unfiliality is considered in the ancient time the first of the five grave crimes to be punished. The idea of punishing the unfilial son started quite early and it was implemented through law in Han dynasty. This became a tradition and inherited by the Southern and Northern dynasty, Sui and Tang dynasties until Ming and Qing. In the law of Northern Qi (550-557), the term "ten grave crimes" appeared and unfiliality was listed as the eighth while in the law of Tang dynasty (618-907), it was listed as the seventh of the ten evil crimes. The term "ten evil crimes" had been inherited and used until Qing, the last dynasty (1616-1911).²⁵ The Tang dynasty law states in clear terms about the unfilial crimes. Here I just quote a few as examples.

Those who scold parents or grandparents are to be hanged; those who strike them are to be beheaded.

Those who accuse grandparents and parents are to be hanged.²⁶

23 *The Xiaojing (Hsiao King)*, 480. The English translation is adopted from James Legge with minor changes. The italics are mine.

24 *The Xiaojing (Hsiao King)*, 481. The English translation is adopted from James Legge with minor changes. About the five punishments, please see the *Encyclopedia of China*.

25 Cited from Huang Xiuming (2003: 276).

26 Cited from Huang Xiuming (2003: 277).

Thus, the Confucian filial piety is about the protection of parents, particularly father's dignity and power. Therefore, the *Xiaojing* says, "In filial piety there is nothing greater than the reverential awe of one's father."²⁷ As a result, the Confucian concept of filial piety fell into the predicaments that the father was to be obeyed and respected even if he was wrong. In fact the son should conceal his father's wrong doings as said in the *Analects*.

The Duke of Ye informed Confucius, saying, "Among us here there are those who may be styled upright in their conduct. If their fathers have stolen a sheep, they will bear witness to the fact." Confucius said, "Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this."²⁸

In such an environment, the Buddhist principle of repaying parents' kindness, especially to establish the immoral parents in morality as told in the authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*, could not be preached to Chinese audience particularly to the ordinary masses without modification since it is in contradiction with the Confucian concept of filial piety which emphasizes respect and reverence to parents. It is probably also due to the same consideration that when Gautama Sanghadeva translated the *Ekottarāgama* into Chinese, which contains the counterpart of the Pali *Kataññu Sutta* of the *Anguttara Nikāya*, the second section of the *sūtra* on how to repay parents' debts is removed as seen above.

Some people may argue that Confucianism also advocates remonstrance or admonition of the son to his parents in order to correct them from their erroneous ways. But this remonstrance is still under the law of respect. So another important Chinese classic *Liji* says, "In the service of a son to his

27 The *Xiaojing* (*Hsiao King*), 476. The English translation is adopted from James Legge.

28 The *Lunyu* or *Analects*. The English translation is adopted from James Legge with minor changes. For a detailed discussion on the concealment of father's wrongdoings by his son in Confucian filial piety, please read Bi Lijun and Fred D'agostino, "The Doctrine of Filial Piety: A Philosophical Analysis of the Concealment Case," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 31, no.4, (December 2004): 451-467.

parents, if he has thrice remonstrated and is still not listened to, he should follow them with loud crying and tears.”²⁹ Confucius also said,

In serving his parents, a son may remonstrate with them, but gently; when he sees that they do not incline to follow his advice, he shows an increased degree of reverence, but does not abandon his purpose; and should they punish him, he does not allow himself to murmur.³⁰

So in the end, remonstrance of the son to his parents remains a noble ideal.

This probably also explains the reasons why the authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* has never been widely spread in China after its translation and many people especially ordinary masses even do not know the very existence of it. As a result, the Chinese people created the apocryphal text by imitating the authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing*. The first paragraph is about the kindness of parents to their children, and the second paragraph is about how to repay their debts by imitating the authentic *sūtra*. However, they could not use the five ways to repay parents’ debts as told in the authentic *sūtra* so they replaced them with the following passage:

Ananda asks the Buddha, World Honored One, how can their kindness be repaid? Please explain to us. The Buddha told Ananda, The parents’ kindness is like great Heaven, illimitable. How? If a filial and obedient son can copy this *sūtra* or make offerings to the Buddha and the *Sangha* on the fifteenth of July, the *ullambana* day, on behalf of his parents, he can repay his parents’ kindness. If a person can copy this *sūtra*, make it spread, and read it, he can repay parents’ kindness (CBETA, T85, no.2887, 1403c).

In this passage, we find two ideas which are taken from other *Mahāyāna sūtras*. First, the idea of “make offerings to the Buddha and the *Sangha* on the fifteenth of July” in order to repay parents’ kindness is taken

²⁹ *The Li Ki*, translation James Legge with minor corrections.

³⁰ *The Analects*, 4:18. The translation is adopted from James Legge.

from the *Ullambana Sūtra* which was translated by Dharmarakṣa during Western Jin dynasty (266-313). This *sūtra* influenced the Chinese society tremendously after Emperor Wudi of Liang who started the *ullambana* festival based on the *sūtra*, and it became a folk festival celebrated in medieval Chinese society annually.³¹ Second, the idea of making merits by copying, reading and distributing an *sūtra* is found in most of *Mahāyāna sūtras*, but it is usually found at the end of the text. However, the apocryphal *sūtra* places it in the middle of the text after the description of parents' kindness to children to serve their purpose as discussed above. These ways of repaying parents' kindness were acceptable to the ancient Chinese people who had been brought up in the environment where Confucian teachings pervaded. Thus, after the creation of the apocryphal *sūtra*, it had been circulated widely in Chinese society particularly at the popular level since it is in conformity with the Confucian concept of filial piety.

Secondly, the people who revised the apocryphal *sūtra* again enlarged it with more additions with references to some Buddhist *sūtras* translated earlier such as the Mahāyāna version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* translated by Dharmakṣena during 414-421 and the *Antarābhavasūtra* translated by Zhu Fonian during the former Qing dynasty (365-384). This is because there are two new ideas in the apocryphal *sūtra* which are not found in both the independent *sūtra* allegedly translated by An Shigao and the version in the *Ekottarāgama*. (1) The ideas about *mother's caring for and difficulties in bringing up children* are already mentioned in the Mahāyāna version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* which says,

Wonderful is my mother who suffers tremendously when she carries me in her womb for ten months. After birth, she gives me the dry place by lying on the wet place herself, cleaning the dirt of my excrement, nourishing me with her breast milk, protecting my body with herself. It is because of this, I should repay my debts by service, support and reverence (CBETA, T12, no.374, 419c).

(2) The idea of *measuring mother's kindness by the milk children have*

31 See Stephen Teiser (1996).

drunk: the apocryphal *sūtra* says: “the mother’s kindness [to her child] should be measured with eight *hu* and four *dou* [of the milk].” This idea is found in the *Antarābhavasūtra* that says,

Maitreya, in the *Jambudvīpa*, how much does the child drink mother’s milk from the time he was born till three years old? Maitreya answers, one hundred and eighty *hu* apart from the blood consumed in her womb (CBETA, T12, no.385, 1059b).

So it is quite clear that the people who revised the apocryphal *sūtra* had consulted the above *sūtras*, or perhaps even more other Buddhist *sūtras* in Chinese translation because these two new ideas concerning the mother are not found in any Confucian texts and they are Indian ideas. These two texts, particularly the Mahāyāna version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* were quite popular during the Southern and Northern dynasties, and there even appeared the *Nirvāṇa* school which concentrated on the study of the text. The second text of the *Antarābhavasūtra* is also well known because Daoshi quoted the above passage in his *Fayuanzhulin* in discussing filial piety (CBETA, T53, no.2122, 663c). Then the following paragraphs about parents’ kindness, the unfilial sons and the ending are added by the Chinese creators. Therefore, K. Ogawa’s assertion that the Chinese classic *Shi Jing* is the original sources for the creation of the apocryphal *sūtra* cannot stand the test of truth since there is no mention of the vital idea about mother’s caring for and difficulties in bringing up children in the text, which are central to the apocryphal *sūtra*.

Thus, I suggest that the apocryphal *sūtra Fumu Enzhong Jing* has been created by imitating the authentic *sūtra* of the *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* and revised by collecting the relevant passages from other *sūtras* translated earlier.

VII. The Apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* and its Influence on Chinese Society

After its creation, the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* enjoyed such

popularity amongst the common people that it was expressed in various ways and means such as popular preaching and lectures, mural and cave paintings, stone carvings etc. By the late eighth to early ninth century, the apocryphal text was even accepted by Buddhist scholarly monks such as Zongmi who quoted from it in his commentary to the *Ullambana Sūtra* as discussed above. According to Shicheng Ma, there are more than sixty hand-copied Dunhuang texts of the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* found in libraries in Beijing, Paris and London (Ma 2001: 467-480). Recently the text carved on stone tablets has also been found in Fangshan in Beijing and Shandong province. Moreover, this *sūtra* became so popular that people painted illustrations, called *Banxiang* or tableaux, six of which are found in Dunhuang, four are mural paintings in caves numbers 238, 156, 170 and 449 and two are silk paintings. The last two are found in London and Gansu museums. Furthermore, the murals of illustrations of the text are also found carved in Dazu caves in Sichuan in southwest of China. Apart from these the *sūtra* even had been rewritten during the Tang dynasty as text for popular lectures as evidenced by the *Jiangjingwen*, popular lecture notes found in Dunhuang. The text has even been transmitted to Korea and Japan and has been widely circulated there. Today, the title of this text is *Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Nanbao Jing*, a combination of both the genuine and apocryphal texts.

This apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* even influenced Daoism and there are at least three versions of the Daoist *Filial Piety Sūtra* existing today: the *Taishang Laojunshuo Bao Fumu Enzhong Jing* the *Xuantian Shangdishuo Bao Fumu Enzhong Jing* and the *Taishang Zhengyi Bao Fumu Enzhong Jing*. These Daoist texts, according to scholars, are but creations by imitating the Buddhist text in form and the Confucian thought in content.³² This *sūtra*, together with other *sūtras* of similar nature such as the *Ullambana Sūtra*, influenced the Chinese society so much that after the Tang Dynasty (618-906), there was rarely any criticism of Buddhist monks being unfilial as in the early days when Buddhism was introduced into China.

After an analysis of both the authentic *Fumuen Nanbao Jing* and the

³² Livia Kohn (2004). Also Hu Wenhe (2002: 127).

apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing*, we may come to the conclusion that the latter is probably a Chinese creation by imitating the former. This is because the authentic *sūtra* has a paragraph on how to repay parents' kindness in five ways which are not in conformity with the Confucian concept of filial piety. After its creation, the apocryphal *Fumu Enzhong Jing* has been revised and enlarged many times by taking some ideas and passages from other Mahāyāna *sūtras* translated earlier. As a result, the apocryphal *sūtra* became widely circulated in Chinese society up till this day while the authentic *sūtra* became oblivious.

Glossary of Chinese Terms

(K=Korean, C=Chinese, J=Japanese)

An Shigao (C) 安世高

Arai Keiyo (J) 新井慧譽

Benshi Jing (C) 本事經

Chaihuaweiwán Shangfo Shoujuehou Miaohua Jing (C)

採花達王上佛授決號妙花經

Cheng Acai (C) 鄭阿財

Chu Shanzang Jiji (C) 出三藏記集

Dacheng Bensheng Xindi Guan Jing (C) 大乘本生心地觀經

Daoci (C) 道慈

Daofayu (C) 道法御

Daoshi (C) 道世

Daoxuan (C) 道宣

Daozhu (C) 道祖

Datang Neidianlu (C) 大唐內典錄

Dazhou Kanding Zhongjing Mulu (C) 大周刊定衆經目錄

Dazu (C) 大足

Dengzhengjue (C) 等正覺

Dinglan (C) 丁蘭

Dongan (C) 董黯

- Dunhuang (C) 敦煌
Ekottarāgama (C) 增壹阿含經
Fajing (C) 法經
Fayuanzhulin (C) 法苑珠林
 Fei Zhangfang (C) 費長房
 Foshizun (C) 佛世尊
Foshuo Chaoriming Sanmei Jing (C) 佛說超日明三昧經
Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Jing (C) 佛說父母恩重經
Foshuo Fumu Enzhong Nanbao Jing (C) 佛說父母恩重難報經
Foshuo Fumuen Nanbao Jing (C) 佛說父母恩難報經
Foshuo Jizhiguo Jing (C) 佛說寂志果經
Foshuo Xingqixing Jing (C) 佛說興起行經
 Genmyo Ono (J) 小野 玄妙
Guangzan Jing (C) 光讚經
Gujing Yijing Tuji (C) 古今譯經圖紀
 Guju (C) 郭巨
 Jianyuan (C) 建元
 Jingmai (C) 靖邁
 Jingtai (C) 靜泰
Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu (C) 開元釋教錄
 Kang Menxian (C) 康孟詳
 Liao E (C) 蓼莪
Lidai Sanbao Ji (C) 歷代三寶紀
Liudu Ji Jing (C) 六度集經
 Lunan (C) 隆安
 Ma Shichang (C) 馬世長
 Michihata Ryoshū (J) 道端 良秀
 Mingxing chengwei (C) 明行成為
 Mingxingzu (C) 明行足
 Minque (C) 明佺
 Nakamura Fusetsu (J) 中村 不折
 Nanbao (C) 難報

- Nie Chengyuan (C) 聶 承遠
Ogawa Kanichi (J) 小川 貫弑
Qinbao (C) 勤報
Rulai (C) 如來
Sengyou (C) 僧祐
Shanshi (C) 善逝
Shi Jing (C) 詩經
Shijianjie (C) 世間解
Shizhu Duanjie Jing (C) 十住斷結經
Sun Xiusheng (C) 孫 修身
Taishang Laojunshuo Bao Fumu Enzhong Jing (C) 太上老君說報父母恩重經
Taishang Zhengyi Bao Fumu Enzhong Jing (C) 太上真一報父母恩重經
Tanguo (C) 曇果
Tianrenshi (C) 天人師
Tiaoyuzhangfu (C) 調御丈夫
Wushangshi (C) 無上士
Xiuxing benqi jing (C) 修行本起經,
Xuantian Shangdishuo Bao Fumu Enzhong Jing (C) 玄天上帝說報父母恩重經
Xuanzang (C) 玄奘
Yanzhong (C) 彥琮
Yao Menjun (C) 姚 孟君
Yinggong (C) 應供
Zhengbianzhi (C) 正遍知
Zhenyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu (C) 貞元新定釋教目錄
Zhi Qian (C) 支 謙
Zhisheng (C) 智昇
Zhizhen (C) 至真
Zhongbenqi Jing (C) 中本起經
Zhongjing Mulu (C) 衆經目錄
Zhu Dali (C) 竺 大力
Zhu Fonian (C) 竺 佛念
Zongmi (C) 宗密

Abbreviations

*	Indication of a reconstructed Sanskrit title from an ancient Chinese translation of Buddhist text whenever the original Sanskrit is lost.
A	<i>Aṅguttaranikāya</i>
CBETA	Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association
D	<i>Dīghanikāya</i>
M	<i>Majjhimanikāya</i>
PTS	Pali Text Society
S	<i>Saṃyuttanikāya</i>
Sn	<i>Suttanipāta</i>
T	Taisho <i>Tripiṭaka</i>

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