

## JAPANESE MARRIAGE INSTITUTIONS IN THE HEIAN PERIOD

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*For in what stupid age or nation  
Was marriage ever out of fashion?  
Hudibras, Pt. II, Canto II*

### INTRODUCTION

MARRIAGE institutions constitute one of the dominant strands in the fabric of every human society, shaping the family, determining relationships among individuals, affecting the distribution of property, and operating in countless other ways to help make a society and its civilization the unique entities they inevitably are. Common sense and brief reflection upon our own society confirm the crucial role assigned to these institutions by sociologists, and there is no need to labor the obvious conclusion that one's understanding of an alien society must always be distorted as long as the nature of its marriage forms remains obscure. It is disconcerting, then, to find that most Western studies of the Heian period either have ignored the marriage institutions of the time altogether, or, perhaps worse, have assumed tacitly that those institutions were generally identical with the ones familiar from more recent periods of Japanese history. The consequent failures in understanding and missed insights have tended to obscure the workings of Heian society and to make it seem even more remote and mysterious than it actually is.

A notable exception in this regard is Ivan Morris' recent work on Heian court society, *The World of the Shining Prince* (New York, 1964). In his chapter, "The Women of Heian and Their Relations with Men" (pp. 199-250), Professor Morris breaks new scholarly ground by devoting several pages to a description of Heian marriage institutions and ceremonies. Although his brief account does not attempt to do more than give a bird's-eye view of the subject, it is by far the most detailed description published in a Western language to date, and may be taken hopefully as a sign of awakening interest among Western scholars in this vital area.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, Professor

Morris' description is neither full enough nor factually accurate enough to provide a satisfactory introduction for the critical reader.

Part of the responsibility for Western neglect of Heian marriage institutions must be borne by Japanese scholars, who themselves have often misunderstood or failed to appreciate fully their significant features. Publication of the works of the late Takamura Itsue 高群逸枝 has advanced our knowledge of Heian marriage practices immeasurably, however, and there is increasing reflection of this development in recent Japanese studies. Takamura's works,<sup>2</sup> taken together with those of Nakayama,<sup>3</sup> Nakagawa,<sup>4</sup> Yanagida,<sup>5</sup> and Ariga,<sup>6</sup> provide a sound base from which any study of Heian marriage must begin, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge my heavy indebtedness to them in the pages that follow.

My own researches stem not from sociological interests, but from the practical problem of attempting to understand Heian texts in which references to marriage practices pose serious problems of interpretation. The principal purpose of this paper, therefore, will be to provide a reasonably complete description of these practices, especially in their institutional aspects. The description will be limited to the courtier class at Kyoto during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, since the bulk of the pertinent documentation for the period lies in those centuries and is restricted almost exclusively to the aristocracy at the capital. For reasons of space, descriptions of marriage ceremonies and of the institutions of imperial marriage must be deferred to a later occasion.

It may be useful at the outset to provide some general definition of what is meant in this discussion by the term "marriage." For present purposes, perhaps the most useful definition is that of Edward Westermarck, who has said that marriage is "a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of children born of it."<sup>7</sup> This sums up what seem to be the minimum and necessary conditions for the existence of marriage as an institution in Heian society: 1) the physical relationship between a man and woman, continuing normally over an extended period of time and resulting in children; 2) the recognition of the relationship by the society as an accepted mode of behavior; and 3) the acknowledgement of family responsibilities (however minimal) by

both members of the marriage.<sup>8</sup> It will be assumed that whenever all three of these conditions are met the result is marriage, but that the absence of any one of them is sufficient to deny that a relationship is marital. This means in concrete terms that it will not be necessary to deal with any relationship that is ephemeral or condemned by the society—e.g., rape, incestuous unions, casual liaisons, etc.—but that relationships that fulfill the conditions set forth in the definition must be accounted for, regardless of whether or not they fit preconceived notions concerning the location of marriage, the frequency of relations between the husband and wife, the nature of the relationship between parents and children, or any other factor.

#### MARITAL RESIDENCE

In the marriage institutions of any society, one of the most critical features is the marital residence rule, which determines where a couple lives after marriage. Sociologists and anthropologists have identified three principal modes of marital residence among societies generally: 1) *virilocal*, in which the man and wife take up residence near or at the house of the man's parents; 2) *uxorilocal*, in which they reside at the house of the woman's parents; and 3) *neolocal*, in which they occupy an independent house of their own.<sup>9</sup> A fourth, less common, type is *duolocal* residence, in which spouses live separately, with the husband visiting his wife but not living with her.<sup>10</sup> It will be the task of this section to show that marriage residence among aristocrats in the Heian period was consistently either uxorilocal, duolocal, or neolocal, and, equally important, that it was never virilocal.

The earlier history of marriage residence rules in Japan is not at all clear. As we go back into the Nara period (710–784) and before, the sources of information become very meager and appear at times to be contradictory. The surviving parts of the Yōrō Code (718) relating to marriage and the family<sup>11</sup> point generally to the institutions of a Chinese kind of patriarchal *Grossefamilie*, according to which a bride was brought to her husband's family home and lived there permanently with him in a very subordinate position. The poems of the *Man'yōshū* (ca. 759), on the other hand, suggest that duolocal residence was common, with the husband visiting his wife's house by night, having relations with her, and departing the following morning. Scholars who are acquainted with the sources and the period seem to

be generally agreed that the legal provisions of the code were not wholly representative of social realities,<sup>12</sup> but there is no agreement on just how great the divergence might have been. Some would prefer to believe that marriage in the Nara period followed the forms suggested by the legal code in being essentially virilocal, but that couples began their married life with the visiting relationship reflected in the poetry. This view assumes that after an initial period of duolocal residence the bride moved to her husband's house, or, more particularly, to the house of his family.<sup>13</sup> Other scholars believe that the marriage and family provisions of the code were largely window dressing concocted by impressionable sinophiles, and that the normal marriage in the Nara period was of the duolocal type.<sup>14</sup> Still others take an intermediate position, asserting that permanent virilocal marriage was practiced by the upper classes in advanced areas of Japan, while duolocal marriage was the rule for the lower classes and the inhabitants of more backward areas.<sup>15</sup> These views, and other modifications of them, are based not only on the provisions of the code and on contemporary literature, but also on eighth-century family registers (*koseki* 戸籍) and corvée rolls (*keichō* 計帳). More refined analysis of the latter documents may lead ultimately to a consensus of opinion.

Nara marriage institutions remain obscure because no extant eighth-century prose literature deals with marriage in sufficient detail to permit reliable interpretations of the official documents, or to give substance to suggestions implicit in the poetry. In the early centuries of the Heian period, however, the body of relevant prose works begins to grow, and by the tenth century, literary and historical sources become plentiful enough to supply a generally clear outline of the chief features of contemporary marriage practices among the aristocratic classes at Kyoto. From that time until the end of the twelfth century, the documentation increases steadily in variety, quantity and reliability. During these later centuries it is possible to identify three principal types of marital residence: duolocal, uxorilocal, and neolocal. The precise nature of each varies from century to century, and there is an overall drift leading ultimately to the dominance of neolocal residence in the last part of the period, but throughout there is an almost total absence of virilocal marriages.<sup>16</sup> This point deserves repeated stressing, since a failure to comprehend it and interpret it correctly has proved a frequent stumbling block in studies of Heian court society and culture.

Although tenth-century Japanese literature contains innumerable allusions to what seems to be duolocal residence, the references are often so brief and ambiguous that they provide little concrete information about the institutions involved.<sup>17</sup> The first detailed account of such a marriage occurs in *Kagerō nikki*, a diary written late in the century by one of the wives of Fujiwara Kaneie 兼家 (929–990).<sup>18</sup> In this illuminating work the author describes her marriage, beginning with its inception in 954 and continuing to what appears to have been its end twenty years later, when relations between her and Kaneie had practically ceased. It is abundantly clear that the marriage remained a visiting relationship from start to finish. The author's vagueness sometimes makes it difficult to determine precisely where in Kyoto she was living, but there is never any doubt that she always remained apart from Kaneie. For most of the marriage she seems to have stayed in her mother's house "beside the cavalry grounds in the First Ward,"<sup>19</sup> i.e., near the intersection of Ichijō and Nishinotōin avenues in the north-eastern part of the capital. In later years she lived in two other houses for short periods: one of uncertain ownership near her husband's residence,<sup>20</sup> and the other a house owned by her father just outside the eastern limits of the city, south of Konoe avenue.<sup>21</sup> Although Kaneie visited these houses occasionally during the daytime, his visits usually occurred at night and were followed by an early morning departure on the following day. The frequency of the visits varied from time to time and tended to decrease through the years, but the author of the diary apparently continued to be recognized as Kaneie's wife, as is evidenced by the clothing she supplied for him and the correspondence that was maintained between them. Kaneie, moreover, never ceased to recognize his obligations toward their son, Michitsuna 道綱 (955–1020). He participated in the boy's training for court activities and obtained appointment to an appropriate official post for him after he had come of age.<sup>22</sup>

Michitsuna's mother was a secondary wife. This was the typical status of a woman involved in a duolocal marriage during the Heian period. It is possible, however, that in the tenth century it was not uncommon for a principal wife to marry duolocally also. Despite the existence of *Kagerō nikki* and other sources, there is nothing to show that Kaneie ever lived with Tokihime 時姬 (d. 980), the woman who is usually considered his main wife,<sup>23</sup> and in *Genji monogatari*, which is

thought to reflect generally the institutions of Kaneie's century,<sup>24</sup> there is some further evidence along these lines. Genji's marriage to Aoi, for instance, remains duolocal throughout, and Tō no Chūjō's marriage to the Minister of the Right's daughter is of a similar type. Duolocal residence of this kind may seem extraordinarily tenuous to modern eyes, and, indeed, the lack of common residence would apparently be taken by some sociologists as sufficient grounds for denying the existence of any marital relationship at all.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, the evidence that duolocal residence was a normal practice in the early Heian period is too compelling to be dismissed. It may be noted, moreover, that the viability of such marriage institutions is corroborated in part by the evidence of similar practices found among primitive tribes in Malaya, New Guinea, Sumatra, Assam, Formosa, and India.<sup>26</sup>

Although duolocal residence may have occurred in marriages to principal wives during the tenth century, it is by no means the only kind that appears in the literature. Uxorilocal marriage, with continuous residence of the man at the house of his wife's parents, was also probably known,<sup>27</sup> and it is this type that is thought to have become in the following century the expected residence arrangement for a man and his principal wife, if she were the designated heir to her parents' house.<sup>28</sup> There are a number of literary and historical instances of such marriages in the first three-quarters of the century, but perhaps the best documented is the marriage of Kaneie's son, Michinaga 道長 (966-1028), to Rinshi 倫子 (964-1053), a daughter of Minamoto Masanobu 雅信 (920-993).

Michinaga married Rinshi at the beginning of 988,<sup>29</sup> when he was still in his early twenties. For some time thereafter the marriage remained a visiting relationship of the sort maintained by Kaneie and Michitsuna's mother,<sup>30</sup> but by 991 at the latest Michinaga had taken up permanent residence at his father-in-law's Tsuchimikado 土御門 mansion.<sup>31</sup> Although Michinaga acquired several other houses by purchase or as the chieftain of the Fujiwara clan,<sup>32</sup> his main residence continued to be at the Tsuchimikado mansion for the rest of his married life. This can be demonstrated in several ways. The sources for the period, for instance, refer frequently to the mansion as Michinaga's house,<sup>33</sup> meaning not that he was its owner—title to the house probably did not come to him until he rebuilt it following a fire in 1016<sup>34</sup>—

but that he resided there. Moreover, Michinaga remained at Tsuchimikado even after he took holy orders in 1019, for it was on the eastern grounds of the mansion that his Hōjōji 法成寺 temple buildings were erected<sup>35</sup> and it was in the temple's Muryōjuin 無量壽院 Hall that he lived until his death in 1028.<sup>36</sup> The best evidence that the Tsuchimikado mansion was Michinaga's principal residence is found, however, in his own diary, *Midō kampaku ki*. The diary covers the years from 998 to 1021 (with omissions) and it is apparent from its entries that throughout this period Tsuchimikado was the house where Michinaga spent most of his time. There are more than three hundred entries in the diary that connect Michinaga with his various houses, but none can be interpreted to show him spending any extended length of time away from the Tsuchimikado mansion, except when the mansion burned in 1016 and was under reconstruction.<sup>37</sup> There are, on the other hand, numerous indications that Tsuchimikado was his customary residence. He explains during a drought in 1000, for instance, that he has been forced to spend several days at his Biwa house while the well at the Tsuchimikado mansion was being cleared out,<sup>38</sup> and when he speaks of "returning home" from the palace, or from another house, or from a trip, it always seems to be to the Tsuchimikado house.<sup>39</sup>

At some time after the marriage of Michinaga and Rinshi, Rinshi's father and mother moved to another house nearby,<sup>40</sup> leaving the couple as the principal occupants of the Tsuchimikado mansion. Despite the move, Michinaga's diary makes it clear that he and his wife maintained close ties with her parents through frequent visits to their house, occasionally spending several days at a time there.<sup>41</sup> The removal of the parents to another house after a period of common residence with their daughter and son-in-law seems to have been fairly common in uxorilocal marriages and may have even been the normal practice. In these cases it is difficult to form a clear notion of how long the common residence ordinarily lasted, but it must have varied according to the circumstances of the family, the convenience of the house, the age of the couple, and other such factors. When the parents moved to another house they also took with them their remaining unmarried children, and if there was a daughter among them, she might also marry uxorilocally. An illustration of this can be seen in the marriages of the daughters of Fujiwara Akisue 顯季 (1055-1123). Akisue's

eldest daughter married Fujiwara Munemichi 宗通 (1071–1120) at some time before 1093<sup>42</sup> and appears to have lived uxorilocally with him in her father's Hachijō house.<sup>43</sup> By 1093 another of Akisue's daughters had married Fujiwara Akimasa 顯雅 (1074–1136) and was perhaps also living at the Hachijō house. At any rate, when Akisue moved to his newly constructed Takamatsu 高松 house in that year, he took Akimasa with him, apparently leaving Munemichi and his wife to occupy the Hachijō house by themselves.<sup>44</sup> Akisue's daughter was soon divorced from Akimasa and married to Fujiwara Nakazane 仲實 (1064–1122), who had taken up uxorilocal residence with her at the Takamatsu house by 1096.<sup>45</sup> Not long after that date, Akisue left Nakazane and his daughter at the Takamatsu house<sup>46</sup> and moved with his other children to another large establishment in Rokujō,<sup>47</sup> where he appears to have been joined for a time by Munemichi and his wife,<sup>48</sup> and where two of his younger daughters also entered uxorilocal marriages: one to Fujiwara Saneyuki 實行 (1080–1162), and the other to Minamoto Masasada 雅定 (1094–1162). The marriage to Saneyuki had taken place by 1103 or 1104, the date of the birth of the couple's eldest son.<sup>49</sup> Saneyuki and his wife probably lived with Akisue in the Rokujō establishment from the outset of the marriage, but the earliest clear evidence of their residence there does not occur until 1112.<sup>50</sup> They continued to live in Akisue's house for at least another six years after that date,<sup>51</sup> apparently sharing the establishment with Masasada and his wife, who had been married in 1108.<sup>52</sup> As in Saneyuki's case, there is no concrete evidence to show that Masasada was living in the Rokujō establishment during the early years of his marriage, but we can probably assume that he was, since he was definitely living there in 1119,<sup>53</sup> and his continued residence in the establishment in subsequent years can be traced to as late as 1152.<sup>54</sup> A few years after Masasada's marriage, Akisue seems to have moved to another house that he had constructed in Shichijō,<sup>55</sup> leaving his daughters and sons-in-law as the sole occupants of the Rokujō establishment.

Many scholars, both in Japan and the West, have sought to deny, either explicitly or by implication, that uxorilocal marriage existed in the Heian period. In their view, after the conclusion of the marriage ceremonies at the house of the bride, the newly wed couple might remain in the bride's house for a longer or shorter period, but always moved eventually to the husband's house, or more particularly, to the



house of his parents—the type of marriage called “matri-patrilocal” by Murdock,<sup>56</sup> or, to substitute the terminology employed here, “uxori-virilocal.” Although the earliest scholar to give explicit formulation to this view was perhaps the Edo antiquarian and writer Tada Nanrei 多田南嶺 (1698–1750),<sup>57</sup> its currency in modern times is attributable mainly to the works of Yanagida Kunio, and especially to his “Mukoiri kō.” In this essay Yanagida sought to show by inference from recent and modern ethnographical materials that Heian marriage institutions did not differ essentially from later virilocal practices, except that the marriage rites took place at the bride’s house and were followed sometimes by a period of residence there. There are no sources from the Heian period that can tell us whether marriages of this type were ever practiced among the lower classes of the time, but in so far as the aristocracy is concerned, it is clear that Yanagida’s thesis is contrary to the facts established by contemporary sources. While not a single historical or literary example of the kind of marriage described by Yanagida has been adduced from the period to support his hypothesis, there are innumerable references to uxorilocal residence in the contemporary sources, and there is more than one historical case like that of Michinaga and Rinshi, in which the permanency of such residence can be demonstrated beyond all reasonable doubt. The evidence on this point seems irrefutable, especially when viewed in the light of other features of the period which would tend to corroborate the existence of uxorilocal residence, such as female inheritance of houses and maternal responsibility for children.<sup>58</sup> Yet inexplicably, as Ienaga Saburō 家永三郎 has pointed out,<sup>59</sup> Yanagida’s conclusions have been accepted without criticism by some of the most eminent Japanese scholars.<sup>60</sup> And they have been perpetuated in the West, one regrets to add, by Ivan Morris, who has further confused the issue by asserting, “If the husband was a *muko* [in a marriage to a principal wife], he invariably moved to his wife’s house and lived there. . . . The *muko* system was already widely practiced in Heian Japan. The main *raison d’être* of the *muko*, of course, was to ensure the continuity of the family where there were no suitable sons.”<sup>61</sup> The implication here that the term *muko* was reserved in the Heian period for a man who was adopted into his wife’s family to continue the family line represents an opinion that, so far as I am aware, is unique with Professor Morris. The word *muko*, of course, could be

used of any son-in-law, and, indeed, it appears in the most common term for marriage in the eleventh century, *mukotori*, "taking of a son-in-law."<sup>62</sup> Quite to the contrary of Professor Morris' assertion, the adoption of a man into his wife's family was by no means widely practiced in Heian Japan, and, in fact, I have myself neither found nor seen reference to a single historical or literary instance of it. Takamura (1953), p. 643, states the opinion that such adoptions did not take place in this period at all. When a man took up residence at his wife's house, as Michinaga did, he retained membership in his own clan, and in no sense did he become his father-in-law's family heir. In this connection it is interesting to note that one does occasionally find cases in the Heian period in which a daughterless man adopted a girl in order to obtain a son-in-law. This happened most frequently perhaps in marriages to the emperor, but it also occurred in ordinary court families.<sup>63</sup>

Ariga Kizaemon has attempted to support Yanagida's thesis concerning Heian marriage on the generally sound sociological principle that descent reckoning tends to conform to residence rules: i.e., in a society with virilocal residence, descent reckoning tends to be patrilineal, and in uxoriocal societies, matrilineal.<sup>64</sup> Ariga contends that since Japanese society has always been patrilineal as far back as records carry us, it is difficult to accept the existence of uxoriocal marriage at any time in Japanese history.<sup>65</sup> In addition to substituting theory for the evidence of sources, Ariga's view also implies that a patrilineal, uxoriocal society is a sociological impossibility. But this is not at all the case, despite the observed tendency of residence rules and descent reckoning to parallel each other. Robert F. Murphy has observed the existence of patrilineal, uxoriocal institutions among the Mundurucú Indians on the upper Tapajós River in Central Brazil,<sup>66</sup> and similar combinations are also reported for the Atjeh people in Northern Sumatra,<sup>67</sup> the Yukaghir of northeastern Siberia,<sup>68</sup> the Karens of Burma,<sup>69</sup> the Bare'e Toradja in the Celebes,<sup>70</sup> and the Yurok Indians of Northern California.<sup>71</sup> If the relative rarity of patrilineal, uxoriocal institutions is due, as Murphy suggests, to the inevitably transitional nature of the antagonistic patrilineal-uxoriocal combination, this would accord well with the marriage practices of Heian court society, which were in a process of more or less continuous change from at least the tenth century on, shifting toward the virilocal institutions of the Kamakura period and after.

It is true that the nature of the change in Heian marriage institutions poses difficult problems of analysis from the point of view of general sociological theory. It is usually assumed that a change in the marriage residence rule is the catalyst that leads toward a change in descent reckoning, and the implication of patrilineal, uxori-local institutions is, therefore, that the society is moving away from patrilineal-virilocal practices toward their matrilineal-uxori-local counterparts. The earlier history of descent and marriage in Japan is too obscure to allow firm opinions concerning the origins of the institutions found in the Heian period, but perhaps part of the solution to the apparent contradiction of general sociological experience—matrilineal descent reckoning does not develop from Heian uxori-local marriage, of course—is to be found in the smallness of court society, since special groups seem often to behave in sociologically irregular ways; and in the great influence exercised upon that society by the strongly patrilineal Chinese civilization. It may also be observed that part of the theoretical difficulty may arise from the characterization of Heian descent reckoning as patrilineal, when it seems in fact to have been bilateral, but with a marked patrilineal bias.

Whatever the ultimate answer to this problem may be, it must not ignore the facts established by contemporary sources to achieve theoretical consistency, as Ariga has seemingly done. It may be noted in this connection that even if the Yanagida-Arigo position is accepted, a certain contradiction remains, since, according to Murdock, "matri-patrilocal residence indicates immediate or proximate derivation from a matrilocal structure."<sup>72</sup> If Japanese descent reckoning has always been patrilineal, as Arigo seems to prefer to believe, then the conflict between patrilineal descent and uxori-local residence is merely pushed back in time, and one must explain how the uxori-local rule developed from its presumed virilocal predecessor and then passed on into uxori-virilocal marriage without ever affecting the system of descent reckoning.

At least part of the confusion surrounding the question of uxori-local residence in the Heian period can be traced to a misunderstanding of the neolocal marriages that were also practiced during this time. Since these marriages began often with a period of uxori-local residence, which was followed by removal to an independent house, they are easily confused with the true uxori-virilocal marriages found in

rural areas of Japan in more modern times.<sup>73</sup> There is a vital difference in quality between uxori-virilocal and neolocal (or "uxori-neolocal") marriage, however, and those scholars who have confused them, or failed to distinguish clearly between them, are as much in error as those who have assumed that one or the other represented the exclusive marriage practice of the Heian period.

It will have been observed that in Michinaga's case a period of duolocal residence preceded the initiation of his permanent residence at Tsuchimikado. This was apparently a common enough practice in marriages to principal wives in his day, but as the century progressed the period of duolocal residence seems to have been shortened, until at length it disappeared altogether. When Michinaga's son, Yorimichi 頼通 (992-1074), married his principal wife in 1009, their relationship apparently remained a visiting one only until a new residence could be prepared for them by Yorimichi's father-in-law.<sup>74</sup> By the generation of Yorimichi's son, Morozane 師實 (1042-1101), the sources cease to mention these initial periods of duolocal residence, and one is probably to assume that in most cases husbands and their principal wives took up immediate residence together.

There are two general types of neolocal residence in the Heian period, distinguishable according to whether the house was supplied by the wife's family or by the husband. When a girl did not marry uxorilocally, it seems usually to have been the responsibility of the girl's family to provide the initial residence for her and her husband. The husband normally supplied the residence only if the social or economic status of his wife differed radically from his own,<sup>75</sup> or if the wife had been deprived of her family's support through some misfortune such as the death of her parents. However, even in normal marriages, after a couple had lived for a time in the house of the wife's parents or in an independent house provided by them, the husband did often supply another, neolocal residence to which he and his wife moved, and as uxorilocal marriages became less and less frequent in the twelfth century the husband's role in providing the marital residence seems to have expanded steadily, coming then to include sometimes the initial residence too.

Neolocal marriages in which the husband provided the initial residence are found with particular frequency in Heian fiction, perhaps because they were associated especially with romantic love. Poor girls

and girls without proper families were probably never in a position to receive aristocratic husbands in uxorilocal or duolocal marriages, since a girl of this sort either would not have a house where her marriage could take place—presumably a frequent case among orphaned girls—or the house would not be grand enough for a high-ranking courtier to reside in or visit as a husband. If a marriage was to take place under these circumstances, therefore, it was necessary for the husband to supply the house himself.

On the other hand, there was obviously little except love to attract an aristocratic man to such a marriage. Wealth, influence, prestige, political advantage—the normal considerations in Heian marriages—would have all been absent from the man's calculations, and the contemporary literature is undoubtedly correct in depicting these matches usually as affairs of the heart. In *Genji monogatari*, for instance, Genji's putative son Kaoru plans to marry an orphaned daughter of Prince Hachi and bring her to live at his Sanjō house.<sup>76</sup> Although the daughter dies before Kaoru is able to marry her, the novel makes it abundantly clear that the marriage would have been a love match if it had taken place, and there is good reason to consider the prospective marital residence as basically neolocal in type. The house, it is true, had belonged originally to Kaoru's widowed mother and was her normal residence at the time of the proposed match, but it had come to her from her own father<sup>77</sup>—not from Genji—and she and Genji had never occupied the house together as husband and wife. Moreover, the original house had burned after Genji's death<sup>78</sup> and the place that Prince Hachi's daughter was to occupy had been rebuilt by Kaoru. The neolocal nature of the house is suggested too when we recall that true virilocal residence for Kaoru would have meant his father's Rokujō establishment, where his mother and Genji were married and spent all of their married life together.

Other marriages of a similar type occur, for example, in *Utsubo monogatari*<sup>79</sup> and *Ochikubo monogatari*,<sup>80</sup> and one also sometimes comes across reverse cases in which neolocal residence resulted from the marriage of a man to a woman of higher rank than himself.<sup>81</sup> It was probably because of the close association of romantic love with marital residences provided by the husband that the author of *Sarashina nikki* 更級日記 depicted herself when she was a young, romance-reading girl as yearning for a Genji-like lover who would establish her

in a residence of this sort.<sup>82</sup> In a story from a little later period we even discover the parents of a wife of proper rank and with an adequate home of her own demanding that their daughter's husband demonstrate his affection for her by taking her into his house.<sup>83</sup>

Individual circumstances must also often have made it necessary or convenient for the husband to provide the house in the course of an ordinary marriage. When a couple's original residence was destroyed in one of the frequent Kyoto fires, for instance, the responsibility for providing a new house might devolve upon the husband, especially if the wife's father was dead, retired, or otherwise incapacitated, or if the husband was of an age and position that made it as easy for him to provide a new house as it was for his father-in-law. A case of this sort is found in the marriage of Fujiwara Morozane to an adopted daughter of Fujiwara Nobuie 信家 (1019–1061). The marriage began in 1059 at Nobuie's house,<sup>84</sup> but in the month following the nuptials the house burned<sup>85</sup> and Morozane and the rest of the family were apparently forced to move into temporary quarters elsewhere. Morozane and his wife did not acquire a permanent residence again until three or four years later, when they moved into a house built by Morozane on Kazan'in 花山院 land obtained from his sister Kanshi 寛子 (1036–1127).<sup>86</sup> Morozane may have been expected to provide a new residence for himself and his wife after the fire as a matter of course, since he was already seventeen years old at the time of his marriage and held almost the same office and rank as his father-in-law.<sup>87</sup> However this may be, any possibility that Nobuie might supply the couple with another house was eliminated by his death in the early part of 1061, just two years after the fire, and it appears actually to have been from about this time that Morozane initiated work on the Kazan'in house.<sup>88</sup>

Although the evidence is sparse and uncertain, there is also some suggestion that in neolocal marriages involving children of the emperor the house was frequently, or perhaps even regularly, supplied by the husband. At any rate, in the few cases where we can obtain any idea at all of the source of the residence in such marriages, it seems always to have come from the husband's side, and never from the wife or her family. The marriages of Reizei's son Atsumichi 教道 (981–1007) to daughters of Fujiwara Michitaka 道隆 (953–995)<sup>89</sup> and Fujiwara Naritoki 濟時 (941–995),<sup>90</sup> of Daigo's son Minamoto Takaakira 高明 (914–982) to a daughter of Fujiwara Morosuke,<sup>91</sup> and of Sanjō's daughter Shishi 禊子 (d. 1048) to Fujiwara Norimichi 教通 (996–

1075)<sup>92</sup> all appear to have involved neolocal residence of this type. So too, for instance, did Genji's marriage to Murasaki and Niou's to Kozeri (Nakanokimi) in *Genji monogatari*, but in these cases the residence can also be accounted for by the positions of the wives, neither of whom had the resources or family backing for uxorilocal marriage to a high-ranking husband.

There were thus a number of opportunities for the husband to provide the residence in neolocal marriage during the Heian period, but if the residence was to be neolocal at the outset of a marriage the provision of the house was almost always the responsibility of the wife's family, and later residences for the couple also came frequently from the same source. In particular cases it is usually impossible to determine why a father chose to establish his daughter in a neolocal residence, instead of having her live uxorilocally in the family house, but it is clear, at least, that the age of the couple was an important negative consideration. Very young couples were rarely, if ever, allowed to live in independent houses, no doubt for obvious practical reasons of domestic management: a husband and wife who were still children could scarcely have been expected to run a household by themselves. This limitation was a significant factor in determining the shape of residence patterns, since child marriage was extremely common in the Heian period, the bride often being only eleven or twelve years old and her husband a scant year or two older.<sup>93</sup>

In the case of a more mature couple, the wife's family might elect to provide a neolocal house for them, either from the beginning of the marriage<sup>94</sup> or after they had spent a period of uxorilocal residence in the family's house.<sup>95</sup> Considerations of living space in the house of the wife's family and the availability of alternative housing elsewhere may have frequently been decisive factors in determining whether a marriage would be neolocal or not. We find, at any rate, that when an older daughter was married and living uxorilocally, a younger daughter ordinarily was able to have a similar marital residence only if the parents had left the first daughter and her husband and moved to another house, or if the older daughter herself had moved to a neolocal residence;<sup>96</sup> otherwise, the younger daughter seems usually to have married neolocally.<sup>97</sup> If space was a determining factor in these cases, as appears likely, one can also infer perhaps that when an elder daughter married neolocally it was often for similar reasons.

Whatever the origins, neolocal residence sponsored by the wife's

family was very common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During much of that time, in fact, the normal rule of residence at the beginning of regular marriages between spouses of equal status was either of this type or uxorilocal. It may be more meaningful to follow Takamura in making no essential distinction between these two residence types. Uxorilocal marriage is usually defined as the custom that "requires the groom to leave his parental home and live with his bride, either in the house of her parents or in a dwelling nearby."<sup>98</sup> But when we recall that in the Heian marriages of which we are speaking both the wife's family and the husband's usually lived within the limited confines of Kyoto (an area about three and one-third miles long and three miles wide), and more particularly in the eastern half of that city, it is quite possible that from most points of view the ownership of a house was a more crucial factor in determining the nature of a marriage than its precise location. If one adopts this position—and it seems a persuasive one in some ways—then the neolocal marriages sponsored by the wife's family can be treated for the most part simply as variations on a basically uxorilocal mode. Even if such an interpretation is accepted, however, it is important to bear in mind that the neolocal variation represented an important development that led eventually to the virilocal residence patterns of the Kamakura period. Uxorilocal marriage at the house of the wife's family disappears almost entirely in the late twelfth century, it seems, and the independent marital residence becomes nearly universal, with the husband and his family assuming an ever greater responsibility in providing the house.

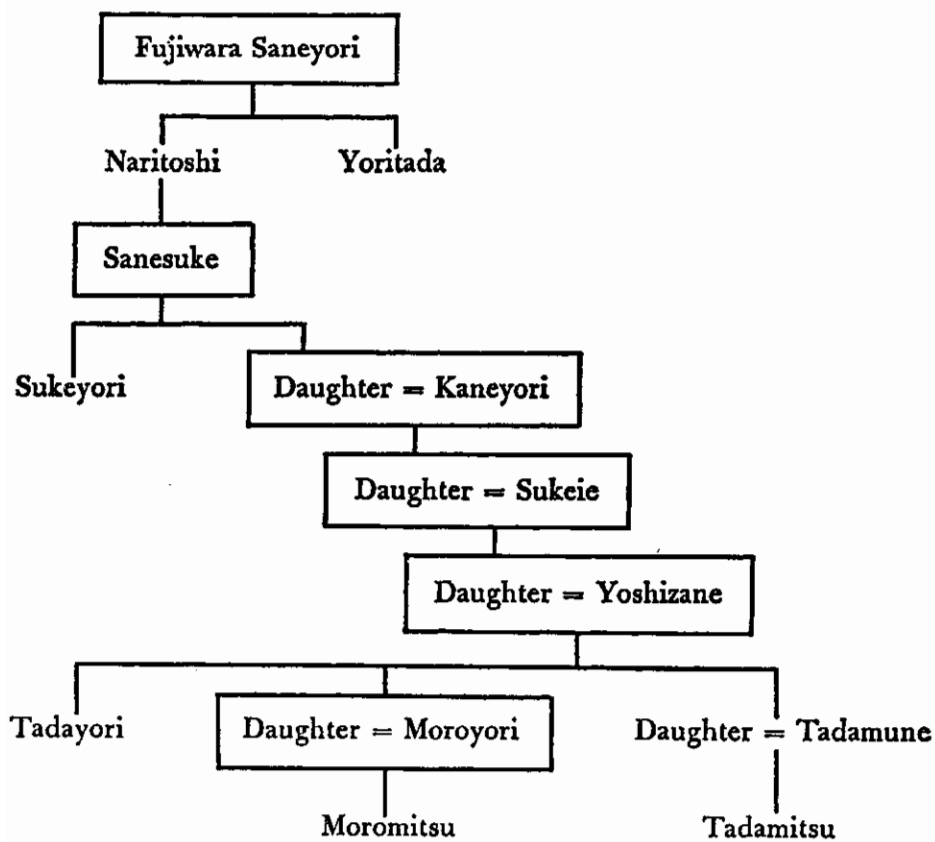
#### HOUSES AND PROPERTY

Closely related to the question of marital residence was the problem of house ownership and succession in the Heian period. In uxorilocal marriages, and in neolocal marriages sponsored by the wife's family, title to the marital residence was usually passed on to the wife by her parents.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, the feeling that a married woman *should* be the owner of her own residence appears to have been so strong among the Kyoto aristocracy that even in the case of a neolocal house provided by the husband, title to the house was sometimes transferred to the wife.<sup>100</sup> Since the house that a wife received from her parents was frequently property that had belonged originally to her mother or to her mother's family, succession to marital residences in this period was



often clearly matrilineal in character. Moreover, even when the father was the owner of the house, the succession seems normally to have gone by preference to a daughter, rather than to any of the sons, and if this type of case can be included with the first, it is probably actually correct to say that succession followed the female line in the majority of marital residences at this time. In most instances the house passed down from mother to daughter for only one or two generations before circumstances intervened to produce a change in ownership. Takamura (1953) has shown, however, that in one case, that of the Ononomiya 小野宮 house, the succession lasted through four generations over a period of nearly two hundred years (see genealogical chart below).<sup>101</sup>

SUCCESSION TO THE ONONOMIYA HOUSE



(Names of persons whose marital residence was at the Ononomiya house are enclosed in squares.)

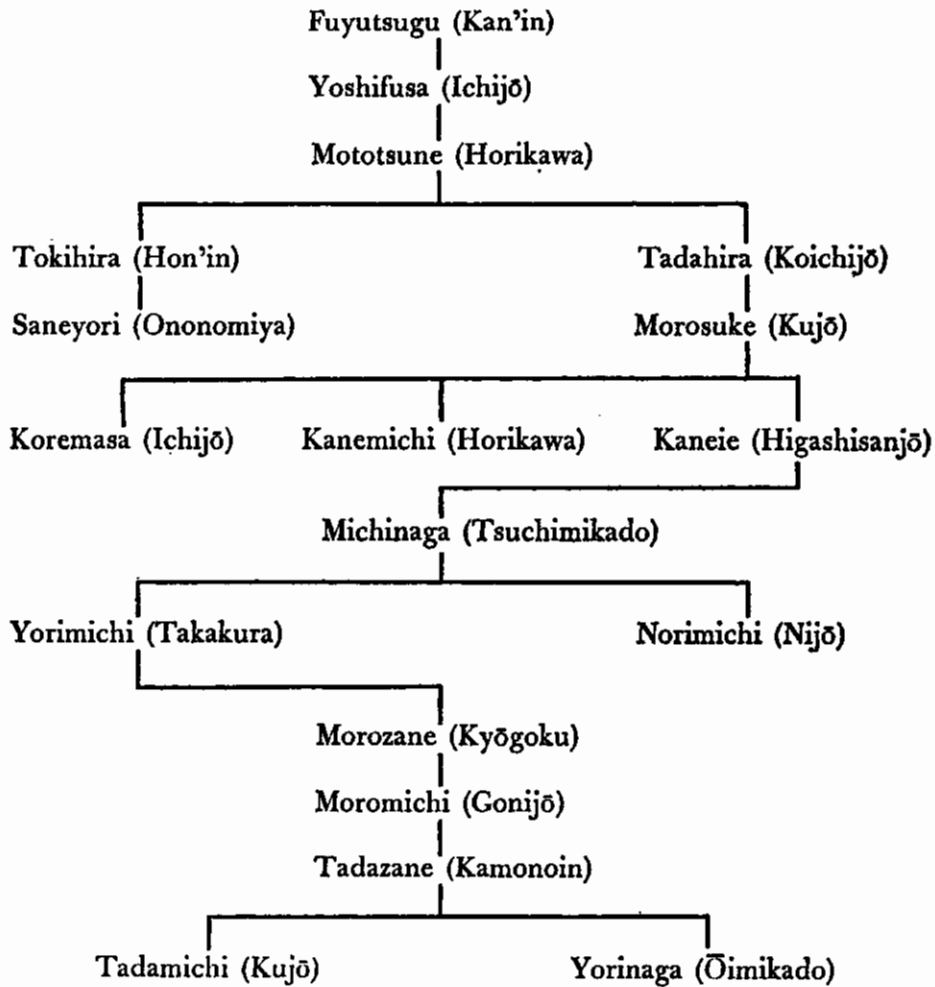
Although there is little that one can add to Takamura's able demonstration of the Ononomiya succession, a brief recapitulation of the case's main features may be given here, since it is of considerable interest for the general history of Heian marriage. The Ononomiya house, located south of Ōmikado and west of Karasumaru in the northeastern part of Kyoto,<sup>102</sup> belonged originally to Emperor Montoku's son, Koretaka 惟喬 (844–897), who is said to have won it in a *sugoroku* game.<sup>103</sup> After Koretaka's death the house passed by some unknown means into the hands of Fujiwara Saneyori 實賴 (900–970),<sup>104</sup> who bequeathed it to his adopted son and grandson, Sanesuke,<sup>105</sup> perhaps because Saneyori's daughters had all predeceased him and there were no eligible female heirs.<sup>106</sup> As a husband for his daughter Chifuru 千古, Sanesuke brought into the Ononomiya house Fujiwara Kaneyori 兼賴 (1014–1063), the eldest son of Yorimune (993–1065) and a grandson of Michinaga. The surviving parts of Sanesuke's diary, *Shōyūki*, do not mention the marriage itself, but references to Kaneyori in the last part of the diary leave little room for doubt that he was married to Chifuru and living in his father-in-law's house. At one point, for instance, Sanesuke explains that although a period of abstinence (*monoimi*) has ended for him, only the north gate of his house has been opened, the east gate remaining closed because Kaneyori is observing a period of abstinence too.<sup>107</sup> It is obvious from this entry that Kaneyori was living at the Ononomiya house, and when we read another entry in the diary from the following month showing Kaneyori and Sanesuke's daughter riding together in the same carriage on a visit to Kaneyori's sick mother,<sup>108</sup> we can conclude without much difficulty that the marriage had in fact occurred. It is confirmed in the longer texts of *Ōkagami* 大鏡, which state specifically that Sanesuke's daughter was the wife of Kaneyori.<sup>109</sup> Several years before the marriage, apparently, Sanesuke had already executed a document conveying the Ononomiya house and most of the rest of his real and movable property to Chifuru.<sup>110</sup> Sanesuke's sons, it is interesting to note, are mentioned in this document only to warn them against interfering in their sister's property and to divide among them a few agricultural holdings that had not been assigned previously to Chifuru. Sanesuke lived to be nearly ninety years old, however, and may have survived his own daughter, for in the end she failed to receive legal title to the Ononomiya house, which passed instead directly from Sanesuke to a

daughter of Chifuru and Kaneyori born in 1036 or 1037.<sup>111</sup> This girl became the wife of Fujiwara Sukeie 祐家 (1036–1088),<sup>112</sup> and, like her mother, lived uxorilocally at the Ononomiya house, as we know from sobriquets used of both her and her husband. In her later years, for instance, Sukeie's wife was called "the Ononomiya nun,"<sup>113</sup> and Sukeie himself was known as "the Ononomiya *chūnagon*" 中納言,<sup>114</sup> the same title that had been applied earlier to his father-in-law, Kaneyori.<sup>115</sup> Sukeie and his wife in their turn also had a daughter, who also was married uxorilocally. The daughter's husband was Fujiwara Yoshizane 能實 (1070–1132),<sup>116</sup> the fourth son of the Fujiwara clan leader, Morozane. Yoshizane is known to have lived at his father-in-law's house because of his sobriquet, "the Ononomiya *dainagon*" 大納言,<sup>117</sup> and also because of an entry in *Hyakurenshō* that speaks of "Minister Yoshizane's Ononomiya house" in recording the burning of the establishment in 1121.<sup>118</sup> The house did not actually belong to Yoshizane and his wife, however, but remained in the hands of his mother-in-law, Sukeie's wife, a very long-lived woman who died in 1134 when she was nearly one hundred years old.<sup>119</sup> Before her death the mother-in-law passed the deed to the Ononomiya house on to her daughter's daughter (the daughter of Yoshizane and his wife).<sup>120</sup> This was done, it must be noted, despite the existence of a number of sons and grandsons. The granddaughter became the wife of the poet Minamoto Moroyori 師頼 (1068–1140),<sup>121</sup> who was called "the Ononomiya *dainagon*,"<sup>122</sup> and whose residence at Ononomiya is further indicated in *Hyakurenshō*, which speaks of the place in 1145 as "the house of the late Minister Moroyori."<sup>123</sup> By the time of Moroyori's children, however, in the last half of the twelfth century, marital residence seems to have been shifting toward the virilocal rule, and succession to the Ononomiya house passed similarly from the matrilineal to the patrilineal line. Thus Moroyori's son, Moromitsu 師光, inherited the house from his mother<sup>124</sup> and passed it on to his descendants,<sup>125</sup> who became the Ononomiya branch of the Minamoto family.

The history of the Ononomiya house illustrates another interesting result of Heian marriage institutions. As readers of the contemporary literature will be readily aware, one of the most common ways of referring to an individual at that time was by the name of his place of residence. In *Genji monogatari*, for instance, there are many personal names of this sort: Kiritsubo no kōi 桐壺更衣 (Genji's mother), Nijō

no ue 二條上 (Murasaki), Momozono no miya 桃園宮 (Genji's aunt), Rokujō no miyasudokoro 六條御息所 (Lady Rokujō), Akashi no kimi 明石君 (Lady Akashi), and so on. Chronicles and diaries of the time also often refer to great nobles by names taken from their places of residence. Minamoto Shigenobu 重信 (922-995), for instance, was called the Rokujō Minister of the Left;<sup>126</sup> his elder brother, Masanobu (Michinaga's father-in-law) was called the Ichijō Minister of the Left,<sup>127</sup> or the Tsuchimikado Minister;<sup>128</sup> Minamoto Yasumitsu 保光 (924-995) was called Momozono;<sup>129</sup> and Fujiwara Nagayori 永頼 (932-1010) was called the Third Rank Minister of Yamanoi 山井.<sup>130</sup> Such instances might be multiplied almost without limit, but of even more interest than their frequency is the way in which they tended to follow a matrilineal line of succession, passing from son-in-law to son-in-law as each succeeding daughter in a house married. This is well illustrated by the Ononomiya name. Ononomiya was used first as a designation for Prince Koretaka,<sup>131</sup> and then passed on with the Ononomiya house itself to Saneyori,<sup>132</sup> and later to Sanesuke.<sup>133</sup> From the generation of Sanesuke, it followed a regular line of matrilineal descent through the sons-in-law, Kaneyori, Sukeie, Yoshizane, and Moroyori, all of whom are referred to in contemporary sources by the Ononomiya name. On the other hand, one finds no trace of the name among the male descendents of these men. Sanesuke himself, for example, had four adopted sons,<sup>134</sup> none of whom was ever called Ononomiya, and Yoshizane's son by Sukeie's daughter is listed in the genealogies simply by his official title.<sup>135</sup>

The matrilineal descent of residential names in the Heian period can be demonstrated in a number of other cases,<sup>136</sup> and its existence is further corroborated by the discontinuity of such names in the male line. Perhaps the best illustration of this patrilineal diversity of names—parallel to our own matrilineal diversity of surnames—is found among the principal scions of the main Fujiwara family. As may be seen in the accompanying genealogical chart, in which each name is followed by the residential designation that was commonly used of a man before his retirement or entrance into holy orders, no Fujiwara heir bore the same designation as his father.



Toward the end of the twelfth century and at the beginning of the thirteenth, however, as the inheritance of the marital residence shifted to the patrilineal line, so also did the accompanying house designations, which thus became some of the best known family names of the Kamakura period: Kujō, Nijō, Rokujō, Kyōgoku, and so on. These later names, therefore, bore a very different significance from their counterparts of the Heian period, and we must distinguish carefully between the two usages if we are to avoid the mistake of the historians who refer to Saneyori's descendants as the Ononomiya branch of the Fujiwara family, despite the fact that none of them except Sanesuke is actually called by that name in contemporary sources.

The house was perhaps the most important part of a woman's belongings in the Heian period, but it was by no means her only possession. She was also able to inherit and own all other types of property, including rights in agricultural land. There is even some suggestion that her claim to the inheritance of parental private property was stronger than a man's, since it seems to have been not at all unusual for a father to bequeath his entire estate to a daughter, even though he also had sons whom one might have expected to share in the inheritance. Fujiwara Tamemitsu 爲光 (942-992), for instance, had two sons living at the time of his death,<sup>137</sup> but it is reported in *Eiga monogatari* that he left his elaborate Ichijō house and all his other property to his third daughter.<sup>138</sup> One can find a number of similar cases elsewhere, both historical and fictional,<sup>139</sup> and there is no suggestion that they were considered out of the ordinary in any way. The property of Heian women, moreover, remained theirs even after marriage, as we have seen. This was no doubt a matter of major importance in a society where polygyny was the rule, divorce was unrestricted, and the economic responsibility of a man for his family was dependent upon conscience or convenience. The independently owned property of a woman provided her and her children with a certain degree of security against the loss of her husband and compensated to some extent for the looseness observed in many Heian marriage ties.

The property of a woman's family played a direct, and perhaps sometimes a dominant, role in the economy of her marriage even before she inherited it. The ability of a woman and her family to meet the material requirements of a husband was, in fact, one of the major factors affecting the woman's marriage prospects. This is stated with admirable succinctness in a speech delivered by Nakayori's mother-in-law in *Utsubo monogatari*:

Nowadays when a man thinks of taking a wife he wants to know whether her father and mother are living, whether she has a house and is able to launder and sew, and whether she will reward his men and take care of his horses and oxen. No matter how beautiful the girl is and no matter how refined and charming, if the man discovers her living a miserable life in some wretched, desolate hut, he will think, "How squalid! What a trial it would be to live there!" And he will never go near her.<sup>140</sup>

The reference to laundering and sewing in this passage is noteworthy, since the supplying of clothes for the husband seems to have

been regarded as one of the more important economic functions fulfilled by the wife and her family. The elaborate robes of the Heian nobility were perhaps the most costly of contemporary consumer goods, and the attention lavished upon them has few parallels even among the most dedicated modern devotees of fashion. When a wife provided her husband with a costume, therefore, it constituted a major form of support, and this was still true even when the husband supplied the cloth himself, since the tailoring required skill and a large investment of labor. The importance attached to this task may be gauged perhaps by the great frequency with which it is mentioned in all varieties of sources from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. It may, indeed, have been the wife's principal economic contribution to her husband in some duolocal and neolocal marriages, as appears to have been the case, for instance, in the marriage of Kaneie and the author of *Kagerō nikki*. In other marriages, however, the provision of clothes clearly constituted only one part of the general economic support given a husband by his wife and her family. For example, Michinaga's mother-in-law (Rinshi's mother) is said to have provided him with clothes regularly twice a year until her death,<sup>141</sup> but in addition to this, of course, he was also living in his wife's house and no doubt being supported in many other ways by her family. Moreover, the heroine of *Ochikubo monogatari* in the earlier part of the story spends most of her time sewing for her sisters' husbands, who we later learn were also dependent upon their father-in-law for general support.<sup>142</sup>

The husband, therefore, almost always had an economic stake in the marriage, although its precise nature might vary considerably according to circumstances. In a neolocal marriage at the husband's house, the wife's economic contribution might be limited to the sewing of clothes, but in uxorilocal marriage the husband was perhaps largely or even entirely supported for a time by his wife's family. In the latter case it is difficult to determine how long the support ordinarily lasted, but it must have depended largely upon the relative circumstances of the husband and his wife's family. It is perhaps legitimate to infer, both on the basis of the limited evidence available and from our knowledge of the general conditions of Heian economic life, that a husband assumed an ever greater economic responsibility for his wife and family as his office and rank rose and his income increased. Such, for instance, seems to have been the case with Michinaga, who

in the later years of his marriage expended great sums of money on his wife's residences.

While economic considerations were important in determining a man's choice of wives, conversely they might also become the occasion for the dissolution of a marriage. A number of early examples might be cited to illustrate this point,<sup>143</sup> but perhaps the frankest expression of it occurs somewhat later in *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集, in a story entitled "How the Daughter of the Vice-Minister of Central Affairs Became the Maidservant of a District Official in Ōmi."<sup>144</sup> This is the story of a girl and her husband who were living together in her parents' house, but were forced to separate after the death of the parents removed the couple's source of support. The girl says to her husband, "While my parents were alive we were able to manage in one way or another, but now I shall no longer be able to take care of you. It won't do for you to be shabbily attired at court. You must act in your own best interests." The husband delays a while, but his clothes become more and more disreputable, and finally he leaves the house. Eventually the wife becomes a maid in the service of a district official in Ōmi, where she and her ex-husband, now the governor of the province, meet again and become lovers without recognizing each other. When their identities are finally established, she dies from the shock.<sup>145</sup>

The economic circumstances of a marriage were affected not only by the wealth of the wife and her family, but also by the influence that a father-in-law could wield to advance the career of his son-in-law. This seems to be what is meant when Michinaga is made to remark in *Eiga monogatari* that "a man's wife makes him what he is,"<sup>146</sup> and it is undoubtedly the case that such considerations loomed largely when a man was seeking a spouse. In *Ochikubo monogatari*, for instance, Michiyori's former wet nurse rejects Ochikubo as a wife for him because she has no parents on whom he can rely. The nurse wants Michiyori to marry a girl whose high-ranking father can look after him properly, the rather clear implication being that the father-in-law would see to the advancement of his son-in-law's career.<sup>147</sup> Reflections of similar sentiments and examples of the consequences of the influence or lack of influence of a father-in-law occur repeatedly throughout Heian literature, and even in a late derivative of the Heian novel like *Shinobine monogatari* しのびね物語 (13th c.?) the success of the hero,



Kintsune, is attributed not to his high-ranking father, but to the influence of his father-in-law.<sup>148</sup> This, like the husband's economic dependence on his wife's family, was unquestionably another effect of the uxorilocal tendency in Heian marriage, illustrating again the close bond that existed between a husband and his affinal relatives. The husband, of course, often inherited wealth from his own family and obtained official advancement through the intercession of his own father, but it is fair to say that in many cases a man's official and economic position seems to have been determined more by his father-in-law than by his father.

#### REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

The Chinese-inspired legal code of the eighth century made a rigid legal and ceremonial distinction between wives and concubines, specifying among other things that a man might have only one wife, but placing no restriction upon the number of his concubines.<sup>149</sup> Polygynous marriage continued to be practiced in the Heian period, but the distinction between wife and concubine seems to have been considerably blurred, and it sometimes becomes difficult to establish any status differences at all among the female spouses. The three main wives of Kaneie, the two wives of Yūgiri (Kumoi and Ochiba), and the four wives of Morozane's son, Tsunezane, were all referred to and treated more or less equally as principal wives. Furthermore, Takamura has shown that all the sons of the Fujiwara leaders from Kamatari to Kaneie received the same initial appointments to court rank (Junior Lower Fifth), although the several sons of each father were by different mothers.<sup>150</sup> This was contrary to the codes, which provided that in the case of the upper nobility only the heir by a man's legal wife was to receive the Junior Lower Fifth Rank as his initial appointment. Takamura's inference—that there was in fact no distinction in status among the wives of the Fujiwara leaders—may be open to question, but the evidence she has marshalled does suggest that such distinctions as may have existed were far less pronounced than the code would lead one to expect.

There are other indications of a more general equality among Heian wives than the legal code allowed for, especially in the earlier part of the period, but it is also true that in most polygynous marriages of the time, and perhaps in all of them, a main wife does seem to

have been recognized, and that the other wives were in some sense secondary to her. The main wife was distinguished in three chief ways: 1) by the titles applied to her (*kitanokata*, *kitanomandokoro*, *mukai-me*, *chakusai* 嫡妻); 2) by her husband's residence with her, if a neolocal or uxori-local marriage was involved; 3) and by the higher official positions occupied by her sons. Takamura contends that the recognition of a main wife was essentially *ex post facto*, resting upon the choice of her son as her husband's heir or upon the husband's affection for her.<sup>151</sup> This may have been true in some cases, but since the first woman formally married by a man almost always became his principal wife, particularly in neolocal and uxori-local marriages, the status of the first wife was identifiable, in prospect at least, from the very beginning of her marriage. She might be divorced eventually and replaced by another woman, but until that time she had a strong customary claim to the position of principal wife. Reference to the main line of the Fujiwara family demonstrates this very clearly.

If we begin with Tadahira in the early tenth century, we find that he had sons by two wives, Minamoto Kishi 順子 (875–925),<sup>152</sup> a daughter of Emperor Uda, and Minamoto Shōshi 昭子, a daughter of Yoshiari 能有 (845–897). Kishi was probably the earliest of Tadahira's two wives, since she bore him his first son, Saneyori, in 900 or 901,<sup>153</sup> when he was about twenty, and since it was not until eight years later that Shōshi bore his second son, Morosuke.<sup>154</sup> There is only one oblique reference to Shōshi in the surviving parts of Tadahira's diary,<sup>155</sup> but Kishi is mentioned frequently,<sup>156</sup> and on two occasions, in inter-linear notes added possibly by Saneyori, she is referred to as the *kitanokata*,<sup>157</sup> a term reserved normally for the principal wife.<sup>158</sup> There can be little doubt, therefore, that she was regarded as Tadahira's main wife, and this is confirmed by her son's pre-eminence in office among his brothers and by his position as clan chieftain.<sup>159</sup> Saneyori's marriage to his main wife, a daughter of his uncle Tokihira 時平 (871–909), seems to have been his first also, since it took place shortly after his coming-of-age ceremony in 915, when he was fourteen or fifteen years old.<sup>160</sup> This wife was the mother of all his sons,<sup>161</sup> and since the second of these, Yoritada 頼忠, eventually became *sesshō* and clan chieftain,<sup>162</sup> she may be safely regarded as Saneyori's principal spouse, even though she died relatively early (in 933)<sup>163</sup> and Saneyori had other wives after her.<sup>164</sup> After Yoritada, political power and the clan

chieftainship passed back to the line of his uncle Morosuke, whose sons had come to occupy a dominant position at the court, thanks largely to the influence of their sister, Anshi 安子 (927-964), the mother of Emperors Reizei and En'yū. The three eldest sons of Morosuke—Koremasa 伊尹 (924-972), Kanemichi 兼通 (925-977), and Kaneie—may be regarded as his principal heirs, since they surpassed their brothers in office, rank, and influence. Each held the offices of *sesshō* and *daijō daijin*,<sup>165</sup> and each had his turn as clan chieftain.<sup>166</sup> All three of these sons were born of the same mother, Fujiwara Seishi 盛子 (d. 943),<sup>167</sup> whose marriage to Morosuke when he was fourteen or fifteen years old makes it almost certain that she was his first wife.<sup>168</sup> Morosuke had other wives who bore him sons, and two of them, the imperial princesses Gashi 雅子 (910-954) and Kōshi 康子 (d. 957), were of much better birth than Seishi, who came from a family of relatively low-ranking officials. At least one of the two, Gashi, was married to Morosuke during Seishi's lifetime,<sup>169</sup> but the positions of Seishi's sons make it clear that it was she who was regarded as Morosuke's principal spouse.

After the death of Kaneie in 990, the office of *kampaku* and the clan chieftainship passed to his eldest son, Michitaka,<sup>170</sup> who was followed in these or equivalent positions by his two younger brothers, Michikane 道兼 (961-995)<sup>171</sup> and Michinaga.<sup>172</sup> All three of these men were Kaneie's sons by Tokihime.<sup>173</sup> Kaneie had married Tokihime by the time he was twenty-three or -four years old,<sup>174</sup> and although it is possible that he had had other wives previous to her, she preceded by at least two or three years the author of *Kagerō nikki*,<sup>175</sup> the only other woman by whom he had a recognized son. Tokihime's superior position among Kaneie's wives is suggested by the pre-eminent position of her sons—Kaneie's son by the author of *Kagerō nikki* (Michitsuna) never rose above the office of *dainagon*<sup>176</sup>—and also by her listing in *Sompi bummyaku* (Pt. 2, p. 203) as Kaneie's *kitanomandokoro*, a term equivalent in use to *kitanokata* when applied to the wives of *sesshō* or *kampaku*.

From the generation of Kaneie's sons, political power and the clan chieftainship descended through Michinaga and his heirs. Michinaga's two wives, Rinshi and Meishi, were both of high birth<sup>177</sup> and both bore sons,<sup>178</sup> but Rinshi, his first wife<sup>179</sup> and the mother of his eldest son, Yorimichi,<sup>180</sup> was unmistakably the main wife. Her son was Michi-

naga's heir, receiving the offices of *sesshō* and clan chieftain directly after him in 1017,<sup>181</sup> and it was at the house of Rinshi's parents that Michinaga had his permanent residence. Furthermore, Fujiwara Sanesuke's diary specifically identifies Meishi as a "secondary wife" (*shōsai* 妾妻), in contrast with Rinshi, who is called *kitanokata*.<sup>182</sup> After Yorimichi the positions of *kampaku* and clan chieftain passed first to the second of Rinshi's sons, Norimichi,<sup>183</sup> and then to Yorimichi's son, Morozane.<sup>184</sup> Yorimichi married his first wife, Takahime, a daughter of the learned imperial prince Tomohira, in 1009.<sup>185</sup> She remained his principal spouse throughout his life, despite her failure to bear children<sup>186</sup> and despite the existence of other wives who presented him with both sons and daughters.<sup>187</sup> Perhaps as a result of Takahime's childlessness, Emperor Sanjō suggested in 1015 that Yorimichi take another wife, and proposed his own daughter, Shishi,<sup>188</sup> but this plan was given up when Yorimichi fell ill soon thereafter,<sup>189</sup> and Yorimichi's heir came eventually from a secondary wife, Fujiwara Kishi 祇子. Although Kishi bore five sons and a daughter to Yorimichi, she never replaced Takahime as his main wife, and, indeed, Yorimichi is said to have kept his relations with Kishi secret for some time through fear of Takahime's jealousy.<sup>190</sup> Takahime had no sons whose careers could serve to mark her position among Yorimichi's wives, but there can be little question, nevertheless, that she was his principal wife. She is the only one of the wives mentioned in Michinaga's diary,<sup>191</sup> which is undoubtedly a reflection of her prominence; she was referred to throughout her long life as Yorimichi's *kitanomandokoro*,<sup>192</sup> a title never used of his other two wives; and she was the only woman with whom Yorimichi ever lived over an extended period of time.<sup>193</sup>

Kishi's son, Morozane, succeeded his father as *kampaku* and clan chieftain in 1075.<sup>194</sup> His main wife was Reishi 麗子 (1040–1114), an adopted daughter of Fujiwara Nobuie whose true father was Minamoto Morofusa 師房 (1008–1077). Reishi's superior position among Morozane's numerous wives can scarcely be doubted, since she was the wife with whom he lived,<sup>195</sup> the mother of his heir, Moromichi,<sup>196</sup> and the only one of his wives who is referred to in contemporary sources as his *kitanomandokoro*.<sup>197</sup> Two years before Morozane's marriage to Reishi in 1059, however, he had had a son by a daughter of Minamoto Sadanari 定成 (1002–1044),<sup>198</sup> and it is possible, therefore, that Morozane's marriages constitute an exception to the general rule

that the first wife was the main wife. On the other hand, it should be noted that Morozane's relationship with Sadanari's daughter was possibly nothing more than a casual liaison, involving none of the customary ceremonies and conditions associated with formal marriage. There are several circumstances which would agree with this interpretation: 1) the relationship seems to have been of very brief duration, for there is no mention of Sadanari's daughter in contemporary sources after the birth of her son; 2) the son became a Buddhist priest,<sup>199</sup> which might be taken to mean that he did not have Morozane's support in public life; 3) the mother was a lady in waiting at the court of Empress Kanshi (Morozane's adopted daughter)<sup>200</sup> and thus belonged to a class in which the casual liaison was a commonplace;<sup>201</sup> and 4) Morozane was especially likely to be involved in such a relationship, since he was famous from his youth for his numerous love affairs.<sup>202</sup>

Morozane's son Moromichi is known to have been married to, or to have had children by, five women, daughters respectively of Fujiwara Toshiie 俊家 (1019-1082), Fujiwara Nobunaga 信長 (1022-1094),<sup>203</sup> Fujiwara Yoshitsuna 良綱, Taira Sadatsune 貞經, and Minamoto Yoritsuna 頼綱 (1025-1097). Since he married Toshiie's daughter Zenshi 全子 (1060-1150) in 1076,<sup>204</sup> when he was only thirteen or fourteen years old, and since she bore his eldest son, Tadazane, less than three years later,<sup>205</sup> it seems probable on the face of it that she was his first wife, and this is borne out by what is known about his other marriages. His children by the daughters of Yoshitsuna, Sadatsune, and Yoritsuna were all born from two to twenty years after the birth of Tadazane,<sup>206</sup> suggesting that they were the issue of later marriages, and Nobunaga's daughter is known definitely to have been a later wife.<sup>207</sup> The daughters of Yoshitsuna, Sadatsune, and Yoritsuna were at best only secondary wives,<sup>208</sup> but Zenshi and Nobunaga's daughter were both at different times principal spouses of Moromichi. Zenshi's position is indicated by her husband's residence with her during the five or so years following their marriage in 1076<sup>209</sup> and by her son's succession to Moromichi's offices after his death in 1099.<sup>210</sup> Relations between Moromichi and Zenshi deteriorated, however,<sup>211</sup> and the marriage ended in the kind of informal divorce that appears to have been characteristic of the Heian period.<sup>212</sup> The date of the estrangement seems to have been somewhere around 1082,<sup>213</sup> but

Moromichi's marriage to Nobunaga's daughter may not have occurred until about 1094.<sup>214</sup> In that year, at any rate, she is referred to specifically as Moromichi's *kitanokata*,<sup>215</sup> and whenever this term, or *kitanomandokoro*, is used thereafter it always appears to refer to her. Although Moromichi never seems to have had any children by Nobunaga's daughter, he apparently remained married to her until the end of his life, living with her and calling her his *kitanokata*,<sup>216</sup> and it was she, not Zenshi, who attended to the Buddhist services for him after his death.<sup>217</sup>

Like his father, Tadazane also had two main wives, Minamoto Ninshi 任子 (1066–1152), whom he divorced, and Minamoto Shishi 師子 (1070–1149). Ninshi, the daughter of a high court official named Toshifusa, married Tadazane in 1089,<sup>218</sup> when he was ten or eleven years old and she was twenty-one or -two.<sup>219</sup> During the several years that the marriage lasted, Tadazane lived with her, usually at her father's house,<sup>220</sup> and she was regarded as his main wife, as we know from *Ima kagami* 今鏡, which refers to her as Tadazane's *kitanokata*.<sup>221</sup> But Ninshi was, in effect, childless, since all of her children died in infancy,<sup>222</sup> and perhaps as a result of this Tadazane eventually left her for her cousin Shishi,<sup>223</sup> a daughter of Akifusa 顯房 (1037–1094). This must have occurred somewhere around 1097, for although Ninshi and Tadazane were still definitely living together in 1095<sup>224</sup> and Ninshi's second daughter was born in 1097, Tadazane had already had a daughter by Shishi in 1095 or 1096,<sup>225</sup> and by 1102 at the latest he was living with Shishi<sup>226</sup> and she was being referred to as his wife.<sup>227</sup> Shishi had been in the service of Tadazane's grandmother, Reishi, and had become a favorite of ex-Emperor Shirakawa, by whom she had had a son in 1092.<sup>228</sup> According to *Eiga monogatari*,<sup>229</sup> the emperor ceased to have any communication with her after the birth of the child, and her father, Akifusa, seems to have disowned her. *Ima kagami*, on the other hand, reports as hearsay that Tadazane had become infatuated with Shishi after catching sight of her at his grandmother's house, and had finally won her as his wife by persuading Reishi to intercede on his behalf with Shirakawa.<sup>230</sup> Regardless of how the marriage began, there can be no doubt that Shishi became Tadazane's main wife. His residence with her,<sup>231</sup> the references to her as his *kitanomandokoro*,<sup>232</sup> and her son's position as his heir<sup>233</sup> all support this view. Her marriage to Tadazane, one should note, represents the

case of a secondary wife (as she was when the marriage began) replacing another woman as her husband's main wife, contradicting Professor Morris' opinion (p. 224) that "one course of action . . . was categorically forbidden: to let a secondary consort take the place of the principal wife." Considerably later in Tadazane's life, when he was past forty and Shishi was nearly fifty, he had another son, Yorinaga, by a daughter of Fujiwara Morizane 盛實, but there is nothing to suggest that Yorinaga's mother ever succeeded in displacing Shishi as Tadazane's main wife. On the contrary, the absence of any clear reference to her in contemporary sources suggests that the author of *Sompi bummyaku* was correct in listing her as Tadazane's concubine (*shō* 妾).<sup>234</sup>

The marriages of Shishi's son, Tadamichi, may be taken as a final illustration of the general rule that the first wife of a Heian man normally became his principal consort. When Tadamichi was about fourteen years old, it was arranged for him to marry a daughter of ex-Emperor Shirakawa,<sup>235</sup> but the wedding was postponed,<sup>236</sup> and although it continued to be discussed until Tadamichi was eighteen or so,<sup>237</sup> it apparently never took place. During this time, Tadamichi had a son, the priest Eshin 惠信 (1114-1171), by a daughter of the provincial governor Fujiwara Motonobu 基信,<sup>238</sup> but his relationship with Motonobu's daughter was apparently brief and informal,<sup>239</sup> and it was not until 1118 that he formally married for the first time. The bride was Fujiwara Sōshi 宗子 (1089-1155),<sup>240</sup> a daughter of Munemichi 宗通 (1071-1120), who was a brother of Tadamichi's grandmother, Zenshi. After the marriage Tadamichi resided permanently with Sōshi,<sup>241</sup> a circumstance indicating clearly that she was his main wife, and her position never changed, although she bore only one daughter<sup>242</sup> and Tadamichi's male heirs were sons by other women. Sōshi was the only one of Tadamichi's wives to be called *kitanomandokoro*,<sup>243</sup> and when she was granted the status of an empress (*jugō* 准后) in 1149, the imperial edict identified her specifically as "the main wife of the regent" (*setsuroku no chakushitsu* 攝籙之嫡室).<sup>244</sup> Tadamichi had children by other women, but these were all the issue of what were undoubtedly much later marriages, and there is nothing to indicate that any of the mothers ever approached Sōshi in status. The earliest of them was probably Fujiwara Shinshi 信子 (d. 1178), who bore Tadamichi's eldest son and immediate heir, Motozane 基實 (1143-1166),

when Tadamichi was in his mid-forties. Shinshi's sister, Shunshi 俊子, was also the mother of a son by Tadamichi, born two years after Motozane,<sup>245</sup> and a *nyōbō* named Kaga 加賀 (1124–1156) bore four other sons, the first in 1149,<sup>246</sup> when Tadamichi was past fifty.<sup>247</sup> Virtually nothing is known about any of these three women. This in itself is probably indicative of their secondary positions, and the few available facts further confirm Sōshi's superior status. Unlike Sōshi, none of the three is ever identified in the sources as Tadamichi's wife, but only as the mother of his children,<sup>248</sup> and *Sompi bummyaku* makes Kaga's inferior position explicit by calling her "the serving maid (*kanjo* 官女) of the Lord of Hosshōji 法性寺 [Tadamichi]."<sup>249</sup>

Although there was, of course, no legal requirement that the first formally married wife of a man should be his principal wife, these cases in the main line of the Fujiwara family and parallel cases from other families indicate that this was, in fact, the custom. There were undoubtedly exceptions to the rule, but under the weight of such a well-established tradition the husband's discretion in recognizing a woman as his main wife could scarcely have been so wide as Takamura suggests. In practice one can assume that the woman first married by a man was his principal wife, and, conversely, that a principal wife was also her husband's first wife, unless divorce or death had intervened to remove a predecessor.

As in most polygynous societies, the number of wives actually kept by a Heian aristocrat at one time was very small, usually no more than two or three, and monogamous unions were probably in the majority. Under the conditions of duolocal marriage, it was comparatively simple for a man to maintain marital relationships with several women simultaneously, but even a noted gallant like Kaneie seems to have restricted himself to three wives, and most men appear to have agreed with the mother in *Ochikubo monogatari* who told her son, "To keep many ladies is to suffer many troubles."<sup>250</sup> In neolocal and uxorilocal marriage it was much more difficult to arrange multiple marriages, and very few men could manage more than two wives at a time.<sup>251</sup> A husband was normally expected to live with his main wife; if he had a secondary wife, his relationship with her would usually be of the duolocal type in a separate establishment.<sup>252</sup> In the case of neolocal marriages in which the house was supplied by the husband and the wife was dependent upon him, a secondary wife might occasionally be



brought to live in the same house with the main wife, but this situation seems to have been rare, and certainly there is no historical case to match Genji's ménage at the Rokujō palace. On the other hand, divorce or death of a spouse might lead to multiple marriages for both men and women,<sup>253</sup> and for the men casual liaisons with the *nyōbō* class at the several imperial and princely courts served to further diversify their relations with the opposite sex and also to increase the number of their children. Such liaisons sometimes developed into relatively stable relationships and the women would then become true secondary wives, but in most cases the bond was ephemeral. In *Genji monogatari* Uma no Kami is speaking of this kind of affair when he says, "A man may amuse himself well enough by trifling from time to time with some lady at the Court; will get what pleasure he can out of it while he is with her and not trouble his head about what goes on when he is not there."<sup>254</sup> One also finds a *nyōbō* serving as a temporary wife for a married man while he is away on appointment in the provinces,<sup>255</sup> but it is impossible to tell how common this was.

Other important determinants of Heian marriage were the customs concerning incest, class endogamy, and divorce, all of which were relatively simple and may be described very briefly.

The only unions that seem to have been regarded as definitely and unequivocally incestuous were those between parents and children and between brothers and sisters. There are no known examples of such marriages from this period, and there is positive evidence to show that they were considered unthinkable. In *Genji monogatari*, for example, as Tamakazura's supposed father, Genji, is pressing his suit upon her, she laments that whatever defects her real father might have, he at least would not make love to her.<sup>256</sup> Yūgiri, who thinks he is Tamakazura's half-brother, is restricted by incest taboos in his relations with her, but when her true paternity is revealed, the restraints upon him are removed<sup>257</sup> and fall instead upon Tamakazura's suitors Kashiwagi and Kōbai, who learn now for the first time that she is their half-sister.<sup>258</sup> The rule against parent-child marriages does not seem to have extended with equal force to unions between stepparents and stepchildren, but such unions were still disapproved. Fujitsubo looked back upon the relationship she had with her stepson Genji "as something horrible," but she allowed it to continue and became pregnant as a result of it.<sup>259</sup> The manner in which Yūgiri's guilty love for his

stepmother, Murasaki, is portrayed also indicates that such relationships were considered wrong, but not completely out of the question,<sup>260</sup> and this is suggested again in the simultaneous marriage of ex-Emperor Kazan to a mother and her daughter.<sup>261</sup>

Except for parent-child and sibling marriages, however, there seem to have been no limitations placed upon unions between relatives. Men openly married their aunts, nieces, and cousins, and there is no suggestion that these were considered undesirable matches in any way. Examples of the following types of marriage are found:

- 1) With a paternal aunt: Fujiwara Michikane and Hanshi 繁子.<sup>262</sup>
- 2) With a maternal aunt: Minamoto Tsuneyori and his mother's sister.<sup>263</sup>
- 3) With a niece (brother's daughter): Fujiwara Saneyoshi 實能 (1097-1157) and a daughter of Michisue 通季 (1090-1128).<sup>264</sup>
- 4) With a niece (sister's daughter): Minamoto Takaakira and a daughter of Gashi.<sup>265</sup>
- 5) With a first cousin (daughter of a paternal uncle): Fujiwara Atsutada 敦忠 (906-943) and a daughter of Nakahira.<sup>266</sup>
- 6) With a first cousin (daughter of a paternal aunt): Fujiwara Morosuke and Kōshi 康子 (929-957), a daughter of Onshi 穩子 (885-954).<sup>267</sup>
- 7) With a first cousin (daughter of a maternal uncle): Minamoto Toshikata 俊賢 (960-1027) and a daughter of Tadagimi 忠君 (d. 969).<sup>268</sup>

This type of marriage was especially frequent in the imperial family.

I have not succeeded in finding a case of marriage with the daughter of a maternal aunt, but this is probably accidental, since the mothers of daughters are seldom listed in genealogies and the relationships are difficult to trace. Among several possible instances of such marriages, one may cite the case of Fujiwara Tsunezane, who married a daughter of Fujiwara Kinzane, the husband of a sister of Tsunezane's mother.<sup>269</sup> It is not known, however, whether Tsunezane's wife was actually a daughter of his mother's sister.

At the time of the promulgation of the court legal codes in the eighth century, a strict and detailed system of class endogamy was established, and although the specifics of the system were no longer operative in the tenth century, the notion of class-restricted marriage remained very strong.<sup>270</sup> For the Heian aristocrat this meant that he virtually never married outside the relatively small circle of families

that were permitted to hold court rank and office, and that even within this circle his main wife tended to come from a family of approximately the same standing as his own. There seem to have been no legal penalties imposed against marriages that violated the general practice of class endogamy, but the man's interest in making a marriage that would best further his career and the woman's interest in obtaining protection for both herself and her children tended together to enforce the custom effectively. Moreover, since good birth was prized for itself and a child of an unequal union was socially disadvantaged compared to the position of one of his parents, a further impetus toward marriage among class equals was created.

Nevertheless, it must always be kept in mind that such restrictions as did exist were not legal but customary, and that in practice numerous exceptions to them occurred, at least between the classes within the court circle.<sup>271</sup> This may be illustrated by referring again to the marriages of the Fujiwara leaders discussed above. Most of the marriages followed the principle of class endogamy, with the husband and wife coming from families that were roughly equal in social status: Tadahira's wife, Kishi, was the daughter of an emperor; Saneyori's was a cousin; Michinaga's was the daughter of a Minister of the Left (*sadaijin*) and a granddaughter of an imperial prince; Yorimichi's was the daughter of an imperial prince; Morozane's was the daughter of a Minister of the Right (*udaijin*) and the granddaughter of an imperial prince; Moromichi's first wife was the daughter of a Minister of the Right and his second the daughter of an Acting Great Counselor (*gondainagon*) and the adopted daughter of a Chancellor (*daijō daijin*); Tadzane's two wives were both granddaughters of an imperial prince and daughters respectively of a Minister of the Right and Minister of the Left; and Tadamichi's wife was the daughter of an Acting Great Counselor. On the other hand, Morosuke's wife, Seishi, came from a definitely inferior family. The highest office held by her father Tsunekuni 經邦 was a provincial governorship, and his highest rank was the Junior Fifth. The position of her grandfather, Arisada 有貞 (827–873), as a Lesser Captain of the Imperial Guards (*kono no shōshō* 近衛少將) with Junior Fourth Rank<sup>272</sup> was only slightly better. Tokihime, Kaneie's wife, was also of less illustrious birth than her husband, but the difference in this case was not so marked as between Seishi and Morosuke. Tokihime's father, Nakamasa 中正, was Commissioner of

the Left City (*sakyō no daibu* 左京大夫) and held the Junior Fourth Rank,<sup>273</sup> which placed him somewhat above Seishi's father, but still excluded him from the circle of upper officials (those of the Third Rank and above). The position of Tokihime's grandfather, Yamakage 山陰 (824-888), may have made her a more socially suitable wife for Kaneie, since Yamakage was a Middle Counselor (*chūnagon*) with Junior Second Rank<sup>274</sup> and was included therefore in the higher class of officials.

In view of these and many other cases of a similar nature, it is difficult to agree with those who maintain that class endogamy was strictly observed at this time within the court circle. This is apparently the opinion of Ivan Morris, for instance, who says that in *Genji monogatari* "Genji is never able to take Murasaki as his principal wife, because, though her father is an imperial prince, her mother is the daughter of a provincial official."<sup>275</sup> Murasaki's mother, of course, was not the daughter of a provincial official, but of a Great Counselor (*dainagon*),<sup>276</sup> and as such she was well qualified by birth to be the parent of Genji's wife, or even of an imperial consort. Even assuming, however, that Murasaki's mother was of the class Professor Morris thought her to be, one still cannot find in *Genji monogatari* itself any evidence to support the view he has stated, and contemporary practice seems to disprove it conclusively. To illustrate this point more concretely, the marriage of Minamoto Takaakira and Morosuke's third daughter may be cited,<sup>277</sup> since in the class relationship of the spouses involved it closely resembles Professor Morris' view of Murasaki and Genji. Takaakira, who is thought by some to have been one of the models for the fictional Genji,<sup>278</sup> was, like him, the son of an emperor (Daigo), while his wife's mother, Seishi, was the daughter of a provincial governor, and her father, though high in rank, was actually inferior in birth to Murasaki's princely parent. Despite Seishi's inferior birth, the position of her daughter as Takaakira's main wife is as well established as can be hoped for in the tenth century (the age of Genji, it will be remembered): she bore her husband's three eldest sons;<sup>279</sup> she is referred to as his *kitanokata* in *Ōkagami* (p. 125); and although she died in childbirth and was replaced as Takaakira's *kitanokata* by a younger sister whose mother came of imperial stock,<sup>280</sup> it was one of the sons of Seishi's daughter who rose ultimately to the highest office.<sup>281</sup>

Divorce as it appears in the available sources for the last three centuries of the Heian period was vague and informal to a degree that often makes it difficult to specify the time of a divorce, or, indeed, even to say whether or not it actually occurred. It may be that divorce was infrequent enough and its details unremarkable or unpleasant enough to create a false picture of its simplicity in the sources, but if we restrict ourselves to what is actually known about it in this period, divorce was no more complicated than the practices reported for the Zuni Indians by Ruth Benedict (p. 98). Despite the detailed provisions in the court legal code relating to the conditions and procedures of divorce,<sup>282</sup> one finds in practice no trace of any legal or customary step, such as the issuance of a bill of divorcement, that served to mark clearly the end of a marriage. Instead, the man or woman who wished to terminate a marital tie simply ceased to have relations with the other spouse, and no additional act of any kind appears to have been required to make the divorce effective. The ease and informality of Heian divorce were related no doubt to many factors, but among the most important must have been the comparative independence of each spouse from the other. As we have seen, the wife's property was separately held and often separately administered, and in the early years of the marriage, at least, support for her and her children was usually provided by her own family. This meant that in the event of divorce there were few problems of property settlement, and since the divorced woman usually kept her children, it also meant that severe family dislocations and economic hardships were not a necessary complement of broken marriages. The wife, moreover, retained membership in her own clan even after marriage, continuing to worship its divinities, to bear its name, and to be involved in its affairs, and divorce, therefore, required no change in her clan status even if her husband came from a different clan.

The precise form taken by divorce in this period depended, of course, upon the type of marriage involved. It was most vague in the case of duolocal marriages. The visits of the husband in such marriages might become very infrequent or even cease altogether for long periods of time, but since it was always possible that they might be resumed with no preliminaries other than the consent of the wife, one cannot be certain that a marriage has actually ended until one of the spouses has taken holy orders or died, or the wife has remarried. Kaneie's

relations with the mother of Michitsuna reveal the uncertainty of divorce in duolocal marriages. At the beginning of the marriage in 954, Kaneie's visits were regular and frequent,<sup>283</sup> but by the fall of the same year Michitsuna's mother was already complaining of his absences,<sup>284</sup> and in 956 his relations with "the lady in the alley" brought the marriage almost to the breaking point.<sup>285</sup> During the next year and more, Kaneie paid only occasional visits to Michitsuna's mother, but in 957 he seems to have begun seeing her more frequently and a somewhat closer relationship between them was resumed.<sup>286</sup> At one point in 958, Michitsuna's mother was apparently urged by someone to marry another man,<sup>287</sup> implying that Kaneie's unfaithfulness was sufficient ground for a clearcut divorce. She did not heed this advice, however, and her marriage continued on its rocky course for several years more. Finally in the summer of 973 Kaneie paid his last visit to her,<sup>288</sup> and thereafter the marital tie seems to have been definitely severed, for there is nothing in *Kagerō nikki* or elsewhere to suggest that it was ever resumed.

In neolocal and uxorilocal marriages, divorce is more readily identifiable, since it involved the departure of one of the spouses from the common residence, but even in such cases an element of uncertainty may have remained if the man sought to continue his first marriage as a visiting relationship. Fujiwara Asateru 朝光 (951–995), for instance, is said to have tried occasionally to visit his beautiful young first wife after he had left her to marry an ugly but wealthy widow, and he was prevented from doing so only by the refusal of his ox drivers to take him to her house.<sup>289</sup> In most instances of uxorilocal marriage, nevertheless, the departure of the man from his wife's house may be taken as a definite sign that the marriage was at an end. Heian sources yield a number of examples of this kind of divorce, including the two cases already cited above,<sup>290</sup> and it is likely, therefore, that they were fairly common. It is noteworthy that contemporary texts reflect the uxorilocal customs of the time when they speak of divorce as the husband leaving (*izu, saru*, etc.) his wife's house, an expression which contrasts sharply with later centuries when a divorced wife was said to have been sent back (*oidasu, hima wo yaru*) to her parental home. Neolocal marriages in which the house belonged to the wife or her family differed very little in matters of divorce from uxorilocal marriages, but when the husband owned the house, divorce seems to have been rel-

atively infrequent, perhaps because of the wife's greater dependence upon her husband. When divorce did occur under these circumstances, it was necessary for the wife to leave her husband's house, as Prince Atsumichi's wife did when he brought Izumi Shikibu home with him,<sup>291</sup> and as Hige-kuro's first wife did in *Genji monogatari* when her husband married Tamakazura.<sup>292</sup>

Professor Morris has spoken of "the irrevocability of the principal marriage" in Heian society,<sup>293</sup> and it may be worthwhile, therefore, to note finally that both historical and literary sources demonstrate on the contrary that the main wife could be and often was divorced. The examples of divorce in uxorilocal marriage, such as those of Tadazane and Moromichi, all involved main wives, and Hige-kuro's first wife was also his principal spouse until she was replaced by Tamakazura.<sup>294</sup>

#### CHILDREN AND THE FAMILY

In the aristocratic society of the Heian period, it is necessary to distinguish carefully between the clan (*uji*)<sup>295</sup> and the co-residential family or household (*ie*). The clan at this time was a patrilineal institution whose members bore a common name, worshipped common deities, held certain properties in common, claimed a common descent, were frequently buried together, and in some cases occupied hereditary offices and occupations. Its functions were primarily ceremonial and political in nature, and it was related only tangentially to the family life of an individual. The household, on the other hand, was, as we have seen, oriented strongly toward the female line, and it was within its context that the most intimate ties with kinsmen were formed. The physical location of the family belonged usually to the female kin and unless its ownership reverted to the clan chieftain, it passed down as a rule in the matrilineal line. The sons of a family usually left home at a young age to enter an uxorilocal or neolocal marriage elsewhere, leaving their sisters behind to receive husbands in the family house or in a house supplied by the family. Thus it was one of the female siblings usually who formed the link of continuity in the household.

Under these arrangements it was natural perhaps that the primary responsibility for the support and rearing of children should fall upon the mother and her family. This was most clearly the case in duolocal marriages, where the children lived ordinarily with their mother in

her own house and were seldom if ever seen in the father's residence.<sup>296</sup> But even in neolocal and uxorilocal marriages, where the father's role in the upbringing of his children was undoubtedly much greater than in duolocal marriages, the view that children were mainly the responsibility of the wife and her family seems to have still prevailed. This is suggested in a number of ways, but perhaps most forcefully by the disposition made of children in the event of divorce and by the prominence of the maternal grandparents in the child-rearing process.

Children of divorced parents continued to bear the clan name of their father, and a son might even become his father's heir, but such children almost always continued to reside with their mother and to rely upon her and her family for their support. Koichijōin 小一條院 (994–1051), for instance, left his first wife, Fujiwara Enshi 延子 (d. 1019) and married a daughter of Michinaga, but his children by Enshi remained with her at her father's Horikawa mansion and were never transferred to Koichijōin's new establishment.<sup>297</sup> Another example from about the same time shows a man leaving his wife because of bad relations with his father-in-law and unable to take either his wife or children with him.<sup>298</sup>

In such cases, however, it was often the maternal grandparents, instead of the mother, who actually bore the burden of supporting and raising the children, and even if the dissolution of a marriage was brought about by the death of the wife, her children seem sometimes, at least, to have remained in the maternal home under the care of the grandparents.<sup>299</sup> This reflected the important role that maternal grandparents usually played in the upbringing of their grandchildren, a role so large that it often seems to have relegated the parents to a subordinate position. Since children were frequently born in the houses of their maternal grandparents<sup>300</sup> and spent all or part of their childhood with them, it was natural that the maternal grandparents should figure prominently in their lives. It was very often the maternal grandparents who made the arrangements for the births of their daughter's children, commissioning prayers for her safety, securing a parturition house for her if that were necessary, and otherwise attending to her pre-natal requirements.<sup>301</sup> After the delivery it was usually they also who made the arrangements for the first ceremony held to celebrate the birth of a child,<sup>302</sup> and they were intimately involved thereafter in most of the important events and ceremonies in the child's



life. This was in marked contrast with the paternal grandparents, who were often only remotely concerned with their grandchildren, except on certain ceremonial occasions.<sup>303</sup> Even the parents themselves might have less to do with a child's upbringing than the maternal grandparents, since marriages frequently took place at such an early age that a couple's first child was sometimes born while the husband and wife were little more than children themselves and scarcely capable of looking after their progeny.<sup>304</sup>

An instance of a birth and another of the death of a child will serve to illustrate the relative positions occupied by parents and grandparents with regard to their children and grandchildren.

The birth was that of Seishi, Fujiwara Tadamichi's only child by his wife Sōshi. As we have already seen above (p. 133), Tadamichi married Sōshi in 1118 and took up residence with her in her father's Gojō house. Sōshi's father, Munemichi, continued to live in the Gojō house with his daughter and her husband for two years,<sup>305</sup> but moved to another house in Kujō sometime in the first half of 1120, and in the seventh month of that same year died there.<sup>306</sup> Munemichi's illness coincided with the middle months of his daughter's first pregnancy,<sup>307</sup> but before the illness became too severe he had already started to make preparations for his grandchild's birth. As the disease progressed and Munemichi was incapacitated, however, it became necessary to decide who should take charge of the preparations. Munemichi's father-in-law, Fujiwara Akisue, asked Tadamichi's father, Tadazane, what should be done, but Tadazane had no opinion, and Akisue referred the question to Munemichi's nephew, Munetada, the author of *Chūyūki*. Munetada said that he thought Tadazane should take charge, but we learn that his advice was not accepted and that in the end Tadamichi, the prospective father, assumed responsibility for the arrangements himself.<sup>308</sup> It is apparent from this case that the burden of preparing for a child's birth—supplying all the necessary clothes, implements, and gifts, arranging for a parturition house, and so on—devolved naturally upon the maternal grandfather, but that in his absence the paternal grandfather or the father could serve.

A similar order of responsibilities can be observed in the funeral arrangements that were made for a five-year-old (by Japanese count) daughter of Fujiwara Muneyoshi who died in 1114. Muneyoshi married a daughter of Fujiwara Tametaka in 1108 and took up residence

with her at Tametaka's Shichijō house.<sup>309</sup> Several years later Muneyoshi and his family moved to a house that had been provided for them by Tametaka near the Nakamikado residence of Muneyoshi's father, Munetada,<sup>310</sup> and it was while he was living there that Muneyoshi's daughter died.<sup>311</sup> In the *Chūyūki* entry for the day following her death, Munetada, her paternal grandfather, notes that he has been forced to take charge of her funeral arrangements because the father, Muneyoshi, is away from the capital taking medicinal baths, and the maternal grandfather, Tametaka, is involved in court religious affairs that make it necessary for him to avoid the sort of ritual defilement caused by contact with the dead.<sup>312</sup> Munetada at this time was actually living next door to Muneyoshi, but it is clear from his own account that it was only because of the special circumstances described that he became involved in the funeral arrangements for his granddaughter, and that if the maternal grandfather had been able to assume the responsibility it would have been his instead.

The literary and historical documents of the Heian period abound in instances illustrative of the close ties that normally existed between maternal grandparents and their grandchildren. The intimate scenes of Genji with his grandchildren by the Lady of Akashi's daughter come quickly to mind, but one might also cite other well-known cases involving, for instance, Yūgiri and his mother's parents, or Kaneie and the children of his daughter Chōshi.<sup>313</sup> The relations between a child and his paternal grandparents, on the other hand, seem often to have remained very distant, at least until after the child's coming-of-age ceremony had been performed. The evidence suggests in fact that a child might have been several years old when his paternal grandparents met him for the first time. *Kagerō nikki's* failure, for instance, to mention any meetings between Michitsuna and his paternal grandfather, Morosuke, is probably to be interpreted as meaning that the two never saw each other, for it is unlikely that Michitsuna's mother would have passed over such an occasion in silence. Although Morosuke lived for five years after Michitsuna's birth in 955, he and his grandson appear thus to have remained complete strangers to each other, and even if some unrecorded meeting between them did occur, it is obvious that their relationship could not have been a very intimate one. In the same way, Genji and the children of his son Yūgiri remained unknown to each other for several years, and to the end of

Genji's life there is never any significant contact between them. The contrast between a child's relationship with his maternal grandparents on the one hand and his paternal grandparents on the other appears vividly in the passage where Genji remarks that he has never seen Yūgiri's children, for as he says this he is fondling a newborn infant of his daughter.<sup>314</sup> The infrequency of meetings between children and their paternal grandparents is reflected also in the Heian diaries, where children appear with their paternal grandparents much less often than with their maternal relatives, and even then usually under special circumstances. We learn, for instance, from Michinaga's diary that he saw the children of his son Norimichi for the first time when the eldest of them was already two years old,<sup>315</sup> and another two years pass before he mentions seeing them again at their joint *hakama*-donning ceremony, which was held at his own mansion.<sup>316</sup> Paternal grandparents did not always wait so long after the birth of their grandchildren to see them, of course,<sup>317</sup> but by way of comparison, one notes that Norimichi's eldest child had lived with her maternal grandparents and presumably had seen them frequently until at least 1015, when the house they were occupying burned.<sup>318</sup> Moreover, when Norimichi's first son was born in 1018, the year of the *hakama*-donning ceremony mentioned above, it appears to have been the maternal grandparents who were present and in charge of the birth arrangements.<sup>319</sup>

There may have been occasions when special circumstances led to close relations between a child and his paternal grandparents, as a few fictional cases from Heian literature would suggest,<sup>320</sup> but such occasions were sufficiently rare, at any rate, to have left few traces in the historical sources.<sup>321</sup> The nature of the Heian household explains readily why this should have been so. The nucleus of the household in this period was a mother and her children. In the case of duolocal marriage, the father did not become a member of the household, since he always remained simply a visitor there, but the mother's own mother was usually included for as long as she lived, and the mother's father and siblings might also be present, according to the type of marriage in which each was involved, or became involved. In the duolocal household, therefore, one might find, in addition to the mother and her children, either or both of the children's maternal grandparents, their maternal aunts and uncles, their maternal cousins, and

possibly even more distantly related maternal kinsmen. In uxorilocal marriages the household remained essentially the same, except that the father also became a member of it. If a couple's children also married uxorilocally, the sons would leave the household to marry elsewhere and husbands would be brought in for the daughters. When a daughter bore children in such a household, the children might thus find themselves living not only with both of their parents and both of their maternal grandparents, but also possibly with a maternal aunt and her husband and children, and any of the maternal uncles who remained unmarried. In neolocal households there were no grandparents present, but a married sister of the wife might be included, together with her husband and children. It is important to note, moreover, that neolocal households tended usually to become uxorilocal in the generation of the original couple's children.

It will have been observed that in each of these household types paternal kinsmen were almost entirely absent, except that fathers and sons dwelt together in neolocal and uxorilocal marriages and brothers might continue living together even after their nuptials if they married duolocally. Since the clan was patrilineal and marriage did not affect clan membership, this resulted in closely related clansmen living apart from each other in households that might be composed of members belonging to more than one clan. A father and his son and his son's son all bore the same clan name, but only the father and his son might share a common residence, and that usually only until the son's marriage. In the household, on the other hand, the father and his children might belong to one clan, the mother and her father to another, the mother's mother to still another, and the husbands of the daughters and their children to still others.<sup>322</sup> The household, in short, was essentially matrilineal and failed to coincide with patrilineal clan groupings.

#### SUMMARY

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to describe the marriage institutions of the courtier class at Kyoto during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries in terms of the location of the marital residence, the inheritance of houses and property, the chief regulations governing the selection and divorce of spouses, and the nature of the marital household. The strong uxorilocal and duolocal tendencies

observable in the tenth and eleventh centuries are perhaps particularly noteworthy, since they were undoubtedly connected with the prominence of the female line in the inheritance of houses and property, and also with the pronounced matrilineal bias of the household. But neolocal residence represented the wave of the future, and it became increasingly the norm in the twelfth century. The rules governing marriage were customary in kind, and they seem to have had little relation to the provisions of the court's legal code, with which they were often in conflict. Polygyny was freely but prudently practiced, with definite status distinctions among the wives; the choice of principal wives was restricted to the courtier class, and usually, though not always, to equals within that class; incest restraints were limited to the closest degrees of blood relationship; and divorce was, in form at any rate, easy and uncomplicated.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Scattered references to one or another aspect of Heian marriage may also be found, e.g., in H. Weipert, "Japanische Familien- und Erbrecht," *MDGNVO*, v(1889-1892).83-140; W. G. Aston, "The Family and Relationships in Ancient Japan," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, II(1892-1893).160-176; Kojiro Iwasaki, *Das japanische Eherecht* (Leipzig, 1904); T. Nakajima in the article on Japanese and Korean marriage in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*; Robert Briffault, *The Mothers* (New York, 1927), I, 369; Arno Böx, *Das japanische Familiensystem*, Sammlung orientalistischer Arbeiten, No. 6 (1941); and André Gonthier, "Le statut de la femme dans l'empire du Japon," *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions*, XI(1959).295-297. All of these contain the gravest mistakes in fact and interpretation. Frédéric Joüon des Longrais, in his treatment of marriage in Japan in *L'est et l'ouest* (Paris and Tokyo, 1958), pp. 304-333, reveals greater understanding of Heian marriage practices than any other Western writer on the subject, but his account is too brief and imprecise to provide a clear picture of the institutions and ceremonies involved.

<sup>2</sup> See especially her *Shōseikon no kenkyū 招婚婚の研究* (Tokyo, 1953) and *Nihon kon'in shi 日本婚姻史* (Tokyo, 1963).

<sup>3</sup> Nakayama Tarō 中山太郎, *Nihon kon'in shi 日本婚姻史* (Tokyo, 1928).

<sup>4</sup> Nakagawa Zennosuke 中川善之助, "Kon'inshi gaisetsu" 婚姻史概説, *Kazoku seido zenshū 家族制度全集*, eds. Hozumi Shigetō 穂積重遠 and Nakagawa Zennosuke (Tokyo, 1937-1938), "Shiron-hen," I, 1-49.

<sup>5</sup> Yanagida Kunio 柳田國男, *Kon'in no hanashi 婚姻の話* (Tokyo, 1950). See especially "Mukoiri kō" 婿入考, pp. 233-304.

<sup>6</sup> Ariga Kizaemon 有賀喜左衛門, *Nihon kon'in shiron 日本婚姻史論* (Tokyo, 1948).

<sup>7</sup> *The History of Human Marriage*, 5th ed. (New York, 1922), 1, 26.

<sup>8</sup> George Murdock's definition of marriage (*Social Structure* [New York, 1965], p. 1), with its insistence upon common residence, seems too narrow to be useful in dealing with Heian court society. As will become clear later, residences were frequently separate in Heian marriage.

<sup>9</sup> The older term, "patrilocal," and its counterpart, "matrilocal," have been largely replaced in recent sociological and anthropological writings by "virilocal" and "uxorilocal." See Raymond Firth, *We, The Tikopia* (New York, 1936), p. 596; a letter from Leonhard Adam in *Man*, XLVII(1948).12; and Ebman R. Service, *Primitive Social Organization* (New York, 1962), p. 30. For a general discussion of residence rules, see Murdock, pp. 16-17 and 201-218.

<sup>10</sup> Kathleen Gough describes this residence type in "Nayar: Central Kerala," *Matrilineal Kinship*, eds. David Schneider and Kathleen Gough (Berkeley, 1961), p. 335.

<sup>11</sup> The law on marriage (*kokonritsu* 戸婚律) in the Yōrō Code has been lost, but numerous scattered quotations from it in *Ryō no shūge* 令集解, *Hōsō shiyō shō* 法曹至要抄 and elsewhere have been collected by Ishiwara Masaaki 石原正明 (d. 1821) and Takikawa Masajirō 瀧川政次郎, and may be found printed together in *Ritsu'itsubun* 律逸文, in *Kokushi taikei* 國史大系, rev. ed. (Tokyo, 1929-1964), XXII, 111-120. The household statute (*koryō* 戸令), which survives in *Ryō no shūge* (*Kokushi taikei*, XXIII, 259-342) and *Ryō no gige* 令義解 (*Kokushi taikei*, XXII, 91-106), also contains a number of important references to marriage. For a factual account of the marriage provisions of the code and their revisions, see Miura Hiroyuki 三浦周行, *Hōseishi no kenkyū* 法制史の研究 (Tokyo, 1958), pp. 336-413.

<sup>12</sup> Hora Tomio 洞富雄 and Tamaki Hajime 玉城肇, "Kekkon, ren'ai, sei" 結婚・戀愛・性, *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi* 岩波講座日本歴史 (Tokyo, 1962-1964), XXIII, 186-187; Nakayama, pp. 548-549; Takamura (1963), p. 83.

<sup>13</sup> Ishii Ryōsuke 石井良助, *Hōseishi* 法制史, in *Taikei Nihon shi sōsho* 體系日本史叢書, IV (Tokyo, 1964), 85; Takikawa Masajirō, *Nihon hōseishi* 日本法制史 (Tokyo, 1959), p. 193.

<sup>14</sup> The position taken by Takamura (1953), pp. 215ff.

<sup>15</sup> Ishimoda Shō 石母田正, "Nara jidai nōmin no kon'in keitai ni kan-suru ichikō-satsu" 奈良時代農民の婚姻形態に関する一考察, *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 歴史學研究, IX (1939), 900-933, 1126-1143.

<sup>16</sup> Among hundreds of known examples, it is difficult to identify any non-imperial Heian marriage as definitely virilocal, but as J. A. Barnes has pointed out, there are always likely to be exceptions to and infractions of any rule of marital residence ("Marriage and Residential Continuity," *American Anthropologist*, LXII[1960].853).

<sup>17</sup> Duolocal residence appears, for instance, in *Ochikubo monogatari* 落窪物語, where it is apparent that the Kurōdo no Shōshō 藏人の小將 lives apart from his wife, the third daughter of the Chūnagon 中納言 (*Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文學大系 [cited hereafter as *NKBT*], eds. Takagi Ichinosuke 高木市之助 et al. [Tokyo, 1957-], XIII, 141; Wilfrid Whitehouse, *Ochikubo Monogatari* [Kobe, 1935], p. 112). Other instances appear in *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, *NKBT*, IX, 114; *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語, *NKBT*, IX, 237; and *Heichū monogatari* 平仲物語, *NKBT*, LXXVII, 62-66.

<sup>18</sup> Kancie's birth date has been calculated from his age at death according to Japanese reckoning; it is possible that 991 is the correct date. Most of the birth dates supplied below have been similarly derived and contain the same margin of error. *Kagerō nikki* has been translated into English by Edward Seidensticker under the title *The Gossamer Years* (Tokyo, 1964). As Seidensticker points out (p. 7) the work is not actually a diary (*nikki*), but a combined autobiography-diary.

<sup>19</sup> Seidensticker, p. 60; *Kagerō nikki*, *NKBT*, xx, 155.

<sup>20</sup> Seidensticker, p. 63; *Kagerō nikki*, p. 160.

<sup>21</sup> Seidensticker, pp. 144-145; *Kagerō nikki*, pp. 291-292.

<sup>22</sup> Seidensticker, pp. 92, 164; *Kagerō nikki*, pp. 207, 322.

<sup>23</sup> See the references to her in *Kagerō nikki*, pp. 119, 122, 153.

<sup>24</sup> Hisamatsu Sen'ichi 久松潜一 et al., *Nihon bungaku shi* 日本文學史, rev. ed. (Tokyo, 1964), Chūko, p. 318.

<sup>25</sup> Murdock, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> On Malaya, see Willystine Goodsell, *A History of Marriage and the Family*, rev. ed. (New York, 1934), p. 25, and Westermarck, I, 38; on New Guinea, Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946), p. 125; on Sumatra and Assam, Westermarck, I, 38-39; on Formosa, George Candidius, *A Short Account of Formosa in the Indies*, in Awnsham Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, I (London, 1752), pp. 476-477; and on India, Gough, p. 335.

<sup>27</sup> Its existence may be inferred, for instance, from a statement in *Eiga monogatari* 榮花物語: "Since the wife of the newly appointed Middle Counselor, Michiyori 道賴 [971-995], lived at Yamanoi, her husband was called the Middle Counselor of Yamanoi" (in *Nihon koten zensho* 日本古典全書, eds. Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱 et al. [Tokyo, 1953-1958], I, 264).

<sup>28</sup> Uxorilocal marriage occurs frequently among the primitive peoples of the world, but from the point of view of Japan it may be worthwhile to note especially the uxorilocal practices reported for some of the Formosan aborigines. In a letter dated in August, 1715, collected in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères*, xviii (Paris, 1781), 441-442, Father de Mailla has the following to say about the aborigines in the northern part of Formosa: "Leurs mariages n'ont rien de si barbare [as their costume]. On n'achete point les femmes comme à la Chine, & on n'a nul égard au bien qu'on peut avoir de part & d'autre, comme il arrive communément en Europe: les peres & les meres [sic] n'y entrent presque pour rien. Lorsqu'un jeune homme veut se marier & qu'il a trouvé une fille qui lui agrée, il va plusieurs jours de suite avec une instrument de musique à sa porte: si la fille en est contente, elle fort & va joindre celui qui la recherche; ils conviennent ensemble de leurs articles. Ensuite ils en donnent avis à leurs peres & à leurs meres. Ceux-ci préparent le festin des noces, qui se fait dans la maison de la fille, où le jeune homme reste sans retourner désormais chez son pere. Dès-lors le jeune homme regarde la maison de son beau-pere comme la sienne propre, il en est le soutien; & la maison de son propre pere n'est plus à son égard, que ce qu'elle est à l'égard des filles en Europe qui quittent la maison paternelle pour aller demeurer avec leur époux. Aussi ne mettent-ils point leur bonheur à avoir des enfans [sic] mâles, ils n'aspirent qu'à avoir des filles, lesquelles leur procurent des gendres qui deviennent l'appui de leur vieillesse." See also Suzuki Tadasu 鈴木質, *Taiwan banjin fūzoku shi* 臺灣蕃人風

俗誌 (Taipei, 1932), pp. 64-67, and Okada Ken 岡田謙, *Mikai shakai ni okeru hazoku 未開社會に於ける家族* (Tokyo, 1942), pp. 278-290. Jōion des Longrais (1958), p. 313, says that in Koguryō (Korea) "l'usage demeura longtemps pour le mari et la femme d'habiter dans la maison maternelle jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient élevé leurs enfants."

<sup>29</sup> Fujiwara Yorinaga 頼長 (1120-1156), *Konki 婚記*, in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū 新校群書類從* (Tokyo, 1938-1939), xxii, 754 (the entry for Kyūan, 4th year, 7th month, 3rd day, or, in the abbreviated form that will be used hereafter, Kyūan 4:7:3).

<sup>30</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, I, 241.

<sup>31</sup> According to *Shūkaiishō 拾芥抄*, in *Kojitsu sōsho 故實叢書*, 2nd rev. ed. (Tokyo, 1956-1957), xxii, 400, the mansion occupied a large area south of Tsuchimikado and west of Kyōgoku. It was also known both as the Jōtōmon 上東門 mansion and the Kyōgoku 京極 mansion. Masanobu's ownership of the estate is attested in *Shōyūki 小右記*, the diary of Fujiwara Sanesuke 實資 (957-1046), who notes under a date in 1016 that the former lord of Michinaga's Tsuchimikado residence was Masanobu (in *Shiryō taisei 史料大成* [Tokyo, 1934-1944], I-III, Pt. 2, p. 102 [Chōwa 5:6:2]). *Eiga monogatari* refers to Masanobu as the "Tsuchimikado minister" (I, 239, 245, 246, etc.) and mentions the presence of his family at the mansion (e.g., I, 242), indicating that he actually lived there himself. Michinaga's residence at the Tsuchimikado mansion in 991 is established in a diary entry for that year preserved in *Ingō sadame burui ki 院號定部類記* (as quoted in *Dai Nihon shiryō 大日本史料*, Pt. 2, I, 831). The name of the diary in which the entry is found is given as *Goshōki 後小記*, which was perhaps an alternative title for *Shōyūki*. The latter's author, Sanesuke, was sometimes called the "Nochi no Ononomiya" 後小野宮, a name whose orthography might have led naturally to the title of the diary, just as Ononomiya 小野宮 and Sanesuke's position as *udaijin* 右大臣 were the source of the title *Shōyūki 小右記*. Present *Shōyūki* texts lack entries for the year of the *Goshōki* entry, which is dated Shōryaku 2:11:3. Takamura (1953), p. 405, and Fujiki Kunihiko 藤木邦彦, *Heian jidai no kizoku no seikatsu 平安時代の貴族の生活* (Tokyo, 1960), p. 209, state the opinion that Michinaga moved into the Tsuchimikado mansion about the time of the birth of Rinshi's first child in late 988, but there does not seem to be any documentary evidence for this view.

<sup>32</sup> Minamoto Tsuneyori 經頼 (985-1039) notes in his diary, *Sakeiki 左經記*, in *Shiryō taisei*, IV, 15 (Chōwa 5:3:23), that Michinaga's Takakura 高倉 house was purchased from the widow of Takashina Naritō 業遠. The house was located south of Tsuchimikado and west of Takakura (*Shūkaiishō*, p. 400) and was thus next door to Rinshi's Takatsukasa 鷹司 property (see below, n. 40). Michinaga's Biwa 枇杷 and Higashisanjō 東三條 houses were Fujiwara properties, the first having been the residence of both Mototsune 基經 (836-891) and Nakahira 仲平 (875-945), and the latter of Michinaga's father Kaneie. On Mototsune's and Nakahira's residence in the Biwa mansion, see Fujiwara Morosuke 師輔 (908-960), *Kyūreki 九曆*, in *Dai Nihon kokiroku 大日本右記録* (Tokyo, 1952- ), p. 119 (Tengyō 7:12:11); Fujiwara Tadahira 忠平 (880-949), *Teishinkō ki 貞信公記*, in *Dai Nihon kokiroku*, p. 72 (Engi 20:4:23); and *Shūkaiishō*, p. 400. The source of Michinaga's Nijō 二條 estate is unknown.

<sup>33</sup> See, e.g., *Nihon kiriyaku 日本紀略*, in *Kokushi taikō*, x-xi, Pt. 2, p. 173 (Shōryaku 3:4:27); Fujiwara Yukinari 行成 (971-1027), *Gonki 權記*, in *Shiryō taisei*, xxxv, 113 (Chōhō 2:2:25).



<sup>34</sup> By the time of the fire, the mansion itself, or a part of it may actually have belonged to Rinshi's daughter Shōshi 彰子 (991-1074), who was a consort of Emperor Ichijō. This is suggested by a passage describing the fire in *Eiga monogatari* (II, 196), where the mansion is referred to as Shōshi's property (*ōmiya no goryō no miya* 大宮の御領の宮). The same passage, however, also implies that Tsuchimikado was still the usual residence of Michinaga and Rinshi, since it attributes the great loss of movable property in the fire to the absence of Michinaga, Rinshi, and Shōshi from the house on the night of the disaster. Michinaga probably acquired title to Tsuchimikado as a result of the reconstruction which was carried out under his direction and at his expense in 1016-1017 (see the numerous references to the reconstruction in Michinaga's diary *Midō kampaku ki* 御堂關白記, in *Dai Nihon kokiroku*, III, 70-155 [Chōwa 5:7:25-Kannin 2:4:17], and also *Shōyūki*, Pt. 2, pp. 196-200 [Kannin 2:6:20-29] and *Eiga monogatari*, II, 196, 245). Shōshi continued to occupy Tsuchimikado for a number of years after the death of Michinaga and then passed the property on to her granddaughter and niece, Shōshi 章子 (1026-1105), a consort of Go Reizei (on the transfer of the property, see *Eiga monogatari*, IV, 142). Ultimate ownership of Tsuchimikado, however, seems to have remained in the hands of the Fujiwara clan chieftain after Michinaga, for in 1114 we find the deed to the mansion in the hands of Tadazane (Fujiwara Munetada 宗忠 [1032-1141], *Chūyūki* 中右記 in *Shiryō taisei*, VIII-XIV, Pt. 4, p. 315 [Eikyū 2:6:11]).

<sup>35</sup> *Shōyūki*, Pt. 2, p. 269 (Kannin 3:7:17); *Eiga monogatari*, II, 259, 265-268.

<sup>36</sup> *Shōyūki*, Pt. 3, p. 150 (Manju 4:11:25); 152 (Manju 4:12:4).

<sup>37</sup> III, 69 (Chōwa 5:7:21), notes the burning of the mansion, and there are a multitude of entries having to do with its reconstruction during the next year. Michinaga was able to move back into his house in 1017 (III, 156 [Kannin 1:4:27], 169 [Kannin 1:7:4]).

<sup>38</sup> I, 116 (Chōhō 2:10:29), 117 (Chōhō 2:11:7).

<sup>39</sup> See, e.g., I, 192 (Kankō 3:9:7); 230 (Kankō 3:8:14); II, 133 (Chōwa 1:1:14); 214 (Chōwa 2:4:2).

<sup>40</sup> Called the Ichijō 一條 residence. The earliest mention of Masanobu's living there occurs in *Shōyūki* under a date a few months before his death in 993 (in *Dai Nihon kokiroku*, I, 257 [Shōryaku 4:1:24]). If the house is actually to be identified with Rinshi's Takatsukasa residence, as Takamura (1953), p. 400, suggests, it was located next door to the Tsuchimikado mansion (*Shūkaishō*, p. 400). Even if not next door, however, the two houses would have been close to each other, since they were both in Ichijō.

<sup>41</sup> *Midō kampaku ki*, III, 70 (Chōwa 5:7:25).

<sup>42</sup> Her eldest son by Munemichi, Nobumichi 信通, died in 1120 at the age of 29 by Japanese count (*Chyūki*, Pt. 5, p. 256 [Hōan 1:10:21]), which would place his birth in 1092 or 1093.

<sup>43</sup> Munetada mentions attending a music and poetry party at Munemichi's Hachijō 八條 residence in 1094 (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 141 [Kanji 8:int.3:17]), and we learn from the preface to some of the poems of Minamoto Shunrai 俊賴 (1055-1129) that Akisue also lived in Hachijō at one time (*Samboku hika shū* 散木奇歌集, in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū*, XI, 582, 625-626). Because of Munemichi's marital connection with Akisue, it seems plausible to conclude that the reference in both cases is to the same Hachijō house.

<sup>44</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 7, p. 262 (Kanji 7:3:26), notes that Akisue and Akimasa moved to the new house together, but makes no mention of Munemichi.

<sup>45</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 397 (Eichō 1:12:2), and *Sompi bummyaku* 尊卑分脉, in *Kokushi taikei*, LVIII-LX, Pt. 2, p. 381.

<sup>46</sup> The house eventually became the property of the daughter, as we learn from an entry in *Hyakurenshō* 百鍊抄 noting its burning in 1120 (in *Kokushi taikei*, XI, 51 [Hōan 1:3:6]), but it was still referred to as Akisue's house as late as 1102 (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 2, p. 189 [Kōwa 4:6:3]). *Hyakurenshō* also refers to Nakazane as "the Takamatsu *dainagon*" (*loc. cit.*), suggesting that he continued to live in the house until at least 1115, the year of his appointment to the office of *gondainagon* 權大納言 (*Kugyō bunin* 公卿補任, in *Kokushi taikei*, LIII-LVI, Pt. 1, p. 380).

<sup>47</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 3, p. 332 (Tennin 1:2:25), refers to the Rokujō house as Akisue's residence in 1097, and numerous references in contemporary sources confirm this for subsequent years. See, e.g., Fujiwara Atsumitsu 敦光 (1063-1144), *Kakinomoto eigu ki* 柿本影供記, in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū*, XIII, 53, and Fujiwara Tadazane 忠實 (1078-1162), *Denreki* 殿曆, in *Dai Nihon kokiroku*, Pt. 1, p. 33 (Kōwa 2:11:3).

<sup>48</sup> Munetada records a visit to Munemichi at his Rokujō residence in 1104 (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 2, p. 362 [Chōji 1:7:5]). In 1106 Munemichi moved to another house on or near Gojōbōmon (*ibid.*, Pt. 3, p. 78 [Chōji 2:12:19]) and his wife presumably went with him, since she later came to be known as "the Bōmon 坊門 nun" (Fujiwara Michinori 通憲 [d. 1160], *Honchō seiki* 本朝世紀, in *Kokushi taikei*, IX, 728 [Kyūan 6:9:20]).

<sup>49</sup> Named Kinnori 公教. He died in 1160 at the age of 58 by Japanese count (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 447).

<sup>50</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 161 (Ten'ei 3:4:13).

<sup>51</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 346 (Eikyū 2:8:27), refers again to Saneyuki's Rokujō residence in 1114, and he is known to have held *utaawase* contests there in 1116 and 1118. On the latter, see *Rokujō saishō no ie no utaawase* 六條宰相家歌合, in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū*, VIII, 520-523, and *Uhyōe no kami Saneyuki no ie no utaawase* 右兵衛督實行家歌合, in Hagitani Boku 萩谷朴, *Heianchō utaawase taisei* 平安朝歌合大成 (Tokyo, 1957-1965), VI, 1753-1756. The location of the *Uhyōe no kami . . . utaawase* can be established by comparing Minamoto Shunrai's poem (No. 29) with the same poem as it appears in Shunrai's *Samboku kika shū* (p. 630), where it is prefaced by the explanation that it was composed on the occasion of an *utaawase* contest held at Saneyuki's Rokujō house.

<sup>52</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 3, p. 406 (Tennin 1:10:15). The Rokujō establishment would have been large enough to accommodate both couples, since it seems to have consisted of at least two distinct residences, one on Higashinotōin and the other on Karasumaru. Cf. *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 161 (Ten'ei 3:5:13); *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集, in *Kokushi taikei*, XIX, 100; *Kakinomoto eigu ki*, p. 53; and *Denreki*, as quoted in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 3, XIII, 115.

<sup>53</sup> Minamoto Morotoki 師時 (1077-1136), *Chōshūki* 長秋記, in *Shiryō taisei*, VI-VII, Pt. 1, p. 160 (Gen'ei 2:9:3).

<sup>54</sup> Morotoki mentions going to Masasada's Rokujō residence in 1135, referring to the residence by its alternative name, Nakanoin 中院 (*op. cit.*, Pt. 2, p. 262 [Hōen 1:4:17]). On the identification of Nakanoin with Akisue's Rokujō establishment, see *Chūyūki*, Pt. 3, p. 332 (Tennin 1:2:25). Fujiwara Yorinaga (1120-1156) refers to Masasada's Rokujō residence twice in his diary, once in 1151 and again in 1152 (*Taiki* 臺記, in *Shiryō*

*taikan* 史料大觀 [Tokyo, 1898-1899], pp. 346 [Nimpei 1:2:28] and 351 [Nimpei 2:1:26]).

<sup>55</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 61 (Ten'ei 2:7:27), notes Akisue's move to the "main [or original] Shichijō house" (*moto no Shichijō-tei* 本七條亭) in 1111. The house is perhaps identified in this way to distinguish it from the Shichijō house that seems to have been occupied by Fujiwara Tsuneczane 經實 (1068-1131) and another of Akisue's daughters after their marriage in 1105. On the marriage and residence, see *Chūyūki*, Pt. 3, pp. 50 (Chōji 2:7:11) and 352 (Tennin 1:5:20), and *Denreki*, Pt. 2, p. 141 (Kashō 1:6:3). Note that in the first *Chūyūki* entry "Tsunesada" 經定 should read "Tsuneczane," as reference to *Denreki* and the *Chūyūki* text given in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 3, xvi, 128, will show. Tsunesada (1100-1156) was Tsuneczane's son by an earlier wife. Evidence of Akisue's residence at the Shichijō house is found in the prefaces to some of his own poems. See, e.g., *Rokujō suri no daibu no shū* 六條修理大夫集, in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū*, xi, 286, 290.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>57</sup> *Nanreishi* 南嶺子, in *Nihon zuihitsu taisei* 日本隨筆大成, Series 1 (Tokyo, 1927-1928), ix, 322.

<sup>58</sup> See below, pp. 118-123, 141-146.

<sup>59</sup> Review of *Shōseikon no kenkyū*, *SZ*, LXII(1953).685.

<sup>60</sup> Nakagawa, p. 30; Nakayama, p. 655; Ikeda Kikan 池田龜鑑, *Heianchō no seikatsu to bungaku* 平安朝の生活と文學 (Tokyo, 1964), p. 101.

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 219, n. 1.

<sup>62</sup> On the frequency of the appearance of the word *mukotori* in Heian texts, see Takamura (1953), pp. 388ff.

<sup>63</sup> See, e.g., the marriage of Fujiwara Morozane to the adopted daughter of Fujiwara Nobuie (below, p. 130).

<sup>64</sup> Murdock, pp. 59 and 194.

<sup>65</sup> *Nihon kon'in shiron*, p. 8.

<sup>66</sup> "Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society," *American Anthropologist* LVIII(1956).414-434.

<sup>67</sup> Edwin M. Loeb, *Sumatra: Its History and People* (Vienna, 1935), pp. 220-221.

<sup>68</sup> Vladimir Il'ich Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus*, [Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, xiii, Pt. 1 (Leiden and New York, 1910)], p. 92.

<sup>69</sup> Edwin M. Loeb and Jan O. M. Broek, "Social Organization and the Longhouse in Southeast Asia," *American Anthropologist*, XLIX(1947).417.

<sup>70</sup> Loeb and Broek, p. 420.

<sup>71</sup> A. L. Kroeber and T. T. Waterman, "Yurok Marriages," in A. L. Kroeber, *The Nature of Culture* (Chicago, 1952), pp. 250-251, report that about one-quarter of the marriages among the patrilineal Yurok in 1909 were uxori-local.

<sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 330.

<sup>73</sup> For numerous examples of the later practice, see Yanagida's "Mukoiri kō" and Ariga, pp. 9-10.

<sup>74</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, II, 87-88.

<sup>75</sup> An interesting parallel to this is found among the patrilineal, uxori-local Atjeh people of Sumatra. According to Loeb, p. 237, virilocal marriage takes place among the

Achehnese only when the woman's family is very inferior in rank or social position to that of the man.

<sup>76</sup> *Genji monogatari*, *NKBT*, xiv-xviii, Pt. 4, p. 434; Arthur Waley, *The Tale of Genji* (New York, 1935), p. 872.

<sup>77</sup> *Genji monogatari*, Pt. 4, p. 81 (Waley does not translate this *maki*).

<sup>78</sup> *Genji monogatari*, Pt. 4, p. 375; Waley, p. 837.

<sup>79</sup> Kanemasa's marriage to the orphaned daughter of Toshikage. On the marriage and residence, see *Utsubo monogatari*, *NKBT*, x-xii, Pt. 1, pp. 96-101.

<sup>80</sup> Ochikubo's marriage to Michiyori may be included in this category, since her mother was dead and she was treated as an orphan by her family. On the residence, see *Ochikubo monogatari*, pp. 119-121, 124, 139; Whitehouse, pp. 86-89, 93, 110.

<sup>81</sup> See, for example, the story of the *udoneri* who steals the *dainagon's* daughter in *Yamato monogatari*, pp. 326-327.

<sup>82</sup> *Sarashina nikki*, *NKBT*, xx, 503.

<sup>83</sup> "Haizumi," in *Tsutsumi chūnagon monogatari* 堤中納言物語, *NKBT*, xiii, 418-419.

<sup>84</sup> Taira Sadaie 定家 (fl. 1058-1062), *Kōheiki* 康平記, in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū*, xix, 569 (Kōhei 2:3:20); *Eiga monogatari*, iv, 170.

<sup>85</sup> *Hyakurenshō*, p. 26 (Kōhei 2:4:13).

<sup>86</sup> On the construction of the house, see Fujiwara Koremichi 伊通 (1093-1165), *Taikai hishō* 大槐秘抄, in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū*, xxi, 413. On the date of the move and the source of the land, see *Hikunshō* 秘訓抄, as cited in Ōshima Takeyoshi 大島武好 (fl. 1704), *Yamashiro meisshō shi* 山城名勝志, in *Kyōto sōsho* 京都叢書 (Kyoto, 1914-1917), i, 127, and *Hyakurenshō*, p. 28 (Kōhei 6:7:3).

<sup>87</sup> *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 312.

<sup>88</sup> *Taikai hishō*, p. 413, says that Morozane built the house with income he received from his first year as *naidaijin* 内大臣, a post to which he was appointed in 1060. A similar case of a husband providing the residence for himself and his wife after the burning of his father-in-law's house is probably to be found in the marriage of Fujiwara Norimichi and a daughter of Fujiwara Kintō. See below, notes 299 and 318.

<sup>89</sup> On the marriage and residence, see *Eiga monogatari*, i, 272. Since Michitaka's daughter left the residence after she and Atsumichi were divorced (*Ōkagami*, p. 179), and since Atsumichi used the same place in his marriage to Naritoki's daughter, it seems reasonable to infer that Atsumichi provided the residence for the marriage. Notice also that Naritoki's daughter finally left Atsumichi to return to her father's Koichijō house (*Ōkagami*, p. 100; *Izumi shikibu nikki*, *NKBT*, xx, 445).

<sup>90</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, ii, 102.

<sup>91</sup> The type of residence involved in this marriage is suggested in *Kagerō nikki*, when the author notes the transfer of Takaakira's wife to her own home after the exile of her husband and the burning of his house (p. 179; Seidensticker, p. 75).

<sup>92</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, iii, 249-250.

<sup>93</sup> Among many examples of such marriages, a few typical cases may be cited: 1) Fujiwara Nagaie 長家 (1005-1064) and a daughter of Fujiwara Yukinari, who married when Nagaie was 12 and Yukinari's daughter was 10 or 11; 2) Fujiwara Tsunetzane and a daughter of Fujiwara Kinzane 公實 (1053-1107), who married when Tsunetzane was 13

or 14 and Kinzane's daughter was 10 or 11; and 3) a certain *kurōdo no taifu* 藏人大夫 and a daughter of Taira Nobunori 信範 (1112-1187), who married when the *kurōdo no taifu* was 13 or 14 and Nobunori's daughter was 11 or 12. On the marriage and ages of Nagaie and Yukinari's daughter, see *Eiga monogatari*, III, 241-242; *Midō kampaku ki*, I, 157 (Kankō 2:8:20); and *Sakeiki*, p. 65 (Kannin 2:3:13). On the second marriage and the ages of the husband and wife, see Fujiwara Tamefusa 爲房 (1049-1115), *Tamefusa-kyō ki* 爲房卿記, as quoted in *Koji ruien* 古事類苑 (Tokyo, 1931-1936), xli, 244. On the *kurōdo no taifu* and Nobunori's daughter, see Taira Nobunori, *Heihanki* 兵範記, in *Shiryō taisai*, xv-xviii, Pt. 3, p. 19 (Hōgen 3:2:9).

<sup>94</sup> As in the case of Yorimichi's marriage to his principal wife, Takahime 隆姫 (995-1087), a daughter of the imperial prince Tomohira 具平 (964-1009). See above, p. 130. Yorimichi was about 17 and Takahime about 14 at the time of their marriage.

<sup>95</sup> An instance of this type of residence ("uxori-neolocal") is seen in the marriage of Fujiwara Muneyoshi 宗能 (1085-1170) and a daughter of Fujiwara Tametaka 爲隆 (1070-1130). See below, p. 143. Muneyoshi was about 29 at the time of the marriage.

<sup>96</sup> See the case of Fujiwara Akisue's daughters described above, pp. 109-110.

<sup>97</sup> An example of neolocal residence for a younger daughter is found in the marriage of Fujiwara Munetada's second daughter to Minamoto Noritoshi 憲俊 (d. 1149). Munetada's eldest daughter married her uncle Munesuke 宗輔 (1077-1162) in 1099 and lived with him uxorilocally; at first, presumably, at her father's Karasumaru 烏丸 house in Gojō, and then, after that place burned in 1103, at his newly constructed Nakamikado 中御門 house. The second daughter married Noritoshi in 1114 and lived with him neolocally in a house that her father had reconstructed for them near Horikawa and Gojōbōmon. On Munesuke's marriage and residence, see *Chūyūki*, Pt. 2, pp. 140 (Jōtoku 2:12:16), 143 (Jōtoku 2:12:28), 298 (Kōwa 5:11:16); Pt. 3, pp. 17 (Chōji 2:2:20), 20 (Chōji 2:2:28), 61 (Chōji 2:10:3), 104 (Kashō 1:3:10); and Pt. 4, p. 10 (Ten'ei 2:1:19). On the marriage and residence of Noritoshi, see *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, pp. 338 (Eikyū 2:8:10), 340 (Eikyū 2:8:14), 382 (Eikyū 2:12:13).

<sup>98</sup> Murdock, p. 16.

<sup>99</sup> In addition to the examples mentioned below and in the preceding discussion, note also the numerous deeds of sale from the Heian period that show female ownership of houses in the capital. See, e.g., Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, ed., *Heian ibun* 平安遺文 (Tokyo, 1947-1960), Komonjo-hen, Nos. 955, 1245, 1294, 1823, and 1832.

<sup>100</sup> As in the marriage of Fujiwara Morozane and Fujiwara Reishi 麗子 (1040-1114). After Morozane had become clan chieftain and inherited the clan houses, he gave Reishi the deeds to his two principal residences, Kayanoin 高陽院 and Kyōgoku. See *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 315 (Eikyū 2:6:11).

<sup>101</sup> Pp. 730-738.

<sup>102</sup> *Shūkaishō*, p. 401.

<sup>103</sup> *Kokon chomonjū*, p. 241.

<sup>104</sup> *Shūkaishō*, p. 401.

<sup>105</sup> Sanesuke's residence at Ononomiya is attested in many sources: see, e.g., *Sakeiki*, p. 336 (Chōgen 5:4:4).

<sup>106</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 2, p. 4, lists three daughters of Saneyori, two of whom (the consorts of Murakami and Suzaku) are known to have died before their long-lived father. The third cannot be identified.

<sup>107</sup> Pt. 3, p. 233 (*Chōgen* 4:2:9). For other indications of Kaneyori's residence at the Ononomiya house, see Pt. 3, pp. 243 (*Chōgen* 4:3:4) and 307 (*Chōgen* 5:10:11).

<sup>108</sup> Pt. 3, p. 252 (*Chōgen* 4:3:24).

<sup>109</sup> *Ōkagami*, ed. Matsumura Hiroji 松村博司, Iwanami bunko (Tokyo, 1964), p. 67. One must note, however, that this information is lacking in the shorter *Ōkagami* texts, which are thought to represent the work's oldest form. Cf. the *Ōkagami* edition in *NKBT* (the edition cited hereafter unless otherwise specified), XXI, 89.

<sup>110</sup> *Shōyūki*, in *Shiryō taisei* (the edition cited hereafter), Pt. 2, p. 303 (*Kannin* 3:12:9). This must have occurred before Chifuru's marriage, since the entry describing Sanesuke's disposition of his property occurs under a date in 1020, when Kaneyori would have been only five or six years old.

<sup>111</sup> A detailed statement of the line of inheritance of the Ononomiya house is found in Fujiwara Teika 定家 (1162–1241), *Meigetsuki* 明月記 (Tokyo, 1911–1912), I, 432 (*Genkyū* 2:7:29).

<sup>112</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 115 (*Chōshō* 3:10:21), calls her Sukeie's wife. The identification of Sukeie's wife as a daughter of Sanesuke in *Chōshūki*, Pt. 2, p. 224 (*Chōshō* 3:10:22), is undoubtedly mistaken, since it would leave Sukeie's residence at Ononomiya unexplained. It would also make a father of Sanesuke when he was nearly eighty years old.

<sup>113</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 2, p. 224 (*Chōshō* 3:10:22).

<sup>114</sup> See, e.g., *Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 15 (*Kanji* 2:7:28), and Minamoto Tsunenobu 經信 (1016–1097), *Sotsuki* 師記, in *Shiryō taisei*, v, 150 (*Kanji* 2:8:1).

<sup>115</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, iv, 251, and *Chūyūki*, Pt. 3, p. 155 (*Kashō* 1:12:13).

<sup>116</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 216, lists Sukeie's daughter as the mother of Yoshizane's son Tadayori 忠頼.

<sup>117</sup> *Ima kagami*, pp. 225, 228; *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 216.

<sup>118</sup> P. 52 (*Hōan* 2:3:10).

<sup>119</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 7, p. 115 (*Chōshō* 3:10:21), gives her age at death as ninety-nine by Japanese reckoning.

<sup>120</sup> *Meigetsuki*, I, 432 (*Genkyū* 2:7:29).

<sup>121</sup> According to *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 3, pp. 486–487, she was the mother of Moroyori's son Moromitsu 師光. *Taiki*, p. 345 (*Nimpei* 1:2:23), also identifies Moromitsu as Yoshizane's maternal grandson.

<sup>122</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 3, p. 486.

<sup>123</sup> P. 66 (*Ten'yō* 1:12:11).

<sup>124</sup> *Meigetsuki*, I, 432 (*Genkyū* 2:7:29). Nakayama Tadachika 忠親 (1131–1195), *Sankaiki* 山槐記, in *Shiryō taisei*, XIX–XXI, Pt. 2, p. 28 (*Nin'an* 2:3:21), and *Hyakurenshō*, p. 80 (*Nin'an* 2:3:21), also identify the house as Moromitsu's, and *Ima kagami*, p. 288, says that he was called "the Ononomiya *jijū* 侍從."

<sup>125</sup> The house was in the hands of Moromitsu's son Tomochika 具親 when Teika became involved in its affairs in 1205 and recorded the line of inheritance in his diary (*loc. cit.*). Two years later Teika referred to Tomochika as "the Ononomiya *shōshō* 小將" (Pt. 2, p. 16 [*Jōgen* 1:3:28]).

<sup>126</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, I, 285.

<sup>127</sup> *Midō kampakū ki*, II, 117 (*Kankō* 8:8:23).

<sup>128</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, I, 274.

- <sup>129</sup> *Gonki*, Pt. 1, p. 102 (Chōhō 2:1:1).
- <sup>130</sup> *Shōyaki*, Pt. 1, p. 182 (Kankō 2:3:18); *Eiga monogatari*, I, 242.
- <sup>131</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, I, 153.
- <sup>132</sup> *Midō kampaku ki*, Pt. 1, p. 172 (Kankō 3:1:1).
- <sup>133</sup> *Meigetsuki*, I, 432 (Genkyū 2:7:29); *Eiga monogatari*, I, 251.
- <sup>134</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 2, p. 4.
- <sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 216.
- <sup>136</sup> Ōmikado 大炊御門, Nijōkarasumarū 二條烏丸, Yamanoi, Takamatsu, and others. See Takamura (1953), pp. 738-749.
- <sup>137</sup> Sanenobu 誠信 (964-1001) and Tadanobu 齊信 (967-1035).
- <sup>138</sup> I, 266-267.
- <sup>139</sup> Sanesuke and his daughter Chifuru have already been mentioned. Another historical case involved Fujiwara Akimitsu 顯光 (944-1021) and his daughters (see *Eiga monogatari*, II, 253-254, 290). A fictional case comes from *Genji monogatari*, where Hitachi no kami (Ukifune's stepfather) is said to have settled all of his lands and possessions on a daughter (Pt. 5, p. 141; Waley, p. 963).
- <sup>140</sup> Pt. 1, p. 253.
- <sup>141</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, II, 195.
- <sup>142</sup> Pp. 44, 209; Whitehouse, pp. 2-3, 193.
- <sup>143</sup> See, for example, the "Tsutsuizutsu" 筒井筒 story in *Ise monogatari*, IX, 126 (translated in Frits Vos, *A Study of Ise-Monogatari* [The Hague, 1957], I, 187-189), and the reason given by the Kurōdo no Shōshō in *Ochikubo monogatari* for abandoning his wife, the third daughter of the Chūnagon (pp. 140-141; Whitehouse, 111-112).
- <sup>144</sup> *NKBT*, xxii-xxvi, Pt. 5, pp. 220-223.
- <sup>145</sup> Of interest also from this point of view is the *Konjaku monogatari* story (Pt. 4, pp. 445-447) of the man who abandons one of his two wives because her silkworms die and then returns to her when she begins to prosper again.
- <sup>146</sup> II, 87.
- <sup>147</sup> Pp. 151, 155; Whitehouse, pp. 124, 128.
- <sup>148</sup> In *Zoku Gunsho ruijū* 續群書類從 (Tokyo, 1923-1930), xviii, 256.
- <sup>149</sup> Miura, p. 337.
- <sup>150</sup> Takamura (1953), pp. 276-280.
- <sup>151</sup> Takamura (1963), p. 132.
- <sup>152</sup> Her name is given sometimes as Junshi 順子 (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 177, and Fujiwara Michisue 滿季 [15th c.], *Honchō kōin shōun roku* 本朝皇胤紹運錄, in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū*, III, 425) and also as Keishi 傾子 (*Ōkagami uragaki* 大鏡裏書, *NKBT*, xxi, 325).
- <sup>153</sup> The date is calculated from Saneyori's age in 931, which was 32 by Japanese count (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 177). On his parentage, see *Ōkagami*, p. 85, and *Kugyō bunin*, *loc. cit.*
- <sup>154</sup> His birth date may be calculated similarly (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 180); this tallies with the unidentified birth mentioned in Tadahira's diary, *Teishinkō ki*, p. 12 (Engi 8:12:17). His mother is identified in *Ōkagami*, p. 115, and *Kugyō bunin*, *loc. cit.*
- <sup>155</sup> *Teishinkō ki*, p. 70 (Engi 20:2:3).
- <sup>156</sup> Pp. 65, 68, 73, 77, 89, 94-100, 114.

<sup>157</sup> Pp. 91, 99. She is also referred to as Tadahira's *kitanokata* in *Ki no Tsurayuki shū* 紀貫之集, in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū*, xi, 358.

<sup>158</sup> *Kitanokata* literally means something like "the person on the north side," and its meaning of "principal wife" is presumed to have arisen from the customary residence of a man's main wife in the northern wing of the house they occupied together. Even in a work as early as *Genji monogatari*, however, the literal significance of the word appears to be secondary to its meaning of "principal wife." Yūgiri, for instance, speaks of his mother Aoi as *haha kita no kata* (Pt. 3, p. 277), although Genji and Aoi never lived together and Aoi, consequently, never had the opportunity to occupy the northern wing of Genji's residence. A survey of the other eighty or so uses of *kitanokata* in *Genji monogatari*, and of the word's usage in other Heian works, shows that when the status of the woman to whom it refers can be identified, she is, almost without exception, the principal wife of her husband, just as, indeed, dictionaries define the term.

<sup>159</sup> Saneyori became *sesshō* 攝政 and *daijō daijin* 大政大臣 (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 209), whereas Morosuke's highest office was *udaijin* (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 198). For Saneyori's appointment as clan chieftain, see *Honchō seiki*, as quoted from *Yanagihara-ke kiroku* 柳原家記録, in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 1, ix, 428. Morosuke never became clan chieftain, a post held normally by the highest ranking clan member and from the time of Kancie always by the Fujiwara who was *sesshō* or *kampaku* 關白, or who held *nairan* 内覽 powers.

<sup>160</sup> The date of the coming-of-age ceremony appears in *Nihon kiriyaku*, Pt. 2, p. 18 (Engi 15:1:20), and the date of Saneyori's marriage is established by the birth of his eldest son, Atsutoshi 敦敏 (918-947), in 918 or 919. The latter date is calculated from Atsutoshi's age at death, which was thirty by Japanese count. Atsutoshi's death date may be found in *Teishinkō ki*, p. 250 (Tenryaku 1:11:17); the age is given both in Yotsutsuji Yoshinari 四辻善成 (1329-1402), *Kakaishō* 河海抄, in Motoori Toyokai 本居豊穎, Kimura Masakoto 木村正辭, and Inoue Yorikuni 井上頼國, eds., *Kokubun chūshaku zensho* 國文注釋全書 (Tokyo, 1907-1910), p. 357, and also in Gensei 元盛 and Kōshi 光之, *Chokusen sakusha burui* 勅撰作者部類 (14th c.), in Yamagishi Tokubei 山岸徳平, ed., *Hachidaishū zenchū* 八代集全註 (Tokyo, 1960), III, 161. *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 2, p. 1, gives Atsutoshi's age at death as thirty-six, which must be wrong, since it would make Saneyori only twelve years old at Atsutoshi's birth.

<sup>161</sup> *Ōhagami*, p. 91; *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 2, pp. 1-4.

<sup>162</sup> *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 216.

<sup>163</sup> *Nihon kiriyaku*, Pt. 2, p. 33 (Shohei 2:1).

<sup>164</sup> *Nihon kiriyaku* records the death of a Minamoto wife of Saneyori in 936 (Pt. 2, p. 35 [Shōhei 6:4]) and the deaths of two other wives, Fujiwara Nōshi 能子 and Fujiwara Ninzenshi 仁善子, in 964 (Pt. 2, p. 92 [Kōhō 1:4:11 and an unspecified day in the same month]).

<sup>165</sup> *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, pp. 211, 214, 233.

<sup>166</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, pp. 51-55.

<sup>167</sup> *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, pp. 199, 206, 205.

<sup>168</sup> Morosuke's coming-of-age ceremony occurred presumably in 923, when he was appointed to the Lower Junior Fifth Rank (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 180), and it must have been at this time also that he took Seishi as his wife, since it was just about ten months later that Koremasa was born (*Teishinkō ki*, p. 88 [Enchō 2:7:15]).



<sup>169</sup> Gashi's second son, Tamemitsu 爲光, was born in 942, the year before Seishi's death (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 210).

<sup>170</sup> *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 233.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> *Ōhagami*, pp. 175, 203; *Ōhagami uragaki*, p. 375.

<sup>174</sup> Calculating from the date of Michitaka's birth (953) and Kaneie's age in 968 (40 yrs.). For the relevant dates and figures, see *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, pp. 205, 222.

<sup>175</sup> Kaneie's marriage to the author of *Kagerō nikki* began in 954, the year following Michitaka's birth.

<sup>176</sup> *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 269.

<sup>177</sup> According to *Eiga monogatari*, I, 185, Meishi's father was Minamoto Takaakira, a son of Emperor Daigo, and she had been adopted by the imperial prince Moriakira 盛明 (928–986).

<sup>178</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, pp. 60–63 (note the corrections in the upper margins).

<sup>179</sup> Michinaga married Rinshi early in 988 (see above, p. 108) and Meishi later in the same year (*Eiga monogatari*, I, 245–246).

<sup>180</sup> Yorimichi and Meishi's son, Yorimune 頼宗 (992–1065), were born in the same year, but Yorimichi is called Michinaga's eldest son in *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 252, and is listed as such in *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 59.

<sup>181</sup> *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 265.

<sup>182</sup> *Shōyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 283 (Kankō 9:6:29); Pt. 2, p. 39 (Chōwa 4:12:13).

<sup>183</sup> *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 2, pp. 317, 322.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>185</sup> See above p. 114.

<sup>186</sup> Her lack of children is noted in *Eiga monogatari*, II, 178, and III, 142, and in Jien 慈圓 (1155–1225), *Gukanshō 愚管抄*, in *Kokushi taikēi*, XIX, 110. *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 60, mistakenly lists Takahime as the mother of Yorimichi's daughter Kanshi, but *Chōyūki*, Pt. 5, p. 320 (Daiji 2:8:14), says that Kanshi's mother was Kishi (see below). Kanshi was adopted by Takahime (Kōen 皇圓 [d. 1169], *Fusō ryakki 扶桑略記*, in *Kokushi taikēi*, XII, 291 [Eishō 5:12:21]), as was Genshi 姫子 (1016–1039), a daughter of Prince Atsuyasu 敦康 (999–1019) by Takahime's sister (*Eiga monogatari*, II, 232), and also perhaps another of Kishi's children, the priest Kakuen 覺圓 (1031–1098), whose true parentage is found in *Chōyūki*, Pt. 2, p. 86 (Jōtoku 2:4:16), but is called Takahime's son in *Jimon kōsō ki 寺門高僧記* (13th c.), in *Zoku Gunsho ruijū*, XXVIII, jō, p. 61.

<sup>187</sup> In addition to the wife mentioned below, Yorimichi had a son by a woman who was in service with him, a daughter of Minamoto Norisada 憲定 (d. 1017). See *Eiga monogatari*, III, 142–143. Her son, Michifusa 通房 (1025–1044), would have been Yorimichi's heir if he had not died at an early age (*Fusō ryakki*, p. 287 [Kantoku 1:4:27]). Yorimichi also had a child by a daughter of Fujiwara Nagayori, but the mother died in childbirth (*Shōyūki*, Pt. 2, p. 32 [Chōwa 4:11:17]) and nothing more is known of the child.

<sup>188</sup> *Shōyūki*, Pt. 2, p. 32 (Chōwa 4:10:15).

<sup>189</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, II, 177–184.

<sup>190</sup> *Gukanshō*, p. 110.

<sup>191</sup> *Midō kampaku ki*, Pt. 2, pp. 62, 116, 205; Pt. 3, p. 121.

<sup>192</sup> See, e.g., *Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 8 (Kanji 1:11:22).

<sup>193</sup> *Hyakurenshō*, p. 22 (Kantoku 2:7:4) notes the burning of "the Chancellor's [i.e., Yorimichi's] Takakura residence" in 1045. Takahime may also have spent some time with Yorimichi at his own Kayanoin residence. See *Eiga monogatari*, iv, 73.

<sup>194</sup> *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 333.

<sup>195</sup> The diary of his son Moromichi 師通 (1062–1099), *Gonijō Moromichi ki* 後二條師通記 (in *Dai Nihon kokiroku*), makes this abundantly clear. See, e.g., Vol. III, p. 19 (Kanji 7:2:11). See also above, p. 130, and *Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 226 (Kahō 2:1:10).

<sup>196</sup> Moromichi succeeded his father as *kampaku* and clan chieftain in 1094 (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 356).

<sup>197</sup> See, e.g., *Gonijō Moromichi ki*, Pt. 2, p. 320 (Kanji 6:12:22); *Denreki*, as quoted in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 3, xv, 106; *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 283 (Eikyū 2:3:26); and *Tamefusa-kyō ki*, as quoted in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 3, II, 279.

<sup>198</sup> Minamoto Toshifusa 俊房 (1035–1121), *Suisaki* 水左記, in *Shiryō taisei*, iv, 92 (Shōryaku 4:5:24); *Tendai zasu ki* 天臺座主記, in *Zoku Gunsho ruijū*, iv, 593. Morozane is also said to have had a son by a daughter of Taira Yukichika 行親, but this supposed son, who later bore the priestly name Kakujitsu 覺實 (1052–1093), was born when Morozane would have been only nine or ten years old, and the relatively late sources in which the relationship is found stated must be in error. For the attribution of parentage, see *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 61, and *Shomonzeki fu* 諸門跡譜 (17th c.?), in *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū*, III, 522. For the dates and figures used in calculating the relative birth dates of Morozane and Kakujitsu, see *Sompi bummyaku*, loc. cit.; *Gonijō Moromichi ki*, Pt. 2, p. 319 (Kanji 6:12:18); *Chūyūki mokuroku* 中右記目錄, in *Shiryō taisei*, xiv, 322 (Kōwa 1:6:28); *Honchō seiki*, pp. 306–307 (Kōwa 1:6:28); and *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 361. Note also that *Eiga monogatari*, iv, 165, calls Morozane's son by Sadanari's daughter his eldest, though this son was born five years after Kakujitsu. Moreover, when Kakujitsu died in 1093 Morozane's son Moromichi mourned for him not as a brother, but as a nephew (*Gonijō Moromichi ki*, Pt. 2, pp. 319 [Kanji 2:12:18] and 321 [Kanji 2:12:23]).

<sup>199</sup> This was Ningen 仁源 (1057–1108), the Enryakuji abbot.

<sup>200</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, iv, 165.

<sup>201</sup> Takamura (1953), pp. 520–524.

<sup>202</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, iv, 165.

<sup>203</sup> In his case, actually an adopted daughter. According to *Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 116 (Kanji 8:1:10), her true father was Fujiwara Tsunesuke 經輔 (1006–1081).

<sup>204</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, iv, 239.

<sup>205</sup> According to *Tamefusa-kyō ki*, as quoted in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 3, pp. 111, 838, Tadazane was born in the early part of 1079.

<sup>206</sup> Iemasa 家政 (1080–1115), Morimichi's son by the daughter of Yoshitsuna, was thirty-six by Japanese count at his death in 1115 (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 380). Ietaka 家隆 (d. 1125), Moromichi's son by Sadatsune's daughter, had his coming-of-age ceremony in 1098 (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 403 [Eichō 1:12:26]), and if he was of a normal age for the ceremony at that time, this would place his birth between 1083 and 1087. The latter date is perhaps the more likely, since both his father and his brother Tadamichi had

their coming-of-age ceremonies when they were eleven by Japanese count (on Moromichi's ceremony, see *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 336; on Tadazane's, see *Gonijō Moromichi ki*, Pt. 1, p. 179 [Kanji 2:1:21]). Moromichi's daughter by the daughter of Yoritsuna was ten by Japanese count at her death in 1107 (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 3, p. 244 [Kashō 2:8:13]), which would place her birth in 1097 or 1098.

<sup>207</sup> Yorinaga reports in his diary that in 1146 Tadazane told him, "The late Nijō Lord [Moromichi] left Lady Ichijō [Zenshi] and became the son-in-law of the Kujō Chancellor [Nobunaga]" (*Taiki*, p. 167 [Ten'yō 2:12:24]).

<sup>208</sup> None of them is even mentioned in Moromichi's diary. *Sompi bummyaku* (Pt. 1, p. 408; Pt. 2, p. 173) calls the daughters of Yoshitsuna and Sadatsune ladies in waiting (*nyōbō*) to Moromichi and notes that Yoshitsuna's daughter was the wife of Minamoto Morotada 師忠 (1054-1114). Yoritsuna's daughter was also possibly one of Moromichi's ladies in waiting, since the mother of her brother Nakamasa 仲正—who was thus perhaps the girl's mother too—was a lady in waiting to Reishi, Moromichi's mother (*Gonijō Moromichi ki*, Pt. 2, p. 242 [Kanji 6:4:16]).

<sup>209</sup> They lived first at Toshiie's Higashinotōin 東洞院 house, then for a brief period at Morozane's Kazan'in 華山院 house, and then at another of Toshiie's houses in Shijōbōmon (*Suisaki*, v, 56 [Jōhō 2:10:26], 101 [Shōryaku 4:8:15], 150 [Shōryaku 5:9:28]).

<sup>210</sup> Tadazane became clan chieftain and received *nairan* powers in the year of his father's death (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 361).

<sup>211</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, IV, 252, is explicit on this point.

<sup>212</sup> The passage cited previously from *Taiki* (n. 207) makes it plain that a divorce was involved. Diarists of the time continued to refer to Zenshi as Moromichi's wife for perhaps ten years after he had left her, but they eventually ceased to do so as the fact of the divorce became undeniable. Compare, e.g., *Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 69 (Kanji 6:2:3) and Pt. 4, pp. 232-233 (Ten'ei 3:12:10). Reference to *Denreki*, as quoted in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 3, XIII, 383, shows that the title "Ichijōdono" used in the later *Chūyūki* entry refers to Zenshi.

<sup>213</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, IV, 252.

<sup>214</sup> She does not appear in *Eiga monogatari*, which covers the main line of the Fujiwara family in some detail up to about 1092, and the first definite reference to her as Moromichi's wife occurs in 1094 (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, pp. 115-116 [Kanji 8:1:10]).

<sup>215</sup> *Chūyūki*, loc. cit.

<sup>216</sup> He seems to have moved into the Nijō residence with her in 1094 (*Chūyūki*, loc. cit.), but she may not have remained there permanently, since Moromichi speaks of her subsequently as "Kujō" 九條 and "Kujō no ue" 九條上, presumably in reference to her father's house (*Gonijō Moromichi ki*, III, 219 [Eichō 1:9:11] and 229 [Eichō 1:10:17]). Moromichi later moved to a new house in Kujō (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 2, p. 66 [Jōtoku 1:12:2]), where Nobunaga's daughter apparently also lived with him, since he consistently refers to her thereafter as *kitanokata* (*Gonijō Moromichi ki*, III, 240 [Eichō 1:12:3], 262 [Kōwa 1:3:1], 264 [Kōwa 1:3:8], 276 [Kōwa 1:4:21], 282 [Kōwa 1:5:14]).

<sup>217</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 2, p. 325 (Chōji 1:1:23), mentions that "the *kitanomandokoro* of the late Lord Nijō" held a Buddhist service for him in 1104; the *Chūyūki* usages mentioned earlier make it necessary to interpret this as a reference to Nobunaga's daughter. Moreover, on the anniversary of Moromichi's death in 1108 "the wife of the late *hakuriku*

博陸” (Moromichi) made a vow to copy out the Lotus Sutra as an offering on behalf of her deceased husband (*Gō totokunagon gammonshū* 江都督納言願文集, as quoted in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 3, x, 190-191). Although Tadazane notes the anniversary in his diary, he does not mention the vow, as he would surely have done if the wife mentioned in it had been his mother, Zenshi. See *Denreki*, Pt. 2, p. 295 (Tennin 1:6:28).

<sup>218</sup> *Gonijō Moromichi ki*, I, 255 (Kanji 3:1:29); *Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 23 (Kanji 3:1:29).

<sup>219</sup> Ninshi was eighty-seven by Japanese count when she died in 1152 (*Heihanki*, xv-xviii, Pt. 1, p. 108 [Nimpei 2:3:21]). The kind of disparity in ages seen here in the marriage of Ninshi and Tadazane was not uncommon in Heian aristocratic marriages and is paralleled in other societies where there are natural or artificial restrictions on the field of marriage candidates. See Robert H. Lowie, *Social Organization* (New York, 1948), pp. 94-95.

<sup>220</sup> Evidence of their living together may be found in *Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, pp. 185-186 (Kanji 8:10:3), 262 (Kahō 2:5:11), 403 (Eichō 1:12:24); *Chūgaishō* 中外抄 (remarks and reminiscences of Tadazane recorded by Nakahara Moromoto 師元 [1109-1175]), in *Zoku Gunsho ruijū*, xi, 884; and *Kojidan* 古事談, in *Kokushi taikō*, xviii, 42.

<sup>221</sup> In *Nihon koten zensho*, pp. 194, 292.

<sup>222</sup> Ninshi bore two girls (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, pp. 185-186 [Kanji 8:10:3]; *Gonijō Moromichi ki*, iii, 246 [Eichō 1:12:24]) and a son (*Tamefusa-kyō ki*, entry for Kahō 2:7:7, as quoted in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 3, iii, 836). Both of the daughters died a few days after birth (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 187 [Kanji 8:10:8]; Pt. 2, pp. 7-8 [Jōtoku 1:1:20]). The son lived for at least six or seven months (*Gonijō Moromichi ki*, iii, 231 [Eichō 1:10:26]), but there is no trace of him after 1096 and he must be presumed to have died.

<sup>223</sup> *Ima kagami*, p. 194, attributes the dissolution of the marriage to Ninshi's lack of children.

<sup>224</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 262 (Kahō 2:5:11).

<sup>225</sup> Taishi 泰子 (1095-1156), Toba's empress. Her age at death is given as 61 in *Taiki*, p. 451 (Kyūju 2:12:16).

<sup>226</sup> *Denreki*, I, 117 (Kōwa 4:4:4).

<sup>227</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 2, p. 215 (Kōwa 4:9:25).

<sup>228</sup> *Ima kagami*, pp. 194-195. *Eiga monogatari*, iv, 228-229, says she served Jōtō-mon'in, i.e., Fujiwara Shōshi 彰子 (988-1074), but this must be a mistake, since Shishi would have been only three or four years old by the time of Shōshi's death. Shishi's son by Shirakawa was the priest Kakuō 覺法 (1092-1153).

<sup>229</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>230</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>231</sup> Evidenced frequently in contemporary sources. See, e.g., *Denreki*, I, 236 (Kōwa 5:9:15), and the entries for Ten'ei 1:4:3 and 24, as quoted in *Dai Nihon Shiryō*, Pt. 3, xi, 108-109.

<sup>232</sup> *Denreki*, entry for Tennin 2:12:21, as quoted in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 3, x, 762.

<sup>233</sup> Her son, Tadamichi 忠通 (1097-1164), succeeded Tadazane as *kampaku* and clan chieftain in 1121 (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 386).

<sup>234</sup> Pt. 2, p. 131. Note, however, that one text of *Sompi bummyaku* reads *sai* 妻 here instead of *shō* (see the editor's marginal note).

<sup>235</sup> *Denreki*, entry for Ten'ei 2:11:9, in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 3, xii, 137.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>237</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 333 (Eikyū 2:8:3); *Denreki*, entries for Eikyū 2:12:3 and Eikyū 3:2:30, in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, Pt. 3, xvi, 20, 186.

<sup>238</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 84.

<sup>239</sup> She cannot be traced in contemporary sources.

<sup>240</sup> The marriage is described in detail in *Chūyūki*, Pt. 5, pp. 68 (Gen'ei 1:8:8), 86–87 (Gen'ei 1:10:26), 89 (Gen'ei 1:11:2).

<sup>241</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 5, pp. 97 (Gen'ei 1:11:26), 104 (Gen'ei 2:2:6), 116–117 (Gen'ei 2:3:9), 123 (Gen'ei 2:4:3), 127 (Gen'ei 2:4:15), 128 (Gen'ei 2:4:19), 197 (Hōan 1:1:18); *Heihanki*, Pt. 1, p. 28 (Kyūan 5:10:16).

<sup>242</sup> Seishi 聖子 (1122–1182), Sutoku's empress.

<sup>243</sup> This term is used of her in *Konki*, p. 761 (Kyūan 4:7:20); *Heihanki*, Pt. 2, p. 7 (Kyūju 2:9:15); and *Honchō seiki*, p. 704 (Kyūan 5:10:26). She is called *kitanokata* in *Ima kagami*, p. 206.

<sup>244</sup> *Heihanki*, Pt. 1, p. 28 (Kyūan 5:10:16).

<sup>245</sup> This was Motofusa 基房 (1145–1230). Shunshi also had other sons by Tadamichi.

<sup>246</sup> Kujō Kanezane 兼實 (1149–1207).

<sup>247</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 85, also lists the priest Sonchū 尊忠 as Tadamichi's son and says that his mother was a daughter of Minamoto Moritsune 盛經, but nothing is known about Sonchū, his mother, or her father.

<sup>248</sup> Kujō Kanezane, *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 (Tokyo, 1906–1907), II, 174 (Jishō 2:8:22); *Heihanki*, Pt. 2, p. 80 (Kyūju 3:2:10); *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 2, p. 466, and Pt. 3, p. 529.

<sup>249</sup> Pt. 2, p. 466.

<sup>250</sup> Whitehouse, p. 96; *Ochikubo monogatari*, p. 128.

<sup>251</sup> An example of the exception is found in the marriages of Fujiwara Tsuneyane, who appears to have had four wives simultaneously. See Takamura (1953), pp. 507–509.

<sup>252</sup> As in Michinaga's marriage to Meishi. His visits to her Konoe 近衛 house are mentioned frequently in *Midō kampaku ki*. See, e.g., II, 10 (Kankō 7:7:19), 133 (Chōwa 1:1:16); III, 48 (Chōwa 5:2:28), 129 (Kannin 1:12:14). At the beginning of the marriage he visited her also at the Higashisanjō palace, where she had been adopted by his sister (*Eiga monogatari*, I, 245). There is no suggestion anywhere that they ever lived together.

<sup>253</sup> There were no restrictions on the remarriage of women, as in later centuries. In *Genji monogatari*, e.g., note the remarriage of Ochiba to Yūgiri after her husband's death. Takamura (1953), p. 131, seems to look upon this as a kind of polyandry, but it is not, of course. Simultaneous marriage of a woman to two or more men did not occur in Heian society.

<sup>254</sup> Waley, p. 32; *Genji monogatari*, Pt. 1, p. 77.

<sup>255</sup> The stepmother of the author of *Sarashina nikki*.

<sup>256</sup> Pt. 2, p. 412; Waley, p. 490.

<sup>257</sup> Pt. 3, p. 85; Waley, p. 554.

<sup>258</sup> Pt. 3, p. 90; Waley, p. 556. Takamura (1953), pp. 532–533, cites the case of Kanemasa in *Utsubo monogatari* (Pt. 2, p. 464) as an example of marriage between half-siblings, and on the basis of this she says that such marriages were not prohibited in the Heian period. Even if she is correct in contending, against the opinion of most commentators, that the woman in question was actually Kanemasa's half-sister, the marriage must be regarded as very exceptional. Corroborative historical examples of such relation-

ships do not occur after the beginning of the tenth century, and the evidence of *Genji monogatari* indicates plainly that they were disapproved socially. Kujō Kanezane condemned them even when one of the siblings was an adopted child (*Gyokuyō*, I, 172 [Shōan 1:12:14]).

<sup>259</sup> Pt. 1, pp. 205–206; Waley, pp. 95–96.

<sup>260</sup> See, e.g., Pt. 3, pp. 47, 384; Pt. 4, p. 184; Waley, pp. 528, 566, 732.

<sup>261</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, I, 267–268.

<sup>262</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, pp. 54–59; *Eiga monogatari*, I, 235. Kanezane approves this type of marriage in *Gyokuyō*, I, 172 (Shōan 1:12:14).

<sup>263</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 384; *Eiga monogatari*, II, 244.

<sup>264</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, pp. 146, 148, 177.

<sup>265</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 59; Pt. 3, p. 462; *Honchō kōin shōun roku*, pp. 426, 428; *Kōin keizu* 皇胤系圖, in *Zoku Gunsho ruijū*, v, jō, p. 34.

<sup>266</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 47.

<sup>267</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, pp. 49–50, 58; *Honchō kōin shōun roku*, p. 428.

<sup>268</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, pp. 56, 58; Pt. 3, p. 470. In *Genji monogatari* the Nijō no Otodo (Tō no Chūjō) addresses some remarks to his mother that are usually interpreted as a condemnation of first-cousin marriage of this kind (Pt. 2, p. 293; Waley, pp. 412–413). The passage is somewhat vague, however, and it may refer not to the blood relationship of Kumoi and Yūgiri—the couple in question—but to the manner in which they were raised together in the same house (cf. the use of the key term, *yukarimutsubi*, in Pt. 5, p. 308). Kumoi and Yūgiri are, after all, finally married with the blessing of the Nijō no Otodo and there is no hint of scandal or criticism. In any case, the historical cases of marriage to a maternal uncle's daughter are overwhelming in number.

<sup>269</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, pp. 207, 250.

<sup>270</sup> For a description of the earlier system and its revisions, see Miura, pp. 349–384.

<sup>271</sup> Marriage outside the court circle perhaps never occurred among the higher ranks. The only example I know of appears in *Utsubo monogatari* (Pt. 1, pp. 187–188), where a miserly imperial son marries the daughter of a rich merchant. Waley's translation of *Genji monogatari* reads at one point (p. 1064), “. . . countless persons in much the same position as Kaoru himself [a high-ranking court official] had kept girls of the peasant class,” but the text (Pt. 5, p. 308) speaks only of *ayashiki musume*, “girls of humble position” (cf. the use of *ayashiki* in Pt. 1, p. 195, where it is used of Murasaki's grandmother). However, a directive of the *daijōkan* 大政官 issued in 874, which continued an earlier proscription of marriage between provincial governors and daughters of local families, suggests that such alliances may have been a fairly common thing among provincial governors during their tours of duty. For the directive, see *Ruijū sandai kyaku* 類聚三代格, in *Kokushi taikēi*, xxv, 303.

<sup>272</sup> On Tsunekuni's appointments, see *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, pp. 199, 205; *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 2, p. 440; and *Ōkagami*, p. 132. On Arisada, see *Sandai jitsuroku* 三代實錄, in *Kokushi taikēi*, iv, 322 (Jōgan 15:3:26).

<sup>273</sup> *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 222; *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 2, p. 297.

<sup>274</sup> *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 147.

<sup>275</sup> P. 218. Waley, p. 622, n. 1, says much the same thing. It is perhaps worth noting that there is no reason to suppose with Waley and Morris that Murasaki was not Genji's

main wife after Aoi's death. She possessed every discernible attribute of the main wife in the tenth century and is the only one of Genji's numerous ladies other than Aoi who is called his *kitanokata* (Pt. 3, pp. 127, 197). On the use of the latter term in the novel, see above, n. 158. Waley's assertion that Murasaki was "technically only a chief concubine, her mother's low rank making it impossible for her to be a *kitanokata* or 'legitimate consort,'" is mystifying in view of the text's use of this very title to designate Murasaki.

<sup>276</sup> *Genji monogatari*, I, 189. The father of Murasaki's mother was a provincial official only in the sense that he held the title of *azechi* 按察使, a purely nominal post associated with Mutsu and Dewa that was filled by officials holding the office of counselor (*nagon*) or above. It would be entirely misleading to lump holders of this title together with the ordinary provincial official class. It may be noted, moreover, that Genji's own mother was also the daughter of an *azechi dainagon*.

<sup>277</sup> On the marriage, see *Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 242, and *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 3, p. 462. For the identification of Takaakira's wives, see also Tamai Kōsuke 玉井幸助, *Tōnomine shōshō monogatari* 多武峯少將物語 (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 132-135.

<sup>278</sup> See, e.g., Hisamatsu, Chūko, p. 318.

<sup>279</sup> *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 58; Pt. 3, pp. 462, 470.

<sup>280</sup> *Ōkagami*, p. 125; *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 59. The second wife is called *kitanokata* and *ōkitanokata* in *Kagerō nikki*, p. 179, and *Eiga monogatari*, I, 184-185.

<sup>281</sup> Her son Toshikata became *gondainagon* (*Kugyō bunin*, Pt. 1, p. 265); the later wife's son, Tsunefusa 經房 (969-1023), became *gonchūnagon* (*ibid.*, p. 262).

<sup>282</sup> For a discussion of these, see Nakayama, pp. 608-617, and Miura, pp. 398-413.

<sup>283</sup> Seidensticker, pp. 34-35; *Kagerō nikki*, pp. 109-113.

<sup>284</sup> Seidensticker, pp. 35-36; *Kagerō nikki*, pp. 113-114.

<sup>285</sup> Seidensticker, pp. 39ff.; *Kagerō nikki*, pp. 119ff.

<sup>286</sup> Seidensticker, pp. 42ff.; *Kagerō nikki*, pp. 124ff.

<sup>287</sup> Seidensticker, p. 44; *Kagerō nikki*, p. 128.

<sup>288</sup> Seidensticker, p. 144; *Kagerō nikki*, p. 291.

<sup>289</sup> The story occurs only in the longer texts of *Ōkagami*. See Satō Kyū 佐藤球, *Ōkagami shōkai* 大鏡詳解 (Tokyo, 1940), pp. 356-361.

<sup>290</sup> Pp. 131-133 (the marriages of Fujiwara Tadazane and Fujiwara Moromichi).

<sup>291</sup> See above, n. 89.

<sup>292</sup> Pt. 3, pp. 123-136; Waley, pp. 569-577.

<sup>293</sup> Morris, p. 221.

<sup>294</sup> She is referred to as Hitekuro's *kitanokata* until she is replaced by Tamakazura (*Genji monogatari*, Pt. 3, pp. 128, 131, etc.), and then as his "former" (*hajime no kitanokata* (*ibid.*, p. 322)).

<sup>295</sup> I follow the customary terminology here. Sociologists might prefer "sib" as a rendering of *uji*.

<sup>296</sup> See the case of Kancie's son by the author of *Kagerō nikki*.

<sup>297</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, II, 105, 188, 232, 254-255.

<sup>298</sup> *Shōyūki*, Pt. 3, p. 67 (Manju 2:8:24). The husband was Fujiwara Sadayori 定頼 (995-1045); his father-in-law was Minamoto Narimasa 濟政 (d. 1041).

<sup>299</sup> As apparently happened, for instance, when Norimichi's first wife, a daughter of Fujiwara Kintō 公任 (966-1041), died. See *Eiga monogatari*, II, 151-152, 172-173; III,

103–113. For the location of Norimichi's marital residence at his father-in-law's Shijō house, see *Shōyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 423 (Chōwa 4:4:13). At some undetermined time after their residence burned in 1015, the grandmother and the children seem to have moved in with Norimichi at his Nijō mansion (*Eiga monogatari*, III, 156, 232–233). Another case of maternal grandparents raising a deceased daughter's children involved Koichijōin's second marriage to a daughter of Michinaga. See *Eiga monogatari*, III, 172–175; IV, 72. One does not find, on the other hand, cases in which the father took charge of his children by himself while the maternal grandparents were alive and able to provide support for them.

<sup>300</sup> Sometimes the birth took place in a house borrowed from a maternal relative, family retainer, or other connection. See, e.g., the case of Fujiwara Sanesuke's wife as recorded in *Shōyūki*, Pt. 1, pp. 59–60 (Eikan 3:3:1–2), 66–67 (Eikan 3:4:28). The use of a borrowed house for parturition was undoubtedly in order to avoid ritual defilement of the regular residence. See *Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, pp. 153–154 (Kahō 1:5:20, 27, 29), and *Eiga monogatari*, II, 172.

<sup>301</sup> The maternal grandparents' role described here is seen, e.g., in the birth of Fujiwara Norimichi's daughter in 1014 (*Eiga monogatari*, II, 167, 172), and Fujiwara Tadazane's daughter in 1097 (*Gonijō Moromichi ki*, III, 246 [Eichō 1:12:24]).

<sup>302</sup> The ceremony on the third night. Examples of the maternal grandparents' role in this ceremony occur in the births of children of Fujiwara Norimichi (cited above), Fujiwara Tadamichi (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 5, p. 250 [Hōan 1:9:1]), and Fujiwara Michinaga (*Eiga monogatari*, I, 244–245).

<sup>303</sup> The paternal grandparents seem frequently to have been in charge of the ceremony that occurred on the fifth night after a child's birth (see the instances cited in the preceding note). Michinaga, moreover, held the *hakama*-donning ceremony (*hakamagi* 袴着) for two of his paternal granddaughters at his own house (*Midō kampaku ki*, III, 185–186 [Kannin 2:11:9]).

<sup>304</sup> *Eiga monogatari*, II, 167, depicts Norimichi as being so childlike that he was disgruntled by his wife's pregnancy.

<sup>305</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 5, p. 197 (Hōan 1:1:18), shows him still there in 1120.

<sup>306</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 5, pp. 240 (Hōan 1:7:2), 244–245 (Hōan 1:7:22).

<sup>307</sup> The chronology and course of the illness are described in *Chūyūki*, Pt. 5, pp. 244–245 (Hōan 1:7:22).

<sup>308</sup> These events can be traced in *Chūyūki*, Pt. 5, pp. 242 (Hōan 1:7:13) and 246 (Hōan 1:7:25).

<sup>309</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 3, pp. 343 (Tennin 1:4:8), 344 (Tennin 1:4:14).

<sup>310</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 343 (Eikyū 2:8:22).

<sup>311</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 350 (Eikyū 2:9:11). Munetada reveals here that the girl herself had been staying at her wet nurse's house for some time before her death.

<sup>312</sup> *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 351 (Eikyū 2:9:12). Tametaka was in charge of arrangements for a forthcoming imperial visit to the Iwashimizu and Kamo shrines. See *Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 321 (Eikyū 2:6:29).

<sup>313</sup> See, e.g., *Eiga monogatari*, I, pp. 236ff. Almost any Heian tale or diary will yield additional examples.

<sup>314</sup> *Genji monogatari*, Pt. 3, p. 283; Waley, p. 640.



<sup>315</sup> *Midō kampaku ki*, III, 66 (Chōwa 5:6:27).

<sup>316</sup> *Midō kampaku ki*, III, 185-186 (Kannin 2:11:9).

<sup>317</sup> When a daughter was born to Fujiwara Tadazane in 1097, the paternal great grandfather and the paternal grandparents visited the house where the child was born and saw it about two weeks after its birth (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 1, p. 403 [Eichō 1:12:24]; Pt. 2, p. 4 [Jōtoku 1:1:9]).

<sup>318</sup> See above, n. 299. On Norimichi's marriage, see *Midō kampaku ki*, II, 151 (Chōwa 1:4:27). It is not certain where Norimichi and his family lived after 1015, but it was clearly not with his father, since Michinaga notes that the children involved in the *hakama*-donning of 1018 came to his house for the ceremony (*loc. cit.*), and *Shōyūki* records their return to their own home on the following day (Pt. 2, p. 216 [Kannin 2:11:10]). Norimichi had perhaps already moved to his Nijō house, where he is known to have lived after his wife's death in 1023 (see, e.g., *Eiga monogatari*, III, 113, 232-233).

<sup>319</sup> *Midō kampaku ki*, III, 189 (Kannin 2:12:24); *Shōyūki*, Pt. 2, pp. 230 (Kannin 2:12:24), 232 (Kannin 2:12:29), 238 (Kannin 3:2:13).

<sup>320</sup> Two instances come from *Ochikubo monogatari* and *Genji monogatari*. In the first, a youthful husband secretly establishes his wife in a neolocal marriage against the wishes of her parents, and the couple's second son is placed in the care of the husband's mother. The youth of the couple, the lack of any maternal relatives to help look after their children, and the fact that the couple's house belonged to the husband's mother probably account for the role played by the paternal grandparents here. In *Genji monogatari*, Kumoi is brought up by her paternal grandparents in order to avoid conflict with her mother's second husband and his numerous children.

<sup>321</sup> The adoption of Fujiwara Tadazane by his paternal grandfather Morozane is an apparent historical instance, but *Sompi bummyaku*, Pt. 1, p. 64, notes that the adoption occurred because of the early death of Tadazane's father Moromichi, and this means that Tadazane was a fully grown man at the time. The date of Tadazane's adoption implied in *Sompi bummyaku* is probably correct, since Moromichi's diary, *Gonijō Moromichi ki*, contains no record of the event. Fujiwara Saneyori adopted several of his patrilineal grandchildren (*Eiga monogatari*, I, 158-159; *Shōyūki*, Pt. 2, pp. 172-173 [Kannin 2:4:1]), but the circumstances involved are not fully known.

<sup>322</sup> One of the effects produced by the wife's continued membership in her father's clan was that she was buried apart from her husband if his clan was different from her own. For instance, Rinshi, a Minamoto, was buried in the neighborhood of her father's grave at Kōryūji 廣隆寺 (*Chūgaishō*, p. 868; *Ōkagami uragaki*, p. 380), while her husband, Michinaga, was buried on the opposite side of the city at Toribeno 鳥邊野 (*Shōyūki*, Pt. 3, p. 156 [Manju 4:12:7]). Similarly, although Minamoto Reishi was adopted into the Fujiwara clan (see above, p. 130), she was eventually interred with the Minamoto at the clan burial grounds in Kitashirakawa 北白川 (*Chūyūki*, Pt. 4, p. 298 [Eikyū 2:4:22]; *Heihanki*, Pt. 1, pp. 217-218 [Kyūju 2:5:20]), while her husband Morozane was buried in the area of the Fujiwara burial grounds near Uji (*Denreki*, Pt. 2, p. 45 [Kōwa 3:2:21]).