The Origin of Japanese Omotenashi in Man-yo-shu

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Abstract

In this paper, the authors build a hypothesis that Japanese omotenashi has roots in the banquet, *utage*, described in *Man-yo-shu*, the oldest anthology of verse. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, to clarify the roles of it and the benefits for the participants in the viewpoint of value of experience.

The authors discuss the characteristics of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, with reference to Turner's theory of communitas, liminality and liminoid. The comparison between *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* and brand community leads to the positioning of *utage* both on individual level and collective level in context of culture.

I Introduction

Japanese omotenashi is generally considered to have been based on *cha-no-yu*, Japanese tea ceremony, which was established by Sen-no-Rikyu in the 16th century (Sato et al, 2014; Sato and Parry, 2015). In this paper, the authors build a hypothesis that Japanese omotenashi has roots in the banquet, *utage*, described in *Man-yo-shu*, the oldest anthology of verse. The word *utage* is traced back to *uchiage*, which means to finish a particular task successfully. The custom of *utage* or *uchiage* can be seen even today. Business persons usually have a drink together with their team after a task, and then as after party they enjoy karaoke, which requires the participants some tacit rules of omotenashi to enjoy.

In this way, *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* has continued on to today's after party. In fact, the root of *utage* is *uchiagu* which means to finish a particular task successfully. In those days, it took a lot of efforts by many people to hold a ceremony or ritual. A banquet, *utage*, was held to appreciate their cooperation and to put an end to the event (Ueno, 2014, pp 10–11).

In this paper, the authors analyze the formal banquet, *utage*, the origin of Japanese omotenashi.

Specifically, the roles of *utage* in community and the benefits given by *utage* to the participants are to be analyzed in the point view of service dominant logic (Vargo and Lusch, 2004; Vargo and Lusch, 2008), service logic (Grönrooos, 2008; Grönroos and Gummerus, 2014), customer dominant logic (Heinonen et. al. 2010; Heinonen et. al., 2013; Rihova et al., 2013;), or experience marketing research (Conway and Leghton, 2012; Helkkula et. al., 2011; Holbrook, 2005; Holbrook, 2006; Holbrook and Hirshman, 1982; Holt, 1995; Tynan and McKechnie, 2010; Verleye, 2015).

For the concrete problems, the authors compare between the features of customer value of co-creation that is shown in the study of the Latin School of Societing (Cova, 1077; Cova and Cova, 2002), application of Turner's theory of communitas (M Ellis, 2011; Kim and Jamal, 2007; Rihova, 2013), and the study of brand community (McAlexander et. al., 2992; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Schau et al., 2009) and the features of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* as community and those of value co-creation.

This paper is to analyze the costomer value of co-creation in high context culture, which has not been discussed in previous research.

II The Characteristics of the Utage in Man-yo-shu

1 Overview of Man-yo-shu

In the beginning, the authors show the features of *Man-yo-shu* in historical context. *Man-yo-shu*, Japan's oldest anthology of verse in existence, consists of twenty volumes. It contains forty five hundred poems in total, most of which are fixed form of short poems as *waka*, made by a broad range of people from emperors to commons, from eastern areas to Kyushu area. There are many mysteries about establishment of *Man-yo-shu*: who edited the great collection, when, why or how has not been clearly unraveled. Roughly it is said to have been completed in the end of Nara period through several editing stages.

The anthology has three main categories: general poems, love poems, and elegies. General poems indicate those made in public or formal settings such as banquets and ceremonies. Most of love poems were meant to entertain the others at some parties, rather than describe a person's sincere feelings to the one's beloved. Again, elegies were to express not one's private feelings but their common sorrow (Kajikawa, 2000, pp. 176–86; Furuawa, 2004, pp. 17–28, 31–33; Iwashita, 2014, pp. 2–14).

Usually the poems of Man-yo-shu are divided into four periods. The first period, from 630

to 672, was the turbulent one before the establishment of the centralized administrative system. Internal disturbances were often brought out. Emperor Tenchi and Princess Nukata were particularly famous for their powerful poems. The second period, from 672 to 710, was stable one with the elaborate legal codes. Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro was one of the well-known poets during this period. The third period, from 710 to 733, was the early Nara period, saw the perfection of legal code system. In the court, the aristocrats were rigorously ranked according to the descent or the family. Yamanoue-no-Okura is the one of the most talented poets. The fourth period, from 733 to 759, was the latter Nara period when the persons in power reached a political deadlock and transferred the capital repeatedly. Ootomo-no-Yakamochi represents this period.

2 Utage in Man-yo-shu

(1) The Significance of Utage

Previously the poems of *Man-yo-shu* were regarded as honest, innocent and plain expression of personal feelings. However, since around 2000, many scholars of Japanese literature have attempted to focus on the situation of making those poems, especially *utage*, banquets. Surprisingly, there are about ninety associated words of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, for instance, poems for praising sake, for enjoying party, for dancing and singing, for leaving party.

The number of the assumed *utage* poems, which mean those made at the banquet or for it, amounts to 270. In this point, Ueno wrote that main part of *Man-yo-shu* was poems made and presented at banquet (Ueno, 2014, pp. 16–17). In those days, the significant political matters were decided and administered at conference at the court, after which they always had a banquet. Thus, *utage* was naturally considered as political situation where the members could conform their solidarity (Asano, 2005).

At the banquet, as well as ceremony, the attire, the seat and the order of greeting, addressing and utterance were strictly prescribed. Poems were important as tools to display political hierarchy. The participants were required not to express their personal feelings in poems but to play their own parts as official, public existence. In other words, they should make poems most appropriate to the mood of the place, caring about the purpose of the banquet and relationships among the members. However, they had no documented rule for such complicating situations. It was crucial that the participants should know the implicit rules, that is, the cultural standard which each member was supposed to share. Assessment of the situation preceded the artistic talent, though the skillful poems spread among the court to become necessary knowledge for attending a banquet (Sasaki, 2007, pp. 62-67; Kajikawa, 2013, pp. 8-9).

(2) Historical Background

It is from the latter of 7th century that *utage*, the banquet, was held with such connotation as above. Historically, there are two factors. First, the root of *utage* could be traced back to Emperor the banquet with firewood started by Emperor Temmu, who had won the severe battle against the other successor to the crown. It was crucially necessary for Emperor Temmu to appreciate his followers for their pains on every occasion, to try their loyalty, and to prevent their betrayal. To be short, he was definitely urged to maintain the relationships. *Utage* was the most useful occasion for him to confirm their political solidarity.

In 675, Emperor Temmu held a banquet by fire, together with the high officials who had brought firewood into the court on January 3. After that the banquet was institutionalized, and in the Nara period it became an annual event. At the banquet, sake and food was served to the participants (Murai, 2005, pp. 70, 73–77). Since the government was established without disturbances, emperors held banquets to offer their hospitality to the bureaucrats and to make the government more stable (Ueno, 2014, pp. 88–89).

Secondly, the development of bureaucracy should be pointed out with reference to the popularity of *utage*. In the latter half of the 7th century, the basic frame of legal code system was introduced to Japan. Under the new system of bureaucracy, the human relationships were stratified according to the order. The hierarchy was visually shown by the color of their clothes and coronets. Banquet and ceremony was held frequently as effective to fix and keep the vertical relationships. Private banquet as well as public were held in many places, including min isters' mansions. Almost all of officials were ready to attend the banquets to keep the connection for promotion. Then, why was the connection or human relationships important for promotion in those days?

In China, the emperor started *kakyo*, the system of standard examinations for higher officials, in which the emperor himself had the power to determine the passers, and to control directly all the bureaucrats, while in Japan, the system was not established. Certainly, there were examinations for employment and promotion, for which only sons of good families could apply. In the meanwhile most of the positions of candidates for higher officials were occupied by a few big clans. Since then on, the government position became a family occupation, passed down to their heirs. For instance, there was a system that higher positions were given to the descents of the higher officials or powerful family without examinations nor accomplishments. As they could not expect to be promoted through their performances, those who wanted to get high positon had no alternatives than keep their connection to some influential persons at banquets (Murai, 2005, pp. 13–16). For detailed explanation of bureaucracy, see Kanegae (2008, pp. 164–75).

(3) The Purpose of Utage

They had *utage* for the political purpose as well as for enhancing mutual friendship. For the political purpose, *utage* was helpful to discriminate between followers and enemies. At *utage*, people gathered with common backgrounds to confirm their own faith: that is, they made certain that every participant belonged to the same faction without any secrets. In the Nara period, they had so bitter struggles for power at all times that formal banquets were regarded as occasions to detect their enemies. Consequently, the priority was put to the question if they share the same values.

They had *utage* for another purpose, that is, for pleasure. In some cases, they heartily enjoyed banquets, such as second parties to formal one, welcome parties or farewell parties. Even in these cases, they should not forget the vertical structure. They had to liven up the mood of the banquet according to their positions. If a person had an ambition to show his talent by making an excellent poem, he should stick to the order of precedence as other participants.

(4) Three Types of Utage

The banquets could be roughly divided into three types by the host and guests: (1) the emperor and the high officials, (2) the high officials and their followers and colleagues, and (3) the provincial governors and local managers.

The main purpose of the *utage* held by the emperor as host was to strengthen the mutual confidence. The emperor asked for some poems; the high officials as guests answered by good poems to praise the emperor. When the high official held an *utage* as host to invite his followers and colleagues, they had other purposes as well as to strengthen the unity. The host was to demonstrate his power through some elaborate tastes and designs, while the guests were to show their intelligence. The provincial governor held banquets as host to entertain the local managers of the area, because in those days the income of the provincial governor largely depended on the cooperation of local managers.

At *utage*, basically the hosts had overwhelming power to the guests. There was a definite pattern for *utage*. It is certain that in some cases they were said to enjoy casual parties, but

they were not free of rules. The food and drink at seasonal *utage* at court was provided by government, according to the legal code, *Yoro-Rituryo* (Ueno, 2014, pp. 76–77).

III Kata and the Way of Enjoying Utage

There was a pattern to the order of poems at *utage*, from the first greetings between the host and the main guest, to the farewell note. Everyone at the *utage*, including the host, should follow the rule in making poems, that is, what kind of poems were to be made by whom at which point in the process.

1 The Process of Utage

In the beginning, the host and the main guests exchange their greetings. The host should express in a poem his appreciation of the guests who were good to come all the way to such a poor place. The main guest should respond to it with saying in a poem that it was a great pleasure for them to visit such a beautiful mansion. Then, the main guest should praise the host in a poem.

In the third stage, every participants made poems in concert with the intent and design shown by the host. In the fourth stage, someone made joking, playful poems as well as those for a change. They often quoted some old poems without any reference to the original poets. It shows that they lacked consciousness of originality or authorship.

In the fifth stage, they attempted to appear most reluctant to part with each other. The guest said, in a poem, that they must leave. The host asked urgently him to stay longer. After some more drink, the host put an end to the banquet with a poem, in which he expressed his unwill-ingness to say good-bye.

The pattern of the *utage* as above has been accepted by general scholars in *Man-yo-shu* (Ueno, 2014, pp. 38-40).

2 Examples of the Process in Utage

In this section, the eleven poems made at the *utage* held by a promising bureaucrat, Naramaro, are to be introduced with the brief explanations. Naramaro was a son of the political magnate in those days.

In the first place, Naramaro, the host made two poems as follows.

1-I have brought a twig of yellow leaves, as it is a regret to let it wither.

2-Now I adorn my hair with a twig of yellow leaves that I have gotten in the rain to show you, since you are my dearest guest.

In both poems, he expressed his joy and gratitude to greet his guests, and at the same time, he showed them the keynote of the *utage*, namely, the twig of yellow leaves. Then, the main guest, Princess Kume made a poem, adorning her hair with the twig of yellow leaves, to greet the host.

3-I am happy to have the twig of yellow leaves that you have gotten in the rain.

It was followed by the fourth poem by Nagano-Imiki-no-Otome, a waiting maid for Princess Kume. She praised Naramaro, using the same phrases as him.

4-It is you, beautiful man just like the elegant twig of yellow leaves that are the dearest person for me.

The fifth poem made by Inukai-no- Sukune-Yoshio, a young official, changed the mood.

5-In Mt Nara, the yellow leaves start falling. The autumn season seem to be mature.

He described the beauty of the season, agreeing with Naramaro who proposed the seasonal motifs for the occasion. The sixth poem was made by Inukai-no-Sukune-Mochio, a younger brother of Yoshio. Mochio expressed his satisfaction and gratitude to the host.

6-Even if the leaves start falling, I have no regrets, as I could attend this *utage* and have such a beautiful twig.

Then, Ootomo-no-Fumimochi, a younger brother of the Yakamochi, made a poem.

7-In the darkness of the mountain, many leaves flow probably one after another in the creek in this evening.

The participants are reminded of the scenery of the yellow leaves flowing in the dark.

The eighth poem by Miteshiro-no-Hitona expressed the satisfaction more directly.

8-I have totally enjoyed the utage. Now I don't bother if the leaves are to fall.

The ninth poem by Hada-no-Kohemaro described his contentment with a joke.

9-I am so satisfied with the *utage*. I don't mind if the leaves are falling, as my love is adorning the twig.

In this poem, "my love" referred to Nagano-Imiki-no-Otome, an old woman. It is said Kohemaro meant to amuse the company as improvisation.

The eleventh poem suggests that the utage approached the end, reflecting the mood.

10-Yellow leaves are falling as the cold wind blows, I suppose.

Ootomo-no-Ikenushi, the poet, was a little older than the others at the *utage*.

The last poem was made by Ootomo-no-Yakamochi, describing the mood cleverly.

11-How I wish the daybreaks wouldn't come tonight, as we are now heartily enjoying being our company, Comrades!

In this poem, Yakamochi emphasized the friendliness and reminded afresh the participants of the satisfaction of being a member of the circle. He made his ending poem on behalf of all the participants. It was considered totally appropriate to his role at the *utage*.

3 The Characteristics of Enjoying Utage

In this section, the two sides of the characteristics of enjoying *utage* are to be explained. First, there is the physical side of enjoying *utage*, in other words, *shiturae* of omotenashi.

In general, *utage* was held in a great mansion with a large garden. In those days, the gorgeous garden was considered as a symbol for a great emperor in China. Thus, in Japan, people thought they should have great gardens with beautiful ponds and plants to join the civilized countries. It could be associated with the idea of *Rokumeikan* in Meiji period, where Japanese government attempted hard to join the powers by introducing hurriedly the western ways of living. In Nara period, they held some banquets to host some honored guests from foreign countries. At the banquet, the garden was the place of ceremony. High official attempted to adopt the state-of-the-art culture from China. They competed in making elaborate gardens with beautiful ponds and seasonal flowers and trees, which were often transplanted in accordance with the purpose of the banquet (Saito, 1990, pp. 56-76; Ueno, 2003, pp. 77, 81-89; Ueno, 2010, pp. 145-50).

One of the most important techniques used to enjoy those garden is *mitate*. *Mitate* means finding some similarities between two things that seem totally different. For instance, they took a small island on the pond as a legendary mountain in China. Or, they were reminded of an inlet of an ocean when they saw the rock arrangement in front of them. It needed a high level of wit and culture. The cultural tradition was handed down from generation to generation, to reach a unique development (Kayano, 1996, pp. 25–35).

When holding a banquet, they put an emphasis on *shuko*, the ingenious design or contrivance. For an instance, a minister had a temporary country house built in the fashionable garden to entertain the guest. In this contrivance, he showed that he had been eagerly prepared for the guest and made an auspicious work associated with a good harvest. The guest was successfully satisfied with the contrivance. Both of the host and the guest made poems with the motifs of country houses (Yamada, 2002, pp. 56–9; Ueno, 2003, pp 117–8).

Secondly, there is one more side for enjoying the utage. The techniques of mitate and shuko

were made much of in making poems. To enjoy the technique of *mitate* in poems, they were required to share a high level of classic culture and wit. Moreover, at the *utage*, unexpected combination of two things was far from being enough. They had to think of proper *mitate* in accordance with their position and the purpose of the occasion. Someone in the lower position were blamed for presenting *mitate* in a grand scale. Those rules of *mitate* were helpful to maintain the order and strengthen the solidarity of the community.

In some cases, they used *ume* blossom as properties for *shuko*. The hosts showed the guests explicitly the theme of the day in the greeting poems in the beginning, as in "let us enjoy to day's *utage* with *ume* blossom" (Ueno, 2014, pp. 50–70).

As explained above, to enjoy *utage*, it was requisite for both the hosts and the guests to have the high standard of culture including *shuko* and *mitate*. In addition, they set a high value on doing one's own duty to liven up the *utage* together, rather than on standing out as an individual. When their efforts were successful, the participants could get deep satisfactions and high possibilities for promotion.

4 The End of the Utage in Man-yo-shu

As seen above, in the era of *Man-yo-shu*, *utage* played an important role both in court politics and private lives. After that the *utage* declined for three reasons. First, there occurred great political and social changes. As the political system became stable and the struggles for power decreased, people gradually found it unnecessary to discriminate between friends and enemies. In Heian period, the Fujiwara Hokke family finally took the reins of government. And then the rival clans were drastically weakened. It was natural that the political roles of *utage* shrank in the situation.

Secondly, in Heian period, the center of the culture moved to inner palace where women assumed the power. Many aristocrats, especially the Fujiwara family, were eager to have their daughters and granddaughters highly educated because they aimed at marrying the girls to the emperor so as to seize the political power. In due course, women took prominent parts in culture. The main topic of the poems became love, since the quality of love poems could influence their fate, that is, if a girl of a lower official had a talent to make clever love poems, she could find her way to inner palace. And also, the setting for love poems totally changed. In Heian period, men and women rarely attended the same banquet. Instead, they chose to send love poems each other secretly. In this way, they lost interest in the community aspect of *utage*.

Thirdly, in the latter part of Heian period and the early Kamakura period, renga became

popular among the emergent warrior class as a tool for discriminating between friends and foes as well as for confirming the solidarity. Both aristocrats and warriors found *renga* most effective for building human relationships in the unquiet times. The authors had to omit the explanation of why *renga* took place of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* for want of space. The characteristics of *renga* banquet are to be discussed in the next paper.

IV Analysis of Utage in Man-yo-shu

In this section, the characteristics of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* are analyzed with reference to today's omotenashi. The analysis consists of three dimensions: (1) to clarify the characteristics of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* and today's banquet in high context culture; (2) to discuss the experience values and collective values for individual participants at *utage*, and particularly that the collective values are not simply total addition of individual values, but that they have emergent property: and (3) to analyze the experience values both for the parts of hosts and guests, in relation to collective values, according to the process of *utage*.

First, the analysis of *utage* as experience values in high context culture is to be shown. Cova (1977) and Cova and Cova (2002) professed themselves the Latin School of Societing. They argued that "[t]here is a close connection between individualism, rationalism, utilitarianism and universalism, which reflect Northern thinking, and there is a close relation between community, affectivity, futility, and resistance, which are characteristics of Southern thinking" (Cova and Cova, 2002, p. 619). They regarded Southern marketing thinking which prevailed among scholars in France, Italy and Spain as the Latin School of Societing.

In this paper, the authors are not going to examine the argument, though it clearly reflects marketing and consumer behaviors based on high context culture. In this sense, a possibility is shown to analyze some different objects other than Northern thinking of service consumption in a theoretical framework appropriate for them, by discussing *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, which flourished before the introduction of idea of individualism in the country which is considered as the most characteristic of high context cultures (Sato and Parry, 2015).

At the present the authors have no theoretical framework appropriate for analyzing service consumption in typically high context culture, *utage*. In the search for the direction, the second problem in this section is to analyze the relationships between individuals and whole community in service consumption at *utage*. For comparison with the relationships between individuals and whole community at *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the authors chose the unusual experience as

in group tour and camping (Ellis, 2011; Kim and Jamal, 2007; Rihova, 2013) and festival experience in brand community (Mc Alexander et. al., 2002; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Schau et al., 2009). From a viewpoint of customer dominant logic that deals with C2C value co-creation, Rihova et al. (2013) classified and analyzed the consumers community into four groups: (1) Detached Customer, who participate the festival alone or in a couple; (2) Social Bubble, who join the festival with his/her family or in a group; (3) Temporary communitas, which typically consists of adventure tour members; and (4) Ongoing neo-tribes, such as brand community. The *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the community of value co-creation of C2C should be considered as the fifth or on a transcending level.

Turner (1977) provided a theoretical concept effective for analyzing unusual experiences at group tour and music camping. He named the situation communitas where people face each other as they are without concerning their roles or their positions in daily lives. Turner also examined the difference between the absorbing experiences in rituals and those in dramas, applying two concepts of "liminality "and "liminoid." According to Turner, liminality is an experience shared by a community as in ritual, while liminoid is an individual, subjective and self-absorbing experience as live entertainment, such as drama. Turner said that all audiences could not experience liminoid. Whether an audience have a peak experience or not depends on the interpretation on the part of audience (Nakagawa, 2012).

Ellis (2011) proved that to enjoy liminoid in rarefied music it is necessary for participants to have sufficient knowledge of background as well as advanced skills of processing physical information sent by the music. Kim and Jamal (2007, p. 197) quoted Turner, who wrote to the effect that as people get more equal of their own accords, they want more to stand out, and then, analyzed the unusual experience of liminality by tour members who joined masquerade in ancient times. In the masquerade, participants could have another individuality by putting on their favorite masks worn in ancient times. In this situation, they are apt to experience liminality.

What are the similarities and differences between Turner's communitas, liminality and liminoid and *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*? First, while Turner's communitas is an anonymous society, at *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* participants confirm that they are on the same side. Moreover, at *utage* there were rigid rules of behaviors based on class system. If they build friendship during those experiences at Turner's communitas, basically the collective consumption of service means a tentative relationship only on this opportunity.

Secondly, Turner's liminality means the boundary state of collective self-absorption experi-

enced in the ritual. Similarly *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* has the strict process as ritual. However, for participants in *Man-yo-shu* era, *utage* is the place to discriminate between friends and foes, and to strengthen the solidarity of the community. In other words, they are conscious of enjoying the banquet together with the other members, rather than they are intoxicated.

Thirdly, it takes sufficient knowledge of background as well as advanced skills of processing physical information to realize Turner's liminoid experiences. As shown in the flow theory by Csikszentmihalyi (1991), as the level of the skill of audiences have goes higher, and as the program needs more sophistication, the level of audience's peak experience grows higher. At *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the participants were required to face three difficult tasks: to make good poems, to be sensitive to the situation, and to combine those two skills cleverly. The participants had to make great efforts in daily lives to manage those tasks, which were indispensable to get promotion.

Ootomo-no-Yakamochi, one of the most famous poets in *Man-yo-shu* wrote down a journal including good poems made by contemporaries and himself. By reading the journal, the sons and grandsons learned the custom at the banquet in the court. For instance, on the first snowy day there would be a banquet without advance announcement; so that they should get ready for it. Even if the formal ceremony was cancelled, they ought to come up for some reason. At *utage*, they should be prepared to make some poems, because they would be urged to by the emperor. They ought to consult with the records of excellent poems, for example, how to praise the virtue of the emperor metaphorically, and so on (Ueno, 2014, pp. 104–6).

For those serving in the court of *Man-yo-shu* era, ignorance of those custom would invite not only disgrace but severe charge for irreverence. It suggests that it was critical for them to learn the kata of *utage*, at which *utage* how they should make poems and when. At the same time, as the *utage* progressed, the participants could have hedonic experience through the acts of livening the scene together with the hosts, showing their cultures and wits in their company. The hedonic experience lead to the functional role of consolidating the community. In other words, the enjoyment itself contributed to strengthening the vertical relationships in the community.

Thus, at *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the individuals had flow experience on a highly individual levels. When the individual participants could liven up the *utage* to the point that they felt satisfied, the quality of the *utage* itself on the collective level should soar, and it would, in turn, give favorably effect to the quality of individual poems. At *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, there were synergistic effects between the quality of individual level and that of collective level. From the comparative analysis of Turner's communitas, liminality and liminoid, and *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* (Fugure 1), it is clear that at *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* there were rigorous and implicit rules reflecting the social order, and the participants enjoyed logically peak experience synergistically both on the individual level and on the collective level. As a result, *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* played a role to strengthen the solidarity of the community.

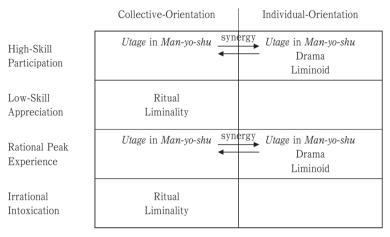


Fig 1 relationships among ritual, drama, and utage in Man-yo-shu

It is significant to compare the *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* with various kind of festival, brand festa, of brand community. Muniz and O'Guinn (2001) explained that there are three similarities as core of community, that is, consciousness of kind, shared ritual and tradition, and moral responsibility. They went on to argue that the same elements could be seen in brand community.

Schau et. al. (2009, p. 38) pointed out stratification of the members in the brand community. According to them, stratification arises from the gap of knowledge of the brand, ownership, or skill among the members. If a person has higher level of knowledge of the brand, has more products of the brand, and has more skills to enjoy the brand, he or she could get a higher position in the brand community. In this sense, the members are placed in a state of competition among the brand community, or micropolitics of consumption (Holt, 1998, p. 11).

It is not that the competition for the higher position continues on and on. Senior members who have won the stable position are willing to help novices and those in trouble from their moral sense (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001, pp. 424–26; McAlexander, p. 50). It would benefit the senior members themselves as the acts would contribute to the development of the community. In this sense, their voluntary support is the realization of enlightened self-interests.

When the characteristics of brand community have been made clear, it is appropriate to com-

pare them with those of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*. First, both share those three similarities as seen above. It might be said that in *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the levels of three points are much higher than in brand community. While brand community is naturally based on marketing relationships, in *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, class systems based on the family or clan underlie the community. There exist competition against other community and oppositional brand loyalty (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001, pp 420-21) in *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*. It can be said that the competition is by far severer than the brand community.

Secondly, the comparisons between two on the individual level and the collective level are to be shown. In brand community, the core value is on the enlightened self-interests based on individual profit which have indirectly realized synergistic effects on the collective level. In *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, in contrast, the core value is on the collective level, and it gives favorable influence on the individual level geometrically and directly synergistically.

Thirdly, on the system of ranking in the community, in *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the gap of abilities to making good poems tend to be reflected in the social position and career ladder, while the rank in the community have no effects for outsiders. It is natural that people in *Man-yo-shu* era took pains to get promotion in the *utage*, because it would reflect on position value in careers and economic value.

In reference to the discussion above, another difference can be pointed out in the characteristics between the two. In brand community, there are some cases that all the family love the brand. In *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, all the families had to show their loyalty to the host. If the power of the host decreases, the positions of all the families of the participants would drop as well. In the worst case, the participants might be relegated to a remote area.

In this section, the authors compare festa in brand community with *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, with a focus on the second one, where the relationships between individual level and collective level are discussed (Figure 2).

Lastly, it is important to analyze comparatively values created in *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* from the viewpoint of service dominant logic, service logic, consumer dominant logic, and experience value marketing. In the analysis, the values have been classified into three groups: (1) values of *utage* on collective level, (2) values for the host, and (3) values for the guest(s). The result of the analysis is shown in Table 1 at the end of this paper.

Throughout the banquet, the most crucial purpose for the host is the value of strengthening relationships with the guests: he holds a banquet to call his confidential followers together, or to entice somebody into his community by entertaining him. On the other hand, the guest puts

	Collective- Orientation	Individual- Orientation
High-	Utage in Man-yo-shu Geometrically direct synergy Collective-orientation as core value	
Context Culture	with refined techniques, following the rigorous rules, to liven the whole mood, and to get individual value	In livening up the mood successfully, he gets individual sense of accomplishment and possibility of promotion
Low-	Brand community Indirect synergy by enlightened self-interests Individual-orientation as core value	
Context Culture	Win-win from the realization of moral; relation with acquaintances for long term	Hierarchy rises from competition to show off knowledge to enhance his position in the community

Fig 2 Positioning of utage in community

focus on value of showing off his talent and value of increasing the chance for promotion as well as value of confirming his credibility.

In regard to values on the collective level, as the banquet progresses, the acts of livening the situation both by the host and the guest(s) through making most of their wits are hedonic peak experience of enjoying the occasion, and at the same time, lead to confirming the unity of the community (functional role). Joyous experience in itself subservient to the strengthening the relationships of the community on the whole.

As to the relationship between the peak experience on individual level and that on collective level, it has been clarified that there is geometrically direct synergy between the two. As pointed out, the peak experience at *utage* is logical and purposive, far from collective intoxication or self-absorption as liminality or liminoid seen in communitas. However, when the peak experience is compared on individual level and that on collective level at *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the peak experience on individual level is almost perfectly logical and purposive, while on collective level, there may be found an aspect of enjoying to their hearts content without restraint.

V The Contribution of This Paper and the Future Direction of Research

In this paper, by analyzing the banquet in *Man-yo-shu* era, the origin of Japanese omoteashi, the characteristics of Japanese omotenashi and their approaches to it have been explicated. The last problem is why Japanese tend to feel compelled to liven the company on the collective

level, and why they feel satisfaction on individual level when they have successfully contributed to it. Would the people in low context culture, or of Northern thinking, in Cova (1977) and Cova and Cova (2002), realize their enlightened self-interest on collective level on the basis of the satisfaction on individual level?

The question has been unsolved at present. The problem is one of the most important research task. Kitayama (1997), a pioneer in field of cultural psychology proved that cultural view of self of Japanese is interdependent-self, in contrast with the independent-self in the case of Anglo Saxons. His concept would give some hint for cultural psychological analysis of origin of Japanese omotenashi in banquet.

The theoretical contribution of this study is as follows: For instance, the result of this paper would be of help to research karaoke. Karaoke is now considered as global phenomenon with roots in Japan. However, business people make use of karaoke as *utage*, after party, as *uchiage* of a project, or for entertaining the customers. The purposes of karaoke are almost similar to those of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*; for instance, to build and maintain the factions, to lay the ground-work to make it facile to win the goal, and to acquire new customers. And this paper would contribute to the research of Otaku, in relation to brand community..

The practical contribution of this paper is as follows: on the basis of theoretical characteristics of Japanese omotenashi, as the product of this study, both the host of a party and guests would be able to think strategically how to improve co-creation of value of peak experience on individual level as well as collective level. For instance, it would shed light on the strategies of service operation and marketing for managers at karaoke box.

For the future research, it is necessary to study continuity and discontinuity of the characteristics of banquet of *renga*, and banquet of *cha-no-yu* (*chakai*), as the origin of Japanese omotenashi today could be trace back to the banquet of *renga*, and banquet of *cha-no-yu*. It is also necessary to analyze Japanese omotenashi with reference to interdependent-self of Japanese.

	Values on Collective level	Value for the Host	Values for the Guest
i) opening poems	To share an expecta- tion in advance for an im- portant banquet To share the subject value	 Value of social capital: Value of strengthening rela- tionships with familiar guests: Value of increasing power onto novice Value of parade: to have a gorgeous banquet 	 Value of making parade of his status: Satisfaction to pre- sent first Value of accomplishment: Satisfaction to present a good poem on basis of knowledge of Chinese literature Value of social capital: pleasure to be invited and to meet somebody
ii) extoling poems (host and main guest exalt each other. Main guest praises the wonderful banquet.)	Value of collective omotenashi Value of strengthening relationships among the members	• Value of omotenashi as host	 Value of omotenashi as a guest (to flatter the host skillfully) Value of strengthening relationships with the host Value of confirming his credibility (to show his loyalty)
 iii) theme poems (in some cases theme or motifs are assigned in advance, in other cases as ad lib. However, most participants are ready for the occasion.) 	 Value of extoling, Value of strengthening relationships. To confirm and main- tain the cultural level of community. To strengthen mutual relationship by making poems conncting with one another 	 Pleasure to have others appreciate his (host's) design: Value of extoling (both for the host and for the guest) Satisfaction with the guests who have prepared good poems: Value of extoling (for the guest) Satisfaction to run a sophisticated community: Value of extoling (for the host himself) ⇒Value of pride To test the quality of culture of the guest (to convince himself) Value of extoling (for the guests) ⇒Value of extoling (for the guests) 	 To show his talent by making poems with good taste, proper to his position and the whole mood (effective for promotion): Value of showing off his talent & Value of enhancing the situation value & Value of increasing the chance for promotion Pleasure to evaluate other members' poems: Value of learning Pleasure to simply learn other members' poems: Value of learning Pleasure to liven the company cooperatively: Value of enhancing the situation value
iv) playful poems	Value of increasing inti- macy Omotenashi led by guests (to amuse the members with joking poems; Value of enjoying without restraint)	• To liven the mood and gain intimacy: Value of enhancing intimacy	 To show his sense of humor and wit by making quick poems: Value of displaying his talent To amuse others by poem and liven the mood (get popu- larity): Value of clown To be careful to behave in safety: Value of self-defense
v) ending poems (stick to kata)	Emphasis of the joyous mood till the end To strengthen the rela- tionships among the com- munity (Value of confirming the brand value of family and clan)	 To finish the banquet in a joyous mood (crucial in those days): Value of achieving the goal To maintain the connection with participants: Value of strengthening the relationships 	 One more effort to give the host good impression: Value of improving impression To confirm again that it is a good banquet, and that he be- longs to a good community: Value of confirming the brand value

 Table 1
 Three Kinds of Value Provided by Utage

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