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Women of the Rear Palace: *Naishi no kami* and the Fujiwara Clan

by

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Abstract

The "Code for Officials of the Rear Palace" (*Kōkyū shiki-in ryō*) in the Yōrō Law Codes lists twelve bureaucratic offices held by women in the imperial court. The most prominent of these offices, *naishi no kami* (Director of the Palace Retainer's Office) was held exclusively by women of the Fujiwara clan during the Heian period, most often by those who would later became consorts and bore the emperor's children. This thesis explores the role and responsibilities of *naishi no kami* in late Heian Japan in relation to the Fujiwara clan through the examination of the "Code for Officials of the Rear Palace" itself, as well as courtier diaries and chronicles from the same period.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Prior to the Nara period (710-784), a governmental system developed in Japan based upon the Tang Law Codes in China. Known as the *ritsuryō*, these law codes contained rules and regulations for the entire imperial court, establishing a rank and title system that was used throughout the Heian period (794-1185). Within the *ritsuryō* law codes is a section devoted solely to women who served in the Rear Palace of the imperial court. These titles, known collectively as the *Kōkyū jūni shi* (Twelve Titles of the Rear Palace), were first developed in early versions of the *ritsuryō*, but by the end of the Heian period, the majority of them were no longer in use. While rules from the law codes are well-documented and studied in both Japanese and English today, this set of titles is virtually ignored by Western scholarship.

Although we have no documentary evidence produced by women who held these titles themselves, the roles are still commented on by some of their contemporaries. Sei Shōnagon (966-1017), a lady-in-waiting who served under the consort Teishi in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, comments on members of the Palace Retainer's Office briefly in this section from her diary, the Pillow Book (*Makura no sōshi*, c. 1002):

> "When I make myself imagine what it is like to be one of those women who live at home, faithfully serving their husbands—women who have not a single exciting prospect in life yet who believe that they are perfectly happy—I am filled with scorn. Often they are of quite good birth, yet have had no opportunity to find out what the world is like. I wish they could live for a while in our society, even if it should mean taking services as attendants, so that they might come to know the delights it has to offer."[1]

[1] *Makura no sōshi* chapter 22. Translated from Morris 1967, 20.

"Attendants" in this entry refer to women who worked in the Rear Palace, the area of the capital where female officials who served directly under the emperor lived and worked. This office required the highest rank among female aristocrats, and powerful courtier families dominated the highest-ranked positions in this office.

The Heian period was known for its high level of literature, art, and the peak of Buddhism in classical Japan, but it was also marked with a gradual decline in centralized administration, particularly during the tenth century. Although the period began with the *ritsuryō* government system still in place, over time this structure changed, with governmental control still appearing to center on the emperor, but in actuality controlled by powerful courtier families. Political power moved away from public into private spheres of influence. It is in this setting that the role of female bureaucrats first established in the *ritsuryō* also changed.

The most prominent of the positions for women in the law codes was the Director of the Palace Retainer's Office (*naishi no kami*). According to the Yōrō Codes, the final version of *ritsuryō* enacted in 757, *naishi no kami* held a number of major responsibilities, including attendance on the emperor, administration of serving girls, formal appointments for female officials, and ceremonies for the Rear Palace. The notable aspect of this title, however, is how it was used by courtier families in marriage politics. The Fujiwara clan, a courtier family who saw themselves at the height of power in the Heian period, dominated the *naishi no kami* title beginning in the ninth century. Daughters of the patriarch of the Fujiwara clan often served as *naishi no kami* as a step towards becoming a consort

to the emperor and bearing his children. This complex system of marriage politics, mastered by the Fujiwara, resulted in control of the emperor and political matters by a non-imperial entity.

When examined further, it appears that *naishi no kami* of the Heian period were not bureaucrats of any sort. Rather, the title indicated a certain future for the women who held it: marriage to the reigning emperor and production of an heir. Although women were often forced into this role via the influence of their fathers, their time under this title allowed them to actively engage with the political sphere. Aware of their future roles as consorts, *naishi no kami* worked with their male relatives in order to bring prestige to their clans. While this hardly equates to an equivalent of influence with male courtiers of the imperial court, it does not indicate a lack of power for women. As historian Fukutō Sanae has argued, "while the status and role of female officials began to erode in the public domain, the participation of noblewomen in the private sphere continued to be prominent, if not increased."[2] They were not bureaucrats, but women in this role were active members of the court who were aware of the significance of their participation in rituals and ceremonies, as well as their their future roles as consorts.

Studies on the bureaucratic titles for the Rear Palace are fairly limited in Japanese. The earliest work specifically on women in these roles comes from Asai Torao, who analyzed each of the twelve offices, and discussed references to the titles beyond the Yōrō Code itself.[3] The titles were not explored in depth however, until much later.

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[2] Fukutō 2007, 19.
[3] Asai 1985, 149-201. Originally published in 1906.

Suda Haruko's work in the 1970s explored the responsibilities of each of these titles, focusing particularly on the top two level offices: Director of the Palace Retainer's Office (*naishi no kami*) and Director of the Storehouse Office (*kura no kami*). Suda focuses on a few of the women who held these roles in the seventh and eighth centuries, but does not expand her analysis beyond the Nara period.[4] Yoshikawa Shinji notes that research on women and *ritsuryō* in Japanese is limited to three fields: the nature and role of women mentioned in the articles of the *ritsuryō* (such as the various levels of consorts, nurses, and servants), the role of the emperor's wives, and specific research on some notable women.[5] He examined the role of women from the seventh through tenth century and their changing roles in major ceremonies, such as the New Year's Ceremony, citing the separation of ceremonies for male and female courtiers over this time period.[6]

Fukutō Sanae briefly discussed the changing role of *naishi no kami* in the mid-Heian period, noting that many consorts started their careers by serving in this role before marrying the emperor.[7] Fukutō focuses on the changing political influence of women in the late Heian period in her more recent works,[8] but turns her attention towards mothers of the emperor and other high-ranking imperial women rather than *naishi no kami*. Yet women still held this position by the late Heian period, despite the lack of sources about them surviving compared to consorts.

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[4] Suda 1971, 70-73.
[5] Yoshikawa 1998, 77.
[6] Ibid., 80.
[7] Fukutō 1998, 136.
[8] See Fukutō 2007 for some of her recent research in English.

While there is some minimal work on these roles in Japanese, in English the analysis is even more lacking. Richard J. Miller's work from 1979, *Japan's First Bureaucracy: A Study of Eighth-Century Government* is the most expansive examination of these titles. Miller sketches the basic responsibilities of each office as listed in the "Code for Officials of the Rear Palace," but further analysis of their roles aside from examining the Yōrō Code is non-existent. The titles are briefly alluded to in a footnote in Joan Piggott's *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship* from 1997, but again the titles are not examined in depth.

This study attempts to fill some of the gaps in both English and Japanese regarding *naishi no kami*. Building on Fukutō's theories regarding the changing political influence of women in the Heian period, this thesis will focus on the changing role of *naishi no kami* in the tenth and eleventh centuries, particularly via women of the Fujiwara clan, who used the role to help their family's influence at court. Their active participation in court and Buddhist rituals during their time as *naishi no kami* led to many Fujiwara women to become consorts and give birth to future emperors, providing a vital link between the Fujiwara clan and the imperial line. This thesis will also explore the development of the *ritsuryō* system and the establishment of bureaucratic positions of women. Using courtier diaries and chronicles from the Heian period, I will show how *naishi no kami* interacted at court, and what responsibilities actually remained for these women by the end of the Heian period.

Were *Naishi no kami* marginalized?

In recent English-language scholarship on women in premodern Japan,

there are some scholars who deem women as "marginalized" members of society. Most work on marginalization in English has centered on post-colonialism from a Eurocentric sphere, but this has not stopped scholars across multiple disciplines to use the theory for their own work on premodern Japan. As we do not have any writings produced by *naishi no kami* surviving the day, the question needs to be asked: were these elite women marginalized during the Heian period?

Theories surrounding marginalization find their origin in Western scholarship across a multitude of disciplines. Gayatri Spivak, an English professor who focuses on postcolonial studies, particularly within India, is a major source of discourse on the margin in recent scholarship. She sees marginality as a constructed concept given by the center of power to the margins of society, as a form of repression by elites and others in power towards those of lower classes. The "silent, silenced center" includes "men and women among the illiterate peasantry, the tribals, [and] the lowest strata of the urban sub proletariat"[9] within postcolonial India. These "subaltern" people, Spivak concludes, cannot speak for themselves due to their repressed status. Indeed, the complete lack of texts produced by those groups is further evidence of their inability to "speak." By focusing simply on the case of India, however, Spivak herself declares that it "cannot be taken as representative of all countries, nations, cultures, and the like that may be invoked as the Other[.]"[10]

Following Spivak's logic, the margin is thus a constructed concept due to power relations. Examining women within this framework reveals further levels

[9] Spivak1988, 283.
[10] Ibid, 281.

of theory. Feminist scholar Judith Butler has argued for gender and sex as a constructed identity, similar to the constructed identity of the margin. The female/male binary is always changing, further constructing itself. She adds, however, that "[i]f sexuality is culturally constructed within existing power relations, then the postulation of a normative sexuality that is 'before,' 'outside,' or 'beyond' power is a cultural impossibility and a politically impracticable dream."[11]

A tendency amongst scholars is to equate the margin with women. An issue with this is pointed out by Toril Moi, who notes that equating marginality with femininity erases race and class within the margin.[12] Simply put, it is a gross over-assumption to link marginality with all women of every class; rather, one should examine class difference first before diving into the question of female marginality.

This has not stopped scholars of premodern Japan from applying the theory to classes of women that simply do not fit the definition of "marginalized." Literary historian Edith Sarra discusses the marginal status of women in the imperial court in the Heian period, a group of women who produced their own diaries and memoirs. She sees diaries of women as marginal to begin with, due to the primary audience of these works only being other women at the court, as well as being forced to write in phonetic *hiragana* script rather than Chinese.[13] She continues, however, that "the more marginal the genre, the more likely it is to

[11] Butler 1990, 40.
[12] Kawashima 2001, 9.
[13] Sarra 1999, 1.

provide the writer with a space for critical reflection on herself and her world."[14] Even though court women held a supposed marginal status with their writing, Sarra's thesis revolves around their ability to express themselves in a closed space, with the ability to better question their place in society. The diaries hold a self-reflexive nature wherein women were able to discuss what it meant to be a woman and a writer.

Going back to Spivak's marginal theory, however, we see that she believed the margin to be part of a center/periphery dichotomy, wherein the margins of society were oppressed and unable to express themselves. Sarra shows that women at court were able to express themselves, yet still defines the writing as marginal due to the limitations of language and the supposed small audience. There are several issues with this. First, Sarra attributes the marginal status solely based on writing, yet the fact that women were able to write at all and express themselves is more than Spivak's marginal groups can say. Women of the imperial court produced numerous documents that were recopied over a thousand years by men and women alike. Second, I do not agree with Sarra that diaries were only read by other women at court. Learned men of the court certainly knew about the writings of women. For example, Fujiwara no Michinaga (966-1028) requested Murasaki Shikibu (978-1014) in the eleventh century to produce a diary describing the birth of his grandson in order to legitimize the events surrounding the birth.[15] Michinaga certainly saw the potential audience for Murasaki's works if he were to ask for such a thing. Additionally, Murasaki's diary includes

[14] Ibid., 6
[15] Wallace 2005, 5.

numerous entries where male courtiers make comments about her previous writing, mainly the *Genji monogatari*. Even though her writings were in *hiragana*, she certainly had an audience beyond other women who produced *hiragana* texts.

Describing the writers as "elite" raises a further red flag against ascribing a marginal status. Whereas women of lower classes could more easily be discriminated or attacked by upper levels of society, women of the Heian court were at the highest rungs of society. These elite women were not deemed insignificant, although they were not in the public sphere like male elites. Instead, they acted in a more private setting within the court, with their writing passing back and forth between the public and private spheres. The fact that their writings were continually passed along, recopied, and protected, signifies the importance placed on their lives and the texts they produced.

Naishi no kami would fall into this group of elite women. Although writings in their own hand about their life at court do not survive, they held ranks within the bureaucratic system, independent of their marital status or the status of their husbands. The *ritsuryō* code describing female bureaucratic offices indicate a number of independent responsibilities. In examining the surviving sources base, consisting of chronicles and diaries written by male courtiers, we see that *naishi no kami* were respected and held in high esteem. They were not repressed, but rather active members of the court, who worked with their male relatives in order to bring prestige to their respective clans. Elite women such as *naishi no kami* simply cannot be ascribed "marginal" status.

If female elites were not marganilzed, then the question remains if there

were any marganilized classes of women in Heian-era Japan. Terry Kawashima's *Writing Margins: The Textual Construction of Gender in Heian and Kamakura Japan*, focuses on this theoretical concept of "marginality" in a Japanese historical context. In her definition, "'[m]arginality' […] points to the existences of certain groups or characteristics at the fringes of a social system. This placement is justified by those in power, referred to as the 'center,' through the labeling of these groups or characteristics as undesirable or unwanted."[16] Rather than focusing on all women as marginalized in Heian and Kamakura Japan, Kawashima focuses specifically on female entertainers, the poet Ono no Komachi (825-c. 900), and female bridge deities from literature. By examining the construction of marginal status for each of these figures, Kawashima argues that "the marginalization of one figure and her associated characteristics led to the indirect yet significant lessening of some of her other powers."[17]

Kawashima's limitation on female subjects makes sense. Although she implies through her writing that all women in Heian and Kamakura Japan experienced some form of marginalization, particularly within the context of Buddhism and Buddhist thought,[18] she limits herself to three groups for whom she can provide "marginalizing" texts. While she tries to use a range of texts, many of them are literary in nature, such as *setsuwa* (vernacular tales) regarding bridge deities or Ono no Komachi, she ignores the upper levels of society, such as women of the court, probably due to a lack of sources that enhance her argument.

In using the concept of the margin and the theory surrounding it,

[16] Kawashima 2001, 1.
[17] Ibid., 289.
[18] Ibid., 18.

Kawashima admits limitations and issues in her analysis. While theorists mentioned above feel confident about naming characteristics that define certain groups as marginal, this cannot be so easily defined in Heian Japan. A major issue is the number of documents surviving; for certain groups we may have only a few documents and their contents may be in direct opposition to one another in ascribing status to figures. Indeed, Kawashima argues that previous scholars have mislabeled some groups as marginal due to misreading of sources.[19] Additionally, while Spivak is interested in how the margin speaks back to the center, Kawashima is quick to point out that this is an impossibility in the study of the "margin" in Heian Japan. The documents included in her study are not written by the "marginalized" groups; rather, these sources are written by "the dominant," i.e. literate men. Thus, Kawashima chooses to approach the process of marginalization of these groups rather than ascribed marginalized status itself, as she believes we can see attempts at marginalizing groups through surviving documents.[20]

I question this approach to any study of women of the Heian period. First, we can see that theories of marginalization find no origin in Japanese historical study. One of the leaders of marginal theory is Spivak, who focuses on postcolonial India. Other theorists that Kawashima references focus on other postcolonial areas, examining Europe as the dominant center with conquered colonies as marginalized groups. Could small groups of women, such as female entertainers, truly be compared to a colony, with elites (or at least literate

[19] Ibid., 10.
[20] Ibid., 11.

members of society who deign to write about such women) equivalent to a European imperial power? Second, Kawashima herself admits faults in the marginalization theory when discussing Japan, yet continues to use it throughout her work in order to discuss the marginalizing process of women in literary texts. She adapted the theories in such a way to make them work for her argument, yet throws out aspects of the theory that do not fit. Clearly Kawashima has taken a Eurocentric theory and tried to fit it into a Japanese context without realizing the implications of her actions. The marginalization theory as presented in her monograph simply does not fit women of Heian Japan. Yet Kawashima is not the only one who has ascribed marginalization theory to women of this period.

Recently Janet R. Goodwin has also addressed the marginalizing of women through texts, particularly in regard to female entertainers of the Heian and Kamakura periods. While she agrees with Kawashima's approach in examining the conditions and reasons behind texts produced in these periods, she believes "the texts did not simply describe marginalization but also contributed to its production."[21] Goodwin sees that texts surviving until today depict women as marginalized members of society, but the existence of these texts themselves added to the marginalization process of women throughout the Heian and Kamakura periods.

Yet Goodwin also expresses doubts about Kawashima's approach. For example, Goodwin calls out Kawashima's assertion that one group of female entertainers, *kugutsu*, were called exclusively by poor terms, such as "Northern

[21] Goodwin 2007, 121.

Barbarians."[22] Goodwin notes, however, that this description is only in one collection of literary and poetic texts, while other sources, such as *Makura no sōshi*, portray the same entertainers in a much better light.[23] Could a group really be deemed as "marginal" if they were put down in only one group of sources?

According to Goodwin, female entertainers were not marginalized to begin with, but were instead increasingly discriminated against over time. In fact, she admits that women held a relatively high position in Heian elite society, as women could inherit and hold property, hold informal power at court through male relations, and expressed themselves through a large amount of literature produced within the inner court.[24] Goodwin chooses to turn away from elite women, however, to focus on female entertainers. Rather than ascribing marginalization to women as a whole, Goodwin sees power relations resting as much on class as on gender.[25] Even though female members of the court may have held less power than men, they were not discriminated against to the same extent as those of lower classes.

Like Kawashima's approach, I also question Goodwin's use of "marginalization." Certainly we see a decline in the status of female entertainers in the sources that she presents, but this does not fit the definitions of "the margin." These women were still able to speak for themselves via songs that were recorded and survive today. Additionally, their existence in so many tales and poems written by an elite male audience indicates their importance in the cultural sphere.

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[22] Kawashima 2001, 41.
[23] Goodwin 2007,136.
[24] Ibid., 8.
[25] Ibid., 154.

Although Kawashima and Goodwin attempt to use theories of marginalization in their works, other historians have argued against the labeling of premodern Japanese women in such a way. Japanese historian Amino Yoshihiko disagrees on the naming of female groups, particularly *asobi* and entertainers, but also female merchants and court women, as marginal. While court women may seem put aside in historical documents today, Amino notes the rise of independent vocational groups for courtiers beginning in the tenth or eleventh century, which had a seniority system like merchant and artisanal groups, meeting in ports and harbors.[26]

Like Goodwin, Amino believed that *kugutsu* were not a marginalized group, citing accounts of women in *kugutsu* groups getting horses and other property returned to them after being unlawfully seized, with the government official who originally seized the goods being dismissed from office.[27] Another incident in 1212 is also cited, discussing *kugutsu* who held fields that were foraged unlawfully by servants on their proprietor's estate. The servants were later arrested, and the *kugutsu*'s rights upheld by their estate manager.[28] Goodwin does not believe that this distinguishes *kugutsu* as unmarginalized members of society, yet I see the logic in Amino's argument. These groups of women still had rights that were upheld by governmental and elite members of society, and the proof of these incidents were recorded for prosperity. If these women were simply on the margins of society, their plights could have been easily ignored and stricken from the written record.

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[26] Amino 2012, 234-235.
[27] Goodwin 2007, 136.
[28] Ibid., 137.

Amino also turns to the question of the supposed Japanese patriarchal system. Many Japanese historians have considered Japanese society to have been patriarchal since ancient times, yet this simply was not the case. Women may have been limited to writing in *hiragana* and a private sphere of influence, but their writings and actions were not insignificant. Rather "the unique women's literature that developed in the inner palace shows that women firmly maintained their own perspective."[29] As writing spread through the upper echelons of society, women held their own place as their status had been quite high prior to the introduction of writing. This would not have been so if Japan had been a patriarchal society; rather this developed due to the dual-lineage society from ancient times. Both the female and male lines were important in ancient Japan. It was only later, through the influence of China, that the importance of the matrilineal line declined.

In the case of documents produced by elite women in Heian Japan, Lynne K. Miyake points out those women's contributions to literature were considerably greater than in English or French literature in comparable periods.[30] Additionally, although rare, women did go beyond the bounds of so-called "women's writings," such as Chinese poetry written by Empress Shōtoku or Princess Uchiko in the eighth and ninth centuries. Many also learned how to read some Chinese characters, as boasted by Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shōnagon in their own writings.[31] Miyake sees the limits of women's writings as a good thing; since women were not given strict instruction in Chinese language or culture, they were

[29] Amino 2012, 239.
[30] Miyake 1996, 77.
[31] Ibid., 78.

provided a space to become literate and engage in literary production in Japanese. Although they may not have partaken of Chinese-language governmental writings, their writings in Japanese could be enjoyed by both sexes.[32]

Amino agrees with the significance of women's writings in the premodern period. He argues that women in the inner court produced so much writing points to a maintaining of their own perspective.[33] If women of the court were completely marginalized by a patriarchal court system, they most certainly would not have produced the wide breath of diaries and tales that survive today. The public world of the court may have been male, but the inner world of the court was predominantly female.[34] Fukutō Sane agrees with this analysis, noting "while the status and role of female officials began to erode in the public domain, the participation of noblewomen in the private sphere continued to be prominent, if not increased."[35] It is the actions in this private sphere, such as actions of *naishi no kami* in rituals and actively seeking interactions with prominent members of the court in order to assist their clans, that helped the ultimate influence of male courtiers. These women were not repressed and pushed to the side, but rather active members of a court whose actions were recorded in documents of the period.

Could any woman of premodern Japan be named "marginal?" Considering that "marginality" comes from a Eurocentric approach based on colonies and imperial powers, I think not. Compared to the rest of the world in the same period,

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[32] Ibid., 50.
[33] Amino 2012, 239.
[34] Ibid., 238.
[35] Fukutō 2007, 19.

elite women had quite high social status and significant power, including the ability to hold property, and were even able to produce their own writings in the court. Elite women were clearly able to speak for themselves, and although we have few documents written by female entertainers themselves, the fact that they were included in a number of texts written by men, both positive and negative, indicates their significance within society.

If one were to go forward with naming a margin in premodern Japan, it seems prevalent to focus not on gender, but on class. Female entertainers were on the lower end of society, yet still remain visible in textual documentation. But what of other members of lower classes? Peasants of both genders remain nearly invisible in textual documents. These were the people who were deemed truly insignificant by the elites in Japan, and have thus vanished from historical view. But if historians are to venture forth and argue for the marginalization of any group, they must first create a new theory that fits Japan itself. In examining the women of the Rear Palace, we shall see that they were hardly marginalized at all, but rather were respected and revered by other members of the imperial court, with a certain amount of influence in political matters upon their marriage to the emperor.

Privatization of Government

During the late Heian period, the governmental structure of Japan changed drastically. The *ritsuryō* system steadily declined as power moved from a strong state apparatus to private rule and influence. Political influence, once centered on

the emperor, expanded to multiple centers, including aristocrats and religious institutions.

One theory regarding this new privatized system comes from the Japanese historian Kuroda Toshio. His *kenmon taisei* theory (gates of power system) directly applies to Japan's political structure from 1086 to the fifteenth century. Kuroda argued that three *kenmon* controlled Japan: court nobles (*kōke* or *kuge*), the warrior aristocracy (*buke*), and temples and shrines (*jisha*). The political system was balanced between these three groups, with power dominated not by a single entity, but balanced between the three entities. No single group of elites could gain enough power on their own in order to completely control the country.[36] Four characteristics were common amongst all *kenmon*: a private headquarters for administration and economic matters (such as the emperor's quarters or a major temple), the ability to issue their own edicts, retainers or followers, rights to self rule over their own families or believers (such as the head of a courtier family or a head priest), and control over their own goods and land.[37]

One of the matters of note regarding elites and the *kenmon* system is the attention brought to the lack of dominance of any single entity within the system; in the case of the period preceding the *kenmon* age, the Fujiwara. Although the clan spent over two hundred years controlling the imperial family via the regency system in the late Heian period, this political maneuvering could not be achieved by the Fujiwara alone. The Fujiwara were certainly the most powerful of the courtier families in the late Heian period, but the support of other groups was

[36] Adolphson 2000, 11.
[37] Ibid., 13.

necessary for their domination of power roles.[38] In addition, support came from lesser courtier families, but also from women within the Fujiwara clan.

Kenmon were the end result of the privatization of government in Japan. As courtier families looked away from the capital towards their own holdings and circles of influence, the prominence of governmental titles disappeared. No longer was it important just to hold a high rank and be close to the emperor, but instead to manage a group's retainers, private holdings, and alliances with other courtier families as well as with religious and warrior groups.

Privatization certainly accounts for one reason why *naishi no kami* and other titles of the Rear Palace fell from use by the end of the Heian period. The court no longer held the same appeal for courtier families, who looked away from the palace for new forms of political influence. Having female relatives in the court would not necessarily provide the same amount of reward as it did in previous generations.

While Kuroda's theory directly addresses the three major *kenmon*, I believe the same concept of multiple groups working together to balance power can be applied within each group, as branches within a *kenmon*. Specifically with the Fujiwara, this is seen with the use of women. The Fujiwara's dominance throughout the late Heian period owes much to the actions of female clan members who were positioned close to the emperor. These women, once they became consorts, would give birth to the emperor's heir, who would be raised within the maternal grandfather's home (i.e. the Fujiwara grandfather).

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[38] Ibid., 18.

If we were thus to examine the branches within the Fujiwara clan, three distinct groups emerge: Fathers, Sons/Brothers, and Daughters/Sisters. The fathers would make sure that their daughters would be placed within the imperial court (if not immediately in a consort position, then in some posting that would eventually lead to a consort post). Sons/Brothers would support their fathers and sisters as best they could within the court. Finally, the Daughters/Sisters would make themselves seen throughout the court and involve themselves in rituals. Once they became consorts, these daughters would bear an heir, and thus send support back to their Brothers and Fathers, who would be favored as relatives of the "mother of the emperor" (*kokumo*) if such the case may be. Only through the active participation of all three of these branches could the Fujiwara clan have enough influence within the court in order to hold power throughout the Heian period.

The concept of branches can be applied to the other *kenmon* as well. Religious centers, for instance, may be seen as one great entity within Kuroda's theory, yet of course within religious groups, there were multiple parts that worked together. Main temples were supported by smaller temples, which were protected by their main temples. Affiliate temples would work together towards a greater goal. On the courtier side as well, while one can look within any single family to see the *kenmon* within that group, no single courtier family could completely independent. Even in the rise of the Fujiwara clan in the Heian period, it was the support of lesser courtier families that aided their rise to power. No single courtier family could truly reach total domination. At the height of the

Fujiwara regency, the regent needed the support of men from lesser courtier families, and certainly from female relatives who were married to the emperor.

With the changing governmental structure in mind, the influence of *naishi no kami* and other aristocratic women cannot be ignored. Although women holding public power in the Heian period are not visible in sources, women's influence in the private sector certainly existed. *Naishi no kami* worked with their male relatives, providing a link between the imperial line and the Fujiwara, without which the clan would not have held a high degree of political influence. With this in mind, let us turn now to the development of the *ritsuryō* law codes and the original establishment of bureaucratic positions for women.

Chapter 2

Setting the Stage: The *Ritsuryō* State

The *ritsuryō* law system, originally established in Japan in the sixth century, created the basis for rule and administration that would continue to evolve throughout Nara and Heian Japan. Although the majority of the code dealt with male-run offices, it also included a section related to women living in the palace, including a code specifically for female officials who served the emperor. The existence of this code is significant as it indicates the existence of women who may have had political influence beyond relatives and consorts of the emperor. The codes' regulations for women will be explored later, but first we will examine the development of the *ritsuryō* in the eighth century.

The Yōrō Law Code is the final version of the Chinese-based *ritsuryō* law system, compiled around 720 and promulgated in 757. Developed from the previous Taihō and Kiyomihara Codes, it is the only version of the original *ritsuryō* law codes to remain today, albeit in fragmented form.[39] Created in order to establish the rising kingdom in Japan as a separate independent entity from China's sphere of influence and to have Japan recognized as a civilized state by China, the code did not create a new social order from scratch, but rather instituted in written form the practices and roles already performed by members of the court at the time. Established ranks and specific requirements for each office allowed courtiers to continue in the same manner as they had previously, but also allowed a standard that would be followed for future generations.[40]

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[39] Piggott 1997, 167.
[40] Ibid., 176-177.

Chinese law codes formed the basis for the Japanese *ritsuryō*, but instead of copying the Chinese laws completely, officials adapted the laws to fit the Japanese court. In regards to female officials in the Rear Palace, the biggest change was that Japanese female officials had direct contact with the emperor and managed themselves. Meanwhile in China, equivalent female officials only served the empress and were managed by eunuchs.[41] The Japanese version allowed greater responsibility for women, and with access to the ruler, greater chances for political influence.

A major impetus for establishing a new law system in Japan came about due to international affairs in the seventh century. Previously, the Japanese court had established ties with the Silla kingdom in Korea after Prince Kim Ch'unch'u (664-661) came to Japan as a hostage. After he returned to Silla, he was sent as an ambassador to Tang China, leading to the Tang Empire and the Silla forming close bonds. Japan, now isolated, attempted to establish further ties with the Tang, but failed. Deciding to back the Paekche and Koguryŏ kingdoms in Korea against the Silla and Tang, the Japanese courts sent forces to Korea, but were defeated. The Japanese court thus decided to strengthen military might at home due to failing international relations. The *ritsuryō* state started by fixing domestic matters, but its affect on military and other aspects of the state were also incredibly important and prominent in the minds of courtiers at the time, who were dealing with a tense international situation.[42]

As China's own codes were a model for *ritsuryō*, so too were important

[41] Kaneko 2008, 238.
[42] Inoue 1977, 94-95.

Chinese classics. A partial bibliography for the code remains today, with the following nine Chinese classics listed in the Law on Scholarship (*Gaku-ryō*) section of the Code: Book of Rites (*Lǐjì*), Zuo Commentary (*Zuo Zhuan*), Book of Odes (*Shījīng*), Rites of Zhou (*Zhōulǐ*), Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial (*Yili*), Book of Changes (*Yì Jīng*), Book of History (*Shūjīng*), Analects (*Lún Yǔ*), and Classic of Filial Piety (*Xiàojīng*).[43] The Chinese model for law was seen as a superior model for Japan to follow as it represented not only an organized bureaucratic system, but also systemized organization of administrative, economic, military, and religious functions of society. Developed for complex society, it proved to be the perfect model for Japan, where kinship and social organization were continuing to grow in size and complexity, necessitating a well-established structure to maintain status quo.[44] Despite this influence from China, the purpose of creating a written code was not to cement China's influence, but rather to separate the rising Japanese state from China. In short, the establishment of their own law codes put the Japanese court on equal footing with China.

Along with official postings, the *ritsuryō* tied official ranks to each title. Beginning in the Taihō codes, courtiers were graded in nine ranks with thirty steps.[45] This new system of promotion created a predictable and stable system of advancement for the entire court. Required ranks for posts are listed throughout the code, making it easy for officials to see what roles they were eligible for, and give them goals to aim for. Additionally, the rank system created visible markers

[43] Piggott 1997, 170.
[44] Hall 1966, 50.
[45] Within each rank were upper and lower level ranks, allowing a wide variety of levels within the ranking system.

within the court itself. Specific forms of dress, regalia, and other protocols were set for each rank, and while attending the court, officials could easily garner who ranked above or below them via these markers.[46]

Although this new ranking system worked to "equalize" courtiers and mainstream the promotion process, there still existed within the court a "shadow rank" system (*on'i*). This allowed the children of high ranking courtiers to start at fairly high ranks themselves, thereby bypassing tests of achievements in order to pass through lower ranks on their own. Generally, a first-rank official's children would start at the fifth rank, and the grandchildren would start at the sixth rank, with lower starting ranks for children of officials with lower ranks.[47] By the late Heian period, this system also affected female children, such as the daughters of Fujiwara no Michinaga, who were awarded high ranks when they were children, allowing them to rise to high positions within the court without any experience.

These ranks were memorialized each year in the New Year's audience with the Emperor, in which high-ranking courtiers were invited the court for rewards and promotions each year. While this was not the only time of year promotions were awarded or new titles bestowed, it was a grand event in which the emperor could show his benevolence to his subjects, and reestablish his hierarchy above all of his officials and ministers.[48]

Specific rites and ceremonies were connected to this rank system. Beginning in the seventh century with the establishment of the first version, court etiquette for entering and leaving the court came into effect, with specific rules for

[46] Piggott 1997, 180.
[47] Yamamura 1974, 10.
[48] Piggott 1997, 186.

each courtier based on their rank. Special caps were given to courtiers based on their rank, starting in 647, known as *nanshoku jūsankai kan* (thirteen grades of caps in seven colors). These were required for New Year's Day, receptions for foreign embassies, and various Buddhist ceremonies.[49]

The implementation of the *ritsuryō* law codes had an unexpected effect on gender relations in early Japan. While certainly by the mid- to late-Heian period, families and inheritances were established across patrilineal lines, prior to the end of the seventh century, Japan was a bilateral society. Lineage records in these early periods included both male and female ancestry for several generations on both sides.[50] Matrilineal lines were just as important as patrilineal lines. Yet the implementation of *ritsuryō* changed this system drastically, as Chinese influences saturated the court.

In the original establishment of the law codes, the government hoped to stabilize the country by setting into writing many practices that were already in place, but equalized across the entire governmental structure. The Chinese Tang Codes were an obvious source to draw from, as influences from China had traveled to Japan over prior centuries. China's influence was taken a step further in the establishment of the *ritsuryō*, as its' model of government was based along patriarchal lines. The establishment of families in the Tang Codes, for example, was based on a patriarchal head, with loyalty to the family patriarch the foundation of state rule. The emperor was viewed as the father of the people, in other words the patriarch of the entire realm, and the same rules of filial piety

[49] Ōsumi 2010, 68.
[50] Yoshie 2005, 439.

expected in a family were thus applied to the emperor and the realm as a whole. The Japanese *ritsuryō* followed this same model as it made centralizing taxation and other aspects of the government much easier, but did not necessarily reflect the actual breakdown of society. Laws would exist in the code that simply were not used or were different from the written version.[51] Even as the law codes were implemented in Japan, the country was still a bilateral society.

Despite reliance on the Chinese model, there were a number of unique aspects to the Japanese law codes in regards to women that allowed them to hold some power of their own, due in part to how they were named throughout the codes. Women were still listed as individuals, rather than having their social or political status derived solely from their relation to men. In the Tang code, women are referred to as "son's wife," "daughter," "wife and daughter," or "wife," but never as a "woman" on their own. In the *ritsuryō* code, however, they are referred to most commonly as "women" (*onna*), with no established difference between married and unmarried women. Additionally, ranks and public positions in the Japanese codes were available to women unrelated to the status or rank of their husbands, whereas the Tang code only supplied ranks to women in relation to the rank and title of their husbands.[52]

The Chinese model was also used in full force in regards to the emperor's consorts. Prior to the establishment of the law codes, consorts of the emperor were unranked, with no specific titles given to different women. The codes put into place four different types of consorts: *kōgō, hi, bunin,* and *hin*. (Main consort,

[51] Sekiguchi 2003, 28-30.
[52] Yoshie 2003, 443-444. See Johnson 1997 for English translation of the Tang Code.

imperial consort, third-rank consort, and fifth-rank consort respectively). The first two were only for women of imperial descent, while the latter were for aristocratic women only. This system did not hold into practice, however, as by the end of the Nara period, the Fujiwara clan already monopolized the *kōgō* position, even though they were not of imperial descent. The male-dominated ideology of the Chinese Tang code did not immediately affect the independence of women within these roles however, as prior to the eighth century, consorts still did not reside in the emperor's palace, but instead still retained their own independent residences. In fact, Nara-period palaces did not contain any residential quarters for consorts, including the main consort. Consorts' mansions were also in effect management centers for private estates owned by the women, in addition to storehouses for the consorts' valuable goods.[53]

Things began to change at the end of the eighth century, when women's quarters were established within the palace, beginning with residences for the *kōgō* during Emperor Kōnin's reign (770-781). Lower-ranked consort residences were built after the reign of Emperor Kanmu (781-806). This in turn led to a reduction in independence for consorts, as the male-centered political system took further hold in the capital.[54]

While this limited visible roles for women in the court, it did not eliminate routes of influence entirely. New roles emerged, such as the mother of the emperor who held a large amount of influence and a small court in her own right throughout the Heian period. In addition, titles established in the *ritsuryō*

[53] Ibid., 467-468.
[54] Ibid., 468.

continued to remain in use throughout the Heian period, although these roles changed from the original written law code.

Bureaucratic Positions for Women in the Yōrō Codes

The Yōrō Codes put into writing the expected roles and responsibilities for a multitude of titles for courtiers within the Imperial Court. These roles were based on the Chinese model, but as previously discussed, Japan's version of the codes assigned some unique roles that suited the model of government already in place. Bureaucratic positions for aristocratic women living in the court were one such of them.

The "Code for Officials of the Rear Palace" (*Kōkyū shiki-in ryō*) is in the third section of the Yōrō Law Code, under the larger Law on Personnel (*Shiki-in ryō*) that established the roles and responsibilities for 69 agencies and over 9,400 officials.[55] This code focused on the rank requirements, responsibilities, and other rules for women living in the Rear Palace (*kōkyū*), the section of the palace used as residence for consorts and other women who directly served the emperor. According to the document, female officials' responsibilities were limited to ceremonial and practical housekeeping matters. Yet they also had a close relationship with male bureaucrats and the emperor, especially women holding titles in the Palace Retainer's Office (*naishi no tsukasa*). While their direct political influence was minimal at best, it is this connection to powerful male courtiers and the emperor that is striking. Courtier families such as the Fujiwara saw the potential in such relationships between their female relatives and other

[55] Piggott 1997, 181.

courtiers, and used this connection to help the family as a whole, especially the patriarchal head.

Turning to the document itself, the major difference between the "Code for Officials of the Rear Palace" and other sections of the Yōrō Code is that it does not begin by establishing a minister in charge of all the officers. While the rest of the document follows the model of the State Department, in this respect it is unique. Instead, three specific types of consorts below the rank of principal consort are explained. The three (*hi*, *bunin*, and *hin*) each have a required court rank, but unlike officials, many exceptions were made to these requirements. According to some commentaries, women were selected to become consorts when they were young, and after appointment to one of these three positions, the emperor granted an appropriate court rank. The highest ranked consort, *hi*, had equivalent rank to imperial princesses, although it is unknown if only women of the imperial line held this title or the imperial-level rank was awarded after a woman was assigned as this type of consort. Other consorts were also in the palace below these three types, but are not listed in the code.[56]

The bulk of the document is concerned with twelve offices filled entirely with women, the *Kōkyū jūni shi* (Twelve Offices of the Rear Palace). All of these offices were modeled after the Japanese Imperial Household Ministry (*Kūnaishō*), one of the two largest ministries under the State Council, containing over 1300 people.[57] This ministry was mainly in charge of housekeeping matters for the court, including records and receipts of taxes, supplies for the palace, and

[56] Miller 1979, 203-204.
[57] Ibid.,149, 202

preparing food.[58] The female versions of the offices were quite different from their male counterparts however, with fewer members and altered responsibilities.

Documentation on these twelve offices varies. The Palace Retainer's, Storehouse, and Table Offices provide the most documentation, especially in courtier diaries. Other offices provide little to no documentation beyond the Yōrō Code itself, making them difficult to analyze closely, which may explain the lack of research on the offices in English.

Each office in the Rear Palace generally had three types of officials: *kami* (Director), *suke* (Sub-Director), and *jō* (Secretary), though the majority of the offices do not contain any secretaries at all. Aside from the Palace Retainer's Office, each office had one director and two sub-directors, while the Palace Retainer's Office contained double the officers.[59] Serving girls (*uneme*) worked under these executive women. Each office had a minimum required court rank, although members of the higher offices (Director and Sub-Director) tended to have rank far above that. For example, the director of the Palace Retainer's Office required a minimum Junior Fifth rank, but most women from the eighth through the eleventh centuries with this title held at least Junior Third Rank.[60]

The most important of these twelve offices were the Palace Retainer's Office (*Naishi no tsukasa*) and the Storehouse Office (*Kura no tsukasa*). The latter contained the position with the highest minimum court rank for women (Director), while the former worked most closely with the emperor, and oversaw

[58] See Miller 1979, 149-185 for specific discussion on the Imperial Household Ministry.
[59] The code lists multiple directors, but quite often, especially in the late Heian period, only one woman would hold the title of director.
[60] See Asai 1985, 150-153, for her list of title holders. For translation of this list, see Appendix C.

the rest of the officials in the Rear Palace. Despite the higher minimum rank for the Director of the Storehouse Office, by the end of the Nara period (710-794), the holders of the director of each of these offices were near equivalent in rank.[61] These two offices were especially important as they were used by the Fujiwara clan, the most prominent courtier family in the Heian period, as placement for their female members within the court. In fact, from the mid-ninth century on, the majority of directors and sub-directors of the Palace Retainer's Office were daughters of the Fujiwara.[62]

The Palace Retainer's office, containing 110 women, acted as the administrative office for the Rear Palace. In addition to direct attendance on the emperor, they were also in charge of arranging ceremonies, and acted as liaisons between the Rear Palace and the administrative offices under the State Council.[63] There are several examples of the actions of members of this office, such as the managing of a banquet for other female officials by Director Fujiwara no Kishi in 939.[64] The smaller Storehouse Office was in charge of ceremonial items, particularly the Divine Jewel. These two offices were the most sought after by courtier families, as only the Director and Sub-Directors of the Palace Retainer's Office and the Director of the Storehouse office were ever awarded the title of empress.[65] By the late Heian period, the title of Director of the Palace Retainer's Office was merely used as a stepping stone in order to be named primary consort (*chūgū*), as was the case for three of Fujiwara no Michinaga's daughters.

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[61] Suda 1971, 73.
[62] Asai 1985, 150-153, 159-160.
[63] Miller 1979, 205.
[64] *Teishin kō ki* 939.3.10. See Piggott 2008, 153 for translation.
[65] Kaneko 2008, 238.

The third listed office is the Manuscripts Office (*Fumi no tsukasa*), which was modeled after the Manuscripts and Books Bureau (*Zushoryō*) under the State Department.[66] The male version of this office mainly concerned itself with everything involving writing, including collecting and arranging national chronicles, custody of books and documents for the court, and the maintenance of sacred writings and drawings for Ceremonies.[67] The female equivalent office held much lower responsibilities, as they were required in the original code to only manage writings for the emperor himself. These women were also in charge of the musical instrument, the *koto,* for the pleasure of the emperor.[68]

The Pharmaceutical Office (*Kusuri no tsukasa)* contained three officials and four serving girls. It was based on the male-run Palace Pharmaceutical Office (*Uchi no kusuri no tsukasa*), which contained three officials, ten pages, and one watchmen in addition to four court physicians and ten pharmacists.[69] The female officials would not have had the same amount of training as their male counterparts. They were not expected to diagnose or treat patients, rather simply required to administer the medicine prescribed by doctors.

Looking at the code alone, it appears that some offices had the same responsibilities as male-run offices, yet outside sources show that this was not always the case. A prime example of this is the Armory Office (*Tsuwamono no tsukasa*), which was modeled after the Armories (*Hyōgo ryō*). Originally two separate right and left armories, these male-run office were condensed into one

[66] Miller 1979, 206.
[67] Sansom 1932, 79.
[68] Asai 1985, 185.
[69] Miller, 1979, 100.

armory containing six officials during Emperor Daigo's reign in the Shōtai years (898-901). While the Armory worked directly with arms related to war, the Rear Palace Armory Office only had access to ceremonial weapons. The only surviving example of the Armory Office's work comes from *Ryō no gige* from 833. According to this document women would bring out ceremonial drums, shields, flags, bows and arrows, and swords for state ceremonies, such as the succession of the emperor or for New Year's Day.[70] Aside from court ceremonies, the women of this office did not have any other access to weaponry.

The next three were fairly minor offices, with little information about their actual roles and responsibilities surviving today. The Gates Office (*Mikado no tsukasa*), was in charge of the custody of keys for the inner gates of the palace. The Supply Office (*Tonomori no tsukasa*) was based off the Palace Custodian's and Supply Bureau as well as the Palace Oil Office in the Imperial Household Ministry.[71] The Housekeeping Office (*Kanimori no tsukasa*) was based off the Housekeeping and Supply office in the Treasury Ministry, as well as the Palace Housekeeping and Supply Office in the Imperial Household Ministry.[72]

The Water Office (*Moitori no tsukasa*) was based on the Palace Water Office in the Imperial Household Ministry.[73] Although this was one of the lesser offices within the Rear Palace, the social status of women within this office was still higher than those of serving girls, as their duties included serving the emperor during meals. Due to this connection, female members of courtier families were

[70] Asai 1985, 188-189.
[71] Miller 1979, 207.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.

often placed in this office, presumably to get closer to the emperor for the benefit of their male relatives.[74]

The Table Office (*Kashiwade no tsukasa*) was based on the Imperial Table Office in the Imperial Household Ministry.[75] The Imperial Table Office (*Naizenshi*) was primarily responsible for the supervision and preparation of the emperor's food, as well as the testing of his food. Forty cooks were employed in this office solely for the preparation of the Emperor's meal, while by contrast in the regular Palace Table Office (*Daizenshiki*), 160 cooks were employed for all meals prepared in the palace.[76]

Another office that differed from its male counterpart was the Sake Office (*Sake no tsukasa*), which was modeled after the Sake-Making Office (*Zōshu-shi*) under the Imperial Household Ministry. The code only states that the women in this office were in charge of brewing sake, but in actuality this was not the case. According to *Ryō no gige,* the Sake-Making Office, with sixty three members total, would brew all the sake necessary for the palace, and the Sake Office was only in charge of delivering sake to members of the Rear Palace, as well as to the emperor and for various ceremonies. Additionally, the Sake Office did not have serving girls like the other offices, and would thus have to borrow girls from other offices in order to make deliveries.[77]

The Sewing Office (*Nui no tsukasa*) was based on the Wardrobe Bureau of

[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., 208.
[76] Sansom 1932, 93-95.
[77] Asai 1985, 199-200.

the State Department.[78] This office was in charge of "the lists of princesses, ladies-in-waiting and women servants; recommendations based upon the reports of their conduct; and the cutting and sewing of robes and accessories."[79] Although this was the last listed office in the Code, members of this office had a number of responsibilities, including sewing and tailoring clothes, to supervise the conduct of women within the Rear Palace, and to schedule when female officials would come to serve at court. As no serving girls are listed in this office, it is assumed that serving girls were borrowed from other offices as needed to assist in the sewing and tailoring of garments.[80]

Documentary evidence of women within these roles are limited, with some of the lesser offices, such as the Gates and Supply offices, having little to no outside observations of what they did. While we have some records to which women filled some of these roles,[81] much of our documentary evidence comes from later periods when courtier diaries grew in popularity. But by the Heian period, the *ritsuryō* system was in decline, and so such notices do not necessarily reflect the descriptions as presented in the Yōrō Codes.

By the late Heian period, the majority of these roles were no longer filled, at least as indicated by the surviving source base. A few, however, still appeared, particularly in the Palace Retainer's Office. The three highest levels, *naishi no kami*, *naishi no suke*, and *naishi no jō*, were often filled by daughters of prominent courtier families. The most prominent of these titles was of course the

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[78] Miller 1979, 208.
[79] Sansom 1932, 81.
[80] Miller 1979, 208-209.
[81] See Appendix C and D for women who held the titles *naishi no kami* and *naishi no suke* respectively.

director of the Palace Retainer's Office, *naishi no kami*.

Women who held the title *naishi no kami* came from prominent courtier families, with their fathers holding high ranks within the court. By the mid-Heian period, the role was dominated by women of the Fujiwara clan. In fact, the first recorded *naishi no kami* was Fujiwara no Momoyoshi (720-782), the daughter of Fujiwara no Maro (695-737), one of the founders of the four houses of the Fujiwara.[82]

The roles in the Palace Retainer's Office began to change in the early to mid-Heian period. Starting in the mid-Heian period, the emperor's nurses were made subordinate officers in the Palace Retainer's Office, and were often given the title *naishi no suke*.[83] By the end of the tenth century, *naishi no kami* was used exclusively as a transitional role for women before they became high-ranking consorts of the emperor, and the supervisory role for the rest of the Rear Palace was relegated to the *naishi no suke*.[84]

Even if the role of *naishi no kami* did not have the responsibilities listed in the original Yōrō Codes by the Heian period, this did not mean the women who held this title were not influential. In fact, Fujiwara women took full advantage of this title to help the political influence of their clan. By the end of the Heian period, women would use this title in their quest to become consorts and bear the emperor's heir, but it was also used by women who had previously been consorts. We will examine some examples of *naishi no kami* of the Fujiwara clan in the Heian period shortly, but first the political power and prominence of the Fujiwara

[82] Suda 1978, 64.
[83] Fukutō 1998, 135.
[84] Ibid., 136.

need to be explained.

Chapter 3

The Players: The Fujiwara Clan

Dominating political positions for both men and women at the height of their power, the Northern Fujiwara Clan, the main branch of the Fujiwara, is well known for the careers and exploits of its members in Heian Japan. Fujiwara clan members understood the importance of marriage politics, positioning their daughters as consorts to the emperor in order to bear his children, and produce imperial heirs with Fujiwara blood. The rise of the clan coincided with the creation of the *ritsuryō* government, making it unsurprising that they knew how to manipulate the governmental structure to its fullest.

The Fujiwara clan was first formed after the efforts of the progenitor Nakatomi Kamatari (614-669) in the Taika Coup of 645. Kamatari came from the Nakatomi clan, a family of hereditary Shinto priests who had fallen into disfavor after the rise of Buddhism in Japan.[85] In the Nakatomi clan chronicle *Kaden*, Kamatari is described as being fond of learning, widely read, and interested in Chinese military strategy.[86] Originally planning to live as a scholar, Kamatari found himself drawn into the political upheaval in the seventh century.

After the death of Emperor Jomei (593-641, r. 629-641), a dispute rang throughout the capital in Nara as to who should succeed him. The prominent family at court at the time, the Soga, held great sway over the emperor and his decisions. The question of who would succeed Jomei was crucial to the Soga, as they needed someone who would continue to support their clan. Eventually

[85] McCullough 1980, 335
[86] Mitsusada 1993, 191.

Jomei's empress-consort Kōgyoku (594-661, r. 642-645 and 655-661) was placed on the throne, which was perfect for the Soga, as she was easy to manipulate, allowing the Soga clan to hold greater influence throughout the court.[87] At the same time, a member of the Soga family, Iruka (n.d.-645), came to the forefront to control the empress. Acting as an emperor himself and employing forced labor for his own personal needs, such as for the construction of the tomb for himself and his father, the man did not take criticism, even from members of the royal family. After a berating comment from the Prince Yamashiro (n.d.-643), Iruka immediately used military force against him and other members of the royal family, eventually driving twenty-three people to suicide, including the prince.[88]

A plan was formed to rid the realm of Iruka and wrench power away from the Soga family, known as the Taika Coup. Kamatari at this point was a "studious and inquiring bureaucrat,"[89] and had even been involved in championing Prince Yamashiro for the throne in 641. With his choice scorned and later forced to suicide, Kamatari approached Prince Karu (later Emperor Kōtoku, 596-654, r. 645-654) and Prince Naka no Ōe (later Emperor Tenji, 626-672, r. 668-672), setting himself up as a front man for roles of power if either of the two princes became emperor one day. He also aligned himself with Soga no Ishikawa Maro (n.d.-649), a member of the military who was not on good terms with Iruka, a member of his own clan, who could provide Kamatari with military backing.

Details vary amongst sources as to the exact events that led to Iruka's assassination, but they tend to agree that it occurred on the twelfth day of the sixth

[87] Piggott 1997, 104.
[88] Mitsusada 1993, 190.
[89] Ibid. 191.

month of 645 during a court ceremony for Empress Kōgyoku. Iruka usually carried a sword, but Kamatari was able to get him to put the sword aside for the evening. Naka no Ōe closed the palace gates and bribed guards before hiding a long spear in the hall where the event occurred. Four soldiers were ordered to go in and kill Iruka, but they were intimidated by Iruka's prestige. According to *Nihon shoki*, Naka no Ōe came in and killed Iruka. Naka no Ōe pleaded with the empress to consider abdicating to prevent the Soga clan from influencing the imperial throne. Kōgyoku abdicated, and Prince Karu inherited the throne, with Naka no Ōe and Kamatari there to lead the government.[90]

Following the coup, Kamatari was named inner minister, and given the family name of Fujiwara. He vanished from written record after this point until the 650s, however, but the key moment in the Fujiwara family history is this moment when Kamatari rose to power and gained the family name.[91] Kamatari positioned himself and his family in a high position of influence to the emperor and the imperial court before passing away in 669.

Unsurprisingly, the Fujiwara clan put themselves forward to help with the promulgation of the *ritsuryō* law codes in the seventh century, especially Kamatari's son, Fujiwara no Fuhito (659-720). By positioning himself in the forefront in the writing of the codes, Fuhitio guaranteed that the Fujiwara knew every possible way to hold high ranks and responsibilities. While some parts of the code specified certain roles were for those from the line, since the Fujiwara were so integral to the establishment of the codes, exceptions were made just for

[90] Ibid., 192-193.
[91] Piggott 1997, 105.

their family.

The clan eventually split into four main branches: Northern, Southern, Ceremonial, and Capital branches. When speaking of the Fujiwara in regards to the regency and major political influence, we are in fact referring to the Northern branch. The Northern branch was made up of several households within the Fujiwara who worked together for mutual benefit. They would have in fact competed against the other major branches of the Fujiwara.[92] The Northern branch began with Fuhito's daughter, Kōmyōshi (701-760), who was named a consort to Emperor Shōmu. With his daughter a consort to the emperor, her son would be in line to be the next emperor.[93] This was just the first in a long line of Fujiwara-planned marriage politics.

The Northern Fujiwara monopolized high titles throughout the Heian period, positioning women close to the emperor. As seen in Appendix C, a Fujiwara woman first held the title *naishi no kami* beginning in 758 during the reign of the Emperor Junnin (r. 758-764). While no Fujiwara members held the title for almost fifty years after that, it was reclaimed by a Fujiwara woman during the reign of Emperor Heizei (r. 806-809). Beginning in the reign of Emperor Kōkō (r. 884-887), the title was held solely by Fujiwara women till the end of the eleventh century. The Fujiwara also monopolized the lesser *naishi no suke* title beginning in the ninth century beginning during the reign of Emperor Montoku (r. 850-858) and continuing well into the fourteenth century, even after the worth of

[92] Hurst 1976, 18.
[93] Adolphson 2012, 123.

the titles declined.[94]

An interesting trend occurred starting in the tenth century, during the reign of Emperor Reizei (r. 967-969). Previously, Fujiwara women who held the title of *naishi no kami* were the eldest daughters of their fathers, placing them in line to become consorts of the emperor after they worked for a time under this title. Beginning in the tenth century however, we see a trend where younger daughters were appointed instead of the eldest, beginning with the second daughter of Fujiwara no Morosuke, Fujiwara Tōshi. This trend continued throughout the Heian period, and was certainly the case for Fujiwara no Michinaga's daughters.[95]

The Fujiwara clan's use of "marriage politics" was not new to the Japanese imperial court. Their predecessors, the Soga clan, were also practitioners of this manipulative scheme. The system was fairly simple: an emperor (or crown prince) was married to a Fujiwara. This woman would give birth to the heir, who would be raised by the maternal grandfather (i.e. the Fujiwara patriarch). The emperor would be encouraged to abdicate at a young age, and the crown prince, who would inevitably still be a child, would become emperor. A regent would be named, who would often be the same Fujiwara patriarch who had raised the child-emperor. This system worked quite well, and Fujiwara patriarchs in their time could find themselves related to multiple emperors. Fujiwara no Michinaga, for example, married four of his daughters to emperors who gave birth to three more

[94] See Appendix D for a full listing of *naishi no suke* title holders

[95] Michinaga's eldest daughter, Shōshi, was placed as a consort to the current emperor when she was only twelve years old. His younger daughters, Kenshi, Kishi, and Ishi, all served for a period as *naishi no kami* before they became consorts.

emperors between them. Michinaga was also related to five more emperors via family lines.[96]

Prior to the Insei period, the retired emperors ousted by the Fujiwara found their own influence further fragmented by the Fujiwara clan. Multiple retired emperors could be alive at the same time, as was the case in 986 when three former emperors were still living in addition to the current young emperor, Ichijō.[97] Each retired emperor had his own court, which further divided imperial authority and wealth. With each retired emperor occupied with his own court, this allowed the Fujiwara greater freedom within the main court with the young emperor, leaving their ambition unchecked.

Eventually the Fujiwara clan declined. Part of this was certainly due to a decline in the effectiveness of the clan's use of marriage politics. The clan continued to place their daughters as consorts through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but a number of these women did not give birth to male heirs who could be easily manipulated by their maternal grandfathers. After a number of Fujiwara women died young and gave birth only to daughters, a non-Fujiwara affiliated emperor came to the throne.

One of the other major reasons for the Fujiwara's decline lies within the family itself. The clan was quite large, with both a Northern and Southern branch. The Northern branch was the dominant political group, but even within this branch, male relatives fought against one another for dominance. Each of these men fought to get their own daughters appointed as a consort to the emperor, in

[96] Morris 1994, 48 and Hurst 2007, 69-70.
[97] Morris 1994, 49.

hopes that they would birth an heir, securing the grandfather's place as future regent or advisor upon the child's coronation. These men needed allies outside the family, however, including mothers of the emperor and other powerful women who might be involved in the naming of consorts for the crown prince or emperor.

The most famous of these contests came at the end of the tenth century between Michinaga and his nephew, Korechika. Fujiwara no Korechika (974-1010) was the brother of Teishi, the main consort of the emperor, and his father had served as both regent and chancellor. Michinaga, however, was the brother of the empress dowager, and worked with her to gain further power for himself within the court. The empress dowager helped secure the position as Imperial Examiner for Michinaga in 995, but Michinaga turned to other means to remove his ambitious nephew. When the empress dowager fell ill, Michinaga claimed it was due to a curse by Korechika, and also claimed that the young man had taken part in an esoteric Buddhist service which should only be performed by an emperor.

Korechika's downfall eventually fell on his own shoulders due to a poor lovers tryst. Korechika was in love with a cousin, but he heard that the Retired Emperor Kazan (967-1008, r. 984-986) also had feelings for the girl. In fact he was going after the girl's younger sister. Hoping to scare Kazan off, Korechika ordered several of his retainers to hide in the girl's house and shoot arrows at his party when they arrived. One of those arrows hit the retired emperor's robe. When word got out, it was first only his retainers who were chastised, but with the help of Michinaga and his compatriots, they worked to have Korechika named to a

governorship in Kyūshū, far from the capital and thereby removing his nephew from Michinaga's ambition forevermore.[98]

The Fujiwara clan's overall supremacy of course hinged on the regency system. The model for Fujiwara regency may have been based on the role of the supreme minister (*daijō daijin*), which was included in the Law on Personnel (*Shiki-in ryō*) in the *ritsuryō* codes. The supreme minister "was to aid and guide the monarch by means of his exemplary learning and counsel."[99] This minster was not necessarily a relative of the emperor, but even prior to the establishment of the *ritsuryō* codes, it was common to have in-laws within the court brought in to act as advisors.[100]

The regency proved powerful not only because of the familial connection between the emperor and regent, but also due to the emperor's connection to other courtiers. While in the *ritsuryō* codes the emperor was meant to be the center of the governmental structure, the regent connected the emperor with the Council of State as one of the most senior nobles. Throughout the Heian period, this council was made up of a majority of Fujiwara courtiers thanks to political maneuverings within the clan.[101] Through the emperor, the council of state, their female relatives, and the role of regent, the Fujiwara were positioned throughout the Heian period in a prime position to strengthen their influence through a number of political outlets.

The height of Fujiwara influence was arguably during Michinaga's time as

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[98] Ibid., 56-57.
[99] Piggott 1997, 25.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.

regent. After outmaneuvering his nephew and the death of his two brothers, Michinaga was named document examiner, minister of the right, and Fujiwara clan chieftain when he was twenty-nine years old, and the next year was appointed minster of the left, which he held until he became prime minister in 1017.[102] With no other close rivals within his family, Michinaga was able during his lifetime to dominate court politics.

Michinaga's power was based *not* on his title, however, but on his familial relations with the imperial court. Four of his daughters gave him the connection to the imperial line that helped Michinaga remain in power. His eldest daughter, Shōshi (988-1074), was the principal consort of the Emperor Ichijō (980-1011, r. 986-1011) and gave birth to two future emperors, Go-Ichijō (1006-1036, r. 1016-1036) and Go-Suzaku (1009-1045, r. 1036-1045). His next two daughters, Kenshi (994-1027) and Ishi (1000-1036), both served as consorts and gave birth to princesses. Finally, his youngest daughter, Kishi (1007-1025), became consort to Go-Suzaku when he was still crown prince and gave birth to the future emperor Go-Reizei (1023-1068, r. 1045-1068).[103]

Familial relations first helped Michinaga when he served under Emperor Ichijō, his nephew via his older sister. As Ichijō's father had passed away in 991, the emperor looked to his mother and uncle for guidance. The next emperor was Sanjō (975-1017, r. 1011-1016), another of Michinaga's nephews. Although Michinaga had his daughter Kenshi become primary consort for this new emperor, Michinaga did not have the same influence as he previously held with Ichijō, so

[102] Hurst 2007, 70.
[103] Ibid., 70-71.

he pressured Sanjō to abdicate the throne. Due to failing eyesight, Michinaga convinced Sanjō to give up his position as emperor, and his son Atsuakira took the throne. But Michinaga convinced Atsuakira to give up the throne in favor of his grandson, his daughter Shōshi's son Atsunaga. His daughter Ishi also saw a promotion in her title at the same time, and Michinaga's influence over the court was secured.[104]

The Fujiwara clan's prominence in the Heian court was based on a number of factors, but certainly for Michinaga, it was the connection he had to the emperor via his daughters and other female relatives that proved the most important when it came to influence in political matters. Not all of the Fujiwara women could become consorts at once, however, and that is where titles such as *naishi no kami* came in. Michinaga's three youngest daughters all served as *naishi no kami* before they became consorts and gave birth to the emperor's children. By holding this title, Fujiwara women could spend time at court, arrange ceremonies and events, and become closer to the heirs to the throne who would one day become future emperors.

[104] Ibid., 73.

Chapter 4

Naishi no kami in the Fujiwara Clan

The role of *naishi no kami* as established in *ritsuryō* law codes may have been the ideal in the seventh century, yet the law as written differed from what actually occurred. By the Heian period, *naishi no kami* was not the same position, and began to be used as a stepping stone for Fujiwara women who wished to become a consort to the emperor.

In examining the sources available, four Fujiwara women of the Heian period provide us with a glimpse of their lives through their appearance in multiple sources: Kishi (904-962), Kenshi (994-1027), Ishi (1000-1036), and another Kishi (1007-1025).[105] While they are only a small sampling of the women who served as *naishi no kami* in the Heian period, their individual journeys at court give us an idea of what the Fujiwara hoped to accomplish by pushing their daughters within the court.

Fujiwara no Kishi (or Takako) was born in 904, the eldest daughter of Fujiwara no Tadahira (880-949). She entered the palace in 918 at the age of 14 as a consort to Crown Prince Yasuakira. Her time as a consort did not last however, as Yasuakira passed away in 923 before she could bear him a child. After his death, Kishi remained within the court, and moved to the *Higyōsha* (court ladies' residence) to become a lady-in-waiting. In 938, she was given the title *naishi no*

[105] The two Kishi had different *kanji* for their names: 貴子 for Tadahira's daughter, and 嬉子 for Michinaga's daughter.

kami, which she held until her death at the age of 59 in 962. At the time of her death, Kishi was awarded junior first rank.[106]

By the end of the tenth century, the Fujiwara held greater influence as the patriarch Fujiwara no Michinaga came into power. Three of his daughters entered the palace in the late tenth and early eleventh century as *naishi no kami*, though unlike Tadahira's daughter, Kishi, they did not end their days working under that title. These women were destined to live closely with the emperor.

Fujiwara no Kenshi, born in 994, was the second daughter of Fujiwara no Michinaga and Minamoto no Rinshi (964-1053). In 1004, at the age of ten, Kenshi was named *naishi no kami* and awarded the junior third rank. Only six years later, Kenshi was awarded the junior second rank, and became a consort of Crown Prince Iyasada, later named Emperor Sanjō. Upon Sanjō's enthronement in 1011, Kenshi was given the title of Imperial Consort (*nyōgo*). The following year, she was given the title of primary consort (*chūgū*), and in 1013 gave birth to a daughter, Princess Teishi. Kenshi did not give birth to further children in her time as a consort, and in the 9th month of 1027, she took Buddhist vows and cut her hair due to an illness, passing away the same day at 34 years of age. She was also known as the Biwa empress during her time at court.[107]

Kenshi was just the first of Michinaga's daughters to enter the palace. His daughter Fujiwara no Ishi (also called Takeko) was born in 1000. Ishi entered the palace in 1018 when she was 18 years old as a consort. In the same year, she was

[106] Kaneko 2008, 626.
[107] Ibid., 627

named both imperial consort and primary consort. In 1027, she gave birth to Princess Shōshi. In 1036 she passed away at the age of 38.[108]

Michinaga's final daughter to hold the title of *naishi no kami* also proved to be the most prosperous. Fujiwara no Kishi (also known as Kogimi or Kohimegimi in her childhood) was born in 1007. In 1018 when she was twelve years old, Kishi was awarded the junior third rank and named *naishi no kami*, three months before her coming of age ceremony in the second month in 1019. In 1021, Kishi was adopted by Yorimichi and entered the quarters of the consort Shōshi. In the third month of 1025, Kishi left the court due to pregnancy, but in the seventh month came down with a serious illness. In the 8th month she gave birth to Crown Prince Chikahito, who would later become the Emperor Go-Reizei. Kishi passed away two days later at the age of 19. Although she lived a short life, Kishi was awarded the upper first rank after her death for bearing the heir, and after Go-Reizei became emperor, she was posthumously given the title of empress dowager (*kōtaigō*).[109]

It is important to note that all four of these women served as *naishi no kami* at the same time that their fathers served as regents. Yet it is only Michinaga who realized the true potential of his daughters in such a title. Tadahira served as regent in a period described by historian Yoshikawa Shinji as "the early regency," wherein the regent relied on the *ritsuryō* style of government, before the Fujiwara clan realized the full potential of having a patriarch of their clan in the role of regent. The State Council still held a large amount of power, and court offices

[108] Ibid., 623-624.
[109] Ibid., 626.

remained much as they had upon first implementation of the *ritsuryō*.[110]

Additionally, Tadahira's daughter was placed in the role of *naishi no kami* not as a stepping stone to the role of consort, but rather after she had served as consort. Tadahira's daughter may have given the regent some more insight and knowledge of the court as a whole, but she was not in place in order to produce more Fujiwara-bred heirs for the good of the rest of the clan.

Although the path to *naishi no kami* was the opposite for Tadahira's daughter, Kishi, than for Michinaga's daughters, her experience in the role was very similar. Turning now to the sources documenting their time as *naishi no kami*, we see that the actual day-to-day responsibilities for these women were very different from those explained in the Yōrō codes.

Naishi no kami **in Sources**

First-hand experiences of women in bureaucratic roles in the Rear Palace do not exist, leaving the daily life of these officials shrouded in mystery. The source base for *naishi no kami* thus exists solely in second-hand documentation, including courtier diaries and chronicles. These documents were all produced by elite men who were interested in specific aspects of the court, and not necessarily the role of female members of the court.

At the time of their writing, courtier diaries served as markers of precedent for the implication of the *ritsuryō* law codes. The codes themselves established basic rules for the political matters of the court, yet as the court evolved over the Heian period, the ideal social conditions of the laws versus the actual conditions

[110] Piggott 2008, 27.

of the court proved to vary widely. Special circumstances that went against the ideals of the law codes were thus recorded within courtier diaries, and these circumstances would be referred to time and again by further generations as precedent. The diaries were thus "reference material" for the court at large.[111] Such documents proved essential after the end of official record keeping after the completion of the Records of the Three Royal Reigns (*Sandai jitsuroku*) in 901.[112]

The diaries from the Heian period are written in a form of writing known as *kirokutai*, a form of Japanese writing developed from Chinese, but not wholly one language or the other. The style of *kirokutai* was not standard, and children of courtiers would learn the writing style from their fathers and grandfathers, leading to some variation within diaries from the same period. The majority of courtier diaries began after a man went through his coming of age ceremony, while others began after being awarded a position within the court. These diaries exist today in fractured form, and were likely edited both by their authors and later readers who recopied the texts.[113] Yet they remain a great source of information for their intricate detail regarding ceremonies, movements of officials, and major events within aristocratic circles.

As seen in Appendix E, women with the title *naishi no kami* were recorded fairly frequently within courtier diaries in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The majority of these records does not tell us much about these women and their lives, but rather list the women as one amongst many at different ceremonies or events. Their existences was important enough to be acknowledged by male courtiers

[111] Yoshida 2008, 8.
[112] Ibid., 9.
[113] Ibid., 16.

who produced these diaries, but often their actual roles and responsibilities were ignored, with focus instead put upon the major events they were attending.

One reason for the number of courtier diaries in this period came from the changing governmental structure in the Heian period. As the Fujiwara clan rose to power as regents, they sought to cement their power through elaborate ceremony and ritual, constantly calling on historical precedent to legitimize their actions. Diaries of their forefathers, which recorded the specifics of such ceremonies, allowed future Fujiwara regents and clansmen to continue in the same matter through their own time in power, cementing power for the clan for continuing generations. Prior to the writing diaries in order to convey precedent and rule changes within the court, official records were produced that described the rules and regulations for the court. This ended in the early tenth century with the publication of the "Ritual Protocols of the Engi Era" (*Engi shiki*), after which all precedent was only recorded in privately created journals that were passed on within courtier families.[114]

Courtier diaries followed a fairly standard format for production. They were generally written on official calendars (*guchūreki*), which involved two or four rolls of paper, with special notations for the season, whether the day was lucky or not, and any important annual events. A few extra lines of space were left under each day in order for the courtier to take his own notes. If there not enough space available, more would be written on the back of the calendar (*uragaki*, or "writings on the reverse side"). These calendars were distributed to each office, and high-ranking courtiers could order copies for their own use. Often

[114] Ibid., 9.

these diaries would be changed and edited by the same courtier at later dates, causing reorganization of events or changes made to specifics about events. Even though there seemed to be a standard for the calendar that these diaries were produced on, the actual diaries varied in style and content from author to author. For example, two diaries may describe the same event, yet one may include more of the author's personal opinion, while another would focus on the state of dress of the participants and not make any personal commentary. Criticism of colleagues and events also existed within some diaries, although the majority of contents were fairly standard.[115]

The three diaries that contain the most entries for Kishi, Kenshi, Ishi, and Kishi are *Teishin kō ki*, *Midō kanpaku ki*, and *Kyūreki*. The first two were written by their fathers, Fujiwara no Tadahira and Fujiwara no Michinaga, who certainly wished to record the accomplishments of their daughters, which would have reflected on themselves.

Teishin kō ki, the earliest diary for this study and containing entries pertaining to Fujiwara no Kishi, was produced by the regent Fujiwara no Tadahira. The title for this diary came from Tadahira's posthumous name, *Teishin kō*, which means "The sagacious and trustworthy lord."[116] There is no extant manuscript available, nor is any part of Tadahira's original version surviving today. Instead, fragments of the diary exists known as the *Teishin kō kishō*, "the abstracted *Teishin kō ki*", with other fragments of the diary still surviving in other ceremonial handbooks and courtier diaries. Contents of the diary range from 907

[115] Ibid., 14-15.
[116] Ibid., 17.

to 948, when Tadahira was 28 until he was 69. It is possible that Tadahira may have began the diary sooner and continued until he became ill in 949, and the fragments that we have remaining today are only the pieces that were deemed "worthy" by readers who decided to keep and copy the text.[117]

Two versions of the text remain today. The first, called the *Teishin kō gokishō* was copied in the early Kamakura Period and passed down by members of the Northern Fujiwara Kujō line. Another copy from the Edo period known as the "Manuscript from the Old Cellar of the Hiramatsu House" (*Hiramatsuke kyūzōbon*) includes entries from 932 to 933 not in the other copy. A combination of these two versions creates the abstracted version of *Teishin kō ki* used by historians today.[118]

Many entries in this version of the diary are not complete, as is noted on a number of the entries. Earlier entries, from when Tadahira did not hold a high position, are quite short, while later entries when Tadahira was regent have a much wider variety of content. Considering the abstract was likely made by Tadahira's son Saneyori when he was regent, these would have been the entries of most interest to him, hence the need to copy them in the first place. Despite the certain lack of detail within some entries, these are still more prolific than some other diaries of the same period.[119]

Although it does not contain much about Tadahira's daughter, Kishi, *Kyūreki* records a few instances of the *naishi no kami*'s life. Also read as "*Kyūryaku*," it was written by Tadahira's son, Fujiwara no Morosuke (908-960),

[117] Ibid., 18.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid., 19.

who served as Minister of the Right in his time at court. The title of the text comes from *kūjo*, the part of the palace Morosuke lived in during his time at court. The text survives in one volume, covering the years 947-949 and 957 to 960.

Midō kanpaku ki, also known as *Hōjōji nyūdō sadaijin ki*, was written by Fujiwara no Michinaga, who was also known as *Midō kanpaku* (chief of staff of the Amida hall), hence the title of his diary. The diary covers the year 998-1021, and is the oldest diary where part of the text exists in the author's original hand. Originally thirty-six volumes, only fourteen volumes exist today.

In addition to these courtier diaries, two chronicles give us another view of Michinaga's daughters: *Eiga monogatari* and *Ōkagami*. While these sources were not written at the same time as these women served as *naishi no kami*, they give another view into their lives, although the chronicles are not as reliable as the courtier diaries when it comes to specifics about day-to-day life. *Eiga monogatari* (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*) was produced between 1028 and 1107 by a number of authors. The majority of the text focuses on the life and career of Fujiwara no Michinaga, although the text begins during Emperor Uda's reign (867-931, r. 887-897). The best surviving version of the text is known as the Umezawa manuscript, which dates back to the middle of the Kamakura period.[120] The majority of the text consists of thirty volumes and was likely produced between 1028 and 1034. This section of the text is attributed to the poet Akazome Emon (956-1041), a contemporary of Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shōnagon, and served as a lady-in-waiting to Michinaga's daughter, Shōshi. The continuation of

[120] McCullough and McCullough 1980, xi.

the text was likely produced between 1092 and 1107, though the author for this section of the text is unknown.

Ōkagami (*The Great Mirror*) is the other main example of the genre, chronicling the rise of the Fujiwara family and dealing intimately with the clan's most famous and successful member, Fujiwara no Michinaga. The work is not meant to be a cohesive history, however, as a number of important events in the Fujiwara clan are glossed over or omitted entirely. The exact dates of production of the text are unknown, though scholars have estimated between the years 1085-1125. The original author is also unknown, though among scholars there are a number of potential candidates discussed, including Murasaki Shikibu (978-1016), the poet Minamoto no Tsunenobu (1016-1094), and the Minister of the Right Akifusa (1026-1094).[121] Regardless of authorship, the author(s) must have had access to historical records and a natural story-telling ability to create such a work. Additionally, they must have been familiar with *Eiga monogatari,* as there are some linguistic similarities between the two works.[122] *Ōkagami* is divided into five sections: A preface, Imperial Annals (covering the reigns of fourteen emperors from 850-1025), Biographies (twenty Fujiwara ministers of state), Tales of the Fujiwara Family, and Tales of the Past.[123]

A combination of these sources give us a view of some aspects of these women's roles as *naishi no kami,* albeit through the lens of third parties, the majority of which were written by men. The most common part of their lives is

[121] McCullough 1980, ix.
[122] Ibid., 16.
[123] Ibid., 28-29.

anything to do with ceremonies and celebrations, particularly within diaries written by Fujiwara clansmen.

Courtier Diaries

The actual role and responsibilities of *naishi no kami* aside, the rank was respected enough to warrant grand ceremony when a woman was given the title. Fujiwara no Kishi's appointment ceremony is described in her father Tadahira's diary from 938. Kishi received her rank on the fourteenth day of the eleventh month, but on the twentieth day of the same month, she received a number of gifts from the emperor, including a kimono, cloth, and incense with accessories.[124] Kishi first served as a consort to the crown prince, and after his death she stayed within the palace in her new role. This may be why her celebrations were not as extravagant as those for later Fujiwara women.

Fujiwara no Michinaga spared no expense in organizing celebrations for his daughters upon their entrance into the court. While the celebrations for their initial ranking as *naishi no kami* were not as expansive as those organized when any of Michinaga's daughters became consorts, they were still greater than the simple ceremony held for Kishi.

Fujiwara no Kenshi first entered the court when she was ten years old in 1004. According to the *Midō kanpaku ki*, Michinaga discovered that his daughter would receive the third rank early in the twelfth month.[125] Later in the same

[124] See *Teishin kō ki* 938.11.20 in Appendix B. This record in incomplete, so it is possible other rewards were presented to Takako on this same date.
[125] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1004.12.7

month, Kenshi received her rank document, as well as a kimono and obi.[126] A week later, Michinaga organized a celebration for Kenshi at the palace where high officials came to pay their respects to her. Additionally, Michinaga received gifts from his fellow courtiers to congratulate him on his daughter's success, including ten horses.[127]

Similar events were held for Fujiwara no Ishi upon her appointment to *naishi no kami* in 1012.[128] Michinaga did not organize quite as extravagant a ceremony for his youngest daughter, Kishi, in 1018, but this was likely due to the timing of appointment near her coming of age ceremony. Kishi was only twelve years old when she received her appointment in the eleventh month of 1018. While she received a robe and other small rewards like her sisters that month,[129] Michinaga does not write about an extravagant ceremony for her appointment. Rather, he discusses preparations for her extensive coming of age ceremony, which occurred in the second month of 1019.[130]

The majority of descriptions of *naishi no kami* within courtier diaries relates to their attendance at various events within the palace, or their placement within imperial successions. As our documentation of these women comes from male-produced sources, our picture of these women is biased towards what courtiers believed was most important at the time. Yet this makes what is included within surviving diaries all the more interesting, as not only were they thought to

[126] See *Midō kanpaku ki* 1004.12.21 in Appendix B.
[127] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1004.12.27
[128] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1012.8.21, 1012.9.9
[129] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1018.11.15
[130] Preparation for the ceremony is described in *Midō kanpaku ki* 1018.12.22 and 1019.1.25. while the ceremony itself is described in *Midō kanpaku ki* and *Kyūreki* 1019.2.28

be noteworthy by courtiers of the period, but also by those who reproduced these diaries in later years.

A trend seen throughout the entire collection of courtier diaries gathered for this project is *naishi no kami*'s role in religious ceremonies. Women's involvement in Buddhist ceremonies was not unknown in the Heian period. Buddhism was intertwined with day-to-day life at court, and women such as the *naishi no kami* would grow up in this faith. The Fujiwara *naishi no kami* were well aware of the implications of participating in religious ceremony, and there are a number of records regarding their involvement in both large and small rites. For example, Fujiwara no Kishi's piety and involvement in ceremonies received notice in both her father Tadahira's diary as well as in Fujiwara no Morosuke's *Kyūreki*. In the third month of 947, a religious ceremony occurred where a number of offerings were made, including silver and gold. The entry in *Teishin kō ki* includes a notice that "*Naishi no kami* (Fujiwara no Kishi) recited sutras."[131] This indicated Kishi held a leadership role in this ceremony, significant enough to be noted by her father as well as another Fujiwara clan member. Women would not normally have a leading role in Buddhist ceremonies, yet Kishi was active enough in her studies to warrant reciting sutras. In comparison, an entry from the next day in the diary *Kyūreki,* which describes the same event, includes "The *naishi no kami'*s (Fujiwara no Kishi) house was commanded to recite sutras."[132] The agency in this case is taken away from Kishi and placed within her family, though who exactly is indicated by the family is unknown from this single entry.

[131] *Teishin kō ki* 947.3.18; see Appendix B for full translation.
[132] *Kyūreki* 947.3.19; see Appendix B for full translation.

Regardless, it is Kishi who is named in connection with these sutras, not a male relative.

Kishi involved herself in a number of religious ceremonies during her time as *naishi no kami,* which was noticed by male courtiers. Kishi's religious actions are again recorded a little later in the third month in *Kyūreki*: "*Naishi no kami* (Fujiwara no Kishi) for the sake of the Regent [Fujiwara no Tadahira] had religious ceremonies [to ensure his salvation] carried out for him at Hosshōji."[133] Tadahira was still alive at this point, so it is possible these ceremonies were for his declining health or in order to make sure he remained healthy. The entry does not include any other people, so it is quite possible that Kishi made all the arrangements for these ceremonies herself.

Michinaga's daughters were also involved in a number of religious ceremonies during their time as *naishi no kami,* which Michinaga made sure to record within his own diary. In the third month of 1010, a memorial service was performed for an unknown person, where Michinaga's eldest daughter, the primary consort Shōshi, and the Crown Princes Atsuhira and Atsunaga attended. In this same entry, Kenshi "commissioned three monks to start reading Buddhist sutras for 100 days."[134]

Interestingly, Kenshi took the lead for further Buddhist ceremonies as recorded by Michinaga. In the fourth month of 1011, Kenshi directed Crown Prince Okisada in the ceremony for the Buddha's birthday (*kanbutsu*). During the ceremony, *ama-cha* (a beverage made from hydrangea flowers) is poured over

[133] *Kyūreki* 947.3.27; see Appendix B for full translation.
[134] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1010.3.11; see Appendix B for full translation.

small Buddha statues like a baptism. According to the entry, Kenshi also directed the primary consort, her elder sister Shōshi, in giving further donations for the ceremony.[135]

There are a few explanations as to why Kenshi took the lead in this ceremony. It is possible that due to a lack of other responsibilities in her role, Kenshi took extra time for study and prayer, instead of other mundane tasks. But by leading this ceremony, it also reflected well upon her family and her father. Her piety reflected back onto Michinaga, explaining why he would record the event in his diary in the first place.

The majority of descriptions of *naishi no kami* within courtier diaries list these women in attendance with important people of note for various events, although little is described of what they did aside from attending the events. But what is most notable is *who* they are recorded as being with. Michinaga's daughters were often recorded as spending time with the crown princes. For example, in the fourth month of 1011, Kenshi traveled with the crown princes Atsunaga and Atsuhira to Emperor Ichijō's mansion.[136] Kenshi made sure to spend time with high-ranking members of the court so that other courtiers would notice her. Her time spent with the imperial family indicated her importance, and the importance of the Fujiwara clan.

In the case of Michinaga's daughters, the role of *naishi no kami* was only a stepping stone to the much more desired position of consort to the emperor, as planned by their father, but these women still demanded respect in their role by

[135] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1011.4.8; see Appendix B for full translation.
[136] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1011.4.18

other members of the court, as seen by the attendance of important members of the court in celebration of their accomplishments. A prime example of this is in the tenth month of 1011, when during an appointment ceremony, several prominent members traveled behind Kenshi, who traveled in a hand-carriage from her chambers to the imperial palace. The procession included:

> Grand Councilor (Fujiwara no Michinaga), the empress dowager's high steward (Kintō), the principal consort's provisional high steward, the Fujiwara middle councilor (Fujiwara no Takaie), the chamberlain's middle councilor (Fujiwara no Yukinari), head middle councilor (Fujiwara no Tokimitsu), commander of the right of the outer palace guards (Fujiwara no Kanehira), the head of the Bureau of the Treasury ([Fujiwara no] Masamitsu), captain of the left palace guards (Minamoto no Tsunefusa), and captain of the left middle palace guards.[137]

The important part of this entry is the number of prominent people visiting Kenshi. Even though she was not a consort, her procession to the palace contained a number of high-ranking courtiers, including, of course, her father. Kenshi was not just any woman in the Rear Palace, but someone who commanded a great deal of respect even before becoming a consort and giving birth to an heir to the throne.

Courtiers did record a few instances where *naishi no kami* did more than just attend or participate in ceremonies. As stated in the Code for Officials of the Rear Palace, their responsibilities included "attending [on the emperor], reporting any requests for imperial edicts and informing about them, and administering the serving girls. Also in charge of formal appointments for female officials inside and outside [the Rear Palace], and should know the ceremonies and rituals for the Rear Palace."[138] By the late Heian period, it is obvious that *naishi no kami* were still involved in ceremonies, but actual administration was minimal. Yet they

[137] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1011.10.5; see Appendix B for full translation and notes.
[138] Inoue 1976, 187, translation by me. See Appendix A for full translation and notes.

continued to be in charge of other women in the palace, and would organize the payments to these women. In the twelfth month of 1017, Fujiwara no Ishi gave payments to palace women while still *naishi no kami*.[139]

Other responsibilities included organizing banquets for members of the Rear Palace. In the third month of 939, Kishi gave a banquet for female officials.[140] This included other officials of the Palace Retainer's Office, but also serving girls. Kishi thus had some responsibilities in her role as *naishi no kami*, although they seem limited to ceremonies and affairs relating solely to other female officials.

Naishi no kami in Other Sources

In addition to courtier diaries, the lives of Fujiwara women with the title *naishi no kami* were recorded in other chronicles. One such source is *Eiga monogatari*, the chronicle of the Fujiwara family from 946 to 1092 mentioned before, especially focused on the life and accomplishments of Fujiwara no Michinaga. His three daughters, Kishi, Kenshi, and Ishi, feature prominently in the chronicle, especially in regards to their relations with princes or emperors. Yet their lives and roles as *naishi no kami* are also included, albeit to a lesser extent.

Michinaga's second oldest daughter, Kenshi, is first introduced in the text as a fourteen year old child in 1008 living in Michinaga's Kyōgoku Mansion (also known as Tsuchimikado). At this point, Kenshi already held the title of *naishi no*

[139] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1017.12.8
[140] *Teishin kō ki* 939.3.10; See Piggott 2007, 153 for full translation.

kami, with seven or eight women in her attendance.[141] While Kenshi already held an imperial title, it is interesting to note that she did not live at the palace, but rather back at the mansion with her mother and two younger sisters. Additionally, the chronicle focuses only on her beauty and "aristocratic refinement," with no discussion of her position.

Kenshi acted as a nurse for her nephew, the son of Shōshi, Akimitsu in 1009. "At the Tsuchimikado Mansion, the young Prince was greeted joyfully by Kenshi, who had been awaiting his arrival with great eagerness. She carried him everywhere in her arms, leaving the nurses nothing to do beyond giving him the breast, a state of affairs they found much to their liking."[142] Michinaga recorded Kenshi's acting as a nurse for the prince in his diary as well.[143] This seems to be due more to Kenshi's relationship with Akimitsu as her aunt, rather than her role as *naishi no kami*. In no other sources do we see women with this title acting as nurses, nor is it listed in their original responsibilities in the Yōrō Codes.

Kenshi's court career comes into focus in *Eiga monogatari* at her marriage to the crown prince Iyasada (later Emperor Sanjō). According to the text, in the twelfth month of 1009 (in actuality, the second month of 1010), Kenshi was presented as a bride to the Crown Prince. She was only sixteen at the time, while the prince was thirty-three. Much like the descriptions of celebrations in courtier diaries, the author of *Eiga monogatari* went into depth as to specifics of Kenshi's rise to her new role. "The presentation, which had been so long in the planning, was carried out with spectacular magnificence. Indeed, it made one realize what

[141] McCullough and McCullough 1980, 262.
[142] Ibid., 295.
[143] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1009.12.23

an extravagant place the world had become. The wives and daughters of the senior gentlemen in Michinaga's service all assembled at the mansion to accompany the bride, whose retinue included forty ladies, six girl attendants, and four maids."[144]

In the second month of 1012, Kenshi was named primary consort. The ceremony following the announcement of her new title was quite extravagant, as expected for one of Michinaga's daughters. As McCullough describes in her notes, the investiture of the title of primary consort involved first a council of nobles who drew up a proclamation (*senmyō*). Read in front of the emperor at the Throne Hall, the news was later brought to the ladies' residence, while other chamberlains brought the symbols of imperial status to the newly elected primary consort.[145] The woman was then presented in a special costume, described within the chronicle itself. "Wearing a white costume and a formal coiffure, Kenshi took her place on the dining bench, with a fierce-looking lion and a Korean dog mounting guard beside her curtain-dais."[146] Following this presentation, a banquet was held in her honor with important members of the court present. Kenshi gave birth to a daughter, Princess Teishi (Yōmeimon'in) in 1013. Through the rest of the chronicle, Kenshi's role is limited to her involvement in arranging ceremonies, including her daughter's arrival at the palace 1026, until her own death in 1027, of which the ceremonies involved are described in great detail.

Ishi's life in *Eiga monogatari* follows much in the same matter as her older sister Kenshi, although she seems to actually do more within the text than her

[144] McCullough and McCullough 1980, 300.
[145] Ibid., 424
[146] Ibid., 333.

older sister. Introduced soon after Ishi in the chronicle, she is described as "nine or ten, a beautiful child who resembled a tiny doll as she trotted here and there."[147] Her rise to the title *naishi no kami* is not explored in the text of the chronicle, and instead she is next recorded when she was appointed as an "acting consort." With a large formal procession organized by Kenshi and Shōshi, Ishi's entry into the palace rivaled that of her older sister.[148]

Although Ishi is listed a few times throughout the text as being in attendance with other women at various events, her next major appearance comes in 1024, when she led the dedication ceremony for a stupa that she had worked to complete for several years. According to the text, Ishi was in charge of the dedication ceremony, which included five days of sutra-readings led by the Hiei abbot Ingen. "To have five full days of rites showed admirable piety."[149] In addition to commissioning monks to read sutras, Ishi also arranged the clothing, which "she had been at pains to make every detail perfect."[150] Supposedly Ishi arranged everything without letting anyone, including her father, know, and ever senior noble was present for the events.[151]

Ishi's dedication to Buddhism is again chronicled in 1025, when she donated clerical robes to the monks leading the funeral arrangements for the late Seishi. Her final appearance in the text is in 1027 after the birth of her daughter, Princess Shōshi (1027-1105). Ishi is described as making arrangements for the

[147] Ibid., 262.
[148] Ibid., 336.
[149] Ibid., 640.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid., 641.

beginning of Shōshi's second year, but after this point is no longer included in the text.

Michinaga's youngest daughter, Kishi, is introduced in the text with her older sisters, Kenshi and Ishi, when she was two or three.[152] Yet little is seen of her character until 1018, when she received the title of *naishi no kami* after her sister, Ishi, was named a junior consort. Her next appearance in the text is in 1025, when she was under confinement awaiting the birth of her child. Ceremonies surrounding her death and the birth of her son are described in great detail, but any other actions that occurred in Kishi's life are ignored in the text. Incidentally, the majority of records regarding Kishi in her father's diary surround the birth of her son and her death as well. The greatest reflection upon her father is that Kishi produced an heir to the throne, and that Michinaga arranged great ceremonies upon her death.

There is not much we can take from this chronicle regarding *naishi no kami*, but one important aspect is the women's involvement in ceremonies. Kenshi arranged the entrance ceremony for her younger sister, Ishi,[153] and Ishi took charge of the ceremonies for her own daughter's second year of life.[154] These both occurred after the women became consorts, and shows that arranging ceremonies was not limited solely to *naishi no kami*, but other prominent ladies at court. This responsibility began when they took the role of *naishi no kami*, and while it would not have been their main responsibility as consorts, it was still expected that they took part and helped in celebrations within the court.

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[152] Ibid. 262.
[153] Ibid., 477.
[154] Ibid., 726.

Another aspect of their lives that we also saw within the courtier diaries is the importance of Buddhist practice and study. Ishi's involvement in religious ceremonies is not described in her father's diary, yet here in the *Eiga monogatari*, she not only planned an elaborate ceremony to dedicate a stupa she herself worked on, but also made further donations to monks. As the chronicle sought to showcase Fujiwara no Michinaga, these donations from his daughter reflect back on him, showcasing the Fujiwara clan as pious.

As the author of the *Eiga monogatari* was mainly interested in the prominence of Fujiwara no Michinaga, she focused on the accomplishments of his daughters that reflected his eminence and importance in the court. While the position of *naishi no kami* may have been pronounced on its own in earlier generations, by Michinaga's time it was reduced to only a stepping-stone to the higher goal of becoming an imperial consort. *Eiga monogatari* is not the only chronicle to dismiss the daughters' early role at court; *Ōkagami* is even briefer in its discussion of these women and their lives.

Each sketch of Michinaga's daughters in *Ōkagami* notes that these women served as *naishi no kami*, but it is their later accomplishments that are the most celebrated. For Kenshi, it is the birth of her daughter and the child's subsequent first rank that is recorded, with Kenshi only listed as currently living in the Biwa mansion with the title "grand empress." Ishi is listed as the principal consort of the current emperor at the time of *Ōkagami*'s writing, and that she lives in the palace. Finally, Kishi is recorded as a junior consort to the Crown Prince, and that she was in the seventh or eighth month of her pregnancy. This celebratory event,

however, is not seen as an accomplishment for Kishi, however, but for her father, as the narrator of the text writes "With Michinaga's luck, the baby is bound to be a boy. I can't possibly be mistaken!" [155]

Michinaga's success with his daughters is celebrated throughout the text. "No other minister of state has ever been able to make three of his daughters [primary consorts] at the same time. It must be counted a rare blessing that Michinaga's house has produced three imperial ladies—Senior [consort] Shōshi, Grand [consort] Kenshi, and [consort] Ishi. […] We may indeed call Michinaga the supreme ruler of the land, particularly since [consort] Seishi's death this spring has left his three daughters as the sole surviving [consorts]."[156] For the author of this chronicle, the true prominence of these women is not their own individual accomplishments, but rather their accomplishments in light of their father.

Kishi, Kenshi, Ishi, and Kishi's lives as *naishi no kami* certainly did not match the role laid out in the Yōrō Codes. But their time in this position was not without some use for their families. Records of these women with important members of the court indicate that their presence was noted, and considering the surviving records in both courtier diaries and chronicles, considered to be important by contemporaries. This reflected back on their fathers, the Fujiwara chieftains Tadahira and Michinaga. Their daughters spending so much time with important members of the court showed the prestige of the Fujiwara name.

[155] McCullough 1980, 186.
[156] Ibid, 191.

In addition, the Buddhist ceremonies attended by and performed by these women brought prestige to their clan. Even before they became consorts, Michinaga's daughters were involved in a number of Buddhist ceremonies, and even led other members of the court in the correct rituals, as was the case with Kenshi.[157] *Naishi no kami* of the Heian period were important for their visible connections that reflected back on the Fujiwara clan, and in the case of Michinaga's daughters, their eventual marriage to emperors and production of future heirs. This function is quite different from the responsibilities outlined in the Yōrō Codes, but it does not diminish the importance *naishi no kami*'s role in Heian Japan.

[157] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1011.4.8

Conclusion

The Decline of *Ritsuryō* and *Naishi no Kami*

By the end of the eleventh century, records of *naishi no kami* vanish from historical sources. Our latest record for a woman with this title is Fujiwara no Masako, who held the title until 1086. Within courtier diaries, there are a handful of references to *naishi no kami* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but these were only in regards to women who held the titles much earlier, such as Tadahira's daughter, Kishi.

There are several reasons for the disappearance of this title. By the end of the Heian period, the Fujiwara saw their power ebb as retired emperors rose in influence. In 1068, Emperor Go-Sanjō (1034-1073, r. 1068-1073) came to the throne, the first emperor in 170 years whose mother was not a Fujiwara. Older than previous emperors (thirty-three years old at the time of his ascension), Go-Sanjō did not have a Fujiwara regent controlling his every move during his short reign. During his time in power, Go-Sanjō gave more power to other courtier families, such as the Minamoto, taking away some of the Fujiwara dominance of the court. While Fujiwara regents were still appointed, they never held the same amount as previous generations, as was the case with the reign of Go-Sanjō's son, Shirakawa (1053-1129, r. 1073-87).

Hand-in-hand with the decline of Fujiwara power, the *ritsuryō* system continued to ebb as well. Kozo Yamamura has argued that "the *ritsuryō* economic system was inherently unstable and it was gradually eroded because it was

advantageous to those who dominated the system."[158] In part this was due to the system not working out exactly as it was laid out in theory. On paper, the *ritsuryō* government established various jobs and roles for all members of the court, and with a number of different routes available for courtiers and their families, it seemed that members of the court could work together to build a state free of corruption. Clearly, this was not the case, as powerful clans such as the Fujiwara used the system to gain power for themselves, to the detriment of those around them.

Other issues that hindered the *ritsuryō* system included special considerations given to nobles. As Yamamura explains, privileges included tax exemptions, stipends, the "shadow rank" system of high ranks being awarded to the children of high-ranking courtiers, preferential treatment for promotions, and special legal statuses for various infractions.[159] These benefits allowed the *ritsuryō* system to be supported by those in power, but also were detrimental to the system in the end, as exceptions were made for far too many people involved. It certainly added to the decline in the system in later generations.

A further reason for the decline was the changing international situation. After rebellions occurred in the Tang and Silla kingdoms in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, the countries focused on their own domestic trouble, lessening the pressure on the Japanese government to worry about international matters.[160] A centralized military to deal with international affairs was no longer

[158] Yamamura 1974, 4.
[159] Yamamura 1974, 11.
[160] Inoue 1977, 104.

necessary after the ninth century, so aspects of the *ritsuryō* in regards to military fell into disuse.

Along with the decline of the *ritsuryō* was of course the decline of titles used by women. As explored in the previous chapter, the late Heian *naishi no kami* were not bureaucrats per se, but rather a role used by members of powerful courtier families to expand connections to other prominent members of the court. Our understanding of *naishi no kami*'s role in the Heian period is problematic due to the source base available. The Yōrō Code itself in its description of the responsibilities of *naishi no kami* is fairly straight-forward, but actual records of women taking charge of bureaucratic matters from the Heian period are non-existent. In examining Fujiwara women, the sources available are not written by the women themselves, but by men who had their own biases and agenda in their writing. Chronicles such as *Eiga monogatari* and *Ōkagami* focused on the prominence of the men of the Fujiwara clan, particularly Fujiwara no Michinaga. Diaries by Michinaga, Tadahira, and Morosuke give readers other images of *naishi no kami*, but again the authors were more interested in matters of ceremony rather than the day-to-day lives of their daughters while at court.

Even though the source base limits our ability to fully understand the role of *naishi no kami* in the Heian period, we can still see the importance of these women in the greater context of premodern Japan. One of the most important aspects of their role that we can take away from this study is the agency of these women. Religious historian Lori Meeks has looked closely at the agency of women in religion in the premodern period, focusing on elite women's

renunciation, nuns, and female spirit mediums (*miko*). Meeks works against the common assumption that women turned to religion in order to protest the patriarchal social order. Instead, she argues that "it was through the act of cultivating rather than resisting dominant ideologies that women in premodern Japan created meaningful social and religious lives."[161] Women did not work actively against men in order to create a new social order, but rather worked with men in order to create something new within society. *Naishi no kami* of the Fujiwara clan can be viewed in the same light: they entered an established role within the court, working with male family members to bring prestige and power to their families through their connections in court.

The role of *naishi no kami* is certainly different from the pre-Heian version, but their influence changed rather than disappeared. In Meeks' study of shrine maidens, she admits that the influence of shrine maidens declined over time, but not in a straightforward or direct way. Instead, they "redefined" their social and religious roles, adapting to the changing society around them.[162] This same logic can be applied to *naishi no kami*. Certainly the role of these women changed from the original mandate in the Yōrō Codes, but that does not mean they lost all agency. In the case of women of the Fujiwara clan, they were aware of their role as future consorts and mothers to emperors, and spent their time as *naishi no kami* bringing prestige to their family and making appearances to be noticed by the imperial house, such as through lavish ceremonies or by taking part in Buddhist rituals and ceremonies. They were hardly high-ranking servants, but

[161] Meeks 2010, 14.
[162] Meeks 2011, 217.

rather respected members of the court whom other members of the court relied on, such as Fujiwara no Kenshi's leadership during the *Kanbutsu* ceremony.[163]

With the decline of Fujiwara dominance and the *ritsuryō* system, the end of influence of *naishi no kami* at court thus coincides with the end of the Fujiwara regency. It is possible more women held this title into the twelfth century, as was the case with the lesser title *naishi no suke*,[164] but their absence from sources is indicative of their lack of influence in later centuries. But for the *naishi no kami* of the Heian period, their existence within a myriad of sources signify the importance of their role. *Naishi no kami* were active members of the Heian court, and although they were not bureaucrats as established in the *ritsuryō*, their actions were a vital part of the dominance of the Fujiwara regency.

[163] *Midō kanpaku ki* 1011.4.8
[164] See Appendix D for list of *naishi no suke* title holders. Evidence of the title exists into the fourteenth century.

Appendix A
Code for Officials of the Rear Palace[165]

Imperial Consort (2 people)
The former must be of fourth imperial rank or higher.

Third-Rank Consort (3 people)
The former must be of third rank or higher.

Fifth-Rank Consort (4 people)
The former must be of fifth rank or higher.

Positions in Governmental Offices

Palace Retainer's Office[166]
Directors (2 people)

> Administration of attending [on the emperor], reporting any requests for imperial edicts and informing about them, and administering the serving girls. Also in charge of formal appointments for female officials inside and outside [the Rear Palace], and should know the ceremonies and rituals for the Rear Palace.

Sub-Directors (4 people)

> Administrative duties the same as the directors. However, they do not handle imperial edicts except when directors are unavailable.

Secretaries

> Administrative duties the same as sub-directors. However, they do not handle imperial edicts.

Serving girls (100 people)

Storehouse Office
Director (1 person)

> Administration of the Imperial Regalia,[167] tallying of troops when passing through for emergency situations, the emperor and empress' clothing, combs and games, as well as rare treasures, dyed and white silks, and special imperial commands.

Sub-Directors (2 people)

> Administrative duties the same as the director.

Secretaries (4 people)

> Administration of accounts, dyed and white silks, and special imperial commands

Serving girls (10 people)

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[165] Translated from Inoue 1976, 197-202.
[166] The ranked titles within each office are made up of *kami* (director), *suke* (sub-director) and *jō* (secretary), though many offices did not contain the latter.
[167] Term refers to all three Imperial regalia, but especially means the "divine jewel," Yasakani no Magatama.

Manuscript's Office
Director (1 person)
Administration of Buddhist sutras, Confucius scriptures, as well as paper, ink, pens, writing desks, and musical instruments.
Sub-Director (2 people)
Administrative duties the same as the director.
Serving girls (5 people)

Pharmaceutical Office
Director (1 person)
Administration of medicine.
Sub-Directors (2 people)
Administrative duties the same as the director.
Serving girls (4 people)

Armory Office
Director (1 person)
Administration of weapons and arms.
Sub-Directors (2 people)
Administrative duties the same as the director.
Serving girls (6 people)

Gates Office
Director (1 person)
Administration of keys for the palace and inner gates as well as accounts.
Sub-Directors (4 people)
Administrative duties the same as the director.
Serving girls (10 people)

Supply Office
Director (1 person)
Administration of rain covers for imperial visits, ointments, baths, kerosene, and fuel.
Sub-Directors (2 people)
Administrative duties the same as the director.
Serving girls (6 people)

Housekeeping Office
Director (1 person)
Administration of sleeping mats, cleaning, and construction.
Sub-Directors (2 people)
Administrative duties the same as the director.
Serving girls (10 people)

Water Office
Director (1 person)
Administration of rice water and making of various rice porridges.
Sub-Directors (2 people)
Administrative duties the same as the director.
Serving girls (6 people)

Table Office
Director (1 person)
Administrative duties include locating the emperor's tray, the first to test his meals, attendance of all cooking, sweet sake, rice cakes, vegetables, and fruit.
Sub-Directors (2 people)
Administrative duties the same as the director
Secretaries (4 people)
Administrative duties the same as the sub-directors.
Serving girls (10 people)

Sake Office
Director (1 person)
Administration of the brewing of sake.
Sub-Directors (2 people)
Administrative duties the same as the director.

Sewing Office
Director (1 person)
Administration of the cutting and sewing of clothing and compiling sets [of clothes]. Also in charge of serving girls and their placement in the palace.
Sub-Directors (2 people)
Administrative duties the same as the director.
Secretaries (4 people)
Administration of when female officials serve at the palace and dismissal at morning assembly.

The previous offices at the level of secretary and above are of the top three grades.[168] Beside those are menials.[169] Each and every half month there will be three days for bathing.[170] As for promotion rules, it follows years of service. Those below the title of fifth-rank consort in the eastern palace will also follow these rules.

[168] The term used here is *shikiji*, meaning the top three grades of administrative offices. (*Kami, suke, jō)*
[169] Serving girls and others of low rank.
[170] For comparison male courtiers had five days for bathing per month. See Inoue 1976, p. 201.

Regarding imperial princesses, consorts, and those of fifth-rank or above.[171] The circumstances of morning assembly are according to one's rank. As for wives of courtiers of fifth-rank or above,[172] they will follow the rules of their husband's rank. For imperial family members,[173] if their retainers marry, they will not follow this example.

When it comes to princes[174]and other children, they will have nurses. Princes will have three nurses, other children will have two. Even if the child is over the age of thirteen, a new [nurse] will be appointed. The promotion system [for nurses] is the same as the one for courtiers. For female menials raised outside the palace, there is no limit for promotion

Regarding support from various clans and branch clans. They are limited to everyone between the ages of three to thirty. Even if one has no clan name, if they wish to serve at the palace it will be allowed. A serving girl may only be supported, besides the sisters and maids of upper-ranking officials,[175] if their appearance is handsome.

All those within the Rear Palace will serve the emperor.

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[171] *Naimyōbu*
[172] *Gemyōbu*. While the name *naimyōbu* was given to women who held their own rank, the name *gemyōbu* was given to wives of courtiers who did not hold their own rank, but merely took rank from their spouse.
[173] *Shō*; members of the imperial family who do not bear imperial proclamations about their status, nor have they become subjects of the state.
[174] Kanji specifically is for male royal children, but also includes female children.
[175] Directors and sub-directors.

Appendix B

Courtier Diary Translations

***Teishin kō ki* 938.11.20**

Naishi no kami (Fujiwara no Kishi),[176] (appointed to her status on the 14th) proceeded to the front of the Northern Gate,[177] and there she announced this celebratory event before the emperor. *Naishi no jō* (Tachibana no Hirako) presented [as a gift from the emperor] a kimono and a patterned female gown placed in a gold-dust sprinkled lacquer-ware box. There was a silk pouch with ten bolts of cloth with a Chinese flower pattern. Two pieces of Japanese white pine were contained in a thick silk pouch. The *naishi no kami* (Kishi) sent one set of clothes to the *naishi no jō* (Hirako) who acted as envoy. The imperial palace gave incense and all the accessories [to the *naishi no kami*]. The record is incomplete.[178]

***Teishin kō ki* 938.12.17**

Manager of the guards of the left (Fujiwara no Korehira) passed away.

There was a reward banquet for the *naishi no kami* (Fujiwara no Kishi) where stipends were distributed.

***Teishin kō ki* 945.1.9**

Naishi no kami (Fujiwara no Kishi) was awarded upper third rank.

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[176] Parantheses indicate notes added to the side of the text in commentaries. Brackets indicate words added to the translation for clarity.
[177] *Kita no jin*, also known as *Sakuheimon*. The north gate to the palace compound.
[178] Note on the end of the entry; presumably there is a page missing with further information about Takako's rewards.

***Teishin kō ki* 947.3.18**

Today there were religious offerings including much silver, 100 or more valuable artifacts, and even more than that. *Naishi no kami* (Fujiwara no Kishi) recited sutras. 100 ryō of gold dust was in a lapis lazuli container.

***Kyūreki* 947.3.19[179]**

The *naishi no kami's* (Fujiwara no Kishi) house were commanded to recite sutras [for the court]. There was one lapis lazuli container with 100 ryō of gold [as an offering].

***Kyūreki* 947.3.27**

Naishi no kami (Fujiwara no Kishi) for the sake of the Regent (Fujiwara no Tadahira) had religious ceremonies [to ensure his salvation] carried out for him at Hosshōji.[180] They were carried out with all solemnity.

***Midō kanpaku ki* 1004.12.21**

The third-ranking general of the right inner palace (Minamoto no Masamichi) on behalf of the emperor to give *naishi no kami* (Fujiwara no Kenshi) her rank document.[181] She received a woman's gown, and tomorrow she shall receive a belt.

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[179] As this entry was written just a day after the previous from *Teishin kō ki*, it was likely describing the same multi-day event.
[180] Buddhist temple located in northeastern Kyoto. Originally home to villas for the Fujiwara clan, it was Tadahira's temple of choice. Tadahira was still alive at this point, so it's unknown why these ceremonies were chosen to take place at this time.
[181] *Iki*; a proclamation that shows her rank.

***Midō kanpaku ki* 1010.3.11**

Chūgū ([Fujiwara no] Shōshi), the young imperial prince (crown prince Atsuhira),[182] and the prince (crown prince Atsunaga)[183] began a memorial service.[184]

Naishi no kami (Fujiwara no Kenshi) commissioned three monks to start reading Buddhist sutras for 100 days.

***Midō kanpaku ki* 1011.4.8**

Early in the morning I [Fujiwara no Michinaga] left the palace. At the hour of the bull [11am-1pm], an earthquake occurred. Activities were resumed [after the earthquake.] There was a ceremony for the Buddha's birthday,[185] and as always, *Naishi no kami* (Fujiwara no Kenshi) led the crown prince (Okisada)[186] in the ceremony and donations. There were young girls and servants assisting. At the hour of the sheep [1-3pm] there was another earthquake. [Shōshi][187] also followed the *naishi no kami*'s lead to give more donations. Minamoto no Masamichi was sent as the person to give the donations. Just at the hour of the monkey [3-5pm] there was thunder and lightning.

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[182] The future emperor Go-Ichijō (1008-1036, r. 1016-1036.) He was also known as Atsuhira, and the grandson of Fujiwara no Michinaga. He would later marry his aunt, Fujiwara no Ishi.
[183] The future emperor Go-Suzaku (1009-1045, r. 1036-1045.) He was also a grandson of Fujiwara no Michinaga.
[184] *Shuzen*. It is unclear from this passage who these ceremonies were for.
[185] *Kanbutsu*. (April 8th) During the ceremony, *ama-cha* (a beverage made from hydrangea flowers) is poured over small Buddha statues like a baptism.
[186] The future emperor Sanjō (975-1017, r. 1011-1016.) He was also known as Iyasada and Sukesada. Kenshi would later become one of his consorts and give birth to his daughter, Teishi.
[187] Fujiwara no Shōshi (988-1074), also known as Jōtōmon-in, the eldest daughter of Fujiwara no Michinaga.

***Midō kanpaku ki* 1011.4.18**

At dawn the young imperial prince (crown prince Atsuhira), third prince (crown prince Atsunaga), and the *naishi no kami* (Fujiwara no Kenshi) traveled together to Ichijō's mansion.

***Midō kanpaku ki* 1011.10.5**

There was an appointment ceremony,[188] and at the hour of the boar [9-11pm] new appointments were recorded and I [Fujiwara no Michinaga] proceeded to the *naishi no kami*'s (Kenshi) chambers in the *Higyōsha*.[189] There was a hand-carriage [for *naishi no kami*]. Grand Councilor (Fujiwara no Michinaga), the empress dowager's high steward (Kintō), the principal consort's provisional high steward, the Fujiwara middle councilor (Fujiwara no Takaie), the chamberlain's middle councilor (Fujiwara no Yukinari), head middle councilor (Fujiwara no Tokimitsu), commander of the right of the outer palace guards (Fujiwara no Kanehira), the Head of the Bureau of the Treasury ([Fujiwara no] Masamitsu), captain of the left palace guards (Minamoto no Tsunefusa), and Captain of the left middle palace guards all visited Kenshi. From the east gate of the Imperial Palace, I walked behind the cart. After the hand-cart had entered, there was a feast. Ranking courtiers showed their ranks by their different caps. Just at the hour of the monkey [3-4pm], at the *Higyōsha* there were ten monks commanded to read from the Ninnōgyō.[190] I [Michinaga] sat in the second seat.

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[188] *Jishō*; specifically a ceremony for appointing officials other than ministers.
[189] Residence for court ladies in the inner part of the Heian imperial palace.
[190] One of three state-protecting sutras revered in Japan from the Nara period onwards.

***Midō kanpaku ki* 1015.11.27**

Tonight *naishi no kami* (Fujiwara no Kenshi) accompanied the crown prince and left with him.

***Midō kanpaku ki* 1013.1.10**

Naishi no kami ([Fujiwara no] Ishi) appeared at the empress dowager's palace.

***Midō kanpaku ki* 1013.2.14**

In the company of Sanjō, *naishi no kami* (Ishi) received her rank document in the inner palace.

***Midō kanpaku ki* 1017.12.8**

Naishi no kami (Ishi) bequeathed payments to women [who work in the palace].

***Midō kanpaku ki* 1018.1.15**

Favorable direction to visit Sesonji Temple.[191] The middle councilor as well as *naishi no kami* (Ishi) [and Fujiwara no Kishi] traveled together.

[191] Temple in Kyoto founded in 1001 by Fujiwara no Kōzei (972-1027).

Appendix C

Holders of the Title *Naishi no kami* [192]

In the time of Emperor Junnin (758-764)

Senior Third Rank Fujiwara Ason Uhiarako (Daughter of Fusasaki)

In the time of Emperor Kōnin (770-781)

Senior Third Rank Ōno Ason Chūshi

In the time of Emperor Kanmu (781-806)

Junior Third Rank Momoyoshi (Daughter of Hyōbukyō no Maro)

Junior Third Rank Abe Ason Komina (Daughter of Nakatsukasa Taifu Nukamushi)

Junior Third Rank Kudara Ōmyōshin

In the time of Emperor Heizei (806-809)

Senior Third Rank Fujiwara no Kusuko (Daughter of Chūnagon Tanetsugu)

In the time of Emperor Saga (809-823)

Senior Third Rank Fujiwara no Kusuko

Junior Third Rank Ioi Jo-ō (Daughter of Senior Fifth Rank Lower Ichiharaō)

Junior Third Rank Fujiwara no Mitsuko (Daughter of Junior Fifth Rank Lower Matsukuri)

In the time of Emperor Junna (823-833)

Junior Third Rank Fujiwara Ason Mitsuko

Junior, later Senior, Fifth Rank Keishi Jo-ō

[192] Adapted from Asai 1985, 150-153

In the time of Emperor Ninmyō (833-850)

Junior Second Rank Kudara Ōkeimyō (Daughter of Chinjū Shōgun Noritoshi)

Junior Fourth Rank Sugano Ninzū (Daughter of Sangi Kunaimyō Mamichi)

In the time of Emperor Montoku (850-858)

Junior Third Rank Taimanoma Hitōramushi

Junior Third Rank Hiroi Jo-ō

In the time of Emperor Seiwa (858-876)

Taimanoma Hitōmushi

Hiroi Jo-ō

In the time of Emperor Yōzei (876-884)

Senior Second Rank Minamoto Matahime

In the time of Emperor Kōkō (884-887)

Senior Third Rank Fujiwara Yoshiko (Daughter of Chūnagon Nagara)

In the time of Emperor Uda (887-897)

Same as previous

In the time of Emperor Daigo (897-930)

Junior First Rank Fujiwara Yoshiko

Junior Third Rank Fujiwara Mitsuko (Daughter of Naidaijin Takafuji, later Junior Second Rank)

In the time of Emperor Suzaku (930-946)

Senior Second Rank Fujiwara Ason Mitsuko

Senior Third Rank Fujiwara Ason Kishi (Daughter of Daijō Daijin Tadahira)

In the time of Emperor Murakami (946-967)

Same as previous

Junior Third Rank Fujiwara Ason Kanshi

In the time of Emperor Reizei (967-969)

Same as previous

Fujiwara Tōshi (Second daughter of Morosuke)

In the time of Emperor Enyū (969-984)

Senior Third Rank Fujiwara Renshi

Junior Second Rank Fujiwara Tōshi

Junior Third Rank Fujiwara Yoshiko (Sixth daughter of Morosuke)

Senior Third Rank Fujiwara Enshi (Second Daughter of Daijō Daijin Kaneie)

In the time of Emperor Kazan (984-986)

Fujiwara Yoshiko

Fujiwara Enshi

In the time of Retired Emperor Ichijō (986-1011)

Senior Third Rank Fujiwara Yoshiko

Junior Third Rank Fujiwara Enshi

Senior Second Rank Fujiwara Yasuko (Third Daughter of Regent Kaneie)

Junior Second Rank Fujiwara Kenshi (Second Daughter of Minister of the Left Michinaga)

In the time of Retired Emperor Sanjō (1011-1016)

Fujiwara Enshi

Senior Second Rank Fujiwara Kenshi

In the time of Retired Emperor Go-Ichijō (1016-1036)

Fujiwara Enshi

Junior Third Rank Fujiwara Kishi (Sixth daughter of Michinaga)

In the time of Retired Emperor Go-Suzaku (1036-1045)

Junior Fifth Rank Upper Fujiwara Masako (Second daughter of Naidaijin Norimichi)

In the time of Retired Emperor Go-Reizei (1045-1068)

Same as previous

In the time of Retired Emperor Go-Sanjō (1068-1073)

Same as previous

In the time of Retired Emperor Shirakawa (1073-1086)

Same as previous

Appendix D

Holders of the Title *Naishi no suke*[193]

In the time of Emperor Shōmu (724-749)

Junior Fifth Rank Upper Ōyake Ason Moroane

In the time of Emperor Junnin (758-764)

Senior Fifth Rank Upper Fuji Sukune Hiroki

In the time of Emperor Saga (809-823)

Junior Fourth Rank Lower Ono Ason Ishiko

Junior Fourth Rank Lower Kiyohara Ason Yoshiko

Junior Fourth Rank Lower Tachibana Ason Amako

In the time of Emperor Junna (823-833)

Mamako Jo-ō

In the time of Emperor Montoku (850-858)

Senior Fifth Rank Upper Fujiwara Ason Senshi

In the time of Emperor Seiwa (858-876)

Junior Fourth Rank Upper Yoshimine Ason Chikako

Senior Fifth Rank Lower Fujiwara Ason Yoshiko

Junior Fourth Rank Lower Fujiwara Ason Ariko

In the time of Emperor Daigo (897-930)

Senior Fourth Rank Lower Shigeno Ason Naoko

In the time of Emperor Murakami (946-967)

Shigeno Ason Sachiko

Fujiwara Ason Kishi

[193] Adapted from Asai 1985, 159-160.

In the time of Emperor Reizei (967-969)

Ōe Kōshi

In the time of Emperor Ichijō (986-1011)

Fujiwara Ason Kishi

In the time of Emperor Sanjō (1011-1016)

Junior Third Rank Tachibana Ason Kiyoko

In the time of Emperor Go-Reizei (1045-1068)

Fujiwara Yoriko (Daughter of Yorichika)

In the time of Emperor Go-Sanjō (1068-1073)

Fujiwara Kōshi

In the time of Emperor Shirakawa (1073-1086)

Fujiwara Tsuneko (Daughter of Tsunehira)

In the time of Emperor Toba (1107-1123)

Fujiwara Chōshi (Daughter of Akitsuna)

In the time of Emperor Sutoku (1123-1142)

Fujiwara Muneko

In the time of Emperor Konoe (1142-1155)

Fujiwara Ieko (Daughter of Iemasa)

In the time of Emperor Takakura (1168-1180)

Fujiwara Shiyokushi (Daughter of Nobutaka)

In the time of Emperor Antoku (1180-1185)

Fujiwara Sukeko (Daughter of Kunitsuna)

In the time of Emperor Go-Toba (1183-1198)

Fujiwara [~]ko[194] (Daughter of Sanekiyo)

In the time of Emperor Tsuchimikado (1198-1210)

Fujiwara Ieko (Daughter of Iemichi)

Fujiwara Michiko (Daughter of Michimune)

In the time of Emperor Go-Horikawa (1221-1232)

Fujiwara Bōko (Daughter of Bōshū)

In the time of Emperor Go-Saga (1242-1246)

Taira no Muneko (Daughter of Taira no Munemoto)

In the time of Emperor Go-Fukukasa (1246-1260)

Fujiwara Chikako (Daughter of Takachika)

In the time of Emperor Kameyama (1260-1274)

Fujiwara Chikako (Daughter of Takahira)

In the time of Emperor Go-Uda (1274-1287)

Fujiwara Nariko (Daughter of Tsunetoshi)

In the time of Emperor Fushimi (1287-1298)

Fujiwara Kishi (Daughter of Takahira)

In the time of Emperor Go-Fushimi (1298-1301)

Fujiwara [~]ko (Daughter of Toshinobu)

In the time of Emperor Go-Nijō (1301-1308)

Fujiwara Tsuneko (Daughter of Toshisada)

In the time of Emperor Go-Daigo (1318-1339)

Fujiwara [~]ko (Daughter of Sadafusa)

In the time of Emperor Sūko (1348-1352)

[194] First character of name is unknown.

Fujiwara Keiko (Daughter of Sukeaki)

In the time of Emperor Kōgon (1352-1371)

Fujiwara Nobuko (Daughter of Sukena)

Appendix E: *Naishi no kami* in Courtier Diaries

Year	Date	Source	Title Holder
938 (Tengyō 1)	11.20	貞信公記 (Teishin kō ki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
938 (Tengyō 1)	12.17	貞信公記 (Teishin kō ki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
939 (Tengyō 2)	3.9	貞信公記 (Teishin kō ki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
945 (Tengyō 8)	1.9	貞信公記 (Teishin kō ki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
946 (Tengyō 9)	10.28	九暦 (Kyūreki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
947 (Tenryaku 1)	3.18	貞信公記 (Teishin kō ki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
947 (Tenryaku 1)	3.19	九暦 (Kyūreki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
949 (Tenryaku 3)	3.27	九暦 (Kyūreki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
950 (Tenryaku 4)	8.4	九暦 (Kyūreki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1004 (Kankō 1)	1.11	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1004 (Kankō 1)	12.17	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1004 (Kankō 1)	12.21	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1004 (Kankō 1)	12.27	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1005 (Kankō 2)	3.8	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1005 (Kankō 2)	3.8	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1006 (Kankō 3)	7.29	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1009 (Kankō 6)	12.23	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1010 (Kankō 7)	1.16	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1010 (Kankō 7)	1.20	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1010 (Kankō 7)	1.20	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1010 (Kankō 7)	2.20	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1010 (Kankō 7)	3.25	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1010 (Kankō 7)	7.11	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1010 (Kankō 7)	11.27	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1010 (Kankō 7)	12.18	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1011 (Kankō 8)	1.3	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1011 (Kankō 8)	4.18	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1011 (Kankō 8)	4.8	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1011 (Kankō 8)	8.24	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1011 (Kankō 8)	9.10	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1011 (Kankō 8)	10.5	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1012 (Chōwa 1)	1.3	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1012 (Chōwa 1)	1.9	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kenshi
1012 (Chōwa 1)	8.21	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1012 (Chōwa 1)	9.9	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1012 (Chōwa 1)	10.20	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1013 (Chōwa 2)	1.10	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1013 (Chōwa 2)	2.14	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1013 (Chōwa 2)	7.25	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1013 (Chōwa 2)	9.16	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Ishi

1013 (Chōwa 2)	9.16	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1013 (Chōwa 2)	10.10	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1015 (Chōwa 4)	10.25	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1015 (Chōwa 4)	11.27	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1016 (Chōwa 5)	3.14	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1016 (Chōwa 5)	7.11	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1016 (Chōwa 5)	8.8	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1016 (Chōwa 5)	9.9	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1017 (Kannin 1)	3.18	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1017 (Kannin 1)	4.25	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1017 (Kannin 1)	9.22	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1017 (Kannin 1)	10.29	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1017 (Kannin 1)	11.19	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1017 (Kannin 1)	12.8	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	1.15	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	2.2	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	3.1	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	3.7	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	4.2	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	4.2	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	4.23	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	4.28	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	7.27	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	9.20	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Ishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	11.15	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	11.15	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	12.22	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1018 (Kannin 2)	12.7	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1019 (Kannin 3)	1.25	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1019 (Kannin 3)	2.28	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1019 (Kannin 3)	2.28	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1019 (Kannin 3)	3.12	御堂関白記 (Midō kanpaku ki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1021 (Jian 1)	2.1	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1021 (Jian 1)	3.5	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1022 (Jian 2)	7.14	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1022 (Jian 2)	9.17	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1022 (Jian 2)	10.13	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1023 (Jian 3)	4.22	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1023 (Jian 3)	10.13	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1023 (Jian 3)	10.13	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1023 (Jian 3)	11.18	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1025 (Manju 2)	2.18	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1025 (Manju 2)	3.8	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi

1025 (Manju 2)	7.3	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1025 (Manju 2)	8.1	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1025 (Manju 2)	8.29	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1025 (Manju 2)	8.30	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1025 (Manju 2)	9.2	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1025 (Manju 2)	9.4	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1025 (Manju 2)	10.12	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1025 (Manju 2)	11.12	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1026 (Manju 3)	1.19	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1026 (Manju 3)	8.4	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1027 (Manju 4)	3.6	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1027 (Manju 4)	5.30	小右記 (Shōyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi
1102 (Kōwa 5)	2.2	中右記 (Chūyūki)	Fujiwara no Kishi

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