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# Flowering in the Shadows

Women in the History of Chinese  
and Japanese Painting

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## 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*.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 them to have a 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 kao-seng chuan* (Lives of eminent monks compiled during the Sung).<sup>3</sup> From that Chinese text and other sources we know that Gishō (K. Ŭisang) went to China in 661 and there studied with Chih-yen, the foremost Keron (C. Hua-yen) scholar of his day.<sup>4</sup> 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 Keron East of the Sea." The second of the two pilgrims, Gangyō (K. Wōnhyo), 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 kao-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 Keron 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 painted 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 kao-seng chuan*. As young men, Gishō and Gangyō decide to go to T'ang China to further their Buddhist studies. Enroute to the harbor the two monks spend the night in a cave. The next day they awaken to discover that the cave is, in fact, a burial mound, strewn with bones. A driving rainstorm prevents them from continuing on their journey and they are forced to spend a second night in the tomb. 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 alone.<sup>5</sup>

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 dissolute monks. As Gishō prays for aid, Zenmyō now transforms herself into a giant boulder. Hurtling herself into the air, she rises and falls, scattering the temple's inhabitants. Gishō moves in and there 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.<sup>6</sup> Gishō I 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.

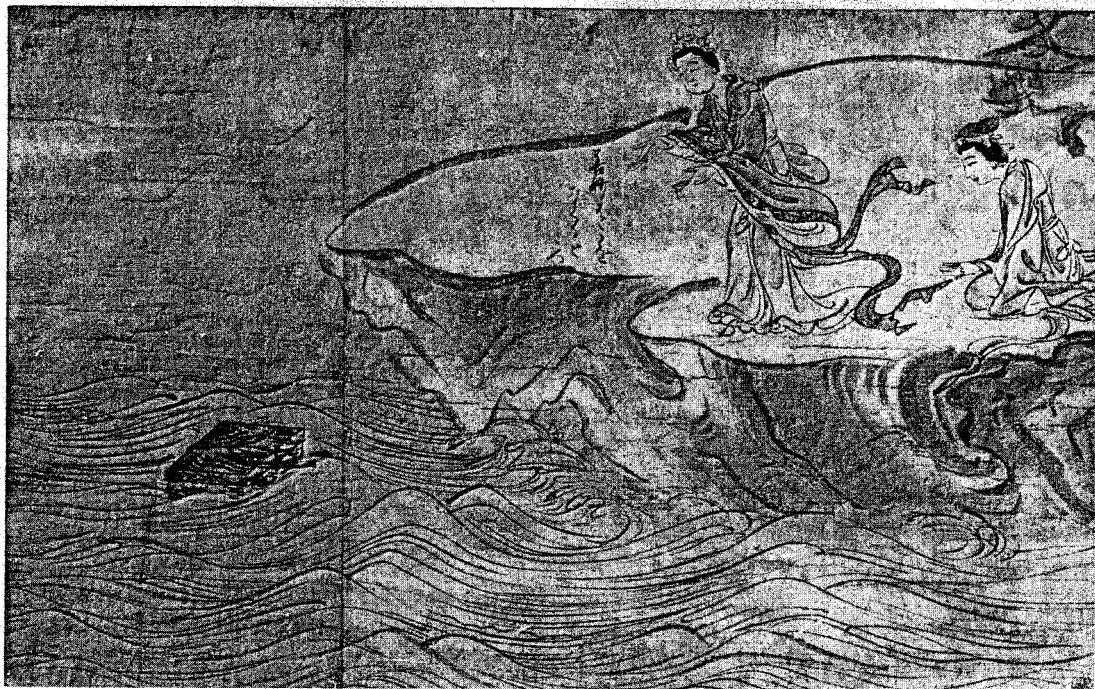


Fig. 3. Gishō scroll III, Painting D, Zenmyō throws her gift. Section of a handscroll, ink and colors on paper, h. 31.7 cm. National Treasure. Kōzanji, Kyoto.

the cave, Gangyō's dream, their parting, and Gishō's subsequent boarding of a ship. In Gishō II, the monk arrives in China, where he first encounters Zenmyō and then goes to Ch'ang-an to study with Chih-yen. Zenmyō prepares her presents, goes to the harbor where she misses Gishō's boat, makes her vows, and at last transforms into a dragon in the exciting climax to Gishō III. Only the text and the final preaching scene from Gishō IV survive from the last portion of the story, and these are incorrectly attached to the present second Gangyō scroll.

The missing sections do not prevent analysis of the changes wrought by the editor in translating and adapting the Chinese text.<sup>7</sup> 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 kao-seng chuan* are followed quite faithfully, the editor recast the story in a colloquial Japanese style that incorporates an entirely new selection of Chinese characters. These and other editorial changes in the text impart to Gishō's story a decidedly different cast for its thirteenth-century Japanese audience. In the picture scroll texts that deal directly with Zenmyō, the language and emotional tenor depart considerably from the Chinese original.<sup>8</sup>

In *Sung kao-seng chuan* Gishō's encounter with Zenmyō is told simply in a few sentences. The few Buddhist terms held in common with the scroll text are emphasized.

[Zenmyō] cleverly flattered and coaxed him, but Gishō's mind was of stone and could not be turned. She teased him but received no answer. Suddenly

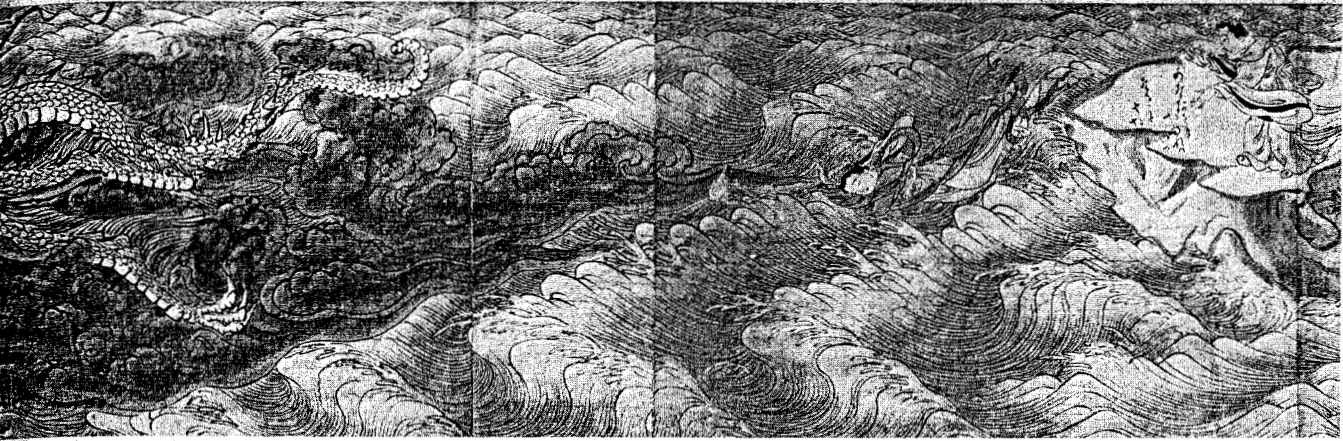


Fig. 4. Gishō scroll III, Painting D, Zenmyō jumps. Section of a handscroll, ink and

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 Gishō II. Here the present tense is used deliberately to heighten the relationship between text and picture.

Seeing him, Zenmyō raises her seductive eyebrows and flatters him, “Dharma-teacher (*hōshi*), you have risen above the realm of desire (*yokkai*) to benefit widely the dharma-realm (*hokkai*). I thirst after the purity of your virtues (*kudoku*), but cannot suppress my attachment to sexual desire (*shikiyoku no shūchaku*). I look at you and my heart beats wildly. Please have mercy (*jīhi*) on me and satisfy my reckless passions (*mōjō*).” The Dharma-teacher listens, 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 (*bukkai*) my bodily life is secondary. I teach pure dharmas (*jōhō*) to benefit all sentient beings (*shujō*). I gave up the realm of lust and pollution (*shikiyoku fujō no kyōkai*) long ago. You should believe in the efficacy of my merits and not hold a grudge against me for long.” Zenmyō listens and suddenly she experiences an awakening of faith (*dōshin o okosu*). Confessing her shame (*hikai zange*) she proclaims a great vow (*daigan*): “This eternally blind attachment of mine (*mushi no mōshū*) 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 (*shōjō seze*) and never part from you. Every time you perform a great Buddhist deed (*butsuji*) or benefit sentient beings in the dharma-realm I will be with you like a shadow. I will provide for your needs (*shoshu o kukyū*) and assist with your daily support (*shien o tasuke*). I pray, Great Teacher (*daishi*), 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. Kōzanji, Kyoto.

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

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

As for the girl Zenmyō, she had already assembled for Gishō priestly garments and various objects enough to fill a trunk. When she took them to the seaport, Gishō’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 Gishō I. Here the editor attempts to penetrate Zenmyō’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 stares out over the waves. Just at the point where the mist rises she can barely see the white sails of the boat. When Zenmyō 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 desires! 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 Zenmyō's religious fervor. The text breaks off, damaged, after Zenmyō'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 Zenmyō'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.<sup>9</sup> Slightly less than half of that text was lost to fire. In the remaining portion of the Commentary three questions concerning Zenmyō's actions are put forth:

1. If this were the doing of a truly ordinary person (*bonpu*), 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 Zenmyō's actions. The answers to the questions have further instructional value. Summarized they are: (1) Zenmyō'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 Śākyamuni, 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 along 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 vow, 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 *Honchō Hokke genki* (Miracles of the Lotus in our country).<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

The striking departure of Texts C and D from *Sung kao-seng chuan* and the addition of the lengthy question-and-answer Commentary suggest an intermedi-

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 an immediacy lacking in *Sung kao-seng chuan*. Perhaps a woman was consulted to supply the passages in Text D describing Zenmyō's feelings and anguish. The Gishō-Zenmyō 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.<sup>12</sup> 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 Zenmyō'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 Zenmyō and the problems in interpreting her actions. Zenmyō'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 5).<sup>13</sup> 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, Painting D. In Figure 1 she makes her way to the harbor to say good-bye 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 at 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.<sup>14</sup> 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 Gangyō*, was of Sung

rather than T'ang inspiration.<sup>15</sup> 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 1099 (Fig. 5).<sup>16</sup> 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 Gishō artist's portrayal of Zenmyō thus elevates her status above what we might expect from comparable Sung paintings, or from actual examples of Sung costume.<sup>17</sup>

The iconographic details of dress and hairstyle found in the women of the Gishō 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 Mañjuśrī Hall at Yen-shan-ssu in Shansi province.<sup>18</sup> The extensive paintings depict detailed narrative cycles of events in the life



Fig. 5. Wall paintings in Tomb 1 at Pai-sha, Honan. Ca 1099. From Su Pai, *Pai-sha Sung mu*.

of Śākyamuni on the west wall and of Hāritī on the east.<sup>19</sup> The most important women on each wall—Queen Māyā 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 Māyā and Hāritī are also greater in scale than their surrounding attendants. Queen Māyā 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 Hāritī'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-ssu murals.

Yet Zenmyō is not the only woman in thirteenth-century Japanese painting whose appearance seems to derive from an 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 Dhāraṇī chapter (chapter 26) of the *Lotus Sutra*. There the Buddha speaks to ten daughters of demons (*J. rasetsunyo*) 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!"<sup>20</sup>

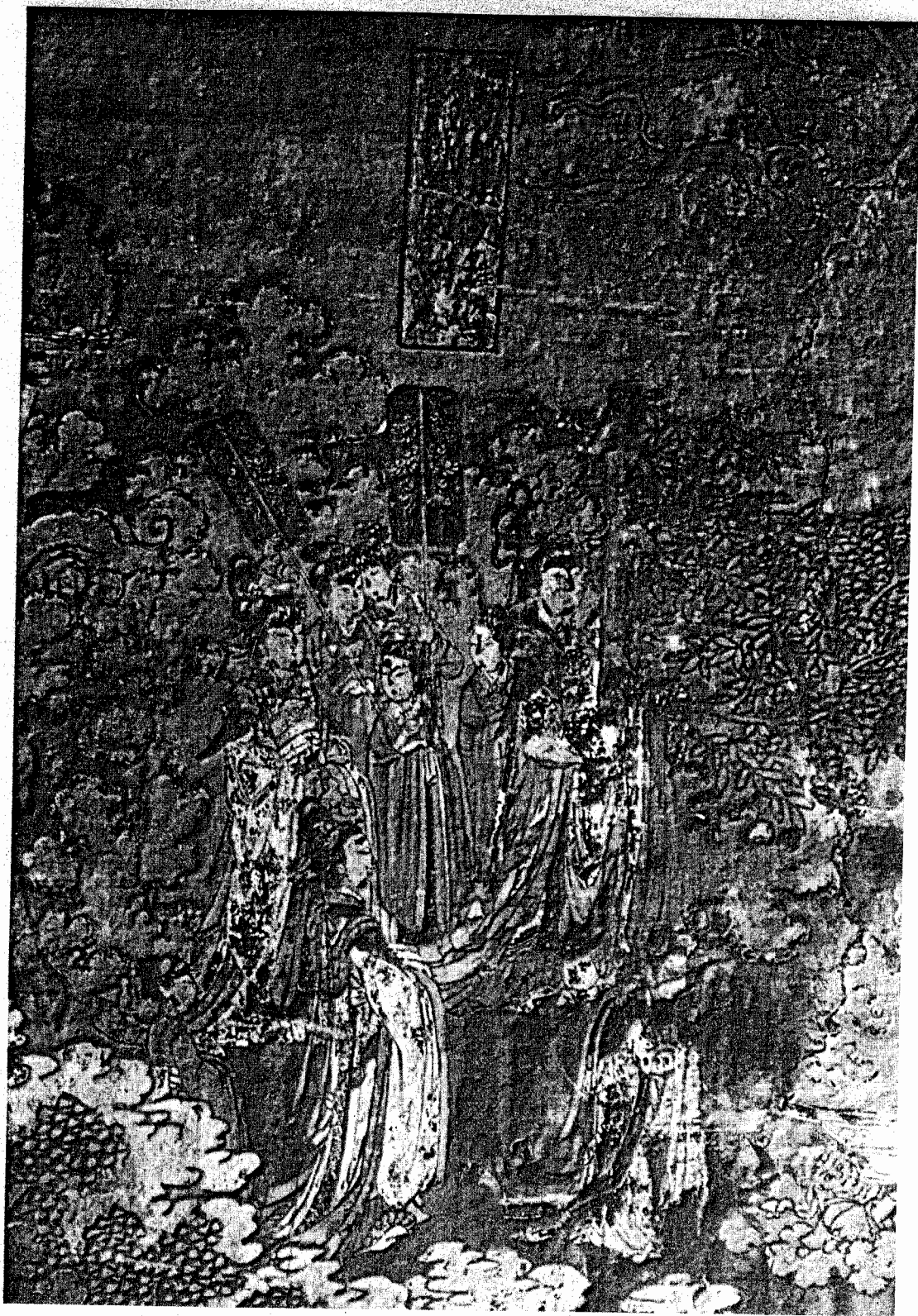


Fig. 6. Queen Māyā giving birth, detail of west wall in Mañjuśrī Hall at Yen-shan-ssu. Ca 1167. From *Yen-shan-ssu chin-tai pi-hua*.



Fig. 7. Hārītī and attendants, detail of east wall in Mañjuśrī 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 walls, 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 nōgyō*) of 1164, or in the fan-shaped sutras at Shitennōji (ca 1155) they appear as formally dressed Japanese court ladies with abundant black hair streaming over their multilayered, multicolored costumes.<sup>21</sup> 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).<sup>22</sup> 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 *rasetsunyo* (demon daughters). Mid-thirteenth century. Hanging scroll, colors on silk, 140.4 × 73.0 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Acc. no. 63.14).

described in the *Nyūhokkaihon* (S. *Gaṇḍavyūha*) section of *Kegonkyō*. Therein the young boy Zenzai (S. Sudhana) visits fifty-three teachers, called “good friends,” in a quest for truth.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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-ssu. 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 Gangyō*.<sup>25</sup>

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.<sup>26</sup> 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 Zenmyō on her way to the harbor (Fig. 1). Both Queen Māyā and Zenmyō are too late to see the objects of their affections, 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. Zenmyō 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 Zenmyō’s emotional outburst from a very similar Parinirvāṇa painting.

We have seen how the iconographic type used for Zenmyō recalls the depiction of other Buddhist women: demon daughters, “good friends,” and Queen Māyā. Zenmyō 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 Zenmyō’s immediate role in the Kōzanji community. Zenmyō, 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 Kōzanji and at the Zenmyōji nunnery.<sup>27</sup> A diminutive sculpture of Zenmyō was one of two images carved for Kōzanji’s *chin-jusha* in 1225 (Fig. 10). The 1253 history of Kōzanji, *Kōzanji 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. “Zenmyō-shin 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 × 282.1 cm. Important Cultural Property. Tsurugi Shrine, Fukui prefecture.



Fig. 10. Zenmyō-shin. 1225. Polychromed wood, h. 31.5 cm. Important Cultural Property. Kōzanji, Kyoto.

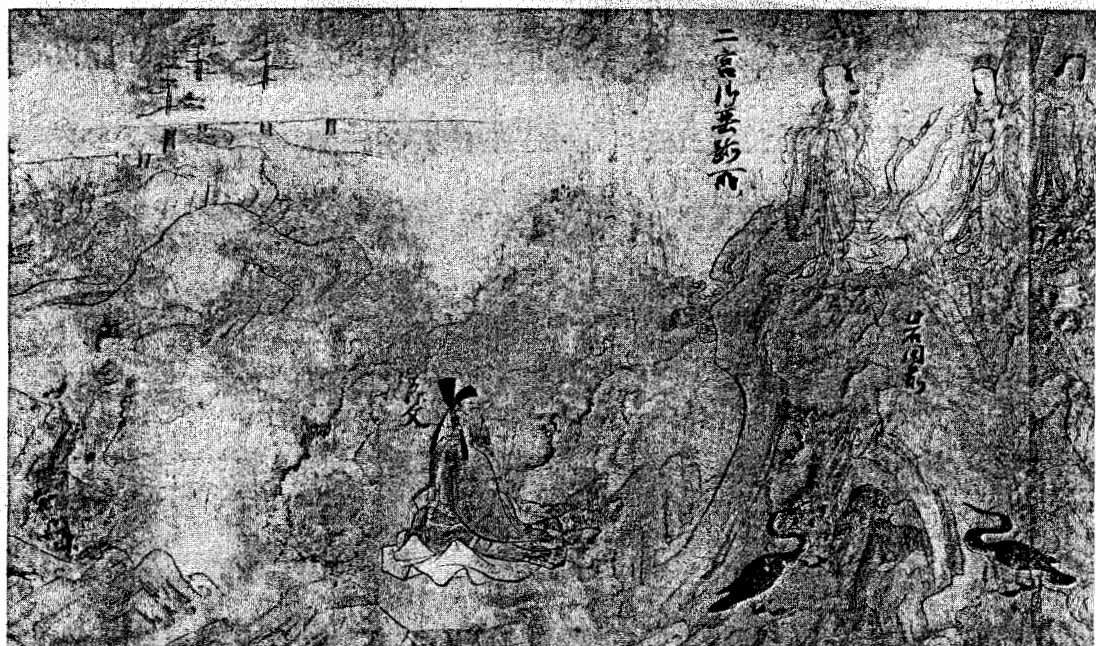


Fig. 11. Tutelary deities of Wakasa province. Thirteenth century. Detail of a handscroll, ink and colors on paper, h. 31.3 cm. Important Cultural Property. Kyoto National Museum.

invited her here.”<sup>28</sup> 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 Kichijōten.<sup>29</sup>

Several native deities in thirteenth-century Shinto paintings assume this new style of dress and figure type as well. Representations of male and female *kami* 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).<sup>30</sup> 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-miya 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 Māyā 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 Dharma 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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 Śākyamuni'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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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 "Shōkyū-era War" and its role in consolidating warrior authority are well known.<sup>36</sup> 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 1220s and 1230s.<sup>37</sup> During the short-lived war a number of women took refuge near the Hiraoka Hachiman Shrine, located

in a valley below Kōzanji. Some of those women remained there until the nunnery was built for them in 1223. According to *Kōzanji engi*, the halls of Zenmyōji were donated by newly designated Prime Minister Saionji Kintsune upon the plea of the widow of Nakamikado Muneyuki, the latter being one of Gotoba's chief plotter<sup>s</sup> in the revolt.<sup>38</sup>

The true identities of the Zenmyōji nuns may be suggested, but not verified, from a few extant sources. Among the Kōzanji manuscripts are fifty-four (out of sixty) books of *Kegonkyō* written out in the months after Myōe's death in 1232.<sup>39</sup> They bear the names of seven nuns, who wrote them so that they might meet Myōe again in their next lives. In 1839, Kurihara Nobumitsu visited Kōzanji and recorded temple traditions about the identities of five of these women.<sup>40</sup> From Kurihara's account, we know the following: Kaikō was the wife of Muneyuki and the major patron of Zenmyōji. Myōdatsu, the daughter of Muneyuki, was the secondary wife of Sasaki Hirotsuna, governor of Yamashiro, and the mother of Seitaka-maru. Six months after Myōe's death, on Jōei 1/7/8 (1232), she jumped into the Kiyotaki River and drowned at the age of forty-seven. Shōmyō, the daughter of Gotō Sanemoto, was once a lady-in-waiting to Gotoba. Later she became the wife of Gotō Motokiyo, and the mother of Motonari, both of whom were killed on the court side. Zen'e, the daughter of Fujiwara Sadatsune, was the wife of Provisional Middle Counselor Fujiwara Mitsuchika, the mother of Mitsutoshi, and one-time wet nurse to Emperor Juntoku. Her name was Kyōshi and she rose to third rank. Richō, the daughter of Iwashimizu Shrine superintendent Narikiyo, was the secondary wife of Mitsuchika and the mother of the governor of Tango, Mitsuuji.

While all of the male relatives mentioned are prominent in records pertaining to the Shōkyū War, the identities of their mothers and wives cannot be verified.<sup>41</sup> *Kōzanji engi* affirms the role of Muneyuki's widow but does not name her. Support for the claim that Sasaki Hirotsuna was involved with Kōzanji does appear in a catalogue of sacred texts where both Muneyuki and Hirotsuna are named as donors of major Mahayana sutras.<sup>42</sup>

A tragic account of the wife of Hirotsuna (unnamed) and her son Seitaka-maru does appear in *Record of Shōkyū (Shōkyūki)*, an embellished account of the war.<sup>43</sup> That text describes how all of the children of the court warriors were hunted down and beheaded. Seitaka was the beloved page of the Ninnaji prince, Dōjo, Gotoba's son, who pleads for Seitaka's life.

“Despite my fervent entreaties for Seitaka alone, they won't pardon him! I've heard that his mother is at Takao. Let her know what has happened.”

Seitaka's mother came. . . . When Seitaka 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 plea went unheeded . . .

The story continues with Hōjō Yasutoki attempting to free Seitaka.

"Since I've received courteous addresses from Dōjo repeatedly, I'll pardon Seitaka at once. Furthermore, when I inquired about the woman loitering by my gate, I was informed that she is the mother of Seitaka. 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 Seitaka."

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

Whether or not all of the gruesome details in *Shōkyūki* 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 Zenmyōji as a last resort, because the war had deprived them of family support. This community of nuns inadvertently fulfilled Zenmyō's role, however. Taken in out of compassion, these women brought attention to Kōzanji. Prime Minister Saionji's support of Zenmyōji 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 Shōkyū War was a woman. Recorded simply as Kō (or Kami) Sanmi no Tsubone, Lady Sanmi (Third Rank), this woman commissioned the premier sculptor Kaikei to carve an image of Śākyamuni 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.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> Lady Sanmi could be a name indicative of her husband's or father's rank, or her own, while Tsubone 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.<sup>46</sup> In 1213 Sadaie discusses the circumstances surrounding the death of a lesser captain (*shōshō*) 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 *Sonpi bunmyaku*, from which the diagram in Figure 12 is redrawn and simplified.<sup>47</sup> As the genealogy shows, the mother of Chikahira was Tokiko, whose father, Priest Nōen, 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, Nōen left his wife and children. Lady Sanmi's mother, Noriko, later married Minamoto Michichika, who adopted her children and succeeded in having one daughter, Ariko, made empress. Tokiko married Fujiwara Tadasue, who was known for his musical talent, and was a member of Empress Gishūmon'in's staff before his premature death in 1196.<sup>48</sup>

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 Gotoba's favorites. They died suddenly within a day of each other, causing Gotoba 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 Kenpō, and no doubt all manner of esoteric ceremonies were carried out to rid the court of their curse.<sup>49</sup>

The connection between Myōe and the deceased Chikahira is suggested later, in an important text by Myōe dated 1228 entitled *Record to Urge Faith in Sand [Blessed by] the Bright Light Mantra (Kōmyō shingon dosha kanjinki)*.<sup>50</sup> At the end of the text Myōe speaks of his cherished patron Lady Sanmi. Having just told the story of a T'ang master's tolling of the temple bell to relieve the suffering of those in hell, Myōe describes the circumstances surrounding Kōzanji's own bell.

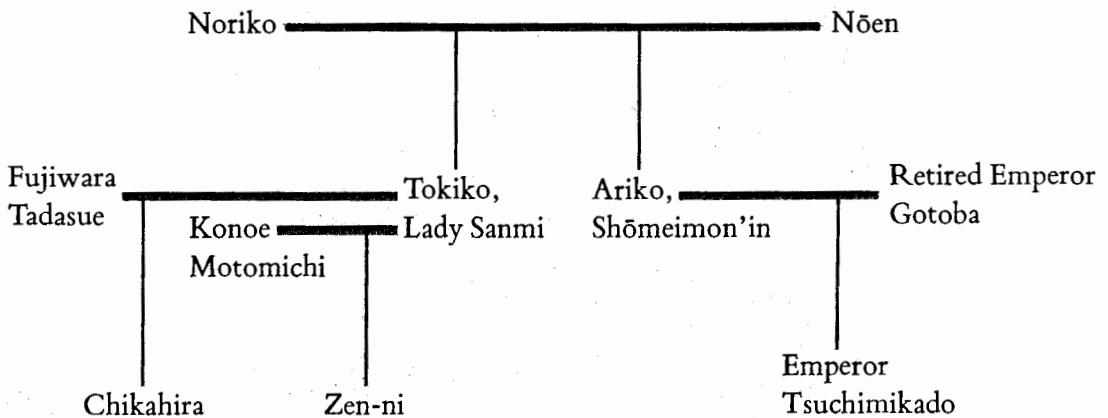


Fig. 12. Genealogy of Lady Sanmi. Compiled from diagrams in *Sonpi bunmyaku*.

“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 praises for her goodness. Toward this stupid monk [Myōe himself] her faith has no bounds . . . her beliefs penetrate to her bones.”<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup>

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 2]/5/21 (1220).<sup>55</sup> In his dream, Myōe receives a small clay Chinese figurine 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.<sup>56</sup> Leaving aside the problems in interpreting this rather bizarre dream,<sup>57</sup> it attests that Myōe had Zenmyō on his mind a full year before the Shōkyū 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.<sup>58</sup> 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 Shōkyū 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 Zenmyōji. 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 Zenmyōji. 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 Zenmyōji nuns. That scenario would parallel the fate of Kaikei's Śākyamuni image, originally given to Kōzanji by Lady Sanmi in 1219 and transferred to Zenmyōji in 1223.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, if the scrolls were produced solely at Lady Sanmi's behest, she may not have given them to Kōzanji 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.<sup>60</sup> Although the Zenmyōji nuns may have read and viewed the Gishō scrolls, we must keep in mind that the scrolls are listed in the catalogue of the Kōzanji storehouse, along with the Gangyō scrolls, as belonging to Kōzanji, not Zenmyōji, by 1250.

### Conclusion

By virtue of the documentary sources detailing the Kōzanji 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 Kōzanji, 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 Myōe's manner of writing and teaching. The enlargement of Zenmyō's role suggests a specific audience to whom Myōe explained the deeper significance of Zenmyō's miracles. The portrayal of Zenmyō, 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 Zenmyō's story listened with experienced ears; they looked with sorrowful eyes. For them Zenmyō'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 Chieko of Kōzanji.

1. *Kegon engi* and *Kegonshū soshi eden* are titles of late date that do not capture the true flavor of the narratives. The six scrolls, designated National Treasures, are reproduced and discussed in Tanaka Ichimatsu, ed., *Kegon engi*, *Nihon emakimono zenshū* (NEZ) (Complete Japanese picture scrolls), vol. 7 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1959); idem, *Kegon engi*, *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū* (Newly edited complete Japanese picture scrolls), vol. 7 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1976); and Komatsu Shigemi, ed., *Kegonshū soshi eden*, *Nihon emaki taisei* (NET) (Compilation of Japanese picture scrolls), vol. 17 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1978). The scrolls were the subject of my Ph.D. dissertation, "Tales of Gishō and Gangyō: Editor, Artist, and Audience in Japanese Picture Scrolls" (Princeton University, 1984). An abbreviated version of this article entitled "Gishōe ni okeru Zenmyō no byōsha: Sono igi to juyō" (The portrayal of Zenmyō in Gishōe: Its meaning and reception) appears in *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 176 (1988): 11-36.

2. The history of Kōzanji and its patrons is the subject of Brock, "Tales," chap. 5. The primary and secondary bibliography on Kōzanji and Myōe is enormous, due to the publication since 1971 of the corpus of Kōzanji material by the Investigative Committee for Kōzanji Books and Documents (Kōzanji tenseki monjo sōgō chōsadan), *Kōzanji shiryō sōsho* (KSS) (Series of Kōzanji source materials), 17 vols. (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1971-1987). Myōe shōnin to Kōzanji henshū iinkai, *Myōe shōnin to Kōzanji* (Saint Myōe and Kōzanji) (Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1981) reprints twenty-nine essays and provides extensive secondary bibliography. George J. Tanabe, Jr.'s Ph.D. dissertation, "Myōe Shōnin (1173-1232): Tradition and Reform in Early Kamakura Buddhism" (Columbia University, 1983) focuses on Myōe's life and religious practice and translates Myōe's *Yumenoki* (Dream record).

3. *Sung kao-seng chuan* was compiled by Tsan-ning between 982-988; in Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaikyoku, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (The Buddhist canon newly edited in the Taishō era), vol. 50 (1924-1934; reprint, Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-panshe, 1974), 729-730. A complete translation of the two monks' biographies appears in Brock, "Tales," 423-431.

4. Bibliography on these two Silla monks includes: Peter H. Lee, "Fa-tsang and Ūisang," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82 (1962): 56-59; Yaotani Takayasu, "Shiragisō Gishō denkō" (Research on the life of the Silla Monk Ūisang), *Shina Bukkyō shigaku* 3, no. 1 (1939): 79-94; Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "The Biographies of the Korean Monk Wōnhyo (617-686): A Study in Buddhist Hagiography." In *Biography as a Genre in Korean Literature*, edited by Peter H. Lee (Berkeley: Center for Korean Studies, 1989); and idem, *The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea: The Vajrasamādhi-Sūtra A Buddhist Apocryphon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). The Japanese reading for Wōnhyo's name is either Gangyō or Gengyō. Although the latter reading is found in writings by art historians, the former, used by scholars of Buddhism, is preferred here.

5. Both the Gishō and Gangyō scrolls begin with illustrations of the demon dream and parting sequence.

6. The original four Gishō scrolls have suffered from fire, deliberate tampering, loss, and incorrect remounting, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Karen L. Brock, "The Case of the Missing Scroll: A History and Reconstruction of *Tales of Gishō and Gangyō*," *Archives of Asian Art* 41 (1988): 6-31.

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 32d International Conference of Orientalists in Japan (Tokyo, May 1987). Other, briefer, comparisons between the Chinese and Japanese texts appear in Nomura Takumi, "Myōe ni okeru setsuwa juyō" (The reception of tales by Myōe), *Nihon bungaku* 26, no. 12 (1977): 82-91, and Tanabe, "Myōe Shōnin," 290-302. Tanabe also translates some of the text, analyzes its divergence from *Sung kao-seng chuan*, and discusses it in relation to Myōe's belief and practice. He attributes both the Gishō and Gangyō texts to Myōe's authorship, while I suspect that the Gangyō text was compiled by someone else in Myōe's circle.

8. Complete translations of the Japanese texts appear in Brock, "*Tales*," 432-449.

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.

10. Compiled by Chingen (ca 1040-1044). The Dōjōji legend is translated by Yoshiko Kurata Dykstra, *Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sutra from Ancient Japan: The Dainihonkoku hokekyōkenki of Priest Chingen* (Osaka: Kansai University of Foreign Studies, 1983), 145-146. A twelfth-century version in *Konjaku monogatari shū* has been translated by Marian Ury, *Tales of Times Now Past* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), 93-96. Chino Kaori has discussed the history of the Dōjōji legend, Muromachi-period illustrated versions, and their relationship to *Tales of Gishō and Gangyō* in "Hidakagawa sōshi emaki ni miru dentō to sōzō" (Tradition and innovation in the picture scroll, Hidaka River), *Kinkō sōsho* 8 (1981): 831-869.

11. See Brock, "*Tales*," chap. 2, for further discussion of the texts of *Tales of Gishō and Gangyō* as examples of Buddhist tales, *setsuwa*, and a discussion of their closeness to contemporary unillustrated tales. Myōe frequently transformed difficult Chinese texts into more understandable Japanese versions, sometimes at the request of lay female patrons. An example is his *Kegon Yuishingi* (The doctrine of mind-only in Kegon) written in 1200 (in *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho* [Complete books of Japanese Buddhism], vol.

36 [reprint, Tokyo: The Suzuki Research Foundation, 1970-1973]). Myōe's authorship is evaluated further in Brock, "Tales," chap. 5.

12. The Chinese *Kōzanji Myōe shōnin gyōjōki* (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 Seishi, "Myōe shōnin no kōgi to sono kikigaki" (Saint Myōe's lectures and their transcripts), KSS supplement (1980), 181-197.

13. Although comments within the paintings of picture scrolls are unusual for this period, they also appear in the contemporary *Wakasa no kuni chinjujin ekeizu* (see Fig. 11 above) and in copies of *Hikohohodemi no mikoto emaki* (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: Gomi Atsuko, "Kegon gojūgoshō emaki no fukushoku shiteki kōsatsu" (Historical analysis of costume in *The Kegon Fifty-five Visits* picture scroll), SNEZ, vol. 25 (1979), 16-25; Hayashi On, "Kyū Jōrūiji Kichijōten zushi-e shoson o meguru mondai" (Problems concerning the images of Buddhist deities painted on the panels of the Kichijōten shrine formerly at Jōrūiji), *Bukkyō geijutsu* 169 (1986): 49-82; and Chou Hsi-pao, *Chung-kuo ku-tai fu-shih shih* (History of ancient Chinese costume) (Peking: Chung-kuo hsi-chū ch'u-pan-she, 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.

15. Brock, "Tales," chap. 4.

16. Su Pai, *Pai-sha Sung mu* (The Sung tombs at Pai-sha) (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1957).

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 tie-on skirts. There were no decorative pointed collars among her complete wardrobe. Fu-chien-sheng po-wu-kuan, *Fu-chou Nan-Sung Huang Shen mu* (The Southern Sung tomb of Huang Shen at Fu-chou) (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1982).

18. Chang Ya-p'ing and Chao Chin-chang, "Shan-hsi Fan-shih Yen-shang-ssu de Chin-tai pi-hua" (Chin dynasty wall paintings at Yen-shang-ssu, Fan-shih, Shan-hsi), *Wen-wu*, 1979, no. 2:1-2; P'an Chieh-tzu, "Ling-yen ts'ai-pi tung hsin p'o—Yen-shang-ssu Chin-tai pi-hua hsiao-chi" (The painted murals of Ling-yen move heart and soul: Notes on the Chin-dynasty wall paintings at Yen-shang-ssu), *Wen-wu*, 1979, no. 2:3-10; and Shan-hsi-sheng ku chien-chū pao-hu yen-chiu suo, *Yen-shan-ssu Chin-tai pi-hua* (Chin-dynasty wall paintings at Yen-shan-ssu) (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1983).

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" (*Artibus Asiae* 43, no. 4 [1982]: 253-284) discusses textual sources for Hāritī narratives. The Yen-shan-ssu paintings provide new evidence for a much richer Hāritī narrative cycle than was previously known.

20. Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma (The Lotus Sūtra): Translated from the Chinese of Kumārajīva* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 322–324.

21. Kyoto National Museum, *Heike nōgyō* (Taira family sutras) (Kyoto: Korinsha, 1974), pls. 46 and 83. The Shitennōji fans are well reproduced in Akiyama Terukazu, *Senmen Hokkekyō no kenkyū* (Research on the fan-shaped Lotus Sutra) (Tokyo: Kashima shuppankai, 1972).

22. Matsushita Takaaki, “Fugen jūrasetsunyo ni tsuite” (Concerning Fugen and the ten demon daughters), *Bukkyō geijutsu* 66 (1950): 39–50; Toyooka Masuto, “Fugen jūrasetsunyo zu kō” (Paintings of Fugen and the ten demon daughters), *Bijutsu kenkyū* 41 (1935): 205–211.

23. “Good friends” is the translation of the Japanese term “*zenchishiki*” (S. *kalyāṇamitra*). The Gaṇḍavyūha and illustrated versions of Sudhana’s visits are thoroughly discussed in Jan Fontein, *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana: A Study of Gaṇḍavyūha Illustrations in China, Japan, and Java* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1967). Diana Y. Paul discusses these female “good friends” in *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in Mahāyāna Tradition* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1979).

24. Three Chinese texts and their illustrations appear in Fontein, *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana*, 24–61.

25. *Ibid.*, 81–98. Illustrated in color in *Ajigi, Kegon gojūgoshō emaki, Hokkekyō emaki* (The Meaning of the Letter A, The Kegon Fifty-five Visits, The Illustrated Lotus Sutra); *Zoku Nihon emaki taisei* (Continued compilation of Japanese picture scrolls), vol. 10 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1985).

26. Illustrated and discussed in Kyoto National Museum, *Nehanzen no meisaku* (Famous Parinirvāṇa paintings) (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1978); and in Miya Tsugio, ed., *Emaki to shōzōga* (Picture scrolls and portrait painting), *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* (Compilation of Japanese art), vol. 10 (Tokyo: Gakken, 1979), pl. 47.

27. Akamatsu Toshihide was the first to study the Zenmyō cult in “Kōzanji no Zenmyō Byakkō ryō shinzō ni tsuite” (Concerning the two Shinto sculptures of Zenmyō and Byakkō at Kōzanji), *Gassetsu* 54 (1941): 481–491; also in *idem*, *Kamakura Bukkyō no kenkyū* (Research on Kamakura Buddhism), vol. 2 (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1966), 427–436. See Brock, “*Tales*,” 379–394 and later in this chapter.

28. *Kōzanji engi* (History of Kōzanji), *KSS* 1:643.

29. See Christine Guth Kanda, *Shinzō: Hachiman Imagery and Its Development*, Harvard East Asian Monographs no. 119 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), chap. 7, for more on this and other Shinto sculptures of the thirteenth century.

30. *Wakasa no kuni chinjujin ekeizu*. Details illustrated in color in Sasaki Kōzō and Okumura Hideo, ed., *Kasuga, Hiyooshi, Kumano*, *Nihon bijutsu zenshū*, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Gakken, 1979), pls. 28–29.

31. The 1250 catalogue of the Kōzanji storehouse, *Kōzanji shōgyō mokuroku* (Catalogue of the sacred teachings at Kōzanji), lists the Gishō and Gangyō scrolls on its final page. See *Kōzanji kyōzō komokuroku* (Old catalogues of the Kōzanji sutra repository), *KSS* 14:48. The veracity of this catalogue is discussed in Brock, “The Case of the Missing Scroll.”

32. *Kōzanji shōgyō mokuroku* lists texts by both Silla monks: one title by Gishō and nineteen by Gangyō. Myōe copied Gishō’s *Ichijō hokkaizu* (Diagram of the Mahayana

Dharma realm) in 1212, but the present whereabouts of this manuscript are unknown. Ono Genmyō, *Busho kaisetsu 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 *Sung kao-seng chuan*, including those for Gishō and Gangyō, entitled *Sōkōsōden shō* (Digest of *Sung kao-seng chuan*). The calligraphy is quite immature, and there are a number of mistakes which suggest that these biographies were written out by a youth.

33. Umezu Jiro, “Gishō Gangyōe no seiritsu” (The creation of paintings of Gishō and Gangyō), *Bijutsu kenkyū* 149 (1948): 170–181; Kameda Tsutomu, “Kegon engi ni tsuite” (Concerning the *Legends of the Kegon Sect*), *NEZ* 7:3–15; Miyeko Murase, *Emaki: Narrative Picture Scrolls from Japan* (New York: Asia Society, 1983), 134–138.

34. 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.

36. See William H. McCullough’s translations of the accounts of the war in “Shōkyūki: An Account of the Shōkyū War of 1221,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 19, no. 1 (1964): 103–215, and 19, no. 3 (1964): 420–455; and “The *Azuma kagami* Account of the Shōkyū War,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 23, nos. 1–2 (1968): 102–155. Also John S. Brownlee’s two articles: “The Shōkyū War and the Political Rise of the Warriors,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 30, no. 2 (1975): 193–201; and “Crisis as Reinforcement of the Imperial Institution: The Case of the Jōkyū Incident,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 24, nos. 1–2 (1969): 59–77. Myōe sat out the war and its aftermath in a retreat behind the Kamo Shrine, whose head, Yoshihisa, was (along with the head of Jingoji) one of the chief planners of Gotoba’s actions.

37. Brock, “*Tales*,” 376ff.

38. *Kōzanji engi*, *KSS* 1:656–657.

39. Catalogued in *Kōzanji tenseki monjo mokuroku* (Catalogue of Kōzanji books and documents), pt. 1, *KSS* 2:17–24. An example is illustrated in Kyoto National Museum, *Kōzanjiten* (Exhibition from Kōzanji) (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1981), 153.

40. In “*Daibatsu bikō*” (Notes on colophons and inscriptions) (unpublished). I have examined a close copy of the original owned by the Daitōkyū kinen bunkō, Tokyo. Kurihara’s notes are quoted in Umezu, “Gishō Gangyōe,” 145.

41. The men all appear in the fourteenth-century genealogical compendium *Sonpi bunmyaku* (*Kokushi taikai* [Compendium of national history], vols. 58–60B [Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1957–1964]), but their wives and daughters’ names do not.

42. *Kōzanji shōgyō mokuroku*, *KSS* 14:7.

43. McCullough, “*Shōkyūki*,” 215–218.

44. This was Sogashō in Yamato. A description of the Golden Hall and Lady Sanmi’s support appears in *Kōzanji engi*, *KSS* 1:634–636. A document written by Myōe’s follower Kikai (1180–1250) explains that the Kaikai statue was transferred to Zenmyōji in 1223 when Kōzanji received a new main image of Vairocana (*Zenmyōji Shakazō chūmon* [The Creation of the Śākyamuni image at Zenmyōji], in Takeuchi Rizō, comp., *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 5 [Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1973], 212); see also Mori Hisashi, “Unkei, Kaikai to Kōzanji, Jūrin’in,” in *Nihon Bukkyō chōkokushi no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1970), 243–252.

45. Okuda Isao, “Myōe to Kō Sanmi Tsubone,” *Myōe sangyō* 9 (1978): 10–15, and idem, *Myōe: henreki to yume* (Myōe: his pilgrimages and dreams) (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku



shuppankai, 1978). *Myōe*, 168–174, presents the records that mention Lady Sanmi and concludes that she was Fujiwara Sueko, 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 Sanmi's identity.

46. Imagawa Fumio, ed., *Kundoku Meigetsuki*, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Kawade shobō, 1978). The references to Chikahira and Lady Sanmi appear on Kenryaku 3/4/13 (vol. 3, 244) and 3/11/29–30 (vol. 3, 341).

47. *Kokushi taikei* 59:137–139.

48. Nōen and Kiyomori's wife, Tokiko, were siblings by the same mother and thus Lady Sanmi may have been named for her aunt. There is, however an error on *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 139, which shows two daughters of Priest Nōen married to Tadasue: Tokiko is labeled "Kō no Tsubone," while an unnamed daughter is shown as the mother of Chikahira. *Meigetsuki*, Kenpō 1/4/13, clearly states that Chikahira is Kami Sanmi's son. Nōen, Noriko, and Minamoto Michichika are discussed in *Gukanshō* (1219) (Delmer Brown and Ichiro 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).

49. *Meigetsuki*, Kenryaku 3/11/29–30 (vol. 3, 341).

50. The first of two scrolls is extant in Myōe's hand in the Daitōkyū kinen bunkō. The entire text is transcribed in *Kokushaku issaikyō* (Japanese translation of the Buddhist canon), vol. 16 (Tokyo: Tōhō shoin, 1929), 451–484.

51. *Ibid.*, 482–483.

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

53. Kageyama Haruki, "Kōzanji no kondō boshi ni tsuite" (Concerning Kōzanji's bronze epitaphs), *Bukkyō geijutsu* 16 (1952): 80–86. *Meigetsuki* Jogan 2/7/6 (1208) (vol. 3, 41) mentions Motomichi'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, "Myōe shōnin," 381–383. The rather disordered state of Myōe's *Dream Record* for the years 1220–1223 has been carefully analyzed by Okuda Isao in "Myōe shōnin kankei tenseki no okugaki, shikigo ni tsuite—fu Myōe shōnin Yumenoki dai jūhen sakkan kō" (Colophons and inscriptions on books concerning Saint Myōe, appended by research on the incorrect order of section 10 of Saint Myōe's *Dream Record*), KSS supplement, 165–179. Okuda's research proves that the Zenmyō dream occurred in 1220.

56. See n. 33 above.

57. A recent Jungian analysis of Myōe based on *Yumenoki* is that by Kawai Hayao, *Myōe, yume o ikiru* (Myōe: To live in dreams) (Kyoto: Kyoto Hakurinsha, 1987). The Zenmyō dream and others relating to women are discussed on pp. 220–258.

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 Shōkyū 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, *Kamakura ibun* 16:257.

## GLOSSARY

- Anchin 安珍  
 Ariko (Shōmeimon'in) (1171-1257) 有子  
*bonpu* (S. *bala*) 凡夫  
*bukkai* 仏戒  
*buppō* (S. *buddha-dharma*) 仏法  
*butsuji* (S. *buddha-kārya*) 仏事  
 Ch'ang-an 長安  
 Chih-yen (602-668) 智儼  
*daigan* (S. *maha-praṇidhāna*) 大願  
*daishi* (S. *śāstr*) 大師  
 Dōjo 道助  
 Dōjōji 道成寺  
*dōshin o okosu* 道心を発す  
 Fujiwara Chikahira 藤原親平  
 Fujiwara Mitsuchika (1176-1221) 藤原光親  
 Fujiwara Mitsutoshi 藤原光俊  
 Fujiwara Mitsuuji 藤原光氏  
 Fujiwara Sadaie (1162-1241) 藤原定家  
 Fujiwara Sadatsune 藤原定経  
 Fujiwara Sukehira 藤原資平  
 Fujiwara Tadasue 藤原忠季  
 Gangyō (K. Wōnhyo) (627-686) 元曉  
 Gishō (K. Ŭisang) (602-668) 義湘  
 Gishūmon'in 宣秋門院  
 Gotoba (1180-1239) 後鳥羽  
 Gotō Motokiyo 後藤基清  
 Gotō Motonari 後藤基成  
 Gotō Sanemoto 後藤実基  
*Heike nōgyō* 平家納経  
 Hōjō Yasutoki (1183-1242) 北条泰時  
*hokkai* (S. *dharma-dhātu*) 法界  
*hōshi* (S. *dharma-bhāṇaka*) 法師  
 Iwashimizu 岩清水  
*jashin* (S. *durdarśana*) 邪心  
*jihi* (S. *maitrī-karuṇā*) 慈悲  
*jōhō* (S. *vyāvadānika-dharma*) 浄法  
 Juntoku 順徳  
 Kaikei (act ca 1183-1223) 快慶  
 Kaikō 戒光  
*kami* 神  
 Kasuga 春日  
*Kegon engi* 華嚴縁起  
*Kegonkyō* (*Avatamsaka sūtra*) 華嚴経  
*Kegonshū soshi eden* 華嚴宗祖師絵伝
- Kiyohime 清姫  
 Kō (or Kami) Sanmi no Tsubone 督(守)  
 三位局  
*Kōmyō shingon dosha kanjinki* 光明真言士  
 砂観信記  
 Konoe Motomichi (1160-1233) 近衛基通  
 Kōzanji 高山寺  
*Kōzanji engi* 高山寺縁起  
*kudoku* (S. *guṇa*) 功德  
 Kumano 熊野  
 Kurihara Nobumitsu (1794-1866) 栗原  
 信充  
 Kyōshi 経子  
*Meigetsuki* 明月記  
 Minamoto Michichika (1145-1202) 源通親  
*mōjō* (S. *vikalpita*) 盲情  
*mushi no mōjū* (S. *anādi abhiniveśa*) 無始の  
 盲執  
 Myōdatsu 明達  
 Myōe shōnin (1173-1232) 明恵上人  
 Nakamikado Muneyuki (d 1221) 中御門  
 宗行  
 Narikiyo 成清  
 Ni-no-miya 二宮  
 Nōen 能円  
 Noriko 範子  
*Nyūhokkaihon* (S. *Gaṇḍavyūha*) 入法界品  
 Pai-sha 白沙  
*rasetsunyo* 羅刹女  
 Richō 理證  
 Rokuhara 六波羅  
 Saionji Kintsune (1171-1244) 西園寺公経  
 Sasaki Hirotsuna (d 1221) 佐々木広綱  
 Seitaka-maru 勢多加丸  
*shien o tasuke* 資縁を助け  
*shikiyoku no shūchaku* 色欲の執着  
*shikiyoku fujō no kyōkai* 色欲不浄の境界  
 Shingon 真言  
*shōbō* (S. *sad-dharma*) 正法  
*shōjō seze* 生生世世  
 Shōkyū 承久  
*Shōkyūki* 承久記  
 Shōmeimon'in 承明門院  
 Shōmyō 性明

*shōshō* 小将  
*shoshu* (S. *artha*) o *kukyū* 所須を供給  
*shūchaku* 執着  
*shujō* (S. *manuṣya*) 衆生  
*shukuzen* 宿善  
*Sonpi bunmyaku* 尊卑分脉  
 Sung 宋  
*Sung kao-seng chuan* 宋高僧伝  
 Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181) 平清盛  
 Takao 高雄  
 T'ang 唐  
 Tokiko 時子

Tsuchimikado 土御門  
 Tsurugi Shrine 劍神社  
 Wakasa no kuni 若狭の国  
 Yen-shan-ssu 岩山寺  
*yokukai* (S. *kāma-dhātu*) 欲界  
 Yumenoki 夢記  
*zenchishiki* (S. *kalyāṇamitra*) 善知識  
 Zen'e 禅慧  
 Zenmyō (C. Shan-miao) 善妙  
*Zenmyō kōshiki* 善妙講式  
 Zenni 禅尼  
 Zenzai (S. *Sudhana*) 善財