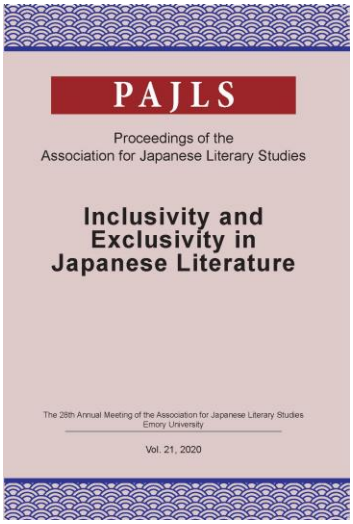
“Imagined Journeys: *Daiei* Travel Poetry in *Senzaishū*”

Bonnie L. McClure

Proceedings of the Association for Japanese Literary Studies 21 (2020): 28–41.



PAJLS 21:
Inclusivity and Exclusivity in Japanese Literature.
Editor: Cheryl Crowley
Managing Editor: Matthew Fraleigh

IMAGINED JOURNEYS: *DAIEI* TRAVEL POETRY IN *SENZAISHŪ*

Bonnie L. McClure[1]
University of California, Berkeley

In the twelfth century—the last days of the Heian period and the beginning of the literary medieval—the increasing popularity of *daiei* 題詠 poetry, or poetry composed on fixed topics, brought new growth to the travel subtopic of waka.[2] Waka on travel had been included in poetic anthologies as well as *nikki* and *monogatari* prior to this time, but such verses had generally been viewed as expressions of the poetic speaker's direct experience. This ostensibly "real" travel poetry continued to flourish in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the famous traveler-poets Nōin (988–mid eleventh century) and Saigyō (1118–1190),[3] but verses on travel were now also being composed based on fixed topics at poetry parties and contests, by poets who need never have left the capital. Overtly inspired by imagination rather than actual experience, this ostensibly "fictional" travel poetry developed its own distinct trends, with prominently recurring tropes and devices. The world of *daiei* travel poetry is an atmospheric one, both literally and figuratively—replete with moods and with weather, with

[1] https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1891-3487

[2] Japanese scholars often refer to the late Heian as the *daiei* era, though poetry composed on fixed topics was not actually new in this era. *Daiei* poems are found as far back as *Man'yōshū*, with major examples including the poems composed on the topic of plum blossoms at Ōtomo no Tabito's banquet held in 730. In imperial anthologies from *Kokinshū* onward, poems from poetry contests appear frequently in the seasonal sections of imperial anthologies and sometimes in the love sections. But the topics common in *daiei* poetry of the early Heian period were largely limited to simple seasonal themes, notwithstanding a few unusual early *daiei* experiments such as Ōe no Chisato's late ninth-century collection *Kudai waka* 句題和歌, which takes lines by Bai Juyi as waka topics. What is new in the late Heian is the rise of the *hyakushu uta* or one-hundred-poem sequence, as well as larger-scale poetry contests. With these developments comes the composition of *daiei* poetry on a broader range of themes.

[3] Saigyō and Nōin did both compose *daiei* poetry, including on travel-related themes, but their best-known travel poems are those purportedly based on real experiences—although legend from medieval *setsuwa* has it that one of Nōin's famous travel poems was actually composed at home, and that to amplify its effect he hid for a while and faked a tan so as to appear to have gone through the actual hardships of travel. Regardless of the truth or falsehood of this legend, it shows that, at least for medieval readers, the perception of having gone on the actual journey had poetic cachet, and that these readers did question the accounts in *kotobagaki* prefaces to poems.

lonely feelings and lonely skies. The speakers in these poems lie awake at night shivering alone in makeshift lodgings, the autumn rains mingling with their tears of longing for home.

The *daiei* travel aesthetic is most clearly represented in the travel volume of *Senzaishū* 千載集 ("Collection of a Thousand Years"), the seventh imperial anthology compiled in 1187 by Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114–1204).[4] Of the forty-seven poems in this volume, thirty-two are *daiei* poems (68%). The travel volume is arranged in roughly chronological order, starting with poems from the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, progressing to poems from the mid-twelfth century, and finally going on to those composed in the couple of decades immediately prior to compilation. This structure allows some stylistic development to be seen over time: we get a glimpse into Shunzei's version of waka history—a version in which his own literary priorities and stylistic preferences are highly evident, as the volume includes several poems from contests he judged.[5]

The travel verses in *Senzaishū* offer insight into the transformation of what previously had been a loosely coherent organizational category into a more strictly conventionalized poetic subject. In this paper, I will first briefly introduce the main characteristics of the *daiei* travel poetry of *Senzaishū*, some of which have been noted in previous scholarship, in comparison to the characteristics of earlier Heian travel poetry. I will then examine the process by which travel poetry becomes increasingly conventionalized over the course of approximately the twelfth century, the poetic history of which Shunzei roughly traces in the *Senzaishū* travel

[4] Travel poetry composed on fixed topics first starts to pop up here and there in the mid-Heian, with a few examples in the personal collections of eleventh-century poets and in *Goshūishū* 後拾遺集 ("Later Collection of Gleaned Poems")—although, oddly, these poems are not found in *Goshūishū*'s actual travel volume, perhaps reflecting a still-prevalent perception that travel poetry should be about journeys that really happened. The real explosion of *daiei* poetry on travel starts in the twelfth century. Although *daiei* travel poetry was already in full swing when the fifth and sixth imperial anthologies, *Kin'yōshū* and *Shikashū*, were compiled, these were short anthologies that contained no travel volume, just a few travel poems scattered throughout other sections.

[5] For recent English-languages studies on Shunzei's poetics and on poetic practice of the twelfth century, see Haruo Shirane, "Lyricism and Intertextuality: An Approach to Shunzei's Poetics," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50:1 (June 1990), 71–85; Malgorzata Karolina Citko, "How to Establish a Poetic School in Early Medieval Japan: Fujiwara no Shunzei's *Man'yōshū Jidaikō*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 74:2 (2019), 173–209; and Ariel Stilerman, "Cultural Knowledge and Professional Training in the Poetic Treatises of Late Heian Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 72:2 (2017), 153–187.

volume. Specifically, I argue that this conventionalization process can be seen in poems from later decades of the *daiei* era that appear to draw on other *daiei* poems from earlier decades. This is poetry of community, created within a social milieu of small collaborative groups who all worked from the same literary precedents, be they classical sources or more recent models. The composition of travel poetry became more inclusive at this time in one sense, in that the topic was now open to any poet, traveler or not, who could at least imagine the feelings of being on a journey. But the production of such *daiei* poetry also often had an exclusive aspect in that it was socially oriented, and poets needed access to the circles where it was happening.

Travel waka in imperial anthologies from the tenth and eleventh centuries is relatively sparse compared to the prodigious amount of travel poetry found in *Man'yōshū* ("Collection of a Myriad Leaves," compiled eighth century). This earlier Heian travel poetry is not uniform in its tropes and themes, although for the most part it adheres to the core theme of homesick loneliness established in *Man'yōshū* travel poetry.[6] In *Kokinshū* ("Collection of Old and New Poems," ca. 905), a connection is generally assumed between the poem and the poet's real experience of travel: although some travel poems are marked *dai shirazu* or "topic unknown," more typically there is a *kotobagaki* 詞書 or prefatory remark explaining the circumstances of the poem's composition. An example is the following *Kokinshū* poem:[7]

---

[6] The travel volume of *Kokinshū,* the first imperially-sponsored waka anthology, is the shortest volume in that collection, with only sixteen poems; poetry on "partings" forms a separate volume. In the second imperial anthology, *Gosenshū*, "travel" is combined with "partings" into one volume, with a total of eighteen poems on travel. In the third, *Shūishū*, there is no travel volume at all, though some travel poems appear in the volume on "partings" and otherwise scattered throughout the anthology. The fourth imperial anthology, *Goshūishū*, has a substantial travel volume, with thirty-six poems; but as mentioned in the previous note, the shorter fifth and sixth anthologies, *Kin'yōshū,* and *Shikashū,* once more have no travel volume at all. I should note that the scope of this paper is unable to address the extensive travel poetry in *Man'yōshū,* which has its own recurring tropes and conventions—such as frequent mentions of the speaker missing his wife and family home, often intertwined with wordplay on place names he is passing by—not all of which continue to appear in the relatively sparse examples of travel poetry from the early Heian era. On the travel poetry of *Man'yōshū*, see H. Mack Horton, *Traversing the Frontier: The* Man'yōshū *Account of a Japanese Mission to Silla in 736–737* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012).

[7] This poem is also famous for its inclusion in *Hyakunin isshu*.

Upon being exiled to Oki province, he sent this to someone in the capital as he boarded the boat:

407 Out over the wide sea,
among the many islands,
how far out I have rowed—
Oh tell it to my loved ones,
you boats of the fisher-folk

- Ono no Takamura 小野篁 (802–852)

wata no hara / yasoshima kakete / kogiidenu to / hito ni wa tsugeyo / ama no tsuribune

隠岐の国に流されける時に舟に乗りて出で立つとて、
京なる人のもとに遣はしける
わたの原八十島かけて漕ぎ出でぬと人には告げよ海人の釣り舟[8]

The *kotobagaki* is an important element of this verse's transmission as a poetic record of the traveler's sorrows; it tells us where he was going and the unhappy circumstance of exile that took him there. This background frames and enhances the moment of emotion captured in the poem, which would sound very different without it.

In contrast, here is an example of the *daiei* poetry found in *Senzaishū*:

At the time of the poetry contest hosted by the Hosshōji Lay Monk, Minister of the Interior[9], composed on the topic "travel lodgings: geese":

508 The night is deep:
I hear the call of a goose
up in the clouds—
Am I indeed alone
beneath this traveler's sky?

[8] The numbering and Japanese text for all waka, prefatory remarks, and poetry contest judgments quoted in this paper are taken from *Shinpen kokka taikan*, web-based database version (*Nihon bungaku web toshokan*, Koten Library, 2022, www.kotenlibrary.com). Kanji/kana notation may be adjusted for readability.

[9] This was Fujiwara no Tadamichi; the poetry contest was held in 1126 and is simply called *Sesshō sadaijin-ke uta-awase* 摂政左大臣家歌合 ("Poetry contest at the residence of the Regent, Minister of the Right").

- Minamoto no Masamitsu 源雅光 (1089–1127)

sayo fukaki / kumoi ni kari mo / oto su nari / ware hitori ya wa / tabi no sora naru

法性寺入道内大臣のときの歌合に、旅宿雁といへる心をよめる
小夜深き雲井に雁も音すなり我ひとりやは旅の空なる

Here Masamitsu is not referring to any specific travel experience, at least that we know of. His task is to be faithful not to his own feelings on a real journey, but to the *dai* he was assigned at the poetry contest. The night scene and the call of the goose are inspired by the *dai*, and starting from these anchoring points, Masamitsu builds a melancholy night scene with a brooding narrator, elements that can be seen again and again in *daiei* travel poems. A lonely night sky in autumn (as we know since the goose is an autumn bird), a lonely traveler awake looking at it—this is the mood of "travel" in the *daiei* era.

New stylistic developments correlating with the twelfth-century flourishing of *daiei* poetry are particularly noticeable when it comes to the travel genre, since travel had not been a common *daiei* topic before. The *daiei* boom did not affect all genres or topics of waka equally: *daiei* poetry on seasons and love was already common in the ninth and tenth centuries, whereas some topics such as "partings" 離別 and "laments" 哀傷 remained primarily occasional in nature throughout the *daiei*-dominated era and beyond. Travel poetry is one genre, along with that of "celebratory" 賀 poetry, that sees an explosion of *daiei* poems in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, at least among poems selected for imperial anthologies.[10] *Senzaishū* is the first imperial anthology to really showcase the new travel poetry in one well-organized volume, although the scattered *daiei* travel poems in *Kin'yōshū* are similar in their tropes and worthy of comparison.

[10] The case of celebratory poetry is perhaps a little different, since by nature the topic is more centered around social occasions than is travel poetry, which is ostensibly a record of a solitary experience far from just such social demands. Thus, incorporating assigned topics was not the leap for celebratory poetry that it was for travel poetry. It may also be noted that the proliferation of *daiei* poetry in the "celebratory" genre was preceded by a proliferation of screen poems on this topic, as can be seen in *Shūishū* and *Goshūishū*. Screen poems have sometimes been compared with *daiei* poems, as the painting and the topic can be said to take a similar role in dictating themes for the poem.

Throughout the *daiei* era, poets composed verses both on simple *dai*, such as "travel" 旅, and on compound *dai* called *musubi-dai* 結題. (Examples of *musubi-dai* in *Senzaishū* include 月前旅宿 "a travel lodge before the moon," 行路初雪 "first snow while on the road," 客衣露重 "dew piling up on the traveler's robe," and 羈中歳暮 "year's end while traveling.") One type of apparent interaction between *daiei* poems from disparate decades occurs in cases of later poems composed on simple *dai* that appear to draw on earlier poems composed on *musubi-dai*. It seems that when a given *musubi-dai* turned out effective poetic results, the imagery and tropes inspired by that *dai* endured and became part of the conventional vocabulary of travel poetry images, thereafter reappearing in later poetry even when the *dai* was merely "travel." The following waka composed by Retired Emperor Sutoku on a simple *dai* is from the mid-twelfth century, well after many core *daiei*-era tropes had been established:

In a *hyakushu uta*[11], composed on the topic of "travel":

509 On a night when it lodges
in the tears
on my hunting-robe sleeve,
it seems the moon too is feeling
the sadness of the traveler's night

- Retired Emperor Sutoku 崇徳院 (1119–1164)

karigoromo / sode no namida ni / yadoru yo wa / tsuki mo tabine no / kokochi koso sure

百首歌めしける時、旅歌とてよませ給うける
狩衣袖の涙に宿る夜は月も旅寝の心ちこそすれ

The traveler's glistening tears reflect the light of the moon, while the solitary moon reflects the lonesome traveler's feelings: a poem could hardly embody the *daiei* travel aesthetic more perfectly.

Quite a few elements found in this poem have previously been noted by Japanese scholars as consistent patterns in the *daiei* travel poetry of

[11] This poem is from the large-scale poetic sequence *Kyūan hyakushu* (mid twelfth century), which was one of the major sources Shunzei drew on in compiling *Senzaishū*. It is the first of a cluster of seven poems in the *Senzaishū* travel volume that are taken from this sequence.

Senzaishū. Yasuda Noriko notes that these *daiei* poems tend to be vignettes, portraits of a single moment, often with less sense of the broader environment or the larger trajectory of movement than is seen in earlier poems.[12] Watanabe Yasuaki notes the frequent personification of elements in the natural scene such as the moon or a bird, and the metonymic role of objects such as "sleeve" or "pillow."[13] Nishiki Hitoshi mentions the high incidence of poems featuring watery images of some kind—whether waves, precipitation, or tears—that are associated with sadness or impermanence.[14] I have addressed in a previous study the high proportion of these poems that portray night scenes;[15] another characteristic worthy of note is that, as stated earlier, seasonal images in these poems are generally those of autumn or winter. All of these characteristics are found in Retired Emperor Sutoku's "On a night when it lodges" verse. This is a night scene, and it is an isolated close-up scene; we have a moon, an autumn image, that is personified as a character in the scene; and the tears on the sleeve are the water making a place for the moon to reflect.

The *dai* for Retired Emperor Sutoku's poem is merely "travel," but the trope of the reflected moon "lodging" in the water appears in earlier *daiei* poems, in which it is connected to more specific *musubi-dai.* There is another "lodging" moon in the very first poem of the *Senzaishū* travel volume:

Topic unknown

498 The dawn moon
also lodges here

---

[12] Yasuda Noriko, "Jitsuei kara daiei e: kiryoka no hen'yō," in *Chūsei waka kenkyū* (Izumi shoin, 1998), 3–22.

[13] Watanabe Yasuaki, "*Senzaishū* no kiryoka," in *Chūsei waka shiron: yōshiki to hōhō* (Iwanami shoten, 2017), 185–198.

[14] Nishiki Hitoshi, "'Mizu' no imeeji: *Senzaishū* no kiryobu o chūshin ni," in *Chūsei waka no kenkyū* (Ōfūsha, 1991), 483–499.

[15] Bonnie McClure, "Tabi no 'yoru' o yomu kiryoka: daiei to kiryoka no hensen" in Hiroki Kazuhito and Matsumoto Asako, eds., *Nihon shiika e no shinshiten* (Kazama shobō, 2017), 27–47. In this article I note the high incidence of poems portraying night scenes: 62% of the total, a huge jump from previous anthologies, and the percentage is even higher, 75%, among the *daiei* poems. One reason for this trend seems to be the popularity of *dai* that include the Chinese-derived compound "travel lodge" 旅宿, a word that may be borrowed from *kanshi*, as it appears in such sources of Chinese poetry commonly referenced in Japan as *Wakan rōeishū* and the poetry of Bai Juyi, as well as in Japanese *kanshi* including that of Sugawara no Michizane. It may also be worth noting that there are a couple of cases in *Man'yōshū* of the word *tabine* "journey's sleep" being written as 旅宿.

in the clear water
On this night when I cannot cross
the Meeting Barrier

- Fujiwara no Norinaga 藤原範永 (active eleventh century)

ariake no / tsuki mo shimizu ni / yadorikeru / koyoi wa koeji / ōsaka no seki

題不知
有明の月も清水に宿りけり今宵は越えじ逢坂の関

Although in *Senzaishū* this poem is marked "topic unknown," earlier sources show this to be untrue. This poem, by eleventh-century poet Norinaga, also appears in the third draft of *Kin'yōshū* (poem #211), where the *kotobagaki* reveals it to be a *daiei* poem. Here the moon appears in the *dai*:

> At the Uji Former Chancellor's[16] villa in Shirakawa, composed on the topic of "on the road at the barrier, the moon before dawn"
>
> 宇治前太政大臣白河家にて関路暁月といへることをよめる

It is interesting to speculate about why Shunzei might have chosen to leave the original *dai* out entirely and mark the poem "topic unknown"; it could be due to the existence of some slight variation on the *dai* listed for this poem in different sources,[17] or it could be because Shunzei preferred to let the reader imagine that this poem might have been composed on the scene. Perhaps for the opening verse poem of the volume such ambiguity was desirable: this poem may have been the one that most perfectly conveyed the mood Shunzei wanted, but for the reader to be aware that it was a *daiei* poem, and one that was definitely not composed at the famous poetic site Ausaka no seki or the "Meeting Barrier," might have dampened the effect. The problem could be avoided by judiciously leaving out such disappointing details.

---

[16] This refers to Fujiwara no Yorimichi.
[17] In Norinaga's personal collection, the *dai* appears as "on the mountain road, the moon before dawn" 山ぢのあかつきの月.

Another example of the "lodging" moon is found in another *Kin'yōshū* poem, this one from the second draft:

> Composed at Emperor Toba's Detached Palace[18] on the topic "travel lodgings: moon"
>
> 179 I will take my traveler's rest
> by the Seto Sea,
> lying awake at Akashi,
> And here in the same water
> the moon is lodging too
>
> - Fujiwara no Kinzane 藤原公実 (1053–1107)
>
> *ware koso wa / akashi no seto ni / tabine seme / onaji mizu ni mo / yadoru tsuki kana*
>
> 鳥羽殿にて旅宿月といふ事をよめる
> 我こそはあかしの瀬戸に旅寝せめ同じ水にも宿る月かな

Here the elements of the moon and of "lodging" are both dictated by the *dai*. The moon as that other far-off traveler who understands the speaker's feelings and even keeps company with him by "lodging" in the water nearby is becoming established as a repeating trope in travel poetry. It seems likely that Retired Emperor Sutoku-in's "On a night when it lodges" poem was informed by precedents such as these.

Having looked at an example of a mid-twelfth-century poem that seems to draw on tropes appearing in *daiei* poems from over the preceding century, I would next like to examine a case of notable similarity between poetry from two poetry contests judged by Shunzei a few years apart. This is another case, then, of a *daiei* poem that seems to look back to earlier *daiei* precedents, but this time with a gap of less than a decade.

In 1170, Shunzei judged a major contest called *Sumiyoshi-sha uta-awase* 住吉社歌合 ("Poetry Contest at the Sumiyoshi Shrine"), at which one of the *dai* was "travel lodgings: winter showers" 旅宿時雨. This choice of *dai* seems to have had more of a seasonal and occasional element than in the previously quoted examples: the poetry contest was held in early winter, in the tenth month of the lunar calendar, and Sumiyoshi Shrine was located a short journey's distance away from the capital. It seems unlikely,

[18] The Toba Detached Palace was in southern Kyoto, nowhere near Akashi.

though, that the attendees would have suffered as much tribulation on their journey as do the speakers in their poems. Here, the inspiration of the real place and season seems to interweave with the imagined melancholy of an archetypal lonesome traveler.

Shunzei included a surprising four of the poems composed on this *dai* in *Senzaishū*;[19] less surprisingly, all of them are among those he originally awarded wins. [20] There are consistent patterns in the four poets' interpretation of the *dai*. As in previous examples of the moon as the double of the traveler, here too there is doubling of human elements and scenic elements; the tears and laments of the speaker mix with those of the heavens.

> When people were composing poems at an event called *Sumiyoshi uta-awase*, the following poems were composed on the topic of "travel lodgings: winter showers"
>
> 住吉社の歌合とて、人々よみ侍りける時、旅宿時雨といへる心をよみ侍りける

525 I would not be able to tell
the sound of the winter showers
from the voice of the wind
Were it not for the rain falling
on my pillow at the root of this pine

- Fujiwara no Sanefusa 藤原実房 (1147–1225)

---

[19] Shunzei seems to have particularly enjoyed travel poems on *shigure* 時雨 "winter showers" (a phenomenon of late autumn and early winter, but here translated as "winter showers" because this poetry contest was held in the tenth month of the lunar calendar). The *Senzaishū* travel volume contains a striking seven poems that include this image. Five of them feature *shigure* in the *dai*: 525–528, quoted here, and 520, on the topic "winter showers by the seaside" 海辺時雨. This poem is interesting for its anonymous attribution in *Senzaishū*, though it is actually by Taira no Yukimori, as can be confirmed in Kamo no Shigeyasu's privately selected collection *Tsuki mōde waka shū* 月詣和歌集. The two other poems, 539 (quoted in this paper) and 538 by Kakuben, are on the simple *dai* of "travel" but incorporate the image of *shigure* in the poem.

[20] Shunzei did not necessarily choose only the winning poems when selecting from *uta-awase* judged by someone else, but unsurprisingly he did so when he himself had been the judge.

kaze no oto ni / waki zo kanemashi / matsu ga ne no / makura ni moranu / shigure nariseba

風の音に分きぞかねまし松が根の枕に漏らぬ時雨なりせば

The sounds of the wind and the rain mingle, confusing the speaker who is surrounded by voices from the atmosphere around him, voices that perhaps echo the inner cry of his own homesick feelings.

526 Waking here in Shikitsu Bay[21]
where they lay out the seaweed
for salt-making:
Is it only the winter showers
that have so drenched my sleeve?

- Priest Shun'e 俊恵法師 (active twelfth century)

moshiogusa / Shikitsu no ura no / nezame ni wa / shigure ni nomi ya / sode wa nurekeru

藻塩草敷津の浦の寝覚めには時雨にのみや袖は濡れける

Surely it is not only the winter showers; the poem implies that the desolate scene has also brought on a "rain" of tears from the lonely speaker.

527 Winter showers leaking
down into the fisher-hut
crowned with seaweed—
and the sleeve where I take my traveler's sleep
seems to be salt-drenched too

- Minamoto no Nakatsuna 源仲綱 (1126–1280)

tamamo fuku / isoya ga shita ni / moru shigure / tabine no sode mo / shiotareyo to ya

玉藻葺く磯屋が下に漏る時雨旅寝の袖もしほたれよとや

[21] Shikitsu Bay referred to a stretch of coast that included the Sumiyoshi area of what is now Osaka. Therefore, unlike previous examples quoted in this paper, the poem is referring to a location not far from the actual site of the composition event.

The traveler's tears find company in another source of dripping salt water—the rain filtering through the thatch of seaweed on the humble lodging where he stays!

528 A pillow of grass:
in this same sleeve where
I lay my head for a journey's sleep,
the winter showers of midnight
have taken lodging too

- Kojijū 小侍従 (1121?–1202?)

kusamakura / onaji tabine no / sode ni mata / yowa no shigure mo / yado wa karikeri

草枕同じ旅寝の袖にまた夜半の時雨も宿は借りけり

This traveler shares the loneliness of his lodging not with the moon but with the rain. And surely the sky is not the only source of falling water here; the rains must be mingling with the traveler's tears. The *daiei* traveler, though he may weep and complain about his loneliness and exposure to the elements, also seems to find sources of solace and sympathy in the scene around him.

Sumiyoshi-sha uta-awase was a large-scale event at which most major poets of the day were present. A total of fifty poems were composed on the *dai* of "travel lodgings: winter showers," among them many efforts that look similar to the four selected for *Senzaishū.* This poetry contest may have helped to popularize winter showers as an image associated with travel: later in *Senzaishū*'s travel section are a couple of poems that are composed on the simple *dai* of "travel" 旅 but incorporate the image of *shigure*. One of them is from another poetry contest judged by Shunzei in 1179, nine years after *Sumiyoshi-sha uta-awase*:

> At the time of the poetry contest hosted by the Regent and Minister of the Right[22], a poem composed on the topic of "travel":

[22] This was Kujō Kanezane. The poetry contest is simply called *Udaijin-ke uta-awase* 右大臣家歌合 ("Poetry contest at the residence of the Minister of the Right").

539 Winter showers
passing in spurts by the hut
where I take my journey's sleep:
Even after they are gone,
my sleeve is still damp

- Fujiwara no Suketada 藤原資忠 (active twelfth century)

tabine suru / iori o suguru / mura shigure / nagori made koso / sode wa nurekere

摂政右大臣の時、家の歌合に、旅歌とてよめる
旅寝する庵を過ぐるむら時雨名残までこそ袖は濡れけれ

In the 1179 *uta-awase,* Shunzei praises the second half of this poem, "even after they are gone, my sleeve is still damp"—damp, of course, by implication with the speaker's tears. The competitor's verse does not reference *shigure.* It may be that the relatively minor poet Suketada was purposely composing to Shunzei's taste. If in so doing he was hoping to make an appearance in an imperial anthology, he succeeded. This poem is his only inclusion in an imperial anthology within his lifetime; just one more poem of his is found much later in *Shin-shoku-kokinshū* ("New Continued Collection of Old and New Poems"), the final imperial waka anthology compiled in 1439, centuries after his death.

As the examples above have shown, the *daiei* era nurtured a new kind of travel poetry, a poetry of imagined journeys in which lonely night scenes and the sorrows of exposure to cold wind and weather take center stage. Such scenes may have been the easiest for non-travelers to envision; one need not go far from the capital to know the night, the moon, the rain. Furthermore, when composing on fixed topics poets were more likely to rely on literary precedent for inspiration, perhaps the reason certain particularly effective poetic moves appear again and again in *daiei* poetry. This honing and domesticating of the poetic conventions of "travel"—what would sometimes be called its *hon'i* 本意—within poetic circles in the capital contributed to a flourishing of travel poems being produced, despite also narrowing the thematic scope of many of those poems. Moving into the medieval period, tropes from the new "fictional" travel poetry would continue to inspire not only poets traveling in their imagination, but also the many poets who were engaging in real travel. With direct experience and poetic convention enhancing each other, real

journeys too would be haunted by the voices of imagined journeys of the past.