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Poems of the Gods of the Heaven and the Earth

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POEMS OF THE GODS OF THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH:
AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF THE *JINGIKA* BOOK OF THE *SENZAISHŪ*

A Thesis Presented

By

CHRISTINA E OLINYK

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
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ABSTRACT

POEMS OF THE GODS OF THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH

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This thesis analyzes the development of the *Jingika* book in the first seven Japanese *waka* anthologies (*chokusenshū*). *Jingika* are Japanese poems written on the gods of the heaven and the earth and illustrate man's interactions with them through worship and prayer. They have characteristics in common with what modern scholars term the Shinto religion, and have been referenced as such in past scholarship. However, *jingika* are more accurately a product of the amalgamation of native *kami* cults and foreign Buddhist doctrine. Although the first independent *Jingika* book emerged in the seventh anthology (*Senzaishū*), poems which can be termed *Jingika* book predecessors exist as early as the first (*Kokinshū*). The second chapter of this thesis determines which of those early poems had the most influence over the development of an independent *Jingika* book. The last chapter provides a full original translation of the thirty-three poems of the first *Jingika* book and analyzes the intricacies of their arrangement introduced through new methods of association and progression by Fujiwara no Shunzei. The shrines that are mentioned in the poems also correspond to the development of a state religion centered on a small number of shrines designated as protectors of the state. In light of this, the arrangement of the poems in the *Jingika* book creates a metaphysical pilgrimage to the most important shrines at the dawn of the medieval period and asserts the emperor's position as cultural center during a time of political turmoil.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SNKBT	<i>Shin nihon koten bungaku taikai</i>
KKS	<i>Kokinshū</i>
SS	<i>Shūishū</i>
GSIS	<i>Goshūishū</i>
KYS	<i>Kin'yōshū</i>
SKS	<i>Shikashū</i>
SZS	<i>Senzaishū</i>

CHAPTER I

DEFINING *JINGIKA*

This study aims to provide a translation and understanding of the emergence of the *Jingika* (神祇歌) book in the *Senzaishū* (1188) through its relationship with similar books and related poems that appear in the preceding six imperial *waka* anthologies. Changes in the representation of religious poetry are significant because the imperial anthologies aimed to represent and preserve popular *waka* trends, trends that reflected the political, social, and religious ideas of the contributing poets, as well as those of the poets who compiled them. Therefore, even small alterations in format and topic between anthologies are indicative of changes in the larger literary, philosophical, and religious discourse of Japanese society. In particular, studying these anthologies can provide insight into the development of Shinto within the court and its complicated relationship with foreign belief systems throughout the late Heian period and into the tumultuous medieval period.

The *Jingika* book became one of the twenty books or volumes of poetry that make up each imperial anthology, the title of which also describes the classification or topic of the poems within it. “*Ka*” (歌) means “song” or “poem” and “*jingi*” (神祇) is a contraction of the compound “*tenjin chijin*” (天神地祇),¹ meaning “the deities of the heavens and earth.” The first extant use of the word “*jingi*” seems to have referred to the title of the government office *Jingikan* (神祇官), or “the Department for the Affairs of Celestial and Terrestrial Deities,” which was established during the *ritsuryō* government

¹ Yasaburō, Shimonaka, ed., *Shintō daijiten* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1969), 208.

reforms of the eighth century. Its duties included keeping a record of shrines and their clergy, supervising annual rites, and otherwise tending to the relations of heaven and earth. Similarly, poems composed on *jingi* themes also address man’s interactions with the gods through worship and prayer. They include the songs of ancient clans, the elegant offerings of aristocratic noblemen, the august proclamations of emperors and gods, and the quiet contemplations of monks and priests.

Although the *Senzaishū* was the first imperial poetry anthology to feature a book dedicated entirely to *jingika*, *waka* (和歌), or “Japanese poems,” had been addressing religious and supernatural themes for centuries. In fact, in his preface to the first anthology (951), Ki no Tsurayuki claimed that all *waka* possess the power to move heaven and earth and stir the feelings of the invisible gods and spirits.² Furthermore, the same court propagated a classical history, the *Kojiki* (712), in which the carefully measured verse of *waka* was established as the language of the gods, who introduced the form at the same time that they created the land of Japan.³ From the inception of native poetry, *waka* were widely practiced for their perceived supernatural powers and as such *kami* themes exist in nearly every anthology. In chapter two of this paper, I identify which of the poems in the first six anthologies were written on themes that became characteristic of *jingika* and appear in what I term “*Jingika* book predecessors.”

² Laurel Rasplica Rodd, Mary Catherine Henkenius, and Tsurayuki Ki, *Kokinshū: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 35.

³ That first *waka*, appearing in perfect 5-7-5-7-7 *tanka* structure, is attributed to Susano-o no mikoto who sang in celebration of his wedding and new home, quoted here from Edwin Cranston, *A Waka Anthology. Volume One, The Gem-Glistening Cup* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 7.

Yakumo tatsu	In eight-cloud-rising
Izumo yaegaki	Izumo an eightfold fence
Tsumagomi ni	To enclose my wife
Yaegaki tsukuru	An eightfold fence I build,
Sono yaegaki o	And, oh, that eightfold fence!

Traditionally, two major autonomous and distinct religions were thought to have developed independently in pre-modern Japan: Shinto, the indigenous spirit (or “*kami*”) worship, and Buddhism, imported from mainland Asia. However, recent scholars, led by the work of Kuroda Toshio, have challenged this concept of a “pure” pre-modern Shinto as an “invention of nineteenth century Japanese ideologues”⁴ whose agenda it was to propagate a dichotomy between Shinto and Buddhism in classical history. What’s more likely is that Japanese religiosity was composite and dynamic in which native and foreign beliefs influenced each other. To this end, the section of this chapter titled “The Syncretism of *kami* and Buddhas” focuses on the history of their harmonious interactions and the hybrid *kami* cults and Buddhist sects that emerged. The section titled “Twenty-Two Guardian Shrines” makes connections between the evolution of the *jingika* category and that of an imperially regulated *kami*-based religion by calling attention to the coincidence of shrine names that are well represented in the *Jingika* book with those that became most significant to the worship and protection of the emperor.

That being said, I refrain from using the conventional labels “Shinto poems” for *jingika* and “Buddhist poems” for *shakkyōka* (釈教歌), as it might mislead the reader to expect a polarity and incompatibility between the two categories. I also find these terms inaccurate because although *jingika* draw from the Shinto tradition, they also incorporate Buddhist elements and therefore represent a syncretic attitude towards the two. Furthermore, the terms “Shinto” and “Buddhist” never appear in the original text to my knowledge except as modern annotations. Instead, I’ve defined “*jingi*” as the worship of all powerful beings in heaven and on earth, which may include the *kami* and their

⁴ Kuroda Toshio qtd in John Breen and Mark Teeuwen, *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000), 4.

incarnations, meaning the emperor, as well as Buddhas. Similarly, I interpret “*shakkyō*” literally, as “the teachings of the Buddha” because they reflect on the meanings of particular sutras.

The intent of the remainder of chapter one is to provide some insight into the religious and poetic views of the compiler of the *Jingika* book of the *Senzaishū*, Fujiwara no Shunzei. Although the *Jingika* book contains poems from many individual poets, Shunzei’s influence on the sequence is the most significant. That is because, as the sole compiler, he had control over how the reader would encounter the poems, both in terms of their scope and their sequence. The section “Shunzei’s Views on Religious Poetry” illuminates those experiences which shaped his attitude towards religious practice and poetry’s role within it. Finally, the section “Types of *Jingika* Penned by Shunzei” offers insightful vocabulary developed from a study of Shunzei’s own poetry for the discussion of the characteristics of *jingika*.

The translations in this thesis are my own, unless otherwise noted, and are also available without annotation in appendices C and D. I have transcribed the originals from the manuscript as it appears in the *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei* series, hereafter shortened to *SNKBT*.

The Syncretism of Kami and Buddhas

Early Buddhism was amicable to indigenous religion on its eastward march through mainland Asia towards the Japan Sea, adjusting its needs to fit each culture.⁵ Therefore, after it entered Japan in the sixth century, the imperial family was able to

⁵ Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation; The Historical Development of the Honji-Suijaku Theory* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1969), 147.

adopt Buddhist practices in addition to preexisting indigenous beliefs. One reason the fledgling government was attracted to Buddhism was the code of ethics it enforced through the prospect of an afterlife and the threat of cosmic retribution.⁶ However, even Shōtoku Taishi (573-622), the legendary first patron of Buddhism in Japan, was also an advocate of *kami* worship.⁷ He recognized that Shinto myths were useful in linking the ancestry of the emperor with the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu (天照), which legitimized the imperial family's rule over competing clans.⁸ Therefore, it was in the court's best interests to syncretize these foreign and native belief systems.

With the court's patronage, both Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines flourished around the capital. Needless to say, tensions arose as the two struggled for supremacy.⁹ However, regardless of what occurred in practice, the *Jingika* book publicized a religiosity of harmonious amalgamation, called *shinbutsu shūgō* (神仏習合). That is, the syncretic themes central to the *Jingika* book illustrate the two religions reconciled through their mutual ability to protect the emperor and, by extension, the nation.

In the late seventh century, lay people and monks believed that *kami* and Buddhas could cooperate and they began to worship them in tandem. For example, at “shrine-temples” (神宮時), Buddhist images were introduced onto Shinto grounds so as to soothe potentially dangerous local *kami* through Buddhist ritual. Provincial lords believed that their *kami* could be (and wanted to be) more beneficent and powerful through the achievement of Buddhist enlightenment.¹⁰

⁶ Ibid, 152.

⁷ Ibid, 147.

⁸ Ibid, 148.

⁹ Ibid, 177.

¹⁰ Mark Teeuwen, “The kami in esoteric Buddhist thought and practice” in Breen and Teeuwen, *Shinto in History*, 95.

On the other hand, the parallel development of “*kami* temples” (宮寺) represented the inverse relationship in which Shinto images were introduced onto Buddhist grounds so as to evoke the protection of powerful regional *kami*. Monks believed that adopting a tutelary *kami*, in their control over the earth and weather, could shield their temple from natural disasters.¹¹ The most famous example of a *kami* temple is Iwashimizu, dedicated to Hachiman, the *kami* of war. Hachiman won the attention of Buddhist monks when he delivered oracles that assisted in the building of the Daibutsu (“Large Buddha”) statue at Tōdai-ji in Nara. After construction was completed, Hachiman was bestowed the title Great Bodhisattva Hachiman and became identified as “a protector-deity of the Buddhist Law.”¹²

At the start of the ninth century, the imperial court sent missionaries to China in order to learn contemporary developments in Buddhist practice. When the missions returned, the doctrine and rituals that they brought with them resulted in the establishment of esoteric Tendai and Shingon Buddhism in Japan. Both sects emphasized the use of art in Buddhist practice and as such, their doctrine justified secular activities which would have otherwise been banned as distractions from achieving enlightenment. For example, the concept of nonduality, or “the rejection of any bifurcation of the holy and the profane,” led to a belief that “the composition and collection of secular verse must be a Buddhist activity.”¹³

¹¹ Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, eds., *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 26.

¹² Teeuwen, “The *kami* in esoteric Buddhist thought and practice” in Breen and Teeuwen, *Shinto in History*, 95.

¹³ William R. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 91.

Furthermore, esoteric Buddhism made possible the incorporation of *kami* beliefs and rituals into Buddhist doctrine. “Original enlightenment” claimed that all phenomena, including *kami*, “exist only in the meditation of Dainichi (the cosmic Buddha) and are therefore enlightened as they are.”¹⁴ When this concept was applied to the relation of *kami* and Buddhas, it “became possible to conceive of the deities, not merely as protectors of Buddhism or as suffering beings in need of Buddhist salvation, but as local manifestations of the transcendent Buddhas and bodhisattvas, compassionately projected as a ‘skillful means’ to lead the people of Japan to enlightenment.”¹⁵ According to this theory, Buddhas transformed into earthly *kami* by dimming their divine light and mingling with the dust of the profane world, symbolized by the term *wakō dōjin* (和光同塵).¹⁶

Finally, the product of all of these developments was the *honji suijaku* (本地垂迹) theory which defines *kami* as the earthly manifestations of Buddhas or bodhisattvas. By this theory, composing and compiling *jingi* poems that express *honji suijaku* themes became a form of Buddhist practice through the discovery of universal truths like nonduality. In this formula, *honji* represents the Buddhas (literally “original or true ground”) while *suijaku* represents the *kami* (literally “the mark or trace of the original”). However, *honji suijaku* does not imply “one precise correspondence of *kami* and Buddha” but rather a network of associations, establishing links between multiple *kami*,

¹⁴ Teeuwen, “The *kami* in esoteric Buddhist thought and practice” in Breen and Teeuwen, *Shinto in History*, 97.

¹⁵ Jacqueline Ilyse Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999), 41.

¹⁶ Teeuwen, “The *kami* in esoteric Buddhist thought and practice” in Breen and Teeuwen, *Shinto in History*, 95.

Buddhas, Yin-Yang deities, and historical culture heroes.¹⁷ For example, Hachiman was “considered to be the deified form of Emperor Ōjin and a trace kami (*suijaku*) of Amida.”¹⁸

Most scholars discuss the *honji suijaku* terminology as a way of prioritizing Buddhas over *kami*. However, the poems of the first *Jingika* book project a more equal relationship, as do the personal poems of the founders of Tendai and Shingon. For example, Kūkai (774-835), the founder of Shingon Buddhism, is credited with this poem: “Among the various ways / To become a Buddha / The most potent way is / The way of the Kami.”¹⁹ Furthermore, Saichō (767-822), the founder of Tendai, “treated the Shinto deities as equals of the Buddhas and not, as the term *honji suijaku* implies, as later manifestations or temporary appearances of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas and therefore inferior to them.”²⁰ He is credited with the following: “Truly / The gods are / The guideposts of the Buddhas; / Why call them / Later incarnations?”²¹

By the late tenth century, new syncretic Shinto sects emerged from the above influences of Shingon and Tendai. For example, Ryōbu Shinto, or Shingon Shinto, reinterpreted the *honji suijaku* theory to describe Buddhas as manifestations of *kami*.²² In particular, its main principal regarded Dainichi Nyorai, or Mahāvairocana, the Great Sun Buddha, as a manifestation of Amaterasu, the Shinto Sun Goddess, who is enshrined at Ise Shrine. This relationship was surely inspired by their similar names. Likewise, Sannō Shinto, or Tendai Shinto, developed out of the shrine-temple complex of the multiple Hie

¹⁷ Susan Tyler qtd in Teeuwan and Rambelli, *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*, 47.

¹⁸ Teeuwan and Rambelli, *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*, 47.

¹⁹ Herbert E. Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 160.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 159.

²¹ *Ibid*.

²² Stuart D. B. Picken, *Historical Dictionary of Shinto* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 9.

Shrines (also Hiyoshi)²³ and Enryaku-ji, the temple which acted as headquarters to the Tendai sect, all located on Mt. Hiei northeast of the capital in Kyoto.²⁴ The major *kami* enshrined at the Hie Shrines, Sannō (“Mountain King”), is believed to be both the tutelary “mountain protector” of Enryaku-ji and an incarnation of Shakyamuni, the historical Buddha.²⁵

Shugendō, or the practice of mountain asceticism, was another religious practice that contemporaneously developed out of the interactions of esoteric Buddhism and Shinto. Although Shugendō practitioners dedicated their lives to communing with nature all across Japan, particular mountain ranges became associated with their pilgrimages. The most famous of these roads was Kumano, a network of ninety-nine small stations connecting three shrines throughout the Kii Peninsula in modern-day Wakayama Prefecture.²⁶ Kumano’s syncretic characteristic is illustrated by its association with Tendai Buddhism and the *kami* of the moon. Legend says that the Hongū Shrine of Kumano is the location where the Buddhist avatar Ojishin of Mt. T’ien-T’ai (the origin of Tendai in China) descended in the form of the moon.²⁷

Twenty-Two Guardian Shrines

The development of shrine-temple complexes also coincided with the creation of a hierarchy of shrines which were deemed most important to the protection of the emperor and as such received support from the court. The creation of this list of twenty-

²³ Jacqueline Stone claims that Hie is a more ancient variation of Hiei, the first of which enshrines the spirit of the second (*Original Enlightenment*, 98).

²⁴ *Ibid*, 99.

²⁵ Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*, 159.

²⁶ Stuart D. B. Picken, *Essentials of Shinto: An Analytical Guide to Principal Teachings* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 201.

²⁷ *Ibid*.

two shrines has been historically marked as the beginning of the state institutionalization of many independent *kami* cults across Japan into a single regulated state religion. To a large extent, shrines which had been designated as protectors of temples also came to be seen as protectors of the nation. For example, in 861, Iwashimizu was established as a significant shrine-temple dedicated to Hachiman, the tutelary *kami* of the Buddhist Law, and one hundred years later, it was also included at the top of the guardian shrine list.²⁸

Within this list, the twenty-two shrines were divided into three groups as determined by a combination of their geological location and political significance. For example, the first group consisted of seven shrines in the area closest to the capital with the addition of the ancestral shrines of the imperial line (Ise) and the influential Fujiwara politicians (Kasuga). These sites housed the shrines most often graced by imperial pilgrimages, events that became a topic of poetic composition represented in the *Jingika* book. The emperor's patronage and worship of these nationally recognized *kami* aided in the formation of a centralized state.²⁹

When they were first established, shrine-temples complexes were associated with individual clans and by the end of the Heian period, they had accumulated enough economic and political power to pose a threat to the central government.³⁰ Allan Grapard proposes that one of the purposes of unifying *kami* cults was to rein in these competing powers and reassert their subservient position as protectors of the state. In other words, the imperial court "transformed many such temples into imperium-sponsored operations,

²⁸ Teeuwen and Rambelli, *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*, 26.

²⁹ Allan Grapard, "Institution, Ritual, and Ideology: The Twenty-Two Shrine-Temple Multiplexes of Heian Japan," *History of Religions* 27, no. 3 (1988), 249.

³⁰ Allan Grapard, "The economics of ritual power" in Breen and Teeuwen, *Shinto in History*, 87.

and ... gave a new and unified structure to the cults in the main shrines to ensure that they were directed toward the imperial state rather than toward private interest.”³¹

In fact, Goshirakawa, the emperor who commissioned the *Senzaishū*, issued a restraining order to several shrine-temple complexes in 1156 citing their “improper shows of authority.”³² Coincidentally, the shrines that Goshirakawa wished to control correspond very closely to those referenced in the poems of the *Jingika* book (excluding the eight *daijōsai* poems, which intentionally refer to much more obscure locales). The following table illustrates the number of poems dedicated to each shrine and their corresponding poem numbers in the organizational scheme of the twenty-two shrine list:

Upper – 8 poems		Middle – 8 poems		Lower – 5 poems	
Ise	1278, 1279	Ōmiwa	1267, 1269	Hie	1275, 1276, 1277
Iwashimizu	1280	Sumiyoshi	1257, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265	Hirota	1266
Kamo	1270, 1271, 1272, 1273			Kifune	1274
Kasuga	1256				

The only shrine which appears in the *Jingika* book but not in the twenty-two shrine list is Kumano. It should be noted that the shrines of Kumano are not considered protector shrines of any temples and coincidentally, it does not appear on the list of state protectors. On the other hand, although Sumiyoshi only appears in the middle tier in relation to its

³¹ Ibid, 77.

³² Allan G. Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 103.

importance to the imperial court, it is the best represented in the *Jingika* book, probably as a result of its position as the tutelary *kami* of poetry.

Shunzei's Views on Religious Poetry

By the time the *Senzaishū* was compiled at the opening of the medieval period, the scene had been set for the emergence of independent *Jingika* and *Shakkyōka* books within the imperial *waka* anthologies. Poems composed on these religious themes had already surfaced as undeveloped yet recognizable sequences in many of the previous six anthologies. It was only under the influence of Fujiwara no Shunzei (藤原俊成 1114-1204) that they underwent their most significant transformation into separate books. This following will show that the events and religious experiences of Shunzei's life prepared him for such a task and for his broader work as a poet, judge, compiler, and critic by which he left his mark on the poetic world.

From a young age, Shunzei proved talented at replicating many poetic styles, to the extent that he was invited into the poetic circle of Retired Emperor Sutoku, where his skills of connecting and weaving together different assigned topics were put to the test. After participating in several poetry competitions and meetings, he began to receive invitations to serve as a competition judge and quickly gained a reputation for delivering impartial decisions and encouraging comments that embodied his high standards.³³ Of particular interest to the development of religious poetry are the many competitions that he participated in that were named for the various temples and shrines to which they were offered. In fact, two of the sequences within the *Jingika* book (Sumiyoshi and Kamo)

³³ Steven Carter, *Medieval Japanese Writers* (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1999), 22.

came to Shunzei through the competitions at which he served as judge. The offering of poems to places of worship is reminiscent of the story of Po Chu-i, a china man who offered his poems to a temple in the hopes that his “excessive words and ornate phrases” would serve the Buddhist Law.³⁴

Shunzei always had an affinity for religious poetry. Indeed, he first gained the attention of his patron in 1140 with a hundred-poem sequence on *jukkai* that communicated Buddhist detachment. In 1176, Shunzei became seriously ill and took the Buddhist tonsure, a common practice of men close to death in hopes of entering the promised land in the next life. However, Shunzei recovered and lived to an unusually old age of ninety, during which time he became a devout Tendai Buddhist. Shunzei became fascinated with the role of poetry in religious practice and made many contributions to the contemporary study and practice of *waka*.³⁵

Shunzei’s poetic treatise and criticism, *Korai fūteishō* (1197), summarizes his views towards the relationship of religion and poetry which undoubtedly influenced his compiling of the *Senzaishū*. In particular, this text relates poetry to the contemplative meditation of the Tendai sect and successfully justifies the composition of poetry as a religious practice in service to Buddhism. Carter describes the *Korai fūteishō* as representative of Shunzei’s “lifelong concern with the complex relationships between poetic voice and the language that it both gives voice to and is voiced through (which suggests) a strong awareness of the central Buddhist tenet that all things are constituted through indeterminate and ever-changing relationships to each other.”³⁶

³⁴ Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*, 180.

³⁵ Carter, *Medieval Japanese Writers*, 23-24.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 25.

Types of Jingika Penned by Shunzei

Ten years before the completion of the *Senzaishū*, Shunzei compiled his own private poetry collection called *Chōshū eisō* (長秋詠藻). It contains poems which Shunzei composed and arranged on many of the same themes that appear in the imperial anthologies, seven of them “*jingika*.”³⁷ Shunzei’s *jingika* also appear in later anthologies such as the *Shinkokinshū* and *Fugashū*. By studying these poems, Higaki Takashi identified three major categories: glorification (*sanbi*, 讚美), prayer (*kigan*, 祈願), and syncretism (*shinbutsu shūgō*, 神仏習合).³⁸ Higaki’s labels can also be useful in understanding the general characteristics and functions of the *jingika* composed by other poets of the imperial poetry anthologies.

Higaki defines glorification poems (*sanbi*) as those which praise the natural beauty of a sacred site as a reflection of the power of the deity that resides there. According to Shinto beliefs, terrestrial *kami* are present in natural settings of extraordinary majesty, such as mountains or rivers, and those features of the physical world are manifestations or proof (*shirushi*) of the *kami*’s awesome power. Therefore, this type of poem might be described as lyric poetry which expresses the author’s sense of awe as a reaction to his perceived interaction with the gods. Higaki further defines two subcategories within glorification: proclamations of the gods’ eternal lives or greatness (*eien*, 永遠性) and those that describe the visual scene of the shrine grounds (*shatō no*, 社頭の).³⁹

³⁷ Higaki Takashi, "Fujiwara Shunzei ni okeru jingi-ka no sekai," *Nihon Bungei no Chōryū* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1994), 251.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 259.

³⁹ *Ibid*.

The next type of *jingika*, prayer (*kigan*), reflects the mythical nature of poetry as the language of the gods. That is, the authors use these poems as a medium to address the *kami* and communicate their desires. Higaki provides two examples of prayer poems: those for personal gain (*risshin*, 立身), such as one's success or advancement in court life, and those for protection (*kago*, 加護). This category highlights the political function of *jingika* aimed toward the *kami* in their identity as the founders or ancestors of a clan. For example, members of the Fujiwara clan pray to the *kami* of Kasuga to increase their chances for promotion, while the members of the imperial family travel to Ise to petition Amaterasu to protect the reign of her descendants.

Finally, Higaki designates a third category for those poems which express syncretism between Shinto and Buddhist beliefs (*shinbutsu shūgō*). As discussed above, many of the shrines that appear in the *Jingika* book are products of the interaction of Buddhist and Shinto practices. Therefore, it might be said that a majority of *jingika* express *shinbutsu shūgō*. However, multiple themes are often combined in a single *waka*, and as such, its classification relies on the distinction of primary themes from secondary ones. To this end, Higaki applies the *shinbutsu shūgō* category only to those poems which primarily focus on the implications of syncretic theories such as *honji suiijaku*. These poems are often didactic in nature and make esoteric doctrine more accessible.

After Shunzei compiled the *Senzaishū*, every imperial *waka* anthology contained a *Jingika* book which included all three types of *jingi* poems outlined above; however, such a book did not always exist. Although the first six anthologies contained (to varying degrees) poems on themes which would later be categorized as *jingi*, the format of their presentation was not consistent. The following chapter will illuminate how those

anthologies treated the topics and themes that Shunzei would reorganize in order to create the *Jingika* book.

CHAPTER II

JINGIKA BOOK PREDECESSORS

The compilers of the classical Japanese poetry anthologies placed much emphasis on following precedent, citing previous anthologies—starting with the inaugural *Kokinshū* in 905—as models of appropriate poetic diction, topics, and sequence. As such, one might expect that over the years, the format of each of the twenty-one anthologies would remain the same, but this is not entirely the case. (The chart in Appendix A illustrates the titles and relative positions of all twenty books in each of the first seven anthologies.) Indeed, the books dedicated to seasonal and love themes—the largest and most prolific genres—*did* remain relatively static. However, the compilers clearly did not agree on the arrangement of the remainder of the books, and as a result, they were shuffled around. Of these smaller inconsistent themes, the predecessors to the *Jingika* book illustrate the most interesting progression.

Setting the Standard: Ōutadokoro in the Kokinshū

The first appearance of a possible *Jingika* book predecessor in the Japanese poetry anthologies can be found in the twentieth and concluding book of the first anthology, the *Kokinshū*. This book is titled *Ōutadokoro* (大歌所),⁴⁰ or the *Bureau of Poetry*, and was named after an imperial office of the same name that was in charge of archiving *ōuta*, or Heian period court songs. Most of the poems in the rest of the *Kokinshū* are prefaced by a

⁴⁰ The *Ōutadokoro* office recorded native songs as opposed to the “foreign or foreign-style (meaning Chinese) music and dance of the type supervised and performed by the Gagakuryō.” Donald H. Shively, and William H. McCullough, *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 2, Heian Japan* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 425.

line introducing the poetic topic and author's name; however, the thirty-two poems of the *Ōutadokoro* book are mostly unaccompanied, so little is known about the occasion of their composition. Even the title of this book is subject to suspicion. For example, McCullough questions whether the phrase “*Ōutadokoro*” was intended as the title of the entire book or rather as the topic of the first set of five poems within it.⁴¹ The rest of its poems are separated into two groups: thirteen “Songs to Entertain the Gods” (*kami asobi uta*, 神遊歌), and fourteen “Eastern Songs” (*azuma uta*, 東歌).

Although the notations concerning the poems' occasion and categorization are scant, we may still extrapolate a general scheme of progression and association from the three categories provided. For example, the compiler has arranged the poems of the *Ōutadokoro* book geographically, beginning with verse set in the center of the country and traveling out towards the peripheries. That is, the first five poems, only identified as *Ōutadokoro*, are set in the capital and the surrounding cities while the final *azuma uta* are set in provinces to the exotic and distant East.⁴² In this way, the compiler seems to suggest that the first set of poems (*ōuta*) represents the royal family, the last (*azuma uta*) represents the breadth of the land under the emperor's reign, and the middle (*kami asobi uta*) represents the people's relationship to the native gods.

Now, let's examine some of the poems individually so as to define their characteristics as *Jingika* predecessors. Take the opening poem for example:

⁴¹ Helen Craig McCullough, *Brocade by Night: “Kokin Wakashū” and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 490.

⁴² Of course, these provincial poems are still centered on the court, and their outward movement is similar to that seen in Travel poetry (Book IX), which is always composed by someone leaving the capital and writing about how they miss it.

KKS XX: 1069
Ōutadokoro

Author Unknown

Atarashiki
Toshi no hajime ni
Kaku shi koso
Chitose o kanete
Tanoshiki o tsume

On this beginning
Of the New Year let us thus
With a thousand years
In our minds of the time to come
Pile up the logs of joy!⁴³

As a representative *Ōutadokoro* poem, this verse describes the ceremonial activities associated with the court life of people living in and around the capital. Initiated by Emperor Temmu (r. 672-686), the ritual of offering firewood on the fifteenth day of the first month is a ceremony to elicit good luck in the forthcoming year.⁴⁴ Therefore, this poem functions as a type of prayer. Although the poet does not directly address the *kami*, he does pray for a thousand joyous years (for his lord and his descendants). By Edwin Cranston's notes, we know that these words were offered to Ōnabi no Kami, the Great Rectifying Deity, born of the ablutions of Izanagi (one of the creation gods) after his flight from hell.⁴⁵

This is an excellent poem with which to open an anthology book both because it follows the convention of arranging poems chronologically (the reference to New Year's Day), and because it honors a two-hundred-year-old tradition while highlighting the contemporary and social purpose of poetry to commemorate a special day.⁴⁶ The use of these familiar themes and sequencing strategies aligns the *Ōutadokoro* book with the rest of the *Kokinshū*, and also establishes precedent for later religious poetry sequences to reference.

⁴³ Edwin A Cranston, *A Waka Anthology. Volume Two, Grasses of Remembrance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ McCullough, *Brocade by Night*, 48.

The second sequence of the *Ōutadokoro* book is made up of thirteen *kami asobi uta* or “songs to entertain the gods.” As their title implies, these poems were actually meant to be sung accompaniments to dances performed during a *matsuri*,⁴⁷ or festival. As such, they reference language associated with ritual dance such as *torimono* (採物), a kind of ritual prop, held by the priest who invites the *kami* to enter the sacrosanct space represented by the object. This type of glorification poem praises the commendable qualities of the chosen object in order to elevate its status as a suitable vessel for the *kami*.

The following poem from the *torimono* sequence of the *kami asobi uta* section takes a branch of sacred evergreen (*sakaki*) as its topic:

KKS XX: 1075
A Torimono Song

Author Unknown

Shimo yatabi
Okedo kare senu
Sakakiba no
Tachisakayubeki
Kami no kine kamo

Hoarfrost could rime them
Eight times, yet they would not wither,
The sakaki leaves:
Standing in the prime of life,
See, the priestess of the god!⁴⁸

Everything about this poem evokes a sense of magic and mysticism: from the unknown authorship and date to the use of ritual language and images. For example, the number eight appears repeatedly in Shinto myths to represent an immeasurably large number, such as the ‘eight million *kami*’ (the total number of gods in the Shinto pantheon) or the ‘eight-fold fence’ (a quote from the first *waka* as spoken by Susano o Mikoto). Also, the poem illuminates a relationship between the evergreen branch, the god that descends into it, and the priestess whom the spirit possesses. That is, the fourth line (standing in the

⁴⁷ Hebert E. Plustchow and P. G. O'Neill, *Matsuri: The Festivals of Japan* (Surrey: Japan Library, 1996), 48.

⁴⁸ Cranston, *Grasses of Remembrance*, 5.

prime of life) acts as a swing line, describing both the lush foliage of the tree branch and the budding youth of the vassal, both of which entice the *kami* to make attend the ceremony.

The last set of poems of the *Ōutadokoro* book that will be discussed here are called *daijōsai*.⁴⁹ They are named after the emperor's ascension ceremony for which they were composed. For example, the details of the festival for this poem are included in the form of an epilogue:

KKS XX: 1086

Ōtomo no Kuronushi⁵⁰

Ōmi no ya
Kagami no yama o
Tatetareba
Kanete zo miyuru
Kimi ga chitose wa

Mountains of Ōmi—
Ah, how it rises full upright,
The Mirror Mountain,
Where we see the years foretold:
The thousand years of our lord!

This is a song of Ōmi Province sung for the imperial first-fruits ceremony of our present monarch.⁵¹

The *daijōsai* was a special harvest festival celebrated at the beginning of a new emperor's reign so as to pray to the *kami* to infuse the new emperor with a heavenly energy and ensure his long and prosperous reign. In preparation, citizens from throughout the provinces would donate their local natural resources, crops, and poetry for use in the ceremony.

Because these poems were meant to represent the poet's homeland, they reference unique and identifying natural landmarks, such as the Mirror Mountain of Ōmi quoted

⁴⁹ Also read *daijōe*.

⁵⁰ The poem preceding these *daijōsai* poems is marked as a *kaeshimono* and, without any additional notation, we should understand these five as the same. Several scholars (including Cranston, whose translation is quoted here) believe that this term is musical notation indicative of a change in tone or pitch and therefore does not affect the reading of the poetry as verse. For that purpose, I have omitted Cranston's topic line ("A Transpositional Song?") for simplicity.

⁵¹ Cranston, *Grasses of Remembrance*, 9.

above. This tradition might have evolved out of a belief in *kotodama*, or a magical power released by words and names when recited in the proper ritual context.⁵² By quoting the names of landmarks and local products, songs were thought to contain the symbolic spirit of the people; therefore, historically speaking, the ritual action of presenting these songs to the court represented the clan's concession to Yamato rule (the clan of the emperor).⁵³ Although belief in *kotodama* was largely extinct by the time of the compilation of the imperial anthologies, it became convention to use local images and vocabulary for the composition of *daijōsai* poetry. Furthermore, the *daijōsai* festival became a staple theme of the *jingi* category as it was well suited to the theme of imperial anthologies—to recognize the emperor as the spiritual and cultural center.

Divine and Provincial Poetry Missing from the Gosenshū

In 951, Emperor Murakami replaced the *Ōtadokoro* office with the *Wakadokoro*, which completed the second imperial anthology between the years 953 and 958.⁵⁴ The primary task of the renamed office was to “decipher the text of the *Man'yōshū*” (759).⁵⁵ As such, when they undertook the assignment to compile a *waka* anthology, the compilers rejected the model of the *Kokinshū* in favor of the *Man'yōshū*. In fact, twenty-four *Man'yōshū* poems were incorporated verbatim into the *Gosenshū*.⁵⁶

The compilers of the *Gosenshū* chose to expand the space allotted to seasonal and romantic poetry within its twenty-book scheme by adding additional books to the themes

⁵² Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*, 75.

⁵³ Noah S. Brannen, “The Kinkafu Collection of Ancient Japanese Songs,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 23, no. 3 (1968): 245.

⁵⁴ Donald Keene, *Seeds in the Heart: Japanese Literature from Earliest Times to the Late Sixteenth Century* (New York: Henry Holt & Co, 1993), 277.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Keene, *Seeds in the Heart*, 283.

of Spring, Autumn, Love, and Miscellaneous, thereby reducing the available space for other themes. Some were coupled in an effort to conserve space, while others were abandoned; the *Ōutadokoro* book was among the latter. If we consider, however, that the *Gosenshū* was modeled after the *Man'yōshū* and not the *Kokinshū*, we might interpret the absence of another *Ōutadokoro* book as a benign omission, since the *Man'yōshū* did not contain such a category.⁵⁷ In other words, the change did not come from a desire to remove *kami*-themed poetry, but rather from a lack of a precedent to follow. While poems regarding the *kami* were under-represented in the *Gosenshū*, we know by their inclusion in the third anthology that they continued to be composed during this period.

The Kagura Book of the Shūishū

Although the *Ōutadokoro* book did not survive the hundred years between the first and third anthologies, a new book entitled *Kagura* took its place. The format of the third anthology, the *Shūishū* (1005-1011), largely returned to the model set by the *Kokinshū*. Similarly, the *Kagura* book begins with anonymous *torimono* poems lacking titles and contextual notes like the *kami asobi uta* section of the *Ōutadokoro* book.⁵⁸

After that, the *Kagura* book introduces a new theme related to the worship of the *kami*, poems composed on pilgrimages to important shrines. A majority of these pilgrimage

⁵⁷ Following this logic, we might expect the *Gosenshū* to contain a book of *Azuma uta* as the *Man'yōshū* does, but interestingly, it does not.

⁵⁸ The similarity between “*kami asobi*” and “*kagura*” begs the question: What is the relationship between these two terms? According to the *Shintō daijiten*, the terms are more or less equivalent, with the word *kagura* resulting from a sound change of *kami kura asobi* (神座遊).⁵⁸ It is inaccurate, however, to assume that the two terms are synonymous throughout their use in the imperial anthologies because in the *Senzaishū*, they are used as distinct headings to sequence the *daijōsai* poems of the *Jingika* book. By Plutschow’s definition, *kami-asobi* is a type of ancient *matsuri*, or god-worshipping festival, during which several forms of art are used to placate and entertain the attending spirit, while *kagura* is the term for the shamanic possession dance and the music that accompanied it during that festival (Plutschow and O’Neill, *Matsuri*, 50).

poems glorify the trees native to the shrine grounds, and perhaps their connection to the title of the book (*kagura*) lies in the implication of their branches as *torimono* for future ceremonies. This addition coincides with the removal of a separate Travel book, where the pilgrimage poems might have otherwise appeared. However, although the Travel book was only temporarily removed from the imperial poetry anthology scheme, pilgrimage poems remained a lasting fixture of the *jingi* category.

The newly added pilgrimage poems describe a form of travel which became an increasingly popular activity throughout the Heian period among monks, laypeople of the court, and even the emperor. The following poem compliments the natural beauty of the shrine grounds while transmitting its mythological lore:

SS X: 589	Priest Anbō
On a pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi	
Ama kударu	If one contemplates the twin
Arahitogami no	Born at the same time
Ahiuhi wo	As he descends from heaven
Omoheba hisashi	It must be the immortal –
Sumiyoshi no matsu	Pines of Sumiyoshi

This poem relates the pines of Sumiyoshi with the *kami* who “descend from heaven” to become *arahitogami*, or living deities. *Ahiuhi* indicates a connection between two physically separate objects which literally “grow old together.” *Arahitogami* sometimes refers to the emperor as a descendant (and therefore human manifestation) of the Sun Goddess.⁵⁹ Therefore, one interpretation of this poem is: for each of the successors of the first emperor who descended from heaven, a pine tree takes root at Sumiyoshi. Although pines were already known for their longevity, this statement would place their genesis at

⁵⁹ Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*, 27.

a date in the distant mythical past, to the birth of the imperial line, and the beginning of the age of man.

When pilgrimages were performed by current or retired emperors, they were referred to by the special honorific title, *miyuki* (御幸). During these imperial outings, the emperor would travel to pay respect to his godly ancestors and to pray regarding matters of national importance such as continued peace and security. When the emperor arrived at his destination, a ceremony would often be held in celebration of the occasion. The composition of poems to commemorate these trips was usually not performed by the emperor himself, but allocated to one of his companions as illustrated by this poem:

SS X: 620 Fujiwara no Tadafusa (?-928)
In the year 920, composed for a twenty-poem sequence on the imperial visit
of Retired Emperor Uda to Kasuga Shrine

Medzurashiki	Even the gods
Kefu no kasuga no	Cannot conceal their delight
Yawotome wo	For the eight Kasuga
Kami mo ureshi to	Maiden dancers
Shinobazarame ya	On this joyous occasion

The last sequence in the *Kagura* book contains poems on the familiar topic of *daijōsai*, with the inclusion of a *byōbu uta*—a poem presented at the same festival but written on a screen accompanied by a painting which illustrates the scene described by the verse. However, because they did not change very much from the ones included in the *Kokinshū*, I will not examine them here. Similarly, *byōbu uta* did not leave a lasting impression on the development of a *jingi* category, but its brief appearance in this book reminds us of the multiple themes that can be expressed in a single poem. When multiple-themed poems are included in an anthology, it is at the discretion of the compiler to

categorize them, effectively distinguishing between the primary and secondary ones. Therefore, the compiler chooses, for example, to put a *byōbu uta* among poems of *kami* themes (as in the *Shūishū*) or in the Felicitations book (as in the other six anthologies). Similarly, this makes it possible for the *Kagura* book to adopt the theme of pilgrimage which had previously been associated with the Travel book.

The Debut of Miscellaneous Jingi in Goshūishū

The fourth anthology, *Goshūishū* (c. 1086), was the first to use the term *jingi* (神祇) to describe and categorize *waka* that deal with divine themes, a sequence which Cranston translates as “Deity Poems.”⁶⁰ The *jingi* section appears in the last of several miscellaneous books—which is also the twentieth and last book of the anthology—where it is immediately followed by a similar number of poems marked *shakkyō* (釈教), or “Teachings of the Buddha.”⁶¹ In just nineteen poems, the *jingi* section of the *Goshūishū* incorporates many of the same topics from the previous *Jingika* book predecessors (excluding the *daijōsai* poems which return to the Felicitations along with the *byōbu uta*) while incorporating new ones (divine oracles and poetry competitions). Finally, it contains the first use in an imperial anthology of *honji suijaku*, the syncretic theory that describes *kami* as manifestations of the Buddhas.

In the years preceding the fourth anthology, the people of the court suffered from recurring epidemics such as smallpox and measles.⁶² As such, the *jingi* section of the

⁶⁰ Cranston, *The Gem-Glistening Cup*, 527.

⁶¹ A book titled *Shakkyōka* also emerged and developed alongside the *jingika*. For a parallel study of these poems in the imperial anthologies, see Stephen Miller, “Shakkyō-ka: The Formation and Development of a Classical Buddhist Poetry Tradition in the Early Imperial Poetry Anthologies” (PhD diss., UCLA, 1993).

⁶² Cranston, *The Gem-Glistening Cup*, 529.

Goshūishū is full of petitions to the gods, and “remind the reader that the gods could be moved by verse.”⁶³ The belief that *kami* speak in *waka* is a concept that began with the creation myths of the eighth century and persisted well into the medieval period such as this work called *Genpei Seisui Ki* written in the thirteenth century:

Not only were Sumiyoshi and Tamatsushima the tutelary deities of the way (of poetry), but whenever deities such as Ise, Iwashimizu, Kamo, Kasuga and others manifested their will in oracles or in dreams, only in rare cases did they speak in any other manner than poetry... Poetry is good not only for the affairs of this world but works in divine affairs as well.⁶⁴

Although records such as this report a large corpus of *waka* attributed to the gods, not many of them appear in the imperial *waka* anthologies. However, the *Goshūishū's jingi* section proves to be an exception to the rule, the opening of which is made up of two *waka* oracles.

The first poem of the *jingi* section is attributed to the spirit of Amaterasu at the Grand Ise Shrine, where she is worshipped as the heavenly ancestor of the emperors. In the poem, Amaterasu speaks through the Ise Shrine Virgin (or Consecrated Princess Senshi as Cranston translates below) whom she has possessed, a position held by a female relative of the emperor whose duty is to reside at the shrine and serve as the ritual link between god and man. During the time of the poem below, the position of Shrine Virgin was held by Senshi, also known as Yoshiko, a granddaughter of Emperor Murakami, who served at Ise from 1018 to 1036:

⁶³ Ibid, 529.

⁶⁴ Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*, 169.

GSIS XX: 1160

(The Consecrated Princess Senshi)

When (Ōnakatomi no Sukechika) went to pay his respects at the Inner Shrine of Ise on Chōgen 4 (1031).6.17, it suddenly began to rain, the wind began to blow. The Consecrated (Princess) herself conveyed an oracle of the deity. She summoned Sukechika, the Master of the Rites, and pronounced on matters official. She also ordered several rounds of sacred sake and composed the following as she presented the earthenware cup (to Sukechika)

Sakazuki ni	In the sake cup
Sayakeki kage no	Can be seen a light serene,
Mienureba	So have no fear:
Chiri no osori wa	I would have you know no dust
Araji to o shire	Can ever cloud this shining ⁶⁵

Although the headnote is rather lengthy, it warrants further explanation. It seems that the oracle which Amaterasu delivered (‘pronounced on matters official’) to Sukechika accused the director of the shrine and his wife of conducting “impious, unauthorized private ceremonies.”⁶⁶ As a result, the two were charged with acts of sacrilege and exiled from the capital. The last line of this poem is meant to assure Sukechika that “divine sanctity will prevail.”⁶⁷

The *Goshūishū* is the first anthology to use the term “*jingi*,” and coincidentally, it is also the first to include a poem that addresses the theme of syncretism between *kami* worship and Buddhist beliefs. This confirms the important role of syncretism in the development of a *jingi* category. The following poem appears near the end of the *jingi* sequence immediately before the subsequent *shakkyō* section:

⁶⁵ Cranston, *The Gem-Glistening Cup*, 528.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 527.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

GSIS XX: 1177 Fujiwara no Tokifusa
Written and affixed to the sacred palings on a pilgrimage to Kibune:

Omou koto	Wishes are fulfilled
Naru kawakami ni	In these rushing waters of the god
Ato tarete	Whose divine descent
Kibune wa hito o	Provides mankind with a Lordly Boat
Watasu narikeri	To cross to a Further Shore. ⁶⁸

Both Shinto and Buddhist influences are evident in this poem. For example, the “rushing waters” of Kibune (also Kifune) signify the importance of ritual purification in Shinto. On the other hand, the “Lordly Boat” (also “Honorable Boat”) becomes what Cranston calls a “Vessel of the Dharma that carries souls to the Further Shore, a Buddhist metaphor for fortunate rebirth, or enlightenment.”⁶⁹ Furthermore, the multiple meanings of the third line refer to both the water which cascades down (“to drip”) and the Buddhist divinity that leaves its traces (“to leave behind”). The second interpretation also comes from the similarity of the characters for *ato tarete* (跡垂れて) and second half of *honji suijaku* (垂迹). By this understanding, the *kami* might be interpreted as the trace which the Buddha leaves behind.

GSIS XX: 1178 Fujiwara no Norinaga
Composed on (the topic of) the Kasuga Festival, for the Empress's Poem
Contest in the reign of Go-Reizei-in

Kyō matsu	Deity abides
Mikasa no yama no	In the Mount of Mikasa
Kami maseba	Where we pray today,
Ame no shita ni wa	And under heaven the blest reign
Kimi zo sakaen	Of our lord, protected, blooms ⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Ibid, 535.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 536.

This last poem of the *jingi* sequence introduces one of the most important social poetic engagements, the *utaawase* (歌合わせ) or poetry competition. The inclusion of this poem reflects the growing trend toward poetry composition as a social function, which reached its climax during the *Shinkokinshū* (1216) age of *waka*. During a contest, two teams would compete against each other to compose superior poetry on predetermined topics, and they would be judged by a panel of respected political and literary figures. The chosen poetry topics were often the same as those made popular by the imperial anthologies and, conversely, compilers mined these social meetings for new poems to be used in forthcoming anthologies. Thus, poetry contests and meetings served as a kind of breeding ground for poets to experiment with new variations on theme and style. It is most likely under these circumstances that the new category, *jingi*, was born.

The Truncated Fifth and Sixth Anthologies

In both the fifth and sixth anthologies—the *Kin'yōshū* (1127) and the *Shikashū* (1152)—the overall number of poems, as well as the number of books, were halved. Keene believes that this was a result of the recognition “that little new poetry of worth was being composed, reflecting the deteriorating fortunes of the court during the late Heian period.”⁷¹ Due to the limited space in these anthologies, only the themes with the strongest literary traditions were included; neither of them contains a book specifically designated for religious poetry. Instead, poems expressing more than one theme (such as pilgrimages and *daijōsai*) can be found in the themed book corresponding to their secular

⁷¹ Donald Keene, *Seeds in the Heart*, 314.

topic (Travel and Felicitations, respectively). The following identifies those secular poems that address themes we have come to identify as *jingi*.⁷²

The Kin'yōshū

Out of the ten books of the *Kin'yōshū*, at least half of them contain poems that make reference to *kami* shrines and ceremonial images. Of the seasonal books, only Winter contains poems that are similar to previous *jingika*. For example, the following *kagura* poem appears in the Winter book because it likely refers to the major biannual festival performed during the twelfth month:

KYS IV: 295 Composed on the topic of <i>kagura</i>	Minamoto no Morotoki ⁷³ (1077-1136)
Kamigaki no Mimuro ⁷⁴ no yama ni Shimo fureba Yufushide kakenu Sakakiba zo naki	Because the frost has settled Within the shrine grounds On Mimuro mountain, There are no evergreen branches Unadorned with white festoons

Perhaps in anticipation for the festivities, the poet gazes upon the *sakaki* branches, waiting to be harvested upon the mountain, and commits an ‘elegant confusion’⁷⁵ in which he imagines that the white frost that has collected on them is actually white mulberry bark cloth streamers which are used for ceremonial decoration.

The next poem of interest is listed in the Felicitations book (*ga no uta*, 賀の歌):

⁷² In a parallel study of the development of *shakkyōka* in the Heian *waka* anthologies, Miller notes that although the fifth and sixth anthologies also lack an individual book of Buddhist-influenced poems, there does exist a contiguous sequence at the end of the miscellaneous books. However, there does not appear to be a corresponding *jingika* sequence.

⁷³ Grand Master to the Empress.

⁷⁴ Meaning “three-roomed mountain,” a *makurakotoba* for Lake Biwa.

⁷⁵ Robert H. Brower and Earl Roy Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 164.

KYS V: 328 Fujiwara no Tametada (?-1136)
Composed on the topic of felicitation for a poetry meeting at the home of
Fujiwara no Saneyuki (1080-1162)

Midzugaki ⁷⁶ no	I wonder,
Hisashikaru beki	Is the <i>kami</i>
Kimi ga yo wo	Who illuminates the sky
Amateru kami ya	Aware of my lord's
Sora ni shiru ramu	Long and prosperous reign?

Felicitations are poems composed to commemorate the success of high-ranking officials, including those of the imperial family, and are then submitted to them as gifts on special occasions.⁷⁷ Poets of this genre attempt to flatter their intended audience and often relate their political success to the immortal and awesome power of the gods. The poem above attempts to draw the attention of the most politically powerful god, the imperial ancestor Amaterasu, meaning “Heaven Illuminating.”

The Miscellaneous books contains the rest of the possible *Jingika* book predecessors of the *Kin'yōshū*. The first appears in the Travel book and has similarities to the pilgrimage poems discussed from previous anthologies that transmit native mythology:

KYS IX: 582 Fujiwara no Sanemitsu (1069-1147)
Composed from a conversation about the legend of the Kasuga Shrine deer with a
relative who had traveled there

Mikasa yama	Oh the joy upon hearing
Kami no shirushi no	The miraculous deer
Ichijiruku	Are still there on the mountain,
Shika ari keru to	A clear vestige of
Kiku zo ureshiki	The Mikasa gods

⁷⁶ *Midzugaki* is a *makurakotoba* for *hisashiku*, meaning long.

⁷⁷ Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, 194.

Kasuga Shrine lies at the foot of Mt. Mikasa in Nara where the gods of that mountain are worshipped. Legend says that long ago, Takenomikazuchi-no-mikoto appeared on the mountain, riding on the back of a deer from Shikashima (“Deer Island”). The god then set the animal free but it made the mountain its home and became his messenger. Therefore, the deer on Mikasa Mountain, as offspring of that original deer, represent traces of the mythical past left behind as proof of the gods’ existence (*shirushi*).

KYS X: 625

Priest Nōin (988-?)

Having accompanied Taira no Norikuni to the Iyo Region, Nōin learned that the people there could not plant rice paddies since there had been no substantial rainfall from the New Year to the third or fourth month and a commotion started to arise. Their prayers for rain had not been answered until Nōin appealed to the deity of the leading shrine with this poem

Ama no gawa	If there is a god
Nawashiro mizu ni	Who waters rice beds
Seki kudase	With the Milky Way
Ama kudarimasu	Please – stop it up and let it rain
Kami naraba kami ⁷⁸	Down upon the earth ⁷⁹

From Nōin’s personal collection we can see that the gods were moved and a large rain fell for three days and three nights without stopping.

Finally, this last poem is “one of the most frequently cited rainmaking poem-stories in Heian and medieval literature.”⁸⁰ Nōin’s poem calls attention to the *kami*’s traditional ritual role in weather and agriculture. Also, his description of the gods’ techniques of farming and irrigation portray them as anthropological beings similar to

⁷⁸ *Kami naraba kami* also appears in SZS poem # 1273.

⁷⁹ Alternatively, Kimbrough also translates this poem as follows:

If indeed you are a god
 come down from heaven-
 a god who gives us rain-
 then dam up Heaven’s River
 to water our rice-seedling beds! (“Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry,” 17)

⁸⁰ R. Keller Kimbrough, “Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32, no. 1 (2005): 17.

their portrayal in the creation myths, *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*. The compiler informs the reader of the success of Nōin’s prayer through the use of the attached epilogue. Therefore, it validates the gods’ existence through the proof of answered prayers.

The *Shikashū*

The format of the sixth anthology is nearly identical to that of the fifth, and as such, the location of possible *jingi* poems is the very similar. *Kagura* poems once again appear in the seasonal books, and poems dedicated to lords appear in Felicitations. Miscellaneous is the only book to exhibit new variations in its use of familiar *jingika* themes.

The first poem of interest from the *Shikashū* is a type of pilgrimage poem that celebrates an achievement in poetry composition and competition. The purpose of the poet’s trip to Sumiyoshi Shrine is both to commemorate the victory and to thank the tutelary god of poetry who is enshrined there:

SKS IX: 329 Fujiwara no Sukenari (988-1070)
After the poetry contest in 1035 at the house of Fujiwara no Yorimichi (992-1074), composed upon traveling with the young men of the winning side to Sumiyoshi

Sumiyoshi no	More than the
Nami ni hitareru	Pines soaked in
Matsu yori mo	Sumiyoshi’s waves —
Kami no shirushi zo	The power of the <i>kami</i>
Araware ⁸¹ ni keru	Washes over you

⁸¹ *Araware* represents homophones for “to wash” 洗はれ as well as “to expose” 遭われ related to the waves in the second line.

Like those of the *Goshūishū*, this poem is once again concerned with the proof of the gods (*shirushi*), which the poet can sense in the beauty of the natural surroundings, particularly in the strength of the waves and the pines revered for their longevity.

Finally, the following two poems appear immediately before a short *shakkyō* sequence at the end of this Miscellaneous book, and as such, present syncretic themes. They are both set at Inari Fushimi Shrine, one of the twenty-two guardian shrines and also a tutelary shrine of To-ji (a Shingon Buddhist temple). Although the first poem seems like a straight forward prayer, the two poems in combination reveal the syncretic nature of this deity worshiped there:

SKS X: 408 ⁸²	Author Unknown
Written and attached to one of the many shrine archways at Inari	
Kakute nomi Yo ni ariake ⁸³ no Tsuki naraba Kumo kakushite yo Ama kudaruru kami	If my dreams are obscured from my sight Like the faint image of the Moon at dawn – So cover me in clouds Oh god who descends from the heavens

SKS X: 409	Author Unknown
While a man who had been swindled out of his share of inheritance secluded himself at Inari Shrine to pray for retribution, a Buddhist monk had a dream in which he heard a voice speaking this poem from within the shrine hall	

Nagaki yo no Kurushiki koto wo Omoekashi Nani nageku ramu Kari no yadori ni	Reconsider that which You grieve this long night. What have you lost? This life is but A temporary dwelling
---	---

⁸² The *SNKBT* denotes this poem as a *jingika* in the annotated footnotes (Kawamura Teruo, Kashiwagi Yoshio and Kudō Shigenori, eds., *Kin'yō wakashū and Shika wakashū*, *SNKBT* 9, 348).

⁸³ The *ariake* works as a part of the previous “in the world” (*yo ni ari*) as well as “dawn moon” (*ariake no tsuki*).

Although there is no explicit indication that these two poems are a pair, the compiler has placed them together, suggesting that the second is a reply to the first. The vocabulary and philosophy used in the second poem indicate its Buddhist influence. For example, the “*nagaki yo*” of the first line references the Buddhist term *mumyō jyōya* (無明長夜), meaning “long night of spiritual darkness,” the ignorance that people live in before attaining enlightenment. Also, the “*kari no yadori*” (仮の宿) of the final line, meaning “temporary dwelling” or “traveler’s inn,” reminds the grieving man of the Buddhist tenet that everything in this life is fleeting; just as his stay at the shrine will come to an end so will his time on this earth.⁸⁴

Although the man of the second poem stays at Inari to petition the (ostensibly *kami*) gods, he receives the advice of what sounds like a Buddha. Because the voice came from within the shrine, we may understand that the *kami* practices Buddhism or is at least familiar with its teachings. Furthermore, through the application of the *honji suijaku* theory, we may interpret that this *kami* is a manifestation of a Buddha. Although the last two anthologies did not contain a separate book for poems of the *jingi* category and reintegrated them into the secular books, the *Senzaishū* would once again reunite them.

The First Appearance of an Independent Jingika Book in Senzaishū

The *Senzaishū* was compiled in the court during a time of internal power struggles and instability. It straddles the classical and medieval periods which saw a shift from an emperor centered government to a military based rule. Because their imperial rule was being challenged, the emperors turned to their birth right as descendants of the Sun

⁸⁴ See LaFleur, “Inns and Hermitages” in *The Karma of Words*, 69-76.

Goddess, Amaterasu, as a way to reassert their pertinence as leaders. Therefore, the new emphasis on *jingi* poetry in the imperial anthologies, illustrated by the emergence of an independent *Jingika* book, was influenced by a political agenda to show the realms of heaven and earth united in service to the emperor.

For the years leading up to the reign of Emperor Goshirakawa (r. 1155-58), the powerful Minamoto and Taira clans had served as the military arm of the government.⁸⁵ However, shortly after Goshirakawa became emperor, his older brother, Sutoku, began a dispute over the matter of successors. Unhappy with the events at court, Sutoku rallied support and led a rebellion called the Hōgen Disturbance (1156). In order to defend his position from Sutoku, Goshirakawa sought the military backing of the Taira and Minamoto families and, shortly after, Sutoku was banished to Sanuki Province of Shikoku where he eventually died.⁸⁶ However, peace did not last, for shortly after Goshirakawa abdicated in favor of his son Nijō and resumed power as cloistered emperor, more civil unrest erupted, known as the Heiji Disturbance (1159), and once again, the Taira and Minamoto clans were involved.⁸⁷ With tensions rising, it was only a matter of time before an all-out civil war broke out, known as the Genpei War (1180-85). Eventually, the Minamoto emerged victorious over the Taira and, having shown their military prowess, forcefully assumed administrative control of the country thereby demoting the emperor's position to that of a figurehead.

Despite all of these politically turbulent events, the *Senzaishū* was still commissioned and completed, perhaps for the same reason that Huey attributes to the compilation of the eighth anthology (*Shinkokinshū*) —a neo-classical “nostalgia for

⁸⁵ Shively and McCullough, *Cambridge History of Japan*, 618.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 619.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 694.

greatness presumed to have been lost in the Genpei War.”⁸⁸ Since the age of the *Kokinshū*, the imperial anthologies had represented the culturally and politically secure reign of the current emperor, and it was hoped that the compilation of a new volume would encourage a return to the order and peace that had blessed the country for centuries before chaos struck. In fact, Goshirakawa’s son, Emperor Nijō, had commissioned an imperial anthology, but it was unrealized due to his untimely death and came to be known only as the private collection *Shoku Shikashū* (1165).⁸⁹ As a cloistered emperor, Goshirakawa ordered the compilation of the *Senzaishū* in 1183 hoping to accomplish what his son had left undone.

Goshirakawa had not been a great patron of *waka*. Instead, he was personally interested in *imayō*, or popular folk songs, as is illustrated by the dedication he displayed to his personal project, *Ryōjin Hishō* (c. 1179).⁹⁰ Thus, Yung-Hee Kim posits that Goshirakawa commissioned a *waka* anthology for several political reasons. The first was to pacify the angry spirit of his brother Sutoku, since it was feared that Sutoku’s revenge-seeking spirit had caused the horrible warfare and ensuing famine affecting the capital. The second was to quell the aggressions of the Taira clan by representing their poets in an imperial anthology and appointing Fujiwara no Shunzei, a teacher of many Taira poets, as compiler. The last reason was to use the release of a poetry anthology to raise morale among a frightened aristocracy, while proving the cultural power of the emperor, although he had been stripped of his military and governing duties.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Robert N. Huey, *The Making of the Shinkokinshū* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2002), 1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Translated by Yung-Hee Kwon Kim, *Songs to Make the Dust Dance: The Ryōjin Hishō of Twelfth-Century Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

The *Senzaishū* represents a return to the traditional twenty-book structure that had been changed by the compilers of the fifth and sixth anthologies. However, the compiler, Fujiwara no Shunzei took the two religious-themed sequences from the Miscellaneous book of the *Goshūishū* and expanded upon each, creating two new independent books dedicated specifically to those themes. In this new arrangement, *Shakkyōka* became the nineteenth book and *Jingika* became the twentieth and concluding book. Although these two books occasionally change places, they generally appear in this order throughout the remaining fourteen imperial *waka* anthologies.

The arrangement of poems concerning the gods was a not a matter taken lightly. For example, this excerpt from the diary of Shunzei's son, Fujiwara no Teika, describes the anxiety the compilers felt with regards to the compilation of the *Jingika* book of the eighth imperial *waka* anthology:

We started work on the Shinto [*jingi*] poems... There were a large number of poems attributed to gods, and it was very difficult to decide in what order these poems should be arranged. True, we had our instructions, but I felt we needed to look back through the ancient collections for examples to follow. Secretly I thought to myself that if we were simply to line up the god poems in order of the names of the gods themselves it could be a big mistake. So I kept out of it.⁹²

Although divine poetry existed in previous anthologies, the *Senzaishū* was the first to create a comprehensive arrangement and therefore set the precedent (that Teika was looking for) for later anthologies. Insulting the gods could curse the entire anthology, yet a successful arrangement could win their favor and ensure the continued prosperity of the *waka* tradition.

⁹² Huey, *The Making of the Shinkokinshū*, 301.

In conclusion, *jingi* poems usually contain multiple themes, and thus have appeared in many different books within the imperial anthologies. Although they were never compiled under the same name twice, *Jingika* book predecessors shared common vocabulary and themes by which they can be identified. They represent the social and ritual uses of poetry that were significant as a religious practice and as well as a governing tool. Previous anthologies had organized them according to occasion (such as *kagura*, pilgrimages, or *daijōsai*) but the *Jingika* book of the *Senzaishū* introduced a new method of association and progression which earned it an elite spot in the twenty book anthology format of the medieval imperial *waka* anthologies.

CHAPTER III

JINGIKA OF THE SENZAISHŪ: AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

Each book in an imperial Japanese *waka* anthology is compiled in a way most complimentary to its topic. For example, the seasonal poems are ordered chronologically so as to reflect the reliable and predictable cycles of growth, decline, dormancy and rebirth. As such, the Spring book begins with the first day of the first month and every subsequent poem continues until the Winter book ends with the last day of the year. Although every imperial anthology implements such arrangements, the *Senzaishū* was among the first to extend this order to the entire anthology, a trend towards story-telling. As a result, the arrangement of the *Senzaishū* creates a single arching plotline through the connection of many individual episodic poems which “may be read from beginning to end as a single long structure divided into books.”⁹³

As we saw in the previous chapter, the arrangement of *Jingika* book predecessors was inconstant, focusing on the common features of some only to exclude others. As a result, poems concerning the relationship between man and god (such as *daijōsai* and pilgrimage poems) appeared in secular books more than once (Felicitations and Travel, respectively). However, the advanced techniques of progression and association between adjacent poems that Shunzei implemented for the compilation of the *Senzaishū* also enabled the creation of a new *Jingika* book with a unique sequencing scheme. Through this new arrangement, Shunzei was able to incorporate all of the themes and topics of past *jingi* poetry into a single fluid sequence.

⁹³ Jin'ichi Konishi, “Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, A.D. 900-1350,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 21, (Dec., 1958): 68.

As the sole compiler of the anthology, Shunzei's own taste and experiences are reflected in his selection of poems for the *Senzaishū*. Additionally, due to the violent outbreaks afflicting the capital after he was commissioned, the range of contemporary poetry available to him was limited. For example, in the past, poetry competitions had been held at the palace to serve as a source of poems for previous imperial collections. However, social poetic activity at the court had been discontinued and therefore, Shunzei had to rely largely on the poems that were already in his possession, mostly from his personal collections.⁹⁴ Arguably the most influential poet of his time, Shunzei was invited as judge and participant to many social and religious outings and some sequences in the *Jingika* book feature strings of poems from such events (e.g., the Sumiyoshi Shrine Contest poems 1262 to 1265).

The *Jingika* book can be read in two major groups, twenty-five shrine poems, in which the overlying scheme is location, followed by eight *daijōsai* poems. The first five poems of the *Senzaishū*'s *Jingika* book (1256-1260) establish a basic definition of the term "jingika" by illustrating the major functions of poetry in service to the *kami* religion. Like its predecessors in the previous six anthologies, these *jingi* poems demonstrate that poets can, through the medium of *waka*, communicate with the native Japanese gods, ruminate upon the doctrine and myths surrounding them, and express loyalty to their earthy descendants, the emperor's imperial line. The headnotes accompanying these poems describe the various occasions for which these poems were composed, such as imperial ceremonies, shrine rituals, spiritual reflection and religious pilgrimage. The rest of the book follows by example, expanding upon the themes and locations outlined in the first five poems.

⁹⁴ Keene, *Seeds in the Heart*, 321.

Miller has likened the sequence of the *Shakkyōka* book of the *Senzaishū* to a Buddhist practitioner's journey to enlightenment.⁹⁵ Similarly, the *Jingika* book seems to narrate a metaphysical journey to the major shrines at the opening of medieval Japan. However, out of the innumerable shrines that existed at the time, the *Jingika* book only represents a small number, corresponding to those that served as protectors of the state (see chapter one of this thesis). This suggests that the arrangement of the *Jingika* book is in sync with the formation of a state regulated *kami* religion.

Although most of the categories have been discussed in the previous chapter, one group should be noted as particularly original. The penultimate group of *jingi* (1275-1280) expresses the relationship between native gods and Buddhist deities through the metaphors of sun and moon, respectively. The *kami* religion is traditionally associated with the sun because Amaterasu, the imperial ancestor, is also known as the goddess of the sun, while Buddhism is associated with the moon in art and literature which often liken the phases of the moon to the stages of enlightenment. This correspondence resembles the *onmyōdō* philosophy of Yin and Yang which is not explored below but warrants further study.

Opening Sequence (1256-1260)

The first poem of the *Jingika* book dates to the era between the compilation of the second and third anthologies. Perhaps because there had not been a section devoted to *kami*-themed poems since the *Goshūishū* one hundred years earlier, Shunzei began with an older poem in order to create a link between those predecessors and the present anthology. As the first poem in a sequence, it introduces overarching themes of the entire

⁹⁵ Miller, "Shakkyō-ka," 30.

book; i.e., the search for a path, the mark of some existence, or a trace of something left behind. For example, the first poet seeks the footprints of a man who has passed on from this world:

SZS XX: 1256 Jōtōmon In (988-1074)
On the occasion of Emperor Goichijō's first imperial visit to Kasuga Shrine in 1021, thinking of the precedent set by the late Emperor Ichijō

Mikasa yama	Following Mount Mikasa
Sashite kinikeri	We have arrived
Isonokami ⁹⁶	Retracing the path
Furuki miyuki no	Of that past journey
Ato wo tazunete	Over the rocks

The events in the poem above correspond to a story recorded in *Ōkagami* (1025?), a historical tale which recounts the events of the Fujiwara clan at the height of their power which they gained by dominating the maternal relationship to the throne. It seems that Emperor Goichijō (r. 1016-1036) was required to make an imperial visit to Kasuga Shrine to pray to the tutelary *kami* of the Fujiwara clan, a precedent inaugurated by his father, Emperor Ichijō (r. 986-1011). However, because of his youth, he had to be accompanied by his mother, Jōtōmon In (also Fujiwara no Shōshi),⁹⁷ on the several days journey to the old capital in Nara where the shrine lies at the base of Mt. Mikasa.⁹⁸ The

⁹⁶ *Isonokami* is the word that appears in the *SNKBT* version which describes the phrase simply as a *makurakotoba* or pillow word for “old.” However, it is also possible that this line also refers to the Isonokami Shrine that was part of the middle group of twenty-two guardian shrines discussed in chapter one of this thesis. Isonokami Shrine was located near Kasuga, the destination of the above poem, and had as its protector, Mt. Furu, the name of which coincidentally appears in the fourth line as part of the word “old” (Sonoda Minoru “Shinto and the natural environment” in Breen and Teeuwen, *Shinto in History*, 43). Alternatively, the Virginia online text offers the alternative *ishi no ue*, the meaning of which I have chosen for my translation.

⁹⁷ A daughter of the influential Michinaga. Also known as Empress Akiko and Nyoin. Two of her ladies-in-waiting were Murasaki Shikibu (978?-1015?) and Izumi Shikibu (970?-1030), both prolific writers who were famous within the court.

⁹⁸ Helen Craig McCullough, Tamenari Fujiwara and Yoshinobu Fujiwara, *Okagami, the Great Mirror: Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027) and His Times: a Study and Translation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 191.

story was probably well known by Shunzei's contemporaries and therefore, he chose this poem, which highlights the narrative, social and political uses of *jingika*, to open the new book. It also emphasizes the importance of tradition and precedent, for which the characters go to great length to preserve.

SZS XX: 1257 Fujiwara no Tsunesuke (1006-1081)
 Composed on a joyous pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi Shrine after a victory of the Left
 at Fujiwara no Yorimichi's poetry contest in 1035

Sumiyoshi no	Surely by the blessings
Nami mo kokoro wo	Of Sumiyoshi
Yosekereba	We have bested the Right
Mube ⁹⁹ zo migiwa ni	Like waves
Tachimasarikeru	On the shore

This second poem in the *Jingika* book expresses gratitude to Sumiyoshi, the patron god of *waka*, and implies that one can succeed in poetry through the good favor of the gods. The poet, Tsunesuke, had participated in a poetry competition as a member of the Left Side which was victorious over the Right Side. In celebration, Tsunesuke composed this poem which showcases his talent for wordplay. For example, he uses the word *migiwa*, or “shore,” in the fourth line which can also be understood as its homophone, “Right Side.” Thus, using metaphors that revolve around water imagery—such as *nami* for “wave,” *migiwa* for “shore,” and *tachi* for “rising”—Tsunesuke attributes the victory of the Left to the *kami* of Sumiyoshi whose waves also rise on the right (shore).

⁹⁹ *SNKBT* describes *mube* as an affirming adverb which I have interpreted as a sense of certainty in my translation (Katano and Matsuno, eds., *Senzai wakashū*, *SNKBT 10*, 381). The Virginia online text uses the variation *ube* but does not suggest any change in meaning. This could just be a sound change or variation.

SZS XX: 1258

Fujiwara no Kinnori (1103-1160)

Composed while accompanying Retired Emperor Shirakawa on a trip to Kumano at the Shioya Shrine while others were composing poems at that place¹⁰⁰

Omofu koto
Kumite kanafuru
Kami nareba
Shioya ni ato wo
Tarurunarikeri

Since it is a *kami* who
Gathers what's in your heart
And grants wishes,
I realize it has left its trace
At the salt house station

The men of this poem were also traveling to visit a shrine. Shioya station (*shioya no ōji*, 塩屋の王子) is one of ninety-nine subsidiary shrines along the Kumano road to which travelers make offerings such as Buddhist sutras or, as the above illustrates, poems. The shrines vary greatly in size from small markers at the base of a tree to large structures housing multiple priests and monks. Some are dedicated to aspects of everyday life, especially those that appeal to travelers. For example, Nakayama Ōji is devoted to the alleviation of foot ailments and is associated with the straw sandals that pilgrims wear.

The setting of Kinnori's poem, Shioya, is a station dedicated to the boiling of sea water to produce salt, as the name "salt house" suggests. Salt served many purposes for the people of pre-modern Japan; importantly, it was a purification agent for *kami* rituals. In this poem, Kinnori uses words related to water—such as *kumi* ("to ladle"), *shio* ("salt") and *taruru* ("to drip")—to create a metaphor between the water which is collected and the prayers that accumulate at that place. Also, the phrase which refers to the production of salt (跡を垂るる) is similar to the term *suijaku* (垂迹) meaning 'manifestation.'

Therefore, in this poem, *suijaku* refers to both Shioya as a *kami* representation of some

¹⁰⁰ Another poem written on the same occasion by Fujiwara no Saneyoshi appears in the *Jingika* book of the *Shinkokinshū* (Book XX: # 1909). See Stuart D. B. Picken, *Sourcebook in Shinto: Selected Documents* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), 8-9.

unspecified Buddha (in its reference to *honji suijaku*) and the salt that is produced there as a product ‘left behind’ in the process of boiling brine.

SZS XX: 1259 Retired Emperor Sutoku (1119-1164)
Composed as a *jingika* for a hundred-poem sequence¹⁰¹

Michi no be no	In the dust by the side of the Path
Chiri ni hikari wo	They soften their radiance
Yaharagete	And I suddenly realize –
Kami mo hotoke no	<i>Kami</i> also go by the name
Nanorunarikeri ¹⁰²	Merciful Buddha

Retired Emperor Sutoku was a prominent figure in Shunzei’s early career and training. Serving as his tutor and patron, Sutoku helped Shunzei attain a low station in the court from which he was able to reach new heights in his career.¹⁰³ Despite Sutoku’s political opposition to the imperial commissioner of the anthology, his brother, Retired Emperor Goshirakawa, twenty-three of his poems appear in the *Senzaishū*, making him the fourth largest contributor to the collection. It is likely that Goshirakawa allowed or even encouraged the inclusion of Sutoku’s poems because he hoped that this honor might placate Sutoku who had died in exile several years earlier.¹⁰⁴ In fact, the year after he commissioned the *Senzaishū*, Goshirakawa also erected a shrine in Sutoku’s name for that very purpose.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ This hundred-poem sequence is possibly the *Kyuan hyakushū*, also called *Sutoku-in hyakushū*, which would place the approximate date of the poem between 1143, when it was commissioned, and 1152, when it was formally presented. It seems likely that Sutoku ordered the *Kyuan hyakushū* for the purpose of cultivating *waka* for the *Shikashū*, but it was not completed in time. Instead, Shunzei incorporated many of them into the *Senzaishū*.

¹⁰² *Kakekotoba* in “*kami mo hotoke (mo) nanoru*” and “*hotoke no na.*”

¹⁰³ Clifton Wilson Royston, “The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204)” (PhD diss., Ann Arbor, MI, 1974), 116.

¹⁰⁴ Keene, *Seeds in the Heart*, 321.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 320.

Sutoku's poem above is the first self-aware *jingika*¹⁰⁶ in the imperial anthologies, meaning that the reader understands its topic not just by its placement in a book of that name, but by the inclusion of the word “*jingika*” in its headnote. One-hundred poem sequences were common linguistic exercises by which poets (sometimes alone and sometimes collaboratively) practiced composing and arranging poems on well-established topics (usually those of the imperial anthologies). The categorization of this poem is significant because it reveals the intention of the original poet as opposed to a label appointed by a later compiler.

As such, the themes expressed in Sutoku's poem can be understood as key elements of the definition of *jingika*, i.e., syncretic themes which apply Buddhist doctrine to native *kami* worship. The line “soften their radiance,”¹⁰⁷ refers to the phrase *wakōdōjin* (和光同塵) by which those who have achieved enlightenment hide their divine light (knowledge of the Way) in order to manifest themselves as *kami* and lead others to the Path of enlightenment through expedient means. In conjunction with the previous poem, Sutoku's verse seems to transform Kumano road into the road of enlightenment upon which Shioya is a place “by the side of the Path” where Buddhas appear as *kami*.

SZS XX: 1260 Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104-1177)
(Composed as a *jingika* for a hundred-poem sequence)

Ame no shita	Perhaps because it is the umbrella
Nodokekare to ya	For the reign of our Lord,
Sakakiba wo	The custom of grafting evergreens
Mikasa no yama ni	In the name of peace began
Sashihajimekemu	On Mikasa Mountain

¹⁰⁶ Or otherwise read as *jingi no uta*. It has also been suggested as *shingi no uta*.

¹⁰⁷ This phrase was especially made popular by the late thirteenth century work by Mujū Ichien translated as *Sand and Pebbles* (*Shasekishū*).

This next poem does not have its own headnote and so, by convention, the headnote of the previous poem is implied. Although they were written for the same purpose, this verse is quite different from the one preceding it. In fact, Kiyosuke's verse is reminiscent of the prayer poems that were the staple of the *kami*-themed sequences in the first six anthologies. Furthermore, the reference poem that the *SNKBT* provides is from the *Goshūishū* (1178) written on the topic of the Kasuga Festival which attributes the successful reign of the emperor to the blessing of heaven and the protection of Mt. Mikasa since the age of the gods (see chapter two of this thesis). Kiyosuke's wordplay depends on the double meaning of two phrases: *ame no shita* which means "all under heaven" and "under rain;" and *mikasa* which is the name of the mountain as well as a homophone for "great umbrella." Likewise, I have attempted to reflect these meanings in my own translation through the word "reign" by which I also imply "rain."

Sumiyoshi Shrine (#1261-1265)

The five poems that make up the next sequence were all taken from the Sumiyoshi poetry contest of 1170 (*Sumiyoshi no yashiro no utaawase*) in which Shunzei participated as both poet and judge. The contest was organized by Fujiwara no Atsuyori, who was later known by the Buddhist name Dōin. Upon its completion, the contest was recorded and donated to the god of Sumiyoshi Shrine. Most likely, this contest was not an actual gathering or event, but rather a process through which poets submitted their poems to be paired with others (representing left and right), judged from a distant location, such as the capital, and presented as an offering to the shrine at a later date.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Royston, "Fujiwara Shunzei," 184.

The poems submitted for this contest were composed on the following three set topics: “Moon at the Shrine” (*shatō no tsuki*), “Autumn Drizzle at a Traveler's Shelter” (*ryoshuku no shigure*), and “Laments of Personal Grievances” (*jukkai*).¹⁰⁹ While poems from the first and last categories appear in the *Jingika* book, an example from the second category can only be found in the Travel book.¹¹⁰ Therefore it does not follow that the mere act of dedicating a poem to a shrine guarantees its identification as *jingi* in an imperial anthology.

SZS XX: 1261	Fujiwara no Takasue ¹¹¹ (1127-1185)
Composed at the time of (his father)	Ienari's pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi
Kamiyo yori	Standing since the age of the gods
Tsumori no ura ¹¹² ni	The shrine at
Miyaishite	Tsumori Inlet –
Henuran toshi no	We can't know the extent of
Kagiri shirazu mo	The years that have probably passed

Takasue's poem continues the theme of the *kami*'s role as protectors of the state through the Sumiyoshi gods' relationship to the sea. That is, according to the mythical history *Nihon shoki* (720), the three *kami* now enshrined at Sumiyoshi are the ones that protected Empress Jingū (also Himiko) when she sailed to Korea (the conquest of Silla). Takasue marvels at the age of the shrine which had been built at Tsumori Inlet upon her return.¹¹³ Takasue also uses wordplay related to time with the phrases *tsumori* and *henuran toshi* which together can mean “the passing of years.”

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 186.

¹¹⁰ SZS Book VIII: # 525.

¹¹¹ Not to be confused with Sugawara no Takasue, the father of the author of *Sarashina Nikki* (1009-?).

¹¹² Perhaps Tsumori no ura is related to Sumi no e, an alternate reading for Sumiyoshi. Both are related to bodies of water.

¹¹³ Picken, *Essentials of Shinto*, 99.

The author of this next poem was a nephew of Shunzei whom he spoke of with considerable praise. In fact, a mythical tale circulated that the *kami* of Sumiyoshi once saved Sanesada's sea boat from a storm because the gods were aware of his relationship to Shunzei.¹¹⁴ It seems that the gods were in his favor again in this poem.

SZS XX: 1262 Fujiwara no Sanesada (1139-1191)
A lament poem composed for a poetry contest held at Sumiyoshi Shrine in 1170
on the topic of the Chief Councilor of State's resignation five years earlier

Kazofureba	Upon counting
Yatose ¹¹⁵ henikeri	I realize many years have gone by
Ahare wa ga	And yet I feel as if
Shidzumishi koto ha	I sunk out of favor
Kinofu to omofu ni	Only yesterday

After that it seems the *kami* were moved and appeared in his dream. (Seven years later) he became Chief Councilor of State once again.

This poem is also concerned with the passing of time. Sanesada's poem is the first example of *jukkai*, or personal grievances, in the *Jingika* book. *Jukkai* express grief "about the speaker's low estate or failure to advance in the world."¹¹⁶ Although there is nothing particularly religious about the topic of *jukkai*, it can be related to a type of prayer if the gods respond to it. For example, according to the attached epilogue, Sanesada successfully moved the gods to feel empathy who then helped him to advance in the court. Therefore, this poem is an affirmation of the function of *waka* as a means of communication between man and god.

¹¹⁴ Royston, "Fujiwara Shunzei," 185.

¹¹⁵ The *SNKBT* notes the variation *mitose*, but this reading does not change the meaning of the phrase. However, *yatose* adds a nuance of antiquity and power because eight, or *ya*, is considered a magical number (Katano and Matsuno, eds., *Senzai wakashū*, *SNKBT 10*, 383).

¹¹⁶ Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, 161.

SZS XX: 1263
(At the same contest)

Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204)

Itadzura ni
Furinuru mi wo mo
Sumiyoshi no
Matsu ha saritomo
Ahare shiruran

I wonder –
Do Sumiyoshi's pines
Feel some sympathy
For this body
Aged over wasted years?

Shunzei's poem also muses on the passing of time, reflecting the melancholy tone of the previous *jukkai*. Instead of grieving his low status in life, it seems that in this poem Shunzei is lamenting the decline of his physical body. However, unlike the previous poem, youth is not something that the gods can restore to Shunzei. Instead, he asks the pine trees to share in his sorrow. The pathos (*ahare*)¹¹⁷ which he mentions is another important word used to describe the poetry of this period. Brower and Miner define it as “moving the sensibilities or evoking the proper response in a sensitive person.”¹¹⁸

SZS XX: 1264
Composed at the same contest on the topic of the moon over the shrine

Fujiwara no Sanesada (1139-1191)

Furinikeru
Matsu mono ihaba
Tohitemashi
Mukashi mo kakuya
Sumi no e no tsuki

If ancient pines
Could speak
I would ask them –
Was it as brilliant back then?
The moon over Sumi Bay

SZS XX: 1265
(Composed at the same contest on the topic of the moon over the shrine)

Monk Shun'e (1113-?)

Sumiyoshi no
Matsu no yukiai no
Hima yori mo
Tsuki saenureba
Shimo ha okikeri

Between the overlapping needles
Of the Sumiyoshi pines
The moonlight is clear and icy –
Therefore, it becomes
Frost on the ground

¹¹⁷ Also *aware*.

¹¹⁸ Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, 255.

These two poems continue the sequence illustrating Sumiyoshi’s longevity but turn from melancholy to praise, expressing wonder at the natural beauty of the moon over the shrine grounds. The first half of Sumiyoshi’s name is also a homophone for “to become clear” (*sumi*, 澄み) which speaks to the images of the poems. Like Shunzei’s poem, the first imagines anthropological pines, thinking of the stories they could tell if only they could speak. The poet of the second verse is also looking at the moon through the pine trees, but instead implements ‘elegant confusion’ by mistaking moonlight for frost.

Transitional Sequence (#1266-1269)

The first poem of the next sequence is also based off of a poetry contest, one dedicated to Hirota Shrine in Nishinomiya, west of Ōsaka. It follows the Sumiyoshi poems because the Hirota contest was based upon the successful Sumiyoshi contest, arranged after a monk received a revelatory dream in which the god of Hirota Shrine was envious of the occasion dedicated to Sumiyoshi. Following the Sumiyoshi example, the Hirota contest was also judged on three topics; “Snow at the Shrine Entryway” (*shatō no yuki*), “Views of the Sea” (*kaijō no chōbō*), and *jukkai*.¹¹⁹ At least one poem from the second category appears in a miscellaneous book in the *Senzaishū*.¹²⁰

SZS XX: 1266 Fujiwara no Sanekuni¹²¹ (1140-1183)
At a poetry competition at Hirota, on the topic of snow at the shrine

<p>Oshinabete Yuki no shira yufu Kaketekeri Idzure sakaki no Kozuenaruramu</p>	<p>Everything is adorned With mulberry paper strips As white as snow – I wonder, which is atop The evergreen branches?</p>
--	--

¹¹⁹ Royston, “Fujiwara Shunzei,” 187.

¹²⁰ SZS Book XVI: # 1046.

¹²¹ Chief Councilor of State.

Sanekuni's poem represents a return to the type of glorification poems that praise an object for use in a ritual ceremony such as the *kagura* poems of previous anthologies. During the Heian period, mulberry bark was made into paper and cloth which had many applications, including the ceremonial paper strips attached to the *torimono* used in *kagura* dance. Paper "as white as snow" references the ritual purity of the color white in the *kami* beliefs. Therefore, this poet also commits an act of 'elegant confusion' by mistaking the snow which had gathered in patches upon *sakaki* branches (and falls upon everything all under heaven)¹²² for streamers of paper.

SZS XX: 1267 Inspector Sukekata (1113-1188)
 Written during Emperor Goshirakawa's secret imperial visit to Arima springs upon discovering that the god of the water was also called Miwa Daimyōjin

Mezurashiku	If it is the Miwa <i>kami</i>
Miyuki wo miwa no	That witnessed this
Kami naraba ¹²³	Unusual imperial visit,
Shirushi arima no	The manifestation
Ideyu narubeshi	Must be Arima's miraculous spring

There are several locations associated with the Miwa deity. The first is Miwa Mountain in Nara, considered to be a *kami* itself, at the base of which the earliest Yamato kings are believed to be buried. However, when the capital was moved, the courtiers wished to take the *kami* of the mountain with them, and so, multiple shrines were erected for a single god. In the poem above, Sukekata is delighted to discover the presence of a familiar god when he arrives in Arima, which lies north of Kobe and Ōsaka. His poem

¹²² *Oshinabete* is a phrase found in the first poem of the *Man'yōshū* and has a sense of the gods ruling over and protecting the land "all under heaven." "...yamato no kuni wa oshinabete ware koso ore..." = "Over this land of Yamato Broad under heaven, And I am a chief known to all." Earl Roy Miner, *An Introduction to Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968), 38. It also has a sense of universalism and imperial imaginaries.

¹²³ *Nareru* used in this sense of a *kami* appearing is included in the *Kojiki* story of Amaterasu springing forth from Izanagi's left eye. Yasuo Kitahara, *Zenyaku Kogo Reikai Jiten* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1987), 826.

attributes the healing powers of the water to the blessing of the Miwa god, which once again returns to the reoccurring theme of a manifestation or proof of the gods' existence.

The connection between this poem and the last perhaps lies in the ritual importance of purity. That is, Sanekuni's poem features streamers of pure white snow and Sukekata's features the purifying powers of the Arima springs. Arima is one of the oldest hot springs in Japan; it has allegedly existed since the age of the gods, and was frequented by emperors for its medicinal powers. The *SNKBT* suggests that Goshirakawa and his companions made the journey to Arima hoping that the cleansing power of the hot springs would revive the court which was failing during the years immediately preceding the Genpei War (see chapter two of this thesis). Additionally, they may have wanted to approach the Great God of Miwa, who specializes in epidemics, for assistance with the plagues and famine that were plaguing the capital.¹²⁴ The Arima Spa also has a long Buddhist history, as the nearby temple was founded by Monk Gyōki in the mid-eighth century where he enshrined Yakushi Nyorai, the Buddha of medicine.¹²⁵ Thus, the water of Arima represents the combined healing powers of Buddhas and *kami*.

SZS XX: 1268 Fujiwara no Tsunefusa (1143-1200)
Composed at the shrine of the "Gate of the Awakening of Faith"¹²⁶ during a
Kumano pilgrimage

Ureshiku mo ¹²⁷	What rapture!
Kami no chikahi wo	To have passed through the gate
Shirube nite	Which awakens the spirit
Kokoro wo okosu	Using as my guide
Kado ni irinuru	The <i>kami's</i> divine oath

¹²⁴ Grapard, "The economics of ritual power" in Breen and Teeuwen, *Shinto in History*, 54.

¹²⁵ Horton, *The Journal of Sōchō*, 224.

¹²⁶ One of ninety-nine subsidiary shrines along the Kumano road called *ōji* (王子). Hosshinmon *ōji* is about a two hour walk from Kumano Hongu Taisha along the Nakahechi route.

¹²⁷ An expression of religious exaltation.

Like the poem that precedes it, this poem is concerned with a discovery and the many manifestations of the *kami*. The shrine mentioned in the headnote is named after the Buddhist term *hosshin* which is also variously translated as “initial thought of awakening,” “deciding to begin,” or “expanding one’s heart towards bodhi,” all of which attempt to portray the first desire or aspiration to follow the Buddhist Path. *Hosshin* represents the very first step in attaining enlightenment in which a person is made aware of “the Path” and decides to pursue it as a result. As the headnote states, it is understood that Tsunefusa composed this poem at the shrine named Hosshinmon along the way to Kumano Hongu Taisha, one of the three major shrines of Kumano. Therefore, the Hosshinmon of this poem represents both a spiritual milestone and also a physical structure on the Kumano road.

Tsunefusa’s poem is not the first *jingika* of this sequence to refer to Kumano and the syncretic *Shugendō* religion that it represents (see SZS 1258). However, the Hosshinmon image holds special significance within the *Shugendō* practice where it symbolizes the first of four gates one enters or masters towards attaining enlightenment, namely, taking vows and denouncing the world. The “*kami*’s divine oath” refers to the native gods as Bodhisattvas, meaning they have vowed to remain in this world and help others achieve enlightenment until all beings on earth have reached that goal.

SZS XX: 1269
On mist at Miwa Shrine

Bishop Hangen (1137-1199)

Sugi ga e wo
Kasumi komuredo
Miwa no yama
Kami no shirushi ha
Kakurezakeri

Although the cedar branches
Are shrouded by mist,
Indeed it does not conceal
The manifestation of the *kami* –
Miwa Mountain

Hangen's poem also describes manifestations of *kami*, but it is one of the few *jingika* of this sequence (along with 1267 and 1277) to describe them as figures in nature, as opposed to Buddhas. Miwa Mountain is unique from the other locations in the *Jingika* book because the mountain itself is considered to be a *kami*.¹²⁸ Even its name, which is written with the same character as *kami* (神), is evidence of this fact. Therefore, *miwa no yama* of the third line can also be interpreted as “the mountain of the gods.”

Kamo Shrine (#1270-1274)

Kamo is the second best represented shrine in the *Jingika* book only behind Sumiyoshi. However, its poems do not come from a contest held in its honor. Instead, the Kamo poems are concerned with prayers for political or social advancement and the later consequences that are interpreted as the will of the gods.

SZS XX: 1270	Taira no Saneshige (1150?)
Around the time that he wished he could become someone of rank, ¹²⁹ on completion of twenty-three hundred trips to Kamo Shrine, he made a pilgrimage to Kifune Shrine and attached this to the post	

Ima made ni Nado shizumuramu Kifune gawa Kabakari hayaki Kami wo tanomu ni	Even now Why am I sunk? After all, I have beseeched the <i>kami</i> Who is as swift as “Yellow Boat” River
--	--

Thus, he almost immediately received the position that he desired.

Located at the source of the Kamo River, Kifune Shrine pays tribute to the river's life-giving water around which the Heian capital was built. The reader should recall the

¹²⁸ Shively and McCullough, *Cambridge History of Japan*, 116-118.

¹²⁹ Lamenting that he was not made an imperial record keeper.

Kifune pilgrimage poem in the *Goshūishū* (#1177) in which Cranston translated the river's name as "Lordly Boat" in its ability to ferry people to the "further shore" of enlightenment. The name of the shrine means "Yellow Boat," a reference to the legend of its founding, which says that a goddess in a yellow boat proclaimed that if a shrine were built wherever the boat stopped, the entire country would be promised prosperity and happiness. In correlation with the shrine's relationship to the river, Saneshige incorporates water images into his poem, describing his own low rank as "sunken" (沈む) down to the riverbed and seeing the manifestation of the gods' power in the "swiftness" (早き) of the current that he prays might lift him up again.

SZS XX: 1271

Kamo no Masahira (1176-?)

Written and attached to the sacred palings around the time of his rumored promotion to head priest at Kataoka Shrine

Saritomo to	Whatever happens
Tanomi zo kakuru	I offer my prayer
Yufudasuki	With this mulberry threaded sash because
Wa ga katawoka no	I believe the <i>kami</i> of "One Sided Hill"
Kami to omoheba	Is on my side

And it was after that when he attained the position of head priest.

Kataoka Shrine is the principal auxiliary shrine to the Upper Kamo Shrine in Kyoto. It is auxiliary because Tamayori-hime, who is enshrined at Kataoka, is the mother of Wakeikazuchi no kami, who is enshrined at the Upper Kamo Shrine (and is also the subject of poem SZS 1273). In general, the Kamo Shrine is the ancestral shrine of the Kamo clan of which Masahira is a member. Thus, when in the *kakekotoba* of the fourth line, the poet prays for assistance and declares his belief that the gods are "on my side" (*wa ga kata*), we can infer a double meaning in that the gods are not only supporting him

but they are also his ancestors. This is yet another poem written by an unknown poet of low status who prayed to a god associated with the Kamo Shrine and was consequently granted his wish.

SZS XX: 1272 Princess Shikishi (1149-1201)
On the topic of *jingi* for a hundred-poem sequence

Saritomo to	No matter what words I use,
Tanomu kokoro wa	My heart that prays for protection
Kami sabite	Has grown stale
Hisashiku narinu	Within Kamo's auspicious fence
Kamo no midzugaki	For many years

The author, also known as Shokushi, was the third daughter of Emperor Goshirakawa and served as a Kamo Shrine Virgin, also translated Consecrated Princess. Like the parallel position at Ise, she was appointed as a human link between man and the gods in order to protect the imperial palace in the distant capital.¹³⁰ The *SNKBT* suggests that this poem is a *jukkai*, since the poet was unable to fulfill her duty in protecting the emperor and bringing peace to the capital. Instead, war and conflict flourished as she was made to remain within the fence of the shrine and could not engage in secular activities lest she risk sully her purity which was so essential to communicating with the gods.

This poem is quite easily connected to the preceding poem, since they begin with the same line. Also, both poets held positions of ritual importance at Kamo Shrine. After her retirement, Shikishi spent her days indulging in courtly pleasures such as composing *waka* for which she received tutoring from Shunzei. As her teacher, Shunzei had access

¹³⁰ Hiroaki Sato, *String of Beads: Complete Poems of Princess Shikishi* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 8.

to her poems of which he selected nine to appear in the *Senzaishū* where she was first published.¹³¹ The hundred-poem sequence to which this poem belongs is unknown.¹³²

SZS XX: 1273 Kamo no Shigeyasu (1119-1191)
Composed on the topic of laments, being encouraged by others during the poetry
contest at Kamo Shrine (1178)

Kimi wo inoru	Oh Wakeikadzuchi –
Negahi wo sora ni	Fill the heavens
Mite tamahe	With thundering prayers for my lord
Wakeikadzuchi no	If you are the <i>kami</i>
Kami naraba ¹³³ kami	Of lightning

The contest that the title refers to seems to be the Wakeikadzuchi Shrine Poetry Contest, which was attended by Kamo no Shigeyasu, the Assistant Head Priest of Kamo Shrine. Wakeikadzuchi is the God of Thunder enshrined at the Upper Kamo Shrine. The contest—modeled after the previous Sumiyoshi and Hirota contests, referenced in poems SZS 1262 through 1266—engaged sixty participants in ninety rounds on three topics: “Mist” (*kasumi*), “Cherry Blossoms” (*sakura*), and *jukkai*. Two *jukkai* poems from this contest appear in a miscellaneous book.¹³⁴ Once again, Shunzei was in attendance alongside two of his sons, Nariie and Teika.¹³⁵

SZS XX: 1274 Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204)
Composed for the same shrine at the time of a later contest (1184) as a moon poem

Kifune kawa	The autumn evening moon,
Tama chiru seze no	Tumbling with pebbles
Iwanami ni	In the rapids’ spray,
Kōri wo kudaku	Shatters like shards of ice
Aki no yo no tsuki	On Kifune River

¹³¹ Royston, “Fujiwara Shunzei,” 271.

¹³² Matsuno and Katano, eds., *Senzai wakashū*, Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei, vol 10 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), 386.

¹³³ Maybe wordplay on the word *kaminari* meaning “thunder.”

¹³⁴ SZS XVII: #1076 and # 1146.

¹³⁵ Royston, “Fujiwara Shunzei,” 238-239.

Here Shunzei includes one of his own poems and creates a transition from the Kamo poems to the next sequence of sun and moon poems by describing the effect of the moonlight shining on Kifune River. Details about this later contest are unknown; Royston's thesis does not list a poetry contest that Shunzei attended at Kamo in 1184, by which time he had been commissioned to compile the *Senzaishū*.¹³⁶ Considering that most social poetic activity had been halted in the face of the Genpei War, this contest is an abnormality.

The headnote describes this poem as a moon poem and, as such, it contains images of what might be a full harvest moon. Shunzei imagines the white reflection of the moon upon the river as ice that is broken into tiny pieces by the current. In the poems that follow, moonlight is used as an allusion to the historical Gautama Buddha and his teachings. Thus, in this poem, Shunzei may be suggesting that the Buddha's light, or rather the power of his knowledge and teachings, shines even in the tumultuous river bed, and that its beauty is reflected in everything.

Sun and Moon Sequence (1275-1280)

Priest Jien was a prolific poet who eventually became the Tendai Abbott and High Priest. Although many sects of Buddhism prohibit such worldly attachments as poetry, Tendai encouraged the composition of poetry on Buddhist matters as a religious act; thus, Jien was able to practice both. Tendai Buddhists claim that the phenomenal world is not separate from the Dharma and, therefore, the appreciation and creation of worldly beauty can lead to enlightenment. As a result, some of the best contemplative poetry of the

¹³⁶ Royston does, however, list two contests that Shunzei might have been involved in: *Jishō sanjūrokunin utaawase* and *Shin-kuman no utaawase*, (292).

medieval period was created by Tendai priests and monks, or members of the laity who practiced the faith, Shunzei among them.

SZS XX: 1275 Priest Jien¹³⁷ (1155-1225)
Found among poems expressing laments

Wa ga tanomu	I beg of you –
Hiyoshi no kage ha	Won't the blessed rays of
Oku yama no	Hiyoshi, the Good Sun Shrine,
Shiba no to made mo	Illuminate my brushwood door
Sasazarame yaha	Deep in the mountains?

Tendai's founder did not think of *kami* as inferior, but rather equals. Along these lines, while many poems in the *Jingika* book focus on the ways in which *kami* rely upon and benefit from Buddhism, Jien's poem above is one of the few to allude to the inverse relationship; namely, the protection that *kami* provide for the Buddhist temples. The brushwood door in Jien's poem symbolizes the recluse's hut "deep in the mountains," an archetype of solitude and rustic simplicity appealing to the traditional Buddhist aesthetic.¹³⁸ Without the temptations of civilized society, a man embarking on the path to enlightenment could more easily free himself of worldly desires and attain his goal. From the evidence above it seems that, despite his self sequestration, Jien prays that the light and blessings of the Hiyoshi *kami* might penetrate the wilderness and shine in order to provide him protection and guidance along his spiritual journey.

¹³⁷ Jien's title at the time Shunzei compiled the *Senzaishū* was *Hōin* (Dharma Seal or Eye) and that is how he records it here. *Hōin* is the second of three ranks for Buddhist priests.

¹³⁸ LaFleur, *The Karma of Words*, 68.

SZS XX: 1276 Priest Shōken¹³⁹ (1141-1185)
Composed when thinking of the true Buddha form of the deity of Hiyoshi Shrine

Itsu to naku	The moonlight which
Washi no takane ni	Resides eternally at
Sumu tsuki no	The high Eagle Peak
Hikari wo yadosu	Is also visitant of
Shiga no karasaki	Shiga's Karasaki

In its headnote, this poem specifically uses the term *honji suijaku* to refer to the Hiyoshi *kami* as the trace of an unnamed Buddha. Hiyoshi enshrines multiple *kami*, but the two most relevant to a discussion of this poem are: Ōyamakui-no-kami, protector of Mt. Hiei (the headquarters of Tendai Buddhism), who is identified with Yakushi Nyorai, the Buddha of medicine; and Ōmiwa-no-kami (also Miwa Daimyōjin, the deity of poem SZS 1267 and 1269), who is identified with Shakyamuni, the historical Buddha.¹⁴⁰ Shakyamuni is the most likely subject of this headnote, because Ōmiwa-no-kami was titled the “Greater Hie” diety while Ōyamakui-no-kami was the “Lesser Hie” diety.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, Buddhist literature associates Shakyamuni with the moon and his teachings with moonlight, images which are both present in Shōken’s poem.

Shōken also uses the moonlight conceit as well as the image of Vulture Peak in India, where Shakyamuni first presented the Lotus Sutra. Shōken draws a parallel between that wisdom, or light, and the moonlight that shines upon the Karasaki shore of Lake Biwa, which lies in the southwest corner closest to Mt. Hiei and Hiyoshi Shrine. The poem also propagates part of the Lotus Sutra: that the Buddha's teachings are far-reaching and spread equally over all living beings, just as the light of the moon shines on

¹³⁹ Shōken’s title at the time Shunzei compiled the *Senzaishū* was *Hōkyō* (Dharma Bridge or Transmitter of the Law). *Hōkyō* is the third and lowest rank of Buddhist priests.

¹⁴⁰ Picken, *Historical Dictionary of Shinto*, 221.

¹⁴¹ John Breen and Mark Teeuwen, *A New History of Shinto* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 73.

everything that lies all under heaven. This universalist statement equates the Hiyoshi deity with Shakyamuni and India with Japan, preaching non-dualism.

However, it is also beneficial to consider the other Buddha who may possibly be the *honji* of this poem. Yakushi Nyorai is often presented as flanked by two nurses, Nikko Bosatsu and Gakko Bosatsu, who represent the sun and moon respectively. Shōken may have been intentionally vague in his poem, so as to allude to both Shakyamuni and Yakushi Nyorai. Certainly, Shōken's poem is consistent with the poems surrounding it, which play with the antithetical yet complementary relationship of the sun and moon, which correspond to the *kami* (especially Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess) and the Buddhas, respectively.

SZS XX: 1277 Nakahara no Moronao (1129-1197)
Composed when a rainy day suddenly became sunny on an imperial visit to
Hiyoshi Shrine

Miyuki suru	Over the high peak
Takane no kata ni	Of our destination
Kumo harete	The shining beacon of Hiyoshi
Sora ni hiyoshi no	Is there in the sky
Shirushi wo zo miru	Now clear of clouds

This poem echoes the first poem of this sequence in that the actors of both were traveling on imperial pilgrimages guided by manifestations of *kami* in nature. Both Mt. Mikasa and the sun at Hiyoshi are symbols of natural power and are themselves worshipped as *kami*, their magnitude in size making them lodestars for visitors. The sun in this poem is a beacon in the sense that it is a materialization of power and also a marker to follow. The sun's ability to disperse the foul weather is also indicative of the *kami's* influence.

The imperial visit that Moronao composed for was once again a trip of Goshirakawa. Moronao's poem is an appropriate continuation of the previous poem; together, the two poems depict two dualistic celestial bodies sharing the same air space. They are both set in the sky over Mt. Hiei and refer to high peaks which bring to mind the historical Buddha's Vulture Peak. Likewise, the clearing of the sky can be a metaphor for enlightenment, the product of a clear mind.

SZS XX: 1278 Priest En'i (Saigyō) (1118-1190)
 Composed at a mountain temple in Futami Bay in the land of Ise having left Mt. Kōya while thinking about the manifestation of Mahavairocana at the place called *Kami* Path Mountain behind the Grand Ise Shrine¹⁴²

Fukaku irite	Into the depths
Kamiji no oku wo	I traversed the
Tazunereba	Road of the <i>kami</i> ,
Mata uwe ¹⁴³ mo naki	And when the path led no higher –
Mine no matsu kaze	Pine winds on the peak ¹⁴⁴

Saigyō was one of Shunzei's good friends and was a highly regarded poet of his day. As such, Shunzei chose to include eighteen of Saigyō's poems in the *Senzaishū*, a moderately high number. This poem can be considered a pair with Shōken's earlier poem on the true Buddha form of the Hiyoshi deity (SZS 1276). Saigyō's poem considers the inverse relationship, the *kami* manifestation of the Buddha Mahavairocana (or Dainichi Nyorai). Although he does not speak the *kami*'s name, we understand it to be Amaterasu, meaning "Illuminator of Heaven," whose name is very similar that of to Dainichi Nyorai, or "Great Sun." Kūkai (774-835), the founder of Shingon Buddhism, is credited with

¹⁴² Translated by Keene as "I had grown restless living on Mount Kōya, and went to stay at the Futami Bay in Ise. I was told that the mountain behind the Great Shrine is known as Kamiji, the Path of the Gods. I composed this poem, bearing in mind that the god here is the manifested trace of Dainichi," (Donald Keene, *Seeds in the Heart*, 679).

¹⁴³ Also *uhe*.

¹⁴⁴ Also appears in Saigyō's personal poetry contest *Mimosusogawa utaawase* (no. 36) which is translated in Mack Horton, *The Journal of Sōchō* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 211.

making the connection between Amaterasu and Dainichi Nyorai almost three hundred years before Saigyō composed this poem, making it one of the oldest *kami*-Buddha relationships in the *shinbutsu shūgyō* tradition.

This poem also creates a logical progression from the previous poem (and sequence) because, in Sannō Shinto, the Buddhist deities of Hiyoshi correspond to the *kami* of Ise Shrine. The location mentioned in the poem, Kamiji (神路), is the name of a mountain path south of the Inner Ise Shrine which leads to a mountain known as both Amateru Mountain, in honor of Amaterasu, and Washinohi Mountain, meaning Vulture Sun, in honor of Shakyamuni.¹⁴⁵ The wind of the pined peak of Saigyō's poem refers to the winds which blew during the Buddha's lectures and which also blow now, even in places of *kami* worship. This is possible because the both paths (that of the *kami* and that of the Buddha) lead to the same destination.

SZS XX: 1279 Ōnakatomi no Tamesada (1149-1212)
After moving the capital to Fukuwara in 1180, composed on his return to the
Grand Ise Shrine as a prayer to his lord

Tsukiyomi no	If the Moon God
Kami shi terasaba	Were to shine,
Adagumo no	Would he not also clear away
Kakaru ukiyo mo	This miserable world all
Harezarame yaha	Veiled in floating clouds?

After that, order was restored in the capital and the emperor was safe.

This poem offers another representation of sun and moon by comparing Amaterasu with her brother Tsukiyomi,¹⁴⁶ the Moon God. Legend says that Amaterasu and Tsukiyomi quarreled and swore never to see each other again, which explains the

¹⁴⁵ Ōoka, Makoto, ed., *Nihon bungaku chimei daijiten shika hen, vol. 1* (Tokyo: Yūshikan, 1999), 231.

¹⁴⁶ Also, Tsukiyumi.

division of day and night.¹⁴⁷ As a result, Tsukiyomi is not enshrined at the Inner or Outer Ise Shrines with Amaterasu, but rather in a detached shrine on the same grounds called Tsukiyomi no miya. Although he is one of the brothers of Amaterasu, Tsukiyomi does not play a large role in *kami* mythology and Tamesada's reference to the Moon God allows for a dual interpretation of both Tsukiyomi and the historical Buddha.

The miserable world veiled in clouds to which the poem refers is a Buddhist metaphor for all of the distractions of this vulgar life which obscure man's mind and keep him from attaining enlightenment. In this case, the image probably also refers to the political strife of the early Genpei War that resulted in the temporary relocation of the court from Kyoto to Fushiki in 1180 as described in the headnote. Tamesada used this poem to pray that the Moon God would shine his wisdom upon the miserable world, thereby restoring peace to the capital and protecting the emperor. The lord that Tamesada prays for is Retired Emperor Goshirakawa's son, Emperor Takakura (r. 1168-1180). The footnote that follows seems to credit Tamesada with achieving those goals.

SZS XX: 1280 Priest Nōren (1132?-1192?)
Recited in front of various people during a poetry contest at Iwashimizu Shrine on
the topic of the moon over the shrine¹⁴⁸

Iwashimizu	Since the pure flow
Kiyoki nagare no	Of Iwashimizu
Taeseneba	Is unending,
Yadoru tsuki sae	Even the reflection of the moon
Kumanakarikeri	Is eternal and clear!

¹⁴⁷ W. G. Aston, *Nihongi; Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (Rutland, VT: C.E. Tuttle Co, 1972), 32.

¹⁴⁸ The *SNKBT* says that the source text of the Iwashimizu Utaawase has been lost (Katano and Matsuno, eds., *Senzai wakashū*, [SNKBT 10](#), 387).

This verse is a prime example of a glorification poem which extols the beauty of the shrine grounds. Once again, the flowing river represents Shinto ritual purity. The body of the poem plays on the characters that make up the name of the shrine (*iwashimizu*, 石清水) translates literally as “rock clear water.” The *kami* enshrined there, Hachiman, is thought to be the deified soul of Emperor Ōjin (r. 270-310).¹⁴⁹ Perhaps Hachiman’s identification with Ōjin is the connection between Nōren’s poem and the final sequence of the *Jingika* book, which focuses on poetry commemorating and documenting the emperors’ reigns from ancient times to the present.

Daijōsai Sequence (#1280-1288)

The final eight poems are named *daijōsai* after the highly ritualized first harvest festival which celebrated the ascension of a new emperor to the throne. For this ceremony, predetermined provinces donated food and local goods as offerings, in order to impart prosperity, longevity, and sagacity to the new ruler. In practice, two provinces were designated as Yuki (悠紀) and Suki (主基) to represent those to the east and west of the capital, respectively, which also was used to organize the presentation of those goods during the festival.¹⁵⁰ As such, this is one of the sequencing schemes employed by Shunzei for the poems that follow.

Among the items “donated” were poems performed at the ceremony citing place names and landmarks of the area. They were called *kunifuri uta* and had to contain place names so that through the act of revealing the names, “the emperor partakes of their

¹⁴⁹ Picken, *Historical Dictionary of Shinto*, 97.

¹⁵⁰ The two participating provinces were chosen through divination by heating turtle shells and reading the cracks that had appeared from the stress. See Robert S. Ellwood, *The Feast of Kingship: Accession Ceremonies in Ancient Japan* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973), 105.

power and is thereby able to rule over these territories.”¹⁵¹ Because these poems reference rural places of spiritual significance, the names are not nearly as recognizable as the major shrines and popular travel destinations that appear earlier in the *Jingika* book. However, this lack of familiarity creates a rustic charm that perfectly represents their places of origin similar to that of *fūzoku*, or an “authentic” local song stylized and appropriated for the court.¹⁵² Because of their ancient role in the ascension ceremony, these are among the oldest predecessors to the *jingi* category (see chapter two of this thesis).

Daijōsai poems had been a part of the *waka* anthologies since the *Kokinshū*, and as such, they were arranged by several conventions. The first is chronological according to the date of the ceremony for which they were produced. Therefore, the first *daijōsai* poem of the *Jingika* book begins with Retired Emperor Gosuzaku in 1036 (just fifteen years after the opening poem, SZS 1256) and concludes with Goshirakawa in 1174, the reigning emperor at the time of the compilation of the *Senzaishū*. This is significant because it simultaneously illustrates the succession of emperors through one imperial line and the continued ritual role of formal court *waka* in relation to that family over a period of one hundred and fifty years. Thus, this final sequence of the *Jingika* book reaches back in time to represent the same span of years covered in the preceding twenty-five poems.

A sequencing pattern of *daijōsai* poems that Shunzei introduced is the alternation of *kami asobi* and *kagura* poems, which appeared separately in earlier anthologies, but coexist in the *Jingika* book of the *Senzaishū*. Although many scholars equate these two terms, or call their designations arbitrary, Shunzei is very deliberate in his arrangement of

¹⁵¹ Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*, 81.

¹⁵² In fact, poem SZS 1282 is categorized as *fūzoku* in the author’s personal collection called *Tsunehirashū* (Katano and Matsuno, eds., *Senzai wakashū*, SNKBT 10, 389).

these eight *kami asobi* and *kagura* poems, which implies that for him the terms had distinct significance. For Shunzei, *kami asobi* seems to be a general term for poems that petition the gods for the protection and longevity of the imperial line and, by extension, of the nation as a whole. *Kagura* poems, on the other hand, praise the abundance of crops and other greenery as manifestations of the gods' prosperity, and they describe how props are incorporated into dances as part of the *kagura* ritual. Thus, the purpose of the former seems to be to summon and ask favors, while the purpose of the latter is to flatter the god in attendance. Despite their different labels, these two kinds of poems share similar vocabulary, and are virtually indistinguishable from one another.

SZS XX: 1281 Fujiwara no Noritada (?-1041)
 A *kami asobi* poem on the topic of Kaminabi Mountain in the western province of
 Tanba for the first fruits festival in 1036 under Retired Emperor Gosuzaku

Tokiwa naru	Graft <i>sakaki</i> trees
Kaminabi yama no	From the evergreen
Sakakiba wo	Sacred Grove Mountain
Sashite zo inoru	In Tokiwa in the name of
Yorodzuyo no tame	Ten thousand blessed ages

It is likely that Tanba was a province immediately to the west of the capital in Kyoto, north of modern Kobe.¹⁵³ Kaminabi Mountain appears in the *Tale of Heike* which mentions the leaves that fall from its summit into Tatsuta River.¹⁵⁴ Noritada uses ritual language associated with time, particular words believed to contain their own magic, in his prayer for the longevity of the emperor. This follows from a belief that the evocation of certain words could confer the qualities they represent upon the reigning emperor and his imperial line. For example, *tokiwa* is possibly the name of an obscure location, but it

¹⁵³ Determined from a map in Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), xviii.

¹⁵⁴ Helen Craig McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), 156.

also means “evergreen,” which along with *sakaki* (a species of evergreen sacred to *kami* worship), describe the evergreen leaves that make up the physical offering and the wish for good fortune for ten thousand ages.

SZS XX: 1282 Fujiwara no Tsunehira (1005-1072)
A *kagura* poem on the topic of Iwaya Mountain in the western province for the first fruits festival in 1068 under Retired Emperor Gosanjō

Ugoki naku	For a steadfast and
Chiyo wo zo inoru	Prosperous reign we pray –
Iwaya yama	May it be as unchanging as the
Toru sakakiba no	Evergreen leaves of <i>sakaki</i>
Iro kahezu shite	Picked from Rock Cavern Mountain

The exact location of Iwaya Mountain is unclear, although we know that it lies to the west of Kyoto and is most likely in the province of Tanba.¹⁵⁵ However, its name also means “rock cavern” and alludes to the cave to which Amaterasu confined herself, thus inspiring the first *kagura* performance which was performed to lure her out. Amaterasu’s rock cavern is thus an appropriate reference for a *kagura* poem which legitimizes the use of poetry and dance to entertain the gods.

SZS XX: 1283 Ōe no Masafusa (1041-1111)
A *kami asobi* poem on the topic of Morogami Village in the eastern province for the first fruits festival in 1087 during Emperor Horikawa's reign

Inishihe no	Extending from the glorious time
Kami no miyo yori	Of the ancient gods
Morogami no	The blessings of the
Inoru ihahi ha	Innumerable <i>kami</i>
Kimi ga yo no tame	For the benefit of my lord

¹⁵⁵ Shinkei visited an Iwaya Temple in Tanba. Although it does not specify, it is likely that Iwaya Temple is built on a mountain of the same name because mountains are considered sacred to both religions (Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen, *Heart's Flower: The Life and Poetry of Shinkei* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 33.).

Although it is not specifically stated, we might expect that this Yuki poem hails from the Ōmi province, as is the case with SZS 1287, which cites the same location. Ōmi province lied to the east of Kyoto, encompassing the land around Lake Biwa.¹⁵⁶ Morogami may have been a village named after the many gods who created and maintain the peaceful world. It should be noted that this is the only poem of the *daijōsai* sequence that was not composed by a member of the Fujiwara clan who dominate the rest of the sequence.

SZS XX: 1284 Fujiwara no Naganori (1100-1180)
A *kagura* poem on the topic of Yūsono in the eastern province of Ōmi for the first fruits festival in 1155 under Emperor Goshirakawa's reign

Kami ukuru	For the banquet of bountiful light
Toyo no akari ni	Presented to the <i>kami</i> ,
Yufusono no	The running ground pine
Hikage kadzura zo	From Cotton Garden
Hahemasarikeri	Is extremely lush

The phrase *toyo no akari* of the second line is short for *toyo no akari no sechie*, otherwise abbreviated to *gosechi*, the ceremonial banquet that concludes several days of *daijōsai* festivities in which the emperor actually consumes the first fruits.¹⁵⁷ It is during this ritual that the emperor physically receives the products of the province and thus metaphorically attains rule over the land from which they came.¹⁵⁸ *Hikage kadzura* is a common type of club moss (similar to fern), which resembles pine. It is grown on the shady side of mountains and worn as headpieces by women, especially dancers, during *gosechi*. In particular, the *hikage* is torn into strips and hung from the both sides of the

¹⁵⁶ Determined from a map in Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, xviii.

¹⁵⁷ Hiroaki Sato, *String of Beads*, 66.

¹⁵⁸ Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*, 81.

headpiece. This poem effectually praises the garden that produced such a lush plant and the *kami* that is responsible for its luxurious growth.

SZS XX: 1285 (Fujiwara no Naganori (1100-1180))
A *kami asobi* poem on the topic of Mamoru Mountain¹⁵⁹ in the eastern province of Ōmi for the first fruits festival in 1168 during Emperor Takakura's reign

Suberaki wo	The <i>kami</i> of ten thousand ages
Yawo yorodzuyo no	Watch over the emperor
Kami mo mina	For all time –
Tokiha ni mamoru	And so in commemoration
Yama no na zo kore	The mountain is thus named

Naganori is the only poet allotted two poems for two different emperor's ceremonies in this *daijōsai* sequence. This poem explains the meaning of a place name and prays for continued protection from the mountain. The word *mamoru* (“protect” or “watch over”) is not only the name of the mountain, but it also describes its function as a protector of the capital and emperor, like Mikasa Mountain.

SZS XX: 1286 Fujiwara no Kanemitsu (1145-1196)
A *kagura* poem on the topic of Kaminabi Mountain in the western province of Tanba for the first fruits festival in 1182

Mishima yufu	With Mishima cotton
Kata ni torikake	Draped over his shoulder
Kaminabi no	And Sacred Grove Mountain
Yama no sakaki wo	Evergreen sprigs adorning
Kazashi ni zo suru	His head – he prays

This is another poem that admires local goods as manifestations of the gods and highlights their ritual use in man's communication with *kami*. This man is clothed in white mulberry streamers weaved from Mishima cotton, sent from a location far east,

¹⁵⁹ Same as Moru/Mori Mountain. See Ōoka, Makoto, ed., *Nihon bungaku chimei daijiten shika hen*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yūshikan, 1999), 660.

near Izu.¹⁶⁰ The evergreen leaves were a gift picked from the same mountain as is mentioned in SZS 1281.

The headnote does not provide the name of the emperor for whom the festival was celebrated. However, the *SNKBT* adds that it was for Emperor Antoku, the son of the warlord Taira no Kiyomori, who was drowned in the battle at Dannoura during the Genpei War.¹⁶¹ However, the data provided for the headnote (1182) does not match up with the historical date of Antoku's enthronement (1180).¹⁶² If this was Antoku's festival, a poem dedicated to him, like those to Sutoku, might act as a pacification of his angry spirit.

SZS XX: 1287 Fujiwara no Suetsune (1131-1221)
A *kami asobi* poem on the topic of Morogami Village in the eastern province of Ōmi for the first fruits festival in 1174 during the reign of Emperor Goshirakawa

Morogami no	It now seems
Kokoro ni ima zo	That the will
Kanafurashi	Of the innumerable <i>kami</i>
Kimi wo yachiyo to	Has been granted –
Inoru yogoto ha	Prayers for the lord's longevity

SZS XX: 1288 Fujiwara no Mitsunori (1126-1209)
A *kagura* poem on the topic of Chitose Mountain in the western province of Tanba for the same first fruits festival of 1174

Chitose yama	The evergreen leaves
Kami no yo saseru	Grafted from the age of the <i>kami</i>
Sakakiba no	Onto the Thousand Year Mountain
Sakahemasaru ha	Continue to flourish
Kimi ga tame toka	For my lord

¹⁶⁰ Katano and Matsuno, eds., *Senzai wakashū*, *SNKBT* 10, 391.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Shively and McCullough, *Cambridge History of Japan*, 610.

The *daijōsai* sequence, and thus the entire seventh anthology, ends with a pair of poems for the ascension ceremony of Goshirakawa, the reigning emperor who commissioned the anthology. This convention illustrates the continuance of imperial rule and poetry to the present day. These poems preach the familiar theme of the emperor's inheritance of longevity from the gods and, in the final poem, the name of the mountain even echoes this theme. *Chitose* (千歳) echoes the title of the anthology—*senzai* of *Senzaishū* (千載) both meaning “one thousand years.” As such, these two poems echo the auspicious ending of the *Kokinshū* which also spoke of the passing of ten thousand years (*chihayaburu*). Therefore, the *Senzaishū* ends on a note like that of the *Kokinshū*: “a ringing assertion of native beliefs, values, and attitudes—a return to the magico-religious roots of Japanese literature, and to Man'yō-style optimism, proclaiming even time, the invincible antagonist, to be powerless against the mighty gods.”¹⁶³

¹⁶³ McCullough, *Brocade by Night*, 493.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, by introducing a *Jingika* book, Shunzei brought to light an important facet of *waka* that he felt had been ill-preserved by previous anthologies: the practical, social, and spiritual uses of Japanese poetry. From the first imperial *waka* anthology, poetry was propagated as the ultimate mark of cultivated society, which expresses the soul of the Japanese people, soothes relations between man and woman, and moves the gods. Over the years, the power of *waka* was called upon again to secure the rule of the imperial line during a time of political turmoil. Shunzei's new and unique system of sequencing *jingi* poems thus reasserted the cultural relevancy of the emperor, as the descendent of the Sun Goddess, and his rule of all under heaven, as endorsed by the native *kami* as well as the foreign Buddhas.

The ending list of ascension ceremony poems also illustrates the continuous lineage of the imperial family's divine birthright, an unbroken chain despite the shadow of a rival shogunate government, and acts as a prayer for the continued prosperity of poetry. In the end, both of these goals were somewhat realized. After the emergence of the *Jingika* book in the *Senzaishū*, the emperor's position was not restored to its original role, but the shogunate government did leave it intact for ceremonial and symbolic purposes. Additionally, the imperial poetry anthology tradition continued for another two-hundred and fifty years in which the *Jingika* book gained amazing stability, remaining in a similar position in nearly every subsequent anthology.

Studying the *Jingika* book of the *Senzaishū* gives us a glimpse into the world of medieval Japanese poetry, but this study only scratches the surface of a rich topic. Other areas for further study include the evolution of *jingika* through the remaining fourteen imperial anthologies, in which the genre continues to have a position; *jingika*'s role in poetry contests and hundred-poem sequences, especially those around the time of the compilation of the *Senzaishū* when the term *jingika* was first coined; further discussion of the relationship between Buddhism and Shinto as represented in poetry, such as the use of *omryōdō* imagery present in the sun and moon sequence; and the appearance of *jingika* themes in other mediums such as the *byōbū uta* listed in the Felicitations book and illustrated on commemorative screens.

APPENDIX A

FIRST EIGHT ANTHOLOGY MAKI CHART

	<i>Kokinshū</i>	<i>Gosenshū</i>	<i>Shūishū</i>	<i>Goshūishū</i>	<i>Kin'yōshū</i>	<i>Shikashū</i>	<i>Senzaishū</i>
1	Spring 1	Spring 1	Spring	Spring 1	Spring	Spring	Spring 1
2	Spring 2	Spring 2	Summer	Spring 2	Summer	Summer	Spring 2
3	Summer	Spring 3	Autumn	Summer	Autumn	Autumn	Summer
4	Autumn 1	Summer	Winter	Autumn 1	Winter	Winter	Autumn 1
5	Autumn 2	Autumn 1	Felicita- tions	Autumn 2	Felicita- tions	Felicita- tions	Autumn 2
6	Winter	Autumn 2	Partings	Winter	Partings	Partings	Winter
7	Felicita- tions	Autumn 3	Names of Things	Felicita- tions	Love 1	Love 1	Parting
8	Partings	Winter	Misc 1	Partings	Love 2	Love 2	Travel
9	Travel	Love 1	Misc 2	Travel	Misc 1	Misc 1	Laments
10	Names of Things	Love 2	<i>Kagura</i>	Laments	Misc 2	Misc 2	Felicita- tions
11	Love 1	Love 3	Love 1	Love 1	--	--	Love 1
12	Love 2	Love 4	Love 2	Love 2	--	--	Love 2
13	Love 3	Love 5	Love 3	Love 3	--	--	Love 3
14	Love 4	Love 6	Love 4	Love 4	--	--	Love 4
15	Love 5	Misc 1	Love 5	Misc 1	--	--	Love 5
16	Laments	Misc 2	Misc Spring	Misc 2	--	--	Misc 1
17	Misc 1	Misc 3	Misc Autumn	Misc 3	--	--	Misc 2
18	Misc 2	Misc 4	Misc Feli- citations	Misc 4	--	--	Misc 3
19	Misc Forms	Partings/ Travel	Misc Love	Misc 5	--	--	<i>Shakkyō</i>
20	<i>Ōtadokoro</i>	Felicita- tions/ Laments	Laments	Misc 6	--	--	<i>Jingi</i>

APPENDIX B

SENZAISHŪ JINGIKA CHART

#	Place Name	Occasion	Theme, Images
<i>Opening Sequence</i>			
1256	Kasuga/Mt Mikasa	<i>miyuki</i>	footprints, path
1257	Sumiyoshi	pilgrimage after contest	waves
1258	Kumano	pilgrimage	salt traces
1259		100 sequence	<i>jingi</i> , <i>wakō dōjin</i>
1260	Kasuga/Mt Mikasa	(100 sequence)	(<i>jingi</i>), rain
<i>Sumiyoshi Sequence</i>			
1261	Sumiyoshi	pilgrimage	time, inlet
1262	Sumiyoshi	contest	<i>jukkai</i> , time, sunk
1263	Sumiyoshi	contest	(<i>jukkai</i>), old age, pines
1264	Sumiyoshi	contest	moon, pines
1265	Sumiyoshi	contest	moonlight, pines, frost
<i>Transitions Sequence</i>			
1266	Hirota	contest	pure white snow
1267	Arima (Mt Miwa)	<i>miyuki</i>	purifying springs
1268	Kumano	pilgrimage	<i>kami</i> Bodhisattvas guide to enlightenment
1269	Miwa		mist, cedars, mountain, conceal
<i>Kamo Sequence</i>			
1270	Kamo (Kifune)	pilgrimage	river, sunk, answered prayers
1271	Kamo (Kataoka)	promotion	answered prayers
1272	Kamo	100 sequence	<i>jingi</i> , prayers
1273	Kamo	contest	<i>jukkai</i> , lightening, prayers
1274	Kamo (Kifune)	contest	moon, river

#	Place Name	Occasion	Theme, Images
<i>Sun and Moon Sequence</i>			
1275	Hiyoshi (Hie)		<i>jukkai</i> , sun, mountain hut
1276	Hiyoshi		<i>honji</i> , moon, mountain peak
1277	Hiyoshi	<i>miyuki</i>	sun, mountain peak, rain
1278	Ise		<i>suijaku</i> , sun, mountain peak
1279	Ise		moon, prayer, clouds
1280	Iwashimizu	contest	moon, river, reflection
Daijōsai Sequence			
1281	Tanba (West)	<i>kami asobi</i>	Kaminabi Mountain
1282	(West)	<i>kagura</i>	Iwaya Mountain
1283	(East)	<i>kami asobi</i>	Morogami Village
1284	Ōmi (East)	<i>kagura</i>	Kiwata Orchard
1285	Ōmi (East)	<i>kami asobi</i>	Mamoru Mountain
1286	Tanba (West)	<i>kagura</i>	Kaminabi Mountain
1287	Ōmi (East)	<i>kami asobi</i>	Morogami Village
1288	Tanba (West)	<i>kagura</i>	Chitose Mountain

APPENDIX C

TRANSLATION OF *JINGIKA* BOOK PREDECESSORS

SS X: 589
On a pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi

Priest Anbō

Ama kudarū	If one contemplates the twin
Arahitogami no	Born at the same time
Ahiohi wo	As he descends from heaven
Omoheba hisashi	It must be the immortal –
Sumiyoshi no matsu	Pines of Sumiyoshi

天くだるあら人神のあひをひを思へば久し住吉の松

SS X: 620
In the year 920, composed for a twenty-poem sequence on the imperial visit
of Retired Emperor Uda to Kasuga Shrine

Fujiwara no Tadafusa (?-928)

Medzurashiki	Even the gods
Kefu no kasuga no	Cannot conceal their delight
Yawotome wo	For the eight Kasuga
Kami mo ureshi to	Maiden dancers
Shinobazarame ya	On this joyous occasion

めづらしき今日の春日の八少女を神もうれしとしのばざらめや

KYS IV: 295
Composed on the topic of *kagura*

Minamoto no Morotoki (1077-1136)

Kamigaki no	Because the frost has settled
Mimuro no yama ni	Within the shrine grounds
Shimo fureba	On Mimuro mountain,
Yufushide kakenu	There are no evergreen branches
Sakakiba zo naki	Unadorned with white festoons

かみがきの三室の山に霜ふればゆふしでかけぬ榊葉ぞなき

KYS V: 328
Composed on the topic of felicitation for a poetry meeting at the home of
Fujiwara no Saneyuki (1080-1162)

Midzugaki no	I wonder,
Hisashikaru beki	Is the <i>kami</i>
Kimi ga yo wo	Who illuminates the sky
Amateru kami ya	Aware of my lord's
Sora ni shiru ramu	Long and prosperous reign?

みづがきの久しかるべき君が代を天照る神や空にしるらん

KYS IX: 582 Fujiwara no Sanemitsu (1069-1147)
 Composed from a conversation about the legend of the Kasuga Shrine deer with a relative who had traveled there

Mikasa yama	Oh the joy upon hearing
Kami no shirushi no	The miraculous deer
Ichijiruku	Are still there on the mountain,
Shika ari keru to	A clear vestige of
Kiku zo ureshiki	The Mikasa gods

三笠山神の駿のいちじるくしかありけりと聞くぞうれしき

KYS X: 625 Priest Nōin (988-?)
 Having accompanied Taira no Norikuni to the Iyo Region, Nōin learned that the people there could not plant rice paddies since there had been no substantial rainfall from the New Year to the third or fourth month and a commotion started to arise. Their prayers for rain had not been answered until Nōin appealed to the deity of the leading shrine with this poem

Ama no gawa	If there is a god
Nawashiro mizu ni	Who waters rice beds
Seki kudase	With the Milky Way
Ama kudarimasu	Please – stop it up and let it rain
Kami naraba kami	Down upon the earth

From Nōin's personal collection we can see that the gods were moved and a large rain fell for three days and three nights without stopping.

天の川苗代水にせきくだせあま下ります神ならば神

SKS IX: 329 Fujiwara no Sukenari (988-1070)
 After the poetry contest in 1035 at the house of Fujiwara no Yorimichi (992-1074), composed upon traveling with the young men of the winning side to Sumiyoshi

Sumiyoshi no	More than the
Nami ni hitareru	Pines soaked in
Matsu yori mo	Sumiyoshi's waves—
Kami no shirushi zo	The power of the <i>kami</i>
Araware ni keru	Washes over you

住吉の波にひたれる松よりも神のしるしぞあらはれにける

SKS X: 408 Author Unknown
 Written and attached to one of the many shrine archways at Inari

Kakute nomi	If my dreams are obscured from my sight
Yo ni ariake no	Like the faint image of the
Tsuki naraba	Moon at dawn—
Kumo kakushite yo	So cover me in clouds
Ama kudaruru kami	Oh god who descends from the heavens

かくてのみ世にありあけの月ならば雲かくしてよ天くだる神

SKS X: 409 Author Unknown
 While a man who had been swindled out of his share of inheritance secluded himself at Inari Shrine to pray for retribution, a Buddhist monk had a dream in which he heard a voice speaking this poem from within the shrine hall

Nagaki yo no	Reconsider that which
Kurushiki koto wo	You grieve this long night.
Omoekashi	What have you lost?
Nani nageku ramu	This life is but
Kari no yadori ni	A temporary dwelling

長き夜のくるしきことを思へかしなになげくらむ仮のやどりに

APPENDIX D

TRANSLATION OF THE *JINGIKA* BOOK OF THE *SENZAISHŪ*

SZS XX: 1256

Jōtōmon In (988-1074)

On the occasion of Emperor Goichijō's first imperial visit to Kasuga Shrine in 1021, thinking of the precedent set by the late Emperor Ichijō

Mikasa yama
Sashite kinikeri
Isonokami
Furuki miyuki no
Ato wo tazunete

Following Mount Mikasa
We have arrived
Retracing the path
Of that past journey
Over the rocks

三笠山さして来にけりいそのかみ古き御幸の跡を尋ねて

SZS XX: 1257

Fujiwara no Tsunesuke (1006-1081)

Composed on a joyous pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi Shrine after a victory of the Left at Fujiwara no Yorimichi's poetry contest in 1035

Sumiyoshi no
Nami mo kokoro wo
Yosekereba
Mube zo miyiwa ni
Tachimasarikeru

Surely by the blessings
Of Sumiyoshi
We have bested the Right
Like waves
On the shore

住吉の浪も心を寄せければむべぞ汀に立ちまさりける

SZS XX: 1258

Fujiwara no Kinnori (1103-1160)

Composed while accompanying Retired Emperor Shirakawa on a trip to Kumano at the Shioya Shrine while others were composing poems at that place

Omofu koto
Kumite kanafuru
Kami nareba
Shioya ni ato wo
Tarurunarikeri

Since it is a *kami* who
Gathers what's in your heart
And grants wishes,
I realize it has left its trace
At the salt house station

思ふ事汲みて叶ふる神なれば塩屋に跡を垂るゝなりけり

SZS XX: 1259 Retired Emperor Sutoku (1119-1164)
Composed as a *jingika* for a hundred-poem sequence

Michi no be no	In the dust by the side of the Path
Chiri ni hikari wo	They soften their radiance
Yaharagete	And I suddenly realize –
Kami mo hotoke no	<i>Kami</i> also go by the name
Nanorunarikeri	Merciful Buddha

道の辺の塵に光をやはらげて神も仏の名告るなりけり

SZS XX: 1260 Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104-1177)

Ame no shita	Perhaps because it is the umbrella
Nodokekare to ya	For the reign of our Lord,
Sakakiba wo	The custom of grafting evergreens
Mikasa no yama ni	In the name of peace began
Sashihajimekemu	On Mikasa Mountain

あめのしたのどけかれとやさか木葉を三笠の山にさしはじめけむ

SZS XX: 1261 Fujiwara no Takasue (1127-1185)
Composed at the time of (his father) Ienari's pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi

Kamiyo yori	Standing since the age of the gods
Tsumori no ura ni	The shrine at
Miyaishite	Tsumori Inlet –
Henuran toshi no	We can't know the extent of
Kagiri shirazu mo	The years that have probably passed

神世より津守の浦に宮居してへぬらん年の限り知らずも

SZS XX: 1262 Fujiwara no Sanesada (1139-1191)
A lament poem composed for a poetry contest held at Sumiyoshi Shrine in 1170
on the topic of the Chief Councilor of State's resignation five years earlier

Kazofureba	Upon counting
Yatose henikeri	I realize many years have gone by
Ahare wa ga	And yet I feel as if
Shidzumishi koto ha	I sunk out of favor
Kinofu to omofu ni	Only yesterday

After that it seems the *kami* were moved and appeared in his dream. (Seven years later) he became Chief Councilor of State once again.

数ふれば八年へにけりあはれわが沈みし事はきのふと思ふに

SZS XX: 1263 Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204)

Itadzura ni	I wonder –
Furinuru mi wo mo	Do Sumiyoshi's pines
Sumiyoshi no	Feel some sympathy
Matsu ha saritomo	For this body
Ahare shiruran	Aged over wasted years?

いたづらに古りぬる身をも住吉の松はさりともあはれ知るらん

SZS XX: 1264 Fujiwara no Sanesada (1139-1191)
Composed at the same contest on the topic of the moon over the shrine

Furinikeru	If ancient pines
Matsu mono ihaba	Could speak
Tohitemashi	I would ask them –
Mukashi mo kakuya	Was it as brilliant back then?
Sumi no e no tsuki	The moon over Sumi Bay

古りにける松ものいはば問ひてましむかしもかくや住の江の月

SZS XX: 1265 Monk Shun'e (1113-?)

Sumiyoshi no	Between the overlapping needles
Matsu no yukiai no	Of the Sumiyoshi pines
Hima yori mo	The moonlight is clear and icy –
Tsuki saenureba	Therefore, it becomes
Shimo ha okikeri	Frost on the ground

住吉の松のゆきあひのひまよりも月さへぬれば霜はをきけり

SZS XX: 1266 Fujiwara no Sanekuni (1140-1183)
At a poetry competition at Hirota, on the topic of snow at the shrine

Oshinabete	Everything is adorned
Yuki no shira yufu	With mulberry paper strips
Kaketekeri	As white as snow –

Idzure sakaki no
Kozuenaruramu

I wonder, which is atop
The evergreen branches?

をしなべて雪の白木綿掛けてけりいづれ榊の梢なるらむ

SZS XX: 1267

Inspector Sukekata (1113-1188)

Written during Emperor Goshirakawa's secret imperial visit to Arima springs upon discovering that the god of the water was also called Miwa Daimyōjin

Mezurashiku
Miyuki wo miwa no
Kami naraba
Shirushi arima no
Ideyu narubeshi

If it is the Miwa *kami*
That witnessed this
Unusual imperial visit,
The manifestation
Must be Arima's miraculous spring

めづらしく御幸を三輪の神ならばしるし有馬の出湯なるべし

SZS XX: 1268

Fujiwara no Tsunefusa (1143-1200)

Composed at the shrine of the "Gate of the Awakening of Faith" during a Kumano pilgrimage

Ureshiku mo
Kami no chikahi wo
Shirube nite
Kokoro wo okosu
Kado ni irinuru

What rapture!
To have passed through the gate
Which awakens the spirit
Using as my guide
The *kami's* divine oath

うれしくも神の誓ひをしるべにて心をおこす門に入りぬる

SZS XX: 1269

Bishop Hangen (1137-1199)

On mist at Miwa Shrine

Sugi ga e wo
Kasumi komuredo
Miwa no yama
Kami no shirushi ha
Kakurezarikeri

Although the cedar branches
Are shrouded by mist,
Indeed it does not conceal
The manifestation of the *kami* –
Miwa Mountain

杉が枝を霞こむれど三輪の山神のしるしは隠れざりけり

SZS XX: 1270

Taira no Saneshige (1150?)

Around the time that he wished he could become someone of rank, on completion of twenty-three hundred trips to Kamo Shrine, he made a pilgrimage to Kifune Shrine and attached this to the post

Ima made ni	Even now
Nado shizumuramu	Why am I sunk?
Kifune gawa	After all, I have beseeched the <i>kami</i>
Kabakari hayaki	Who is as swift as
Kami wo tanomu ni	“Yellow Boat” River

Thus, he almost immediately received the position that he desired.

今までになど沈むらん貴船川かばかり早き神を頼むに

SZS XX: 1271

Kamo no Masahira (1176-?)

Written and attached to the sacred palings around the time of his rumored promotion to head priest at Kataoka Shrine

Saritomo to	Whatever happens
Tanomi zo kakuru	I offer my prayer
Yufudasuki	With this mulberry threaded sash because
Wa ga katawoka no	I believe the <i>kami</i> of “One Sided Hill”
Kami to omoheba	Is on my side

And it was after that when he attained the position of head priest.

さりともと頼みぞかくるゆふだすき我片岡の神と思へば

SZS XX: 1272

Princess Shikishi (1149-1201)

On the topic of *jingi* for a hundred-poem sequence

Saritomo to	No matter what words I use,
Tanomu kokoro wa	My heart that prays for protection
Kami sabite	Has grown stale
Hisashiku narinu	Within Kamo's auspicious fence
Kamo no midzugaki	For many years

さりともと頼む心は神さびて久しくなりぬ賀茂の瑞垣

SZS XX: 1273 Kamo no Shigeyasu (1119-1191)
Composed on the topic of laments, being encouraged by others during the poetry
contest at Kamo Shrine (1178)

Kimi wo inoru	Oh Wakeikadzuchi –
Negahi wo sora ni	Fill the heavens
Mite tamahe	With thundering prayers for my lord
Wakeikadzuchi no	If you are the <i>kami</i>
Kami naraba kami	Of lightning

君をいのる願ひを空に満てたまへ別雷の神ならば神

SZS XX: 1274 Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204)
Composed for the same shrine at the time of a later contest (1184) as a moon
poem

Kifune kawa	The autumn evening moon,
Tama chiru seze no	Tumbling with pebbles
Iwanami ni	In the rapids' spray,
Kōri wo kudaku	Shatters like shards of ice
Aki no yo no tsuki	On Kifune River

貴船河玉ちる瀬ゞの岩波に氷をくたく秋の夜の月

SZS XX: 1275 Priest Jien (1155-1225)
Found among poems expressing laments

Wa ga tanomu	I beg of you –
Hiyoshi no kage ha	Won't the blessed rays of
Oku yama no	Hiyoshi, the Good Sun Shrine,
Shiba no to made mo	Illuminate my brushwood door
Sasazarame yaha	Deep in the mountains?

わが頼む日吉のかげはをく山の柴の戸までもさゝざらめやは

SZS XX: 1276 Priest Shōken (1141-1185)
Composed when thinking of the true Buddha form of the deity of Hiyoshi Shrine

Itsu to naku	The moonlight which
Washi no takane ni	Resides eternally at
Sumu tsuki no	The high Eagle Peak
Hikari wo yadosu	Is also visitant of
Shiga no karasaki	Shiga's Karasaki

いつとなく鷲の高嶺に澄む月の光をやどす志賀の唐崎

SZS XX: 1277 Nakahara no Moronao (1129-1197)
Composed when a rainy day suddenly became sunny on an imperial visit to
Hiyoshi Shrine

Miyuki suru	Over the high peak
Takane no kata ni	Of our destination
Kumo harete	The shining beacon of Hiyoshi
Sora ni hiyoshi no	Is there in the sky
Shirushi wo zo miru	Now clear of clouds

御幸する高嶺のかたに雲晴れて空に日吉のしるしをぞ見る

SZS XX: 1278 Priest En'i (Saigyō) (1118-1190)
Composed at a mountain temple in Futami Bay in the land of Ise having left
Mt. Kōya while thinking about the manifestation of Mahavairochana at the
place called *Kami* Path Mountain behind the Grand Ise Shrine

Fukaku irite	Into the depths
Kamiji no oku wo	I traversed the
Tazunereba	Road of the <i>kami</i> ,
Mata uwe mo naki	And when the path led no higher –
Mine no matsu kaze	Pine winds on the peak

深く入りて神路のをくを尋ぬればまたうゑもなき峰の松風

SZS XX: 1279 Ōnakatomi no Tamesada (1149-1212)
After moving the capital to Fukuohara in 1180, composed on his return to the
Grand Ise Shrine as a prayer to his lord

Tsukiyomi no	If the Moon God
Kami shi terasaba	Were to shine,
Adagumo no	Would he not also clear away
Kakaru ukiyo mo	This miserable world all
Harezarame yaha	Veiled in floating clouds?

After that, order was restored in the capital and the emperor was safe.

月よみの神し照さばあだ雲のかゝる憂き世も晴れざらめやは

SZS XX: 1280

Priest Nōren (1132?-1192?)

Recited in front of various people during a poetry contest at Iwashimizu Shrine on the topic of the moon over the shrine

Iwashimizu	Since the pure flow
Kiyoki nagare no	Of Iwashimizu
Taeseneba	Is unending,
Yadoru tsuki sae	Even the reflection of the moon
Kumanakarikeri	Is eternal and clear!

石清水きよき流れの絶えせねばやどる月さへ隈なかりけり

SZS XX: 1281

Fujiwara no Noritada (?-1041)

A *kami asobi* poem on the topic of Kaminabi Mountain in the western province of Tanba for the first fruits festival in 1036 under Retired Emperor Gosuzaku

Tokiwa naru	Graft <i>sakaki</i> trees
Kaminabi yama no	From the evergreen
Sakakiba wo	Sacred Grove Mountain
Sashite zo inoru	In Tokiwa in the name of
Yorodzuyo no tame	Ten thousand blessed ages

ときはなる神南備山のさか木葉をさしてぞ祈る万世のため

SZS XX: 1282

Fujiwara no Tsunehira (1005-1072)

A *kagura* poem on the topic of Iwaya Mountain in the western province for the first fruits festival in 1068 under Retired Emperor Gosanjō

Ugoki naku	For a steadfast and
Chiyo wo zo inoru	Prosperous reign we pray –
Iwaya yama	May it be as unchanging as the
Toru sakakiba no	Evergreen leaves of <i>sakaki</i>
Iro kahezu shite	Picked from Rock Cavern Mountain

動きなく千世をぞ祈る岩屋山とる榊葉の色変えずして

SZS XX: 1283

Ōe no Masafusa (1041-1111)

A *kami asobi* poem on the topic of Morogami Village in the eastern province for the first fruits festival in 1087 during Emperor Horikawa's reign

Inishihe no	Extending from the glorious time
Kami no miyo yori	Of the ancient gods

Morogami no	The blessings of the
Inoru ihahi ha	Innumerable <i>kami</i>
Kimi ga yo no tame	For the benefit of my lord

いにしへの神の御世より諸神の祈るいはみは君が世のため

SZS XX: 1284 Fujiwara no Naganori (1100-1180)
 A *kagura* poem on the topic of Yūsono in the eastern province of Ōmi for the first fruits festival in 1155 under Emperor Goshirakawa's reign

Kami ukuru	For the banquet of bountiful light
Toyo no akari ni	Presented to the <i>kami</i> ,
Yufusono no	The running ground pine
Hikage kadzura zo	From Cotton Garden
Hahemasarikeri	Is extremely lush

神うくる豊の明りに木綿園の日蔭かづらぞ映へまさりける

SZS XX: 1285
 A *kami asobi* poem on the topic of Mamoru Mountain in the eastern province of Ōmi for the first fruits festival in 1168 during Emperor Takakura's reign

Suberaki wo	The <i>kami</i> of ten thousand ages
Yawo yorodzuyo no	Watch over the emperor
Kami mo mina	For all time –
Tokiha ni mamoru	And so in commemoration
Yama no na zo kore	The mountain is thus named

すべらきを八百万世の神もみなときはにまもる山の名ぞこれ

SZS XX: 1286 Fujiwara no Kanemitsu (1145-1196)
 A *kagura* poem on the topic of Kaminabi Mountain in the western province of Tanba for the first fruits festival in 1182

Mishima yufu	With Mishima cotton
Kata ni torikake	Draped over his shoulder
Kaminabi no	And Sacred Grove Mountain
Yama no sakaki wo	Evergreen sprigs adorning
Kazashi ni zo suru	His head – he prays

みしまゆふ肩にとりかけ神南備の山のさか木をかざしにぞする

SZS XX: 1287

Fujiwara no Suetsune (1131-1221)

A *kami asobi* poem on the topic of Morogami Village in the eastern province of Ōmi for the first fruits festival in 1174 during the reign of Emperor Goshirakawa

Morogami no	It now seems
Kokoro ni ima zo	That the will of
Kanafurashi	Of the innumerable <i>kami</i>
Kimi wo yachiyo to	Has been granted –
Inoru yogoto ha	Prayers for the lord's longevity

諸神の心に今ぞかなふらし君を八千世と祈るよごとは

SZS XX: 1288

Fujiwara no Mitsunori (1126-1209)

A *kagura* poem on the topic of Chitose Mountain in the western province of Tanba for the same first fruits festival of 1174

Chitose yama	The evergreen leaves
Kami no yo saseru	Grafted from the age of the <i>kami</i>
Sakakiba no	Onto the Thousand Year Mountain
Sakahemasaru ha	Continue to flourish
Kimi ga tame toka	For my lord

千年山神の世させるさか木葉のさかへまさるは君がためとか

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