Flowering in the Shadows
Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting

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HONOLULU
Chinese Maiden, Silla Monk

Zenmyō and Her Thirteenth-Century

Japanese Audience

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The picture scrolls of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Japan present the modern viewer with a wealth of detailed information about Japanese life in a highly religious yet turbulent age. Although the stories represented come from a variety of times and places, the audience for such picture scrolls was the highly literate and cultured imperial court, aristocratic families, and the institutions they supported. The creation of a picture scroll, or set of scrolls, was usually a collaborative process in which the wishes of patrons were carried out by artists and scribes, who must have worked under the direction of a coordinator, here called an editor. Each of the collaborators brought different skills or intentions to a project, which in turn gave the end product qualities that may sometimes be read independently of the story depicted. When one or more of these collaborators was a woman, or when the intended audience for a picture scroll was female, the texts and pictures themselves may reveal that fact. Even when the actual circumstances of production for a specific work are unknown, knowledge of religious, social, or intellectual currents can fill in the gaps in our knowledge and thereby make a difficult or obscure work more understandable.

An important case in point is a set of picture scrolls entitled Tales of Gishō and Gangyō, more commonly known by the modern titles Legends of the Kegon Sect or Lives of the Founders of the Kegon Sect.1 The six scrolls have been owned since the mid-thirteenth century by Kōzanji, located in the mountains northwest of Kyoto. Kōzanji was founded as an esoteric Kegon monastery in 1206 by the charismatic monk Myōe upon receiving an imperial directive from Retired Emperor Gotoba. The temple owed its growth and survival not to the outright efforts of these two men but rather to the active support of lay patrons from various branches of the Fujiwara clan.2 At first glance the subjects of Tales of Gishō and Gangyō seem particular to the narrow historiographical interests of the
Kōzanji monastic community, but a closer reading shows there to have been much broader significance for Kōzanji's lay patrons, who were themselves prominent members of the Kyoto aristocracy.

Tales of Gishō and Gangyō depict miraculous episodes in the lives of two seventh-century Silla (Korean) monks. The texts are adaptations of Chinese biographies of the two monks found in the tenth-century hagiography Sung kuo-seng chuan (Lives of eminent monks compiled during the Sung). From that Chinese text and other sources we know that Gishō (K. Uisang) went to China in 665 and there studied with Chih-yen, the foremost Kegon (C. Hua-yen) scholar of his day. Gishō returned to Silla in 669 and spent the remaining thirty years of his life expounding the tenets of the Kegonkyō (S. Avatamsaka sūtra). Although he was not a scholar, Gishō's impact upon Silla Buddhism earned him recognition as the "First Patriarch of Kegon East of the Sea." The second of the two pilgrims, Gangyō (K. Wonhyo), turned back to Silla before reaching China. A brilliant but dissolute eccentric, Gangyō spent the remainder of his life pursuing scholastic interests outside the official Buddhist establishment. His more than one hundred commentaries and treatises touch on all aspects of Buddhist thought and practice, yet he never achieved the status of a patriarch in any sect.

If the biographies in Sung kuo-seng chuan had focused only upon these two monks' lives and scholarship they would probably not have been singled out for illustration in thirteenth-century Japan. Rather, it must have been the two main subthemes that inspired their pictorialization. In the Gishō story, which was told in four of the scrolls, the monk encounters a Chinese maiden named Zenmyō (C. Shan-miao), who plays a fateful role in his success. Gangyō's brilliant eccentricity, detailed in the remaining two scrolls, effects a cure for the ailing Silla queen. Neither story dwells on the importance of their respective protagonists in the history of Silla Buddhism, nor as patriarchs of the Kegon sect, as their modern Japanese titles suggest.

Although Tales of Gishō and Gangyō are usually viewed as a single scroll set, my research suggests that in almost every respect—the language of the texts, the compositions, models and brushwork used by the artists, and the likely patrons and audience—the two illustrated tales differ markedly from each other. Produced within a ten- to fifteen-year period, the two stories are inextricably linked. Nonetheless it is possible that the Gishō scrolls were produced first, without any plan for the succeeding Gangyō scrolls. The actions of Zenmyō in the Gishō scrolls speak rather directly to a female audience, and in the first half of the thirteenth century several of Kōzanji and Myōe's patrons were women. While no one would claim that a woman painter or wrote out the texts for these scrolls, the following discussion sheds light on the true nature of women's fundamental participation in, as patrons of and audience for, the arts in medieval Japan.
Zenmyō’s Story

The Gishō scrolls cannot be examined effectively without reference to the complete story, here paraphrased from Sung kuo-sheng chuan. As young men, Gishō and Gangyō decide to go to T’ang China to further their Buddhist studies. They are forced to spend a second night in the torah. Gangyō sleeps fitfully, attacked by a demon in his dreams. Upon awakening he realizes the essential Mahayana truth that nothing exists apart from the mind. His sleep in the cave had been peaceful until he realized it was a tomb. Now, after his dream, he knows that neither the tomb nor the demon in his dream truly exist. Having achieved this awareness, Gangyō decides not to seek a teacher apart from his mind. Gishō and Gangyō part, and Gishō proceeds to T’ang Shou.5

Gishō boards a merchant ship and arrives safely in China. Enroute to the T’ang capital, Ch’ang-an, Gishō stops at a lay believer’s house to beg for alms. The daughter of the house, Zenmyō, approaches the young and handsome Gishō, flirts with him, and suddenly declares her passionate desire for him (see Plate 5). Gishō, committed to the Buddhist precept of celibacy, resists her. Gishō’s immovability brings about Zenmyō’s religious awakening, and she, in turn, vows to provide material support for the monk in his studies. He continues on to Ch’ang-an, where he studies with Chih-yen until the latter’s death in 668, and then decides to return to Silla to propagate Kegon teachings.

During Gishō’s absence, Zenmyō prepares a box of Buddhist vestments and implements for him as an act of devotion. Meanwhile, Gishō attempts to leave China without seeing Zenmyō. Upon receiving word that Gishō is departing, Zenmyō rushes to the harbor, too late to offer her gift to him (Figs. 1 and 2). She throws her box into the waves (Fig. 3), and it floats out to Gishō’s departing ship. Encouraged, she vows to protect Gishō on his return journey and jumps into the ocean herself (Fig. 4). The sincerity of her vow brings about her transformation into a dragon, which speeds Gishō’s boat homeward on its back. Upon their arrival in Silla, Zenmyō (still as a dragon) follows Gishō in his search for a home for his new sect. At last Gishō discovers an ideally situated mountain temple inhabited by dissolve monks. As Gishō prays for aid, Zenmyō now transforms herself into a giant boulder. Hustling herself into the air, she rises and falls, scattering the temple’s inhabitants. Gishō moves in and gives lectures on Kegonkyō, receiving acclaim from audiences high and low. Gishō is recognized as the first patriarch of Kegon in Silla.

Portions of the picture scroll text and painting are lost, thereby reducing the original four Gishō scrolls to three.6 Gishō’s details the two monks’ journey to
Fig. 1. Gishō scroll III, Painting D, Zenmyō goes to the harbor. Section of a handscroll, ink and colors on paper, h. 31.7 cm. National Treasure. Kōzanji, Kyoto.

Fig. 2. Gishō scroll III, Painting D, Zenmyō cries on the shore. Section of a handscroll, ink and colors on paper, h. 31.7 cm. National Treasure. Kōzanji, Kyoto.
the cave, Gangyo's dream, their parting, and Gisho's subsequent boarding of a
ship. In Gisho II, the monk arrives in China, where he first encounters Zenmyo
and then goes to Ch'ang-an to study with Chih-yen. Zenmyo prepares her
presents, goes to the harbor where she misses Gisho's boat, makes her vows, and
at last transforms into a dragon in the exciting climax to Gisho III. Only the text
and the final preaching scene from Gisho IV survive from the last portion of the
story, and these are incorrectly attached to the present second Gangyo scroll.

The missing sections do not prevent analysis of the changes wrought by the
editor in translating and adapting the Chinese text. Indeed, the transformation
of the rather conventional Chinese biography into a lively Japanese tale was not
accomplished by mere translation alone. While the events from Sung kuo-seng
chuan are followed quite faithfully, the editor recast the story in a colloquial Japa-
nese style that incorporates an entirely new selection of Chinese characters. These
and other editorial changes in the text impart to Gisho's story a decidedly differ-
ent cast for its thirteenth-century Japanese audience. In the picture scroll texts
that deal directly with Zenmyo, the language and emotional tenor depart consid-
erably from the Chinese original. 4

In Sung kuo-seng chuan Gisho's encounter with Zenmyo is told simply in a
few sentences. The few Buddhist terms held in common with the scroll text are
emphasized.

[Zenmyo] cleverly flattered and coaxed him, but Gisho's mind was of stone
and could not be turned. She teased him but received no answer. Suddenly
she experienced an awakening of faith and made a great vow before him: "In all future lives I entrust my fate to you, Priest. You study the Great Vehicle and attain great works. Your disciples must, as patrons, support and sustain you."

What is little more than a direct expression of commitment in Sung kao-seng chuan becomes a passionate dialogue in Text C, originally located at the beginning of Gishô II. Here the present tense is used deliberately to heighten the relationship between text and picture.

Seeing him, Zennyô raises his seductive eyebrows and flatters him, "Dharma-teachers (shûsho), you have risen above the realm of desire (sekikai) to benefit widely the dharma-realm (hokkai). I thirst after the purity of your virtues (shudoku), but cannot suppress my attachment to sexual desire (shikyoku no shichaku). I look at you and my heart beats wildly. Please have mercy (jihô) on me and satisfy my reckless passions (njô.)" The Dharma-teachers listen, but even as he looks upon her finery his heart remains solid as a rock. His response shows compassion, "Because I cherish the Buddha’s precepts (hokkai) my bodily life is secondary. I teach pure dharmas (jihô) to benefit all sentient beings (shûsho). I gave up the realm of lust and pollutions (shikyoku fûjô no kyôke) long ago. You should believe in the efficacy of my merits and not hold a grudge against me for long." Zennyô listens and suddenly she experiences an awakening of faith (dôshin o okuru). Confessing her shame (shikai zange) she proclaims a great vow (dôshin): "This eternally blind attachment of mine (mushi no mitashi) was so deep that I caused you pain. Now, changing my former wicked mind (jashin) I will revere your virtues forever. I vow to be reborn together with you in all future lives (shûsho seki) and never part from you. Every time you perform a great Buddhist deed (shûsho) or benefit sentient beings in the dharma-realm I will be with you like a shadow. I will provide for your needs (shôsho o kuskô) and assist with your daily support (shôsho o tazuke). I pray, Great Teacher (shûsho), show me compassion and accept my vow." Tears fall as she speaks, and the Great Teacher shows her compassion.
colors on paper, h. 31.7 cm. National Treasure. Kōtokuji, Kyoto.

As this translation reveals, Text C is interspersed with many more Buddhist terms and concepts than in the Chinese original. Gishô now speaks, and it is his words, rather than his silence, that lead Zenmyô to her conversion. Both Zenmyô and the narrator use the term “Dharma-teacher” to refer to Gishô until the very end of the passage, when Gishô becomes a “Great Teacher” as a result of his successful instruction of Zenmyô.

The events leading up to Zenmyô’s dragon transformation also show a considerable degree of modification. Sung kao-seng chuan relates:

As for the girl Zenmyô, she had already assembled for Gishô priestly garments and various objects enough to fill a trunk. When she took them to the seaport, Gishô’s boat was already far out to sea. The girl cursed saying, “I was originally sincere in supporting this Dharma-teacher. I pray that this garment box will jump into his boat far ahead.”

Text D, written almost exclusively in Japanese kana script, is damaged and mounted improperly at the beginning of Gishô I. Here the editor attempts to penetrate Zenmyô’s innermost thoughts, and to fill out the details of her anguish. The gaps are those in the text itself.

Once the Great Teacher...to his own country they would be separated by the vast ocean, and she worries, what could she give him to remember her by? As a consolation she abandons her treasures, and prepares clothing, bowls, and other religious implements for him. Thus when it comes time for the Dharma-teacher to return home she will seek one last meeting and humbly offer [her gift] to him. Such is her deepest hope...however...the vast mists...separated...For a woman it is pointless, since she cannot ask him when they will meet again in this world. In tears, she carefully gathers together her offerings. When she hears “He should be leaving soon,” she goes to the port and asks about him. Someone answers, “That boat has already left, you can’t do anything about it now,” grief possesses her. Mind-
less of herself, she stirs out over the waves. Just at the point where the mist rises she can barely see the white sails of the boat. When Zennyō sees this she becomes even more distraught and throws herself on the shore as if she were a fish cast up on dry land. Clutching the box she cries "It’s unbearable!" I . . . offer this to the Great Teacher . . . if the Great Teacher doesn’t receive this, who else will? I pray to the realm of all buddhas, bodhisattvas, and dragon deities, you who receive supernatural powers, you who know people’s hearts deeply and hear people calling from afar. Hurry, know my desire! Listen to my pleas! If you feel sympathy for my great vow, promise me you will send these offerings out to him . . . ."

The remainder of Text D follows Sung kao-seng chuan more closely, although it continues to accentuate Zennyō’s religious fervor. The text breaks off, damaged, after Zennyō’s passionate vow.

"I refuse to wait for the next life. I vow to assist the Dharma-teacher in his great vow with my present body. In the sea lanes the ocean winds are treacherous and the waves high. I pray that I can protect him with this body and ease his return home . . . sentient beings . . ."

Because of the damage, a modern-day reader cannot know how Zennyō’s dragon transformation was described in the text.

The intentional changes wrought in the texts are further explained by a lengthy text in question-and-answer format, which I call the Commentary, that originally concluded the picture scroll version of Gishō’s story. Slightly less than half of that text was lost to fire. In the remaining portion of the Commentary three questions concerning Zennyō’s actions are put forth:

1. If this were the doing of a truly ordinary person (honpyū), then how, relying on the power of her great vow, could she have brought about such a miracle now, in her present body?

2. If, whether or not you did good deeds in the past (shukuzen), you meet with the Buddhist Dharma (buppō) should there not be some benefit from this?

3. If this were the doing of a truly ordinary person, then even in loving the virtues of the master to become a great dragon that follows someone is still quite extraordinary! Is this not the sin of attachment (shūchaku)?

The editor must have felt that anyone viewing the Gishō scrolls would gain only a limited understanding of Zennyō’s actions. The answers to the questions have further instructional value. Summarized they are: (1) Zennyō’s ability to transform herself into a dragon and a rock came from good deeds done in a former existence. Having heard the true law (shōbō) as preached by Šakyamuni, she
attained a measure of perception that allowed her mind to become awakened upon meeting Gishō in this life. Her transformations were brought on by her great vow. (2) Even those who did not do good deeds in a former life can, in this life, increase their merits for the next life. (3) Zenmyō’s love for Gishō was not the ordinary love that grows from attachment between men and women. Rather, her love stemmed from a deep respect for the Buddhist Dharma, and it allowed her to escape from the impure world. Hers was the mind of a believer, so there was nothing improper in her conduct with Gishō.

It is the third answer—regarding the differences between love and respect—that the editor elaborates upon at great length, quoting from and paraphrasing other textual sources. In a significant passage at the beginning of his answer, the editor refers to another story about an encounter between a maiden and a monk.

I have heard of that earlier incident about the path of male-female attachment, where [a woman] beset by attachment and rage became a snake that hunted a man. This is not the same sort of affair. That [woman], overcome by the power of her lust and desire, truly became a snake. Deep was her sin of attachment. Through her great row, this [woman] received the aid of buddhas and bodhisattvas, and temporarily became a great dragon.

The story is none other than the legend of the temple Dōjōji, known in written form as early as the mid-eleventh-century Hōnchō Hokke genki (Miracles of the Lotus in our country). In this legend, a young and handsome monk on a pilgrimage to Kumano Shrine is accosted by a lustful young widow. The monk escapes only by promising himself to her upon his return journey. When he does not return, the woman flies into a rage, transforms herself into an eighteen-foot-long poisonous snake, and pursues the monk to Dōjōji. The monks there hide the frightened young monk in their great bronze bell, but the snake coils around the bell, cremating the monk inside with its fiery breath. In the passage quoted above, the editor of the Commentary makes clear the differences between Zenmyō’s transformations and that of the lustful widow by acknowledging the superficial resemblance between the stories, perhaps in response to a question by someone familiar with the Dōjōji legend. But the editor leaves no doubt that the source of Zenmyō’s power is her fervent respect for and faith in the Buddhist Dharma, and not her attachment to Gishō. This reference to what must have been a well-known legend in its day shows the editor sympathetic to the use of tales for didactic purposes. The fact that Myōe himself came from a region near Dōjōji, and that he frequently used such short tales in his preaching and writing, strongly suggests that he was, in fact, the editor of the Gishō Commentary, if not the entire text.

The striking departure of Texts C and D from Sung kuo-tung chuan and the addition of the lengthy question-and-answer Commentary suggest an intermed-
ate stage in the adaptation of the text. The heightened emotions and passionate conversations of Texts C and D reveal that the editor strove to impart to the stories a immediacy lacking in Sunz kao-seng chuan. Perhaps a woman was consulted to supply the passages in Text D describing Zennyo's feelings and anguish. The Gishō-Zennyo encounter could have been a topic in oral discussion or preaching, and the questions of the Commentary could easily have arisen in response to an oral telling of the story, while the answers seem carefully devised to explicate its significance. The questions and answers then became an essential part of the picture scroll text. The final lines of the Commentary further reveal the editor's purpose in appending these questions and answers:

The miracle of Zennyo's seeking refuge in the Dharma merits depiction in a painting. But to understand the deeper significance within her heart, you cannot rely on the painting. Therefore, following the sacred teachings, I have roughly shown you these fundamental principles. This is, namely, that from respect is born the excesses of love.

The questions and their lengthy answers invest the Gishō scrolls with an extremely serious, rather than entertaining, tone. Furthermore, the content of the Commentary makes it quite clear that the Gishō scrolls are not primarily concerned with Gishō's role as a Kegon sect patriarch; they are about Zennyo and the problems in interpreting her actions. Zennyo's miracles, brought on by Gishō's teaching, serve as an exemplum for what could only have been a female audience. The Commentary, taken together with the expanded Texts C and D, provides us with a strikingly clear and rare glimpse of editorial intent in a Japanese picture scroll.

Zenmyō as Protector of the Dharma

Zenmyō, the lovely Chinese maiden whose conversion and miracles are the theme of the Gishō scrolls, is a complex character, both in her representation and in the roles that she plays. The text of the Gishō scrolls describes her several actions in detail, while the Commentary elaborates at length on their deeper meaning. Although Zenmyō is capable of manifesting supernatural powers, the editor of the Commentary stresses that she is still an ordinary mortal, whose powers came from her faith in Buddhism and from good deeds done in her previous lives. Texts C and D describe her as prey to mortal emotions, and include several specific details that the artist must also realize. For his repeated depictions of Zenmyō in Paintings C and D, the artist utilized models that may have enriched Zenmyō's significance in the eyes of her audience. Although by her dress
and features she is obviously Chinese, a closer look reveals that she is in fact no ordinary mortal.

Gishō encounters Zenmyō at the mid-point of Gishō II, in Painting C: "while begging in the village he meets a woman named Zenmyō who is fair of face and of high repute." The text specifically mentions her "seductive eyebrows" and "her finery" as she approaches Gishō, but upon his reprimand her passion turns to shame and tears fall. The artist condensed these drastic emotional changes into a single scene labeled "Here Zenmyō meets the Great Teacher and confesses her attachment" (see Plate 3).13 Zenmyō's bright red robe and the lush flowering bush (camellia?) behind give her a seductive aura, but her gently swaying pose is modest and delicate. She casts down her eyes under Gishō's direct gaze, and raises her left hand as if about to wipe away tears or cry into her sleeve. The moment of declaration has passed, and she is about to experience her change of heart.

After her single appearance in Gishō II, Zenmyō reappears several times in Gishō III, Paintings D. In Figure 1 she makes her way to the harbor to say goodbye to Gishō. Surrounded by her concerned attendants, Zenmyō cries into her sleeves, her brow furrowed in grief. One of her ladies also cries, another carries the box destined for Gishō, while the third points out Gishō's boat already far out at sea. Zenmyō's grief reaches fever pitch as land's end, where she "throws herself on the shore as if she were a fish cast up on dry land" (Fig. 2). Her hand covers her eyes, as she can look no longer. This sight of the unabashedly crying Zenmyō graphically conveys her mortality to the viewer. Yet in the next two scenes Zenmyō calms herself to make her two great vows. First she tosses her box into the waves (Fig. 3) and then dives serenely into the churning waves while her agitated maids scream (Fig. 4).

In each scene, Zenmyō's dress is instantly recognizable as Chinese.14 In Plate 5 and Figure 1 her upswept hair is adorned with flowers, jewels, and a gauze cap, and she wears a jewel on her bodice. Ends of a long green silk scarf fall gracefully from her shoulders. She wears a long-sleeved red robe trimmed in blue and elaborately tied by a white knotted sash over an ochre skirt and white blouse. Most revealing, however, are the red points of a decorative collar that peek out from under her scarf. In Japanese painting and sculpture this collar is worn primarily by female deities, whether Buddhist or Shinto, when depicted in Chinese dress. The artist was not entirely consistent in his rendering of Zenmyō's costume, however, for the pointed collar is absent in the subsequent three shore scenes, and the red robe looks more like a long-sleeved red blouse when Zenmyō throws herself into the ocean. Such inconsistencies suggest that the artist was not actually familiar with the type of clothing he was depicting.

Although Zenmyō is supposed to be a T'ang maiden, the artist's model for her, like those for most of the details in Tales of Gishō and Gengyō, was of Sung
rather than T'züg inspiration. Her actual identity in the story is that of a wealthy man's daughter, unconnected with the court or scholar elite. We may examine the appearance of women in such a Sung household in the wall paintings of Tomb 1 at Pai-sha, Honan, datable to 1109 (Fig. 3). Their dress is simple: a narrow-sleeved three-quarter-length tunic with contrasting bands along the front edge is worn open over a high-waisted skirt and blouse. The skirt worn by the wife appears to be pleated. Only a few village women in the picture scrolls wear this type of clothing. The Gisō artist's portrayal of Zennyo thus elevates her status above what we might expect from comparable Sung paintings, or from actual examples of Sung costume.

The iconographic details of dress and hairstyle found in the women of the Gisō scrolls do appear in representations of female deities in Sung painting. The finest examples appear in the extraordinary wall paintings dated 1167 (under the Chin) that cover the walls of the Matjuṣt Hall at Yen-shan-issu in Shansi province. The extensive paintings depict detailed narrative cycles of events in the life of Zennyo. The paintings, known as the Tai-yü or Tai-yü Hall of the Matjuṣt, were destroyed in 1914. The Tai-yü Hall is located in the ancient city of Tai-yü, a town in Shansi province.

Fig. 3. Wall paintings in Tomb 1 at Pai-sha, Honan. Ca 1109. From Su Pai, Pai-sha Sung shu.
of Śākyamuni on the west wall and of Hāritī on the east. The most important women on each wall—Queen Mâyā on the west and Hāritī—are elaborately dressed (Figs. 6 and 7). They wear the pointed collar, jewelry, and long-sleeved robes worn by Zenmyō and her attendants, and show distinctions of rank by differences in their dress and ornamentation. In the two groupings of women, the central figures of Queen Mâyā and Hāritī are also greater in scale than their surrounding attendants. Queen Mâyā and her sisters wear the most elaborate costumes, their hair bound up in an elaborate loop coiffure. Hāritī would seem to rank slightly below her, and Zenmyō somewhat lower, if the degree in elaboration of clothing is a valid indicator. All the higher-ranking women wear the pointed collar. Zenmyō, with her relatively simple hairstyle and dress, seems to rank in between Hāritī and Zenmyō’s maids, while Zenmyō’s maids are nearly identical to those attending Hāritī. Zenmyō does indeed take on a semidivine appearance when compared to these women in the Yen-shan-su murals.

Yet Zenmyō is not the only woman in thirteenth-century Japanese painting whose appearance seems to derive from as ideal Sung type. A thirteenth-century viewer of the Gishō scrolls might recognize her from a variety of other contexts, and thereby associate her with a much broader complex of meanings. These associations would arise both from the details of her dress and from a deeper understanding of her roles and significance in the Gishō scrolls.

Zenmyō is first cast in the role of a lustful young woman, a temptress, who approaches Gishō with an intent as evil as the demon in Gangyō’s dream. She tries, unsuccessfully, to divert Gishō from his purpose, but Gishō not only remains unmoved by her entreaties, he converts her. When Zenmyō vows to protect Gishō in Text C, she becomes both spiritual and material protector of her beloved teacher. This specific image of a woman as protector of a Buddhist teacher is enunciated in the Dharmasūtra chapter (chapter 26) of the Lotus Sutra. There the Buddha speaks to ten daughters of demons (J. rassetsumyo) who vow to protect teachers of the Dharma.

These ten daughters of rākṣasas, with the mother of the ghosts’ children, as well as their own children and retinue, together approached the Buddha’s presence, where with one voice they addressed the Buddha, saying, “O World-Honored One! We, too, wish to protect those who read and recite, accept and keep the Scripture of the Dharma Blossom, and to keep them from decline and care; so that if any seek the weaknesses of the teachers of Dharma, they shall not be allowed to get the better of them...”

The Buddha declared to the daughters of the rākṣasas, “Good! Good! All of you, for being able to do no more than protect those who receive and keep the name of the Dharma Blossom, shall have happiness incalculable. How much the more so for protecting those who receive and keep it in its entirety and make offerings to the scriptural roll... You and your retinue must protect Dharma-teachers such as these!”
Fig. 6. Queen Maya giving birth, detail of west wall in Mahayana Hall at Yen-shan-ssu. Ca 1167. From Yen-shan-ssu chin tai pi-hua.
Rākṣasas are usually described as man-eating demons, but their daughters become, in the Lotus Sutra, guardians of the faith. Hārītī, the focus of the Yen-shan-ssu walī, is yet another such demon converted to the faith. The conversion of female demons into protectors of the Dharma provided a model for Zenmyō, but her transformation is ultimately the more profound.

Representations of the demon daughters in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Japanese paintings show them first in native and then in Chinese dress. In frontispieces to the Lotus Sutra among the Taira family sutras (Heike sōgyo) of 1164, or in the fan-shaped sutras at Sōtōnōji (ca 1155) they appear as formally dressed Japanese court ladies with abundant black hair streaming over their multilayered, multicolored costumes. Their identities are unknown, and their faces and clothing are drawn in conventions typical of Heian court painting. Documentary records of the twelfth century and extant paintings of the thirteenth also place ten demon daughters as attendants to the bodhisattva Fugen (S. Samantabhadra) seated on his white elephant mount. There is no scriptural basis for this representation, which derives inspiration from the above passage in the Lotus Sutra and from the chapter devoted to Fugen (chapter 28). A painting in the Freer Gallery (Fig. 8) shows ten standing demon daughters, now dressed in Chinese costume, that resemble Zenmyō to a remarkable degree. They may be clearly distinguished from each other by their attributes, hairstyles, and details of dress.

Another role performed by Zenmyō comes from her association with the Kegon sect. The Gishō Zenmyō encounter is reminiscent of a series of encounters
Fig. 8. Fugen and the ten Rassenryo (demon daughters). Mid-thirteenth century. Hanging scroll, color on silk, 240.4 x 73.0 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Acc. no. 83.14).
described in the Nyāyakusuma (8. Kaṃḍarāyaśī) section of Kegonkyō. Therein the young boy Zenzai (6. Sudhana) visits fifty-three teachers, called “good friends,” in a quest for truth. Twenty-one of the “good friends” are women, described in the text as laywomen, nuns, night goddesses, or young girls. Queen Māyā is also among them (number 42). During the late-eleventh-century revival of Kegon in China, the text of the Gaṇḍavyūha inspired the writing of eulogies to each of these “good friends”; these eulogies were then illustrated in several versions. The representations of the various female “good friends” in Chinese texts show them in much the same guise as the divine women at Yen-shan-su. Illustrated versions of these eulogistic texts had been imported into Japan by the late twelfth century, and one at least inspired the handscroll entitled The Kegon Fifty-five Visits, which is often linked to Myōe and Tales of Gishō and Gango. In the early thirteenth century, Queen Māyā, like the demon daughters, acquired a new, Sung-inspired appearance in representations of Śākyamuni’s Parinirvāṇa. Among the earliest Parinirvāṇa to reflect the new style is a painting (Fig. 9) owned by Tsurugi Shrine in Fukui prefecture. The central scene is augmented by eight narrative scenes of Śākyamuni’s life that border the painting left and right. At upper right, Queen Māyā, attended by her serving ladies, descends on a cloud. She covers her face with her long sleeves, as if crying into them. Here we find the immediate iconographic and stylistic source for the representation of Zennyo on her way to the harbor (Fig. 1). Both Queen Māyā and Zennyo are too late to see the objects of their affects, and neither can contain her emotions. Parinirvāṇa paintings are noteworthy for their depictions of grief among the humans and animals in attendance. The artist of the Tsurugi Shrine painting excelled in the renderings of Śākyamuni’s disciples, women, and animals completely overcome. Zennyo on her back, feet kicking in the air would be at home here. Her pose so resembles that of the white elephant in the foreground that we must conclude that the Gishō artist drew his inspiration for Zennyo’s emotional outburst from a very similar Parinirvāṇa painting.

We have seen how the iconographic type used for Zennyo recalls the depiction of other Buddhist women: demon daughter, “good friends,” and Queen Māyā. Zennyo herself performs some of the roles of these same women, and an informed thirteenth-century audience would have been well aware of those associations. One further implication deserves mention since it is the key to Zennyo’s immediate role in the Közanji community. Zennyo, the wealthy man’s daughter turned protector of Gishō and the Kegon sect, was deliberately transformed into a tutelary deity of the Kegon sect at Közanji and at the Zennyoji nunnery. A diminutive sculpture of Zennyo was one of two images carved for Közanji’s chokōsha in 1225 (Fig. 10). The 1223 history of Közanji, Közanji engi, makes the point that she is one of the deities of three countries that protect the temple, the others being a Himalayan mountain god and the native Kasuga deity. Zennyo-šin is a deity from the country of Silla. She made a vow to protect Kegon, therefore we
Fig. 9. Parinirvāṇa flanked by eight scenes from Śākyamuni’s life. Mid-thirteenth century. Hanging scroll, colors on silk. 210.3 x 282.1 cm. Important Cultural Property. Tsue-ji Shrine, Fukui prefecture.
Fig. 19. Zenmyō-shin. 1225. Polychromed wood, h. 37.5 cm. Important Cultural Property. Kōnanji, Kyoto.
invited her here."38 Here the Chinese maiden is seen as a deity of Silla rather than of T'ang. Her foreign origins required her portrayal in foreign dress. Although the sculptor derived the details of Zenmyō’s clothing—long sleeves, pointed collar, long scarf—from a pictorial model, her plump, serene face and static pose find closer counterparts in contemporary sculptures of Kichiōten.39

Several native deities in thirteenth-century Shino paintings assume this new style of dress and figure type as well. Representations of male and female kamis in a handscroll depicting the origin of deities and the lineage of shrine priests in Wakasa province (now Fukui prefecture) are quite close to figures in the Gishō scrolls (Fig. 11).40 The fluid lines, pale color washes, and the Chinese dress of the figures all show affinities to our scrolls. Chinese comments identify figures and places: "Here Ni-no-niwa manifests herself" labels the female deity standing on the rock. The sentence continues below with the phrase "in front of the rock cave," a passage that links the deity to the seated man in Chinese dress. The representation of this Wakasa deity and her attendants may owe its inspiration to the depiction of Queen Maya in Parinirvāṇa paintings. Thus the similarities between the Wakasa deity and Zenmyō are both iconographic and stylistic.

Seen within the broader context of female divinities, Buddhist and Shinto, the image of Zenmyō as protector of the Dharmā was not an isolated case. The visual evidence, both in painting and sculpture, suggests a marked increase in the numbers of such deities from Heian into Kamakura. Their protective roles, while similar, nonetheless extend to different believers or different regions, and the
same deity may even appear in more than one guise. Although worship of Zenmyō seems to have been confined to the Kōzanji and Zenmyōji communities, her appeal springs from universal yearnings.

The Patron and Audience for Zenmyō

The Gishō scrolls have belonged to Kōzanji since the mid-thirteenth century, but the actual circumstances surrounding their creation are unknown from extant records. The pictorialization of both monks' lives in Tales of Gishō and Gangyō undoubtedly stems from Myōe's personal interest in the two Silla monks, whose writings he read and treasured at Kōzanji. Yet Myōe and his few disciples largely spent their lives in quiet scholarship and meditation, in conducting esoteric ceremonies for court patrons, or in preaching publicly on various aspects of Škyamuni's life. It is doubtful, therefore, that they had either reason or means to create picture scrolls for their own use.

The dominant theory is that Myōe had the scrolls produced between about 1224 and 1225 for the instruction of the Zenmyōji nuns. This theory can be examined more critically if a clear distinction is made between the various collaborators required for the production of the Gishō scrolls. Myōe has already been mentioned as the likely editor of the text, in particular the learned Commentary. The question-and-answer format may derive from the now-lost Zenmyō kōshiki of 1224 or a debate held at Zenmyōji after the installation of the Zenmyō image there earlier the same year. The Commentary may thus have received its final form in about 1224. But when we look closely at the Gishō scrolls, we find that the scribe wrote out the entire text after the pictures had been completed. Hence the actual planning and execution of the scrolls could have taken much longer. Even allowing for Myōe's participation in the editing of the text, it is unlikely that either Myōe himself or the Zenmyōji nuns were the patrons of the scrolls. The nuns could have been the primary audience for the Gishō scrolls, but for a variety of reasons, I believe that they were not involved, from the beginning, in their creation.

The crucial point lies in the identities of these women and the circumstances that brought about the founding of the Zenmyōji nunnery. These women appear to have been the wives and mothers of court warriors killed during Retired Emperor Gotoba's ill-fated armed resistance against the military establishment in Kamakura in 1221. The events of this "Shokkyū-era War" and its role in consolidating warrior authority are well known. Myōe's closeness to the losing retired emperor's side initially created difficulties for him, but the net result was increased support for Kōzanji in the 1230s and 1230s. During the short-lived war a number of women took refuge near the Hiraoka Hachimun Shrine, located
in a valley below Közanji. Some of those women remained there until the muni-

tery was built for them in 1223. According to Közanji engi, the halls of Zennmyōji

were donated by newly designated Prime Minister Saimonji Kinugasa upon the plea

of the widow of Nakamikado Muneyuki, the latter being one of Gotoba's chief

plotter in the revolt. 39

The true identities of the Zennmyōji nuns may be suggested, but not verified,

from a few extant sources. Among the Közanji manuscripts are fifty-four (out of

sixty) books of Kegonkyō written out in the months after Myōe's death in 1232.29

They bear the names of seven nuns, who wrote them so that they might meet

Myōe again in their next lives. In 1393, Kuribara Nobunimitsu visited Közanji and

recorded temple traditions about the identities of five of these women. 40 From

Kuribara's account, we know the following: Kaikō was the wife of Muneyuki

and the major patron of Zennmyōji. Myōdatsu, the daughter of Muneyuki, was

the secondary wife of Sasaki Hirotusa, governor of Yamashiro, and the mother

of Seitsako-maru. Six months after Myōe's death, on Jūi 1/7/8 (1232), she jumped

into the Kiyotaki River and drowned at the age of forty-seven. Shōmyō, the

doughter of Goō Sanemoto, was once a lady-in-waiting to Gotoba. Later she

became the wife of Goō Motokiyo, and the mother of Motonari, both of whom

were killed on the court side. Zen'ei, the daughter of Fujiwara Sadatsune, was

the wife of Provisional Middle Countess Fujiwara Tatsukichi, the mother of Mi-

tusoki, and one-time wet nurse to Emperor Jun'oku. Her name was Kyōshi and

she rose to third rank. Kachō, the daughter of Iwashimizu Shrine superintendent

Nanakyo, was the secondary wife of Tatsukichi and the mother of the governor

of Tango, Mutsuji.

While all of the male relatives mentioned are prominent in records pertaining

to the Shōkyō War, the identities of their mothers and wives cannot be veri-

fied. 41 Közanji engi affirms the role of Muneyuki's widow but does not name her.

Support for the claim that Sasaki Hirotusa was involved with Közanji does

appear in a catalogue of sacred texts where both Muneyuki and Hirotusa are

named as donors of major Mahayana sutras. 42

A tragic account of the wife of Hirotusa (unnamed) and her son Seitsa-

koma maru does appear in Record of Shōkyō (Shōkyōki), an embellished account of

the war. 43 That text describes how all of the children of the court warriors were

hunted down and beheaded. Seitsakoma was the beloved page of the Minamoto

prince, Dojo, Gotoba's son, who pleads for Seitsaka's life.

"Despite my fervent entreaties for Seitsaka alone, they won't pardon him!

I've heard that his mother is at Dōko. Let her know what has happened." 44

Seitsaka's mother cried... When Seitsaka was called in to her, the

mother burst out weeping and said to him through her tears of yearning

love... "Your father's death has already driven me to distraction, and now

I discover that you're being sought by enemies too. You've been summoned
to Rokuhara and will be the cause of more grief for me. Instead of that, you must kill me first and then commit suicide. I don't want to suffer anymore."

Those present could not restrain their tears as these words were spoken, but since the Superior forbade the killings, the mother's paws went unheded... .

The story continues with Hōjō Yasutoki attempting to free Seitsaka.

"Since I've received courteous addresses from Dojo repeatedly, I'll pardon Seitsaka at once. Furthermore, when I inquired about the woman loitering by my gate, I was informed that she is the mother of Seitsaka. This is a cruel fate for her to bear. How could someone like her, the wife of the Governor of Yamashiro, stand barefoot at my gate? It is out of compassion for her, too, that I pardon Seitsaka."

Yasutoki's pardon was ignored by Seitsaka's uncle, who beheaded the youth.

Whether or not all of the gruesome details in Shokyūki are true, it is not difficult to imagine the suffering of the women who took refuge in the valley below Kōzanji. Forced into leaving their homes and having lost family members in the fighting, these women surely did not all become nuns of their own volition. If they were, as seems likely, the widows and mothers of participants on the court side, then we might suppose that they remained at Zennyoji as a last resort, because the war had deprived them of family support. This community of nuns inadvertently fulfilled Zennyo's role, however. Taken in out of compassion, these women brought attention to Kōzanji. Prime Minister Ōsionji's support of Zennyoji could be seen both as propitiation for the souls of his deceased fellow aristocrats and as material support for their widows. Consumed by their grief and homeless, could such women have been the patrons of the Gishō scrolls? They may indeed have been among the audience for the scrolls, particularly the Commentary, but it is doubtful that they had the means to produce them.

Looking more deeply into records about the Kōzanji community, we find that one of Myōe's most important patrons before the Shokyū War was a woman. Recorded simply as Kō (or Kami) Sanmi no Tsunobe, Lady Sanmi (Third Rank), this woman commissioned the premier sculptor Kāikei to carve an image of Škyamuni that became the main object of devotion in the Golden Hall, dedicated in 1219. Lady Sanmi provided the support for daily ceremonies and offerings made at the Golden Hall by donating the income from one of her estates. Although her name has never been mentioned in connection with the Gishō scrolls, as an early and lasting patron of Myōe she should be considered as a potential member of the audience, if not a patron for the Gishō scrolls.

Who was this woman of means? As is usually the case in medieval documents, she is never referred to by her own name. Lady Sanmi could be a name indicative of her husband's or father's rank, or her own, while Tsunobe indicates
that she served as a lady-in-waiting at court. Were it not for a chance notation in Meigetsuki (Record of the bright moon), the diary of the noted poet Fujiwara Sadaie, her identity might have remained a mystery. In 1213 Sadaie discusses the circumstances surrounding the death of a lesser captain (shishi) named Chikahira, whose mother, he records, is Kō Sanmi. The name and rank of Lady Sanmi’s son provides the key to unlocking her identity, for he can be found in the fourteenth-century genealogy Sorpi hannyaoku, from which the diagram in Figure 12 is redrawn and simplified. As the genealogy shows, the mother of Chikahira was Tokiko, whose father, Priest Nen, was the adopted son of Taira no Kiyomori. When the members of the Taira clan fled to the west for the final battles of the Genpei War, Nen left his wife and children. Lady Sanmi’s mother, Noriko, later married Minamoto Michichika, who adopted her children and succeeded in having one daughter, Arikō, made empress. Tokiko married Fujiwara Tadasue, who was known for his musical talent, and was a member of Empress GoShirmon’in’s staff before his premature death in 1196.

Lady Sanmi and Tadasue’s son Chikahira, who died in 1213 at age eighteen, may be one key to Lady Sanmi’s acquaintance with Myōe. It is clear from Sadaie’s diary that Chikahira and another youth, Sukehira, were two of Gocho’s favorites. They died suddenly within a day of each other, causing Gocho profound grief. Later a series of inauspicious events occurred which suggested to the court that their vengeful souls were about in the world. At last the era name was changed to Keigo, and no doubt all manner of esoteric ceremonies were carried out to rid the court of their curse.

The connection between Myōe and the deceased Chikahira is suggested later, in an important text by Myōe dated 1223 entitled Record to Urge Faith in Sand [Blessed by the Bright Light Mantra (Komyō shingon doha konjiki)]. At the end of the text Myōe speaks of his cherished patron Lady Sanmi. Having just told the story of a Tang master’s volunteering of the temple bell to relieve the suffering of those in hell, Myōe describes the circumstances surrounding Kōzanjī’s own bell.

![Genealogy of Lady Sanmi](Fig. 12. Genealogy of Lady Sanmi. Compiled from diagrams in Sorpi hannyaoku.)
“Some time ago, on Shōkyū 1/11/1 (1219) at the time our temple’s great patron, Lady Sanmi, first gave us the funds for the support of the bell, she said to me: ‘The voice of the bell can be heard in the evil realms. Can you make it toll for the sake of my dead son, the Lesser Captain?’” Myōe then says that Kōzanji’s tolling of the bell occurred on the anniversary of that same T’ang master’s bell, and he goes on to explain the benefits of the bell ceremony. Next he indicates his deep respect for his patron. “Our patron truly does not fear poverty. Because she has given our temple funds needed for her own survival, I have assembled all of you monks in front of the buddhas to concentrate your thoughts on praise for her goodness. Toward this stupid monk [Myōe himself] her faith has no bounds . . . her beliefs penetrate to her bones.”1 The praise that Myōe lavishes on Lady Sanmi’s contribution to Kōzanji is deeply felt.

While Lady Sanmi’s support of the Golden Hall and the temple bell could have stemmed from some role Myōe played after her son’s death in 1213, an immediate impetus might have been Myōe’s healing of her daughter in 1218.2 This daughter, a nun, is called Zenni in the Kōzanji records, and seems to have been Lady Sanmi’s daughter by Konoe Motomichi, who had risen to the offices of regent and chancellor with the ascent of Minamoto Michichika (Lady Sanmi’s adoptive father). A Kōzanji tradition holds that Myōe served as preceptor when Motomichi took the tonsure in 1208, but that has not been verified.3 Since Konoe family patronage became Kōzanji’s major support during the middle of the thirteenth century, it is possible that this grew from Lady Sanmi’s early connection with Myōe.4

Lady Sanmi’s patronage was crucial to the construction and support of Kōzanji, and her family connections eventually led to even more support for the Kōzanji community after the Shōkyū War. Her role—as a lay believer providing material support for the monk she venerated—is also one of Zenmyō’s roles in the Gishō scrolls. Lady Sanmi, who suffered the early loss of her husband and son, is an ideal candidate for the patron of the Gishō scrolls. A woman of status and some wealth, Lady Sanmi was not a Zenmyōji nun. If she indeed played a role in the creation of the Gishō scrolls, it may be possible to push the date of their creation back before the Shōkyū War, to the period when Lady Sanmi was most active as Kōzanji’s patron.

This possibility is supported by Myōe’s well-known dream of Zenmyō in his Dream Record on [Shōkyū 1/5 21 (1220)].5 In his dream, Myōe receives a small clay Chinese figure of a woman. The figure cries profusely, lamenting that she has been brought to Japan. Myōe tries to console her when she suddenly becomes a living woman. He then plans to take her to his stepmother, a nun, but is deterred when another monk informs him that the young woman consorts with snakes. Myōe’s own interpretation of his dream identifies the woman as Zenmyō, whose own body transformed both into a dragon and a rock. This description of a woman crying in the face of a monk’s compassion clearly resembles the famous
encounter in the Gishō scrolls illustrated in Plate 5, and some Japanese scholars have suggested that the dream should be seen as evidence that Myōe thought of himself performing Gishō's role. Leaving aside the problems in interpreting this rather bizarre dream, it attests that Myōe had Zennyō on his mind a full year before the Šōkyū War, precisely at the time his contact with Lady Sanmi was the closest.

During this same year, 1220, Myōe had a number of other exceedingly descriptive dreams that, taken together, strongly suggest that he had either seen particular painted scenes in the Gishō scrolls, was actively planning them with the artist, or was then engaged in compiling the text. These dreams include a vision of a woman jumping into a pond (Fig. 4), a house with a fishing platform built over a pond (from Gishō III), a vision of himself on a boat crossing the ocean whereupon he sees an object on the ocean that leaps aboard (Gishō III), a woman who wants to protect him (Plate 5, or perhaps from the missing Gishō IV), a great gate (Gishō II), a dragon (Gishō III), and a room with a beautiful woman in it (Gishō II). While it is not possible to determine if the Gishō scrolls were completed before the Šōkyū War, these dreams are compelling evidence that the pictures, at least, were begun earlier.

If the Gishō scrolls were begun in 1219 or 1220, they originally had no connection to Zennyōji. Lady Sanmi may have been their principal patron, but she could have been joined by one or more of the women who later took refuge at Zennyōji. If the production of the Gishō scrolls was interrupted by the war and later resumed, as seems likely, their audience might have expanded to include the Zennyōji nuns. That scenario would parallel the fate of Kakei's Sakununime image, originally given to Közanji by Lady Sanmi in 1219 and transferred to Zennyōji in 1223. On the other hand, if the scrolls were produced solely at Lady Sanmi's behest, she may not have given them to Közanji until the time of her death. A document dating from 1231 records that Lady Sanmi had become a nun and was near death when she ceded her estates to her adopted son, the unranked Prince Sonshu. Although the Zennyōji nuns may have read and viewed the Gishō scrolls, we must keep in mind that the scrolls are listed in the catalogue of the Közanji storehouse, along with the Gangyō scrolls, as belonging to Közanji, not Zennyōji, by 1230.

Conclusion

By virtue of the documentary sources detailing the Közanji community, the Gishō scrolls allow us to pursue several lines of inquiry. A careful reading of the text of the scrolls provides the crucial insight into the intentions of its creators. To see the Gishō scrolls solely as an illustrated life of a Kegon sect patriarch, and thereby relate its contents to the monastic community of Közanji, ignores the
more fundamental Buddhist truths brought out in the Commentary. The Commentary, if not the entire text of the Gishō scrolls, is in perfect harmony with Myoë’s manner of writing and teaching. The enlargement of Zennyo’s role suggests a specific audience to whom Myoë explained the deeper significance of Zennyo’s miracles. The portrayal of Zennyo, undeniably Chinese in style and iconography, both epitomizes the various roles that women have played in Buddhist sutras, and takes on new life within the complex religious, social, and political climate of Kyoto in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The women who heard Zennyo’s story listened with experienced ears; they looked with sorrowful eyes. For them Zennyo’s transformations into a dragon and a rock were a reality they sought to understand through their reading and viewing of this remarkable set of picture scrolls.

NOTES

This chapter is dedicated to Ms. Ogawa Chikako of Közanji.


2. The history of Közanji and its patrons is the subject of Brock, “Tales,” chap. 5.


5. Both the Gishō and Gengyō scrolls begin with illustrations of the demon dream and parting scenes.


7. The following discussion of the editor comes from Brock, "Tales," chap. 2. Portions of this material were presented at the 1987 Annual College Art Association Meeting (Boston, February 1987) and at the 53d International Conference of Orientalists in Japan (Tokyo, May 1987). Other, briefer, comparisons between the Chinese and Japanese texts appear in Nenju Takumi, "Myōe ni okeru setsuwa juyō" (The reception of tales by Myōe), Nihon bunkakukai 26, no. 12 (1977): 82–92, and Tanabe, "Myōe Shōnin," 290–302. Tanabe also translates some of the text, analyses its divergence from Sung kào-seng chuan, and discusses it in relation to Myōe's belief and practice. He attributes both the Gishō and Gengyō texts to Myōe's authorship, while I suspect that the Gengyō text was compiled by someone else in Myōe's circle.


9. The Commentary, originally located at the end of Gishō IV, now appears at the beginning of Gishō I. At the time of the 1547 fire the Commentary had already been separated from Gishō IV, resulting in the loss by fire of 6(?) out of an original 14(?) sheets of paper. See Brock, "The Case of the Missing Scroll," 22–26.


11. See Brock, "Tales," chap. 3, for further discussion of the texts of Tales of Gishō and Gengyō as examples of Buddhist tales, setsuwa, and a discussion of their closeness to contemporary illustrated tales. Myōe frequently transformed difficult Chinese texts into more understandable Japanese versions, sometimes at the request of lay female patrons. An example is his Keiun Yūshıngi (The doctrine of mind-only in Keiun) written in 1200 (in Daishonin Bukkyō zenshō [Complete books of Japanese Buddhism, vol.
12. The Chinese Kōzanji Myōō shin'in gojūshiki (Life of Saint Myōe of Kōzanji) (KSS 1:135) records that Myōe wrote a lecture on Zenmyō in 1224, but it is now lost. It was also common practice for Myōe's followers to write down and preserve the texts of their teacher's lectures. See Yanagida Seiichi, "Myōe shin'in no kōgi to sono kikigaki" (Saint Myōe's lectures and their transcripts), KSS supplement (1986), 88–197.

13. Although comments within the paintings of picture scrolls are unusual for this period, they also appear in the contemporary Wakaša no kuni chin'yō nin'e ketsugi (see Fig. 11 above) and in copies of Hikohokotoni no mikoto enuki (NET, vol. 22). Only the comments ending in tokoro (the place where) seem to be original, written in by the scribe of the scroll texts.

14. For this analysis of Zenmyō's costume I am indebted to the following studies: Goichi Atsuko, "Kegon gojūshikō enuki no fukushoku shiteki kōsatu" (Historical analysis of costume in The Kegon Fifty-five Vīra picture scroll), SNEZ, vol. 25 (1979), 16–25; Hayashi On, "Kiyō Jōrōjirō Kichijōten zashiki shōso o megaru mondai" (Problems concerning the images of Buddhist deities painted on the panels of the Kichijōten shrine formerly at Jōrōjirō, Bukkōshō gijutsu 1:1965): 49–82; and Chou Hsi-pao, Chung-kuo kō-tai fa-shih shih (History of ancient Chinese costume) (Peking: Chung-kuo shih-ch'u ch'ü-pan-sha, 1984). The difficulties in discussing costume are compounded by the proliferation of terms and the paucity of authentic, datable paintings, both Chinese and Japanese. Zenmyō's pointed collar seems to be a separate accessory, but many other such collars are part of the robe.


17. Knowledge of Sung dress has been advanced by the discovery in 1976 of a Southern Sung tomb containing 201 items of clothing. The tomb, datable to 1243, was that of a wife of an official administering the maritime trade of that region. Among the items were full-length robes with long or narrow sleeves, tunics, vests, trousers, and sashes on skirts. There were no decorative pointed collars among her complete wardrobe. Fu-ch'ien sheng po-wu kuan, Fu-chou Na-Shung Huang Shen mu (The Southern Sung tomb of Huang Shen at Fu-chou) (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-sha, 1982).


19. The Hāritī paintings were not recognized as such when the murals were first published. Julia K. Murray in "Representations of Hāritī, the Mother of Demons and the Theme of "Raising the Alms-Bowl" in Chinese Painting" (Arthos Asiae 43, no. 4 (1982): 253–284) discusses textual sources for Hāritī narratives. The Yen-shang-ssu paintings provide new evidence for a much richer Hāritī narrative cycle than was previously known.


22. Matsuhina Takaaki, "Fugun jūarasekunyo ni tsuite" (Concerning Fugen and the ten demon daughters), Hokkyō gijutsusen 66 (1950): 39-50; Toyooka Manato, "Fugen jūarasekunyō no kō" (Paintings of Fugen and the ten demon daughters), Bijutsu kenkyū 41 (1953): 209-211.


27. Akamatsu Toshihide was the first to study the Zennō in "Kōzam ni no Zennō ni iro no shōjō ni tsuite" (Concerning the two Shinto sculptures of Zennō and Byakko at Kōzanji). Gassen 54 (1948): 48-49; also in idem, Kamakura Bukkō no kenkyū (Research on Kamakura Buddhist Art), vol. 2 (Kyoto: Heirōji shoten, 1966), 427-429. See Brock, "Tales," 379-354 and later in this chapter.


31. The 1250 catalogue of the Kōzanji zaishō, *Kōzanji shōgyō mokuroku* (Catalogue of the sacred teachings at Kōzanji), lists the Gishō and Ganyō scrolls on its final page. See Kōzanji kyōdai komakurokai (Old catalogues of the Kōzanji sutra repository), KSS 14:43. The veracity of this catalogue is discussed in Brock, "The Case of the Missing Scroll."

32. Kōzanji shōgyō mokuroku lists, text by both Silla monks: one title by Gishō and nineteen by Ganyō. Myōe copied Gishō's kōgi hakku-seki (Diagram of the Malaya
Dharma realm) in 1212, but the present whereabouts of this manuscript are unknown.  

Ono Genmyo, Basho hōtōso daijiten (Explanatory dictionary of Buddhist texts), vol. 1 (Tokyo: Daito shuppansha, 1974–1978), 148. At Kōzanji in July 1987 I examined an unpublished early Kamakura-period manuscript digest of eleven biographies from Sang kosa-sang chantra including those for Gishō and Gangyo, entitled Sōkotan chō (Digest of Sang kosa-sang chantra). The calligraphy is quite immature, and there are a number of mistakes which suggest that these biographies were written out by a youth.


33. See n. 12 and 27 above.

35. Although the texts always appear on separate sheets of paper, in three places the text is written out on top of painting.


40. In “Dajutsu bikō” (Notes on colophons and inscriptions) (unpublished), I have examined a close copy of the original owned by the Daitōkyō kinku bunka, Tokyo. Kuribara’s notes are quoted in Umezu, “Gishō Gangyō,” 145.


42. Kizanji, hōkyō mokuroku, KSS 14:7.


44. This was Sogyō in Yamato. A description of the Golden Hall and Lady Sanmi’s support appears in Kizanji engi, KSS 1:654–656. A document written by Myōe’s follower Kilai (1180–1259) explains that the Kakei statue was transferred to Zennyoji in 1243 when Kōzanji received a new main image of Vairocana (Zennyoji Shakusai chūmon [The Creation of the Sakyamuni image at Zennyoji], in Takachū Risō, comp., Zennyoji shin, vol. 5 [Tokyo: Tokyōdō shuppan, 1973], 212); see also Mori Hiasa, “Unkei, Kakei to Kōzanji, Jūrinnin’,” in Nihon Budōkyō chūkōkai no kenkyū (Kyoto: Hōzonkan, 1970), 243–212.

shuppanski, 1978). Myoe, 168-174, presents the record that mention Lady Sammi and concludes that she was Fujiwara Sukeo, sister of Gotoba's consort Shūmeimon'in (1182-1264). I discussed this problem with Professor Okuda in July 1987, and he accepted my new theory of Lady Sammi's identity.


47. Koboshi takai 59:137-139.

48. Nōen and Kiyomori's wife, Tokiko, were siblings by the same mother and thus Lady Sammi may have been named for her aunt. There is, however, an error on Senpi bukenyō, 139, which shows two daughters of Priest Nōen married to Tadanoe: Tokiko is labeled "Kō no Tsuhime," while an unnamed daughter is shown as the mother of Chikahira. Meitetsuki, Kenpō 1/4/13, clearly states that Chikahira is Kami Sammi's son. Nōen, Noriko, and Minamoto Michichika are discussed in Gukanshō (1219) (Delmer Brown and Ichito Ishida, The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the Gukanshō, an Interpretative History of Japan written in 1219 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 135-136, 162-163).


50. The first of two scrolls is extant in Myoe's hand in the Daitōkyō kinen bunkō. The entire text is transcribed in Kobushaku ushikyō (Japanese translation of the Buddhist canon), vol. 16 (Tokyo: Tōhō shoin, 1929), 431-434.

51. Ibid., 482-483.

52. Okuda, "Myoe to Kō Sammi," 11-12, transcribes the references to Lady Sammi's child, called a nun, but confuses her with Lady Sammi's dead son.

53. Kageyama Haruki, "Kōzanji no kondō boshi ni tsuite" (Concerning Kōzanji's bronze epitaphs), Bukkyō gojutsu 16 (1923): 82-86. Meitetsuki Jogan 2/7/6 (1208) (vol. 1, 41) mentions Momochi's tonsuring but Sadaie's information that the preceptor was a Tendai priest is hearsay.

54. Kōzanji engi, KSS, passim., and Kageyama, "Kōzanji no kondō boshi."

55. Translated in Brock, "Tales," 387-389, and Tanabe, "Myoe shōnin," 387-383. The rather disorderly state of Myoe's Dream Record for the years 1220-1223 has been carefully analyzed by Okuda Isao in "Myoe shōnin kankei tensuki no okugaki, shakigoi no tsuite—fu Myoe shōnin Yumenoki daijō sakkan kō" (Colophons and inscriptions on books concerning Saint Myoe, appended by research on the incorrect order of section 10 of Saint Myoe's Dream Record), KSS supplement, 165-179. Okuda's research proves that the Zennyo dream occurred in 1220.

56. See n. 33 above.

57. A recent Jungian analysis of Myoe based on Yumenoki is that by Kawai Hayao, Myoe, yume o idoru (Myoe: To live in dreams) (Kyoto: Kyoto Hakurinsha, 1987). The Zennyo dream and other relating to women are discussed on pp. 220-228.

58. The texts of these dreams appear in table 2 of Brock, "Gishō-e," 30-32, and they are translated in idem, "Tales," 391-392. It is quite possible that references to the Shōkyō War were later deleted from the diary, and that a reference to the creation of the Gishō scrolls was lost in the process.

59. See n. 44 above.

60. Takeuchi, Kankanba ika 16:257.
GLOSSARY

Anchin 安珍
Ariko (Shōmeimon'in) (1171–1257) 有子
bunsu (S. bālu) 凡洙
bukkai 仏戒
buppō (S. buddha-dharma) 仏法
butsuji (S. buddha-kūryō) 仏寺
Ch'ung-an 長安
Chib-yan (602–668) 崇佛
dōgan (S. maha-prajñāpāramitā) 大般
daisi (S. lǎi attainment大師
Dōjō 跡跡
Dōjōji 跡跡寺
dōjīn o okon道心を発する
Fujiwara Chikahira 純範親平
Fujiwara Mitsukō (1156–1231) 藤原光家
Fujiwara Mitsutoki 純藤光家
Fujiwara Mitsusuke 藤原光家
Fujiwara Saichi (1102–1144) 藤原定家
Fujiwara Sadatsune 藤原定家
Fujiwara Suketsuna 藤原常家
Fujiwara Tadatsune 藤原定家
Gangyō (K. Wōhyō) (627–686) 元興
Ginō (K. Ōtsang) (602–606) 喜光
Ginshōmon’in 宮政門院
Gociba (1180–1219) 建行
Gotō Motokiyo 御坊康清
Gotō Motonari 御坊宗家
Gotō Sanemoto 御坊宗家
Hiraki nōgō 重要経典
Hōjō Yasutoki (1183–1242) 北条時宗
Hokkai (S. dharma-dhātu) 界法
Hoichi (S. dharmagāthā) 法師
Iwahimizu 岩清水
j seized (S. darajijō) 慈心
jiki (S. maitri-kumāra) 慈悲
Jōhō (S. vyavādātika-dharma) 法法
Juntoku 相德
Kaizer (act as 1183–1223) 快楽
Kakō 成光
Kami 神
Kaoru 春日
Keigen engi 華厳緣起
Kegonkyō (Avatamsha sutra) 華厳経
Kegonshū sosho edo 華厳宗祖師経
Kiyohime 清姫
Kō (or Kami) Sanmi no Tsunbe 倪(守)
Kōyō shōgen dosha kanjinkē 光明真言寺
Kongō Benzaiten 金剛三総明神
Kōzanji 高山寺
Kōzanji engi 高山寺缘起
kudokō (S. gannō) 滔梵
Kumano 関野
Kushihara Nambutsu (1704–1866) 宗稱
Kyōshō 積孝
Meigetsuki 明月記
Minamoto Michihiko (1145–1202) 萬歳遙王
mujō (S. vīptatīta) 宙容
nichi no seki (S. anātī abhivairā) 焦時の
時軽
Myōōsansō 明遠
Myōe Shōin (1173–1232) 明惠上人
Nakamikado Munyuki (d. 1221) 中御門
宗行
Narikiyo 萬清
Ni-no-miya 二宮
Nōnen 波能
Noriko 南子
Nyōbōkakusho (S. Gandhārīpu) 入法界品
Oda-kei 台沙
Rennō-kyō 羅剎女
Ríchō 理照
Rokuhara 六波羅
Sainō Kintōke (1171–1244) 西園寺公経
Sasaki Hitonuma (d. 1221) 佐々木宣満
Seita-kan-bu 戦多聚
shien o tsuker 泰量を助け
shinyoku no sho shichihoku 色衰の教養
shinyoku fujo no kyōzoku 色衰不浄の境界
Shingon 真言
shūhō (S. sad-dharma) 法法
shūisei 生生世世
Shōkyō 永久
Shōkyōki 永久記
Shōmeimon’in 宗明門院
Shōmō 真明
shōshō 小将
shōjū (S. artha) 奥休所頼を供給
shūchaku 挟着
shūfū (S. manjya) 衆生
shukucen 統善
Songi harumiyu 導母分験
Sunag 手
Sung kae-teng chuan 宋高僧伝
Tara no Kiyomori (1118–1181) 平清盛
Takao 高雄
T'ang 唐
Tokiko 時子

Tachimikado 川御門
Tururu Shrine 朝神社
Wakasa no kuni 若狭の国
Yen-shan-ssu 岩山寺
yokukai (S. kāma-dhātu) 欧客
Yumenoki 夢記
zárāchikite (S. kalāyāṃśita) 善知識
Zen'e 禅慧
Zenmyō (C. Shan-miao) 善妙
Zenmyō kūshiki 善妙講式
Zenni 禅尼
Zen'aku (S. Sudhana) 善財