On Organization of Poetic Material in Medieval Japanese Collections
(Shinsanjurokka sen and Koyasan Kongozanmai-in tanzaku)

Maria Vladimirovna TOROPYGINA

The purpose of this article is to analyze the selection and organization of poetic material of two medieval poetic collections, Shinsanjurokka sen and Koyasan Kongozanmai-in tanzaku, created respectively in the middle of the 13th and the middle of the 14th centuries, and to give information about the manuscripts of these collections stored at the Russian State Library in Moscow.

Keywords: Japan, medieval poetry, poetic anthology, waka, Kamakura period, Ashikaga shogunate, Buddhism, manuscript, poetic hierarchy, poetic tradition.

Waka is the Japanese medieval court poetry mostly represented by 31-syllable “short poems” (tanka). In the early 10th century this kind of poetry became state, imperial, and poetic anthologies were composed on the “imperial rescripts” (chokusenwakashu). Poets whose texts were included in imperial anthologies were deemed to be success. The peculiar “quantification” criterion for creative works of medieval poets (the number of poems by the author included in imperial anthologies) migrated from old texts to modern reference books. Imperial anthologies were being compiled until the middle of the 15th century. During the relatively calm Heian epoch of the 10th – 12th centuries seven anthologies (the most famous anthology Shinkokinshu 新古今集, included in the concept of first eight collections hachidaishu 八代集, still Heian in poetical features, was composed at the beginning of Kamakura era) were created, and during the epochs of the Kamakura and Ashikaga shogunates, thirteen anthologies (if to exclude Shinkokinshu) were compiled (jusandaishu 十三代集). On the one hand it indicates the unstable situation in the country, on the other hand, the prestige of compiling anthologies for the imperial power, being a kind of additional indicator of legitimacy.

Imperial anthologies had a rather strict system of material organization. They are organized by theme throughout the text and have dynamic sections (seasons of the year from the beginning of a season to its end, love from the emergence of this feeling to the parting). By the time the first imperial anthology, Kokinshu 古今集, was composed, there were other methods of material organization in Japanese poetry collections, as well. For instance, there

1 The Russian State Library’s collection of early Japanese publications is catalogued in: [Kornicki 1999; Kornicki 2004]. However, a small collection of manuscripts stored at the Russian State Library’s manuscript research department, was not included in those catalogues. For this collection, see [Toropygina 2015].
were several poetic anthologies in the Chinese language before *Manyoshū* 万葉集 emerged. The first anthology in Chinese, *Kai Fusō* 懐風藻, composed in the 8th century, was based on the author principle and took into account the social status of authors (was consistent with the official hierarchy). In the first *waka* anthology *Manyoshū* and principles of material organization varied from one scroll to another [Meshcheryakov 2006].

It was intensive poetic life that made possible to start the compilation of imperial anthologies. There were poetic contests and meetings, from the most prestigious, hosted by the emperor, and the imperial family, to those held far from the central authorities: at homes of aristocrats, provincial officials, and members of military aristocracy, as well as at sanctuaries and temples. Poetic collections could comprise poems composed for a poetic competition or a poetic meeting, poets released collections of their own poems, pupils released collections of their teachers of poetry, and many people created collections of poems they deemed to be the best.

Whenever the release of an imperial anthology was announced, poets presented their works for consideration. 15th century work *Kensai Jodan* 兼載雑談 contains the following legend about poet Kamo no Chomei:

“When poems were being chosen for *Shinkokinshū*, various figures at the court presented personal collections of from five hundred to a thousand poems for consideration. Kamo no Chomei, however, presented only twelve poems, all of which were included in the anthology with no revisions, I was told” [Carter 2001, p. 311].

Given their significance, imperial anthologies were a special group of Japanese poetic anthologies, which is why researchers divide all *waka* collections of medieval Japan into “imperial,” i.e. official prepared on the re-scription of an emperor or a former emperor, and the rest, i.e. unofficial, which did not require the imperial assent.

Unofficial poetic anthologies can be divided into personal (or family) collections (*shikashu* 私家集) and unofficial anthologies (regularly described as *shishenshu* 私撰集), including works by several poets [Harries 1980].

Official anthologies organized material by the principles laid down by the first imperial anthology, which did not change much over five centuries (although new sections appeared in imperial anthologies), meanwhile unofficial collections (although many of them had the structure similar to those of imperial anthologies) were highly diverse.

Both *Shinsanjurokkasen* and *Koyasan Kongozanmai-in tanzaku* are unofficial poetic anthologies, *shisenshu*.

The analysis of the *Shinsanjurokkasen* poetic collection was based on the manuscript stored at the Russian State Library’s manuscript research department (F-184 / IV, No 52).

The manuscript stored at the Russian State Library is an album of illustrations made on silk and poems written on paper. The silk and paper are glued to fan-fold bound cardboard sheets. The silk cover has decorative
metal angles. Poems are written in cursive on gold-flashed paper with a floral ornament. The artistic composition comprises a portrait of the author at the bottom of the page, and a landscape at the top of the page. There is also the artist’s stamp, Togen (Dogen 洞元). The album is torn in several places, and two portraits are lost. The paper with poems has a size of 21x31.3 cm, the size of illustrations is 21x34 cm, and the size of cardboard sheets is 26x39.8 cm. There are “left” and “right” characters above the poet’s name [Toropygina 2014].

The manuscript is missing the collection’s title, yet the poetic collection itself suggests that this album comprises the works of poets known as Shin-sanjurokken, the new 36 geniuses of Japanese poetry.

The collection has several titles in manuscripts and early editions, namely Shinsanjurokuninsenkassen 新三十六人撰歌仙, Shinsanjurokunikassen 新三十六人歌仙, Shinsanjurokuninsenkassen うたあわせ 新三十六人撰歌合, and Shinsanjurokkasen 新三十六歌仙.

The collection is known from a number of manuscripts. It is not large, so it is sometimes included in the manuscript (publication) together with other materials. Several manuscripts are available on the Internet.

It seems that the first edition of this collection was released in 1848. The book Kijo no takara 貴女のたから, published 1891, titles the collection as Shinsanjurokkasen. [Shinsanjurokkasen 1891].

Several versions of this collection were published in the Nihon kagakutaikei series, including the same variant as the one to be contained in the Russian State Library’s album [Nihon Kagaku Taikei. Vol. 6. 1991, p. 241–242]. Illustrated albums of this collection comprise a separate group to which the album can be attributed. A special role in the tradition of depicting poetic geniuses (歌仙絵) was played by artist Kano Tan’yu (1602–1674) who illustrated several series of “poetic geniuses”; the portraits of poets painted by Kano Tan’yu set a model for artists of next generations [Matsumura 2003].

Several Shinsanjurokkasengacho albums by Kano Tan’yu are stored at the Tokyo State Museum. The museum also has an album by Kano Eino (1631–1697). The album stored at the Ferris University was created by Kano Masunobu (Kano Toun, 1625–1694); this is the only collection with an unusual order of poems [Shinsanjurokkasengacho 2000–2002]. All those albums have been posted on the Internet either fully or partially. All the albums are called

2 There is a slightly different list of “new 36 geniuses of Japanese poetry,” which also includes works of poets of the 12th–13th centuries. It is known from the publication Gunsho Ruiju (mak159). The collection is called Shinsanjurokuninsen (Collection of new 36 poets) and consists of a preface and a collection of ten poems by each of 36 poets [Shinsanjurokuninsen 1979].

3 While working on this collection, I have studied three manuscripts published on the Internet by the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Kokubungakuenkyu shiryokan) and two manuscripts published by the Tokyo University.
Shinsanjurokkasengacho, so the album stored at the Russian State Library can also be called Shinsanjurokkasengacho, “Illustrated album of new 36 geniuses of Japanese poetry.”

Traditionally, former Emperor Go-Toha is believed to be the creator of the collection of poems by new 36 geniuses of Japanese poetry. There are manuscripts which call him the compiler. There is also another theory. Meigetsuki 明月記, the diary of Fujiwara no Sadaie (Teika) have the inscription dated for 1233, says that Fujiwara no Motoie composed the list of 36 poets and ordered their portraits to Fujiwara no Nobuzane. The list was supposed to be taken to the exiled Go-Toha. Nothing is known about the fate of this list, but researchers believe it could be the collection of new 36 geniuses.

The collection presents poems by Go-Toha, Shikishi Naishinno, Tsuchimikado-in, Toshinari Kyō no Musume, Juntoku-in, Minamoto no Michiteru, Ninnaji no Miya (Dojo Shinno), Fujiwara no Tadayoshi, Kujo no Kanezane, Minamoto no Michichika, Fujiwara no Yoshitsune, Jien, Fujiwara no Kintsune, Minamoto no Michitomo, Fujiwara no Sanesada, Fujiwara no Kiyosuke, Fujiwara no Motoie, Gishunon-in no Tango, Fujiwara no Sadaie, Fujiwara no Ietaka, Fujiwara no Masatsune, Nijoin no Sanuki, Fujiwara no Tameie, Fujiwara no Takasuke, Fujiwara no Ariie, Minamoto no Tomotika, Kunaitkyo, Fujiwara no Hideyoshi, Inpumon-in no Tayu, Kojiju, Fujiwara no Nobuzane, Jakuren (Fujiwara no Sadanaga), Minamoto no Ienaga, Shun’e, Fujiwara no Toshinari (Shunzei), and Saigyo.

Most of this poets are presented in Shinkokinshu. Only six of the “new geniuses” are not Shinkokinshu authors: Tsuchimikado-in, Juntoku-in, Dojo Shinno, Fujiwara no Tameie, Fujiwara no Takasuke, and Fujiwara no Motoie. Eighteen poems of Shinsanjurokkasen come from Shinkokinshu. Only one poem of the entire collection, by Fujiwara no Kanezane, comes from an imperial poetic anthology published before Shinkokinshu (from the seventh imperial anthology Senzaishu 千載集). The collection presents three emperors, and all poets come from the court, seven of them are women. The social composition of the Shinsanjurokkasen collection is completely in the vein of Heian court poetry.

The collection is organized in the following way: it consists of 36 poems, one by each of the best 36 poets (the “poetic geniuses” title indicates that they are the best), and poems marked as “left” and “right” are published by turn.

The tradition of selecting the best 36 poets begins with the anthology by Fujiwara no Kinto (966–1041). He selected 150 poems by 36 poets of various periods: there were ten poems by each of six authors, while each of the rest had three of their poems included. Those 36 poems were called “36 geniuses of Japanese poetry” in the history of Japanese poetry. A collection of early manuscripts of this anthology is stored at the Kyoto temple of Nishi Honganji as a national treasure. The list of 36 geniuses played a huge role not only in the history of Japanese poetry but also in the history of fine arts, because the portraits of those poets started a tradition of series of poets’ portraits. The
first known scroll depicting 36 poetic geniuses was created at the beginning of the Kamakura (just in time of “new geniuses”). This scroll is called the Satake-bon sanjurokkasen emaki 佐竹本三十六歌仙絵巻, after the family which owned the manuscript. Traditionally, Fujiwara no Nobuzane (1176–1265) is believed to be the painter of those portraits, while Kujo no Yoshitsune (1169–1206) is believed to be the calligrapher (both belong to “new geniuses”). The scroll was divided into parts in the early 20th century; its parts are currently owned by several museums and private collectors.

The scroll organized material in the following way: it gave brief information about the poet, one poem, and a portrait of the author. It is believed that the Narikane-bon sanjurokkasen 業兼本三十六歌仙絵 scroll, whose artist was Nobuzane and calligrapher Taira no Narikane, had the biggest influence on the tradition of poets’ portraits. Earlier scrolls, which go back to the 13th century, include Agedatamisanjurokkasen 上畳三十六歌仙, which depicts poets sitting on tatami mats. Lists of 36 poets were also made by Fujiwara no Mototoshi (1060–1142), Fujiwara no Norikane (1107–1165), Fujiwara no Toshinari (1114–1204) compiled the Toshinari sanjurokunin utaawase 俊成三十六人歌合 anthology. Thus, the tradition of selecting “36 poetic geniuses” established itself by the late 12th – early 13th century.

The best known collection, which presents one poem of each chosen poet, is Hyakuninisshu 百人一首 by Fujiwara no Teika, which appeared approximately at the same time as Shinsanjurokkasen.

The Shinsanjurokkasen collection was organized as a poetic contest, which is proven by the “left” and “right” marks. The practice of poetic contests, as we know it, originated in the second half of the 9th century. The first contests, especially those held at the court, were staged performances where composition of poems was just one of the elements, and not always the most important one. The notion of “poetic competition” included interior decorations and costumes.

Poetic contests changed a lot from one epoch to another due to various reasons, including those political and economic [Huey 1990]. The general trend was a decline in theatrics and a bigger significance of poems itself. There were lots of contests. Two early records of poetic competitions are Jikkan-bon utaawase 十巻本歌合 and Nijikkan-bon 二十巻本歌合, which contained 46 and 200 (53 of which did not survive) records of poetic competitions, respectively [Ito 1982, p. 203].

There were not so many universal rules for poetic contests. There were two teams called the left and the right. The contest was held in rounds (ban), and one song was recited in each round by the left (who were always the first to start the competition) and the right. Songs recited in one round had to

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4 For early poetic competitions and translations of several competitions, see [Dialogi 2002; Utaawase 1998].
The songs were compared, one of them was declared a winner, or both songs were recognized as equal.

The first structured poetic competitions appeared quite early. An early anthology of a structured poetic competition is *Kasen utaawase* (歌仙歌合) (The Competition of Poetic Genuises). It was compiled by Fujiwara no Kinto and modified by Prince Tomohira Shinno (964–1009). 130 songs by 30 poets were included in this collection.

It was important for a poetic contest that poems were created to prescribed themes. It was necessary to compare poems, so they had to have something in common.

The *Shinsanjurokkasen* collection does not have the indication of the comparison of poems (there was no indication that either poem won), and in some pairs poems were not quite close by their subject, yet the same subject prevailed in most pairs (for instance, the description of the same season). Given that only one poem of each poet was included in the collection, the only criterion for hierarchy here was to become participant of the first round. Quite natural that the participants of the first round were Go-Toba and Shiki-shi Naishinno.

Thus, the *Shinsanjurokkasen* collection was organized as a poetic contest, all poets came from the court, female poets participated, and the principle of “one poem per poet” was applied.

The *Koyasan kongozanmai-in tanzaku* collection which was composed about 100 years later had very different principles of structure.

The social stratification of *waka* poets greatly increased in the 13th – 14th centuries. The courtiers did not lose their place in the poetic circles, the *waka* poetry remained court poetry, but the military class confidently entered the poetic elite, and among the monastic poets there were especially many people from the military class.

The involvement of military men in the poetic life required new regulations. Poet Shotetsu (1381–1459) mentioned some of those.

“On formal public occasions, the lector withdraws as soon as all of the poems by the courties have been read aloud. Not until these poems are being read does the sovereign take his own poem slip from the folds of his robe and hand it to the regent or chancellor, upon which a new lector comes in. He reads the sovereign’s poem seven times. For those in the imperial entourage as well, poems by the regent and the highest court nobles are read three times. Poems by members of the shogun’s family have also been read three times in recent years” [Conversations with Shotetsu 1992, p. 104].

“Stacking the poems at a poetry gathering is a matter of the utmost importance. It is very difficult because they must be collected and stacked in sequence according to the participants’ court rank and family standing. The stacking procedure is easy at a gathering attended solely by court nobles because their official titles and court ranks are in an established order. The
procedure is difficult when the party consists of both court nobles and members of the military aristocracy” [Conversations with Shotetsu 1992, p. 122].

In the 13th century, the Mikohidari poetic family became divided into three schools. The poetic elite split simultaneously with the breakup of the imperial family. Thus, the Nijo school was associated with the imperial branch of Daikakuji, Kyogoku with the Jimyoin branch, and Reizei with the military aristocracy. The first shogun of the Ashikaga family, Ashikaga Takauji, started his poetic life with two poetic meetings, where poems were composed for sanctuaries: Sumiyoshi in 1336 (住吉社法楽和歌 Sumiyoshishahoraku waka) and Kasuga in 1339 (暦応二年春日奉納和歌 Ryakuoninen Kasugahonowaka).

A manuscript consisting of two sutra abstracts and a poetic collection was presented to the Kongozanmai-in temple on Mount Koya in 1344. The original of this manuscript has survived. The manuscript was kept at the Kongozanmai-in temple until the Genroku era. In 1692 (Genroku 5), it was acquired by the fifth daimyo of the Maeda clan, Tsunanori (1643–1724). The text became part of the vast Sonkei collection, and remained there until now. The manuscript has the status of a national treasure, kokuho.

The Hoshakukyō 宝積経 sutra (chapters Kashyapa and Ubari), was copied by the brothers Ashikaga Takauji and Ashikaga Tadayoshi, and Muso Soseki, a prominent representative of Zen Buddhism, close to Takauji and, especially to Tadayoshi (it seems, Tadayoshi initiated the project). A poetic collection was the other part of the project.

Time passed, and the poetic collection began its independent existence. The poetic collection was published in the Zokugunshoruiju series (maki 403) and in Dainihonshiryo. Several manuscripts of this poetic collection have been published on the Internet.

The collection has several titles: 高野山金剛三昧院短冊 Koyasan kongozanmai-in tanzaku; 金剛三昧院百二十首 Kongozanmai-in hyakunijushu; 金剛三昧院奉納和歌 Kongozanmai-in hono waka; and 宝積経要品短冊和歌 Hoshakukyoyobontanzaku waka.

The manuscript stored at the manuscript research department of the Russian State Library as F–184 /II, K.4, No 1 is untitled. The text was written on a scroll (713.5x 33.6 cm in size) and fan-folded as a book of 12.3x33.6 cm (58 pages). The text was written on one side of the sheet. The time of writing and the name of the copyist are not indicated. The poems are written in cursive, and the Chinese afterword in regular script. The cover is beige with an ornament of butterflies and plants. The interior part of the cover is light with an ornament of flowers of paulownia and chrysanthemum. The manuscript is in good condition. There is an inscription at the end of the book: 明治二十

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5 See [Kokuho 2011].

6 Three manuscripts published in the database of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Kokubungakuenkushiryokan) were studied in the course of research of this collection.
The absence of library stamps shows that the manuscript comes from a private collection, and the date near the shop address suggests that it was bought in Tokyo after 1890; information on the time and circumstances of the acquisition of the manuscript by the library was not found.

All manuscripts and publications of the Koyasan kongozanmai-in tanzaku collection have an afterword by Ashikaga Tadayoshi dated as 8th day of the 10th moon of Koei 3 (1344), with the explanation why the sutra was copied and circumstances of thee mergence and the structure of the poetic collection.

“The eighth day of the tenth moon. <…> Earlier Tadayoshi saw in a prophetic dream that he should collect songs by over 20 participants; the scroll was made, Hoshakukyoyobon was written on the back together with Takauji
and Soseki, and presented to the "Koyasan Kongozanmai-in temple" [Dai Nihon Shiryo 1908, p.457].

The first commentary on the poetic collection is to be find in the Koya Shunju 高野春秋 (the full name Koya Shunjuhennenshuroku 高野春秋編年輯録) text by monk Kaiei (1642–1727), a collection of documents of Mount Koya temples and comments.

According to it, the poetic meeting was held at the Koyasan Kongozanmai-in temple on the 18th day of the 3rd moon. Yet a small foreword has obvious mistakes; it says, for instance, that the participants composed poems on the basis of a 14-syllable phrase (mu and ni symbols were added: na-mu-sa-ka-mu-ni-fu-tsu-se-mu-shi-mu-sa-ri) [Dai Nihon Shiryo 1908, p. 474]. This made Kikuchi Shin'ichi wonder whether that part of the text could be trusted [Kokuho 2011, p. 6].

The waka database of International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) stores poems composed at this poetic meeting in the “no date” section [Waka database].

Koya Shunju does not comment on the poems but gives information about participants, including the number of poems in the collection.

All manuscripts found on the Internet and in the manuscript at the Russian State Literature also contained a list of participants, indicating the number of poems included in the collection.

The number of poems indicated the significance of the participant in the collection. Another criterion for the assessment of poet’s contribution was the order of appearance in the collection.

The poetic collection includes (the names are given in the order of appearance, and the number of poems is given in brackets) works by Ashikaga Takauji (12), Ashikaga Tadayoshi (12), unnamed tanzaku (6), Ko no Shigemochi (3), Nijo Tameakira (6), Hosokawa Akiuji (3), Fujiwara no Arinori (5), Nagai Hirohide (5), Kono Shigemochi (3), Gyochin (Nikaido Yukimoto) (5), Hosokawa Yoriharu (3), Reizei Tamehide (6), Nikaido Tsukiharu (5), Hosokawa Kuzuuji (Tomouji) (5), Doe (5), Shibukawa Sadayori (3), Nikaido Narifuji (5), Keiun (5), Itsusei (5), Renti (Utsunomiya Sadayasu) (3), Kenko (5), Tonna (5), Aihara Kiyotane (1), Akiyama Mitsumasa (1), Tiaki Takanori (2), Joben (2), and Minamoto no Sueyuki (1).

Definitely, the Ashikaga brothers, Takauji and Tadayoshi, were the two principal authors of the poetic collection. Both composed 12 poems, which constituted the na-mu-sa-ka-fu-tsu-se-mu-shi-mu-sa-ri phrase. The first poem was authored by Takauji, and the second by Tadayoshi. The equal participation of the shogun and his brother demonstrated the political situation in Japan in the period when brothers had comparable power.

Six poems were not signed; they were authored by the emperor. Poems of the incumbent and former emperors and other members of the imperial family could be indicated in poetic collections as gyosei 御製. This is how the poems
were indicated in a number of manuscripts, including the manuscript stored at the Russian State Library.

It is believed that the anonymous gyosei could stand for the name of either Emperor Komyo or former Emperor Kogon. The Koya Shunju commentator believes it was Emperor Komyo.

Yet the original text made researchers wonder whether the imperial poems were composed by one person or two, because the unsigned tanzaku were recorded in a slightly different manner. It is possible that both emperors contributed three poems each to the collection.

Two representatives of the leading poetic schools, direct descendants of Fujiwara no Toshihara and Teika – Nijo Tameaki and Reizei Tamehide – wrote six poems each.

The collection presented works by the entourage of Takauji and Tadayoshi. The social structure includes the emperor (or even emperors), the shogun, military men, monks (with origins in both aristocracy and the military class), and aristocrats. There are no women amongst the participants.

The participants included acknowledged poetic leaders, the so-called Four heavenly kings of Japanese poetry: Tonna, Joben, Kenko and Keiun. This poets did not play the primary role in the collection.

There were no prescribed themes for poems of the collection apart from the first syllables of poems, yet the general focus is religious.

No doubt, the collection was edited before being presented to the temple, and special first poem was added to the principal text. The first poem is dedicated to the coming of the future Buddha, Maitreya (Miroku).

Yukusuemo
mekuriaiwamu to
Takanoyama
Sonoakatsuki wo
tuskinikoso mate

We will meet
In the future
On Mount Koya
Wait for this dawn
Under the moon.

The author of the first, so very significant poem is Kenshun (1299–1357). Kenshun was a monk of the Shingon school. He was privy to the Shingon sacred knowledge and a gojiso (護持僧 – an exorcist monk). Kenshun was a supporter of Takauji; he performed secret rituals of the Shingon school for emperors of the northern court and the shogun. His religious and political influence was enormous. No doubt, his poem was added to the collection to make the gift to the temple more valuable.

The Heian epoch is rightly called the zenith of waka poetry. The zenith of the court is also the zenith of the court poetry, and “the belonging to the

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7 行末もめくりあはむとたかの山その暁を月にこそまて
8 For political situation of the moment and the role of Kenshun see [Conlan 2011].
court” is the key feature of waka poetry. Both collections include poems by emperors. Yet Shinsanjurokkasen was a collection with every characteristic of Heian poetry (first of all, the principle of choosing poets), while Kongozanmai-in tanzaku was an example of poetic activity of shoguns, sort of an attempt of the new authorities to resemble the imperial household.

Shinsanjurokkasen collection was based on the author’s principle of anthology compilation: 36 best poets were chosen, all belonged to the same social group, and every poet contributed one poem, which led to the absence of visible hierarchy in the collection, except for the traditional choice of poets of the first pair. Quite the opposite, the Kongozanmai-in tanzaku collection had a hierarchy, what is more, the hierarchy created by the particular political moment, which is demonstrated by the number of poems of each participant included in the collection, and the addition of the first poem, which heightened the political weight of the poetic event.

The two collections manifest mixed trends in the waka poetry – the aspiration for traditionalism in the Shinsanjurokkasen collection and the unavoidable influence of social cataclysms in the Kongozanmai-in tanzaku collection.

References


