

# Ippen's Dream at Kumano

Bruce Darling

## Introduction

The central role of dreams in the spiritual and psychological life of medieval Japanese is clear from a purusal of the literature and an examination of the visual arts—dreams clearly had a pervasive influence on many aspects of the religious and secular realms. To medieval Japanese, the dream world represented an additional dimension to everyday waking reality in the continuum of man's existence. The richness this added to the fabric of medieval man's spiritual and psychological existence is in sharp contrast to the poverty of modern man's own dream life.

Anthropologists who have been re-examining dreams from a cross-cultural perspective have contributed to the discovery that there appears to be "a natural order of dream forms" that extends across diverse cultures and various stages of societal development. The four types, Archetypal, Prophetic, Medical, Personal-mnemonic, display an increasing reduction in content and significance as they are correlated with the evolution from primitive society, classical civilization, nineteenth century to the present.<sup>1</sup> Nor has the decline of such great dreams gone unnoticed by scholars in other fields. An ever growing number of people involved in the dreamwork movement, for example, is trying to reverse what may well be "the final narrowing of dreaming" in the twentieth century to one type, the personal-mnemonic (the least important of the types mentioned above) by putting meaning back into our dreams.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the archetypal dream, also termed the culture pattern dream and the big dream, has all but vanished from the experience of modern civilized man. What have we lost, or very nearly lost? The dream no longer creates the world; the dream no longer represents the gods; the dream no longer serves as a channel to the dead. The list goes on. Yet in medieval Japan the importance of such dreams cannot be underestimated.

For an example of such an archetypal dream, we turn to the experience of the *hijiri* Ippen, a late thirteenth century itinerant holy man, whose life and teachings perhaps best embody the diverse Buddhist and Shinto currents<sup>3</sup> in medieval Japanese religion and whose magnificent dream/vision<sup>4</sup> at Kumano Hongu Shrine set the course of his life-long religious practices.

This paper explores Ippen's dream at Kumano, addresses the meaning and significance of the dream for Ippen, and places Ippen's dream in the context of the Kumano cult. This discussion is based on both the text and painting of the *Ippen hijiri-e* (Picture scroll of the *hijiri* Ippen), dated 1299, the pictorial biography of the itinerant holy man (*hijiri*) Ippen, the earliest and most reliable source for Ippen's life and teachings.<sup>5</sup> The accompanying text is discussed and particular attention is paid the painting in order to see how the pictorial representation can contribute to our greater understanding of Ippen's dream.

## Ippen Hijiri: Life and Teachings

Ippen (1239-1289), leader of a wayfaring order known as Jishû, roamed the plains and mountains, visited the popular cult centers at temples and shrines, and promoted increasingly popular this-world Pure Land beliefs associated with Buddhist deities and Shinto kami.<sup>6</sup> Notable practices of Ippen's order included itinerant

---

**Bruce Darling** taught art history at Miyazaki International College in 1995 and 1996. His research focuses on medieval Japanese art and architecture. Most recently he has been exploring the World Wide Web as a medium for art history.

Ippen's Dream at Kumano Hongū

*Ippen Hijiri-e* III (Kankikō-ji/Shōjōkō-ji Collections)

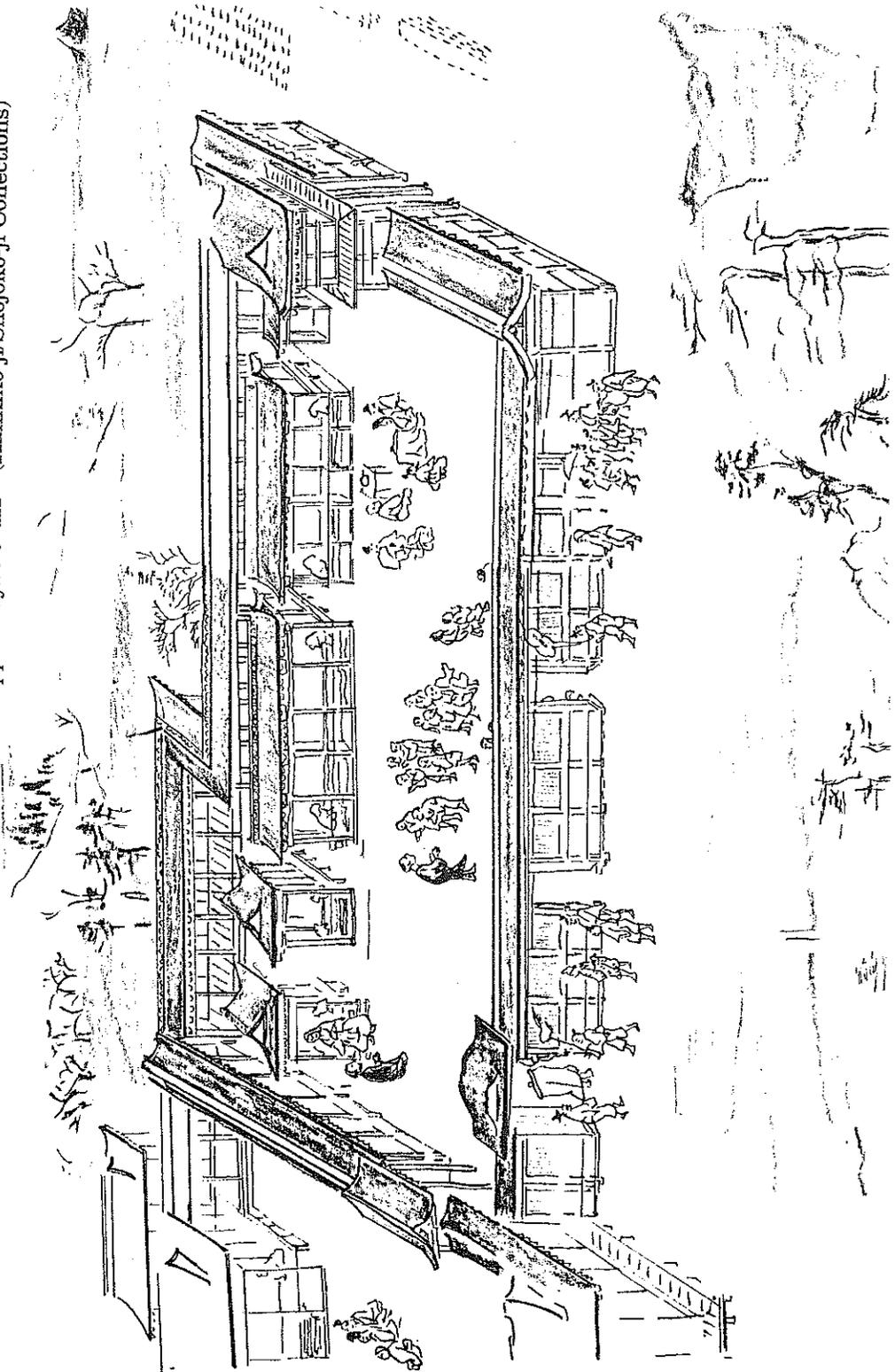


Figure 1

wandering, promoting the dancing *nembutsu* (*odori nembutsu*), and distributing *nembutsu* charms.<sup>7</sup> Ippen may have kept a register of his followers and contributors, and by one count handed out 251,724 charms (*Ippen hijirie*, XII, 2). Ippen visited Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines on the plains, and also continued his ascetic practices in the mountains, visiting one sacred peak after another.<sup>8</sup> At these holy places, he worshiped the Buddhist and Shinto deities, interpreted their oracles and spread word of their efficacies. The magical side of his charisma endowed him with the character of a wandering healer who could administer to the very real physical infirmities of the people.<sup>9</sup> He remained, therefore, close to the land and to the kami, preserving his essentially affirmative view of the world and man, as is also reflected in his particular Amidist and Pure Land practices and beliefs.

As a leader of a popular Buddhist movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Ippen shares with the two best known Amidist leaders of the day, Hōnen and Shinran, those traits often cited to characterize Kamakura Amidist teachings: broad appeal based on an emphasis of simple faith and pious devotion (in place of difficult doctrine and elaborate practices) that promised salvation to all regardless of sex and social standing. Certainly, all three holy men did advocate faith in Amida and practice of the *nembutsu* as a means of salvation for every man and every woman. Ippen's Pure Land thought, however, differs substantially from those of Hōnen and Shinran (Yanagi, 1973, pp. 33-35). Ippen's Pure Land beliefs and practices, for example, do not exhibit a break from the established Buddhist institutions. Indeed, Ippen spent his entire life wandering from one such institution to another, preaching his Pure Land beliefs, distributing *nembutsu* charms, dancing the *nembutsu*, and participating in the popular cults where he worshiped the enshrined Buddhist and Shinto deities.

Ippen and his Jishū followers, unlike those in the more exclusive Amidist sects, worshiped many Buddhist and Shinto deities, and did not focus only on Amida. Ippen's numerous visits to Shinto shrines, as depicted in his illustrated biography, demonstrate his unceasing esteem and devotion to the native kami.<sup>10</sup> Typically the shrines he visited were located in the provinces and were not government supported shrines such as Kasuga and Ise linked with the fallen aristocratic order. In contrast, Hōnen, but also Shinran to some extent, being more single-mindedly Amidist, tended to turn his back on the Shinto kami and focus solely on Amida, while slighting Shakyamuni and the other Buddhas and bodhisattvas.<sup>11</sup>

Although Ippen's Pure Land *nembutsu* thought may have more in common with Shinran than Hōnen, by some accounts Ippen's "other-power" thought and practices went even further than Shinran's. For Ippen, chanting the *nembutsu* brought one into unity with the *nembutsu*. Further, Ippen believed the mere acceptance of the *nembutsu* charm amounted to a one-name calling and brought the receiver into immediate unity with Amida in His Paradise (*nembutsu soku ōjō*). The charms that he distributed represented, in effect, "a ticket to paradise."<sup>12</sup> To those to whom he distributed the ticket, then, Ippen became a veritable living Buddha. The place (this *saba* world) where the Buddha roamed and resided was his Pure Land (*saba soku jōdo*). Also, Ippen could not only understand the gods, he could speak to them; he could speak for them. The messages, that is the oracles, of the gods, moreover, were often conveyed through both Japanese prose and poetry during dreams. Ippen's advocacy of dancing *nembutsu* demonstrates even more clearly the ecstatic character of Ippen's non-dualistic, this-worldly (*shigan*) Pure Land thought. The adoption of Amida names by members of the Jishū order likewise served to eliminate the distinction between oneself and Amida; it represents another way of expressing one's identity with Amida. Crucial to the development of Ippen's beliefs and practices were his 1274 pilgrimage to Southern Kii Peninsula and the profound dream he had at Kumano Hongu Shrine. Before beginning our examination of this

event, we will give a brief description of the *Ippen hijiri-e* masterpiece as it pertains to our discussion.

### ***Ippen hijiri-e* (Picture scroll of the hijiri Ippen)**

As stated above, the earliest and most reliable source for the study of Ippen's life is the *Ippen hijiri-e* (Picture scroll of the *hijiri* Ippen), also known as the *Ippen shōnin eden* (Illustrated biography of Saint Ippen).<sup>13</sup> The text was edited in 1299 by Shōkai, founder of Kankikō-ji and younger half-brother of Ippen, on the tenth anniversary of Ippen's death. For this reason this set of twelve scrolls with forty-eight sections in color on silk is sometimes called the Shōkai version. A group of perhaps three or four painters appears to have illustrated the scrolls under the direction of En'i,<sup>14</sup> thought to have been a high ranking priest at Onjō-ji; the calligraphy appears to have been written by perhaps four scribes.<sup>15</sup> The identity of the set's sponsor, "a certain person" (*Ippen hijiri-e* XII, 3), most likely a wealthy aristocrat able to afford the cost of these expensive scrolls, is thought to be Kujō Tadanori, who studied with Shōkai and supported his funding of the Kankikō-ji temple, Kyoto, the original owner of the entire set of scrolls.<sup>16</sup>

The twelve scrolls present a chronological review of Ippen's life.<sup>17</sup> The most important events of Ippen's life are carefully depicted as he wanders about the country visiting Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines often associated with popular cults spreading his *shigan*, or "this shore" (that is, this world), Pure Land beliefs and practices. The artists show a concern for accuracy and reality. Ippen and his companions are often depicted in discernable forms and the places (often popular shrines and temples)<sup>18</sup> he visited in recognizable appearances. While the *Ippen hijiri-e* is certainly a pictorial biography of Ippen, it may be argued that if there is one other overriding characteristic it is the superb rendering of Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples in their landscapes—an undeniable sense of place (even "sacred place")—throughout the entire set of scrolls.

Our concern is with Ippen's visit in 1274 to Kumano Hongu Shrine, principle shrine in the complex known as the Three Kumano Shrines.<sup>19</sup> Judging from the length of the text and the extent of the painting, the sponsor of the set of scrolls certainly considered this to be one of the key events in Ippen's life-long pilgrimage.<sup>20</sup> Note that these Kumano scenes at the beginning of *Ippen hijiri-e* scroll 3 appear to have been incorrectly mounted during a later repair. For this discussion, the order of the scenes has been rearranged based on the flow of the preceding text and the painted compositions.<sup>21</sup> We will focus primarily on the sections of text and painting that are concerned with Ippen's (encounter with the lone monk and his) dream at Kumano Hongu Shrine.

### **Ippen's Pilgrimage to Kumano**

According to the *Ippen hijiri-e* (III,1), in the summer of 1274 Ippen left Mount Koya and travelled on towards Kumano.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps because he was with three female traveling companions, instead of taking the difficult mountainous route directly south, he went over to the sea and then headed south down the coast. He followed the pilgrimage road past various small *ōji* shrines<sup>23</sup> such as Fujishiro, Iwashiro, where he offered prayers. He turned up the Nakaheji Road, went along the Iwada River and on to Hosshinmon, where he prayed before going on to Kumano Hongu. Both text and painting convey the medieval view of the sacred landscape wherein the ambience of the Kumano mountains was one filled with mystery and awe. For pilgrims of the day the various forms and phenomena of nature were alive with the Shinto and Buddhist deities themselves.

Especially, the morning sun that rises in the east brings to mind that rebirth (*ôjô*) for the masses and Fudô Myôô who puts down evil spirits. The evening sun that sinks in the west makes one feel that there had appeared Amida Nyorai who, accompanied by many bodhisattvas, has come down in welcome from the Pure Land. Such is the spectacle in the mountains of Kumano.<sup>24</sup> (Ippen *hijiri-e* III,1)

Along the way to Kumano, Shôkai's text states, Ippen encountered a lone Buddhist monk,<sup>25</sup> to whom he attempted to pass a *nembutsu* charm. The monk, however, initially refused to accept Ippen's charm, claiming that he could not repeat the *nembutsu* because he "lacked a faithful heart."<sup>26</sup> Ippen, in a quandary as to how to respond to such a refusal, insisted saying that "even *without a faithful heart*, accept this," and passed him the charm. When the other pilgrims saw the lone monk accept the charm, they all did likewise. The lone monk then went off.

Here was a single monk. The *hijiri* urged him "to have faith in the single *nembutsu* (*ichinen*), chant 'Namu Amida Butsu,' and receive this charm" The monk refused, answering, "At present, I do not have faith in the single *nembutsu*. If I were to receive this, it would be hypocritical." The *hijiri* responded, "Haven't you faith in Buddhism?" "You should receive this." "While I have no doubts about the teachings of the scriptures," responded the monk, "the fact that faith does not arise in my heart comes from not being able to summon the strength."

By this time, several pilgrims had gathered, and if this monk did not receive the charm, neither ought they. And while it was not his original intention, (Ippen) said, "Even without faith arising in your heart, receive this," and passed him the charm. Seeing this, every one of the pilgrims also received (a charm). The monk went off somewhere. (Ippen *hijiri-e*, III.1)<sup>27</sup>

The painting by En'i, adding considerable local color to Shôkai's text, shows Ippen, accompanied by his three female companions, Chôichi, Chôni and Nembutsubô<sup>28</sup> heading from the viewer's right to left towards Kumano meeting a "lone monk," who is followed quite closely by three ladies and two men heading in the opposite direction on the narrow Nakaheji pilgrimage path through the mountainous landscape to Kumano. The lone monk is labeled "Gongen" and hence is identified as a "manifestation" of the Kumano Kami. Some may question this identification because it is unclear when the labels were written. Nevertheless, if, indeed, he were intended to be a manifestation of the Kumano kami, this would not be a new form for the Kumano Kami because he had been represented as a monk since the mid-twelfth century.<sup>29</sup> The text tells us of the exchange between Ippen and the lone monk, and the outcome; it concludes with the statement that after the encounter this monk went off, or just disappeared, thereby suggesting something unusual about the figure.

Pondering this incident, Ippen decided that it was not without some reason, and so he decided he should seek guidance [from the kami] regarding the meaning of *kanjin* (*nembutsu*) propagation. Going before the Hall of Witness (Shôjô-den) at Kumano Hongû Shrine, he offered prayers. (Ippen *Hijiri-e* III,1)

The mysterious monk's initial rejection bothered Ippen because if those incapable of repeating the *nembutsu* due to a lack of faith were to be denied salvation, then Amida could not save all beings through his grace alone. This would be a denial of the complete dependence on "other power" that Ippen so fervently believed and promoted. And Ippen's distributing *nembutsu* charms, first shown in the Shitenno-ji scene, *Ippen hijiri-e*, II, 3 would lose its significance. The monk, hence, served as the immediate stimulus for Ippen's subsequently seeking guidance from the Kami of the Shôjô-den at Kumano Hongu. The answer to Ippen's prayers came in a magnificent dream.

## Ippen's Dream<sup>30</sup> at Kumano Hongu

With his his eyes closed but without dozing, [he saw] the door of the Hall<sup>31</sup> was pushed open and a white haired *yamabushi*<sup>32</sup> wearing a long hood emerge. In the Nagatoko<sup>33</sup> Worship Hall/Salutation Hall, approximately three hundred *yamabushi* touched their heads to the ground and paid homage. At this moment Ippen realized that this must be the Manifestation [of the kami] and fervently prayed to him.

At this instance, the *yamabushi* stepped before the *hijiri* and said, "*Hijiri* who propagates the *yûzû nembutsu*<sup>34</sup> why do you propagate the *nembutsu* so badly? It is not through your propagation that all sentient beings will be reborn for the first time. By the enlightenment of Amida ten kalpas ago it was determined that the rebirth of all sentient beings was by Namu Amida Butsu. Do not choose between believers and unbelievers.<sup>35</sup> Do not be adverse to the pure or the impure.<sup>36</sup> You should [just] distribute your charms." Afterwards, when he opened his eyes he saw that approximately one hundred children<sup>37</sup> of about the age of twelve or thirteen had come; holding out their hands, they were saying, "We will receive this *nembutsu*." Taking the charms, they said "Namu Amida Butsu," and went off somewhere.<sup>38</sup> (*Ippen hijiri-e* III,1)

Following his report of Ippen's dream, Shôkai indicates how important the dream had been for Ippen by likening it to Ryônin's dream (that's the word he used, *mujô*) when he received the *yûzû nembutsu*, or "circulating *nembutsu*," teachings from Amida Buddha. Ippen's dream, in the tradition of the dreams of other Kamakura religious leaders, is surely cited by Shôkai to lend legitimacy to Ippen's teachings and *nembutsu* propagation.

Now Ryônin Shônin received Amida Buddha's instructions in a *dream* (*mujô*) concerning the *yûzû nembutsu*.<sup>39</sup> He began to propagate these on the ninth day of the sixth month, 1124/Tenji 1yr, first Bishamon Tennô of Kuramadera, and then Bonten, Taishaku and others recorded their names in his name register. There must be those who believe that these children, too, stand for the *ôji*, the child dieties, accepting [Ippen's *nembutsu* teachings] (*Ippen hijiri-e* III,1).

Now Ippen understood that the charms were not just a means to encourage the *nembutsu*. The distribution of charms attained new significance and became fundamental to Ippen's *nembutsu* practice. Each charm brought immediate salvation. Irrespective of faith or purity, and beyond birth and death, man was already saved.<sup>40</sup> The basis for this fundamental understanding of other power and the significance of *nembutsu* charm distribution came through the dream oracle of Kumano Yamabushi. Shôkai then writes:

[Ippen] said that after being granted the oracle of the Daigen (i.e., Kumano Gongen), he finally understood the profound meaning of the [Amida's] original vow of other power.<sup>41</sup> (*Ippen hijiri-e* III,1)

## Text and Painting

Ippen's dream revelation at Kumano Hongû is the most important event on this pilgrimage. Shôkai's text presents a rather straight forward report of Ippen's dream, with some elaboration. The focus of the first half of the dream narrative is the appearance of Kumano Yamabushi and his oracle to Ippen. The second half tells of Ippen's immediately beginning to act on the deity's words to him as children suddenly appear before him. Shôkai's report of Ippen's dream focuses the words and actions of the dream figures, Ippen included. Little is said of the shrine setting of the dream; only two shrine structures, the Shôjô-den and Nagatoko, are mentioned, with no reference to the shrine landscape.

Complementing and enhancing Shôkai's written account of Ippen dream is En'i's pictorial representation of this pivotal event. En'i's painting represents in a somewhat literal manner the limited number of basic elements mentioned in Shôkai's

narration of Ippen's dream: Shôjô-den, Kumano Yamabushi, Ippen, Nagatoko *yamabushi*, children. Eni's painting makes its largest contribution, though, when it comes to the setting. For the painter has not only added various figures not mentioned in Ippen's dream but has also placed the dream scene in an elaborate and believable architectural and landscape setting. He has given Ippen a true place to dream.

Ippen's dream has two important aspects—narrative and image. One of the problems we must deal with is how the respective *Ippen hijiri-e* text and painting presentations of Ippen's dream reflect these two aspects. The issue here is not the debate among cognitive scientists over whether the story grammar (narrative) defines the dream or the visual imagery defines the narrative (Hunt, 1989, 159ff). Suffice to state here that while the more ordinary dream does have a strong story line, the visual or imagist basis for the archetypal dream cannot be rejected. This, in turn, suggests that the painting of an archetypal dream may have reason to be a closer reflection of that dream than the corresponding text. The narrative picture scroll with its text and image, then, may well be the most appropriate medium to represent a dream because it can so well reflect the two aspects of dream mentioned above, narrative and image. Moreover, the appropriateness of exploring the imagery of Ippen's dream via the *Ippen hijiri-e* narrative picture scroll relates also to the kind of dream under consideration, that is an archetypal dream also characterized by the surprise and powerful images of so-called "right brain dreaming."<sup>42</sup> In other words, despite the practiced manner that Ippen followed to secure his Kumano dream, the imagery of that dream may well have precedence over the narrative. A worthwhile question to be raised, then, is what additional elements does the painting contribute to our understanding of this central event in Ippen's sacred biography? Below we examine three aspects of this contribution: dream time, dream figures, dream setting.

### Dream Time: Season, Time of Day, and Narrative Sequence

Shôkai's text tells us that Ippen made his Kumano pilgrimage in summer, and Eni's painting shows the summer landscape. On the other hand, Shôkai makes no mention of the time of Ippen's dream revelation, assuming we would know that the most appropriate time for such activities. Though the painted scene looks like daytime, the presence of two figures carrying torches just outside the southern corridor indicate that the events are taking place in darkness.<sup>43</sup> Specifically, though, the most propitious time to commune with the deities appears to have been the transition periods of dusk and dawn.<sup>44</sup> Countless references in diaries, novels and poetry speak of shrine activities going on in lamplight or under the light of the moon. For example, in his *Ryôjin hishō Kudenshū* Go-Shirakawa mentions *staying up all night* and chanting at the main Kumano Shrine on his pilgrimages there in 1162(ôhō 2yr) and 1169 (Nin'an 4yr):

Although our part of the hall was dark, the sacred mirrors shone in the lamplight, illuminating the twelve Kumano deities as if reflecting the images of these avatars. (Kwon, 1986, pp. 290-292).

The narrative aspect of the Ippen's dream is expressed in Shôkai's text by the flow of the story from "he closed his eyes without dozing" and relates Kumano Yamabushi's manifestation and oracle to Ippen. The phrase "He opened his eyes. . ." at first suggests the dream has ended and Ippen returns to a waking state. The miraculous appearance of one hundred children, Ippen's sudden change from doubt to the positive action of distributing the *nembutsu* charms and the sudden disappearance of the children all suggest the "He opened his eyes..." portion of the narrative also occurred in Ippen's dream, perhaps in a state something like lucid

dreaming. Interestingly, archetypal dreams do commonly have a dimension of lucidity.<sup>45</sup> In any event, while the text is not clear about the Ippen's state of consciousness, the phrase "he closed his eyes without dozing" suggests a hypnagogic, or sleep onset, state characterized by particularly vivid dreams.<sup>46</sup> The state of lucid dreaming is another such unclear, or transitional, state of consciousness between dreaming and wakefulness. Interestingly, this physiological state has been shown to be (like) the physiological meditative state of a Buddhist monk.<sup>47</sup> So the narrative suggests the blurring of the lines between not only wakefulness and dreaming, but also between dream, vision and meditation.

Eni also represents the confusion in the order of the dream narrative by incorporating the traditional *emaki* narrative technique known as *iji dôzu* (literally, "different time, same picture") in which the principle actor in a scene is repeated while performing different actions against the same background setting in order to indicate passage of time. In this case, moving from right to left in the normal time and space sequence of viewing a horizontal hand scroll, the distinctively rendered figure of Ippen is shown first standing in front of a small group of boys while distributing his charm and then kneeling before a standing *yamabushi* figure representing the Kumano Yamabushi. Based on the events mentioned in the text, the time sequence in this crucial scene should flow from right to left as the picture scrolls unrolls. Instead, here it is an emphatic left to right, the opposite of the normal movement through a narrative scroll scene. The narrative sequence of events is confused, blurred, much like in a dream. Time flow is out of joint. Rather than merely the passage of real time as in other usages of *iji dozu* illustrative method,<sup>48</sup> in this case the different times shown, presented in the text as eyes closed time and eyes opened time, represent, respectively a hypnagogic (dream) state and a lucid dreaming state.

## Dream Figures

En'i represents the Kumano Deity, as Shôkai described him, as a white haired *yamabushi* dressed in the white hooded garb of a mountain ascetic, having just stepped down from the Shôjô-den in the east precinct of Kumano Hongu and standing before the kneeling Ippen.<sup>49</sup> The manifestation of the main kami of a Shinto shrine as an old man with white hair is quite common,<sup>50</sup> but it is unusual to see such a kami as a *yamabushi*, a mountain ascetic who may be characterized by his eclectic Buddhist/Shinto practices and beliefs. Moreover, it is difficult to tell whether Kumano Yamabushi has white hair and how old he is judging only from the painting. Why does the Kumano Kami manifest himself here as a *yamabushi*? Certainly *yamabushi*, or shugendô, ascetics/practitioners, played an important role in the Kumano cult at this time. Indeed, Kumano mandala paintings of this period include depictions of En no Gyôja and Zaô Gongen, two figures whose cult is focused on Mount Kimpû and Mount Omine, the center of the Tôzan branch of Shugendô. Indeed, according to the *Shosan engi*, the *Omine engi* was read regularly before the Shôjô-den.<sup>51</sup> This *yamabushi* manifestation of the Kumano Kami probably pre-dates Ippen's revelatory dream of 1274, although the *Ippen hijiri-e* depiction appears to be the earliest extant representation.<sup>52</sup> To date, however, I have not found an earlier literary reference indicating Kumano Yamabushi as the *honji* or *suijaku* form of the Kumano kami. Is this manifestation an original product of Ippen's grand dream? Surely, Kumano Kami's appearance as a *yamabushi* must also reflect that part of Ippen's own basic character as a mountain *hijiri*. After all, a *yamabushi* stands as an intermediary between the various deities and man; he carries with him the aura of the sacred mountain realms where he communes with the deities. This iconography, under the title of "Ippen's Enlightenment [at Kumano]" (*shôdôzu*), became part of the standard repertoire of Jishû painting. For example, an independent hanging scroll depicting this

scene is found in the collection of Kankikô-ji.<sup>53</sup> This painting, however, seems more closely related to the depiction of this episode is found in the *Yûgyô shônin engi-e*, I, 2, than the version in the *Ippen hijiri-e*.

In the *Ippen hijiri-e* scene, the figure of Ippen appears twice within the eastern shrine compound, kneeling before the Shôjô-den and Kumano Yamabushi and standing as he passes out charms/fuda to the youngsters. Throughout the scroll, Ippen himself, dressed in a simple monk's robe, is often depicted tall, somewhat stooped, thin, long faced and dark complexioned, making him quite recognizable. Ippen evolves from a child to an old man so at times he appears quite different and without knowing the story one would be hard to identify without the added labels. This representation of Ippen distributing *nembutsu* charms shows some resemblance to the portrayal of Ippen in the slightly earlier *Tengu zôshi*, Painting IV (traditionally the Mii-dera scroll, Nakamura Collection), although here he is not distributing charms. As these are among the earliest extant portrayals of Ippen, this depiction of Ippen appears to be at the beginning of the tradition of painted (and sculpted) Ippen portraits showing him distributing *nembutsu* charms.<sup>54</sup>

Shôkai mentioned three hundred *yamabushi* who paid Kumano Yamabushi homage by bowing their heads; these are represented in the painting by approximately five seated *yamabushi* figures along with two monks in the Nagatoko, or the Worship hall. (The full complement of figures would have made the composition too crowded.) Moreover, while the text only mentions this Nagatoko Hall, the painting shows the Nagatoko located in front of the First Shrine (known as the "Aiden") in the southern corridor of the western precinct. This building served as the gathering place for Kumano Hongu *yamabushi*, known as the Nagatoko-shû. Again, with Kumano Kami manifesting himself as Kumano Yamabushi, the emphasis on this structure, the gathering place for the Kumano mountain ascetics, would be most fitting. In any event, while the text is clear about the homage paid to Kumano Yamabushi by the Nagatoko *yamabushi*, this was less an interest of the painter. In either event, though, it serves to affirm the deity's identity for Ippen. It is not entirely clear whether Ippen's vision includes these *yamabushi* as dream figures or whether they are meant to be real (i.e. of the waking world) mountain ascetics at the shrine who participated in Ippen's vision of Kumano Yamabushi. Again we find the line blurred between the waking and dreaming worlds. If Ippen's dream or vision were shared by three hundred *yamabushi*, this would lend greater credence to the reality, the validity, of the dream.<sup>55</sup>

After Ippen received the message from Kumano Yamabushi, according to Shôkai's account, he opened his eyes and immediately began distributing his *nembutsu* charms as he was instructed to do by Kumano Yamabushi. Eni provides a fairly literal depiction of this. But has Ippen's dream has ended here or not? I would argue that Ippen's dream is actually continuing and the events portrayed are happening within the dream. The hundred children (*dôji*) mentioned in the narrative, and reduced in the painting to fourteen boys and girls (with others suggested) and shown in the eastern precinct, hence, reinforce Ippen's promotion of the *nembutsu* by distributing charms. Recall also that Shôkai likened these dream figures to Kuramadera Bishamon along with Bonten and Taishaku, the Buddhist and Hindu visionary figures who stood as witnesses to Ryônin's Yûzû *Nembutsu* teachings. As Shôkai stated in the passage immediately following this, these children represent the confirmation of Ippen's charm distribution, the "reception of the *ôji*." The significance of such youthful figures, however, is multifold: certainly they suggest the so-called "ninety-nine *ôji*, or child, shrines," along the pilgrimage road leading to Kumano; they also belong to a general class of miraculous boys known as "divine boys who protect the Buddhist Law" (*gohô dôji*) in the mappô age; <sup>56</sup> they additionally share the Wakamiya's character as a manifestation of the Shinto kami's youth, a symbol of its

powers of rejuvenation.<sup>57</sup> Both *yamabushi* and children are characteristic figures in Kumano cult painting.

Although Shôkai mentioned only the central participants in Ippen's dream, the painter Eni also added numerous other subsidiary figures to increase the narrative interest of the dream. In the same compound as Kumano Yamabushi and Ippen are two other groups of pilgrims, mostly dressed in white pilgrim robes. The women wear two types of broad brimmed hats with hanging veils completely encircling them; the men wear two styles of black *eboshi* hats, the formal style that stands up and the more relaxed model. In the western precinct, one group of three women and four men sit and pray with a priest at a small altar table before the First Shrine. In the eastern precinct, a second group of five men and two women pray with another priest before a similar altar table. The reality of the dream figures seems on par with that of these subsidiary figures; the dream seems to operate on a plane little different from everyday waking reality.

### Dream Setting

Shôkai's narrative of Ippen's dream at Kumano barely touches on aspects of the shrine setting where this event took place. As far as architecture goes, Shôkai mentions only two buildings, the Shôjô-den and the Nagatoko; he says nothing of the shrine landscape. (Although, as we have seen, Shôkai does not ignore the ambiance of the Kumano landscape altogether.) Eni's rendering of the Kumano scenes, on the other hand, depicts not only the figures mentioned by Shôkai as well as subsidiary figures added for interest, but also goes into great detail in his depiction of both the architecture of the Kumano Hongu Shrine compound and characteristic formations of its landscape setting—the stage where Ippen's dream takes place. It is here perhaps that the divergence of Shôkai's and Eni's approaches becomes most obvious. What is to be gleaned from this difference in emphasis?

### Shrine Architecture.

Shôkai does not say anything about the layout of the shrine compound. For this we must turn to the *Ippen hijiri-e* painting where Eni shows the Kumano Hongu Shrine compound surrounded by a semi-enclosed covered corridor with another corridor running north and south dividing it into western and eastern precincts. By so doing the painter is able to convincingly show the locations and relationship of the two key buildings that are mentioned in Shôkai's narrative of Ippen's dream. The western precinct has a single fairly large hip-and-gable roofed structure, the Aiden, that houses Musubi no miya (Nishigozen) on the west and Hayatama miya (Nakagozen) on the east; the rather large hip-and-gable roof structure in the south corridor is the worship hall, the Nagatoko. This is the structure in Ippen's dream from whence the Nagatoko *yamabushi* paid homage to the Kumano deity. The eastern precinct has four shrines; the first from the west is the Shôjô-den (Ketsunomiko), enshrining the principle deity. This is the hall from whence steps down Kumano Yamabushi in Ippen's dream. The surrounding corridor demarks the inner shrine precinct but does not completely cut it off for the various gateways provide access. The main gate is the two story gate in the east corridor of the eastern precinct; the south corridor here has four gates, the one in front of the Shôjôden being the only one with a *karahafu*, or undulating gable, roof. The middle corridor separating the compound into east and west precincts has an eight post gate, while the westernmost corridor has a four post gate. According to Satô's research, such a configuration of the shrine compound appears to date back to the end of the Heian period.<sup>58</sup> The implication is that this also represents the appearance of the Kumano Hongu Shrine when Ippen visited in the

summer of 1274, although the relationship of the locations of the Shôjô-den in the eastern compound and in the Nagatoko in the western precinct must be resolved.<sup>59</sup>

The architecture of the Shôjô-den may be termed *Kumano-zukuri*, or Kumano-style, similar to other Shinto shrine architecture being termed *Kasuga-zukuri*, *Izumo-zukuri*, *Hachiman-zukuri*. The point here is that each Shinto shrine has its own characteristic style of shrine hall. This is because the respective shrine halls stand at the focus of distinctive shrine cults, initially intimately tied to local clans and local geography. Much Japanese architecture may be characterized by a "sense of place," but none more so than Shinto shrines. In other words, each style of shrine hall becomes the most viable symbol of its Shinto cult and hence of the very sacred landscape (and the kami thereof) with which it is inextricably linked. The Shôjô-den and its *Kumano-zukuri* architectural style represents more than the hall enshrining the Kumano Kami; it stands for the very earth matrix from which the deity sprang.

### Sacred Landscape

Although Shôkai all but ignores the landscape setting of the shrine, the painter Eni succeeds in capturing the appearance and feeling of Kumano—the mountainous terrain, the rushing rivers, the green summer foliage. Indeed, the naturalistic configurations of the mountains and rivers of the sacred landscape setting, along with the accurate depiction of the shrine compound, its subsidiary structures, and yes its figures, all contribute to the reality of the shrine setting and enhance the immediacy of narrative taking place there. This is why of the three Kumano Shrines (Hongu, Hayatama, Nachi), the landscape receives the least emphasis at Kumano Hongu. Of course, the Ippen *hijiri-e* is famed for its depiction of landscape, often with temples and shrines, as the background for Ippen's sacred biography. Yet the landscape with its shrines and temples, mountains and waterfalls is more than mere background; it often seems to be as much the subject of the scrolls as Ippen himself. Indeed, the nature of the landscape, that is the iconology of the landscape, provides a key to understanding the meaning of Ippen's life journey.<sup>60</sup>

The problem to be addressed here, however, is how Eni's landscape depiction relates to Shôkai's narrative of Ippen's dream. After all, Shôkai does not mention the landscape in this part of the text. In spite of this, the painter was certainly interested in making a faithful rendering of the sacred setting. The depiction of the landscape and its shrine (and temple) buildings, after all, served as substitutes for the sacred place itself. And if the Kumano landscape is not actually a part of Shôkai's report of Ippen's dream, the care and attention the artist has lavished on it must still reflect not only the artist's but also Shôkai's view of this place. And both must share Ippen's attitude toward this sacred landscape. More specifically then, what is the relationship of Eni's lyrical and "realistic" Kumano landscape depiction and Ippen's Pure Land thought.

As the painting shows, when Ippen visited the site Kumano Hongu Shrine was set in a grove of trees on a triangular-shaped tract of alluvial land (known as Ooyunohara), formed at the confluence of the Iwata/Iwada River (a branch of the Kumano River) and the Otonashi River.<sup>61</sup> Pilgrims would have had to board a small boat to reach the shrine's sacred precinct. In the painting, two small boats can be seen coming down the river behind the shrine while two other boats, one heading toward the bank and the other away, may be seen in the foreground on the river by the shrine. This was also the place where pilgrims boarded boats for the journey downstream to Kumano Shingu, located at the river's mouth. Kumano Hongu Shrine itself is shown across the river on a small flat piece of land boarded on two sides by rivers. The rivers clearly mark off the sacred shrine precinct from the world on the near shore. Indeed, the *Heike monogatari* states:

Hurrying on, Koremori and his retainers finally arrived at the Iwata River. It was said that whoever crossed this river would be cleansed of all evil karma and concern for earthly trifles. [Koremori remembered the great legend of this river and he was encouraged by it. Going to the Shôjô-den of Hongû, he knelt before the main shrine.] After chanting sutras, he [Koremori] looked around the sacred mountains of Kumano. The magnificent sight silenced both mind and tongue. It was there that the [Amida] Buddha's great wish to save all sentient beings was transformed into the mist rolling over the mountains; his matchless spiritual power to purify every man became manifest in the clear water of the Otonashi River. <sup>62</sup>

Clearly medieval pilgrims viewed the sacred Kumano precinct as a realm apart, a purified land, a paradise on earth, set off by the purifying waters of the Owata and Otonashi Rivers. This complements nicely the passage quoted above where Shôkai likens the Kumano mountains and the morning and evening sun to Shaka and Amida and the mountains to their Pure Lands. However, in order to more thoroughly understand the meaning of the landscape here, and particularly as it relates to its Ippen's pure land thought, we must explore briefly the character of the Kumano cult.

### The Kumano Cult

On the pilgrimage to Kumano By the Kii Road or the Ise Road,  
Which is nearer and which is more distant?  
Since you are on the road of great compassion,  
Neither the Kii Road nor the Ise Road is distant.

(*Ryôjin hishō* # 256)

Kumano is located just south of Mount Koya and was a very popular pilgrimage goal in the middle ages. Separated from Kinki provinces by the sea and mountains, Kumano is located in the southern-most region of Honshu. Kumano was considered a land apart, a hidden place, a mysterious realm, a dark world. Based on indigenous beliefs about other worlds being located across the sea and deep in the mountains, from ancient times the region has been viewed as a realm where that souls of the dead go. Such concepts were certainly linked with the two most important facets of the the Kumano cult in the medieval period, Shugendo mountain Buddhist asceticism and Amidism/Pure Land beliefs and practices.

The mountainous region from Yoshino to Kumano has long been a training ground for Lotus Sutra practitioners and mountain Buddhist ascetics, the latter evolving into the organized, esoteric-colored Shugendo groups affiliated with powerful temples in the capital region. Mt. Kimpû/Oomine was viewed as the diamond world and Mt. Kumano as the Womb world –the pair forming the Two World Mandalas central to esoteric ritual. An important component of the rigorous ascetic training these men pursued was the ritualized climb through difficult mountainous terrain that symbolized passage through the six worlds of existence where they expiated their sin's and purified themselves while experiencing a symbolic death and rebirth. Associated with this is the esoteric concept of *sokushin jôbutsu*, becoming a Buddha in this body, through the three mysteries.

Ancient beliefs of Kumano as a land of the dead became intertwined with widespread beliefs in Kannon's paradise being located off to the south across the sea from Nachi. Based on passages in the sutras and precedents from the continent, such beliefs gained currency in Japan from the middle of the Heian period. The *Azuma kagami*, in a entry for 1233 (Jôei 2yr, 5th mo, 7th d), records the story of Chôjôbô who set out by boat from Kumano Nachi-ura for Kannon's Fudaraku-san, a paradise believed to be somehow obtainable. Chôjôbô was only one of many over the centuries who sought paradise in this manner. A scene of a boat setting off from the shore towards Fudaruka-san is always included at the bottom of the well known Nachi

Shrine pilgrimage mandalas. Such Kannon beliefs are associated not only with sections of the Lotus Sutra and Kegon Sutra but are also related to Amidism, for Kannon was the best known of Amida's attendants.<sup>63</sup>

The Pure Land movement here grew to great popularity, in part due to the Kumano Kami being identified with Amida Nyorai and the shrine itself as his Pure Land Paradise.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, the Amidist movement was the most popular of the day and attracted numerous devotees irrespective of social class.<sup>65</sup> Such Kumano Amida and Kumano Pure Land beliefs, however, were not restricted to the Tendai tradition of Genshin with his emphases on this world as defiled and man's desire to escape coupled with his longing for Amida's heavenly Pure Land. Rather Kumano Amida and his paradise were believed to be found right at Kumano itself, on this shore. The Buddhist terminology and the overtly Buddhist identity of the deity and his paradise should not blind us to the this-worldly character of the cult. Nor does the term "this-worldly" imply a secularization of the cult.

Underlying the Buddhist identifications of the Kumano deity and its realm is the much earlier identification of Kumano with the other world, the land of the dead, as the gateway to the other world. The other worlds of the myths in the *Nihongi* and *Kojiki* are not so unlike our own world, nor are they very far away either. In the Kumano cult, the importance of the age-old tradition of journeying to the other world should not be underestimated. Still today the sacred animal remains the crow, long associated with the land of the dead.<sup>66</sup> By the late Heian period, Kumano Hongu, home of the Kumano Kami, and the whole Kumano region was an important goal for both Shugendo mountain ascetics and Pure Land Amidist pilgrims. If the practices of the mountain ascetics were more strongly colored with esoteric Buddhism and medieval Shugendô, the attraction for Kumano pilgrims, imperial and otherwise, had more to do with Kumano's association with the increasingly popular Amidist beliefs. So popular did Kumano become that pilgrims included not only aristocrats and warriors but also the lower classes of society such as farmers and merchants, hunters and fishermen, and even outcasts—beggars, the chronically ill, the physically disabled.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, women, regardless of their menstrual periods, were also most welcome to participate. While purification was an important element in Kumano pilgrimage, Kumano did not always strictly maintain the taboo against women pilgrims and other impurities enforced by other mountain centers. Hence, the tradition established by the high ranking ladies of the court joining in the imperial pilgrimages in the twelfth century continued.<sup>68</sup> They all journeyed to Kumano to encounter directly the Kami and the Buddhas, for Kumano was recognized as a special sacred place, a "place of victory,"<sup>69</sup> where the deities break through into this world.

## Kumano Dreams

Eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth-century novels and diaries include many stories about all kinds of people from the high ranking to the low, secular and religious, men and women who journeyed to Kumano to become Buddhas while still alive (while still in this body, *sokushin jôbutsu*), to taste of the Pure Land (to experience the Pure Land on earth, *saba soku jôdo*); and to touch the sacred in yet another ways. In particular, Kumano was a sacred place where the age-old practice of dream incubation yielded miraculous cures, true if sometimes enigmatic oracles, magnificent visions.<sup>70</sup> The Kumano Kami had an established reputation as a bestower of true oracular dreams, with mediums often called upon to interpret their enigmatic meanings. The stories barely begin to show how seriously such dreams were taken at the time, but do indicate some commonly held practices and beliefs related to actively

seeking out dreams through the process of incubation. They also help place Ippen's dream in the context of the Kumano cult.

For example, the *Hokke Kenki*, compiled by Chingen, tells the story of "Priest Myôren, who travelled to shrines all over Japan [Inari Shrine, Hatsusedera Temple, Mt. Mitake, Mount Kumano, Sumiyoshi Shrine, and finally Mount Daisen] in order to discover why he couldn't memorize the eighth scroll of the Lotus Sutra. Persistence was of the essence here. His repeated seclusions for one hundred days of prayer sometimes earned him the appearance of the kami, although he did not get an answer to his prayers until the very last shrine.<sup>71</sup>

The *Hogen monogatari* (title derived from the Hôgen war of 1156) conveys another aspect of Kumano dreams—the power and truth of the Kumano kami's oracles. The moving story tells about Retired Emperor Toba-in, on his pilgrimage to Kumano in 1155, who learned from a medium's interpretation of his dream that he would die the next autumn. There was nothing that could change his fate.<sup>72</sup> The Kami himself did not appear before the Retired Emperor, only the hand of a child.

Passages from Go-Shirakawa's *Ryôjin hishō kudenshū*, tell us that the Kumano Kami, like other Buddhist and Shinto deities, was also known for his appreciation of poetry and the messages of his oracles were frequently in the form of poetry. For Go-Shirakawa *imayô* songs were sung at shrines and temples because they "brought divine revelations and fulfilled wishes."<sup>73</sup> The revelations of the kami might also be in song:

A manifestation of the Kumano Kami has descended down onto Nagusa Beach  
Since he resides at the the Bay of Waka  
Even though the years pass, he remains a young deity<sup>74</sup>

The Kumano kami also relieved man's suffering through cures of illnesses and disabilities. For example, the *Kokon chomonjū* (compiled by Tachibane Narisue c. 1254) tells the story of a blind person who, after praying and lighting candles at Kumano Shrine, gained back his sight after he learned in a dream that the cause of his blindness.<sup>75</sup> The Kumano Kami inspired powerful dreams that altered peoples lives. Recall Muju Ichien's story in his *Shasekishū* (compiled 1275-1283) about a young monk from Kumano who, becoming infatuated with a young women who pilgrimaged to the shrine, began to follow her home. A powerful dream inspired by the Kumano Kami showed him the sorrow of the life he would lead if he should continue to pursue the young woman and caused him to return Kumano (*Shasekishū*, pp. 79-83).

Another type of dream enabled the faithful to commune with the deceased. Kumano was on the one hand the land of the dead, and on the other a paradise in this world. In 1304-5 Lady Nijō records in her diary, *Towazugatari*, that she had a dream of her father and the deceased Emperor GoFukakusa. As proof of the visitation she found an auspicious white fan of Kannon beside her when she awoke.<sup>76</sup>

Ippen's dream at Kumano Hongu in 1274, then, is very much a part of this tradition. Indeed, Ippen's direct encounter with Kumano Yamabushi is one of the most magnificent Kumano dreams of all.

## Conclusion: Kumano's Sacred Geography and Ippen's Dream

While the *Ippen hijiri-e* gives Ippen's encounter with the lone monk as the immediate stimulus for seeking communion with the Kumano kami, Ippen was well on his way to Kumano Hongu Shrine at the time. Indeed, this may well have been his ultimate goal from the time he left Shikoku. He gravitated there because as a mountain/city *hijiri* he shared these dual characteristics with the Kumano cult. As a mountain *hijiri*, like the mountain Buddhist ascetics, his Kumano pilgrimage was like a ritual journey through the mountains during which one would purify oneself and

attempt to commune with deities and become one with the gods. As a city *hijiri*, also referred to as a Amidist *hijiri*, he roamed the plains spreading the *nembutsu*, offering a way to join the believer with Amida in the here and now. Remember, for Ippen with one calling of the name, the *nembutsu*, "Namu Amida Butsu," the caller became one with Amida Butsu, and the apparent barrier between the two eliminated. As a city-*hijiri* at Shitennō-ji on the plain, then, Ippen is first shown distributing his *nembutsu* charms,<sup>77</sup> though it was only at the mountain site of Kumano, through the intervention of the Kumano Kami manifested as the mountain *hijiri* Kumano Yamabushi, that he gained the resolve of how to proceed with his distribution.

Another reason for Ippen's pilgrimage to this particular shrine was that he was accustomed to asking the Buddhist and Shinto deities for guidance and the Kumano Kami was famed for its true oracles. And we should note that, although Ippen was a devotee of Amida and certainly the beliefs about Kumano being a manifestation of Amida were one of his motives for pilgrimaging here, the oracle in Ippen's dream was issued neither by a Buddhist deity in the guise of Kumano Amida nor by Ketsumiko no Kami in traditional aristocratic garb. Rather, the oracle came from Kumano Yamabushi, a syncretic manifestation taking the form of a mountain ascetic, who combines the esoteric Buddhist tradition with indigenous Shinto beliefs and promotes the *nembutsu*. The kami's manifestation as a Kumano Yamabushi and the inclusion *yamabushi* in the Nakatoko demonstrate the central role the mountain ascetics played in the Kumano cult. Put another way, because Ippen's dream figure represented a melding of the main traditions at Kumano, in many ways he is a reflection of Ippen himself.

Ippen went to Kumano Hongu because it was a "site of victory," a special sacred place where the gods are known to appear and where men have vivid dreams. As stated above, dreams belong to the darkness of night, though the most powerful dreams might be more properly be said to be associated with the times of transition between light and dark/dark and light-dusk and dawn. Dreams, though, arise from the matrix of the earth.<sup>78</sup> Mountain *hijiri* commonly sought out caves for meditation, for dreams, for trances. We can recall the experience of Nichizō in Shō Cave (*Shō no iwaya*) in the mountains of Omine (Yoshino). Nichizō's travels to the six realms commenced from this cave where he went to retreat and meditate.<sup>79</sup> His other worldly travels were "neither a dream nor reality." Did Nichizō fall into a trance? Did he have an out-of-body experience? In any event, such caves have long been considered entrances to the netherworld, the land of the dead.

Ippen certainly knew first hand the importance of caves for such meditation, for in 1273 he confined himself in one of the forty-nine caves dedicated to Kannon at Sugō in Iyo Province (*Ippen hijiri-e*, II, 1). Ippen surely recognized Kumano to be such a hidden and dark place, a place for retreat, an entrance to the netherworld, a place to commune with the Buddhist and Shinto deities. Ippen encountered Kumano Yamabushi in a dream that arose from within the ambiance of the sacred Kumano Shrine precinct, from within the living earth. The inspiration for Ippen's dream, then, lay with the ancient native Kumano Ketsumiko no Kami associated with food, trees and the land itself. Such was the role of the earth in the Japanese religious tradition, where kami animate innumerable forms in nature. Extraordinary natural land forms continue to be worshiped as kami, and Buddhist deities, in the Kumano region—the aupal plain with its grove of *nagi* trees where Kumano Hongū formerly stood, the huge *kotobiki* boulder at Mt. Kannokura, the one hundred and thirty-two meter high Nachi Waterfall.

This affirmation of the natural world, its rivers and mountains, its grasses and trees, and its sentient beings is a given in native Shinto beliefs. A similar affirmation of the natural world is reflected in a widespread medieval Buddhist view of Nature, the idea that plants and trees are capable of attaining Buddhahood, that Nature provides

a saving grace.<sup>80</sup> Such ideas achieve harmony within Ippen's *shigan* Pure Land practices and beliefs. Ippen's emphasis on the immediacy of Amida and his Pure Land, which is the same as the Kumano Kami and his Shrine precinct, reflects his thoroughgoing non-dualism.<sup>81</sup> Kumano represents a sacred Pure Land wherein resides Kumano Amida, the Amida with whom one could become one with in the world, the earthly deity with whom we all could be identified.<sup>82</sup> If, for Ippen, Kumano Hongu Shrine was identical to Amida's Pure Land and the Kumano Kami that animates this sacred place was the same as Amida, then the source of Ippen's dream would be this same sacred geography, this same living earth.<sup>83</sup> The land that harbors the ancestors and nourishes the sacred nagi trees, succores sentient beings by providing spiritual well being. It is the matrix of the earth that offers man the gift of dreams. The sacred land, as a source of cures for illnesses, represents also a wellspring of health, of sanity. This brings us back, then, to the reason for a dearth today of great dreams such as Ippen's. Modern civilized man has found himself cut off from the earth from whence he and his were born. Man is too often not receptive to the special magic, the enchantment, of the earth's sacred places. The environmental movement today is more than a cry for the preservation of man and the natural world he has known. Surely it is a poignant plea for nothing other than each man's sanity, for mankind's salvation.

Realms of the good and the bad are all the Pure Land;  
Do not seek (it) outside, do not detest (this world).  
Among the multitudes of all living things, mountains and rivers, too, should be considered  
the *nembutsu*.

(Ippen *Shōnin goroku*)<sup>84</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Hunt, 1989, p. 90, Figure 1 with discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Hunt, 1989, p. 89. For an example of this narrowing, note that biologists have been probing the brain to understand how it works and measuring brain waves during various types of activities, including sleep and dreaming. Ever since the relationship between REM sleep and dreams came to the fore, some have been objecting to "physiologizing the dream out of existence;" see Wilse B. Webb, "Historical Perspectives: From Aristotle to Calvin Hill," p. 183 in reference to Calvin Hill, in Knippner, S. (Ed), 1990. *Dreamtime and Dreamwork*, Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarcher, Inc.

<sup>3</sup> The study of medieval dreams and dreaming, of inherent interest in itself, also offers an approach to the syncretic currents that clearly represent the mainstream of thought and religion and that enables one to bridge the artificial and misleading dichotomy set up between Shinto and Buddhism as the purported principle currents of medieval Japanese thought and religion.

<sup>4</sup> The usage of the term "dream/vision" here in this first reference to Ippen's experience is meant to indicate that in medieval times the distinction between a dream and a vision was not always clear. The border between the awakened vision and the asleep dream is difficult to draw. In other words, visualization techniques used in, for example, Buddhist meditation, could result in "visions," but also in "dreams." The terms seem to have been used interchangeably. The implications depended on the content. Hereafter, in this paper the term "dream" is used consistently.

<sup>5</sup> Numerous scholars accept this statement. Kanai, 1987, p. 27; also Foard, 1977, Chapter Three, "The Records of Ippen;" also p. 257, note 25, where Foard cites Ishioka, 1975, pp. 67-116, who compares all the sources on this and concludes that the *Ippen hijiri-e* is most reliable.

<sup>6</sup> For Ippen's life and the Jishû movement, see Foard, 1977, Chapter Six, "Ippen as Leader of a Wayfaring Order." As Foard, points out, the use of the name *Jishû*, meaning Ji-sect, only began in the Edo period. See Foard, pp. 161-164, on the unsettled problems of the origin of the term and to whom it was initially applied. Throughout his dissertation, Foard cites the *Ippen hijiri-e*, providing extensive translations of the text. On the sources for Ippen's life, also see Hirota, 1986, for a translation of the *Ippen goroku* and a discussion of Ippen's teachings.

<sup>7</sup> *Fuda*; a slip of paper with the six Chinese characters for "Namu Amida Butsu" printed on it; often, in the case of Ippen, also with the notation for "Decisive rebirth for 600,000 people." The term *fuda* is variously translated as a small "slip" of paper, or a "card." It appears to have had a magical or talismanic quality, hence here translated as "charm." For a particularly telling translation in Ippen's case, see below, note 12.

<sup>8</sup> I have discussed elsewhere Ippen in terms of his city *hijiri* and mountain *hijiri* characteristics. See Darling, (1983), Chapter Four, "Advent of the Mountain-City Hijiri-Ippen," pp.337-357.

<sup>9</sup> *Tengu zôshi*, 1978, Scene IV (traditionally called the Miidera scroll, Nakamura Collection) ridicules dancing *nembutsu* and people saving Ippen's urine for its medicinal value. An interesting aside is Hunt's statement (1987) that certain "primitive" societies require only doctors (as shamens) to find legitimization through dreams (p. 83). This may apply as well to Ippen, for this holy man appears to share characteristics with the above mentioned doctors.

<sup>10</sup> Nor did Ippen neglect worship of his own ancestors, his clan and its deities enshrined at Mishima Shrine. *Ippen hijiri-e* VI, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Both Jôkei (*Kôfuku-ji sôjô*, 1205) and Myôe (*Zaijarin*, 1212) criticized Hônen for this. See *Kamakura kyû bukkyô*, 1971, "Kôfuku-ji sôjô," pp. 312-316, also pp. 31-42; "Zaijarin," pp. 317-390, also pp. 43-105. For translations and discussions see Morrell, 1983 and Bando, 1974.

<sup>12</sup> The term "ticket to paradise" may be attributed to Ohashi, 1971, p. 51.

<sup>13</sup> For a complete color reproduction of the original work, see *Ippen Shônin eden* (1978). The whole set of twelve scrolls is also reproduced in black and white, with some color plates, in *Ippen hijiri-e* (1975). The original set of scrolls long belonged to the Kankikô-ji in Kyoto. Today, the set of scrolls is jointly owned by Shôjôkô-ji (Yûgyô-ji) and Kankikô-ji, except for the seventh scroll, which remains in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum. Another fragment from the sixth scroll is in a private collection. References to the *Ippen hijiri-e* are to this Shôjôkô-ji/Kankikô-ji set. For a study in English, see Kaufman, 1980. This includes a full translation of the first six scrolls and a summation of the second six scrolls. On the sources for studying Ippen's life, see Foard, 1977, Chapter Three, "The Records of Ippen," pp. 65-88. Foard includes many translations of parts of the text and continuously refers to the scroll in his discussion of Ippen's life and teachings. Also see Hirota, 1986. Another important set of scrolls that depicts Ippen's biography is *Yûgyô Shônin engi-e* [Pictorial tales of wandering saints] (1979), of which an early copy is dated 1307 (Kômyô-ji Collection version). Also known as the *Ippen Shônin ekotoba den* [Illustrated Biography of Saint Ippen], the set consists of ten scrolls, four on Ippen and six on Ippen's successor Ta'a, with a text edited by Sôshun; it is sometimes called the Sôshun version to distinguish it from that of Shôkai.

<sup>14</sup> A number of hands have been identified, thereby indicating that one artist probably did not paint the whole set of scrolls. See Miya, 1959, pp. 365-374. Here I refer to the painter(s) as En'i because it is the only name recorded on the scroll set.

<sup>15</sup> Mochizuki 1975, p. 8 lists four scribes.

<sup>16</sup> For a review of the various controversies over the identities of the sponsor, painters and calligraphers of these scrolls, see Foard, 1977, pp. 65-78.

<sup>17</sup> Scrolls 1 and 2 cover years 1251-1274, the young Ippen and his early training and development; scrolls 3, 4, 5 cover the years 1274-1282, the middle stage of his career—pilgrimages, development of practices, itinerate ministry, first appearance of the term "*jishu*"; scrolls 6-12 cover the years 1282-1289, the mature stage of his career, ending with his death.

<sup>18</sup> For comments on the relationship of these *Ippen hijiri-e* shrine and temple scenes to shrine and temple mandalas, see Sasaki, 1968.

<sup>19</sup> The other two shrines are Kumano Hayatama and Kumano Nachi; together with Kumano Hongu these form the complex known as the Three Kumano Shrines.

<sup>20</sup> Text III, 1: 66cm. + 92.3cm; painting Painting III, 1 and 2: 92.3cm. + 195.5cm.

<sup>21</sup> The reordered sequence the scenes proceeds as follows: (1) Ippen's meeting with a "lone monk" on the road to Kumano, (2) the events at Kumano Hongu, (3) view of the Kumano River flowing down to the next shrine, (4) Kumano Hayatama, and then finally (5) Nachi. On this problem, see *Ippen hijiri-e* (1975), Offset "Explanation of Plates," Color Plate 5, pp 18-19. The rearrangement also agrees with the sequence of events depicted in the Miedô version copy from the early Muromachi period. See Miyaji, 1966. For a color reconstruction, see Tanabe, 1989, foldout.

<sup>22</sup> On Ippen's pilgrimage to Kumano and his experience there, see Kanai, 1987, "Kumano môde to Gongen shinchoku," pp. 34-40; Kanai, 1975, pp. 68-82. Imai, 1981, "kumano sanro to fusan,": pp. 74-98. Foard, 1977, "Kumano," pp. 136-149; Gorai, 1967, "Ippen hijiri-e," pp. 169-184; Ishioka, 1975, pp. 76-77.

<sup>23</sup> The so-called ninety-nine ôji shrines were child shrines that lined the pilgrimage road to Kumano. Pilgrims on their way to and from Kumano stopped to rest and worship at these small subsidiary shrines.

<sup>24</sup> This translation is after Tachibana (1978), Shundô's interpretative modern version of this passage, in his *Ippen hijiri-e* 38; for the original text, see pp. 164-165. This interpretation conveys the medieval sense of the awesome sacred landscape. A more literal translation reads:

Particularly, Shaka, who set forth, appears in the east with the demon-quelling Myôdô; when Amida comes down to welcome us, accompanied by attendant bodhisattvas, he appears in the west.

<sup>25</sup> According the text of the *Yugyô Shônin engi-e* (1979) 1,2; text p. 67, *Shinshû Nihon emakimono zenshû* 23, the Buddhist monk was a member of the Ritsu School. A label written on the *Ippen hijiri-e* painting identifies him as "Gongen."

<sup>26</sup> The "faithful heart" that the monk is claiming to lack is not with regard to Buddhism but to the "single calling of the Buddha's name" [*ichi nembutsu*], which would be implied by his accepting Ippen's *nembutsu* charm.

<sup>27</sup> Unless otherwise indicated author's translation.

<sup>28</sup> Chôichi, Chôni are labeled; Nembutsubô is not labeled in this section, though we can assume that this figure is her for she is so labeled in *Ippen hijiri-e* II, 2. While the precise relationship of these three females with Ippen is unclear, Chôichi is perhaps Ippen's wife, Chôni his daughter, Nembutsubô a servant, as suggested by Ohashi, 1971, pp. 29-31. Foard also cites Ohashi when he comments on these three females, see Foard, 1977, pp. 125-126. For another interpretation, see Gorai, 1967, pp. 178-180, and for a dissenting opinion see Imai, 1981, p. 79.

<sup>29</sup> See the mid-12th-century work *Chôshû-ki*, diary of Minamoto no Morotoki, Chôjô 3y (1134) 2m 1d; *Shiryô taisei* 7:179, a partial list of these Buddhist-Shinto correlations ([...] indicates author's additions) including various Shinto forms follows:

<i>Kumano Shrine</i>	<i>Honji Butsu</i>	<i>Shinto Form</i>
[Three Main Kumano Kami (Sansho Gongen)]		
Hongû (Shôjô-den)	Amida Nyorai	<b>Monk</b>
Shingû (Hayatama)	Yakushi Nyorai	Layman
Nachi (Musubi)	1000-armed Kannon	Female
[Five ôji (Gosho ôji)]		
Chigo no Miya	Nyorin Kannon	Child Deity

<sup>30</sup> The word for dream, vision, or oracle is not used in the text here. Nevertheless later references to this event attributed to Ippen himself use the term dream (*musô*) as well as oracle (*shintaku*). Also, as we shall see shortly, Shôkai next compares it with Ryônin's dream, termed *mujiô*.

<sup>31</sup> Hall, or "den" refers to the *Shôjô-den*, the "Hall of witnessing the truth." This is the shrine hall that holds the principle kami at Kumano Hongu. The name derives from Shôjô Bosatsu, the bodhisattva(s) who "witness the truth" that by Amida's saving grace the deceased go to the Pure Land. See Murayama, 1974, pp. 154-155.

<sup>32</sup> The white haired Yamabushi is the manifestation (below called "Great Manifestation") of the Kumano Kami. In this paper he is termed Kumano Yamabushi. See below under "Dream Figures."

<sup>33</sup> The Nagatoko Worship Hall is associated with the Kumano Hongu *yamabushi* and is located in front of the Aiden in the southern corridor of the western precinct. See below under "Dream Figures" and "Shrine Architecture."

<sup>34</sup> The term *yûzû nembutsu* appears twice in this passage. This first usage appears to refer to Ippen's manner of propagating the *nembutsu*. See Gorai, 1961, pp. 1-21. The second usage quoted immediately below refers to the *Yûzû Nembutsu* sect founded by Ryônin (1072-1132) through divine intervention revealed in visions and dreams of Buddhist and Shinto deities. Stories about Ryônin's life and the founding of the *Yûzû Nembutsu* Sect are illustrated in a surviving copy of the *Yûzû nembutsu engi*, dated to the early fourteenth century, now split between the Chicago and Cleveland Museums; see *Zaigai hen 1, Shinshû Nihon emakimono zenshu* 31 (suppl. 1).

<sup>35</sup> The Kumano Kami affirmed here that no distinction be made between believers and unbelievers, between the pure and the impure. In other words, the first half of this statement appears to indicate that faith was not a requirement for salvation. For Ippen, this amounted to a thorough-going dependence on "other power." Honen stated while "Even a bad man will be received in Buddha's Land, how much more a good man." Shinran turned this around saying, "Even a good man will be received in Buddha's Land, how much more a bad man." See Anesaki, 1963, pp. 182-183; cited by Earhart, 1969, p. 94. Both had as a premise that the *nembutsu* would be chanted (once or many times) by a believer *with faith* in Amida. Ippen appears to take this one step farther.

<sup>36</sup> The second half of the statement, the reference to not make a distinction between the pure or impure, moreover points to the inclusive character of Ippen's teachings. Those making the pilgrimage to Kumano already included both the aristocracy and military classes, both religious and lay, both male and female. This statement by Kumano Yamabushi reconfirmed for Ippen Kumano as a pilgrimage goal for women, for impure commoners such as hunters and fishermen (impure because they kill living creatures), and for social outcasts such as beggars, the chronically ill (including notably lepers) and the disabled. And because Kumano was the realm of Amida, this means that all such people would be capable of attaining birth Amida's Paradise. For more on the meaning these expressions, see Imai, 1981, pp. 81-95.

<sup>37</sup> *Doji*, or children, but often translated as "young boys." In this case it is not clear whether all the children are boys; indeed several appear to be girls. These *doji* play an important role in the Kumano cult. These *doji*, youthful manifestations of the Kumano kami, are often seen in Kumano mandalas. Their sudden appearance and disappearance suggest their supernatural status. *Doji* are also related to the *ôji* mentioned above. See below under "Dream Figures."

<sup>38</sup> Ippen's dream revelation appears to be continuing here. I.e., in his dream "he opened his eyes and saw. . ."

<sup>39</sup> Ryônin's vision of Amida came during meditation in 1117 (5 mo 15 d); see note 34.

<sup>40</sup> At Kumano Shingu Ippen wrote a letter to Shôkai stating that the charm represented the "one calling" that brings immediate salvation. *Ippen hijiri-e* III,2; see also Foard, 1977, pp. 146-149.

<sup>41</sup> The importance of this event for Ippen himself is confirmed by other surviving documents, such as the *Banshu Hôgo shû*:

My dharma gate was orally transmitted [to me] in a dream granted by Kumano Gongen.  
(*Banshu Hôgo shû*, 37; also *Ippen goroku*, 85)

Notice that here he does not use the word oracle (*shintaku*); rather he clearly used word "*musô*", dream. For the *Ippen goroku*, see *Kana hôgoshû*, p. 147, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (NKBT), 83.

<sup>42</sup> Right brain dreaming, moreover, may be more closely associated with Jungian than Freudian approaches to dreams.

<sup>43</sup> The dream, above all else, belongs to the night. See Saigô, 1972, "Yoru to daichi," pp. 106-116. As far as paintings of the night are concerned, we must continue to imagine the darkness of the scene lit by artificial light until the Edo period. It is still too early for the artist to paint the night black with glowing torches or candles throwing a flickering glow upon the faces of figures who in turn cast shadows on the ground or against walls and translucent paper sliding doors.

<sup>44</sup> *Ryôjin hishō*, 26 (NKBT 73, p. 347, no. 26) :  
Though the Buddha is always present,  
He does not appear before us. How pitiful!  
In the dawn when there is no sound of man,  
Look for him so faintly in your dreams.

<sup>45</sup> See Hunt, 1989, p. 82, with specific reference to Merrill's account of shamanistic dreams among the Raramuni of northern Mexico.

<sup>46</sup> A transitional stage between wakefulness and sleep. See Hunt, 1989, Chapter Twelve, "The Visual-spatial Side of Dream Formation," esp. pp. 180-184, on the hypnagogic period.

<sup>47</sup> Hunt, 1989, Chapter 8, "Lucid Dreams and Nightmares," esp. p 121 where he cites Ogilvie et al., "Lucid dreaming and Alpha Activity," *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 55 (1982), pp. 795-808 and Gackenbach, et al., "Physiological correlates of "consciousness" during sleep in single TM practitioner," *Sleep Research*, 16 (1987), p. 230.

<sup>48</sup> For example, the *Shigisan engi* scene of the "Nun Praying before the Great Buddha of Tôdai-ji" (a scene of day light and darkness) and the *Ban Dainagon ekotoba* scene of the "Fight of the Children" also a day light scene. Interestingly, we know from the story that the Nun has a dream that leads her to her brother, although the dream itself is not illustrated. See *Shinshû Nihon emakimono zenshû*.

<sup>49</sup> Actually, this appears to be the second manifestation of the Kumano Kami in scroll three. Recall that the first was when Kumano "Gongen" reveals himself as a Buddhist monk to Ippen when he was on his way to Kumano shrine.

<sup>50</sup> The manifestation of a kami as an old man is widespread in medieval Japan. Connections are surely with the clan elder, the first ancestor. As Blacker points out, Yanagita Kunio's theory is that most kami have their origin in the divine ancestor. Blacker, 1975. p37. Yanagita Kunio, *Senzo no hanshi* Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1946 (also YKS, vol. 10). For Yanagita on the association of white-haired old men with water, See Yanagita, 1962-71, 8:428-429. Cited by McCullough, 1980, p. 19.

<sup>51</sup> *Shosan eng.* In *Shaji engi* (1975). On *Omīne engi* being read before the Shôjô-den, see Imai 1981, pp. 91-92. Miyake, 1976, pp. 475-504. Also see Wakamori, 1972, p. 58, citing *Kumano gongen kongô zaô hôden zôkô nikki*.

<sup>52</sup> A well known fourteenth century painting in the Saikyô-ji Collection, Shiga Prefecture, depicts a figure dressed as a yamabushi seated before a Hayatama Shingu shrine hall. This figure may represent either Kumano Yamabushi (See Kondô 1957, p. 74) or an important pilgrim such as Go-Shirakawa (See Kageyama, 1973, pp. 147-149).

<sup>53</sup> On Jishu painting subjects, see Ariga, 1982, pp. 154-180. The Kankikô-ji painting is to be found in photo no. 2, p. 157.

<sup>54</sup> *Tengu zoshi* scroll, dated 1296. *Shinshû Nihon emakimono zenshû*, 27. For representations of Ippen distributing the *nembutsu* charms, see, for example, Ariga, "Jishû no kaiga," cited above. For Ippen portrait sculpture, see Yamada, 1974a; Imai, p. 22, note 7, also cites Yamada, 1974b.

<sup>55</sup> Numerous accounts of such shared dreams demonstrate this.

<sup>56</sup> Recall the story of Mongaku and the two miraculous boys, attendants of Fudô Myôô, who saved him at Nachi Waterfalls. This scene always appears in the later Nachi Shrine-pilgrimage mandalas. See the *Heike monogatari*, Book V, Chapter Seven, "Austerities of Mongaku," (Kitagawa and Tsuchida, trans., *The Tale of Heike*, pp. 312-314; NKBT 32, pp. 353-356. .

<sup>57</sup> This list is by no means comprehensive. Blacker, 1963, pp.77-88; For a discussion of Shinto child kami, see Kageyama, 1973, "Dôshi shin'eizô shokô," pp. 211-218. Also see Guth, 1987.

<sup>58</sup> Satô's architectural studies of the historical arrangement of the Three Kumano Shrines from the latter half of the Heian period to the early middle ages led him to conclude that the shrine layouts depicted in the *Ippen hijiri-e* scroll had already been achieved by the end of the Heian period. Taking into account the configurations seen in the Cleveland and Freer mandalas, he also noted that the positions of the halls of the three main Kumano Kami probably remained basically unchanged from the end of the Heian period to the middle ages. In other words, the identification of particular shrine halls and configurations of the compounds does not point to precise dates for the paintings in question. On the contrary, these paintings, particularly the dated *Ippen hijiri-e*, serve as important documents for historical studies on the expansion of the shrine compounds from the late thirteenth century through the mid-fifteenth century. See Satô, 1975, pp. 97-105.

<sup>59</sup> A corridor dividing the east and west precincts leads one to wonder at how accessible to view Kumano Yamabushi appearing in the East precinct would have been to the Nagatoko yamabushi in the west precinct. There appear to be gaps in our knowledge of the shrine transformation between 1209 and 1299. Could this suggest that the shrine precinct was laid out differently when Ippen visited in 1274 and when the painting was done in 1299? See Sato, 1975. Also, another source states that the Shôjô-den is the third hall, not the second as in the painting.

<sup>60</sup> On the relationship of the shrine and temple landscapes in the *Ippen hijiri-e* with the so-called shrine and temple mandalas, see Sasaki, 1968. Such a relationship itself suggests the significance of the landscape in this set of scrolls.

<sup>61</sup> This site was flooded out in Meiji 22 year/1889 and today only the remains of a stone wall can be seen. The Kumano Hongu Shrine was rebuilt in 1891 on the Lower Purification Site, Shimoharaisho, where it is presently located. For a painting of the shrine as it stood on its original site, see Tanabe, 1989, p. 188, no. 2.

<sup>62</sup> *Heike monogatari*, Book X, Chapter Eleven, Pilgrimage to Kumano: Kitagawa and Tsuchida, Trans., Vol.2, p. 620. NKBT 33, pp. 277-280. The year was 1184; Koremori visited the shrine under the light of the moon.

<sup>63</sup> *Azuma Kagami*, Jōei 2y, 5m, 7d. NKBT On Kannon and Fudaraku-san beliefs at Kumano, see Gorai, 1967, "Fudaraku tōkai," pp. 154-168

<sup>64</sup> Moreover, the popular mind also associated Kumano Shingu with a third paradise, Yakushi's Lapis Lazuli Pure Land. Yakushi is the Healing Buddha and is to be associated with healing aspects of the Kumano cult.

<sup>65</sup> In the *Heike monogatari*, Kumano Pilgrimage Chapter, Koremori clearly states "Amida Nyorai is the honji of this mountain's (Kumano) gongen." "Kumano Mode," Vol. 10/Book 10; for a trans. of this chapter, see Kitagawa and Tsuchida, p. 620. NBTK 33, pp. 277-280

<sup>66</sup> See Gorai, 1967. A special paper called *goôhōin*, imprinted with black crows and long used as an amulet for medicinal purposes as well as for contracts, etc., is still produced at the Kumano shrines today.

<sup>67</sup> Various accounts of these pilgrimages provide many of the details about the arduous journeys: the serious religious intent reflected in ablutions, abstinences and taboos; their dress, often purification robes of white modelled after those of the *yamabushi*, (that is, a mountain ascetic practitioner); conditions along the pilgrimage roads; and religious activities and enjoyments on the way. [Fujiwara Teika's *Gotoba-in Kumano Gokô-ki*, written in 1201 when he accompanied retired Emperor Gotoba on a twenty-two day roundtrip journey]. For example, of the four roads that lead to the area, the most popular was the Kumano highway lined with the so-called ninety-nine *ôji* (child shrines of the Kumano Kami). The pilgrims had services performed before higher ranking *ôji* shrines just like those before the three main Kumano shrines—offerings, sutra readings and dedications, sumô tournaments, poetry readings. Such were some of the attractions of Kumano for all these pilgrims, in addition to a trip through a beautiful, and awe inspiring, mountain landscape with rivers, hot springs and the sea.

<sup>68</sup> Marumo, 1987. "Kumano nyonin no tabi" [Journeys of Women to Kumano], pp. 32-49.

<sup>69</sup> *Ippen hijiri-e* I,3; text trans, Foard, p. 113. "*Shôchi*," a place where deity has broken through into this world;" a place, moreover, superior to other pure regions. Foard, 113.

<sup>70</sup> For an introduction to this pervasive custom, see Saigô, 1972. For a brief discussion in English, see Blacker, 1981, "Japan," pp. 63-86.

<sup>71</sup> *Hokke kenki*, II: 80. NSST 7, pp. 149-151, 545-546. Dykstra trans. pp. 99-100.

<sup>72</sup> *Hogen monogatari*, NKBT 31. "The Cloistered Emperor's Pilgrimage to Kumano and the Oracle There," Wilson, 1971. pp. 4-5.

<sup>73</sup> *Ryôjin hishō Kudenshū*. NKBT 73, pp. 439-470. Trans. by Kwon, 1986, pp. 261-298; esp. pp. 289-290; also p. 296.

<sup>74</sup> In the middle of the night Kiyomori visited Nagaoka no *ôji* and dreamed that he saw Go-Shirakawa chanting a song. Considered a divine revelation, Go-Shirakawa also included this song in the *Ryôjin hishō*, no. 259, NKBT 73, p. 390.

<sup>75</sup> *Kokon chomonjū* (Shingi vol. 1, no. 27 Iwanami NKBT 84. A modern version is found in *Shincho Nihon koten shusei* 59. Also *Gyokuyō wakashū* cited in Gorai Shigeru, "Kumano sanzhan no rekishi to shinkô," pp. 155-178. Yoshino Kumano shinkô no

kenkyû , Sangaku shûkyôshi 4, p. 170-171. Tokyo: Meichô shuppan, 1975. This passage refers to a dream and a cure.

<sup>76</sup> *Towazugatari*, trans. Brazell, 1973, chpt. 26 (1304-5), pp. 250-258. Translator cites *Nihon koten bungaku zensho* edition. See also Shinchô Nihon koten shû version, 1978.

<sup>77</sup> In the *Ippen hijiri-e*, he is first shown distributing *nembutsu* charms at Shitennô-ji in 1274. *Ippen hiiri-e* scroll 2.

<sup>78</sup> Saigo, 1972, pp. 106-116.

<sup>79</sup> *Kitano Tenji engi-e* scrolls. *Shinshû Nihon emakimono zenshû*. For a discussion, see Nakano, Chapter Five, "Kitano Tenjin engi Nichizô rikudômeguri no dan no seiristu," pp. 187-224, in *Kaika no geijutsu: Bukkyô bijutsu no shisôshi*, Kyoto: Hôzôkan, 1982.

<sup>80</sup> This is known as "*somoku jôbutsu ron*" (Discussion of whether plants and trees are capable of attaining Buddhahood, i.e., of whether non-sentient beings also attain salvation). This idea gained increased currency from around the late twelfth century, and probably reflects a new emphasis on *hongaku* thought in the Tendai school. By extension, the idea that plants and trees attained Buddhahood also leads to Nature becoming a means of salvation of man. For an interesting discussion of *somoku jôbutsu ron*, in the context of the nature symbolism and religious content of the poetry of the famous twelfth century *hijiri*-poet Saigyô, see LaFleur, 1973, Chapter Six, "Saigyô and the Buddhist Value of Nature." Also, see Kanai, 1967, "Chûsei bungaku ni okeru shizen kan" [View of Nature in medieval literature], in *Jishû bungei kenkyû* [Studies of the arts and literature of Jishû], pp. 64-80. For a discussion of the religious meaning of landscape in the *Saigyô monogatari emaki*, see Allen, 1988, pp. 360-367. Also see, Mason, 1981.

<sup>81</sup> Some scholars view Genshin's dualism as a step backwards, away from the striving for a non-dualistic understanding. The popular pure land reformers all promoted simple faith and pious devotion that promised salvation to all regardless of sex and social position. Behind this lay the Buddhist leaders's beliefs in the fundamental nonduality in Buddhist thought and practice.

<sup>82</sup> Note that the meanings of the landscape are to be associated with Kumano's identification in the popular mind not only with the earthly paradise of Amida, but also with those of Yakushi, and Kannon. Discussed in Darling, 1983, especially chapters Four and Five.

<sup>83</sup> Nor is the concept of a living earth at all a farfetched idea to those scientists taken by the Gaia Hypothesis, the idea of the earth as a living organism. Gaia is the name the Greeks gave to their goddess of the earth. This ancient idea of the living earth is making a comeback with our present interest in ecology. Back in the 1970s, scientists like Lewis Thomas (*Lives of a Cell* [New York: Viking Press, 1974]) and James Lovelock were exploring this idea in books and articles. Indeed, James Lovelock's watershed book, *Gaia: A New Look at Life*, published in 1979, presented an in-depth argument for the earth being alive. See Swan, 1990, pp. 209 ff.

<sup>84</sup> *Ippen Shônin goroku* [Records of the words of Ippen Shônin] in *Kana hôgo shû* [Collection of Buddhist sermons in Kana], *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 83, pp. 102-103. For a complete English translation, see Hirota, 1986. Alternate last line: "There is nothing that is not the *nembutsu*"

## References

- Allen, L. (1988). "The Art of Persuasion: Narrative Structure, Imagery and Meaning, "Landscape Imagery and Religious Meaning," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley).
- Anesaki, M. (1963). *A History of Japanese Religion*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truber, 1930; reprint ed., Rutland, Vt: Charles E. Tuttle Company,.

- Ariga Y.(1982). "Jishû no kaiga," pp. 154-180. In S. Tachibana and F. Tamamuro (eds). *Shomin shinkô no genryû--Jishû to yûgyô hijiri* . Tokyo: Meichô Shuppan.
- Bando S. (1974) " Myôe's Criticism of Honen's Doctrine," *Eastern Buddhist*, New Series, 7:1, 37-54.
- Banshu Hôgo shû*. In *Hônen Ippen* (1971). *Nihon shisô taikai* 10. pp. 351-377. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Blacker, C. (1975). *The Catalpa Bow, A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.
- Blacker, C. (1981). "Japan," In M. Loewe and C.Blacker(eds.). *Oracles and Divination* (pp. 63-86) . Boulder: Shambhala.
- Blacker , C. (1963). "The Divine Boy in Japanese Buddhism," *Asian Folklore Studies* 22: 77-88.
- Brazell, K.(trans)(1973). *The Confessions of Lady Nijô*. (trans. of *Towazugatari* ). Stanford: Stanford University Press. Translator cites *Nihon koten bungaku zensho* edition.
- Darling B. (1983). "The Transformation of Pure Land Thought and the Development of Shinto Shrine Mandala Paintings" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan), Chapter 4, "Advent of the Mountain-City *Hijiri*-- Ippen;" 337-357.
- Dykstra, Y.( trans) (1983). *Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sutra from Ancient Japan: The Dainihon koku Hokekyô of Priest Chingen*. Osaka: Intercultural Research Institute, Kanai University of Foreign Studies.
- Earhart, H (1969). *Japanese Religion: Unity and Diversity*, Belmont, California: Dickerson Publishing Co.
- Foard, J. (1977). "Ippen Shônin and Popular Buddhism in Kamakura Japan." (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University).
- Gorai Shigeru(1967). *Kumano mode*. Kyoto: Tankôsha.
- Gorai S. (1975). "Kumano sanzán no ekishi to shinkô." In *Yoshino Kumano shinkô no kenkyû* (155-178). *Sangaku shûkyôshi* 4, Tokyo: Meichô shuppan.
- Gorai S.(1961). "Ippen Shônin to Yûzû Nembutsu," *Otani gakuhô* 41, no. 1(June).
- Guth, C. (1987). "The Divine Boy in Japanese Art," *Monumenta Nipponica* 42:1 (Spring), 1-23.
- Heike monogatari* . *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 32, 33. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959-60.
- Hirota, D. trans.(1986). *No Abode; The Record of Ippen*. Kyoto: Ryukoku University.
- Hogen monogatari*, *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 31. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Hokke kenki*. *Nihon shisô taikai* 7. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Hunt, H.(1989). *Multiplicity of Dreams*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Imai Masaharu(1981). "Kumano sanro to fusan." In Imai M.(1981) *Jishu seiritsushi no kenkyu* (pp. 74-98). Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan.
- Imai Masaharu(1981). *Jishu seiritsushi no kenkyu*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan.

- Ippen Shōnin goroku* [Records of the words of Ippen Shōnin]. In *Kana hōgo shū* [Collection of Buddhist sermons in Kana] (1964). *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 83, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Ippen Shōnin eden* (1978). In *Nihon emaki taisei* 27. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron.
- Ippen hijiri-e.* (1975) *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū* [Collection of Japanese Picture Scrolls] 11. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.
- Ishioka, S.(1975, 76, 77). "Ippen Shōnin's Meditation at Kumano" 1-4, *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* XXIII, 2(3, 1975), XXIV, 2(3, 1976), XXV, 2(3, 1977), XXVI, 2(3, 1978)m (or nos. 46, 48, 50, 52).
- J Kageyama H. (1973). *Shintō bijutsu*. Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1973.
- Kamakura kyū bukkyō.* [Traditional Kamakura Buddhism](1971). *Nihon shisō taikei* 15. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Kana hōgo shū* [Collection of Buddhist sermons in kana] (1957). *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 83, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Kanai, K.(1987). "Kumano mode to Gongen shinchoku." In *Kanai Jishu bungei to Ippen hōgo* (34-40). Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu.
- Kanai K.(1975). *Ippen to jishu kyōdan*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.
- Kanai K.(1987). *Jishū bungei to Ippen hōgo*. Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu.
- Kanai K. (1967). "Chūsei bungaku ni okeru shizen kan" [View of Nature in medieval literature], in *Jishū bungei kenkyū* [Studies of the arts and literature of Jishū] (64-80). Tokyo: Kazama Shobō.
- Kaufman, L.(1980). "*Ippen Hijiri-E: Artistic and Literary Sources in a Buddhist Handscroll Painting of Thirteenth-Century Japan.*" Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University.
- Kitagawa, H. and B. Tsuchida( trans) (1977). *The Tale of Heike. 2 vols.* Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- Kokon chomonjū* NKBT 84. A modern version is found in *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei*, 59.
- Kondō, Y. (1957). "Kumano gongen yōgō zsetsu--yōgō to raigō--," *Bukkyō geijutsu* no. 32 (September).
- Kwon, Y.(trans)(1986). "The Emperor's Songs: Go-Shirakawa and *Ryōjin Hishō Kudenshū*," *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 41, no. 3 (Autumn), 261-298.
- LaFleur W. (1973). "Saigyō the Priest and His Poetry of Reclusion: A Buddhist Valorization of Nature in Twelfth-Century Japan" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago).
- Lovelock, J. (1979). *Gaia: A New Look at Life*.
- McCullough, H. (trans.)(1980). *Okagami: The Great Mirror*. Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press.
- Marumo T. (1987). *Chusei no tabibitotachi* [Medieval travelers]. Tokyo: Rokko Shuppan.
- Murayama S.(1974). *Honji suiijaku*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

- Mason, P. (1981). "The Wilderness Journey: The Soteric Value of Nature in Japanese Narrative Painting. In M. Barasch and L. Sandler (eds.). *Art, The Ape of Nature* (67-89) New York: Abrams.
- Miya T. (1959). "Ippen Hijiri-e to Eni," *Bijutsu kenkyû*, No. 205 (July): 365-374.
- Miyaji T. (1966). "Ippen hijiri-e sakkan to Miedo bon ni tsuite," *Bijutsu kenkyû*, no. 244 (December)
- Miyake H. (1976). "Omine engi kô." In Kasaharu Kazuo Hakase kanreki kinenkai, ed., *Nihon shûkyôshi ronshû* (475-504). Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan.
- Mochizuki N. (1975). "Ippen Shônin eden ni tsuite." *Ippen hijiri-e*. In *Shinshû Nihon emakimono zenshû* 11 (3-15). Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.
- Morrell, R. (trans) (1985). *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishû): The Tales of Mujû Ichinen, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Japan*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Morrell, R. (1983). "Jôkei and the Kôfuku-ji Petition," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 10/1:6-38.
- Nakano Genzô (1982). "Kitano Tenji engi Nichizô rikudômeguri no dan no seiritsu." In *Kaika no geijutsu: Bukkyô bijutsu no shisôshi*. (187-224) Kyoto: Hôzôkan.
- Nihon emaki taisei* [Japanese scroll paintings] (1977-79) 27 volumes. Tokyo: Chuokoron. .
- Nihon koten bungaku taikei* [Compendium of classical Japanese literature] (1957-1967). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. (abbrev. NKBT).
- Nihon shisô taikei*. [Collection of Japanese thought]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. (abbrev. NSST).
- Ohashi, S. (1971). *Ippen: Sono kôdô to shisô* [Ippen: Action and Thought] Tokyo: Hyôronsha.
- Ryôjin hishō Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 73. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Ryôjin hishō Kudenshū. Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 73. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Saigō N. (1972). *Kodaijin to yume* [Ancient people and Dreams]. Tokyo: Heibonsha.
- Sasaki K. (1968). "Kankikô-ji zô 'Ippen hijiri-e' no gakan kôsei ni kansuru shomondai to sono seisakusha ni tsuite" [The Kankikô-ji collection 'Ippen hijiri-e'--several problems concerning its scroll composition and its producer] . *Kokka*, no. 912 (March ), 5-27.
- Satô M. (1975). "On the Arrangement of the Three Kumano Shrines from the Latter Half of the Heian Period to the Early Middle Ages," *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Ronbun Hôkokushû*, no 236 (October 1975): 97-105.
- Shaji engi* (1975). *Nihon shisô taikei*, 20. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Shasekishû* (1973). *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 85. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten
- Shiryô taisei* [Collection of historical materials] (1934-1944) 43 volumes. Tokyo: Nagai Shoseki.
- Shinshû Nihon emakimono zenshû* [Japanese scroll paintings] (1975-1981). 32 volumes. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.
- Shosan engi*. In *Shaji engi* (1975). *Nihon shisô taikei*, 20. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

- Stanley K. (ed.) (1990). *Dreamtime and Dreamwork*. Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarcher, Inc.
- Swan, J. (1990). *Sacred Places: How the Living Earth Seeks our Friendship*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: Bear and Company Publishing.
- Tachibana S. (1978). *Ippen hijiri-e*. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin.
- Tanabe S. (ed.) (1989). *Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen* [Shinto-Buddhist intermingling and mountain asceticism]. *Zusetsu Nihon no bukkyō* 6, Tokyo: Shinchosha.
- Tengu zōshi* (1978). In *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshu*, 27. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.
- Thomas, L. (1974). *Lives of a Cell*. New York: Viking Press.
- Wakamori T. (1972). *Shugendōshi kenkyū*. Tōyō bunko 211. Tokyo: Heibonsha.
- Wilson, W (trans.) (1971). *Hōgen monogatari: Tale of the disorder in Hōgen*. Tokyo: Sophia University.
- Yamada Y. (1974a). *Jishū no shozō chōkoku*, "Bukkyō geijutsu", 96.
- Yamada Y. (1974b) "Ippen shōnin no chōkoku ni tsuite," *Jishū kenkyū*, 61.
- Yanagi S. (1973). "Ippen Shonin," *Eastern Buddhist*, New series, VI, no. 2 (October) : 33-35.
- Yangita K. (1946). *Senzo no hanashi*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō. (also in YKS, vol. 10).
- Yūgō Shōnin engi-e* [Pictorial tales of wandering saints] (1979). *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū* 23 Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.
- Yūzū nembutsu engi*, [Pictorial tales of the Yūzū Nembutsu sect] (1980). *Shinshū Nihon emakimono zenshū* 31. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.