Charting an early rise of written kyōka through zoku and the Shichijūichiban shokunin utaawase

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Part I: Introduction

Kyōka is a genre of short-form Japanese-language poetry characterised by its unrestrained treatment of subject matter. We have learned from such sources as Fujiwara no Teika's (藤原 定家, 1162-1241) diary entries that *kyōka* developed out of the more traditional, courtly and refined *waka* poetry. As *waka* rules grew increasingly strict and competitions more serious, *kyōka*, having the same form as *waka* but much less rules, would have provided a much-needed opportunity for composing poetry purely for fun. Unfortunately, this also means our knowledge of early *kyōka* is incredibly spotty, as its authors saw it as an unimportant recreational pastime, their compositions unworthy of being recorded in writing.

Some scholars trace the history of written *kyōka* all the way back to comic verse in the eighth-century *Man'yōshū* (万葉集); most others to the oldest surviving *kyōka* collection, the *Hyakushu kyōka* (百酒狂歌?)[1], compiled in the 14th century. (Keene 1976, 513-514)

Regardless, it is only around 1500 that written compilations of *kyōka* poetry appear regularly. The *kyōka* movement is usually seen to have experienced its peak around 1780-1820. At that point, it experienced a boom in popularity, and there was a large number of professional *kyōka* authors publishing *kyōka* poetry collections. (Keene 1976, 521-522; Kok 2017, 59-62)

This thesis revolves around the question of how we can bridge the gap of the missing centuries of *kyōka* history. There must have been an unspoken development in the literati's view upon *kyōka* between the 13th century, when authors actively avoided recording it in writing, and the early 16th century, when written *kyōka* poem collections start circulating. Many of the early

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[1] This volume has proven hard to track down; possibly it is a different name for the *Kyōka sake hyakushū* (狂歌酒百首) from the same period. (Nihon daijiten kankōkai 1976, vol. 6, 142)

kyōka authors in the 16th century were mostly known for their *waka* poetry. Therefore, the most likely place that we can still identify this unspoken development today is from within *waka* poetry itself.

How can we analyse *waka* poetry from these ostensibly *kyōka*-less 13th through 16th centuries to identify possible *kyōka* between them? Hypothetically, there would have been *waka* around 1500 featuring many *kyōka* themes and concepts as authors push the boundaries without quite yet daring to title their work a *kyōka* collection.[2] Finding an approach by which we can identify such poems is the goal of this thesis.

This research question is additionally based on problematising an unstated assumption I found while reading up on these topics. A significant part of the research I came across gravitates towards analysing *waka* and *kyōka* poetry largely based on the poets' self-identification of the poetry as being *waka* or *kyōka*. Discarding this veneer would do much to contribute to future literary-historical research on this subject.

1.1 Methodology

To answer this research question, I firstly aim to establish a new framework for analysing *waka* and *kyōka*. I argue that these two genres are two aspects of the same sliding scale, and that every poem and poem collection belonging to either of the two genres can be placed somewhere upon the same scale. *Kyōka* and *waka* poems are not at all dichotomic opposites: there can be *waka* poems that feature *kyōka* themes and vice-versa.

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[2] To be clear, I therefore also disagree with the idea that *kyōka* are a phenomenon unique to the Edo period: while it certainly reached its peak popularity at that time, traces of the rise towards that peak can be found for centuries before that, as I will discuss in Part II.

We can quantify this relative position through analysing the poetry for its *ga* and *zoku* qualities. I will discuss their definitions in more detail later, but in short: *ga* and *zoku* are terms that have for centuries been used as terms of literary criticism in Japan. Everything related to refinement and the elite spirit (such as *waka*) is *ga*; everything that is not (such as *kyōka*) is *zoku*. Although I introduce this *zoku-kyōka* connection matter-of-factly it is not self-evident, and I will argue my reasons for drawing these connections later.

To analyse individual poems for their *ga* and *zoku* qualities, I have named several markers which, should they be present, most clearly identify *ga* and *zoku* elements. For *ga*, these markers are utilising *waka* references, *waka* themes, and orthodox language; for *zoku*, these markers are parodying *waka* poems, using unorthodox vocabulary, an unorthodox theme, puns, or clear humour in the form of jokes and sarcasm. I will discuss why I chose these markers when I start analysing the poems.

This framework could then theoretically be utilised to identify a possible rise in *zoku* elements within *waka* poetry, thereby identifying the slow and invisible rise of *kyōka* from within the *waka* movement itself over the centuries. Naturally, covering the three missing centuries is far beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I will endeavour to plot the first point on this chart by analysing several poems from the *Shichijūichiban shokunin utaawase* (七十一番職人歌合;

hereafter "71SU") poetry competition. This should simultaneously show the validity of using this analytical framework to identify *kyōka* elements within *waka* poetry, and, through the *shokunin utaawase* genre as a whole, show the feasibility of bridging those three centuries through this approach.

1.2 The *shokunin utaawase* genre

Before the Edo period (1600-1868), *utaawase* or poetry contests were seen as one of the courtliest forms of literature in Japan. Held as early as the 9th century, they were a formal, ritualised way of performing *waka* poetry in a shared space, the pastime of highly educated nobles and emperors. Matches paired two contestants (one each from the left and right team) every round (*ban*, 番), in which they composed poems on an assigned topic. A senior poet functioned as judge, and picked winners after each round. It soon became a forum for literary criticism, and allowed for the gradual formation of a literary aesthetic. (Vollmer 2004, 649; Vollmer 1995, 13-15; 544)

Although it was a contest, there was no element of proving one's superiority in an *utaawase*. The goal was not to put the other down and prove yourself better: rather, through their poetry, authors' ability to display poetic skill and bring *miyabi* (雅; the essence of the elite spirit) to the forefront decided the winner. (Vollmer 1994, 406)

In the Kamakura period (1185-1333) the boundaries of the traditional concept of an elite *utaawase* were pushed by the *shokunin utaawase* (職人歌合), "craftsmen's poetry contests".

In these *utaawase*, it is not nobles but pairs of ordinary craftsmen that go head-to-head in (nominally) *waka* poetry competitions. Although featuring people from all (lower) social classes, the poems were written by aristocrats playing pretend (Vollmer 1995, 545; Vollmer 1994, 403; Iwasaki 1987, 40; Iwasaki 1993, 2 & 571) as an innovative way of pushing the boundaries of traditional *waka*.

As I discussed briefly above, *ga* can be seen as the spirit of the elite culture, and *zoku* as everything that is *not* elite culture. The very concept of a craftsmen's poetry contest, therefore,

already straddles a nebulous line between *ga* and *zoku*, and would have therefore in theory been a perfect vehicle with which to experimentally push written and circulated *waka* in a *kyōka* direction.

Excluding a short but popular Edo-period revival of the genre (irrelevant for this thesis, as by that point *kyōka* was already being published), there are two known *shokunin utaawase* from the Kamakura period, and two written around 1500. The 71SU, finished in 1502, is the last of these. Notably, it is the largest, featuring 284 poems, and can be seen as the seminal work of the genre: from the nature of its craftsmen and references within its poems, it can be seen to both be significantly influenced by the three previous *shokunin utaawase*, and to significantly influence the works published during the aforementioned Edo revival.

I settled on analysing the 71SU for this thesis for many reasons, which I will elaborate on in Part III. In short, it occupies an interestingly nebulous position between *ga* and *zoku* and it survived into the Edo period to be of influence, both as described above; its authors (discussed later) were also active in *kyōka* circles; being a *shokunin utaawase*, it is a part of a very small subgenre whose roots (and therefore, potentially, the roots of written *kyōka*) go back to the Kamakura period; it has in other research already been implicitly recognised as being *kyōka* (see page 9-10); and being a poetry contest, it includes in-text commentary on the poems by a fictional judge, allowing for an additional perspective at what contemporary authors thought of as *ga* and *zoku* in poems.

1.3 *Shokunin utaawase* literature

Study of the *shokunin utaawase* is a recent, limited phenomenon dominated by two research groups, one Japanese and one German:

- The Japanese research group, the *shokunin utaawase kenkyūkai* (Vollmer 1995, 6), were the earliest I found to academically study *shokunin utaawase*. This group includes writers such as Amino (1992), Ishihara (1999), Iwasaki (1983, 1987, 1993), and Shimofusa (1986 through 2004).

- The German research group resulted in Schneider, Mitomi & Vollmer 1995. Vollmer (1994, 1995, 2004) especially expanded upon his initial research.

This nears the full extent of research on *shokunin utaawase*, excepting a few individual works by Amino and other Japanese researchers, which I found referenced in e.g. Vollmer 1995 but could not locate. As the publication dates show, although in the 1990s the future looked bright, these groups' research started and finished in the span of two decades.

Reviews on Iwasaki 1987 (Abe 1988; Yamamoto 1988) mainly note its convincing arguments, and how it forms a foundation for future research into this topic. These were the only reviews on *shokunin utaawase* literature I was able to find.

Crucially, the two groups disagreed on the type of research to be conducted. In short, the Japanese research group sees the *shokunin utaawase* as sources of factual information which hold 'a key to grasping the history of the way of the common people in Japanese society' (Amino 1992, 10; 185)[3]. Meanwhile, the German research group argues that an important distinction is that the *shokunin*, while playing a large role, are not actually central to this genre. The authors' purpose was never socio-historical, but rather the perception and representation

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[3] This view has a certain notable precedent, in that Moto'ori Norinaga (本居宣長, 1730-1801) authored several theoretical writings on *waka* poetry, in which he posits that the key to Japanese culture, norms, and emotion lies in classical literature (see Flueckiger 2011; e.g. 23-28, 174-176). Ishihara Masaaki (石原正明, 1760-1821), a pupil of Moto'ori (Kuroda 2011, 81-82), in turn wrote the *Edo shokunin utaawase* (Ishihara 1808). Amino's later idea that the issue of *shokunin* 'touches the essence of the nation' (1992, 185), therefore, has theoretical roots tightly interwoven with the *shokunin utaawase*.

of ordinary professionals in *waka* poetry. (Vollmer 1995, 138) In this thesis, my view aligns closely to the German group: I will be discussing the 71SU through a lens focused on the elite exploration of poetic form. For the purposes of my research question the actual craftsmen, their role, and any sociohistorical context are of little to no consequence.

The 71SU in particular has seen two text editions researched academically. Shimofusa (1986 through 2004) published a series of 33 articles, each featuring a transcription of two or three rounds of the contest, extensive notes, and a list of transcriptions of similar poems and craftsmen from other *shokunin utaawase* volumes. Iwasaki (1993) meanwhile published a book featuring a transcription of a different 71SU text edition; her own notes, different from Shimofusa's; a literary and sociohistorical discussion of its contents; and the transcription and notation of two *kyōka* volumes, the *Shinsen kyōkashū* (新選狂歌集, 1629-1644) and the *Kokon ikyokushū* (古今夷曲集, 1665).

This thesis uses Iwasaki's text edition as the basis of my translation and analysis. This is mainly because Shimofusa chose to transcribe the text literally, while Iwasaki included (interpreted) kanji and *dakuten* markers not present in the source text to enhance readability for the modern eye. Further, Iwasaki addresses the important differences between the text editions of the 71SU where they arise in her notes (e.g. a likely copying error, see footnote 9 on page 59). For these reasons, Iwasaki's text edition is transcribed in the appendix. However, both Iwasaki and Shimofusa's notes were used for translation and analysis.

Iwasaki already saw the 71SU as, at the very least, thematically connected to later *kyōka*: she chose to include it in a book together with two volumes which are definitively known to be *kyōka*. She does not discuss this explicitly anywhere, nor does she address why she made this

decision, but it is clear she sees the 71SU as an early part of the later *kyōka* tradition. This thesis will strive to show why the 71SU has a logical place amongst these *kyōka* volumes.

Lastly, Ito (1991) also included translations of several rounds of the 71SU in her *utaawase* anthology. However, this volume is unsuited to this research question: her translations often more freely interpret the content of the poems in order to provide a translation that still reads as proper poetry in English. This often also results in the inclusion of vocabulary that can be misleading for this kind of research. Further, her transcription of the source text does not include the judge's comments, and is written in the roman alphabet, by which a significant part of information has been lost. Her translations were therefore only used to help in interpreting the meanings of poems while translating them myself.

1.4 Reading guide

The bulk of this thesis is divided into two parts: discussing the theory behind my arguments in the first half, and putting this theory into action with the 71SU case study in the second half.

Part II defines the terms *waka, kyōka, zoku,* and *ga*, and establish the history of those terms as used in Japanese literature up to and including the Edo period. To form a proper background, chapter 2.1 will cover the timeline of *kyōka*: from the Heian-period poem contests to the first written and circulated works, and its eventual Edo-period rise into and fall out of literary importance. Chapter 2.2 then attempts to define *kyōka* vis-à-vis *waka* through a discussion of modern and Edo-period secondary literature.

In chapter 2.3, in addition to attempting to clearly define *ga* and *zoku*, I will be arguing my case for the *ga-waka* and *zoku-kyōka* links, which together form the basis of the rest of my thesis. This is followed by a shared history of *ga*, *zoku*, and *kyōka* in chapter 2.4, which includes a discussion of the close correlation between the rise in popularity of *kyōka* and *zoku.*

Part III moves on to attempting to show this correlation in context, centred around my analysis of the 71SU. Chapter 3.1 begins with an in-depth discussion of why I chose the 71SU in particular, and of the metrics by which the presence of *ga* and *zoku* in individual poems will be shown. This is followed by the bulk of Part III, being actual analysis of the poems in chapter 3.2. My translations of the poems themselves, including a transcription and transliteration of the source text, are included in the appendix.

Part IV concludes this thesis by summarising the major arguments and concisely synthesising them with the analysis results. This is followed by a discussion of the major takeaways from this research, as well as possible areas of future research on this topic.

Part II: Defining and establishing a history of *waka*, *kyōka*, *zoku*, and *ga*

2.1 The known history of *kyōka* vis-à-vis *waka*

It is easiest to start by putting *ga* and *zoku* aside. I will discuss the current consensus on the rise of *kyōka* through the centuries, then cover scholarly conceptions around what separates *kyōka* as form versus *waka*. The direct association of *kyōka* with *zoku* is not self-explanatory, and it is helpful to discuss *kyōka* in isolation first, so *zoku* link can be shown clearly later.

As early as the Heian period, *waka* was held in high esteem. Its features had supposedly been revealed by the gods; it was a quintessential expression of 'Japaneseness', which could "move heaven and earth, and arouse the sympathy of invisible gods and demons". (Thomas 2008, vii) These beliefs arose, in part, from *wakan* (和漢) discourse, where, to simplify, Japan sought to define its own identity vis-à-vis China, which necessitated identifying that which could be considered truly 'Japanese'. Additionally, philosophical and spiritual themes became central to *waka*. Buddhist and Confucian ideals were highly regarded by *waka* poets, and during the 10th century the *makoto* ideal arose: it is through *waka* that one can express the full truth of one's thoughts and feelings. (Thomas 2008, x; xiii)

Waka was prized such that, when poems deemed vulgar were published, they provoked genuine outrage. Famously, Yamazaki Sōkan (山崎宗鑑, 1464-1552?) referred in a poem to the bitter humour of farting at his father's deathbed. Critics decried this as unfilial, inhumane humour: poetry should instead instruct and admonish. (Keene 1976, 12-15) These early comic verses consisted of a *maeku*, or setup of two lines, which had to be solved in a humorous manner by

a three-line *tsukeku*, together forming a traditional 5-7-5-7-7 mora poem of the same style as *waka*. (Keene 1976, 16)

Curiously, references to unrecorded compositions of *kyōka* poems are comparatively ancient. A 1191 diary entry by the aforementioned Fujiwara no Teika records: "Having completed [composing a hundred sequences of *waka*], we composed *kyōka* and such for some time after"[4]; one of the earliest known mentions of the term *kyōka*. Several years later, he writes: "While waiting for Fujiwara no Mitsuchika to arrive, we stopped *renga* composition and held a *kyōka* contest instead". (Tanaka 1997, 5) This begs the question: what did this *kyōka* look like in practice? Were these poems all perfectly civilised and 'humane', that Sōkan could shock his critics so?

These early *kyōka* were seen as recreation, not art, and therefore not considered worthy of writing down until the mediaeval period (Tanaka 1997, 4), so it remains unknown. It was only later figures (e.g. Sōkan and court poets like Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (三条西実隆, 1455-1537;

notably also one of the authors of the 71SU)) who began publishing poetry collections that included *kyōka* and other comic verse, diverting from usual *waka* topics and featuring colloquial language. (Tanaka 1997, 7) These are the first known written and circulated works which call themselves *kyōka*.

During the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573-1603), *kyōka* was of minor interest in Kyoto, though literarily unimportant. (Takanashi 2007, 239) Groemer (2019, 9) attributes the chief impetus of the Edo-period *kyōka* movement to Kyoto-based poet Matsunaga Teitoku (松永貞

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[4] "事畢(をは)りて当座の狂歌等あり" *jihitsu wo harite, tōza no kyōka nado ari,* as translated by Imagawa Fumio (Yoshioka 2014, 20)

徳, 1571–1654), one-time secretary of warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598). Amongst his

pupils were multiple authors whose *kyōka* collections were to circulate widely in manuscript

form, and in the 18th century as woodblock prints.

In the mid- to late Edo period, *kyōka*'s popularity boomed, and it became seen as an influential

genre of poetry[5]. In Kamigata and Edo, *kyōka* developed into two distinct styles. The first

important *kyōka* poem collections were published in the 17th century: Keene (1976, 516)

identifies Kamigata-based Nagata Teiryū (永田貞柳, 1654-1734), a student of a student of

Matsunaga Teitoku (Groemer 2019, 9), as the first professional *kyōka* poet. His publication of

the *Kyōka iezuto* (狂歌家づと, 1729) established *kyōka* as a full-fledged literary genre, making

Kamigata the (modest) centre of professional *kyōka* production. (Keene 1976, 516-517; Kok

2017, 13)

Edo *kyōka* arose from a separate lineage of poets. Uchiyama Gatei (内山賀邸, 1723-1788) was

a *kokugaku* scholar and *bakufu* retainer who started hosting *kyōka* composition parties in 1769.

(Groemer 2019, 10) Keene (1976, 517-518) mentions that it took until the 1780s for Gatei's

group to start writing down their verses; Groemer (2019, 10) mentions a contest judged by

Gatei which supposedly took place in the spring of 1770 and was published as the *Meiwa kyōka*

awase (明和狂歌合). Regardless, these decades form the start of the blooming period for Edo

kyōka.

Though the Edo *kyōka* fad began amongst a few well-educated elites, its popularity led to a

large group of *kyōka* amateurs. (Kok 2017, 13; Keene 1976, 521) Whilst before most literature

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[5] This can speculatively be explained due to the shift in public perception of *ga* and *zoku*; see page 26-27.

had been an elite privilege, *kyōka* now became popular amongst all population groups. (Takanashi 2007, 239) After the 1780s it started generating status and money, and grew into a serious occupation rather than a playful pastime. (Kok 2017, 59)

As its popularity grew, so did its strictness. By 1820 *kyōka* had become an organised, formal society with printed competition announcements, planned publications, and nationwide interest. (Kok 2017, 62) Soon, however, the *kyōka* craze was stymied by the government. Matsudaira Sadanobu's (松平定信, 1759-1829) *bunbu* (文武) policy, which centred on promoting

Confucian learning for samurai, made many important authors withdraw from *kyōka* circles, fearing censorship crackdowns. The gutted movement went down quarrelling between factions. The dignity of *kyōka* was soon destroyed, and it ceases to be of literary importance around 1830. (Keene 1976, 521-522)

Noteworthy in this short *kyōka* history is that this late *kyōka* craze grew out of *waka*'s prosperity. (Kansaku 2014, 10) *Kyōka* movements across Japan were often headed by gifted *waka* poets, as is reflected in this chapter: figures such as Fujiwara no Teika, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, and Matsunaga Teitoku were known for their *waka* mastery when they began experimenting with *kyōka*. Charting a *kyōka* history by plotting data points such as 'the first *kyōka* composition party in Edo' and 'the oldest known manuscript titled *kyōka*' is easy, but *kyōka*'s emergence was gradual: it grew slowly and organically out of the *waka* tradition, orally long before the first *kyōka* were written down.

In doing so, *kyōka* fits into a larger pattern observable in Japanese literary history. Quite consistently, there is the following process: firstly, there is a literary form (e.g. *waka*). Over time, this form's rules grow stricter; in response, a countermovement develops (e.g. *kyōka*) attempting to loosen this strict literary space. Over time, this looser literary form gains more

rules and becomes stricter; and the cycle continues. A different example is *renga* linked verse poetry in the 12th century. Invented by court poets (including Fujiwara no Teika and cloistered emperor Gotoba-in (1180-1239)), it started as an informal poetry contest where composing with a comical tone stood central. As it grew popular and cash prizes started being handed out, the playful aspects receded, until by the 14th century *renga* became strict and formal. (Konishi 1991, 274-278)

In summary, *kyōka* existed for centuries before we have written examples thereof; it emerged from the *waka* tradition, spearheaded by famous *waka* authors; and our evidence of published *kyōka* is mostly that which the authors self-identify as *kyōka*, oftentimes written down years after they started experimenting with composing *kyōka* orally. But what separates *kyōka* from *waka* to begin with?

2.2 Differentiating *kyōka* from *waka*

The line dividing *kyōka* and *waka* is blurry, and attempts to define it (usually by trying to define the differences of *kyōka* against a homogenous *waka* background) are inconsistent with each other. For example, according to William G. Aston, *kyōka* has "an absolute freedom both in respect of language and choice of subject. The *kyōka* must be funny, that is all." (Tanaka 1997, 1) 20th-century *kyōka* scholar Hamada Gi'ichirō, meanwhile, identifies *kyōka* as traditional *waka* which expresses non-traditional, incongruous elements, eschewing sophistication; topics and vocabulary are not as restricted as in formal *waka*, and so they can transform seriousness into mockery, and elegance into plebianism. (Tanaka 1997, 3-4).

The aforementioned Edo-period poet Nagata Teiryū defines *kyōka* as "a poem composed while wearing a robe decorated with gold leaf that has been tied with a rope" (Keene 1976, 516): elegant material of the past, given a new twist with the rope of common vernacular and

irreverence. (idem) His contemporaries claim *kyōka* are serious compositions which should properly juxtapose and allude to classic texts, but also aim to evoke laughter (Tanaka 1997, 94-95); or alternatively describe it as humorous, parodic, "wild" verse cast in a regular *waka* mould (Groemer 2019, 5).

Takanashi (2007, 235-239), analysing the potential for humour and wordplay in *kyōka*, describes *kyōka* as playful, humorous, and silly, employing puns for language play (as opposed to the "serious and aesthetic" *waka*). These puns could include both *kana* and *kanji*, dependent on which reading of the pun the author wished to present for casual perusal, and which to hide for a humorous discovery. He describes *kyōka* as a parody of *waka*, playing on it within the same form for playful, humorous, disgraceful, nonsensical, sometimes satirical effect. (By contrast, he describes *waka* as a "serious" art form which admires nature and human emotion.) He mentions *kyōka* are not always funny, and has examples which simply feature clever (but, to modern eyes, not humorous) puns. Supposedly, *kyōka* as genre presupposes the existence of *waka* to have a norm to deviate from. To that end, *kyōka* often simultaneously employs two stylistic frames: one ordinary and serious, the other playful and silly. The latter is a surprise, thereby creating a sense of humour.

The most nuanced view was from Kok's PhD dissertation (Kok 2017, 12-19; 59-60), although by nature of his subject matter (*surimono* prints) restricted to the mid to late Edo period. He provides 'mad verse' and 'crazy verse' as literal translations, but settles for 'unconventional *waka*' as more suitable alternative. He also provides several dictionary definitions, which in short settle either on 'deviant *waka* with a sense of humour' or 'deranged and impure *waka*, using elegance and vulgarity simultaneously'; in the words of *kyōka* poet Moto no Mokuami (元木網, 1724-1811), its appeal lies in citing dirty words in a most elegant manner. (idem)

According to Kok himself, *kyōka* is often defined as 'comic *waka*', including playful twists and unorthodox vocabulary, though its humour is often much more subtle than telling jokes: the 'comic' nature is then found in joyful understanding of puns and allusions. It can also feature comic wit, rarely with depth of feeling, and is often parodical; in other words, it is hardly 'mad', and requires great cleverness, appealing to the well-to-do with a nostalgic penchant for historic subjects. Indeed, he cites one of its key features as frequent allusion to historic, cultural, and literary elements. (idem)

At first glance, these disparate definitions are contradictory and opaque. Summarising all the various accounts above, *Kyōka* should be absolutely free in subject matter, and yet must always refer to or parody material of the past. They are serious compositions, yet should immediately evoke laughter. They rely on being a contrast to *tanka* to be considered humorous, yet can also merely be described as 'unconventional *waka*'. To compose *kyōka* is to elegantly be debased, yet also clever and nostalgic to famous *waka*. Perhaps the most simply identifiable (and inadequate) marker is that *kyōka* should just be funny; but given the three-layer barrier of language, space, and time, traditional Japanese humour is difficult to identify nowadays, even in texts labelled *kyōka* by their author.

The main reason for these inconsistencies is that *kyōka* had a dynamic definition over the centuries. These dictionary definitions are therefore nothing more than a snapshot of any given moment in time, and can hardly begin to scratch the surface of the full breadth of what it meant to write a *kyōka* poem over the various centuries. However, this thesis does not permit the time for a full discussion thereof. Instead, we must make do with this dictionary game: and crucially, these listed disparate definitions (and many more) can be harmonised as soon as we introduce the united concepts of *ga* and *zoku*.

2.3 The *ga-zoku* sliding scale

The terms *ga* and *zoku*, too, are difficult to define, and have moreover changed over the centuries. We shall start with *zoku*: its fundamental nuance is the "general", as opposed to the particular. Depending on what is used as its contrast, then, it takes on different meanings. (Baba 2022, abstract) For the purposes of this thesis, none of the other terms it can be contrasted with are relevant; but an important conclusion is that *zoku* is everything that *ga* is not. Therefore, without understanding *ga*, we cannot understand this meaning of *zoku*.

What, then, is *ga*? *Ga* is often translated as 'refinement'. In the fourth edition of the Kenkyūsha Japanese-English dictionary, it is given as "elegance, refined taste" (Kenkyūsha jisho henshūbu 1974, 304; in the fifth edition it is absent). In the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (日本国語大辞典) dictionary, it is described as, amongst others, "truly virtuous and properly refined", "elegant and graceful", and to refer to "noble hobbies".[6] (Nihon daijiten kankōkai 1976, vol. 4, 196)

The character for *ga*, 雅, has as its alternative, 'Japanese' pronunciation *miyabi*, which, to put it very shortly, can be described as one of the oldest and most elite aesthetic sensibilities in Japan, centred around appreciating beauty and expressing emotion only in ways that were considered appropriate: withheld, letting no strong emotions show, and so on.

Notably, the aesthetic ideal of *miyabi* dominated the Heian court at a time when *waka* also experienced a boom at the most elite circles of the Japanese society. Did *waka* appeal to their sensibilities as it fit the *miyabi* aesthetic, or did they shape *waka* to fit in that mould? A

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[6] "Tadashiku yoikoto. Kichintoshite jōhin'na koto." (正しく善いこと。きちんとして上品なこと。) ; "Miyabiyakana koto. Okuyukashii koto." (みやびやかなこと。おくゆかしいこと。); and "Shumi no kōshōna koto." (趣味の高尚なこと。) respectively.

discussion for another time (and one that will probably rapidly pigeonhole itself into a chicken-or-the-egg argument). Regardless, it is clear to see why *waka* is often called 'the epitome of *ga*' when their histories have been intertwined since the earliest days of the popularity of both.

Ga itself can be difficult to define precisely, though the broad strokes paint a clear enough picture. With a wide definition, *ga* can mean 'high culture', with emphasis on the aesthetic and elegant. (Langer 1997, 421) Alternatively, *ga* can be translated as the orthodox (meaning the accepted and praised, especially in an elite context), elegant, and pure (Togasaki 1997, 89), or simply as the "courtly" (Mostow 1997, 226).

In a literary context, it can be seen as 'the refinement (*fūga*, 風雅) embodied in classical literature'. (Takashi 1997, 49) *Waka* and *kanshi* (Chinese-style poetry) are usually seen as the central literary genres of *ga*, and the actual starting point of *ga* in Japanese literary history can be said to lie in the Imperial poetry anthologies, starting with the *Kokin wakashū* (古今和歌集) early in the 10th century (Osamu 1997, 55-59).

Zoku, meanwhile, has seen many attempts at literal translation, none of which at a surface level seem to agree. The fourth edition Kenkyūsha lists such varying translations as manners; worldliness; vulgarity; commonness; and even popular culture. (Kenkyūsha jisho henshūbu 1974, 2059) Alternatively, it can be translated as the spirit of the commonplace (*shizoku no ki*, 市俗の気) and the vulgarity (*hizokusa*, 卑俗さ) of everyday life (Takashi 1997, 49); the unorthodox, radical, and mixed (Togasaki 1997, 89); even simply as the quotidian, or as "parodic spirit" (Mostow 1997, 222 & 226). When looking at it more broadly as simply 'popular culture', it can be also defined as having an emphasis on the "seamier side of life" (Langer 1997, 421).

These modern translations seem inconsistent at best. In mid-18th-century Edo, a few decades before *kyōka* would explode in popularity, literati were very clear about the definitions of both *zoku* and *ga*, but also highly biased: *zoku* was very concretely seen as inferior to *ga*. In the words of contemporary authors, then, *ga* was 'graceful', 'wonderful', 'worthy of praise', 'pleasant to listen to', and 'always proper'. *Zoku*, meanwhile, was 'vulgar', 'unsightly', 'unpleasant to the ear', 'offensive to the eye', 'clumsily put-together', 'worthless', and, at most, just 'coincidentally elegant *despite* the *zoku*'. In short, *ga* was always praise, and *zoku* always an insult. Baba draws the conclusion that this is a natural sensibility, given that social context at the time dictated that the old was consistently seen as better than the new. (Baba 2022, 174-175)

These literal translations do not convey either term's meaning sufficiently. As touched upon briefly earlier, *zoku* is 'everything that is not *ga*'. It is everything that does not fit in the *miyabi* aesthetic, or would suit Japanese notions of courtliness. It is not necessarily *in*elegance or clumsiness, as it does not oppose *ga* as such; rather, it encompasses everything that is *not* 'elegant and refined', including such middle grounds as are neither elegant nor inelegant. If it cannot be considered *ga*, it is *zoku*, even if it does not directly oppose *ga*.

This last point is essential. *Ga* and *zoku* are not dichotomous opposites, nor mutually exclusive: they are two points on one sliding scale, and poems can have significant measures of both elements. For example, a poem written in perfect *waka* style which by a certain combination of innocent words makes a vulgar pun would exemplify finding *zoku* within *ga*. Meanwhile, a poem which takes no heed of appropriate *waka* vocabulary and yet presents a subtle take on the evanescence of life would exemplify finding *ga* within *zoku*. As *ga* and *zoku* easily coexist, we cannot define a point where one overtakes the other; we can only quantify the relative measures of both, and draw conclusions therewith.

To illustrate this more clearly, let us take a concrete example. Ōe Kenzaburō's (大江健三郎, 1935-2023) novel trilogy *Moeagaru midori no ki* (燃えあがる緑の木, 1998), inspired by Dante's Divine Comedy, covers the personal history of religious conversion of its protagonist. He handles themes such as death, rebirth, and "the incorruptibility of the human soul" (Samuel 1997, 382), but not as an elite, religious issue; instead, it is discussed through personal experiences, in the mundane quotidian. Mythology and famous authors are quoted and commented upon in a language rich of poetic image, but in an ultimately simple lexicon. (Samuel 1997, 381-384) In short, it is a *ga* story with *zoku* themes, written in a *ga* style using *zoku* language. These *ga* and *zoku* elements interact with, influence, and comfortably exist alongside one another. One could not confidently label this trilogy as either *zoku* or *ga*, as, once again, they are not in any way such antithetical opposites; instead, *zoku* and *ga* are devices of literary analysis, opposite in some ways but ultimately different gradations on the same sliding scale, which can be used to describe various elements of literary composition.

This dynamic *ga-zoku* relationship exemplifies the *kyōka* genre. Comparing definitions, it is clear that *zoku* and *kyōka* are closely aligned: both can be vulgar, are free from restraint, often show humour of varying kinds, often subvert expectation, etcetera. Yet both are also tightly intertwined with respectively *ga* and *waka*, and, like shadow without light, one cannot properly express their meaning without the other to compare them against.

Kyōka poems play with this interaction in many ways: parodying *ga waka* poems in a *zoku* manner; including *zoku* vocabulary in an otherwise *ga* poem; using *ga* vocabulary to discuss a *zoku* theme; etcetera. In short, *waka* poems are always *ga*. Any *zoku* elements are a clear sign of unorthodoxy; and even if a poem otherwise exemplifies a *waka* poem, a presence of *zoku* elements at the very least hints at a *kyōka*-esque character.

2.4 The history of *ga* and *zoku*, also as relating to *kyōka*

The *zoku-kyōka* relationship can also be shown through the close parallels between their literary histories. Although not directly relevant to this topic, this parallel is most clearly shown through a discussion of the Edo-period *ga-zoku* dynamic.

The history of the character 雅 (*ga)* itself can be traced back to ancient China. Pronounced in Chinese as *ya*, it appears as one of the six principles (*rikugi,* 六義) of poetry in the foreword to the *Classic of Poetry* (Chinese *Shi-jing*, Japanese *Shikyō*, 詩経), written around 100-200 BC. There, *ya/ga* is listed as a category of poetic content, referring to songs and poetry (*uta*, 歌) from the court of the Zhou dynasty. Many such *uta* consist of feasts, blessings, or praises for the country's founding, or alternatively political commentary. (Waka bungaku daijiten henshū i'inkai 2014, 160)

Owen's 1992 (45-49) translation of the *Shi-jing* has *ya* as 'Odes': "*Ya** means "proper" (*cheng**)." (Owen 1992, 49) In summary, the Greater Odes and Lesser Odes were two of four categories of poetry, which speak of the affairs and customs of the whole world and show the source of a government's flourish or ruin.

Even here, *ya/ga* was clearly already connected to 'proper' courtly activities. This definition appears to have carried over to Japan: the *Kokinshū,* early in the 10th century, lists *ga* as one of the six principles of *waka* ("和歌に六義あり", *waka ni rikugi ari*). *Ga*'s long and intertwined history with *waka*, I have already briefly discussed above.

The association of *ga* with *zoku* appears to have been restricted to limited contexts for a long time. For example, in the *Kyōkunshō* (教訓抄; Notes of Teachings, 1233, by Koma no Chikazane, 狛近真, 1177-1242), Japan's oldest comprehensive musical treatise, *zoku* is sometimes used to refer to the popular songs of the time or the world in general, but *ga* is never used to contrast it with. (Baba 2022, abstract; 173)

It is only in the early modern period that they appear as a pair and are put in use to evaluate literature, primarily as aesthetic criteria. (Ueda 2021, 61) Edo-period examples include Gion Nankai's (祇園南海, 1677–1751) *Shigaku hōgen* 詩学逢原 (Encountering the Origins of Poetry), published posthumously in 1763. Gion discusses that if poetry is for *zoku* use, there is no need for it to refer to classical Chinese poetry, which he confidently names *ga*. Other authors from the same period, such as Moto'ori Norinaga (本居宣長, 1730–1801), make it clear that the distinction lies in that *ga* is 'old', traditional culture, and *zoku* is 'new' and contemporary. These authors write with clear value judgments on all that is *zoku*. In his *Isonokami sasamegoto* (石上私淑言, Personal Views on Poetry; auth. 1763, pub. 1816), Moto'ori writes: "While old poems are graceful and wonderful in both words and meaning, today's short poems (*kōta*, 小歌) and trendy songs are vulgar and unsightly in both words and meaning. This is the difference between *ga* and *zoku*." (Baba 2022, 174)

Despite this, however, a cultural value shift is visible during the 18th century, and by the middle of the 19th century, *zoku* is emphasized over *ga*. In effect, sensibilities had changed to where now it became laudable to find the spirit of *ga* from within *zoku*. (Kansaku 2014, 5; Baba 2022, 175) In the words of Ōta Nanpo (太田南畝, 1749-1823): "strangely enough, when a man of

refinement (*gajin*, 雅人) dabbles in *zoku*, it rather comes to be noted as *ga*." (Thomas 2008, xxiv-xvi) *Zoku* was, in other words, still not becoming approved of; it was instead the spirit of *ga* within the *zoku* that started being emphasized. (Baba 2022, 175)

This is a shift that took place throughout the entire Edo period on multiple levels. Such subjects as *waka*, *kanshi*, and *kangaku* (Chinese learning) were all considered *ga*, necessary for the nobility and essential culture for proper samurai. Therefore, crucially, they were also considered the ideal hobby for rising wealthy commoners. (Kansaku 2014, 5) Starting around the Ho'ei period (1704-1711) these concepts and disciplines slowly started getting appropriated by those outside of noble circles. As larger and larger amounts of *waka* practitioners came from a *zoku* background, a lot of *waka* poetry naturally grew less *ga*. (Kansaku 2014, 8-10; 14-15)

This reached its peak in the late 19th century after the Meiji restoration, when *kokubungaku* (国文学, national literature studies) scholars were creating *shintaishi* (新体詩, new-style poetry) and *zoku* language was seen as a preferable medium by many. Creating elegant poetry in contemporary vernacular was seen as a modern way of manifesting that "pure original voice" that *waka* poetry sought to emulate. Rather than *ga*, they saw *zoku* as the perfect vehicle for *waka* poetry, as it included the vernacular and such vocabulary as dialects and modern inventions that had not yet been "textually registered" in the old imperial anthologies, and was in their eyes therefore a better fit for such a "pure original voice". In short, *ga* had become outdated, and *zoku* was seen as the better textual vehicle of the times. Further, they felt that with *zoku* poetry, they could include "animated qualities" of "vigor and passion", as opposed to the way *waka* poetry sought to elegantly withhold strong emotions. (Ueda 2021, 67-68) At this time, clearly, in contrast to the 18th century, *zoku* was seen as an acceptable vehicle with which to convey artistic sensibilities. (Ueda 2021, 78-79)

The *ga-zoku* interaction can be said to be a key to understanding the full Edo period. *Zoku* populations (farmers, craftsmen, etcetera) skyrocketed in importance, and the period ended with the *ga* samurai population dissolving entirely into the *zoku* populace. Exclusive *ga* culture such as *waka* and court paintings began both being appropriated by the *zoku* populace and simultaneously outproduced by *zoku* popular culture such as *kyōka* and *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints. Even the definitions of *ga* and *zoku* had shifted: while up to the early Edo period pedigree can be seen as the deciding factor (was the author *ga* or *zoku*?), by the end of the Edo period it was the object itself put under scrutiny (is the text *ga* or *zoku*?). For example, early in the Edo period, a relationship between a (*ga*) Kano-school painter and a (*zoku*) *ukiyo-e* painter caused a scandal; but by the end of the Edo period several (*ga*) samurai purposefully lowered themselves in social rank to pursue a career in (*zoku*) *ukiyo-e* painting. (Kobayashi 2009, 186-190)

To link this back to *kyōka*, we can find that the timeline of the slow rise of *zoku* aligns neatly with the rise in popularity of *kyōka*:

± 1500-1703: Right before and at the start of the Edo period, *waka*, having entered what can be considered its early modern period (*kinsei*, 近世), was still firmly in the hands of the *dōjō* (堂上; the court nobles) (Kansaku 2014, 9); there were only a few *kyōka* collection manuscripts in circulation; and we can confidently say that, culturally speaking, *ga* in all ways took precedent over *zoku*.

1704-1788: In the 18th century, the prominence of *zoku* started rising, though it was still considered inferior; the *jige* (地下; 'the others', as opposed to the *dōjō*) slowly

started having a more powerful voice in the *waka* community (Kansaku 2014, 9); and the first official *kyōka* collections saw publication.

1788-1867:   And lastly, from around the last decade of the 18th century, *zoku* was affirmed to deserve its own status alongside *ga*; the *jige* became the powerful voice amongst the *waka* poets (Kansaku 2014, 9-10); and *kyōka* experienced its true popularity boom.

As a speculative aside, this could also explain *why kyōka* experienced such a popularity boom around 1800. By then, *zoku* stood alongside *ga*, and the *zoku* populace had grown in social and economic importance. With *zoku* people interested in *zoku* topics pursuing *zoku* artforms, publishing a *zoku* (*kyōka*) poem collection would have become a less risky investment for publishing houses.

2.5 Summary

In this second part, I showed the theoretical foundations upon which my arguments rest. There is a clear link between both *zoku* and *kyōka* and between *ga* and *waka*, visible in many forms.

Firstly, both *zoku* and *kyōka* deviate from the norm established by respectively *ga* and *waka* in similar ways. *Zoku* and *kyōka* are unorthodox, unrestrained by tradition, unafraid to innovate, subvert the expected, and do not consider referencing the past vital. Meanwhile, *ga* and *waka* consider it all-important to adhere to that which came before: the orthodox and traditional.

Secondly, *zoku* and *kyōka*, relative to *ga* and *waka* respectively, follow a near-identical trajectory of popularity and importance. This most clearly manifests itself in the Edo period, when *zoku* reaches a status of importance alongside *ga* in the same decades that *kyōka* becomes an important literary phenomenon.

We can conclude that *kyōka* is *waka* with *zoku* elements. To find the trend that resulted in the circulation of written *kyōka*, therefore, we can attempt to find *zoku waka* from the late Muromachi to the early Edo period: right before the rise of both *zoku* and *kyōka*. By localising such poems, we would be able to see the trend of the genres as they developed. Using the 71SU as a case study to prove the validity of this approach will be the focus of the third part of this thesis.

Part III: Analysing the *Shichijūichiban shokunin utaawase*

3.1 Methodology

There were many reasons to choose the 71SU in particular as case study. As aforementioned, the 71SU was authored in part by celebrated *waka* poet Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, who also authored *kyōka* as part of his poetry collections. (Tanaka 1997, 7) Therefore, the 71SU's authors were not by any means opposed to authoring *kyōka*. Further, it was finished in 1502, shortly before several of the earliest *kyōka* collections began circulation: this makes it a prime candidate for identification as an early *kyōka* collection, as it is no stretch to assume that the *waka* movement was at that point ready to accept more *zoku* elements in its circulated works.

The 71SU is also notable in that Edo-period publications in the *shokunin utaawase* genre were heavily inspired by the 71SU. The 71SU itself was also reprinted and re-illustrated multiple times. This means it survived to be of relevance during the rise of written *kyōka*.

Next, being a *shokunin utaawase* poetry contest, the 71SU occupies a nebulous position between *ga* and *zoku*. Its authors, though highly ranked (*ga*), were speaking through low-born (*zoku*) voices, and challenging themselves to use unorthodox (*zoku*) vocabulary. In the *shokunin utaawase* format, the *kami no ku* (上の句; the first half of the poem, usually the first three lines) had to feature a reference to the craftsman's employment, which therefore regularly, almost unavoidably, included *zoku* terms. The *shimo no ku* (下の句; the latter half), meanwhile, had to feature a reference to the poem's theme (the moon or love), and could therefore be *ga* without issue. (Iwasaki 1993, 572) This interplay between *ga* and *zoku* is also, as described above, characteristic of *kyōka*.

However, the 71SU is unquestionably intended as a *waka* poetry contest in name, as its fictional judge largely gives feedback and declares victors based on traditional *waka* standards. The judge effectively being the voice of contemporary *waka* poets, this allows for an additional perspective into what contemporaries saw as *ga* or *zoku* and therefore (in)appropriate for a *waka* context.

Its status as a *shokunin utaawase* additionally has interesting implications. This very small subgenre has its roots with the *Tōhoku'in shokunin utaawase* (compiled c. 1214), in the middle of the period from which no written *kyōka* is known. If the *shokunin utaawase* genre can be shown to have significant *kyōka* leanings, it could provide the ideal bridge to cover those three blank centuries of *kyōka* exploration and composition.

Lastly, the 71SU has already been implicitly recognised in other research (Iwasaki 1993) as fitting in a volume analysing *kyōka* poetry (see page 9-10).

As previously outlined, the goal will be to analyse whether this poetry collection, which does not acknowledge that it contains any *kyōka*, exhibits in its poems many trends also visible in circulated *kyōka*. Again, the goal is not necessarily to somehow prove that this collection is *kyōka* (which would not be news to begin with, considering Iwasaki's aforementioned implicit recognition thereof); rather, this case study is to show the viability of the theoretical framework to identify *kyōka* vis-à-vis *waka* by virtue of their *ga* and *zoku* qualities.

In order to show this most clearly, this case study will focus on the following *zoku* markers:

-**Jokes and sarcasm**. These forms of 'vulgar' humour generally fall much closer to *zoku* than to *ga*. Again, where *ga* is 'graceful' and 'always proper', *zoku* is seen as the 'vulgar' and the 'spirit of the commonplace' (see chapter 2.3); and a characteristic definition of a *kyōka* poem

(especially in comparison to *waka*) is that it is funny (see chapter 2.2). This makes any clear attempt at jokes and sarcasm a marker for *zoku* and *kyōka*.

-**Parody.** The poem is recognisably a parody of a famous *waka* poem. Many *kyōka*, especially early on, were characterised by a certain pedantic humour that relied on making puns and jokes at the expense of popular *waka*. For an example, see the *Ei hyakushū kyōka* (英百首狂歌), composed around 1589 by Zen priest Yūchōrō (雄長老, 1547-1602). (Keene 1976, 514; Kok 2017, 60; Takanashi 2007, 237-239) Taking a *ga waka* poem and making a mockery of it is unquestionably moving far away from the refined *ga* spirit, and therefore clearly *zoku*; in fact, puns parodying classic Japanese literature are what dominate the early Edo *kyōka* collections.

-**Pun.** Puns have existed in Japanese poems since the first imperial anthologies in the 10th century, and are thus not by definition *zoku* or antithetical to a *waka* poem. However, there is a large difference in two ways: firstly, in the vocabulary used in the puns. In *ga* poems as a whole, the usage of vocabulary was highly restricted, while in *zoku* poems, everything was allowed (see 'Unorthodox vocabulary' below). Naturally, expanding the vocabulary allowed for many different kinds of puns and wordplay.

Secondly, there is a difference in the type of puns employed. *Zoku* puns are characteristically unserious and often nonsensical, such as 'a moon that has seen too much vinegar' (see round 71, page 42-43). Typically, these puns have two frames utilised simultaneously: one serious, aesthetic, and ordinary, and one playful, inaesthetic, and extraordinary. The latter being a surprise creates a moment of humour by subverting expectations. (Takanashi 2007, 256) In contrast, *ga* puns will often certainly be witty but will not delve into the extraordinary and inaesthetic: in *waka*, puns are a device to give more complex texture to the poem, convey allegorical meanings, and pull together verses of a poem and poems in a collection by linking

them thematically. They were a very serious device (Brower 1983, 203): humour was certainly not an aim.

-**Unorthodox vocabulary.** A core element of many *kyōka* was the use of inappropriate (*zoku*) vocabulary. For *waka* poems, it was considered important that authors did not innovate, and stuck to such vocabulary as had already been introduced in important *waka* sources such as the imperial anthologies. *Kyōka*, in contrast, was completely unrestricted in the type of vocabulary that was considered appropriate; e.g. using common vernaculars and dialects, decidedly *zoku* in nature, was considered acceptable. (Ueda 2021, 68; Kok 2017, 14-15) This makes the use of unorthodox vocabulary an additional clear way to identify a spirit of *zoku* and *kyōka* within these *waka* poems.

-**Unorthodox theme.** Similarly to the vocabulary, *waka* poems repeatedly made use of such themes as were considered *ga*. In this case, being a regularised poetry contest, each poem is already composed on either the subject of love or the moon (both very traditional *ga* poem subjects), and therefore all poems have a certain measure of *ga* subject matter. However, there are still clear cases where these poems draw on decidedly *zoku* themes to articulate these subjects (e.g. by referring to folk stories or diseases). Similarly, one of the core tenets separating *kyōka* poems from *waka* is that the topics are unrestricted. (Rokuo 1997, 3-4)

The ability to correctly identify many of these markers mostly rests on a comprehensive knowledge of the *waka* classics, which I cannot claim to sufficiently have. I have therefore found myself relying significantly on Shimofusa and Iwasaki's translation notes.

In order to properly contrast the presence of *zoku* in these poems, I will also be analysing the presence of their *ga* qualities. These, I have simplified down to the following elements:

-**Orthodoxy.** If a poem is, on the whole, completely orthodox and expected, correctly adheres to all the *waka* standards, uses proper vocabulary, etcetera, we can also consider it to be a *ga* poem. A defining part of *kyōka* and *zoku*, after all, is to push the expected boundaries of *waka* by utilising the unexpected and irreverent (see chapter 2.2).

-**Reference.** Referencing canonical works (such as the imperial anthologies) in a non-parodical manner was seen as an admirable quality in a *waka* poem, and very much *ga*. In the 71SU, this is often directly praised by the contest's fictional judge (see e.g. round 15 on page 37).

-**Theme.** In a similar vein, an element emphasizing the *ga* in a poem is to feature themes popular in *waka* poetry. A good example of this is cormorant fishing (also referred to in round 15; Shimofusa 1990b, 77). Another example is the *uta makura*, effectively the name-dropping of famous places, rivers, and such that have certain connotations (see e.g. the Shikama river with which the indigo dyer opens her love poem (see page 36), famous for producing certain dyes) (Bower 1983, 203).

Owing to a lack of space, this case study is limited to an analysis of six rounds of the contest. A transcription from Iwasaki 1993, transliteration, and translation of each of these six rounds is included in the appendix.

Rounds 15 and 34 were chosen because the doctor and the fishmonger are the only two craftsmen present in both the *Tōhoku'in shokunin utaawase*, the 71SU, as well as the Edo-period *Edo shokunin utaawase* (Ishihara 1808), and so could provide fascinating comparison material for future research. Round 71 was chosen due to the possibility that the round's entire presence is a pun; vinegar (*su*; 酢 or す in modern Japanese) used to be, and still is in certain dialects, known as *aori* (あおり) or *amari* (あまり); which in turn can also mean "too much". Hence, the seventy-*first* round; one too many for a nice round number. (Iwasaki 1993, 571)

The other three poem contests were translated in the same way, with the additional help of Ito Setsuko's 1991 translations to compare and improve the results with. Because Ito chose not to include translation notes or a comprehensive transcription, enough information had been lost to warrant a re-translation. From Ito's translations, I chose to analyse round 4, the indigo dyer versus the weaver; round 13, the fan-maker versus the lacquered hat-maker; and round 35, the rice vendor versus the bean vendor. To mitigate choice bias, these were picked at random without first looking at the poems in question.

3.2 Case studies

Round 4: Indigo dyer versus weaver. Topic: moon. (Appendix page 57)

The poems in this round have a balanced mixture of *ga* and *zoku* elements. To start with the indigo dyer's poem, it is possibly (Iwasaki 1993, 10) a **parody** of a poem recorded in the 14th-century *Shokugo shūishū* (続後拾遺集; book 2); the poem in question is included in the appendix for comparison. Iwasaki does not provide an argument for why she establishes this connection, but the common element between the two poems is '*hikari sohetaru* […] *tsuki*' (光添へたる[…]月).

Shimofusa (1987, 70) does not seem to agree with Iwasaki that this poem had such a direct influence; he instead notes *hikari sohetaru* as a common **theme**, seen in many poems in many forms, and suggests this to be a clever and comical (*zoku*) adaptation.

The weaver's poem uses some **unorthodox vocabulary** in reference to their craft, but is otherwise **orthodox**. It is praised by the judge with a **pun**: in saying '*[the poem] attracted my heart*', they use *suji* (筋), which can also mean fibre.

Round 4: Indigo dyer versus weaver. Topic: love.

The indigo dyer's poem features two **puns**. The first pun lies in *se* (瀬), which simultaneously is used to refer to the shallowness of Shikama river and the shallowness of the poet's tryst (Iwasaki 1993, 10). The other pun is in *anagachi* (あながち), where *kachi* (褐) is the name for indigo dye from the Shikama river area (Shimofusa 1987, 72).

This poem also features an orthodox **theme**: the Shikama area was known for being the source of various famous dyes, and often written about in *waka* poetry. This makes it an *uta makura*, as discussed above.

The weaver, meanwhile, also again features a balance of *ga* and *zoku* elements. The *shizuhata* (しづ機帯) loom is a **reference**, as it also appears in a poem from the imperial *waka* anthology *Shin kokinshū* (新古今集, 1204). It also features a vulgar *zoku* **pun**, however; *ochitakete* (打ち解けて) can refer to both opening up emotionally and opening an *obi* belt (e.g. as part of undressing). (Iwasaki 1993, 11)

Round 13: Lacquered hat-maker versus fan-maker. Topic: moon. (Appendix page 59)

The lacquered hat-maker's poem is an example of **orthodoxy**. It features a pair of **puns**, which are technically *zoku* as they refer to the craftsman's wares. However, the puns also refer to the moon; and, since they lack any vulgar implication, would not be out of place in a *waka* poem. The first pun is in *sabieboshi* (さび烏帽子), which can refer to a type of hat (皺烏帽子), but *sabi* (寂び) can also refer to a state of the moon. (Iwasaki 1993, 28) The second is in *kage* (影),

meaning moonlight; a *kake* (懸け), meanwhile, is the name for the string of an *eboshi* had which secures it underneath your chin. (Shimofusa 1990a, 27)

The fan-maker's poem makes an orthodox **reference** to a famous story from a Han emperor's wife, comparing herself to an autumn fan upon falling out of favour. This story is also alluded to in several poems from the *Wakan rōeishū* (和漢朗詠集, 1013) poem collection. (Iwasaki 1993, 28)

However, it also features a somewhat odd **pun**: the expression *kumo no orime* (雲の折め), 'the folded clouds', appears to have been coined so a pun could be made referring to the folds of a fan, but it is not an expression that otherwise exists (hence also the judge's response) (Shimofusa 1990a, 28). It is therefore also an example of **unorthodox vocabulary**.

Round 13: Lacquered hat-maker versus fan-maker. Topic: love.

The second poem by the lacquered hat-maker features **unorthodox vocabulary**. The word *yaseyamahi* (痩やまひ) is unknown in traditional poetry except for the *Tōhoku'in shokunin utaawase*. (Shimofusa 1990a, 28-29) This does explain why the judge mentions the phrase 'is not without poetic precedent'. The *Tōhoku'in* is not, however, usually considered part of the *waka* canon, which makes *yaseyamahi zoku* vocabulary.

The fan-maker's poem uses **unorthodox vocabulary** in its reference to fan construction, and also utilises it for a **pun**. Using thin glue for a hard-boned fan was considered a bad idea. This therefore puns with the *tsukanu* (つかぬ) in the second half of the poem, which also translates

to 'to not use'. *Tsukanu* is an otherwise rather unnatural expression to refer to 'a man who does not suit me', and was chosen specifically to pun. (Shimofusa 1990a, 30)

The last **pun** lies in the judge's commentary. He brands the fan-maker's poem *kohaku* (こはく), or '*stiff*'; the first line of the fan-maker's poem refers to the hardness of the fan's bones as *kohaki* (こはき).

Round 15: Clam seller vs fishmonger. Topic: moon. (Appendix page 61)

There are several strong *ga* elements in these two poems. The clam seller's moon poem features examples of orthodox **reference** and **theme**, and is generally a good example of **orthodoxy**. Firstly, it directly builds off of a poem from the *Shin kokinshū*, both in topic and in vocabulary; I have included this poem alongside the clam seller's poem in the appendix for comparison. (Iwasaki 1993, 32) The judge calls the clam seller out on this reference, and praises them for it.

Further, in the fishmonger's poem, catching *ayu* in the Katsura river was done by cormorant (Iwasaki 1993, 32; Shimofusa 1990b, 77), and a favoured *ga* **theme** in *waka* poems; it also appears in the fishmonger's poem in the *Tōhoku'in shokunin utaawase*.

Simultaneously, however, there are several *zoku* elements at play, namely **unorthodox vocabulary** and a **pun**. As called out by the judge, the fishmonger's poem also uses the word "value" or "price" (あたひ (値)), *waka* vocabulary of dubious propriety (it shows up only in the *Man'yōshū*, and was usually avoided (Shimofusa 1990b, 78)). In this case, it was used to underscore the commercial nature of the profession involved.

There is also a **pun** that refers to selling fish. The word used for 'selling' is *uruka* (うるか in Shimofusa, 売るか in Iwasaki). Depending on the kanji used, *uruka* can refer to selling (in the case of 売るか); or to the guts of *ayu* fish (魚𩺊[7]). (Shimofusa 1990b, 77) Intestines were naturally a vulgar *zoku* concept.

Round 15: Clam seller vs fishmonger. Topic: love.

These poems feature multiple *zoku* elements: an **unorthodox theme**, **unorthodox vocabulary**, and a **pun**. There was possibly a folk legend that claims clams call rain; there are many references in texts from the Edo period, but nothing from earlier than medieval times. (Shimofusa 1990b, 79) This makes it a very unorthodox, low-brow reference to a very common topic (folk legends), and thus *zoku*.

The **pun** is vulgar, and therefore *zoku*; 'clam' would also have been used to refer to female genitalia. (Iwasaki 1993, 33)

The fishmonger loses the contest because of a mistake in vocabulary: they used *Rokkaku-machi* (六角町) instead of *Rokkaku-ichi* (六角市), which is more frequent in 'old poems' (*furuki uta*; 古き歌) (Shimofusa 1990b, 79-80). Hence, *machi* is an example of **unorthodox vocabulary.**

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[7] As one character, in that order; I am unable to find the Unicode character.

Round 34: Doctor vs yin-yang master. Topic: moon. (Appendix page 64)

The tone of these two poems, including the judge's comments, is full of relatively low-brow jokes and puns. Both of these moon poems feature **unorthodox vocabulary** and an **unorthodox theme**, and the doctor's poem and the judge's response both feature a **pun**.

The doctor's poem, as called out by the judge, uses the word *tsukushiyami* (つくしやみ), the name of a specific disease (Shimofusa 1995a, 15); which is unorthodox enough in *waka* terms to disqualify his entire poem. The judge calls this out through a direct pun on the doctor's topic: 'The left's poem does not have a disease, but the third line [referring to *tsukushiyami*] is ill.'

The doctor's pun lies in *hare* (はれ), 'swelling', which can, depending on the kanji used, refer to either the swelling upon one's body from a disease such as *tsukishiyami* (腫れ) or to the moon's swelling clear of clouds (晴れ). (Iwasaki 1993, 70)

The yin-yang master's use of the word 'divinatory wind' (*yufuke no kaze*; 夕占の風) is a bit unusual and a unique and original combination (Shimofusa 1995a, 15-16), but that is not enough to get him called out on it here. The lack of a moon actually being present in the poem (it is merely foretold to arrive later) is already enough of an unorthodox theme for the judge to disqualify it in the first place.

Round 34: Doctor vs yin-yang master. Topic: love.

The doctor's poem features a *zoku* **pun**; the yin-yang master's poem, depending on the interpretation, either has **jokes and sarcasm** or is an example of **orthodoxy**.

The word used by the doctor for 'divine fulfilment' (*tachimono*; たち物), more specifically

refers to abstaining from food or drink until your wish is fulfilled by the divine. In other words,

it is a pun referring to the lack of medicine available to drink to fix a heartache. (Iwasaki 1993,

71) The judge praises him for this pun.

The yin-yang master's poem can be interpreted in two ways; neither is particularly more

convincing than the other. One interpretation is that, although it does not necessarily feature

any traditional themes, it manages to stay very orthodox and *ga* through a very carefully chosen

orthodox vocabulary: the yin-yang master refers to his profession by implying that he would

need a body substitute to stay with his love (yin-yang masters were not allowed to have such

physical attachments (Iwasaki 1993, 71)). In this interpretation, he is granted the win by the

judge for his profoundness.

An alternative interpretation (Shimofusa 1995a, 17-18) is that the yin-yang master is

(humorously) calling for a body substitute to die in his place, so that he might stay with his

love. In this case, the judge's comment can be read sarcastically: *oh, how profound(!)* This is

a much more *zoku* interpretation.

Round 35: Rice vendor vs bean vendor. Topic: moon. (Appendix page 66)

This round of the contest features many *zoku* markers. The rice vendor's poem has a pair of

puns: first, it uses *kome no tsuki* (米のつき) to simultaneously refer to the moon (月) and the

polishing of rice (搗き). Then, with *shiroge* (しろげ), it simultaneously refers to the

brightening landscape under the moonlight (白げ) and the rice whitening upon being polished

(精げ). (Iwasaki 1993, 72; Shimofusa 1995b, 4)

The bean vendor, meanwhile, has an **unorthodox theme**: bean harvesting is done by hanging beans on a tall tree. Therefore, their poem describes how they are actively hiding the moon because of their craftsman's activities. (Shimofusa 1995b, 4) In round 15 (see page 36), the fishmonger was reprimanded for a similar reason (cormorant fishing is best done without moonlight); in round 34 (see page 39), the yin-yang master's moon poem was also disqualified over such a reason (the moon was merely divined to appear, and not yet present).

In this round, however, the judge makes no mention of this faux-pas. They merely mention that both of the poems succeeded in '*[showing] the authors' professions*', and judge the contest a tie. The judge's meaning is, possibly purposefully, ambiguous: Ito's translation (1991, 321) presumes the comment to be praise, while Shimofusa (1995b, 4) takes it to be a negative judgment (put in other words, 'this poem is worthy of no more than a mere merchant'). Regardless, it is notable that the judge directly addresses that the poems are very *zoku*, as he focuses on their representation of the authors' *zoku* professions.

Round 35: Rice vendor vs bean vendor. Topic: love.

The rice vendor again makes two *zoku* **puns** in their poem. *Nukazuki* (ぬかづき) can mean both to make powdered brown rice (糠付き) and to prostrate oneself (額づき). Further, *uchiharafu* (打はらふ) can be used to refer to purifying rice in a religious sense (打ち祓ふ) and to sweeping rice grains as a step in preparing it for consumption (打ち払ふ). (Shimofusa 1995b, 4)

They also have an orthodox **theme**, however: praying for a deity to keep the poet from falling in love is an often-repeated motif in *waka* poetry. (Shimofusa 1995b, 4)

The bean vendor's poem is *zoku* mainly through their use of *sarunakase* (猿なかせ) to refer to date plums. This is **unorthodox vocabulary**, as it is a word that only appears in the local dialect of Shizuoka and Kanagawa. Further, it is an **unorthodox theme**, as in the context of the poem, it is used to refer to a folk legend: supposedly, the unfruitful beans of date plums are so bitter that even monkeys cry upon eating them. This is then used to make one of two *zoku* **puns** in the poem: *nakase* is also a conjugation of 'crying', *naku* (泣く), which the following lines then use to refer to the poet's tears.

The last pun lies in *mashikeru* (ましける), here used to refer to the poet increasing (増し) the monkeys' river of tears; *mashi* is also, however, an alternative pronunciation of the character for monkey (猿).

Note also that the judge's criticism again specifically focuses on the *zoku* parts: the reference to powdered rice in the rice vendor's poem, and *sarunakase* in the bean vendor's poem. This again shows that the judge is still judging the contest according to traditional *ga waka* metrics, despite the large amount of *zoku* elements in almost every single poem.

Round 71: Vinegar seller vs *tokoroten* gelidium strips seller. Topic: moon (Appendix page 67)

The vinegar seller's poem has a *ga* **theme**, being an autumnal moon. Additionally, both poems feature the *zoku* markers of a **pun** and, in the judge's response, **sarcasm**.

The vinegar seller makes a faulty double pun: "あまりすみたる月" can be read both as '*amari sumitaru tsuki*', a 'fully cleared-up moon', and as '*amari su mitaru tsuki*', which can be

understood two ways: 'a moon that has seen too much vinegar' or 'a moon that has seen vinegar vinegar'. Because both *amari* and *su* can mean vinegar, it was a faulty pun. (Shimofusa 2004, 56-57)

The *tokoroten* seller makes a rather mercenary reference to the profit he could make on the night of the urabon-festival, where *tokoroten* was a traditional food. The judge sarcastically remarks that they can already hear his salespitch, and gives him the victory. (Shimofusa 2004, 57)

Round 71: Vinegar seller vs *tokoroten* gelidium strips seller. Topic: love.

Lastly, these poems feature many **puns**, and **jokes** in the judge's response.

The vinegar seller makes a **pun** on the term *asuyasuya* (あすやく) This was said to be chanted as prayer for good luck while making vinegar, but sounds very close to *ashitashita*, which translates to "I'll do it tomorrow". The poet seems to be suggesting that he is putting off meeting with his love until later. (Iwasaki 1993, 144) Given that this is supposed to be a love poem, the judge **sarcastically** remarks on its complete lack of sensual and emotional tone. (Shimofusa 2004, 57)

The *tokoroten*-seller makes a **pun** as well, on 'boldness', which is pronounced the same way as the old name for *tokoroten*: *kokorobuto* (心太). The judge praises them for the pun. His final judgment is that the poems are equal, which is another **pun** on its own: he uses a rather archaic term to cast his judgment, *toriahite* (とり合て), which can also mean 'to take and eat [something] with [something else]'. *Tokoroten* was traditionally eaten with vinegar. (Shimofusa 2004, 57-58)

Round 71 is notably the most *zoku* of the analysed rounds. There are no attempts at references to traditional *waka* or formal topics, and the puns and jokes are all very low-brow and even sometimes amateurish. The fictional judge, rather than maintaining his earlier stance on critiquing the poems to traditional waka standards, now hands out his judgments with sarcasm, and decides the very last round's victor based on a pun of his own.

3.3 Summary

To summarise this case study, I have identified twelve markers of *ga* in these poems: three references to classic *waka* poems; five appearances of classic *waka* themes; and four poems that fully fit in the orthodox *waka* mould.

In contrast, I have identified 44 markers of *zoku*: one possible parody of a famous *waka* poem; five poems with unorthodox themes; nine using unorthodox vocabulary; twenty-six puns utilising either vulgar or common vocabulary; and three featuring jokes and sarcasm, often in the judge's response.

Even allowing for possible biases and the eventuality that even with the aid of Shimofusa and Iwasaki's notes several *ga* themes and references were missed or misinterpreted, it is clear that most of these poems are significantly more *zoku* than *ga*. As such, this forms solid evidence to my hypothesis that, in the years leading up to the earliest written and circulated *kyōka* collections, there were *waka* poems featuring large amounts of *zoku* themes.

My argument, therefore, is that through these *zoku* markers, these poems show a strong leaning towards *kyōka* even though the 71SU as a whole is a *waka* poem contest; which would also further support the hypothesis that the *kyōka* movement arose from within *waka*. After all, despite the significant presence of *zoku* in these poems, it is still in the end a *waka* poem contest *in name*; the fictional judge still casts judgment according to traditional (*ga*) *waka* standards,

and spends a lot of time calling out *zoku* elements as negative (see especially round 35). Even then, however, the judge is often sarcastic or humorous in their judgments, and thereby occasionally provides a *zoku* note themselves.

However, the judge's constant disapproval also allows for an interesting alternative perspective. If the poems consistently fail at being correct *waka*, does that still make them *waka* poems at all? Or, I would argue, does failing at *waka* by including so many *zoku* elements actually make them quite successful *kyōka*? Looking at several of the most disparaged poems through a *kyōka* lens suddenly makes many of the puns and unorthodox choices right on par.

Regardless, the successful conclusion of this analysis also implies that this type of *ga-zoku* analysis of *waka* poetry could be used in future research to continue exploring this possible rising trend of *zoku*, as I will discuss in the conclusion.

Part IV: Conclusion

In this thesis, I have outlined a new approach for the early development of written and circulated *kyōka*; created a theoretical analytical framework by which to investigate this approach; and shown its relevance and plausibility at the hands of a poetry contest from the relevant period.

In summary, it is possible that we can trace the history of *kyōka* back to before the first known *kyōka* collections by analysing the trends that resulted in the authoring of those first collections. This trend is, I have shown, mostly visible by analysing the interaction of *ga* and *zoku* elements in *waka* poetry in the period leading up to these first *kyōka* collections; the main contributors to the early *kyōka* movement are known to have been *waka* poets of renown.

The spirit of *ga*, symbolising refinement, seriousness, and the literary classics, is of utmost importance in *waka* poetry. This is contrasted with *zoku* elements considered inappropriate for *waka*, such as humour, vulgarity, and the unorthodox. I have shown that the development and rise in popularity of *zoku* is tightly linked to that of *kyōka*, and that the elements that define a *kyōka* poem are all clearly *zoku* in nature. This forms the basis of my theoretical framework: if a *waka* poem can be shown to have more *zoku* elements than *ga* elements, it can be argued that it leans more towards *kyōka* than to the *waka* it proclaims to be.

Lastly, through analysing the *Shichijūichiban shokunin utaawase*, I have shown that this framework can be used to concretely identify *zoku waka* poem collections. These can in turn be said to form early markers of written *kyōka* practice. Although the 71SU ostensibly presents itself as a *waka* poem contest, almost every poem analysed contains many more *zoku* elements than *ga* elements, and the fictional judge spends most of their time disqualifying poems for having egregious *zoku* elements such as vocabulary and puns considered inappropriate for *waka* poetry.

In answer to my research question, my case study showed that there are *waka* poems that exhibit more *kyōka* traits than they do *waka* traits. It is therefore a plausible conclusion that *waka* poem collections indeed provided a forum for developmental discourse; and that by pushing the boundaries of *waka* in a *kyōka* direction, *waka* authors slowly set the stage for the circulation of the first *kyōka* compilations willing to bear such a title. Tracing the development history of 13th- through 16th-century *kyōka* back through *waka* poetry then becomes a fascinating possibility.

Acknowledging the 71SU as *kyōka* is hardly revolutionary: Iwasaki already did so implicitly in 1993, and at a base level it is easy to recognise that 'half-naked workmen being starred in a formal *utaawase* poem contest' makes for a rather informal and humorous premise to begin with. However, given that this framework allows us to quantify *why* it is more like *kyōka*, it becomes possible continue this line of reasoning further into the past: for example, it is not outside the realm of possibility that e.g. the *Tōhoku'in shokunin utaawase* (c. 1214) is a similar, even earlier compilation of *kyōka* in a *waka* guise. Analysis of these poem contests through such a lens could pave the way to bridging that gap of those unknown centuries of *kyōka*, thereby providing a breadth of new insight into the overall mediaeval development of *waka* and *kyōka* poetry.

Other future research could also focus on why (if indeed at all) authors in these centuries chose to write more *zoku waka* over choosing to author the first *kyōka* collections. Was there possibly a social stigma against writing *kyōka*? Edo-period commentators on *zoku* and *ga* certainly seem to heartily disapprove of *zoku* (see chapter 2.3), so it is not far out of the realm of imagination.

On a smaller scale, it could be fruitful research to compare the doctor and fishmonger poems from different *shokunin utaawase* through the ages. This could already provide quick but clear

input in the long-term development of the *ga-zoku* balance within this subgenre. Regardless, I believe the *shokunin utaawase* could play a prominent role in this area of research in the future.

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Appendix: Selected *Sichijūichiban shokunin utaawase* transcriptions and translations

This appendix includes a transcription, transliteration, and translation of six rounds of the 71SU poem contest. The transcriptions are copied from Iwasaki (1993). They include a large number of kanji characters in places where her actual source text has *hiragana*, which, together with added *dakuten*, therefore form part of Iwasaki's interpretation. I have chosen to include these interpreted kanji, so as to function as reading aid.

The main text edition used by Iwasaki is one from 1648, once owned by the third daimyo of Kaga domain (Iwasaki 1993, 2). This manuscript is therefore, like all surviving copies of the 71SU, a copy, and not the 1502 original. It is therefore no surprise that it contains at least one copying error (see note 9 on page 59). Notably, Iwasaki compared her text edition to others and discussed major differences wherever they arose, thereby providing a reasonably holistic view of the original text.

As discussed in the main body of this thesis, these poems were translated based off of a combination of Iwasaki's transcription and notes, Shimofusa's transcription and notes, and, where available, Ito's translation to serve as inspiration. Because this thesis aims to analyse (amongst other matters) specific vocabulary and puns, I have chosen for a very literal translation style, and to that end discarded any attempts at preserving the original meter, rhyme, or form, except for attempting to maintain the division between the *kami* and *shimo no ku* (上 and 下の句, the first and second half), as this had direct influence on the presence of *ga* and *zoku* themes (see page 29). Unfortunately, this has not always proved possible; and combined with the difficulty of translating poems with many puns and multiple meanings without adding vocabulary has occasionally led to some very awkward translations.

Lastly, again to maintain the most literal result, I have chosen to go with transliterations over transcriptions when adding the pronunciation of the poems in roman characters.

Round 4: indigo dyer versus weaver (Ito 1991, 308-309; Iwasaki 1993, 10-11; Shimofusa 1987, 68-73)

The indigo dyer's moon poem supposedly (Iwasaki 1993, 10) could refer to the following poem from the 14th-century *Shokugo shūishū* (続後拾遺集; book 2) poetry collection, attributed to Kakujo (覚助, ?-1077):

身にあまるめぐみも花の折をえて光添へたる月を見るかな

mi ni amaru / megumi mo hana no / ori wo ete / hikari sohetaru / tsuki wo miru kana

An overwhelming blessing this is, to catch a time of blossoming
And to see the moon add its light to it.

Round 4:

(indigo dyer, moon)

壺こうの只一しほのそら色に光そへたる秋の夜の月

tsuhokō no / tada hitoshi hono / sora iro ni / hikari sohetaru / aki no yo no tsuki

Accompanied by one portion [of dye] from the indigo dye jar,
The light from an autumn night's moon dyes [the sky/the fabric].

(weaver, moon)

よるさへや織とをさまし機糸のたてぬきしるくみゆる月影

yorusaheya / ori to wo samashi / hata'ito no / tatenuki shiruku / miyuru tsuki kana

Weaving the cloth keeps me awake;

The moonlight shines clearly upon the thread's warp and weft.

(moon judgment)

左は、我道の才覚誠に聞えたり。右は、歌ざまうるはしくて、しかも月の殊なるを

褒たり。機糸は心引筋也。勝べくや。

Hidari ha, wagamichi no saikaku makoto ni kikoetari. Migi ha, utazama uruhashikute,

shikamo tsuki no kotonaru wo hometari. Hata'ito ha kokoro hikusuchi nari. Katsubekuya.

[In] the left['s poem], the proficiency of their composition was audible. The right's poem's

structure was well-defined, and praised the moon well. The thread was something that

attracted my heartstring. It should win.

(indigo dyer, love)

飾磨川逢瀬もいつとちぎらぬにあながち人の恋しかるらん

shikamagawa / afuse mo itsuto / chigiranu ni / anagachi hito no / kohi shikaruran

Oh, shallow Shikama river, my tryst's time was not firmly promised;

Why, then, would I miss his love so?

(weaver, love)

織はつるしづ機帯の今はとていつうちとけてあひみそめまし

orihatsuru / shizuhata obi no / ima ha tote / itsu uchi tokete / ahi misomemashi

Once I finish weaving this sash upon this shizuhata loom,

When will I open up and begin to meet their gaze?

(love judgment)

左右、ともに歌ざまよろし。しゐて勝負あるべきならば、右の歌、五文字より末の

句までよくいひかなへり。すこしは勝るとや申べからん。

Sayū, tomo ni utazama yoroshi. Shiwite shōbu arubeki naraba, migi no uta, gomoji yori

matsu no ku made yoku ihikanaheri. Sukoshi ha masaru to ya mausubekaran.

The poems of both left and right have a good poetic form. If we would be forced to have a

victor, the right's poem is well expressed from the first five syllables to the last line. This

seems to show that it wins by a small amount.

Round 13: lacquered hat-maker versus fan-maker (Ito 1991, 314-315; Iwasaki 1993, 28-29, Shimofusa 1990a 24-31)

(lacquered hat-maker, moon)

秋[8]や深き月の光もさび烏帽子頭の上に影の成ぬる

---

[8] In Iwasaki's text edition, this poem starts with *aki* (秋). This seems to be a copying error: Shimofusa's text edition has *yo* (夜) instead. This makes more sense in the context of the poem, both in meaning and in form (*aki* would mean the first line has six mora instead of the usual five). Iwasaki's footnote (1993, 28)

aki ya fukaki / tsuki no hikari mo / sabi eboshi / kashira no uhe ni / kage no narinuru

Deep in the night, the moon's light dims;

Its light does not reach the top of the sabieboshi hat on my head.

(fan-maker, moon)

秋寒きねやの扇の風絶て雲の折めの月ぞかくるゝ

aki samuki neya / no afuki no / kaze taete / kumo no orime no / tsukizo kakururu

On a cold autumn, the lady's fan stops sending wind;

And so the moon hides behind the folds of the clouds.

(moon judgment)

左歌は、停午の月をよめるか。右は、「雲の折め」ことぐしく聞ゆれども、今少し

勝るにこそ。

Hidari uta ha, teigo no tsuki wo yomeru ka. Migi ha, 'kumo no orime' kotogoto shiku

kikoyure domo, ima sukoshi masaru ni koso.

The left's poem reads as [though it refers to] a midday moon, right? As far as the right goes,

'the folds of the clouds' sounds exaggerated, but it still wins.

(lacquered hat-maker, love)

いかにせんしなれぬ恋の痩やまひむくのみ色に身は成にけり

ikanisen / shinarenu kohi no / yaseyamahi / mukunomi iro ni / mi ha narinikeri

---

agrees. It is a logical error: the copyist must have accidentally copied the start of the fan-maker's poem twice. In the interest of keeping a faithful transcription I have kept *aki* in, but I have translated it as though *yo* was written instead.

What should I do? In this anorexic love which cannot die

I have become purplish-black like an eboshi hat.

(fan-maker, love)

骨こはき扇の紙の薄そくい思ひもつかぬ人に恋つゝ

hone kohaki / afuki no kami no / usu sokui / omohi motsukanu / hito ni kohitsutsu

Like the thin glue of a hard-boned fan's paper,
I continue loving a man who does not suit me.

(love judgment)

左、恋に痩くろむこと、本説なきにあらず。烏帽子のむくのみ色、 能思寄たるに

や。右は、道理は立て聞ゆれど、五文字誠にこはく侍り。左勝べくや。

Hidari, kohi ni yasekuromukoto, honzetsu naki ni arazu. Eboshi no mukunomi iro, yoku

omohiyosetaru niya. Migi ha, dōri ha tachite kikoyuredo, gomoji makoto ni kohaku haberi.

Hidari shōbekuya.

Regarding the left, becoming anorexic from love is not without poetic precedent. Relating it

to the black-and-purple colour from eboshi hats was well thought-out. Regarding the right, I

see its logic, but the first line is stiff. The left should win.

Round 15: clam seller vs fishmonger (Shimofusa 1990b, 75-81; Iwasaki 1993, 32-

33)

The poem referred to by the clam seller's moon poem is from the *Shin kokinshū* 4 (no. 400),

by Heian-period noblewoman Gishūmon'in no Tango (宜秋門院丹後). It reads as follows:

忘れじななにはの秋の夜はの空こと浦にすむ月は見るとも　(Iwasaki 1993, 32)

wasureji na / naniha no aki no / yoha no sora / koto ura ni sumu / tsuki ha miru to mo

This empty autumn's night at Naniwa beach is unforgettable,

Even though one sees a clear moon at another beach.

Round 15:

(clam seller, moon)

こと浦の月もなにはの蛤の貝ひろふまでえやはすみける

koto ura no / tsuki mo naniha no / hamaguri no / kawi hirofu made / eya ha sumikeru

This other beach's moon became, just like Naniwa's;

So bright and clear that you can pick hamaguri clams by it.

(fishmonger, moon)

かつら鮎とりて売るかと闇またば月の価はなく成ぬべし

katsura ayu / torite uruka to / yami mayaba / tsuki no atahi ha / naku narinubeshi

Let's catch and sell Ayu fish from Katsura river;

If we wait for the darkness, the moon's value would surely be lost.

(moon judgment)

左、本歌にすがりて、しかも月をほめたる、宜侍り。右、「価」といふ詞、歌にもら

めど何とやらん賤く聞こゆ。「闇を待らむ」も又いかゞ。仍以左為勝。

Hidari, honka ni sugarite, shikamo tsuki wo hometaru, yoroshiku haberi. Migi, 'atahi' to ifu

kotoba, uta ni moramedo nani to yaran iyashiku kikoyu. 'Yami wo matsuramu' mo mata

ikaga. Jōi hidari narubeku.

The left relies on a source poem, yet also honoured the moon, so well done. On the right, through the word "value", although the poem was honourable, it possibly sounds somewhat shabby. [Since the poem is supposed to praise the moon,] waiting on the darkness is also dubious. Therefore, the left wins.

(clam seller, love)

待人のさはるといはできませかし蛤売らふ雨は降とも

matsubito no / saharu to ihade / kimasekashi / hamaguri urafu / ame ha furu tomo

Come, my awaited one, and do not say you are hindered.
Let's sell clams; even though it rains...[9]

(fishmonger, love)

はやくこそ六角町のうり魚のなれぬ先よりかはりはてけれ

hayaku koso / rokkakumachi no / uriayu no / narenu saki yori / kahari hatekere

Quickly, hurry! The fish for sale at Rokkaku neighbourhood
Rotted before they could ripen.

(love judgment)

右、「六角町」如何。古歌にも、町をば市とこそよめれ。又六角町ならでも魚は売買

ひてん。いかさまにも、猶左可勝や。

Migi, 'rokkakumachi' ikaga. Furukiuta ni mo, machi wo ba shi to koso yomere. Mata rokkakumachi narademo sakana ha urikahiten. Ikasamanimo, naho hidari masarubekuya.

---

[9] The clam seller's poem uses an inversion; the awaited one's hindrance is the rain. (Iwasaki 1993, 33)

The right's reference to Rokkaku neighbourhood is dubious [in quality]. Old poems refer to 'towns' rather than 'neighbourhoods'. Further, even if it were not in Rokkaku, fish would still be sold there. Certainly, therefore, the left should still win, right?

Round 34: doctor vs yin-yang master (Shimofusa 1995a, 13-18; Iwasaki 1993, 70-71)

(doctor, moon)

風心地あればややがてつくしやみ雨気の月の晴そめにける

kaze kokochi / areba ya yagate / tsukushiyami / amake no tsuki no / haresome ni keru

When I feel sick with the common cold, I slowly get the tsukushi-disease;
And the rainy moon gradually swelled clear of the clouds.

(yin-yang master, moon)

みぬからに今宵の月は晴れぬべしゆふけの風を占方にして

minukarani / koyohi no tsuki ha / harenubeshi / yufuke no kaze wo / yūgata ni shite

Even though we do not see it yet, tonight's moon will be clear;
The divinatory wind is a tell of fortune.

(moon judgment)

左は、歌のやまひはなくて、こしの病あり。右は、月にむかひたる心すくなし。可為持歟。

Hidari ha, uta no yamahi ha nakute, koshi no yamahi ari. Migi ha, tsuki ni mukahitaru kokoro sukunashi. Jitosubekika.

The left's poem does not have a disease, but the third line is ill. The heart of the right's poem does not directly face the moon. It is a tie.

(doctor, love)

あはれ我恋の病ぞ薬なきうき名ばかりをたち物にして

ahare waga / kohi no yamahizo / kusuru naki / uki na bakari wo / tachimono ni shite

Alas, my lovesickness does not have a medicine;
I shall abstain from this scandalous romance until its divine fulfilment.

(yin-yang master, love)

恋路にて後もや逢と心みにわが人がたの身がはりもがな

kohishi nite / ato mo ya afu to / kokoromi ni / wagahitogata no / mi gahari mo gana

I look into my heart and wonder: at the end of this road of love, will we meet again?
Would that I could have a substitute…

(love judgment)

左、薬なければ、たち物はよく思ひよりためり。右は、心ふかくて歌がらよろし。

為勝。

Hidari, kusuri nakereba, tachimono ha yoku omohiyoritameri. Migi ha, kokoro fukakute utagara yoroshi. Kachitosu.

The left's poem's use of divine fulfilment in place of medicine was a good idea. The right left a profound and lasting impression, and the tone of voice was excellent.[10] It wins.

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[10] Possibly sarcastic: see page 40)

Round 35: rice vendor vs bean vendor (Ito 1991, 320-321; Iwasaki 1993, 72-73;

Shimofusa 1995b, 2-6)

(rice vendor, moon)

山陰や木の下やみのくろ米の月出てこそしらげ初けれ

yamakage ya / ki no shita yami no / kurokome no / tsuki idete koso / shirage somekere

In the shadow of this mountain forest, the black rice

I polish to white, as the moon starts rising and brightens [the landscape].

(bean vendor, moon)

豆かくるさはりもいとゞまさる哉背戸の高木の葉がくれの月

mamekakuru / sahari mo itodo / masaru kana / sedo no takaki no / hagakure no tsuki

My bean harvesting is obstructed more and more, alas;

The moon is hidden in the leaves of the tall tree behind the house.

(moon judgment)

左右、共に歌様も作者の品に似たり。可為持。

Sayū, tomoni utasama mo sakusha no shina ni nitari. Jitosubeshi.

The poetic forms of both the left and the right showed the authors' professions. It is a tie.

(rice vendor, love)

恋せじと神の御前にぬかづきて散供の米の打はらふ哉

kohiseji to / kami no mi maheni / nukazukite / sangu no kome no uchiharafu kana

Prostrating, I vow to the deity not to fall in love,

And, alas, scatter rice as encouraging offering.

(bean vendor, love)

恋すればやせちの豆の猿なかせ涙の川は我ぞましける

kohi sureba / yasechi no mame no / sarunakase / namida no kawa ha / warezo mashikeru

When I loved, I increased the river of tears

Of the monkeys who ate the date plums' unfruitful beans.

(love judgment)

「散供の米の棟」、「猿なかせまし」など、へつらへるさま、うるはしきすがたな

らず。猶持にや。

'Samugu no kome no nuka', 'saru nakasemashi' nado, hetsuraheru sama, uruhashiki sugata

narazu. Naho jiniya.

[Lines such as] 'The powdered rice scattered as offering', 'The monkeys' tears', and so on,

do not have an appearance that they were attempting to flatter, nor a favourable form.

Therefore, it is a draw.

Round 71: vinegar seller vs *tokoroten* gelidium jelly strips seller (Shimofusa

2004, 54-59; Iwasaki 1993, 144-145)

(vinegar sellar, moon)

さもこそは名におふ秋の夜半ならめあまり澄たる月の影哉

somo koso ha / na ni ofu aki no / yoha narame / amari sumitaru / tsuki no kage kana

Such an autumn's midnight, worthy of its name;

It will surely have the light of a fully cleared-up moon.

(*tokoroten* gelidium jelly strips seller, moon)

盂蘭盆のなかばの秋のよもすがら月にすますや我心てい

urabon no / nakaba no aki no / yo mo sugara / tsuki ni sumasu ya / waka kokorotei

On the autumn's night in the middle of the urabon-festival, too, from beginning to end,

This tokoroten-seller cleared his mind and focused on the moon.

(moon judgment)

左、「あまり」といひて、酢とは聞えたるを、かさねて「す」とよめるやいかゞ。右

は、盂蘭盆のよもすがら心太売ることしかり。心てい聞く心地す。右可勝。

Hidari, 'amari' to ihite, su to ha kikoetaru wo, kasanete 'su' to yomeru ya ikaga. Migi ha,

urabon no yo mo sugara kokorobutō urukoto shikari. Kokorotei kiku kokochi su. Migi

katsubeshi.

Left, you say 'amari', and I hear it to be vinegar; am I repeatedly understanding 'vinegar'?

[dubiously:] How [good] is that? Right, even on urabon's night to be selling tokoroten, I am

critical of. I can already hear the salespitch. The right poem wins.

(vinegar seller, love)

いつまでか待宵ごとの口づけにあすやくといふをたのまむ

itsu made ka / matsu yohigoto no / kuchizuke ni / asuyasuya to / ifu wo tanomamu

Until when do I wait? I put my mouth on it to taste,

And rely on saying 'ah, tomorrow, I'll do it tomorrow'.

(*tokoroten* gelidium jelly strips seller, love)

我ながら及ばぬ恋としりながら思よりけり心太さよ

ware nagara / woyobanu kohi to / shirinagara / omohi yori keri / kokorobutosa yo

As far as I'm concerned, when it comes to love that isn't good,

Rather than holding feelings of love, boldness is best.

(love judgment)

左歌は、酢つくる人は、あすやくといひて祝ごとにするといへるをよめるにや。艶

に聞こゆ。右は下句よろし。とり合て持にて侍べし。

Hidari uta ha, su tsukuru hito ha, asuyasuya to ihite ihahigoto ni suru to iheru wo yomeru

niya. En ni kikoyu. Migi ha shimoku yoroshi. Toriahite ji nite haberubeshi.

As far as the left poem goes, the vinegar-making person says "asuysuya", [which] I

understand [to be] him having said good-luck prayers, correct? How sensual and

emotional(!) As far as the right poem goes, the last half is good. The poems are equal.