

論文の内容の要旨

論文題目 直衣参内の研究——日本王朝社会の権力と服装

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In contemporary scholarship, *nōshi* (直衣), a type of male attire worn at the Japanese court from the tenth century, is usually explained as a form of dress used outside the court by upper-class aristocrats and at the court by a limited number of the highest-ranking courtiers (*kugyō* 公卿), who received imperial sanction to do so as a special privilege. This explanation, however, is at odds with historical documents that show, for example, ministers criticized for wearing *nōshi* at the court or lower-ranking courtiers routinely wearing *nōshi* there. Further, although not officially defined as court dress in the legal codes, over time *nōshi* became established as a de facto form of court attire. This development and the sanctioning of *nōshi* paralleled changes in court structure. Clarification of these connections should enlarge our understanding of the court's evolution as well as the history of Japanese clothing. Nevertheless the topic remains largely uninvestigated. This thesis examines pertinent historical sources from the ninth to the early thirteenth centuries, including courtiers' diaries, manuals, and literary works, and proposes the following new hypotheses as a challenge to the commonly held view of *nōshi*.

(1) At the court, *nōshi* was primarily an attire worn for night service, and a sanction to permit courtiers to wear it during the day did not exist prior to or during the eleventh century, the heyday of court domination by regents (*sekkō* 摂関) and the period associated with literary works such as *The Tale of Genji* and *The Pillow*

Book. At this time, courtiers were customarily allowed to wear *nōshi* in the official areas of the palace during the night. They could continue to wear *nōshi* during the day so long as they remained in the palace chambers allocated for their personal use or in the quarters of the imperial consorts closely related to them. Yet as the powerful politician Fujiwara no Kaneie (藤原兼家) and his sons Michitaka (道隆) and Michinaga (道長) came to dominate the court, they began to wear *nōshi* in the public space of the palace during the day as well, and this practice became a symbol of their prestigious status as maternal relatives of the emperor. Michinaga, whose descendants monopolized the position of regent and came to be recognized as the Sekkan house (摂関家), was the key figure who strategically established the practice of wearing *nōshi* while remaining at the emperor's side. Although wearing *nōshi* at the court during the day was often criticized as inappropriate, more and more *kugyō* began to appear in *nōshi* to display their power and status (Chs. 3 and 4).

(2) Researchers have confused two different types of sanction related to *nōshi*, namely, *zappō chokkyō* (雑袍勅許) and *nōshi chokkyō* (直衣勅許). *Zappō chokkyō*, which existed from the ninth century, permitted most *tenjō-bito* (殿上人), lower-ranking courtiers allowed to enter the privy chamber as privy gentlemen, to wear *zappō* (robes other than official attire) when necessary. The members of the Imperial Guard (*konoe* 近衛) and police (*kebiishi* 檢非違使) were also permanently and collectively permitted to wear *zappō*. Such permission included wearing *nōshi* while on night duty and wearing black robes when the court was in mourning (Chs. 2, 3, and 5).

(3) *Nōshi chokkyō*, which permitted specific *kugyō* to attend the court in *nōshi*, is a phenomenon seen from the twelfth century. The retired emperor Shirakawa-in (白河院), who established rule by abdicated emperors (*insei* 院政), initially used it as a way to shore up the position of the Sekkan house, which had experienced a period of decline, and then as a means to raise the status of other powerful families, especially the Kan'in house (閑院家), the natal family of successive imperial mothers including Shirakawa-in's. In the latter half of the century, the Heike lineage (平家), who dominated the court by military power and through Heike women giving birth to future emperors, used this relatively new sanction to enhance their status and control of the court. As a consequence, *nōshi chokkyō* became an institution exemplifying the privileged status of *kugyō* from a few distinguished families (branches of the Sekkan and Seiga 清華家 houses) and of other *kugyō* from lesser families but in close relationship with an emperor, such as his maternal relatives, the family that nursed him, his tutors, and his teachers of various arts. The fact that *kugyō* of lesser ranks and from lesser families were granted the sanction is a crucial aspect of *nōshi chokkyō* that reflects the transformation of the political system of the time and the consequent reorganization of courtiers based on actual closeness to the emperors (Ch. 5).

(4) *Zappō chokkyō* and *nōshi chokkyō* continued to evolve in later periods. *Zappō chokkyō* began to lose

its importance from the twelfth century as the enlarged system of *tenjō-bito* came to be more a means to indicate courtiers' hereditary status than to select those who actually directly served the emperor. From the mid-thirteenth century, *nōshi chokkyo*, too, declined in importance and became little more than a ritual in which a *kugyō* applied for and was granted the sanction at a point considered to be appropriate to his hereditary background. By the Edo period, most *kugyō* were allowed to attend the court in *nōshi* through the grant of *nōshi chokkyo*, while the heirs of the Sekkan and Seiga houses were permitted to do so from their debut as *tenjō-bito* by being granted *kinjiki zappō chokkyo*, a combination of *zappō chokkyo* and *kinjiki chokkyo* (禁色勅許), a type of sanction that permitted the use of textiles normally allowed only to *kugyō*, such as patterned silk. Based on the standing permission allowing them to wear *zappō*, major generals of the Imperial Guard (*konoē chūjō* and *shōshō* 近衛中将・少将) could wear *nōshi* made of plain silk (Chs. 2 and 5).

(5) A ceremony called *nōshi-hajime* (直衣始), literally “*nōshi* commencement,” has been explained by researchers as a courtier's ceremonial attendance at the court to express his gratitude to the emperor upon being granted *nōshi chokkyo*. In fact, however, it was a ceremony marking not the granting of *nōshi chokkyo*, but the first occasion following a promotion when a courtier wore *nōshi* outside his residence, and it did not necessarily include a visit to the court or the expression of gratitude. *Nōshi-hajime* began to appear in the latter half of the eleventh century as a procession whereby generals of the Imperial Guard (*konoē taishō* 近衛大将) or regents displayed their power. Although there were cases in which such a procession called at the palace, this was not an indispensable aspect, at least in the early period. More crucial was the visit to the residence of the regent (or the retired regent who was the new regent's father) and, later in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when abdicated emperors ruled, calling at their residence. By the twelfth century, *nōshi-hajime* came to be widely celebrated. For instance, heirs of the Sekkan house celebrated *nōshi-hajime* after their court debut and almost every time they were promoted to higher position. Following the establishment of the Kamakura bakufu, the shogun also celebrated *nōshi-hajime*, utilizing it as an important occasion to exhibit his status as a ruler (Ch. 6).

Overall, this thesis reveals the deep connection between *nōshi* and the historical development of the Japanese court. *Nōshi* first appeared at the court as a less formal garb worn by the emperor and as courtier attire for night service. This was a result of the transformation of the political system from the late ninth to the early tenth centuries in which all aspects of the emperor's life became public and a new principle for organizing courtiers was introduced. Under this principle, what was important was not only official rank but also whether a courtier was allowed to enter the privy chamber and directly serve the emperor (Chs. 1, 2, and 3). The use of *nōshi* as a means to represent the privileges of the regent and his sons reflected the establishment of their dominance of the court, while the later development of a clear sanction to attend the court in *nōshi* accompanied

efforts to revive the power of the Sekkan house or to enhance the status of other families as a counter to it as well as the reorganization of the court based on closeness to the emperor. Attending the court in *nōshi* or the ceremony of *nōshi-hajime* were effective tools for the courtiers of the time to display their power. This history suggests that clothing and its regulation played an important role in political struggles (Chs. 4, 5, and 6).

While clarifying these points, this thesis also reveals the significance of night service as a duty of *tenjō-bito* from the tenth to eleventh centuries and the change of customs related to night service that affected the habit of wearing *nōshi* at the court. The official mealtimes of the emperor twice a day were signals for the courtiers to change back and forth from official dress and the dress for night service called *tonoi-ginu* (宿衣). The latter included a style consisting of an official jacket and casual trousers, which came to be called *ikan* (衣冠) in the late eleventh century, and *nōshi*, which consisted of an unofficial jacket (*nōshi*) and the same type of casual trousers. Yet as the customs surrounding imperial dining changed and the official imperial meal came to be no more than a ritual conducted once a day or not at all, courtiers were able to wear *ikan* or *nōshi* except while the meal, if any, was served or when official ministerial meetings or special ceremonies were held. The significance of night service itself also declined with the change in character of the *tenjō-bito* system. Only a few courtiers served at night on a regular basis, and consequently the roll call of *tenjō-bito* on night duty, which once had been a daily custom, became a ceremony held on special occasions (Ch. 3).

Another finding of the thesis is the importance of two occasions during the annual *gosechi* (五節) ceremony that served to display positions of power and status among *kugyō*. One occasion was escorting the emperor or regent to observe the rehearsal of the *gosechi* dancers (*chōdai no kokoromi* 帳台試); the other was attendance at the imperial inspection of girls and female servants accompanying the dancers (*warawa goran* 童女御覽). In the early eleventh century, Fujiwara no Michinaga and his descendants, who dominated the court as maternal relatives of the emperor, also monopolized the prerogative of attendance at these events. Yet from the latter half of the century, with the failure of the Sekkan house to produce an imperial mother and the increase in *kugyō* families who could claim a close relationship with the emperor, the number of attendees at the two events likewise expanded. This led to efforts to reduce the number, especially when regents observed the rehearsal in place of an emperor not yet of age. Other confusion or irregularities in the conduct of these events similarly reflected the political turbulence of the time (Ch. 5).

The thesis additionally traces how today's common understanding of *nōshi* took shape and emphasizes the need for close investigation of historical evidence of actual usage to reach a better understanding of the court system of attire and its social implications. Inspired by fashion studies, it also underlines the importance of recognizing the fluidity of norms and the diversity of people's attitudes towards clothing and norms.