

## On Recording *Waka* Poems on *Kaishi* Sheets of Paper. The Example of the *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* Collection

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*Abstract.* The article analyzes the rules for recording poems on *kaishi* sheets of paper by poets during or for the poetic events. The main source of the study is the recording of a poetic collection *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* (1266) composed of poems read during a banquet in honor of the completion of the work on the imperial anthology *Shokukokinshū*. The *Gunshō Ruijū* publication was used as a source for the investigation, as this publication preserves the principles of recording poems on *kaishi* sheets. The record of *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* is analyzed in context of the *karon* texts of the time – provisions regarding the recording of poems on sheets of *kaishi* by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke, Juntoku-in, Fujiwara no Teika.

*Keywords:* poetry, *karon*, *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka*, imperial anthology, *Gunshō Ruijū*, Fujiwara no Kiyosuke, Juntoku-in, Fujiwara no Teika.

The poetic collection *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* (続古今集竟宴和歌 “Japanese songs composed at the banquet in honor of the compilation of the *Shokukokinshū*”) <sup>1</sup> celebrates the compilation of the *Shokukokinshū* (続古今集 “Continuation of the collection of old and new Japanese songs”)

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<sup>1</sup> For the study, several publications and manuscript of the monument were used. The main source is the publication in the *Gunshō Ruijū*. The edition in open access at the National Diet Library digital database [Shokukokinshū kyōen waka (c)]; also [Shokukokinshū kyōen waka 1989]. The undated manuscript is published by the Waseda University [Shokukokinshū kyōen waka (a)]. The text is also available at the Waka database of Nichibunken [Shokukokinshū kyōen waka (b)].

imperial collection. The *waka* poems included in the collection were written at the banquet (*kyōen*) given by ex-emperor Gosaga-in (1220–1272, r. 1242–1246) on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the 3<sup>rd</sup> moon of the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Bun'ya (February 2, 1266). *Shokukokinshū* is the eleventh collection in the row of imperial collections. Gosaga-in was the initiator of the creation of the anthology. The previous, tenth anthology, the compilation of which was completed in 1251, was also compiled at the order of Gosaga-in. In 1259 he appointed Fujiwara no Tameie (1198–1275), the compiler of the previous anthology, to be the compiler of the new one, but in 1262, when work was already in full swing, a new decree was issued, according to which four more poets were appointed as co-compilers. They were Fujiwara no Motoie (1203–1280), Fujiwara no Ieyoshi (1192–1264), Fujiwara no Yukiie (1223–1275), and Fujiwara no Mitsutoshi (1203–1276). Political intrigues seems to be the reason for the expansion of the number of compilers. Thus, Konishi Jin'ichi points out that Fujiwara-no Mitsutoshi joined the compilers at the urgent request of the *bakufu* (Mitsutoshi was the poetic teacher of shogun Prince Munetaka, 1242–1274, reigned as shogun in 1252–1266) [Konishi 1991, p. 258]. Fujiwara no Yukiie, a representative of the Rokujō poetic school, won the right to be among the compilers of the imperial anthology after representatives of this poetic school for a long time could not make a worthy competition to representatives of the Mikohidari school. The *Shokukokinshū* anthology was compiled under difficult political conditions; moreover, a conflict arose in the Tameie's family, which, after Tameie's death, led to the division of the poetic house of Mikohidari into three branches – the Nijō, Kyōgoku, and Reizei schools. The work on the anthology was completed at the end of 1265. The anthology did not turn out to be outstanding, and it is not often recalled in the history of poetry. Yet, due to the presence of the words *kokin* (*inishie ima* 古今 old and new, past and present), it is a heir to the two most famous imperial anthologies, the first, *Kokinshū* (古今集 “Collection of old and new Japanese songs”, compiled in 905), and the eighth, *Shinkokinshū* (新古今集 “New collection of old and new Japanese songs”), compiled in 1205.

The custom of writing poems during banquets has a long history in Japan. A.N. Meshcheryakov writes: “The writing of poems regularly took place during the banquets arranged by the sovereign. In any society (and traditional society is not an exception here), a banquet is of paramount importance. It is hardly doubtful that the banquet tradition is represented in Japan even before the influence of Chinese culture became so visible. However, in the 8<sup>th</sup> century the Japanese banquets were undoubtedly un-

der strong Chinese influence – the Japanese of that time were undoubtedly familiar with that chapter of *Liji* which is devoted to banquets arranged by the emperor” [Meshcheryakov 2014, p. 80].

In *Man'yōshū*, an 8<sup>th</sup> century anthology, a large number of poems have prefaces indicating that the poems were composed during a banquet (not necessarily imperial). There are poems that were written at banquets held after the lectures on the *Nihon shōki* chronicle. From 812 to 965, such lectures were held six times, and there is a collection of poems called *Nihongi kyōen waka* (日本紀竟宴和歌 “Japanese songs composed at a banquet in honor of the end of [lectures on] Nihongi”).

A banquet in honor of the compilation of the *Shokukokinshū* was the second time in the history of Japanese poetry when a poetic collection was compiled from the poems written at the banquet in honor of the completion of the work on an imperial anthology. The first such banquet where poems that would make up a collection were composed took place after the work on the *Shinkokinshū* was completed in 1205. The publication of *Shinkokinshū kyōen waka* (新古今集竟宴和歌 “Japanese songs composed at the banquet in honor of the compilation of the *Shinkokinshū*”) in *Gunshō Ruijū* preserves the peculiarities of *kaishi* poetic sheets [Shinkokinshū kyōen waka].

The collection *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* includes 25 poems. Each author is represented by one poem. The poems are arranged in order of the social status of the authors. It follows from the colophon that the collection was recorded by Fujiwara no Tameuji (1222–1286), the son of Tameie. During the poetic event, Tameuji read the emperor’s composition (in the colophon stands 御製講師中納言爲氏, here 御製 is a usual designation of poems written by the emperor, and *kōji* 講師 is a person who reads poems during a poetic meeting). Other poems were read by Minamoto no Tomouji (1231/1232–1275, recording in the colophon: 講師具氏朝臣), and the duties of the editor-disposer (*dokushi* 読師) were performed by Fujiwara no (Saionji) Kinsuke (1223–1267) (in the colophon the record is 師前太政大臣, Kinsuke held the post of *daijō daijin* since 1262). From these notes, it is clear that the order of composing and reading poems during the banquet was the same as during a poetic meeting or contest.

The collection opens with a poem by Gosaga-in. The second and third poems are by female poets, and they are signed as the poems by Oomiyaingonchūnagon (大宮院権中納言) and Chūnagon (中納言).

In his article devoted to the peculiarities of women's writing of poems, Kanechiku Nobuyuki indicates that Oomiyaingonchūnagon is the daughter of Fujiwara no Masahira (Hosshōji Masahira, 1229–1278), and Chūnagon is the daughter of Fujiwara no Mitsutoshi (Hamuro Mitsutoshi, 1209–1276) [Kanechiku 1993, p. 22].

Next come the poems of the courtiers in the order of ranks and positions.

The authors of the junior first rank are: Fujiwara no (Ichijō) Sanetsune (1223–1284, holds the position of Kampaku), Fujiwara no (Saionji) Kinsuke (1223–1267), Fujiwara no (Tōin) Saneo (1219–1273).

Senior second rank: Fujiwara no (Shijō) Takachika (1202–1279), Fujiwara no Yoshinori (1224–1287), Fujiwara no Sukesue (1207–1289), Fujiwara no (Kazan'in) Morotsugu (1222–1281), Fujiwara no Michimasa (1233–1276), Minamoto no Masatada (1228–1272), Fujiwara (Ichijō) Ietsugu (1248–1294), Fujiwara no (Nijō) Tameuji, Fujiwara (Kazan'in) Nagamasa (1235/1236–1288).

Senior third rank: Fujiwara no (Kinugasa) Tsunehira (1236–1274), Fujiwara no Takasada (1233–1280), Minamoto no Sukehira (1223–1284), Fujiwara no Yukiie (1223–1275), Fujiwara no (Kyōgoku) Tamenori (1227–1279), Fujiwara no Kin'ō (years unknown).

Minamoto no Masatoki (1227–1300) and Minamoto no Tomouji had the fourth senior rank.

Two persons, Fujiwara no Tsunetō (1233–1297) and Fujiwara no Takahiro (?–1299) had the senior fifth rank.

Thus, the eighteen people who took part in the *waka* composition were dignitaries of the three highest ranks. Not all participants were recognized poets, so writing poems here is an etiquette rather than a purely poetic act.

It is assumed that during events such as an imperial banquet, excursion, or pilgrimage writing poems occurred impromptu. Poets composed poems, these poems were immediately written down, sheets with poems were collected, and poems read out. Similarly, an impromptu composition of poems took place at poetic meetings and contests where the topic was not given in advance, but was announced right during the action (such meetings and contests are called *tōza* 当座). If the topic was given in advance, the poets brought sheets of paper with recorded works. There was a certain scenario for conducting poetic events, so it is quite natural that poets had particular rules for recording poems as well.

There were three basic formats for recording Japanese poems.

Poets recorded their poems on large, horizontally oriented sheets of paper called *kaishi*. The word *kaishi* (*futokorogami* 懷紙) and its synonym *tatōgami* (*jōshi* 畳紙), as Haruna Yoshishige points out, could be homonymously written with *kanji* 会紙 “collection paper” and 帖紙 “recording paper” [Haruna 1971, p. 239]. For the time in question, the size of such a sheet is not precisely defined, but these are always horizontal sheets (width greater than height) of a rather large size (very approximately, the height of the sheet was 30–40 cm, and width 40–60 cm).

Two widely known early examples of poems written down on *kaishi* sheets of paper are *Ippongyō waka kaishi* (一品経和歌懷紙 “Poems on the chapters of the Lotus sutra”) and *Kumano kaishi* (熊野懷紙 “Kumano sheets of paper with poems”). Both poetic cycles are poems of a predominantly religious content, composed to be presented to a temple (*hōraku uta* 法樂歌). The poems of *Ippongyō waka kaishi* are written according to the chapters of the Lotus Sutra. Poems were created in 1180–1183. Fourteen sheets of *Ippongyō waka kaishi* are kept in the Kyoto National Museum. *Kumano kaishi* is a common name for poems written at the order of ex-emperor Gotoba (1180–1239, r. 1183–1198) as offerings to the temples of Kumano. Poems were composed during pilgrimages. 34 sheets of the poems, dated 1200–1201, are known.

A little later than the time when the *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* collection was created (apparently, from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), recording on narrow long sheets of *tanzaku* 短冊 became popular. Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104–1177), the author of the treatise *Fukuro sōshi* (袋草紙 “Book in a bag”), connects *tanzaku* with *saguridai* 探題, poetic meetings at which topics were distributed by lot. The opinion of the author of the book “Japanese Songs and the Shape of the Kana Signs: Content and Style of Medieval Records” Beppu Setsuko is that *tanzaku* became popular with the popularity of *tsugiuta* 次ぎ歌, a meeting where participants composed a poetic cycle with a certain number of poems (50, 100, 1000). One poem was composed for each topic, and the topics were worked out in advance and recorded on the *tanzaku*, after which poets recorded their poems on the same *tanzaku* sheet [Beppu 2014, p. 535–591].

Another recording format – *shikishigata* 色紙形 (*shikishi* 色紙) – square or close to square, vertically oriented sheets, were not used during poetic events, but were used for recording poems for screens *byōbu uta* (屏風歌).

Japanese authors began to write about the tradition and rules of recording poems on *kaishi* sheets from the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The first poetic

treatise in which a part is devoted to the recording of poems is found in the already mentioned text by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke *Fukuro sōshi*. The text was written between 1156 and 1159 and presented to Emperor Nijō (1143–1165, r. 1158–1165). The provisions given by Kiyosuke with respect to the recording of *waka* on *kaishi* expressed in this text denote the tradition that had been established by his time, and later on these provisions are repeated in other works.

The following texts, in which the question of the recording on the *kaishi* is raised, date from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. A poetic treatise *Yakumo mishō* (八雲御抄 “His Majesty’s Yakumo treatise”) was written by ex-emperor Juntoku (1197–1242, r. 1210–1221). The text, apparently, was being created for a long time, as it is known that Juntoku began to work on it even before he came out against the shogunate in 1221, and continued while in exile on Sado Island.

The tradition of *kaishi* recording is illuminated by Fujiwara no Teika (Sadaie, 1162–1241). Teika gives a large number of examples of recording *kaishi* in his essay *Wakakai shidai* (和歌会次第 “The Order of the *waka* poetry gatherings”). Since Teika was an indisputable authority for many poets of subsequent generations, his composition is an extremely important work among the essays devoted to this problem.

Chronologically, these texts precede the collection *Shokukokinshū kyōden waka*, and later the issue of recording poems was also covered in a number of texts. Among them are *Chikuenshō* (竹園抄 “Notes from the Bamboo Garden”) by Fujiwara no Tameaki (years unknown, one of Fujiwara no Tameie’s sons); *Guhishō* (愚秘抄 “Private sketchbook”) (the text was signed by the name of Teika, however, it was proven that the text does not belong to his brush, and, apparently, the time of creation of the work is the 14<sup>th</sup> century); *Seiashō* (井蛙抄 “Notes of a Frog in a Well”) by Ton’a (1289–1372), texts by Imagawa Ryōshun (1326–1420), Shōtetsu (1381–1459), and others. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, significant changes took place in Japanese *waka* poetry, connected with the expansion of the social composition of the poets’ ranks as more representatives of the warrior class joined them. This influenced the conduct of poetry, and, in a number of details, influenced the rules for writing down poems on *kaishi* sheets, but this question remains outside the scope of this study.

The *kaishi* record of a poem consists of several elements: information about the circumstances of the composition of the poem/poems, the topic of the composition, the name of the author, the poem/poems.

The introductive part of the record is called *hashizukuri* 端作り. The topic of the poem is denoted by the word 題. In the *Fukuro sōshi*, the part of the record including information about the composition of the poem and the topic is designated as *daimoku* (題目).

In *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka*, with the exception of the first three poems (the imperial and two female ones), all other poems begin with a record of the circumstances of the composition of the poem.

The record before the fourth poem (it belongs to Ichijō Sanetsune) is as follows:

暮春續古今倭謠集竟宴應製和歌

(Japanese song, composed by order of the emperor on a spring day at a banquet in honor of the completion of work on *Shokukokinwakashū*).

With minor variations, all other entries provide the same information.

春日續古今和謠集竟宴應製倭歌 (entry to the poem by Saionji Kinsuke)

春日侍續古今倭謠集竟宴應太上皇製和歌 (before Tōin Saneo's poem)

春日陪續古今和歌集竟宴應太上皇製倭歌

(before Fujiwara no Yoshinori's poem), etc.

Only *kanji* characters are used in *hashizukuri* part of the record, *kana* characters are not used. In all cases, *hashizukuri* begins with a time stamp. In the *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* collection, the most common variant is 春日 (spring day), the designation 暮春 (the end of spring) occurs three times.

Juntoku-in in *Yakumo mishō* writes in detail about this part of the *waka* record. He cites the following words that should be used as a designation of time: 八月十五夜 (the fifteenth night of the eighth moon, i.e. the autumn moon); 春日 (spring day), 夏日 (summer day), 秋日 (autumn day), 冬日 (winter day), 早春 (early spring), 暮春 (late spring), 首夏 (early summer), 初秋 (early autumn), 九月尽 (last day of autumn), 初冬 (beginning of winter), 歲暮 (end of the year). Juntoku-in cites a number of examples which, in his opinion, should not be written: 三月三日・五月五日・九月九日 [Yakumo mishō 1964, p. 239].

In *Wakakai shidai* Teika gives a number of examples of writing *hashizukuri*, and the words 秋夜 (autumn night), 春日 (spring day), 秋日 (autumn day) are found in these examples.

Further on, all *hashizukuri* prefaces of *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* have the same information: “at the banquet in honor of the completion of work on *Shokukokin wakashū*”. Here all the entries are identical, the only difference encountered is the spelling of the word *waka*, as the word is written in

different characters, with the authors avoiding repeating the same spelling twice. The writing has the following variants: 和歌, 倭歌, 倭謠.

Next is an indication by whose command the poems were composed.

The question of the use of three different characters denoting who gave the order is discussed by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke. The options here are: 製 - 令 - 教.

In the case of the emperor or ex-emperor, the character 製 is chosen, i.e. “by the order” is written as 應製. In all cases of the collection, this combination of characters is used. Four times it is given without the words “ex-emperor”, in nineteen cases – 應太上皇製 – “by order of the retired emperor”.

The preface to the song by Shijō Takachika is somewhat different from others:

春日陪續古今和歌集竟宴同永一首應太上皇製和歌

This recording includes the element 同永一首 “when everyone composed one song at a time”. The whole phrase is “A Japanese song composed by order of the retired emperor on a spring day at the banquet in honor of the completion of work on *Shokukokin wakashū*, when everyone composed one song”. The wording 同永一首 (同永二首・同永三首, etc.) is common for a *hashizukuri* record.

The next part of the record is the author’s name. Kiyosuke pays much attention to this part of the record.

The most complete information that the author can give about himself is given in the case when the emperor or ex-emperor issues the order about the composition. This information includes (according to Kiyosuke):

位 官 兼官 臣 姓 朝臣 名 上 (たてまつる)

Rank - position - additional position - *omi* (hereditary aristocratic title) - generic name - *ason* (court) - personal name - *tatematsuru* (“present”, written in a smaller character). According to Kiyosuke and Teika, the character 上 (read as *tatematsuru*) is written only when the poems are presented to the emperor, but later this custom spread more widely.

The *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* collection is a case of the most complete information about the authors.

関白從一位臣藤原朝臣實經上

(*Kampaku* junior first rank *omi* Fujiwara *ason* Sanetsune presents).

正三位中納言兼侍從臣藤原朝臣爲氏上

(Senior third rank middle advisor and chamberlain *omi* Fujiwara *ason* Tameuji presents).

Information becomes less complete when the order to write the poem is given not by the emperor, but by the empress, princes, or dignitaries. Both Kiyosuke and Teika pay attention to the recording of a generic name. They agree that if a poetic event takes place within the same family (i.e., everyone has the same surname), then it is not necessary to write the surname, a personal name is enough.

Teika, whose work *Wakakai shidai* is based on examples of his own recordings, demonstrates all the above-mentioned features of recording prefaces to poems and the name of the author.

*Hashizukuri* and Teika's name on the poetic event of 1218, which was arranged by Emperor Juntoku and took place on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the 8<sup>th</sup> moon of 1218 in the Seiryōden palace, is written as follows:

秋夜侍 宴同詠池月久明

應 製和歌

参議正三位行民部卿兼伊豫權守臣藤原朝臣定家上

(A Japanese song composed at the emperor's command on the theme "eternal light of the moon over the pond" on an autumn evening at a banquet, when everyone composed songs, presented by *sangi* of the senior third rank and head of the Ministry of Public Affairs, ruler of Iyo *omi* Fujiwara *ason* Sadaie) [*Wakakai shidai o yomu* 2011, p. 435].

In this record, the combination 應製 is used. Since the event is imperial, the name is given with the indication of all the regalia, and, after the name, Teika uses the word *tatematsuru*.

The record relating to the poetic event in the palace of the wife of Emperor Gotoba, Fujiwara no (Kujō) Taeko (1173–1239), held in 1195, says:

秋夜同詠月契秋久广令和歌

左近衛權少将藤原定家

(Japanese song composed at the order of the Empress, when at an autumn evening all were composing songs on the theme "the eternal light of the autumn moon". Deputy junior commander of the left imperial guard Fujiwara no Sadaie) [*Wakakai shidai o yomu* 2011, p. 437–438].

Here, the character 令 is used to denote the command, the name is written with less details than in the case of the imperial order, and the character *tatematsuru* is not used.

The poetic event of 1187, to which the next entry relates, was "within the family", held at the home of the Minister of Home Affairs Fujiwara no (Kujō) Yoshimichi (1167–1188). Teika's record is:

春日同詠庭梅久芳應教和歌

侍從定家

(The song composed at the minister's order on a spring day, when everyone wrote on the theme "the long aroma of cherry in the garden." Chamberlain Sadaie) [Wakakai shidai o yomu 2011, p. 440].

In contrast to the examples from Teika's work, the *hashizukuri* in the *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* records do not indicate the topic of the composition. No special topic was given to the poets, they wrote poems on the compilation of the imperial anthology and, more broadly, on the Japanese poetry.

In the above-given examples from Teika's text, it is clear that the topic is included in the *hashizukuri*. In the case when several poems are written down on a sheet, the topic of each poem is given before the poem. Kiyosuke talks about recording two songs on a sheet, giving the following scheme:

Topic -  
Poem -  
Topic -  
Poem [Fukuro sōshi 1995, p. 9]

*Kumano kaishi* represent poems in this way. Thus, the *hashizukuri* of the *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* collection complies with the rules described in the *karon* texts of the time.

The next element of the record is the poem itself. All the poems of male courtiers are written down in four lines (three lines + three characters). The requirement of writing down the poem in three lines and three characters was expressed by Kiyosuke. The phrase in *Fukuro sōshi* is: "Record in three lines and three characters. Recently, however, it has become optional" [Fukuro sōshi 1995, p. 11].

In his study on the recording of one poem on a *kaishi* sheet, Takei Kazuto notes that this statement by Kiyosuke raises at least two questions. The first is whether this rule (to record the poem in four lines with three characters in the fourth line) applies only to the case when one poem is written on a sheet, or to other cases as well. The second question, related to the first one, is what it means that recently it is not necessary to write poems down in this way. Is it not necessary to record one poem in this way, or, in the past, it was necessary to write in this way any number of poems, and now it is not necessary when recording two or more poems on a sheet [Takei Kazuto 1984, p.38].

The answers are to be found in the texts by other authors. The text *Yakumo mishō* makes it clear that the way of recording poems depends on how many poems are written on a sheet of paper. There are rules for recording one poem, two, three, or more poems.

Juntoku-in gives such rules for writing poems: writing in three lines and three characters refers to one poem, in the case of five to six poems, they are written in two lines, three poems are written in three lines.

In *Wakakai shidai* it is said that one poem is written in three lines and three characters. Teika also indicates that one poem is written in this way, regardless of whether it is a private or an official case. Teika also gives additional information: if there are two poems on a sheet, they are written in three lines, 5+7 characters in the first line, 5+7 characters in the second and 7 characters in the third. If there are three poems on a sheet, then they are written in two lines, and the number of characters is 5+7+5 and 7+7. If there are more than five poems, they continue to be written on the next sheet.

Thus, Teika not only gives information about the number of graphic lines in a recorded poem, but also writes about the desired number of characters to be written in two and three lines, and this number corresponds to the structure of the poem. Teika ends the part dedicated to writing poems with the following phrase: “This way [of recording] is not installed as mandatory” [*Wakakai shidai o yomu* 2011, p. 446].

Somewhat earlier than in Teika’s text, the same information about the number of characters in a graphic line of a poem was given by Fujiwara no Koreyuki (1139–1175) in the text known as *Yakaku teikinshō* (夜鶴庭訓抄, “Secret teachings of the night crane”, translation into English [De Coker, Kerr 1994]). Koreyuki’s text is considered to be the first essay on calligraphy in Japanese history. The text shows that, for the scribes, the structure of the poem is important, and that the record should be done in accordance with the internal structure of the poem. Koreyuki writes: “A way to record songs. If two lines, then one line 5–7–5, one line 7–7. If three lines, one line 5–7, one line 5–7, one line 7”. [*Jubokudō sanbushū* 1989, p. 7].

The peculiarities of recording one poem on a *kaishi* sheet could be a peculiar sign of belonging to a certain poetic school. Information about that could be found in *Chikuenshō* and other texts [Takei Kazuto 1984].

Neither the text by Kiyosuke, nor the one by Juntoku-in or Teika discuss the relationship between *kanji* and *kana* characters in the recording of poems.

The text of the poems in *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* is mainly written in *kana*, however, a small number of *kanji* is also used. The greatest number of *kanji* is contained in the poem by Gosaga-in.

三代までに古今の名もふりぬ光おみかけ玉つしま姫

The number of syllables in this poem is standard (31 syllables), but there are 23 graphic characters in the record: 8 *kanji* and 15 *kana* characters. A number of *kanji* which are consistently used in poems are read in

one syllable, so they do not affect the number of characters: 世世 (yoyo), 代代 (yoyo), 御代 (miyo), 葉 (ha), 千 (chi). However, some signs, like 光 (hikari), 事 (koto) and others, change the number of graphic characters relative to the number of syllables.

All but the first three poems of the collection have three graphic characters in the last line, and these signs include both *kana* and *kanji*:

るかな・うら浪・事の葉・らかせ・つねて・らたま・りけり・浦なみ・らなみ・とのほ・みる哉・らなみ・もらむ・はなし・えけり・るかな・ふかな・とのほ・らなみ・たへむ・うら浪・らかせ.

In five cases, the last line includes *kanji* and thus has three characters but four syllables: うら浪・事の葉・浦なみ・みる哉・うら浪.

Unlike writing in three and two lines, a four-line graphic recording of a poem the internal structure of which consists of five verses cannot be expected to be consistently connected with the internal structure. Consider a few examples.

Fujiwara no Saneo's poem:

わかくにのなかきた  
からも君か代に  
ふたたひつけるやまと  
事の葉

(わかくにの // なかきたからも // 君か代に // ふたたひつける // やまと事の葉)

(Eternal treasures of our country – Yamato songs – in the age of our sovereign were collected for the second time).

In the four-line recording, the first two lines correspond to the first stanza of the song. In this case, the word *takara* is divided between two lines.

Fujiwara no Takachika:

もしほくさいにしへ  
いまをかきとめてみ  
たひつたふるわかろう  
らかせ

(もしほくさ // いにしへいまを // かきとめて // みたひつたふる // わかろうらかせ)

(They are collected for the third time, songs like pearl seaweeds, old and new. The wind is blowing in the Bay of Songs).

There is no coincidence between the internal structure of the poem and the graphic lines.

Fujiwara no Morotsugu:

あつめつくいにしへ  
いまのことの葉のかす  
も千とせのためしな  
りけり

(あつめつく // いにしへいまの // ことの葉の // かすも千とせの // ためしなりけり)

(Collected old and new songs give an example of plenty and longevity).

There is no coincidence between the internal structure of the poem and the graphic lines. Of the 22 songs recorded in four lines, in five cases, two graphic lines make up the first stanza of the poem (i.e., three verses).

The first three poems of the collection are significantly different from all the others in their graphic execution. They are divided into graphic lines as follows:

三代までに古今の/名もふり/ぬ/光おみかけ/玉つしま/姫

(It is already the third collection preserving the words “old and new”. Please, make this collection shine like a jewel, oh, Tamatsushima-hime).

大宮院権中納言

わかめうらにかき/ あつめたることの / はや / 世々にたえせぬ / ため  
しなる / らん

(This collection is an example: the words collected in the Bay of Songs will not be interrupted in centuries).

中納言

ことのはのつゆの/たまぬくあをや/きの/いとのとえすそ/よよにつ  
たへむ

(Infinite thin willow branches, glittering with dew drops like words of songs will stretch through the centuries).

The imperial and female poems of the *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* are recorded in the way of *chirashigaki* 散し書き scattered script. With such a record, the number of lines and characters in a line is not defined, and the lines themselves begin with a significant indent from the top edge of the sheet.

In the article “Siting the Court Woman Poet: “Waka no kai” (Poetry Gatherings) in Rokujō Kiyosuke’s “Fukuro zōshi” Roselee Bundy indicates female *chirashigaki* in such a way: “Further, by the thirteenth century, women’s verses in *waka no kai* came to be written in *chirashigaki* (scattered writing), in which the poem was divided into six unevenly

staggered lines with one to eight syllables per line, in contrast to the male style of three lines of equal length and three or five syllables left for a fourth line” [Bundy 2009, p. 22].

A.P. Belyaev characterizes the *chirashigaki* script (in connection not with *kaishi* but with *shikishi* of Heian time): “Unlike those Heian monuments, in which all the lines are approximately the same length and the written text is no less important than its calligraphic performance, here the different length, slope and saturation of the lines each time form a natural, “lively” and original rhythm, as a result of which the works of this kind are of much greater value as objects for admiring, rather than as texts for reading (well-read contemporaries already knew these texts by heart)” [Belyaev 2017, p. 388].

Usually, when recording poems on *kaishi*, such an entry marks female poems, but not always, as, in the case of *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka*, the imperial poem is also recorded in this way.

Fujiwara-no Kiyosuke in *Fukuro sōshi* devotes just one sentence to female recording: “Female songs: neither the theme nor the characters of the name are written” [Fukuro sōshi 1995, p. 10].

A feature of female *kaishi* is the choice of paper. Female poems are written on thin paper (*usuyō* 薄様), the paper is often colored and has a picture. The fact that women write on thin paper, using two sheets laid one on another, draws the attention of Juntoku-in in *Yakumo mishō*. The choice of paper by the female participants of the collection *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka* is indicated by entries made with small characters to the right of the authors name.

Machida Seiichi writes in his article titled “Japanese thin paper”: “In the Heian era, men used thick *danshi* paper as *kaishi* (paper for writing down poems), while women mostly used thin paper. At poetry meetings, men wrote on a single sheet of thick paper, women wrote on two sheets of thin paper laid one on another, recording a song on the upper side, and the name of the author on the bottom sheet. When writing letters, they also usually used two sheets laid on top of each other” [Machida 1978, p. 13].

Thus, the recording of poems in the *Shokukokinshū kyōen waka*, as reflected in the *Gunshō ruijū* publication, is fully consistent with the rules of recording poems on *kaishi* sheets of paper given by poets of the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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