

3-1-2013

# 中世後期の勅撰和歌集における釈教歌 (Shakkyōka of the late medieval imperial *waka* anthologies)

Hirano Tae

*Jūmonji Gakuen Joshi Daigaku*

Follow this and additional works at: <http://elischolar.library.yale.edu/waka2013>

 Part of the [East Asian Languages and Societies Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Tae, Hirano, "中世後期の勅撰和歌集における釈教歌 (Shakkyōka of the late medieval imperial *waka* anthologies)" (2013).  
*Waka Workshop 2013*.  
<http://elischolar.library.yale.edu/waka2013/12>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Conferences and Symposia at EliScholar – A Digital Platform for Scholarly Publishing at Yale. It has been accepted for inclusion in Waka Workshop 2013 by an authorized administrator of EliScholar – A Digital Platform for Scholarly Publishing at Yale. For more information, please contact [elischolar@yale.edu](mailto:elischolar@yale.edu).

## ***Shakkyōka* of the Late Medieval Imperial Waka Anthologies**

**Jumonji University**

**Hirano Tae**

For my talk, I will begin by offering a brief summary of Japanese research about *shakkyōka*, then introduce my own recent interests in the *shakkyōka* of the imperial waka anthologies of the late medieval period, including a few examples of the philosophical, political, and social dimensions that can be seen in such poetry.

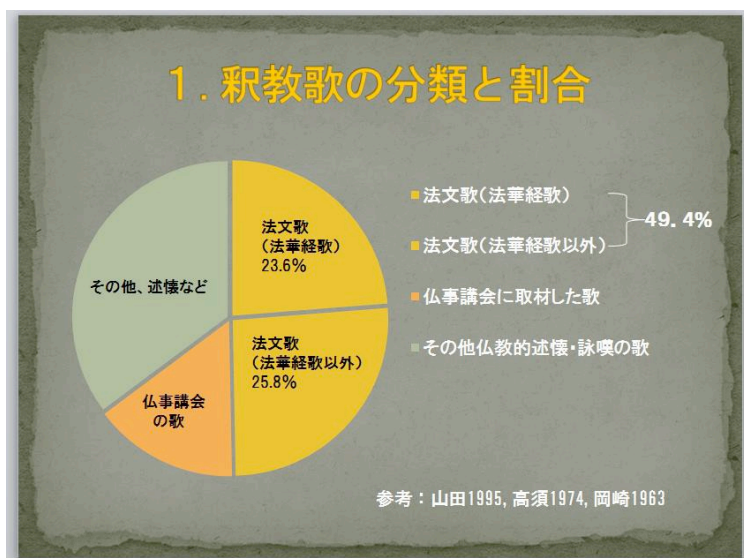
### **Introduction: What are *shakkyōka*?**

The term *shakkyōka* originated as a section title from waka collections like the imperial anthologies. Since these collections use the term to group together poems related to Buddhism, the term *shakkyōka* has likewise come to be used in modern scholarship as a general label for any waka with ties to Buddhism. (In this presentation, I will be using this term interchangeably with “Buddhist waka” and “Buddhist poetry”.) However, the poems comprised by this category are actually quite diverse, and scholars have proposed to classify them further in terms of a number of different sub-categories. In this presentation, I will use the three categories proposed by Yamada Shōzen: poems based on Buddhist doctrine (*hōmonka*), poems composed at religious events and gatherings, and lyrical poems expressing religious sentiment. (A brief description and example of each type can be found on the first page of the handout. For reference, I have also included at the bottom of the page a few examples of other systems of categorization.)

The first type, *hōmonka* “scriptural poems,” are based on passages from sutras and other

Buddhist texts, embellishing the meaning of the given passage in poetic form. In some cases they may propose to summarize the point of an entire chapter or an entire text; they are sometimes referred to also as *kyōshi-ka* or “doctrinal poems.” The second type are those composed on the occasion of Buddhist services: lectures, memorial services, offerings, funerals, and so on; though they are considered *shakkyōka* due to the context in which they were composed, they are not always explicitly Buddhist in content.

The third type generally begin with prefaces like *kannon o ogande, Kōya ni sankei shite, mujō o tanjite, shohō no kū-naru o omoite*, and so on, and they are often difficult to distinguish from lamentations (*aishō*), non-Buddhist lyric poems, and miscellaneous (*zō*) poems.

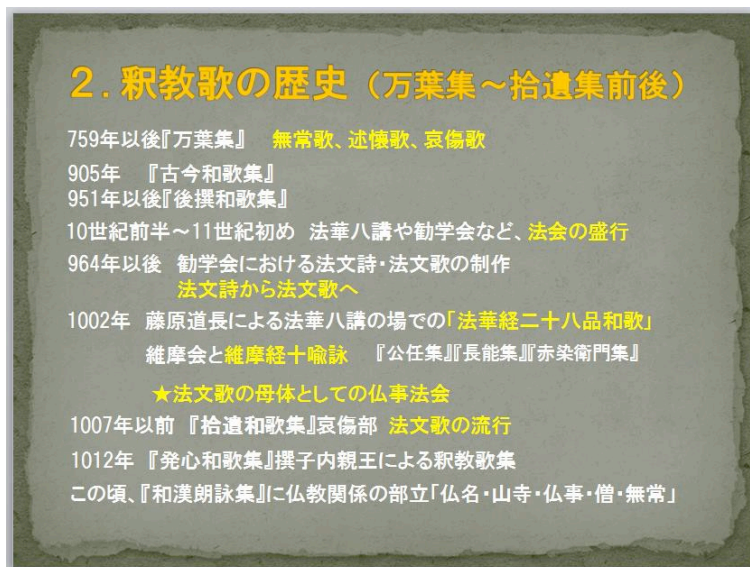


As an example of the use of these categories, please look at slide 1. Yamada Shōzen has surveyed the *shakkyōka* in all of the imperial anthologies and found that roughly half are *hōmonka*, and nearly half of these (that is, one-fourth of all *shakkyōka* from the imperial anthologies) are based on the Lotus Sutra. (The numbers and percentages for each of the imperial anthologies containing *shakkyōka* can be seen in the last three columns of the chart on page 2 of the handout. This chart is based on Yamada Shōzen’s work, but as a reference for the

rest of my presentation I've also added basic information on the commissioning authorities, the compilers, and the dates of compilation for each anthology.)

## 1. Early History of Buddhist Waka

Before entering into my discussion of waka in the imperial anthologies of the late medieval period, I would like to begin with a brief overview of the history of Buddhist waka up to that point. (Exemplary *shakkyōka* from a selection of representative anthologies can be found on pages 3 to 6 of the handout; and, though I will not read through these poems, please refer to them as I'm speaking as examples of the historical developments that I will be discussing.)



As you can see on slide 2, the history of contact between waka and Buddhism begins in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century with the *Man'yō-shū*. Buddhism had been transmitted to Japan two centuries earlier in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, and, reflecting this, the *Manyō-shū* contains poems on the theme of *mujō*, poems based on the ten metaphors of the Vimalakirti Sutra (*Yuimakyō*) and the seven metaphors of the Lotus Sutra, and poems composed before the Buddha (*butsuzen shōka*) from the annual *yuima-e* lectures on the *Yuimakyō*. However, there are no examples in the *Man'yō-*

*shū* of scriptural poems clearly based on verses from the Buddhist canon. Poems related to Buddhism also appear in the *Kokin-shū* and *Gosen-shū* under the *zō* or “miscellaneous” heading, but, like those in the *Man’yō-shū*, these tend to be lyric poems or lamentations expressing themes of impermanence or mourning for the dead. (A few examples of these may be found in item 3 on page 3 of the handout.)

The appearance of scriptural waka or *hōmonka* during the mid-Heian period seems to have been closely related to the appearance of different kinds of Buddhist services, like the *Hokke hakkō* (or “Eight Lectures on the Lotus Sutra;” this was a series of lectures on the eight books of the Lotus Sutra, held morning and evening over the course of four days) and the *kangakue* (these were gatherings in which scholars of the academy would meet with monks for joint study of Buddhist thought and classical Chinese composition). These kinds of services became increasingly popular between the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. For example, at the *kangakue* gatherings, which began as early as the year 964, a priest would give a lecture on a text from the Buddhist canon, and then passages from that text would be selected as topics upon which participants would compose verses of praise in classical Chinese. The appearance of scriptural waka simply resulted from replacing these Chinese verses with Japanese waka.

The first clear examples of *hōmonka* were composed on the occasion of a *Hokke hakkō* lecture series. In the year 1002, Fujiwara no Michinaga held one such series on behalf of his deceased sister Senshi, the wife of Emperor En’yū. For this event, he gathered poetic talents such as Fujiwara no Kintō and Fujiwara no Yukinari and had them compose waka on topics taken from sections of the Lotus Sutra. These are known as the *Hokkekyō nijūhachi-hon waka* or “Waka on the 28 Chapters of the Lotus Sutra,” and are the first genuine examples of

scriptural waka written based on verses from the Buddhist canon. The popularity of such poetry at the time is generally believed to be linked to Michinaga's faith in the Lotus Sutra; other examples of *Hokkekyō nijūhachi-hon waka*, which are believed to have been composed around the same time, can be found in private collections like the *Kintō-shū*, the *Nagayoshi-shū*, and the *Akazome'emon-shū*. Incidentally, the *Kintō-shū* and *Akazome'emon-shū* also contain series of poems written on the ten metaphors of the *Yuimakyō*, probably composed on the occasion of lectures on that sutra.

Not long after the emergence of the *Hokkekyō nijūhachi-hon waka*, the *Shūi-shū* was compiled in the year 1007 as the third imperial waka anthology. In this collection, the section labeled *aishō* (“lamentations”) contains about twenty examples of poems that can be classified as *shakkyōka*, including poems praying for passage to paradise, Buddhist-colored lyric poems, and, again, an increased number of poems written about Buddhist scripture. (Examples of these can be found in item 4 of the handout.) Similarly, the *Hosshin waka-shū* consists entirely of *hōmonka* —this text was the private collection of Emperor Murakami's daughter, Imperial Princess Senshi, and was compiled shortly after the *Shūi-shū* in the year 1012.

Regarding the categorization of Buddhist waka, the first explicit use of Buddhist themes as an organizational tool was Fujiwara no Kintō's *Wakan rōeishū*. This collection includes both Chinese and Japanese Buddhist poetry under such headings as *butsumyō*, *yamadera*, *butsuji*, *sō*, and *mujō*. Headings like these were not used in Chinese anthologies and seem to be a uniquely Japanese development. Though this collection refers to various topics related to Buddhism, it lacks a general category like *shakkyō* under which to unify such topics.

### 3. 釈教歌の歴史（後拾遺集～風雅集）

- 1086年『後拾遺集』雑部に「釈教」の小部立、句題和歌形式の法文歌
- 1125年『金葉集』二度本 雑部に釈教歌、浄土信仰に関わる歌の増加
- 1127年以後『散木奇歌集』126首の釈教歌、私家集における初の「釈教」部
- 1150年『久安百首』「釈教」五首の出題
- 1165年『続詞花集』勅撰集として実現しなかったため、私撰集として成立。  
「釈教部」を立てた初の撰集。
- 1188年『千載集』勅撰集で「釈教」が部立として初めて独立、釈教歌の多様化
- 1205年『新古今集』釈教部の表現性が高まる。  
西行、慈円、寂然など、僧侶歌人による釈教歌の充実
- 1251年『続後撰集』以後 『観無量寿経』に基づく歌の増加
- 1312年『玉葉集』京極為兼の和歌観を支える唯識思想
- 1349年『風雅集』花園院の禅への信仰

As you can see on slide 3, the earliest collection with such a general category is the *Goshūi-shū*, the fourth imperial anthology, compiled in the year 1086. There, the term *shakkyō* appears as a sub-heading of miscellaneous (*zō*) poetry and contains an increased variety of *hōmonka*, including *Hokkekyō nijūhachi-hon waka*, waka on the ten metaphors of the *Yuimakyō*, poems on *gachirin-kan* moon contemplation, and others. (Examples can be found in item 5 of the handout). The fifth and sixth imperial anthologies—the *Kin'yō-shū* and *Shika-shū*—have no *shakkyō* heading, but contain Buddhist poems in their “miscellaneous” sections, and the *Kin'yō-shū* in particular contains many poems influenced by Pure Land thought. Its compiler, Minamoto no Toshiyori, was a fervent believer in the Pure Land, and his personal collection, the *Sanboku kika-shū*, was the first private collection to have a sub-section devoted to *shakkyōka*, containing 126 poems, most of which show ties to Pure Land thought. (Examples from the *Kin'yō-shū* and the *Sanboku kika-shū* can be found in items 6 and 7 on page 4 of the handout.)

In the late Heian period, the “hundred poems” (*hyakushu uta*) format emerged as a form of topic poetry, and this format became mainstream during the *insei* period. An adaptation of

Buddhist poetry to this form can be seen in the collection *Kyūan hyakushu*, compiled in the year 1150 by the order of Retired Emperor Sutoku-in. This collection uses the term *shakkyō* as a topic (*dai*), collecting groups of five poems on Buddhist themes such as the names of the Five Mahayana Sutras of Tendai Buddhism, the five *myōō* deities, and so on. (I have included these in item 8 of the handout). This was the first application of the practice of numbered grouping to Buddhist waka, and represented a new direction in which the genre would continue to grow.

In 1165, Fujiwara no Kiyosuke completed his compilation of the *Shokushika-shū*. This collection had been planned as the seventh imperial waka anthology, but was abandoned after the death of Emperor Nijō, who had commissioned it; Kiyosuke then completed the anthology as a private collection. This collection contains a *shakkyō* section with 34 poems, making it the first anthology with such a section and the forerunner for similar sections in later imperial anthologies.

The first imperial anthology to have a full section labeled *shakkyō* was the *Senzai-shū*. This was compiled in 1188 by Fujiwara no Shunzei as the actual seventh imperial anthology; Shunzei had also been responsible for the categorical organization of the aforementioned *Kyūan hyakushu*. This collection contains 54 poems of very diverse form and content. (Some of these are included in item 9 on page 5 of the handout.)

The *shakkyō* section of the *Shinkokin-shū* contains over 60 poems, and, with selections from accomplished poet-priests such as Saigyō, Jien, and Jakuzen, it reflects an unprecedented level of artistic expression for Buddhist waka. Many of these poems, while quoting scripture, could easily be mistaken for landscape poetry; in other words, the Buddhist worldview had come to overlap with a waka-esque sense of the beauty of nature. Other examples include numbered waka on themes such as the ten realms, the ten precepts, the ten factors of existence, and psalms



for the six hours of the day (*gokuraku rokuji-san*). (Several examples of these can be found in item 10 of the handout). Other exemplary specimens of the *shakkyōka* of this period can be found in Saigyō's *Sanka-shū* and *Kikigaki-shū*, in Jien's *Shūgyoku-shū*, and in Jakuzen's *Hōmon hyakushu*.

Later imperial anthologies, following the mold of the *Senzai-shū* and *Shinkokin-shū*, include sections devoted to *shakkyōka*, but these have been examined by only a small handful of scholars. As one example, it has been observed that, beginning with the *Shokugosen-shū*, the later imperial anthologies tend to include many poems based on the *Kanmuryōjukyō*, the central text of Pure Land Buddhism. This is believed to reflect the Pure Land faith of Retired Emperor Go-Saga-in, who commissioned both the *Shokugosen-shū* and the *Shokukokin-shū*. Regarding the anthologies of the late medieval period, the most attention has been given to the Buddhist poetry of the Kyōgoku school, as exemplified by the *Gyokuyō-shū* and the *Fūga-shū*.

(Examples of these can be found in items 11 and 12 on page 6 of the handout.) Kyōgoku Tamekane, the founder of the Kyōgoku school and the compiler of the *Gyokuyō-shū*, breathed fresh life into the waka tradition by advocating poetry that gave direct expression to the poet's feelings. One of the theoretical pillars of this approach was the so-called "consciousness-only theory" (*yuishiki-setsu*), in which regard Tamekane seems to have been influenced by Kūkai's *Shōji jissōgi* and by Myōe's *Kenshin waka-shū*. The *Fūga-shū*, similarly, includes poems based on the *Hekiganroku*, a major collection of Rinzai Zen *kōan*, and these are believed to reflect the Zen faith of Retired Emperor Hanazono-in, who supervised the compilation of that anthology (the compilation itself was executed by Retired Emperor Kōgon-in).

## **2. The Political Context of Late Medieval *Shakkyōka***

Before proposing new avenues of research on late medieval *shakkyōka*, I would like first to briefly review the political and cultural context of the period. This context will form the basis of my examples.



With the death of Retired Emperor Go-Saga-in in the year 1272, there followed a struggle for succession between his sons, Emperor Go-Fukakusa and Emperor Kameyama. As a result, the court was split between Emperor Kameyama's Daikaku-ji faction and Emperor Go-Fukakusa's Jimyō-in faction, and, beginning in the year 1301, by order of the Kamakura shogunate, the throne would alternate between these two lineages. This system of alternating succession is known in Japanese as *ryōtō tetsuritsu* or dual-lineage succession, and the succession of emperors during this period is shown on slide 4.

代	勅撰集名	成立	下命者	撰者	総歌数	歌帳歌数	法文歌 (法華経)	割合
4	後拾遺	1086	白河天皇	藤原通俊	1218	19	6 (5)	42.1 (26.3)
7	千載	1188	後白河院	藤原成成	1288	54	35 (17)	64.8(31.5)
8	新古今	1205	後鳥羽院	藤原定家他	1378	63	37(15)	58.7(23.8)
9	新古今	1235	後堀河天皇	藤原定家他	1374	56	33(17)	50.3 (23.3)
10	新後撰	1251	後嵯峨院	藤原為家他	1377	52	28(13)	53.8 (25.0)
11	新古今	1265	後嵯峨院	藤原為家他	1315	73	33(20)	53.4 (27.4)
12	新拾遺	1279	龜山院 (大覚寺統)	藤原為氏	1459	66	42(18)	63.6 (27.3)
13	新後撰	1303	後宇多院 (大覚寺統)	二条為世	1607	106	47(21)	50.9 (19.8)
14	玉葉	1312	伏見院 (持明院統)	京極為家	2800	110	53(30)	46.2 (27.3)
15	新千載	1320	後宇多院 (大覚寺統)	二条為世	2413	106	47(21)	44.8 (19.8)
16	新後拾遺	1326	後醍醐天皇 (大覚寺統)	二条為定他	1353	42	19(11)	45.2 (26.2)
17	新千載	1349	花園院 (持明院統)	二条為定	2211	63	34(17)	54.6 (27.0)
18	新千載	1359	足利尊氏執権 後光厳天皇 (持明院統)	二条為定他	2365	110	41(12)	54.7 (10.1)
19	新拾遺	1364	足利義隆執権 後光厳天皇	二条為明 朝阿	1320	78	33(17)	42.3 (21.8)
20	新後拾遺	1384	足利義満執権 後光厳天皇	二条為遠 二条良基他	1554	35	18(9)	51.4 (25.7)
21	新古今	1433	足利義満執権 後花園天皇	飛鳥井雅経	2144	66	26(18)	59.4 (27.3)
	計					1107	547(261)	49.4 (23.6)

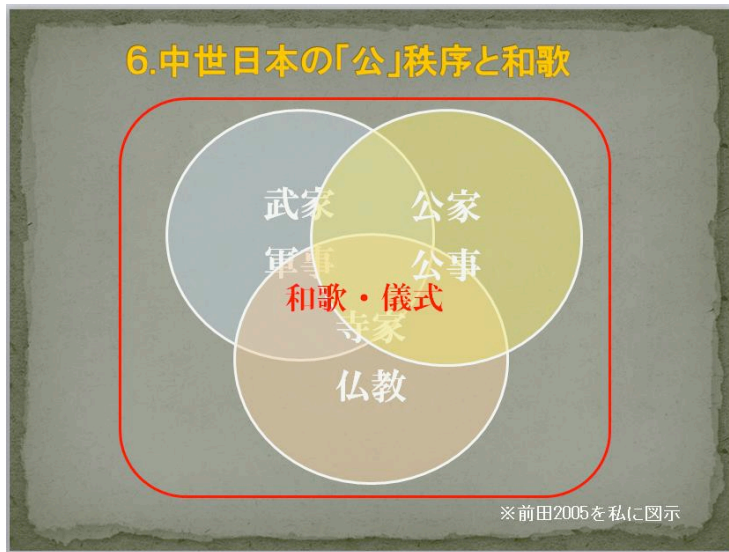
## 5. 勅撰集 一覽

大覚寺統・二条家  
持明院統・京極家

数年ごとの  
勅撰集撰集  
…二朝廷の勢  
力争いに歌道  
家の争いが結  
びつく

武家執奏  
による  
勅撰集

Slide 5 summarizes these developments alongside a chart of the imperial waka anthologies (this chart is reproduced from page 2 of the handout). The imperial anthologies of the late Kamakura and Muromachi periods, naturally, were tied to the political struggles between the two imperial lines, as well as to the struggles for poetic authority between the Nijō, Reizei, and Kyōgoku schools of waka composition. Successive generations of imperial anthologies were proposed and carried out as Emperors and Retired Emperors attempted to demonstrate their political authority. To make matters more complicated, although the emperor alone possessed the power to authorize an imperial anthology, the anthologies of the late medieval period would all begin with proposals offered to the emperor by the *shōgun*, as a case of what is known as *buke shissō*. The first case of an imperial anthology commissioned by shogunal proposal was the *Shinsen-zai-shū*, commissioned by Emperor Go-Kōgon as the 18<sup>th</sup> imperial anthology at the proposal of Ashikaga Takauji. All of the remaining imperial anthologies would follow this model.



As has been suggested by Kuroda Toshio, from the late Heian period to the Muromachi period, Japan's political system, while centered around the emperor, consisted of a division of functions among three socio-cultural spheres: the aristocracy, the warriors, and the Buddhist priests. Furthermore, Maeda Masayuki has observed that the influence of these three spheres was felt not only in terms of political power but also in the cultural and religious fields; Maeda refers to the multi-layered system that resulted from the interaction of these three spheres as the *kō-chitsujo* or public order. According to Maeda, what earned a member of one of these spheres recognition as a participant in the larger public order were participation in official ritual (or *gishiki*) and literacy in waka—that is, the ability to compose waka and thus to participate in social and cultural functions at which waka was composed. In other words, waka had the ability to indicate membership in the community of the state, and this function was symbolized most powerfully by the imperial waka anthologies.

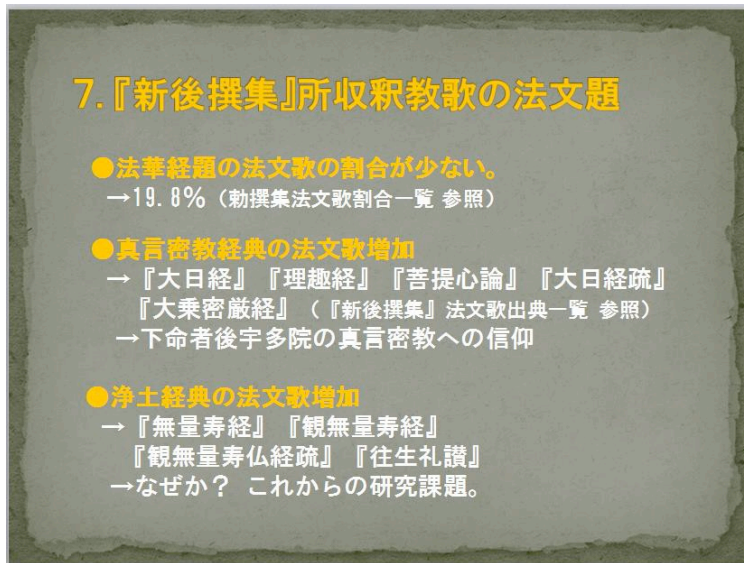
With the remainder of my presentation, I would like to offer a few examples of how these political dynamics can be seen in the *shakkyōka* of the late medieval imperial waka anthologies.

### 3. Avenues for Research

As I have already suggested, the historical focus of *shakkyōka* research has generally ranged from the *mid-Heian* period to the compilation of the *Shinkokin-shū* in the early medieval period. For example, fruitful investigations have been made of the *shakkyōka* contained in the *hachidai-shū*, of the *Hokkekyō nijūhachi-hon waka* by Shunzei, Saigyō, and Jien, and of Jakuzen's *Hōmon hyakushū*. In contrast, with the exception of Iwasa Miyoko's research into the Kyōgoku school, Buddhist waka of the late medieval period remains a relatively unexplored topic. However, speaking of waka more generally, there is a precedent for research into the late medieval imperial anthologies—in particular, of inquiry into the political elements of these texts—that I believe can offer models for further research into *shakkyōka*.

Research into the political dimensions of the late medieval imperial anthologies has generally focused on their *ga* (celebratory) sections. Since these sections as a rule contain poems of blessing for whatever ruling authority commissioned the anthology, analysis of these poems has naturally attempted to extract from them a political function. Taking a slightly broader perspective, I would like to propose that the *shakkyōka* found in these anthologies can also be read as documents of the political conditions under which the anthologies were created. This is because they reflect the interaction of all three spheres of authority: the imperial or shogunal authority that commissioned the anthology, the aristocrat-scholars given the task of compilation, and the priests and monks given the task of conducting Buddhist affairs on behalf of the state. By analyzing changes in practices surrounding *shakkyōka*, I propose that we can shed light on the dynamic interactions between the aristocratic, military, and Buddhist spheres, and in particular that we may reveal the religious perspectives of the commissioning authorities

and of the compilers. In the remaining time, I would like to offer a few examples of this kind of analysis.



Beginning with the imperial anthologies of the mid-medieval period, scriptural poems began to draw from a larger variety of sutras. The most dramatic example of this is the 13<sup>th</sup> imperial anthology, the *Shingosen-shū*. As you can see from the materials in item 13 on page 7 of the handout, this collection includes fewer citations of the Lotus Sutra than previous anthologies, and instead collects many poems that draw on Shingon texts: the *Dainichikyō*, the *Rishukyō*, the *Bodaishinron*, the *Dainichikyō-sho*, and the *Daijōmitsugonkyō*. This was probably due to the fact that Retired Emperor Go-Uda-in, who commissioned the collection, was an ardent Shingon believer. At the same time, however, the *shakkyōka* of this anthology also contain a relatively large proportion of poems based on Pure Land texts like the *Kanmuryōjukyō*. The reasons for this have not yet been explored and remain as an avenue for further research.



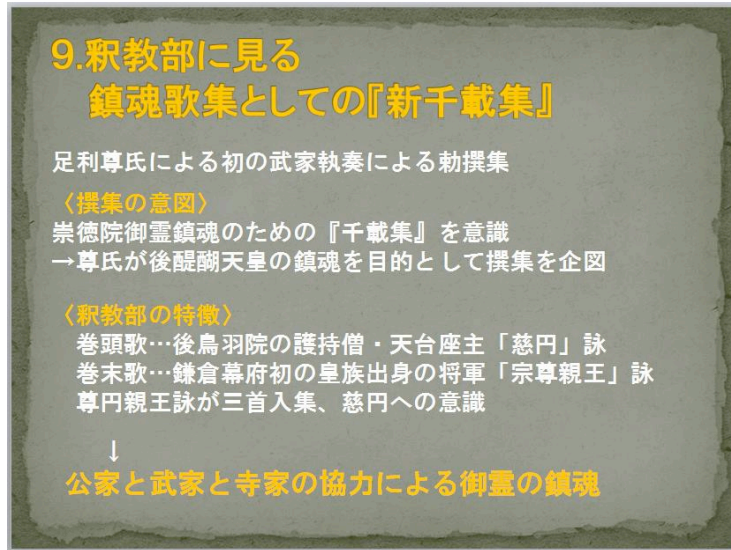
## 8. 法文歌出典検索のためのデータベース

- 台湾電子佛典教會 (CBETA)  
<http://www.cbeta.org/>
- 大正新脩大藏經データベース (SAT)  
<http://21dzk.1.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/>
- 浄土宗全書検索システム  
<http://www.jozensearch.jp/pc/>
- 日本文学Web図書館  
(新編国歌大観・私家集大成の検索)  
<http://www.kotenlibrary.com/>

(Incidentally, it used to be very time-consuming to identify which texts of the Buddhist canon were being cited in any given poem, but this is no longer the case. In the field of Buddhist Studies, new digital resources like CBETA and the SAT Daizōkyō Text Database have made it possible to easily search the Buddhist canon, while the Jōdo-shū Zensho Kensaku Shisutemu also allows users to search texts related to Pure Land Buddhism. Such search functions have made it very easy to identify citations; the list on page 7 of the handout was made using these tools. These have not yet been put to extensive use in the study of *shakkyōka*, however, and we can expect new insights to follow from proper analysis of the data that they offer.)

As another example, the *Shinsen-zai-shū*, as I have already stated, was the first of the imperial anthologies to have been commissioned at the proposal of someone of the warrior class; all later imperial anthologies would be the same. Fukatsu Mutsuo, analyzing the poems in the *keiga* (or “celebratory”) section, has observed that, in offering this text, Ashikaga Takauji sought to appease the spirit of Emperor Go-Daigo. Takauji, of course, had joined forces with Go-Daigo in order to overthrow the Kamakura shogunate, only to later revolt against him,

install Emperor Kōgon of the Jimyō-in lineage on the throne, and establish the Muromachi shogunate. Go-Daigo then fled to Yoshino and established the southern court, but died of illness, wishing in his last testament for the destruction of the enemies of the throne.



As is clear from the title of the collection, the *Shinsenzai-shū* was conceived with reference to the *Senzai-shū*, which had been compiled to appease the spirit of Retired Emperor Sutoku-in. Examining the *shakkyō* section of the *Shin-senzaishū* from the perspective of *chinkon* (or “spirit pacification”), it becomes clear why the compilers opened the section with a poem by the priest Jien. (This poem, and the others I will discuss, can be found in item 14 on page 8 of the handout.) Jien, who was a head abbot of the Tendai sect, had also been the *gojisō* (or “guardian priest”) of Emperor Go-Toba-in, and furthermore had been deeply invested in spirit pacification: of the Heike clan following the Genpei wars, of Retired Emperor Sutoku-in following the Hōgen Disturbance, and of Retired Emperor Go-Toba-in who had been exiled to Oki after the Jōkyū Disturbance. As an example of this concern, in the year 1222, following the Jōkyū Disturbance, Jien wrote a petition requesting the restoration of the Daijōju-in temple as a site of prayer. In this request, he stated his resolve to bring peace to the state by pacifying the



spirits of the dead through prayer, and declared that the shōgun and court should also conduct a joint *shijōkō* service toward the same ends. The *shijōkō* service was one in which prayers of safety and longevity were offered for the emperor, and the fact that Jien insisted that such a service be held jointly by the aristocracy and warrior classes together is thought to indicate his belief that the fates of the imperial court and the shogunate were bound together.

The *shakkyō* section of the *Shinsen-zai-shū* also contains three poems by Imperial Prince Son'en, who was the head of the Shōren-in temple and, like Jien, a Tendai head abbot. One of these poems, number 880, includes a preface stating that Son'en, called upon to compose waka on the chapters of the *Dainichikyō*, began by quoting a poem by Jien: *ōkenaku/ukiyo no tami ni/ōu kana/waga tatsu soma ni/sumizome no sode*. The fact that Son'en would use a poem by Jien—one expressing Jien's resolution as a head abbot to save all mortal creatures—to open a series of poems on the *Dainichikyō* indicates the high regard in which Jien was held.

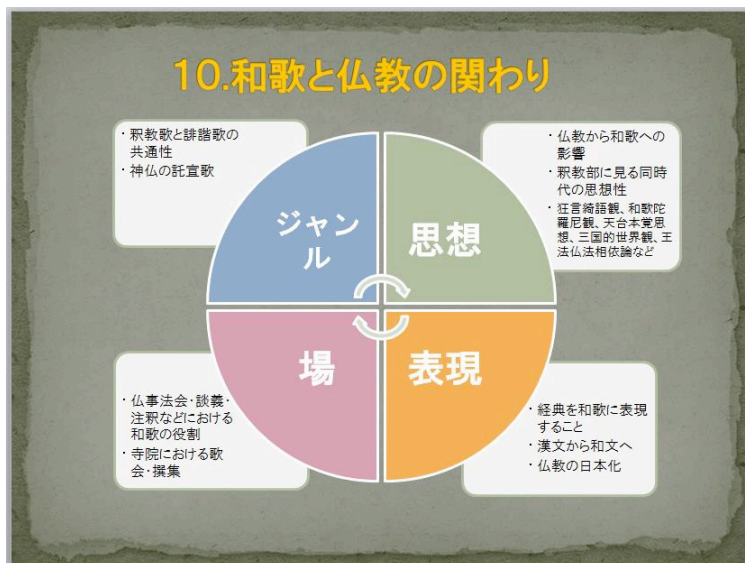
It is also worth noting that the *shakkyō* section of the *Shinsen-zai-shū* concludes with a poem by Imperial Prince Munetaka. Munetaka was the first Kamakura shōgun to come from the aristocracy, and was a central figure in Kamakura waka circles as well. In this sense, he symbolized the fusion of aristocratic and warrior culture. In sum, the fact that the *shakkyō* section of the *Shinsen-zai-shū* opens with a poem by Jien and concludes with one by Munetaka seems to suggest an attention both to spirit pacification and to the cooperation of the aristocratic and warrior classes; in particular, it seems to suggest that spirit pacification, or *chinkon*, should be better accomplished through such cooperation. Furthermore, it indicates that this cooperation required the mediation of the Buddhist faith and the Buddhist priesthood.

To summarize, the cases of the *Shingosen-shū* and the *Shinsen-zai-shū* suggest that the *shakkyō* sections of the late medieval imperial waka anthologies reflect both the religious and

the political concerns of the ruling authorities of the time. Investigation of the Buddhist poetry contained in the many other anthologies of the period is sure to reveal many other problems relating to contemporary social structure and religious belief.

### Conclusion: Waka and Buddhism—Thought, Expression, Occasion, Genre

Finally, I would like to conclude with a few more general thoughts on the relationship between waka and Buddhism. I think that useful lenses for understanding this relationship can be found by examining these poems from the four perspectives shown on slide 10: thought (*shisō*), expression (*hyōgen*), occasion (*ba*), and genre.



First, thought: what impact did Buddhist thought exert on waka, and how did waka transform Buddhist thought? Examining the *shakkyō* sections of the medieval imperial anthologies may help to reveal the ways in which waka interacted with the religious beliefs and world-views of the authorities that commissioned them and of the scholars who compiled them. This inquiry would engage with research into such conceptual structures as *kyōgen-kigo* (the belief that ornamental language, like poetry, was harmful—and later, the inverse belief that

such language could act as an expedient means leading toward enlightenment), *waka-soku-darani* (the related belief that waka are equivalent to Buddhist dharani), Tendai original enlightenment thought, three-countries cosmology, and *ōhō-buppō sōi-ron* (the theory that, if the laws of the realm supported Buddhist law and vice versa, the realm would be protected from harm).

Second, expression: how was Buddhist doctrine, including passages from Buddhist scripture, expressed through the waka form? The Buddhist poems in these collections often take their form from nature or love poetry, replacing the world of the Buddhist canon with the ephemeral sensibility of classical waka. This transformation relates to problems of translation—how were the Buddhist sutras translated from classical Chinese into the Japanese vernacular?—and thus to the adaptation of Buddhism itself to the Japanese cultural environment.

Next, occasion: on what occasions was Buddhist waka composed, and what role did it play in Buddhist ceremony? Beginning in the *insei* period, Buddhist priests themselves would organize poetic gatherings and competitions and compile private collections of their own poetry. This resulted in such no-longer-existent collections as the *Yamabushi-shū*, the *Yamashina-shū*, and the *Mii-shū*; examples from the late medieval period include the *Naranoha-shū*, the *Shokumonyō-shū*, and the *Ansen-shū*. Inquiries into these collections may shed light not only on the conceptual basis of monastic culture but also on the place that waka composition had within that culture.

Finally, genre. As compiler of the *Senzai-shū*, Fujiwara no Shunzei took the *shakkyōka* from the “lamentations” (*aishō*) section of the *Shūi-shū* and placed them after the miscellaneous section of the *Senzai-shū*, which closes with *haikaika* or humorous poems. More specifically,

he closes the *haikaika* section with a poem by the monk Kūya (this can be found in item 15 of the handout): *gokuraku wa/harukeki hodo to/kiki-shika-do/tsutome-te itaru/tokoro nari-keri* (“The Pure Land is said to be distant, but it is a place at which one may arrive even in the early morning/at which one may arrive through effort.”) This poem is based on a *kakekotoba* wherein the word *tsutomete* can be taken to mean either “early morning” or “with effort”. In other words, belief in the Pure Land exists here alongside and is articulated through humorous wordplay. This poem closes the *haikaika* section, and the *shakkyō* section follows immediately after, suggesting a certain continuity between the genres of *haikaika* and *shakkyōka*. This should lead us to ask why Buddhist poetry came to be associated with elements of verbal play.

Also, in the poetic treatise *Fukuro-zōshi*, Fujiwara no Kiyosuke groups *shakkyōka* and oracular poetry (that is, poetry attributed to priests, Buddhas, or Bodhisattvas) along with poetry by children, in the category of “unusual poems” (*kidaika*). This category seems to collect a variety of different poems, including those attributed to Shinto and Buddhist deities, under a Buddhist logic. Oracular poems and dream revelation poems (*mukokuka*) can be seen as well in the *Shinkokin-shū*, the *Shinchokusen-shū*, the *Gyokuyō-shū*, and the *Fūga-shū*, where they tend to be clustered at either the beginning or the end of the *shakkyō* sections. This suggests that such poems were given a special significance, even within the category of *shakkyōka*. Along with the genre status of Buddhist poetry, the significance of these poems in particular should be explored further.

Needless to say, all these topics are interrelated, and I believe that integrating such different perspectives in a comprehensive program of inquiry will reveal the interactions between waka and Buddhism in a new depth. For example, if we understand how the Buddhist thought expounded in religious gatherings influenced the form taken by waka composed at those

gatherings, we will be able to understand the connections between waka and Buddhism in a more concrete and organic way. If the conceptual and expressive elements of waka can be understood by examining scriptural poems, then the occasions on which Buddhist waka were produced can naturally be understood by examining the poetry produced for such occasions . By approaching these issues from multiple perspectives, the place of Buddhist poetry in the larger history of waka should become clear, along with the place of waka itself in medieval Japanese cultural and social practices.

Thank you for your attention, and again, thank you for the chance to present here today.

(Translated by Tom Gaubatz)