

"Bride-Stealing" and Royal Power in Classical Japanese Literature

by

Aki Hasebe

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Department of Asian Studies

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

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ABSTRACT

In premodern Japanese literature, we often find episodes that can be described as being about "bride-stealing": a man steals a woman to make her his mate. However, this kind of episode has not been focused on as a literary trope. This kind of episode is a literary tradition which we can trace back to the earliest written works in Japan, such as the *Kojiki* (721). This thesis aims to find out the connections between these earliest works and Heian fiction and the development of this literary tradition in relation to the trope of "bride-stealing."

Turning my attention to the facts that the abducted women are usually related to the royal family, and that the noblemen who successfully execute their abductions seem also to be successful in their political careers after this event, I hypothesize that the concept of the trope of "bride-stealing" includes not only stealing a woman but also a stealing of the imperial power (*ôken*) or right to rule. To examine whether this hypothesis is correct, I discuss the trope in the earliest works, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* (720), and then I examine if my hypothesis applies to the "bride-stealing" episodes in each of the following premodern works: *Tales of Ise* (early 10th century), *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo* (ca. 990), *The Tale of Genji* (early 11th century), *The Tale of Sagoromo* (late 11th century) and *Ariake no Wakare* (late 12th century). I also examine the inter-textual relations between the episodes in these works.

The episodes I examine seem to be based on the same trope, "bride-stealing," and it does in fact appear that these episodes have the same concept: in order to gain the power to control the monarchy, the protagonists steal certain women. Although its appearance in each episode is not exactly the same, it seems to be certain that all these literary episodes originate in the same "bride-stealing" trope.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
Introduction	1
"Bride-Stealing" from an Anthropological and Folkloric Perspective	4
Earliest Works	8
Kojiki	19
Tales of Ise	24
The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo	32
The Tale of Genji	43
The Tale of Sagoromo	52
Ariake no Wakare	65
Conclusion	74
Notes	78
Bibliography	122

Introduction

"Bride-stealing," or *yome nusumi tan* (嫁盗み譚), is a narrative type, or *wakei* (話型) often seen in literary works of the Heian period: a man steals a lady in order to make her his mate. There are three representative examples among Heian works: *Tales of Ise* (early tenth century) and *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo* (ca. 990), and *The Tale of Genji* (early eleventh century). Episode Six of *Ise* reads:

A certain man had for years courted a most inaccessible lady. One pitch-black night he finally spirited her out of her apartments and ran off with her. As they passed a stream called the Akutagawa, she caught a glimpse of a dewdrop on a blade of grass and asked him what it was.

The journey ahead was long, the hour had grown late, and a torrential rain was pouring down, punctuated by frightful peals of thunder. The man put the lady inside a ruined storehouse and stationed himself in the doorway with his bow and quiver on his back, never dreaming that the place was haunted by demons. But while he was standing there longing for daybreak, a demon ate the lady up in one gulp. A thunderclap muffled her scream of terror.

When the sky finally began to lighten a bit, the man peered inside and saw that the lady was gone. Frantic with helpless grief, he recited,

Shiratama ka	When my beloved asked,
Nani zo to hito no	"Is it a clear gem
Toishi toki	Or what might it be?"
Tsuyu to kotaete	Would that I had replied,
Kienamashi mono wo.	"A dewdrop!" and perished.

(Watanabe, SNKS 2: 18-9; McCullough, 72-3)

As we can see, the lady is abducted by the man. Akiyama Ken suggests that the man gets the lady's consent before taking her away, but not the permission of her guardians.¹ According to Akiyama, in this case, "stealing" should be considered a kind of elopement.

In the next example chronologically, *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo*, the Lady Ochikubo is stolen away by Michiyori, Major-General of the Bodyguard of the Right. They have been secretly married by the time Michiyori takes her away, and because he cannot endure Ochikubo's step-mother's harsh treatment of Ochikubo, he steals her away to his mansion. This stealing is done without telling her guardians, that is, her parents, but the Lady Ochikubo does not object to leaving her house. Also, Akogi, who is Ochikubo's attendant, feels pity for Ochikubo and once says, "I wish that I could persuade some paragon of a man to carry off!" (Inaga, NKBS 14; Whitehouse, 15), and she in fact helps Michiyori take Ochikubo away. Therefore, this episode too can be categorized as an elopement. However, since these two people have already been married, it is a little strange to consider it an elopement, which usually happens before a couple gets married.

In the last example, *The Tale of Genji*, Murasaki is stolen by Genji, the protagonist. Genji becomes interested in Murasaki because she resembles Empress Fujitsubo for whom Genji strongly longs. Without getting the consent of her father, Genji abducts Murasaki when she is small, raises her, and gets married to her "formally" after she grows up. It is obvious that the purpose of this abduction is not elopement, because when Murasaki is stolen away, she is too young to be Genji's bride or to understand what is going on. Since this stealing episode is not considered an elopement, is it different from the episode in *Ise* and *Ochikubo* ?

As we have seen in these three episodes, we cannot generalize all episode of "bride-stealing" as elopement, but we can say that some sort of bride-stealing seems to be a frequent occurrence in Heian fiction. Takamure Itsue, a notable scholar of woman studies, analyzed this

kind of abduction episodes and said that "This stealing is interpreted as a synonym for the depth of love."² In other words, strong longing is the motivation for a man to steal a woman. This seems to apply to the episodes we have seen above, but since *yome nusumi tan* is considered a trope, there should be some common theme or aspects in these episodes.³ For instance, the basic plot of another well-known trope, *kishu ryûri-tan*, coined by Origuchi Shinobu, a well-known folklorist in Japan, is that a nobleman is exiled from the capital, usually due to transgression of sexual relations, wandering a strange land. Some become successful after overcoming many hardships, and some die but later are deified.⁴ Mitani Ei'ichi suggests that this exile is based on *tsûka girei*, or a rite of passage.⁵ In this way, tropes should have outlines and concepts, and in fact, "bride-stealing" episodes also seem to be a literary tradition which we can trace back to the earliest works in ancient Japan, such as the *Kojiki* (712) and the *Nihon shoki* (720), and there is also a common significance in these episodes: stealing a lady means stealing imperial power, or *ôken* (王権).

The purpose of this thesis is then to find out the connections between the earliest works and Heian fiction and the development of this literary tradition in relation to the trope of "bride-stealing." As for the methodology, I would like to follow what Shimauchi Keiji suggests as a proper method for studying tropes, that is, "at first, as a working hypothesis, we assume a trope and then grasp to what extent we can interpret concrete literary worlds by [applying the trope to literary works]." ⁶ Therefore, at first, I will discuss this concept in the earliest works, and later I will return to its appearance in *Ise*, *Ochikubo*, *Genji* and other works in the Heian period in order to discuss how these episodes relate to each other and how they develop through time.

"Bride-Stealing" from an Anthropological and Folkloric Perspective

Before I begin the main discussion, I would like to explain the concept of "bride-stealing" from an anthropological and folkloric perspective in order to demonstrate that we should distinguish this kind of bride-stealing from the one in ancient Japanese literature. There seem to be some differences and gaps between the "bride-stealing" from an anthropological and folkloric perspective and "bride-stealing" episodes in ancient Japanese literature. The former has been discussed in Japan mainly by Yanagida Kunio in one of his works on marriage customs in Japan, *Kon'in no Hanashi (Anecdotes Concerning Marriage Customs)*, 1948). Two folklore encyclopedias, the *Minzokugaku Jiten (A Dictionary of Folklore)* and the *Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten (A Dictionary of Japanese Society and Folkways)*, seem to adopt Yanagida's idea.

What is "bride-stealing" from an anthropological and folkloric perspective in Japan? According to the *Nihon Shakai Minzokugaku Jiten*, although "bride-stealing" has often been considered an unusual marriage custom and compared with *ryakudatsu kon*, or "marriage by capture," which can be found in some primitive communities, in fact, this custom is not the same as *ryakudatsu kon*.⁷ The *Minzokugaku Jiten* suggests that "bride-stealing" is an informal marriage style, because in this custom, a man has to announce publicly his stealing of a bride by reporting it to her parents or his friends or shouting about his theft of a woman (665). As some characteristics of this custom, the *Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten* notes:

- 1) The location where this style of marriage is practiced is limited to the same district.
- 2) It is rare to see a formal announcement to the bride's side.
- 3) This custom is totally different from an elopement, because the woman and man do not leave the district where they live. Also, first, the woman is taken, and after that, the

man announces the result in public and proposes marriage to her.

4) There is some help or cooperation by friends or go-betweens.

5) Therefore, this custom is a kind of marriage proposal which is accepted by the public.

In particular, if this custom is practiced with agreement between the families of a man and woman, then it is considered the same as an informal wedding ceremony without a reception. In fact, the word "stealing" is sometimes used to describe a wedding ceremony without a formal reception.⁸

According to the above, we can assume that "bride-stealing" is considered a kind of marriage custom and an informal marriage style from the anthropological and folkloric perspective.

The *Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten* suggests that the "bride-stealing" custom is practiced in mainly four situations, as follows:

1. Although a man and woman have already agreed to marriage, they cannot get the woman's parents' consent.... This situation is considered the origin of the practice.
2. A man has gotten a woman's and her parents' consent, but she has been promised to another man, and her parents cannot decline that proposal because of a social duty (*giri*), so they pretend that they will not allow their daughter's marriage with the first man.

Under the tacit understanding of her parents, the first man steals the woman.

3. Without the knowledge of the woman herself or her parents, a woman is forcibly stolen.... The man probably does not know how the woman really thinks about him, so he is afraid of being refused and uses force....
4. Although both a woman and her parents agree to her marriage, they cannot afford a trousseau... "Bride-stealing" is practiced in this situation for economic reasons.... This is almost the same as an informal wedding.⁹

Situation number one is very similar to the motivation of "bride-stealing" in ancient Japanese

literature. Some commentaries of literary works, such as of *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo* and *The Tale of Genji*, suggest that stealing a woman means marriage without her parents' consent.¹⁰ In spite of this similarity, there is one point which makes me think that we should not regard the "bride-stealing" custom in the same light as "bride-stealing" episodes. That is the point of when this custom started.

According to the studies from anthropological and folkloric perspectives, the "bride-stealing" custom began in the medieval period when the marital residence became patrilocal. It began due to the change in marriage style which was influenced by the change of the family system in Japan. For example, Yanagida says that "bride-stealing" is a kind of by-product of the custom of patrilocal marriage which spread during the medieval period. According to him, a woman needed some kind of force to get out of her native family and go to her husband's family; otherwise, she was unable to go to her new home, because at that time there were no such people as "go-betweens."¹¹ The *Minzokugaku Jiten*, too, says that this custom began in the medieval period:

Marriage by bride-stealing cannot occur where young people are independent and have very strong authority to organize their own marriages. In addition, it does not occur where the patriarchal figure has complete authority to control [his children's] marriages. It can occur where the authority of the two [young people and the patriarchal figure] is in balance.... Also, it is possible to think that marriage by bride-stealing could not exist where duolocal marriage was commonly practiced. In this custom called *mukoiri-kon*, the marriage starts from the young people's free will, and even after [their marriage] is settled, the man still goes to visit his wife at her house. If this is true, marriage by bride-stealing was an exceptional marriage style which appeared as *yomeiri-kon* (patrilocal

marriage) spread in the medieval period in areas where the power of the peer group to control marriage was very strong.¹²

The *Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten* also suggests that this custom began due to the change of marriage style which was influenced by the change of the family system. It says that previously, it was common, especially for commoners, for marriage to start with an agreement between a woman and man.¹³ However, as the family system changed, the marriage style also changed:

With the establishment of the management based on the unit of the independent family and the expansion of the marriage pool, patrilocal marriage became common. In addition, in order to control females as labour, the authority of the patriarchal figure was reinforced. The custom of marriage by bride-stealing developed at this stage. This may have been the only means for a couple to get married freely, if the patriarchal figure did not allow their marriage.¹⁴

In short, because the patriarchal figure started to have more authority, it also became common that he took the responsibility of choosing his children's spouses. As a result, it became difficult for young people to get married to the one to whom they wanted to get married, so marriage by bride-stealing may have been the only way to fulfill their wishes.

From the views quoted above, it seems to be believed that the emergence of the custom of marriage by "bride-stealing" began during the medieval period and was influenced by the social background, such as the family systems and marriage styles. However, in fact, "bride-stealing" episodes appeared in literary works, such as *Kojiki* and *Tales of Ise*, prior to the medieval period. From this, we can hypothesize that "bride-stealing" as a marriage custom is not the same as "bride-stealing" appearing in literary works. In other words, the "bride-

stealing" concept as a marriage custom might be considered to be apart from the one in literature. Therefore, I would like to separate "bride-stealing" as a custom and "bride-stealing" in literature, and I will deal only with "bride-stealing" episodes in Japanese ancient literature as literature.

Earliest Works

The earliest written works in Japan show that the concept of "bride-stealing" meant stealing imperial power (*ôken*), because by stealing a particular lady, a man could also steal the imperial *tama*, that is, the imperial spirit or charisma. It was believed that the imperial *tama* was passed from Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, to the emperor, from generation to generation,¹⁵ and because of this *tama*, the imperial family was able to assert the legitimacy of its rule over the other clans:

There was only one imperial *tama* that passed from one sovereign to - or more properly "into" - the next. This belief led to, or at least supported, the assertion of the essential identity of all the sovereigns in an unbroken line of descent from Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess. (Ebersole, 42)

Having the imperial *tama* seems to have been the only way for the imperial family to assert their right to rule. Therefore, succeeding to the imperial *tama* appears to have been very important, and this *tama* must have been a thing to be strictly protected.

A *tama* was believed to be a kind of concrete or tangible "thing" so that it could be visible and even leave from the body when, for instance, a person was sleeping or ill. Also, a *tama* could be controlled to prevent it from leaving from the body by performing rituals, such as *tama-furi*, "recalling *tama*," *tama-musubi*, "binding *tama*," and *tama-shizume*,

"pacifying *tama*."¹⁶ The imperial *tama*, too, had the same characteristics. It could be controlled on some occasions. For instance, the imperial *tama* is controlled at the *daijô-sai*,¹⁷ the accession ritual:

...in the *daijô-sai*, the imperial successor must remain awake all night, with the crucial ritual event occurring at the crack of dawn when the emperor-to-be communes with his ancestral spirits and is filled with the imperial *tama*. (Ebersole, 261)

By partaking of a meal with the deities in the *daijô-sai*, the Crown Prince is thought to receive the imperial *tama*.¹⁸ Wada Atsumu also suggests that at the *daijô-sai*, the new emperor succeeds to the imperial *tama* by a secret ceremony (*higi*),¹⁹ so the imperial *tama* is somehow "transferred to the new sovereign as part of the *daijô-sai*, the accession ritual" (Ebersole, 96). Some kind of connection between controlling the *tama* and the *daijô-sai* is also discussed by Saigô Nobutsuna. He points out that *daijô-sai* is held the day after the *chinkon sai*, a spirit pacification ritual, at court, and says the *chinkon sai* is a part of *daijô-sai*.²⁰ *Chinkon* is the Chinese reading of the Japanese reading of *tama-shizume* or "spirit-pacifying."

In addition to the occasion of the accession ritual, upon the death of an emperor, the imperial *tama* was controlled by the women secluded in the emperor's temporary interment, the *mogari no miya*; they performed *tama*-related rituals "with the aim of attracting the absent spirit of the deceased back into the corpse" (Ebersole, 171) because people's death was believed to have something to do with the *tama*:

The early Japanese did not consider death to be a permanent or irreversible state, at least for a short period after an individual had expired. Since death was believed to be a result

of the *tama* having left the body, various *tama-furi* -related rituals were performed in an effort to attract the animating spirit back into the body. (Ebersole, 55)

Evidence of this kind of ritual in ancient times is seen in the episode of Ame-waka-hiko's death in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. In the *Kojiki*, it says:

[After Ame-waka-hiko or the Heavenly Young Prince was killed,] the sound of the wailing of the Heavenly-Young-Prince's wife Princess Under-Shining, re-echoing in the wind, reached Heaven. So the Heavenly-Young-Prince's father, the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit, and his wife and children who were in heaven, hearing it, came down with cries and lamentations, and at once built a mourning-house there, and made the wild goose of the river the head-hanging bearer, the heron the broom-bearer, the kingfisher the person of the august food, the sparrow the pounding-woman, the pheasant the weeping woman; and, having thus arranged matters, they disported themselves for eight days and eight nights. (Kurano, NKBT 1:117; Chamberlain, 116)

Nakamura Hirotoishi interprets the last sentence as referring to a ritual for the dead to come back to life.²¹ Kikuchi Takeo, too, argues that the beginning of *mogari*, the temporary enshrinement, is based on the beckoning-*tama* ritual (*shôkon girei*), and in the *mogari no miya*, the court ladies, starting with the widowed empress, invoked the deceased emperor's spirit, *tama*, and communed with it.²²

It seems that only women were allowed to enter the *mogari no miya*, and they seem to have been the court ladies who had intimate relationships with the deceased:

When an adult male member of the imperial family died, all the women who had been sexually intimate with the deceased -- his primary wife and his concubines -- were apparently secluded within the *mogari no miya* for an extended period of time, often for several months. (Ebersole, 127)

This can be supported by the fact that most *mogari no miya banka* (elegies or funeral poems) in the *Man'yô shû* were composed by women, and there are also a few episodes in *Nihon shoki* about the imperial women in the ceremonies during the period of the *mogari*, the temporary enshrinement.²³ One of these women is, of course, the widowed empress, and her role in the *mogari no miya* seems to have been considered the same as that of the emperor. Inside of the *mogari no miya*, she was thought to commune with the deceased emperor, by virtue of which, the widowed empress was believed to receive the imperial *tama* just as the emperor received it by partaking of meals with the ancestral spirits at the *daijô-sai*.²⁴

According to the records in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, many infringements on the succession occurred around the time of the *daijô-sai* and during the period of the *mogari*.²⁵ This may have been a natural consequence during the period of the *mogari*, because the society must have been in an unstable state without the ruler:

[During the *mogari*], the class system was reconstructed, and in the case of the death of the head, the next successor was decided. (Saigô, 50)²⁶

The death of the previous emperor causes a political vacuum, because the successor was undecided, and as a result, there may have been some fights among imperial princes who were potential candidates to be the new emperor.²⁷ Wada Atsumu, analyzing episodes in the *Nihon shoki*, focuses on the fact that the infringements on the succession took place at the *mogari no niwa*, the backyard of *mogari no miya* (the emperor's temporary interment), and he concludes that what an imperial prince said at the *mogari no niwa* was considered *shinobi goto*, or the eulogy, and an improper *shinobi goto* could be used to get the power to control the succession.²⁸

Why did the infringements on the succession occur around the *daijô-sai*? I believe that this has to do with the imperial *tama*. Both at the *daijô-sai* and during the period of the *mogari*, the imperial *tama* must be controlled, because it has left or not yet entered the emperor's body. Without the imperial *tama*, the emperor can be considered to have no imperial power (*ôken*). Therefore, around the time of the *daijô sai*, it may have been thought to be easier for a person to attempt to assassinate the emperor. If this assumption is correct, this location where the infringement of the succession takes place might also have something to do with the imperial *tama*. During the period of *mogari*, according to Saigô, the spirit of the deceased, namely the imperial *tama*, was thought to remain in this world. In addition, as I mentioned earlier, the secluded women in the *mogari no miya* controlled the imperial *tama* in order to try to return the *tama* to the deceased. This event occurred in the *mogari no miya*. Therefore, the imperial princes who wanted to be the new emperor might have been at the *mogari no niwa* in order to steal the imperial *tama*.

In fact, in ancient Japan, it appears that having sexual relations with the women of the *mogari no miya* was considered a way of stealing the *tama*. The *mogari no miya*, according to Gary Ebersole, was strictly guarded in order to protect the consorts who had control of the imperial *tama*:

The *mogari no miya* was heavily guarded, though, not so much to protect the corpse from desecration or to guard any treasures deposited there as to protect the secluded women from sexual attack. (128)

The imperial consorts were guardians of the imperial *tama* and had the power to pass it on to the new emperor, so "guards [for the *mogari no miya*] were posted not so much to keep the spirit in as to keep out those among the living who would try to appropriate [the imperial *tama*]

onto themselves" (Ebersole, 137). Therefore, by having sexual relations with the imperial consorts in the *mogari no miya*, a man was thought to be able to steal the imperial *tama* and control the royal power.

This idea can be supported by the episode of Prince Anahobe in the *Nihon shoki* :

Summer, 5th month. The Imperial Prince Anahobe tried to force his way into the Palace of temporary interment in order to ravish the Empress Consort Kashikiya hime. But the favourite Minister, Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, called out the guards, who firmly fastened the Palace Gate, and resisting his entrance, would not let him in. The Imperial Prince Anahobe demanded of them, saying: -- "Who is it that is here ?" The guards answered and said:-- "Sakahe, Miwa no Kimi, is here." Seven times he shouted at them to open the gate, but they steadily refused to admit him. (Sakamoto, NKBT 68:156; Aston, 2:107-8)

Kashikiya hime was the widow of the emperor Bidatsu, and she was secluded in the *mogari no miya*. Prince Anahobe was the younger brother of emperor Bidatsu by a different mother, so there was a possibility that Anahobe could become the next emperor, and he seems to have had that ambition. The same episode was recorded in the passage from the fourteenth year of emperor Bidatsu, and it says:

Autumn, 8th month, 15th day.... The Imperial Prince Anahobe, who wished to possess himself of the empire, flew into a rage, and declared, saying: -- "Why do ye serve the Court of a dead King, and do not service where the living King is?" (Sakamoto, NKBT 68:152; Aston, 2:104-5)

Here, it is clearly said that Anahobe intended to become the next emperor. Therefore, as Ebersole says, "Prince Anahobe's attempt to break into the *mogari no miya* in order to possess the widowed empress can be recognized as a symbolically meaningful and rational act

performed in an effort to appropriate the imperial charisma unto (or into) himself" (269). By having sexual relations with the imperial consorts secluded in the *mogari no miya*, the ancient Japanese must have believed that people were able to control the succession.

There are other similar episodes in the *Nihon shoki* and the *Kojiki*, and they show that not only imperial consorts secluded in the *mogari no miya* but also imperial-consorts-to-be seem to have had something to do with the guarding of the royal power. In the Richû chapter on a year before emperor Richû's accession, it says:

After the period of mourning, and in the interval before [Iza-ho-wake who was going to be emperor Richû] assumed the exalted Dignity, he wished to take Kurohime, the daughter of the Hata no Yoshiro no Sukune, to him as concubine. The wedding presents having been already given, he sent the Imperial Prince Nakatsu of Suminoye to give notice of the lucky day. Now Prince Nakatsu having assumed the elder Prince's name, by this means seduced Kurohime.... [After what he did was revealed,] the Imperial Prince Nakatsu, fearing that trouble would come of this, was about to kill [Richû], and secretly raising a force, surrounded his Palace. (Sakamoto, NKBT 67:418-9; Aston, 1:301-2)

In this episode, Prince Nakatsu, who was a brother of Richû by a different mother, had sexual relations with Kurohime, Richû's consort-to-be. The outcome of this incident is that Prince Nakatsu was killed by his guard who was convinced to do so by Prince Mizuha wake, a brother of Richû by the same mother. Since Kurohime had not settled herself in the palace yet, it seems impossible that she could have been in the *mogari no miya*. However, what Prince Nakatsu did seems to have been considered an infringement on a royal succession.

The same episode is seen in the *Kojiki*:

Originally, when dwelling at the palace of Naniha, [the Heavenly Sovereign who was

going to be emperor Richû] on holding a copious feast when at the great tasting, was intoxicated with the great august liquor, and fell greatly and augustly asleep. Then his younger brother, King Sumi-no-ye-naka-tsu, wishing to take the Heavenly Sovereign, set fire to the great palace. (Kurano, NKBT 1:283-5; Chamberlain, 358)

Here Nakatsu's intention is clearly indicated, so he must have had an ambition to control the royal succession. In addition, this incident happened at the *daijô-sai*, translated here as "the great tasting." As I mentioned earlier, around the time of the *daijô-sai*, there were many infringements on the succession, and they were concerned with the imperial *tama*. In the episode in the *Nihon shoki*, the incident happened during *mogari*, and that too is concerned with the imperial *tama*. In order to be able to control the succession, in *Nihon shoki*, Nakatsu may deliberately have had relations with Kurohime, who had the power to control the imperial *tama*.

Another episode in the *Nihon shoki* is seen in the Muretsu chapter:

Now the eldest son [Muretsu] wished to betroth to himself Kagehime, the daughter of Mononobe no Arakahi no Ohomuraji, and sent a middleman to Kagehime's house to arrange for their union. But Kagehime had already formed an illicit connection with Shibi, son of Matori, the Minister of State....[Muretsu found out what happened to Shibi and Kagehime through the exchange of poems, and then Muretsu] became conscious of all the disrespect shown him by the father and the son. He blazed out into a great rage, and forthwith, on that same night, proceeded to the house of Ohotomo no Kanamura no Muraji, where he levied troops and concerted his plans. Ohotomo no Muraji waylaid Shibi no Omi with a force of several thousand men. He slew him at Mount Nara.

(Sakamoto, NKBT 68:8-11; Aston, 1:399-402)

Shibi is, as is mentioned in the text, a son of Matori, and Matori intended to control the royal

power after ex-emperor Ohoke died:

The Minister of State Heturi no Matori no Omi usurped the government of the country and tried to reign over Japan. Pretending that it was for the Emperor's eldest son, he built a palace, and ultimately dwelt in it himself. On all occasions he was arrogant, and was utterly devoid of loyal principle. (Sakamoto, NKBT 68:8; Aston, 1:399)

Matori's son, Shibi, seems to have had the same intention as well, so he had sexual relations with the new emperor's consort-to-be. Although this happened right after the ex-emperor Ohoke's death, Kagehime must have not been secluded in Ohoke's *mogari no miya* since she had not settled herself in the palace yet. However, what Shibi did seems to have been considered an infringement on the royal succession.

All of the men who had sexual relations with the consorts-to-be in these episodes seem to have had the intention of controlling the royal succession, and all of these episodes end with the death of these men. Sekiguchi Hiroko focuses on this outcome and analyzes this as a punishment for the infringement on royal power. She says that the outcome of these episodes shows the early development of the value of chastity among the consorts of the emperor in order to protect the imperial line.²⁹ Therefore, having sexual relations with a consort-to-be was considered an infringement on the royal power. On top of that, as I have argued, these consorts were the guardians of the imperial *tama*, so behind these episodes, there is another meaning: by having sexual relations with these consorts, a man was thought to be able to control the royal *tama*.

In addition to imperial consorts, the Ise priestess, the priestess in Ise Shrine where the imperial family worships, seems to have been associated with the royal power. In order to explain this, Ebersole points out the episode of Sukate hime, who was an Ise Priestess in the Yōmei chapter in the *Nihon shoki*:

19th day. The Emperor [Yōmei]...[appointed] the Imperial Princess [Sukate] hime to the charge of the Shrine of Ise and to attend to the worship of the Sun-goddess. This Imperial Princess, from the time of this Emperor until the reign of the Empress Kashikiya hime, attended to the divine service of the Sun-goddess. She then retired of her own accord to Katsuraki, and there died.... One book says: - "Having attended to the worship of the Sun-goddess for the space of thirty-seven years, she then retired of her own accord and died." (Sakamoto, NKBT 68: 154; Aston, 2:106-7)

Ebersole focuses on how Sukate hime withdrew from being the Ise Priestess. It is recorded as "of her own accord," and this is mentioned twice. Ebersole assumes there should be a special reason why she had to withdraw from being the Priestess "of her own accord" and looks into another similar episode in the Bidatsu chapter of the *Nihon shoki*:

7th year, Spring, 3rd month, 5th day. The Imperial Princess Uji was made to attend on the shrine of Ise, but an intrigue which she had with the Imperial Prince Ikenobe having come to light, this appointment was cancelled. (Sakamoto, NKBT 68:140; Aston, 2: 96)

Ebersole focuses on the word, "intrigue," and says "such an 'intrigue' involving the Ise Priestess seems to allude to the Ise Virgin as a potential locus of symbolic power in the succession" (140). In addition, he points out a *Nihon shoki* record in which Emperor Yōmei appoints the Ise Priestess immediately after he assumes the imperial dignity, and he argues that this event does not fit the accession process format chart which he re-created according to the records in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*.³⁰ According to his chart, this appointment usually is not done during the accession. This accession was not easy, because as I mentioned earlier, another Prince, Anahobe, wanted to be the next emperor. Ebersole analyzes these facts and concludes that Yōmei appointed the Ise Priestess in order to prevent the imperial power (*ōken*) from being taken by Prince Anahobe, because "the Ise Priestess had some kind of power to

recall the imperial spirit [of the deceased former emperor] and transfer it to another individual" (145). By appointing the Ise Priestess, Yômei might have thought he was able to protect the imperial power. Therefore, we can conclude that the Ise Priestess, too, was considered a guardian of the Imperial *tama*.

This hypothesis can be supported by the episode of the imperial prince Ôtsu in the *Nihon shoki* and related poems in the *Man'yô shû*. The episodes from the *Nihon shoki* tell us that Ôtsu had the ambition of controlling the royal power:

... the Imperial Prince Ohotsu [Ôtsu] conspired against the Prince Imperial [after the emperor Temmu died.] (Sakamoto, NKBT 68:480; Aston, 2:380)

Also, according to the headnote of the poems 105 and 106 of *Man'yô shû*, Ôtsu seems to have secretly visited his sister in Ise Shrine before he tried to control the succession:

Two poems by Princess Ôku when her brother Prince Ôtsu left to return to the capital after a secret visit to the Shrine at Ise. (Takagi, NKBT 4:71; Levy, 89)

The reason for this action can be explained by the power of the Ise priestess: in order to get the royal power, he went to see his sister. Although Ôtsu's attempt is not successful, we can assume that he must have believed in the power of the Ise Priestess. Therefore, not only the imperial consorts secluded in the *mogari no miya* and the imperial-consorts-to-be but also the Ise Priestess seem to have had something to do with the control of the royal power.

In the earliest written works in Japan, we have found out that having sexual relations with the imperial consorts or the Ise priestess meant stealing the imperial *tama*, because by doing so, a man was thought to be able to obtain the royal power. The princes who had or tried to have relations with the imperial consorts or the Ise priestess seem to have been aware of these women's having a power to control the imperial *tama*. As a means of controlling the

royal power, they had or tried to have relations with these women.

Kojiki

In *Kojiki* (712), Ôkuni-nushi takes Suseri-bime back to *Ashihara-no-nakatsu-kuni*, or the Central Land of Reed-Plains, Ôkuni-nushi's native land, and this episode can be seen as being based on the literary tradition of "bride-stealing," because this abduction appears to help Ôkuni-nushi control the imperial power (*ôken*): after this event, Ôkuni-nushi becomes the ruler of the Central Land of Reed-Plains where later Amaterasu's direct descendants, namely the imperial family, are to govern. In short, Ôkuni-nushi can be recognized the first ruler of the nation.

Ôkuni-nushi goes to *Ne no katasu kuni*, or the Nether-Distant-Land, due to his mother's advice: Ôkuni-nushi's brothers, the eighty Deities, kill him twice, because they are not happy about the Princess of Yakami choosing Ôkuni-nushi as her husband. His mother, who brings Ôkuni-nushi back to life, thinks that Susa-no-wo, the ruler of the Nether-Distant-Land, would give him good advice there. In the Nether-Distant-Land, Ôkuni-nushi meets Suseri-bime, Susa-no-wo's daughter, and they get married. Susa-no-wo tries to kill Ôkuni-nushi, but because of Suseri-bime's help, he survives.

How Suseri-bime helps Ôkuni-nushi demonstrates that she has the power to control the imperial *tama*. When Susa-no-wo makes Ôkuni-nushi sleep in a room filled with snakes in order to kill him, Suseri-bime gives Ôkuni-nushi *hemi no hire* or a snake-scarf and tells him to wave the scarf when the snakes try to bite him, so that he can drive them away. The next day, Susa-no-wo makes Ôkuni-nushi sleep in a room filled with centipedes and wasps. Suseri-bime then gives Ôkuni-nushi *mukade hachi no hire* or a centipede and wasp-scarf, so again he is able to survive. Ebersole argues that the actions similar to what Ôkuni-nushi does are done

at the *Chinkon-sai* or Spirit-pacification Festival. The *Kujiki* ³¹ says that the scarves which Ôkuni-nushi uses are two of the Ten Precious Treasures of the Heavenly Regalia which Amaterasu gives to Ninigi, the first of Amaterasu's direct descendants who descend to the Central Land of Reed-Plains to rule, and how Ôkuni-nushi uses these scarves is similar to how they are used at the *Chinkon-sai* as well:

The Ancestress of the Heavenly Deities (thus) commanded, bestowing Ten Precious Treasures as the Heavenly Regalia. These were: the Mirror of the Deep, the Mirror of the Shore, the Sword Eight Hands Long, the Jewel of Life, the Jewel of Resuscitation, the Jewel of Plenty, the Jewel of Turning Back on the Road, the Snake (-repelling) Scarf [*hemi no hire*], the Bee (-repelling) Scarf [*hachi no hire*], and the Scarf (to ward off) Various Things.

The Ancestress of the Heavenly Deities commanded, saying: "If there should be any pain anywhere, take these ten treasures, and while saying: 'One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten,' wave them, wave them in a leisurely manner. If that is done, the dead will return to life." This is the origin of the word *furu*, "to wave."

(Kamata, 70; Philippi, 407-8)

Ebersole quotes Philippi's note on the paragraphs above: "This is no doubt a description of an actual ceremony connected with the *Chinkon-sai*, in which articles of the emperor's clothing are known to have been waved or shaken" (Philippi, 408), and he concludes that "Suseri-bime is transferring to [Ôkuni-nushi] articles of the imperial regalia that have the power to bring the deceased back to life but also to *transfer the imperial charisma* or *tama*" (emphasis in original, Ebersole, 151). In other words, Suseri-bime knows how to control the imperial *tama*, which also means that she is a guardian of the imperial *tama*.

After escaping from being killed by Susa-no-wo, Ôkuni-nushi takes Suseri-bime on his

back, carries off the great life-sword, life-bow-and-arrows, and heavenly speaking-lute, and runs back to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. He then drives off his brothers, becomes the ruler of the land, makes Suseri-bime his principal wife, and starts to construct the land, all of which are Susa-no-wo's commands. While Ôkuni-nushi is running away from the Nether-Distant-Land, Susa-no-wo tells him:

With the great life-sword and the life-bow-and-arrows which thou carriest, pursue thy half-brethren till they crouch on the august slopes of the passes, and pursue them till they are swept into the reaches of the rivers, and do thou wretch! become the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land.... making my daughter the Forward-Princess thy consort, do thou make stout the temple-pillars at the foot of Mount Uka in the nethermost rock-bottom, and make high the cross-beams to the Plain-of-High-Heaven, and dwell (there), thou villain!
(Kurano, NKBT 1: 99; Chamberlain, 88)

By following Susa-no-wo's commands, Ôkuni-nushi is able to attack his brothers who killed him twice and even becomes the ruler of the land. It seems that Ôkuni-nushi brings back some kind of power from the Nether-Distant-Land. Saigô Nobutsuna says that the great life-sword, life-bow-and-arrows, and heavenly speaking-lute "function the same as the Three Imperial Treasures (*sanshu no jingi*), and they are the magical tools which prove [the owner's] legitimacy as the king" (99).³² In fact, these three play an important role in Ôkuni-nushi's becoming the ruler. He uses these tools to drive off his brothers as he is commanded by Susa-no-wo: without these tools, he would not be able to attack his brothers and become the ruler.

In addition to these tools, having Suseri-bime as his principal wife seems to be necessary for Ôkuni-nushi to become the ruler:

For the legendary heroes who have to show their excellency as rulers, it is very important that they connect with an outside superior authority. For example, Ôana-muji [one of the

other names of Ôkuni-nushi,] can become [the Deity Master-of-the-great-Land] by getting married to a daughter of Susa-no-wo, the ruler of the Nether-Distant-Land.³³

Having a connection with another authority by getting married to his daughter can prove Ôkuni-nushi's legitimacy as the ruler. In addition, Suseri-bime can be recognized as a guardian of the imperial *tama* since she knows how to control it. As I have argued earlier, by having sexual relations with a guardian of imperial *tama*, a person can obtain the imperial *tama*, which proves that he has the right to rule. Similarly, by making Suseri-bime his wife, Ôkuni-nushi can obtain the imperial *tama*, which means that he can assert his right to rule. Therefore, the abduction of Suseri-bime is necessary for Ôkuni-nushi to be able to become the ruler.

Susa-no-wo's attitude toward Ôkuni-nushi perhaps provokes Ôkuni-nushi to steal Suseri-bime. As we have seen, Susa-no-wo is very cruel to Ôkuni-nushi. He tries to kill Ôkuni-nushi and swears at him, which shows Susa-no-wo's unwillingness to give his daughter to Ôkuni-nushi. It seems that abduction is the only way for Ôkuni-nushi to be able to marry Suseri-bime. However, Susa-no-wo only pretends to forbid their marriage. Although Ôkuni-nushi has five names, Susa-no-wo calls him Ashihara-shikowo, meaning a strong and powerful male god in the Central Land of Reed-Plains, which might suggest that Susa-no-wo acknowledges Ôkuni-nushi as a great person.³⁴ In the end, Susa-no-wo even commands Ôkuni-nushi to make Suseri-bime his principal wife. Such contradicting behaviour on Susa-no-wo's part shows that he purposely acts as if he opposes their marriage in order to show how precious his daughter is and imply that Ôkuni-nushi must take good care of her. However, such an attitude forces Ôkuni-nushi to steal Suseri-bime, which helps him be the ruler.

This abduction also seems to give Ôkuni-nushi the power to control the imperial power

(*ôken*). The land which Ôkuni-nushi rules is, according to the *Kojiki*, supposed to be ruled by the direct descendants of Amaterasu. However, at first, Ôkuni-nushi rules, which might be a result of the abduction of Suseri-bime. Although Amaterasu keeps sending messengers to the land to demand that Ôkuni-nushi pass its sovereignty on to the descendants of Amaterasu, these messengers end up being under the control of Ôkuni-nushi. That happens because Ôkuni-nushi has obtained the ability to control the imperial power by stealing Suseri-bime. Ôkuni-nushi in the end does give up the right to rule there, but in exchange for handing over the legitimacy, "as to [his] place of residence," Ôkuni-nushi asks to "make high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven like the rich and perfect august nest where the august child of the Heavenly Deities rules the succession of Heaven's sun" (Kurano, NKBT 1: 123; Chamberlain, 123). In other words, Ôkuni-nushi lives in almost the same kind of residence as an emperor would. This could be seen as meaning that Ôkuni-nushi has the same authority as the emperor, which he has obtained by the abduction of Suseri-bime.³⁵

As we have seen, Ôkuni-nushi becomes the ruler because he obtains the power to control the imperial charisma, and one way he gets this is by the abduction of Suseri-bime, a guardian of the imperial *tama*. After Ôkuni-nushi becomes the ruler of the land, he constructs the Reed-Plains-Land or the Luxuriant-Reed-Plains-the-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears-of-a-Thousand-Autumns (*Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-midzu-ho-no-kuni*), an aesthetic name (*bishô* 美称) for Japan. Therefore, Ôkuni-nushi is recognized as the ruler of Japan. However, the descendants of the Amaterasu take it over in the end. This series of episodes about Ôkuni-nushi is categorized as the "Izumo myth," and "there is no other example of the 'Izumo myth' in as clear a form as the one in the *Kojiki*, so it may be natural for us to consider that [this myth] was created in order to prove and assert the necessity and divinity of the emperor's having legitimacy to rule over Japan."³⁶ This is exactly the primary purpose why

the *Kojiki* itself was compiled. In fact, this series seems to be original to the *Kojiki*, because "several episodes about Ôkuni-nushi, such as 'the White Hare of Inaba,' 'Persecution by Eighty Deities,' 'Visit to the Nether-Distant-Land,' and 'Suseri-bime's Jealousy' are not seen in the *Nihon shoki*." ³⁷ In order that the imperial family can easily govern the nation, before the ancestor of the imperial family starts to rule over Japan, Ôkuni-nushi has to unify Japan. ³⁸ In other words, he has to become the ruler of the land. In showing his having obtained the right to rule over Japan, the abduction episode fulfills an important function.

Tales of Ise

As we have seen, in the earliest works of Japanese literature, having a relationship with the imperial consorts or the Ise priestess meant stealing the imperial *tama*, because by doing so, a man was thought to have been able to obtain the royal power. This concept seems to apply to "bride-stealing" episodes in the Heian period as well. One of the examples is Episode Six of the *Tales of Ise*.

In *Tales of Ise*, the protagonist seems to intend to disrupt the power of the Fujiwara Regency (*sekkon-ke*) by abducting the lady, although he is unsuccessful. The protagonist of this tale seems to be described as anti-Fujiwara (*han-Fujiwara shi*).³⁹ In fact, in the Heian period, the protagonist was generally understood to be Ariwara no Narihira, whose father was the first child of the retired emperor Heijô, prince Aho, and whose mother was also an imperial princess. In spite of such a family background, Narihira was not able to be successful in the political world. A large part of the reason for this was the power of the Fujiwara family.

Traditionally, the stolen lady was believed to have been the future Empress from the Second Ward, Takaiko, niece and adopted daughter of the Fujiwara chieftain Yoshifusa, and in

fact Episode Six ends with the following note:

It is said that while the future Empress from the Second Ward was in attendance upon her cousin, the imperial consort, someone was fascinated by her beauty and carried her off on his back. Her brothers, Mototsune and Kunitsune, who were minor officials then, happened to be on their way to the imperial palace. They heard someone wailing, halted the abductor, and took the lady back. They were the devils the author talks about. The lady was still very young and had not yet ceased to be a commoner. (Watanabe, SNKS 2:19; McCullough, Tales of Ise, 73)

From the last sentence, we learn that this lady was not yet a consort at that time, implying that she will be later. In fact, through Episodes Three to Five, we learn that by the time she was stolen in Episode Six, it had already been decided that she would become the consort of the Crown Prince.⁴⁰

This end note tells us one more important thing: this lady's family members try to stop the protagonist from having an affair with this lady. We can find another similar note at the end of Episode Five:

Gossip about [the protagonist's or Narihira's] secret visits to the Empress from the Second Ward finally led her brothers to place her under guard - or so it is said.

(Watanabe, SNKS 2:17-8; McCullough, Tales of Ise, 72)

The reason for this prevention can be explained by this lady's, namely Takaiko's, historical position in the Regent's House. She was important to Yoshifusa, because he could extend his sphere of influence in the political world by having her become the consort of the Crown Prince.⁴¹ Based on this fact, we can understand that the protagonist abducts this lady in order to prevent the Regent's House from becoming more powerful.

In ancient Japanese literature, marriage to daughters of clan chieftains seems to imply

some political meaning, which is that a nobleman gets married with these women from other regions in order to bring those areas under his sway:

...the legendary heroes... "wedded" the shamanic priestess (usually daughters of clan chieftains) of each clan conquered in their journeys around the land. These women were tied to the land, to the guardian deities of the clan. Indeed, union with such a woman was the symbolic (and requisite) step signifying conquest. (Field, 39)

What I would like to focus on is that marriage with these women means "conquest."

Accordingly, Episode Six, marriage by stealing the lady might imply the protagonist's ambition to conquer the Regent's House.

In fact, the *Tales of Ise* itself seems to express Narihira's resistance toward the Regent's House. Watanabe Minoru points out the following poems in Episode Ninety-Seven and One Hundred One in this tale:

Episode 97 :	Sakurabana	Scatter in clouds
	Chirikaikumore	Cherry blossoms,
	Oiraku no	That you may hide the path
	Komu to iu naru	By which old age
	Michi magau ga ni.	Is said to approach.

(Watanabe, SNKS 2:114-5; McCullough, *Tales of Ise*, 137)

Episode 101:	Saku hana no	Longer than ever before
	Shita ni kakururu	Is the wisteria's shadow ----
	Hito o ômi	How many are those
	Arishi ni masaru	Who shelter beneath
	Fuji no kage kamo.	Its blossoms!

(Watanabe, SNKS 2:118; McCullough, Tales of Ise, 139) ⁴²

He argues that these poems show Narihira taking a defiant attitude toward the Fujiwara Regency. ⁴³ The poem in Episode Ninety-Seven was composed to celebrate Fujiwara Mototsune's fortieth birthday. This poem is, in fact, categorized in the *ga*, or celebrations chapter, in the *Kokin shû*, and it indeed looks like a celebratory poem as interpreted above. However, Watanabe points out several words in this poem, such as *chirikai*, or "scattering"; *kumore*, or "clouds, uncertainty"; *oiraku*, or "growing old," and comments that using these words is not suitable for this occasion, because they are ominous. This poem ends up celebrating Mototsune's birthday after all, as the latter half of poem shows, but Watanabe asserts that this poem is not only a celebratory poem but also shows Narihira's resistance against the Fujiwara. ⁴⁴

The poem in Episode One Hundred One was composed when a group of courtiers, starting with Fujiwara Masachika, visited Ariwara Yukihira, Narihira's older brother, to taste some good wine which they had heard he had. According to Watanabe, this poem can be interpreted to mean that "because there are a lot of people who are under the protection of the Fujiwara, some of the Fujiwara disregard the Ariwara and are spoiled" (118). In this episode, the protagonist, the poet, was criticized for this poem, but he avoided being criticized further by explaining "[this poem is] about the Chancellor's brilliant career and the splendid accomplishments of other members of the Fujiwara family" (Watanabe, SNKS 2:118; McCullough, Tales of Ise, 139). Although the protagonist says this, Watanabe thinks that from the sentence "Arishi ni masaru Fuji," the true meaning of this poem is sarcastic toward the Fujiwara, because they came to Yukihira's house, the Ariwara's house, even though they are under the protection of the Fujiwara (119). Therefore, from these poems, we can see that

Narihira seems to resist the Fujiwara.⁴⁵

Watanabe also says that some poems in this tale show Narihira's close relationship with another unfortunate prince, Prince Koretaka, who was not able to succeed to the throne because of the Fujiwara's control of the imperial power. From these poems in the *Tales of Ise*, Watanabe argues that one of the sources for this tale was the episodes about Narihira and other unfortunate noblemen, starting with Prince Koretaka (168-186).

In addition to these poems, Hasegawa Masaharu points out Episode Sixty-Five in which "a courtier from the Ariwara family" goes to see a consort, who is again generally interpreted as Takaiko, even after he has been exiled due to an affair with this consort. Hasegawa says this episode shows the protagonist's infringement of the imperial power (*ôken*), because the protagonist as described is the same as a "*mare bito*." Literally this means a person who comes to visit infrequently,⁴⁶ and according to Hasegawa, what this *mare bito* has done in Episode Sixty-Five is depicted as an infringement on the imperial power: a *mare bito*, described as a rival and as being superior to the emperor, visits the place where the emperor lives in order to confront the emperor. Hasegawa says that such *kishu ryûri-tan*, episodes in which a nobleman wanders in exile from the capital, also implies an infringement on the imperial power.⁴⁷

What Hasegawa suggests can be supported by one of the aspects of *kishu ryûri-tan*, that is, *ikyô hômon-tan*, or episodes about a nobleman's visiting a strange land: on the trip, a nobleman gets married to a woman of the strange land, and she gives some kind of power to him, and he is successful after returning to the capital.⁴⁸ In other words, in order to find a woman who gives him the power for his success, a nobleman takes a journey of self-imposed exile. One of the examples of such *kishu ryûri-tan* is the episode about Hiko-ho-ho-demi no

mikoto or Yamasachi hiko, the so-called *umi-sachi yama-sachi shinwa*, "myth of luck on the sea and luck on the mountain," in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. Hiko-ho-ho-demi goes to the Palace of the Sea-God or Dragon King in order to find his brother's fish-hook which he accidentally lost, because his brother insists that he get it back. At the palace, he marries Toyotama-hime, the daughter of the Sea-God. After marrying her, he stays there for three years, but he longs to go back to his native country and decides to go home. At his departure, his wife gives him his brother's fish-hook, the jewel of the flowing tide, and the jewel of the ebbing tide, and she tells him how to use them in order to take revenge on his brother. He is able to punish his brother, and his brother then serves him for his whole life (Kurano, NKBT 1:135-143; Chamberlain, 145-153; Sakamoto, NKBT 67:163-187; Aston, 92-108). From this story, we can see that Toyotama-hime is a crucial person for Hiko-ho-ho-demi's success,⁴⁹ because the marriage with her allows Hiko-ho-ho-demi to be able to get these magical jewels, and because of these jewels and her advice, he is able to conquer his brother.

Another example is a series of episodes about Genji and Lady Akashi in *The Tale of Genji*: Genji's affair with Oborozukiyo, who is a daughter of the Minister of Right and the crown prince's consort, has been revealed (Yanai, SNKBT 19:387-9; Seidensticker, 211-213). That makes Genji leave the capital and go to the Suma coast in self-imposed exile, because he thinks it is not good for the secret son of Genji and Fujitsubo, the future emperor Reizei, if Genji does not leave the capital at that time. One stormy night, lightning hits Genji's house in Suma and burns a part of it. That same night, Genji's dead father, the former emperor, appears in Genji's dreams and advises him to leave Suma. The next morning, the Akashi priest comes to Genji and welcomes him and his followers to Akashi, so they decide to go there (Yanai, SNKBT 20:53-60; Seidensticker, 260-3). At Akashi, Genji marries the Akashi Lady, the daughter of the Akashi priest. Although the Akashi Lady becomes pregnant, Genji

decides to go back to the capital since Emperor Suzaku orders him to return in order to help him. Later, the daughter of Genji and the Akashi Lady enters the court as the crown prince's consort, which helps Genji obtain a position equal to that of a retired emperor (*dajô tennô ni nazurau kurai*) (Yanai, SNKBT 21: 192; Seidensticker, 532).

This series of episodes about Genji and the Lady Akashi is traditionally considered to be an allusion to the episode about Hiko-ho-ho-demi, the so-called myth of "luck on the sea and luck on the mountain" (*umi-sachi yama-sachi shinwa*):

The episode of Genji's exile to Suma and Akashi follows the narrative topos of a nobleman who gets to the provinces in self-imposed exile due to a political infringement or transgression of prohibited relationships. At the same time, this episode is an *ikyô hômon-tan* (episodes about a nobleman's visiting a strange land). Akashi, where Genji visits after having a purification ceremony at Suma, is the Palace of the Dragon King. [Genji's episode] alludes to *umi-sachi yama-sachi shinwa* (the myth of luck on the sea and luck on the mountain). There, Genji, who gets married to the Dragon King's daughter, has a daughter with the same function as the jewels which Yama-sachi [or Hiko-ho-ho-demi] gets [in the episode in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*]. (Hyûga, 129)⁵⁰

The daughter of Genji and the Akashi Lady helps Genji obtain the position of regent. He is then able to participate in politics as the father of the Crown Prince's consort.

From the two episodes above, we have seen that the protagonist's self-imposed exile helps him to become politically successful, because in the provinces, he gets married to a woman who gives him the power necessary for his success. In the *Ise*, the protagonist from Episode Seven leaves the capital and goes to the provinces in self-imposed exile, and this journey is traditionally understood as a *kishu ryûri-tan*. The reason why the protagonist is expelled is, in general, said to be as punishment for what he has done in Episode Six.

However, if this episode is interpreted as *kishu ryûri-tan* combined with *ikyô hômon-tan*, one of the reasons for the protagonist's taking the journey to the eastern provinces, the so-called "*Azuma Kudari*," can also be understood as finding a woman who will give him power like the jewel in the episode in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* so that he can attack the Regent's House.

In fact, in the middle of his journey, Narihira sees the Ise Priestess who, as has been discussed earlier, was considered to be one of the guardians of the imperial *tama*. In Episodes Sixty-Nine to Seventy-Two, we find the protagonist having an intimate relationship with the Ise priestess. Hasegawa Masaharu discusses Episode Sixty-Nine and says the Ise district relates to the divine power (*shinken*), in contrast to the imperial power in the capital:

In the *Kojiki*, before Yamato Takeru goes to the west and east in order to rule these districts, he sees Yamato-hime who is the Ise Priestess and Takeru's aunt, while in the *Nihon shoki* he sees her before he goes to the east.... Therefore, the Ise shrine and the Goddess in Ise seem to be considered special. (45)⁵¹

From these episodes, we can say that the protagonist has the ambition to control the government, because he seems to be anti-Fujiwara and intends to get power to prevent the Fujiwara Regency from being more powerful. The protagonist's abduction of the lady in Episode Six can then be interpreted as his attempt to disrupt the power of the Regent's House, but he fails to do so; the lady is eaten by a demon. As a consequence, he has to leave the capital and go into self-imposed exile, starting with the next episode. The reason why the protagonist decides to do that could be the consequence of his unsuccessful "bride-stealing": he is trying to disrupt the Regency in a different fashion, by finding jewel-like power on his trip. However, that is not successful either. Katagiri Yôichi focuses on the poem in Episode Six, and since this is not actually composed by the historical Narihira, he suggests that the author

inserts this "bride-stealing" episode from some other sources.⁵² In other words, this episode was made up for some reason other than historical fact. In order to give a reason why the protagonist has to leave the capital, the author might have used this "bride-stealing" episode as an example of infringement on the royal power. As Kobayashi Masaaki summarizes the *Tales of Ise*, the two episodes of Takaiko and the Ise Priestess seem to be concerned with imperial power,⁵³ and this tale seems to have been written to show Narihira's resistance to the Fujiwara Regency. Therefore, we can see that the abduction in Episode Six of *Ise* functions as an attempt to control the royal power.

The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo

The marriage between the Lady Ochikubo and Michiyori in *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo* also seems to have an element of the literary tradition of "bride-stealing," but some change is seen. This abduction appears to bring the power to control the monarchy, but such result is due to Ochikubo's *saiwai*, "good fortune," which is actually a replacement of the imperial *tama* in the earlier works. In fact, *saiwai* and *tama* seem to have had some kind of relationship in ancient times. In one of the versions of Ôkuni-nushi's construction of the sub-celestial world in the *Nihon shoki*, we find the word "*saki-mitama*," the spirit of good fortune (Sakamoto, NKBT 67: 130; Aston, 1: 61). *Saki* is from the original reading of *saiwai*, which is *sakihahi*, and this spirit is supposed to give good fortune to people.⁵⁴ Michiyori is, from the beginning, a promising nobleman, but he still needs Ochikubo, who is an emperor's granddaughter, because as *saki-mitama* was thought to give people good fortune, Ochikubo's *saiwai* appears to give good fortune to him; it seems to help him be successful at court. Michiyori's dramatic advancement and the decline of Chûnagon's family, Ochikubo's father's

family, after Michiyori has taken Ochikubo away, show this.

When Michiyori hears for the first time about Ochikubo from Korenari, who is Ochikubo's attendant's husband and whose mother was Michiyori's wet-nurse, he begins to be interested in her, because where Ochikubo lives is far from her parents' room : it would be very easy for Michiyori secretly to approach her without her parents' notice.⁵⁵ He seems to want to have only a very casual relationship with Ochikubo. Michiyori asks Korenari to arrange for him to have an affair with Ochikubo, and after a little while, he asks Korenari how the arrangement has been going so far. Korenari replies:

"It seems that it will be a very long business. In these matters, it should be the lady's parents who worry about bringing the matter to a successful conclusion. But the Chûnagon is so hen-pecked that he will do nothing to help her to find a lover." (Inaga, SNKS 14: 15; Whitehouse, 7)

Then Michiyori says:

" It was for that reason that I told you to take me to visit her in secret; it would never do for me to become the son-in-law of that Chûnagon. If, when I meet her, I find that she is beautiful, I will bring her here; if she is not, I shall stop going to see her on the excuse that people are talking." (Inaga, SNKS 14: 15; Whitehouse, 7)

From his words, we can see that Michiyori does not want to have a serious relationship with Ochikubo unless he finds that she is beautiful; therefore, he is happy that her parents do not seem to be eager to find Ochikubo a husband. This situation is welcome to Michiyori, because he wants to have an affair with Ochikubo simply in order to satisfy his "amorous nature" (*irogonomi*).⁵⁶ What he is looking for is to have a casual relationship, one that will not directly lead to marriage.

In fact, a noblemen's looking for this kind of relationships seems to have been popular in

the Heian period. In a very well-known episode from *The Tale of Genji*, the *ama yo no shina sadame*, or the Rainy Night Discussion, we can see that aristocratic men seem to appreciate women of the middle class, especially in families of *zuryô*, the provincial governors. Among these women, those whose families were of good enough birth and whose fathers had not reached the rank of councilors are most attractive (Yanai, SNKBT 19: 36-7; Seidensticker, 23). As for the reasons for this, Tamagami Takuya explains that these women are well-educated in terms of the manners at court. Because their fathers have ambition to have the daughters enter the court so that they might get married to a regent and their fathers could be grandfathers of a son of the Regent's Family, they give their daughters a great deal of education, such as composing poems and playing *koto*, and they are rich enough to do so (1: 176-7). However, there might be another reason why a nobleman takes the trouble to go to the suburbs to see these ladies: they only want to have casual relationships. They can always leave these ladies, because their fathers are not powerful enough to insist on their marriage. In case the nobleman likes the lady and decides to take her into his residence, the lady should come from a good family. The noblemen are able to examine the ladies directly, and so they may appreciate the middle class ladies who allow them their freedom.

In this respect, too, Ochikubo is attractive to Michiyori. She is the daughter of an imperial princess, and her parents are not interested in finding her husband. Michiyori keeps sending poems to her almost every day despite the lack of response from her, and one night, when the Chûnagon is paying a visit of thanksgiving at Ishiyama Temple, and Ochikubo and her attendant, Akogi, are staying in Chûnagon's mansion by themselves, Michiyori finally breaks in on her. He at that time still is not serious about her, but when she composes her very first reply poem to him, he begins to take this relationship seriously and soon formally gets married to her. Later, he discovers Ochikubo's step-mother's ill-treatment of Ochikubo. He

cannot endure it, so he abducts her to his residence.

Michiyori and his family members advance dramatically in rank after Ochikubo comes to Michiyori's residence. For example, the year after Michiyori takes Ochikubo to his residence, at the General Appointments, he becomes Chûjô, Middle Captain, with Third Court Rank, and two years later, after Ochikubo has her first son, Michiyori becomes Chûnagon, Middle Councillor, and also receives the additional appointment of Saemon no Kami, Commander of the Gate Guards of the Left, and his father becomes Udajin, Minister of the Right. Michiyori's father says, "at exactly the same time as [Ochikubo's first son] is born, his father and I receive great honours. He is a prodigy" (Inaga, SNKS 14: 170; Whitehouse, 160).⁵⁷ This comment clearly shows that Ochikubo's first son brings luck for his family. It seems that Ochikubo is necessary for Michiyori's family's success.

Contrariwise, luck deserts Ochikubo's old family after she leaves. For instance, the Kurôdo no Shôshô, a Vice-Director of the Imperial Archives, who is "the one of [Ochikubo's step-mother's] sons-in-law whom [Ochikubo's step-mother] prized highest" (Inaga, SNKS 14: 141; Whitehouse, 130), was married to one of Ochikubo's step-sisters, the Third Lady, but after Ochikubo is taken away, his visits to the Third Lady become infrequent, and finally he gets married to Michiyori's sister and stops visiting the Third Lady completely. Also, the Fourth Lady gets married to a foolish man, the Hyôbu no Shôyu, who is known as "White-faced Colt," and people make a fun of the family. However, after Ochikubo meets her father again, many happy events happen to her father's family. For example, her father (the rank of Chûnagon, Middle Councillor) is promoted to Dainagon, Major Councillor. Ochikubo's step-brothers are also promoted. Also, the Fourth Lady marries the Tsukushi no Sochi, and the Third Lady becomes Directress of the Imperial Wardrobe.

As we have seen, it appears that Ochikubo's existence influences people's luck. In some

Japanese classical literary works, we can find a similar situation: a stolen lady brings fortune to the people by whom the lady is abducted. One of them is *Taketori monogatari*, *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*. The protagonist of this tale, Kaguya hime, is found by the bamboo cutter, and he brings her back to his house. What this bamboo cutter has done can be considered an abduction of Kaguya hime. When he finds her in the bamboo, he says, "You are destined to be my child since you were in the bamboo which I see every morning and night," and takes her away to his house (Akiyama, SNKBT 17: 3). After that, the bamboo cutter becomes rich, because he finds gold in the bamboo he gathers. This kind of episode is categorized as *chifu-tan*, an episode of "from rags to riches," and in this tale, this fortune is brought to the bamboo cutter's family by Kaguya hime, the stolen lady.⁵⁸

Another example is the Legend of Nagu Shrine in *Tango no kuni no fudoki*:

...[Old Man Wanasa and Old Woman Wanasa] came to the well and stealthily took and hid one of the heavenly maidens' robes. Then all those who had robes flew up into the heavens. But the one heavenly maiden without a robe stayed, and hid her body in the water, being ashamed. Here, the old man said to the heavenly maiden: "I have no child. Please, Heavenly Maiden, you become my child." [After negotiation, this Maiden] accompanied them and went to their home, and accordingly lived with them for more than ten years. Here, the heavenly maiden brewed excellent sake. When one drank a cup, truly ten thousand pains disappeared. The profit from this one cup came in cartloads. In this, the house became rich and the paddies bountiful like muddy lagoons. (Naoki, KNKB 2: 385-6; Mostow, 140)

In this episode, we can also see that the stolen lady, the Heavenly Maiden, helped the old couple, who abducted this Maiden, become rich. This episode, too, is considered *chifu-tan*.⁵⁹ Here, we can see a kind of narrative type, in which a stolen lady brings fortune

to people who abducts her.

Ochikubo, too, brings good fortune to Michiyori who abducts her, but she brings fortune not only to Michiyori but also to people related to her, such as her father and step-sisters. Ochikubo seems to have the power to give good luck to these people, and in this story, this power is described as *saiwai* (*saihahi*), "good fortune." While in modern Japanese *saiwai* means "happiness" and "good luck," and it is a kind of emotional happiness, in the Heian period, it seems to have meant good fortune, and this was material fortune, such as getting high status and wealth. In Heian literature, this word mostly describes the situation when a woman who is in reduced circumstance comes upon good fortune by getting married to a man who is in the current de facto ruler, that is, some one from the Regent's House. Mekada Sakuwo analyzes the examples of *saiwai* in *The Tale of Genji* and says:

The large part of the examples are used when a woman of the declining upper class marries a man of wealth (*tama no koshi ni noru*). To marry a man of wealth means to marry a man who is currently in power.⁶⁰

Also, about a derivative of *saiwai*, *saiwai-bito*, a prosperous person, he says:

Saiwai-bito, too, describes a lady who is loved as a wealthy man's wife or concubine, or the lady's family members who are or are expected to become people of high class due to her grandchildren or great grandchildren.... In short, people hoped to get power, high status, and wealth, and when these wishes came true, people called it *saiwai* and called those people *saiwai-bito*.⁶¹

Historically, too, when women in reduced circumstances got married to men in the Regent's House and had a son, people called these ladies *saiwai-bito*, prosperous people. One example is the younger daughter of Commander of the Right Gate Guards Norisada with one of

Consultant Arikuni's daughters. After this daughter, known as the Lady in the Wing, lost both her father and mother, she served Yorimichi, a regent. "Then the Lady in the Wing had been found to be with child, a turn of events that had caused everyone to marvel at her good fortune" (*tada ni mo arazu nari tamahini keru wo, yo no hito ito medetaki saihahi-bito ni ihi omohi keri*) (Matsumura, NKBT 76: 172; McCullough, A Tale of Flowering Fortunes, 645). Because this lady had a baby by the regent, she was called a "*saiwai-bito*," and this child was Michiyori's first son, Michifusa, so "it was impossible to disagree with those who called the Lady in the Wing a lucky woman" ("*saba yo ni kakaru saihahi-bito mo arikeri' to nonoshiru mo, geni to mietari*") (Matsumura, NKBT 76: 173; McCullough, 645).⁶² In short, when a lady became a wife of a son or mother of a child in the Regent's House (Abe 921), or when a lady got some kind of connection with the upper nobility, she was called a *saiwai-bito* (Abe 926).

The words *saiwai* and *saiwai-bito* in the classical literature seem to have different meanings from modern Japanese, in which they connotes emotional happiness. In fact, literary characters who are called *saiwai-bito*, such as the Akashi Lady in *The Tale of Genji*, do not seem to be emotionally happy.⁶³ Historical women who were called *saiwai-bito* did not seem to be emotionally happy, either. For instance, the Lady in the Wing, Michifusa's mother, does not seem to have had a happy life:

... because it seems that Takahime [Yorimichi's principal wife] complained to [Yorimichi about his visiting the Lady in the Wing,] it is said that Yorimichi avoided Takahime's eyes when he visited the Lady in the Wing. She had Yorimichi's first son, but he is said to have died at the age of twenty when he was the Major Councillor. We can say that she lost her son whom she would have relied on after she grew quite old.... It is not clear

how Yorimichi treated her, but we cannot say that her life was stable. (Abe 921)⁶⁴

Yamanaka Hiroshi explains why this kind of discrepancy occurs. He says, "from other people's point of view, those who are called *saiwai-bito* look *saiwai* [spiritually happy]" (143).⁶⁵ However, I think it is because in the Heian period, the derivation of the word, *saiwai*, dictated the usage and meaning of this word. The word, *saiwai*, is the noun form of *sakihafu*, meaning "to prosper, flourish" or "to prosper by divine protection."⁶⁶ Therefore, the meaning of *saiwai* can be "fortune" or "prosperity" and *saiwai-bito* can be "prosperous people." When we see the examples above with this original meaning in mind, we can see that the ladies who are called *saiwai-bito* are surely prosperous, because they have got financial support and high status by marriage or having children. Because they become prosperous people, they are called *saiwai-bito*.

The meaning of *saiwai* seems to apply to the examples in *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo*. In this tale, however, the word *saiwai*, is mostly used as *saiwai ari* or *ohasu*, "fortune exists" or "is situated," and *saiwai* seems to be thought of as being situated or located in a person by nature. For example, when Shônagon, one of the servants from Ochikubo's old mansion, comes to Michiyori's mansion, the Nijô house where the Lady Ochikubo is mistress, in order to serve her, she sees how happy Ochikubo is there. The text states:

Since the Lady [Ochikubo] was more maturely beautiful and refined, [Shônagon] thought what extremely good fortune she [Ochikubo] had. (cf. Whitehouse, 145) *kimi ha, madzu, nebimasari te, ito medetau te itamahe ba, imijiku saihahi ohashikeru to, oboyu.* (Inaga, SNKS 14: 155)

Also, after seeing how happily Michiyori and Ochikubo live together, Shônagon thinks:

I am sure he loves her dearly. Most fortunate are those who have as charming a character

as she has! (Whitehouse, 145) *imijiku omohi kikohe tamaheru ni koso are, saihahi aru hitoha, medetaki mono nari.* (Inaga, SNKS 14: 243)

Literally this sentence means "A person who has good fortune is fortunate." Shônagon describes Ochikubo as a person who has good fortune. Also, once Ochikubo's father says :

Why did I neglect that one of all my children who was born to become so fortunate?
(Whitehouse, 188) *kodomo no naka ni, saihahi ari keru mono wo, nani shini oroka ni omohi kemu.* (Inaga, SNKS 14: 200)

The headnote of this sentence in *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû* edition suggests that this sentence implies *sukuse shisô*, thought of karma.⁶⁷ Ochikubo is described as a person who has been destined to have good fortune. The Third Lady, on the contrary, does not have this *saiwai* :

If I had good fortune myself, [my husband would not have deserted me, and] I would not have to feel inferior in rank even when I saw my father and Michiyori walking together. (cf. Whitehouse, 208) *waga mi no saihahi aramashikaba, (chichi no chûnagon ga) kaku uchi tudzukite ariki tamahashi mo, koyonaki hodo nara de, ikani yokaramashi to omofu ni....* (Inaga, SNKS 14: 222)

She implies the reason why her husband left her is she does not have *saiwai*. Like the other examples we have seen, *saiwai* seems to be considered a kind of individual nature.

We have learned that Ochikubo's existence influences other people's fortunes, but that outcome seems to be due to *saiwai*. For example, her step-brothers and step-sisters receive *saiwai* from Ochikubo. When Ochikubo's step-brother, San no Kimi, tells his mother about the marriage arrangements between the Fourth Lady and Tsukushi no Sochi, he says:

"[Ochikubo tells Michiyori] 'if you love me truly, look after my brothers and sisters,'...

and that is the reason why the Fourth Lady is able to get *saiwai*." (cf. Whitehouse, 245)

"maro wo obosaba, kono harano kimitachi wo, otoko mo, onna mo omohose" to koso moushi tamaheba, mijiki saihahi ohashi keru. (Mitani, NKBZ 10: 153)

Because of Ochikubo's request, Michiyori also cares for her siblings so that they also can receive *saiwai*. Also, when the Fourth Lady is preparing to go down to Tsukushi where her new husband will work as Vice-Governor General, people say :

Next to [Ochikubo], the Fourth Lady is the most fortunate of us all..., and to whom is all this due? Her good fortune is due to her [Ochikubo's] good fortune. (Whitehouse, 252-

3) *"ôtono ni uchi tsugi tatematsurite ha, kono kimi zo, saihahi ohashimashikeru" to iheba, "kore mo dare ga shitatematsuru. sono on saihahi no yukari zo kashi."*

(Inaga, SNKS 14: 282)

As we have seen in the other *chifu-tan* (episodes of "from rags to riches), Ochikubo, too, seems to be able to bring fortune to the others, and in this tale, Ochikubo does so by giving her *saiwai* to the others. *Saiwai* is handled like a commodity, and it also seems to spread and multiply. Ochikubo distributes her *saiwai*, so people related to Ochikubo are also able to receive good fortune. Michiyori, in particular, receives this fortune, because he has stolen Ochikubo. He ends up as the chancellor, or *dajô daijin*, and his daughter becomes the consort of the Crown Prince. From this outcome, it seems that the function of *saiwai* is very similar to the imperial *tama*: it controls the royal power.

In *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo*, the abduction helps the protagonist become successful in his career, which is the same as a function of the literary tradition of "bride-stealing," but it is *saiwai*, good fortune that controls the monarchy: the key object, the imperial *tama*, seems to be called *saiwai* in this tale. This *saiwai* also can spread and multiply, so that

the person who has innate *saiwai*, in this tale, the Lady Ochikubo, is able to give her *saiwai* power to people who are related her. It is, therefore, Ochikubo's *saiwai* that helps Michiyori's success in his career. However, the real reason why Michiyori has advanced is because his older sister is the crown prince's consort, who gives birth to his first son, and after this son becomes the emperor, she becomes the Empress Dowager. Having connection with the imperial family by marriage, the so-called "marriage politics," is what actually helps Michiyori's advancement. In fact, right after his sister's son, namely Michiyori's nephew, ascends the throne, his family members advance in rank: Michiyori becomes Major Councillor, and his younger sister's husband becomes Middle Councillor, and his brother becomes Middle Captain (Inaga, SNKS 14: 219; Whitehouse, 205). The narrator also mentions here and there Michiyori's being a relation on the emperor's mother's side (*gaiseki*) when Michiyori advances in his rank. For example, right before Michiyori receives the additional appointment of Major Captain, during the *hakkô* ceremony for Ochikubo's father, a letter from Michiyori's sister, the Empress Dowager, arrives (Inaga, SNKS 14: 225; Whitehouse, 211). In addition, right before he becomes Prime Minister, his daughter enters the court, and the Empress Dowager helps in this (Inaga, SNKS 290; Whitehouse, 270-1). Also, when Michiyori's father resigns the position of Prime Minister, he suggests that his son should take over this position. He tells the emperor this suggestion through the Empress Dowager (Inaga, SNKS 14: 291; Whitehouse, 271). These episodes might be mentioned in order to remind the readers that Michiyori has a blood relation with the emperor's mother. The effect of *saiwai* is, in short, a kind of fiction. However, through the story, the real political aspect is seldom seen. The narrator does not even tell us when Michiyori's older sister gives birth to the emperor's first son nor when she becomes the empress. As I mentioned, the narrator refers to her before Michiyori's advancement, but the way she is referred to does not make us feel that there is a

connection between her status and Michiyori's advancement. The romantic aspect seems to be more emphasized than the political one in this tale.

The Tale of Genji

The abduction of Murasaki in *The Tale of Genji* also seems to be based on the literary tradition of "bride-stealing." It seems that at least one, perhaps latent, reason why Genji steals Murasaki is to obtain the same kind of imperial *saiwai*, "good fortune" that we have seen in *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo*. There seems to be the possibility that Murasaki has innate *saiwai*, because Murasaki's blood relations to the imperial family and Ochikubo's are very similar: both are ex-emperors' granddaughters. Since the imperial genealogy is a crucial aspect of the concept in the bride-stealing, Murasaki's situation could be seen to allude to Ochikubo's.

However, unlike Michiyori, Genji seems to amass imperial *saiwai* : he also has affairs with the Rokujô Lady and Oborozukiyo, both of whom are consorts of Crown Princes, who could be seen as guardians of the imperial *tama*. Shimauchi Keiji makes a similar argument in his book, *Genji monogatari no wakei gaku, Study of the Tropes in The Tale of Genji*.⁶⁸ Instead of the term "imperial *tama*," he uses the concept of "the wish-fulfilling treasure," *nyoihôshu* 如意宝珠, which often appears in Japanese mythology, folktales, and legends. One example of the wish-fulfilling gem, *nyoihô* 如意宝, one of the forms of *nyoihôshu*, is the *umi-sachi yama-sachi* myth in the *Nihon shoki*. Shimauchi defines the wish-fulfilling gem as:

a gem which makes all of its owner's wishes come true.... It comes in all shapes, such as a jewel, flute, or sword.... There are occasions when people are the wish-fulfilling gem, such as when a husband brings his wife happiness, when a wife helps her

husband's advancement, when a child brings prosperity, and when a ruler brings rain to his people.⁶⁹

This wish-fulfilling gem seems to have the same function as *saiwai*. Shimauchi argues that the first section of *The Tale of Genji*, up to the chapter of "Wisteria Leaves" or *Fuji no uraba* is based on the topos of the wish-fulfilling gem (*nyoihōshu wo mochiiru wakei*):

[In first section of *The Tale of Genji*] Genji ceases to be one of [Kiritsubo's] two wish-fulfilling gems and becomes independent as a great politician.... Genji, who used to be one of Kiritsubo's two gems, has changed into a great man who has many wish-fulfilling treasures of his own in his many consorts and children.⁷⁰

Genji accomplishes this, according to Shimauchi, "realistically by building the Rokujō mansion, and symbolically by getting the wish-fulfilling gem [, which is his daughter with the Akashi Lady]." ⁷¹ Shimauchi calls the ladies who help Genji to be a great politician small wish-fulfilling gems, *chiisana nyoihō*, which Genji gathers in the Rokujō mansion. ⁷² Shimauchi does not really explain how these ladies bring Genji fortune, but what I want to focus on is that Genji amasses these wish-fulfilling treasures which we can replace with *saiwai* or the imperial *tama* since their function is the same. In *The Tale of Genji*, the imperial *tama* seems to be a thing which can be compounded.

The Rokujō Lady is the daughter of a Minister and becomes a crown princess, so she is supposed to become an empress. However, the crown prince passes away, and her father also passes away, so she lives as a widow by herself with her daughter. When Genji is about seventeen years old, he is secretly seeing her, though by this time he is married to Aoi, the daughter of the Minister of Left. From the beginning, the relationship between Genji and Aoi is not good. He becomes interested in the Rokujō Lady since he is fascinated by her

handwriting and starts to have a relationship with her.⁷³ This lady, however, has very high self-esteem, and because of this personality, she cannot stand his having relationships with other ladies, especially lower class ladies, so her angry spirit kills some of these ladies. Genji is afraid of this, and his visits become infrequent. The Rokujô Lady realizes that Genji is not interested in her any more, so she accompanies her daughter to go to the Ise Shrine, where her daughter serves as the Ise Priestess.

The unsuccessful relationship with the Rokujô Lady seems to cause the outcome described above: the Rokujô Lady does not bring any good fortune to Genji. However, her daughter seems to bring him fortune. After Rokujô's death, because of her will, Genji adopts her daughter and has her enter the court as a consort to future emperor Reizei. This daughter, Akikonomu, becomes an empress, which means that Genji becomes an empress's guardian, so he can participate in politics as a member of a regent family. This seems to help his advancement, because right after Akikonomu becomes an empress, Genji becomes chancellor, *dajô daijin* (Yanai, SNKBT 20: 289; Seidensticker, 365). Genji appreciates the Rokujô Lady's will, which results in these fortunate consequences.⁷⁴ The Rokujô Lady does not directly help Genji, but indirectly, through her daughter, she helps Genji be successful in his career.

Oborozukiyo is the sixth daughter of the Minister of Right, and by the time she has an affair with Genji, it has been decided that she will be given to the crown prince, future emperor Suzaku, as a consort. Genji does not know who she is when he has an affair with her, but even after he finds out about her and after she enters the court, they continue their relationship. The emperor Suzaku, who is Genji's brother by a different mother, knows about this, but tolerates it.

The relationship among these three people, Genji, Suzaku, and Oborozukiyo, is very

similar to one among Prince Nakatsu, Richû, and Kurohime in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*. As Genji is a brother of Suzaku by a different mother, Nakatsu was a brother of Richû by a different mother. Both Suzaku and Richû have not yet become emperors when their half-brothers have affairs with their consorts-to-be. As we have seen in the earlier discussion, what Prince Nakatsu did, having a sexual relation with Kurohime, the imperial-consort-to-be, was considered an infringement of a royal succession, because by doing so, Prince Nakatsu tried to obtain the royal power (*ôken*). The same idea seems to apply to Genji's case.

One day, the Minister of Right catches Genji seeing Oborozukiyo. The Minister tells this to Kokiden, Oborozukiyo's sister and the emperor Suzaku's mother. He also tells Kokiden that there seems to be something between Genji and the high priestess of Kamo, and Kokiden interprets Genji's behaviour as his intention to threaten the imperial power:

The sum and substance of it all is that we must be careful. He is waiting very eagerly for the next reign to come. (Yanai, SNKBT 19: 390; Seidensticker, 213)

Kokiden thinks that Genji is hoping that the crown prince, who is publicly believed to be the son of the emperor Kiritsubo and Fujitsubo, will immediately ascend the throne, and Genji thinks little of Suzaku, Kokiden's son. The crown prince is in fact the son of Genji and Fujitsubo. Kokiden does not know this fact, but once the crown prince ascends the throne, the political power switches from the Minister of Right's side, Kokiden's side, to the Minister of Left's side, Genji's side, which is not good for Kokiden. From Kokiden's statement above, we can see that what Genji has done is considered an intrigue. Later, Genji takes a journey to Suma and Akashi provinces in self-imposed exile, and what makes him do this seems to be Kokiden's plot against his controlling political power.⁷⁵ In other words, this affair causes Genji to be away from the court; he temporarily fails in his career.

Genji is unsuccessful with Oborozukiyo, which probably brings him the unfortunate

consequence above. However, like the Rokujô Lady, Oborozukiyo seems to indirectly help Genji. Because he takes a journey to Suma and Akashi provinces, he is able to have a daughter by Akashi Lady, and this daughter, the Akashi girl, is, in fact, crucial to Genji. Right after she enters the court as a consort to the crown prince, Genji receives a "position equal to a retired emperor," *dajô tennô ni nazurau kurai* (Yanai, SNKBT 21: 192; Seidensticker, 532).

Moreover, she gives birth to a boy, and he becomes the crown prince. The Akashi girl, in short, makes Genji the emperor's father-in-law and the future emperor's grandfather, which allows Genji to participate in politics as a member of the regent's family. Due to the Akashi girl, he not only receives a title but also gets a blood relationship with the direct imperial line. Genji goes to Suma and Akashi provinces due to his affair with Oborozukiyo, which after all leads him to have a daughter, who helps Genji to be successful in his career.

Murasaki is discovered by Genji coincidentally when he happens to go to a temple in the northern hills, where Murasaki lives, in order to cure his malaria. The function of this trip in the tale seems to be very similar to Ôkuni-nushi's trip to the Nether-Distant-Land in the *Kojiki*: their visits to strange lands (*ikyô* 異郷) help them cover insufficiency (*kesson* 欠損) and gain some power. Before Ôkuni-nushi goes to the Nether-Distant-Land, he is an incomplete young person (*mijuku na wakamono*), so that he is killed twice by his brothers. After coming back from there with several tools and Suseri-bime, he can attack his brothers and even becomes the ruler of the land, because he becomes a complete person through this trip.⁷⁶ Genji, too, is an incomplete person due to malaria.⁷⁷ In order to recover from his illness, he has to take a trip to the northern hills. There he discovers Murasaki and abducts her.⁷⁸ As I argued in the discussion of *Kojiki*, the abduction of Suseri-bime is one of the necessary conditions for Ôkuni-nushi to become the ruler. Similarly, the abduction of Murasaki, too, might be seen as

one of the important conditions for Genji to be successful since it seems that Murasaki could allude to Suseri-bime.⁷⁹

In fact, Murasaki plays an important role in helping Genji become successful by becoming the guardian of his daughter by the Akashi Lady. This daughter is surely one of the most useful people for Genji's success in his career.⁸⁰ However, without Murasaki as her step-mother, this daughter seems to be useless. Because her true mother, the Akashi Lady, is a low ranking lady, it is very difficult for her daughter to be recognized as a potential consort:

Even when a child has the emperor himself for its father, the mother's station in life makes all the difference. Look at the case of [Genji]. He was the handsomest and the most gifted of them all, and still he was made a commoner. His maternal grandfather was just not important enough, and his mother was one of the lesser ladies at court. And if there are these distinctions among princes, think how much more extreme they are among us commoners. Even the daughter of a prince or a minister is at a great disadvantage if her mother's family does not have influence. Her father cannot do the things that one might expect from his rank. [The Akashi Lady's] own little girl can look forward to only one thing if a daughter is born to one of the grand ladies: she will be forgotten. The ones with a chance in the world are the ones whose parents give them that chance. (Yanai, SNKBT 20: 217-8; Seidensticker, 332)

By being Murasaki's adopted daughter, this girl is recognized in society. In addition, Murasaki, whom Genji has brought up to become his ideal, brings up this daughter, so this daughter might also receive a similar education and become an "ideal" lady for men. In fact, after this daughter enters the court as a crown prince's consort, she becomes the crown prince's favorite because of not only her looks but also her manners, which perhaps Murasaki has taught her:

The [Akashi] girl was very intelligent and the most careful attention had been given to her education, and the results were here for the world to admire. The crown prince, in his boyish way, was delighted with her. (Yanai, SNKBT 21: 191; Seidensticker, 532)

The Akashi girl even gives birth to the crown prince's son, and this son becomes the crown prince. Without Murasaki, all of these things might have been impossible.

It is historically rare that a wife of high status adopted a daughter and brought her up, due to her true mother's low status.⁸¹ Perhaps, this reason for adopting a daughter is original to *The Tale of Genji*. This episode might have been created in order to show the stolen girl's (Murasaki's) important role, which is to bring fortune to the man, Genji, who stole her.

From these events, we can see that Genji's having relationships with these ladies results in amassing imperial *saiwai* in order to control the royal power. However, in the story, Genji's purpose for having relationships appears to have nothing to do with amassing *saiwai*. It seems that Genji has affairs with a lot of ladies in order to gratify his own desires. The opening paragraph in the "Broom Tree," *Hahakigi* chapter, the second chapter in *The Tale of Genji* shows this:

"The shining Genji": it was almost too grand a name. Yet he did not escape criticism for numerous little adventures. It seemed indeed that his indiscretions might give him a name for frivolity, and he did what he could to hide them. But his most secret affairs (such as the malicious work of the gossips) became common talk.... Though in fact he had an instinctive dislike for the promiscuity he saw all around him, he had a way of sometimes turning against his own better inclinations and causing unhappiness. (Yanai, SNKBT 19: 32; Seidensticker, 20)

About the former four sentences, Shigematsu Noboru says "these opening sentences imply the main topic of what is going to happen in the tale."⁸² About the rest, he says "these sentences

shows the characteristic of Genji's romance very well. He does not like common romance but likes different ones, so sometimes his behaviour is not forgiven. His natural disposition to like unconventional romance provokes various interesting episodes."⁸³ As for these examples, he mentions "the relationship with the Rokujô Lady who is older, a widow, and has a child," "the abduction of a little girl, Murasaki," and "the relationship with Oborozukiyo who serves his brother by a different mother, the emperor Suzaku, and is a daughter of the Minister of Right, the political opponent." What drives Genji to these events is, according to Shigematsu, "his natural disposition" (68). At least on the surface, Genji's attitude seems to be based on romance. Up to this sentence, they are the narrator's words, *sôshiji*. Therefore, we could assume that the narrator might be attempting to draw the readers' attention to the romantic aspect of Genji's affairs.

In fact, why Genji starts to be interested in these ladies seems to be described as an aspect of his amorous nature. For instance, it is not mentioned when exactly Genji starts to have a relationship with the Rokujô Lady, but from the story, we can assume that it should be after he meets Utsusemi and before he meets Yûgao. We could say that when Genji starts to see the Rokujô Lady, he does not get along with his wife, Aoi, and his new lover, Utsusemi, avoids seeing Genji because she has a husband and thinks it is not a good thing for her, a married woman, to have an affair. Genji might have become interested in the Rokujô Lady as his new lover to satisfy his amorous nature.

Genji happens to find Oborozukiyo when he is wandering about hoping to meet Fujitsubo. When he hears a woman's voice, "delighted, he caught at her sleeves" (Yanai, SNKBT 19: 276; Seidensticker, 152). This reaction toward the woman's voice seems to show that he is hoping to have an affair with somebody at that moment. When their affair is revealed by the Minister of Right, Oborozukiyo is staying with her family due to malaria. Her sister,

Kokiden, is also at home, so "Genji was in great apprehension lest his presence be detected. It was his nature to be quickened by danger, however, and with elaborate stealth he continued his visits" (Yanai, SNKBT 19: 386; Seidensticker, 210-1). Here, it is clearly mentioned that Genji's nature, that is, his amorous nature, leads him to pursue a relationship with Oborozukiyo at that moment. Although what he has done, having a relationship with a consort, is considered a violation of the imperial power, that does not seem to be his primary purpose.

In Murasaki's case, Genji steals her because she is a sort of substitute for Fujitsubo. Instead of having Fujitsubo as his mate, he gets Murasaki. In fact, Murasaki often appears in the tale after Genji sees or tries to see Fujitsubo. It appears that Genji sees Murasaki in order to comfort himself. For instance, after Genji sees his son by Fujitsubo for the first time, he feels sad, because he cannot be with Fujitsubo in spite of the fact that they had a son together. Genji is very sad, so he goes to see Murasaki to comfort himself. Also, after Kiritsubo passed away, Genji tries to see Fujitsubo but he cannot. After that, he again visits Murasaki and finds that she has become more beautiful. In addition, shortly before he abducts Murasaki, Genji has an affair with Fujitsubo, which results in Fujitsubo's becoming pregnant with his child. From these episodes, we can assume that Genji might see Fujitsubo in Murasaki. It appears that what makes Genji abduct Murasaki is romantic reasons.

Why Genji is having affairs with various ladies is attributed to his nature. However, these events lead him to be successful in his political career. Behind what he does, there is another concept, that is controlling the royal power. Genji is not aware of it, or at least the narrator does not describe it as the purpose for Genji's affairs, but having relationships with these ladies in fact results in amassing *saiwai*; these ladies bring Genji good fortune and help him be successful in his career. Therefore, one of the reasons for Genji's abduction of

Murasaki could be a vestige of the concept of controlling the royal power through bride-stealing.

The Tale of Sagoromo

The abduction episode around the late Shikibukyô-no-Miya's daughter (or the daughter of the late Prince Minister of Ceremonial) in *The Tale of Sagoromo* * appears to follow the literary tradition of "bride-stealing." As in *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo*, the abduction of the late Shikibukyô-no-Miya's daughter, whose father and mother are both from the imperial line, seems to help Sagoromo, the protagonist of this tale, rise in social standing. After stealing her, Sagoromo ascends the throne even though he is a second generation descendant of the Minamoto clan, one of the clans who were descended from the imperial family but who had had their status reduced to commoners. The story says that Sagoromo's accession is because of the oracle of the Sun Goddess, but the abduction of the late Shikibukyô-no-Miya's daughter, or the late prince's daughter, seems also to help Sagoromo become the new emperor, because we can find many aspects of the literary tradition of "bride-stealing" in this abduction episode and the descriptions concerning the late prince's daughter.

Due to arrangements made by a lady-in-waiting called Ukon, who serves Sagoromo's mother, Lady Horikawa, Sagoromo goes to peek at Major Counsellor Chiji's daughter, who Sagoromo hears resembles Princess Genji, whom Sagoromo strongly longs for. On the way, by coincidence, he peeks in at the late Shikibukyô-no-Miya's wife and becomes interested in her daughter, the late prince's daughter. Sagoromo has already heard of her by this time, because her brother has once talked about her to him. When her brother, Miya-no-Chûjô (or

* Written by Rokujô Saiin Baishi Naishinnô no Senji (? 1022-1092). It was written probably between 1069 and 1081 (Nihon Koten Bungaku Dai Jiten Vol. 3, 56-8).

the Prince Middle Captain), tells Sagoromo for the first time about his sister, the Middle Captain composes a poem, as follows:

tamashihi no	Although she [my sister] is not a person
kayofu atarini	to whom your spirit is attracted,
arazu to mo	she might bind your spirit
musubi ya se ma shi	which is trying to leave your body
shitagahe no tsuma	by binding your sleeve and her's. ^{84*}

(Suzuki, SNKS 74: 150-1)

Miya-no-Chûjô refers to his sister as a person who can control the spirit by performing *tama musubi* or a ritual of binding *tama*. This is exactly what the guardians of the imperial *tama* were thought to do in ancient Japan; therefore, from this poem, it may be implied that the late prince's daughter has the same function as the guardian of *tama*, which we have seen in the earliest works in Japan.

When Sagoromo hears for the first time about her, he is interested in her, so he asks Miya-no-Chûjô to arrange for him to meet the late prince's daughter:

"Seriously, although I have relied on you for a long time, you do not care about me. I feel sad about it. It does not seem that you are looking for a lady even in the bamboo and trying to prevent me from leaving the world."⁸⁵ (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 278)

"A lady in the bamboo" refers to the late prince's daughter and also suggests Kaguya hime, the protagonist of *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, who brings good fortune to the bamboo cutter. Therefore, Sagoromo's words might imply that the late prince's daughter has the same function as Kaguya hime.

At that time, her mother declines his offer, because she thinks the late prince's daughter

* "Tsuma" is a pivot word and has two meanings, which are "sleeves" (actually "skirt") and "a wife."

is too young. This time too her mother is unwilling to give her daughter to Sagoromo, because she is concerned about his amorous nature (*iro-gonomi*). In addition, the crown prince also wishes to have her daughter as his consort, and it was the late Shikibukyô-no-Miya's wish that his daughter would be a consort of the crown prince. However, her son, Miya-no-Chûjô, does not think it is good for his sister, who does not have a strong guardian, to enter the court as the crown prince's consort, because the Asukai girl, who is in fact Sagoromo's daughter by Lady Asukai but has been brought up by Ippon-no-Miya (or the Princess of the First Order), the sister of Emperor Go-Ichijô, is also planning to enter the court as a consort of the crown prince. He advises his mother that the late prince's daughter should not enter the court and instead should marry Sagoromo. His mother takes his advice and decides to give the late prince's daughter to Sagoromo. Meanwhile, the late Shikibukyô-no-Miya's wife falls ill, and it appears that she will not live long, so she becomes a nun and moves into a temple on a mountain. When Sagoromo visits her at the temple, he somehow approaches the late prince's daughter, sees her face, and finds that she resembles Princess Genji. After the nun passes away, the late prince's daughter returns to the late Shikibukyô-no-miya's mansion. Sagoromo finally visits her, spends one night with her, and takes her to his mansion, which is described, as follows:

As the attendants lifted up the handle of the carriage to straighten it up, Sagoromo lightly took the late prince's daughter in his arms and took her into the carriage. The late prince's daughter's wet-nurse, Ben, said, "It is too sudden. I think it would be better for you to come and visit her for a while as you have done so far. Her brother might think this is strange." Sagoromo replied, "It is hard for me to wake up at dawn [to leave her house], because I am not used to it. In the meantime, one attendant for her is fine. Please get in the carriage," and urged Ben, so she felt rushed, told the others everything,

dressed quickly, and got into the carriage.⁸⁶ (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 278)

Kuge Hirotohi comments on this passage, saying "The story tells the process of Sagoromo's taking away Miya's girl after her mother's death; this passage has exactly followed the episode of the abduction of Murasaki in the "Lavender" chapter in *The Tale of Genji*" (81),⁸⁷ and in fact, we can find some similarities between them:

[Genji] went into [Murasaki's] bedroom, where the women were too surprised to cry out. He took her in his arms and smoothed her hair.... [Genji said to the women] "I have explained things quite well enough. I have told you how difficult it is for me to visit her and how I want to have her in a more comfortable and accessible spot...." His carriage had been brought up. The women were fluttering about helplessly and the child was sobbing. Seeing at last that there was nothing else to be done, Shônagon took up several of the robes they had been at work on the night before, changed to presentable clothes of her own, and got into the carriage. (Yanai, SNKBT 19: 192-3; Seidensticker, 108)

We can recognize several similarities in the contents of the abduction scenes between *The Tale of Sagoromo* and *The Tale of Genji*. For instance, both protagonists take the girls in their arms. Also, in the both tales, the girls' wet-nurses accompany them.

The course of action for the abduction is also similar between *Genji* and *Sagoromo*. In *Genji*, although the nun, Murasaki's grandmother, at first did not accept Genji's request, which is his having charge of Murasaki, the nun eventually asks Genji to look after Murasaki's future when her illness becomes very serious:

"As for the matter [Genji] has raised, I hope that he will still count [Murasaki] among those important to him when she is no longer a child." (Yanai, SNKBT 19: 180;

Seidensticker, 101)⁸⁸

Murasaki's wet nurse, too, asks Genji to look after Murasaki's future by composing a poem, as follows:

yoru nami no	The grass at Wakanoura
kokoro mo shirade	were rash indeed
waka no ura ni	to follow the waves
tamamo nabikan	that go it knows
hodo zo ukitaru	not whither. (Yanai, SNKBT 19: 184; Seidensticker, 103) ⁸⁹

Sagoromo also takes similar steps. The nun, the late prince's daughter's mother, also at first does not accept Sagoromo's request, which is his marrying her daughter, but when her illness becomes very serious, she asks Sagoromo to look after her daughter's future:

"Because there is no one who will take care of my daughter after my death, I'm too worried to die; I'm pleased to find out that you are a person who comes and visits me even though it is very far away, which makes me able to count on you." (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 248) ⁹⁰

The late prince's daughter's wet-nurse also hopes that Sagoromo will marry her. Right after Sagoromo meets the late prince's daughter for the first time, her wet-nurse and the other ladies-in-waiting see Sagoromo together with her, and they say to each other that "I wish I can see these two people together in the future" (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 256).⁹¹ In this way, the process of abduction is very similar between *Genji* and *Sagoromo*.

In addition, Sagoromo's motivation for stealing the late prince's daughter is also comparable to what makes Genji steal Murasaki. While Sagoromo steals the late prince's daughter as Princess Genji's *katashiro* or "substitute," Genji steals Murasaki as Fujitsubo's *yukari* or "connection." ⁹² Both protagonists steal the girls because the girls resemble the

women whom they strongly long for, so they think that these girls can comfort them if they have them around. In fact, when Sagoromo peeks in at the late Shikibukyô-no-Miya's wife, he thinks, "If her daughter resembles her and is youthful, my wish [to marry a woman who resembles Lady Genji] may come true" (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 219).⁹³ From these similarities, we can say that the author of *Sagoromo* was referring intertextually to the abduction episode in *Genji*, and its hidden concept also might have been taken over: in order to control the royal power, Sagoromo steals the late prince's daughter.

The late prince's daughter is the blood relation of the royal house, and also there is a period when she is a crown prince's consort-to-be; as we have seen, a person in the position was thought to play an important role in controlling the imperial *tama* in the earliest works in Japan. She is also explicitly described as a person who can control *tama*, just like the guardian of imperial *tama* in the earliest works in Japan, as a person who brings good fortune, just like Kaguya hime in *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*. In addition, she can be seen as alluding to Murasaki since there are many similarities in the descriptions and episodes about them. From these details concerning the late prince's daughter, she can be recognized as a person who can control the imperial power (*ôken*). Sagoromo's father once comments upon the late prince's daughter, as follows:

"Since [Sagoromo] married [the late prince's daughter], he has become stable and even ascended the throne. On the top of that, he will have an heir with her, which is happy for me to see." (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 326)⁹⁴

Without having her, it seems that Sagoromo might not be able to become emperor. Therefore, we can suggest that this abduction episode in *The Tale of Sagoromo* might be based on the literary tradition of the "bride-stealing" episode.

In addition to the abduction episode, we can recognize several other similarities between *Sagoromo* and *Genji*. Like *Genji*, *Sagoromo* has affairs with several ladies, such as Lady Asukai, Ni-no-Miya (or the Second Princess), and Ippon-no-Miya (or the Princess of the First Order). In this way, he also seems to amass *saiwai*. Ni-no-Miya is a daughter of Emperor Saga and Ippon-no-Miya is the sister of Emperor Go-Ichijô, so they could be seen as guardians of the imperial *tama*, but Lady Asukai is a daughter of Sochi no Chûnagon, the Middle Counsellor and governor-general of Dazai-fu, so we may not be able to say that she has power to control the imperial *tama*. However, in the tale, she is described as "*kichijiyau-tenniyo*" (Suzuki, SNKS 68: 69), a heavenly maiden who brings good fortune to people, so her function can be recognized as the same as the wish-fulfilling gem, which I discussed above in connection with *Genji*. Having relationships with these three women seems to help *Sagoromo* to become emperor.

Sagoromo meets Lady Asukai for the first time when she is about to be taken away by a priest. After her parents passed away, her wet-nurse has looked after her, but her wet-nurse decides to have the priest in Ninna temple steal this lady due to financial problems, but that abduction is unsuccessful because of *Sagoromo*. After rescuing her, *Sagoromo* sees how beautiful she is and spends the night with her. He continues this relationship without telling her who he is, but she somehow figures out who he is and after a while becomes pregnant. Her wet-nurse does not like *Sagoromo* at all and deceives Lady Asukai; she has Shikibu no Taifu take her away to Chikushi province where his father is appointed as a provincial governor. On the way to Chikushi province, she dives into the ocean. She is thought to be dead. After a while, when *Sagoromo* enters Mt. Kôya for religious practice, he meets a priest who happens to be Lady Asukai's brother and finds out that she is still alive, but soon after she passes away. However, *Sagoromo* learns that his daughter by Lady Asukai has been taken

care of by Ippon-no-Miya, Emperor Go-Ichijō's sister. Because he wants to see this daughter, he goes to Ippon-no-Miya's residence. Gon-Dainagon, or the provisional Major Counsellor, sees Sagoromo at Ippon-no-Miya's residence and spreads the story that Sagoromo is in love with Ippon-no-Miŷa, which results in Sagoromo's marrying her although neither of them wants to get married. Later, Ippon-no-Miya finds out why Sagoromo was married to her and becomes unhappy. Their relationship becomes worse.

Lady Asukai can be considered the tragic heroine in the tale. Her life is controlled by her wet-nurse. However, she and her daughter play an important role for Sagoromo in becoming emperor:

The emergence of Lady Asukai and her daughter leads Sagoromo to become close to Ippon-no-Miya, so their existence is strongly associated with Sagoromo's accession. Lady Asukai's existence in Book One has the aspect of a relationship of real romance while she also plays a role of a guide like an outrider for his accession. (Kuge, 13) ⁹⁵

For Sagoromo, it is necessary to have a relationship with Ippon-no-Miya in order to ascend the throne: he needs to have a connection with Ichijō-In's line:

Ippon-no-Miya's marriage to [Sagoromo], which occurs after the marriages of Princess Genji [to the crown prince] and Ni-no-Miya [to Sagoromo] were broken off, is a fortunate event for Lord Horikawa, [Sagoromo's] father. How this event functions in the plot of this tale is ... that Sagoromo can take in Ippon-no-Miya, who symbolizes Ichijō-In's line, which is one of the biggest elements for Sagoromo to be able to open up the road leading to his accession in Book Four. (Kuge, 13) ⁹⁶

Go-Ichijō, who is the emperor immediately proceeding Sagoromo, does not have any sons, and when he decides to retire due to an epidemic, he has trouble deciding on the next crown prince. The oracle of the Sun Goddess tells him that Sagoromo should become the next

emperor, so that the crown prince remains as the crown prince, but without marrying Ippon-no-Miya, Go-Ichijô's sister, it might not have happened that Go-Ichijô could adopt Sagoromo. As a result, Sagoromo would not have become the new emperor.⁹⁷ Lady Asukai's daughter by Sagoromo plays a role in connecting Sagoromo to Ippon-no-Miya. Sagoromo in fact says, "without marrying [Ippon-no-Miya], how could I meet [my daughter by Lady Asukai] ?" (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 106).⁹⁸ Having a relationship with Lady Asukai allows Sagoromo to have a relationship with Ippon-no-Miya, so both relationships are necessary for Sagoromo to become emperor.

Ni-no-Miya, one of Emperor Saga's daughters, is supposed to be given to Sagoromo in return for Saga having prevented Sagoromo from going to heaven with Amewaka-hiko, a messenger from heaven. Sagoromo is unwilling to marry her, because he is in love with Princess Genji. However, one day, he somehow sees Ni-no-Miya and finds out how beautiful she is. He breaks in on her, which results in her pregnancy. People do not know it is Sagoromo who raped her, so the marriage between Sagoromo and Ni-no-Miya is canceled, and her mother pretends that Ni-no-Miya's son by Sagoromo is her son by Emperor Saga.

This son is very crucial for Sagoromo ascending the throne.⁹⁹ When Emperor Go-Ichijô is about to retire, people think that the crown prince, the son of retired Emperor Saga and Lord Horikawa's daughter by the late Shikibukyô-no-Miya's sister, will become the next emperor, and retired Emperor Saga's other son by Ni-no-Miya's mother will become the crown prince. However, the oracle stops this:

In spite of the fact that [Sagoromo] is good looking and has excellent talents, he is considered a commoner, which makes [the condition of] this world bad. [The other son] will become emperor two generations after [Emperor Sagoromo]. Becoming the emperor while his father remains a commoner should not happen. (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 311) ¹⁰⁰

In order for Saga's other son to become the emperor in the future, first, Sagoromo has to become emperor, because it is not good that the son becomes emperor without his father's becoming emperor.

It seems to have been an awful thing for a son to become emperor without his father being emperor. *The Tale of Genji* has an episode in which Emperor Reizei finds out that his birth father is not the Kiritsubo emperor but Genji:

[Emperor Reizei's] mind was in turmoil. It was all like a terrible dream. His reputed father, the old emperor, had been badly served, and [Reizei] was serving his real father badly by letting him toil as a common minister.... [Reizei] pursued his own studies more diligently, going through voluminous Chinese and Japanese chronicles. He found great numbers of such irregularities in Chinese history, some of which had come to the public notice and some of which had not. He could find none at all in Japanese history - but then perhaps they had been secrets as well guarded as this one. He found numerous examples of royal princes who had been reduced to common status and given the name of Genji and who, having become councilors and ministers, had been returned to royal status and indeed named as successors to the throne. Might not Genji's universally recognized abilities be sufficient reason for relinquishing the throne to him? [Reizei] turned the matter over and over in his mind, endlessly. (Yanai, SNKBT 20: 235-8; Seidensticker, 342-3)

From the episode above, we can see that emperor Reizei is very upset to learn the truth about his birth and feels bad for Genji, his birth father, because Genji has been a commoner in spite of the fact that his son became emperor.

The emperor Saga's other son is in fact Sagoromo's son by Ni-no-Miya. Nobody, except Ni-no-Miya's mother, her wet-nurse, and Sagoromo himself, knows this fact, so

Emperor Go-Ichijô is confused by this oracle, but he accepts its words, and Sagoromo becomes the new emperor. Without his son with Ni-no-Miya, he might not be able to ascend the throne. It seems that Ni-no-Miya has the power to bring good fortune, and in fact, her having this kind of power is implied in the poem composed by Emperor Saga when he decides to give Ni-no-Miya to Sagoromo:

mi no shiro mo	"I have returned
ware nugiki semu	my heavenly robe!"
kaheshitsu to	Do not regret like that.
omoha na wabi so	I shall take off my heavenly robe
ama no hagoromo	and have you wear it.* (Suzuki, SNKS 68: 38) ¹⁰¹

"My heavenly robe" means Ni-no-Miya, and as I discussed in regard to *Ochikubo*, the maiden wearing the heavenly robe brings good fortune to the old couple who steal her in the Legend of Nagu Shrine. From this poem, it can be inferred that Ni-no-Miya has the same function as the heavenly maiden, and in fact, Ni-no-Miya brings good fortune to Sagoromo: her son by Sagoromo helps Sagoromo to ascend the throne.

Having relationships with the women mentioned above helps Sagoromo rise in social standing just as Genji having relationships with various women helps him to have a successful career in *The Tale of Genji*, but again, as with Genji, Sagoromo does not seem to be aware of it, and that does not seem to be the primary purpose for Sagoromo having relationships with these women. It seems rather that his amorous nature and strong longing for Princess Genji provoke Sagoromo to have relationships with these women.

Right before he has an affair with Lady Asukai, he describes her as a woman who "is

* "Mi no shiro" is a pivot word and has two meanings, which are "substitute" and "raincoat."

more beautiful than any other women and very sophisticated" (Suzuki, SNKS 68: 64),¹⁰² and he also thinks that "her attractive and fond manner is very charming" (Suzuki, SNKS 68: 65).¹⁰³ Because he is attracted by her beauty, he has an affair with her and continues the relationship. Although Sagoromo having a relationship with Lady Asukai helps him to become emperor, that is not presented the primary reason for his affair with her in the text.

Why Sagoromo rapes Ni-no-Miya seems to be associated with Princess Genji. When he approaches her, she reminds of him Princess Genji, which drives him to rape her. As a result, she becomes pregnant with his son, who plays an important role for Sagoromo in becoming emperor. His strong love for Princess Genji prevents Sagoromo from telling the truth, which turns out to be a good thing. The successful marriage between Sagoromo and Ni-no-Miya would in fact be crucial for Sagoromo and his father to be returned to royal status, because by this marriage, they can have a connection with the Emperor Saga's line. However, if they are married, it might become impossible for Sagoromo to ascend the throne, because he is not able to build the connection with Ichijô's line by getting married to Ippon-no-Miya (Kuge, 111). It is his marriage to Ippon-no-Miya that allows him to be a candidate for becoming the next emperor. The unsuccessful marriage between Sagoromo and Ni-no-Miya ironically works out for Sagoromo becoming emperor, but he does not seem to intend to do this. It appears that Sagoromo is not aware that what he does actually helps him to be successful in his political life. The cause of his acts appears to be his amorous nature and strong love for Princess Genji.

There is a theory that the hidden theme of *The Tale of Sagoromo* is associated with royal power, that is, the Horikawa family's usurping of the throne.¹⁰⁴ Lord Horikawa is the second son of the late emperor, and emperor Saga and Go-Ichijô are his brothers by the same mother, who is a person from the imperial line. Therefore, he could become the emperor, but "because of a certain sin" (Suzuki, SNKS 68: 12), his father has him become a commoner. Inoue

Mayumi argues that Sagoromo's role in this tale is to atone for his father's sin in his previous life and recover the status of the imperial family:

"The sin in [Lord Horikawa's] previous life" **causes** the **result** of his having his status reduced to a commoner, which has Lord Horikawa partly complete the law of causality. However, his having his status reduced to a commoner **causes** the **result** of having Sagoromo, which leads to the good consequence.... Although this tale develops the plot of a story of Sagoromo, the protagonist, at the back of [this plot], a story of his father, Lord Horikawa, also unfolds. These two plots rely on each other as the face needs the back: father and son atone together for the father's sin which is introduced at the beginning of the tale. (Inoue, 57)¹⁰⁵

In other words, Sagoromo helps to bring good fortune to his family. As I discussed in regards to *Genji*, a child who brings good fortune to his parents is recognized as a wish-fulfilling gem, and Sagoromo's having this power also seems to be associated with the literary tradition of "bride-stealing." Although the gender is different (so he cannot become a bride), he is in a sense stolen by the Horikawas just like Kaguya hime in the *Tale of Bamboo Cutter*.

Sagoromo is supposed to belong to heaven just as Kaguya hime belongs to the moon:

[Sagoromo] has a disposition which makes people call him "a descended heavenly being," (Mitani, NKBT 79: 47) and he causes Amewaka-hiko (a messenger from heaven) to descend to earth; therefore, he is a person from heaven.... (Inoue, 57)¹⁰⁶

However, Sagoromo was born on earth in order to atone for his own sin just like Kaguya hime:

[The meaning of] Sagoromo's birth itself strongly implies "a sin in his previous life" just like his father. It is not necessary for us to recall Kaguya hime who comes down to the earth from the moon because of her sin; in this tale, too, we can find the narrative type,

which is , "by [his forcibly] being born as a orphan in this world, he atones for his sin."

(Inoue, 57) ¹⁰⁷

Sagoromo, "who bears unworldly attributes and is supposed to go back to heaven," was "born to be Lord Horikawa's child as a god-sent child" (Inoue, 57).¹⁰⁸ Lord Horikawa does not actually abduct Sagoromo as the bamboo cutter takes Kaguya hime to his house. However, since Sagoromo is not supposed to belong to the Horikawas, the birth of Sagoromo can be considered a kind of "abduction." Sagoromo, a stolen child, plays the role of bringing good fortune to his parents, who stole him, and this good fortune is the Horikawas' usurpation of the throne. What Sagoromo does is only to be helpful in returning his father to royal status, not necessarily to be helpful to Sagoromo himself. In fact, Sagoromo is not happy about becoming emperor. He wants rather to take the tonsure and become a priest. On the contrary, it is his father, Lord Horikawa, who is really happy about it and also who get a title of "retired emperor", *dajô tennô*.

Sagoromo's having relationships with certain women and stealing the late prince's daughter seem to help him control the imperial power (*ôken*) , so that the abduction episode in this tale appears to be also associated with the literary tradition of "bride-stealing." The consequence of these events, his accession, helps his clan to be returned to royal status, but this is not for himself but for his family: Sagoromo is also "abducted" by his parents and brings fortune to them. In order to fulfill what his parents' wish, which is to usurp the throne, Sagoromo needs to steal the late prince's daughter, so that he can gain the power to control the throne. In this tale, we see a double structured abduction episode.

Ariake no Wakare

In *Ariake no Wakare*, the protagonist, Ariake,¹⁰⁹ takes Tai-no-Ue (the Lady of the West

Wing) away. Ariake is Sadaijin's (the Minister of Left's) only child by his principal wife, a lady of princely family (*miya bara*) and in fact a daughter, but she is known as Sadaijin's son. In short, in this abduction episode, a woman steals a woman, which is very different from the other abduction episodes we have seen. In addition, what the abduction of Tai-no-Ue brings to Ariake is an heir for Ariake's family, which does not seem directly to help Ariake control imperial power (*ôken*), while the other abductions, such as the Lady Ochikubo in *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo*, Murasaki in *The Tale of Genji*, and the late prince's daughter in *The Tale of Sagoromo*, are directly associated with the men, who abduct the women, in the process coming to be able to control imperial power, as we have seen. However, the abduction episode in *Ariake* still seems to convey a hidden meaning, because Ariake's successful abduction of Tai-no-Ue is the only means by which Ariake can stop being Sadaijin's son and return to being Sadaijin's daughter, which leads Ariake to then become the Empress and eventually to become a mother of an emperor, the politically most powerful position a woman could achieve.

Ariake's parents have brought her up to be cross-gendered by following a divine revelation. As a man, she works at court, and at night, she wears *kakure-mino*, 'a cloak of invisibility' and wanders the nobles' mansions. One day, Ariake in *kakure-mino* goes to her uncle Sadaishô's (the Major Captain of the Left's) mansion and finds that her uncle is having an affair with his step-daughter (who is later called Tai-no-Ue), a daughter of Sadaishô's principal wife and her ex-husband, the late prince. Later, when Ariake in *kakure-mino* goes there again, she finds that this daughter has become pregnant by her step-father. Ariake sympathizes with this daughter, Tai-no-Ue, and without getting her parents' consent, Ariake takes her away and settles her in the West Pavilion of the Sadaijin's residence, so that other people come to recognize Tai-no-Ue as Ariake's wife.

This abduction is a necessary step for Ariake to stop gender-crossing, which is the first and the most important step for Ariake becoming able to control the monarchy:

The daughter [Ariake], who is responsible for preventing her family line from ending, has to find a woman who is suitable for her brother's, namely herself's, spouse among [the aristocratic women]. Such a woman must also get pregnant by a man from a good family. After the woman has a baby boy, who will be the heir, Ariake's father, the Minister [of Left] makes his [made-up] son disappear since he is now unnecessary, and [Ariake] can finally as a woman give herself to the Emperor [and become Empress].¹¹⁰

Without stealing Tai-no-Ue, who has become pregnant by her step-father, Ariake is not able to stop gender-crossing nor to enter the court as a consort of the Emperor. After she enters the court, she gives birth to the Emperor's first son and becomes the Empress. This abduction then seems to bring Ariake into control of royal power, so it can be argued that this abduction episode is after all based on the literary tradition of "bride-stealing" we have been examining.

We can also see some other elements of the literary tradition in this abduction episode. For example, Tai-no-Ue has a similarity with the late prince's daughter in *The Tale of Sagoromo* in terms of their fathers: both fathers are called Ko-Miya, the late prince, which means that these women have blood relations with the imperial family. In addition, as the late prince's daughter is once a crown prince's consort-to-be, Tai-no-Ue also could be an imperial consort if her birth father were alive.¹¹¹ Tai-no-Ue can be recognized as an imperial princess or an imperial consort-to-be, one who was thought to be able to control the imperial *tama* as its guardian in ancient Japan. Therefore, we could argue that Ariake is able to get the power to control the imperial power by stealing this woman.

This abduction episode has some similarities with the other abduction episodes as well. For instance, in terms of rescuing a step-daughter, this abduction episode is comparable to one

in *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo*. In order to rescue Ochikubo from her step-mother's ill treatment, Michiyori abducts her, and she does not refuse to go with him. In *Ariake*, Tai-no-Ue seems to want to get away from her step-father's mansion, because she feels embarrassed by having an affair with her step-father and even becoming pregnant. When Ariake urges her to come with "him," Tai-no-Ue does not refuse to go with Ariake and composes the poem:

mi wo suturu	If you are indeed
ihaho no naka no	a guide here amidst these rocks
shirube seba	where I give up hope
ta ga makoto woba	I wonder which of you two
tanomazarubeki	I should no longer trust in (Ôtsuki, ZNKS 82; Khan, 241)

Tai-no-Ue seems to be looking for someone who will take her away in order to get away from her family. In both episodes, as a means of rescuing the women, abduction is used.

In terms of wandering around in order to find a suitable wife, this abduction episode is comparable to one in *The Tale of Sagoromo*. Sagoromo is looking for a woman who resembles the Princess Genji for whom Sagoromo strongly longs. In order to find such a woman, he takes the trouble of visiting many places. Ariake, wearing *kakure-mino*, wanders the nobles' mansions. As the narrator mentions that "there was no-one [Ariake] didn't get a good look at, even women. Yet he never could find a suitable match worthy to appear beside him in a mirror" (Ôtsuki, ZNKS 82; Khan, 212), Ariake also seems to be looking for a suitable spouse while wandering. When the appropriate woman is found, abduction is used as a means of marrying her.

This kind of wandering in *Sagoromo* and *Ariake* can be considered as "a trip to find a spouse" ("*kyûkon no tabi*"), and this kind of trip also implies a young person's trip to find a

wish-fulfilling gem. By finding a spouse, this young person becomes a complete person, and his spouse, who can be thought of as a wish-fulfilling gem, brings her husband good fortune.¹¹² This concept seems to apply to Ôkuni-nushi's trip to the Nether-Distant-Land in *Kojiki* and Genji's trip to the northern hill in *The Tale of Genji*.¹¹³ In fact, as Suseri-bime and Murasaki help Ôkuni-nushi and Genji become successful, the late prince's daughter helps Sagoromo be successful; therefore, Tai-no-Ue, too, can be recognized as a wish-fulfilling gem that brings good fortune to her "husband," Ariake.

The outcome of this abduction is comparable to the one in *Sagoromo*. While Sagoromo becomes the Emperor, the highest position for a man in the imperial family, Ariake becomes the Empress, the highest position for a woman in the imperial family. They achieve these positions as a result of the successful abductions.

As we have seen, this abduction episode has many elements of the literary tradition of "bride-stealing." One major aspect which is very different from the other abduction episodes is, as I said earlier, that the Ariake who steals Tai-no-Ue is actually a woman, although Ariake's gender role is masculine when she abducts Tai-no-Ue. In the original abduction episode, a man steals a woman to make her his mate. The reason why this difference occurs can be explained by the structure of this abduction episode. As I argued in the discussion about *Sagoromo*, this abduction episode, too, seems to construct a double structure, because it appears that Ariake is supposed to belong to the heavenly realm, just as Kaguya hime in *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* and Sagoromo in *The Tale of Sagoromo*; therefore, we could say that Ariake is "abducted" by the family of the Minister of Left rather than by the other-worldly protagonist:

The Sadaijin had had no male offspring well into adulthood, so he had no heir from his marriage, and the yin-yang diviners were consulted. He was very grieved and all kinds

of prayers were offered, and then his wife became pregnant with this child, and apparently a divine revelation was made. That must have been why the child was brought up to look rather differently from what one would expect. (Ôtsuki, ZNKS 44; Khan, 212)

The birth of the protagonist is described above, and Ôtsuki Osamu says "the protagonist who is introduced like [this] is a child of fate (*unmei no ko*) who was born by the god's revelation."¹¹⁴ Although Ariake was born to be a child of the family of the Minister of Left, we could say that she actually belongs to heaven or to the gods who send her .

Ariake is also described as a person like a heavenly maiden when she takes Tai-no-Ue away,¹¹⁵ so she is perhaps not a person of this world. This idea can be supported by some other strange events which Ariake seems to cause. For instance, after she becomes the Former Empress, she plays the *biwa* at the celebration for the Former Emperor's forty's birthday. At that moment, seven heavenly maidens descend, and one of them exchanges poems with the Ariake. Because of the same fragrance between Ariake and the maidens, the Former Emperor and Ariake herself realize that Ariake must have been a heavenly maiden in her former life:

[The Former Emperor] could not help noticing the similarity of the scent wafting on the breezes that evening to the characteristic fragrance of the Former Empress herself, which had remained with her for surprisingly many years, quite unlike that of an ordinary person of the world.... [the Former Empress] became preoccupied with intensely moving thoughts of her former life. There was something about her that really set her apart from other people, thought the Former Emperor as he made the comparison.

(Ôtsuki, ZNKS 442-444; Khan, 398-9)¹¹⁶

Here, it is clearly mentioned that Ariake is different from the other people of the world, which could imply that she is not a person of this world. In short, she is supposed to belong to

heaven instead of being a child of the family of Minister of Left, so her birth in that family could be also considered a kind of "abduction."

Like the other abducted people, such as Kaguya hime in *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, Ariake also seems to bring good fortune to the family of Minister of Left, and the good fortune in this case is an heir to continue their family line. When Ariake brings Tai-no-Ue to her father's mansion, her father thinks, "this was precisely what [I] had been thinking about for so long," because "it solved the problem of an official wife for Ariake and an heir for them both" (Ôtsuki, ZNKS 88; Khan, 244). From this, we can see that her father is pleased with what Ariake has done: Ariake's abduction of Tai-no-Ue brings good fortune to Ariake's family. However, this abduction seems to make Ariake unhappy. After Tai-no-Ue has a baby boy, Ariake feels relieved, because now her family has an heir. She has discharged her duty, which is to prevent her family line from ending, so she can stop cross-gendering, but she seems to be not completely happy about this. She seems unwilling to stop playing the opposite gender role since she has many talents of a man.¹¹⁷ Immediately after she enters court, while she is pregnant with her first son by the Emperor, she expresses her sad feelings by composing a poem:

mishi ha mina	All the things I saw
mukashi no yume ni	have ended up as a dream
nari hatete	of long long ago ---
aranu inochi zo	that life I no longer live
ikite kahi naki	was absolutely in vain. (Ôtsuki, ZNKS 182; Khan,
314)	

Although by this time she has become Nyôgo (Junior Imperial Consort), which makes her life stable, she is not really happy. After she has her first son with the Emperor and becomes the

Empress, she again composes a poem:

toshi henishi	Many a year passed
mikasa no yama wo	for me on Mt. Mikasa
sashi-hanare	but now I have felt
aki no miyako no	in the autumn capital
tsuki zo kahinaki	the moon shines vainly indeed. (Ôtsuki, ZNKS 202; Khan, 332-3)

She thinks that being the Empress does no good for her. She misses her past, so as Robert Khan notes about the poem above, she thinks "after serving in the imperial guards as a man for so long, being a woman at court, even Empress, feels rather worthless" (333).

Although having the sons with the Emperor and becoming the Empress do no good for Ariake, these events seem to help her family become prosperous, because they bring her family the other good fortune, that is, having a blood relation with the imperial family, which also results in her family members' advancement. For instance, after Ariake is pregnant with her second son by the Emperor, her father is appointed as *dajô daijin*, Prime Minister. Also after Ariake's father's granddaughter, who is in fact a daughter between Tai-no-Ue and Sanmi-no-Chûjô, becomes the Crown Princess, he is appointed as *jun sangû*. Ariake's father's grandson, who is in fact a son between Tai-no-Ue and her step-father, also advances after Ariake has her second son by the Emperor. In this way, Ariake's family members advance in rank, because Ariake's marriage to the Emperor makes a connection between the imperial family and her family. Just as Sagoromo helps his family usurp the throne in *The Tale of Sagoromo*, Ariake also helps her family control the imperial power: her sons by the Emperor become the Crown Princes. They are the only sons of the Emperor even though there is another Empress, Kan- no-Tono. She does not have any children even though she entered

court earlier than Ariake, and Ariake's father's granddaughter, who is in fact a daughter between Tai-no-Ue and Sanmi no Kami, eventually becomes Empress.

Like Ochikubo in *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo*, Ariake seems to give good fortune not only to her own family but also to people who are related to her, one of whom is the Emperor: she brings an heir to his family, namely the royal family. Robert Khan explains that it is the cross-dressing in Ariake that brings this good fortune to the imperial family:

[In the Enthronement Ceremony,] the sovereign's participation in cross-gendering, if that is indeed what transpires, ensures the royal line and reasserts the political authority of the Yamato clan. Effectively the cross-dressing in *Ariake* performs the same function. Not only does it solve the genealogical and related political problems of Ariake's own family, but - and this was not part of the family's original intention - it also solves the genealogical problems of the royal house. The Emperor is without heir, just as the original Sadaijin was, and Ariake's arrival on the scene and ensuring pregnancy and delivery of a male child solve the royal dynasty's problem, in the same way that the acknowledgement of Tai-no-Ue's son and daughter resolve the dynastic problem of the Sadaijin. (Khan, 157)

It seems that there is a connection between "cross-gendering" and "the imperial genealogy." However, we could also say that this good fortune is brought by Ariake, the abducted child. Just as Tai-no-Ue, the woman abducted by Ariake, gives birth to the heir of Ariake's family, so too Ariake, the child abducted by Sadaijin's family, gives birth to the heir of the imperial family, which Ariake's mother is from. This contrast strongly shows the double structure of "bride-stealing."

Ariake's abduction of Tai-no-Ue allows Ariake to stop gender-crossing and enter court as a consort of the Emperor, which after all leads Ariake to become able to control the imperial

power: her son by the Emperor will ascend the throne. Therefore, this episode seems to maintain the concept of controlling the royal power through bride-stealing. As with Genji, even though the abduction helps the protagonist control the monarchy, the primary purpose of the abduction seems diegetically to have nothing to do with the imperial power. However, for her family, getting an heir is the most important thing, and Ariake is a person who brings this to her family - Ariake is, in a sense, abducted by Sadaijin's family: this structure is comparable to *The Tale of Sagoromo*. Ariake, an abducted child, also brings the most desired thing, as well an heir, to the Emperor, who relates to Ariake as Ochikubo brings the good fortune to people who relate to her. *Ariake no Wakare* seems to have been influenced by the many previous abduction episodes we have been examining.

Conclusion

As we have seen, "bride-stealing" episodes are a literary tradition which is derived from ancient Japanese literary works, such as the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, and the concept of this trope includes not only stealing a woman but also stealing the imperial power (*ôken*). In the *Kojiki*, the abduction of Suseri-bime is one way for Ôkuni-nushi to gain the power to rule over the nation. In the *Tales of Ise*, the protagonist steals a consort in order to stop the power of Regent's House. In *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo*, Michiyori's theft of Ochikubo brings him personal fortune and political power. In *The Tale of Genji*, obtaining *saiwai* from Murasaki seems to be one of the reasons why Genji steals this imperial grand-child. In *The Tale of Sagoromo*, Sagoromo abducts the late prince's daughter to become able to control the monarchy so that his parents, who in turn have "stolen" Sagoromo, may return to royal status. In *Ariake no Wakare*, Ariake's abduction of Tai-no-Ue fulfills her parents' wish -getting a heir- and also allows Ariake to become able to control the monarchy, which brings her parents,

who "abducted" Ariake, political power as well.

In short, successful "bride-stealing" ensures that the protagonists, who steal women, become able to control the imperial power, and it is the abducted women who bring this power to them. Although this significance is not immediately apparent in some episodes, the fundamental idea remains throughout the Heian period. Since narrative types (*wakei*) are usually based on an oral tradition,¹¹⁸ it is perhaps natural that it becomes difficult to recognize the concepts of narrative types in Heian literature: the realistic aspect began to be more emphasized than the oral tradition in the tales of the Heian period.¹¹⁹ However, we cannot deny the fact that all tales in the Heian period also maintained the oral traditions, one of which is narrative types.¹²⁰

In addition to the common concept, there are many common elements among the "bride-stealing" episodes which we have examined. First of all, stolen women usually have a blood relation with the imperial family or are imperial-consorts-to-be, and they are then recognized as guardians of the imperial *tama*. This is, in fact, one of the most significant aspects in this literary tradition since obtaining the power to control the imperial power by abducting a guardian of the imperial *tama* is the deep-structure of this trope. It is also because they are abducted that they bring the ability to control the royal power to people who abduct them; this power is the most desirable thing for the abductors.

The protagonists, who abduct women, are, except Michiyori in the *Ochikubo*, in reduced circumstances. Michiyori, however, can be considered as an incomplete person before he meets Ochikubo, because he is single.¹²¹ Without having a suitable spouse, he cannot become a complete person.¹²² Perhaps, these circumstances subconsciously provoke the protagonists to steal the women: they subconsciously wish to make their situations better. As we have seen,

the successful abduction results in raising their positions, and some even return to royal status.

It seems that these protagonists need people who can perform *tama-furi*-related rituals for the ritual purposes as well. In the *Kojiki*, Ôkuni-nushi dies before he goes to the Nether-Distant-Land, and in the *Genji*, the reason why Genji goes to the northern hill is because he is ill. As we have seen, in ancient Japan, people believed that the *tama* left the body when a person was dead or ill, and on these occasions, *tama-furi*-related rituals were performed to recall, pacify, and bind the *tama*. Although Ôkuni-nushi's mother brings him back to life, he still needs to have a person who can perform *tama-furi*-related rituals; in order to cure his illness, Genji, too, needs to have a person who can perform the proper rituals. As a result of their trips, Ôkuni-nushi abducts Suseri-bime and Genji abducts Murasaki, and these women are in fact recognized as the guardians of the imperial *tama*; they can perform *tama-furi*-related rituals. Ariake in *Ariake no Wakare* dies and then is born again as Sadaijin's daughter. To go through this process, Ariake needs a person who can perform the rituals, and in fact, Tai-no-Ue becomes a nun right after Ariake returns to be Sadaijin's daughter and enters court as a consort of the emperor, which might imply that Tai-no-Ue becomes a nun after she fulfills her responsibility as a guardian of the *tama*, that is, to perform the *tama-furi*-related rituals. In the *Sagoromo*, Miya-no-Chûjô's poem to introduce his sister to Sagoromo is the reply poem to Sagoromo's poem, and in the poem, Sagoromo says that his *tama* is wandering,¹²³ which might mean that he needs a person who can perform *tama-furi*-related rituals so that his *tama* does not leave his body, and the late prince's daughter is described as a person who can perform these rituals in Miya-no-Chûjô's poem. As I have discussed, the *Ochikubo* might have been written for pacifying the spirit of the deceased Michiyori, and the *Ise*, too, could have been written for pacifying the spirit of an unfortunate nobleman, Narihira, since the

episodes about him seem to have been one of the sources for this tale. To fulfill this purpose, it might have been necessary for the authors to include a person who can pacify the protagonists' souls in the tales.

There are many other similarities in the "bride-stealing" episodes we have examined as well. For instance, some details seem to originate from the same pre-text. In order to imply that the protagonists are supposed to belong heaven, *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* is a sub-text for *The Tale of Sagoromo* and *The Tale of Ariake*. Most of the protagonists wander to find their suitable spouses (*Ochikubo*, *Sagoromo*, and *Ariake*) or to correct their incompleteness (*Kojiki* and *Genji*), and this kind of wandering can be categorized as the trip to find a wish-fulfilling gem. In addition, between the episodes, there are some comparable details. Ôkuni-nushi in the *Kojiki* and Narihira in the *Ise* abduct some authority's daughter so that they can usurp the authority itself. The primary purpose why the protagonists amass "saiwai" and the process of abductions are similar between *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tale of Sagoromo*. Also, both the *Sagoromo* and the *Ariake* construct the double structure of "bride-stealing" episodes.

As we have seen, "bride-stealing" episodes have a common concept and elements in many significant respects, and they are generally comparable. It will take further study before the "bride-stealing" trope becomes as widely recognized in Japanese literature as, for instance, the "exile of the young noble" trope (*kishu ryûri-tan*), but I hope I have demonstrated both the ubiquity of this trope in court literature, its political significance, as concerning fundamentally the control of imperial power.

NOTES

1. Akiyama Ken and Horiuchi Hideaki, ed., Taketori Monogatari, Ise Monogatari, Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei Vol. 17 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1997), pp. 84-5. 秋山虔 堀内秀晃 校注『新日本古典文学大系 17 竹取物語・伊勢物語』（東京：岩波書店、1997年）84—5頁。
2. 「『盗み』は恋の深さと同義語に解され[る]」。(高群逸枝『高群逸枝全集／第二巻』[東京：理論社 1996年]、83頁。) (Takamure Itsue, Takamure Itsue Zenshû/ Vol. 2 [Tokyo: Riron sha, 1996], p. 83.)
3. In Fujii Sadakazu, ed., Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei, Bessatsu Kokubungaku series, No. 32 (Tokyo: Gakutô sha, 1987) 藤井貞和 編『別冊国文学 王朝物語必携』（東京：学燈社 1997年）, we find definitions and discussions of the major tropes in Japanese literature.
4. See "*Kishu ryûri-tan*" 貴種流離譚 in Nihon Koten Bungaku Dai Jiten Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1984) 『日本古典文学大辞典 第二巻』（東京：岩波書店 1984年）, p. 128 and Fujii, Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei 藤井『王朝物語必携』, p. 97.
5. For further information, see Mitani Ei'ichi, Monogatariishi no Kenkyû (Tokyo, Yûseidô

shuppan, 1967) 三谷栄一『物語史の研究』（東京：有精堂出版 昭和42年），pp. 82-88.

6. 「最初に作業仮説としてある種の話型を仮定しておいて、それでもって具体的な作品世界（表現の全体像）がどの程度まで説明できるかを見極めるのが正しい方法論だろう。」（島内景二「話型（類型・神話類型）」別冊国文学 王朝物語必携 藤井貞和 篇 [東京：学燈社 1987年]、86頁。）(Shimauchi Keiji, "Wakei (Ruikai, Shinwa Ruikai)," Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei, Bessatsu Kokubungaku series, No. 32, ed. Fujii Sadakazu [Tokyo: Gakutô sha, 1987], p. 86.)

7. 「嫁ヌスミの習俗は、従来、一種の奇習か、あるいは野卑な弊風とみられており（中略）。またこれを“掠奪婚”とし、未開社会にみられるものと、対比する見解もあった。しかし、そうしたものの遺存であるという証左はほとんどない。」（財団法人日本民族学協会編『日本社会民俗辞典第4巻』[東京：誠文堂新光社、昭和34年]、1548頁。）

"The custom of bride-stealing is usually considered a kind of odd or vulgar custom.... Also it is compared with 'marriage by capture' which can be seen in primitive societies. However, there is little evidence to show that bride-stealing is a vestige of 'marriage by capture'." (Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten Vol. 4, Zaidan hôjin Nihon Minzokugaku Kyôkai, ed. [Tokyo: Seibundô shinkô sha, 1959], p. 1548.)

8. 「1) ほとんど村内婚の場合にかぎられていること、2) 嫁方にたいする正式の披露儀礼がみられぬこと、3) 駆落とはまったくことなり、村から姿を消すことなく、まず娘を連出し、その結果を公示して、結婚を求めること、4) 若者仲間あるいは仲人の助力が存すること、5) したがって社会的に認容された、一種の求婚方法であって、とくに嫁方との申合わせでおこなわれるものは、披露式ぬきの婚姻にほかならず、事実又スミの名が、略式の婚礼に転用されている例も、すくなくないことなど…」(1546-7)。

○

9. 「1) 当事者同志ではあらかじめ約束ができているが、娘の親の承諾がえられぬ場合。(中略)これが〔嫁又スミの〕原形であろうと推察される。
- 2) 娘の同意はもちろん、親もだいたい内諾してはいるが、同時に他から申込をうけ、義理でその方も断り切れず、表面は不承諾の形でいる場合。つまり親の暗黙の了解のもとに、嫁ぬすみをするもの。
- 3) 娘自身も承諾せず、親もまったく知らないのに、又スミが強行される場合。(中略)おそらく、相手の意思をはかりかね、正式の求婚では拒絶されることをおそれて、強硬手段に訴えるものが多いであろう…。
- 4) 親も娘も承諾しているが、結婚費用の調達ができない場合。(中略)これはまったく経済的理由からおこなわれるもので…略式の婚礼と実質かわらない」(1547)。

10. There is a headnote in *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo* in the Shinchô Nihon Koten Shûsei edition, saying that "without getting the permission of the woman's guardians, the man makes her his wife, which is called 'stealing'" 「保護者の許しを得ずに娘を妻にすることを『盗む』という。」 (Inaga, 13). Also, there is a headnote in *The Tale of Genji* in the Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei edition (vol. 19), saying that "'abduction' means having a relationship with a woman without getting the permission of her parents. This is a custom of bride-stealing or marriage by capture" 「『盗む』は、親の許可を得ずに娘に通じる、の意。盗み婚ないし略奪婚というかたちの習俗である。」 (Yanai, 191).

11. 「以前の若い女性が、婚姻を結んで後もなほ生家に留まり、主婦の入用が生じて後、始めて夫の家に迎へられて居た時代には、今日見るが如き仲人の往来も無ければ、又若者組の合力を求めるやうな、花々しい嫁かたぎも無かつたらうとは言へる。別の言ひ方をするならば、今の所謂嫁盗みは、中世以後から段々と普及した嫁入風習の副産物に他ならぬのである。」 (柳田国男『婚姻の話』 [東京：岩波書店、昭和23年]、148頁。)

"In times when a young woman stayed in her native home even after she got married, and she was called by her husband's family after they needed her as a housewife, there might have been neither the go-betweens' help as we see these days nor a large scale bride-stealing, which needs cooperation from a society of young people. In other words, bride-stealing is nothing but a by-product of the custom of patrilocal marriage which gradually spread from the medieval period

onwards." (Yanagida Kunio, Kon'in no Hanashi [Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1948], p. 148.)

12. 「嫁盗み婚は、若者仲間の婚姻統制力が極端に強く、且つ若い男女に婚姻の全たき自主性のある所には起り得ず、また家長権が婚姻を全たく支配している所でも生じ得ず、二つの力が或る均衡を保つところに初めて発生しうる婚姻である。（中略）また婚姻が若い男女によって自主的に開始せられ、且つその成立以後も永らく聲が嫁のもとに通う習わしの聲入婚が一般におこなわれた所では、嫁盗み婚は顕著な存在とはなり得なかったのではなかろうか。この想像が正しいなら、嫁盗み婚は、中世以降嫁入婚が普及する過程に、しかも年齢集団の婚姻統制力がなお強大であった地方に、花咲き出た一種の異例的な婚姻方式であったといえよう。」（財団法人民俗学研究所『民俗学辞典』〔東京：東京堂、昭和26年〕、665頁。）

(Minzokugaku Jiten, Zaidan hôjin Minzokugaku Kenkyûsho, ed., [Tokyo: Tokyo dô, 1951], p. 665.)

13. 「婚姻範囲が、ほとんど村内熟知のあいだにかぎられていた旧時の庶民の婚姻習俗では、若者組・若者宿を拠点として、その集団の統制を背景に、当事者同志の合意から出発する婚姻方式が、ひろくおこなわれていたことは、すでに一般のみとめるところといってよい」（『日本社会民俗辞典』1548）。

"We can say that it is generally accepted that in the old marriage custom among commoners, the sphere of marriage was limited to people of the same village who knew each other. In these

circumstances, under the control of a society or a youth community centre, marriage starting from an agreement between the people concerned was widely practiced (Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten, 1548).

14. 「分立した家単位の経営方式の確立、通婚圏の拡大などによって、嫁入婚方式が一般化し、また子女の労働統制に、家長の力が強化されもした。嫁ぬすみの習俗は、むしろ、こうした段階に発生したもので、家長の不承諾にたいし、その求婚を強制する手段であったと思われる」（『日本社会民俗辞典』1548）(Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten, 1548)。

15. Gary Ebersole takes Yamamoto Kenkichi's suggestion, interpreting the word, *hi* in *hi no miko*, in one of the Kakinomoto no Hitomaro's poems in the *Man'yô shû* and explains that the imperial *tama* "is passed on to the imperial successor in an unbroken line from Amaterasu." (Gary L. Ebersole cites Yamamoto Kenkichi, Kakinomoto no Hitomaro, 208-225 in Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan, p. 202.)

「肉体には生死があるが、その肉体を充している魂是不変で、代々の天皇の肉体には同じ魂がはいっていると考えた。日本紀では天皇霊と言っているが、その魂を身に触れしめた人が『ひのみこ』であり、『ひ』とは天皇の肉体にやどるべき威霊の名である。先帝崩後の物忌みの期間に、寝所に引籠って厳粛なたまふりの行事をやり、天皇霊を身につけて、天皇としての資格を完成するのである。」（山本健吉『柿本人麻呂』〔東京：講談社、1968年〕、214頁。）

"The body has life and death, but the spirit which fills the body is unchanging, and people thought that the same spirit was in the emperors for generations. In *Nihon shoki*, [the spirit] is called the emperor's soul, and a person who takes it into him is 'hi-no-miko' (the crown prince) where 'hi' is the name of the dignified soul which is supposed to lodge in the emperor's body. While going into mourning after the previous emperor's death, [the crown prince] goes into the ritual building, performs *tama-furi*, and takes the emperor's soul into him, thereby qualifying to become the new emperor." (Yamamoto Kenkichi, Kakinomoto no Hitomaro [Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1968], p. 214.)

16. "[The *tama*] could leave the body at night during sleep, as evidenced by dreams, or at other times, causing illness. The early Japanese experienced some anxiety over the *tama*'s departing the body, and they developed a variety of rituals to make sure it did not do so, or to recall it if it escaped." (Gray L. Ebersole, Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989], p. 42.)

17. "The *Niname-sai* is said to be just a thanksgiving for the fruits of that year pure and simple, while the *Daijô-sai* partakes of a large perspective, offering thanks for a whole dynastic period." (Robert S. Ellwood, The Feast of Kingship - Accession Ceremonies in Ancient Japan [Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973], p. 69.)

18. 「[大嘗祭において大嘗宮で] 客人神である穀霊との共食によって、日継皇子に天皇霊がそなわる…。」(菊地威雄「殯宮儀礼と新嘗」『国文学研究 第七十三集』[東京：早稲田大学国文学会、1981年3月]、16頁。)

" The emperor's soul settles in the crown prince [at the *daijô-sai*, in the ritual building for the *daijô-sai*,] when he eats with the *kokurei* or the food spirit, that is a guest deity there."

(Kikuchi Takeo, "Hinkyûgirei to Niiname" Kokubungaku Kenkyû Vol. 73, No. 3 [Tokyo: Waseda daigaku kokubun gakkai, March 1981], p. 16.)

19. Wada refers to the records in *Nihon shoki* and concludes that in the past, the *daijô-sai* was the only accession ceremony, and at the *daijô-sai*, "a secret ceremony to succeed the emperor's soul" 「天皇霊を継承する秘儀」 was practiced. (Wada Atsumu, Nihon Kodai no Girei to Saishi, Shinkô <jô> [Tokyo: Hanawa shobô, 1995], p. 61-2.) (和田萃『日本古代の儀礼と祭祀・信仰 上』[東京：株式会社塙書房 1995年]、61～62頁。)

20. 「宮廷の鎮魂祭は（中略）十一月の中の寅の日におこなわれたが、実は大嘗（新嘗）祭のおこなわれるのがその翌日であった。この日付だけからみても、それが大嘗と一続きの祭、むしろその一部であった様子がうかがえる。」（西郷信綱『古事記の世界』[東京：岩波書店、1967年]、86頁。)

"The *chinkon-sai* at court was... held on the middle day or tiger [which is "between the 13th and 25th" (Ellwood, 124)] in the eleventh month, and in fact, the *daijô-sai* was held the very next day. From this schedule, we can see that [the *chinkon-sai*] used to be a continuation of the *daijô-sai* ritual or a part of it." (Saigô Nobutsuna, Kojiki no Sekai [Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967], p. 86.)

Ebersole also points this out and says:

The *chinkon-sai* or spirit pacification ritual or festival was, when practiced for a member of the imperial family, also known as the *mitamafuri no matsuri*. In the court, it was normally held the day before the *niiname-sai*, or the First Fruits Festival.

(91)

Ellwood, too, says that the *chinkon-sai* is one of the three stages of the *daijō-sai* (103) and says of the *chinkon-sai*: "The *Chinkon-sai* is interpreted as a uniting of various aspects of man's spirit in preparation for the *Niname*" (Ellwood, 129).

21. As a footnote to the sentence, "they disported themselves for eight days and eight nights,"

「日八日夜八夜を遊びたりき」 Nakamura says "this is a custom to cleanse impurities [caused by death] by singing and dancing every day and night until the funeral. This can be interpreted as a ritual of rebirth of the deceased." 「葬式の時まで連日連夜歌舞してけがれを払う習慣。死者復活の祭儀ともみられる。」 (Nakamura Hirotohi, *Shintei Kojiki* [Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1977], p. 59.) (中村啓信『新訂古事記』[東京：角川書店、昭和52年]、59頁。)

22. 「前帝の殯宮儀礼を管掌し山陵に葬ることは新帝の重要な使命であった。殯宮儀礼から新嘗へと両祭祀を実修すること、それが皇位継承の基本的な姿だったのである。(中略)[殯の]期間最も重い役割を演じたのは前帝の皇后である。敏達天皇の殯宮に籠る炊屋姫の如く、殯宮内で殯儀礼を司ったのは後宮の女一皇后であり、おそらくそこは男子禁制の聖域であった。皇后は亡き天皇の霊を客人[まれびと]とし

て仕え、同床共食の儀礼を実修したのであろう。(中略)信仰的な観念の上では、わが国の殯も[中国のそれと]同様な招魂儀礼に発していた。死者の靈魂を客人として遇することが殯宮儀礼の本義だとすれば、それを司ったのは皇后を措いて考えられない」(菊地 15-6)。

"It was a very important task for the new emperor to practice the *mogari no miya* ritual and bury [the deceased emperor] in the burial mound. Practicing both the *mogari no miya* ritual and the *niiname-sai* were the fundamental aspects of the accession.... During mourning, it was the widow empress who played the most significant role. As Kashikiya hime was secluded in Emperor Bidatsu's *mogari no miya*, the person who took charge of the *mogari* ceremony in the *mogari no miya* was the empress, and it probably was a sacred place where men were forbidden to enter. The [widow] empress served the deceased emperor's soul as a guest deity and probably practiced a ritual in which she accompanied him to sleep and eat In the spiritual sense, the beginning of the mourning ritual [in Japan] is based on the same beckoning *tama* ritual as the Chinese. If serving the [deceased] emperor's soul as a guest deity is the true meaning of the *mogari no miya* ritual, the [widow] empress must have been the only one who could have been in charge of this ritual" (Kikuchi, 15-6).

23. Wada Atsumu points out that most funeral poems of the *mogari no miya* in *Man'yô shû* were composed by women, except those by the court poets, and there is no record of the imperial women in various events during *mogari* in *Nihon shoki*. He concludes that "the empress, the Empress Dowager, the imperial princesses, princesses, ladies on the court, consorts, and ladies-in-waiting" 「(天皇の) 妻の皇后・母の皇太后・皇女・妃・夫

人・婿・宮人など」 were secluded in the *mogari no miya* (Wada, 3-83).

24. 「殯宮における神饌供進、それは新嘗における神喜殿、大嘗会における大嘗宮での卯日の行事、神と日継皇子との神饌共食に対応している。客人神である穀霊との共食によって、日継皇子に天皇霊がそなわるように、殯宮殿における皇后は、天皇と同資格と地位を占める。従って皇后は、殯の期間中は歴史の表面には出ない隠れた天皇一女帝だったのである。敏達天皇の殯宮に、穴穂皇子が押し入り、炊屋姫を奸そうとした不祥事は、女帝たる姫を得ることで天皇の資格を得ようとした行為であったことを示している」 (菊池 16)。

"Offerings in the *mogari no miya* are comparable to the ceremony at the *Suki* lodge at *niiname-sai* and the *Daijō* Palace at the *daijō-sai*, that is, the crown prince partakes of the offerings with the deity (ref. Ellwood 119). Just as the crown prince takes the emperor's soul into his body by eating with a guest deity, the food spirit, the [widow] empress secluded in the *mogari no miya* had the same rights and status with the emperor. Therefore, the [widow] empress was the hidden emperor during the period of *mogari* although historically she was not recognized as such. During the period of the *mogari* of emperor Bidatsu, Prince Anahobe tried to break into [the *mogari no miya*] and rape Kashikiya hime. This incident shows that [Anahobe] tried to get the right to become emperor by possessing the empress, who functioned as the emperor" (Kikuchi, 16).

25. Ebersole cites Ôbayashi Taryô: "Ôbayashi notes that in each of these cases the assassination, whether realized or only attempted, is narratively located either specifically at the

time of the *niiname-sai* or between the tenth and eleventh lunar months" (112). I will discuss the infringements of accession during the period of the *Mogari* later.

26. 「社会関係・人間関係としていうならば、生き残ったものたちの間の身分上の再編成が行われ、首長の死の場合、相続問題がとり決められるのがこのとき〔殯〕であった」（西郷 50）。

27. 「先帝の崩御によって政治的空白期間が生じ、そこに皇位継承をめぐって複雑な政情が展開〔した〕…。奈良時代以前にあっては、それが殯の期間であった」（和田 63）。

"The previous emperor's death caused a political vacuum, and the political complications surrounding the accession developed.... Prior to the Nara period, [these complications occurred] during the period of *mogari*" (Wada, 63).

28. In order to research what Prince Ôtsu's plot against the crown prince was, Wada analyzes the episode of prince Anahobe's plot to usurp the accession since this episode is similar to Prince Ôtsu's. He says that what Anahobe says at the backyard of the temporary enshrinement is a eulogy, but its contents insult the deceased emperor Bidatsu. From this study, Wada concludes that saying an improper eulogy is a means of obtaining the right of accession (Wada, 7-10, 62-3).

29. Sekiguchi Hiroko, Nihon Kodai Kon'inshi no Kenkyû <jô> (Tokyo: Hanawa shobô,

1993), pp. 136-200. 関口裕子『日本古代婚姻史の研究 上』(東京: 塙書房、1993年) 136-200頁。

30. The following is the chart of the succession process made by Ebersole.

- 1) Following the death of his predecessor, the crown prince assumes the throne;
- 2) the deceased emperor is given final burial;
- 3) the widowed empress is honored with a new title;
- 4) the capital is moved;
- 5) a new empress is appointed and the birth of a male child or the births of several children are noted;
- 6) a new crown prince is appointed;
- 7) the emperor dies; and the pattern begins all over again in the next reign. (131)

31. A historical record. The author is unknown. Completed between 807 to the beginning of Heian period. For further information, see Nihon Koten Bungaku Dai Jiten Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1984) 『日本古典文学大辞典 第二巻』(東京: 岩波書店 1984年), pp. 648-9.

32. 「宮廷のいわゆる三種の神器と同じもので、王たるの資格を証する呪器である。」(西郷信綱『古事記の世界』[東京: 岩波書店、1967年]、99頁。)
(Saigô Nobutsuna, Kojiki no Sekai, [Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967], p. 99.)

33. 「統治者としての卓越性を示さざるを得ない伝承像にとって、外部の超越的権力との結合は重要な意味を持つわけであり、例えば、大穴牟遲神は根堅州国の主宰者たる須佐之男神の女と婚することによって、大国主神たり得た…。」（斎藤静隆「神婚譚」『古事記事典』尾畑喜一郎篇〔東京：桜楓社、昭和63年〕、74頁。）(Saitô Shizutaka, "Shinkon-tan," Kojiki jiten, ed. Obata Kiichirô [Tokyo: Ôfûsha, 1988], p. 74.)

34. Ôkuni-nushi's other names are Ôna-muji-no-kami, meaning "*idai na ana no nushi*" (Nakamura, 41) or "Great Hole-Possessor" (Chamberlain, 80), Yachi-hoko-no-kami, meaning "*ôkuno hoko wo shoyû suru [kami]*" (Nakamura, 41) or "a god who has many halberds," and Utsushi-kuni-tama-no-kami, meaning "*daichi no shinrei*" (Nakamura, 41) or "Spirit of the Land of the Living" (Chamberlain, 81).

35. Nakamura Hirotohi gives the footnote on this episode: "It is one of the fixed patterns of a god's command (*takusen* 託宣) that he or she requires a palace to be built." 「神が宮殿造営を請求するのは託宣の定型の一つである。」(Nakamura Hirotohi, Shintei Kojiki [Tokyo: Kadokawa bunko, 1977], pp. 61-2) (中村啓信 補訂・解説『新訂古事記』〔東京：角川文庫、昭和52年〕、61－2頁。) However, as we have seen in the discussion of "Earliest Works" (p. 15), Matori building a palace and living in there is considered as lack of respect for the royal house (Sakamoto, NKBT 68: 8; Aston, 1: 399). Therefore, it can be argued that to live in a palace, Ôkuni-nushi needs to have the same

authority as the imperial family has.

36. 「記に見られるような整然とした出雲系神統譜は他になく、天皇の日本国家統治の必然性・神聖性を証明し、主張するために構成されたものとするのが妥当であろう。」（岡田桃三「出雲神話」『古事記事典』、60頁。）(Okada Momozô, "Idzumo Shinwa," Kojiki jiten, p. 60.)

37. 「大国主神の種種の物語（稲羽の白兔・八十神の迫害・根国訪問・須勢理姫の嫉妬など）は書記には見えない。」（坂本太郎 他 校注『日本古典文学大系 67 日本書記 上』[東京：岩波書店 昭和42年]、注16、120—1頁。）

(Sakamoto Tarô, et al. eds., Nihon shoki <jô>, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei Vol. 67 [Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967], headnote no.16, p. 120-1.)

38. The process of Ôkuni-nushi's giving the legitimacy to rule Japan to the descendants of the Sun Goddess is called the *kuni yuzuri* myth, "the myth of handing over the nation," and "there is a theory that this myth ideally describes the process of the imperial family's controlling the other gods whom the imperial family has difficulty handling, such as Kotoshiro-nushi and Take-mi-na-kata, after these gods are under the control of Idzumo." 「事代主・建御名方のような朝廷にとって扱いにくい神格は皆出雲国に収斂され、これらが朝廷側によって統轄されてゆく過程を観念的に描写したものがこの神話である

とする説もある。」（岡田桃三「国譲り神話」『古事記事典』69頁）(Okada Momozô, "Kuni yuzuri Shinwa," Kojiki jiten, p. 69.)

39. Hasegawa Masaharu explains the situation of "the man" and "the lady" whom this man longs for in *The Tales of Ise*:

Recognized as common to the three episodes, from Episode Four to Six, the capital is described as a world where it is difficult for [the man] to obtain a lady and where the Fujiwara Regency [dominates]. In this [situation], we can consider "the man" as anti-Fujiwara.... In short, the lady in "the capital" is assumed to be the future Empress from the Second Ward who lives "in the eastern Fifth Ward." Therefore, it is not wrong to think that the author tells the readers that the lady is of the Fujiwaras, who stand in opposition to "the man." (Hasegawa Masaharu, <Kyôkai> kara no Hassô - Tabi no Bungaku, Koi no Bungaku- [Tokyo: Shinten sha, 1989], pp. 37-8.)

第四段から第六段までの三章段に共通して認められるように、都の女の得難さと藤原氏の世界であることがその都の内実である。そこに「昔男」の反藤原氏としての位置づけをみることもできる。（中略）つまり「都」を背負った女は、「東の五条わたり」に住む二条后高子を思わせる女であって、明らかに「昔男」に対立する藤原氏の女であることを、物語の作者は語っているとみて誤りあるまい。（長谷川政春『＜境界＞からの発想一旅の文学・恋の文学一』[東京：新典社 1989年]、37－8頁。）

40. From Episode Four and Five: "The ex-empress has the future Empress from the Second

Ward live at the western wing of her house, which shows that it has been decided [that the future Empress] would enter the court." 「大后宮がわざわざ私邸の対の屋を与えて住まわせていたことは、入内ないしはそれに近い政略結婚が用意されていたことを示していよう。」 (Katagiri Yôichi, ed., Ise Monogatari, Yamato Monogatari, Kanshō Nihon Koten Bungaku Vol. 5 [Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1975], pp. 60-1.) (片桐洋一編『鑑賞 日本古典文学 第五巻 伊勢物語・大和物語』[東京：角川書店 昭和五十年]、60－61頁。)

41. 「高子は、（中略）良房にとって、自分の勢いを更に伸ばすための大切な持ち駒であったから、業平との間はたちまち裂かれ、（後略）。」（渡辺実 校注『新潮日本古典集成 二 伊勢物語』[東京：新潮出版、昭和51年]、176頁。）

"Takaiko was an crucial person, useful for Yoshifusa extending his sphere of influence in the political world, so her relationship with Narihira was immediately broken...." (Watanabe Minoru, ed., Ise Monogatari, Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei Vol. 2 [Tokyo: Shinchō sha, 1975], p. 176.)

42. "Arishi" means "used to be" or "in the past" (here translated as "before"). However, it could mean "Ariwara clan" since "shi" means "a clan." "Fuji" means "wisteria" but could also indicate "the Fujiwaras," in contrast to "Ari" as "Ariwara clan."

43. 「もとより時の権力者たる良房や基経に対して、面と抗らうことなど勿論あり

得ないにしても、かつて高子への恋を裂き、その高子など一門の娘を利用して、王族を押しつけ競争者を倒して、強引に地歩を固めて行く藤原氏への反発は、やむを得ずしてとる随従の裏で、ますます強くなっていった当然である。そしてそのような複雑な感情は、時に甚だきわどい歌となって人をおどろかせた」（渡辺、179）。

"Although [Narihira] was not likely to resist directly the people currently in power, such as Yoshifusa and Mototsune, it is natural that contrary to his obedience as a courtier, he resisted against the Fujiwara, who broke his love to Takaiko and created the foundation [of political power] by utilizing the daughters in the family, pushing the royal family, and defeating their rivals. Such complex feelings were sometimes shown in his poems, and people were surprised" (Watanabe, 179).

44. 「[第九十七段の歌は基経の四十の賀で詠まれた設定になっているが]初句に問題はないけれども、第二句の『散り…曇れ』は、不吉な句いを漂わせた言葉である。四十歳を境として、以降を老人と考えるのが当時の習いであるが、だからこそ賀ではめでたい言葉ばかりを使うのが礼法である中で、これは賀の言葉としては異様ではなかったろうか。まして第三句『老いらく』は、こんな場合タブーとすべき言葉ではないか。『散れ—曇れ—老いらく』、この不吉な言葉を連ねて、業平はいったい権力者に向って何を言おうとするのか。業平と藤原氏のことを知っている一同は、基経の顔色をうかがいつつ、事の先行きにかたずをのむ思いであったに違いない。（中略）だが下の句は、人々の動揺をよそに、賀の歌としておさまってし

まった」(渡辺 180)。

"[The poem in Episode 97 was composed to celebrate Fujiwara Mototsune's fortieth birthday.] The first phrase of this poem does not have any problem, but in the second phrase, the words, 'chiri... kumore,' seem ominous. After turning 40 years old, people were considered old, but because of that it was the custom to use only happy words when speaking to them, so these words are strange to be used for a celebratory poem. Moreover, the word, 'oiraku,' in the third phrase should be taboo. By using these ominous words, 'chire... kumore... oiraku,' what did Narihira intend to say to the people in power? People who knew the conflict between Narihira and the Fujiwara must have held their breath while looking at Mototsune.... However, in spite of people's worries, the poem ended up as a celebratory poem" (Watanabe, 180).

45. Michele Marra makes a similar argument. See "A Lesson to the Leaders: *Ise Monogatari* and the Code of *Miyabi*," The Aesthetics of Discontent: Politics and Reclusion in Medieval Japanese Literature (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), pp. 35-53.

46. According to Origuchi Shinobu, a *mare bito* is a god who disguises himself as a human. For further discussion, see Nishimura Tôru, ed., Origuchi Shinobu Jiten (Tokyo: Taishûkan shoten, 1988) 西村享 編『折口信夫事典』(東京:大修館書店、1988年), p. 13-30.

47. 「第六十五段でも、『在原なりける男』が大御息所の従妹の女に恋をし、流罪となるが、夜ごと『人の国』から蔵に閉じ込められている女の所へ通ってくる話

で、王権が最も顕在化する章段である。帝が「顔かたちよくおはしまして、仏の御名を、御心に入れて、御声はいと尊くて」とあるのに対抗するかのよう、『人の国』から来訪する『在原なりける男』は『笛をいとおもしろく吹きて、声はをかしうてぞ、あはれにうたひける』と描かれる。流罪人が帝に拮抗し、帝を超えるマレビトのように来訪してくる。これは王権侵犯のモチーフではないか。そして、流離譚が裏返しに王権譚であったことを物語っている」（長谷川 37-8）。

"Episode Sixty-Five is a story of 'a man from the Ariwara' who is in love with his mother's cousin and is sent to exile, but every night, he comes from the other land to see this lady who is secluded in a room. This episode shows most clearly the imperial power. As if confronting the emperor who, 'was the most handsome man' and '[chanted] the sacred name of the Buddha with impressive reverence and dignity' (Watanabe, SNKS 2:79; McCullough, Tales of Ise, 113), 'a man from the Fujiwara' visiting from 'the other land' 'played his flute with great feeling, and sang melancholy ballads in a moving voice' (Watanabe, SNKS 2:80; McCullough, Tales of Ise, 113). The exiled man opposes the emperor and visits as a *marebito* who is superior to the emperor. This must be a motif concerning the infringement of the imperial power. This episode also tells us that the other side of the *ryûri-tan* (the "exile [of young noble] trope" is *ôken-tan* "("[controlling] imperial power" trope) (Hasegawa, 37-8).

48. See "Ikyô hômon" 異郷訪問 and "Kishu ryûri-tan" 貴種流離譚 in Fujii Sadakazu, ed., Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei, Bessatsu Kokubungaku series, No. 32, (Tokyo: Gankutô sha, 1987), p. 90, 97. 藤井貞和 編『別冊国文学王朝物語必携』（東京：学燈社、1987年）、90、97頁。

49. A headnote in the *Nihon shoki* in NKBT edition says that "the reason why Hiko-ho-ho-demi no mikoto can obtain the magical jewel is the result of his marriage with Toyo-tama-hime. At that time, it may have been common for people to obtain a spiritual power by marriage with a person from a different tribe." 「彦火火出見尊がこのような呪力のある瓊を手に入れることができたのは、豊玉姫との結婚の結果である。これは、異族との通婚による霊能の獲得という当時の一般的な仕方であったようである。」

(Sakamoto Tarô, et al. eds., *Nihon shoki* <jô>, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei Vol. 67

[Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967], the headnote no. 7, p. 166.) (坂本太郎 他 校注『日本古典文学大系 日本書記 上』[東京：岩波書店、昭和42年]、頭注7、166頁。)

50. 「源氏の須磨明石への流離は政治的に罰せられたり、あるいは禁忌を犯したりした貴種の流離の型そのままであるが、同時にそれは異郷訪問譚でもあった。須磨における禊ののちに源氏の訪ねた明石は竜宮であった。海幸山幸神話を取り込んでいるのである。そこで竜王の娘と結婚した源氏は山幸彦の得た宝珠に等しい姫君を儲ける。」 (日向一雅「源氏物語」『王朝物語必携』、129頁。)(Hyûga Kazumasa, "Genji Monogatari," *Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei*, p. 129.)

51. 「ヤマトタケルは西征と東征のそれぞれに際し、『古事記』では両方とも伊勢斎宮の叔母ヤマトヒメに会ってから出発し、『日本書記』では東征のみヤマトヒメ

に会っている。（中略）伊勢神宮および伊勢の神とその嫁のいる伊勢国は、やはり特別の地と考えられていた」（長谷川 45）(Hasegawa, 45)。

52. 「深窓の姫君を盗んで逃げてゆく物語は、『大和物語』第百五十五段など、平安時代の物語文学や説話文学によく見られる話である。この段の中心をなす『白玉か何ぞと人の問ひしとき…』の歌は業平の歌と断ずべき根拠なく、おそらく別人の歌であろう。第四段・五段と比べると、和歌と物語との関係もちぐはぐな感じである。おそらくは、業平と関係のない掠奪婚的な話をここに利用したのであると思う。」（片桐洋一編 『鑑賞日本古典文学 第五巻 伊勢物語・大和物語』〔東京：角川書店、昭和五十年〕、65頁。）

"Episodes of abduction of a lady from a good family are often found in tales and legends of the Heian period, such as Episode 155 of *The Tales of Yamato*. The poem, which is central in this episode, does not have any concrete evidence showing that it was composed by Narihira, so probably this poem was composed by someone else. Compared with Episodes Four and Five, the relation between the poem and story [of Episode Six] is awkward. Probably, [the author] used a bride-stealing episode which does not relate to Narihira."
(Katagiri Yôichi, ed., *Ise Monogatari, Yamato Monogatari*, *Kanshō Nihon Koten Bungaku* Vol. 5 [Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1975], p. 65.)

53. 「『伊勢』物語は、伝承をたくみに生かし、藤原北家の后がねや国家祭祀の最高巫女との犯しによって、『昔男』の恋を王権の次元にまで組こんでいる。」（小

林正明「伊勢物語」『王朝物語必携』、122頁。)

"[*The Tales of Ise*] skillfully makes the most of oral traditions and weaves together 'the certain man's' love and the royal power out of transgression of the Northern Fujiwara's crown-prince-to-be and the nation's high priestess." (Kobayashi Masaaki, "Ise Monogatari," Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei, p. 122.)

54. In *Kôjien*, *saki-mitama* is defined as "the god's spirit which gives people good fortune"

「幸魂 (さきみたま) : 人に幸を与える神の靈魂」.

55. The headnote to *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo* in the Shinchô Nihon Koten Shûsei edition says, "(Even in the same residence,) she lives far apart from (her parents; that is ideal for me to sneak in)" (Inaga, 13). 「(同じ建物でも親とは) 離れて住んでもいるというじゃないか (忍び込むのにはおあつらえ向きだ)」 (稲賀、13)。

56. Fujii Sadakazu says, "[Michiyori's] initial intention to approach [the Lady Ochikubo] is amorous (*iro-gonomi*)" (415) 「男君の最初に女君に近づいた心は多分に色好み的であつた。」, and mentions the quote above. ("Ochikubo Monogatari Kaisetsu" Ochikubo Monogatari, Sumiyoshi Monogatari, Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei Vol. 18 [Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989], pp. 407-446.) (「落窪物語 解説」『新日本古典文学大系 落窪物語 住吉物語』 [東京: 岩波書店、1989年]、407~446頁。)

57. Michiyori's advancement in his rank is very conspicuous. There was a historical person whose name was also Michiyori, and because of their names and the similarities in their advancements, there is a theory that the historical model of Michiyori in *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo* is this Michiyori, the first son of regent Michitaka, and this tale was written for pacifying his soul (*chinkon*) since he died very young. He began his rank from Junior Fifth Rank (Jugoi) when he was fifteen and ended up Major Councillor (Dainagon) when he died at the age of twenty-five (Inaga, 315-6). Michiyori in the tale begins his rank from Lessor Captain, which is Senior Fifth Rank. He also becomes Major Councillor at the age of twenty-four. As we can see, up to this point, both Michiyoris become almost the same rank at almost the same age. While the historical Michiyori died at this point, Michiyori in the tale continues to advance his rank. At the age of twenty-five, he becomes Great Minister of the Left (Sadaijin), and when he is around forty, he becomes Prime Minister (Dajô daijin). About his becoming Prime Minister, the head note of *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo* in SNKS edition mentions:

Fujiwara Tokihira was bestowed Prime Minister at the age of thirty-nine, but that was a gift after his death (*tsuizô*). Before Michinaga was ordered to be Sadaijin Nairan, there was no example that people of forty or under received high positions, except Michitaka, who became Senior Regent at the age of thirty-eight. (Inaga, 219)

Therefore, Michiyori's advancement in this tale is very dramatic.

58. A headnote to *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* in the Nihon kotenbungaku zenshû edition says:

The plot develops from such *irui tanjô-tan*, the episode of "unusual birth", as a small person is born in the bamboo, to such *chifu-tan*, the episode of "from rags to

riches", as the old man gains from [this birth]. Many such examples are found in Japanese folk tales. (Katagiri Yôichi, et al. eds, Taketori Monogatari, Ise Monogatari, Yamato Monogatari Heichû Monogatari Nihon Koten Bungaku Zeushû Vol. 8 [Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 1972], pp. 51-2.)

「竹の中から小人が生まれたという『異類誕生譚』に加え、翁がそれによって富を得たという『致富譚』の形に発展する筋は、日本の民話に多い」（片桐洋一 他校注『日本古典文学全集 8 竹取物語 伊勢物語 大和物語 平中物語』〔東京：小学館、昭和47年〕、51－2頁。）

59. A headnote to the *Fudoki* in the Kanshō edition says:

While staying at the old couple's house in Wanasa for ten years or so, the maiden makes mysterious medicinal *sake* and brings the couple wealth: this plot is common in such *chifu no hanashi*, "from rags to riches" stories as the crane wife who works at the loom in the old tale. (Naoki Kôjirô, Nishimiya Kazutami, and Nishida Seiji, eds., Nihon shoki, Fudoki, Kanshō Nihon Koten Bungaku Vol. 2 [Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1977], p. 390.)

「天女が和奈佐の老夫婦の許に住みついた十余年の間に、靈妙な薬酒を作って老人たちの家を富ませたというのは、昔話の鶴女房の機織りなどに共通する致富の話…。」（直木孝次郎西宮一民 西田精司 編『鑑賞日本古典文学 第2巻 日本書記 風土記』〔東京：角川書店、昭和52年〕、390頁。）

60. 「その大半は、斜陽族の女が玉の輿に乗った事に多く用いられている。玉の輿

とは、現在、地位、権勢にすぐれている門流に嫁した意味である。」（目加田さくを『源氏物語論』〔東京：笠間書院、昭和50年〕、618頁。）(Mekada Sakuwo, Genji Monogatari Ron [Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1975], p. 618.)

61. 「幸人の方も、貴顕の北の方、又は愛人としてその愛をうけている、というので、世人は『さいはひ人』と名づける。或は、その女が、貴顕の愛人となり孫、ひ孫と高位、ないし権力の座にある、ないしそれを予想される、という場合である。
（中略）つまり、権力、地位、富への願がなかったのであり、それを実現出来た場合は幸、人は幸人というわけである」（目加田、619頁）(Mekada, 618)。

62. As for other examples of "*saiwai-bito*," Abe points out a daughter of Tsunekuni, the governor of Musashi of Junior Fifth Upper Rank, and Tokihime, a daughter of Fujiwara Nakamasa, the governor of Settsu:

In *The Great Mirror*, concerning a daughter of Tsunekuni, who was the mother of Koremasa, Kanemichi, Kaneie, Anshi, Tōshi, it states "I wonder if that lady might have inspired the proverb, 'if one is to have a child, let it be a girl' (Matsumura, NKBT 21: 132; McCullough, The Great Mirror, 138). In addition, concerning Tokihime, who was Kaneie's wife and the mother of Michitaka, Michikane, Michinaga, Posthumous Empress Chōshi, the Imperial Lady Senshi, when she was young, when she tried her hand at evening divination at Nijō Avenue, it is said that a white-haired woman said "all your wishes will be granted, and your prosperity will be greater and longer than this avenue" (Matsumura, NKBT 21: 170; McCullough,

The Great Mirror, 138). This is a story that perhaps conveys that people were jealous of Tokihime, who climbed up from the provincial governor level and was "*saiwai-bito*." (Abe Akio, Genji Monogatari Kenkû Josetsu [Tokyo: Zaidan hôjin Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1959], pp. 919-920.)

「大鏡は、右大臣師輔の妻となり、伊尹・兼道・兼家・安子・登子の母となった武蔵守藤原経邦女盛子について、『よの人女子といふことは、この御ことにや』（大系 21 : 132）といふ。又兼家の妻となり、道隆・道兼・道長・超子・詮子の母となった摂津守藤原中正女時姫について、時姫が若い頃、二條大路に夕占問をした時、白髪の女が、『なにごとなりとも、おぼさんことかなひて、この大路よりもひろく、ながくさかへさせ給べきぞ』（170）といったと伝えているのも、受領から浮び上がった時姫は「さいはひ人」であったという羨望を交へた所伝なのであらう。」（阿部秋生『源氏物語研究序説』〔東京：財団法人東京大学出版会、1959年〕、919～920頁。）

63. Concerning the Lady Akashi in *The Tale of Genji*, Abe comments that "she is not quite Genji's wife nor [the Akashi girl's] mother, which makes her keep deploring 'her own situation' (*mi no hodo*)" 「妻にして妻にあらず、母にして母にあらざる故の『身のほど』を歎き〔続けている〕」(922). He therefore concludes that she is not happy.

64. 「通房の母となった対の君は、隆姫がやかましくいったらしく、頼通は隆姫の目を避けて、対の君の家に通ったといふ。生まれた通房は頼通の長男であったが、

二十歳の時大納言で薨じたとある。とすると、対の君は、もう随分の年になって、頼る子を失ったわけで（中略）。頼通からどんな待遇をうけてゐたのかははっきりしないが、この人の生涯も安定したものとはいへなかったであらう」（阿部、921）。

Abe also explains concerning Tokihime:

As for Tokihime, it is told that Kaneie had a lot of consorts, starting with Michitsuna's mother. According to the *Kagerô nikki*, there were occasions when he stopped visiting her. It seems that her life was not always stable. 「時姫の場合には、兼家に、通綱の母を初め何人もの女性のゐたことが傳へられてゐる。蜻蛉日記によれば、この時姫の所にも、兼家の足がとだえてしまったことがあったやうである。いつも平安な日が続いてゐたわけではないらしい。」 (Abe, 920)

65. 「あくまで世間の目がそのように【幸だと】見ているというに過ぎない。」

（山中裕 『平安朝文学の史的研究』 [東京：吉川弘文館 昭和49年] 143頁。） (Yamanaka Yutaka, *Heianchô bungaku no shiteki kenkyû* [Tokyo: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1974], p. 143.)

66. See *Kadokawa Kogo Daijiten* Vol. 2, p. 613, 652. (『角川古語大辞典』 613、652頁。)

67. See headnote no. 9 in *The Tale of the Lady Ochikubo* in *Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū* edition (Mitani), p. 292.

68. Shimauchi Keiji, Genji Monogatari no Wakei Gaku (Tokyo: Perikan sha, 1989). 島内景二『源氏物語の話型学』（東京：ペリカン社 1989年）。

69. 「如意宝とは（中略）所有する人物にありとあらゆる望みを叶えさせてくれる最高の宝物である。（中略）玉・笛・剣などありとあらゆる形態をとる。（中略）妻に幸せをもたらす夫・夫の地位の向上をもたらす妻・親に繁栄をもたらす子供・被支配者に恵みの雨を降らす統治者（国王）などの人間も、如意宝である場合がある」（島内『源氏物語の話型学』8～9）(Shimauchi, Genji Monogatari no Wakei Gaku, 8-9)。

70. 「〔桐壺帝の所有する如意宝の一つだった〕光源氏〔が〕藤壺と並び称される〈二つの玉〉の片われであることをやめ、大政治家として一人立ちしてゆく（中略）。桐壺帝に所有される二つの玉の一つだった光る源氏は、多くの如意宝〔多くの妻妾や子供〕を所有する大人物に変身したのである」（島内『源氏物語の話型学』、10頁）(Shimauchi, Genji Monogatari no Wakei Gaku, 10)。

71. 「現実的には六条院造営、象徴的には如意宝珠（夜光の玉）の獲得によって実

現されている」(島内『源氏物語の話型学』、84)(Shimauchi, Genji Monogatari no Wakei Gaku, 84)。

72. 「大きな如意宝(光源氏)の回りに小さな如意宝(多くの妻妾や子供)が呼び集められることになる。それが六条院世界である」(島内『源氏物語の話型学』、10)。

"Around the big magical treasure (which is Genji), small magical treasures (which are a lot of consorts and children) are amassed. That is the world of the Rokujô mansion" (Shimauchi, Genji Monogatari no Wakei Gaku, 10).

73. "The finest specimens in [the ladies' hand], quite incomparable, I thought, were some informal jotting by the mother of the present empress [the Rokujô Lady]. I thought that I had never seen anything so fine. I was so completely under their spell that I behaved in a manner which I fear did damage to her name" (Yanai, SNKBT 21: 161; Seidensticker, 517).

74. Genji says, "...I somehow feel that [the Rokujô Lady] is watching us from the grave and knows that I am trying to make amends by being of service to her daughter..." (Yanai, SNKBT 21: 161; Seidensticker, 517).

75. Shigematsu Nobuhiro asserts that the reason why Genji is exiled to Suma is "a political plot" 「政治的謀略」(209), implied by Kokiden's attitude to the affair between Genji and Oborozukiyo, which is in the statement: "it would seem that the time had come for her to lay

certain plans" (Yanai, SNKBT 19: 391; Seidensticker, 214). Tamagami Takuya also interprets that these "certain plans" refer to "[Kokiden's] story that [Genji] is plotting a rebellion against the emperor," 「[弘徽殿が、源氏が] 時の帝に謀反を計画していると言いふらし、左遷すること」 and that the "rebellion" is "his trying to have the crown prince ascend the throne." 「[源氏が] 今上を傾け奉り東宮の即位を計[ろうとしていること]」 so that she can exclude both Genji and the crown prince from the political power. According to Tamagami, historically people who were associated with this kind of rebellion ended up being executed or exiled. (玉上琢彌『源氏物語評釈 第二巻』東京：角川書店、昭和40年、628～9頁。) (Tamagami Takuya, Genji Monogatari Hyôshaku Vol. 2, [Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1965], pp. 628-9.) According to these opinions, Genji's being exiled to Suma province can be interpreted as Kokiden's "political plot" against Genji's controlling the political power.

76. See "*Ikyô hômon-tan* " 異郷訪問 in Fujii, Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei 藤井『王朝物語必携』.

77. Shimauchi explains illness as material (*sozai*) for novels (*monogatari*), and says that illness in the beginning of the novels, such as the "Lavender" chapter in *Genji*, means that "loss of one's health" 「健康状態の喪失」 or "the loss of perfect condition" 「完全なる状態の欠損」 (Genji Monogatari no Wakei Gaku, 244-5) (『源氏物語の話型学』224-5頁).

78. Shimauchi makes an argument about the location of the abduction of Murasaki: "Although the abduction of Murasaki is not done in the northern hills, in terms of its structure and topos, it should be done in the northern hills." 「紫の上の掠奪は北山でおこったわけではなかったけれども、構造的・話型的には北山であってもよかったと思われる。」

(Shimauchi, Genji Monogatari no Wakei Gaku, 245.) (島内『源氏物語の話型学』、

245。)

79. Shimauchi says: "The illness [in the beginning of the novel] leads the sick to try to recover his health. He loses his health which cannot be replaced (= *nyoihō*) and regains it.... His health is recovered, and he even gains new *nyoihō* as well." (Shimauchi, Genji Monogatari no Wakei Gaku, 244.) 「[物語の始発部分における〈病〉は、] 失われた健康を回復しようとする行為を導き出してくる。健康というかけがえのないもの(=如意宝)を喪失し再度獲得する…。欠損は充足され、あまつさえ新しい如意宝まで獲得されるのである」(島内『源氏物語の話型学』、224。) Therefore, Murasaki can be considered as new *nyoihō* (wish-fulfilling gem), so she can be a person who brings fortune to Genji.

80. 「藤裏葉の巻では、明石の姫君が皇太子のもとに入内する。冷泉朝には養女の秋好中宮の後見として、そして次代には明石の姫君を后として準備して、光源氏の摂関家的な権力体制が、より確固たるものとして整ったわけである。」(高橋亨『色ごのみの文学と王権』[東京：新典社、1990年]、129-130頁。)

" In the 'Wisteria Leaves' chapter, the Akashi girl enters the court as a consort to the crown prince. During the reign of Reizei, as the guardian of the adopted daughter, Akikonomu, and during the next reign, with the Akashi girl ready to become empress, Genji's more solid foundation as a powerful regent is set." (Takahashi Tôru, Irogonomi no Bungaku to Ôken [Tokyo: Shinten sha, 1990], pp.129-130.)

81. 「この姫君〔明石の姫君〕を紫の上の手もとへといふ条件は、史実の上には例を見い出しにくいものである。養女にした例はいくつかある。しかし、これらは、母親の出自が低いから、格式の高い北の方の手もとで育てるといふことではなかったやうである」（阿部、924）。

"It is hard to find a historical reason why a girl was adopted as the Akashi girl is brought to Murasaki. There are some examples of adopted daughters. However, the reason for their adoption by primary wives who were from good families does not seem to be their true mothers' low status" (Abe, 924).

82. 「これから展開する物語の性格内容を暗示する。」（重松信弘『源氏物語の構想と鑑賞』〔東京：風間書房、昭和37年〕、68頁。）（Shigematsu Nobuhiro, Genji Monogatari no Kôsô to Kanshō [Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1962], p. 68.)

83. 「（この文は）源氏の恋愛活動の性格を、最もよく表わしている。普通ありふれたような恋愛は好まず、風変りで心づくしなことを好み、時にはよくない行いもあるという。この型破りを好む性癖が、これからのさまざまな特色ある物語の展開

さす」(重松 68)。

"[These sentences] show the characteristics of Genji's romance. He does not like common romance and likes different and refined ones, so sometimes he commits unforgivable acts. This kind of unconventional nature directs the unfolding of various distinctive stories" (Shigematsu, 68).

84. 「魂の／かよふあたりに／あらずとも／むすびやせまし／したがへのつま」

(鈴木一雄 校注 新潮日本古典集成『狭衣物語 下』[東京：新潮社、昭和61年]、150頁。) (Suzuki Kazuo, ed., Sagoromo Monogatari <ge>, Shinchô Nihon Koten Shûsei Vol. 74 [Tokyo: Shinchô sha, 1986], p. 150-1.)

85. (狭衣)「まめやかには、昔より頼みきこえたるを、見も知りたまはぬこそ心憂けれ。竹の中もたづねて世にしばしかけとどめさせむなども、おぼさぬなめりかし」(Suzuki, SNKS 74:153)。

86. 「御車もたげたれば、いと軽らかにかき抱きたてまつりて乗せたてまつりたまへるを、弁など、『いと俄にこそ侍るべけれ。しばしばかやうにてもおはしましなむものを。宰相殿もいかにあやしくおぼさむ』と聞こえさすれば、『ならはぬ暁起きも苦しかるべければなり。まづただ一人ばかり、疾く乗りたまへ』といそがしたまへば、いとど心あわたしき心地して、留まる人々によろづは言ひおきて、ひきつくろひて参りぬ」(Suzuki, SNKS 74: 278)。

87. 「物語は母君逝去後、狭衣が妹君を連れ出す行程を描くが、それを『源氏物語』若紫巻の紫君略奪の展開を踏襲して構築し（後略）。」（久下 裕利『狭衣物語の人物と方法』〔東京：新典社、平成4年〕、81頁。）(Kuge Hirotoishi, Sagoromo Monogatari no Jinbutsu to Hôhō [Tokyo: Shinten sha, 1992], p. 81)

88. The Shin-taiei edition of *The Tale of Genji* footnotes this sentence: "Here, Genji is entrusted Murasaki's future by the nun as her last testament." 「源氏はここで尼君から遺言として紫上の将来を託されたことになる。」(Yanai Shigeshi, et al. eds., Genji Monogatari Vol. 1, Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taiei 19 [Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1993], p. 180.) (柳井滋 他 校注 『新日本古典文学大系 19 源氏物語 1』〔東京：岩波書店、1993年〕、180頁。)

89. The Shin-taiei edition of *The Tale of Genji* footnotes this poem: "This poem implies that [the wet nurse] asks Genji to take [Murasaki] as his wife in the future" 「女君をのちに妻とするように暗に要請する歌になっていよう。」(Yanai, SNKBT 19: 184).

90. 「つゆばかり見譲るかたなき人のうしろめたさに、ゆきもやられはべらぬを、かかる十市の里も尋ねさせたまひぬべかりけりと、見置きはべりぬるこそ頼もしく」(Suzuki, SNKS 74: 249)。

91. 「いつしかかやうにて見たてまつらばや（後略）」 (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 256)。

92. See Kuge (pp. 195-201) for the further information.

93. 「これに似たまひて、いま少しきびはに若からむ姫君の御有様は、我が思ふことのかなふべきにや」 (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 219)。

94. (堀川院) 「この御事の後よりこそ、あさましくおぼし浮かれたりし御気色も少しなほり、かくありがたき御位にも定まりたまへるに、いとどおろかならざりける御宿世の程をさへ見つべきこと」 (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 326)。

95. 「飛鳥井の姫君の出現は一品宮との接近を促したのだから、飛鳥井母子の位相は狭衣の帝位と深く結びつくのである。いわば巻一での飛鳥井君の存在は、狭衣の現実的な恋愛交渉の側面を担いつつ、帝位への露払い的な先導役であったといえよう。」 (久下 13) (Kuge, 13)。

96. 「一品宮降嫁も源氏宮と女二宮それぞれの結婚が破綻してしまったところに設けられた父堀川殿としては幸いな事態であった。これを物語の構造上に定位してみると、（中略）一条院皇統を象徴する一品宮を狭衣の内部に取り込むことができ、それは巻四での狭衣の帝位への道が拓ける一つの大きな要素であったということができるわけである」 (久下 13) (Kuge, 13)。

97. 「二世の源氏である狭衣への譲位は後一条帝の養子となって実現」 (久下 117)。

"Handing over the throne to Sagoromo, who is a second generation descendant of Minamoto clan, is realized, because he becomes Go-Ichijō-In's adopted son" (Kuge, 117).

98. 「かからざらましかば、いかでかは見まし」 (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 106)。

99. 「…確かにこの契りは、狭衣の即位を保証した女二宮の懐妊を招来するために設定された…」 (久下 119)。

"Certainly, Sagoromo having sexual relations with Ni-no-Miya plays a role in causing her pregnancy, which guarantees Sagoromo's accession" (Kuge, 119).

100. 「大將は、顔かたち、身の才よりはじめ、この世には過ぎて、ただ人にてある、かたじけなき宿世、有様なめるを、公の知りたまはであれば、世は悪しきなり。若宮は、その次々にて、行末こそ知りたまはめ。親をただ人にて、帝に居たまはむことは、あるまじきことなり」 (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 311)。

101. 「身のしろも／我脱ぎきせむ／返しつと／思ひなわびそ／天の羽衣」 (Suzuki, SNKS 68: 38)

102. 「…なべてのさまにはあらず、ただいとをかしき人さまにぞありける」 (Suzuki,

SNKS 68: 64)。

103. 「…ただいとなつかしうをかしきさまのもてなしなど、あやしきまでらうたげなり」 (Suzuki, SNKS 68: 65)。

104. Kuge quotes Hirai Yoshiko: "The Horikawas' usurping the throne is perhaps one of the hidden theme...." 「平井仁子氏は、『堀川家が帝位を奪回することが【狭衣物語】の裏のひとつのテーマではないか」 (Kuge cites Hirai Yoshiko "'Sagoromo Monogatari' Shiron," Monogatari Kenkyû (May S. 55 [1980]) in Sagoromo Monogatari no Jinbutsu to Hôhō, p. 70.) (「『狭衣物語』試論」『物語研究』[昭和55年五月]を久下氏が『狭衣物語の人物と方法』に引用。70頁。)

105. 「『前世の罪』に因を発して臣籍に下るという果を見、因果律を一部全うした堀川殿であるが、その臣籍降下という果が再び狭衣を得る因縁となり、それが善果を導いた。(中略) この物語は男主人公狭衣の物語として定位しているにも拘らず、父堀川殿の物語もその裏で同時進行しており、物語の始発に提示された父の『罪』を子と贖罪するという、表裏の関係にあるのである。」 (井上真弓「『狭衣物語』の構造私論—親子の物語より—」『日本文学』31—10、昭和57年10月、57頁。) (Inoue Mayumi, "'Sagoromo Monogatari' no Kôzô Shiron -Oyako no Monogatari yori-," Nihon Bungaku 31-10, October 1982, p. 57.)

106. 「人々に『天人の天降り給へる』（三谷、日本古典文学大系70、47頁）といわれる資質を持ち、天稚御子降下という奇瑞をもたらした狭衣は、天界から来た者（後略）」(Inoue, 57)。

107. 「狭衣の誕生そのものには、父同様『前世の罪』が濃厚に漂う。月界から罪を負って地上へ降誕したかぐや姫を想い起こすまでもなく、この世に孤児として『墮とされることが罪のつぐないである』話型が、ここにも見出せよう」(Inoue, 57)。

108. 「天へ帰ってゆくべき超俗的属性」を担っている狭衣は、「神の申し子として堀川殿の子に生まれ落ちた」(Inoue, 57)。

109. The protagonist is not given a personal name and is called by her titles, but I call her Ariake following Robert Khan's translation. See Ariake no Wakare: Genre, Gender, and Genealogy in a Late 12th Century Monogatari, (Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, The University of British Columbia, 1998, p. 208.)

110. 「家を絶やさぬ使命を担った姫は、そうした[貴顕の]女たちの中から兄一つまり姫自身にふさわしい配偶者を見付けなくてはならない。それも血筋のよい胤を宿した孕み女でなくてはならない。女の腹から後嗣となるべき男子出生の暁には、父大臣は不要となった兄を抹殺し、姫は晴れて女性として帝の胸に身を投げかけるこ

とができる。」（大槻修『在明の別の研究』〔東京：桜楓社、昭和44年〕、
序。）（Ôtsuki Osamu, introduction to Ariake no Wakare no Kenkyû [Tokyo: Ôfûsha, 1969],
n. pag.)

111. After Tai-no-Ue's mother discovers what happened to her husband and daughter, she
regretfully says, "My daughter has not even made her debut at court yet. How wretched it is
to be a step-child!" (Ôtsuki, ZNKS 94; Khan, 247). It is Sadaishô who does not allow his
step-daughter to enter court (Ôtsuki, ZNKS 102; Khan, 252).

112. See "*Seikon /Kyûkon*" 聖婚（求婚）in Fujii, Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei 藤井『王朝物
語必携』, pp. 101-2.

113. For Ôkuni-nushi, see "*Ikyôhomon*" (90): for Genji, see "*Yama ni Noboru, Yama kara
Oriru*" (115) in Fujii, Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei.

114. 「〔前引用のように〕紹介される主人公（女大将）は、まさに「神の啓示」に
よって生まれた運命の子であった。」（大槻修『中世王朝物語の研究』〔東京：世
界思想社、1993年〕、103頁。）（Ôtsuki Osamu, Chûsei Ôchô Monogatari no
Kenkyû [Tokyo: Sekai shisô sha, 1993], p. 103.)

115. "... anyone watching might have wondered whether he was indeed a heavenly maiden
who had descended" (Khan, 242). 「あまくだれらん乙女のすがたもかばかりにや」

(大槻修『有明の別れ—ある男装の姫君の物語—』全対訳 日本古典新書 [東京：創英社、1979年] 84頁。) (Ôtsuki Osamu, Ariake no Wakare : Aru Dansô no Himegimi no Monogatari, Zen Taiyaku Nihon Koten Shinsho [Tokyo: Sôei sha, 1979], p. 84.)

116. Ôtsuki notes concerning the phrase "[she was] quite unlike that of an ordinary person of the world": "Even the common people have wondered at [Ariake] as an unusual person; the Former Emperor now finds out that the exchange of poems with the seven heavenly maidens and their fragrance wafting on the breezes are similar to [Ariake's]. Finally, [he] understands her former life. [This sentence] gives body and substance like Kaguya hime [to the context]. In fact, [Ariake] was born to a child of Sadaijin's family by the god's decision" (ZNKS 442).

「一般にも普通ならざる右大将として、ふしぎがられてきたが、今天女七人との歌のやりとり、風にまがう天女の持つ匂いが、女院のそれと通うものをもっていることを院は知った。初めて女院の前身が解けた。いわゆる「かぐや姫」的な肉付け。そういえば、女院はもともと神の命によって、時の左大臣（今の太政大臣）北の方の腹に宿ったのであった」（大槻、『全対訳日本古典新書』442）。

117. Robert Khan makes a similar argument in his dissertation. See p. 160.

118. "It is narrative types that are the substance to preserve the mythological and originating nature." 「話型こそはその神話性あるいは始源性を保証する実質である」(Fujii Sadakazu & Inomata Tokiwa, "*Shinwa sei, Shigen sei*," Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei, p. 61.)

(藤井貞和・猪股ときわ「神話性・始源性」『王朝物語必携』61頁。)

119. 「物語文学の性質には、伝承性と現実性という相反する二面がある。伝承性は古伝承以来の語りの伝統に立つ古いものであり、超自然非現実的事象を伴う。現実性は平安時代の現代を写す新しいものであり、人と心を写實的に描く。神話や伝説の血筋を承ける物語文学は、物語であるかぎり伝承性を消去することができないし、平安時代の貴族社会に誕生した新ジャンルとして社会の現実を写すのは当然の使命であり責任なのである。(中略) 伝承性優位から現実性重視へ。この趨勢を決定的にしたのは、もとより『源氏物語』である。『源氏物語』でも、その基底には伝承性の根が深く、その血筋はけっして薄れていない。(中略) 物語における現実性優位は[『源氏物語』の中に]はっきりと見定められている。(中略) 十一世紀圏内の物語文学は、ひとしく現実性が優勢である。『狭衣物語』をはじめ、いずれも『源氏物語』の写實的現実的傾向を承けている。」(鈴木一雄 「解説」『狭衣物語 上』新潮日本古典集成 第68回 昭和60年 273-4頁。)

"Literature has two contradictory aspects, that is its folkloric characteristics (*denshō sei*) and its realistic characteristics (*genjitsu sei*). The folkloric characteristics stand by an oral tradition, are old, and include supernatural and unrealistic matters. The realistic characteristics reflect the contemporary Heian period, are new, and describe people and their feelings realistically. Since tales include mythology and legends, it is impossible for tales to erase their folkloric characteristics, but it is also a necessary task and responsibility for the tales, as a new genre born in the aristocratic society in Heian period, to reflect real society.... The realistic

characteristics became superior to the folkloric characteristics [in Heian period]. It is *The Tale of Genji* that made this change definite. However, even the *Genji*, at its base, still has the folkloric characteristics, and [they] never fade out [from the tale].... It is clearly seen [in the *Genji*] that the tales put superiority on the realistic characteristics.... The tales in 11th century put the emphasis on the realistic characteristics as well. Starting with *The Tale of Sagoromo*, every tale is influenced by the tendency toward the graphic and realistic characteristics seen in the *Genji*." (Suzuki Kazuo, "Kaisetsu," *Sagoromo Monogatari* <jô>, SNKS Vol. 68 [Tokyo: Shinchô sha, 1985], pp. 273-4.)

120. 「（前略）昔話・伝説・歌語り等の口承文芸のみに話型は現象するわけではないのである。（中略）物語文学・説話文学・小説等々の書かれた作品においても
「話型」は現象する（後略）。」（三谷邦明『物語文学の方法 I』〔東京：有精堂出版、1989年〕、307頁。）

"... there is no ground for saying that the tropes appear only in the oral tradition, such as folktale, legends, and songs.... in written works, such as tales, stories, and novels, [tropes] also appear..." (Mitani Kuniaki, *Monogatari Bungaku no Hôhō* vol. 1 [Tokyo: Yûseidô shuppan, 1989], p. 309).

121. The man is single, which symbolizes his incompleteness. (Shimauchi Keiji, "*Seikon (Kyûkon)*," *Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei*, p. 102.) 「男性が独身者であるのはおのれの未熟さの象徴」（島内景二「聖婚（求婚）」『王朝物語必携』102頁。）

122. People find the best spouse and marry, which is the moment when they completely form their characters. (Shimauchi "*Seikon (Kyûkon)*," Ôchô Monogatari Hikkei, pp. 101-2.) 「人間にとって最高の配偶者と巡り合い結ばれるのが人格の完成した瞬間」(島内景二「聖婚(求婚)」『王朝物語必携』101—2頁。)

123. 「あくがるる／わが魂も／かへりなむ／思ふあたりに／結びとどめば」

"My wondering soul/ must return/ to my body/ if my beloved/ binds it to me" (Suzuki, SNKS 74: 150).

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