

The Formation and Development of the "Poem Offering" (*Horaku Waka*)

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1. Introduction

Hōraku waka is generally understood as “*waka* (thirty-one-syllable poems, literally “Japanese songs”) offered to *kami* (deities) and *hotoke* (buddhas) for *hōraku* (the benefits of the Buddhist Dharma)” according to the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Comprehensive Dictionary of the Japanese Language). However, its original concept was more specific than that. It originally referred to poems offered exclusively to deities.

What votive poems had been and how they were formed was already explained nearly 50 years ago by Yamada Shōzen.¹ He wrote the entry for *hōraku poems* in the *Waka daijiten* (Comprehensive Dictionary of Poems) (Meijishoin, 1986), and I quote the entry here, as it clearly shows Yamada’s thought:

Poetry composed and offered to pray to deities in seeking their protection, based on a belief that the deities of Japan appreciate *waka*. . . . If the true forms of deities, i.e., buddhas and bodhisattvas, are pleased to accept *dharani* (magic spells in Sanskrit) as *hōraku*, Japanese deities, or native manifestations of original Buddhist divinities, would naturally accept *waka* composed in Japanese as *hōraku*.

¹Yamada Shōzen, “Mikkyō to waka bungaku,” *Mikkyō gaku kenkyū* 1 (March 1969): 151–165. This article is included in *Yamada Shōzen chosakushū* vol. 3: *Shakkyōka no tenkai* (Tokyo: Ōfū, 2012), 127–141. Unless specified, Yamada’s argument is quoted from this. An earlier version of this paper was presented for the symposium titled “Hōraku waka to wa nanika” held by Nagoya Daigaku Kokugo Kokubun Gakkai in Spring 2012. This article was originally published in *Nagoya daigaku Kokugo kokubungaku* 109 (November 2016): 1–16.

Similarly, the entry of *hōraku waka* written by Koyama Junko for the most recent version of the *Waka bungaku daijiten* (Comprehensive Waka Literature Dictionary, *Koten raiburarī*, 2014), mostly follows Yamada’s explanation and states that “Through the theory of *honji suijaku* (Shinto deities as manifestations of Buddhist divinities), an idea was formed that whereas *hōraku* for buddhas is realized by recitation of sutras and rituals, *hōraku* for the deities is realized by waka.” Therefore, regardless of the general view, poetry scholars seem to commonly share the idea of original *hōraku waka* not as “the waka offered for *hōraku* to both deities and buddhas” but the waka offered for *hōraku* exclusively to the deities.

In fact, however, the definition of *hōraku waka* varies among scholars of waka. For example, when Asada Tōru examines *hōraku teisū waka* (the set of specific numbers of waka for *hōraku*), he states: “Note the term ‘*hōraku*.’ By origin it should mean praising buddhas, whereas the term was used for deities as well during the Muromachi period in the same manner.”² From his phrase “deities as well during the Muromachi period,” Asada seems to have completely the opposite idea of Yamada’s regarding the deities and buddhas.

Furthermore, it is difficult to say that scholars of waka share a consensus about the time of formation for votive poems. Yamada states in the *Waka daijiten* that “it is from the end of the Heian to the early medieval periods that the concept of *hōraku waka* was established and such waka began to be composed.” He recognizes Saigyō’s two *jikawase* (poetry contests of his own waka) offered to Ise Grand Shrines as typical votive poems. Yamada further explains that Jien, who compiled his offered poetry contests by Saigyō’s influence, was the first poet who founded the theoretical base for votive poems.

On the point of formation of votive poems, for example, Koyama continues after her passage

² Asada Tōru, “Chūsei kōki hōraku teisūka no kinō ni tsuite,” *Waka bungaku kenkyū* 110, (May 2015): 26–39.

quoted above in *Waka bungaku daijiten*, “the most ancient *hōraku waka* among others known today is *hōraku hyakushu* (one hundred waka poems for *hōraku*) offered to Hakone Gongen, included in *Sagamishū*.” This differs from Yamada’s view. Hence Yamada’s explanation about the concept of votive poems and the time of its formation is not necessarily accepted by every scholar of poetry. However, we should acknowledge the fundamental point of Yamada’s view.

This paper attempts to re-examine the original characteristics of votive poems and the process of their formation by investigating Yamada’s view. Moreover, it explores aspects of the development of votive poetry after its formation. Yamada states that votive poetry was originally offered to “the deities,” but he does not assert that votive poetry was never offered to “buddhas.” He remarks at the end of the entry for *hōraku waka* in *Waka daijiten*, “By its high point at the end of the Muromachi period, offering to both deities and buddhas not only waka but also *renga* (linked poems) became widely popular.”

This observation is correct. It is true that many of votive poems were composed during the end of the Muromachi period for “buddhas.” The general view of votive poems, shown at the beginning of this paper as “waka offered to deities and buddhas for benefits of the Dharma, or *hōraku*,” would not be problematic if we only look at that time period; that is to say, the concept of votive poetry changed over time, and this paper elucidates the process.

2. *The Meaning of “Hōraku”*

Before examining *hōraku waka*, let me clarify the meaning of *hōraku*. For the primary meaning of *hōraku*, Yamada quotes *bosatsubon* (the section for Bodhisattvas) in the Yuimagyō Sutra and explains that it “means to appreciate Buddha’s teachings and to get religious pleasure,” and this paper does not object to this definition. What we need to pay attention to are examples of *hōraku*’s

usage in the Japanese context. Yamada points out that most of the examples of votive poems appearing in Japanese literature place the emergence of Japanese deities' acceptance of recitations of Buddhist sutras as *hōraku* after the era known as the *Inseiki* (the period of rule by retired emperors). His point is important, and I do not intend to dispute it. However, Yamada briefly asserts his conclusion without providing examples; thus, I have listed selected examples here to illustrate actual features of *hōraku*. As far as I know, the examples of *hōraku* appearing in Japanese literature up to the end of the Heian period (ca. 8th to 12th centuries) are as follows:³

1. Volume 19 of the *Konjaku Monogatari shū* (The Collection of Tales of Times Now Past), Section 33 (Compiled in the first half of the 12th century):

As I could see the deity enshrined at the northwest corner of the road called Higashisanjō, which ran past my residence, I always recited the sutras for the deity and humbly performed *hōraku*.

2. Volume 10 of *Ryōjinhisyō kudenshū* (Collection of Japanese poetry that has thirty volumes of poetry and ten volumes of orally transmitted tales) (Around the 4th year of the Chishō era, or 1180):

We hear various voices here and there offering *nusa* (a staff with plaited paper streamers). When I hear various voices chanting *hōraku* ranging from the Heart Sutra, or Senju Sutra, to Lotus Sutra, I feel respect for the hearts they are changing.

³ In addition to the four examples listed, there is another example in *Tale of Sagoromo*, vol. 3, p. 200. Sagoromo played the zither at Kamo Shrine and invoked the deity Myōjin. The description of this scene “[h]er performance of the zither is splendid as music for the Dharma” includes the word 法楽 written in the same Chinese characters as those of the word *hōraku* 法楽. But the word is read not as “hōraku” but “hōgaku” signifying “religious music, solemn music invoking rapture of the Dharma.” See Ishida Mizumaro, ed., *Reibun bukkyōgo daijiten* (Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 1997): p. 962. Thus, this has not been included as an example of “hōraku.”

3. Chōken's "*Kamo no kannushi Shigeyasu dō kuyō hyōbyaku*" (Pronouncement for the dedication to the hall petitioned by Shigeyasu, priest of Kamo Shrine)" (the 4th year of the Chishō era, or 1180):

Dedicated to Kamo Sumeōkami Wakeikazuchi Daimyōjin, and other deities enshrined at Kifune Kataoka Ōji, may *hōraku* be splendid and empower the spirits of the deities.

4. Volume 12 of the *Tsukimōde wakashū* (Collection of waka poetry about the monthly visit to Kamo shrine) (the 1st year of the Juei era, or 1182) Number 1050 (Kōtaigōgū Daishin)

Kamo no Shigeyasu called upon people to pray for rain and composed waka poetry in front of Kamo Shrine. After a little while, it began to rain, and I recited and offered *daibahon* (a sutra of Devadatta) as *hōraku*.

The first example illustrates a monk living at Tōin in the west always recited sutras for *hōraku* to the deity enshrined at the corner of Higashisanjō. The second one describes Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa's pilgrimage to Kumano, during which they heard voices chanting various kinds of sutras for *hōraku* at Kumano Hongū Shrine. The third one is a passage about the Buddhist ritual pronouncement for *ikkenhimendō* (a small hall) written by Chōken, for which Kamo no Shigeyasu, priest of Kamigamo Wakeikazuchi Shrine, served as a petitioner. This pronouncement tells that the priest's merit to conduct a Buddhist ritual would function as *hōraku* for the deities of Kamo Sumeōkami Wakeikazuchi Daimyōjin and other deities. The fourth one is also related to Kamo no Shigeyasu, which is the *kotobagaki* (forward and explanatory note of waka) for his *shakkyōka* (Buddhist waka), explaining that his poem was dedicated to the deities of the shrine of Kamo to

pray for rain had miraculous virtue. Shigeyasu composed *shakkyōka* when he humbly celebrated the rain and recited a chapter of the Devadatta sutra as *hōraku*. These examples indicate that reciting sutras and conducting Buddhist ceremonies functioned as *hōraku* for the deities. It can be said that what Yamada has pointed out is correct.

The belief that deities appreciate *kyōten dokuju* (recitation of sutras) as *hōraku* began to be formed during the early period of *shinbutsu shūgō* (the syncretism of Shinto and Buddhism). It is also widely accepted that the syncretism dates from the eighth century. Scholars usually note that both the building of *jingūji* (Buddhist temples with Shinto shrines) and *shinzen dokyō* (recitation of sutras at shrines) were characteristics of the early stage of this syncretism.⁴ An ancient example of *shinzen dokyō* often given is story 24 in Volume 3 of the *Nihon ryōiki* (a collection of Buddhist anecdotal tales), which is labeled “How the Deity, after Buddhist Practitioners Were Disturbed, Took the Form of a Monkey.” In this episode, the deity Taga no Ōkami in Yasu no kōri of Ōmi no kuni requested the monk Eshō, of Daianji temple, to recite the Lotus Sutra for him. This example shares a common thread with the other ones, because the deity tried to be saved by the Buddha through receiving a recitation of a sutra. Yamada applies the *honji suijaku* combinatory paradigm (deities as manifestations of buddhas) to explain the belief (deities appreciate recitation of sutras as *hōraku*), but it is not necessary to refer to the combinatory paradigm, because the theme of the examples is precisely *shinzen dokyō*.

The term “*hōraku*” of the Heian period refers specifically to “Japanese deities’ appreciation and celebration of benefits of the Dharma by receiving a recitation of a Buddhist sutra.” While it is debatable on what kind of tradition would be its origin, I have no doubt about the meaning and usage of *hōraku* that Yamada has noted.

⁴ For more detail, see Itō Satoshi, *Shintō to wa nanika* (Tokyo: Chūō shinsho, 2012).

3. The Historical Background and Formation of Votive Poems

We can understand votive poems as replacements for “*kyōten dokuju*” in the performance of *hōraku* as in the examples shown above. Some historical factors made this possible. One such factor was the act of offering waka to deities. Since before waka began to be offered to deities for *hōraku*, the act of offering waka to the deities had been practiced. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, Koyama states in *Waka bungaku daijiten* that the most ancient *hōraku* waka were the one hundred waka poems dedicated to Hakone Gongen included in *Sagamishū* (the third year of Jian 3, or 1023). It is true that the *hyakushuka* (one hundred waka poems of *Sagamishū* are the oldest extant *teisūka*. The question is whether those poems were offered with awareness of *hōraku* or not. Its introduction states that “[i]t seemed difficult for me to say everything, so when I found lodging on the way and had nothing to do, I composed poems expressing my feelings and wrote on pieces of paper, which were made as a bound small text like staffs with plaited paper streamers to offer.” This indicates that Sagami attempted to gain the deities’ blessings by offering the waka poems expressing their heart’s wish. But it is difficult to an awareness of such *hōraku* as discussed above.

Furthermore, if we do not limit our search to *teisūka*, people had been offering waka to deities from much earlier to invoke divine protection. For example, there are examples in Volume 1 of the *Kagero nikki* (The Gossamer Years) about visits to Inari Shrine and Kamo Shrine in September of the 3rd year of the Kōhō era (986).⁵ Besides this, there are examples of a waka composed by a provincial governor upon his visit to a shrine in his province and *shatōka* (waka composed at a

⁵ For the example of *The Kagerō Nikki*, see Kondō Miyuki, “Sagamishū shosai ‘Hashiriyu gongen hōnō hyakushu’ron,” in *Ōchō waka kenkyū no hōhō*, 126–147 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin 2015), 130.

shrine).⁶ There is no indication of it considered as *hōraku*.

Further examination would be necessary on this, but at least it can be said that the act of praising deities and praying for their protection through offering waka must have been practiced since ancient times. Yet we cannot assume the waka are “*hōraku waka*” as long as there is no awareness of *hōraku* indicated. On the other hand, it is difficult to conclude that those poems had nothing to do with votive poems, because they were offered to the deities. The ancient practice of offering waka to the deities to invoke their protection would historically be an important factor to form votive poems. In addition, I want to consider another factor in the formation of votive poems: the idea that poems can lead people to Buddhism. This idea was formed during the same era as the completion of the *Kagero nikki* and *Sagamishū*. For example, Daisaiin Princess Senshi expressed this in the introduction to the *Hosshin wakashū* (9th year of the Kankō era, or 1012), despite her role as a servant of the deities (at Kamo Shrine as the Great Shrine Priestess), she believed it was possible to make a connection with Buddha by composing waka. Also around this time, the *Wakan rōeishū* (Anthology of Japanese and Chinese Verses for Recitation) was compiled, and it includes a passage from Bai Juyi’s “*Kōzanji hakushi rakuchūshūki*,” which is the origin of the concept of “*kyōgen kigo*” (wild words and fancy phrases). Since then, the concept of *kyōgen kigo* spread widely. The “*Ungoji no shōnin kyōgen kigo o sensuru no waka no jo*” (preface to the waka anthology to repent the wild words and fancy phrases) written by Fujiwara no Mototoshi in the 1st year of the Kashō era (1106) and “*Waka no mandokoro ippongyō kuyō hyōbyaku*” written by Chōken in the 2nd year of Eiman (1169) are representative works asserting that waka and Buddhism can be integrated through *kyōgen kigo*.⁷

⁶ For waka offered to shrines at the time of *kokushi*’s worship of the deities, see Yasui Shigeo, “Shatō uta’awase no seiritsu,” *Kokubungaku ronsō* 61 (February 2016): 27–45 and Yasui Shigeo’s other works.

⁷ Regarding “*Ungoji no shōnin kyōgen kigo o sensuru no waka no jo*,” Yamada Shōzen pays close attention to it as an early account to develop the theoretical base for *hōraku waka*. *Yamada Shōzen chosakushū* vol. 3: *Shakkyōka*

By the end of the Inseiki period (ca. 12th century), the ancient belief that deities appreciate offerings of waka, and the idea that composing of waka can make a connection with Buddhism came to be integrated. It was Kamo no Shigeyasu who explicitly stated such an idea.⁸ Shigeyasu offered his personal collection of poetry called *Tsukimōde wakashū* to Kamo Wakeizuchi Shrine in the 1st year of Juei (1182). He remarked in its introduction that:

Nothing can be better than waka to move the deities' hearts.... This compilation of waka poems composed at the time of visiting the shrine in December shows the depth of the writers' prayer to fulfill their wishes about this life and the afterlife.... People worship at the shrine offering their wishes. I have compiled those people's and others' waka and called it *Tsukimōdeshū*. I have divided one thousand two hundred poems into twelve volumes and humbly offer them at the inner sanctum of our deity; we should not think the connections that waka make are useless.

It is noteworthy that Shigeyasu states that waka poetry is the best offering to move the deities' hearts at the beginning, and that people pray to fulfill their Buddhist wishes about two lives (happiness for this life and birth into the Pure Land of Buddhism for afterlife). Above all, what should be noted most is the last sentence: “we should think the connections that waka make are useless” (*asobi tawabure no en munashikarazu nasubekinari*). The phrase “connections that waka make” (*asobi tawabure no en*) reminds us of a famous passage in the *Korai fūteishō* (Poetic Styles Past and Present): “Though waka is like floating words and fancy phrases (*kore wa fugen kigyo no tawabure ni wa nitaredomo*), it manifests the depth of things and makes a connection leading to Buddhism.” As Shigeyasu said that “we should not think it useless,” the entire sentence means that “we should not think the connections that waka can make with Buddhism are useless.” In other words, Shigeyasu wrote the introduction based on the idea that the concept of “*kyōgen kigo*”

no tenkai (Tokyo: Ōfū, 2012), 126–130. Similarly, Abe Yasurō discusses this text and “*Waka no mandokoro ippōgyō kuyō hyōbyaku*” in “Chūsei shūkyō tekusuto to shite no waka to shōdō: Kamo no Shigeyasu to Chōken,” *Bukkyō bungaku* 39 (April 2014): 33–57.

⁸ For the relation of waka and Buddhism in the case of Kamo no Shigeyasu, see Abe's article in fn. 7.

combines waka and Buddhism, and that waka offered to the deities function as a Buddhist ceremony for them.

Shigeyasu's idea is close to votive poems in the sense that waka offered to the deities is not just waka in general, but that it can become a Buddhist ceremony. However, we should differentiate between "to have deities experience and appreciate Buddha's teachings" and the connection that the worshippers gain with Buddhism. Shigeyasu did not elaborate any further on the idea of "to have deities experience and appreciate the Buddha's teachings;" thus, Shigeyasu's idea should be understood as a stage prior to the formation of *hōraku waka*. In summary, during the Heian period, waka was offered to deities; the idea of integrating waka with Buddhism was formed; and moreover, a connection between these two ideas was produced. It can be understood that the belief that waka function as *hōraku* to the deities was formed based on those ideas.

4. The Formation of *Hōraku Waka*

As Yamada points out, the first poet who explicitly described offering of waka to the deities as *hōraku* was Jien. Between the Kenryaku/Kenpō and Jōkyū eras (1213-1219), Jien dedicated *hyakushuka* to selected shrines. There are eight kinds of *hyakushuka*: (1) *Monjū hyakushu* dedicated to Kitano Tenmangū Shrine, (2) *Hie hyakushu* dedicated to Hie Shrine, (3) *Nijūgoshudai hyakushu* (the set of one hundred poems under twenty-five themes dedicated to Ise Jingū), (4) *Kamo hyakushu* dedicated to Kamo Shrine, (5) *Hachiman hyakushu* dedicated to Iwashimizu Hachimangū Shrine, (6) *Kasuga hyakushu* dedicated to Kasuga Taisha Shrine, (7) *Kasuga hyakushu sō* dedicated to Kasuga Taisha Shrine, and (8) *Naniwa hyakushu* dedicated to Shitennōji

Temple.⁹ In the postscript of “*Jichin-kashō jika’awase* (3rd year of the Jōkyū era , or 1221),” Jien states: “In my 70-year life, I composed sets of one hundred poems and dedicated them as *hōraku* to selected shrines.” Obviously Jien recognized those offerings as *hōraku*. In the introduction and postscript of each set of one hundred poems, Jien’s intention to dedicate his waka poetry to the shrines was written, which shows his view on the *hōraku waka*. However, it is not always the case that Jien’s entire view was verbalized in each introduction and postscript. It is often seen that some introductions clearly demonstrate his view whereas other introductions do not. Therefore, it is difficult to grasp Jien’s thought by focusing on his specific *hōraku hyakushu*. I suggest here four main aspects of Jien’s thought, based on an overview of the introductions and postscripts of his eight *hōraku hyakushu*.

(1) Deities are manifestations of the Buddha.

The introduction of the *Hachiman hyakushu* states that “Our Bodhisattva is the light of the unity of Buddha and Amitabha. The introduction of *Kamo hyakushu* says that “The original identity of the deity of Kamo Shrine is hardly known.”

(2) In the land of the deities, Japan, the appropriate offering to deities is waka, and they appreciate it.

The postscript of the *Monjū hyakushu* says that “Waka is a custom in the land of the deities. I should humbly express my thoughts.” The introduction of the *Kasuga hyakushu* states that “Waka is a custom in the land of the deities. Waka is an appropriate

⁹ For more detail about the eight kinds of *hyakushu*, see Ishikawa Hajime, *Jien waka ronkō* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1998), 343–601, and Yamamoto Hajime, “Kenpō/Jōkyū ki ‘hōrakuhyakushu gun’ no hani to seikaku,” in *Jien no waka to shisō* (Tokyo: Izumi shoin, 1999), 321–376. Yamamoto discusses the three main points on “common approach found in introduction and postscript” of *hyakushu* 1, 3, 4, 5, and 7. Yamamoto, *Ibid.*, 347–376. The approach in this paper partly overlaps with his.

means for *hōraku*.”

(3) Even though spoken languages in India, China, and Japan differ, they can be understood in terms of the meanings of words (the theory of *sangoku gen'on*), especially because the Japanese language can include the languages of India and China, and it is possible to make waka equivalent to Buddhist sutras. The introduction of the *Hachiman hyakushu* states that “Japanese words accord with Buddhist sutras.” The introduction of the *Nijūgoshudai hyakushu* states that “Brahman appeared at the beginning of this world, and the Buddha will govern the end of the world. Confucius taught the Truth in China while Amaterasu Ōmikami taught the Truth in Japan. Although the languages of three countries are different, the Japanese language encompasses the others.”

(4) Waka are wild words but can open into the true words of the Buddhist scriptures.

The introduction of the *Hachiman hyakushu* states that “Coarse words (meaning waka) greatly transform into Buddha’s teachings, and despite their resemblance to wild words, the words of waka are in accordance with the true words.”

The following is a summary of these examples. In the divine land of Japan, the appropriate offering to the deities is waka, and the deities appreciate it. The deities are the manifestations of Buddha. As the languages of China, India, and Japan are in accordance with each other, the Buddhist sutras from India and the waka of Japan are equivalent. Therefore, the deities of Japan accept waka as the equivalent of the Buddhist sutras and gain *hōraku*. Moreover, even though waka are wild words, the fact that waka poetry resonates with the true words of the Buddhist scriptures forms a basic conceptual framework that waka and the Buddhist sutras are equivalent.

In this way, Jien connected the ideas related to Buddhism such as the *honji suijaku* theory, the *sangoku gen'on* theory, and the concept of *kyōgen kigo*, as well as the ancient belief that the deities

appreciate waka, which shaped Jien's view of votive poetry. I think that the *sangoku gen'on* theory was particularly important to make waka equivalent to the Buddhist sutras.¹⁰

Now, we will examine the *Naniwa hyakushu* dedicated to Shitennōji Temple. Jien's thought has been discussed with the assumption that *hōraku hyakushu* is an offering to the deities. However, the *Naniwa hyakushu* is a collection of poems dedicated to a temple. How should we understand this? It is sure that Jien recognized it as votive poetry according to his postscript attached to the waka saying, "I composed these poems for *hōraku* and to celebrate the world through composing waka to Prince Shōtoku." This makes us wonder if Jien understood votive poetry as dedicated not only to the deities but also to Buddha. If that is the case, would it be wrong to define *hōraku waka* as exclusively dedicated to the deities? The existence of *Naniwa hyakushu* might be the reason why Yamada's view has not necessarily been accepted by all scholars of waka.

What is important in considering the issue is that it is "Shōryōin" of Shitennōji Temple to which *Naniwa hyakushu* was dedicated. The postscript of the waka states that "On the fifth of January, the offered waka poems were placed in the inner sanctum of Shōryōin." "Shōryōin" is the building where Prince Shōtoku is enshrined; thus, the target for the offering of the waka was Prince Shōtoku.

What should be noted is that Prince Shōtoku was believed to be the reincarnation of Avalokiteshvara, which is called "gonja," "keshin," or "kegen." In fact, Jien recognized Prince Shōtoku as the "kegen" or "keshin" of Avalokiteshvara in his writings *Gukanshō* and *Daisenhōin*

¹⁰ Yamada explains that Jien could replace sutras with waka because he held the view that waka is identical to *dharani*. On the other hand, Yamada also states that "Jien never said that waka is identical with *dharani*." See Yamada Shozen, "Waka darani kan no tenkai" in fn. 11, 163. For "*sangoku ongen-setsu*," Kikuchi Hitoshi points out "The word '*dharani*' is not found in Jien's works, and Jien might not have directly influenced Mujū. But without any doubt Jien became a precedent for Mujū to follow." See Kikuchi, "Waka darani kō," in *Shokunō toshitenō waka* (Tokyo: Wakakusa shobō, 2005), 164. It should be said that Jien formed the view of *hōraku waka* not based on *waka soku darani* (waka as equivalent to *dharani*) but by *sangoku ongen-setsu*, leading to the former view. For more detail about the formation of *sangoku ongen-setsu*, see Itō Satoshi, "Bon/kan/wago dōitsu kan no seiritsu kiban," in *Kenryoku to bunka*, vol. 1, *Inseiki bunka ronshū*, ed. Inseiki bunka kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2001), 161–187.

saikō ganmon. According to the *honji suijaku* theory, the deities of Japan were manifestations of the Buddha. In other words, Prince Shōtoku is identical to the deities of Japan just like Buddha appeared in Japan by taking a form. Hence, we can assume that, broadly speaking, *Naniwa hyakushu* was not offered to the temple but rather to the deity of Japan like other *hōraku hyakushu*.

It was Jien who clearly explained that offering waka to the deities functioned as *hōraku*, while Saigyō was the first poet who offered waka for *hōraku* of deities. Yamada stated that “Saigyō’s two poetry contests of his own poems, which were offered to Ise Jingū, can be understood as typical *hōraku waka*” in the *Waka daijiten*. On the other hand, he pointed out that “Saigyō did not use the word ‘*hōraku*’ anywhere.”¹¹ What Yamada meant is that Saigyō essentially held the view that it was *hōraku* despite not using the word.

It is true that Saigyō’s use of the word *hōraku* is not found in extant historical manuscripts. But there is a source suggesting his possible use. As Yamada also points out, it is the postscript of Jien’s *Mimosuso hyakushu*. Saigyō advised Jien in the 4th year of Bunji (1188) to compose it and its postscript states that “On Saigyō’s advice, I composed waka in the fall of the 4th year of Bunji. It is said that this is *hōraku* for Ise Jingū. But I composed it just to make a connection with the Buddha.”

There is the expression Jien attributed to Saigyō, “[i]t is said that it is *hōraku* for Ise Jingū,” but it is not clear if he actually used the word “*hōraku*.” As previously discussed, Jien often mentioned *hōraku*, and it is possible that he might have interpreted Saigyō’s words in his way and written “*hōraku*.” But even if that were what happened, we could still presume that Saigyō’s intention in advising Jien was the same as Jien’s idea about *hōraku* and that Saigyō essentially held

¹¹ *Shinbutsu shūgō to shugen*, vol. 6, *Zusetsu nihon no bukkō*, ed. Tanabe Saburōsuke (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1988), pp. 101-108. This is included in “Waka soku darani kan no tenkai,” in *Shakkyōka no tenkai*, vol. 3. *Yamada Shōzen chosakushū* (Tokyo: Ōfū, 2012), 156–168. See fn. 1.

the same idea about it. Therefore, it can be understood that Saigyō was the first poet who had the concept of *hōraku waka*. As for how Saigyō came to think that waka could function as *hōraku*, Yamada points out Saigyō's thought that "Words to compose waka are all true words." We should view it this way.

In sum, we can conclude that it was Jien who clearly recognized the offering of waka to the deities as *hōraku*, conceptualized, and explicitly demonstrated it for the first time. However, the first poet who offered waka to the deities for *hōraku* was Saigyō.

5. Development of *Hōraku Waka* after Jien

After Jien, examples of votive poetry became scarce. The examples which can be found among sources of up to the late Kamakura period are the waka of Fujiwara no Tameie and Saionji Saneuji only. As for Tameie, there are three examples in the *Nakanoinshū*: "*Hōraku* for Hiesha Jūzenjigū Shrine, (number 142)" composed in the 1st year of Karoku (1225), three poems dedicated to Hie daigūsha Shrine (number 205) composed in the 1st year of Jōei (1232), and ten poems dedicated to Kifunebettō Shrine on the tenth of the 9th month to pray for protection from damage by wind and rain (number 608) composed in the first year of Shōgen (1259). The earliest one among these examples is *hōraku* for Hie Shrine, and this *hōraku* appears to have been the result of Jien's influence upon Tameie. As is well known, Tameie, who was not confident as a successor to a house in the waka tradition, was encouraged by Jien and composed "*Tameie senshu*" (Tameie's one-thousand poems. According to the *Seiashō*, this lead him to become an established poet, and Tameie enjoyed close contact with Jien in his later years. *Hōraku* for Jūzenjigū also suggests Jien's influence on Tameie. As for Saneuji, in the *Shoku senzaiwakashū* there is one example numbered 879, and its explanatory note states that "One of the poems composed while staying at Kasuga

Shrine in June.” Its year and details are not known, but considering the close ties between Saneuji and Tameie, this poem might have been influenced by Tameie.

We can surmise that votive poems were not composed very much until the late Kamakura period, based on the sporadic examples found in the *Fubokuwakashō*, compiled in the 3rd year of Enkyō (1310). Votive poems are only represented in the waka anthology by two poems of “Hiesha hōraku miuta” and one poem of “Kasugasha hōraku miuta” composed by Jien. Considering the characteristics of the anthology, if votive poetry had been widespread at that time, more should have been included. This situation drastically changed at the end of the Kamakura period. Kōjun’s *Shūsōshō* tells us that votive poetry began to be extensively composed around that time. Kōjun was a monk-poet belonging to the Nijō school of poetry and wrote the *Shūsōshō* in the 1st year of Kenmu (1334). This anthology includes the following votive poem (with a forward and explanatory note for each waka):

Number 66: Six poems dedicated to Iwashimizu Hachimangū Shrine for *hōraku* with the monk Chōshun’s advice

Number 81: Thirty-six poems dedicated to Kasuga Shrine for *hōraku*

Number 138: Poems dedicated to Togano’o chinju Sumiyoshi Shrine for *hōraku*, advised by the monk Kenkō Hōshi

Number 255: One-hundred-thirty poems on the moon dedicated to Sumiyoshi Shrine for *hōraku*

Number 278: Poems including the names of Sumiyoshi Shrine and Tamatsushima Shrine for *hōraku*

Number 383: One-thousand poems composed at the residence of Nyūdō Sakino Dainagon,

dedicated to Hie Shrine for *hōraku*, on the topic of love and a sail

These examples show that *hōraku waka* were composed on the advice of both the monk-poet Chōshun of the Nijō school and the monk Kenkō. We also see that an event for composing “*hōraku tsugi senshu*” (one thousand poems for *hōraku* by selecting themes) was held at the residence of Nijō Tameyo, the head of the Nijō school. These poems, needless to say, were all offered to shrines. On the other hand, among other *teisūka* composed at Tameyo’s residence and offered to shrines, there were cases where poems were not regarded as “*hōraku*” as shown in example of waka numbered 41 “*Nyūdō sakino dainagon-ke kasugasha hōnō sanjissuka*” (thirty poems offered to Kasuga Shrine by Tameie). Even among poems offered to the same shrine, some poems were regarded as *hōraku* and some were not.

During the period of the Northern and Southern Courts, offering votive poems continued to be popular and the practice spread among warrior-poets. The following are some examples:

In *Sōanshū* compiled by Ton’a: waka on grass from one thousand waka poems dedicated to Kitano Shrine for *hōraku* by *Sadaijin* (Ashikaga Takauji, Number 1420)

In *Rik shū* compiled by Prince Muneyoshi: waka on the moon from one hundred poems dedicated in the 12th year of Shōhei (1357) to Kitano Shrine for *hōraku*, number 340; waka from one hundred poems dedicated to Suwanomiya Shrine for *hōraku*, number 869

In *Matsuda tango no kami Taira no Sadahide shū*: waka on fireflies dedicated to Miwasha Shrine for *hōraku*, number 8; waka on nostalgia beginning with the letter “ri” as *hōraku waka* dedicated to Sutokuin mieidō (the hall where the retired emperor Sutokuin is enshrined), number 64

In *Tsuneujishū*: waka about the subject of snow at the shrine dedicated to Kitano Shrine for *hōraku*, number 215

In *Genka Hōshi shū*: waka about the subject of love relating to clouds from three hundred thirty poems composed for *hōraku* at the *seibyō* (Kitanosha Shrine, number 260)

Besides Ton'a and Prince Muneyoshi, there were other warrior-poets in the late period of the Northern and Southern Courts including the three figures Matsuda Sadahide, Minamoto (Hosokawa) Tsuneuji, and Genka Hōshi (Yakushiji Kinyoshi). Many of their poems in the examples, including “*seibyō*,” were dedicated to Kitano Shrine. Prince Muneyoshi's votive poetry to Suwanomiya Shrine is a rather rare example, but it must have been related to the fact that the prince lived in Ōkawara of Shinshū.

Most of the poems in the examples were offered to shrines, but the poem dedicated to Sutokuin mieidō in *Sadahideshū* seems to be different from the other examples, so it will be examined more closely here.¹² Sutokuin mieidō is ambiguous in some respects. Several historical manuscripts indicate that Sutokuin mieidō existed in both Kyoto and Sanuki. But there is a possibility that there might be more than one Sutokuin mieidō in Kyoto. According to the *Gukanshō*, shortly after Sutokuin's death, his female attendants built the mieidō. On the other hand, a shrine was built publically for the repose of Sutokuin, which was named “Sutokuin byō,” following the case of Sugawara no Michizane. Later, this shrine was called Awatanomiya Shrine. Details are unknown, but by the thirteenth century, both Awatanomiya and Sutokuin mieidō were under the management of Shōrenin Temple, and Buddhist monks prayed for the repose of Sutokuin at the latter while Shinto priests prayed for the enshrined spirit of Sutokuin at the former. It is quite possible that the

¹² For “sutokuin mieidō,” see Haramizu Tamiki, “Sutokuin shinkō shikō 1, *Gengo bunka kenkyū* 4, Tokushimadaigaku (February 1997): 1–25.

“mieidō” appearing in *Sadahideshū* is the one under the management of Shōrenin Temple. After all, the details of Sutokuin mieidō, such as its location, are uncertain, but it is sure that if it was called “mieidō,” it was a hall primarily built for the repose of a soul. Considering that shortly after his death, Sutokuin’s spirit was enshrined as a deity following the case of Sugawara no Michizane, we should regard what is enshrined at the mieidō of *Sadahideshū* as Sutokuin’s divine spirit. Thus, “*hōraku waka* dedicated to Sutokuin mieidō” in *Sadahideshū* can be understood as equivalent to an offering to a shrine.

Up to this point, we have looked at the examples of *hōraku waka* in poetical works from the middle of the Kamakura period to the late period of the Northern and Southern Courts, and verified that there is no example of votive poems being dedicated to temples. We have also seen that poetical works of these periods have no examples of votive poems dedicated to the temples. But there is a poetical work in existence seemingly dedicated to a temple. Its title is *Kanzeon hōraku waka*, and it is housed at Jōdoji Temple. It will be examined here.

This offering was made by Ashikaga Takauji with other generals to Jōdoji Temple in Onomichi while leading his army from Kyushu to the east after being defeated in the 3rd year of Kenmu (1336) by Emperor Go-Daigo’s forces. It consists of thirty-three poems composed about the subject of hymns from the Hokekyō Sutra and Kanzeon Fumonhon, along with Takauji’s signature in his own hand. It was designated in the 37th year of Meiji (1904) as a National Important Cultural Property. Its registered name is “*Shihon bokusho kanzeon hōraku waka*.” What we should recognize is the fact that an explanatory title written at the beginning of the original says is “*Tsugi kanzeonkyō ge sanjūsan shu waka* (thirty-three poems about the selected hymns of Kanzeon Sutra,” in which the word “*hōraku*” is not found at all. Also from its content, it is difficult to regard the text as votive poetry. Ogawa Takeo points out that Takauji offered waka to shrines and temples in

the same year and explains that “It is hard to evaluate the waka that were offered. The number of such waka that praise deities and Buddha and adapt Buddhist sutras just like ‘*Tsugi kanzeonkyō ge sanjūsan shu waka*’ is rather low. Most of the others are virtually the same as regular types of waka in terms of the content.”¹³ In other words, Ogawa points out that the content of the so-called “*Kanzeon hōraku waka*” is rather exceptional. As Yamada Shōzen also mentions, votive poems usually appear to be no different than regular waka. Jien’s eight kinds of *hōraku hyakushu* also show that the subjects are not related to Buddhism, except “*Hachiman hyakushu*,” dedicated to Iwashimizu hachimangū Shrine. In short, it can be said that one of the features of the *hōraku hyakushu* is that poems are not composed especially about Buddhist teachings. If that is the case, there is no reason to regard “*Tsugi kanzeonkyō ge sanjūsan shu waka*” as votive poetry.

Takauji might not have recognize the poetry as *hōraku waka*, and we can infer that “*Tsugi kanzeonkyō ge sanjūsan shu waka*” only became “*hōraku waka*” when it was designated as a National Important Cultural Property during the Meiji period. This happened based on the view at that time that any waka offered to deities and Buddha were considered *hōraku waka*. Thus, *Tsugi kanzeonkyō ge sanjūsan shu waka* cannot be categorized as *hōraku waka*, which means that votive poems were never offered to temples at the beginning of the period of the Northern and Southern Courts Period (the 14th century). In summary, the concept of *hōraku waka* as a means for deities to get *hōraku* was passed without changes down from the time of Jien to the end of the period of the Northern and Southern Courts. This concept began to change during the middle of the Muromachi period. Examples of *hōraku waka* dedicated to temples appeared in Shōtetsu’s *Sōkonshū*. Below are some examples:

¹³ Ogawa Takeo, *Bushi wa naze uta o yomuka* (Tokyo: Kadokawa sōsho, 2008).

Number 1838: On the fourth of the 10th month in the 4th year of Eikyō (1432), while Miyaji no Chikayo stayed in a room at Kiyomizu Temple for prayer and advised me to compose waka for *hōraku*; I chose the topic.

Number 6868: On the twenty-seventh (of the third month, the 3rd year of Hōtoku (1451), I stayed in Hatsuse (Hasedera Temple) and composed fifty poems for *hōraku*, which are found in a separate paper (and the rest is omitted.)

Those are the examples of waka dedicated to Kiyomizu and Hasedera Temple for *hōraku*. Since then, votive poetry dedicated to temples has come to be found in many poetical works.

6. Conclusion

Hōraku waka originally denoted waka offered to deities to have them appreciate and celebrate the benefits of the Dharma. Based on the belief that the deities in Japan appreciate the recitation of sutras, these votive poems came to function in the same manner by replacing recitation of sutras with waka. The first poet who made offerings of poetry as *hōraku* was Saigyō, while it was Jien who conceptualized and explicitly demonstrated that making offerings of waka to the deities should function as *hōraku*. They thought that sutras could be replaced with waka on the basis of the *waka soku shingon* (waka as equivalent to true words and *sangoku ongen* (affinity of the languages of India, China, and Japan) theories. Their idea was also shaped by the ancient custom in Japan that deities appreciate the offering of waka, the *honji suijaku* combinatory paradigm, and the notion of *kyōgen kigo*.

After Jien, such votive poems were composed by only a few poets. However, they became rapidly popular at the end of the Kamakura period and this continued until the beginning of the

Muromachi period, when the situation changed. While being offered to many shrines, votive poems also began to be offered to temples, possibly because the word “*hōraku*” was very appealing. Since then, no matter whether the object of offerings was deities or Buddha, all waka that were to be offered came to be called “*hōraku waka*.”

The definition for *hōraku waka* claiming that it is “waka offered for *hōraku* to the deities and the Buddha” appearing in dictionaries and encyclopedias at present, thus, applies to the description about of the times after the middle of the Muromachi period.

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