Illustrating the Efficacy of the *Diamond Sutra* in Vernacular Buddhism

Shih-shan Susan Huang
Department of Art History
Rice University

Abstract

This article examines Song-to-Ming printed illustrations celebrating the power of the *Diamond Sutra*, one of the most widely copied Buddhist scriptures in East Asia. An integral part of printed copies of the *Diamond Sutra*, these illustrations reflect a strong popular taste appealing to common folks, connecting modern readers to a wider realm of vernacular Buddhism and popular Buddhist visual culture in traditional Chinese society, where indigenous beliefs, popular images, and various religious practices are freely borrowed, converged, and re-packaged. The first part of the study, "Buddhist Records of Magical Efficacy," identifies the round-trip of protagonists to the underworld, and the efficacy of prolonging life in Tang-to-Northern Song miracle tales of the *Diamond Sutra* as two recurring features carried on in the Southern Song-Ming illustrated versions. The second part, "Illustrations of Miracle Tales," examines illustrated miracle stories of the *Diamond Sutra* highlighting the underworld court, messengers from the underground, miraculous fungi, and magical writing. The third part, "Women in Vernacular Buddhist and Folklore Visual Cultures," turns to good and evil stereotypes of women pictured in selected miracle tales. The author then also explores the half-animal, half-woman demons subjugated by Buddhist guardians, whose images are juxtaposed with the illustrated miracle stories in the Ming versions. Finally, the fourth part, "Publishers and Donors," shifts to the social and religious context of the illustrated books of the *Diamond Sutra*. The extant Southern Song-Yuan woodcuts were likely printed by Hangzhou's commercial publishers. A donor's colophon and a hybrid Esoteric Buddhist pantheon in an early fifteenth-century version points to a multicultural community in early Ming Beijing.

Keywords: *Diamond Sutra*, woodblock print, illustrations, miracle tales, records of magical efficacy, Southern Song Hangzhou, early Ming Beijing, vernacular Buddhism, hybridity

Sponsored by the Research Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST 107-2420-H-002-007-MY3-JE10761).

The *Diamond Sutra* (*Jin'gang boruo boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經), a short text that contains slightly more than 5000 characters and can be chanted in as little as twenty minutes, is one of the most widely copied Buddhist sutras in East Asia. First translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (344-413) in the early fifth century, the sutra was available in at least eight versions by the eight century, and it was venerated and recited in state-protecting rituals during medieval China.[1] The broad reception of the *Diamond Sutra* went beyond imperial support. The Dunhuang 敦煌 "library cave" when it was discovered originally stored more than 3,500 manuscript copies of the *Diamond Sutra*, the majority of which date to the Tang (618-907) and the Five Dynasties (907-960) periods, reflecting the popularity of this scripture in conjuncture with the rise of Chan Buddhism at that time.[2] Among the most unusual specimens are six early tenth-century written copies transcribed by the same anonymous old man local to the Shazhou 沙州 area in 905 and 906, when he was eighty-two and eighty-three years old, respectively. Take the version in booklet format he copied in 906 (fig. 1).[3] The copyist specified that the text he transcribed was based on the so-called "genuine printed edition published by the Guo Family in Western Sichuan" (*Xichuan Guo jia zhen yinben* 西川過家真印本). In the final colophon he also stated that he pricked himself to draw blood, which he

1 The *Diamond Sutra* is an abbreviated version of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (the *Prajñāparamitā Sutra*; or *Da boruo boluomiduo jing* 般若波羅蜜多經 in Chinese). For the extant version translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664), see T.5-8.220. The version translated by Kumārajīva remains the most widely copied one, as evident in the extant Tang-Song hand-copied and printed examples; see *Jin'gang boruo boluo mi jing*, T.8.235. The Tang emperors were fervent supporters of the *Diamond Sutra*; see Zheng A'cai 鄭阿財, *Jianzheng yu xuanchuan: Dunhuang Fojiao lingyanji yanjiu* 見證與宣傳：敦煌佛教靈驗記研究 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 2010), 52-54. For the list of other versions, see Zheng A'cai, "Dunhuang ben 'Chisong Jin'gang jing lingyan gongde ji' zonglun" 敦煌本《持誦金剛經靈驗功德記》綜論, *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 20 (1995): 128. For an English version of the text and commentaries, see Red Pine, *The Diamond Sutra: Text and Commentaries Translated from Sanskrit and Chinese* (Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2001). For more studies of the *Diamond Sutra*, see Fang Guangchang 方廣錩, "Dunhuang wenxian zhong de 'Jin'gang jing' ji qi zhushu" 敦煌文獻中的金剛經及其注疏, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 1 (1995): 73-80; Yang Huinan 楊惠南, "Jin'gang jing de quanshi yu liuchuan"《金剛經》的詮釋與流傳, *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報 9 (2001): 185-230.

2 This is based on the data collected by Fang Guangchang; see Fang Guangchang, *Fang Guangchang Dunhuang yishu sanlun* 方廣錩敦煌遺書散論 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), 22; Dong Daxue 董大學, "Dunhuang ben *Jin'gang jing* zhushu de liubu" 敦煌本金剛經注疏的流布, *Wenxian* 文獻 1 (2014): 29.

3 The entire booklet can be viewed at the IDP website, accessed June 1, 2018, http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=1531609426;recnum=10405;index=1.

mixed with ink in copying the sutra.[4]

Beyond manuscript culture, the *Diamond Sutra* has inspired artists to produce numerous texts and images in diverse media. Among the oft-cited calligraphic works are the sixth-century monumental engraving of the *Diamond Sutra* on the "bones of the earth" at Mt. Tai in Shandong[5] and a rare rubbing mounted in handscroll format and associated with the famous Tang calligrapher Liu Gongquan 柳公權 (778-865) (fig. 2a-b), which had been transferred from a stone stele engraved by Qiang Yan 強演 and Shao Jianhe 邵建和 (fig. 2b).[6] As for paintings, numerous wall paintings expounding the *Diamond Sutra* at the Mogao 莫高 grottoes in Dunhuang, Gansu, are dated from the eighth to the tenth centuries.[7] This includes a re-identified narrative mural depicting the

---

4 The British Library has tested one of his copies but did not find any traces of blood. Kieschnick has also discussed two other copies by the same anonymous old man; see John Kieschnick, "Blood Writing in Chinese Buddhism." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 23.2 (2000): 184-85 (footnote 24); cf. the translation of one colophon in Stephen Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 127. For a listing of the six copies by the same man, see Zheng A'cai, "Dunhuang ben," 141. For more speculations on the identity of this copyist, see Dong Daxue, "Dunhuang ben," 28 (footnote 4).

5 The slope originally bore an incomplete text containing 2,799 characters, "each approximately fifty centimeters high and arranged in forty-four columns separated by incised lines." Due to its incomplete and eroded condition, only a little more than 1,000 characters copied from the sutra are still visible on a 2,064-square meter surface; see Robert E. Harrist, *The Landscape of Words: Stone Inscriptions from Early and Medieval China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 174-75, 182 (for a plate of the engraving, see the frontispiece of the book).

6 Some scholars treat the rubbing as a product of the ninth century, while others are more dubious about its purported Tang date. For more studies, see Kenneth Starr, Black Tigers: A Grammar of Chinese Rubbings (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 15. For plates of the work, see Onoe Hachirō 尾上八郎 and Shimonaka Kunihiko 下中邦彦, eds., *Shodō zenshū* 書道全集, vol. 10 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1954-1968), 171; Wu Hongqing 吳鴻清, ed., *Zhongguo shufa quan ji* 中國書法全集, vol. 27, *Sui Tang Wudai bian* 隋唐五代編, *Liu Gongquan juan* 柳公權卷 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1993), 196-201; Natalie Monnet, ed., *Chine, l'empire du trait: Calligraphies et dessins du Ve au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2004), 49-50; the Bibliothèque nationale de France online database, accessed June 1, 2018, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83032540/f32.image.r=Pelliot%20chinois%204503.

7 These caves include the High Tang Caves 31 and 217, the mid-Tang Caves 112, 135, 144, 145, 147, 150, 154, 198, 236, 240, 359, 369, and 361; and the late-Tang Caves 18, 85, 138, and 156. For selected plates, see He Shizhe 賀世哲, ed., *Dunhuang shiku quanji* 敦煌石窟全集, vol. 11, *Lengqie jing huajuan* 楞伽經畫卷 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003), 94-152. For related studies, see Yang Xiong 楊雄, "Jin'gang jing, Jin'gang jing bian ji Jin'gang jing bianwen de bijiao" 金剛經、金剛經變及金剛經變文的比較, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 4 (1986): 56-64; Yin Guangming 殷光明, "Mogaoku di 31 ku Jin'gang jing bian yu Huayan chan" 莫高窟第31窟金剛經變與華嚴禪, in *2004 nian shiku yanjiu guoji xueshu huiyi lunwenji* 2004年石窟研究國際學術會議論文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004), 1142-65; He Shizhe, "Dunhuang bihua zhong de Jin'gang jing bian yanjiu" 敦煌壁畫中的金剛經變研究, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 6 (2006): 35-42; "Dunhuang bihua zhong de Jin'gang jing bian yanjiu (xu)" 敦煌壁畫中的金剛經變研究（續）, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 4 (2007): 16-28;

Buddha begging for food in front of a city gate (fig. 3), which is painted on the ceiling of the niche in Mogao Cave 217.[8] Dated to the early eighth century, the mural is among the earliest extant trademark illustrations of the *Diamond Sutra* in Dunhuang.[9]

The *Diamond Sutra* flourished in the art of the book during the age of printing. The most oft-cited example is the world-renowned frontispiece decorating a printed text scroll dated 868 (fig. 4a) and commissioned by a layman, Wang Jie 王玠, on behalf of his parents (fig. 4b). Originally found in the Dunhuang "library cave," it is now treasured in the British Library as the world's earliest dated printed book.[10] Recent scholarship distinguishes its "very sophisticated printing" quality from the coarser ones of locally printed specimens,[11] arguing that it may be a product of Chengdu, the printing center in Sichuan since the Tang dynasty.[12]

Xu Juanhui 許絹惠, "Tangdai Dunhuang Jin'gang jingbian zhi yanjiu—jianlun 'Chan Jing ronghe' sixiang de fazhan" 唐代敦煌「金剛經變」之研究——兼論「禪淨融合」思想的發展 (M.A. Thesis, Nanhua University, 2006).

8 Huang Yunru 黃韻如, "Mogaoku 217 ku de zaoqi Jin'gang jing bian" 莫高窟217窟的早期金剛經變, in Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院, ed., *Dunhuang Tufan wenhua xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 敦煌吐蕃文化學術研討會論文集 (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 2009), 208-19. The food-begging scene in Cave 217 is based on the opening of the sutra, which states, "at dining time, the Buddha is dressed and holds the bowl to enter the city of Śrāvastī to beg for food" 爾時世尊食時，著衣持鉢入舍衛大城乞食; see the third-to-fifth lines of the rubbing of the *Diamond Sutra* reproduced in fig. 1a of this article. For a summary of the selected trademark scenes pertinent to the *Diamond Sutra*, see He Shizhe, ed., *Dunhuang shiku quanji*, vol. 11, 123-25.

9 For a textual record of the mural of the *Diamond Sutra Tableux* (*Jin'gang bian* 金剛變) by Wu Daozi 吳道子 (680-759) in the Buddhist temple of Xingtang si 興唐寺 located in the capital Chang'an, perhaps done sometime after 738, see Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記, juan 3, in Lu Fusheng 盧輔聖, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* 中國書畫全書 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1993), vol. 1, 132.

10 The entire book can be viewed at the British Library website, accessed June 1, 2018, http://www.bl.uk/turning-the-pages/?id=1c92bc7e-8acc-49b3-9a27-b5ad8f44230a&type=sd_planar. The printed scroll was brought back to London by Aurel Stein in 1907; it had been stored in the British Museum until 1973, when it was transferred to the British Library, which repaired the entire scroll in 2010. For a recent study, see Frances Wood and Mark Barnard, *The Diamond Sutra: the Story of the World's Earliest Dated Printed Book* (London: British Library, 2010). For its paper conservation, see Agnieszka Helman-Wazny, "The Choice of Materials in Early Tibetan Printed Books," in Hildegard Diemberger, Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Peter Kornicki, eds., *Tibetan Printing: Comparisons, Continuities and* Change (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 538-49. For an excellent account of the 2010 repair, see the documentary video entitled "Conserving the *Diamond Sutra*" produced by the International Dunhuang Project, accessed June 1, 2008, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SgN5HQXTlMc.

11 There are, for example, three printed copies of the *Diamond Sutra* bearing the name of a local carver, Lei Yanmei 雷延美; see Susan Whitfield, *Silk, Slaves, and Stupas: Material Culture of the Silk Road.* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 237 (footnote 69), 239.

12 Whitfield, *Silk, Slaves, and Stupas*, 237, 238. Material and literary sources that illuminate the history

Given the fruitful scholarship on the text and imagery of the *Diamond Sutra*, especially that focusing on the Dunhuang materials, it is promising to go beyond Dunhuang and further investigate the little-studied Song and post-Song materials produced in Southern Song-Yuan Hangzhou and early-Ming Beijing, respectively.[13] Particularly significant to the cultures of Buddhist visual imagery and the printed book, this study calls attention to a select few extant printed books of the *Diamond Sutra* embedded with a rich repertoire of illustrations not seen before. These "hybrid" artifacts differ from the majority of *Diamond Sutra* copies, for they contain not only the scripture but also additional illustrative stories that celebrate the efficacy of the *Diamond Sutra*.[14] Studied as a whole, they reflect a strong popular sentiment appealing to common folk, connecting modern readers to a wider realm of vernacular Buddhism and popular Buddhist visual culture in traditional Chinese society, where indigenous beliefs, popular images, and various religious practices are freely borrowed, converged, edited, and repackaged.[15]

---

of printing in Chengdu support the existence of a sophisticated printing culture in Sichuan during the ninth and tenth centuries. In terms of material sources, several single-sheet prints with intricate dharani designs and dated to post-757 bear inscriptions that confirm they were printed in Chengdu Prefecture (Chengdu fu 成都府); seeZhongguo banhua quanji bianji weiyuan hui 中國版畫全集編輯委員會, ed., *Zhongguo banhua quanji* 中國版畫全集, vol. 1, *Fojiao banhua* 佛教版畫 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2008), 4-5. In terms of literary sources, *Jiu Wudai shi*, for example, includes a report by Liu Pi 柳玭 (d. 895), the deputy chief imperial censor, whose visit to a bookshop in Chengdu revealed a plethora of miscellaneous books on such topics as yin-yang, divination, and astronomy; there were also printed blocks for sale; see Xue Juzheng 薛居正 (912-981), *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 589. The author would like to thank Peter Kornicki for sharing this primary source.

13 For a recent study of the Tang and Northern Song printed frontispieces of the *Diamond Sutra*, see Zhang Jianyu 張建宇, "Zhong Tang dao Beisong Jin'gang jing feihua shuofa tu kaocha" 中唐到北宋《金剛經》扉畫說法圖考察, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 2 (2018): 24-32.

14 For classic studies of vernacular texts of this sort, see Zheng A'cai, "Dunhuang ben 'Chisong Jin'gang jing lingyan gongde ji' zonglun"; "Dunhuang lingying xiaoshuo de Fojiao shixue jiazhi—yi chisong Jin'gang jing lingyan gongde ji wei li" 敦煌靈應小說的佛教史學價值——以持誦金剛經靈驗功德記為例, *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 4 (1998): 31-46; *Jianzheng yu xuanchuan*; "Cong Dunhuang wenxian lun lingyan gushi zai changdao huodong zhong de yunyong" 從敦煌文獻論靈驗故事在唱導活動中的運用, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 3 (2014): 142-48.

15 For a recent study of the vernacularization of Buddhist texts in East Asia, see Peter Kornicki, "The Vernacularization of Buddhist Texts: From the Tangut Empire to Japan," in Benjamin A. Elman, ed., *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000-1919* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 29-57. For other classic studies of Chinese vernacular literature in Buddhism and popular religion, see Victor Mair, *Tang Transformation Texts: a Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1989); Chün-fang Yü, Kuan-yin: *The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia

The following study can be further divided into four parts. The first part traces the miracle tales devoted to the efficacy of the *Diamond Sutra* to a popular literary genre known as "records of magical efficacy" (*lingyan ji* 靈驗記). Highlighted are the round-trip to the underworld and the efficacy of prolonging life as two recurring features in the Song-Ming illustrative versions. The second and third parts, which form the core inquiry of the printed pictures, examine the illustrations of the underworld court, the miraculous fungi grown as a response to the act of sutra copying, as well as good and evil stereotypes of women. Going beyond the miracle tales, the third part also explores the unusual presence of half-animal, half-woman creatures that are introduced to the iconography of Buddhist guardians featured alongside the illustrative miracle stories in the Ming versions. Here is witnessed the borrowing and repackaging of an existing popular pictorial genre with such titles as *Paintings of Searching the Mountains* [*for Demons*] (*Soushan tu* 搜山圖), staging captured mountain demons transformed into hybrid half-animal, half-woman forms. Finally, the fourth part shifts to the social and religious context of the illustrative books. Based on the publisher colophons and stylistic comparison, it is argued that the extant Southern Song-Yuan woodcuts bearing illustrations of the miracle stories of the *Diamond Sutra* were likely all printed by commercial publishers in Hangzhou. While the Ming versions lack any direct record of the publishers, a donor's colophon and a hybrid Esoteric Buddhist pantheon in an early fifteenth-century version points to a multicultural community in early-Ming Beijing.

Buddhist Records of Magical Efficacy

Written in vernacular language, Buddhist miracle tales celebrating the efficacy of the *Diamond Sutra* proliferated in the Tang, Five Dynasties, and Northern Song (960-1127) periods.[16] Often termed as "records of magical efficacy" or "biographies of

---

University Press, 2001); Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*; Glen Dudbridge, *Books, Tales and Vernacular Culture: Selected Papers on China* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), esp. 134-50.

16 For selected primary sources, see *Chisong Jin'gang jing lingyan gongde ji*, T85.2743; *Jin'gang boruo jing jiyan ji* 金剛般若經集驗記, X87.1629; *Jin'gang jiuyi* 金剛經鳩異, X87.1630; *Jin'gangjing shouchi ganying lu* 金剛經受持感應錄, X87.1631; *Jin'gang ganying zhuan* 金剛經感應傳, X87.1632; *Fayuan zhu lin* 法苑珠林, T53.2122; Li Fang 李昉 (925-996), T*aiping guangji* 太平廣記. For further studies, see Zheng A'cai, "Dunhuang ben"; "Dunhuang lingying xiaoshuo"; Huang Dongyang 黃東陽,

magical responses" (*ganying zhuan* 感應傳), these miracle tales fall into the literary genre known as "accounts of anomalies" (*zhiguai* 志怪) that were well developed before the Tang.[17] According to Zheng A'cai 鄭阿財, Buddhist monks cited these miracle tales in their lectures and sermons as they offered personal testimonials more accessible to ordinary folks.[18] A text entitled *Records of the Magical Responses and Merits Concerning Reciting the Diamond Sutra* (*Chisong Jin'gang jing lingyan gongdeji* 持誦金剛經靈驗功德記) (fig. 5a-c), copied in a composite Dunhuang manuscript (P. 2094), may indeed be received in a religious milieu.[19] Dated to 908 and signed by the Dunhuang official Zhai Fengda 翟奉達 (fig. 5b),[20] the copied text recounts nineteen miracle tales, many of which were cross-referenced in other Tang-Song Buddhist texts and encyclopedia, suggesting that they were widely circulated at that time.[21] Selected episodes attribute the protagonists' being exempt from death, disaster, or sickness to the power of the *Diamond Sutra*, referred to specifically as the efficacy of a scripture

---

Tang Wudai jiyi xiaoshuo de wenhua chanshi 唐五代記異小說的文化闡釋 (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2007), 96-118.

17 For selected studies, see Robert F. Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); Robert F. Campany, *Signs from the Unseen Realm: Buddhist Miracle Tales from Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), esp. 43-62 for the overarching narrative patterns and themes of pre-Tang Buddhist miracle tales; Robert F. Campany, *A Garden of Marvels: Tales of Wonder from Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015).

18 Zheng A'cai, "Cong Dunhuang wenxian." For the ritual dimension of the recitation of the *Diamond Sutra*, especially in the context of selected Buddhist fasting days, see the indigenous Buddhist text entitled *Jin'gang jing zuan* 金剛經纂 recorded in two fragmented Dunhuang manuscripts (the back of P. 3024 and the back of S. 2565); Fang Guangchang, *Zang wai Fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文獻 (Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1995-2003), vol. 1, 354-57; Dong Daxue 董大學, "Lun Tangdai *Jin'gang jing* xinyang zhi yishihua qingxiang" 論唐代《金剛經》信仰之儀式化傾向, *Huadong shifan daxue xue bao (zhexue shehui kexuan ban)* 華東師範大學學報：哲學社會科學版 1 (2017): 129-32. For the spread of this practice in Uighur and Tangut societies, see Kōichi Kitsudō and Peter Zieme, "The Jin'gangjing zuan in Old Uighur with Parallels in Tangut and Chinese," *Written Monuments of the Orient* 2 (2017): 43-87.

19 For a thorough study of P. 2094, see Zheng A'cai, "Dunhuang ben;" Zheng A'cai, "Dunhuang lingying xiaoshuo."

20 The text copied in P. 2094, including Zhai Fengda's colophon, is identical with the text recorded in T85.2743. For more on Zhai Fengda, see Chen Juxia 陳菊霞, *Dunhuang Zhaishi yanjiu* 敦煌翟氏研究 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2012), 261-85; Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, 102-21, 242-43.

21 For more comparable stories recounted in Meng Xianzong's 孟憲忠 *Jin'gang boruo jing jiyan ji* (preface dated 718) and Xiao Yu's 蕭瑀 (576-647) *Jin'gang boruo lingyanji*, see Zheng A'cai, "Dunhuang ben," 136-39. For other examples, see similar miracle tales of Guanyin and the *Diamond Sutra* discussed in Huang Dongyang, *Tang Wudai jiyi xiaoshuo*, 99-100.

or "*jingli*" 經力 (fig. 5a).[22] The miracle tales of the *Diamond Sutra* stress the power of the text itself, and not that of a deity or an icon, marking a major departure from earlier counterparts centering on the Guanyin 觀音 bodhisattva, such as those expounded in the chapter "Guanshiyin pumen pin 觀世音普門品" in the *Lotus Sutra* (*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經).[23]

A popular model in many such tales features an eyewitness round-trip to the underworld court (*mingfu* 冥府), borrowing from the earlier vernacular literary convention of karmic retribution used in "return-from-death" stories.[24] Because of the previous merits of the protagonists—laypeople or monks alike—resulting from in reciting the *Diamond Sutra*, he or she was granted more years of life and released back to the human world.

Round-trip to the Underworld

The story of Monk Lingyou 靈幽 falls into this narrative template (fig. 5c).[25] Seven days after he died, Monk Lingyou was interrogated by King Pingdeng 平等, an alternative name of either King Pingzheng 平正 in charge of the eighth court, or King Yama, ruler of the fifth court, as depicted in the tenth-century *Ten Kings of Hell* scrolls from Dunhuang.[26] Due to his accumulated merits of reciting the *Diamond Sutra*, Monk Lingyou was exempt by the underground court from death and the king extended his life ten more years. The king, however, noted that the monk had missed chanting the verse

22 Cf. selected citations of the term *jingli in Danianpan jing* 大般涅槃經, T12.374: 448; *Danianpan jing* 大般涅槃經, T12.375: 690; *Jin'guangming zuishengwang jing*金光明最勝王經, T16.665: 426-427, 440, 444; *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, T9.262: 6; *Danianpan jing jijie* 大般涅槃經集解, T37.1783: 469, 477, 525.

23 For a thorough comparison and contrast of the miracle tales of the *Diamond Sutra* and those associated with the Guanyin cult, see Huang Dongyang, *Tang Wudai jiyi xiaoshuo de wenhua chanshi*, 96-110. For visual examples of the miracle tales of the Guanyin bodhisattva, see Lee Yu-min 李玉珉, *Guanyin tezhan* 觀音特展 (Taipei: Guoli Gugong bowuyuan, 2000), 128-29.

24 Zheng A'cai defines this model as "entering the underworld" (*ruming* 入冥); see Zheng A'cai, *Jianzheng yu xuanchuan*, 263-314, esp. 266, 284, 287, 292, 296, 310-11; Xia Guangxing 夏廣興, "Mingjie youxing—cong Fodian jizai dao Sui Tang Wudai xiaoshuo" 冥界游行——從佛典記載到隋唐五代小說, *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中華文化論壇 4 (2003): 80-85.

25 Zheng A'cai, *Jianzheng yu xuanchuan*, 64; Kitsudō and Zieme, "The Jin'gangjing zuan in Old Uighur," 47.

26 Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, fig 11a; Zhang Zong 張總, *Dizang xinyang yanjiu* 地藏信仰研究 (Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2003), 61.

(*ji* 偈), which was carved on the "authentic version" (*zhenben* 真本) on a stone stele (*shibei* 石碑) located in Haozhou 濠州 in today's Anhui 安徽. An even more detailed version of the story, recorded by the Northern Song monk Zanning 贊寧 (9191-1001) in *Biographies of Monks in the Song* (*Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳), further specifies that the location of this "authentic" stele version was housed in Zhongli Temple (*Zhongli si* 鍾離寺) at Haozhou.[27]

Efficacy of Prolonging Life

A major difference distinguishing the power of the *Diamond Sutra* from that of the Guanyin bodhisattva is the former's additional efficacy of prolonging life (*yanshou* 延壽).[28] In the oft-cited miracle tale concerning Official Zhang 張, the *Diamond Sutra* was simply referred to as the "Sutra of Prolonging Life" (*Xuming jing* 續命經), reflecting the popular reception of the sutra's special power of extending life.[29] The term "Sutra of Prolonging Life" was coined by a demon-messenger sent by the underground court to fetch Official Zhang and terminate his life. The demon-messenger advised the layman to recite the *Diamond Sutra* one thousand times in order to prevent being sent to the underground.

According to Takahashi Yoshinori 高橋佳典, the *Diamond Sutra* has been associated with the efficacy of longevity since the Tang time, for the sutra had been

---

27 *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, T50.2061: 869b.

28 Huang Dongyang, *Tang Wudai jiyi xiaoshuo*, 101-103.

29 Dai Fu 戴孚 (757 *jinshi*), *Guangyi ji* 廣異記, in Fang Shiming 方詩銘, ed., *Mingbao ji, Guangyi ji* 冥報記、廣異記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 29; Li Fang, *Taiping guangji, juan* 112: 8a-9b. See Takahashi Yoshinori 高橋佳典, "Gensō chō nio keru Kongōkyō shinkō to enmei kigan" 玄宗朝における「金剛経」信仰と延命祈願, *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 16 (1999): 38-39. Also see Huang Dongyang, *Tang Wudai jiyi xiaoshuo*, 102. The same story was recounted in Cao Xun's colophon dated 1168; see Cao Xun 曹勛 (1098-1174), *Songyin ji* 松隱集, *juan* 33: 12a-b. It is likely that multiple Buddhist texts were referred to as a "sutra of prolonging life" in the Tang period, such as the short text entitled *Foshuo xuming jing* 佛說續命經 copied in the Dunhuang manuscript (P. 3932) and different from the *Diamond Sutra*. This short text was copied in the same booklet which also includes the *Guanyin Sutra*, the *Heart Sutra*, and others; at the opening of the booklet is a cross-page hand-drawn frontispiece depicting the Guanyin bodhisattva and a kneeling couple. See the Bibliothèque nationale de France online database, accessed January 23, 2018, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8300241f/f35. image.r=Pelliot%20chinois%203.932. In addition, the other Dunhuang manuscript dated 941 (P. 2805) mentions a certain "Woman Cao," who copied one *juan* of the *Xuming jing* 續命經 and one *juan* of *Yan shouming jing* 延壽命經; see Lee Yu-min 李玉珉, "Tang Song Molizhi pusa xinyang yu tuxiang kao" 唐宋摩利支菩薩信仰與圖像考, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 31.4 (2014): 11-12.

recited at imperial birthday celebrations from the reign of Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756).[30] Furthermore, the opening "Yunhefan" 云何梵 verses of the early ninth-century indigenous Buddhist text entitled "Great Master Fu of the Liang Dynasty Reciting the *Diamond Sutra*" (*Liangchao Fudashi song Jin'gang jing* 梁朝傅大士頌金剛經) features such keywords as "longevity" (*changshou* 長壽) and the "indestructible body like a diamond" (*Jin'gang buhuai shen* 金剛不壞身), making a direct connection between longevity and the keyword "diamond" in the title of the sutra.[31]

The life-extension benefit granted by reciting the *Diamond Sutra* is not exclusive to laypeople. The story of an early medieval monk named Zhizang 智藏, recorded in the medieval Buddhist encyclopedia and biographies, for example, indicates that a Buddhist monk could also enjoy the promised benefit of reciting the text.[32] Thanks to his diligent recitation of the sutra, Monk Zhizang was able to double his life span. One may imagine that such a story must have been encouraging and appealing to the Buddhist clergy that the early Ming monk Baocheng 寶成 (active in 1420s) from the Grand Monastery of Requiting Grace (Da bao'en si 大報恩寺) in Nanjing 南京 selected it as one of the 400 Buddhist stories to be featured in his monumental printed compilation of the *Illustrations of the Origin of the Buddha* (*Shishi yuanliu tu* 釋氏源流圖) (fig. 6a-b).[33] Since its debut in 1422-1425, this fully-illustrated compilation was widely reproduced in multiple versions.

Take the incomplete mid-fifteenth century version in accordion-style printed by the Ming government in Beijing (fig. 6a-b).[34] The story is now titled "Reciting the Sutra to Prolong Life" (*Songjing yanshou* 誦經延壽) (fig. 6a). The text glorifies the "meritorious

---

30 Takahashi, "Gensō chō Kongōkyō shinkō to enmei kigan," 43-48. Although the *Renwang jing* was also recited in Tang imperial rituals, its associated benefit lay mainly in state protection and the prevention of disasters for individuals, not in prolonging life.

31 Takahashi, "Gensō chō Kongōkyō shinkō to enmei kigan," 41. For the text, see *Liaochao Fudashi song Jin'gangjing*, T85.2732: 1a. For more studies of the text, see Dazhao 達照, *Jin'gangjing zan yanjiu*《金剛經贊》研究 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2002); Dong Daxue, "Dunhuang ben," 36-37.

32 For a full-length biography of Monk Zhizang, see *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, T50.2060: 465c.

33 For a study of selected versions, see Suey-Ling Tsai, *The Life of the Buddha: Woodblock Illustrated Books in China and Korea* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012).

34 For the extant 138 illustrations and 140 texts from this version, see Weng Lianxi 翁連溪 et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji* 中國佛教版畫全集 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2012), vol. 10, 17-296.

power of the *Diamond Sutra*" (*Boruojing gongde zhili* 般若經功德之力) and the "efficacy of the Buddhist Law" (*Fofa you ling* 佛法有靈). Due to Zhizang's diligent chanting of the *Diamond Sutra*, he overcame an otherwise short-lived (*duanshou* 短壽) destiny and doubled his life span (*beishou* 倍壽) to live over sixty years.[35] Preceeding the text is a full-page illustration (fig. 6b), which juxtaposes two scenarios from the story. The first scenario, depicted in the foreground, shows the monk's encounter with a diviner dressed as a scholar official, who informed the monk of his short life span. The second scenario, depicted in the background, takes place in the interior of a Buddhist hall. It shows the monk holding a scripture and seated by a statue of a buddha behind an altar table with an incense burner.

It is likely that the popular reception of the *Diamond Sutra's* magical power of prolonging life inspired a twelfth-century painter in northern China to depict the *Diamond Sutra* on the east wall of the rear chamber of a fully-painted tomb designed for a local Chinese gentry, Zhang Shiqing 張世卿 (fig. 7a), buried in Xuanhua 宣化, Shanxi 山西 under Khitan Liao 遼 rule in 1116.[36] In an interior scene, a pile of books bearing a title that reads "*Jin'gang boruo jing*" 金剛般若經 (the *Diamond Sutra*) (fig. 7a) is juxtaposed on the table with the Daoist counterpart bearing the title of "*Chang qingjing jing*" 常清靜經 (the *Scripture of Constant Clarity and Stillness*) (fig. 7b), a text widely received in northern China at that time advocating longevity, immortality, and health.[37]

---

35 For the text of the illustration, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 10, 101. A longer account of the same story is recorded in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T50.2060: 465c.

36 The illustrations are re-configured from Wu Hung, *The Art of the Yellow Springs* (London: Reaktion, 2010), 232. For more studies of the Liao painted tombs in Xuanhua, see Li Qingquan 李清泉, "Fenben—Cong Xuanhua Liaomu bihua kan gudai huagong de gongzuo moshi" 粉本——從宣化遼墓壁畫看古代畫工的工作模式, *Nanjing yishu xueyuan xuebao (meishu yu sheji ban)* 南京藝術學院學報（美術與設計版）1 (2004): 36-39; *Xuanhua Liao mu: muzang yishu yu Liaodai shehui* 宣化遼墓：墓葬藝術與遼代社會 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008); Hsueh-man Shen, "Body Matters: Manikin Burials in the Liao Tombs of Xuanhua, Hebei Province," *Artibus Asiae* 65.1 (2005): 99-141; Wu , *The Art of the Yellow Springs*, 60, 140-48, 160-62, 220, 224-33.

37 The *Scripture of Constant Clarity and Stillness* was well-received among northern Daoists at the time; for more about the transmission and reception of this text, including an extant stele dated to the Northern Song and preserved in the stele forest in Xi'an, see Shih-shan Susan Huang, "Daoist Visual Culture," in John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone, eds., *Modern Chinese Religion, Part One: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960-1368)* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1021-22. According to Patricia Ebrey, in 1102, the Northern Song Emperor Huizong bestowed Liu Hunkang 劉混康 (1035-1108) the "twenty-fifth patriarch of the Highest Clarity (*Shangqing*) lineage at Mount Mao," a copy of the *Scripture of Constant Clarity and Stillness* he transcribed; see Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong* (Cambridge: Harvard University

The preoccupation with extending life can be further linked to the popular notion of a "loaned" life, a concept which is broadly shared across religions.[38] The idea posits that everyone's life is a "financial loan which has to be repaid," and that "to be born is to receive an advance payment, to die is to have exhausted one's loan from the Celestial Treasury." [39] Reciting sutras, from the Buddhist point of view, is then an efficient way to repay the debt one previously owes to the heavenly treasury. Upon receiving "reimbursement" by way of reciting the sutra, one may assume, "the treasury staff either accumulates new credits on behalf of the deceased or pays off the original of" the devotees, giving them "extended years (*suan* 筭)." [40]

Selected visual materials address this concern as well. The most intriguing are the woodcuts of the indigenous *Sutra of Longevity* (*Shousheng jing* 壽生經) (fig. 8), likely dated to the Southern Song.[41] The *Sutra of Longevity* contains a frontispiece and additional vignettes of illustrations. The frontispiece depicts the unusual assembly of a monk-like figure seated at the center in front of an altar and surrounded by twelve bureaucratic figures, a martial guardian, and a monk-like attendant. The bureaucratic figures may represent the twelve bureaucratic officials (*caoguan* 曹官) in charge of

---

Press, 2014), 133-34. For Zhao Mengfu's copy in small regular script at the Freer, dated around 1292, see Fu Shen 傅申, "Zhao Mengfu shu xiaokai Chang qingjing jing jiqi zaoqi shufeng" 趙孟頫書小楷《常清靜經》及其早期書風, in Fu Shen, *Shushi yu shuji: Fu Shen shufa lunwenji (yi)* 書史與書蹟：傅申書法論文集（一）(Taipei: Guoli Lishi bowuguan, 1996), 183-89.

38 Chin-lang Hou, *Monnaies d'offrande et la notion de trésorerie dans la religion chinoise* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1975); Anna Seidel, "Review: Buying One's Way to Heaven: The Celestial Treasury in Chinese Religions," *History of Religions* 17.¾ (1978): 419-32.

39 Seidel, "Review," 421.

40 Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China* (Cambridge: Harvard Asian Center Publication, 2012), 239.

41 For the plates, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 2, 224-25; Zhongguo banhua quanji bianji weiyuan hui, ed., *Zhongguo banhua quanji*, vol. 1, *Fojiao banhua*, 58 (fig. 86). Li Zhitan has speculated that it may be a "northern" product; see Li Zhitan 李之檀, "Zhongguo gudai Fojiao banhua xuyao" 中國古代佛教版畫敘要, in Zhongguo banhua quanji bianji weiyuan hui, ed., *Zhongguo banhua quanji*, vol. 1, *Fojiao banhua*, 9. Extant copies printed in Joseon Korea attest to the longevity and widespread nature of this vernacular woodcut tradition. For a comparable Korean woodcut dated to 1577, see Kim Jahyun 金慈玄, "Chosŏnjŏn'gi Pulgyobyŏnsangp'anhwayŏn-gu" 朝鮮前期 佛教變相版畫研究 (Ph.D. diss., Dongguk University, 2017), 366 (figs. 28-29); for a chart listing the six copies of the *Sutra of Longevity* printed in Korea in 1469, 1515, 1568, 1575, 1577, and 1581, see 64. The author would like to thank Seueghye Lee and Yong Cho for their help with this Korean dissertation. For a comparative study of the Buddhist and Daoist texts on this similar topic, see the tripartite articles by Jiang Shoucheng 姜受誠, "Fo dao *Shousheng jing* de bijiao yanjiu" 佛道《受生經》的比較研究（上）、（下）, *Laozi xuekan* 老子學刊 9 (2017): 3-20; 10 (2007): 33-60.

the lives of people, as stated in the text. The overall scenario calls to mind the tenth-century grouping of the Dizang 地藏 bodhisattva in monk form surrounded by the Ten Kings of Hell, as seen in Dunhuang paintings in both handscroll and hanging scroll formats.[42] The illustration in the lower vignette next to the frontispiece highlights the *Diamond Sutra's* power of extending life. It depicts a group of bodhisattvas emerging from the earth to welcome a scholar official reciting the sutra. The accompanying inscription on top of the vignette stresses that reading the *Diamond Sutra* can reimburse (*zhehuan* 折還) the money for receiving one's life (*shousheng qian* 受生錢) owed to the underworld treasury (*mingsi* 冥司) before birth (*shengqian* 生前). The subsequent illustrations showcase individual bureaucratic officials in charge of the lives of people born in the years of the rabbit (*mao* 卯), the dragon (*chen* 辰), the snake (*si* 巳), and so on, calculated on the basis of a twelve-year zodiac cycle. The accompanying inscriptions detail the amount of money people owe and how those monetary debts can be reimbursed by sutra reading (*kanjing* 看經). Individuals born in different times of different years owe varying amounts to the treasury. People born in the same animal year are further divided into five categories according to the sixty-year cycle. For example, the debts of those born in the *mao* year range from 20,000 to 80,000 *guan* 貫. For those born in the *yimao* year, furthermore, each owes 20,000 *guan*, which can be reimbursed by reciting the sutra sixteen times. Alternatively, for people born in the *simao* year, the debt surpasses those of the *yimao* year. The total debt of 80,000 *guan*, however, can be reimbursed by reciting the sutra twenty-six times. A similar "loan system" (*jiedai* 借貸) is stated in the Southern Song Daoist scripture *Lingbao Tianzun shuo luku shousheng jing* 靈寶天尊說祿庫受生經, although the exact monetary sums owed by people born in different times and the individual *caoguan*-officials in charge are slightly different.[43]

---

42 For an example in the handscroll format, see the *Ten Kings of Hell* (Pelliot 4523) in the Bibliothèque nationale de France at the website, accessed Feburary 12, 2018, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b83028340.r=Pelliot%204523?rk=42918;4.

43 *Lingbao Tianzun shuo luku shousheng jing* (DZ 333), *Daozang* 道藏 (Beijing: Wenwu; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian; and Tianjin: Guji chubanshe, 1988), vol. 5, 915-16. For a translation of DZ 333, see Livia Kohn, *The Taoist Experience: An Anthology* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 344–50. Also see Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 396 (endnote 283). For a comparative study with Buddhist counterparts, see Jiang Shoucheng, "Fo dao *Shousheng jing* de bijiao yanjiu."

Illustrations of Miracle Tales

The Southern Song marks the beginning of an illustrative tradition of the miracle tales of the *Diamond Sutra*. To date, one can identify a small group of Buddhist vernacular woodcuts sharing similar visual conventions. Three incomplete sets in the Muban Foundation collection (fig. 9; hereafter referred to as the Song Muban version), Shanghai Museum (figs. 14-15), and National Library in Beijing (fig. 23a) are possibly all dated to the Southern Song and produced in Hangzhou. In addition, there are two Ming versions, one dated to the Xuande 宣德 period (1426-1435) (fig. 10; hereafter referred to as the Xuande version), and the other dated to 1470, both perhaps produced in Beijing.[44] Based on limited reproduced images available in Chinese publications, the three Song versions bear only a few illustrations of the miracle tales. The two Ming versions, on the other hand, feature many more full-page illustrations based on additional commentaries on the *Diamond Sutra*.

The aforementioned Southern Song and Ming woodcuts share overarching compositional principles (figs. 9-10). The iconic images of eight vajrapāṇis (*ba da jigang* 八大金剛) and four bodhisattvas (*si da pusa* 四大菩薩)—divinities invoked prior to the recitation of the sutra—are integrated with the narrative illustrations of miracle stories in a long horizontal composition divided by grid.[45] The twelve figures (eight

44 For the Muban Foundation version, see Zhongguo banhua quanji bianji weiyuan hui, ed., *Zhongguo banhua quanji*, vol. 1, 42 (fig. 57). For the Shanghai Museum version, see Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 中國國家圖書館 and Zhongguo guojia guji baohu zhongxin 中國國家古籍保護中心, eds., *Di er pi guojia zhengui guji minglu tulu* 第二批國家珍貴古籍名錄圖錄 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010), vol. 3, 114. For the National Library version, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 2, 231. The 1470 version is highly similar to the Xuande version, although some images from the 1420s-1430s version are not reproduced. Both editions contain more than fifty illustrations directly based on the commentaries of the *Diamond Sutra* that are beyond the scope of this article. For a complete reproduction of the 1420s edition, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 22-181. For the 1470 edition, see Ma Wenda 馬文大 and Chen Jian 陳堅, eds., *Ming Qing zhenben banhua ziliao congkan* 明清珍本版畫資料叢刊 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2003), vol. 1, 25-116. For a comparable Wanli (1573–1620) version bearing printed illustrations colored by hand, see the Buddhist Sutra (47.136.4) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art website, accessed June 30, 2018, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/51753. This author thanks Che-ying Hsu for her help.

45 For the earliest extant visual specimens representing the eight vajrapāṇis in the frontispiece design of the *Diamond Sutra*, see selected Dunhuang manuscripts dated to the tenth century that are reproduced in Jean-Pierre Drège, ed., *Images de Dunhuang: Dessins et peintures sur papier des fonds Pelliot et Stein* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1999), 114-15; Monnet ed., *Chine, l'empire du trait*,

vajrapāṇis and four bodhisattvas) are laid out one by one in separate vignettes along the upper half of the accordion scrolls. Corresponding to these vignettes are twelve others in the lower register reserved for twelve narrative pictures accompanying twelve selected miracle tales. The illustration of each miracle tale is depicted in a "box-within-a box" fashion, flanked by the text; each ranges from 62 to 126 characters and spreads from the top to the left of the illustration.

Staging the Underworld Court

Multiple illustrations provide snapshots of the imaginary underworld court visited by protagonists who were later sent back to the human world due to their meritorious deeds of reciting or venerating the *Diamond Sutra*. Although the underworld court is mirrored after the judicial court (*yamen* 衙門) with bureaucratic judges, clerks, and jailors (*yayi* 衙役),[46] none bears any graphic representation of hellish punishment, which is contrary to the standard repertoire for pictures of hell.

The illustration accompanying the miracle tale of a local official, Chen Zhao 陳昭 (fig. 9c), sums up the dramatic experience at the underworld court succinctly in one image. Chen Zhao, escorted by jailors, bends down to scrutinize an ox head on the ground in front of the bureaucratic judge, who sits in front of his office table under a roof arranged diagonally to the right of the picture plane. A radiating sutra scroll

---

76-78. The pairing of eight vajrapāṇis and four bodhisattvas in the Southern Song examples also calls to mind the same pairing in the Tangut printed *Diamond Sutra*. The Tangut printed specimen (TANG 386 Inventory No. 686) in accordion format, originally discovered in Khara Khoto (or Heishuicheng 黑水城), is now in St. Petersburg, Russia. For a full translation of the inscriptions accompanying the illustrations of the eight vajrapāṇis and four bodhisattvas, see Mikhail Piotrovsky, ed., *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto* (*X–XIIIth Century*) (Milan: Electa, 1993), 260. The inclusion of eight vajrapāṇis to the *Diamond Sutra* may be linked to the ritual use of the text, especially the chanting of the eight vajrapāṇis' individual names at the opening of a text, which is traceable back to the latter half of the eighth century and the mid-ninth century. This is evident in the 868 *Diamond Sutra* (fig. 4b), whose text after the aforementioned frontispiece begins with the dharani that purifies the "karma caused by speaking" (*jingkou ye zhenyan* 淨口業真言). Dong Daxue has elaborated on the ritual dimension of the practice, citing the ten fasting days attributed to Master Xuanzang (Xuanzang fashi shizhai ri 玄奘法師十齋日) and other Buddha-worshiping days recorded in *The Compilation of the Diamond Sutra* recorded in two fragmented Dunhuang manuscripts (the back of P. 3024 and the back of S. 2565); see Dong Daxue, "Lun Tangdai *Jin'gang jing* xinyang zhi yishihua qingxiang," 129-32.

46 For a study of the underworld courts recounted in Tang miracle tales and their counterpart in Tang bureaus, see Zheng A'cai, *Jianzheng yu xuanchuan*, 291-311.

manifests in the air.[47] As indicated by the text juxtaposed with the illustration, when Chen denied that he previously had stolen an ox head, originally killed to feed military troops, the court showed him an ox head to embarrass him. Thanks to Chen's earlier deed of reciting the *Diamond Sutra*, he was sent back to live for another eighteen years.[48]

The lack of any punishment in the illustration of the story of Chen Zhao forms a contrast with the hellish punishment for animal killing, which is frequently staged in vernacular Buddhist visual culture. In the tenth-century *Ten Kings of Hells* (fig. 12),[49] for example, two male sinners with cangues at the court of King Yama may be sinful butchers, whose past deeds of killing animals is revealed in the karmic mirror near the king's desk. An ox and a snake, which may refer to the animals previously slaughtered by the butchers, are approaching the king to file their complaints, each with a scroll of complaints in its mouth. Juxtaposed with the animal-killing sinners are representatives of "good" Buddhists, a man and a woman holding a Buddhist statute and a wrapped bundle of rolled sutras; because of their merits, they are free to leave the court with no charges against them. Compared to the sinners and the "good" Buddhists, Chen Zhao's situation was complicated, for he venerated the *Diamond Sutra* but also consumed an ox head stolen from the army. His good deeds outweighed his bad deeds.

The sinful act of killing animals that leads to hellish punishment is even more

---

47 The diagonal architectural arrangement and the motif of a radiating scroll on clouds remind of similar motifs and compositional templates illustrated in the printed temple oracular booklet *Tianzhu lingqian* 天竺靈籤 associated with Southern Song Hangzhou. See Shih-shan Susan Huang, "*Tianzhu lingqian*: Divination Prints from a Buddhist Temple in Song Hangzhou," *Artibus Asiae* 67.2 (2007): 243-96; for a comparable motif of a radiating scroll on clouds, see fig. 15; for a diagonally composed house motif, see figs. 32-33.

48 Cf. similar accounts in the Dunhuang manuscript (P. 2904).

49 In addition to the Dunhuang manuscripts of the Ten Kings of Hell, see the little-studied tenth-century ink-drawing handscroll discovered in a pagoda in Huangyan 黃岩 near Taizhou 台州, Zhejiang; it is reproduced in Taizhou diqu wenguanhui 台州地區文管會 and Huangyan bowuguan 黃岩博物館, "Zhejiang Huangyan Lingshisi ta wenwu qingli baogao" 浙江黃岩靈石寺塔文物清理報告, *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化 5 (1991): 260-64. I am grateful to Ruoxin Wang, who called my attention to the incorrect layout of this handscroll reproduced in Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, ed., *Seichi Ninpō: Nihon bukkyō 1300-nen no genryū: subete wa koko kara yatte kita* 聖地寧波：日本仏教1300年の源流：すべてはここからやって来た (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2009), 84 (fig. 78). For further study, see Zhang Zong 張總, "Shiwang Dizang xiyang tuxiang yuanliu yanbian" 十王地藏信仰圖像源流演變, in Liu Shufen 劉淑芬 and Paul Katz 康豹, eds., *Xinyang shijian yu wenhua tiaoshi* 信仰、實踐與文化調適 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2013), vol. 1, 225.

explicitly represented in later vernacular woodcuts. The printed illustrations of the indigenous scripture *Fodingxin tuoluoni jing* 佛頂心陀羅尼經 (fig. 13) dated to 1430, for example, pair the killing of an animal with the hellish entrance to demonstrate the karmic relationship of cause and effect.[50] Arranged above the text,[51] the illustration depicts two men slaughtering an animal on a bench. To the left of this scene, the two men are soon transformed into two small and blackened figures drifting in the air in front of the gate to Avīci Hell (*Abi diyu* 阿鼻地獄). The accompanying text below the illustrations states that if one "kills or harms any life" (*shasheng haiming* 殺生害命) one may fall (*duoluo* 墮落) to the realm of Avīci Hell.[52]

As mentioned earlier, miracle stories of the *Diamond Sutra* also feature Buddhist monks as protagonists as well. Pertinent to this is a refreshing illustration representing a monk in the underworld court.[53] The story of Monk Youning illustrated in the Southern Song *Diamond Sutra* woodcuts now in the Shanghai Museum serves as a fine example (fig. 14). Compared to the version recorded in the Dunhuang manuscript (P. 2904) (fig. 5c) discussed previously, the textual description of the story printed in the Southern

---

50 For a complete reproduction of this set, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji, vol. 7, 1-93. For more on this text, see Zheng A'cai, "'Fodingxin da tuoluoni jing' zai Hanzi wenhuaquan de chuanbu" 《佛頂心大陀羅尼》在漢字文化圈的傳布, *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 3 (2015): 1-19.

51 The "illustration above and text below" (*shangtu xiawen* 上圖下文) convention "can be traced back to the tenth century and became widely used in illustrated prints in the Song period;" see Huang, "*Tianzhu lingqian*," 257-58. For more studies, see Julia Murray, "Evolution of Buddhist Narrative Illustration," in Marsha Weiner, ed., *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, Spencer Museum of Art, 1994), 137-38; Julia Murray, *Mirror of Morality: Chinese Narrative Illustration and Confucian Ideology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007); Robert Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 164-72.

52 Yü, Kuan-yin, 120. Cf. the printed frontispiece of the Xi Xia Tangut-script *Jinguangming zuisheng wang jing* (TANG 376) that shows the miracle tale of Zhang Judao 張居道. In an opening scene to the narrative series, Zhang and two other men are shown slaughtering various animals in a domestic courtyard; see Piotrovsky, Lost Empire of the Silk Road, 264 (fig. 77); Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 3, 193.

53 This is different from the monk-like presence of Dizang Bodhisattva in the illustration of the tenth-century Dunhuang manuscript of the *Ten Kings of Hell* (P. 4523) (see fig. 12 of this article). Zhang Zong cited the indigenous sutras known as the *Sutra of Dizang Bodhisattva* (*Dizang pusa jing* 地藏菩薩經) copied in almost thirty Dunhuang manuscripts and noted that Dizang, not confident in the judicious ability of King Yama, often sits in King Yama's court. See Zhang, "Shiwang Dizang xiyang," 212. The juxtaposition of Dizang and King Yama in P. 4523 may reflect a common reception of the aforementioned belief.

Song woodcut version is more abbreviated, due to the limited space of the vignettes. One also finds slight changes in terms of selected names of the protagonists, places, and narrative plot. In the Dunhuang manuscript, King Pingdeng of the underworld told the monk to look for the missing verse engraved on a stele in the western part of the city of Haozhou (fig. 5c). Alternatively, the Southern Song woodcut states that the underworld king requested the monk to engrave the missing verse on a stone stele at the Zhongli Temple in Haozhou (fig. 14).[54] The accompanying illustration shows a composition divided by a roof into upper and lower parts. The upper shows the monk's visit to the underground court. The lower, shifting to the temple setting in Haozhou, shows the monk standing in front of a stele bearing pseudo-cursive calligraphy. This refers to the monk's return to life, when he accomplished the mission requested by the underworld king.

Curiously, the Southern Song *biji* 筆記 writer Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛 also accredited Monk Lingyou who "entered the underworld to add" (*ruming de zhi* 入冥得之) the sixty-three-word verses that begin with the phrase "*huiming xu puti*" 慧命須菩提 to the *Diamond Sutra*.[55] This suggests that the version recounted in the Song woodcuts was a popular one also familiar to an anecdote compiler like Zhao.[56]

The intriguing scenario of Monk Lingyou's "textual transmission" from the underworld to this world calls to mind a comparable scenario recounted in the miracle story of a certain "Woman Wang" 王氏, illustrated in the same Southern Song woodcut version in the Shanghai Museum (fig. 15).[57] When the underworld king received her

54 Cf. the Ming Xuande version in Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 50; cf. the 1470 version in Ma Wenda and Chen Jian, eds., *Ming Qing zhenben banhua ziliao congkan*, vol. 1, 36.

55 Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛 (active 1195), *Yunlu manchao* 雲麓漫鈔 (preface dated 1206), *juan* 3, in *Tang Song shiliao biji congkan* 唐宋史料筆記叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 40.

56 An intriguing mutation of the story of Monk Lingyou in a later source circulated under the title of *Jin'gang boruo boluomijing zuan* 金剛般若波羅蜜經纂, which is included in a composite textual compilation known as *Eryao Jin'gang hebi* 二曜金剛合璧. The revised story replaces Monk Lingyou with a young "Girl Liu," who died at the age of nineteen and was sent back to life by King Yama to copy and recite the complete *Compilation of the Diamond Sutra* carved on the stele at Zhongli Temple in Haozhou. The efficacy of reciting this compilation is promised to be as powerful as reciting the *Diamond Sutra* itself 300,000 times. For the text, see Fang Guangchang, *Zangwai Fojiao wenxian*, vol. 8, 368-70. For more discussion, see Kitsudō and Zieme, "The Jin'gangjing zuan in Old Uighur," 46-47.

57 For another fragmented, illustrated *Diamond Sutra* printed by the same publisher, see *Zhongguo banhua*

at his court after she died and learned that she was a devout Buddhist who recited the *Diamond Sutra* unfailingly in her life, the king invited her to sit on "a couch bed made of gold" (*jinchuang* 金床) and to recite the *Diamond Sutra* for him. After listening to her recitation, the king noted that she missed the dharani charms (*zhou* 咒), which, according to the woman, were not available in the human world. The king thus instructed her on the complete edition with charms in his library, and set her back to life. She later ascended to the heavens.[58] Reading between the lines, both tales of Woman Wang and Monk Lingyou reflect a popular notion advocating the reciting of short verses and charms as an "expedient way" to gain merits.

No counterpart of this story can be found in any Tang or Northern Song literary sources. Instead, several later compilations of miracle tales claim that the story took place in "the ninth year of the Shaoxing reign" (1139) in the early Southern Song. The Qing-dynasty compilation of miracle tales associated with the *Diamond Sutra*, *Jin'gang chiyanji* 金剛經持驗記, for example, sets the story of Woman Wang in Mingzhou 明州 (today's Ningbo 寧波) in 1139.[59] It also adds more details to the plot, including Woman Wang's meritorious deeds of "printing 1,000 copies of the *Diamond Sutra* and distributing them for free" (*yinshi Jin'gang jing qianjuan* 印施金剛經千卷) prior to her death, and the underworld king's request that she help spread the charms after being sent back to life from the underworld.[60] Appropriately enough, it is the final illustrated story among the series of twelve chosen tales featured in the Southern Song woodcuts, suggesting that the story may indeed have been an "add-on" to the older repertoire.

It is likely that the aforementioned Southern Song edition became a model for later editions, whose producers or designers also incorporated the newly-added miracle tale of Woman Wang into their woodcut productions. This is the case with a rare Yuan (1279-1368) edition (fig. 16).[61] Its composition of the story of Woman Wang follows the

---

guanji, vol. 1, 56.

58 Cf. the illustrations of the same story depicted in the two Ming versions. For the Xuande version, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 52; for the 1470 version, see Ma Wenda and Chen Jian, eds., *Ming Qing zhenben banhua ziliao congkan*, vol. 1, 36.

59 *Jin'gang chiyanji*, X87.1635: 540c.

60 *Jin'gang chiyanji*, X87.1635: 540c.

61 This is based on the information provided in Zhou Wu 周芜 ed., *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu* 中國版畫史

basic template of the Southern Song version in the Shanghai Museum (fig. 15), showing the underground king and the woman interacting in an interior setting. Comparatively speaking, the aforementioned Southern Song version is much more refined, with landscape motifs decorating the standing screen placed behind the king. Similarly, the compositional scheme of the story of Monk Lingyou compares to the one illustrated in the same Southern Song version, but it lacks the delicate details, such as the whitened effect and mock cursive calligraphy on the stele rendered in the Southern Song prototype (fig. 14).

Messengers from the Underworld

Pertinent to the leitmotif of a protagonist's journey to the underworld is another narrative motif featuring the journey of underworld messengers (*shizhe* 使者) sent by the King of Hell to the protagonists' domestic settings in the human world in a failed attempt to fetch them to the underworld. One story is about the layman Wang Tuo 王陀 (佗), and the other is about Monk Hongzheng 洪正. For the printed illustrations of these stories, one must turn to the fifteenth-century Xuande version (fig. 17a-b).

According to the text printed alongside the illustration, the protagonist of the first story—Wang Tuo—killed many lives but later converted to Buddhism and made a vow to recite the *Diamond Sutra* 10,000 times. Upon reciting it 5,000 times, his predetermined life span came to an end, and a demon-messenger (referred to as *gui* 鬼) sent by the king of the underworld came to fetch him. A second messenger traveling on a horseback was sent by the same king to catch up with the first messenger and to announce that the king had canceled Wang's scheduled escort to hell due to his devotion to the *Diamond Sutra*. The king prolonged Wang's life to ninety-eight years. The illustration shows this scenario vividly by juxtaposing the two messengers from the underworld, one on foot and the other on horseback. While one messenger is approaching Wang's house by foot to fetch him, the other rushes on horseback from behind to revoke the mission.

The second story with the leitmotif of messengers from hell features the protagonist

---

圖錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), 34 (fig. 28).

Hongzheng. The story is narrated through a dream vision of the monk Shouxian 守賢, a neighbor of Hongzheng. In his dream, Shouxian saw two messengers from the underworld stopped by Hongzheng's dwelling. Witnessing that Hongzheng was reciting the *Diamond Sutra* diligently, the messengers decided to spare his life by taking that of another monk also named Hongzheng. The illustration vignette depicts two interlocking architectural units. The one in the foreground is placed at the lower right corner of the picture plane. This scene, which may refer to Shouxian's "dream vision," shows Hongzheng sitting inside the house and "reciting the *Diamond Sutra* quietly" (*monian Jin'gang jing* 默念金剛經). Two messengers—one holds an axe—stand outside the building and are about to fetch him to the underworld. The other domestic scene in the background shows Shouxian, the day-dreaming monk reclining in bed with his right arm supporting his head; two messengers stand outside.[62]

Magical Writing, Magical Fungi

Two tales selected from the Southern Song and Ming *Diamond Sutra* woodcuts attest to the miracle of sutra copying. The first story about an official recounts a moving story of a filial son pricking his own blood to copy the *Diamond Sutra* on behalf of his deceased mother (figs. 18a-b).[63] As a magical response to his filial piety, mushrooms with sweet-tasting juice grew on his hut. The story repackages the story of filial piety with the lore of Buddhist blood writing and the fungi's power of longevity long developed in medieval Daoism and longevity practices.[64] The practice of blood writing

62 Cf. similar renditions in the 1470 version; see Ma Wenda and Chen Jian, eds., *Ming Qing zhenben banhua ziliao congkan*, vol. 1, 32, 35.

63 Cf. earlier versions of the story in Tang Lin 唐臨's (600-659) *Mingbaoji*, in Fang Shiming ed., *Mingbao ji, Guangyi ji*, 102; *Taiping guangji*, 103. The official is referred to as Ma Qiaoqing 馬喬卿 in the Southern Song version, and as Qiao Mingqing 喬明卿 in the Ming versions.

64 For more discussion of the transmission of illustrated mushroom handbooks and pertinent visual culture of mushrooms and fungi in Daoism, the lore of longevity practices, and Chinese art, see Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 177-85. For more studies of the visual representations of various filial piety stories transmitted in Song-Jin-Yuan painted tombs, portable paintings, and woodblock printing, see Xu Zheying 許哲瑛, "Ershi'si xiao tu yizhu: Yuanren *Sixiao tu*" 二十四孝圖遺珠：元人《四孝圖》, *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 故宮文物月刊 404 (2017): 28-44; Huang Shih-shan 黃士珊, "Banhua yu huihua de hudong—cong Song Yuan Fojiao banhua suojian zhi Song hua yuansu tanqi" 版畫與繪畫的互動——從宋元佛教版畫所見之宋畫元素談起, in Zhejiang daxue yishu yu kaogu yanjiu zhongxin 浙江大學藝術與考古研究中心, ed., *Zhejiang daxue yishu yu kaogu yanjiu (teji yi): Songhua*

in lay Buddhism, in particular, recalls the aforementioned tenth-century Dunhuang manuscript transcribed by the eighty-three-year-old man (fig. 1), who claimed to have pricked his own blood to copy the *Diamond Sutra*.[65]

The Song version in the Muban Foundation collection shows a scholar-official seated inside a hut made of woven bamboo branches and facing his mother's tomb. He is copying the sutra on an archaic desk with short legs (fig. 18a). A banner is hung on the tree nearby to highlight the funerary occasion; the tomb mound bears a label that reads, "straight south" (*zheng nan* 正南), perhaps a reference to the propitious orientation of tomb siting. Three cloud-like fungi grow on top of the hut, the motif of which calls to mind similar designs in other Song Buddhist woodcuts, especially the Southern Song-to-Yuan *Lotus Sutra* frontispieces printed in Hangzhou.[66]

The illustration accompanying the same story in the Ming woodcuts replaces the hut with a regular house (fig. 18b), where the official is copying the sutra at his desk, a boy servant is standing nearby, and two more officials are standing outside the house. The magical mushrooms are now assembled abundantly in a vase on display in the official's studio. The tomb mound of the official's mother and the funeral banner previously depicted in the Southern Song woodcuts have been dismissed entirely.

The connection between the *Diamond Sutra* and magical mushrooms echoes the scenario illustrated in a unique Yuan-dynasty *Commentary of the Diamond Sutra* printed in two colors, a product possibly made in Hubei in 1341 and now in the National

---

guoji xueshu huiyi lunwenji 浙江大學藝術與考古研究（特輯一）：宋畫國際學術會議論文集 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue, 2017), 29-30 (esp. footnote 138).

65 Buddhist blood writing has been a popular self-sacrificial act deemed merit-gaining by Buddhists since medieval times. For more on Buddhist blood writing, see Kieschnick, "Blood Writing;" Jimmy Yu, *Sanctity and Self-inflicted Violence in Chinese Religions, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). A rare Xi Xia printed frontispiece of the Puxian 普賢 chapter of the *Huayan Sutra* 華嚴經 dated to 1196 bears a devotional scene that depicts Child Sudhana cutting his left arm and allowing the blood to drip into a bowl. Behind him is a scholar-official copying a text on a desk. For more discussion, see Huang Shih-shan, "Tang Song shiqi Fojiao banhua zhong suojian de meijie zhuanhua yu zimo sheji" 唐宋時期佛教版畫中所見的媒介轉化與子模設計, in Shih Shou-chien 石守謙 and Yan Chuan-ying 顏娟英, eds., *Yishu shi zhong de Han Jin yu Tang Song zhi bian* 藝術史中的漢晉與唐宋之變 (Taipei: Shitou chubanshe, 2014), 146, 173 (fig. 16).

66 For more visual examples, see Huang Shih-shan, "Tang Song shiqi Fojiao banhua," 400-401; Huang Shih-shan, "Banhua yu huihua de hudong," 16-17, 55-56 (figs. 25-27).

Library, Taipei (fig. 19).[67] The woodcut depicts miraculous fungi emerging from the ground while the Chan monk Wuwen 無聞 writes commentary to the *Diamond Sutra*. In the upper left corner of the picture plane is a cartouche that reads, "Magical fungi grow in the place where the old monk Wuwen writes the commentary of the [*Diamond*] *Sutra*" (*Wuwen laoheshang zhujing chu chan lingzhi* 無聞老和尚注經處產靈芝). A colophon at the end of the text by the lay Buddhist Liu Jueguang 劉覺剛—possibly the donor commissioning the print—explains that four numinous fungi with yellow stems and bright purple cups grew miraculously in Master Wuwen's cell at the Zifu 資福 Monastery in response to the Master's pious act of commenting on the *Diamond Sutra*.[68] This is among the earliest extant specimens of multi-colored printing. The illustration, printed largely in cinnabar with only the pine tree in the upper background in ink, vividly captures this miracle.[69] It depicts the monk holding a brush and writing on a scroll laid upon the desk. The scroll is mainly left blank, with two characters *jin'gang*—presumably the title of the sutra—written at the opening of the scroll. A layman stands to the right of the foreground where the fungi emerge; he may refer to Liu Juegang, who witnessed the miracle.

---

67 For a plate, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 4, 165. For studies of this work, see Zhao Feipeng 趙飛鵬, "Yuandai shuangse yinben 'Jin'gang jing' xiangguan wenti kaoshu" 元代雙色印本《金剛經》相關問題考述, *Chengda zhongwen xuebao* 成大中文學報 40 (2013): 99-126; Chang Bide 昌彼得, "Yuanke zhumo ben Jin'gang jing tishi" 元刻朱墨本金剛經題識, in *Zengding tan'an qun shu tishi* 增訂蟫菴羣書題識 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1997), 224-25; Shen Jin 沈津, "Guanyu Yuan ke zhumo taoyin ben Jin'gang boruo boluomi jing" 關於元刻朱墨套印本金剛般若波羅蜜經, in Shen Jin 沈津, *Shucheng feng xian lu—Shen Jin xueshu biji* 書城風弦錄——沈津學術筆記 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2006), 5-6; Lu Jintang 盧錦堂, "Yuan kan zhumo shuangse yinben Jin'gangboruo boluomi jing wei tongban fenci yinshua kao" 元刊朱墨雙色印本《金剛般若波羅蜜經》為同版分次印刷考, in Liu Zhaoyou jiaoshou chunfeng huayu wushinian jinian wenji bianweihui 劉兆祐教授春風化雨五十年紀念文集編委會, ed., *Liu Zhaoyou jiaoshou chunfeng huayu wushinian jinian wenji* 劉兆祐教授春風化雨五十年紀念文集 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 2010), 313-24. The dating of the print is based on the post-colophon inscription by Liu Jueguang 劉覺剛, which referred to his dream of witnessing the heavenly assembly in the so-called "printing office" (*kanjing suo* 刊經所) in the first month of 1341; see Zhao, "Yuandai shuangse," 107.

68 The story was recorded in the Qing miracle tales of the *Diamond Sutra* compiled by Zhou Kefu; see X87.1635: 541b; Zhao Feipeng, "Yuandai shuangse," 107, 110.

69 Scholars have different opinions regarding how the two colors were applied to printing the text. Shen Jin proposed that the printer used two different blocks, one in ink and the other in red; see Shen Jin, *Shucheng feng xian lu*, 5-6; Zhao Feipeng, "Yuandai shuangse," 104. Lu Jintang and Zhao Feipeng endorse Chang Bide's opinion and believe that the two colors were in fact printed from the same block, only that it took two different steps to apply the two; see Chang Bide, "Yuanke zhumo ben," 224-25; Zhao Feipeng, "Yuandai shuangse," 103-104.

An even more fantastic miracle on magical writing, this time regarding the lay Buddhist Gou (Gou jushi 苟居士) from Xinfan 新繁, Yizhou 益州, is illustrated in the Ming (fig. 20a) woodcuts.[70] After Guo practiced "hidden writing" (*anshu* 暗書) of the *Diamond Sutra* in the sky (*xukong* 虛空) at the same spot for half a year, the spot turned out to be rain-proof. Not seen in any Song versions, this novel illustration in the Xuande version (fig. 20a) is almost identical with that in the 1470 version, although the two were carved by different hands.[71] In both cases, the composition depicts a scholarly figure writing in the air with a brush. A canopy decorated with pendant jewelry (*baogai* 寶蓋) appears above him. An ox-herd boy (*mutong* 牧童) holding a whip and riding an ox is shown in the central background coming to the spot to avoid the rain (*biyu* 避雨). In the upper right corner, a monk-like deity accompanied by an attendant appears amid the clouds and may represent a Buddhist divinity summoning the magical canopy to protect the sutra-writing spot from rain. The same episode made its way to a richly illustrated *Diamond Sutra* woodcut printed in 1570 in Joseon Korea (1392-1910) (fig. 20b). Compared to the Chinese prototype, the Korean counterpart shows fewer details, omitting the dots in the sky that refer to the rain; it also moves the ox and the boy originally in the right corner to the left corner.[72]

Although the extant illustrations are dated no earlier than the fifteenth century, textual sources indicate that the story was well known in Tang and Song times. The Northern Song elite Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), who himself copied the *Diamond Sutra* multiple times, made note of this story as well.[73] Su wrote a colophon to the *Diamond Sutra* copied in gold flakes (*huangjin xie* 黃金屑) by a certain elder gentleman named Tan Wenchu (*zhangzhe Tan jun Wenchu* 長者譚君文初) in honor of Tan's deceased

70 Cf. a similar account in P. 2904.

71 Cf. the 1470 version in Ma Wenda and Chen Jian, eds., *Ming Qing zhenben banhua ziliao congkan*, vol. 1, 34.

72 For the image, see the Buddhist woodcut database by the Dongguk University, accessed June 1, 2018, http://kabc.dongguk.edu/SutraImage?ccode=08&ncbcode=ABC_NC_I_KR_03_A014_00001_0001_0004a&navikey=ABC_NC_I_KR_03_A014_00001_0001_0004a. The author would like to thank Bryan Sauvadet for his input.

73 For more on Su Shi and his literary circle's endorsement of the philosophical teachings expounded in the *Diamond Sutra*, as well as their copying of the sutra, see Zhang Haisha 張海沙 and Zhao Wenbin 趙文斌, "Su Shi yu Jin'gang jing" 蘇軾與《金剛經》, *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu* 中國文學研究 2 (2010): 60-64.

parents (fig. 21). The colophon reads,

> I once heard that someone venerated Buddhist scriptures wholeheartedly. He used his finger to mock-copy various sutras in the air, as if he were holding a brush. Once he left, the place where he practiced the sutra-copying was purified naturally and never got wet even when it rained.[74]
>
> 聞昔有人受持諸經，攝心專妙，常以手指作捉筆狀於虛空中寫諸經法。是人去後，此寫經處自然嚴淨，雨不能濕。

Although Su failed to name the sutra copied in the air and the protagonist who performed this miracle, the fact that he cited it in his colophon attached to a friend's copy of the *Diamond Sutra* reflects his awareness of the story's association with the *Diamond Sutra*.

Women in Vernacular Buddhist and Folklore Visual Cultures

As reflected in the illustrations of the Song-Ming *Diamond Sutra* woodcuts, women play diverse roles in vernacular Buddhist visual culture. In some cases, they were portrayed as devout Buddhists whose piety awarded them Buddhist blessings. In other cases, the imagery of women is linked to disguised animal sprites, which may reveal their "true forms" as evil beasts after subjugation. The following discussion will draw visual examples from both the illustrations of miracle tales in Song-Ming woodcuts and selected vajrapāṇis illustrated above the miracle tales of the Ming woodcuts.

Good Buddhist Women

The aforementioned story of Woman Wang celebrates a good Buddhist woman (fig. 15). The following story, illustrated in the Southern Song and Ming versions, contrasts a woman's good deed with a man's evildoings (figs. 22a-b). Although transmitted under the title of Scholar-Official Zhu Shiheng 朱士衡, the story's protagonist is arguably Zhu's wife, who is a fervent Buddhist reciting the *Diamond Sutra* diligently. Zhu is portrayed as a bold and provocative disbeliever, for he threw the sutra his wife

74 Su Shi 蘇軾, *Dongpo quanji* 東坡全集 93: 25b. See also Su Shi, *Dongbo tiba* 東坡題跋, in Lu Fusheng 盧輔聖 ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* 中國書畫全書 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992-99), vol. 1, 603; Zhang and Zhao, "Su Shi yu Jin'gang jing," 61.

was reciting in the fire in an attempt to destroy it. The miracle of the story lies in the indestructibility of the sutra. After witnessing that the fire fails to destroy the sutra, Zhu is converted to Buddhism.

In the Song version (fig. 22a), this story is represented by two juxtaposed scenes which refer to different times. In the foreground, Zhu and his wife are shown standing outdoors, watching the sutra on fire on the ground.[75] Behind this, the couple worship a Buddhist statue at an altar set indoors. This refers to a later development in the story, when Zhu converts to Buddhism after witnessing the power of the *Diamond Sutra*. The same story is illustrated differently in the early fifteenth-century version (fig. 22b), in which the wife is depicted as an elegant lady seated inside the house, away from her husband, who is dressed in official attire and stands outside to set the sutra on fire. The scholar-official appears again in the upper left corner of the picture plane standing beside a table with a sutra and an incense burner placed on the table. This refers to the stage when he converted to Buddhism.

Disguised Demons

Among the twelve miracle tales illustrated in the *Diamond Sutra* woodcuts, only one represents women as disguised evil spirits. This is the story concerning a student who encountered wild fox spirits disguised as enchanting women (figs. 23a-c).[76] After the student recited the *Diamond Sutra*, extraordinary light emanated from his mouth and

---

75 The motif of burning a Buddhist text can be identified as a leitmotif in vernacular Buddhist visual culture. The motif is used repeatedly as a provocative scene to highlight the magical power of Buddhist texts. For the depiction of Daoists burning indestructable Buddhist scriptures, see the Southern Song set paintings of the 500 arhats produced by a Ningbo 寧波 professional workshop, in particular the scroll entitled "Lohan Demonstrating the Power of the Buddhist Sutras to Daoists" in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (accession number 06.290) by Zhou Jichang 周季常, accessed May 26, 2018, https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/lohan-demonstrating-the-power-of-the-buddhist-sutras-to-daoists-24231. In the early Ming woodcuts *Fodingxin tuoluoni jing* 佛頂心陀羅尼經 dated 1433, the sutra-burning motif is re-purposed to illustrate the procedure of preparing magical medicine. As the narrative sequence shows, by "burning the scripture to ashes" (*shaojing zuo hui* 燒經作灰), and mixing the ashes with "clean mud from the west" (*xifang jingtu* 西方淨土), the magical medicine can safeguard a dying person's soul to ascend to the Amida Buddha's paradise. For the plate, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo fojiao banhua quanji,* vol. 8, 129. For further study of this indigenous scripture, see Yü, *Kuan-yin*, 123.

76 All the illustrated woodcuts discussed herein refer to this student as Ji Hui 季回. The textual accounts in *Taiping guangji* and Duan Chengshi's *Jin'gang jing shouchi ganyinglu* preserved in the *Xu zang jing*, however, refer to the student as Li Hui 李回 or Yu Li Hui 于李回.

scared the fox spirits away.

Both Southern Song and early Ming woodcuts provide comparable illustrations for this story. The Southern Song version depicts two tail-bearing women running away with raised arms (figs. 23a).[77] The other spirit, already transformed into a fox, is depicted in the foreground and also shown escaping.[78] The Ming version basically adopts the same compositional convention (figs. 23b-c),[79] further highlighting the fluffy tails of the two escaping women-fox spirits; it also adds a monk in the sky (fig. 23b), referring to the student's dream vision of a monk who advises him to recite the sutra to succeed in the civil service examinations. The monk appearing in the sky recalls a similar rendition in the story of magical writing in the same Ming version (fig. 20a), suggesting it may have been a stock motif of the woodcut designer.

The *Soushan* Prototype

Seeing beautiful women as disguised demonic sprites who trick mountain travelers reflects a long tradition of folklore and popular beliefs that goes beyond Buddhist sources. Pertinent visual representations are best summed up in the pictorial genre known as *Paintings of Searching the Mountains* [*for Demons*] (also referred to as *Soushan* pictures afterwards).[80] To date, the sketches executed in refined linear-drawing style and assembled in an album at the Cleveland Museum (figs. 24a-b; hereafter referred to as the Cleveland album), and the fully colored handscroll at the Palace

77 This incomplete set is in the National Library, Beijing. Only two illustrated miracle tales from this set have been published; see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 2, 230-31.

78 The fragmented printed illustration is from a Southern Song printed scroll printed by the same Hangzhou publisher, Wang Nian sanlang 王念三郎, who published the other illustrated *Diamond Sutra*, although both works are incomplete and the extant illustrations not from the same sections.

79 Cf. the 1470 version in Ma Wenda and Chen Jian, eds., *Ming Qing zhenben banhua ziliao congkan*, vol. 1, 33.

80 Earlier researchers have traced the *Soushan* story to the pre-Song legend of the local Sichuan deity Erlang (Erlangshen 二郎神) and his troops quelling mountain demons and spirits, although Carmelita Hinton recently has stressed the "contested origins" of these pictures, seeing them as a visual blending of "Buddhism, Daoism, popular religion, imperial politics," and "pictorial conventions and innovations that have a life of their own." See Carmelita Hinton, "Evil Dragon, Golden Rodent, Sleek Hound: The Evolution of Soushan Tu Paintings in the Northern Song Period," in Jerome Silbergeld and Eugene Y. Wang, eds., *The Zoomorphic Imagination in Chinese Art and Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), 171, 173. Cf. Hung Wu, "Pictorial Representations of Ape Tales," *T'oung Pao*, 2nd series, 73 (1987): 86-113.

Museum in Beijing (figs. 25a-b; hereafter referred to as the Beijing scroll), represent two of the earliest extant examples that may date from the Southern Song to Yuan periods.[81] Additional later versions, including two colorful Ming handscrolls in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (fig. 26) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, respectively, reflect the longevity of the *Soushan* pictorial tradition, which awaits further scholarly investigation.[82]

According to Northern Song painting records, the *Soushan* pictures came into vogue in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The tenth-century professional painter Huang Quan 黃荃 (903-968) from Sichuan reportedly painted the *Mountain Search of the Heavenly King* (*Soushan tianwang* 搜山天王),[83] which would make him the first documented artist in this pictorial genre. Furthermore, the Khitan painter Gao Yi 高益 (active in later half of the tenth century), who was known for painting complex murals for the Northern Song imperially-sponsored Xiangguo 相國 Monastery in Kaifeng 開封, was first recommended to work for the Song court because of his outstanding *Painting of Deities and Demonic Attendants Searching the Mountain* (*Guishen soushan tu* 鬼神搜山圖).[84]

In a recent publication, Carmelita Hinton has also connected the *Soushan* pictures

81 For plates, see Zhejiang daxue Zhongguo gudai shuhua yanjiu zhongxin 浙江大學中國古代書畫研究中心, ed., *Songhua quanji, juan liu* 宋畫全集卷六 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2008), vol. 2, 102-201. For more, see Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 308-18. For further studies of *Soushan tu*, see Kohara Hironobu 古原宏伸, *Chūgoku gakan no kenkyū* 中国画巻の研究 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2005), 451-82; Huang Miaozi 黃苗子, "Ji 'Soushan tu'" 記〈搜山圖〉, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 3 (1980): 17-18; Jin Weinuo 金維諾, "Soushan tu de neirong yu yishu biaoxian" 搜山圖的內容與藝術表現, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 3 (1980): 19-22; Hinton, "Evil Dragon."

82 For the version entitled *Erlang and His Soldiers Driving out Animal Spirits* at the Museum of Fine Art, Boston, dated to the Ming period, accessed May 14, 2018, https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/erlang-and-his-soldiers-driving-out-animal-spirits-erlang-soushan-tu-28199; see also Hinton, "Evil Dragon," 174-75 (figs. 5.2, 5.3). For the handscroll by the late Ming painter Zheng Zhong 鄭重 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/44630 (retrieved on 5/14/2018). For the version at Princeton University Art Museum, see Pao-chen Chen, "Searching for Demons on Mount Kuan-k'ou," in Wen Fong, *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 323-30.

83 Hinton, "Evil Dragon," 184.

84 Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛, *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞志, *juan* 3, in Lu, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu,* vol. 1, 478; Hinton, "Evil Dragon," 171, 184. For more on Gao Yi's work in Xiangguo Monastery, see Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 286.

to an extant late-ninth century mural in the Tang Buddhist temple Foguang 佛光 at Mt. Wutai 五台, Shanxi (figs. 27a-b; hereafter referred to as the Foguang mural).[85] The Foguang mural depicts an oft-cited heavenly king (*tianwang* 天王) seated above two subjugated demons (fig. 27a), which provides a visual convention for the "commander-in-hunt" depicted in the later *Soushan* pictures (fig. 24a). To the left of the heavenly king on the same wall is a subjugated monkey tied by a chain and being pulled by a soldier working for the heavenly king (fig. 27b). The monkey "wears a boot on its right foot" just "like a human being," suggesting that it may represent a demon-in-transformation previously disguised as a boot-wearing human.[86] Picturing an animal with human traits provides the visual prototype for the later *Soushan* pictures as well.

While certain subjugated ape-demons depicted in the *Soushan* pictures (figs. 24a-b, 26) recall the monkey-demon pictured in the Foguang mural, others not seen in it exhibit a plethora of half-beast, half-human hybrid creatures whose gestures and physical features mimic those of women (fig. 24b). The strategy of picturing disguised mountain demons as attractive or erotic women marks an overarching visual principle to all extant *Soushan* pictures.[87] The Beijing handscroll, likely dated to the Yuan period, captures what looks like cinematic snapshots of the hybrid mountain demons. Each demon, however, is in its own unique transitional state, with its body changing from disguised women to the "true forms" of a beast, either from the upper to lower body, or the other way around. A fox demon (fig. 25a) comparable to that depicted in the Cleveland drawing (fig. 24b) shows the head, upper body, and two "arms" of a fox, while the red pants and tiny orange-red shoes suggest a woman's bound feet, "a physical trait resulting from a unique Chinese erotic practice." [88] Alternatively, the other fox demon shot by an arrow has a woman's upper body and a fox's lower body (fig. 25a), comparable to the fox spirit in the miracle story. Her breasts with cleavage, exposed by a low-cut top, is related to the erotic body of a snake spirit, whose upper part is still a

85 Jin Weinuo 金維諾 ed., *Zhongguo meishu quanji* 中國美術全集, *huihua pian* 繪畫編 13, *Siguan bihua* 寺觀壁畫 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), 16-17 (plate 13); Hinton, "Evil Dragon," 171, 176, 184-85 (for the plate, see fig. 5.5, 185).

86 Hinton, "Evil Dragon," 185-86; for a plate, see 186 (fig. 5.6).

87 For more discussion, see Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 312-18.

88 Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 312.

disguised beautiful woman, while its lower body has already turned into that of a scaly reptile (fig. 25b).[89]

Hybrid Demons Subjugated by Vajrapāṇis

The hybrid feminine bodies of animal monsters subjugated in the mountains in the aforementioned *Soushan* pictures provide visual prototypes for the demons subjugated by eight vajrapāṇis in Ming *Diamond Sutra* woodcuts (figs. 10, 28-31), whose representations of the eight vajrapāṇis differ from the Southern Song printed counterparts previously discussed (fig. 9). All eight vajrapāṇis are in a seated position comparable to Erlang depicted in the Cleveland album (fig. 24a) or the heavenly king in the Tang mural (fig. 27). They are stepping on subjugated demons, which include animals, humans, and hybrid creatures. In particular, the first (figs. 28), second (figs. 29), third (figs. 30), sixth (figs. 31), and eighth vajrapāṇi step on hybrid monsters, part of whose bodies appear to be women.[90] The first vajrapāṇi steps on two serpentine creatures with human torsos (fig. 28). The hybrid serpent to the viewers' right exposes a woman's breasts the overall motif is reminiscent of the snake spirit in the Beijing *Soushan* scroll (fig. 25b). As for the second vajrapāṇi (fig. 29), his left foot steps upon a half-woman, half-animal creature, and his right foot on a deer-like animal. The demons subjugated by the third vajrapāṇi look different from the previous examples (figs. 30). Under his left foot is a monkey, and the hybrid creature under his right foot is a monkey dressed in human clothing (fig. 30), whose overall pictorial convention calls to mind the clothed monkey demons in *Soushan* pictures (figs. 24) as well as the Foguang mural (fig. 27b). The sixth vajrapāṇi steps on a rabbit to one side and a woman with phoenix-like feathers extending from her feet on the other (fig. 31).[91] The eighth vajrapāṇi stands on a tiger with his right foot and a woman with an animal tail using his left foot.[92] Since these visual motifs do not have a direct connection with the content

89 Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 313.

90 For plates of all eight vajrapāṇis and their subjugated demons, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 33-34, 36-42, 44, 46-47. Cf. the 1470 version in Ma Wenda and Chen Jian, eds., *Ming Qing zhenben banhua ziliao congkan*, vol. 1, 32-34.

91 See Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 42.

92 For plates of the eighth vajrapāṇi, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 47. Cf. the 1470 version in Ma Wenda and Chen Jian eds., *Ming Qing zhenben banhua ziliao congkan*,

of the *Diamond Sutra* they accompany, the designer of the *Diamond Sutra* woodcuts apparently borrowed freely from existing *Soushan* stock motifs, including the heavenly king stepping on demons,[93] as well as the half-woman and half-animal mountain spirits, to create unique representations of the vajrapāṇis. Viewed together with the illustrations of miracle tales, the styling of these vajrapāṇis as demon-quellers adds an additional efficacious dimension to the *Diamond Sutra*--exorcism, which is a key concern not only widely addressed in various religious practices but also appealing to commoners. The demon-quelling vajrapāṇis thus pair well with the various miraculous performances of the sutra detailed in the tales illustrated below.

Publishers and Donors

One can further speculate on the production places of the vernacular woodcuts examined in the present study. Most of the Southern Song and Yuan woodcuts were products of commercial publishers in Hangzhou, and the Ming woodcuts may have been produced in Beijing.

Song-Yuan Publishers in Hangzhou

Among the three extant Southern Song versions, two in the Shanghai Museum and the National Library (figs. 14-15, 23a) were produced by the Printshop of Wang Nian, Third Son of the Wang Family (*Wang Nian sanlang jia* 王念三郎家), a well-documented commercial publisher specializing in Buddhist printed books in Hangzhou.[94] The publisher's stamped colophon (fig. 15), still visible in the final vignette of the Shanghai Museum version, gives the shop address. It reads, "The bookstore [is located] at the western side of the southern street in front of Peng [Bridge] of the capital," (*Xingzai Pengqian nanjie xi jingfang* 行在棚前南街西經坊).[95]

---

vol. 1, 32-34.

93 Cf. the Tang mural at the Foguang temple reproduced in Hinton 2016, 185 (fig. 5.5).

94 While requiring further study to provide more detailed stylistic comparisons, the version in the Muban Foundation could be a Southern-Song Hangzhou product as well, given its similar style with other such woodcuts.

95 For another incomplete set of the illustrated *Diamond Sutra* printed by the same publisher in Hangzhou, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 2, 230-31.

According to a detailed *Map of the Capital* (Jingcheng tu 京城圖) included in the Southern Song local gazetteer *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志, compiled during 1268-1273 (fig. 32),[96] Peng Bridge (*Peng qiao* 棚橋) was in the neighborhood of Zhong'an Bridge (*Zhong'an qiao* 眾安橋) and Guan Bridge (*Guan qiao* 觀橋), north of the Imperial Street (*Yujie* 御街). This area, according to Sören Edgren and others, was the most bustling publishing district in Southern Song Hangzhou (fig. 33).[97] The Wang Nian printshop was marked "F" on the "map of the publishers" reconfigured from the one produced by S ö ren Edgren in his 1989 publication.[98]

Surrounding Zhong'an Bridge were other major printshops, whose extant specimens of illustrated Buddhist books suggest their wide circulation. The oft-cited "Sutra Bookshop of the Official Jia Family" (*Jia Guanren jingshu pu* 賈官人經書鋪), marked "D" on the map (fig. 34), once produced the exquisite *Wenshu zhinan tuzan* 文殊指南圖讚 as well as the *Lotus Sutra* in small regular script with a single frontispiece, a popular edition whose many copies made their way to Kamakura Japan.[99] To the

96 For a thorough study of the gazetteer, including a reproduction of the map, see Jiang Qingqing 姜青青, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi Songban 'Jingcheng si tu' fuyuan yanjiu*《咸淳臨安志》宋版「京城四圖」復原研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015); for the dating of the gazetteer, as well as documented carvers for selected maps included in the gazetteer, see 17-22.

97 For more on Southern Song commercial publishers in Hangzhou, see Sören Edgren, "Southern Song Printing at Hangzhou," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 61 (1989): 3-204; K. T. Wu, "Illustrations in Sung Printing." *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 28.3 (1971): 173-95; Shih-shan Susan Huang, "Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou," in *Lucille Chia and Hilde de Weerdt, eds., Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print—China, 900-1400 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 135-65*; Shih-shan Susan Huang, "Media Transfer and Modular Construction: The Printing of *Lotus Sutra* Frontispieces in Song China," *Ars Orientalis* 41 (2011): 135-163; Huang, "Banhua yu huihua de hudong," 19-22 (esp. footnotes 92 and 105); Jiang, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, 197, 200-201; Zhang Xiumin 張秀民 and Han Qi 韓琦, *Zhongguo yinshua shi* 中國印刷史 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2006).

98 Cf. the map with Chinese explanations reproduced in Edgren, "Southern Song Printing at Hangzhou," 4 (fig. 1).

99 For a classic study of the *Wenshu zhinan tuzan*, see Jan Fontein, *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana: A Study of Gandavy ha Illustrations in China, Japan and Java* (Paris: Mouton, 1967), fig. 7a (unnumbered page between 32 and 33), 31-32, 36-38; for the plates, see figs. 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7b; see also Huang Shih-shan, "Banhua yu huihua de hudong," 22-23, 62-63 (figs. 36-38). Extant copies of the Lotus Sutra with a frontispiece printed by the publisher of the Family of the Official Jia were made by different carvers; they are now in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Cologne, the National Library in Beijing, and the Unryū-in 雲龍院, a sub-temple of Sennyū-ji 泉涌寺, Kyoto. For more studies, see Roger Goepper, "An Early Work by Koen in Cologne," *Asiatische Studien/Etudes Asiatiques* 37.2 (1983): 72; Fontein, *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana*, fig. 7a (unnumbered page between 32 and 33), 31-32, 36-38; Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan 町田市立国際版画美術館, ed., *Chūgoku kodai hanga ten: Machida shisei 30-shūnen kinen, Nitchū Heiwa Yūkō Jōyaku teiketsu 10-shunen kinen* 中国古代版

north of Zhong'an Bridge was another reputable shop known as the Yang Family Sutra Printshop (*Yangjia jingfang* 楊家經坊), marked "C" on the map. The Yang Family printshop did business in Hangzhou for several generations. In the Yuan dynasty, it produced the *Diamond Sutra* with the aforementioned illustrated miracle tales (fig. 16), whose templates may have derived from the Southern Song version printed by the Wang Nian printshop in the neighborhood several generations previously. Among other extant productions by the Yang Family printshop are the refined illustrated Guanyin chapter published independently from the *Lotus Sutra*, and the indigenous *Scripture of the Blood Bowl* (*Xuepen jing* 血盆經), the illustrations of which arranged above the text demonstrate a coarser style and popular taste (fig. 34).[100] The printshop's colophon at the end of the *Blood Bowl* woodcuts reads, "Yang Family Sutra Printshop, south of Guan Bridge, Hangzhou" (*Hangzhou Guanqiao nan Yangjia jingfang* 杭州觀橋南楊家經坊). As shown in the Southern Song map of Hangzhou (fig. 32), Guan Bridge was adjacent to Zhong'an Bridge, suggesting that the colophon refers to the same Yang Family printshop located near Zhong'an Bridge.[101] In the early fifteenth century, the Yang Family printshop was also responsible for reprinting multiple texts and frontispieces for the *Qisha Canon* (*Qisha zang* 磧砂藏).[102] The Yang Family printshop was not the only publisher whose business survived the dynastic transition. The Shen Family shop run by the second son (Shen Erlang 沈二郎) in the Southern Song and marked "R" on the map (fig. 33), for example, was run by the seventh and eighth sons in the Yuan. The seventh son of the Shen Family, Shen Qilang 沈七郎, published the illustrated *Scripture*

画展：町田市制30周年記念、日中平和友好条約締結10周年記念 (Machida: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1988), 29, 87 (fig. 10).

100 For woodcuts of the Guanyin chapter from the Lotus Sutra, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 4, 220-246; for the *Scripture of the Blood Bowl*, see 211-15. Regarding popular taste for the *Blood Bowl* woodcuts, one narrative scene takes the viewer inside a half-open hell-like gate to peek at the miserable female sinners standing or kneeling near Blood Bowl Pond (*Xiepen chi* 血盆池). A cartouche near the gate reads, "Drinking the blood three times" (*Sandu yinxie* 三度飲血)." The accompanying text below the illustration further explains that the jailors feed the female sinners with blood from Blood Bowl Pond three times a day.

101 Jiang, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, unnumbered map entitiled "Jingcheng tu" 京城圖.

102 Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 5, 265; Lucille Chia, "Printing for Merit: A Preliminary Survey of the Role of Donors in Buddhist Publishing, Song-Ming," in Jean-Pierre Drège and Michela Bussotti, eds., *Imprimer sans profit? Le livre non-commercial dans la Chine impériale* (Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études/Librairie Droz, 2015), 139 (fig. 4); Huang Shih-shan, "Banhua yu huihua de hudong," 22 (footnote 105).

of the Medicine Buddha (*Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing* 藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經). The eighth son, Shen Balang 沈八郎, on the other hand, was in charge of reprinting the *Lotus Sutra* with a frontispiece based on the Southern Song version published by the Family of the Official Jia.[103]

Donorship of Popular Buddhist Woodcuts in Ming Beijing

Unlike the aforementioned Southern Song and Yuan Buddhist woodcuts, which bear information of their publishers, none of the extant Ming *Diamond Sutra* woodcuts examined in the present study offers any publisher information. That said, a donor's dedicatory colophon printed at the end of the Xuande version may shed light on the thriving Buddhist print culture in Ming capital of Beijing (fig. 35).

According to the colophon, the donor is Tian Yamidashili 田啞弥答室哩 (fig. 35). His name contains Chinese and non-Chinese components separated by a space.[104] It begins with the character *tian*, which may refer to a Chinese family name, and then followed by five characters, the ending characters *shili* of this non-Chinese component sounding similar to the Chinese transliteration of an Indian name that ends with "-sri".[105] A resident in Huanghua 黃華 Ward of Daxing 大興 County in the Ming capital of Tianshun 天順 Prefecture, Beijing, Tian Yamidashili associated his ancestors with Weizhou 蔚州 in Datong 大同 Prefecture, Shanxi.[106]

As marked on the map of the Ming capital Beijing (fig. 36), preserved in Zhang Jue's 張爵 *Records of Streets and Alleys in the Five Districts of the Capital* (*Jingshi wucheng fangxiang hutong ji* 京師五城坊巷衚衕集) dated to 1560, Huanghua Ward was located in the Eastern City district inside Chongwen 崇文 Gate.[107] Judging from

---

103 Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji,* vol. 4, 135-37, 191-210.

104 The author would like to thank a reviewer's suggestion interpreting the first character "Tian" as a Chinese surname.

105 Further study is required to identify the donor's ethnicity. In the early Ming, most Chinese transliterated names that ended with *shili* were treated as Indian.

106 Weizhou, a historical city, is now Weixian 蔚縣, part of Hebei Province. For more about the local history of Weizhou, see the seventeenth-century local gazetteer (*Shunzhi*) *Weizhouzhi*（順治）蔚州志, in Beijing shifan daxue tushuguan 北京師範大學圖書館, ed., *Beijing shifan daxue tushuguan cang xijian fangzhi congkan* 北京師範大學圖書館藏稀見方志叢刊, vol. 2 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2007).

107 The five districts refer to the Central City (Zhongcheng 中城), Eastern City (Dongcheng 東城), Western

the streets and places named after officials and princes in this ward, such as "Official Shi Alley" (*Shi daren hutong* 石大人衚衕), "Official Jiang Alley" (*Jiang daren hutong* 蔣大人衚衕), "Alley of Official Wu Liang" (*Wu Liang daren hutong* 吳良大人衚衕), and "Granary of the Princely Mansion" (*Wangfu cang* 王府倉), Huanghua Ward must have been a privileged district with residents closely related to the court.[108] Indeed, Huanghua Ward was home to the powerful eunuch Wang Zhen 王振 (d. 1449), who was also a native of Weizhou, Shanxi, just like the mysterious Tian Yamishili. In 1443, Wang turned his own residence located near the governmental granary (*Lumi cang* 祿米倉) into the magnificent Monastery of Wisdom and Transformation (Zhihua si 智化寺), which in turn received generous gifts and patronage from the Ming court.[109] Numerous Buddhist scriptures, including the whole set of the government-sponsored *Northern Canon* (*Beizang* 北藏), initiated in the Yongle reign in 1421 and completed in the Zhengtong reign in 1440, and the writing with blood of the *Diamond Sutra* by a Buddhist monk in 1435 were all housed in this temple.[110] Besides Wang Zhen's temple, Huanghua Ward also housed a certain Erlang Temple (Erlang miao 二郎廟) dedicated to the veneration of the deity Erlang, who was said to have been the "commander-in-hunt" featured in the aforementioned *Soushan* pictures (fig. 24a).[111] Beyond Huanghua Ward, residents from neighboring wards in fifteenth-century Beijing were known for their fervent contributions to various editions of the fully illustrated Buddhist woodcuts. Beyond the *Diamond Sutra*, one of the extant specimens (dated 1430) of the widely circulated indigenous Buddhist text Fodingxin tuoluoni jing introduced previously (fig.

City (Xicheng 西城), Southern City (Nancheng 南城), and Northern City (Beicheng 北城). For the map, see Zhang Jue, *Jingshi wucheng fangxiang hutong ji, in Beijing guji congshu* 北京古籍叢書 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2000); for a listing of the streets, temples, and other landmarks of Huanghua Ward, see 9; for more listings of the Eastern City, see 8-11.

108 Zhang Jue, *Jingshi wucheng fangxiang hutong ji*, 9.

109 For a listing of the temple, see Zhang Jue, *Jingshi wucheng fangxiang hutong ji*, 9. For more on eunuchs and Buddhism in Ming Beijing, see He Xiaorong 何孝榮, "Mingdai huanguan yu Fojiao" 明代宦官與佛教, *Nankai xuebao* 南開大學學報 1 (2000): 18-27; Chen Yunü 陳玉女, *Mingdai ershisimen huanguan yu Beijing Fojiao* 明代二十四衙門宦官與北京佛教 (Taipei: Ruwen chubanshe, 2001).

110 A fourteenth-century printed frontispiece attached to an assembly of two Buddhist texts bearing the Yuan emperor Renzong's 仁宗 (r. 1311-1320) patronage was found inside a Buddhist statue at the temple in 1984. For more Buddhist printed books collected in the Zhihua Temple, see Beijing wenbo jiaoliu guan 北京文博交流館, ed., *Zhihuasi cang Yuan Ming Qing Fojing banhua shangxi* 智化寺藏元明清佛教版画賞析 (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe, 2007).

111 Zhang Jue, *Jingshi wucheng fangxiang hutong ji*, 9.

13) may well have been made in Beijing, for its donor, Li Shun 李順, served as Emperor Xuanzong's 宣宗 (r. 1425-1435) Director of the Embroidered Uniform Guard (*Jinyiwei zhihui* 錦衣衛指揮).[112] In 1440, furthermore, other Beijing residents co-sponsored the printing of another popular Buddhist text, *Five-Mantra Dharani Scripture of the White-Robed Guanyin* (*Baiyi guanyin wuyinxin tuoluoni jing* 白衣觀音五印心陀羅尼經), the content of which is geared toward Guanyin bodhisattva's power of child-giving (figs. 37a-b).[113] An impressive list of lay donors listed at the end of the printed book record multiple households from the Renshou 仁壽, Chengqing 澄清, Mingzhi 明智, and Nanxun 南薰 Wards located in the central and eastern parts of the city (fig. 36) not far from Huanghua Ward.[114]

Given that the majority of documented donors contributing funds to print vernacular Buddhist woodcuts from the first half of the fifteenth century were residents of Beijing, it is reasonable to speculate that the woodcuts they sponsored—including the Xuande version of the *Diamond Sutra* woodcuts, were also printed in Beijing. While little is known about the commercial publishing of such popular woodcuts in early-Ming Beijing, selected temples in Beijing deserve particular note.[115] For example, the historic Great Monastery of Celebrating Longevity (Da qingshou si 大慶壽寺), closely related to the Yuan and Ming courts, was a major center for Buddhist printing and book

112 For the colophon of the donors, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 7, 87.

113 For more plates, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 9, 150-52. For further study of this indigenous scripture, see Yü, *Kuan-yin*, 93, 95, 123, 126-35, 185, 192, 258, 452; and for a comparable printed frontispiece attached to a later edition of the same text dated 1603 (Fayuan Monastery collection, Beijing), see 97.

114 Mingzhi 明智 Ward was marked as Mingshi 明時 Ward on the 1560 map; see fig. 36 of the present article.

115 For more on Buddhist printing in Ming Beijing, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vols. 6-10; Zhou Xinhui 周心慧, "Mingdai Beijing banhua shulue" 明代北京版畫述略, *Shoudu bowuguan congkan* 14 (1982): 98-104; Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, "Ming Yongle nianjian neifu kanben Fojiao jingji" 明永樂年間內府刊本佛教經籍, *Wenwu* 文物 4 (1985): 39-41; Wang Qiuju 王秋菊, "Ming neifu kan Fojiao banhua kaolue" 明內府刊佛教版畫考略, *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地 8 (2016): 101-105. For Daoist printing in Ming Beijing and its connection to Buddhist counterparts, see Wan Chui-ki 尹翠琪, "Daojiao feihua de banben, goucheng yu tuxiang yanjiu" 道教扉畫的版本、構成與圖像研究, *Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 美術史研究集刊 43 (2017): 1-140, esp. 13-22. For temples in Beijing over the dynasties, see Peng Xinglin 彭興林, *Beijing Fosi yiji kao* 北京佛寺遺跡考, 3 vols., in Wei Yin 偉印, ed., *Beijing Fojiao wenxian jicheng* 北京佛教文獻集成, part 3 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2012); He Xiaorong 何孝榮, *Mingdai Beijing Fojiao siyuan xiujian yanjiu (shang)* 明代北京佛教寺院修建研究（上）(Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2007).

collecting.[116] The temple was in charge of printing the *Northern Canon* sponsored by the Ming court, gathering artisans from the Department of Rituals (*Sili jian* 司禮監) at court to work in the temple.[117] Furthermore, its abbot, Monk Chongyuan 崇遠, contributed funds in 1431 and 1438 to support the printing of 940 copies of the illustrated *Fodingxin tuoluoni jing*.[118] In addition, another monk of the temple named Mo'an 默菴 left a colophon to the printed *Diamond Sutra* transcribed in thirty-two whimsical hybrid scripts (*Zhuanshu sanshi'er ti Jin'gang jing* 篆書三十二體金剛經), which was sponsored by the eunuch Li Tong 李童 (d. 1453) (figs. 38a-b).[119] It is likely that temples such as the Great Monastery of Celebrating Longevity also provided copies of Buddhist books, including the Xuande version of the *Diamond Sutra*, to lay devotees who contributed funds to them.

Tian Yamidashili and the Multicultural Esoteric Buddhist Community

Although the name of the donor for the colophon to the Xuande version, Tian Yamidashili, bears an Indian-inspired component, the person is perhaps more likely to have been Chinese with a sectarian, pseudo Indian name. This hypothesis is indirectly supported by recent studies that have brought to light an Indian-origin Esoteric Buddhist community in Beijing known as the Western Heaven Sect (*Xitian jiao* 西天

116 This temple was first built in 1186 in the Jin dynasty. In the Yuan dynasty, the Central Asian monk Shaluoba 沙羅巴 (a disciple of 'Phags-pa 八思巴) gave Buddhist sermons to the future emperor Renzongthere. Marsha Haufler has discussed the abbot at the temple in the late fourteenth century; see Marsha Haufler, "Faces of Transnational Buddhism at the Early Ming Court," in Craig Clunas, Jessica Harrison-Hall and Luk Yu-ping, eds., *Ming China: Courts and Contacts 1400-1450* (London: the British Museum, 2016), 144. The Great Monastery of Celebrating Longevity was renamed the Great Prospering Monastery (Da Xinglong si 大興隆寺) after the 1448 renovation supervised by the eunuch Wang Zhen under the Ming emperor Yingzong's 英宗 patronage; see He, *Mingdai Beijingjing fojiao*, 72, 81, 190.

117 Wan Chui-ki, "Daojiao feihua de banben," 15-16; Li Fuhua 李富華 and He Mei 何梅, *Hanwen Fojiao dazangjing yanjiu* 漢文佛教大藏經研究 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2003), 434-43.

118 Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 7, 94; vol. 9, 81-83.

119 For plates of the entire set, see Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 9, 40-80; the opening of the printed text preserves a preface by Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 dated 1313, see 42-43. Li Tong was known as the chief patron of the Buddhist Fahai 法海 Monastery, built in 1439-1443 and located in the western suburb of Beijing. For the murals, see Qi Hong 祁紅 and Jin Weinuo 金維諾, *Fahai si bihua* 法海寺壁畫 (Beijing: Zhongguo luyou chubanshe, 1993). Li Tong's patronage of Tibetan Buddhist art is reflected in the gilt bronze reliquary he donated to a temple outside Nanjing; see Marsha Weidner, *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850* (Laurence: Spencer Museum of Art, 1994), 55-56; Marsha Haufler, "Beliefs, Miracles and Salvation," in Craig Clunas and Jessica Harrison-Hall, eds., *Ming: 50 Years that Changed China* (London: The British Museum, 2014), 246.

教) prospering especially during the late Yuan and early Ming period. Its followers, traceable for at least five generations, clustered mostly in the two early Ming capitals of Nanjing and Beijing, as well as the Buddhist site of Mt. Wutai in Shanxi not far from Weizhou, from which Tian Yamidashili's family originally came.[120] The founder of the sect was the foreign monk Sahazanshili 撒哈咱失里 (?-1381), who came to China around 1364 from the Himalayan area. Members of Western Heaven Buddhism were from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, including not only Chinese but also other foreigners from India and Vietnam. In order to demonstrate their devout sectarian identity, the non-Indian followers often had alternative pseudo-Indian names, aside from their genuine names.[121] Sahazanshili's major disciple, the Chinese monk Zhiguang 智光 (1348-1435), played the leading role after the founder's passing and also had an Indian-inspired name, Yanaluoshimi 雅納囉釋彌.[122] While Zhiguang's hundred-plus recorded disciples were most likely Chinese followers, many of them were documented using their Indian names, the Chinese transliterations of which all ended with the two characters *shili* 室哩.[123]

The Western Heaven Sect gained privileged support from the imperial court and eunuchs in the fifteenth century. Emperor Xuanzong supported Monk Zhiguang fervently and hosted him in the newly-built Monastery of Great Awakening (Dajue si 大覺寺), which subsequently became a major meeting place for Western Heaven followers.[124] Xuanzong also showed respect to Sahazanshili's other renowned disciple,

---

120 Du Changshun 杜常順, "Mingdai 'Xitianseng' kaolue" 明代"西天僧"考略, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 1 (2006): 23-33; He Xiaorong 何孝榮, "Yinseng Sahazashili yu Yuan Ming shiqi Yindu mijiao zai Zhongguo de chuanbo" 印僧撒哈咱失里與元明時期印度密教在中國的傳播, *Xinan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 西南大學學報（社會科學版）42.2 (2016): 164-72. The Western Heaven monks were also credited with translating Tibetan Buddhist texts; see Shen Weirong 沈衛榮 and An Haiyan 安海燕, "Mingdai Hanyi Zangchuan mijiao wenxian he xiyu sengtuan" 明代漢譯藏傳密教文獻和西域僧團, *Qinghua daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 清華大學學報（哲學社會科學版）2 (2011): 81-93.

121 Du, "Mingdai 'xitianseng' kaolue"; He, "Yinseng Sahazashili," 167-69.

122 He, "Yinseng Sahazashili," 167.

123 For the names, see He, "Yinseng Sahazashili," 166-68; as for the speculation that they were Chinese and not Indian, see 167-68.

124 The emperor also granted Buddhist official titles to more than a hundred of Zhiguang's disciples; see He, *Mingdai Beijingjing Fojiao*, 172-73. For more on Xuanzong's support of Esoteric Buddhism, see He Xiaorong 何孝榮, "Lun Ming Xuanzong chongfeng mijiao" 論明宣宗崇奉密教, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線 7 (2012): 84-92.

the Indian monk Diwadasi 底哇答思 (1359-1438), who stayed in the Great Monastery of Celebrating Longevity.[125] By the end of Xuanzong's reign, the Indian and Tibetan monks honored by the emperor and housed in selected temples in the capital totaled over a thousand. Zhiguang's two major disciples, Chandieshili 禪牒室哩 (1416-1472) and Sanmanshili 三曼室哩 (1414-1477), both Vietnamese immigrants converted to the sect while teenagers in Beijing, remained powerful at the Ming court after Xuanzong's reign.[126] Through their active roles presiding over Esoteric Buddhist rituals and teaching Sanskrit at court, as well as supervising officers at the imperially-sponsored Tibetan Buddhist Bureau (*Fanjingchang* 番經場), the Western Heaven monks attracted quite a few officials and eunuchs, who became followers and sponsors of the sect.[127] Quite a few eunuchs were documented supporters. To name a few, Cui An 崔安 and Huang Fu 黃福 were among the donors sponsoring a posthumous stupa in commemoration of Sahazanshili.[128] Luo Xiu 羅秀, Chen Ting 陳庭, Wei Jing 韋敬, Tan Wen 覃文, Yang Chang 楊長, and others were among the donors contributing funds to construct memorial stupas for other leading masters of the sect.[129]

Given that Tian Yamidashili's name ends with the same characters shili, similar to these monks from the Western Heaven Sect, it is likely that he was also a Chinese Buddhist from such a community in Beijing.

The Hybrid Esoteric Pantheon

A hybrid Esoteric pantheon (fig. 39a) illustrated at the end of the Xuande version of the *Diamond Sutra* proceeding Tian Yamidashili's colophon provides an intriguing visual cue to the validity of the aforementioned interpretation. At first glance, the pantheon appears to be an "add-on" image to the *Diamond Sutra* illustrations, for it has little to do, if not entirely irrelevant, with the rest of the visual culture of the *Diamond Sutra* proceeding it. It also has no precedent. The same template was copied in the 1470 version, as well as a little-studied incomplete version now at the University of

125 He, "Yinseng Sahazashili," 165.
126 He, "Yinseng Sahazashili," 169.
127 He, "Yinseng Sahazashili," 166, 169, 173.
128 He, "Yinseng Sahazashili," 169.
129 He, "Yinseng Sahazashili," 166, 169.

Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (fig. 40).[130]

The grand assembly spanning three folds of the Xuande version features a main guardian-type deity in the central panel (fig. 39a). Noted for his multiple heads and arms, this icon may be identified as Ucchusma (*Huiji jin'gang* 穢跡金剛) of the Tantric pantheon. Flanking the central deity are the secondary divinities, including a monk-like deity labeled as Nagarjuna (*Longshu pusa* 龍樹菩薩) in the right panel,[131] the Daoist-inspired Zhenwu in the left panel identified as "Zhenwu bodhisattva" (*Zhenwu pusa* 真武菩薩) (fig. 39b), and the Child Nalakuvara (*Nazha* 哪吒) in the foreground, noted for the brocade string and halberd he holds.[132] Other surrounding deities include *Samantabhadra* (*Puxian pusa* 普賢菩薩), Manjushri (*Wenshu pusa* 文殊菩薩), Guanyin (*Guanshiyin pusa* 觀世音菩薩), and Dizang, all rendered as marshal Tantric Buddhist gods with multiple heads and arms. At both sides of Child Nazha in the foreground are two paired guardian figures, labeled as Hutouna 虎頭那 and Shitouna 獅頭那, whose iconographies are noted for the tiger cap and lion cap they wear, respectively.

The Zhenwu "bodhisattva" in particular stands out as a Buddhist appropriation of a Daoist deity. Here, he is depicted as a long-haired deity holding a sword and accompanied by his cosmological trademark of a tortoise intertwined with a snake in front of him. His overall iconography compares closely to the Daoist prototype of Zhenwu, such as the image depicted in the illustrated woodcuts of the *Scripture of the*

---

130 For more, visit the Penn Museum website, accessed June 1, 2018, https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/330371. The author would like to thank Nancy Steinhardt and Adam Smith for providing visual materials. The printed scroll was first discovered inside the Yuan lacquer sculpture C405A, accessed June 1, 2018, https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/66078. See Helen E. Fernald, "A Chinese Buddhistic Statue in Dry Lacquer," *The Museum Journal* 18.3 (1927): 284-94; Nancy Steinhardt, "The Chinese Rotunda," *Arts of Asia* 38.5 (2008): 91 (fig. 24).

131 Cf. the monk-like iconography of Nagarjuna depicted as a monk seated on a chair and labeled as "Portrait of the Patriarch Longshu" (*Longshu zushi xiang* 龍樹祖師像) in the Yuan reprint of a Xi Xia frontispiece, attached to the second *juan* of the *Xianjie qian Fo ming jing* 賢劫千佛名經 (B11.048), originally discovered in Lingwu 靈武, Lingxia, and now in the National Library, Beijing; see Huang Shih-shan, "Xixia Fojing banhua zaitan" 西夏佛經版畫再探, trans. Yang Binghua 楊冰華, *Sichou zhi lu yanjiu jikan* 絲綢之路研究集刊 1 (2017): 287 (fig. 7). Note that the author attributed this print to the Xi Xia period by mistake in her 2017 article; it should be corrected to be in fact a Yuan reprint based on a Xi Xia original.

132 For a study of Nalakuvara, see Meir Shahar, "Indian Mythology and the Chinese Imagination: Nezha, Nalak bara, and Krsna," in John Kieschnick and Meir Shahar, eds., *India in the Chinese Imagination: Myth, Religion, and Thought* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 21-45.

Jade Pivot (*Yushu jing* 玉樞經) in the British Library (fig. 41).[133] Fruitful scholarship on the visual culture surrounding Zhenwu indicates that worship of this deity reached a climax in the fifteenth century due to the Ming court's patronage, especially the Yongle 永樂 Emperor's (r. 1403-1424) aggressive temple building at Mt. Wudang 武當 in his honor during 1412 and 1423.[134] The appropriation of the Daoist Zhenwu in a Buddhist pantheon is not unique in Ming religious visual culture, however. Numerous Water Land paintings (*Shuilu hua* 水陸畫) used in Buddhist salvation rituals include Zhenwu among the all-encompassing pantheon.

Scholars working on post-Ming religions offer inspiring information regarding the continuity of religious mixture relevant to the hybrid pantheon under investigation. In particular, the combination of Ucchusma, Nagarjuna, and Zhenwu as mixing Tantric and Daoist elements remained a popular triad known as the "Patriarchs of the Three Altars" (*Santan jiaozhu* 三壇教主) transmitted among the Yoga School (*Yujia jiao* 瑜伽教), a Daoist-inspired Tantric Buddhist sect local to southern China since Song-Yuan times, and the Lushan School of Daoism in Jianyang 建陽, Jiangxi 江西, in modern times.[135] By the eighteenth century, the Yoga School had developed a complex pantheon

133 This image is from the illustrated *Scripture of the Jade Pivot* in the British Library, recently dated by Wan Chui-ki as an early Ming work; see Wan Chui-ki 尹翠琪, "Daojiao banhua yanjiu: Daying tushuguan cang 'Yushu baojing' si zhu ben zhi niandai ji chahua kao" 道教版畫研究：大英圖書館藏《玉樞寶經》四註本之年代及插畫考, *Daojiao yanjiu xuebao: zongjiao lishi yu shehui* 道教研究學報：宗教歷史與社會 2 (2010): 135-83; in the *Scripture of the Jade Pivot* woodcuts, the image of Zhenwu is referred to as the "Patriarch of Ten Thousand Teachings" (*Wanfa jiaozhu* 萬法教主), see 139 (fig. 1).

134 For more studies of Zhenwu, see Lin Sheng-chih 林聖智, "Mingdai Daojiao tuxiangxue yanjiu: yi 'Xuantian shangdi ruiying tu' weili" 明代道教圖像學研究：以〈玄天上帝瑞應圖〉為例, *Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 美術史研究集刊 6 (1999): 131-94; Xiao Haiming 肖海明, *Zhenwu tuxiang yanjiu* 真武圖像研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007); Noelle Giuffrida, "Ming Imperial Patronage of the Wudang Mountains and the Daoist God Zhenwu," in Fan Jeremy Zhang, et al., *Royal Taste: The Art of Princely Courts in Fifteenth-century China* (New York: Scala Arts Publishers, Inc., 2015), 49-54; Shin-yi Chao, *Daoist Ritual, State Religion, and Popular Practices: Zhenwu Worship from Song to Ming (960-1644)* (London: Routledge, 2011); Maggie Chui Ki Wan, "Enshrining the Dark Troops: The Printing of Daoist Books in the Early Ming Dynasty," in Craig Clunas et al. eds., *Ming China: Courts and Contacts, 1400-1450* (London: The British Museum, 2016), 134-42, 286; Catherine Delacour, et al., *La voie du Tao: Un autre chemin de l'être* (Paris: Grand Palais, 2010), 220-23.

135 According to Ye Mingsheng, Child Nazha is a crucial deity associated with the Yoga School, as already mentioned in a Southern Song text (*Haiqiong Bai zhenren yulu* 海瓊白真人語錄) compiled by a disciple of the Southern Song Daoist Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾; see Ye Mingsheng 葉明生, "Shilun 'Yujia jiao' zhi yanbian ji qi shisu hua shixiang" 試論"瑜伽教"之衍變及其世俗化事象, *Foxue yanjiu* 佛學研究 8 (1999): 250-60, esp. 258. For more about the Yoga School, see Hsieh Shih-wei 謝世維, "Cong Baoningsi shuiluhua 'Xing riyue qian jiubing genan Molizhitian zhushen zhong yu 'Daweide

in conjunction with their rites of exorcism. From the late Qing to modern times, the Yoga School joined other popular Daoist schools in the south to venerate the triad of Ucchusma, Nagarjuna, and Zhenwu.[136]

Seen in this way, the hybrid pantheon added to the end of the Ming *Diamond Sutra* woodcuts reflects a fluid religious culture endorsed by the designer and sponsor of this particular production.

Conclusion

To conclude, the *Diamond Sutra* has inspired a plethora of images and texts, which in turn shaped its reception in traditional China and beyond. The present study has demonstrated the complex interfaces of texts and images for the *Diamond Sutra* with other aspects of Buddhist and visual cultures. Buddhist woodcuts embedded with and traveling alongside the copying of the sutra played a crucial role in disseminating ideas expanding from the original text.

It is the authors' contention that what stimulated the wide circulation of the *Diamond Sutra* in traditional China were indigenous stories known as "records of magical efficacy" promoting the *Diamond Sutra*. Abundant in number, these miracle stories were cross-referenced in religious and non-religious sources, as evident in Dunhuang manuscripts and Tang-Song encyclopedias, and Song-to-Ming illustrated woodcuts. They were copied, edited, and re-written in myriad versions to cater to their audience and venues of dissemination. The miracle tales of the *Diamond Sutra* highlight the power of the scripture itself and not that of a specific icon or deity, such as the Guanyin bodhisattva central to other Buddhist miracle stories. Most compellingly, reciting the *Diamond Sutra* was deemed efficacious in prolonging life. This reflects an adaptation of a popular belief shared by Buddhism and Daoism concerning a "loaned"

---

bianxian fennu dalun mingwang' tan Doumu yu Huisui jin'gang zhi tuxiang wenti" 從寶寧寺水陸畫「行日月前救兵戈難摩利支天諸神眾」與「大威德變現憤怒大輪明王」談斗母與穢跡金剛之圖像問題, in Shi Ruchang 釋如常, ed., *Yi fa xianghui: Baoningsi, Bilusi, Ming Qing dai shuiluhua zhan ji xueshu yantaohui* 以法相會——寶寧寺、毗盧寺明清代水陸畫展暨學術研討會 (Kaohsiung: Foguangshan wenjiao jijinhui chuban, 2016), 196-98.

136 Hsieh Shih-wei, "Cong Baoningsi, " 200.

life. Reading the *Diamond Sutra* was deemed meritorious in accumulating "credits," which could then be used to not only pay off the debt one owed before birth but also buy more years to live. Numerous miracle stories published in illustrated woodcuts dramatize the protagonist's "return-from-death" miracle, namely, the person's round-trip to the underground court. In all occasions, it was due to the protagonist's previous good deeds of reciting the *Diamond Sutra* that he or she was pardoned from death. The illustrated examples of the *Diamond Sutra* examined in this article targeted a wide readership, as the protagonists featured in the selected miracle tales include not only officials and laymen but also women and Buddhist monks. The hellish scenes illustrated in these woodcuts depart from the graphic dramatization of torture and punishment typical of pictures for the Kings of Hells. On the contrary, in a story that likely came into vogue in Southern Song Hangzhou, Woman Wang was invited by the King of Hell to sit on his golden couch to recite the *Diamond Sutra*.

From the perspective of Chinese art and visual culture, the Southern Song-to-Ming illustrated woodcuts of the *Diamond Sutra* provide fresh primary sources for further studies of Chinese illustrative books and woodblock printing. The three Song illustrated woodcuts of the *Diamond Sutra*, in spite of their incomplete condition, are among the few extant illustrative printed books of the Song-Yuan era.[137] Given their similar styles, it is likely that the extant Song woodcuts examined in this study were all produced by commercial publishers in Southern Song Hangzhou. The illustrative books of the *Diamond Sutra* place the illustrated miracle stories at the opening prior to the text. Using the Xuande version as an example, they appear in the lower twelve vignettes paired with the other twelve vignettes in the upper register featuring eight vajrapāṇis and four bodhisattvas.

Buddhist vernacular woodcuts of the Ming era remain a field awaiting further

137 To date, past scholarship has paid most attention to the Yuan illustrative fictions published by the commercial publisher in Fujian; see Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction*; Takimoto Hiroyuki 瀧本弘之, *Zensō heiwa goshu. Sangokushi engi* (*Hōkanrōbon*) 全相平話五種・三国志演義（宝翰楼本）, in *Chūgoku koten bungaku sōga shūsei* 中国古典文学挿画集成 (Tokyo: Yūshikan, 2009), vol. 6; Lucille Chia, "Text and *Tu* in Context: Reading the Illustrated Page in Chinese Blockprinted Books," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 89 (2002): 241-76; Kobayashi Hiromitsu 小林宏光, *Chūgoku hanga shiron* 中国版画史論 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2017).

scholarly inquiry. Pertinent visual sources cited in the present study point to Ming Beijing as a new thriving center of printed illustrations in this period. More study is required to unravel the remaining intricate illustrations in the Xuande version, whose abundant imagery has not been fully examined. While it preserves existing narrative pictorial templates from Song prototypes, its illustrator also took bold steps in incorporating motifs from other traditions of folk art, namely, the half-woman, half-animal mountain demons to the representations of eight vajrapāṇis. Further synthesis is underway as one ponders about the Esoteric Buddhist and Daoist mixture in the hybrid pantheon added to the end of the Xuande version, in which the Daoist-inspired Zhenwu stands alongside Ucchusma, Nagarjuna, and other deities with multiple arms and heads. The puzzling donor from Beijing, Tian Yamidashili, whose name contains a Chinese surname and a pseudo-Indian name, suggests that he may have been a Chinese Buddhist from an Esoteric Buddhist community of Indian origin, whose members were interested in incorporating the *Diamond Sutra* in their practices.

Acknowledgement:

This study received generous support from the American Council of Learned Societies' (ACLS) Frederick Burkhardt Residential Fellowships for Recently Tenured Scholars, and the hosting institution, the Huntington Library. An earlier version of this study was presented at the workshop "Questions of Syncretism and Hybridity in Chinese Religious History" at the University of Chicago in 2017, organized by Elena Valussi (Loyola University Chicago) and Paul Copp (University of Chicago). The author is grateful for the workshop audience's feedback, the comments of two anonymous reviewers who read earlier versions of this article, and Donald Brix and Jesse Green, who edited the article at various stages. Special thanks to Kelley Vernon and Chelsey Denny at Rice University, as well as Chen Yun-ru and Chen Syue-jhen at the *Research Quarterly*, who were all very helpful in preparing the illustrations.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

I. Works from *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (T.), edited by Takakusu Jujirō 高楠順次郎 et al. 85 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-32. Also in CBETA electronic database (http://www.cbeta.org/index.htm)

T5-8.220 *Da boruo boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經

T8.235 *Jin'gang boruo boluo mi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經

T9.262 *Miaofalianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經

T12.374 *Danianpan jing* 大般涅槃經

T12.375 *Danianpan jing* 大般涅槃經

T16.665 *Jin'gangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經

T37.1783 *Danianpan jing jijie* 大般涅槃經集解

T50.2060 *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳

T53.2122 *Fayuan zhu lin* 法苑珠林

T85.2732 *Liaochao Fudashi song Jin'gangjing* 梁朝傅大士頌金剛經

T85.2743 *Chisong Jin'gang jing lingyan gongde ji* 持誦金剛經靈驗功德記

II. Works from Xinzuan xu zang jing 新纂續藏經 (X.), in the CBETA electronic database (http://www.cbeta.org/index.htm)

X87.1629 *Jin'gang boruo jing jiyan ji* 金剛般若經集驗記

X87.1630 *Jin'gang jiuyi* 金剛經鳩異

X87.1631 *Jin'gangjing shouchi gangying lu* 金剛經受持感應錄

X87.1632 *Jin'gang jing gangying zhuan* 金剛經感應傳

X87.1635 *Jin'gang chiyanji* 金剛經持驗記

III. Other Primary Sources

Dongpo quanji 東坡全集, 115 *juan*, by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101). *Wenyuan ge siku quanshu dianzi ban* 文淵閣四庫全書電子版. Electronic ed. Hong Kong: Dizhi wenhua chubanshe, 1999.

Dongpo tiba 東坡題跋, by Su Shi. In Lu Fusheng 盧輔聖, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* 中國書畫全書, vol. 1. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992-99.

Guanyi ji 廣異記 (766-779), by Dai Fu 戴孚 (757 *jinshi*). In Fang Shiming 方詩銘, ed., *Mingbao ji, Guangyi ji* 冥報記、廣異記. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992.

Jingshi wucheng fangxiang hutong ji 京師五城坊巷衚衕集. (Ming) Zhang Jue 張爵 (1560). In

Beijing guji congshu 北京古籍叢書. Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2000.

Jiu Wudai shi 舊五代史, by Xue Juzheng 薛居正 (912-981). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976.

Lidai minghua ji 歷代名畫記 (847), 10 juan, by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (ca. 820-876). In Lu Fusheng 盧輔聖, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* 中國書畫全書, vol. 1, 119-58. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992-99.

Lingbao tianzun shuo luku shousheng jing 靈寶天尊說祿庫受生經 (DZ 333). In *Daozang* 道藏, vol. 5, 915-16. Beijing: Wenwu; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian; and Tianjin: Guji chubanshe, 1988.

Mingbao ji 冥報記, by Tang Lin 唐臨 (600-659). In Fang Shiming 方詩銘, ed., *Mingbao ji, Guangyi ji* 冥報記，廣異記. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992.

(Shunzhi) Weizhouzhi（順治）蔚州志. In Beijing shifan daxue tushuguan 北京師範大學圖書館, ed., *Beijing shifan daxue tushuguan cang xijian fangzhi congkan* 北京師範大學圖書館藏稀見方志叢刊, vol. 2. Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2007.

Songyin ji 松隱集, by Cao Xun 曹勛 (1098-1174). *Wenyuan ge siku quanshu dianzi ban* 文淵閣四庫全書電子版. Electronic ed. Hong Kong: Dizhi wenhua chubanshe, 1999.

Taiping guangji 太平廣記, by Li Fang 李昉 (925-996). *Wenyuan ge siku quanshu dianzi ban* 文淵閣四庫全書電子版. Electronic ed. Hong Kong: Dizhi wenhua chubanshe, 1999.

Tuhua jianwen zhi 圖畫見聞志, by Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛. In Lu Fusheng 盧輔聖, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* 中國書畫全書, vol. 1. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992-99.

Xuanhe huapu 宣和畫譜. In Lu Fusheng 盧輔聖, ed., *Zhongguo shuhua quanshu* 中國書畫全書, vol. 2, 60-131. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1992-99.

Yunlu manchao 雲麓漫鈔, by Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛 (active 1195). In *Tang Song shiliao biji congkan* 唐宋史料筆記叢刊. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996.

Secondary Literature

Beijing wenbo jiaoliu guan 北京文博交流館, ed. *Zhihuasi cang Yuan Ming Qing Fojing banhua shangxi* 智化寺藏元明清佛教版畫賞析. Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe, 2007.

Campany, Robert F.. *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Campany, Robert F.. *Signs from the Unseen Realm: Buddhist Miracle Tales from Early Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012.

Campany, Robert F.. *A Garden of Marvels: Tales of Wonder from Early Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015.

Chang Bide 昌彼得. "Yuanke zhumo ben Jin'gang jing tishi" 元刻朱墨本金剛經題識. In *Zengding tan'an qun shu tishi* 增訂蟫菴羣書題識, 224-25. Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1997.

Chao, Shin-yi. *Daoist Ritual, State Religion, and Popular Practices: Zhenwu Worship from Song to Ming* (*960-1644*). London: Routledge, 2011.

Chen Juxia 陳菊霞. *Dunhuang Zhaishi yanjiu* 敦煌翟氏研究. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2012.

Chen, Pao-chen. "Searching for Demons on Mount Kuan-k'ou." In Wen C. Fong, *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University*, 323-30. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Chen Yunü 陳玉女. *Mingdai ershisimen huanguan yu Beijing Fojiao* 明代二十四衙門宦官與北京佛教. Taipei: Ruwen chubanshe, 2001.

Chia, Lucille. "Text and *Tu* in Context: Reading the Illustrated Page in Chinese Blockprinted Books." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 89 (2002): 241-76.

Chia, Lucille. "Printing for Merit: A Preliminary Survey of the Role of Donors in Buddhist Publishing, Song-Ming." In Jean-Pierre Drège and Michela Bussotti, ed., *Imprimer sans profit? Le livre non-commercial dans la Chine impériale*, 105-154. Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études/Librairie Droz. 2015.

Dazhao 達照. *Jin'gangjing zan yanjiu*《金剛經贊》研究. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2002.

Delacour, Catherine, et al. *La voie du Tao: Un autre chemin de l'être*. Paris: Grand Palais, 2010.

Dong Daxue 董大學. "Dunhuang ben Jin'gang jing zhushu de liubu" 敦煌本金剛經注疏的流布. *Wenxian* 文獻 1 (2014): 28-37.

Dong Daxue. "Lun Tangdai *Jin'gang jing* xinyang zhi yishihua qingxiang" 論唐代《金剛經》信仰之儀式化傾向. *Huadong shifan daxue xue bao (zhexue shehui kexuan ban)* 華東師範大學學報（哲學社會科學版）1 (2017): 125-32.

Drège, Jean-Pierre, ed. *Images de Dunhuang: Dessins et peintures sur papier des fonds Pelliot et Stein*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1999.

Du Changshun 杜常順. "Mingdai 'xitianseng' kaolue" 明代"西天僧"考略. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 1 (2006): 23-33.

Dudbridge, Glen. *Books, Tales and Vernacular Culture: Selected Papers on China*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. *Emperor Huizong*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Edgren, Sören. "Southern Song Printing at Hangzhou." *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 61 (1989): 3-204.

Fang Guangchang 方廣錩. "Dunhuang wenxian zhong de 'Jin' gang jing' ji qi zhushu" 敦煌文獻中的金剛經及其注疏. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 1 (1995): 73-80.

Fang Guangchang. 1995-2003. *Zangwai Fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文獻. 9 vols. Beijing: Zhongjiao

wenhua chubanshe.

Fang Guangchang. *Fang Guangchang Dunhuang yishu sanlun* 方廣錩敦煌遺書散論. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2011.

Fernald, Helen E. "A Chinese Buddhistic Statue in Dry Lacquer." *The Museum Journal* 18:3 (1927): 284-94.

Fontein, Jan. *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana: A Study of Gandavy ha Illustrations in China, Japan and Java*. Paris: Mouton, 1967.

Fu Shen 傅申. "Zhao Mengfu shu xiaokai Chang qingjing jing jiqi zaoqi shufeng" 趙孟頫書小楷《常清靜經》及其早期書風. In Fu Shen, *Shushi yu shuji: Fu Shen shufa lunwenji (yi)* 書史與書蹟：傅申書法論文集（一), 183-89. Taipei: Guoli Lishi bowuguan, 1996.

Goepper, Roger. "An Early Work by Koen in Cologne." *Asiatische Studien/Etudes Asiatiques* 37.2 (1983): 67-103.

Giuffrida, Noelle. "Ming Imperial Patronage of the Wudang Mountains and the Daoist God Zhenwu." In Fan Jeremy Zhang et al., *Royal Taste: The Art of Princely Courts in Fifteenth-century China*, 49-54. New York: Scala Arts Publishers, Inc., 2015.

Harrist, Robert E.. *The Landscape of Words: Stone Inscriptions from Early and Medieval China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.

Haufler, Marsha. "Beliefs, Miracles and Salvation." In Craig Clunas and Jessica Harrison-Hall, eds., *Ming: 50 Years that Changed China*, 205-53. London: The British Museum, 2014.

Haufler, Marsha. "Faces of Transnational Buddhism at the Early Ming Court." In Craig Clunas, Jessica Harrison-Hall and Luk Yu-ping, eds., *Ming China: Courts and Contacts 1400-1450*, 143-51. London: British Museum, 2016.

He Shizhe 賀世哲. "Dunhuang bihua zhong de Jingang jing bian yanjiu" 敦煌壁畫中的金剛經變研究. *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 6 (2006): 35-42.

He Shizhe. "Dunhuang bihua zhong de Jingang jing bian yanjiu (xu)" 敦煌壁畫中的金剛經變研究（續). *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 4 (2007): 16-28.

He Shizhe 賀世哲, ed. *Dunhuang shiku quanji* 敦煌石窟全集, vol. 11, *Lengqie jing huajuan* 楞伽經畫卷. Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003.

He Xiaorong 何孝榮. "Mingdai huanguan yu Fojiao" 明代宦官與佛教. *Nankai xuebao* 南開學報 1 (2000): 18-27.

He Xiaorong. *Mingdai Beijingjing Fojiao siyuan xiujian yanjiu* (*shang*) 明代北京佛教寺院修建研究（上). Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2007.

He Xiaorong. "Lun Ming Xuanzong chongfeng mijiao" 論明宣宗崇奉密教. *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線 7 (2012): 84-92.

He Xiaorong. "Yinseng Sahazashili yu Yuan Ming shiqi yindu mijiao zai zhongguo de chuanbo"

印僧撒哈咱失里與元明時期印度密教在中國的傳播. *Xinan daxue xuebao* (*shehui kexue ban*) 西南大學學報（社會科學版）42.2 (2016): 164-72.

Hegel, Robert. *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Helman-Wazny, Agnieszka. "The Choice of Materials in Early Tibetan Printed Books." In Hildegard Diemberger, Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Peter Kornicki, eds., *Tibetan Printing: Comparisons, Continuities and Change*, 532-54. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Hinton, Carmelita. "Evil Dragon, Golden Rodent, Sleek Hound: The Evolution of *Soushan* Tu Paintings in the Northern Song Period." In Jerome Silbergeld and Eugene Y. Wang, eds., *The Zoomorphic Imagination in Chinese Art and Culture*, 171-214. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016.

Hou, Chin-lang. *Monnaies d'offrande et la notion de trésorerie dans la religion chinoise*. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1975.

Hsieh Shih-wei 謝世維. "Cong Baoningsi shuiluhua 'Xing riyue qian jiubing genan Molizhitian zhushen zhong' yu 'Dawe'de bianxian fennu dalun mingwang' tan Doumu yu Huisui jin'gang zhi tuxiang wenti" 從寶寧寺水陸畫「行日月前救兵戈難摩利支天諸神眾」與「大威德變現憤怒大輪明王」談斗母與穢跡金剛之圖像問題. In Shi Ruchang 釋如常, ed., *Yi fa xianghui: Baoning si, Bilusi, Ming Qing dai shuiluhua zhan ji xueshu yantaohui* 以法相會——寶寧寺、毗盧寺明清代水陸畫展暨學術研討會, 183-213. Kaohsiung: Foguangshan wenjiao jijinhui chuban, 2016.

Huang Dongyang 黃東陽. *Tang Wudai jiyi xiaoshuo de wenhua chanshi* 唐五代記異小說的文化闡釋. Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2007.

Huang Miaozi 黃苗子. "Ji '*Soushan* tu'" 記〈搜山圖〉. *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 3 (1980): 17-18.

Huang, Shih-shan Susan. "*Tianzhu lingqian*: Divination Prints from a Buddhist Temple in Song Hangzhou." *Artibus Asiae* 67.2 (2007): 243-96.

Huang, Shih-shan Susan. "Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou." In *Lucille Chia and Hilde de Weerdt, eds., Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print—China, 900-1400*, 135-65. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Huang, Shih-shan Susan. "Media Transfer and Modular Construction: The Printing of *Lotus Sutra* Frontispieces in Song China." *Ars Orientalis* 41 (2011): 135-163.

Huang, Shih-shan Susan. *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China*. Cambridge: Harvard Asian Center Publication, 2012.

Huang, Shih-shan Susan. "Daoist Visual Culture." In John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone, eds., *Modern Chinese Religion, Part One: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (960-1368)*, 929-1050. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Huang Shih-shan 黃士珊. “Tang Song shiqi Fojiao banhua zhong suojian de meijie zhuanhua yu zimo sheji” 唐宋時期佛教版畫中所見的媒介轉化與子模設計. In Shih Shou-chien 石守謙 and Yan Chuan-ying 顏娟英, eds., *Yishu shi zhong de Han Jin yu Tang Song zhi bian* 藝術史中的漢晉與唐宋之變, 385-434. Taipei: Shitou chubanshe, 2014.

Huang Shih-shan. “Banhua yu huihua de hudong—cong Song Yuan Fojiao banhua suojian zhi Song hua yuansu tanqi” 版畫與繪畫的互動——從宋元佛教版畫所見之宋畫元素談起. In Zhejiang daxue yishu yu kaogu yanjiu zhongxin 浙江大學藝術與考古研究中心, ed., *Zhejiang daxue yishu yu kaogu yanjiu (teji yi): Songhua guoji xueshu huiyi lunwenji* 浙江大學藝術與考古研究（特輯一）：宋畫國際學術會議論文集, 1-75. Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue, 2017.

Huang Shih-shan. “Xixia Fojing banhua zaitan” 西夏佛經版畫再探, trans. Yang Binghua 楊冰華, *Sichou zhi lu yanjiu jikan* 絲綢之路研究集刊 1 (2017): 279-309.

Huang Yunru 黃韻如. “Mogaoku 217 ku de zaoqi jingangjing bian” 莫高窟217窟的早期金剛經變. In Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院, ed., *Dunhuang tufan wenhua xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 敦煌吐蕃文化學術研討會論文集, 208-19. Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 2009.

Jiang Qingqing 姜青青. *Xianchun Lin’an zhi Songban ‘Jingcheng si tu’ fuyuan yanjiu*《咸淳臨安志》宋版「京城四圖」復原研究. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015.

Jiang Shoucheng 姜受誠. “Fo dao *Shousheng jing* de bijiao yanjiu (shang)” 佛道《受生經》的比較研究（上）. *Laozi xuekan* 老子學刊 9 (2017): 3-20.

Jiang Shoucheng. “Fo dao *Shousheng jing* de bijiao yanjiu (xia)” 佛道《受生經》的比較研究（下）. *Laozi xuekan* 老子學刊 10 (2017) : 33-60.

Jin Weinuo 金維諾. “*Soushan* tu de neirong yu yishu biaoxian” 搜山圖的內容與藝術表現. *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 3 (1980): 19-22.

Kieschnick, John. “Blood Writing in Chinese Buddhism.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 23.2 (2000): 177-94.

Kim, Jahyun 金慈玄. “Chosŏnjŏn’gi Pulgyobyŏnsangp’anhwayŏn-gu” 朝鮮前期佛教變相版畫研究. Ph.D. diss., Dongguk University, 2017.

Kitsudō, Kōichi, and Peter Zieme. “The Jin’gangjing zuan in Old Uighur with Parallels in Tangut and Chinese.” *Written Monuments of the Orient* 2 (2017): 43-87.

Kobayashi Hiromitsu 小林宏光. *Chūgoku hanga shiron* 中国版画史論. Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2017.

Kohn, Livia. *The Taoist Experience: An Anthology*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993.

Kohara, Hironobu 古原宏伸. *Chūgoku gakan no kenkyū* 中国画巻の研究. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2005.

Kornicki, Peter. "The Vernacularization of Buddhist Texts: From the Tangut Empire to Japan." In Benjamin A. Elman, ed., *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000-1919*, 29-57. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Lee Yu-min 李玉珉. *Guanyin tezhan* 觀音特展. Taipei: Guoli Gugong bowuyuan, 2000.

Lee Yu-min. "Tang Song Molizhi pusa xinyang yu tuxiang kao" 唐宋摩利支菩薩信仰與圖像考. *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 31.4 (2014): 1-46.

Li Fuhua 李富華 and He Mei 何梅. *Hanwen Fojiao dazangjing yanjiu* 漢文佛教大藏經研究. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2003.

Li Qingquan 李清泉. "Fenben—Cong Xuanhua Liao mu bihua kan gudai huagong de gongzuo moshi" 粉本——從宣化遼墓壁畫看古代畫工的工作模式. *Nanjing yishu xueyuan xuebao (meishu yu sheji ban)* 南京藝術學院學報（美術與設計版）1 (2004): 36-39.

Li Qingquan. *Xuanhua Liao mu: muzang yishu yu Liaodai shehui* 宣化遼墓：墓葬藝術與遼代社會. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008.

Li Zhitan 李之檀. "Zhongguo gudai Fojiao banhua xuyao" 中國古代佛教版畫敘要. In Zhongguo banhua quanji bianji weiyuan hui 中國版畫全集編輯委員會, ed., *Zhongguo banhua quanji* 中國版畫, vol. 1, *Fojiao banhua* 佛教版畫, 1-55. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2008.

Lin Sheng-chih 林聖智. "Mingdai Daojiao tuxiangxue yanjiu: yi 'Xuantian shangdi ruiying tu' weili" 明代道教圖像學研究：以〈玄天上帝瑞應圖〉為例. *Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 美術史研究集刊 6 (1999): 131-94.

Little, Stephen, and Shawn Eichman. *Taoism and the Art of China*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2000.

Lu Jintang 盧錦堂. "Yuan kan zhumo shuangse yinben Jin'gangboruo boluomi jing wei tongban fenci yinshua kao" 元刊朱墨雙色印本《金剛般若波羅蜜經》為同版分次印刷考. In Liu Zhaoyou jiaoshou chunfeng huayu wushinian jinian wenji bianweihui 劉兆祐教授春風化雨五十年紀念文集編委會, ed., *Liu Zhaoyou jiaoshou chunfeng huayu wushinian jinian wenji* 劉兆祐教授春風化雨五十年紀念文集, 313-24. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 2010.

Ma Wenda 馬文大 and Chen Jian 陳堅, eds. *Ming Qing zhenben banhua ziliao congkan* 明清珍本版畫資料叢刊, vol. 1. Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2003.

Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan 町田市立国際版画美術館. *Chūgoku kodai hanga ten: Machida shisei 30-shūnen kinen, Nitchū Heiwa Yūkō Jōyaku teiketsu 10-shūnen kinen* 中国古代版画展：町田市制3周年記念、日中平和友好条約締結10周年記念. Machida: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1988.

Mair, Victor. *Tang Transformation Texts: a Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China*. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1989.

Monnet, Nathalie. *Chine, l'empire du trait: Calligraphies et dessins du Ve au XIXe siècle*. Paris:

Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2004.

Murray, Julia. "Evolution of Buddhist Narrative Illustration." In Marsha Weidner, ed., *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, 137-38. Lawrence: University of Kansas, Spencer Museum of Art, 1994.

Murray, Julia. *Mirror of Morality: Chinese Narrative Illustration and Confucian Ideology*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007.

Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, ed. *Seichi Ninpō: Nihon bukkyō 1300-nen no genryū: subete wa koko kara yatte kita* 聖地寧波：日本仏教1300年の源流：すべてはここからやって来た. Nara: Nara National Museum, 2009.

Onoe Hachirō 尾上八郎 and Shimonaka Kunihiko 下中邦彦, eds. *Shodoō zenshū* 書道全集. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1954-1968.

Peng Xinglin 彭興林. *Beijing Fosi yiji kao* 北京佛寺遺跡考, 3 vols. In Wei Yin 偉印, ed., *Beijing Fojiao wenxian jicheng* 北京佛教文獻集成, Part 3. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2012.

Piotrovsky, Mikhail, ed. *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X–XIIIth Century)*. Milan: Electa, 1993.

Qi Hong 祁紅 and Jin Weinuo 金維諾. *Fahai si bihua* 法海寺壁畫. Beijing: Zhongguo luyou chubanshe, 1993.

Red Pine. *The Diamond Sutra: Text and Commentaries Translated from Sanskrit and Chinese*. Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2001.

Seidel, Anna. "Review: Buying One's Way to Heaven: The Celestial Treasury in Chinese Religions." *History of Religions* 17.3/4 (1978): 419-32.

Shahar, Meir. "Indian Mythology and the Chinese Imagination: Nezha, Nalak bara, and Krsna." In John Kieschnick and Meir Shahar, eds., *India in the Chinese Imagination: Myth, Religion, and Thought*, 21-45. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

Shen, Hsueh-man. "Body Matters: Manikin Burials in the Liao Tombs of Xuanhua, Hebei Province." *Artibus Asiae* 65.1 (2005): 99-141.

Shen Jin 沈津. "Guanyu Yuan ke zhumo taoyin ben Jin'gang boruo boluomi jing" 關於元刻朱墨套印本金剛般若波羅蜜經. In *Shucheng feng xian lu—Shen Jin xueshu biji* 書城風弦錄——沈津學術筆記, 5-6. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2006.

Shen Weirong 沈衛榮, An Haiyan 安海燕. "Mingdai hanyi zangchuan mijiao wenxian he xiyu sengtuan" 明代漢譯藏傳密教文獻和西域僧團. *Qinghua daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 清華大學學報（哲學社會科學版）2 (2011): 81-93.

Starr, Kenneth. *Black Tigers: A Grammar of Chinese Rubbings*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.

Steinhardt, Nancy S. "The Chinese Rotunda." *Arts of Asia* 38.5 (2008): 83-95.

Takahashi, Yoshinori 高橋佳典. "Gensō chō nio keru Kongōkyō shinkō to enmei kigan" 玄宗朝における「金剛経」信仰と延命祈願. *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教16 (1999): 38-56.

Takimoto, Hiroyuki瀧本弘之. *Zensō heiwa goshu. Sangokushi engi (Hōkanrōbon)* 全相平話五種. 三国志演義（宝翰楼本）. *Chūgoku koten bungaku sōga shūsei* 中国古典文学挿画集成, vol. 6. Tokyo: Yūshikan, 2009.

Taizhou diqu wenguanhui 台州地區文管會, Huanyan bowuguan 黃岩博物館. "Zhejiang Huangyan Lingshisi ta wenwu qingli baogao" 浙江黃岩靈石寺塔文物清理報告. *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化 5 (1991): 242-83.

Teiser, Stephen. *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.

Tsai, Suey-Ling. *The Life of the Buddha: Woodblock Illustrated Books in China and Korea*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.

Wan Chui-ki 尹翠琪. "Daojiao banhua yanjiu: Daying tushuguan cang 'Yushu baojing' si zhu ben zhi niandai ji chahua kao" 道教版畫研究：大英圖書館藏《玉樞寶經》四註本之年代及插畫考. *Daojiao yanjiu xuebao: zongjiao lishi yu shehui* 道教研究學報：宗教歷史與社會 2 (2010): 135-83.

Wan Chui-ki. "Daojiao feihua de banben, goucheng yu tuxiang yanjiu" 道教扉畫的版本、構成與圖像研究. *Meishushi yanjiu jikan* 美術史研究集刊 43 (2017): 1-140.

Wan, Maggie Chui Ki. "Enshrining the Dark Troops: The Printing of Daoist Books in the Early Ming Dynasty." In Craig Clunas et al. eds., *Ming China: Courts and Contacts, 1400-1450*, 134-42, 286. London: The British Museum, 2016.

Wang Qiuju 王秋菊. "Ming neifu kan Fojiao banhua kaolue" 明內府刊佛教版畫考略. *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地 8 (2016): 101-105.

Weidner, Marsha. *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*. Laurence: Spencer Museum of Art, 1994.

Weng Lianxi 翁連溪 et al., eds. *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji* 中國佛教版畫全集. 82 vols. Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2014.

Whitfield, Susan. *Silk, Slaves, and Stupas: Material Culture of the Silk Road*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2018.

Wood, Frances, and Mark Barnard. *The Diamond Sutra: the Story of the World's Earliest Dated Printed Book*. London: British Library, 2010.

Wu Hongqing 吳鴻清, ed. *Zhongguo shufa quanji* 中國書法全集, vol. 27, *Sui Tang Wdai bian* 隋唐五代編, *Liu Gongquan juan (fu Liu Gongchuo)* 柳公權卷（附柳公綽）. Beijing: Xinhua

shudian, 1993.

Wu, Hung. “Pictorial Representations of Ape Tales.” *T’oung Pao*, 2nd series, 73 (1987): 86-113.

Wu, Hung. *The Art of the Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010.

Wu, K. T. “Illustrations in Sung Printing.” *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 28.3 (1971): 173-95.

Xia Guangxing 夏廣興. “Mingjie youxing—cong Fodian jizai dao Sui Tang Wudai xiaoshuo” 冥界游行——從佛典記載到隋唐五代小説. *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 中華文化論壇 4 (2003): 80-85.

Xiao Haiming 肖海明. *Zhenwu tuxiang yanjiu* 真武圖像研究. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007.

Xu Juanhui 許絹惠. “Tangdai Dunhuang Jin’gang jingbian zhi yanjiu—jianlun ‘Chan Jing ronghe’ sixiang de fazhan” 唐代敦煌「金剛經變」之研究——兼論「禪淨融合」思想的的發展. M.A. thesis, Nanhua daxue, 2006.

Xu Zheying 許哲瑛. “Ershi’si xiao tu yizhu: Yuanren Sixiao tu” 二十四孝圖遺珠：元人《四孝圖》. *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 故宮文物月刊 404 (2017): 28-44.

Yang Huinan 楊惠南. “Jin’gang jing de quanshi yu liuchuan”《金剛經》的詮釋與流傳. *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報 9 (2001): 185-230.

Yang Xiong 楊雄. “Jin’gang jing, Jin’gang jing bian ji Jin’gang jing bianwen de bijiao” 金剛經、金剛經變及金剛經變文的比較. *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 4 (1986): 56-64.

Ye Mingsheng 葉明生. “Shilun ‘Yujia jiao’ zhi yanbian ji qi shisu hua shixiang” 試論 “瑜伽教” 之衍變及其世俗化事象. *Foxue yanjiu* 佛學研究 8 (1999): 256-68.

Yin Guangming 殷光明. “Mogaoku di 31 ku Jingang jing bian yu huayan chan” 莫高窟第31窟金剛經變與華嚴禪. In 2004 *nian shiku yanjiu guoji xueshu huiyi lunwenji* 2004年石窟研究國際學術會議論文集, 1142-65. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004.

Yü, Chün-fang. *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Yu, Jimmy. *Sanctity and Self-inflicted Violence in Chinese Religions, 1500–1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Zhang Haisha 張海沙 and Zhao Wenbin 趙文斌. “Su Shi yu Jingang jing” 蘇軾與《金剛經》. *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu* 中國文學研究 2 (2010): 60-64.

Zhang Jianyu 張建宇. “Zhong Tang dao Beisong Jin’gang jing feihua shuofa tu kaocha” 中唐到北宋《金剛經》扉畫説法圖考察. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 2 (2018): 24-32.

Zhang Xiumin 張秀民 and Han Qi 韓琦. *Zhongguo yinshua shi* 中國印刷史. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2006.

Zhang Zong 張總. *Dizang xinyang yanjiu* 地藏信仰研究. Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe,

2003.

Zhang Zong. "Shiwang Dizang xinyang tuxiang yuanliu yanbian" 十王地藏信仰圖像源流演變. In Liu Shufen 劉淑芬 and Paul Katz 康豹 eds., *Xinyang shijian yu wenhua tiaoshi* 信仰、實踐與文化調適, vol. 1, 193-250. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2013.

Zhao Feipeng 趙飛鵬. "Yuandai shuangse yinben 'Jingang jing' xiangguan wenti kaoshu" 元代雙色印本《金剛經》相關問題考述. *Chengda zhongwen xuebao* 成大中文學報 40 (2013): 99-126.

Zhejiang daxue Zhongguo gudai shuhua yanjiu zhongxin 浙江大學中國古代書畫研究中心, ed., *Songhua quanji, juan liu* 宋畫全集卷六. 6 vols. Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2008.

Zheng A'cai 鄭阿財. "Dunhuang ben 'Chisong Jingang jing lingyan gongde ji' zonglun" 敦煌本《持誦金剛經靈驗功德記》綜論. *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 20 (1995): 119-46.

Zheng A'cai. "Dunhuang lingying xiaoshuo de Fojiao shixue jiazhi—yi chisong Jin'gang jing lingyan gongde ji wei li" 敦煌靈應小說的佛教史學價值——以持誦金剛經靈驗功德記為例. *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 4 (1998): 31-46.

Zheng A'cai. *Jianzheng yu xuanchuan: Dunhuang Fojiao lingyanji yanjiu* 見證與宣傳：敦煌佛教靈驗記研究. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 2010.

Zheng A'cai. "Cong Dunhuang wenxian lun lingyan gushi zai changdao huodong zhong de yunyong" 從敦煌文獻論靈驗故事在唱導活動中的運用. *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌學研究 3 (2014): 142-48.

Zheng A'cai. " 'Fodingxin da tuoluoni jing' zai hanzi wenhuaquan de chuanbu"《佛頂心大陀羅尼》在漢字文化圈的傳布. *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學季刊 3 (2015): 1-19.

Zhongguo banhua quanji bianji weiyuan hui 中國版畫全集編輯委員會, ed. *Zhongguo banhua quanji* 中國版畫全集, vol. 1, *Fojiao banhua* 佛教版畫. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2008.

Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 中國國家圖書館 and Zhongguo guojia guji baohu zhongxin 中國國家古籍保護中心, eds. *Di er pi guojia zhengui guji minglu tulu* 第二批國家珍貴古籍名錄圖錄, vol. 3. Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010.

Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良. "Ming Yongle nianjian neifu kanben Fojiao jingji" 明永樂年間內府刊本佛教經籍. *Wenwu* 文物 4 (1985): 39-41.

Zhou Wu 周芜, ed. *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu* 中國版畫史圖錄. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988.

Zhou Xinhui 周心慧. "Mingdai Beijing banhua shulue" 明代北京版畫述略. *Shoudu bowuguan congkan* 首都博物館叢刊14 (1982): 98-104.

Captions

Figure 1 Detail, the *Diamond Sutra* copied by a eighty-three-year-old man. Tang dynasty, dated 906. Ink on paper. Booklet. 14.3 (h) x 11.5 (w) cm. © British Library Board (Or8210/S.5451).

Figure 2 Details, rubbings of the *Diamond Sutra*. Tang dynasty, dated 824. Ink on paper. Handscroll. 28.5 (h) x 1166.6 (w) cm. The Bibliothèque nationale de France (P.4503).

Figure 3 The food-begging scene from the *Diamond Sutra*. Ceiling of the niche on the west wall of Mogao Cave 217, Dunhuang, Gansu. Tang dynasty, early 8th century.

Figure 4 Details, the *Diamond Sutra*. Tang dynasty, dated 868. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. Handscroll. 27.6 (h) x 499.5 (w) cm. © British Library Board (Or. 8210/p.2). a. Frontispiece. b. Donor's dedicatory colophon.

Figure 5 Details, *Chisong Jin'gang jing lingyan gongdeji*. Copied by Zhai Fengda. Five Dynasties period, dated 908. Ink on paper. Handscroll. The Bibliothèque nationale de France (P.2094).

Figure 6 "Reciting the (Diamond) Sutra to prolong life." *Shishi yuanliu tu*. Ming dynasty, 1450-57. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. Booklet. Capital Library, Beijing. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 10, 100-101. a. Text. b. Illustration.

Figure 7 Detail, east wall of the rear chamber, the tomb of Zhang Shiqing (d. 1116), Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty. Ink and colors. a. Buddhist text with a label that reads "*Jin'gang boruo jing*"; b. Daoist scripture with a label that reads "*Chang qingjing jing*." After Wu Hung, *The Art of the Yellow Springs* (London: Reaktion, 2010), 232.

Figure 8 Frontispiece to the *Sutra of Receiving Life*. Southern Song dynasty. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 2, 224-25.

Figure 9 Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song dynasty. Muban Foundation. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. After Zhongguo banhua quanji bianji weiyuan hui, ed., *Zhongguo banhua quanji*, vol. 1, 42 (fig. 57).

Figure 10 Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 33, 36-37, 44-45.

Figure 11 Detail of the illustrated story of Wang Chuo, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song dynasty. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. Muban Foundation. After Zhongguo banhua quanji bianji weiyuan hui, ed., *Zhongguo banhua quanji*, vol. 1, 42 (fig. 57).

Figure 12 Detail, *Ten Kings of Hell* manuscript, originally from the Dunhuang library cave. Tenth century. Ink on paper. Handscroll. The Bibliothèque nationale de France (P.4523).

Figure 13 Details, *Fodingxin tuoluoni jing*. Ming dynasty, dated 1430. Woodblock print. Ink on

paper. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 7, 14-15.

Figure 14 Detail of the illustrated story of Monk Lingyou, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song dynasty. Shanghai Museum. After Zhongguo guojia tushuguan et al., eds., *Di er pi guojia zhengui guji minglu tulu* (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010), vol. 3, 114.

Figure 15 Detail of the illustrated story of Woman Wang, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song dynasty. Shanghai Museum. After Zhongguo guojia tushuguan et al., eds., *Di er pi guojia zhengui guji minglu tulu* (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010), vol. 3, 114.

Figure 16 Detail, illustrations of miracle tales from the *Diamond Sutra*. Yuan dynasty. 23.2 x11.2 cm. Accordion. After Zhou Wu, *Zhongguo banhua shi tulu*, 34 (fig. 28).

Figure 17 Details, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-30s. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 36, 48. a. The illustrated story of Wang Tuo; b. The story of Monk Hongzheng.

Figure 18 Details, Official Qiao copying the *Diamond Sutra* and the magical fungi. a. Detail, the *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song. Muban Foundation. After Zhongguo banhua quanji bianji weiyuan hui, ed., *Zhongguo banhua quanji*, vol. 1, 42 (fig. 57); b. Detail, the *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 42.

Figure 19 Detail, *Commentary of the Diamond Sutra*. Yuan dynasty, dated 1340. Woodblock print. Ink and color on paper. Accordion. 27.8 x 2,540 cm. National Library, Taipei.

Figure 20 a. Illustrated story of the lay Buddhist Gou. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420-30s. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 47. b. Illustrated story of the lay Buddhist Gou. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Printed in Kwangheung-sa, Andong city. Joseon dynasty, 1570. After the Dongguk University online database. Accessed June 1, 2018. http://kabc.dongguk.edu/SutraImage?ccode=08&ncbcode=ABC_NC_I_KR_03_A014_00001_0001_0004a&navikey=ABC_NC_I_KR_03_A014_00001_0001_0004a.

Figure 21 Colophon by Su Dongpo after the *Diamond Sutra*. After *Dongbo quanji* 93: 25b (*Siku quanshu edition*).

Figure 22 Two versions of the illustrated story of Zhu Shiheng setting the sutra on fire. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. a. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song dynasty. Muban Foundation. After Zhongguo banhua quanji bianji weiyuan hui, ed., *Zhongguo banhua quanji*, vol. 1, 42 (fig. 57). b. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-30s. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 41.

Figure 23 Illustrations of the story of a student encountering fox spirits disguised as women. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. a. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song. National Library, Beijing. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 2, 231. b-c. Details, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 40.

Figure 24 Details, *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes*. Southern Song to Yuan (?). Ink on paper. Album leaves. Cleveland Museum of Art. After *Songhua quanji*.

Figure 25 Details, *Searching for Demons in the Mountains*. Yuan dynasty. Ink and color on silk. Handscroll. 53.3 x 533 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

Figure 26 Detail, *Erlang and His Soldiers Driving out Animal Spirits*. Ming dynasty, 15th century. Ink and color on silk. Handscroll. 60.9 x 574.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Sturgis Bigelow Collection. 13.481.

Figure 27 Details, mural at the Foguang Temple, Mt. Wutai, Shanxi. Tang dynasty. a. Heavenly King subjugating demons; b. Monkey demon subjugated by a solider. After Carmelita Hinton, "Evil Dragon, Golden Rodent, Sleek Hound: The Evolution of Soushan Tu Paintings in the Northern Song Period," fig. 5.6, 186.

Figure 28 Detail, the first vajrapāṇi subjugating serpentine demons with human torsos. An illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 34.

Figure 29 Detail, the second vajrapāṇi subjugating a half-human, half-animal demon. An illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 38.

Figure 30 Detail, the third vajrapāṇi subjugating monkey demons. An illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 39.

Figure 31 Detail, the sixth vajrapāṇi subjugating a rabbit demon and a hybrid demon with a woman's body and phoenix-like feather extensions. An illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji,* vol. 6, 39.

Figure 32 Map of the Southern Song capital. After Jiang Qingqing, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi Songban 'Jingcheng si tu' fuyuan yanjiu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015).

Figure 33 Reconstructed map of the publishers in Southern Song Hangzhou. Re-configured by Yung-Yi Juliet Chou. After Sören Edgren, "Southern Song Printing at Hangzhou," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 61 (1989): 4.

Figure 34 Detail, *Scripture of the Blood Bowl* printed by the Yang Family Printshop in Hangzhou. Yuan dynasty. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo*

Fojiao banhua quanji, vol. 4, 215.

Figure 35 Colophon by Tian Yamidashili, detail of an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420-30s. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 179.

Figure 36 Map of Ming Beijing. After Zhang Jue (1560), *Jingshi wucheng fangxiang hutong ji*.

Figure 37 Details, *Five Mantras Dharani Scripture of the White-Robed Guanyin*. Ming dynasty, dated 1440. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 9, 150-51. a. Frontispiece; b. Colophons of donors.

Figure 38 Details, the *Diamond Sutra* in thirty-two seal-script-inspired scripts. Ming dynasty, dated 1437. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 9, 44, 80.

Figure 39 Details of the hybrid assembly of a Tantric-Daoist pantheon. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420-1430s. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. After Weng Lianxi et al., eds., *Zhongguo Fojiao banhua quanji*, vol. 6, 178.

Figure 40 Detail, the *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty (?). Woodblock print. Ink on paper. The University of Pennsylvania Museum (C405D).

Figure 41 Detail of the Daoist deity *Zhenwu, Scripture of the Jade Pivot*. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. Ming dynasty. British Library. After Wan Chui-ki, "Daojiao banhua yanjiu: Daying tushuguan cang 'Yushu baojing' si zhu ben zhi niandai ji chahua kao," 139 (fig. 1).

.

通俗佛教版畫所見的金剛經靈驗力

黃士珊
萊斯大學藝術史系

提　　要

金剛經乃東亞文化圈中流傳最廣的佛經之一。本文旨在探討南宋至明初金剛經版畫所描繪的金剛經靈驗故事。這些插圖反映了吸引大眾的民間品味，使吾人一窺傳統中國社會中，在吸納了本土信仰、通俗圖像、以及多元宗教習俗後所融匯而成的通俗佛教及視覺文化。全文共分為四大部分。第一部分「佛教靈驗記」指出，往返冥府、續命延壽的故事主題，乃源自唐宋金剛經靈驗記書寫，並流傳到南宋至明木刻插圖版金剛經靈驗記的二大主題。第二部分「靈驗記插圖」，探討金剛經靈驗記版畫中的冥府、冥使來訪，以及與書經功德有關的芝草等靈驗表現。第三部分「通俗佛教及民俗視覺文化中的女性」，關注靈驗記版畫所見的女性善、惡面，以及明代金剛經版畫中，與靈驗記插圖併列的金剛圖像所添加的半人半獸女性鬼怪形象。第四部分「出版者與施主」，將重點轉移到金剛經木刻插圖出版的社會、宗教網絡。現存南宋、元版木刻版畫，可能都產自當時杭州的坊間印書店。一套帶有漢、梵合名之施主題記，以及混雜了密教與道教神群像的明初金剛經木刻版畫，則指向宣德年間北京城中的多元文化社群。

關鍵詞：金剛經、木刻、版畫、插圖、靈驗記、南宋杭州、明初北京、通俗佛教、雜糅

本文由科技部人文社會科學研究中心補助期刊編輯費用
（計畫編號：MOST 107-2420-H-002-007-MY3-JE10761）

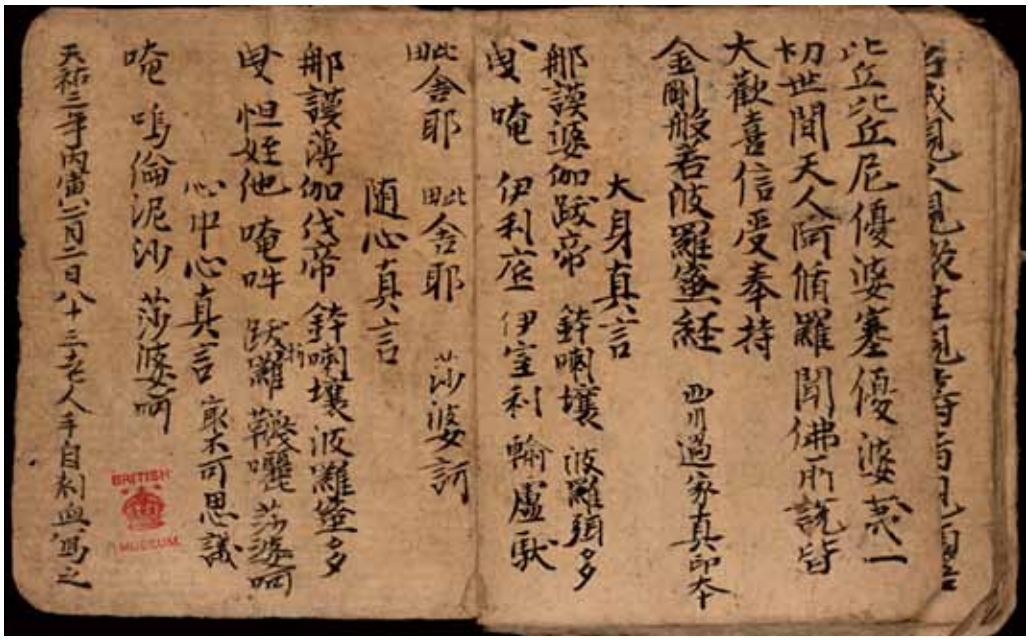
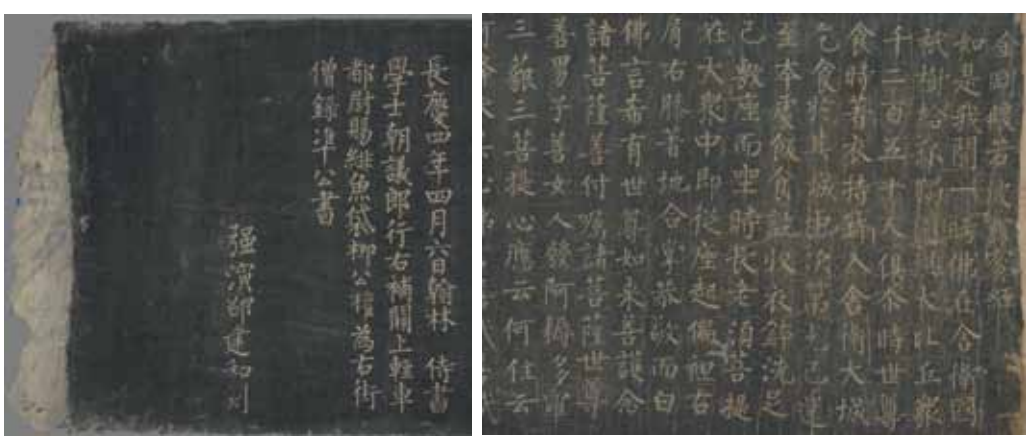


FIGURE 1 Detail, the *Diamond Sutra* copied by a eighty-three-year-old man. Tang dynasty, dated 906. Ink on paper. Booklet. 14.3 (h) x 11.5 (w) cm. © British Library Board (Or8210/S.5451).

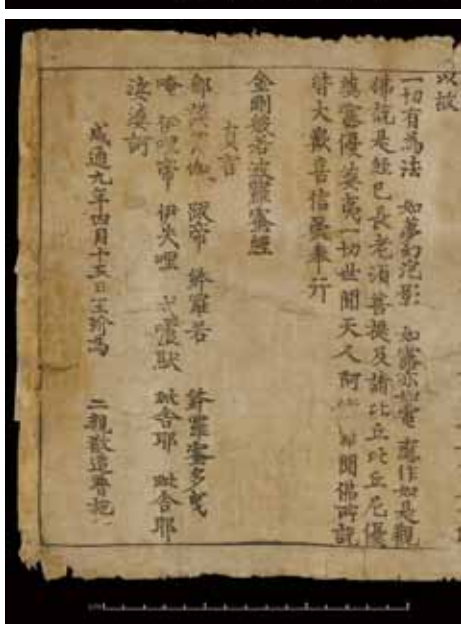


b. a.

FIGURE 2 Details, rubbings of the *Diamond Sutra*. Tang dynasty, dated 824. Ink on paper. Handscroll. 28.5 (h) x 1166.6 (w) cm. The Bibliothèque nationale de France (P.4503).

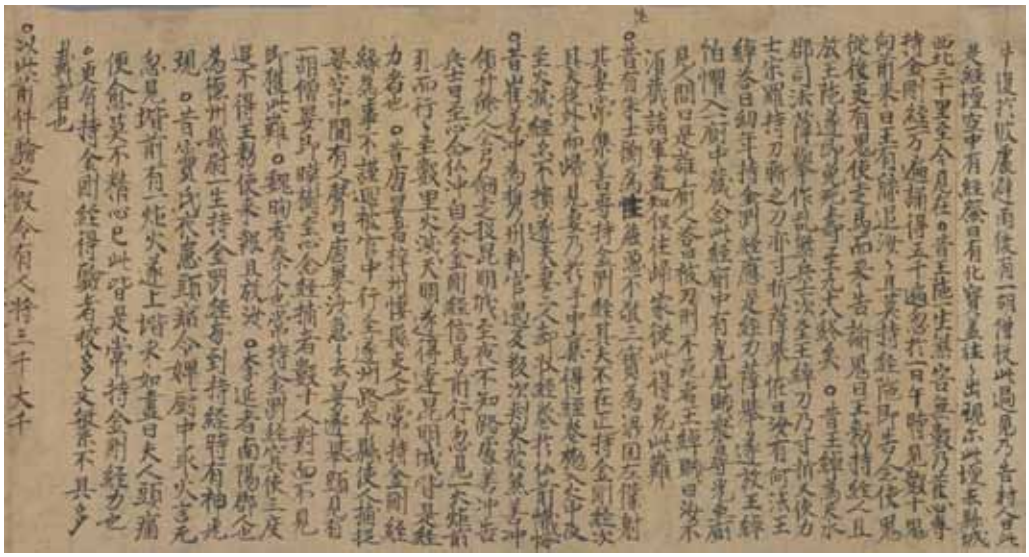
FIGURE 3 The food-begging scene from the *Diamond Sutra*. Ceiling of the niche on the west wall of Mogao Cave 217, Dunhuang, Gansu. Tang dynasty, early 8th century.

a.

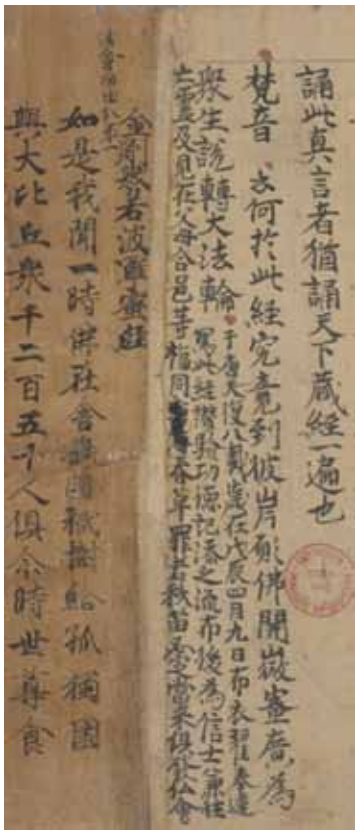


b.

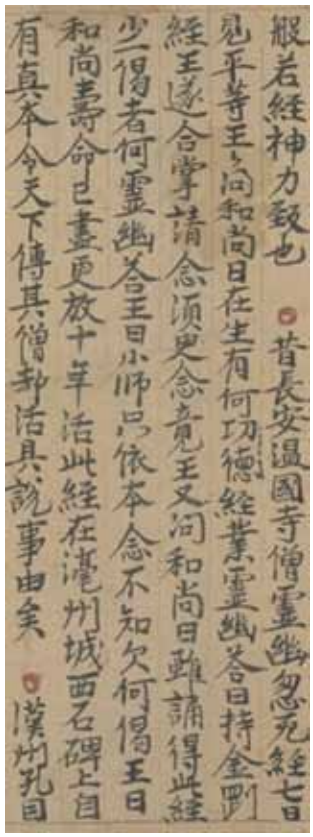
FIGURE 4a-b Details, the *Diamond Sutra*. Tang dynasty, dated 868. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. Handscroll. 27.6 (h) x 499.5 (w) cm. © British Library Board (Or. 8210/p.2). a. Frontispiece. b. Donor's dedicatory colophon.



a.

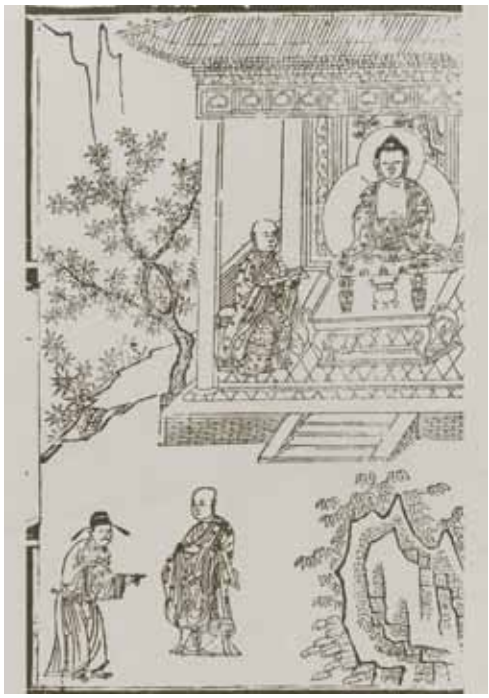


b.



c.

FIGURE 5a-c Details, *Chisong Jin'gang jing lingyan gongdeji*. Copied by Zhai Fengda. Five Dynasties period, dated 908. Ink on paper. Handscroll. The Bibliothèque nationale de France (P.2094).


a.

b.

FIGURE 6a-b "Reciting the (Diamond) Sutra to prolong life." *Shishi yuanliu tu*. Ming dynasty, 1450-57. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. Booklet. Capital Library, Beijing.

a.

b.

FIGURE 7a-b Detail, east wall of the rear chamber, the tomb of Zhang Shiqing (d. 1116), Xuanhua, Hebei. Liao dynasty. Ink and colors. a. Buddhist text with a label that reads "*Jin'gang boruo jing*"; b. Daoist scripture with a label that reads "*Chang qingjing jing*."

FIGURE 8 Frontispiece to the *Sutra of Receiving Life*. Southern Song dynasty. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

FIGURE 9 Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song dynasty. Muban Foundation. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

FIGURE 10 Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

FIGURE 11 Detail of the illustrated story of Wang Chuo, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song dynasty. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. Muban Foundation.

FIGURE 13 Details, *Fodingxin tuoluoni jing*. Ming dynasty, dated 1430. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

FIGURE 12 Detail, *Ten Kings of Hell* manuscript, originally from the Dunhuang library cave. Tenth century. Ink on paper. Handscroll. The Bibliothèque nationale de France (P.4523).

FIGURE 14 Detail of the illustrated story of Monk Lingyou, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song dynasty. Shanghai Museum.

FIGURE 15 Detail of the illustrated story of Woman Wang, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song dynasty. Shanghai Museum.

FIGURE 16 Detail, illustrations of miracle tales from the *Diamond Sutra*. Yuan dynasty. 23.2 x11.2 cm. Accordion.

FIGURE 17 Details, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-30s. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

a. b.

FIGURE 18 Details, Official Qiao copying the *Diamond Sutra* and the magical fungi. a. Detail, the *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song. Muban Foundation; b. Detail, the *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s.

FIGURE 19 Detail, Commentary of the *Diamond Sutra*. Yuan dynasty, dated 1340. Woodblock print. Ink and color on paper. Accordion. 27.8 x 2,540 cm. National Library, Taipei.

FIGURE 20a Illustrated story of the lay Buddhist Gou. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420-30s. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

FIGURE 20b Illustrated story of the lay Buddhist Gou. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Printed in Kwangheung-sa, Andong city. Joseon dynasty, 1570.

欽定四庫全書

金剛經跋尾

聞昔有人受持諸經攝心專妙常以手指作捉筆狀於虛空中寫諸經法是人去後此寫經處自然嚴淨雨不能濕凡見聞者孰不贊歎此希有事有一比丘獨拊掌言惜此藏經止有半藏乃知此法有一念在即為塵勞而況可以聲求色見今此長者譚君文初以念親故示入諸相取黃金屑書金剛經以四句偈悟入本心灌流諸根六塵清淨方此之時不見有經而況其字字不可

FIGURE 21 Colophon by Su Dongpo after the *Diamond Sutra*.

a.

b.

FIGURE 22a-b Two versions of the illustrated story of Zhu Shiheng setting the sutra on fire. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. a. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song dynasty. Muban Foundation. b. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-30s.

a.

b.

c.

FIGURE 23a-c

Illustrations of the story of a student encountering fox spirits disguised as women. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. a. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Southern Song. National Library, Beijing. b-c. Details, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s.

a.

b.

FIGURE 24a-b Details, *Album of Daoist and Buddhist Themes*. Southern Song to Yuan (?). Ink on paper. Album leaves. Cleveland Museum of Art.

a.

b.

FIGURE 25a-b Details, *Searching for Demons in the Mountains*. Yuan dynasty. Ink and color on silk. Handscroll. 53.3 x 533 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

FIGURE 26 Detail, *Erlang and His Soldiers Driving out Animal Spirits*. Ming dynasty, 15th century. Ink and color on silk. Handscroll. 60.9 x 574.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Sturgis Bigelow Collection. 13.481.

a.

b.

FIGURE 27a-b Details, mural at the Foguang Temple, Mt. Wutai, Shanxi. Tang dynasty. a. Heavenly King subjugating demons; b. Monkey demon subjugated by a solider. After Carmelita Hinton, "Evil Dragon, Golden Rodent, Sleek Hound: The Evolution of Soushan Tu Paintings in the Northern Song Period," fig. 5.6, 186.

FIGURE 28 Detail, the first vajrapāṇi subjugating serpentine demons with human torsos. An illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s.

FIGURE 29 Detail, the second vajrapāṇi subjugating a half-human, half-animal demon. An illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s.

FIGURE 30 Detail, the third vajrapāṇi subjugating monkey demons. An illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s.

FIGURE 31 Detail, the sixth vajrapāṇi subjugating a rabbit demon and a hybrid demon with a woman's body and phoenix-like feather extensions. An illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420s-1430s.

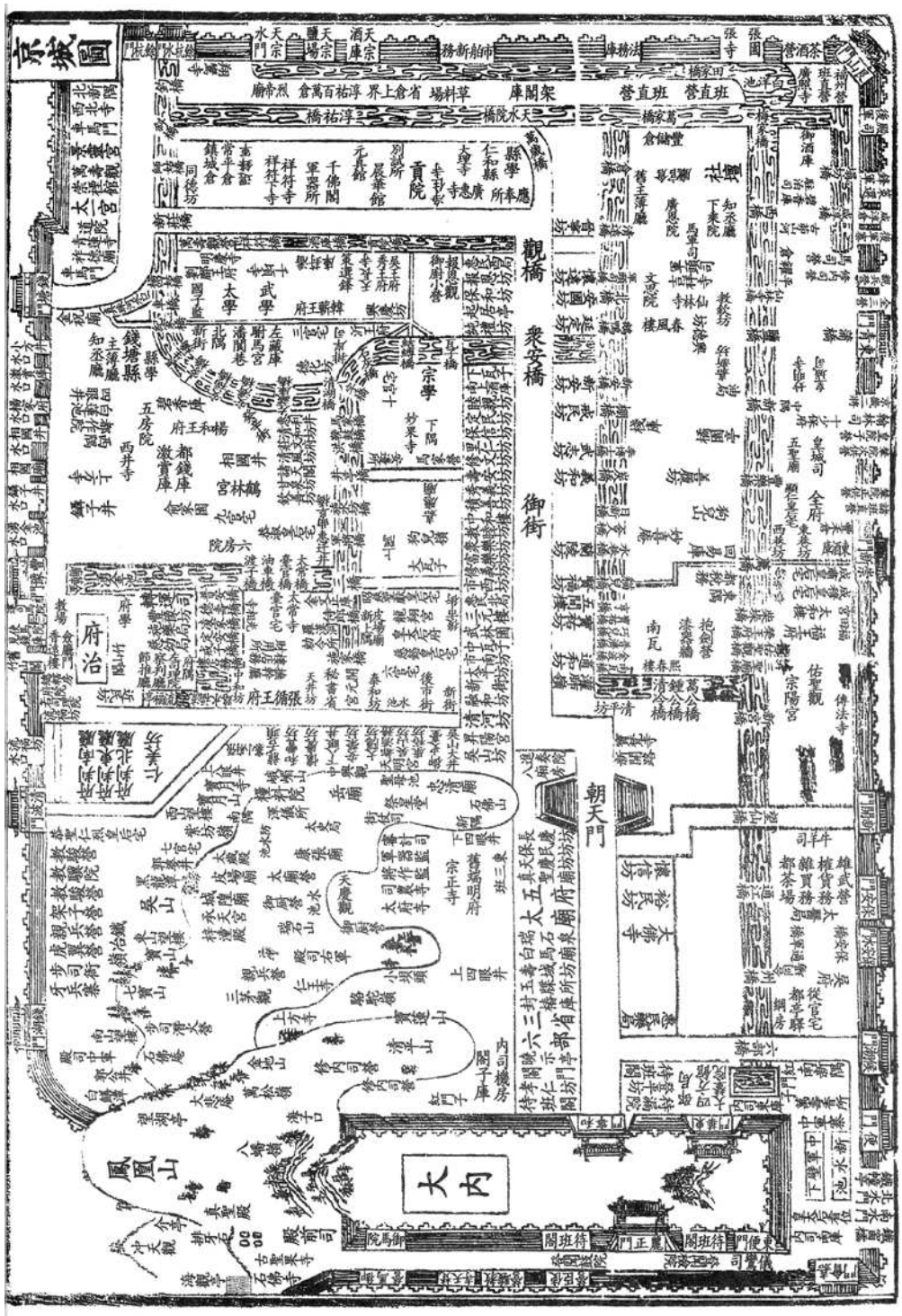


FIGURE 32 Map of the Southern Song capital.

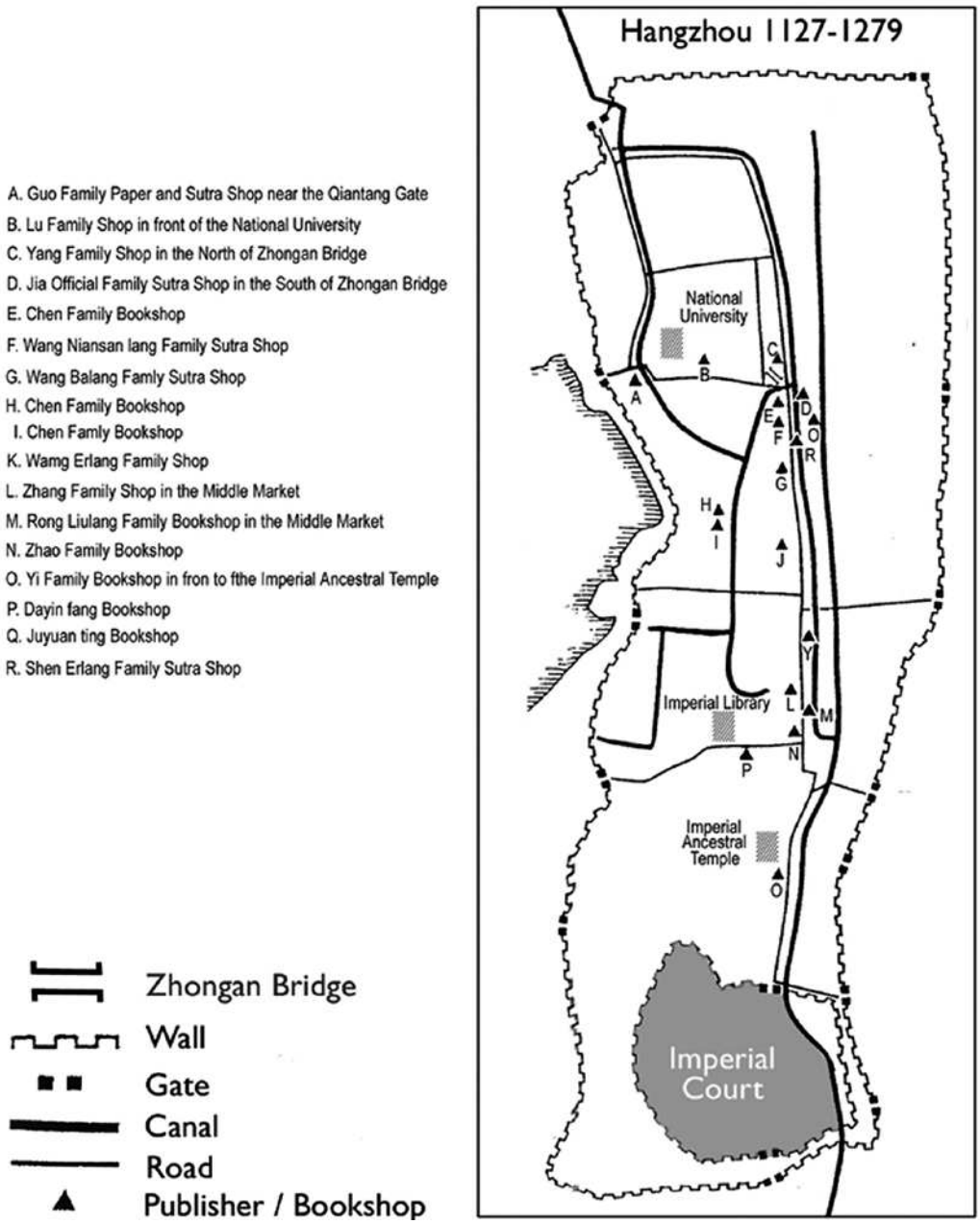


FIGURE 33 Reconstructed map of the publishers in Southern Song Hangzhou. Re-configured by Yung-Yi Juliet Chou.

FIGURE 34 Detail, *Scripture of the Blood Bowl* printed by the Yang Family Printshop in Hangzhou. Yuan dynasty. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

FIGURE 35 Colophon by Tian Yamidashili, detail of an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420-30s.

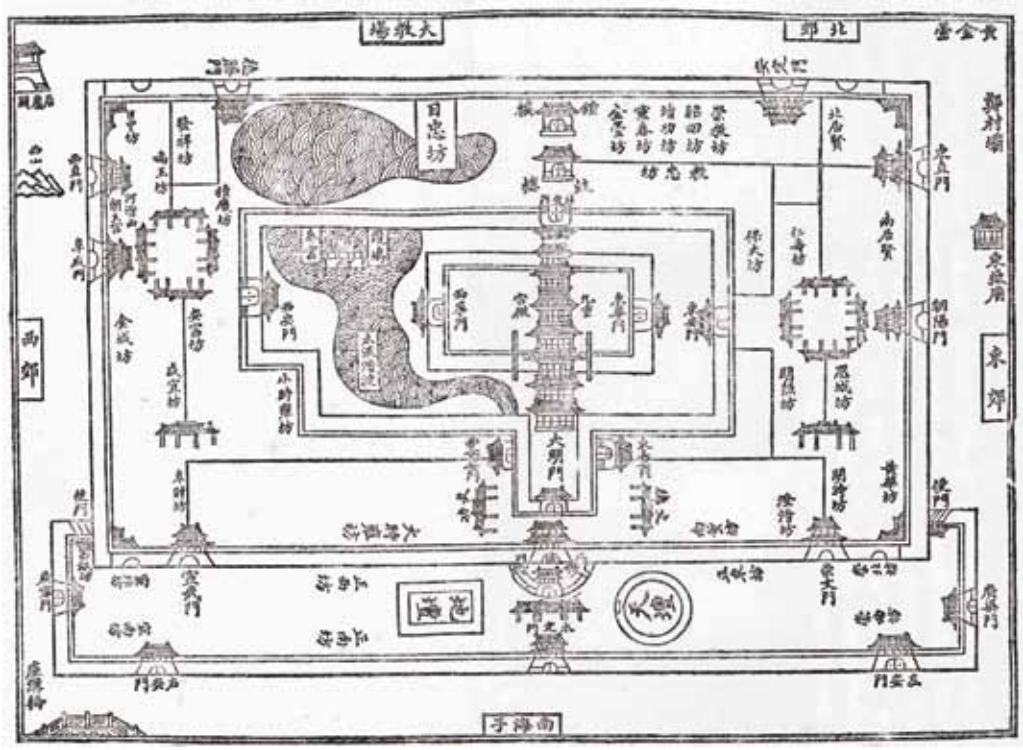


FIGURE 36 Map of Ming Beijing.

a.

b.

FIGURE 37 Details, *Five Mantras Dharani Scripture of the White-Robed Guanyin*. Ming dynasty, dated 1440. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

a.

b.

FIGURE 38 Details, the *Diamond Sutra* in thirty-two seal-script-inspired scripts. Ming dynasty, dated 1437. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

a.

b.

FIGURE 39 Details of the hybrid assembly of a Tantric-Daoist pantheon. Detail, an illustrated *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty, 1420-1430s. Woodblock print. Ink on paper.

FIGURE 40 Detail, the *Diamond Sutra*. Ming dynasty (?). Woodblock print. Ink on paper. The University of Pennsylvania Museum (C405D).

FIGURE 41 Detail of the Daoist deity Zhenwu, *Scripture of the Jade Pivot*. Woodblock print. Ink on paper. Ming dynasty. British Library.