

The Borders of *Shinden-zukuri*: “Inside” and “Outside” as Staged by *Uchi'ide*

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Introduction

Shinden-zukuri 寝殿造 refers to a form of residential architecture popular in Japan from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries. *Shinden-zukuri* spaces served as important venues for the performance of noble culture, which centered heavily on the emperor. In modern Japan, the term *shinden-zukuri* conjures images of pictures in history textbooks, miniatures in museums, and movies, paintings, or manga which take up topics such as the famous Heian period text *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (*The Tale of Genji*) as their subject matter.

An element of Japanese traditional culture which emerged in the Heian period, *shinden-zukuri* estates are considered emblematic of the ostentatious Heian noble life. The *shinden* 寝殿 (“dwelling hall”) served as the main building, with *tai* 対 (wings or subsidiary living quarters) flanking it on the left and right, creating an open-style palace bounded on the outside with greenery and man-made streams. The *tsuridono* 釣殿 (“fishing pavilion”), *izumidono* 泉殿, a building built over the source of the garden pond or stream, and *tsukiyama* 築山, a miniature artificial mountain constructed of sand or stone, served as the stage for imperial court ceremony.

As important cultural arenas in the classical and medieval periods, how did *shinden-zukuri* spaces treat the subjects of class and gender? In this paper, I will draw upon preceding research to contemplate anew the question of gender through the lens of *uchi'ide* 打出, a form of female garment display which took place within *shinden-zukuri* spaces.

1. The Spatial Transformations of the Dairi

When considering Japanese traditional architecture as a whole, it is possible to draw a broad dichotomy between Chinese-inspired designs and native Japanese

designs. For example, in the early Heian period, public institutions were built according to Chinese models while private facilities followed native models. Chinese-style buildings boasted tiled roofs, earthen floors or elevated stone foundations, and red-lacquered exteriors. On the other hand, native Japanese buildings were characterized by cypress bark thatched roofs, raised floors, and plain, unpainted materials.

The creation of *shindenzukuri* spaces was heavily influenced by the Dairi 内裏 (“Inner Palace”), the imperial family’s official residence where both imperial daily life and affairs of state took place. In the Nara Period, the imperial residence was at Heijō Palace 平城宮. The Chōdō 朝堂 compound, where daily political matters were handled, was surrounded by corridors lined by roofed mud walls, while both the Daigokuden 大極殿 hall, a space used for national governmental affairs, as well as the emperor’s personal living quarters lay amidst corridors within the Chōdō.

When the imperial residence moved to Heian Palace, the Chōdō and Daigokuden were similarly constructed, but the emperor began conducting affairs of state within the Dairi itself. In the first half of the Heian period, the Shishinden 紫宸殿 hall served as the location for daily political matters, while the Jijūden 仁寿殿 hall served as the emperor’s private quarters. By the middle of the Heian period, however, the Seiryōden 清涼殿 hall came to serve as both the imperial private quarters and the location for governmental affairs.

From the tenth century on, as a political system of those with personal ties to the emperor—chancellors and regents, chamberlains, and courtiers (*tenjobito* 殿上人—nobles granted the privilege of appearing before the emperor)—evolved, the *shōden* 昇殿 (court entrance) system developed. In the late Heian period, under the *shōden* system, only nobles (*kugyō* 公卿) and courtiers were granted access to the imperial court, with the system changing as power passed from one emperor to the next. Under the direction of the head chamberlain, courtiers served regularly within both the privy chamber (*tenjō no ma* 殿上の間) and the Seiryōden, performing tasks on rotation such as night duty and waiting on the emperor at mealtimes. From the time of the Uda 宇多 (867–931) imperial court (887–897) onward, as part of an overhaul and expansion of the *shōden* system, the privy chamber came to function as a public entity. The nobles’ service to the emperor changed environments from senior noble meetings held at the guard-post (*jinnoszu* 陣座) to the privy chamber itself. Similarly, from the mid Heian period onward, large scale ceremonies and rituals which took place within the Chōdō or its courtyard grew fewer as increasingly such matters were handled within the courtyards and interior spaces.

2. The Space and Borders of *Shindenzukuri*

Shindenzukuri spaces were divided into inner and outer bounded territories, comprised respectively of a main building made up of the *moya* 母屋 (core room)

surrounded by the *bisashi* 庇 (roofed aisles running alongside the *moya*) and the *sunoko* 簀子 (open verandas). Traditional Japanese residences had a “chamber and hall” composition, which juxtaposed open and closed spaces. This “chamber and hall” composition is exemplified by, for example, the façade of the main hall used during the *Daijōsai* 大嘗祭 (“Great Thanksgiving”) festival, in which for the first time the newly enthroned emperor offered to the deities, and himself partook of, new grains, the main building of the Sumiyoshi-taisha Shrine 住吉大社, and predecessor buildings to the Denpōdō 伝法堂 (“Dharma Transmission” Hall) of Hōryūji Temple 法隆寺, originally a Nara period residence.

In *shinden-zukuri*, closed spaces (*nurigome* 塗籠—inner rooms with plaster walls) existed within open spaces, and the central space was composed of the *moya* and the surrounding *bisashi* and *magobisashi* 孫庇 (lower auxiliary, literally “grandchild,” eaves). Fundamentally there were no definitive divisions, rather primarily open spaces. Round columns formed supports; floors were wooden; and *tatami* mats were used in sleeping and sitting areas. One large space was divided by portable curtain stands (*keichō* 几帳), folding screens (*byōbu* 屏風), and sliding paper doors (*shōji* 障子) to create living areas. Furthermore, outside fixtures were suspended from and lifted on black-lacquered lattice-shutters (*keōshi* 格子), which were replaced with horizontal sliding style fixtures from the late medieval period onward. Because of this transition, black-lacquered lattice-shutters came to be emblematic of classical and medieval nobility in art produced during the early modern period.

2-1 The Double Structure of Gates and Inner Corridors—the Boundaries of Entering the Court

Shinden-zukuri estates had a gate in the outer wall (facing east or west) on the inside of which a *chūmonrō* 中門廊 (middle gate corridor) connected through a door to the southern courtyard. Thus, to enter the southern courtyard, one had to pass through the double boundary of the gate and the *chūmonrō*. According to Kawamoto Shigeo, this practice originated from courtyard-style residences built in the style of the Chinese Sanheyuan, which appeared among powerful families of the Kofun 古墳 (Tumulus) period who bounded off their residential land with walls. Entrance through the main gate and then through the door of the *chūmonrō* into the southern courtyard was limited to a select few. Several court entrance procedures existed for the occasion of, for example, an imperial or aristocratic visit to a given residence. The person of the highest social standing would pass through the inner gate riding in a palanquin and thus enter into either the *shinden* or *tai*. Next, once through the inner gate, he would traverse the inside of the estate by way of the *chūmonrō* and finally enter through the door of the *chūmonrō*. On the other hand, a person of low social standing was not able to enter the door of the *chūmonrō*, but would instead traverse the *sunoko* running alongside the *chūmonrō* and finally enter the attendants’ corridor (*saburai-rō* 侍廊).

When musical performances were held, the attending musicians were similarly not allowed to enter the buildings of the imperial estate, but were instead relegated to the Imperial Court Music Hall (*gakusho* 楽所), a special carvel-built music chamber which sat in the courtyard near the *tsukiyama*. For the performance itself, musicians sat atop moss around the stairs of the building, while nobles and courtiers sat on the perimeter of the stairs near the courtyard or on the *sunoko*. Following this pattern, *shindenzukuri* spaces existed as highly prescribed domains where ingress was only possible depending upon social status.

2-2 *Shinden* and *Tai*: *Moya*, *Hisashi*, and *Magobisashi*—the Boundaries of the Inner Spaces

From public ceremonies such as New Year's banquets, the arrival of special guests, or the selection of an empress, to private occasions held by the regental family, such as *uta-awase* 歌合 (poetry competitions), a variety of events were held in *shindenzukuri* spaces. According to Kawamoto, during a New Year's banquet, nobles were seated in the *moya*, the head of the household sat in the southern *hisashi*, and council secretaries (*geki* 外記) and court historians (*shi* 史) sat in descending order according to rank in the *watadono* 渡殿 (an open or closed bridge-way connecting buildings). As evidenced within *shindenzukuri* spaces, the venue for a ceremony was arranged based upon both the characteristics endemic to that ceremony as well as the relative social standings of the participants. Over the course of the period of cloistered sovereigns (a roughly 130 year period stretching from the end of the Heian period through the beginning of the Kamakura period, c. 12th century), ceremonial venues gradually shifted from the *shinden* to the *tai*.

In everyday life, the *hisashi* as well as the *moya* and *nurigome* of the *shinden* served as the living space of the head of the household. Often the southern face of the *shinden* served as a space for ceremony, while the northern face was used for daily life; ladies-in-waiting were stationed in the *daibandokoro-rō* 台盤所廊 (“table room”).

The section of the Kempo 建保 7 (1219) text *Tamakibaru* たまきはる (*The Diary of Kenshunmon'in Chūnagon nikki* 建春門院中納言日記) entitled “Nichijō no gosho” 日常の御所 (“The Everyday Imperial Residence”) describes the *hisashi* as the nobles' place, while the space hidden behind veils was closed to all but some ladies-in-waiting of particularly high rank. When waiting upon the nobles of the household, the ladies-in-waiting would slightly raise the bamboo blinds (*misu* 御簾) within the veranda or *hirobisashi* 広廂 (“wide aisles”) and serve with only part of their bodies visible.

2-3 *Nurigome* and *Michō*: Boundaries of the Non-Routine

In the center of the *moya* lay the *nurigome*, a room with white plaster walls. In the Seiryōden, for example, this room was referred to as the *yoru-no-otodo* or *yon-no-otodo* 夜御殿 (“night hall”). The *nurigome* was a sacred space used for purification, weddings, and the enshrinement of the dead.

A sleeping platform known as the *michō* 御帳, a bed surrounded by curtains and raised on posts above a foundational *hamayuka* 浜床 (curtain-dais), sat within the *nurigome* as an installation used for the staging of non-routine or extraordinary spaces. The *michō* was used in ceremonies which occurred outside of daily life such as *watamashi* 移徙 (a term referring both to the move of a nobleman's house and the movement of a portable shrine), birth, marriage, and the death of an emperor. For *watamashi*, for example, a yin yang master (*onmyōji* 陰陽師) would be consulted in order to choose an auspicious time and date for the curtained sleeping platform to be set up in the *shinden*, and paper amulets would be affixed to the posts as wards against evil.

Furthermore, again during *watamashi*, the *michō* set up in the *moya* would be ritually slept upon for three days. During childbirth, the *moya* and *hisashi* on the northern side of the *shinden* was prescribed as the “birthing place;” the customary sleeping platform, the white platform, was moved to the birthing place, and after childbirth, the mother and child used the white sleeping platform. On the occasion of a wedding, the *michō* was placed in the *nurigome*; the bridegroom would enter from the “purified” side (*haremen* 〆〵面), while the bride would enter from the northern side, and they would together partake of four different types of *mochi* 餅 (sweet rice cakes) provided by the bride's family. Finally, on the occasion of a funeral, the lattice-shutters were lowered all day. The body was preferably kept inside the *michō*, but in the event that it was instead placed outside, a folding screen was erected to cultivate the feeling of a room within the space. Thus, in marriage, birth, and death, borders were created through the use of space demarcated by walls and cloth.

3. Women's Boundaries in *Shindenzukuri*

3-1 Public Ceremony

As evidenced above, within *shindenzukuri* spaces boundaries were both created for extraordinary events and based upon social class. However, were similar boundaries created by the spaces in which men and women were separately relegated? Kawamoto asserts that during rituals held in *shindenzukuri* spaces, women's spaces were not fundamentally established, and that this was due largely to the influence of Tang dynasty mores. Within the palace which served as the emperor's living space, women played important roles in ceremonies and rituals. For example, during the *Nai-en* 内宴, a private palace banquet held 20 days after New Years in the *Jijūden* of the *Dairi*, banquet seating for women specifically was set up. However, nearly 120 years later, when the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa'in 後白河院 revived the *Nai-en* in the 12th century, no women were allowed to participate in the feast. Kawamoto lays this at the feet of both the general decline of the station of lady-in-waiting in terms of social currency as well as simultaneous influence from Tang China.

3-2-1 Private Leisure: Poetry Contest Seating

Women's positions were firmly established in spaces of private leisure. Let us consider the cockfighting scene presented in *Nenjū gyōji emaki* 年中行事絵巻 (*The Picture Scroll of Annual Functions*) which portrays a cockfighting event held in the southern courtyard of a *shindenzyukuri* estate (**Figure 1**).

On the right (east) stands a gate and through that the *chūmonrō*; attendees too low in status to be allowed to enter the southern courtyard watch the fight from there.

Male aristocrats sit on the eastern side of the *shinden*, while the women sit on the western side, watching from between the gaps in the portable curtain stands set behind the bamboo blinds. Moreover, on the western side of the *sukivatadono* 透渡殿 (a type of *watadono*), more fan-wielding female figures appear, their seating pattern reflecting the hierarchical social strata within the group.

3-2-2 The Ladies-in-waiting of Poetry Contests

When considering contemporary leisurely pursuits accessible to women, *uta-awase* (Japanese poetry competitions) must be mentioned, the counterpart of the nobleman-hosted *shi-awase* 詩合 (Chinese poetry competitions). When ladies-in-waiting serving in the imperial court or a noble household participated in an *uta-awase*, there was much consideration given to their seating arrangement behind the bamboo blinds, where they sat in order to remain hidden from sight from the participating male aristocrats. During the Teijino'in *uta-awase* 亭子院歌合 held in Engi 延喜 13 (903), the poem presenter of the left side was a lady-in-waiting who presented from her place behind the bamboo blinds, which were raised only 1 *shaku* 尺 5 *sun* 寸 (approximately 45 centimeters). **Figure 2** shows the seating arrangements during the palace *uta-awase* of Tentoku 天徳 4 (960).

The Seiryōden acted as venue for this *uta-awase*, and the bamboo blinds were lowered throughout the western *hisashi's oni-no-ma* 鬼間 (“demon room”), *daibandokoro*, and the *asagarei-no-ma* 朝餉間 (dining room), a space measuring seven *ken* 間 (one *ken* being approximately two meters). As seen in figure 2, the left-side ladies-in-waiting sit in the two *ken* of the *daibandokoro* and the *oni-no-ma*, while the right-side ladies-in-waiting sit in the two *ken* of the *asagarei-no-ma*; a chair from the *daibandokoro* is placed in a central location for Emperor Murakami 村上天皇. Three green bordered mats are laid out from the Seiryōden to the *watadono* connecting the Seiryōden and the Kōrōden 後涼殿, (Imperial Kitchens), which served as seating for the nobles, and long *tatami* mats cover the eastern *sunoko* of the Kōrōden for courtiers' seating. Finally attending musicians from the Imperial Court Music Hall sit in the courtyards to the north and south. A writing desk and *subama* 州浜 stand (a decorative “landscape tray” shaped like a sandy beach) are placed on the veranda of the western *hisashi*. Moreover, the floor coverings and costumes are color coordinated, with red on the left and blue on the right. On this occasion, as participants in the *uta-awase*, the ladies-in-waiting are wearing appropriate attire to match either the left or right side and, as per protocol, are participating from behind the bamboo blinds.

One major feature of this particular *uta-awase* is the “impure” (*ke* [褻]) space of the Seiryōden, the western *bisashi* where the event was held which overlooked the interior courtyard. Other imperial court events which took place at the Seiryōden were instead generally held in the eastern *bisashi*, which overlooked the front courtyard. However, according to the opening of Emperor Murakami’s personal records, because the Tentoku 4 Dairi *uta-awase* was hosted by the ladies-in-waiting, it was held in the western *bisashi*, where the ladies-in-waiting served.

Figure 3 is a restored image of Empress Kanshi’s 寛子 Spring and Autumn *uta-awase* held in Tengi 天喜 4 (1056), which took place at the Empress’ residence in the Ichijōin of the Satodairi 里内裏 (“Town Palace,” the temporary imperial residence used when the Dairi was unavailable); the eastern wall was removed and the bamboo blinds lowered, and Emperor Gozeizei 後冷泉天皇 (1025–1068, r. 1045–1068) and Empress Kanshi sit in the eastern face of the building. With Empress Kanshi’s seat as the focal point, five left-side ladies-in-waiting sit in the eastern *bisashi*, five right-side ladies-in-waiting sit to the south, and five left-side and five right-side ladies-in-waiting sit in the southern *bisashi*. The left-side sports spring colors, and the right-side fall colors, and the costumes are adorned with decorations and embroidery as well as gold, silver, gems, and lapis lazuli. The ladies’ garments allowed to peek out from under the bamboo blinds are not uniform but rather, in a new fashion, vary in design from person to person.

Fujiwara no Yorimichi 藤原頼通 and the high ministers (*daijin* 大臣) sit inside the bamboo blinds on the southern *watadono*, enjoying the *uta-awase*. Nobles sit in the eastern *watadono*, and courtiers on the *sunoko*. Male aristocrats sitting in the *watadono* appreciate the costumes of the ladies-in-waiting which spill out from under the bamboo blinds.

During *uta-awase*, *uchi’ide* became layered with meaning as it served to hide the ladies-in-waiting sitting behind the bamboo blinds from sight while simultaneously hinting at their presence and appearance. In the following section, I will further explicate on the import of *uchi’ide* and its function in creating borders to demarcate female spaces.

4. *Uchi’ide*: Creating Female Territory

The palace of the shogunate family of the early modern period was composed of the *omote* 表 (front), *nakaoku* 中奥 (middle interior), and *ōoku* 大奥 (large interior) areas. Fundamentally, the women lived in the interior sections, which men were only allowed to enter if they were members of the family or physicians. On the other hand, in the classical and medieval periods, because the courtyards were the venue for important ceremonies and rituals, the outer sections of the house became the women’s space. *Uchi’ide* then served to obscure the figures of the ladies-in-waiting serving the aristocratic women of the household from the men outside the bamboo blinds.

4-1 *Uchi'ide*: Decorating “Inside” and “Outside”

Masasuke shōzokushō 雅亮装束抄 (*Masasuke's Notes on Court Costumes*), a text describing the customs and rituals of the classical period dating from the latter half of the 12th century, contains an entry on *uchi'ide*. According to the text, ladies-in-waiting would sit face to face by the columns in a living area, and the edges of their clothing would be pushed out from under the bamboo blinds such that, between two columns, one sleeve from two different costumes would be shown.

Furthermore, in one section of *Imakagami* 今鏡 (*Mirror of the Present*) entitled “Ono no yukimi gokō” 小野雪見御幸 (“On the Occasion of Snow Viewing at Ono”), when retired emperor Shirakawa 白河 unexpectedly calls on the Empress Dowager at Ono 小野, there are not enough costumes prepared for an *uchi'ide* display to properly receive him. Thus, the back of the costumes are cut, doubling their number from ten to twenty, purely for the purpose of decorating the outside of the room. Based upon this story it can be surmised that, in everyday circumstances, *uchi'ide* served to adorn both the inner and outer areas of a given space.

The fourteenth-century *Komakurabe gyōkō emaki* 駒競行幸絵巻 (*Picture Scroll of Horses of the Imperial Progress*), also bears consideration in this discussion (see **Figure 4**). This scene depicts a horse race held at the Kayanoin 高陽院 (a mansion of the Fujiwara regental line), at which Shōshi 彰子, also known as Jōtōmon'in 上東門院, is in attendance with her retinue. On the left (western) side, one *ken* near the central seating area just to the left of the male aristocrats is empty but for a portable curtain stand, but in the two intervals between the columns at the edge, the fringes of the female attendants' costumes are visible peeking out in *uchi'ide* style (see Figure 4). The space between the columns in which only a curtain stand is visible indicates the presence of Imperial Lady Shōshi, and thus the *uchi'ide* presumably points to the presence of her ladies-in-waiting.

Similarly, according to the mid-Kamakura period text *Sanjō nakayama kuden* 三条中山口伝, *uchi'ide* was performed by the high ministers' and regental houses, as well as the retired or cloistered emperor, on the third day of New Year's as part of the ritual salutation to the regent. It was set up at the start of the festival at a minister's household. In the event that the empress or the wife of the minister was absent, no *uchi'ide* would occur, the presence or absence of ladies-in-waiting thus being the primary factor in determining whether such a display would be set up. Those below the rank of counselor (*nagon* 納言) would not stage *uchi'ide*.

The highly ranked noblewomen appearing in *ōchō monogatari* 王朝物語 (courtly narratives) are generally served by 20 to 40 ladies-in-waiting. For example, texts such as *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* 紫式部日記 (*The Diary of Murasaki Shikibu*) and *Eiga monogatari* 栄花物語 (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*) make note of the numerous ladies-in-waiting sitting behind bamboo blinds during formal occasions. *Uchi'ide*

afforded not only the opportunity to display one's own beauty and sophistication but also the social power of the noble lady of the house.

Tamakibaru describes the image of ladies-in-waiting sitting behind the bamboo blinds during the emperor's formal visit to his father and mother. The *shinden* of the Hōjūjiden 法住寺殿 is used by the emperor, while the women's territory encompasses the eastern edge of the *shinden* and the two buildings to the east. The ladies-in-waiting as per usual array themselves extravagantly, sitting from the very edge of the *uchi'ide* display to the *daibandokoro* and the eastern *hisashi* of the *shinden*. However, although the ladies line up beginning from eight in the morning, only the elderly are able to see the arrival of the imperial family via palanquin; the rest can only listen to the sound of *ranjō* 乱声 music played for the occasion.

In *Tomazugatari* とはずがたり (*The Confessions of Lady Nijō*), Gofukakusa'in Nijō 後深草院二条 (Lady Nijō) is requested to participate in Kitayama no Jugō's 北山の准后 90th birthday celebration as a lady-in-waiting displayed via *uchi'ide*. Although Nijō disapproves of being so conspicuously displayed, she is persuaded to participate because of her long relationship with Kitayama Jugō. Thus, from this story it may be inferred that, to a lady-in-waiting, participation via *uchi'ide* in an event hosted by a woman with whom she had some connection was one aspect of contemporary etiquette.

4-2 The Formation and Transformations of *Uchi'ide*

In its earliest incarnations, *uchi'ide* appeared merely as the natural event of garments spilling out from under bamboo blinds behind which the women wearing them were hidden. However, it gradually developed into a ritualized display which emphasized human absence.

The formal layout of a given space during an *uchi'ide* display was established in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. For example, according to *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 (*The Diary of Kujō Kaneyane* 九条兼実), which covers roughly the years 1164–1200, the decoration of the perimeter of the imperial ladies' and empress' seating area was of primary importance. The text also describes the *tsumado* 妻戸 (double doors) as the location for the reception of servants, and contains examples from the latter half of the twelfth century onward of *uchi'ide* being placed near the seating area of the male aristocrats.

While generally *uchi'ide* hinted at the presence of ladies-in-waiting, only showing the hems of their garments, examples of “female absent” *uchi'ide*, where the garments alone were suspended from portable curtain stands and displayed, also exist. As described in *Tamakibaru*, during the funereal memorial service held at the Saishōkōindō 最勝光院堂 hall on the 21st of the tenth month of Jōan 承安 3 (1173), while the ladies-in-waiting are seated in costume behind the *uchi'ide*, the *uchi'ide* is taller than the length of the garments, thus preventing outside onlookers from viewing the display. Because of this, the women are arrayed on the inner side of the *uchi'ide* to set up a kind of double *uchi'ide*.

4-3 *Uchi'ide* as Considered from the Inner (Female) Side

How was *uchi'ide* conceived of by both the inner side of the display (ladies-in-waiting) and the aristocratic outer side (men)? In this section, in considering this question I look at *Eiga monogatari*, which contains a detailed account of *uchi'ide* as told from the perspective of the ladies-in-waiting.

The 24th volume of *Eiga monogatari* contains an account of the great banquet held by Empress Kenshi in the Biwadono 枇杷殿 (a detached palace in Kyoto) on the 23rd of the first month of Manju 万寿 2 (1025). From the previous night to the day of the feast the ladies-in-waiting are completely engrossed in setting up the *uchi'ide*. Aware that the high nobility would be sitting in the southern face of the *sunoko*, the young ladies-in-waiting cultivate a spirit of competition amongst themselves over the colors and coordination of their costumes. The ladies with personal rooms temporarily erect folding screens or portable curtain stands in their chambers, while the ladies from other towns take up residence in the *daibandokoro* and do the same, tightly arraying themselves behind the screens and curtains. Their male patrons likewise take their places in the ladies' chambers. In the west, from the southern *hisashi* of the *shinden* to the southeastern *hisashi* of the western *tai*, and in the east, from the southern *hisashi* of the *shinden* to the *watadono*, the bamboo blinds are erected, and the ladies-in-waiting arrange themselves, two for every one *ken*. According to the text, the sight of all of the displayed costume skirts is magnificent. In the eastern *tai*, the upper nobility sit in the *moya* while the courtiers sit in the southern *hisashi*. Following the ritual salutation to the regent, the upper nobility descend the eastern stairs of the *shinden* to the southern side of the *sunoko* and sit with the hems of their *shitagasane* under-jackets trailing off of the balustrade.

The author explains that only about one *shaku* (30.3 centimeters) of the female attendants' garments is visible; that the costume hems peeking out from under the bamboo blinds are so colorful and layered so thickly that the sight is reminiscent of pillow books bound with colored brocades; and that the garments' cuffs are as round as small wooden braziers. Empress Kenshi cannot but be astonished. According to the text, Fujiwara no Yorimichi is incensed by the extravagance of the ladies' costumes, and upon hearing of it, Yorimichi's father, Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長, is similarly upset, and lays the whole event at the feet of his son's mismanagement.

4-4 *Uchi'ide* as Considered from the Outer (Male) Side

A certain cool estimation of the import of *uchi'ide* may be seen occasionally in ancient historical records or diaries penned by male aristocrats. In *Chūyūki* 中右記 (*The Diary of Munetada, Minister of the Right*), for example, the author describes the *uchi'ide* display of the costumed ladies-in-waiting, bedecked with gold and silver embroidery, jewels, and brocade, at *waka-kai* (*waka* poetry parties), *hokke bakō* 法華八講 lectures on the Lotus Sutra, and other similar events as “unsuitably luxurious beauty,” and thus goes into little detail describing the sight.

Similarly, the *Gyokuyō* entry for the 28th day of the fourth month of Kenkyū 建久 4 (1193) describes the *uchi'ide* display for the Extraordinary Iwashimizu Festival (*iwashimizu rinjisai* 石清水臨時祭). Even though Bifukumon'in 美福門院 demurely declines to participate in the *uchi'ide*, as her husband, retired emperor Toba'in 鳥羽院, will not be participating in the festival, Shichijō'in 七条院 (Fujiwara no Shokushi 藤原殖子) intends to participate, a decision the author questions. However, on the day of the festival, Shichijō'in is menstruating and thus unable to enter the court. In the end, the author problematizes the value of *uchi'ide* as a whole, and the entire passage reads as a criticism against Shichijō'in, who attempted to display her social power through *uchi'ide*.

Furthermore, again in *Gyokuyō*, the passage for the 19th day of the fifth month of Jōan 4 (1173) contains the following query:

What good is *uchi'ide* on the occasion of *judai* (the presentation of imperial brides)? There was *uchi'ide* for Yomeimon'in's 陽明門院 (Princess Teishi's 禎子) entrance, but not for Ikuhōmon'in's 郁芳門院—why the discrepancy? It is the general consensus that *uchi'ide* occurs only very rarely in the Shishinden, the emperor's ceremonial space.

From the point of view of a male aristocrat, then, it appears that *uchi'ide* was not recognized as a public decoration. Moreover, the viewpoints presented in texts penned by these male aristocrats versus those seen in diaries penned by the ladies-in-waiting themselves present a largely dichotomous divergence in opinions on *uchi'ide*.

Conclusion

As evidenced above, *shindenzukuri* spaces were territories in which permitted entrance and allowed location were regulated by both a person's gender and social class. Fences and doors, differing floor levels, wall partitions, bamboo blinds and portable curtain stands—these furnishings all carried additional meanings as border creators.

Flexibility stood as the defining characteristic of these spaces in the classical and medieval periods, as borders were able to be created and recreated as needed during both ceremonial events and everyday life. Bamboo blinds and fabrics, floor level differences, etc., all allowed people to exist in designated areas while still ultimately sharing the same space. On the other hand, in *shoinzukuri* architectural spaces appearing from the early modern period onward, the borders created by social class and gender were reified instead by differing buildings and rooms; the segregating borders became physical structures integrated into the architecture itself.

In the classical and medieval periods, furniture and other furnishings lent meaning and function to the spaces in which they were installed, with *uchi'ide* in particularly coming into existence as an apparatus used to denote female seating areas in ceremonial spaces. This placement or display of women's clothing implied

the otherwise invisible separation of the women's domain from other spaces within the estate. Much like how the use of Shinto *shimenawa* 注連縄 straw festoons or *gobei* 御幣 wands and other religious accoutrements made manifest the existence of the deities, this visualization of gender domain demarcation was achieved through a method of performative authority.

As ladies-in-waiting in service to the lady of the house, the women on the inner side of the *uchi'ide*, much like the male aristocrats in service to the emperor, were explicitly relegated to specific allowed seating areas, whereby they acted as avatars of their mistress' power along with their own beauty and cultivation. To the male aristocrats allowed in the outer *bisashi*, *watadono*, and courtyards, among other places, however, the sumptuous *uchi'ide* display served as little more than an exercise in extravagance, and they criticized it thusly.

Uchi'ide gradually fell out of fashion after the late medieval period, with three main factors contributing to its disappearance:

(1) Ceremonies which were formally almost synonymous with the courtyard gradually came to take place indoors instead.

(2) The hanging lattice-shutters, once emblematic of *shinden-zukuri*, were gradually replaced by sliding doors, which thus led to the disappearance of the inter-column space where *uchi'ide* were set up.

(3) As events at which both men and women shared the same space, such as *uta-awase*, increasingly disappeared, the presence of ladies-in-waiting in these event spaces was no longer displayed.

As a tool for displaying costumed ladies-in-waiting through the gap under bamboo blinds, *uchi'ide* stands as a cultural manifestation of the ladies-in-waiting themselves who were eventually expelled from within noble manors, and today exists only in extant *emaki-mono* (picture scrolls) and period art, offering us a glimpse of erstwhile scenes from the ancient past.

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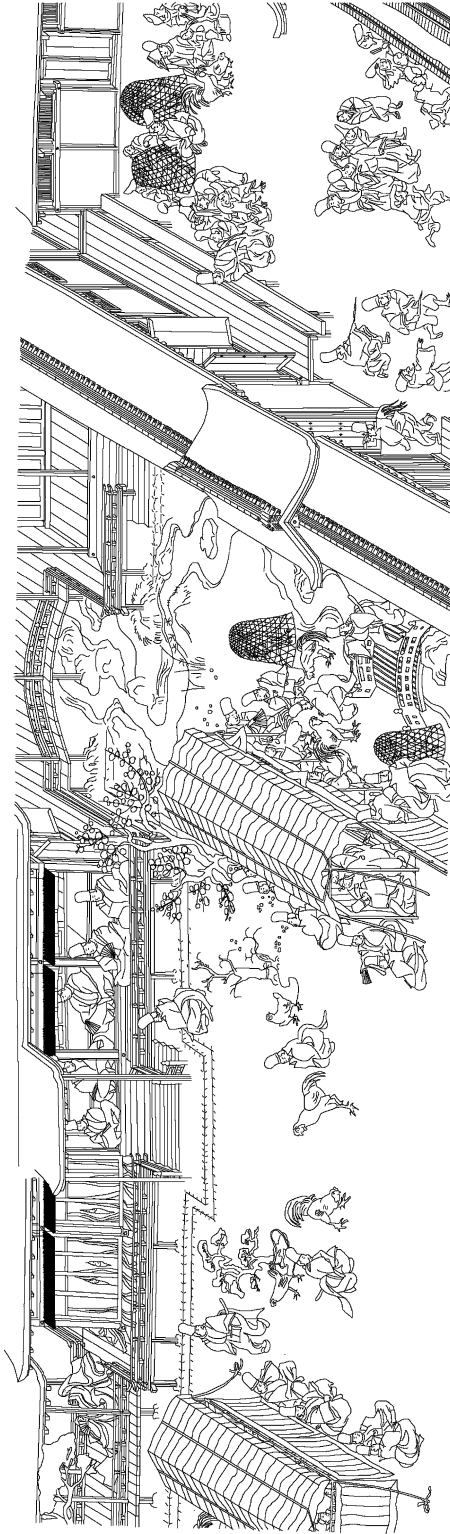


Figure 1. Scene from *The Picture Scroll of Annual Functions* (*Nenju goji emaki* 年中行事絵巻), Tanaka 田中 Family Collection.

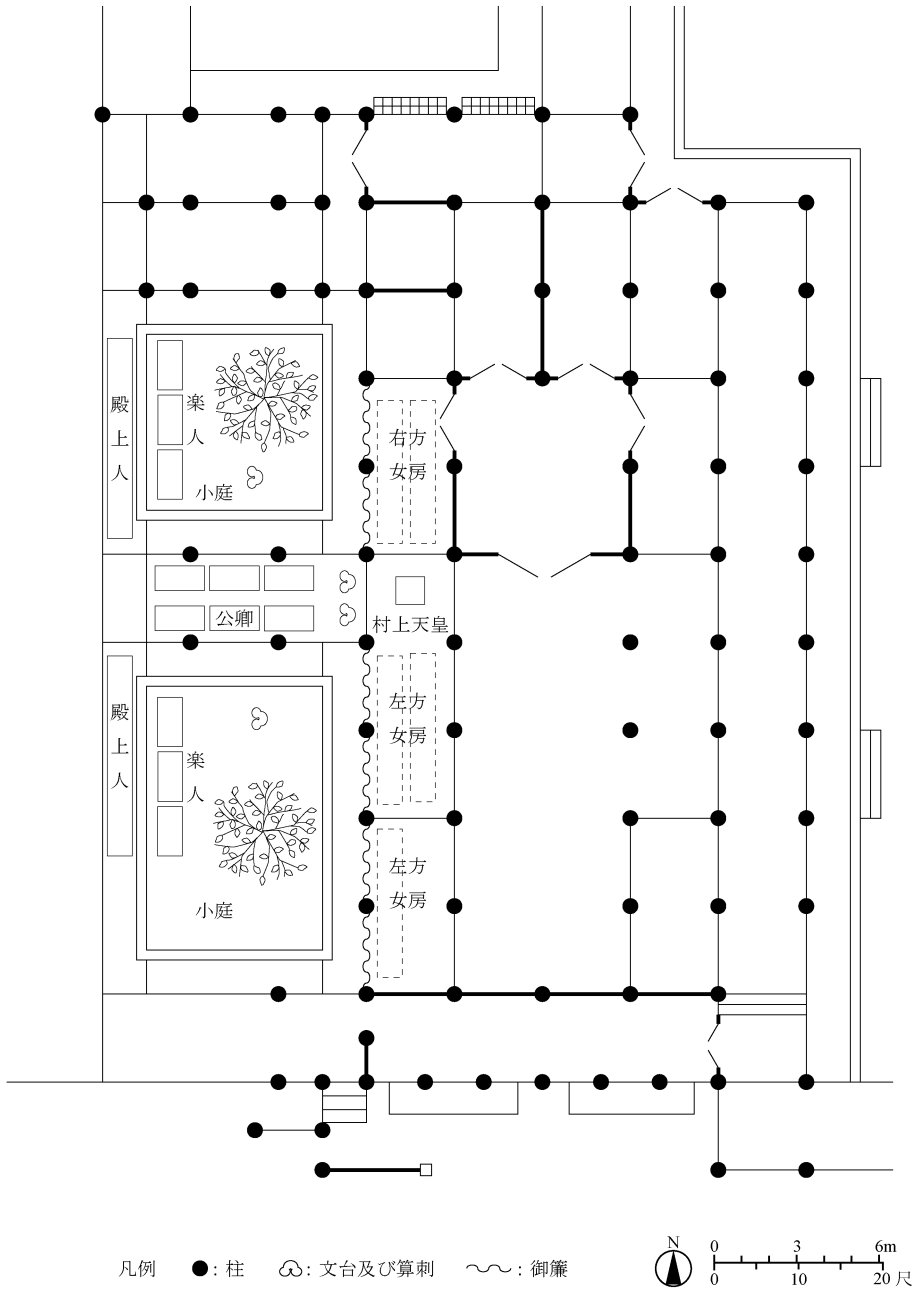


Figure 2. Seating arrangements in the Seiryōden 清凉殿 during the palace poetry contest of Tentoku 天德 4 (960). Image modeled on the one in *Nihon kenchikushi zushū* 日本建築史図集. Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 2007.

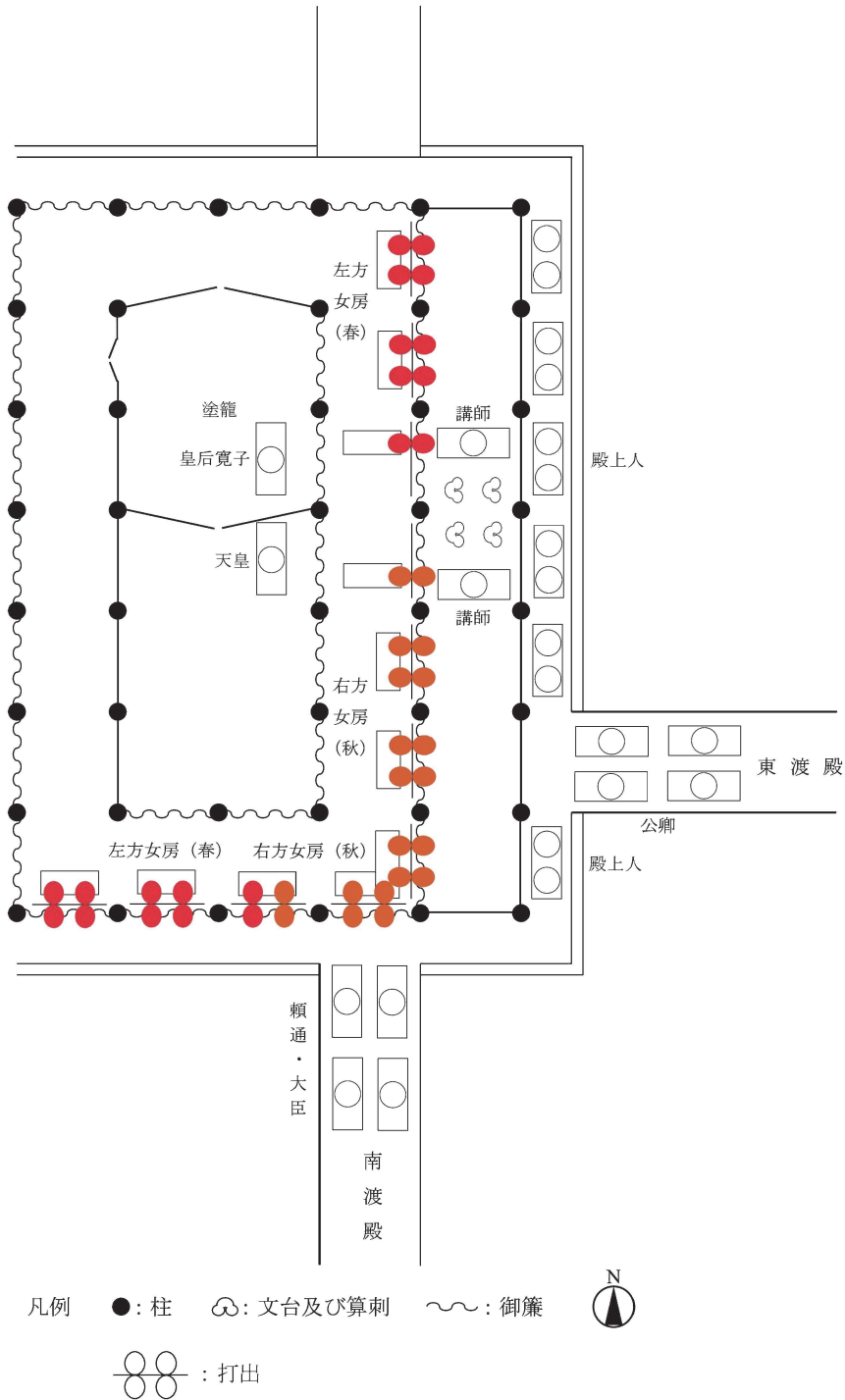


Figure 3. Diagram of Empress Kanshi's Spring and Autumn Poetry Contest. Image modeled on the one in *Nihon kenchikushi zushū* 日本建築史図集. Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 2007.



Figure 4. A scene from the *Picture Scroll of Horses of the Imperial Progress* (*Komakurabe gyōkō emaki* 駒競行幸絵巻, Izumi City Kubosō Memorial Arts Museum Collection, fourteenth century).