

Women, Children, and the Inner Chamber in the Life of the Buddha:
Chinese Buddhist Woodblock Illustrations in Late Imperial China

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Introduction

Buddhist illustrated woodblock printing was an important genre of Chinese print production in late imperial China (14th-19th century).¹ The *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji* 釋氏源流應化事跡 (*Events of Response and Incarnation in the Origin and Development of the Shakya Clan*, hereafter, *The Shakya Clan*) is a woodblock-printed illustrated book on the life of the Buddha and the development of Buddhism in China, compiled by the Ming Dynasty monk Baocheng 寶成 (fl. 1425). There were four distinct compilations of this illustrated text between 1425-1794, with at least seventeen different known editions that were reprinted up till the 20th century.² A later Qing Dynasty compilation organized by Prince Yongshan 永珊 (1746-1797) was titled *Shijia rulai yinghua shiji* 釋迦如來應化事跡 (*Events of Response and Incarnation of the Tathagata Shakyamuni*, hereafter, *The Tathagata Shakyamuni*). The same series and its subject matter were also carved and printed in Japan and Korea.³ The popularity of this book across time and space, versus the relatively little scholarly attention it has gained make it a worthy subject of study.

In this thesis, I employ visual analysis to compare Buddhist illustrated woodblock prints with paintings and other secular genres of woodcut illustrations produced in late imperial China, as well as comparing the text-image relationship of the illustrated books. The book series of *The Shakya Clan* shows a transfer of popular visual themes of “family auspicious pictures” (*jiaqing tu* 家慶圖),⁴ garden and palace scenes, as well as “children at play” (*yingxi tu* 嬰戲圖) and “one hundred boys” (*baizi tu* 百子圖) between secular paintings and Buddhist woodblock illustrations. Together, they depict women in the life of the Buddha as caregivers of young boys, confined to their inner chambers.

¹ Edgren, *China*, 107.

² In this thesis, I follow Dr. Tsai Suey-Ling’s definition of “compilation” of this body of illustrated text: Compilations differ from one another in their content, number, sequence of texts and illustrations. They may have different compilers, titles, organization and design. New prefaces or postscripts are usually prepared for each compilation. “Editions” refer to books within the same compilation but with new woodblocks being carved. See: Tsai, *The Life of the Buddha*, 23, 248–51.

³ Tsai, *The Life of the Buddha*, 13-14.

⁴ For a discussion of “family auspicious pictures”, see: Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure*, 101.

Li Yuhang has discussed the creation of gendered space on the front and back of a Daoist robe.⁵ The robe also bears messages of how to be a virtuous mother, aunt, wife, and daughter-in-law. This model of female conduct leads Li to deduce that the garment might have been made for or used by a woman. This has inspired me to look for a similarly gendered space in a Buddhist biography and see how it may contain messages for women. I argue that the compilers of this popular book series actively considered women to be part of their potential readership. As a result, the compilers deliberately embedded “educational” messages for women, in line with the social expectations and normative gender roles in late imperial China, further accentuated with the added layers of Buddhist expectations on how to be good mothers and wives.

The Subject Matter

This section lays out the different versions of the book series and their variations. There are four extant compilations of *The Shakya Clan* with variations in content, episodes, and layout.⁶

1. **Baocheng I:** The earliest compilation of *The Shakya Clan* was organized by the monk Baocheng in 1422 and finished in 1425. Baocheng wrote, compiled and edited the text, and ordered Gu Daozhen 顧道珍 to write the calligraphy and Wang Gong 王恭 to draw the illustrations.⁷ This compilation contains 400 episodes of text and illustrations, with an image on the upper half of a folio, and the text on the lower half (Figure 1). The first 200 episodes deal with the life of the Buddha from his past life up till his enlightenment and subsequent teachings. Episodes 200-400 trace the transmission of Buddhism to China. An extant copy that preserves the content of the first compilation was published from recarved woodblocks under a project directed by monk Jingyong 淨用 at the Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺 in Chaozhou Prefecture, Guangdong. While the woodblocks were carved in the 35th year of the Jiajing 嘉靖 era in the Ming Dynasty (1556), the extant copy of the book was printed in the Qing Dynasty,

⁵ Li, “Representing Theatricality on Textiles,” 85.

⁶ Tsai, *The Life of the Buddha*, 11–13.

⁷ Weng, Li, and Zhou, “Mulu ce 目錄冊 (Catalogue Volume),” 1.

Kangxi period 康熙 in Chaozhou in 1664.⁸ This compilation was called *Baocheng I* as it reflected the earliest design of the 400 episodes of the book.⁹

2. **Baocheng II:** This compilation is similar to *Baocheng I* in terms of layout, illustration and content.¹⁰ It contains 10 more episodes than *Baocheng I*. The colophon written by the monk Baocheng stated that in ninth year of the Xuande period (1434), he ordered Wang Rongxian 王榮顯 to republish the book.¹¹
3. **Emperor Chenghua compilation:** The third compilation of the book was commissioned by Emperor Chenghua 成化 (r. 1465-1487). The imperial compilation differed from earlier compilations as the illustrations were enlarged. In each episode, the text and image occupy one folio each (Figure 2). The imperial compilation contains 400 episodes in the same order as *Baocheng I*. Significantly, Emperor Chenghua added a royal preface to the book in 1486, providing the book with imperial endorsement.¹²
4. **Yongshan compilation:** At the end of the eighteenth century, a Manchurian Prince Yongshan 永珊 (1746-1797) compiled 208 episodes on the life of the Buddha based on Baocheng's text, *The Tathagata Shakyamuni*. The preface was written in 1794, while the first book was published in 1808 by Prince Yufeng 裕豐 (fl. 19th c.).¹³ The layout was similar to the Chenghua Emperor's version with the image and text occupying one folio each. There were also new illustrations drawn (Figure 3). This book omitted the episodes on the development of Buddhism in China. An extant copy that was reprinted in 1869 during the Tongzhi 同治 reign is preserved in the Harvard Yanching Library and will be the source of this thesis.

As this thesis will focus primarily on the visual elements of the books and on the life story of the Buddha, I will discuss Baocheng I, Emperor Chenghua, and the Yongshan compilations. The illustrations of

⁸ Weng, Li, and Zhou, 11–14.

⁹ Tsai, *The Life of the Buddha*, 27.

¹⁰ Tsai, *The Life of the Buddha*, 131.

¹¹ Weng, Li, and Zhou, “Mulu ce 目錄冊 (Catalogue Volume),” 2.

¹² Shi Baocheng and Zhu Jianshen, *Shishi Yuanliu Yinghua Shiji* 釋氏源流应化事迹.

¹³ Tsai, *The Life of the Buddha*, 13.

Baocheng II are identical to those in Baocheng I (except the additional episodes), and therefore will not be included in this study.

Literature Review

Existing Study on the Primary Text

The only comprehensive study published in English on *The Shakyas Clan* is Tsai Suey-Ling's *The Life of the Buddha: Woodblock Illustrated Books in China and Korea* published in 2012. Tsai's main contribution is to trace the bibliographic relationships between the various impressions, editions, and compilations of this book by examining an extensive collection of physical books stored in various libraries and museums around the world.¹⁴ Using a cross-cultural perspective, Tsai compares the Korean books with their Chinese counterparts.¹⁵ Another major contribution is that she describes the information in the frontispieces, prefaces, postscripts, colophons, donors' inscriptions and lists of costs in detail.¹⁶ Tsai's close examination of the authorship, provenance, and historical text leads her to make several inferences about the intentions of the makers, and the different functions the woodblock illustrated books made in different periods.¹⁷

Tsai asserts that the book was aimed at the ruling class who had political power to influence the development of Buddhism in China.¹⁸ Tsai cites the close similarity between the monk Baocheng's postscript to *The Shakyas Clan*, and the preface of a Liang Dynasty monk Baochang's 寶唱 (end of 5th century and early 6th century) book the *Mysterious Phenomena of Sutras and Precepts* 經律異相 as evidence of this claim. Tsai asserts that the *Mysterious Phenomena of Sutras and Precepts* was made under the order of Emperor Wu (4. 502-549) of the Liang Dynasty (502-557), and that Baocheng's 寶成 postscript to *The Shakyas Clan* shared similar concerns with Baochang's 寶唱 preface to the *Mysterious Phenomena*. Both monks lamented that the Buddhist canonical scriptures were too

¹⁴ Tsai, *The Life of the Buddha*.

¹⁵ Tsai, 24.

¹⁶ Tsai, 25.

¹⁷ Tsai, 24.

¹⁸ Tsai, 97.

numerous and complicated. In the age of the decline of the dharma, people would not care to read the scriptures in detail. Therefore, they compiled the essence of Buddhist dharma into an easily comprehensible book, so that readers could effortlessly gain comprehensive Buddhist knowledge.¹⁹ By comparing *The Shakya Clan* with another illustrated Daoist book produced in the Ming Dynasty, Tsai further proffers that Baocheng compiled his book to establish the superiority of Buddhism over Daoism and Confucianism, and to defend the place of Buddhism within the state.²⁰

Tsai's research sheds light on several important aspects on the audience for these illustrated books. Inspired by Tsai's scholarship, this thesis takes a broader view of the multiple audiences for which these illustrated books were intended.²¹ The primary focus of Tsai's analysis is the textual evidence, and she pays comparatively little attention to the rich illustrations. Tsai uncovers the illustrator Wang Gong's 王恭 biography and his style, and comments on the pictorial strategy of the illustrations. This leaves space to analyze the iconography, comparing the visual illustrations between the different compilations, and for a detailed text-image comparison. By focusing on the visual motifs of women, children, and the inner chambers, this thesis shows that women were clearly one of the intended audiences of *The Shakya Clan*.

Because of the encyclopedic nature of *The Shakya Clan*, other art historians who have cited its illustrations often selected individual episodes and blended them into their other thematic arguments, isolating the episodes from the context of the original book.²² Several Chinese-language studies have analyzed the art historical features of *The Shakya Clan*'s illustrations, such as commenting on its visual strategy of conflating different times on the same space,²³ and comparing the details of illustrations between different compilations.²⁴ However, synoptic and conflated narratives, which means the

¹⁹ Tsai, 98-99.

²⁰ Tsai, 104.

²¹ Tsai, 101.

²² See: Heatherly, "Identifying the Illustrated Sutra Prints from Inside the Museum's Lacquer Buddha C405A." Huang, "Illustrating the Efficacy of the Diamond Sutra in Vernacular Buddhism (通俗佛教版畫所見的金剛經靈驗力)," 43-44. Murray, "The Childhood of Gods and Sages," 120-21. Clunas, *Empire of Great Brightness*, 190-91.

²³ Shen Xiaoxu, "Shishi Yuanliu Zhong Tuhua de Yishi Tonggou Wenti 《释氏源流》中图画의异时同构问题."

²⁴ Weng, Li, and Zhou, "Mulu ce 目錄冊 (Catalogue Volume)," 26-31.

depiction of multiple episodes of a story in a single frame, were not unique to *The Shakya Clan*.²⁵ Weng, Li and Zhou's essay suggested that much more can be done to examine the relationship between *The Shakya Clan* illustrations, and other secular paintings and woodcuts of the same period.²⁶

Arts of the Life of the Buddha in Late Imperial China

In late imperial China, artistic depictions of the life of the Buddha flourished in the form of temple mural paintings. In Buddhism, narratives of Shakyamuni are generally divided into life of the Buddha (*benxing* 本行), and his past life, *Jataka*, or *bensheng* 本生.²⁷ The life of the Buddha is typically summarized into eight acts: descent from Tusita heaven, entering the womb, birth, renunciation, defeating Mara, attaining enlightenment, turning the wheel of Dharma, and entering parinirvana – collectively known as “eight junctions of attaining the Way”.²⁸ Several well studied temple murals which have both published catalogues and have received scholarly attention are as follow:

1. Temple of Awareness Garden in Jiange, Sichuan Province 四川剑阁觉苑寺²⁹
2. Temple of the Veneration of Goodness in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province 山西太原崇善寺, survived only in a painted, colored album³⁰
3. Temple of Multiple Blessings in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province 山西太原多福寺³¹
4. Gautama Temple in Ledu, Qinghai Province 青海乐都瞿昙寺³²

²⁵ Dehejia, “On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist Art.”

²⁶ Weng, Li, and Zhou, “Mulu ce 目錄冊 (Catalogue Volume),” 32–38.

²⁷ Fan Jinshi, *Fo Zhuan Gu Shi Hua Juan* 佛傳故事畫卷, 5.

²⁸ Wang, *Shaping the Lotus Sutra*, 50. For textual source, also see Huang Zheng and Zhang Yongquan, “Baxiang Bian 八相變.”

²⁹ Huang He, *Ming dai cai hui quan tu: Shijia Rulai ying hua shi ji* 明代彩绘全图：釋迦如來應化事迹. Also, Li Song, *Zhongguo siguan bihua quanji. 4. Mingdai siyuan fozhuan tu* 中国寺观壁画全集. 4, 明代寺院佛传图. Mu Xueyong, *Jiange jueyuansi mingdai fochuan bihua* 剑阁觉苑寺明代佛传壁画.

³⁰ Zhao Puchu and Zhongguo fo jiao wen hua yan jiu suo 中國佛教文化研究所, *Shijia shizun yinghua shiji tu* 釋迦世尊應化示蹟圖.

³¹ Taiyuan Shi Juwei Shan wen wu bao guan suo, *Taiyuan juwei shan duofu si* 太原崛围山多福寺.

³² Jin Ping, *Qutansi bihua yishu yanjiu* 瞿昙寺壁画艺术研究.

Scholars have established that Baocheng's compilation of *The Shakyas Clan* has served as a source book for these murals, sharing similar titles, episodes, content and visual compositions.³³ Yet, the mural paintings expanded on the visual complexity of the woodblock prints, adding more colors and artistic details that paralleled the style of court paintings.³⁴ Craig Clunas has discussed the kingly patronage of the Temple of the Veneration of Goodness and the Temple of Multiple Blessings, especially female agency in the support of religious institutions.³⁵ He also commented on the way the Buddha's life was depicted as "courtly life wrapped in the supernatural aura of numinous clouds", making the Buddha look like a contemporary heir of the Ming kingly household, who were the temple's main patrons.³⁶ Specifically on the mural at the Guatama Temple in Qinghai, scholars have discussed the interactions between Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist art.³⁷ Given the expansive influence of *The Shakyas Clan*, and the relatively limited scholarly attention it has received, the woodblock printed illustrations make a worthy subject of study.

Methodology

Buddhist textual scholars and art historians have been interested in examining the textual and visual ways of meaning-making within a larger framework of Buddhist worldviews.³⁸ In his study of the *Lotus Sutra*, Eugene Wang contested existing scholarship which takes transformation tableaux as pictorial illustrations or derivatives of sutras.³⁹ He suggested that when studying Buddhist illustration, it is important to look beyond textual sources and examine the greater pictorial program and visual traditions of that society.⁴⁰

This thesis examines the media transfer of popular pictorial themes between Buddhist woodcuts, paintings and other secular genres of illustrated woodcuts from the same period. Media transfer refers

³³ Li Song, *Zhongguo siguan bihua quanji. 4. Mingdai siyuan fozhuan tu* 中国寺观壁画全集. 4, 明代寺院佛传图.

³⁴ Murray, "The Childhood of Gods and Sages."

³⁵ Clunas, *Screen of Kings*, 127.

³⁶ Clunas, 129–30.

³⁷ See: Wang Qing, "Hanchuan Fojiao Yu Zangchuan Fojiao Siyuan Bihua Yishu Tese Zhi Bijiao —— Yi Qutansi Bihua Weili 汉传佛教与藏传佛教寺院壁画艺术特色之比较——以瞿昙寺壁画为例." Jin Ping, "Qutansi Bihua Dui Xizang Huihua Yishu Zhuanxing de Yingxiang 瞿昙寺壁画对西藏绘画艺术转型的影响."

³⁸ Anderl and Lukich, "Image-Text-Reality in Buddhism: Interrelation and Internegation."

³⁹ Wang, *Shaping the Lotus Sutra*, xxiii.

⁴⁰ Wang, 31.

to the appropriation, transformation and exchange of images between media such as painting, printmaking, porcelain etc.⁴¹ Susan Huang argues that the transfer of images and motifs from the medium of painting to that of printmaking, and the convergence of printmaking and painting, marks a new and important point in the study of Chinese visual culture which deserves further investigation.⁴² In her scholarship on illustrated Buddhist woodblocks spanning the Tang (618-907), Song (960-1279), Yuan (1279-1368) and Tangut Xi Xia (1038-1227) dynasties, she has identified specific pictorial motifs and compositional templates in the modularly constructed frontispieces.⁴³ This methodology allows Huang to identify cross-cultural connections between different ethnic, linguistic and political regions. Huang mapped the ‘Buddhist Book Roads’ between the 9th and 14th centuries, attesting to the inter-cultural, inter-border circulation of Buddhist motifs.⁴⁴

The perspective of media transfer also reveals issues related to social class and audience. In studying the porcelain collection at the Dresden State Art Collections in Germany, Fraser, Wakita, and Wang examine the links between porcelain, print, and photography in the representation of women in Chinese and Japanese visual culture in the seventeenth century.⁴⁵ Studying the media transfer of female figures allowed the authors to make observations related to class and society, such as the crossing of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara image from the realm of the popular masses to that of the imperial family.⁴⁶

Women in the Life of the Buddha

Women are depicted as caregivers of children in *The Shakya Clan* and *The Tathagata Shakyamuni*, while the men are portrayed as playing a more prominent role in intervening with the lives

⁴¹ Huang, “Media Transfer and Modular Construction: The Printing of Lotus Sutra Frontispieces in Song China,” 135.

⁴² Huang, 135.

⁴³ See: Huang, “Illustrating the Efficacy of the Diamond Sutra in Vernacular Buddhism (通俗佛教版畫所見的金剛經靈驗力).”; Huang, “Media Transfer and Modular Design in Tang-Song Buddhist Illustrated Prints 唐宋時期佛教版畫中所見的媒介轉化與子模設計.”; Huang, “Reassessing Printed Buddhist Frontispieces from Xi Xia.”

⁴⁴ Huang, “Dynamic Spread of Buddhist Print Culture: Mapping Buddhist Book Roads in China and Its Neighbors.”

⁴⁵ Fraser, Wakita, and Wang, *Women Cross Media East Asian Photography, Prints, and Porcelain from the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden*.

⁴⁶ Fraser, Wakita, and Wang, 62–64.

of the children. The mothers and wives are rendered as kneeling down or standing respectfully at the side, conforming to the order of the patriarchs. In Chinese paintings, women are often portrayed as caregivers of young boys in “family auspicious pictures” or images of “children at play”.⁴⁷ This section examines the portrayal of three motherly figures that the Buddha had encountered in his life: Mahāpajāpatī, the Buddha’s aunt; Yashodhara, the Buddha’s wife, and Hārītī, a demon mother. The Buddhist woodblock illustrations share the visual themes of secular family portraits, as well as the compositional methods and iconographical significance of vernacular paintings and court paintings.⁴⁸ The compilers and illustrators of *The Shakya Clan* embedded “educational” messages for its lay women readers on how to be obedient wives, with an additional Buddhist expectation on how to be mothers.

Secular Paintings of Family

Ann Wicks and Ann Waltner note that in images of children in the Ming period, children are usually depicted only with their mothers, or in the presence of a large group of palace women, or playing unsupervised in a garden, but rarely with both parents.⁴⁹ Quoting examples from the Ming Dynasty woodblock illustrations of *The Biographies of Exemplary Women*, Waltner comments that fathers and husbands are either entirely absent or on the way out the door, such as Mencius’s mother caring for him alone (Figure 4).⁵⁰ They suggest that the role of women as child bearers and early-childhood educators took on growing significance in the Ming period.⁵¹ It was also acceptable for men to ignore their family duty in service of communal good.⁵² Wang Cheng-hua also discusses a painting by Chen Hongshou, *Lady Leaning on a Perfumer* (Figure 5), which depicted a mother and a young female attendant with a child, without the presence of a husband or father.⁵³ Wang comments that whenever women were painted with children, Chinese paintings had often emphasized the “naturally expected role” of women to care for the next generations.⁵⁴ In this painting, the mother is gazing towards a parrot, without paying

⁴⁷ Wicks, *Children in Chinese Art*.

⁴⁸ Panofsky, “Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art,” 30.

⁴⁹ Wicks, *Children in Chinese Art*, 17.

⁵⁰ Waltner, “Representations of Children in Three Stories from Biographies of Exemplary Women,” 104.

⁵¹ Wicks, *Children in Chinese Art*, 17.

⁵² Waltner, “Representations of Children in Three Stories from Biographies of Exemplary Women,” 106.

⁵³ Wang Cheng-hua, “The Late-Ming Culture of Sensibility: Women and Objects in Ch’en Hung-Shou’s Late Figure Painting (1645-1652) 女人、物品與感官慾望：陳洪綬晚期人物畫中江南文化的呈現,” 32.

⁵⁴ Wang Cheng-hua, 32.

attention to the child. Her sinuous body contour and posture suggested certain sensual desire.⁵⁵ This hints at her loneliness and longing, which parallels the absence of her husband in the painting.

A genre termed “vernacular paintings” by James Cahill — functional pictures used for hanging on particular occasions such as New Year’s celebrations, birthdays, weddings and marriage celebrations — did contain children with both male and female parents.⁵⁶ These pictures were not a portrayal of any particular family.⁵⁷ Cahill gave the example of a Ming painting, formerly attributed to Qiu Ying 仇英 (ca. 1494-1552), which depicts both parents watching their boys having a festive celebration at the courtyard (Figure 6). The father is seen holding a boy near the staircases (Figure 7).

Works from The Qing Imperial Academy also feature the theme of children playing in the presence of the patriarch, though these court paintings were delivered in a stiffer and more formal style due to the closely controlled situation under which the Academy artists worked.⁵⁸ In a New Year’s painting of the Qianlong Emperor (1711-1799) with his consorts and children, the Emperor cuddles a baby on his lap and strikes a jade musical chime (*yuqing* 玉磬) with a mallet to entertain him (Figure 8).⁵⁹ By comparing this painting with another “approved” painting on the same subject matter probably rendered by the same group of artists (Figure 9), Cahill suggested that this former painting of Qianlong holding a child (Figure 8) was a rejected preliminary version due to its informal nature.⁶⁰ In the approved version, the picture was centered unambiguously on the Qianlong emperor. Cahill suggested that such imperial portrait often showed a preference for a more rigid style as compared to vernacular paintings on the same theme, which tended to be animated and embedded with much emotion.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Wang Cheng-hua, 32.

⁵⁶ Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure*, 103–23.

⁵⁷ Cahill, 104.

⁵⁸ Cahill, 106.

⁵⁹ Cahill, 106-107. Cahill described this as a “sounding-stone”. But the Palace Museum catalogue recorded it as a jade musical chime, *yuqing* 玉磬. The color of the chime is green, which suggests that the material is indeed jade. The shape of the instrument also indicates that it is a musical chime, *qing* 磬. See: Wang Qi, “Qingren Hongli Xuejing Xingle Tu Zhou 清人《弘历雪景行乐图》轴.”

⁶⁰ Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure*, 107.

⁶¹ Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure*, 106-107.

Fathers in Buddhist Family Portraits

In the woodblock printed illustrations of *The Shākya Clan* and *The Tathagata Shakyamuni*, images of children with their mothers were depicted around the patriarchs, with the fatherly figures occupying a prominent position in the picture, showing similar composition and style to the court paintings depicting family scenes on auspicious occasions. In these woodcuts, the mothers are often performing childcare tasks, but conforming to the order from the fathers. The educational message for lay women readers is to be obedient wives and patient mothers.

In the episode “Nurtured by the Aunt” 姨母養育, the Ming Dynasty woodcuts show King Śuddhodana holding a baby Prince Siddhartha while sitting on the throne in the middle of a pavilion (Figure 1, Figure 2). This shares a similar composition with the Qing court paintings of the Qianlong Emperor entertaining a baby on his lap, suggesting the strong presence of the father in the prince’s life (Figure 8). It deviates from Waltner’s observation about the absence of fathers and husbands in most Ming paintings of families. Mahāpajāpatī stands respectfully at the side, stretching her hands out to receive the baby. In the Yongshan compilation, King Śuddhodana was elevated to a higher plane than Mahāpajāpatī (Figure 3). This suggests a further contrast in male-female hierarchy compared to the Chenghua Emperor’s compilation. In both the Ming and Qing compilations, King Śuddhodana was surrounded by an entourage of court ladies, echoing the theme of having many concubines in vernacular paintings of family occasions and court paintings.

This power difference between the sitting King Śuddhodana and the standing Mahāpajāpatī was also paralleled by the text. “At that time, King Śuddhodana entrusted the prince to the aunt, Mahāpajāpatī, saying, ‘You are the aunt of the Prince. You should take care of him. Protect and support him carefully. Give him milk and shower him timely.’ ...At that time, the aunt carefully followed the King’s order, and did not dare to disobey him”.⁶² The last sentence sets up a hierarchy: the patriarch

⁶² “時淨飯王即將太子付囑姨母摩訶波闍波提言。汝是太子姨母，應當養育，善須護持，應令增長，依時乳浴。……爾時姨母謹依王勅。不敢乖違。” *Shijia rulai yinghua lu* 釋迦如來應化錄, X 75, n.1511, 61c16-62a6.

gives the order, while the stepmother submits to his power and becomes the actual caregiver, according to the social expectation that women serve as docile wives and patient mothers.

Mothers and Wives in Buddhist Family Portraits

A striking characteristic of the portrayal of mothers and wives in *The Shakya Clan* and *The Tathagata Shakyamuni* is that women are depicted in a manner that is submissive, passive, and emotional, either kneeling down to the patriarch or weeping in front of him, submitting to patriarchal power. This way of portraying mothers and wives dominated the episodes “Recognizing the Son and Dispelling Doubt” 認子釋疑, “The Aunt Begged to be Ordained” 姨母求度, and “Hārītī Searching for Her Son” 鬼母尋子. The portrayal reflects an obsession with female chastity in late imperial China. The educational message for lay women readers is to not exert independence in front of males. An additional Buddhist message for mothers is that if their sons were to renounce the world and become monks, they would generate much merit, and therefore should be supported.

“Recognizing the Son and Dispelling Doubt” illustrates the Buddha’s wife Yashodhara in a submissive posture at the moment when her chastity was questioned publicly. The text states: “Yashodhara brought Rahula to prostrate to the Buddha’s feet. She paid respect to and greeted the Buddha, saying, ‘I have not served you for a long time, and had not been bringing you offerings.’ At that time, the relatives of the Shakya Clan all had suspicions. The Prince has left the country for twelve years, how could Yashodhara get pregnant and give birth to Rahula?”⁶³ The image focuses on the moment of unease and tension when Yashodhara presented herself publicly. The visual illustration escalates the tension by adding many male onlookers. In the Ming illustrations, there is an official and a monk who stand next to the Buddha and King Śuddhodana (Figure 10, Figure 11). In the Yongshan compilation, the male gaze upon Yashodhara is multiplied by adding twelve monks and six male court attendants (Figure 12). In the Ming woodcuts, Yashodhara puts her palm together, standing upright, but outside the hall where the Buddha and King Śuddhodana are sitting (Figure 10, Figure 11). She stands

⁶³ 耶輸陀羅携羅睺羅來稽首佛足。瞻對問訊而白佛言。久違侍奉，曠廢供養。時諸釋種眷屬皆有疑心。太子去國十有二年。何從懷孕生羅睺羅。 *Shijia rulai yinghua lu* 釋迦如來應化錄, X 75, n.1511, 76a12-b3.

on a lower plane than the Buddha. This lower position is iconographically significant, alluding to a place that is vulnerable to judgement. In the Yongshan compilation, Yashodhara kneels down with Rahula, also putting her palms together respectfully (Figure 12). This is a visual extrapolation and materialization of the “suspicion” about Yashodhara’s chastity. Her kneeling down in front of the public conveys a message that if a woman is unroyal to her husband, she would be at fault and deserves to be shamed publicly.

What is absent from the text and the image also reflects the artists’ attitude towards women. When examining feminine religious practices and Buddhist visual culture, Li Yuhang suggests “reading against the grain and being attentive to the silences”.⁶⁴ In the text, after the Buddha had attested to the chastity of his wife, the text mentioned nothing about how those court officials and relatives of the Shakya clan — who earlier raised suspicion against Yashodhara — treated her after they were proven wrong. They are also silent as to how Yashodhara felt after being subject to the trauma of public scrutiny and interrogation about her chastity. Instead, the text turned to talk about King Sudhodhana and all his officials celebrating the confirmation of Rahula as the legitimate son of the Buddha.⁶⁵ This reveals a disregard of the individuality and dignity of Yashodhara as a woman, both in the textual and visual renderings. Yashodhara is depicted in a docile and submissive manner at the moment when the authenticity of the male lineage needs to be verified, but totally removed from the illustration once that authenticity is confirmed.

Another woman who is depicted as kneeling down to the Buddha was Mahāpajāpatī in the episode “The Aunt Begged to be Ordained”, embedding a Buddhist message for mothers that if their sons were to renounce the world and become monks, this act will generate much merit. In the Ming illustrations, the kneeling Mahāpajāpatī holds her palms together, begging the Buddha for her to be admitted into the monastic community (Figure 13, Figure 14). When rejected by the Buddha, she raises her left hand to cover her face and weeps. The mother is depicted on a lower plane than her stepson.

⁶⁴ Li, *Becoming Guanyin*, 1.

⁶⁵ 王及羣臣咸皆歡喜歎言：善哉，羅睺羅真是佛子。 *Shijia rulai yinghua lu* 釋迦如來應化錄, X 75, n.1511, 76a12-b3.

While the Buddha sits on an elevated throne inside a hall, Mahāpajāpatī kneels down outside the hall below the staircases. In the Qing illustration, Mahāpajāpatī does not even get to see the Buddha. She stands outside the enclosed hall, only talking to the Buddha's disciple, Ananda, who is younger and therefore junior to her in a secular sense (Figure 15). However, in the Buddhist world, Ananda stands two steps above Mahāpajāpatī, while the latter puts her palms together to show respect. This alludes to a hierarchy in the Buddhist monastic order in which the most senior of female renunciants is inferior even to the youngest male novice, and must defer to him.⁶⁶

The illustrated woodcuts of *The Shakya Clan* deviate visually from other late imperial secular paintings and illustrated woodcuts that depict a son kneeling down to his mother to show filial piety. In a Ming Dynasty illustrated painting of *The Classic of Filial Piety* (Figure 16), the grown-up son kneels down in front of his parents.⁶⁷ However, the text of *The Shakya Clan* offers an explanation of why a subversion of the mother-son relationship is justifiable: “The Buddha said, (Mahāpajāpatī) was kind to me. My mother passed away seven days after I was born. (Mahāpajāpatī) nurtured and raised me up since then. Now that I have become the Buddha in this world, I have also given much merit to my aunt...”⁶⁸ The message for lay women readers is that if their sons were to renounce the world like the Buddha, that act will generate merit that surpasses the merit of their parents raising them. Therefore, the Buddhist expectation of mothers is for them to support such a decision to leave their parents and become monks.

Compared to the composed patriarchs, women are depicted as emotional, such as in “Hārītī Searching for Her Son”. Hārītī is a demon who devours other people's children. To convert her, the Buddha hides her youngest son under his alms bowl. The text says “Hārītī flew around the world for seven days to search (for her son) but could not find (him). She was worried and upset.”⁶⁹ The illustrations exaggerate the “sorrow” mentioned in the text, extrapolating an internal emotion to an

⁶⁶ Gummer, “Women,” 900.

⁶⁷ Wicks, *Children in Chinese Art*, 163-164.

⁶⁸ 佛言。於我有恩。我生七日而母終亡。自養育我至于長大。今我於天下為佛。亦多有恩德於姨母。
Shijia rulai yinghua lu 釋迦如來應化錄, X 75, n.1511, 79b19-c10.

⁶⁹ 鬼子母飛行天下七日之中推求不得。愁憂懊惱。*Shijia rulai yinghua lu* 釋迦如來應化錄, X 75, n.1511, 88c11-89a2.

outward gesture of weeping and needing physical support, likely referencing paintings on the same theme. In the Ming woodcuts, Hārītī stands alone, raising her left hand to cover her face, indicating that she was weeping (Figure 17, Figure 18). Four or eight demons, likely Hārītī's sons, work together to pull up the Buddha's alms bowl that traps Hārītī's youngest son. In the Yongshan compilation, the most dramatic moment of demons lifting the bowl occupies a large part of the folio, while Hārītī — the leader of the group — stands at a corner (Figure 19). Hārītī raises her left hand slightly as a gesture of anxiety, and four ladies support her. Her lips curve down as she watches the alms bowl anxiously. Hārītī seems so overwhelmed that she needs support to stand up. The theme of “Raising the Alms Bowl” *Jiebo tu* 揭鉢圖 was a popular topic that had been painted by artists from the Song to Qing dynasties.⁷⁰ These illustrations are rich in details, but art historians have already discussed extensively the assembly of various deities and disciples around the Buddha, and the parade of demons and their dramatic forms.⁷¹ Less discussed was the motherly figure of Hārītī.

One irony is that while Hārītī is the mother and leader of her numerous sons, she is depicted as standing passively at the side, not doing much to rescue her son or direct the other demons. Her gesture of weeping and her needing physical support are perhaps feminine attributes assigned by the illustrators, ignoring the textual connotation that Hārītī also possesses miraculous prowess, being able to fly around for seven days. The way of portraying Hārītī in the Yongshan compilation indicates a transfer of a visual vocabulary from paintings on the same theme, rather than a faithful illustration of the text. An example of a Qing Dynasty handscroll of *Raising the Alms Bowl* at the Freer Gallery depicted a distressed Hārītī being supported by seventeen ladies as she collapses to the floor (Figure 20). By portraying the demon mother in the form of an emotional lady in a passive manner, the illustrators erased her miraculous prowess, using her to accentuate the Buddha's composed charisma. This communicates a subtle

⁷⁰ Wang Zhongxu, “Yuandai Jiebotu de Liangzhong Leixing Yu Zhenwei Kaobian —— Jiyu Fohua Zhuanxing Shiye Xia de Kaocha 元代《揭鉢圖》的兩種類型與真偽考辨——基於佛畫轉型視野下的考察。”

⁷¹ See: Murray, “Representations of Hārītī, the Mother of Demons, and the Theme of ‘Raising the Alms-Bowl’ in Chinese Painting.”; Wang Zhongxu, “Yuandai Jiebotu de Liangzhong Leixing Yu Zhenwei Kaobian —— Jiyu Fohua Zhuanxing Shiye Xia de Kaocha 元代《揭鉢圖》的兩種類型與真偽考辨——基於佛畫轉型視野下的考察。”

message for lay women readers about feminine ideal, educating them not to exert independence in front of males.

The colophon of the book indicated that there were many lay women who donated to the publication of the book, which resulted in the compilers taking women as their potential readers and embedding educational messages for women.⁷² The inscriptions on the first edition of the book (1425) indicate that there were at least eight female donors among the sixteen donors recognizable from the incomplete pages, including “female lay devotee née Gu Jingshan (pure and good)”, “female lay devotee née Wu Shanlian (good lotus)”, “female lay devotee née Feng Miaolian (marvelous lotus)”.⁷³ In the later compilation produced in 1436, the colophons also indicate at least 25 female lay donors, such as a female lay devotee née Wang Miaoshan (marvelous and good) who wished for longevity and good health through her donation.⁷⁴ Dorothy Ko suggests that there was a rising female literacy rate in late imperial China.⁷⁵ Cahill speculates that gentry wives, literate courtesans and concubines could own paintings in their domestic space.⁷⁶ Given a potential female reading public, the compilers of *The Shakyā Clan* used the book as an avenue to embed educational messages for women.

Inner Chambers, Feminine Space and Theatricality

The illustrations of *The Shakyā Clan* confine women to their inner chambers, framed by various architectural elements to create a theatrical and feminine space, educating lay women readers of their expected behavior to stay within the domestic realm. Wang Cheng-hua discusses the concept of “theatricality”, which refers to the dramatic effects in paintings enacted by human actions and the architectural settings that frame them.⁷⁷ Relevant to the idea of theatricality, Wu Hung also discusses the coming together of landscape, architecture, and human occupants in creating “feminine space” as a spatial identity.⁷⁸ This is similar to how props, background scenery and actresses form the space of a

⁷² Tsai, *The Life of the Buddha*, 133–38.

⁷³ 信女顧氏淨善, 信女吳氏善蓮, 信女馮氏妙蓮。Tsai, 37–38.

⁷⁴ 信女王氏妙善伏願壽命延長, 身軀康素。Tsai, 132–38.

⁷⁵ Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China*, 10.

⁷⁶ Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure*, 20–21.

⁷⁷ Wang, “One Painting, Two Emperors, and Their Cultural Agendas”, 86–87.

⁷⁸ Wu Hung, *The Double Screen*, 211.

stage.⁷⁹ Wu challenges the traditional art historical discourse that treated female-themed paintings as a distinct category of “portraits of beauty”.⁸⁰ This treatment prioritized individual woman, their drapery and body figure, but ignored the complex spatial composition, the male-female relationship, and text-image interaction.⁸¹ By defining “feminine space” as a place that is perceived, imagined and represented as a woman,⁸² Wu Hung suggests looking beyond women as individual portraits, and taking into account the male figures, landscape, and architectural environment and the ways they coexist and interact to form a composite visual expression.⁸³

Garden and Palace Architecture

In scenes featuring women in the life of the Buddha, the figures are depicted in palace and garden architectural settings that evoke a sense of imperial grandeur and theatricality, placing women in a domestic space that is still dominated by patriarchal power. In the episode “Nurtured by the Aunt”, the Ming illustrations are set in a pavilion in a garden (Figure 1, Figure 2). Curtains line the front of the pavilion, resembling curtains that cover a theatre stage. The symmetric compositional arrangement of the figures, their emotionless facial expression and respectful gestures exude an atmosphere that is formal and performed. Compared to other Ming paintings on the theme of court ladies living in an enclosed palace, such as the *Spring Morning in the Han Palace* (*Hangong chunxiao* 汉宫春晓) by Qiu Ying (Figure 21),⁸⁴ the formal and staged quality of the Buddhist woodcut becomes more prominent. In the Qiu Ying painting, the court ladies engage in various feminine activities including embroidery, preparing silk, and caring for children. They are arranged in unsymmetrical vignettes, absorbed in self-entertainment, not exchanging any eye contact with the viewers. In contrast, figures in the episode “Nurtured by the Aunt” are depicted in a style that is semi-frontal or directly facing the viewers. The

⁷⁹ Wu, 211.

⁸⁰ Wu Hung, *Zhongguo huihua zhong de nuxing kongjian* 中国绘画中的“女性空间” *Feminine Space in Chinese Painting*, 12.

⁸¹ Wu Hung, 12.

⁸² Wu, *The Double Screen*, 211.

⁸³ Wu Hung, *Zhongguo huihua zhong de nuxing kongjian* 中国绘画中的“女性空间” *Feminine Space in Chinese Painting*, 17.

⁸⁴ See: Wang, “One Painting, Two Emperors, and Their Cultural Agendas,” 93. Vinograd, “Brightness and Shadows: The Politics of Painting at the Ming Court,” 188. Thorp and Vinograd, *Chinese Art & Culture*, 315.

placement of figures in a garden parallel the proliferation of garden depictions in secular woodcuts in the late imperial period. Emperors, scholars, and merchants commissioned woodblock-printed illustrations to depict their estates and private gardens.⁸⁵ Prints were also used to record the imperial gardens, or to commemorate particular celebrations.⁸⁶ The stiff and formal atmosphere surrounds the women, placing them in an architecture of patriarchal power that limits, constrains and disciplines them.

The Qing illustration of the episode “Nurtured by the Aunt” (Figure 3) is set in a grand palace hall that resembles a palace in the Qing Dynasty Forbidden City (Figure 22), albeit on a more modest scale. The palace hall in the Buddhist woodcut is positioned on a raised marble dais, with hipped roof and two sets of roof eaves. Together with the roof animals *jishou* 脊兽, the painted beams, and the lattice windows,⁸⁷ these signal the transfer of an actual imperial architecture into a Buddhist woodcut. Berger has discussed the construction of Tibetan Buddhism-inspired devotional halls in the Forbidden City, where scriptures are recited to bring good fortune to the imperial family and the entire nation.⁸⁸ The depiction of Emperor Qianlong as Manjusri in paintings reflects the Emperor’s self-defined role to be a Buddhist cakravartin, or a wheel-turning religious king.⁸⁹ In *The Shakya Clan*, the reverse happens. We see an incorporation of secular, court architectures into Buddhist woodblock illustrations, suggesting the exchange between Buddhist and imperial architecture, and between paintings, woodcuts and three-dimensional buildings. Compared to earlier Buddhist woodcuts such as the *Imperial Commentary on the Buddhist Canon* (*Yuzhi mizang quan* 御製秘藏詮) that uses natural landscape as framing device (Figure 23),⁹⁰ *The Shakya Clan* employs garden and palace architectures which creates a heightened sense of imperial power and theatricality. The depiction of Prince Siddhartha in an imperial palace could mean that he stands as a surrogate of the worldly emperors.

The Buddhist illustrations of women in *The Shakya Clan* confined to the inner chamber and placed under architectures of patriarchal power deviate from scholars who have made observations

⁸⁵ Li and Wright, *Gardens, Art, and Commerce in Chinese Woodblock Prints*, 23.

⁸⁶ Li and Wright, 23.

⁸⁷ Steinhardt, *Chinese Architecture*, 220–45.

⁸⁸ Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 97–110.

⁸⁹ Berger, 4, 10.

⁹⁰ Loehr, *Chinese Landscape Woodcuts*.

about the agency of women in late imperial China. In *Teachers of the Inner Chambers*, Dorothy Ko unsettles the twentieth-century Chinese construction of women in traditional China as victims of an unchanging, oppressive, patriarchal system in which powerless women were rendered oppressed victims.⁹¹ Ko challenges the inner and outer boundaries traditionally separating men and women.⁹² She situates the lives of literary women in a series of circles connecting private inner chambers with the social realms of kinship, neighborhood and the public spheres, thereby suggesting that women occupied a world larger than the domestic domain.⁹³ Similarly, Li Yuhang has explored religious practices by women in performance space to show women's spiritual agency and mobility.⁹⁴ Buddhist courtesans who performed the Guanyin dance showed mobility through a range of social spaces, including public temples and private households, occupying "a liminal space between theatricality and ritual".⁹⁵ However, the Buddhist illustrations of women in *The Shakyas Clan* still confine them to the inner chambers of gardens and palaces, conforming to the expectation of women to be enclosed in domestic space, subjugated to architectures that project patriarchal dominance and power.

Painted Screen

The painted screen appears in both the Ming and Qing woodcut illustrations, creating a differential power dynamic between the male and female figures, signaling the centrality of the figure who sits right in front of it. In *Double Screen*, Wu Hung states that a screen is an architectonic form that divides space, an art medium which provides a surface for painting, and a pictorial representation that often occurred in Chinese paintings.⁹⁶ Recently, he also adds that a painted screen was a widely used furniture.⁹⁷ In the episode "Recognizing the Son and Dispelling Doubt" 认子释疑, both the Ming Chenghua compilation (Figure 11) and the Qing compilation (Figure 12) feature a painted screen behind the Buddha. This parallels the rendering of the emperors' portraits in the Ming and Qing Dynasties,

⁹¹ Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China*, 2–3.

⁹² Ko, 12–13.

⁹³ Ko, 1, 115.

⁹⁴ Li, *Becoming Guanyin*, 25–58.

⁹⁵ Li, 43.

⁹⁶ Wu, *The Double Screen*, 9.

⁹⁷ Wu Hung, *Wu hui tong yuan* 物绘同源, 1.

having a large painted screen as the background.⁹⁸ Such depictions can be seen in both an amusement scene like *Amusement in the Xuande Emperor's Palace* (Figure 24), as well as formal imperial portraits like the *Portrait of the Tianqi Emperor in Court Costume* (Figure 25). The faces of the emperors are flat, frontal, and without a sense of personality, projecting imperial authority and power.⁹⁹ *Portrait of the Tianqi Emperor* features a screen depicting two dragons.¹⁰⁰

Like imperial portraits, in *The Shakyas Clan* illustrations, the spatial arrangement of the male and female figures in front of the painted screen sets up a power hierarchy – the Buddha who has his back against the painted screen becomes the unambiguous main figure, and Yashodhara who faces the screen is rendered subordinate to the Buddha. Lin Wei-Cheng has discussed the use of a painted screen for dividing a space to create depth, or to differentiate public and private space.¹⁰¹ Although both the Buddha and Yashodhara are on the public-facing side of the screen, the Buddha has his back against the screen, and is thus occupying a more powerful position than Yashodhara. Such a depiction sends an educational message for lay women readers to be humble and respectful in front of their husbands.

Children in the Life of the Buddha

The book series appropriates images of children which have been seen in secular decorative arts, paintings, and popular prints to advocate for acts of religious merit making, best starting from a young age. The inclusion of the popular “children at play” and “one hundred boys” themes conjure the image of the Buddha as a composed prince at a young age. I argue that these were intended by the compilers as “educational manuals” for lay women readers to raise their children according to Buddhist standards. Two episodes of *The Shakyas Clan* and *The Tathagata Shakyamuni*, “Young Children Donating Mud” 小兒施土 and “Playing in The Garden” 園林嬉戲” feature worldly children who encounter the Buddha.

⁹⁸ Wu Hung, 2–3.

⁹⁹ Thorp and Vinograd, *Chinese Art & Culture*, 290.

¹⁰⁰ He et al., *Power and Glory*, 262.

¹⁰¹ Lin Wei-Cheng, “Pingfeng yu jianzhu 屏風與建築.”

Children in Buddhist art and Buddhist text

In Buddhist art, images of children that have been best known to art historians are the famous *supernatural* children, such as Sudhana in the *Gandavyuha* of the *Avatamsaka Sutra*. Such depictions allude to the idea that spiritual cultivation starting from a young age was to be seen as ideal. According to the *Avatamsaka Sutra*, “In his past lives, Sudhana had made offerings to many past Buddhas, planted virtuous roots, and enjoyed calmness and purity. He learned from virtuous teachers, and had purified his body, speech and mind. He practiced the Bodhisattva path and pursued all wisdom. He practiced all the dharma.”¹⁰² In *Gandavyuha*, the young Sudhana travelled to different lands in search of the Ultimate Truth. At the instruction of Manjusri, he visited fifty-three sages and finally reached the realm of Samantabhadra, who made him obtain the final samadhis.¹⁰³ Jan Fontein has discussed various depictions of the pilgrimage of Sudhana in Chinese art in a miraculous environment surrounded by stylized clouds.¹⁰⁴ Later Ming artists have also rendered the pilgrimage of Sudhana in the *Thirty-two Manifestations of Guanyin*, again in an other-worldly setting of Avalokiteśvara’s island in Potalaka.¹⁰⁵

Besides visual sources encouraging spiritual cultivation from a young age, Buddhist textual sources have also suggested that the devotional acts of young children can generate much merit. In the Introduction Chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, the Buddha said a verse:

Even in a children’s game, they assemble sands into a Buddhist stupa,
in this way, these people have all attained the Buddha’s way.
Even in a children’s game, they use grass, the wooden stick of a brush,
or they use their fingernails to draw the Buddha’s image,
in this way, they gradually accumulate merits,

¹⁰² 此童子者，已曾供養過去諸佛，深種善根，常樂清淨；近善知識，身、口、意淨；修菩薩道，求一切智；修諸佛法。Da Fangguang Fo Huayan jing 大方廣佛華嚴經. T 09, no. 278, p. 688a28-b2.

¹⁰³ Fontein, *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana*, 1, 14.

¹⁰⁴ Fontein, 48.

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion of the Ming renditions of the *Thirty-two Manifestations of Guanyin* 觀音三十二相, see: Pan, *Painting Faith. Li Gonglin and Northern Song Buddhist Culture*, 150, 163–68.

they possess great compassion, they have all attained the Buddha's way.¹⁰⁶

Several messages can be read from this verse: 1) acts such as erecting a Buddhist stupa and drawing the images of the Buddha are considered meritorious; 2) devotional acts can be performed with very modest materials, such as sand, grass, wooden stick, or even just one's fingers; 3) even devotional acts performed without much seriousness, such as in a game played by children, are able to generate sufficient merits that allows one to attain the Buddha's way through gradual accumulation. In *The Shakya Clan* and *The Tathagata Shakyamuni*, this notion of playfulness among children and the religious acts of erecting stupa and making offering are combined to create artistic illustrations.

Worldly Children and Devotional Acts

In the episode, "Young Children Donating Mud" 小兒施土, the images of several anonymous children serve to encourage acts of offering and devotion, best starting from childhood. Images of children performing devotional acts were repackaged and transferred between secular paintings and Buddhist woodblock prints. These perhaps were intended as "educational manuals" for women on how to best raise Buddhist children: encouraging their children to perform religious offering beginning from childhood.

The text folio of the episode "Young Children Donating Mud" indicates that the story happens at two locations, one at the middle of the road where the Buddha receives the mud offering, and another back at the vihara where Ananda goes back to smear the offered mud on the ground.

"The World Honored One and Ananda went on alms round in the city. They saw a group of children playing in the middle of the road. The children gathered mud to make a house and a granary. They used mud as grains. One young boy saw the Buddha from afar, and he produced the mind of giving. He took what they considered mud from the 'granary' to donate to the Buddha. The Buddha then bent his head to take the mud. The Buddha said to Ananda, 'Take this mud and smear it on the floor of my house.' Ananda took the mud back to the vihara and smeared it on the floor. The Buddha told Ananda, 'The child earlier delightfully

¹⁰⁶ 乃至童子戲，聚沙為佛塔，如是諸人等，皆已成佛道……乃至童子戲，若草木及筆，或以指爪甲，而畫作佛像，如是諸人等，漸漸積功德，具足大悲心，皆已成佛道。Miaofa lianhua jing 妙法蓮華經, T9, no. 262, 8c24-9a6.

donated mud that was enough for smearing on the ground. Because of this merit, after I enter nirvana, he shall be a King, named Asoka. The other children shall be officials. Together they will rule over all the lands in Jambudvīpa. They will promote the three jewels and make offerings widely. They will spread my sarira around Jambudvīpa, and erect eighty-four thousand stupas for me.’...’’¹⁰⁷

At the scene where the children played, the text only mentions that the children made two kinds of architectural structures: houses and granary.

A formal analysis of the woodcut illustrations shows that the artists strategically emphasized the scene of the children playing, while also introducing a stupa - an important Buddhist architectural element not mentioned in the text (Figure 26 - Figure 28). The scene of Ananda going back to the Vihara is strategically omitted. Compositionally, the illustrations of this episode are arranged into three clusters: the main scene shows the climactic moment of the story, where a child offers mud to the Buddha. The peripheral scenes include some children using mud to build a house in the background, and other children around a small stupa in the foreground. In the Ming illustration, a child is adding more mud to the stupa, and another brings an offering (Figure 26-Figure 27). The stupa appears refined and well-built, not something constructed by simple mud. The illustrations of the Ming versions feature Tibetan-style stupas with a tall conical upper section topped by a sun and a moon, a rounded midsection, and a wide square base. The *Yongshan* compilation shows a six-layer, tower-like structure built by bricks, which is closer to the idea of children playing with mud (Figure 28). A child is carefully arranging the bricks while another kneels and prostrates to the tower. The inclusion of a stupa absent from the text provokes the question of why the artist made this visual choice.

The answer can be found in the image of worldly, anonymous children performing devotional acts as seen in a painting *Children Worshipping the Buddha* 童子禮佛圖 by the late Ming painter Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1598 – 1652) (Figure 29). It depicts four young boys: one on his knees brushes a

¹⁰⁷ 世尊與阿難入城乞食。見羣小兒於道中戲。共聚地土造作屋舍及作倉庫。以土為米。有一小兒遙見佛來生布施心。即取倉中名為米者取以施佛。佛即低頭受土。與阿難言。持土塗我房地。阿難持還精舍即塗房地。佛告阿難。向者小兒歡喜施土足塗房地。緣斯功德。我般涅槃百歲之後。當作國王。字阿輸迦。其次小兒當作大臣。共領閻浮提一切國土。興隆三寶廣設供養。分布舍利遍閻浮提。當為我設八萬四千塔…… *Shijia rulai yinghua lu* 釋迦如來應化錄, X75, n.1511, 89a4-18.

multi-story pagoda; another kneeling boy holds his palms together; a standing boy bows deeply, presenting a flower vase to the Buddha; and the youngest one bumps his head to the ground.¹⁰⁸ This boy has his pants dropped off halfway, showing his naked buttocks. While naked buttocks seem somewhat out of place in a Buddhist illustration, we see the same humorous depiction of half-naked child reappearing in *The Shakya Clan*. Three boys around the stupa in the Chenghua Emperor compilation all have their pants dropped off (Figure 27). In a different episode, “Playing in The Garden” 園林嬉戲 in the *Yongshan* compilation, a group of young children is worshipping a stupa at the northwestern corner of the garden (Figure 30). They appear in a similar visual composition to that in the painting by Chen Hongshou – the three children cluster to the right of the stupa, while the stupa is placed near a garden rock. The painting and the woodcut also share similar religious iconography - one of the children kneels near the stupa to clean it, one puts his palms together, and another child prostrates to the stupa.

Compared to the earlier depiction of Buddhist supernatural children, such as Sudhana arriving with clouds and sporting a floating ribbon,¹⁰⁹ the children depicted in *The Shakya Clan* are more similar to those in the painting by Chen Hongshou, showing worldly children in a somewhat childish and humorous manner. This is consistent with the spirit of playfulness and making simple devotional acts as mentioned in the *Lotus Sutra*. While the children in *The Shakya Clan* are offering fake rice made of mud to the Buddha, and not even dressed properly, nonetheless, the religious meaning behind giving as one of the six transcendent perfections is so profound, allowing them to be king and officials in their future life. The message of gaining religious merit from worshipping or making offering while playing games is aimed at lay women readers, educating them on the meritorious acts that they should teach their children to perform.

¹⁰⁸ He et al., *Power and Glory*, 255. Also see: White, *Repentant monk: Illusion and Disillusion in the Art of Chen Hongshou*, 49.

¹⁰⁹ Fontein, *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana*, 48.

Children at Play Surrounding the Buddha

The popular “children at play” and “one hundred boys” themes have been adopted to accentuate the image of the Buddha as a composed young prince, serving as an example of how an ideal Buddhist child should behave, encouraging lay women readers to raise their children following the Buddhist way. The theme of many children playing, which developed from the wish for male progeny,¹¹⁰ were transferred between secular prints, decorative arts and Buddhist illustrated woodblocks.

The subject of “children at play” became an established category of figure painting since the Song Dynasty (960-1279)¹¹¹. The “hundred boys” theme reflected a wish for numerous male offspring.¹¹² By the Ming period, families hoped for noble sons who would make the family proud by excelling in the civil service examinations.¹¹³ Hence, imagery of children during this period specifically featured children mimicking grown up scholars passing the civil service exam.¹¹⁴ Two examples from the late imperial period feature scenes related to children mimicking adult behavior. In an ink cake designed by the Ming Dynasty ink designer Fang Yulu 方于魯 (ca. 1541-1608), a group of boys at the top left corner on the recto side of the ink cake are acting out the return of a successful civil service examination candidate (Figure 31).¹¹⁵ At the verso side, a group of children are playing flutes and percussion instruments to celebrate the success of the candidate (Figure 32). This ink cake itself already embodies a media transfer from a printed ink manual to a molded material object. The *Ink Manual of the Fang Family* (*Fangshi mopu* 方氏墨譜) produced by Fang Yulu shows a design named “Ink with Nine Children” (“*jiuzi mo* 九子墨”) on a similar theme (Figure 33). Another example is a late Qing Dynasty secular, colored woodblock print of *One Hundred Children* (Figure 34). This printed woodcut depicts a group of children being attended by female adults. They mimic a war scene, riding on toy

¹¹⁰ Bartholomew, “One Hundred Children: From Boys at Play to Icons of Good Fortune,” 83.

¹¹¹ Bartholomew, 57.

¹¹² Wicks, *Children in Chinese Art*, 10, 16.

¹¹³ Wicks, 16.

¹¹⁴ Wicks, 19–20.

¹¹⁵ Li and Wright, *Gardens, Art, and Commerce in Chinese Woodblock Prints*, 15–16.

horses, holding a banner with the phrase “three armies sharing the same fate” (*sanjun tongming* 三軍同命).

Curiously, the themes of “one hundred boys” and “children at play” are also featured in Prince Yongshan’s compilation of *The Tathagata Shakyamuni*. By comparing various scenes in the episode “Playing in the Garden” with the ink cake by Fang Yulu (Figure 31, Figure 32), the images of passing the civil service exam are transferred between decorative art and Buddhist illustrated woodblocks. Specifically, they both feature the parade of the top candidate who passes the civil service exam, and an entourage of musicians playing wind instrument and percussion to celebrate this occasion (Figure 35). By comparing the episode with the secular *One Hundred Children* print (Figure 34), Yongshan’s compilation similarly features a group of three children playing out a warring scene (Figure 36). A boy wears the head gear of a soldier and rides on a small toy horse, while another guides the toy horse. A third boy carries a banner and waves after the horse. This is similar to the secular print, except for the “army” going in different directions, and the difference in the soldier’s headgear.

The visual illustration of children at play was a visual extrapolation from the simpler textual description that merely inventoried many objects for pleasure. The text of the episode states that, “At that time, the young boys and girls of the Sakya clans each held deer chariots and sheep chariots. They also held all kinds of boats; all kinds of drums, flutes, and zithers; ox, sheep, lions, elephants, all kinds of birds, and all kinds of ceremonial objects in front of the Prince to let him play... The Prince developed wisdom. Unlike worldly children, his did not have runny nose or feces. He also did not cry, whine, or frown. He was never hungry or thirsty.”¹¹⁶

While the Ming illustrations follow the text closely by depicting individual animals (Figure 37, Figure 38), the Yongshan compilation visually enrich the text by arranging thirty-nine children engaged in worldly leisure around the Buddha, setting up a contrast and portraying the latter as a composed young prince (Figure 39). The “drums, flutes, and zithers” is visualized as an entourage of musicians

¹¹⁶ 爾時釋種親族童子童女各持鹿車羊車。復持種種船舫。種種鼓樂簫笛琴瑟。牛羊獅象諸雜鳥形一切器仗列太子前。恣令嬉戲。……太子增長智慧。不似世之嬰孩流涕不淨。無有糞穢。亦不呱呱呻吟嘔縮。不飢不渴。 *Shijia rulai yinghua lu* 釋迦如來應化錄, X75, n.1511, 62b3-6.

celebrating the passing of the civil service exam. The text does not mention any warring scene, but the artist nonetheless added a scene of children engaging in violence, similar to the colored prints. The artists that Prince Yongshan commissioned were perhaps less concerned with male progeny or passing the civil service exam when incorporating “children at play” into Buddhist illustrations. Instead, they wanted to accentuate the maturity and calmness of the young Prince Siddhartha. This is consistent with Julia Murray’s argument that the illustrated hagiographies of gods and deities typically included an unchildish childhood attainment.¹¹⁷ The message is for lay women readers to raise their children following the Buddha as a prime example of an ideal Buddhist child.

Conclusion

The book series of *The Shakya Clan* shows a transfer of popular visual themes of family auspicious pictures, garden and palace scenes, as well as “one hundred boys” and “children at play” between secular paintings and Buddhist woodblock illustrations. Women in the life of the Buddha are portrayed as caregivers of children, being submissive to the patriarchs, with their individuality and agency being erased from the visual depictions. They are also confined to the inner chambers of gardens and palace, or placed in front of architectural elements like the painted screen in order to create hierarchy. The depiction of children performing devotional acts, and a composed Prince Siddhartha surrounded by playful children could be seen as portrayal of ideal Buddhist children. Together, they educate lay women readers on how to be good wives and mothers.

Given the depiction of women as caregivers in the inner chambers, I argue that the compilers of *The Shakya Clan* considered lay women as one of their audiences, and therefore tailored the “educational” messages for women, in line with the social expectations and normative gender roles in late imperial China, further accentuated with the added layers of Buddhist expectations for women. Following the model of Mahāpajāpatī conforming to the order of King Śuddhodana, women should submit to the patriarchs of the family. “Recognizing the Son and Dispelling Doubt” warns women to stay chaste. “The Aunt Begs to be Ordained” emphasized that the act of renouncing the world and

¹¹⁷ Murray, “The Childhood of Gods and Sages,” 132.

becoming monks carries so much merit which surpasses that of the mother raising a child. The Buddhist expectation is for mothers to support their sons' decision to ordain. "Young Children Donating Mud" and "Playing in The Garden" advise mothers to raise children according to Buddhist standards, encouraging them to perform devotional acts and merit making starting from a young age.

Given the rich details of the book, many research directions emerged through this thesis that await further study. While Hangzhou, Nanjing and Beijing have been well-studied as centers of print culture,¹¹⁸ the role of Chaozhou as a prefecture in Southern China in print publication has not been well understood. Yet, the colophon of Baocheng's book indicated that many actors in the Chaozhou prefecture had played an important role in the propagation of this book. A deeper study of other primary sources such as gazetteers of Chaozhou may reveal its role in print production. Furthermore, the stupas portrayed in the book were in Tibetan style. European guns are also depicted in scenes featuring hunters. Further research can be done to understand the Chinese-Tibetan, and Sino-European artistic transmission in late imperial woodblock prints. In addition, *The Shakya Clan* could shed light on the way Manchurian rulers in the Qing Dynasty adopted Han Chinese culture, as seen in the depiction of Chinese style clothing in the Qing compilation.

¹¹⁸ See: Edgren, "Southern Song Printing at Hangzhou." Huang, "Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints In Hangzhou." Zhou Xinhui, "Mingdai Beijing Banhua Shulue 明代北京版画述略."

Figures



Figure 1 “Nurtured by the Aunt” 姨母養育. Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成. *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji* 釋氏源流應化事迹. 1425. Woodblock printed book. After 翁連溪 Weng Lianxi, 李洪波 Li Hongbo, and 周心慧 Zhou Xinhui, *Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji* 中國佛教版畫全集, vol. 24–25, 82 vols. (Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014).



Figure 2 “Nurtured by the Aunt” 姨母養育. Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成, and 朱見深 Zhu Jianshen. *Shishi Yuanliu Yinghua Shiji* 釋氏源流應化事迹. 1486. Woodblock printed book. After Weng Lianxi, 翁連溪, Li Hongbo, 李洪波, and Zhou Xinhui, 周心慧. *Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji* 中國佛教版畫全集. Vol. 13–16. 82 vols. Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014.

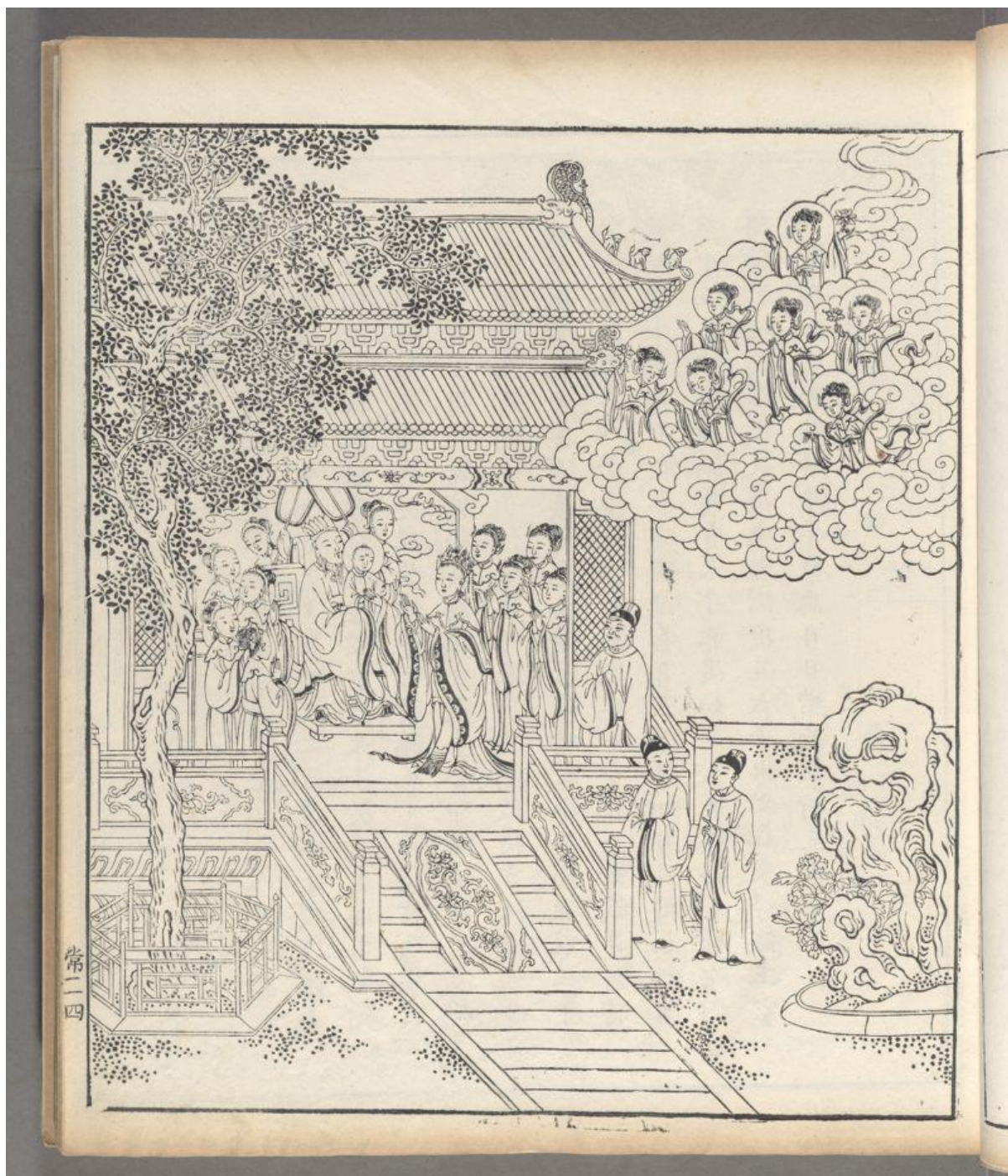


Figure 3 "Nurtured by the Aunt" 姨母養育. Yongshan, 永珊. *Shijia Rulai Yinghua Shiji* 釋迦如來應化事迹. 1869. Woodblock printed book. Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

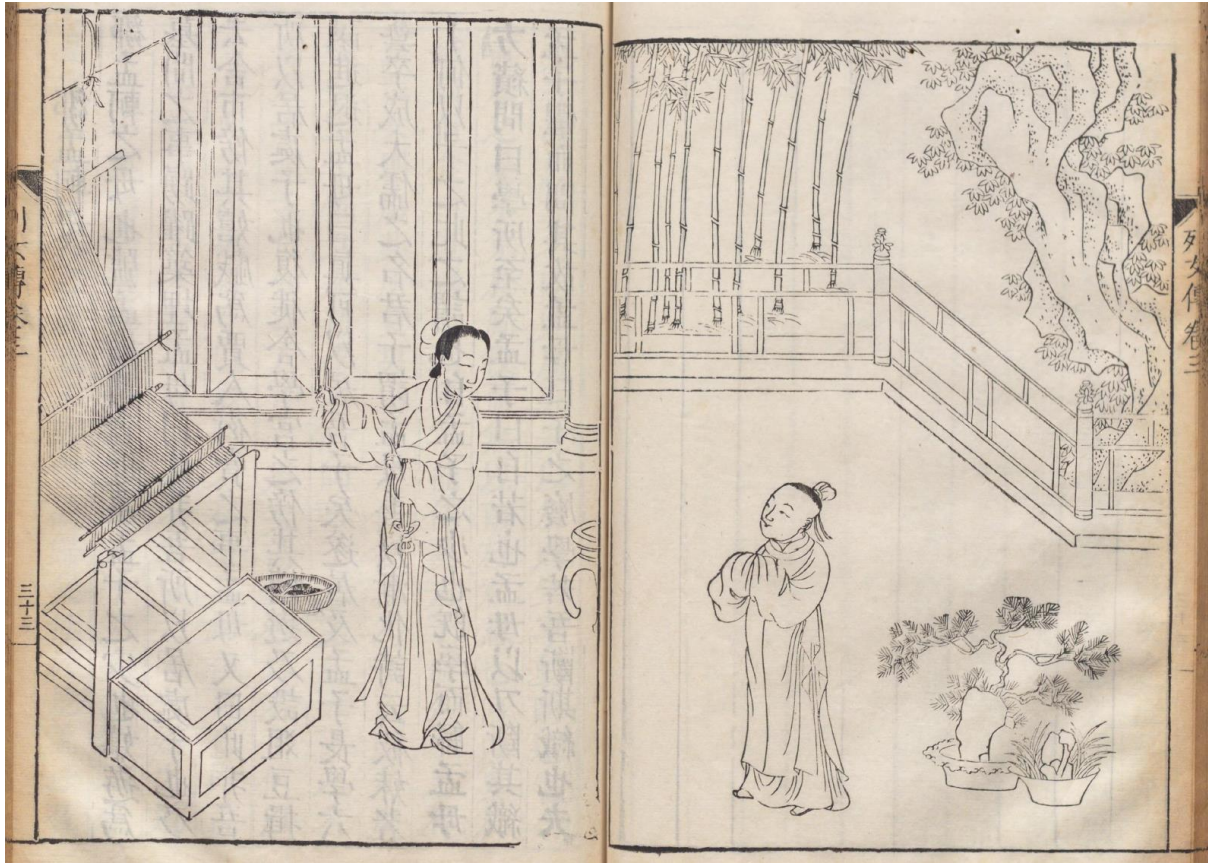


Figure 4 Illustration to the story of Mencius and his mother. Woodblock print. From *Huitu lie'nu zhuan* 绘图列女传 (*Illustrated Biographies of Exemplary Women*), Zhibuzuzhai edition, 1779. Qing reprint of a Ming edition. After Waltner, "Representations of Children in Three Stories from Biographies of Exemplary Women", 93.



Figure 5 Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1598–1652). *Xieyi xunlong tu* 斜倚熏籠圖 *Lady Leaning on a Perfumer*. Late Ming, ca. 1639. Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk; 129.6 x 47.3 cm. Shanghai Museum. After Wang, “The Late-Ming Culture of Sensibility: Women and Objects in Ch’en Hung-Shou’s Late Figure Painting (1645-1652) 女人、物品與感官慾望：陳洪綬晚期人物畫中江南文化的呈現”, 10.



Figure 6. Anonymous (late Ming or early Qing period), *A Family Celebrating New Year's*. Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing. After Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure*, 8.



Figure 7 Anonymous (late Ming or early Qing period), *A Family Celebrating New Year's*. Detail of Figure 6. Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing. After Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure*, 103.



Figure 8 Chen Mei (active 1700s-40s), Lang Shining (1688-1766), and Tang Dai (1673-after 1752). *Hongli xuejing xingle tu* 弘历雪景行乐图 *Qianlong and His Family Celebrating New Year's*. 1700s. Ink and colors on silk, 384 cm x 160.3 cm. Palace Museum. <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/257922.html>.



Figure 9 Chen Mei (active 1700s-40s), Lang Shining (1688-1766), and Tang Dai (1673-after 1752).
Qianlong xuejing xingle tu 乾隆雪景行乐图 *Qianlong and His Family Celebrating New Year's*.
 1738. Ink and colors on silk, 289.2 cm x 197 cm. Palace Museum.
<https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/257923.html>.



Figure 10 “Recognizing the Son and Dispelling Doubt” 認子釋疑. Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成. *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji* 釋氏源流應化事迹. 1425. Woodblock printed book. After 翁連溪 Weng Lianxi, 李洪波 Li Hongbo, and 周心慧 Zhou Xinhui, *Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji* 中國佛教版畫全集, vol. 24–25, 82 vols. (Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014).



Figure 11 “Recognizing the Son and Dispelling Doubt” 认子释疑. Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成, and 朱見深 Zhu Jianshen. *Shishi Yuanliu Yinghua Shiji* 釋氏源流应化事迹. 1486. Woodblock printed book. After Weng Lianxi, 翁連溪, Li Hongbo, and 周心慧 Zhou Xinhui, eds. *Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji* 中國佛教版畫全集. Vol. 13–16. 82 vols. Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014.

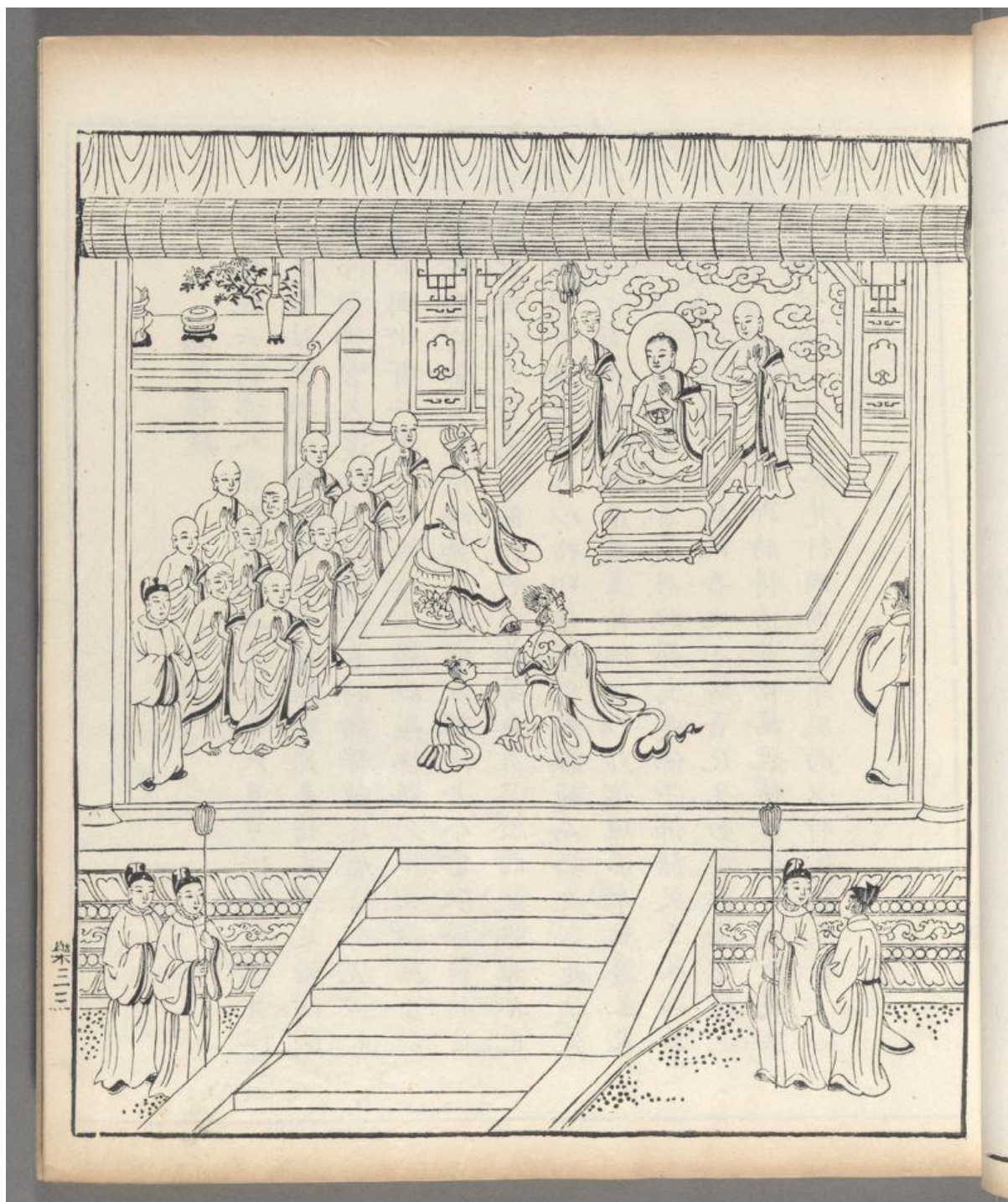


Figure 12 "Recognizing the Son and Dispelling Doubt" 认子释疑. Yongshan, 永珊. *Shijia Rulai Yinghua Shiji* 释迦如来应化事迹. 1869. Woodblock printed book. Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.



姨母求度

八十九

中本起經云佛入迦維羅衛國姨母大愛
道即至佛所白言我聞女人精進可得沙
門四道願得受佛法律出家為道佛言且
止以女人入我法律服法衣者當盡壽清
淨修行梵行姨母求哀至三佛不肯聽立
於門外歔歔悲啼阿難遂問伯母伯母答
言不得出家以自悲傷阿難言且自寬意
待我白佛佛言止止阿難復言伯母多有
善意佛初生時乃自育養至于長大佛言
於我有恩我生七日而母終亡自養育我
至於長大今我於天下為佛亦多有恩德
於姨母但由我故得歸依佛法僧受持禁
戒不殺盜婬妄飲酒佛言假使女人欲作
沙門有八教法不得踰越當以盡壽學而
行之審能持此八教法者聽為沙門阿難
便為伯母說佛教勸姨母唯諾佛告阿難
所以者何女人作沙門使我正法五百歲衰微

Figure 13 "The Aunt Begged to be Ferried" 姨母求度. Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成. Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji 釋氏源流應化事迹. 1425. Woodblock printed book. After 翁連溪 Weng Lianxi, 李洪波 Li Hongbo, and 周心慧 Zhou Xinhui, Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji 中國佛教版畫全集, vol. 24–25, 82 vols. (Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014).

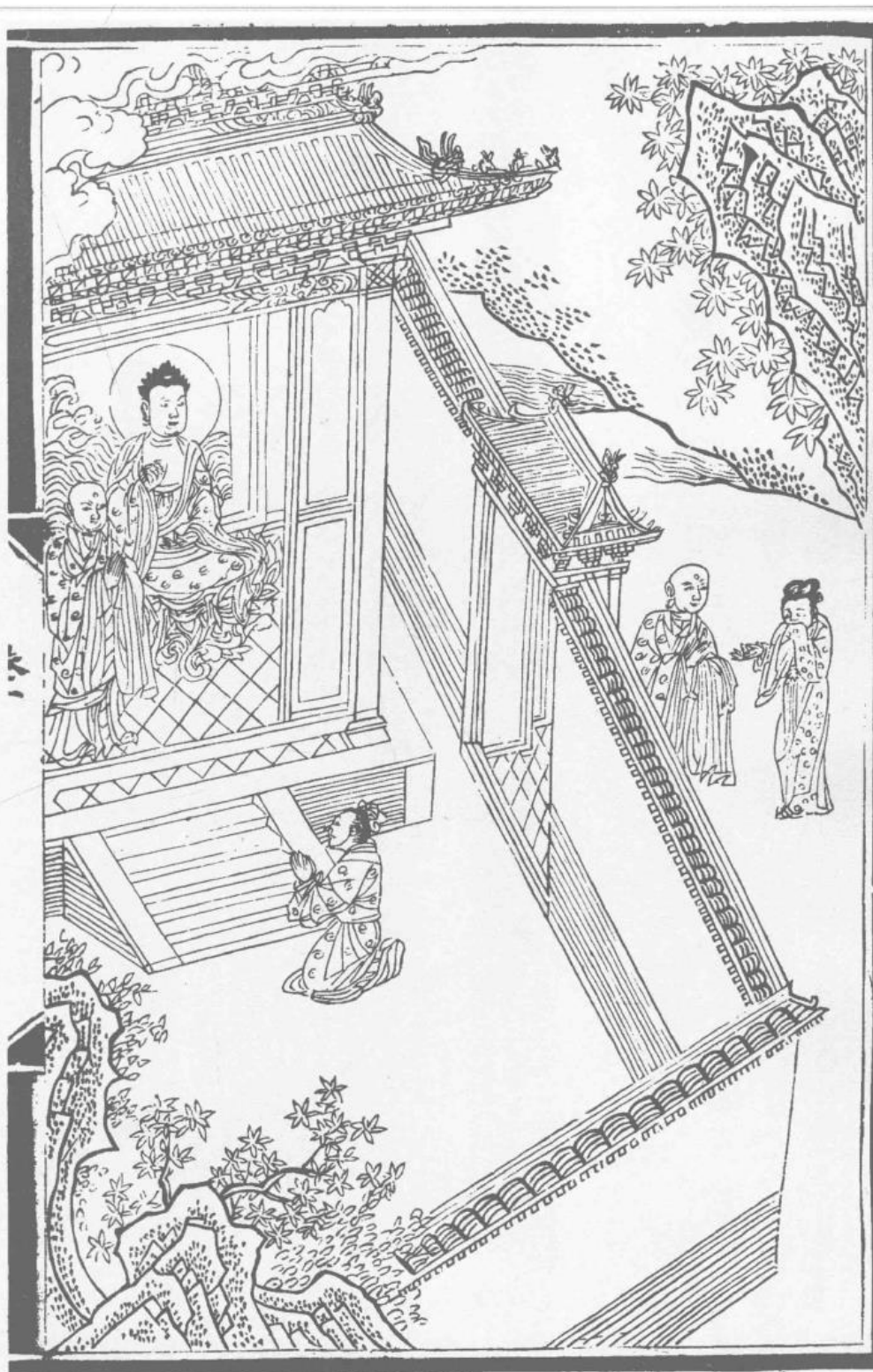


Figure 14 “The Aunt Begged to be Ferried” 姨母求度. Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成, and 朱見深 Zhu Jianshen. *Shishi Yuanliu Yinghua Shiji* 釋氏源流应化事迹. 1486. Woodblock printed book. After Weng Lianxi, 翁連溪, 李洪波 Li Hongbo, and 周心慧 Zhou Xinhui, eds. *Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji* 中國佛教版畫全集. Vol. 13–16. 82 vols. Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014.

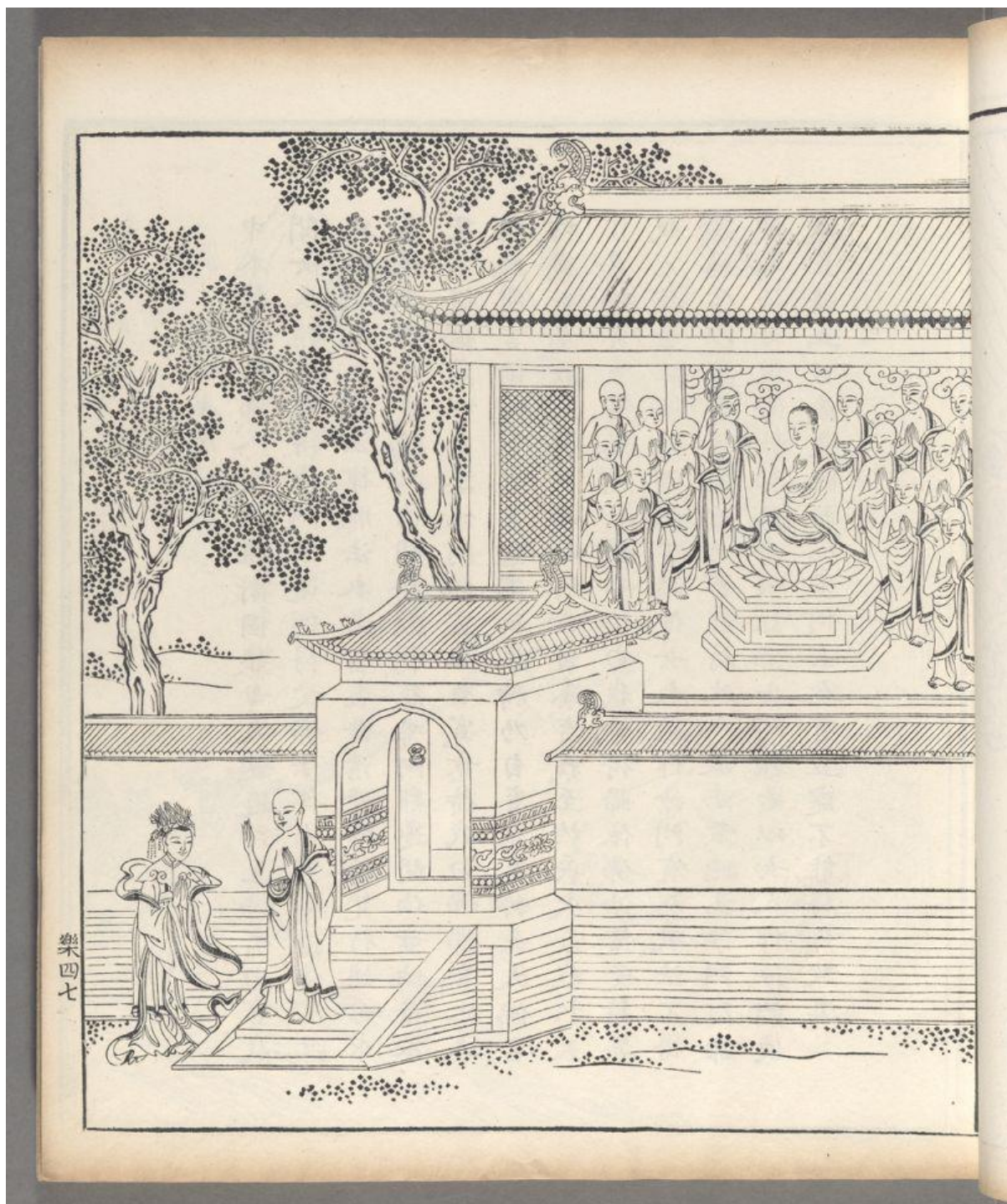


Figure 15 "The Aunt Begged to be Ferried" 姨母求度. Yongshan, 永珊. *Shijia Rulai Yinghua Shiji* 釋迦如來應化事迹. 1869. Woodblock printed book. Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

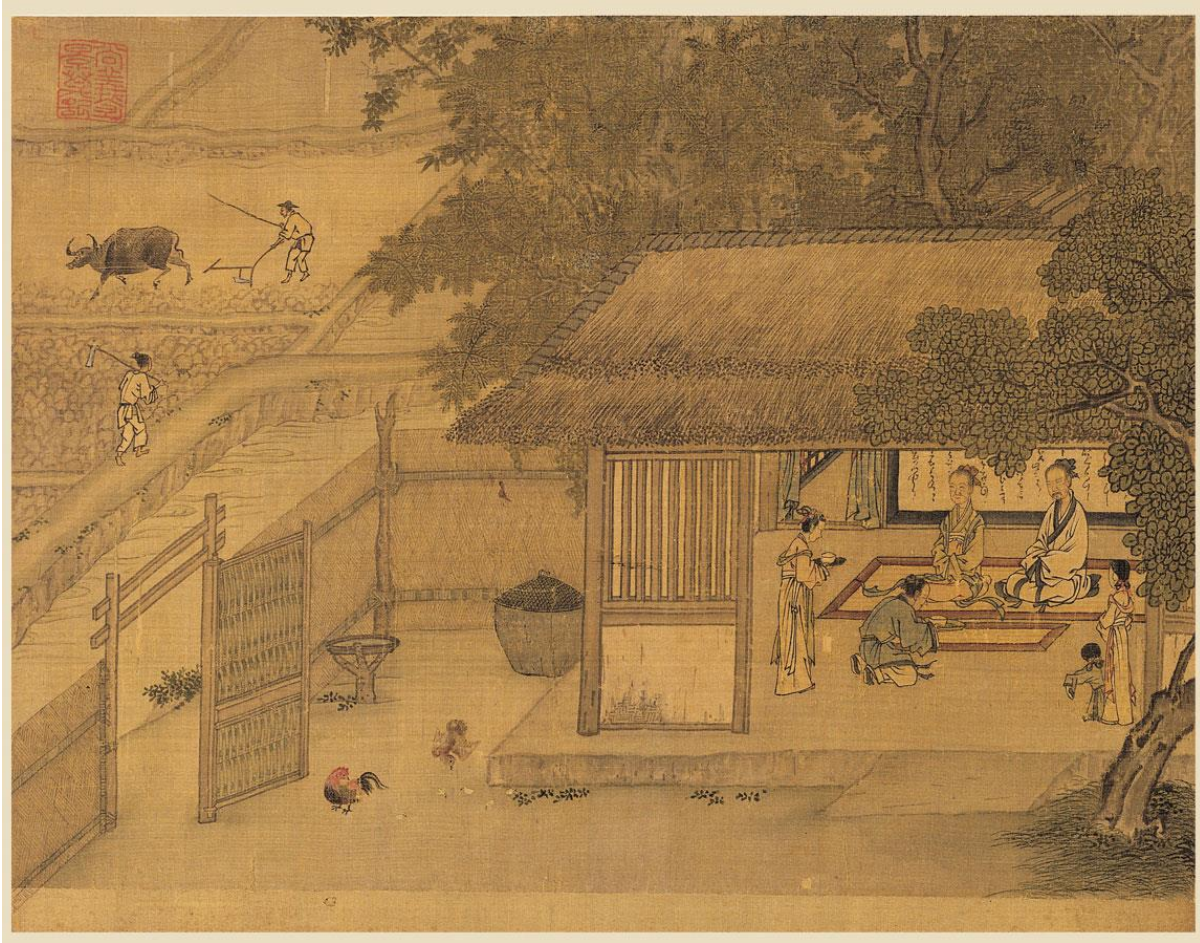


Figure 16 Illustration to Chapter 6 of *Xiao Jing* 孝經 *The Classic of Filial Piety*. Early Ming, fourteenth-century copy after Li Gonglin. Detail of an album; ink and color on paper; 20.5 x 702.1 cm. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. After Wicks, Ann Elizabeth Barrott. *Children in Chinese Art*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.



Figure 17 “Hārītī Searching for Her Son” 鬼母尋子. Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成. *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji* 釋氏源流應化事迹. 1425. Woodblock printed book. After 翁連溪 Weng Lianxi, 李洪波 Li Hongbo, and 周心慧 Zhou Xinhui, *Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji* 中國佛教版畫全集, vol. 24–25, 82 vols. (Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014).

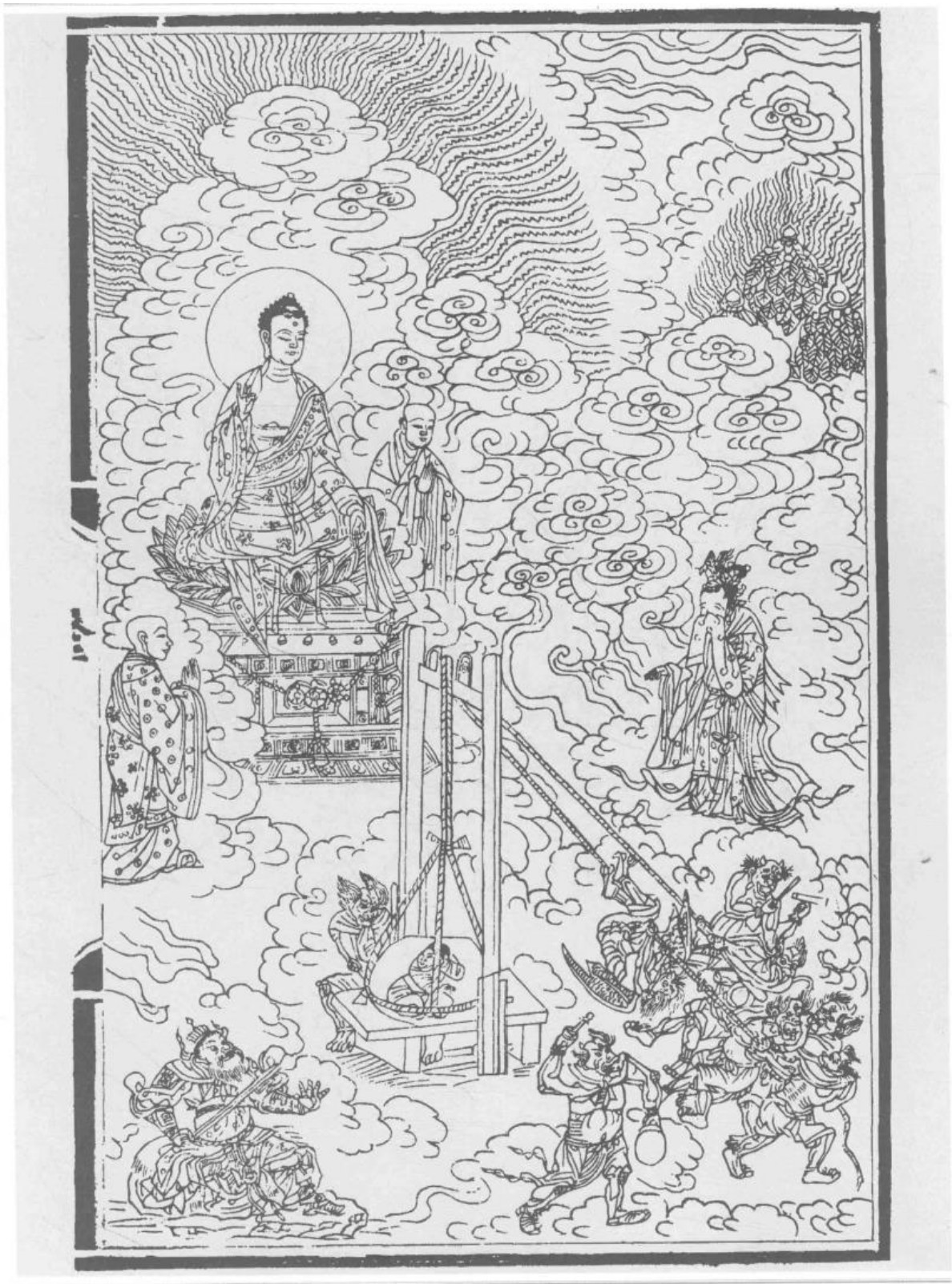


Figure 18. “Hārītī Searching for Her Son” 鬼母尋子. Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成, and 朱見深 Zhu Jianshen. *Shishi Yuanliu Yinghua Shiji* 釋氏源流应化事迹. 1486. Woodblock printed book. After Weng Lianxi, 翁連溪, Li Hongbo, and 周心慧 Zhou Xinhui, eds. *Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji* 中國佛教版畫全集. Vol. 13–16. 82 vols. Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014.

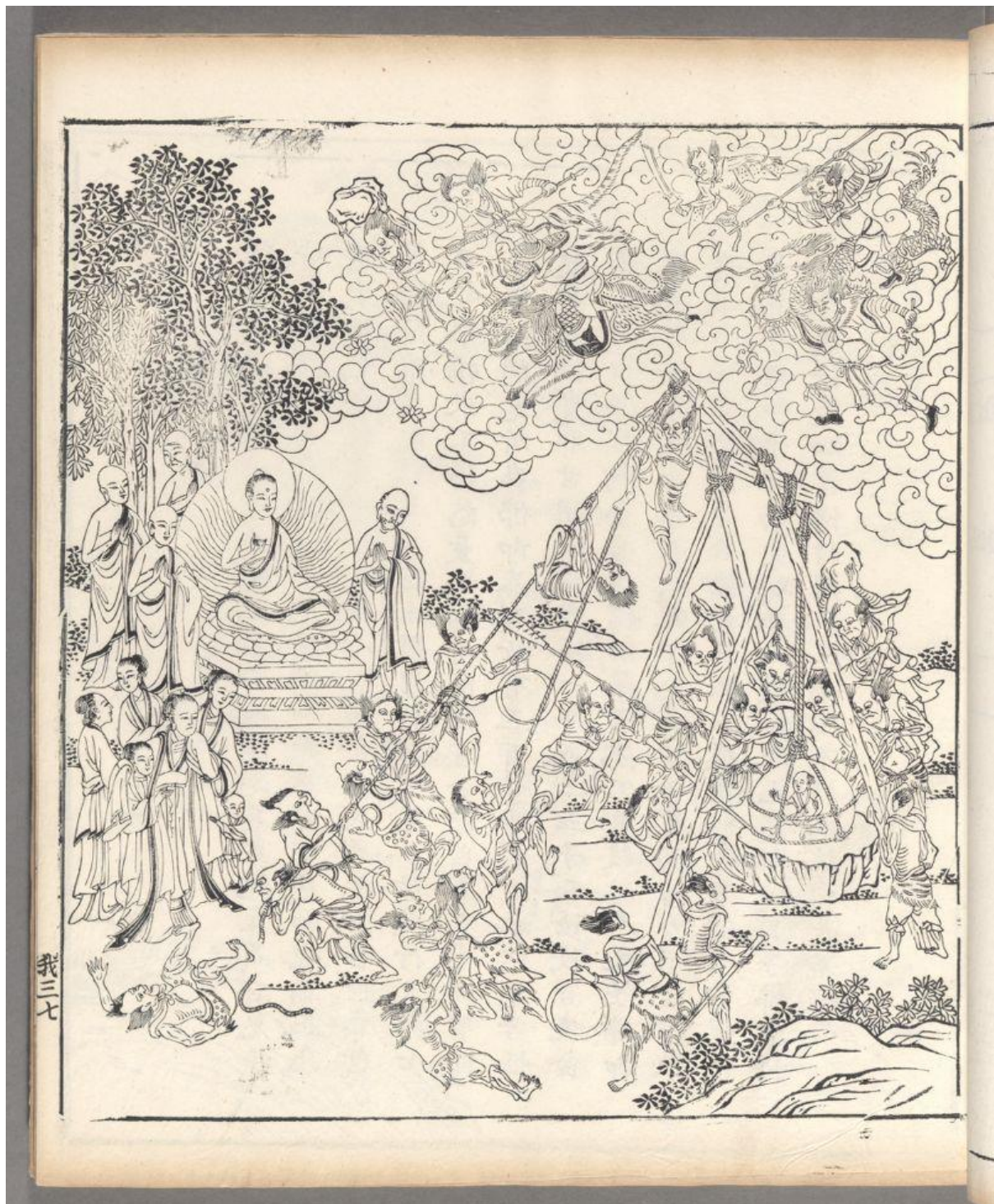


Figure 19 "Hārītī Searching for Her Child" 鬼母尋子. Yongshan, 永珊. *Shijia Rulai Yinghua Shiji* 釋迦如來應化事迹. 1869. Woodblock printed book. Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.



Figure 20 Formerly attributed to Qiu Ying 仇英 (ca. 1494-1552). Detail of *Raising the Alms-Bowl: The Conversion of Hārītī the Mother of Demons*. Qing dynasty, 1644-1911. Ink and color on silk, 27.4 x 424 cm (10 13/16 x 166 15/16 in). Gift of Charles Lang Freer. Freer Gallery of Art. <https://asia.si.edu/object/F1909.400>.



Figure 21 Qiu Ying, 仇英. *Hangong chunxiao* 汉宫春晓 *Spring Morning in the Han Palace*. ca. 1552-1542. Handscroll; ink and color on silk, 30.6 × 574.1 cm. National Palace Museum 國立故宮博物院, Taipei. https://theme.npm.edu.tw/selection/Article.aspx?sNo=04000980#inline_content_intro.



Figure 22 Hall for Worship of the Ancestors, Ancestral Temple complex, Beijing, early fifteenth century with many later repairs. After Steinhardt, Nancy. *Chinese Architecture: A History*. Princeton, United States: Princeton University Press, 2019, 237.



Figure 23 *Yuzhi mizang quan* 御製秘藏詮 *Landscape Illustration and Leaves 11 through 15* from Chapter Thirteen of the Imperial Commentary on the Buddhist Canon (Tripitaka) Commissioned by Emperor Taizong (r. 976-997). 1108. Woodblock-printed handscroll; ink on paper, 29.9 x 291 cm (11 3/4 x 114 9/16 in.). Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Louise H. Daly, Anonymous and Alpheus Hyatt Funds. <https://hvard.art/o/202390>.



Figure 24 Anonymous Ming Artist, *Zhu Zhanji xingle tujian* 朱瞻基行乐图卷 *Amusement in the Xuande Emperor's Palace*. 1426-1487. Detail of a handscroll, ink and colors on silk, 36.7 x 690cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.
<https://minghuaji.dpm.org.cn/paint/appreciate?id=9hv8wtoav5a5hyr0l7pmjc765dwesqti>.

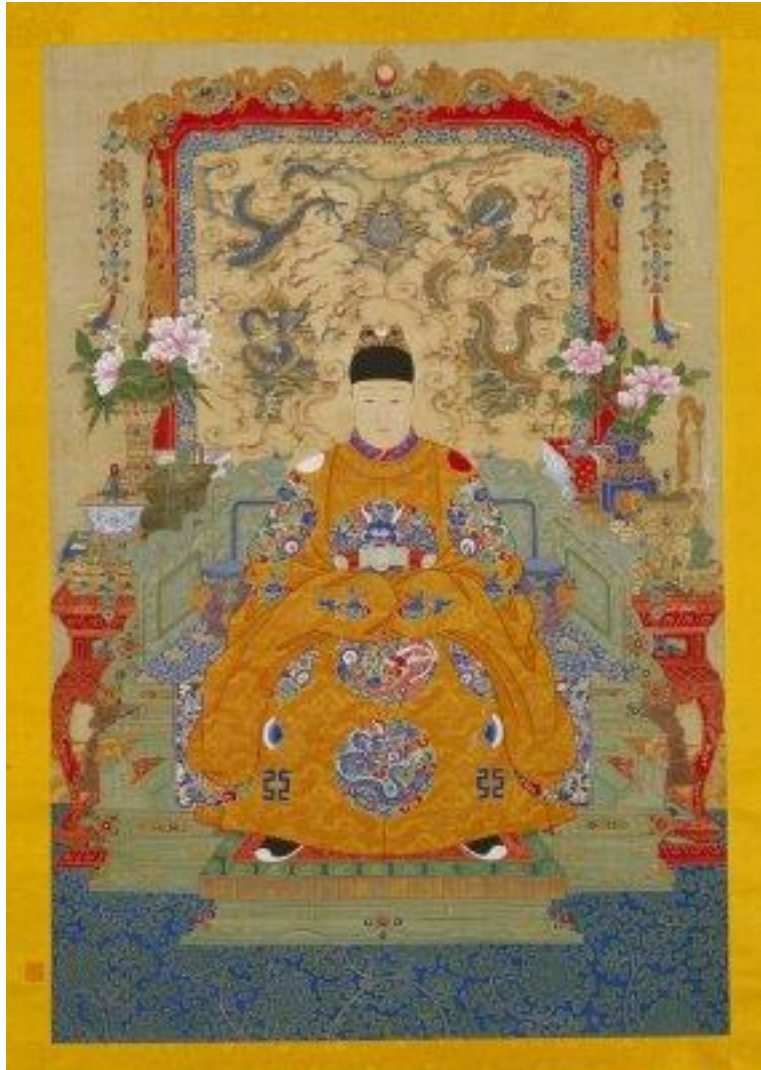


Figure 25 Anonymous Ming Artist, *Ming Xizong Zhu Youjiao xiang* 明熹宗朱由校像 *Portrait of the Tianqi Emperor in Court Costume*. 1621-1627. Hanging scroll, colors on silk, 111.2 x 75.7 cm. <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/231889.html>.



小兒施土

一百三十一

賢愚因緣經云此尊與阿難入城乞食見
 羣小兒於道中戲共聚地土造作屋舍及
 作倉庫以土為米有一小兒還見佛來生
 布施心即取倉中名為米者取以施佛佛
 即低頭受土與阿難言持土塗我房地者
 難持還精舍即塗房地緣斯功德我般溫
 兒歡喜施土是塗房地緣斯功德我般溫
 兒當作大臣共領閭閻王字阿輸迦其次
 三寶廣設供養分舍利遍閭閻提當為
 我設八萬四千塔阿難白佛言昔有國三
 土乃有如此多塔之報佛言昔有國三
 波塞奇有佛出世名曰弗沙王與諸臣共
 養佛僧時王心自念言今此大國人民之
 類當得見佛禮拜供養其餘小國各處邊
 僻人民之類無由脩福就當鬻盡佛之形
 像布諸國一切人民咸令供養即召盡
 師多畫佛像得八萬四千感於多塔之報

Figure 26 “Young Children Donating Mud” 小兒施土. Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成. *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji* 釋氏源流應化事迹. 1425. Woodblock printed book. After 翁連溪 Weng Lianxi, 李洪波 Li Hongbo, and 周心慧 Zhou Xinhui, *Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji* 中國佛教版畫全集, vol. 24–25, 82 vols. (Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014).



Figure 27 “Young Children Donating Mud” 小兒施土. Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成, and 朱見深 Zhu Jianshen. *Shishi Yuanliu Yinghua Shiji* 釋氏源流应化事迹. 1486. Woodblock printed book. Image folio. After Weng Lianxi, 翁連溪, 李洪波 Li Hongbo, and 周心慧 Zhou Xinhui, eds. *Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji* 中國佛教版畫全集. Vol. 13–16. 82 vols. Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014.

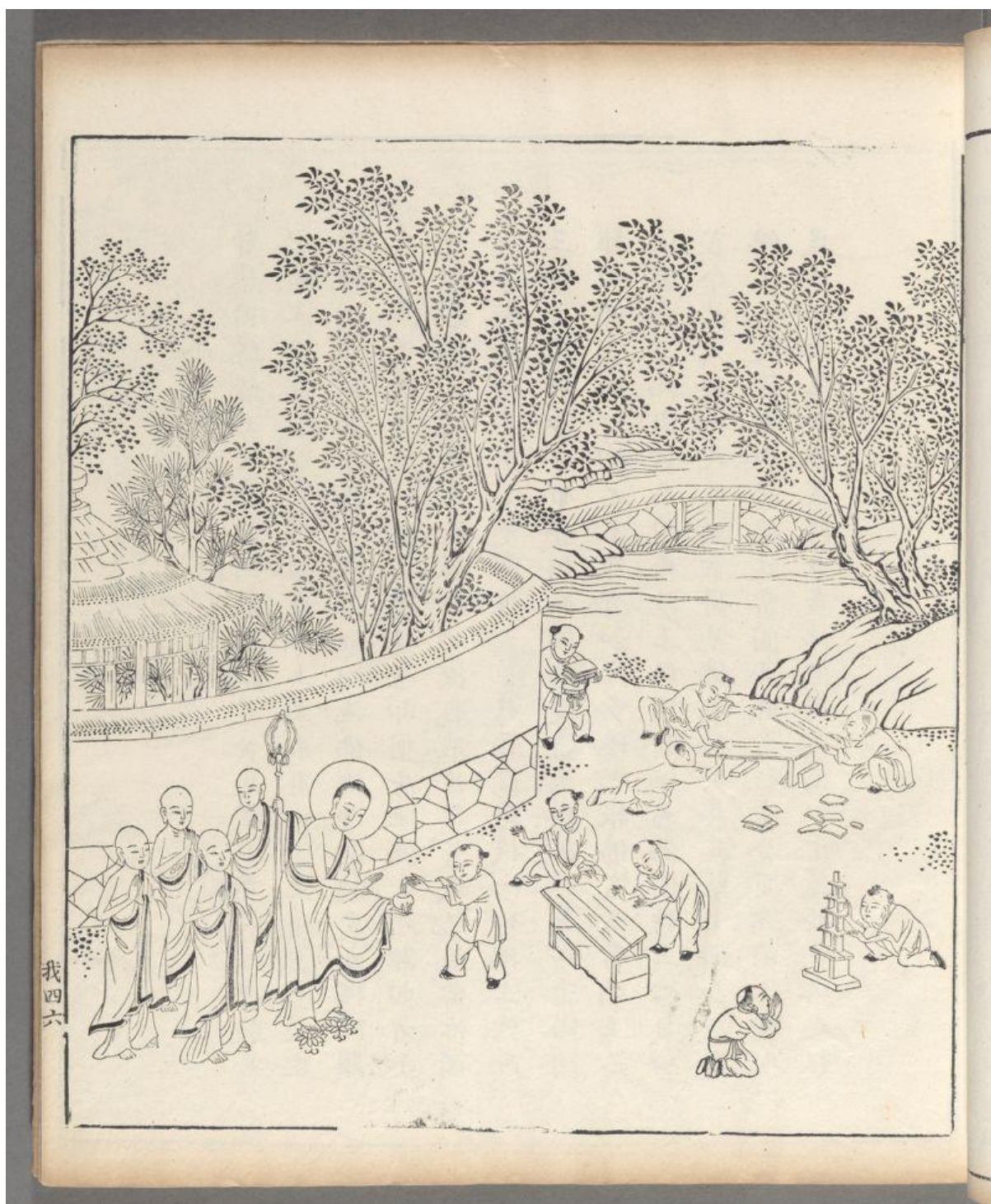


Figure 28 "Young Children Donating Mud" 小兒施土. Yongshan, 永珊. *Shijia Rulai Yinghua* *Shiji* 釋迦如來應化事迹. 1869. Woodblock printed book. Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.



Figure 29. Chen Hongshou, 陳洪綬. *Tongzi lifo tuzhou* 童子礼佛图轴 *Children Worshipping the Buddha*. Ink and color on paper, 150 x 67.3cm. The Palace Museum.
<https://www.dpm.org.cn/Home.html? wap=1>.



Figure 30 Vignette of “Playing in the Garden 園林嬉戲”. Children worshipping a stupa. Yongshan, 永珊. *Shijia Rulai Yinghua Shiji* 釋迦如來應化事迹. 1869. Woodblock printed book. Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.



Figure 31. Fang Yulu, 方于魯 (ca. 1541-1608). *Ink Cake with One Hundred Children at Play* (recto). 1644 1368. Molded ink, diameter: 12.8 cm (5 1/16 in.); overall: 2 cm (13/16 in.). 1942.214. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Henry W. Kent. <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1942.214>.



Figure 32. Fang Yulu, 方于魯 (ca. 1541-1608). *Ink Cake with One Hundred Children at Play* (verso). 1644 1368. Molded ink, diameter: 12.8 cm (5 1/16 in.); overall: 2 cm (13/16 in.). 1942.214. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Henry W. Kent. <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1942.214>.



Figure 33 Fang Yulu, 方于魯. *Fangshi Mopu* 方氏墨譜. 1588. Woodblock printed book. Folio 16, recto, *Jiuzi mo* 九子墨.



Figure 34. Yungu, 筠谷, and 張星聚 Zhang Xingju. *Baizi tu* 百子圖 (*One Hundred Boys*). 1743. Multicoloured woodblock print, 228.5 x 77.9 cm. The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1991-1031-0-1.



Figure 35 Vignette of “Playing in the Garden 園林嬉戲”, children mimicking a parade by the top candidate to celebrate his passing of the civil service exam. An entourage of children mimicked musicians playing a flute and percussion instruments in celebration of the events. Yongshan, 永珊. *Shijia Rulai Yinghua Shiji* 釋迦如來應化事迹. 1869. Woodblock printed book. Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.



Figure 36 Vignette of “Playing in the Garden 園林嬉戲”. A group of children mimicking a warring scene. Yongshan, 永珊. *Shijia Rulai Yinghua Shiji* 釋迦如來應化事迹. 1869. Woodblock printed book. Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.



Figure 37. "Playing in the Garden 園林嬉戲". Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成. *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji* 釋氏源流应化事迹. 1425. Woodblock printed book. After 翁連溪 Weng Lianxi, 李洪波 Li Hongbo, and 周心慧 Zhou Xinhui, *Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji* 中國佛教版畫全集, vol. 24–25, 82 vols. (Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014).



Figure 38 "Playing in the Garden" 園林嬉戲. Shi Baocheng, 釋寶成, and 朱見深 Zhu Jianshen. *Shishi Yuanliu Yinghua Shiji* 釋氏源流应化事迹. 1486. Woodblock printed book. After Weng Lianxi, 翁連溪, Li Hongbo, 李洪波, and Zhou Xinhui, 周心慧, eds. *Zhongguo fo jiao ban hua quan ji* 中國佛教版畫全集. Vol. 13–16. 82 vols. Beijing shi 北京市: Zhongguo shu dian 中國書店, 2014.

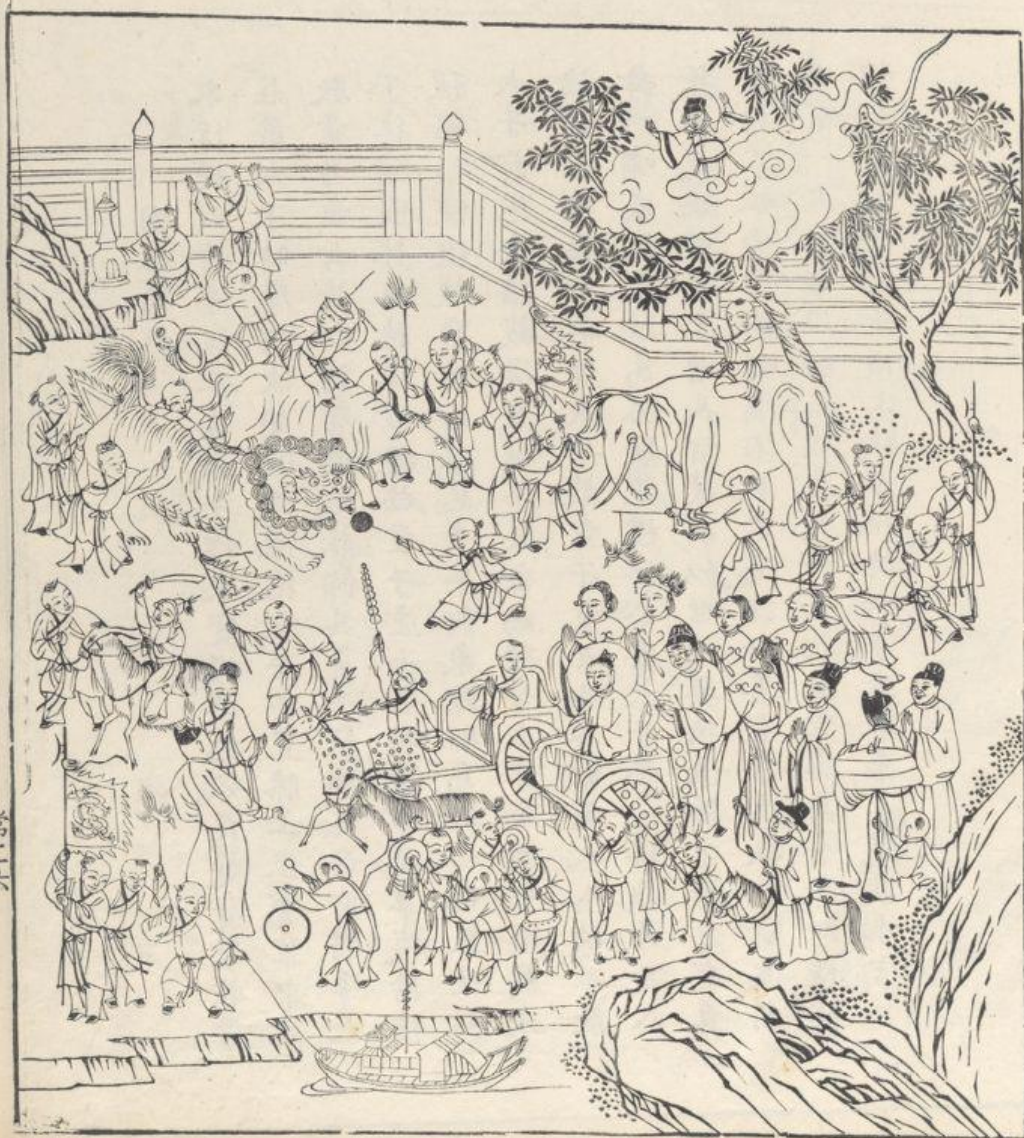


Figure 39 "Playing in the Garden 園林嬉戲". Yongshan, 永珊. *Shijia Rulai Yinghua Shiji* 釋迦如來應化事迹. 1869. Woodblock printed book. Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

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