

A Legacy of Japanese Courtly Literature: The Imperial New Year Poetry Recitation Party

Yuko Tagaya

The tradition of poetry recitation can be traced back to the beginnings of poetry itself, and, naturally, the origin of poetry may go back to the distant past, perhaps even to the beginnings of human language. A truly amazing poetic fruition blossomed in the twelfth century with the birth of troubadour poetry in southern France.¹ Anticipating and at once fertilizing the flourishing of medieval European literature, the canon thrived conspicuously in *langue d’oc*, the language spoken in France from the Loire southward.

There, powerful twelfth-century courts flowered, enhanced by ideas of “chevalerie,” the fundamentals of feudalism, as well as the adoration of Our Lady. This novelty gave rise to a literary trend, called *amour courtois*, which valued, as some critics have noted, the veneration of women. The poets composed lyric love poems which are courteous, elegant and graceful, emphasizing an “amour” as supreme as religious faith.

Y. Tagaya (✉)
Kanto Gakuin University, Yokohama, Japan

The innovative Guillaume IX (1071–1126) is regarded as the first of the troubadours. Then came Cercamon, Jaufre Rudel, Marcabrun, and many others. However, with the advent of the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229), poetic expression in southern France began to decline and a great many poets scattered widely throughout Europe, particularly to Italy.

Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122–1204), granddaughter of Guillaume IX, is one of the most important noblewomen in the history of medieval French literature. She cultivated literary arts and patronized the troubadours. During her marriage to Louis VII in 1137, it is said she invited Bernard de Ventadour and other gifted troubadours to her court, thus transplanting the elegant courtly literary culture to northern France, where a literary culture was inherited from the already burgeoning Provençal area of France. In the north, *trouvères* or poets of literary culture composed, in *langue d'oïl*, not only lyric poems imbued with *amour courtois* but also *chansons de geste*, courtly romances, and religious lyrics. Eleanor divorced Louis VII in 1152 and married Henry II, Duke of Normandy and King of England, in the same year. Once again, she brought along literary culture, this time to England. Her daughter, Marie de Champagne (1145–1198), emulated her mother's cultural support and patronized poetic activity, so that richly gifted poets, for example, Chrétien de Troyes, Gace Brulé, and Guiot de Provins, played a lively part at her court. In the thirteenth century, her grandson, Thibault de Champagne, was a great heir of the same tradition. Thus, through the tasteful and aristocratic efforts of noble ladies and their poets, the courts of France and England came to enjoy a radical literary prosperity, which today is the treasure of European literature—still very much part of the shared legacy of medieval courtly tradition.

KYUCHU UTAKAI HAJIME (宮中歌会始)

Amazingly, during a similar period, 794–1185, the Court-period of the Heian (平安) Era, considered the summit of Japanese courtly cultural achievement, Japanese literature shared in a legacy of courtly literature. Courtly literary culture saw its zenith as many gifted noble ladies composed *waka* (和歌) poems and narratives. Of primary importance in the context of Japanese courtly literature, the tradition of *waka*, a genre of Japanese poetry, must naturally be highlighted. In particular, two eminent heritages should be mentioned: the Imperial New Year's Poetry Recitation Party (Kyuchu Utakai Hajime), one of the most important as well as most popular and famous annual imperial ceremonies in Japan;

and, secondly, the “Hyaku-nin Isshu” (百人一首), one hundred *waka* poems by one hundred poets, also very popular and famous, which will be discussed below.

One of the generic predecessors of Kyuchu Utakai Hajime is usually called the “Utakai” (歌会), or Poetry Recitation Party, of the Heian Period.² When we consider Kyuchu Utakai Hajime as a legacy of Japanese courtly literature, the tradition of the formal recitation of Japanese poetry is extremely important because, from its earliest stage, it has always been recited on certain occasions, that is, under certain circumstances, and at poetry parties both in and out of the court. This Japanese tradition of poetry can be traced back to the *Man'yo-shu* (万葉集) (see Takagi et al. eds. 1957–1962), the oldest Japanese poetry anthology which appeared in the eighth century.³ The poems included were composed not only by emperors, Imperial family members, and nobles, but also by the common people like *sakimori* (防人)—originally peasants ordered to go to the western frontier as defense soldiers (Vol. 4, Bk. XX). Also not to be overlooked are the *Kayo* (歌謠), ancient Japanese ballads inserted in the *Kojiki* (『古事記』), the oldest Japanese record of ancient events, offered to Empress Regnant Genmei (元明) in 712. After the *Man'yo-shu*, in the period from 905 to 1439, twenty-one poetical anthologies were compiled under imperial command. In addition, a great many private editions of poetry anthologies were compiled by Imperial family members and other nobles. In this chapter, the Japanese New Year's Ceremony called Kyuchu Utakai Hajime is examined, while Hyaku-nin Isshu is mentioned, as it is necessary also to take into consideration the tradition of Japanese poetry and its recitation.

TODAY'S KYUCHU UTAKAI HAJIME

In Japan, the Kyuchu Utakai Hajime is held every year in mid-January under the patronage of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan at the State Chamber of the Court.⁴ The theme for the *waka* poems of the year is decided by His Majesty the Emperor precisely one year in advance. The theme is then announced widely through the Japanese media. Anyone at any age, Japanese or not, whether living inside or outside Japan, can submit a poem. Poems presented to the Court are accepted until the deadline, September 30. Such poems are screened and evaluated carefully, and finally the poems to be recited at the party are selected.

On the day of the Kyuchu Utakai Hajime, the creators of the selected poems are invited to the Court Palace. The ceremony begins at 10:30 in the morning, when all those expected are in attendance. The program is carried out in a traditional way. A recitation with special tunes and intonations in the traditional manner is called “Hikoh” (披講). It is performed by specialists who perform the following roles: a “Dokuji” (読師) presides at the ceremony without saying a word. A “Koji” (講師), after introducing the poem’s title, the poet’s name, and current home (Japanese region or other nationality), reads the work aloud without any music. Then a “Hassei” (発声) recites the poem with a special tune in the traditional way. Next, more than four individuals, called “Kosho” (講頌), join him and recite the poem in unison.

To summarize: first, the poems selected from those submitted are recited. Then the other poems are recited in the following order: the representative selector’s poem, the poem of the “meshudo” (召人), who is the poet chosen to recite his poem on the day of the ceremony, and then one representative poem by a member of Imperial blood (皇族), not of the Imperial family (天皇ご一家). Next, the poems of the Crown Princess, of the Crown Prince, and of Her Imperial Majesty the Empress are recited. After all these are recited, then, finally, the poem of His Majesty the Emperor is delivered three times. The recitation is then over. The entire ceremony is broadcast on Japanese television.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE KYUCHU UTAKAI HAJIME

The background of the Kyuchu Utakai Hajime may be considered from at least two aspects: the poetic literary tradition and that of the poetic recitation itself.

The Background of the Kyuchu Utakai Hajime: Poetic Literary Tradition

Today, Japanese *waka* exists as a strict form of Japanese short poem consisting of 31 syllables, arranged in lines of 5–7–5–7–7 syllables, also known as *tanka* (短歌) format, though in ancient Japan various verse forms of *waka* were popular, and these are easily found, for example, in the *Man’yo-shu*. As time passed, verse forms other than *tanka* went into decline and *tanka* came to be the representative verse form of *waka*, now defining Japanese poetry.

Man'yo-Shu, Bk. XII, Call-and-Response Poem

Man'yo-shu no. 3101 is a dialogued calling-out poem in which a man asks a maiden who and what she is, and no. 3102 is its reply poem, the composer of which denies answering because the author of the calling poem is a stranger.⁵ To make one's true name known would mean to accept the sovereignty of the one to whom the name is told, or to entrust all into the hands of that party. It is an ancient and courtly convention. The first poem of the *Man'yo-shu*, composed by Emperor Yuryaku (雄略), the twenty-first Emperor, and a very famous one among the Japanese people, is also a call-and-response poem.⁶ Emperor Yuryaku asks a beautiful maiden who and what she is and where she lives. He also adds that he will tell her who and what he is. The *Man'yo-shu* no. 20 and no. 21, also very popular, are another pair in call-and-response form.⁷ The pair has been considered as an expression of affection between Princess Nukata-no-Ohkimi (額田王), a favorite lady of Emperor Tenji (天智) the thirty-eighth Emperor (r. 668–671), and Prince O'ama-no-Oji (大海人皇子), younger brother of Emperor Tenji and later Emperor Tenmu (天武) himself. Thus, this pair of poems has been interpreted as an expression of their taboo (and therefore secret) love. Recently, another interpretation has become more persuasive: because the poems are recited at a formal public banquet which Emperor Tenji himself attended, the pair of poems did not express an actual love affair but a fictitious or imaginative one.

Man'yo-shu, Bk. III, Yamanoue-no Okura's (山上憶良) Poem of Taking Leave from a Banquet

Another example, no. 337, is Okura's poem expressing his leave-taking from a banquet: "I, Okura, am now taking my leave from the banquet because my children are crying in waiting for me and their mother may be also waiting for me."⁸ The poem may actually have been recited aloud in the presence of the other banquet guests.

*The Background of Kynchu Utakai Hajime:
The Poetic Recitation Tradition*

It must be stressed that all these poems are expected to be recited aloud in public. Almost all the poems are united by the expectation of their performance. Specific details of the poetic recital tradition are given below.

Utagaki (歌垣)

One of the most ancient examples of reciting poems is *Utagaki*, found in the *Kojiki*: songs sung between two people in turn and in public. They are performed at *ichi* (市), a fair, in the spring, when men and women come to sing and dance together with the intention of a marriage meeting in a group. The songs are naturally often tinged with an amorous intent, though in some cases, especially in later periods, this does not always signify an actual love affair but sometimes an imagined one.

One such song shows a scene of a dispute between two powerful real-life nobles: Oke-no-mikoto (袁初命) and Shibi (志毘).⁹ Oke wished to woo Princess O'uo (大魚). Before him, Shibi, taking O'uo's hand, sings to court her, in response to which Oke sings in reply with sarcasm and ridicule. The two keep on singing back and forth. Superficially, the situation of the song is a dispute over a beautiful princess. However, in its background, a political hostility is suggested because, as a historical fact, Oke, along with his younger brother, attacked and killed Shibi the next morning. The brothers then ascended to the throne in turn. Besides the political background, the importance of *Utagaki* is that the songs are to be performed in public.

Kanshi (漢詩)

Among the nobles from the Nara to Heian Periods (710–1185), *kanshi*, the Chinese-styled Japanese poems (using Chinese characters), were always very popular, and the noblemen might be asked to compose them at any occasion.¹⁰ Along with *waka*, they were recited among the imperial family and the nobles. Representative anthologies such as the *Kaifu-so* (『懷風藻』), Japan's oldest anthology of *kanshi* completed in 751, and the *Wakan-roei-shu* (『和漢朗詠集』), selected and compiled by Fujiwara-no Kintoh (藤原公任) about 1013, reveal that *kanshi* poems were at times recited.

Kyokusui-no-en (曲水の宴)

In the Heian Period, the *Kyokusui-no-en* ceremony was held in March. The original ceremonial idea of the *kyokusui-no-en* ceremony, imported from ancient China, was to expel every evil and vice in order to achieve purification at the waterside. According to *Nihon-shoki* (『日本書紀』), the earliest official chronicles of Japan compiled in 720, *Kyokusui-no-en* was first held during the reign of Emperor Kenzo (顯宗), the

twenty-third Emperor (r. 485–487).¹¹ In the Heian Period, the *kyokusui-no-en* was held as a special seasonal feast inside and outside the Court Palace. At the party, every attendant, the imperial family and the nobles, while seated by a stream in a garden, would compose a *waka* poem by the time a floating cup filled with *sake* (酒), Japanese wine, floated down before them.

Toka (踏歌)

Toka, a kind of song and dance, was imported originally from ancient China and during the reign of Empress Regnant Jito (持統), a daughter of Emperor Tenji and the Empress consort of Emperor Tenmu, herself the forty-first Empress (r. 690–697), it was performed by Chinese people.¹² *Toka* gained popularity and gradually became adapted into the Japanese poetic tradition, mingling with *Utagaki*. By the end of the Nara Period (710–784), the genre had come to be assimilated by *toka*. In the Heian Period, *toka* were performed as a ceremonial form of song and dance, as one of the customary amusements of the imperial court. Thus, *toka* have been performed as part of festival parties in the New Year season. Also, performances of *toka* formally became one of the regular annual festival events during the reign of the Emperor Kanmu (桓武), the fiftieth Emperor (r. 781–806).

Originally, *toka* were performed all night long by men and women all together, but later came to be segregated into *otoko-toka* (男踏歌) for male nobles and *onna-toka* (女踏歌) for female nobles. Still more, unnecessary parts were gradually phased out and *toka* became polished and refined. The *toka* performance for noblemen was held on January 14, while for noblewomen it was held on January 16. (The January 15 is a full moon night.) The former tradition died out in 983, so that only the female nobles' *toka* endured thereafter.¹³ This, too, fell into decline in the sixteenth century. However, *toka* survives today in some shrines.

The Tradition of Poetic Recitals in Literature

Classical Japanese literature features an extremely large number of witnesses to scenes of poetic composition, of recitation parties, and of other poetry-related events. For example, in *Makura-no-Soshi* (『枕草子』), *The Pillow Book*, composed by Sei-shonagon (清少納言), one scene depicts a prince, who so excellently recites a composition by Bo Juyi/Po Chü-I (白居易), a popular Chinese poet, that noblewomen seem to

appear from everywhere to hear it.¹⁴ *Kanshi* was regarded as a necessary accomplishment for male nobles, but not of female nobles, for whom the accomplishment of *waka* poems was required. By the same token, *waka* were also an inevitable part of the education of male nobles, without which talent they could not be respected. Likewise, noblewomen learned *kanshi* as well as *kanbun* (漢文), books written in Chinese characters. Sometimes noblewomen, such as Murasaki-shikibu (紫式部) (c. 973–c. 1014), famous author of *Genji Monogatari* (『源氏物語』), *The Tale of Genji*, and Sei-honagon, were actually more thoroughly cultured than the average noblemen.

THE PATH TO THE UTAKAI HAJIME

In the Heian Period, *utakai* parties and *uta-awase* contests were often held on various occasions. An *utakai* is any kind of poetry composing party where people create *waka* poems on a given theme. Each poem is written on a *tanzaku* (短冊), a strip of paper dedicated to *waka* writing. *Utakai* were held very frequently in the Heian Period in connection with various annual ceremonies, rites, feasts, and festivals.

Uta-awase is a poetry competition party consisting of two sides (left and right), in which a pair of nobles (one from the left and one from the right) composes a poem on the same theme, after which the poems are judged for quality. Between the two sides, the one with more winners prevails in the competition.

A great many episodes of *uta-awase* were recorded, especially in the Heian Period. At a certain *uta-awase* party in the Heian Period (“Tentoku Uta-awase” 天徳歌合 in 960), a noble famous for his voice recited beautifully, but he made an irreparable error: he recited a poem different from the one he should have recited. Because of the error, the poet whose poem was recited in the wrong order could not be judged to be the better poet through no fault of his own.¹⁵

An episode about another party tells of a pair of noblemen who both composed a most admirable poem on the theme of love. It was difficult to say which of the two was better, but one poem was finally judged as the winner. It is said that the one who lost the competition became ill, retired to bed, losing much of his appetite, and finally died.¹⁶ The ancient account shows that to compose an excellent *waka* was an essential accomplishment for a noble.

An *utakai* organized and held by an emperor is given a special name: *uta-go-kai* (“go-” is an honorary prefix for noblemen). The first *uta-go-kai* of the year is “*Uta-go-kai Hajime*” (“*hajime*” means “first”). The origin of the Uta-go-kai Hajime is uncertain. A historical record discloses that an *uta-go-kai* was held as early as the early years of the (post-Heian) Kamakura Period (1185–1333). A usually trustworthy Japanese encyclopedia reports that the first record of an Uta-go-kai Hajime appears in a description of January 13, 1202 in *Meigetsu-ki* (『明月記』), a diary written by Fujiwara-no Teika (藤原定家), a most famous *waka* poet (1162–1241).¹⁷ However, Nakajima (1995: 26) and the home page of the Imperial Household Agency suggest another view: it is recorded in the *Geki-nikki* (『外記日記』), a journal of one section of the court office, a description of the first “Dairi-Uta-go-kai Hajime” (内裏歌御会始) (an Uta-go-kai Hajime held at the imperial court), on January 15 in the fourth year of Bun’ei (文永) (1267) in the middle of the Kamakura Period, during the reign of Emperor Kameyama (龜山).

A good number of references in the *Geki-nikki* have been found, as pointed out above. However, the records in the *Geki-nikki* cannot today be confirmed. The *Geki-nikki* itself is said to be scattered and lost (Kimoto 1979: 92) and no author has yet been verified to authenticate the records.¹⁸

According to my research, the first Uta-go-kai Hajime in reliable historical records appears in descriptions written between January 22 and January 26 in the year 1262 (Kocho 2 [弘長二]) in *Zokushigu-sho* (『続史愚抄』), which tell of “*Waka-go-kai Hajime*” (和歌御會始). For its authority, *Zokushigu-sho* uses *Meidaiburui-sho* (『明題部類抄』), which is a book about *waka* poems. The next year, in the description between January 20 and January 25 in 1263 (Kocho 3 [弘長三]), “*Waka-go-kai Hajime*” (和歌御會始) is again described.¹⁹ Still more, it refers to “Dairi-Shiika-go-kai Hajime” (内裏詩歌御會始) (the first imperial court party of Chinese-styled poems, *kanshi*, as well as *waka* poems) in the description of January 13 in Bun’ei (文永) 2 (1265).²⁰ Therefore, before the *waka* party on January 15, 1267, at least a few Uta-go-kai Hajime were held, according to certain historical records.

Concerning the description of the *Utakai* Hajime or Uta-go-kai Hajime allegedly held on January 13, 1202, the authority for which is *Meigetsuki*, neither the words “*Utakai Hajime*” nor “*Uta-go-kai Hajime*” can be found in the text itself or in Imagawa’s modern Japanese translation (1977).²¹ It is true, however, there are found the words

“*Shin’nen Hajime O-uta Dai*” (新年始御歌題), the title(s) of *waka* poems from the beginning of the New Year, and “*Shin’nen Saisho no Koto Dai*” (新年最初事題), the title(s) of *waka* poems for the first event of the New Year. Perhaps the poetry party held on January 13, 1202, may have been the first poetry party at the Imperial Court of that year. However, the nobility at the time seemed not to find any particular significance in the first poetry party of the year.

In the *Kinhira-ko-ki* (『公衡公記』), a diary of Kinhira, an item from January 17 in the second year of Sho’o (正應二) (1289) states: “*Dairi go-kai Hajime*,” the first poetry party of the year at the Imperial Court, was held on that day, when Kinhira copied his *waka* poem on a sheet of paper. He also records the names of those who recited the poems at the party (Hashimoto 1969: 168–170).²² According to *Nihon-hyakka-zensho* 3 (『日本百科全書 3』1985; 1995: 129), “*Kinri Waka go-Kai Hajime*” (禁裏和歌御会始) (the first *waka* poetry party in the year held at the Imperial Court) is also recorded in the diaries of nobles in the middle of the fourteenth century, although the sources do not give any reliable reference to the origin of Kyuchu Utakai Hajime. As described above, the tradition of the Uta-go-kai Hajime was established as an annual ceremonial party by the middle of the thirteenth century (the middle of the Kamakura Period). During every New Year season, such a party was also held in the subsequent Edo Period (江戸時代) (1603–1867). When the Emperor Meiji (明治) ascended to the throne in the second year of the Meiji Period (明治時代) (1869), he held Uta-go-kai Hajime after his coronation, and thereafter the ceremony has been held every year down to the present (Nakajima 2005: 17–18).

It is true that, as Nakajima (2005: 17) suggests, *uta-awase* is a kind of *utakai* and that the Utakai Hajime originates in the Uta-go-kai Hajime. In that author’s opinion, however, today’s Utakai Hajime is not a mere variation of *utakai* but is one branch of the stream of the *uta-awase* tradition. In the case of *utakai*, recital is not always inevitable, but in the case of *uta-awase*, recitation of the poems is absolutely necessary.²³ In the case of *utakai*, it is not always necessary for the composers to assemble in one place. Sometimes, the *waka* poems written down on a *tanzaku* are submitted to the Emperor or Ex-Emperor. Among the collected poems, some excellent ones are copied, edited and compiled on the day of the *utakai*. Considering the true nature of today’s Utakai Hajime with respect to poetry recitation, it belongs to the tradition of *uta-awase*, even though *utakai* appears in the vanguard of its name. From the Muromachi Period (室町時代) (1336–1573), *utakai* reached the zenith

of its popularity, with *waka* composers assembling to compose poems. In this case, the poems are always recited.

Uta-awase as well as *utakai* reached their zenith in the Heian Period and thereafter gradually went into decline. Today, these poetry parties are rarely held. In spite of that, from *uta-awase* as well as *utakai*, at least, two legacies have survived and been handed down through Japanese tradition: one is “*Hyaku-nin Isshu*”, and the other is Kyuchu Utakai Hajime. There are numerous sets of *Hyaku-nin Isshu*, among which *Ogura Hyaku-nin Isshu* (小倉百人一首)—selected and compiled in the mid-thirteenth century by Fujiwara-no Teika—is most famous and popular. As a result, even today, *Hyaku-nin Isshu* signifies *Ogura Hyakunin-Isshu* by Fujiwara-no Teika. It is an excellent introduction to *waka* poems. In the Edo Period, the tradition came to be popular among commoners, and it is widespread and attractive now in its appearance as a game of cards.

Even today it is played as a familiar pastime. The *Hyaku-nin Isshu* game consists of two sets of cards: each card of one set shows a full *waka* poem and a portrait of the poet (*yomi-fuda* [読み札], or cards to be recited), and each card of the other set shows only the second half of the poem (*tori-fuda* [取り札], or cards to be obtained). The simplest way to play the game is as follows: one of the players recites a poem written on a *yomi-fuda* and the other players try to obtain the matching *tori-fuda* card before anyone else. Sometimes the players are divided into two groups, like the Genji (源氏) and the Heike (平家), which alludes to the historical battle between the two famous clans at the end of the Heian Period. In this case, fifty *tori-fuda* cards are put in front of both parties. One participant plays the role of reciting *yomi-fuda* and others try to obtain the correct *tori-fuda* card. If a card is taken from the other group’s side, a *tori-fuda* among one’s own cards is given to the opposite group. One group wins the game when their side has no further cards to play (due to giving up the cards or giving them to the opposite group). The game may be played on any occasion throughout the year, but today is played especially in the New Year season. That is when various kinds of *karuta* games (any card games involving *yomi-fuda* and *tori-fuda*) are played. Nowadays, a *Hyaku-nin Isshu* tournament is held every year, and whoever wins the first praise is called “Queen.” To win a *Hyaku-nin Isshu* game, under any rules, the participants are expected to learn some one hundred *waka* poems by heart. The poems in the *Hyaku-nin Isshu* are the best of Japanese *waka* poems. The game has been played since the Muromachi Period. Some poems among those

one hundred poems are today required reading in the Japanese education curriculum and studied at school, and thus *Hyaku-nin-Isshu* is expected by the Japanese to play a part in fundamental and general cultural knowledge.

The other example of courtly literature legacy is the Kyuchu Utakai Hajime. Today, it is formally called “Utakai Hajime no Gi” (with “Gi” meaning “ceremony,” thus, “The Ceremony of the first *Waka* Reciting Party of the year”), held at the Imperial Palace. Although poetry parties have seemed of late to decline, poetry parties have survived within the Imperial family, who continued holding them separately from commoners. Finally, in the Meiji Era (1868–1912), a new style of Kyuchu Utakai Hajime was initiated, with the background described above and with the intention of uniting the imperial family with the Japanese people by means of traditional poetry.

The important points of the ceremony are, firstly, that this is a formal imperial ceremony held only once a year, and is important both as an imperial and a nationwide New Year event. Secondly, ordinary citizens may participate along with the imperial family in the ceremony, and this is why the ceremony is significant as a national ceremony. Thirdly, the theme of all poems in a given year is the same, and all the poems are recited according to the traditional style, just as the *utakai* and *uta-awase* were once recited; thus, it is a deeply valuable legacy of Japanese courtly literary culture. Finally, one more significant merit of the new Kyuchu Utakai Hajime is that, with the desire to start anew after World War II by making a contribution to other countries, poems by anyone from any country are now accepted.

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As we can see, the courtly legacy remains viable today in Japanese culture. We have examined only the literary and poetic heritage that is still present. Much more could be said from an anthropological viewpoint: politeness, consideration of others, or even such matters as “high vs. low context human communication” could add much to a discussion of courtesy and courtliness in contemporary Japan.

NOTES

1. The paragraphs about European lyric tradition are a summary of the following references: Shun'ichi Niikura (1979) “Chusei no Jojoshi (Lyric poems in the medieval period)” in *Lectures on French Literature*. Vol. 3

- in the 6 vols. (Tokyo: Taishukan) 30–71; Henry Davenson (1961) *Les troubadours*. Tr. by Shun'ichi Niikura (Tokyo: Chikuma-shobo, 1972) 10–61; Katsumasa Nakauchi (2009) *Akitenu-ko, Giyomu IX-sei (Guillaume d'Aquitaine IX)* (Fukuoka: Kyushu Daigaku shuppankai) 10–19; *Dictionnaire de la littérature française* (1974) edited by Nihon furansu-go furansu-bungaku-kai (Tokyo: Hakusuisha) 110; 175; 491–492; 715.
2. For a general outline of Utakai Hajime, cf. (2005) *Waka wo Utau—Utakai Hajime to Waka Hikoh—(To Recite Waka Poems—Utakai Hajime and Reciting Waka)*. Ed. by Nihonbunka-zaidan (Tokyo: Kasama-shoin).
 3. Text cited: Ichinosuke Takagi, Tomohide Gomi & Susumu Ono 1957–1962 eds. *Man'yo-shu*. 4 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami).
 4. Cf. 2005 *Waka wo Utau*. Especially Hojo Nakajima “Kyuchu Utakai Hajime” 13–43; Toshikane Bojo “Waka hikoh no shoyaku ni tsuite (The Roles at the Ceremony of Kyuchu Utakai Hajime)” 7–11; T. Bojo “Futatsu no Utakai Hajime no koto—Edo-jidai saigo no Utakai Hajime to Meiji-jidai saisho no Utakai Hajime ni tsuite (The Two Utakai Hajime: The Last Utakai Hajime in the Edo Era and The First Utakai Hajime in the Meiji Era)” 75–80; Nobuhiko Sakai “Kyoto Goshō ni okeru Waka-go-kai Hajime (Waka-go-kai Hajime at Kyoto Imperial Palace)” 57–73.
 5. Heihachiro Honda, tr. 1967 *The Manyōshū: a new and complete translation*, by H. H. Honda (Tokyo: Hokuseido). Poem No. 3101 “I love the maiden still that at the dance I met./Oh why to ask her name did I neglect?” Poem No. 3102 “How can she tell her name to one,/a stranger. And his name to her unknown?”; Ichinosuke Takagi et al. eds. 1960 *Man'yo-shū III*. Poem No. 3101, 3102. 306–307 Akihiro Satake, Hideo Yamada, Rikio Kudo, Masao Otani & Yoshiyuki Yamazaki eds. 2002 *Man'yo-shū III*. Shin-Nihon Koten-bungaku Taikei 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami) 188–189.
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