

HIRANO Tae 平野多恵

Kami and Buddhist Poems in Imperial *Waka* Anthologies

Ever since Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems were added to imperial *waka* anthologies as individual categories in the mid-twelfth century, they have always appeared together; the inclusion of one always involves the other, and vice versa. In many imperial anthologies, these categories include poems that are taken to be oracles from the kami or buddhas. An analysis of these oracle poems reveals the nature of the relationship between humans and divine figures at the time. These poems demonstrate the heightened popularity of poems dedicated to the various gods and buddhas, the beliefs of the emperors who ordered the compilation of these imperial *waka* anthologies, and the increased prominence of Shinto-Buddhist syncretism.

KEYWORDS: imperial *waka* anthology—Kami Poems—Buddhist Poems—oracle poems—kami and buddhas

HIRANO Tae is Professor at Seikei University.

IN IMPERIAL *waka* anthologies (*chokusenshū* 勅撰集), poems are always divided into separate categories, such as the Four Seasons or Love. These categories are called *budate* 部立. Poems in these categories are usually arranged in chronological order, a custom that dates back to the *Kokin wakashū* (hereafter *Kokinshū*), the first imperial anthology compiled in 905. In contrast, the order of poems in categories that came to be established in later imperial anthologies is usually not fixed and therefore offers more room to reflect the intentions of the commissioners or compilers of the collections.

This article focuses on the categories of Kami Poems (*jingika* 神祇歌) and Buddhist Poems (*shakkyōka* 釈教歌), which were established as independent categories in the *Senzai wakashū* in the late twelfth century and continued to be featured in these collections until the last imperial anthology, the *Shinshoku kokin wakashū*. These two categories often include poems that are taken to be oracles from divine figures, such as kami or buddhas, and a detailed analysis of these poems reveals the nature of the relationship between humans and these divine figures at the time, including the heightened popularity of poems dedicated to the various gods and buddhas, the beliefs of the emperors who ordered the compilation of these imperial anthologies, and the increased prominence of Shinto-Buddhist syncretism. I also argue that these two categories always appear together in imperial anthologies and this suggests that gods and buddhas were conceived of as the dual protectors of royal authority.

The Establishment of Kami and Buddhist Poems as Categories in Imperial Waka Anthologies

The *Kokinshū*—arguably the most influential among the twenty-one imperial *waka* anthologies—is divided into twenty separate volumes, each revolving around a specific theme, such as “Spring” (*haru* 春), “Summer” (*natsu* 夏), “Autumn” (*aki* 秋), “Winter” (*fuyu* 冬), “Love” (*koi* 恋), “Acrostics” (*mono no na* 物名), “Congratulations” (*ga* 賀), “Laments” (*aishō* 哀傷), “Travel” (*kiryo* 羈旅), “Miscellaneous” (*zō* 雑), and “Miscellaneous Forms” (*zattai* 雑体), and so on. Due to the *Kokinshū*’s influence, this has become the norm for all subsequent imperial anthologies. Later, Kami and Buddhist Poems were added, but what position did they previously occupy in imperial anthologies?

In the first two imperial anthologies, *Kokinshū* and *Gosen wakashū*, there are poems that could technically be considered Kami Poems and Buddhist poems, but these are few and often scattered throughout the collections. For example,

volume ten of the *Kokinshū* includes some poems that deal with Shinto rituals in the sub-sections “Traditional Poems from the Bureau of Song” (*ōtadokoro no on’uta* 大歌所御歌), “Songs as Entertainment for the Gods” (*kami asobi no uta* 神遊びの歌), and “Eastern Songs” (*azuma uta* 東歌), and both collections contain some poems in the “Miscellaneous” volumes that deal with the subject of impermanence or lamenting for the dead. With the compilation of the third imperial anthology, *Shūi wakashū*, the presence of Kami and Buddhist Poems became more pronounced: Kami Poems came to have their own independent category in volume ten of the *Shūi wakashū*, and the “Lament” volume contains over twenty poems that are composed on topics taken from Buddhist sutras, such as the *Lotus Sūtra*.

In the *Goshūi wakashū*, the successor of the *Shūi wakashū*, Kami and Buddhist Poems are both established as sub-sections for the first time in the “Miscellaneous vi” volume, with each containing nineteen poems. However, the next two imperial anthologies, *Kin’yō wakashū* and *Shika wakashū*, reverted to simply including Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems in the “Miscellaneous” volumes without according them their own categories.

In the next imperial anthology, *Senzai wakashū*, Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems both received their own categories, and there is one previous collection in which these categories are both found. The *Shokushika wakashū*, which was compiled before the *Senzai wakashū*, was intended to take the place of the seventh imperial anthology. Its commissioner, Emperor Nijō 二条 (1143–1165), died before it was completed, and so the *Shokushika wakashū* never became an official imperial anthology. Nonetheless, it is a significant precursor in which Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems were established as having their own dedicated category.

The Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems categories that first appeared in the *Shokushika wakashū* were indispensable in later imperial anthologies. When one takes a closer look at these categories, the order of the poems and the choice of which poems to include (and which to exclude) are similar. Up until this point, these two categories had always been studied separately, but given that they were created at the same time, they undoubtedly share a strong connection. Therefore, I argue that it is important to examine Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems in relation to each other.

The main purpose of an imperial *waka* anthology is usually to extol the reign of the ruler who commissioned the compilation. As such, the choice of poems and their order tend to reflect the sociopolitical conditions of the time. In *waka* studies, this kind of analysis has often focused on the Congratulations category, which, beginning with the *Shinchokusen wakashū* (an imperial anthology compiled in the mid-thirteenth century), tends to include poems that explicitly celebrate the sovereigns who ordered the compilation of these anthologies. However, as previously stated, the Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems categories are

relatively more flexible in terms of the ordering of the poems compared to categories that have existed since the time of the *Kokinshū*, and they thus present an interesting case study for how the intentions of the commissioners and compilers are reflected. Of special interest here are poems that are considered to be oracles from the gods and buddhas, that is, oracle poems (*takusenka* 託宣歌). Not all imperial anthologies contain these oracle poems, but in those that do, they are almost always placed at either the beginning or the end of the volume for both the Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems categories. These are positions that are held in special regard when it comes to imperial anthologies, which suggests the high degree of importance accorded to these oracle poems.

Oracles in Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems

It is said that the first thirty-one-syllable *waka* was composed by a kami. The “Kana Preface” to the *Kokinshū* seeks the origin of *waka* in the gods of Japanese mythology and claims that the first *waka* ever composed is the following by Susanoo no mikoto when he was at Izumo 出雲:

Yakumo tatsu
Izumo yaegaki
tsumagome ni
yaegaki tsukuru
sono yaegaki o

In the land of Izumo,
 like the eightfold clouds that rise,
 I shall build an eightfold fence
 to surround my lovely bride—
 an eightfold fence, I shall build.

(SKT 1: 9)

Ever since this poem was included in the opening to the first imperial anthology, it has been thought that Japanese deities compose poems, and that eventually oracles from the gods were transmitted to humans in the form of *waka*. In the beginning, oracle poems were exclusive to kami, but as time went on oracle poems by buddhas and bodhisattvas also started to appear.

Among imperial anthologies, the first to include oracle poems was the *Shūi wakashū*, the third imperial anthology that was compiled in the early eleventh century. The two poems in question are by the Sumiyoshi 住吉 and Kamo 賀茂 deities, included in “Sacred Poems” (vol. 10). It is worth noting, however, that prior to the *Shūi wakashū*, there was already a poetic exchange between an emperor and the Sumiyoshi deity in the one-hundred-and-seventeenth section of *Ise monogatari*. In the next imperial anthology, *Goshūi wakashū*, the beginning of the Kami Poems sub-section of the “Miscellaneous vi” volume contains two poetic exchanges between a god and a human: one between the Ise 伊勢 deity and Ōnakatomi no Sukechika 大中臣輔親 (954–1038), who was the head priest of Ise Shrine, and the other between the Kibune 貴船 deity and Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部 (976–1030). In the fifth imperial anthology, *Kin'yō wakashū*, “Miscellaneous i” (vol. 9) contains one oracle poem where the Ise deity appeared

in the dream of Ōnakatomi no Sukehiro 大中臣輔弘 (d.u.) (*Kin'yō wakashū*, no. 578), and in the next imperial anthology (*Shika wakashū*), the “Miscellaneous 11” volume contains one oracle poem by the Inari 稲荷 deity (*Shika wakashū*, no. 409). All of these are oracle poems by kami, and up until the mid-twelfth century there are no oracle poems by buddhas and bodhisattvas.

During this period of roughly one-and-a-half centuries, the number of oracle poems that made it into the imperial anthologies was small, but interest in them was starting to grow. This fact is apparent when one looks at the poetic treatises at the time. One example is the *Toshiyori zuinō*, a treatise by Minamoto no Toshiyori 源俊賴 (1055–1129), who was also the compiler of the *Kin'yō wakashū*. This treatise includes a total of seven poems by kami, beginning with Susanoo's “Eightfold clouds” poem, followed by two poems by the Sumiyoshi deity and one poem each by the Miwa 三輪, Ise, Kibune, and Aritōshi 蟻通 deities. In terms of poems by buddhas and bodhisattvas, this work includes a poetic exchange between Prince Shōtoku 聖德 (574–622) and a starving beggar, one poem by a monk who appeared in the dream of a Buddhist practitioner, and a poetic exchange between Gyōki Bosatsu 行基菩薩 (668–749) and Bodhisena (704–760) on the occasion of the Great Buddha's “eye-opening” ceremony at Tōdaiji 東大寺. Most notable among these are the exchange between Gyōki and Bodhisena and the one between Prince Shōtoku and the starving beggar, both of which appear in “Lament” (vol. 20), of the *Shūi wakashū*. According to the *Toshiyori zuinō*, Prince Shōtoku was the incarnation of the Guze Kannon Bosatsu 救世観音菩薩, while the starving beggar, Gyōki, and Bodhisena were all incarnations of the Monju Bosatsu 文殊菩薩. This theory of the incarnations of various bodhisattvas with regard to these poetic exchanges was inherited by later poetic treatises, anthologies, and *setsuwa* 説話 (narrative tales).

This interest in Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems grew with the *Fukurō zōshi*, a poetic treatise by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104–1177). The section entitled “Uncommon Poems” (*kitai no uta* 希代の歌) in the first volume is an aggregation of poems purported to be composed by kami, buddhas, incarnations of buddhas and bodhisattvas, as well as those that are specifically taken to be divine response poems by kami and buddhas. The sub-section, “Poems by Kami” (*shinmei no ōn'uta* 神明御歌), contains a total of nineteen oracle poems by the Ise, Usa 宇佐, Kamo, Hirano 平野, Inari, Kasuga 春日, Ōharano 大原野, Miwa, Sumiyoshi, Kitano 北野, Kibune, Kumano 熊野, Amenomiya 天宮, Aritōshi, and Shinra 新羅 deities. The sub-section, “Poems by Buddhas” (*hotoke no ōn'uta* 仏御歌), contains three poems about bodhisattvas appearing in the dreams of Buddhist monks, three poems by the Kiyomizu Kannon 清水観音, two poems by the Rokkakudō Kannon 六角堂観音, and one poem that was an oracle dream for the monk Chien 智縁 (d.u.). The section entitled “Poems by Incarnations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas” (*gongejin no uta* 権化人歌) includes poems by founders or high-ranking

monks of the Tendai and Shingon schools, such as Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and Kūkai 空海 (774–835), in addition to the exchanges between Prince Shōtoku and the starving beggar and the one between Gyōki and Bodhisena previously introduced in the *Toshiyori zuinō*. The *Fukuro zōshi* was an attempt to provide a comprehensive assortment of all of the oracle poems that were in circulation at the time.

Seven years after the compilation of the *Fukuro zōshi*, Kami and Buddhist Poems each had one volume dedicated solely to them in the *Shokushika wakashū*. Notably, both of these works were compiled by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke. Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems in volumes three and ten, respectively, of the *Shokushika wakashū* both end with oracle poems that take place in dreams, that is, “dream revelation poems” (*mukoku no uta* 夢告歌). All of these poems were included in the “Uncommon Poems” section of the *Fukuro zōshi*. The “Kami Poems” volume ends with an exchange between the Kasuga deity and the poet Horikawa 堀河 (d.u.) and an oracle poem by the Kitano deity. The “Buddhist Poems” volume ends with a dream revelation poem where Hōki Daisen 伯耆大山 appeared in the monk Chien’s dream, a poetic exchange in a dream between Higo 肥後 and a child, a poem by the Kiyomizu Kannon, and a dream revelation poem by “three neat-looking monks” (*kiyogenaru sō sannin* きよげなる僧三人).

The fact that the *Fukuro zōshi* collected many oracle poems by kami and buddhas and that the *Shokushika wakashū* placed these poems at the end of the “Kami Poems” and “Buddhist Poems” volumes likely reflected Fujiwara no Kiyosuke’s personal interest in poems by kami and buddhas. With that being said, the compilation of an imperial anthology was always highly involved with royal authority and not something over which the compiler had complete control. There must have been some significance to the establishment of Kami and Buddhist Poems as individual categories for the first time in the *Shokushika wakashū* and to the placement of oracle poems at the end of these volumes.

In the *Senzai wakashū*, which was commissioned by Retired Emperor Go Shirakawa 後白河 (1127–1192) and compiled by Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204) in 1188, there is not a single oracle poem to be found in the “Kami Poems” and the “Buddhist Poems” volumes. By contrast, the presence of poems by humans dedicated to deities and poems with side notes explaining that the deities had divinely responded and granted the wishes of humans—poems that employ the so-called tales of wondrous benefits of poetry (*katoku setsuwa* 歌徳説話) trope—is notable. This may be attributed to the increased popularity of the practice of dedicating *waka* to kami at the time, as well as Shunzei’s personal interest in that practice. Prior to 1183, when Go Shirakawa ordered Shunzei to compile the *Senzai wakashū*, various activities meant for the dedication of *waka* to shrines, such as poetry contests held at shrines or one-hundred-poem sequences of dedication, were frequently held before the kami. Shunzei him-

self acted as the judge of the Sumiyoshi Shrine Poetry Contest (*Sumiyoshisha utaawase* 住吉社歌合) in 1170, the Hirota Shrine Poetry Contest (*Hirotaisha utaawase* 広田社歌合) in 1172, the Miidera Shinra Shrine Poetry Contest (*Miidera Shinrasha utaawase* 三井寺新羅社歌合) in 1173, and the Wake Ikazuchi Shrine Poetry Contest (*Wake Ikazuchisha utaawase* 別雷社歌合) in 1178. Additionally, in 1190, roughly one year after the completion of the *Senzai wakashū*, Shunzei also dedicated his *Gosha hyakushu* 五社百首 to the Ise, Kamo, Kasuga, Hiyoshi 日吉, and Sumiyoshi shrines. All of these activities confirm Shunzei's interest in making *waka* offerings to the gods.

This kind of interest in *waka* composed by kami and buddhas became even more pronounced with the *Shinkokin wakashū*, the eighth imperial anthology commissioned by Retired Emperor Go Toba 後鳥羽 (1180–1239) and compiled by Minamoto no Michitomo 源通具 (1171–1227) and Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241), among others, in 1205. The beginning of the Kami Poems in volume nineteen includes thirteen oracle poems, and the beginning of the Buddhist Poems in volume twenty includes three oracle poems; these are unprecedented numbers. The emphasis on oracle poems is most apparent in the “Kami Poems” volume, where the thirteen oracle poems are arranged in sequence right at the beginning of the volume. For the “Buddhist Poems” volume, the first two poems are by the Kiyomizu Kannon and the third is the dream revelation poem where Hōki Daisen appeared in Chien's dream; all of these poems already appeared in the *Fukuro zōshi*.

The sequence of oracle poems at the beginning of the “Kami Poems” volume reflects the intention of Go Toba, who both commissioned the anthology and was deeply involved with the compilation process. To break it down further, these thirteen poems begin with one poem by the Hiyoshi deity and continue with poems by the Dazaifu 太宰府 deity (one poem), Kasuga no Enomoto 春日榎本 deity (one poem), Sumiyoshi deity (three poems), Kasuga deity (one poem), Kumano deity (two poems), Kamo deity (two poems), Iwashimizu 石清水 deity (one poem), and Usa deity (one poem). Many of these overlap with the shrines where Go Toba actively dedicated his *waka* (Hiyoshi, Tenjin 天神, Kasuga, Sumiyoshi, Kumano, Kamo, and Hachiman 八幡), both before and after the compilation of the *Shinkokin wakashū*.

In the *Meigetsuki*, Fujiwara no Teika's diary, he recounts that there is an extremely large number of poems attributed to kami in the “Kami Poems” volume of the anthology, and that he experienced great awe when trying to decide the exact order of the poems (entries for the twenty-second and twenty-sixth days of the second month, 1205). At this time, there was an official ranking system called the twenty-two shrines (*nijūni sha* 二十二社), with the Ise deity at the top of the hierarchy. The order of the aforementioned poems by kami that are included in the *Fukuro zōshi* also correspond, for the most part, to the twenty-two

shrines ranking. However, it is worth noting that the Kumano deity, who had two attributed poems in the series of oracle poems in the *Shinkokin wakashū* and whose authority Go Toba had great faith in, was not featured in the twenty-two shrines ranking. Thus, the positioning of the Kumano deity's poems in the *Shinkokin wakashū* would have posed a problem. In the end, due to Go Toba's personal decision, the oracle poems by kami were arranged in a seasonal order, and the poem by the Hiyoshi deity, which has to do with an early spring event that involves the practice of pulling up pine seedlings on the first day of the rat, was thus chosen as the opening poem of the volume. During the process of compilation, Go Toba frequently carried out dedications of *waka* to the gods and prayers for the peace of his reign, and, at the same time, he also expressed a great interest in oracle poems, which may be said to be divine responses to his prayers.

From the ninth imperial anthology—*Shinchokusen wakashū*—onward, oracle poems were rarely included in imperial anthologies. However, Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems became categories in privately compiled anthologies (*shisenshū* 私撰集) that appeared during this same period, and oracle poems were included within these categories. One example is the *Naranoha wakashū*, compiled by Soshun 素俊 (d.u.) in 1237, where the beginning of the “Kami Poems with Congratulations” (*jingi gashuku tsuketari* 神祇付賀祝) in volume seven features an oracle poem for when Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213), a monk at Kōfukuji 興福寺, went into seclusion and performed a ceremony at Hannyadai 般若台 of Kasagidera 笠置寺 for the Kasuga deity to relocate there and serve as the tutelary deity. It is followed by a dream revelation poem where a Kōfukuji monk received divine revelation from the Kasuga and the Sumiyoshi deities, making it apparent that this anthology is a collection of poems to do with Kōfukuji. This trend of oracle poems attributed to tutelary deities of Buddhist temples started to appear more in later imperial *waka* anthologies.

After the *Shokugosen wakashū* (compiled in 1251), the imperial anthologies that did contain oracle poems were: *Shokukokin wakashū*, *Gyokuyō wakashū*, *Fūga wakashū*, *Shinshūi wakashū*, and *Shinshoku kokin wakashū*. The *Shokukokin wakashū* was compiled in 1265 by Fujiwara no Tameie 藤原為家 (1198–1275) and others. When oracle poems are included in imperial anthologies, they tend to appear in both the “Kami Poems” and the “Buddhist Poems” volumes, but in the *Shokukokin wakashū*, they only appear in the “Kami Poems” volume (vol. 7). The eight poems that make up this volume are oracle poems by the deities of Inari, Kasuga, Kitano, Shinra, Amenomiya, and Mount Kōya 高野, and they occasionally include expressions from Buddhist poems, such as “Shakamuni Butsu” 釈迦牟尼仏 in the poem by the Kasuga deity, “the law” (*nori* 法) in the poem by the Shinra deity, or “the light of the law” (*nori no tomoshibi* 法のともしび) in the poem by the Mount Kōya deity, which strongly suggests an influence from the

syncretism between Shinto and Buddhism (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合). Buddhist-like oracle poems by kami also increased after this point.

The next two imperial anthologies that include oracle poems, *Gyokuyō wakashū* and *Fūga wakashū*, were compiled by the Kyōgoku 京極 school of poets, who were trusted by the emperors of the Jinmyōintō 持明院統 line. The *Gyokuyō wakashū*, which is the fourteenth imperial anthology that was commissioned by Retired Emperor Fushimi 伏見 (1265–1317) and compiled by Kyōgoku Tamekane 京極為兼 (1254–1332) in 1313, is notable in that it contains the largest number of oracle poems of all the imperial anthologies. The beginning of “Buddhist Poems” (vol. 19) contains eleven oracle poems, the most notable of which are the six poems dealing with the topic of being reborn in paradise through the *nenbutsu* 念仏, starting with a poem by Zenkōji Amida Nyorai 善光寺阿弥陀如, which is the first poem in the volume. In “Kami Poems” (vol. 20), the first eighteen poems are oracle poems, the first of which is one where the Ise deity gives an oracle to the poet Saigyō 西行 (1118–1190). Additionally, there are other poems that demonstrate the strong influence of Buddhism, such as oracle poems for the monks Jōkei or Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232), or a poem in which the Imakumano 新熊野 deity rejoices upon hearing the sound of *nenbutsu*. As stated previously, many of the oracle poems in the “Kami Poems” volume of the *Gyokuyō wakashū* display a strong syncretism between Shinto and Buddhism. It is also notable that there are more poems by Buddhist monks in the “Kami Poems” volume compared to other imperial anthologies.

As for the *Fūga wakashū*, which was the seventeenth imperial anthology personally compiled in 1349 by Retired Emperor Kōgon 光厳 (1313–1364), the first poem of the “Buddhist Poems” volume (vol. 18) is one by the Zenkōji Nyorai 善光寺如来, the second is Prince Shōtoku’s response to the first, and the third is an oracle poem by the Kokawa Kannon 粉河観音 on the subject of setting sail for Fudaraku 補陀落. The oracle poem by Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来 that is placed at the very beginning of the volume follows the precedent of the *Gyokuyō wakashū*, which was characteristic of the Kyōgoku school when compiling imperial *waka* anthologies. In the “Kami Poems” volume (vol. 19), the first seven poems—one by the Kamo Mioya 鴨御祖 deity, three by the Kasuga deity, one by the Hiyoshi Jishu Gongen 日吉地主権現, and two by the Kumano deity—are all oracle poems. Despite the fact that these are included in the “Kami Poems” volume, it is worth noting that these poems all employ Buddhist expressions, such as “the moon of absolute reality” (*shinnyo no tsuki* 真如の月) in the poem by the Kasuga deity, “tainted” (*uro* 有漏), “untainted” (*muro* 無漏), and “buddha” (*hotoke* 仏) in one poem by the Kumano deity, or expressions that are based on the *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 theory, such as “kami who mingle in the dirt” (*chiri ni majiwaru kami* 塵にまじはる神) in another poem by the Kumano deity to express the idea of living a quiet life by hiding one’s true talent or knowledge.

In the Muromachi period, the Muromachi shogun also started to participate in the compilation of imperial *waka* anthologies; the results of these efforts were imperial anthologies that were compiled at the request of the shogun. In the nineteenth imperial anthology (*Shinshūi wakashū*), which was commissioned by Retired Emperor Go Kōgon 後光厳 (1338–1374) at the request of Ashikaga Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (1330–1367) and compiled by Nijō no Tameaki 二条為明 (1295–1364) in 1364, the “Kami Poems” (vol. 16) contain five oracle poems by the Kasuga, Hiyoshi Jishu Gongen, Hiyoshi, Atsuta 熱田, and Kitano deities at the beginning, while the “Buddhist Poems” (vol. 17) include one dream revelation poem by Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩 at Sumiyoshi 住吉 Shrine at the very beginning of the volume.

With the final imperial anthology, the *Shinshoku kokin wakashū*, commissioned by Emperor Go Hanazono 後花園 (1419–1471) at the request of Ashikaga Yoshinori 足利義教 (1394–1441) and compiled by Asukai Masayo 飛鳥井雅世 (1390–1452) in 1439, the Buddhist Poems in volume eight begin with two oracle poems by the Hiyoshi Jūzenji 日吉十禪師 and Kiyomizu Kannon. Hiyoshi Jūzenji is one of the seven Hiyoshi Sannō 日吉山王 upper shrines, and he is the tutelary deity of the Tendai school. The Kami Poems in volume twenty start out with three oracle poems by the deities of Sumiyoshi, who is revered as the kami of poetry, Tamatsushima 玉津島, and Kitano, and ends with a series of poems on the Sumiyoshi deity and Tamatsushimahime 玉津島姫. Notable here are the poems from the Niitamatsushima Shrine Poetry Contest (*Niitamatsushimasha utaawase* 新玉津島社歌合) of 1367, which are included in the Tamatsushimahime poem sequence, and dedication poems on the occasion of the reconstruction of Niitamatsushima Shrine in 1417 by Gyōkō 堯孝 (1391–1455). Regarding the Niitamatsushima Shrine, Ton’a 頓阿 (1289–1372) initially performed the ceremony to pray for the transfer of the tutelary deity at Tamatsushima Shrine in Kii 紀伊 Province to the new shrine at the site of the old residence of Fujiwara no Shunzei at Gojō Karasuma 五条烏丸. In 1367, the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiakira ordered the main shrine building rebuilt, and the Niitamatsushima Shrine Poetry Contest was held the same year. Due to fires and other mishaps, this shrine was rebuilt and transferred several times, and, according to the headnote to Gyōkō’s poem at the end of the “Kami Poems” volume, the shrine was rebuilt again in 1417. At this time, Gyōkō was serving as a steward at the Niitamatsushima Shrine, and he was also involved in the compilation of the *Shinshoku kokin wakashū* as the Deputy Chief of the Poetry Bureau. Even though the Niitamatsushima Shrine was burned to the ground in 1434, it was rebuilt soon after, and in the same year the shogun Yoshiakira performed temple solicitation for poems to be submitted to the gods and buddhas and made a dedication of the Niitamatsushima Shrine thirty-poem sequence. Thus, the historical context of the Tamatsushimahime poem sequence at the end of the *Shinshoku kokin wakashū* reveals the deep

connection between a major politician at the time (Yoshiakira), the compiler, (Gyōkō), and Niitamatsushima Shrine.

What Can Be Gathered from Oracle Poems by Kami and Buddhas

Oracle poems in imperial *waka* anthologies began with the *Shūi wakashū* at the beginning of the eleventh century, with the earliest examples being oracle poems by kami. Later on, oracle poems by buddhas and bodhisattvas also appeared, with poetic treatises setting the precedent. One early example of this was the *Toshiyori zuinō*, which refers to exchanges between Gyōki and Bodhisena as well as Prince Shōtoku and a starving beggar in the “Laments” (vol. 20) of the *Shūi wakashū*. The passage argues that the starving beggar, Gyōki, and Bodhisena are all incarnations of Monju Bosatsu, whereas Prince Shōtoku is an incarnation of Guze Kannon. Following the *Shokushika wakashū*, which appeared in the mid-twelfth century, Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems became individual categories with their own dedicated volumes in imperial *waka* anthologies, and oracle poems by buddhas and bodhisattvas appeared in the Buddhist Poems category. From around the time of the *Shokukokin wakashū* in the mid-thirteenth century, Buddhist expressions were employed in oracle poems in the Kami Poems category. In the fourteenth century, with the *Gyokuyōshū* and the *Fūga wakashū*, oracle poems in the Kami Poems category began to use more and more Buddhist terms; for oracle poems in the Buddhist Poems category, there are poems attributed to Zenkōji Nyorai and of being reborn in paradise thanks to the practice of *nenbutsu*. Oracle poems in both the Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems categories increasingly demonstrated the syncretism between Shinto and Buddhism. These changes were the manifestation in *waka* of the growing influence of the syncretism between Shinto and Buddhism at the time.

These changes in people’s beliefs paralleled how various poems attributed to kami and buddhas were collected in the *Fukuro zōshi* and how many oracle poems by kami and buddhas were included in imperial *waka* anthologies. Kami Poems and Buddhist Poems were established as separate categories in imperial *waka* anthologies; the inclusion of oracle poems by kami and buddhas in these categories demonstrates that the devotional practices at shrines were developing into a nationwide practice. Neither Kami Poems nor Buddhist Poems would likely have survived on their own, and they are conceived of as existing in a mutually complementary relationship.

[Translated by Phuong Ngo]

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

- NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系. 100 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1958–1966.
- SKT *Shinpen kokka taikan* 新編国歌大観. 10 vols. Ed. Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshū Iinkai 新編国歌大観編集委員会. Kadokawa Shoten, 1983–1992.
- SNKBT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系. 100 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1989–2005.
- SNKBZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集. 88 vols. Shōgakkan, 1994–2002.

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Fūga wakashū* 風雅和歌集. Comp. Retired Emperor Kōgon 光嚴 (1313–1364). SKT 1.
- Fukuro zōshi* 袋草紙. Comp. Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104–1177). SNKBT 29.
- Gosen wakashū* 後撰和歌集. Comp. Minamoto no Shitagō 源 順 (911–983), Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu 大中臣能宣 (921–991), Kiyohara no Motosuke 清原元輔 (908–990), Sakanoue no Mochiki 坂上望城 (ca. 980), Ki no Tokibumi 紀時文 (ca. 922–996). SKT 1.
- Goshūi wakashū* 後拾遺和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Michitoshi 藤原通俊 (1047–1099). SKT 1.
- Gyokuyō wakashū* 玉葉和歌集. Comp. Kyōgoku Tamekane 京極為兼 (1254–1332). SKT 1.
- Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語. NKBT 9.
- Kin'yō wakashū* 金葉和歌集. Comp. Minamoto no Toshiyori 源 俊賴 (1055–1129). SKT 1.
- Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集. Comp. Ki no Tsurayuki 紀 貫之 (ca. 872–945), Ki no Tomonori 紀友則 (ca. 845–907), Ōshikōchi no Mitsune 凡河内躬恒 (ca. 859–925), Mibun no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (ca. 860–ca. 920). SKT 1.
- Meigetsuki* 明月記. Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241). In *Meigetsuki daiichi* 明月記 第一. Kokusho Kankōkai, 1911.
- Naranoha wakashū* 栞葉和歌集. Comp. Soshun 素俊 (d.u.). SKT 6.
- Niitamatsushima sha sanjūshu waka* 新玉津島社三十首和歌. In *Mikan waka shiryō shū* 未刊和歌資料集, vol. 2. Yanase Kazuo 築瀬一雄, Inoue Muneo 井上宗雄, Kouchi Kazuaki 小内一明, eds. Rinsen Shoten, 1965.
- Senzai wakashū* 千載和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204). SKT 1.
- Shika wakashū* 詞花和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Akisuke 藤原顕輔 (1090–1155). SKT 1.

Shinchokusen wakashū 新勅撰和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Teika. SKT 1.

Shinkokin wakashū 新古今和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Teika, Fujiwara no Ariie 藤原有家 (1155–1216), Fujiwara no Ietaka 藤原家隆 (1158–1237), Jakuren 寂蓮 (1139–1202), Minamoto no Michitomo 源 通具 (1171–1227), Asukai Masatsune 飛鳥井雅經 (1170–1221). SKT 1.

Shinshoku kokin wakashū 新統古今和歌集. Comp. Asukai Masayo 飛鳥井雅世 (1390–1452). SKT 1.

Shinshūi wakashū 新拾遺和歌集. Comp. Nijō no Tameaki 二条為明 (1295–1364). SKT 1.

Shokugosen wakashū 続後撰和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Tameie 藤原為家 (1198–1275). SKT 1.

Shokukokin wakashū 続古今和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Tameie, Kujō no Motoie 九条基家 (1203–1280), Kinugasa no Ieyoshi 笠家良 (1192–1264), Rokujō no Yukiie 六条行家 (1223–1275), Shinkan 真観 (1203–1276). SKT 1.

Shokushika wakashū 続詞花和歌集. Comp. Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104–1177). SKT 2.

Shūi wakashū 拾遺和歌集. SKT 1.

Toshiyori zuinō 俊頼髓腦. Comp. Minamoto no Toshiyori. SNKBZ 87.