

Feminine Motifs in Bodhidharma Symbology in Japan

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ZEN AND POPULAR DEPICTIONS OF DARUMA

In the tradition and lore of Buddhism in East Asia a very conspicuous figure is Bodhidharma, an immigrant Indian monk credited with having begun the development of Ch'an 禪 (Zen) Buddhism in China in the sixth century. While there are no compelling reasons to doubt the historicity of such a person, the details of his career are almost entirely legendary and often highly fanciful.¹ His prominence, therefore, is paradigmatic and symbolic, not personal, and it has been enhanced by both religious discourse and popular imagination.

Though the story of Bodhidharma centers in China, it is in Japan that he achieved and still maintains his greatest popularity and visibility. There he is an ubiquitous figure, known familiarly as Daruma.² Painted, carved in wood, stone, or ivory, molded in clay or papier-mâché, as an icon, *objet d'art*, talisman, toy or novelty, he appears in Buddhist temples and monasteries, Shinto shrines, museums, homes, and places of business throughout the country. In highly stylized, yet often ingenious and sometimes bizarre renderings, he is at once the preeminent symbol of Zen practice and experience, a paradigm of perseverance and resilience, a god of good fortune, and the inspiration and subject of much good humor and playfulness.

The earliest extant portrayals of Bodhidharma in both China and Japan are naturalistic and dignified, befitting the augustness of his ascription as the First Patriarch of Ch'an (Zen). The earliest of these, possibly datable to the eleventh century, depicts him with Chinese facial characteristics.³ Otherwise, most of the oldest available renderings (from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) portray a figure who



Fig. 1.

(among them many Zen masters) have kept alive an evocative power in Bodhidharma iconography.⁷ In their hands it is as valid and effective a technique as any other for achieving the Zen speciality: non-rational, non-verbal communication.

Having persisted for so many centuries, this tradition in itself is as enigmatic as a Zen *kōan* 公案. On the one hand, it presents a symbology which, though quaint, is so rigidly stereotyped as to appear moribund. On the other hand, less obviously but just as fully attested, it is immensely alive and variable. Though governed by conventional forms, there is here a perennially engaging quality that both permits and promotes ingenuity and inventiveness. At times the results seem gross and frivolous, at other times, perceptive and profound. Often it is difficult (and in Zen perspective unnecessary) to separate the two.⁸

For centuries the representation of Bodhidharma (Daruma) in Japan has extended well beyond its original Zen context, frequently even to the point of apparent antithesis, and has become an engagement for folk and popular artists and artisans. Whether or to what extent the resulting products continue to function as Zen symbols is an interesting but moot question. The stereotypical characteristics of Zen iconography continue to govern the popular depictions of Daruma,

is unmistakably Indian;⁴ and, in this respect, they define a norm which continuously characterizes the subsequent tradition. However, by the fifteenth century, portraits of Bodhidharma in Japan were becoming caricatures or cartoons (Fig. 1)⁵, limited (invariably it seems) to certain standard postures and legendary themes that had acquired, in effect, a canonical status.⁶ Thus, there had emerged what Fontein and Hickman have described as "a completely stereotyped iconographical convention" (1970: 2). Yet, it is important to affirm that, for all its standardization and repetitiveness, this is not inherently an arid tradition. Employing the quick, suggestive strokes of *suibokuga* 水墨画 (black-ink painting), the best artists

but are they in any sense still pervaded by a fundamental Zen perception? Such a question underlies the principal purpose of this study, namely, to describe and analyze selected examples of the popular appropriation of Bodhidharma symbology.

One aspect of this popular engagement is well known and often noted: Daruma as *okiagari kobōshi*, 起き上がり小法師 (the little selfrighting monk), a legless, roly-poly tumbler doll which, when knocked over, always returns to an upright position (Fig. 2).⁹ The legend of Bodhidharma's

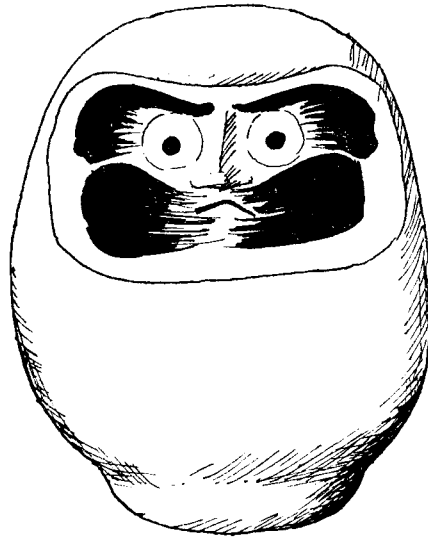


Fig. 2.

having sat for nine years in meditation, resulting in the loss of his legs through atrophy, provides the etiology for this depiction. The same legend underscores the exemplary resoluteness of the Patriarch. Hence, the *okiagari* Daruma doll is popularly perceived as a symbol, agent, or object lesson in relation to two interests: *good fortune* in all enterprises and the development of *perseverance* and *resilience* as personal qualities.

The focus of this study is on yet another aspect of the popular appropriation of Bodhidharma symbology, not so well known and seldom noted: the development of a number of feminine motifs. This may be the most curious and enigmatic variation of all.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FEMININE MOTIFS

Whether as products of Zen or of popular ingenuity, most representations of Daruma are starkly masculine. Stern-visaged and unshaven, the Daruma figure characteristically bespeaks discipline, self-reliance, and resoluteness—qualities cherished early on by celibate Zen monks and the old *samurai* 侍 (warrior) class and enshrined subsequently in a national code of chivalry and popular virtue. Additionally, among present-day practitioners of certain martial arts Bodhidharma is esteemed as a kind of patron saint.¹⁰ It is seemingly a vast anomaly, therefore, that Bodhidharma symbology in Japan also includes feminine motifs. These may be identified, conveniently but somewhat arbitrarily, as four in number:

- (1) the term *daruma* as a designation for a prostitute,
- (2) Daruma as a woman (or a female Daruma),
- (3) Daruma with a woman, and
- (4) Daruma dressed as a woman.

These motifs emerged during the Tokugawa (Edo) 徳川(江戸) period (1603–1867) and must be considered initially within the context of the social and artistic revolution that occurred during that era. Ironically, within this tightly monitored age of shogunal domination, the officially despised merchant class, though rated lowest on the social scale, played increasingly prominent and determinative social and economic roles. They contributed significantly to the development of key urban centers and established within them bases of economic and monetary power enabling them to transform many of the internal realities of feudal society without modifying its official structure or doctrinaire sanctions. For all their burgeoning influence, however, the merchants were never a secure or respected component of Tokugawa society, fashioned as it was by and for a military elite. Consequently, frustrated by suppressive policies and debarred from the perquisites of aristocratic society, they and their fellow townspeople, the artisans, simply created a culture of their own.

This culture naturally retained many traditional elements and even included systems of ethical teachings, notably the *Shingaku* 心学 movement, lauding such practical virtues as honesty, hard work, and frugality.¹¹ Just as conspicuously, however, it also featured hedonistic and counterculture attitudes and activities. By their tastes and patronage the townspeople promoted the development of amusement quarters and new art forms in the urban centers. They became the aficionados of the *ukiyo*, 浮世 (the floating world) of the infamous “gay quarters” of Edo (Tokyo), Osaka, and Kyoto. They abetted the development of *kabuki* 歌舞伎 theatre, of *bunraku* 文楽 (puppet theatre), of *netsuke* 根付け (miniature sculptures), and of *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 (pictures of the floating world), dramatic and colorful woodblock prints that portrayed courtesans and kabuki actors among their most common subjects. Thus, there developed a milieu—somewhat libertine, earthy, audacious, and satirical—conducive to the production of the largely parodical prints, paintings, and figurines that are the object of this study.

1. *The Term DARUMA as a Designation for a Prostitute*

Within this environment, and in part providing a key to the whole range of feminine motifs, was the use of the term *daruma* to designate a prostitute. It was at the time, we may assume, not only a bourgeois

but even a boorish term. With this particular meaning the word is no longer current, though it is still listed in large modern Japanese-English dictionaries and defined as denoting "an unlicensed prostitute."¹² Few Japanese now are even aware of this usage, but apparently the term was very common in the vernacular speech of the Tokugawa period.

The etymology of this term remains largely conjectural. It may, indeed, be more apparent than demonstrable. The clue, very likely, is the suggestive imagery of the *okiagari* 起き上がり (self-righting) Daruma figure. A prostitute goes down time after time, arises after each occurrence and is ready to go down again. A prostitute is happy to be able to go down again and again; her customer is happy (or perhaps hopeful) to be able to "rise up" again and again. Just such matter-of-fact bawdiness almost certainly underlies the use of the term. The plausibility of this explanation is strengthened by much of what follows.

2. *Daruma as a Woman (or a Female Daruma)*

Underlying this motif there appears to have been operative in the bourgeois culture of Tokugawa Japan a kind of whimsical logic that may be expressed syllogistically as follows:

Daruma is a *daruma* (tumbler);
 A *daruma* is a prostitute;
 Therefore, Daruma is a prostitute.

Such reasoning seemingly is reflected in a woodblock print by Suzuki Harunobu 鈴木春信 (ca. 1725–1770), parodying the traditional *royō daruma* 蘆葉達磨 (rush-leaf Daruma) (Figs. 3 and 4).¹³ It recalls the familiar legend that Bodhidharma crossed the sea from India to China standing on a rush-leaf or reed, or, in a more common version, that he crossed the Yangtze River by this means. For centuries the theme had been a fixture in Zen painting. Harunobu's print portrays a courtesan, beautifully garbed, standing on a reed which floats on the surface of the water. Though the wind billows her clothing, she clutches her cloak and hood only casually, as, Daruma-like, she calmly and resolutely approaches the shore.

This print is a brilliant and hilarious example of the numerous parodies produced by *ukiyo-e* artists, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Irreverent and audacious in their regard for traditional or classical themes, these artists and their clientele delighted in the sex or role transpositions of some of the best known he-



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

roes of Japanese legend or history.¹⁴ Among such works, this transposition of the staid and celibate Daruma must have seemed especially ludicrous and salacious.

Numerous other examples of this motif occur in a variety of free standing figurines known as *onna daruma* 女達磨 (woman Daruma or female Daruma) or *hime daruma* 姫達磨 (princess Daruma). These are *okiagari* figures produced at least since the late eighteenth century in folk-art and popular-art modes. Originally they were either molded in clay or carved in wood, but now are usually fashioned of papier-mâché and are painted or covered with brocade to simulate the garb of nobility or of the celebrated *bijin* 美人 (beauties) of the Edo and Meiji periods (Figs. 5, 6 and 7).¹⁵

It is reasonable to suppose that these figures are related to, even reflections of, the *ukiyo-e* parodies, but they project little if any of their bawdiness and satire. An *okiagari* figure, by virtue of its self-righting propensity, is implicitly an *engi mono* 縁起物 (a lucky thing); and it is principally this aspect of the popular appropriation of Daruma imagery that the *onna daruma* and *hime daruma* represent. Thus, in the traditions of folk life, such figures have been and are produced and used principally as talismans. Some of them also are decorated with such traditional symbols of good fortune as pine needles, bamboo, and plum blossoms. Within the broader and more recent popular culture, these



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

figures are appreciated primarily as novelties or decorative items.

3. *Daruma with a Woman*

A very popular theme, evident since the seventeenth century and exploited in various artistic media, is that of Daruma in the presence of a woman, usually identified or identifiable as a courtesan. Again, the *ukiyo-e* artists produced the most vivid and dramatic examples.

Typically, the woman is portrayed as young, beautiful, and gorgeously attired. She is demure, but also emotionless—perhaps, one could say, as calm and self-sufficient as a Zen monk. Daruma, however, traditionally so stolid, here is the epitome of discomfiture. His glaring eyes, familiar traditional symbols of outward alertness and inner awareness, now bug at the unaccustomed distraction / attraction of this female presence. His whole demeanor suggests that this most austere personage is still wrestling with the ambiguity of his feelings—that he still must contend with the residue of very human passion. These characteristics are precisely portrayed in three works cited here. Though all are identical in mood, the earliest antedates the latest by about one hundred and



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.

fifty years (Figs. 8, 9 and 10).¹⁶

Two especially imaginative variations on this theme are prints by Okumura Masanobu 奥村政信 (1686–1764) and Suzuki Harunobu, depicting Daruma being ferried across a body of water. The earlier work by Masanobu (Fig. 11)¹⁷ recalls the traditional imagery of the “rush-leaf Daruma.” The craft upon which Daruma reclines, somewhat apprehensively, is a huge leaf being propelled by a courtesan and by a kabuki actor, identified as Arashi Kiyosaburō, 嵐清三郎 a famous *omnagata*, 女形 (a portrayer of female roles). The print by Harunobu (Fig. 12),¹⁸ produced about 1767, is entitled “Daruma and a Beauty in a Boat.” While the young woman stands and poles the boat, Daruma, in an uncharacteristic

display of vanity, gazes intently at his own reflection in the water and very daintily tweezes some stray hairs from his beard.

In yet another print, Harunobu employs a very commonplace setting to create a different fantasy (Fig. 13).¹⁹ A young woman, smoking a long-stemmed pipe, sits near a *tokonoma* 床の間 (alcove) in which there hangs a traditional portrait of Daruma.²⁰ The alluring presence

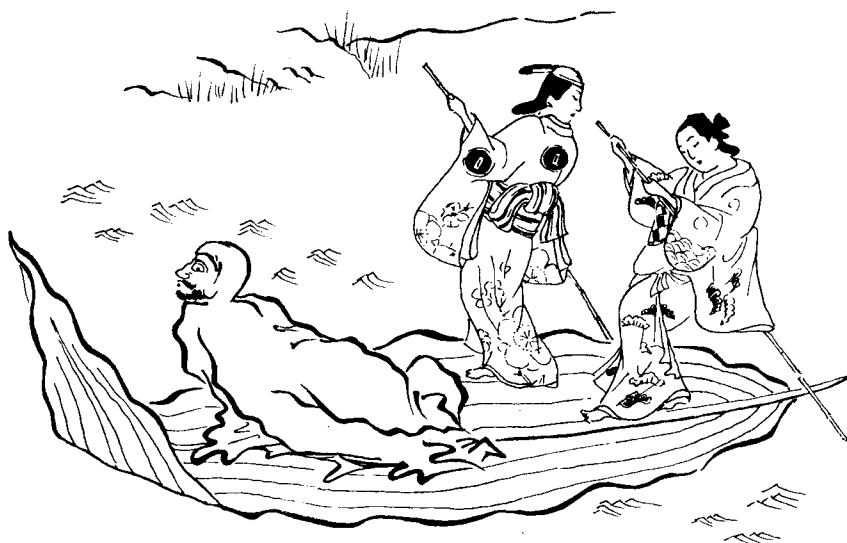


Fig. 11.

of the woman stirs Daruma to life, and, with a look of anguish on his face, he leans forward toward the beauty, who turns and offers him her pipe.

In addition to *ukiyo-e* artists, many *netsuke* carvers were also skillful and dedicated satirists for whom Daruma was a favorite subject.²¹ An especially pertinent example at this point is a work which pairs Daruma with Okame おかめ (known also as Uzume, 鈿女 Oto, 乙 or Otafuku お多福), the popularized form of Ama-no-Uzume-no-Mikoto 天鈿女命, a primeval minor *kami* 神 (deity), who perhaps was Japan's first exotic dancer (Fig. 14).²²

According to a legend in the *Kojiki* 古事記 (recorded in 712), the sun goddess Amaterasu-o-Mikami 天照大神 was so deeply offended by the boorishness of her brother Susano-o-no-Mikoto 素戔鳴尊 that she shut herself in a cave, thus denying light to the world. As a stratagem to entice her out again, Uzume performed a lewd dance before the other deities. When their loud and unaccountable laughter reached the sun goddess, she peeked out to see what was happening; whereupon she was seized and drawn forth from the cave, and light was restored to the world.

Uzume or Okame survives in folklore in a variety of roles, generally humorous, sometimes also bawdy. In some districts the name Okame refers to a prostitute.²³ She is depicted in folk and popular art with very fat cheeks and a chalk-white face, often in the form of a mask. In



Fig. 12.

this guise, carved in ivory, she is joined to a three-inch-high wood-carved Daruma to complete this *netsuke*. The tiny mask is attached to the robe of the standing Daruma just above his left ankle. The dilemma of the situation is effectively indicated in Daruma's posture. Though the body tends to recoil, the torso is bent to the left side to enable Daruma to stare at this unnerving intruder who threatens to "trip" him.

A more subtly suggestive rendering of the motif of Daruma with a woman occurs in a minutely detailed woodblock print produced about 1795 by Kitagawa Utamaro 喜多川歌麿 (ca. 1754–1806) (Fig. 15).²⁴ Entitled "Hour of the Rabbit," the piece portrays a lavishly dressed and coiffured beauty holding a cape, on the lining of which is painted a conventional portrait of Daruma.

This device, garnishing female attire with a Daruma likeness,



Fig. 13.

also is employed in folk or popular art in the decorating of certain *ko-keshi* こけし dolls. These are lathe-turned wooden figures produced in a variety of forms and sizes particularly in the northeast (Tōhoku 東北) district of Honshu. The heads of these dolls are painted with female features, and the basically cylindrical, armless and legless, bodies are decorated in brightly colored patterns. Some have the familiar Daruma countenance painted on the front of the body (Figs. 16 and



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.

17).²⁵

Twentieth century pairings of Daruma with a female, though fairly common in paintings, figurines, and novelties, are at most only pale reflections of the sexual suggestiveness of their precursors. They are characteristically *okiagari* figures, symbols of luck, associated with the talismanic strain in Daruma symbology. One very popular item is a pair of figures fashioned of papier-mâché and dressed in brocade (Fig. 18).²⁶ The female is a typical *hime daruma*, but the male *nishiki daruma* 錦達磨 (brocade Daruma), has the beardless countenance of a youth. Another typical novelty (Fig. 19) is *yōji daruma* 楊枝達磨 (tooth-pick Daruma), consisting of a male and female figure, each of which is a tooth-pick holder inscribed with a *kanji* 漢字 (Chinese character) connoting "good luck": *kotobuki* 寿 (best wishes) and *fuku* 福 (fortune) respectively.²⁷

4. *Daruma Dressed as a Woman*

A very interesting motif, though encountered less frequently than the others, is that of Daruma wearing a woman's clothes.²⁸ Three striking examples are presented here.

The first is a unique seventeenth-century folk painting of the type known as *Ōtsu-e* 大津絵, pictures painted in or near the town of Otsu near Kyoto and sold to travelers (Fig. 20).²⁹ This work portrays Da-

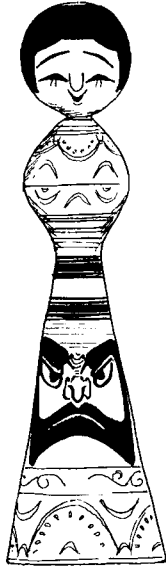


Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.

ruma and a prostitute, with Daruma uneasily wearing the kimono of the prostitute and the prostitute calmly wearing the robe of the monk. Though most subjects included within the Otsu repertoire were repeated over and over again, this single work is the only known example

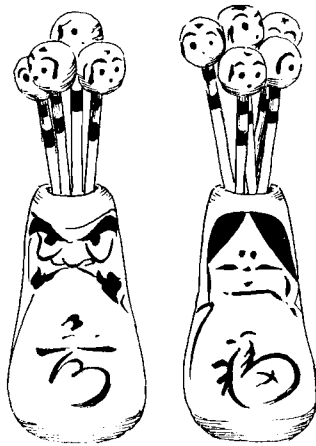


Fig. 19.

of this particular theme.³⁰

The second illustration, a woodblock print by Okumura Masanobu, produced about 1708, repeats the incongruity of the first but with greater specificity and artistic flair (Fig. 21).³¹ Each of the principals, Daruma and the courtesan, has assumed not only the other's clothes but also the other's posture and manner. The transvestite Daruma also is accompanied by a *kamuro* 禿 (a young brothel attendant) who carries Daruma's traditional *hossu* 払子 (fly whisk) across her shoulder, thus heightening the satirical element even further.

As a reflection of the *ukiyo* (the floating world), this Masanobu print suggests the kabuki theatre in which all female roles were and still are played by males, the *onnagata*. This practice is underlaid by the conviction that quintessential femininity can be more effectively captured and portrayed by a skillful impersonator than by a woman.³²

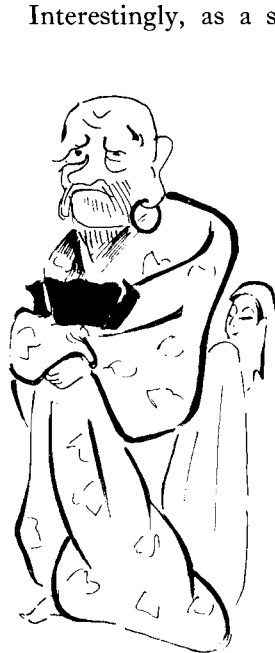


Fig. 20.

Interestingly, as a sequel to these two works and the questions implicit in them, there is also a Zen painting which probably fits this category (Fig. 22).³³ It is a *sumi-e* 墨絵 (black-ink painting) by the Zen monk Sengai Gibon 仙厓義梵 (1750–1837) depicting in his well-known cartoonist's style either Daruma as a woman or Daruma dressed as a woman—possibly an intentional ambiguity. The eyes are those of a vamp; but is there also a visible trace of a beard? Though the garment is clutched to the chin in such a manner as to leave one wondering whether it is a bearded or shaded jowl that shows through darkly, the enigma seemingly is resolved by the accompanying verse. Together with D. T. Suzuki's translation, it reads as follows:

Daruma no hakemono 達磨のはけ物
Mite kurenanse 見てくれなんせ



Fig. 21.

Pray look at me:

A pseudo-transformation of Daruma (1971: 69).

Presumably, then, Daruma is masquerading as a woman—an interpretation reinforced by Suzuki's additional comment: "Sengai has put him in the guise of an enticing woman here." (1971: 69).

INTERPRETING THE FEMININE MOTIFS

How is one to understand or explain these feminine motifs in the Daruma materials? There are at least three levels on which they may be examined. The first is the level of *intentionality*. What did the artists and artisans intend to accomplish through these works? Their dominant motives seem transparent. However, in reflecting on the cultural context, both historic and immediate, in which these works were produced, one wonders to what extent their creators also unwittingly, or even purposefully, made broader statements than is evident. To explore this possibility two additional levels of inquiry seem pertinent: *philosophical aptness* and *psychological suggestiveness*.



Fig. 22.

1. *Intentionality*

The evident intentions behind most of these materials are jocular, satirical, irreverent, ribald, and sexist. In part they are reflections of a very old and widespread disposition among the Japanese to parody the celibate Buddhist monk.³⁴ There is here, as in many other cultures, an ambivalence in the popular response to holy orders: on the one hand, respect, even awe, for lofty vows and disciplined life; on the other hand, a pervasive suspicion, or even awareness, that all is not as it seems—that no man completely eliminates lust from his life or achieves total immunity from temptations of the flesh.³⁵ The more positive side of this response in Japan is reflected in popular piety and faithful participation in traditional rites; the more negative side surfaces in the popular arts, such as the materials surveyed here and innumerable other

jokes, stories, and skits that long have been and still are a part of popular culture.

Such negative propensities were sharply focused in the urban development of the Tokugawa era. The frustration of living under repressive conditions pushed to the level of social satire the old frivolous tendency to mock staid formalism, and it also contributed to an obsessive interest in amorous escapades with the enchanting denizens of the “gay quarters.” In such a milieu, it is not surprising that Daruma, seemingly so intact, so in control, became an object of parody and ribaldry. Given his ubiquity and the stereotyped character of his presentations, he was an obvious candidate.

The intention behind these materials also is sexist. The “floating world” of the courtesan, depicted so colorfully and engagingly (and often pornographically in the so-called *shunga*, 春画 [spring pictures])³⁶ by the *ukiyo-e* artists, was after all a world of female exploitation. Parodies of the staid old patriarch, particularly the defamatory use of his name, were not just a sportive mockery of tradition; they also were denigrations of women, blatantly sexist forms of humor. So also is the view, sometimes encountered, that the feminine motifs in the Daruma materials are a joke of another kind, underscoring the patent absurdity of supposing that a woman, by nature so garrulous, could ever keep quiet long enough to practice sustained meditation.³⁷

Yet, even in the face of such obviousness, this inquiry must recognize the possibility of more complex implications, due to another factor

in the Japanese context. The courtesan in Tokugawa Japan was invested with a powerful and complicated mystique comprised of a range of diverse female images and roles: from mother goddess to threatening demon, from savior figure (a Buddha incarnate or a bodhisattva)³⁸ to debased plaything. Her "floating world," fantasy-filled and remote in certain respects, was governed also by social rituals as complicated as the motives and expectations of those who sought her company. Like Daruma she too was perhaps more a paradigm and a symbol than a real person.

2. *Philosophical Aptness*

Paradoxically, these satirical products, so playfully and irreverently conceived, are not necessarily antithetical to Zen Buddhist philosophy and experience. If nonduality is the ultimate reality, then ultimately there is no distinction between male and female or between a patriarch and a prostitute. Clearly it was not the intention of most creators of these materials to make so profound or abstruse a statement; nevertheless, unwittingly or instinctively, they may have done so. While principally they were satirists and caricaturists of Zen, not students or practitioners thereof, they actually did nothing more scurrilous or less apt in lampooning the old patriarch than many Zen masters themselves have done. Zen masters habitually have represented Bodhidharma (and also other Buddhist worthies) in ways that in most other traditions would seem frivolous or even sacrilegious. But in Zen, as Bodhidharma himself is supposed to have affirmed, nothing is holy. One purpose of Zen iconography is to iterate this point. It has a built-in self-destruct propensity. It is an iconoclastic iconography, an iconographic iconoclasm, a tradition which mocks its own products. "Bodhidharma is Zen," it is sometimes said. This is a valid Zen affirmation, but it is so only because, both as person and as symbol, Bodhidharma is expendable. This is the force of the often quoted admonition: "If you meet the Patriarch, kill him!"³⁹

There are, indeed, in Zen practice some distinctive exercises which may appropriately be described as *dispensing with Bodhidharma*. One of these centers on the famous *kōan*: "What is the meaning of the Patriarch's coming from the west?" This was the question (from a scholastic perspective certainly a pertinent one) which a disciple asked of the ninth-century Chinese master Chao-chou 趙州 (Jap., Jōshu, 778–897). His reply was, "The cypress tree in the courtyard." To the same question, Hsiang-lin Yuan 香林 (Jap., Korin) answered, "After a long sitting one feels fatigued," and Lin-chi 臨濟 (Jap., Rinzai, d. 867) said "If there is any meaning at all, you can, never save yourself."

There are said to be two hundred to three hundred other recorded responses to this question, all as enigmatic as these. If in all this Bodhidharma remains a focal point, he is somewhere between non-essential essentiality and essential non-essentiality!

A second exercise may be termed *reductional graphics*. This involves the rendering of a likeness of Bodhidharma in a single stroke of the brush, the so-called *ippitsu daruma* 一筆達磨 (one-stroke Daruma). The technique is an old one dating at least to the fourteenth century. In some instances (including the earliest extant example)⁴⁰ the outline form is clear and easily recognized; in others, it can only be inferred.⁴¹ If several examples are arranged in a progression from the clearest to the vaguest, the last one is but a short step away from the traditional *ensō*, 円相 the circle signifying nothingness or emptiness. Thus, Bodhidharma is divested of his identity. The Patriarch is killed! He disappears in the great void which encompasses all—which is all.

3. *Psychological Suggestiveness*

Symbolically complex and intriguing, these materials also invite inquiry into their psychological implications. Though one must be cautious in applying to Asian phenomena analytical devices developed in the West, certain Jungian perspectives seem especially pertinent here.⁴²

According to Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), the structure of the human psyche is a polarity comprised of numerous pairs of opposing tendencies. Among them is the masculine-feminine polarity, which symbolically encompasses all the others. “No man,” said Jung, “is so entirely masculine that he has nothing feminine in him” (DeLaszlo 1959: 158). There are, indeed, he said, in the psyche of every man feminine tendencies which in his dreams, visions, and fantasies become a female personification of his unconscious. This is his *anima*, a figure formed of his actual experience of the feminine, both as a given archetypal image and as an object of personal encounter. Always provocative—at times attractive, at other times strange and fearful, perhaps even repulsive—the anima is a compelling agent in personality individuation (integration or transformation).⁴³ In this process, the anima may play either negative or positive, inhibiting or abetting, roles.

Also of special interest here is the Jungian understanding, as summarized by Ann Ulanov, that the feminine is the “symbol of the non-rational perception that is necessary to religious experience” (1971: 15), or—phrased even more aptly for a Zen setting—that “the feminine mode of perception . . . is particularly suited to apprehension of non-rational reality” (1971: 14). For the Zen monk the implication of

this understanding of the feminine and the function of the anima is clear: by acknowledging and integrating the feminine component of his psyche, he may be aided by his anima in his quest for enlightenment; by failing to do so (a strong likelihood, given the presuppositions of Buddhist monastic life), he will be hindered by that same agent.

Considered within this Jungian framework, the feminine motifs in Bodhidharma symbology correlate interestingly and suggestively with some of the typical manifestations and functions of the anima. All are examples of anima imagery. All are symptomatic of the anima's activity, either negative or positive.

In Jungian terms the Zen monk, in order to achieve individuation, must acknowledge and integrate the feminine component of his psyche. As the Zen monk himself perceives his task, he must, through the disciplining of his mind and body and ultimately through an experience of enlightenment, transcend the fascination of the feminine, both in its attractive and menacing aspects. But the anima may block his way. Through obeying his obligation to avoid women he does not eliminate his own desires. Though in part he may counteract the attractiveness of the feminine by concentrating on the ephemerality of youth and beauty, he does not thereby dispel the ambivalence of his feelings or escape his unconscious bondage to fascination. Real transcendence comes through integration, not avoidance. If in his dreams, visions, or fantasies he is garbed as a woman, exposed to a temptress, or transformed into a woman, he has failed to integrate the feminine. The persistence of such anima imagery (whether attractive, compromising, or offensive) indicates that there is something still to be learned—something yet to be faced.

This negative or inhibiting role of the anima is delineated with remarkable specificity in a Zen sermon attributed to the Rinzai master Takusui 沢水 (17th-18th centuries):

In Zen practice a variety of supernatural phenomena may be experienced. For example, you may see ghostly forces, demons, Buddhas, flowers, or *you may feel your body becoming like that of a woman*, or even purified into a state of non-existence. (Stryk and Ikemoto 1963: 71, emphasis added).

The master further warns that such visions or hallucinations, called *makyō* 魔境 (devil's realm) in Japanese,⁴⁴ must be neither dreaded nor cherished but dismissed as illusions, as evidence that the breakthrough to enlightenment (*satori* 悟り) has not yet occurred.

While the anima may cause trouble for the Zen monk, she also

may be a transformative agent, abetting his quest for transcendence.⁴⁵ The anima's positive functions which are especially apropos here are described as follows by Jung's associate, M.-L. von Franz:

Whenever a man's logical mind is incapable of discerning facts that are hidden in his unconscious, the anima helps him to dig them out. Even more vital is the role that the anima plays in putting a man's mind in tune with the right inner values and thereby opening the way into more profound inner depths. (1964: 180).

Though these words were written with no apparent reference to the struggles of a Zen monk, they do seem pertinent to his quest, and they may open to us a fuller understanding of the feminine motifs in Bodhidharma symbology, particularly through one example. If we return to an examination of Harunobu's print, "Daruma and a Beauty in a Boat" (Fig. 12), previously cited because it depicts Bodhidharma in the presence of a woman, we now may discern a possibly deeper significance. This picture of a courtesan poling a boat in which Bodhidharma sits, preoccupied with himself, is in fact a remarkably apt image of the anima propelling the mystic toward transcendence.⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

What may we conclude from this survey? It just may be that the artists and artisans who playfully created the materials considered here have indeed unwittingly provided a necessary but otherwise missing element in the Bodhidharma saga. Projecting their own intuitions, experiences, and fantasies onto a prominent, and for most, a genuinely beloved figure in popular lore, they had their fun—but they also scored a point beyond satire. They stand with the centuries-old testimony of East Asian traditions, that the masculine and feminine are complementary and interdependent components of existence, requiring harmony and balance for their effective functioning. If indeed the crusty old patriarch Bodhidharma did struggle with and benefit from the feminine aspects of his own psyche, he was thereby more, not less, completely a man and he is even more entitled to be the symbol *par excellence* of Zen discipline and experience for all time.

NOTES

1. Dumoulin 1969: 67-72.
2. *Bodhidharma*, an Indian (Sanskrit) name, is Japanized as *Bodai-daruma* 菩提達磨; however, customarily it is rendered simply as *Daruma* 達磨 or, with the addition

of an honorific, *Daruma San* or *Daruma Sama* 達磨様 (Mr. Daruma) or Daruma Daishi 達磨大師 (Daruma the Great Master).

3. Chapin 1946: pl. xi, fig. 2; Fontein and Hickman 1970: 2-3.

4. Fontein and Hickman 1970: pls. 7 and 20.

5. Fig 1: Traditional portrait of Bodhidharma by Kenkō Shōkei 賢江禪啓 (late 15th—early 16th cent.). Fontein and Hickman 1970: pl. 57. The illustrations, prepared by Anna L. McFarland, are line-drawing adaptations of published or privately owned items.

6. Ishida 1979: numerous examples of traditional renderings.

7. This is well illustrated in a series of portraits from the 13th to the 19th centuries reproduced in Kyoto National Museum 1983: 20-23, 95-111.

8. Reflecting on the use of the Zen *kōan*, C. G. Jung observed that “there are any number of people who cannot distinguish between a spiritual witticism and nonsense.” Foreword to Suzuki 1949a: 24.

9. Fig. 2: *Okiagari kobōshi*, distributed by Ryōtan-ji 龍潭寺, Hikone, Shiga Prefecture. Papier-mâché, painted. Author's collection. This type of doll, commonly used in the quest for good luck, is called *menashi daruma* 目無し達磨 (eyeless Daruma) or *me'ire daruma* 目入れ達磨 (enter-the-eye Daruma). When making a wish or prayer, the petitioner paints a black pupil in one eye. If the boon is received, the other eye is painted. Victory parties for successful political candidates almost invariably include the ceremony of painting the other eye. As a symbol of perseverance and resilience this Daruma figure also dramatizes a determination always to get up. Often it is used in association with a popular maxim: *nana korobi ya oki* 七転八起 (seven falls, eight rises).

10. The Shaolin temple 少林寺 in China (Jap., Shōrin-ji), where Bodhidharma is supposed to have sat for nine years in wall-gazing meditation, is also associated historically with bands of warrior monks skilled in a lethal form of combat using only sticks and bare fists as weapons. Within the martial arts there is a tradition that Bodhidharma, born and reared in the Kshatriya (warrior) caste in India, brought to China a knowledge of martial arts. For their physical development, Bodhidharma taught the Shaolin monks a set of exercises which evolved into the combat skills which underlie modern *kung fu* or *karate* 空手 (Haines 1968: 12-33, 98-105).

11. For a description of Shingaku and other ethical movements see Bellah 1957: 133-177.

12. During the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-1952), the term *daruma geisha* 達磨芸者 was sometimes used to describe the more opportunistic members of that otherwise fairly circumspect profession.

13. Fig. 3: traditional *royō daruma*. Ishida 1979: 94; Fig. 4: courtesan as *royō daruma*, ca. 1766/67. Hillier 1970: pl. 41.

14. Three excellent examples of *ukiyo-e* parodies are included in Stern n.d.: pls. 26, 48 and 117.

15. Fig. 5: *onna daruma*, folk-art product of Toyama prefecture. Clay, painted. Sakamoto and Pomeroy 1965: pl. 150. Fig. 6: *hime daruma*, folk-art product of Kōchi prefecture. Papier-mâché, painted. Author's collection. Fig. 7: *hime daruma*. Papier-mâché, painted face, brocade costume. Author's collection. Additional examples are included in Sakamoto and Pomeroy pls. 318, 324, 366 and 376. It is also important to note that not all female *okiagari* figures belong to the Daruma tradition. See Saint-Gilles 1983: 212-213.

16. Fig. 8: anonymous woodblock print, 17th cent. Kapleau 1979: 235. Fig. 9: woodblock print by Suzuki Harunobu, 1765. Gentles 1965: 16. Fig. 10: paint-

ing, ink and color on paper by Hotei Hokuga 布袋北雅, early 19th century. Robinson 1970: 113.

17. Fig. 11: Gunsaulus 1955: 123.

18. Fig. 12: Hillier 1920: pl. 55.

19. Fig. 13: Giving Daruma a smoke, woodblock print by Suzuki Harunobu, 1765. Gentles 1965: 17.

20. Within a Japanese house or inn, the most likely place for displaying a Daruma portrait is the *tokonoma*, an alcove for art objects. Typically, it features two coordinated items, a *kakemono* 掛け物 (hanging scroll) on the back wall and a three-dimensional object on the base, which is raised slightly above the level of the *tatami* 畳 (straw mat) floor. In the Harunobu print, the hanging portrait of Daruma is accompanied by a flower arrangement. In another typical instance, Daruma might be present as a statuette, in which case the *kakemono* might appropriately feature calligraphy or a simple painting suggestive of the season.

21. A *netsuke* 根付け is a miniature sculpture used as a toggle for fastening to a sash a *sagemono* 下げ物 (a dangling object), such as a case or pouch for carrying smoking materials, medicines, signature seals, or other small objects.

22. Fig. 14: Daruma tempted by Okame, wood and ivory *netsuke* by Sanshō 三笑, late 19th century. Okada 1982: 100.

23. Bush 1964: 8.

24. Fig. 15: Takahashi 1972: pl. 94.

25. Fig. 16: Sakamoto and Pomeroy 1965: 4; Fig. 17: author's collection.

26. Fig. 18: author's collection.

27. Fig. 19: author's collection. These Chinese characters are also used profusely as lucky *mantras* on many kinds of souvenirs, such as costume jewelry, trivets, and articles of clothing.

28. It is conceivable that some among the numerous examples of *onna daruma* and *hime daruma* were intended to be transvestite figures, but this is nowhere clearly indicated.

29. Fig. 20: Yanagi 1960: pl. 46.

30. Yanagi 1960: 127.

31. Fig. 21: Gunsaulus 1955: 124.

32. Buruma 1984: 116.

33. Fig. 22: Suzuki 1971: 69.

34. As early as the 10th century there were erotic drawings called *warai-e* 笑い絵 (comical pictures) portraying monks and abbots engaged in forbidden sexual activities. Buruma 1984: 55.

35. Some monks were less than circumspect in engaging in amorous adventures. One famous Zen master, Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394–1481), who at age ninety became the abbot of the great Daitoku-ji 大徳寺 in Kyoto, had a widespread, if not wholly deserved, reputation for profligacy. A very eccentric monk, he taught his Zen in taverns and brothels; and, while he decried the lechery and inhumanity of such places, he seems not to have found dalliance and Zen to be totally incompatible. Even as an old man he continued to write erotic poems, in one of which he described himself as a “precept-breaking monk for eighty years” (Sanford 1981: 158). During the Tokugawa period, scores of stories about Ikkyū were collected, rewritten, and circulated. In these he functions as a Zen-witted folk hero, especially resourceful in repartee with those who reflect tradition-bound obtuseness. The “Tokugawa tales” also are spiced by occasional allusions to his reputation as a rake. See Sanford 1981: 156–168, 249–296.

36. Some of the most famous of the *ukiyo-e* artists produced large numbers of sexually explicit prints. See Grosbois 1966 and Evans and Evans 1975.

37. Joly 1980: 52.

38. Such a mystique is reflected in a modern novel by Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成, *Nemureru bijo* 眠れる美女 (House of the Sleeping Beauties, 1961). An elderly customer of a brothel muses concerning a young woman drugged for his pleasure: "Perhaps she is the incarnation of Buddha. It is possible. After all there are tales of Buddha appearing in the guise of a woman of pleasure, a prostitute" (Buruma 1984: 66).

39. "If you meet the Buddha, kill him; if you meet the Patriarch, kill him!" This statement is attributed to the Chinese master Lin-chi (Jap., Rinzai). Dumoulin 1969a: 64.

40. Fontein and Hickman 1970: 102-104.

41. Awakawa 1970: pls. 134 and 138.

42. Since the author is in no sense a Jungian analyst, the purpose here is solely to deal with these materials suggestively and conjecturally, invoking possibly relevant Jungian perspectives. It is, of course, a presupposition of the Jungian school that the archetypal images which they posit are universal. Also, C. G. Jung himself had a deep interest in Asian religious and psychological insights and disciplines, especially Zen. See his Foreword in Suzuki 1949: 9-29.

43. "The archetypal images of the anima range from harlot, witch, martyr, sister, peasant, gypsy, beloved, muse, to saint, goddess, and spiritual guide" (Ulanov 1971: 37).

44. "What in Zen language is called *makyō* covers a large number of diverse phenomena, some distressing, others delightful, a few purely psychic, but most accompanied by somatic changes. All of them hinder progress and divert one from the goal of enlightenment" (Dumoulin 1979: 141).

45. Ann Ulanov has observed that in a society oriented to masculine values (which Japan largely is) a "sense of otherness frequently comes in images associated with the feminine, such as female figures who tempt one against one's will, or who are helpful sisters, or who are wise women full of secrets" (1971: 19).

46. For this insight the author is totally indebted to Joseph Campbell, known for his application of Jungian principles to the study of comparative mythology in his multi-volume work *The Masks of God*. Captivated by Harunobu's print while reading the first draft of this paper, he suggested this interpretation in a personal conference on May 2, 1981. Also relevant is the statement of Erich Neumann: "The male experiences . . . the feminine directly and indirectly as provocative, as a force that sets him in motion and impels him toward change. Here it is a matter of indifference whether the transformation of the male is caused by a positive or a negative fascination, by attraction or repulsion on the part of the woman" (1955: 32).

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