

The Background to the Formation of Shinto
Shrines’ Annual Events : Seasonal Celebration
Rites

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The Background to the Formation of Shinto Shrines' Annual Events: Seasonal Celebration Rites

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Keywords: shrine annual events (*jinja nenchū gyōji* 神社年中行事), twenty-two shrines (*nijūnisha* 二十二社), seasonal celebration rites (*setsujitsu shinji* 節日神事), similarity to imperial palace seasonal celebration banquets (*kyūchū sechie* 宮中節会), “vow” rites (*gogan saishi* 「御願」祭祀)

Author's Statement

Comparatively examining annual shrine events at the top-ranked shrines in the set of twenty-two shrines closely associated with the imperial court, we find that from the latter half of the eleventh century onwards, regular shrine events held in a similar manner to events at the imperial palace began to appear. In this paper, I examined this phenomenon in light of the historical background of the time.

Introduction

When and under what circumstances did the rites/events¹ held at Shinto shrines become annual ones (*nenchū gyōji* 年中行事)? What actors brought this about? Although there is scholarship on specific shrines and specific events, we do not have clear answers to these questions based on macroscopic comparative studies of shrines' annual events. This is due in part to comprehensive surveys being extremely difficult: there are many shrines throughout Japan, each with a different historical background, and, above all, a limited number of historical documents available for exploring such annual events.

* This article is a translation of Suzuki Satoko 鈴木聡子, “Jinja nenchū gyōji no keisei haikai: Setsujitsu shinji o chūshin ni” 神社年中行事の形成背景—節日神事を中心に—, *Kokugakuin zasshi* 國學院雜誌 122 (10) (2021), pp. 1–15. Translated by Dylan Luers Toda.

¹ *shinji* 神事 / *saishi* 祭祀 and *gyōji* 行事, respectively.

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Historical materials related to annual events at shrines began to appear in the Heian 平安 period (794–1185). A relatively large number from the middle ages (ca. late eleventh to sixteenth centuries) are related to the twenty-two shrines (*nijūnisha* 二十二社) closely associated with the imperial court and the primary state-sponsored shrines (*ichinomiya* 一宮) in each province that were involved with provincial headquarters (*kokuga* 国衙).² This paper focuses on the higher ranked of that set of twenty-two shrines (including Iwashimizusha 石清水社, Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja 賀茂別雷神社, and Kasugasha 春日社). These shrines were highly revered by emperors/empresses—they were sites of special rites (*rinjisai* 臨時祭), imperial visits (*gyōkō* 行幸), and so on—and share certain similarities in that they were located near the capital. By comparing aspects of their annual events from the Heian Period to the middle ages, I aim to clarify part of the background to the creation of shrines' annual events.

1. Shrines' Annual Events: Makeup and Issues

Medieval shrine annual events that appear in historical sources³ mainly consist of rites related to the shrines' origins and histories, joint rites for tutelary clan deities (*ujigami* 氏神), seasonal celebration (*setsujitsu* 節日) rites, rites related to agriculture, and Buddhist services (see **Appendix Table “List of Major Annual Shrine Events”**).⁴

Originally, in ancient times regular rites at shrines were centered on those for clan tutelary deities and were occasions that collectively affirmed clan members' status as such. When elucidating the changes in the national rites system from ancient times to the middle ages, Okada Shōji 岡田莊司 notes that from around the beginning of the Heian period, a rites system of a different character from that of this traditional *ritsuryō* 律令 one took shape.⁵ Okada shows in detail how beginning at the time of the Shōtoku 稱徳 dynasty's Kasuga Sai 春日祭 and into the Heian period, regular shrine rites dedicated to specific deities were positioned as official rituals (*ōyake matsuri* 公祭) that involve

² Suzuki, “Jinja nenchū gyōji kenkyū no genjō to sono igi ni tsuite.”

³ The following is a list of the shrine annual event-related historical documents that I used.

- Iwashimizusha: Kishō, *Miyadera narabi Gokurakuji kōrei butsushinji sōshidai* 宮寺并極楽寺恒例仏神事惣次第. Hōin Kishō 法印輝清 was the shrine's superintendent (*bettō* 別当).
- Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja: Kamo, *Kamo Wakeizuchi Jinja kagen nenchū gyōji*. Written by the head Shinto priest Kamo no Tsunehisa 賀茂経久 around the Kagen 嘉元 years (1303–1306). This is the oldest historical record of the annual events of this shrine.
- Kasugasha: Nakatomi, *Antei 3 nen shōi kangi gan nen kōrei rinji goshinji nikki*. Written in Antei 安貞 3 (1229) by Nakatomi no Sukesada 中臣祐定, a priest from the imperial family. I supplemented the descriptions of the sumo, as well as court dance and its music, held on the ninth day of the ninth month, with the Kenji 建治 1 (1275) *Nakatomi no Sukekata ki*.
- Matsunōsha: *Matsunō nenchū shinji shidai*. Written in Eiwa 永和 2 (1376).

⁴ Suzuki, “Jinja nenchū gyōji ni okeru kisoteki kōsatsu.”

⁵ Okada, “Heian zenki: Jinja saishi no kōsai-ka.”

the state's inner court organs and the monarch's closest advisors. Examples include the Shōtoku 称徳 dynasty's Kasuga Sai 春日祭, and then, into the Heian period, the Kamo Sai 賀茂祭, Matsunō Sai 松尾祭, and Iwashimizu Hōjōe 石清水放生会. These were dedicated to deities such as the clan deities of the monarch's maternal grandparents and the deities that protected the imperial capital (*ōjō chingo* 王城鎮護).

Buddhist services, on the other hand, have been studied mainly by Uejima Susumu 上島亨⁶ and Sagai Tatsuru 嵯峨井建,⁷ who contrast the nature of ancient shrines and medieval shrines, asserting that the performance of such services on shrine grounds is a characteristic of the latter. Ueshima focuses on the eleventh to early twelfth centuries as the formative period of medieval society, when social structure changes led to the establishment of a new religious order. He argues that a new kami of heaven and earth (*jingi* 神祇) order and a novel form of the amalgamation of Shinto and Buddhism developed, the former prompted by the Jōhei 承平 and Tengen 天慶 uprisings and the latter a result of the holding, from the eleventh century onward, of special Buddhist rites at the aforementioned twenty-one shrines (established at the end of the tenth century and possessing close ties to the monarch). Also, both Uejima and Sagai make clear how in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, shrine organizations consisting of Shinto priests and Shinto shrine-Buddhist monks (*shasō* 社僧) were formed, Buddhist services became regular events, and Buddhist facilities (such as sutra reading rooms, sutra repositories, and stupas) were established within shrine precincts. Importantly, current and former imperial throne-holders, as well as the regent houses (*sekkanke* 摂関家), pushed this Shinto-Buddhist amalgamation.

On the other hand, as I noted above, there has been little progress in comparative research on the regular Shinto rites that make up shrines' annual events. One of the few examples is that of Ihara Kesao 井原今朝男. He points out that in the middle ages, events the same in content were held on the same day in each level of society—from the monarch to the aristocracy, warriors, and peasants—and that they functioned as rituals for unifying the people.⁸ Touching on shrine rites for seasonal celebrations (which he calls as the “five seasonal celebrations” or *gosekku* 五節供), Ihara examines rites as events that reaffirm the social community order in local areas, transcending the relationship of domination/subjugation between lord and peasant. He does so based on historical documents related to annual events at the estate-protecting shrines (*shōen chinjusha* 荘園鎮守社) and village temples/shrines to which peasants belonged in primarily rural areas. Ihara positions shrines such as those covered in this paper as examples of power-center

⁶ Uejima, “Chūsei shūkyō shihai chitsujo no keisei.”

⁷ Sagai, *Shinbutsu shūgō no rekishi to girei kukan*.

⁸ Ihara, “Chūsei no gosekku to tennōsei.”

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temples/shrines (*kenmon jisha* 権門寺社) that had a relationship with the monarch and aristocracy, distinguishing them from the peasant class. He points out, “Monarchs were able to receive authority as ritual rulers (*gireiō* 儀礼王) precisely because their rituals existed on top of this people-unifying system” in which seasonal celebration rites were performed at each level of society.

However, Ihara only discusses annual events held on the same days in terms of their social unification function, thus obscuring the historical background of their formation and the dynamic relationship between Shinto rites and society.

Another problem remains: the essential part of this formation process remains unclear, namely, why was it necessary to make these rites regular occurrences at shrines?

The **Appendix Table** shows that seasonal celebration rites account for a large percentage of annual shrine events. And, notably, as I will show in Section 2, we can find cases of them being performed in a manner similar to seasonal celebration banquets (*sechie* 節会) at the imperial palace.

Also, importance was attached to particular annual rites at shrines. For example, the ninth day of the ninth month seasonal celebration rite at Matsunōsha 松尾社 is described as “this shrine’s primary major Shinto rite” in the *Tōji hyakugō monjo* 東寺百合文書 (The 100 boxes of manuscripts of Tōji) *kansenji* 官宣旨 draft edict from the sixth day of the ninth month of Karoku 嘉祿 3 (1227). Through the shrines covered in this paper, I want to further examine why seasonal celebration rites took shape as annual shrine events.

2. The Makeup and Characteristics of Seasonal Celebration Rites Offerings and Seasonal Celebration Rites

Originally, *setsujitsu*, translated here as “seasonal celebrations,” were days on which state events were held. The seasonal celebrations entry in the *Zōryō* 雑令 (Laws on miscellaneous matters) states, “The first, seventh, and sixteenth days of the first month; the third day of the third month, the fifth day of the fifth month, and the *daijō* 大嘗 day of the eleventh month are all *setsujitsu*.” The *Dairishiki* 内裏式 (Ceremonies of the residential palace), a book of ceremonies commissioned by Emperor Saga 嵯峨 in Kōnin 弘仁 12 (821), listed ceremonies on basically the same days: the first day, seventh day, sixteenth day, and first “day of the rabbit” day of the first month (*ganjōe* 元正会, *nanoka eshiki* 七日会式, *Jūroku nichi tōkashiki* 十六日踏歌式, *kamino unohi uzue o kenzu no shiki* 上卯日献御杖式), the fifth day of the fifth month (*kan umayumi shiki* 觀馬射式), the seventh day of the seventh month (*sumōshiki* 相撲式), the ninth day of the ninth month (*kikuka no eshiki* 菊花宴式), the *shinjōeshiki* 新嘗会式 in the twelfth month, and so on. Primarily during the early Heian period, imperial court rituals were developed, and the monarch would go to the Burakuin 豊楽院, Shishinden 紫宸殿, Butokuden 武徳殿, and

other venues at the turn of the seasons to hold imperial banquets called *sechie*. These banquets were held annually, bringing together the monarch and government officials on days of seasonal celebration. Importance was attached to them in ancient times as rituals connecting these two parties.⁹

The **Appendix Table** shows that on days of seasonal celebration, rites were also held at shrines (primarily the first, seventh, and fifteenth days of the first month, third day of the third month, fifth day of the fifth month, seventh day of the seventh month, and ninth day of the ninth month).

There are two components of the rites performed on these seasonal celebration days. First, their core: the practice of offering seasonal plants and food to deities.

I will use the case of Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja to describe the ritual procedures involved. The following is a summary of the rituals performed on the first day of the first month, third day of the third month, fifth day of the fifth month, and seventh day of the seventh month based on a text that describes the annual events at this shrine during the Kagen 嘉元 years (1303–1306):¹⁰

- The *hōri* 祝 priest unlocks and opens the sanctuary door.
- The *shamu* 社務 [i.e., *kannushi* 神主] priest enters the sanctuary and is in charge of presenting the offerings, but until the offerings are handed over to the *shamu*, both the *negi* 禰宜 priest and the *hōri* priest share the responsibility of presenting the offerings.
- The *shamu* prays in the prayer hall.
- Removing the offerings, the *hōri* locks and closes the door.
- After the rite in front of the deity, the venue changes from the sanctuary to a new location for the priests' *naorai* 直会 (post-ritual gathering)/*kyōzen* 饗膳 (meal).

The main elements of these ritual procedures are the priests coming together to (1) make seasonal celebration offerings before the deity, (2) pray, and (3) hold a *naorai* meal in a different location following the ritual in front of the deity. As can be seen in the **Appendix Table**, these same seasonal celebration ritual procedures can be found at Iwashimizusha, Matsunōsha, and Kagusasha.¹¹

⁹ Yamanaka, *Heian-chō no nenchū gyōji*; Furuse, “Ritsuryō kokka kenryoku no henshitsu to girei”; Obinata, *Kodai kokka to nenchū gyōji*.

¹⁰ Kamo, *Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja kagen nenchū gyōji*.

¹¹ The same structure appears in, for example, the New Year's day entry in Iwashimizu's *Miyadera narabi gokurakuji kōrei butsushinji sōbidai*, as well as and the fifth day of the fifth month entry in Matsunōsha's *Matsunōsha nenchū shinji shidai*. Also, although *naorai kyōzen* at Kasugasha cannot be found in sources from the middle ages and early modern period, the other constitutive elements of that shrine's rites adopt basically the same structure.

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By repeating these procedures on days of seasonal celebration, these rites probably served to reaffirm the clerical organization, role divisions, and hierarchy, as well as strengthen and create the clerical order.¹²

As for the origin of presenting offerings on seasonal celebration days, at least in the case of Kasugasha this practice dates back to Kōwa 康和 3 (1103).¹³ It was probably started by Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実, the clan head of the regent houses at the time. At Kasugasha, the clan shrine of the Fujiwara clan, the clan's head had the authority to create shrine rites and was involved basically in the creation of all the shrine's annual events.¹⁴

As for Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja's seasonal celebration rites, we can assume that they were started by the Shinto clergy in the late eleventh to twelfth century, when the clergy was organized and, due to the shrine's land domain taking shape, its economic foundation stabilized; clerical organization hierarchy and rites' content were deeply connected.¹⁵

Similarities with Imperial Palace Seasonal Celebration Banquets

The second notable aspect of seasonal celebration rites at shrines is their similarity to the seasonal celebration banquets held at the imperial court in the early Heian period. Although not practiced at all shrines, the **Appendix Table** shows that in front of sanctuaries the white horse exhibition (*aouma* 白馬) was held on the seventh day of first month, circle dancing (*tōka/ararebashiri* 踏歌) on the fifteenth day of the first month, horse archery (*kisha/umayumi* 騎射)/horse racing (*kurabeuma* 競馬) on the fifth day of the fifth month, and sumo on the ninth day of the ninth month.

The horse archery/horse racing rite at Iwashimizusha on the fifth day of the fifth month included roles that originated in the imperial court seasonal celebration banquet held on the same day. They were performed by people affiliated with the shrine, including priests. In other words, the shrine side performed roles that imitated those of the banquet. In this and other ways, the shrine constructed a pseudo-correspondence with the banquet of the same day.¹⁶ The earliest example of this is from the fifth day of the fifth month of Daiji 大治 2 (1127), when a person affiliated with the superintendent (*bettō* 別当) of Iwashimizusha played such a role.¹⁷ This suggests that at least by this time, the rites on

¹² Suzuki, "Jinja nenchū gyōji ni okeru kisoteki kōsatsu."

¹³ In the *Ranshōki* 濫觴記 (Filling a wine goblet record), compiled in Kanbun 寛文 3 (1663) by shrine family member Imanishi Sukeyuki 今西祐舍 and others, we find, "The seasonal offerings to the kami began. On the ninth day of the ninth month of the third year of the late Emperor Horikawa's 堀河 rule—the seventy-third human emperor/empress— . . . they began and were carried out."

¹⁴ Suzuki, "Chūsei Kasugasha nenchū gyōji no seiritsu katei to Fujiwara sekkanke."

¹⁵ Suzuki, "Jinja nenchū gyōji no keisei to igi."

¹⁶ Suzuki, "Kokka sechie kara jinja nenchū gyōji e."

¹⁷ The earliest example is someone playing the role of imitation lesser general (*shōshōdai* 少将代) in the horse archery rite found in the miscellaneous section ("Zōrei" 雜例) of *Miyadera gogatsu itsuka no shinji kurabeuma yabusame no koto* 宮寺五月五日神事競馬流鏑馬事 (Shrines and temples: The fifth day of the fifth month rite horse racing and horse

this day had become regular shrine events.

Also, looking at the white horse exhibition, horse race, and sumo rites of Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja that appear in *Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja kagen nenchū gyōji* 賀茂別雷神社嘉元年中行事 (Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja annual events of the Kagen years),¹⁸ while the procedures are similar to those of imperial palace seasonal celebration banquets, the rites are performed mainly by priests and do not directly involve the imperial court. Although the exact time is unknown, the shrine's fifth day of the fifth month rites appear to have been created by priests as they established a self-sustaining economic foundation with manors donated from the late eleventh century onward.¹⁹

The Kasugasha family's diary states that sumo, as well as court dance and its music (*bugaku* 舞楽), were held on the ninth day of the ninth month.²⁰ According to the entry from the first day of the ninth month of Bun'ei 文永 9 (1272) in *Nakatomi no Sukekata ki* 中臣祐賢記 (Nakatomi Sukekata journal),²¹ the priests carefully consulted with each other regarding the form of the rites to be held on the ninth day, as they would be held in during the morning period following the death of Emperor Go-saga 後嵯峨. Searching for precedents when doing so, they considered the rites from the ninth day of the ninth year of Eiman 永万 1 (1165) and Tenpuku 天福 2 (1234), the years of the deaths of Emperor Nijō 二条 and Go-Horikawa 後堀河, respectively. Therefore, these ninth day of the ninth month rites were already being held at least as far back as Eiman 1.²²

In this way, we can see a trend toward rites similar to the imperial palace seasonal celebration banquets from the late eleventh century/twelfth century onward and also catch a glimpse of how the rites themselves were performed with the imperial palace (the monarch) in mind.

3. The Background to the Formation of Seasonal Celebration Rites

Why, then, was there a tendency for shrine rites similar to imperial banquet elements to form around the late eleventh century and twelfth century? When considering the

archery): "The case of the superintendent disciple serving as the imitation lesser general. In addition to performing work like that of the lesser general, also did the work of deputy official (*daikan* 代官). The fifth day of the fifth month of Daiji 2, the thirty-first year in the sexagenary cycle, Itowaka's 糸與若 younger brother Gorō 五郎, a disciple of Hōin Kōshō 法印光清."

This imitation lesser general is probably meant to be the imperial bodyguard lesser general (*konoe shōshō* 近衛少将), who was the archer at the imperial palace seasonal celebration banquet on the fifth day of the fifth month.

¹⁸ The seventh day of the first month, first day of the fifth month, fifth day of the fifth month, and eighth and ninth days of the ninth month entries in Kamo, *Kamo Wakeizuchi Jinja kagen nenchū gyōji*.

¹⁹ Suzuki, "Jinja nenchū gyōji no keisei to igi"; Suzuki, "Kokka sechie kara jinja nenchū gyōji e."

²⁰ For example, the ninth day of the ninth month of Bun'ei 2 (1265) entry and the ninth day of the ninth month of Kenji 1 (1275) entries in *Nakatomi no Sukekata ki*.

²¹ Nakatomi no Sukekata, *Bun'ei 9 nen Nakatomi no Sukekata ki*, pp. 127–128.

²² Suzuki, "Jinja nenchū gyōji no seiritsu katei to kyūchū gyōji ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Sumō gyōji o jirei to shite."

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background of their formation, I also want to look at other annual events that began at the same time as the seasonal celebration rites.

Imperial Death Anniversaries (Iwashimizusha)

The *Miyadera narabi Gokurakuji kōrei butsushinji sōshidai* 宮寺并極樂寺恒例仏神事惣次第 (All procedures of shrines, temples, and Gokurakuji's regular Buddhist and Shinto rites) divides annual events into three categories: "ten imperial seasonal celebration events," "four imperial death anniversaries (*mikokki* 御国忌)," and "ten other seasonal celebration events."²³ The "four imperial death anniversaries" are the death dates of the shrine's enshrined deities that had been turned into annual events. These deities were Hime Ōkami 比咩大神 (the twenty-third day of the first month), Emperor Chūai 仲哀 (the sixth day of the second month), Emperor Ōjin 応神 (the fifteenth day of the second month), and Empress Jingū 神功 (the seventeenth day of the fourth month). According to the *Nenjū yōshō* 年中用抄 (Notes on annual activities), the death anniversaries of Himeko Daijin, Emperor Chūai, and Emperor Ōjin were established during the time of the twentieth Iwashimizusha superintendent Kiyonari 清成, and that of Empress Jingū in Enkyū 延久 3 (1071) during the time of the twenty-first superintendent Kiyohide 清秀. Both of these superintendents were in their positions in the mid-to-late eleventh century.²⁴

Mikokki, translated here as "imperial death anniversaries," are national days of mourning on the days of the death of imperial ancestors, former monarchs, empress dowagers, and so on. The first time one was observed was the ninth day of the ninth month of the first year of Emperor Jitō's 持統 reign (687), a year after the death of Emperor Tenmu 天武.²⁵ Ever since then, on the day of his passing, memorial death anniversary services were held. In addition, in Taihō 大宝 2 (702), it was decreed that the monarch would not carry out their duties on the death anniversaries of Emperor Tenmu and Emperor Tenchi 天智,²⁶ and an imperial death anniversary regime would take shape at the imperial court.

At first glance, the imperial death anniversaries at Iwashimizusha appear to have originated from such imperial court events. However, memorial days for the death anniversaries of emperors/empresses preceding Emperor Tenchi were not in place at the

²³ Kishō, *Miyadera narabi Gokurakuji kōrei butsushinji sōshidai*, p. 3.

²⁴ According to *Iwashimizusha kōnendaiki*, on the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month of Kōhei 康平 5 (1062), Kiyonari handed over the position of superintendent to Kiyohide and became law and construction supervisor (*kengyō* 檢校).

²⁵ Entry for the ninth day of the ninth month of the ninth year of Empress Jitō's reign in *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀.

²⁶ Entry for the second day of the twelfth month of Taihō 2 in *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (Chronicles of Japan, continued).

state level, which means that Iwashimizusha created those on its own. Yokoi Yasuhito 横井靖仁 argues that by marking imperial death anniversaries, the shrine intended to combine its enshrined deities and the imperial ancestral spirits, and that these events' combination of penance and lectures on national protection scriptures strengthened the character of its deities as guardian of the nation.²⁷

In the mid-to-late eleventh century, Iwashimizusha established its own death anniversary ceremonies for its enshrined deities modeled after the imperial court's imperial death anniversaries and made them annual events.

Trimonthly Offering Rites (Kasugasha)

Next, let us turn to Kasugasha's trimonthly offering rites (*shun no gokū* 旬御供). As shown in the **Appendix Table**, the *Antei 3 nen shōi kangī gan nen kōrei rinji goshinji nikki* 安貞三年所謂寛喜元年恒例臨時御神事日記 (Antei 安貞 3/Kangī 寛喜 1 regular and special rites for deities) describes how such rites were held on the first, eleventh, and twenty-first days of every month.²⁸

According to the *Nakatomi no Sukekata Kasuga onsha engi chūshinmon* 中臣祐賢春日御社縁起注進文 (Report on the origin and history of Kasugasha by Nakatomi no Sukekata), which was written by the Shinto priest from the imperial family Nakatomi no Sukekata in Bun'ei 文永 12 (1275), in Hōan 保安 2 (1121), "His Imperial Highness the Regent [Fujiwara-no-Tadamichi 藤原忠通] began to make offerings in each third of the month." Albeit a historical document written by a Shinto priest in the early modern period, according to *Ranshōki* 濫觴記 (Filling a wine goblet record), this began in Hōan 2, when Fujiwara-no-Tadamichi was the Fujiwara clan head, due to the wishes of his father Tadazane 忠実. Arai Kiyoshi 荒井清志,²⁹ noting that the first instance of such rites (on the twenty-first day of the ninth month of Hōan 2) was performed by the Jingikan 神祇官 (Department of divinities) official "Kanayadono" 金屋殿,³⁰ argues that the fact that these rites were at first performed by a Jingikan official despite being held only at one shrine (Kasugasha) suggests two things. First, the official was dispatched to ensure that

²⁷ Yokoi, "Iwashimizu Hachimangū to chūsei shoki no ōken."

²⁸ Nakatomi, *Antei 3 nen shōi kangī gan nen kōrei rinji goshinji nikki*, pp. 116–134. In the Kenkyū 建久4 (1193) *Nakatomi no Sukeaki ki* 中臣祐明記 (Nakatomi Sukeaki journal), they are called *shun-no-gokū* 旬御供.

²⁹ Arai, "Kasugasha no shun-no-gokū (shunsai) nitsuite."

³⁰ In the third month of Bun'ei 10 (1273) "Nangō jinnin tō jūchinjō" 南郷神人等重陳狀 (Nangō shrine associate[s] defense statement) quoted in the first day of the fifth month of Bun'ei 10 entry in *Nakatomi no Sukekata ki*, we find: "Specifically, the *gogan* of Chisokuin-dono 知足院殿, the twenty-first day of the ninth month of Hōan 2," and "The government officials serving Kanayadono each were clothed in ritual attire and they presented to the shrine altar *gobei* 御幣 (sacred paper strips), *sanmai* 散米 (rice for scattering before deities), and so on." In other words, it was started due to the wish of Fujiwara no Tadazane (Chisokuin-dono), and on this day a government official performed the rite. Arai notes that this official is from the Jingikan (Arai, "Kasugasha no shun-no-gokū (shunsai) nitsuite," p. 269.)

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the trimonthly offering rites performed at the Jingikan would be adopted by Kasugasha. Second, the ritual implements only used for trimonthly offering rites (eight-legged table, altar cloth [*uchishiki* 打敷], and circular tray) were brought from the imperial palace at this time.³¹

While Kasugasha's trimonthly offering rites were adopted from the imperial court in the early twelfth century and therefore have direct ties to it, they were initiated by not the court but the shrine-side Fujiwara clan head.

The above is a brief review of the imperial death anniversaries of Iwashimizusha and the trimonthly offering rites of Kasuga Shrine, both of which were established as annual events from the mid/late eleventh century into the twelfth century. We can see that all of these events were created at the behest of the shrines, imitating events of the imperial palace.

Shinto Shrines' Views of Annual Events and the Historical Background

What is the background to the formation of events at shrines with content similar to those held at the imperial palace?

Looking at the historical backgrounds of the shrines covered in this study, we can see that this was deeply related to the gradual shift, in the Heian period and later, from the *ritsuryō* rites system to new state rites (the Heian rite system). This shift was based on both the monarch's religious beliefs regarding specific shrines as well as the shrines' relationships with the inner court. This Heian rite system was characterized by official rituals (*ōyake matsuri*), offerings to eminent deities (*myōjin hōbei* 名神奉幣), the sixteen/twenty-two shrine system, and the regularization of shrines' special rites.

Particularly noteworthy is that in the Heian rite system, *gogan* 御願 ("wish") rites based on the monarch's own volition appeared. In these rites, which were carried out with the most respectful etiquette, the monarch went with imperial court rites envoys (*saishi* 祭使) to a place near the shrine buildings, and then the envoys went to convey the wish of the monarch to the deity.³²

The earliest such visit to a shrine by an monarch was that of Emperor Suzaku 朱雀 in the fourth month of Tenryō 5 (942), two days after Iwashimizu's special rite that was performed as a celebration of the pacification of the Jōhei and Tenryō uprisings.³³ In Tengen 天元 1 (979), due to the long-held wishes of Emperor En'yū 円融, visits by

³¹ The first day of the first month entry in *Kasugasha nenchū gyōji*, which is apparently copy of an Enpō 延宝 8 (1680) report, describes the procedures for the trimonthly offerings, and mentions these and other implements used only for this rite.

³² Okada, "Jinja gyōkō no seiritsu."

³³ Twenty-ninth day of the fourth month of Tenryō 5 entry in *Honchō seiki* 本朝世紀 (Chronicle of imperial reigns).

emperors to Iwashimizusha began on the twenty-seventh day of the third month, on the same day as the Iwashimizu special rites.³⁴ The practice of the monarch visiting ten shrines was established during the reigns of En'yū, Ichijō, and Go-sanjō. Emperor En'yū visited Iwashimizusha, Kamosha, and Hiranosha 平野社; Emperor Ichijō visited those and Kasugasha, Ōharanosha 大原野社, Matsunōsha, and Kitanosha 北野社; and Ichijō added to this list Hiyoshisha 日吉社, Inarisha 稻荷社, and Gionsha 祇園社. Such visits would become a regular part of the post-accession rituals.³⁵ Shrine visits reached their zenith during the time of Emperor Shirakawa 白川. In Jōhō 承保 3 (1076), it was decided that he would visit Iwashimizusha and Kamosha yearly.³⁶ In addition, after Emperor Shirakawa retired, he established the precedent of freely choosing miraculously efficacious shrines to pray at out of his own religious beliefs. He was not subject to the same restrictions as when he was monarch, and could pay homage directly in front of deities. His main focus was on prayers to protect his personal lineage, including that its members would succeed to the throne.³⁷

Iwashimizusha, Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja, Kasugasha, and others were positioned as the very central shrines for the monarch's and the retired monarch's *gogan* rites, and the latter two shrines in particular were transformed from places for the joint worship of clan deities into shrines that protected an order centered on the (retired) monarch.

When the (retired) monarch would visit, they would donate land to the shrine and add and promote *shashi* 社司 priests, thereby stabilizing the shrine's economic base and influencing the organization of the clergy. This was a major impetus for the birth of shrines with self-reliant structures that were unlike the shrines of previous periods.³⁸

However, from the end of the eleventh century to the twelfth century was a time when the monarch, the retired monarch, and the regent houses advanced the amalgamation of Shinto and Buddhist practices at shrines, which included the performance of Buddhist rituals and the establishment of Buddhist facilities on shrine grounds. It is not surprising that this prompted a sense of awareness among shrines, which were in the process of becoming self-reliant, that they were distinct from Buddhism, and it is probably one of the motivations for the creation of new regular rites.³⁹

These things likely provided the basis for the establishment of events that, oriented

³⁴ Twenty-seventh day of the third month of Tengen 天元 2 entry in *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 (Abbreviated history of Japan).

³⁵ Okada, "Jinja gyōkō no seiritsu."

³⁶ Fourth day of the third month of Jōhō 3 entry in *Fusōryakuki* 扶桑略記 (A short history of Japan).

³⁷ Okada, "Jinja gyōkō no seiritsu."

³⁸ See section two "Chūseiteki 'jinja kannushi' no keisei" 中世的「神社神主」の形成 (The formation of medieval shrines and head shrine priests) in Mitsuhashi, "Kannushi."

³⁹ I presented the cases from Kamo Wakeizuchi Jinja and Kasugasha in Suzuki, "Jinja nenchū gyōji no keisei to igi."

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toward connecting with the imperial palace, actively incorporated rituals and events that had been conducted mainly by the monarch at the palace, such as seasonal banquets, trimonthly offerings, and imperial death anniversaries.

Conclusion

Above, I have compared and discussed the background of the creation of the regular rites/events that comprise the annual events for the top ranking imperial court-associated shrines, albeit in broad outlines.

Focusing mainly on seasonal celebration rites, I observed that rites similar to imperial palace seasonal banquets were created from the late eleventh to the twelfth century, and that although carried out by Shinto priests and other shrine personnel, these rites performatively staged a connection with the imperial palace (monarch). We saw this in the case of Iwashimizusha, where rite roles derived from the imperial court seasonal banquets were put in place. Also, it is clear from the contemporaneously-created imperial death anniversaries of Iwashimizusha and trimonthly offerings of Kasugasha that this was not only the case for seasonal celebration rites.

In other words, the new annual shrine events that emerged during this period were created mainly by individual shrines, but they took shape in imitation of imperial palace events.

In the background to shrines taking the lead in creating these annual events was the strengthening of shrines' structures (thanks to the establishment of economic bases and the organizing of the priesthood) as well as shrines' growing awareness of themselves as kami rite-performing shrines that (retired) monarchs and regent houses' had syncretized.

The most important factor behind the decision to adopt imperial palace events as models was the exceptional reverence for shrines, in the form of (retired) monarch visits, that developed during this period. In other words, it appears that as the divine authority of shrines as guardians of a (retired) monarch-centered order grew—with shrines becoming the recipients of the (retired) monarch's wishes (*gogan*) and direct links between the imperial court and these shrines appearing—the forms of imperial palace events were actively incorporated into new events at shrines.

(Translated by Dylan Luers Toda)

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Appendix Table. List of Major Annual Shrine Events

	Kamo Wakeikazuchi jinja 賀茂別雷神社	Iwashimizu sha 石清水社	Matsunō sha 松尾社	Kasuga sha 春日社
First day of the first month 1・1	mitobiraki no goshinji (mitobiraki, byakusan) 御とびらきの御神事 (御戸開き・白散)	chōhai, osechi 朝拝・御節	mitobiraki 御戸開	gosekku [First to eighth days], goshinji (shun no goku) 御節供 [1 日～8 日]・ 御神事 (旬御供)
First to seventh days of the first month 1・1～7		shūshō 修正		
Second day of the first month 1・2		osechi 御節	okowamono, nikku kyōshin 御こわ物・日供供進	
Third day of the first month 1・3		osechi 御節	okowamono, nikku kyōshin 御こわ物・日供供進	
Seventh day of the first month 1・7	nanoka no goshinji (aouma) 七日御神事 (白馬)	osechi (nanakusa wakana sonaematsuru) 御節 (七種若菜奉備)	okowamono nikku tatematsuru, aouma 御こわ物日供奉・白馬	
Eleventh day of the first month 1・11				goshinji 御神事
Fourteenth day of the first month 1・14	ontana goshinji 御棚御神事			
Fifteenth day of the first month 1・15	kayuzue goshinji 粥杖御神事	osechi (okayu sonaematsuru), tōka 御節 (御粥奉備)・踏歌	okowamono, okayu kyōshin 御こわもの・御粥供進	onsekku 御節供
Sixteenth day of the first month 1・16	busha no yumi no goshinji ぶしやのゆみの御神事			
Nineteenth day of the first month 1・19		shingyōe 心経会		
Twenty-first day of the first month 1・21				goshinji, shatō issaikyō tendoku 御神事・社頭一切経転読
Twenty-third day of the first month 1・23		nishigozen himeōkami mikoki 西御前比咩大神御国忌		
First day of the rabbit of the first month 1・初卯	uzue no goshinji 卯杖の御神事			
A day of the rat in the first month 1・子	nentō no goshinji ねんとうの御神事			
Last day of the first month 1・晦日			singyōe 心経会	
First day of the second month 2・1			gosettō shinji 御石塔神事	goshinji 御神事
Sixth day of the second month 2・6		Chūai tennō mikoki 仲哀天皇御国忌		
A day of the monkey in the second month 2・申				kōrei niki gyosai 恒例二季御祭
Eleventh day of the second month 2・11				goshinji 御神事
Fifteenth day of the second month 2・15		Ōjin tennō mikoki 応神天皇御国忌	tōka okashi ku 踏歌御菓子供	
Twenty-first day of the second month 2・21				goshinji 御神事
First day of the rooster in the second month 2・初酉			kinen shinji 祈年神事	
A day of the rabbit in the second month 2・卯		okagura shinji 御神楽神事		
Auspicious day (kichijitsu 吉日) in the second month 2・吉日	toke no omatsuri とけ (土解) の御まつり			
First day of the third month 3・1				goshinji 御神事

	Kamo Wakeikazuchi jinja 賀茂別雷神社	Iwashimizu sha 石清水社	Matsunō sha 松尾社	Kasuga sha 春日社
Second day of the third month 3・2			yayoi no mikka goshinji (shōnegi chōshin gokū) 三月三日御神事 (正禰宜調進御供)	
Third day of the third month 3・3	yayoi no mikka goshinji (matsu mochii, kusa mochii, tōka) 三月三日御神事 (松もちゐ・草もちゐ・ 桃花)	osechi (kurōka, shu ninnōkō) 御節 (供桃花・修仁王講)	yayoi no mikka goshinji (shōhōri chōshin gokū) 三月三日御神事 (正祝調進御供)	onsekkū 御節供
Eleventh day of the third month 3・11				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-first day of the third month 3・21				goshinji 御神事
Second day of the rabbit in the third month 3・第2卯			mikoshi mukae shinji 御輿迎神事	
Second ox day in the third month 3・中牛		rinji sai 臨時祭		
Last day of the third month 3・晦日		sotobae 卒塔婆会		
First day of the fourth month 4・1	kibune no goshinji きぶねの御神事	kōi no osechi 更衣御節		goshinji 御神事
Third day of the fourth month 4・3		osechi 御節		
Eighth day of the fourth month 4・8		kanbutsu, osechi 灌仏・御節		
Ninth day of the fourth month 4・9				kōrei niki okagura 恒例二季御神楽
Ninth to thirteenth days day of the fourth month 4・9-13				kōrei niki gohakkō 恒例二季御八講
Eleventh day of the fourth month 4・11				goshinji 御神事
Seventeenth day of the fourth month 4・17		Jingūkōgō mikoki 神功皇后御国忌		
Twenty-first day of the fourth month 4・21				goshinji 御神事
First sheep day of the fourth month 4・初未			uzuki no sairei goshinji 四月祭礼御神事	
First rat day of the fourth month 4・初申			uzuki no sairei goshinji 四月祭礼御神事	
First rooster day of the fourth month 4・初酉			uzuki no sairei goshinji 四月祭礼御神事	
Second ox day in the fourth month 4・中牛	gosai (gokei), miare no shidai 御祭 (御禊)・みあれの 次第			
Second rooster day in the fourth month 4・中西	omatsuri 御まつり			
Second dog day in the fourth month 4・中戌	kaeri asobi かえりあそび			
Auspicious day (kichijitsu 吉日) in the fourth month 4・吉日	ue no omatsuri うゑの御まつり			
First day of the fifth month 5・1	oumaban no goshiji 御馬番の御神事			goshinji 御神事
Fourth day of the fifth month 5・4	shōbu no goshinji 菖蒲の御神事		shōbu no shinji (shōnegi chōshin gokū) 菖蒲神事 (正禰宜調進御供)	
Fifth day of the fifth month 5・5	itsuka no goshinji (shōbu gushin, kurabeuma) 五日御神事 (菖蒲供進・競馬)	osechi (shōbu kyōshin, umayumi, kurabeuma) 御節 (菖蒲供進・騎射・競馬)	shōbu no shinji (shōhōri chōshin gokū) 菖蒲神事 (正祝調進御供)	onsekkū 御節供

Suzuki: The Background to the Formation of Shinto Shrines' Annual Events

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	Kamo Wakeikazuchi jinja 賀茂別雷神神社	Iwashimizu sha 石清水社	Matsunō sha 松尾社	Kasuga sha 春日社
Eleventh day of the fifth month 5・11				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-first day of the fifth month 5・21				goshinji 御神事
A day in the fifth month 5月中			kyūri goryō 胡瓜御料	
First day of the sixth month 6・1				goshinji 御神事
Eleventh day of the sixth month 6・11				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-first day of the sixth month 6・21				goshinji, shunki goku bishin 御神事・春季御供備進
Thirtieth day of the sixth month 6・30	minazuki no goshinji みなづき御神事	oharai no osechi 御祓御節		
Auspicious day (kichijitsu 吉日) in the sixth month 6月吉日	mitashiro no shinji (shamu, negi kata) 御手代神事 (社務・禰宜方)		mitashiro no goshinji 御田代御神事	
First day of the seventh month 7・1				goshinji 御神事
Seventh day of the seventh month 7・7	nanoka no goshinji (mugi gushin) 七日の御神事(むぎ供進)	osechi (sakuhei kyōshin) 御節(案餅供進)	nanoka no shinji (mugi sonaematsuru, mushi harai) 七日神事 (むぎ奉備・むしはらい)	onsekku 御節供
Eleventh day of the seventh month 7・11				goshinji 御神事
Fifteenth day of the seventh month 7・15		urabonkō, angō 盂蘭盆講・安居		onsekku 御節供
Twenty-first day of the seventh month 7・21				goshinji 御神事
A day in the seventh month 7月中	mitashiro no shinji (hōri kata) 御手代神事(祝方)		tsukiage shinji [before the fourteenth day] 春上神事 [十四日以前に行う]	
First day of the eighth month 8・1				goshinji 御神事
Eleventh day of the eighth month 8・11				goshinji 御神事
Fifteenth day of the eighth month 8・15		hōjōe 放生会		
Sixteenth day of the eighth month 8・16		mikura osame 御倉納		
Twenty-first day of the eighth month 8・21				goshinji 御神事
First day of the ninth month 9・1			tsuitachi no goshinji 一日御神事	goshinji 御神事
Fourth to eighth days of the ninth month 9・4-8				kōrei niki gohakkō 恒例二季御八講
Eighth day of the ninth month 9・8	uchitori うちとり(内取)		kokonokae shinji (shōnegi chōshin goku) 九日会神事 (正禰宜調進御供)	
Ninth day of the ninth month 9・9	kokonoka kiku no goshinji, sumai jūban 九日きくの御神事・相撲 十番	osechi (kyō kikka) 御節(供菊花)	kokonokae shinji (shōhōri chōshin goku, sumai, mikoshi gyoshutsu) 九日会神事 (正祝調進御供・相撲・ 神輿御出)	onsekku, sumai, bugaku 御節供 相撲・舞楽
Eleventh day of the ninth month 9・11				goshinji 御神事
Sixteenth to seventeenth days of the ninth month 9・16-17				wakamiya onmatsuri 若宮御祭

	Kamo Wakeikazuchi jinja 賀茂別雷神社	Iwashimizu sha 石清水社	Matsunō sha 松尾社	Kasuga sha 春日社
Twenty-first day of the ninth month 9・21				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-fourth day of the ninth month 9・24				kasuga dokkyō 春日読経
Last day of the ninth month 9・晦日		sotobae 卒塔婆会		
Auspicious day (kichijitsu 吉日) in the ninth month 9・吉日			rokusetsu shinji 六節神事	
First day of the tenth month 10・1		kōi no osechi 更衣御節	gosekitō shinji 御石塔神事	goshinji 御神事
Fifth day of the tenth month 10・5			gosekitō shinji 御石塔神事	
Eleventh day of the tenth month 10・11				goshinji 御神事
Sixteenth day of the tenth month 10・16			gyōyu shinji 御油神事	
Twenty-first day of the tenth month 10・21				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-second day of the tenth month 10・22	issaikyōe 一切経会			
First day of the eleventh month 11・1	kibune no goshinji きぶねの御神事			goshinji 御神事
Eighth to ninth days of the eleventh month 11・8-9				kōrei niki no omatsuri 恒例 二季御祭
Eleventh day of the eleventh month 11・11				goshinji 御神事
First rabbit day of the eleventh month 11・上卯		osechi, okagura 御節・御神楽		
Second tiger day of the eleventh month 11・中寅	osōji no goshinji 御さうじ (掃除) の御神事		simotsuki okagura no shinji (shōnēgi chōshin goku) 十一月御神楽神事 (正禰宜調進御供)	
Second rabbit day of the eleventh month 11・中卯	sōshōe shinji さうしやう系 (相嘗祭) 神事		simotsuki okagura no shinji (shōhōri chōshin goku) 十一月御神楽神事 (正祝調進御供)	
Second dragon day of the eleventh month 11・中辰	naurai no goshinji なうらひ (直会) の御神事		simotsuki okagura no shinji (naorai) 十一月御神楽神事 (直会)	
Twenty-first day of the eleventh month 11・21				goshinji 御神事
First day of the twelfth month 12・1				goshinji 御神事
Eleventh day of the twelfth month 12・11				goshinji 御神事
Around twentieth day of the twelfth month 12・20 ごろ	gosanjikkō 御三十講			
Twenty-first day of the twelfth month 12・21				goshinji 御神事
Twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month 12・29	shōtsugomori goshinji 少つごもり御神事			
Thirtieth day of the twelfth month 12・30	gotō no goshinji 御とうの御神事			
Auspicious day (kichijitsu 吉日) in the twelfth month 12・吉日		rinji goku 臨時御供	gokōshin shinji 御庚申神事	