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INTRODUCTION

The most fundamental group during the 8th century was one of bilateral kindred based on the mixture of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles. It may also be added that lower the class, the more dominant was bilaterality, whereas patrilineality was much stronger in the upper class. Both duo-virilocal and uxori-virilocal residence rules were common and polygyny was practiced among the upper class.

The most frequent theme among the myths in the *Kojiki* compiled in A.D. 712 by the Government is "brother-brother relationship", while there was no myth illustrating the mother's sentiment toward her children. This is very important when compared with the contemporary Japanese movies and TV dramas in which the mother's strong affection to her son and the tendency toward mutual dependency between them are both emphasized. This should be a reflection of the real mother-son relationship in early Japan. Each family member should have been much more independent and they could express their sentiment much more freely.

With the beginning of the Heian Period, however, women's status became gradually lower and they were supposed to suppress their emotions. It was probably around this time that the mother-son relationship came to be characterized by mutual dependency and *amae* became one of the fundamental traits of Japanese psychology.

At the same time, there should have been a noticeable continuity, and "receptivity" must have existed as characterizing the Japanese interpersonal relationships since the earliest part of the history, while sensitivity to vertical relationships developed with the change of society after the Heian Period.

The family and kinship structure of the early Japanese have been widely studied by historians, anthropologists and sociologists. [ARIGA 1952a, 1952b, 1957; KOYAMA 1952; ŌMACHI 1958; OKA 1958; YOSHIDA 1980]. The oldest known Japanese census was taken in A.D. 702, shortly before the beginning of the Nara Period (710–794). Some of the largest households recorded in this registration numbered more than 100 members. Based on this data, some historians maintain that large extended families existed in ancient Japan. However, this idea has been refuted since it is evident that the members of each household unit recorded in the 702 census did not always dwell under one roof, but were divided into several residences. The average number of residents per household has been estimated at 6–10 suggesting that the fundamental living unit was usually a nuclear family consisting of a married couple

with children. However, this unit was not considered to be entirely independent, rather it existed as part of a larger social group.

The core of this larger social group of which the nuclear family formed a part was probably composed of bilateral kindred. While various data indicate that among the upper classes patrilineal ties based on ancestor worship were very strong and that the patrilineal kinship group (*uji*) was the most important unit there was no rule of exogamy excluding marriage within the group.

According to various 8th century documents, there were four kinds of incest taboo: incest with one's mother; incest with a daughter; incest with a wife's daughter from a previous marriage; and incest with one's wife's mother. These four taboos were strictly enforced. But on the other hand, marriage with one's own siblings born of different mothers was not uncommon. It should be noted that siblings born of one's own mother were denoted by the prefix *iro* to distinguish them from those born of different mothers. These facts suggest that matrilineality was also considered important.

In sum, the most fundamental social group during the 8th century was one of bilateral kindred based on the mixture of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles, although there was neither a bilineal nor a double-descent system. It may also be added that probably the lower the social status, the more dominant was bilaterality, whereas patrilineality was much stronger in the upper class. Upper class men exercised considerable power as war leaders as well as leading supervisors of intensive agriculture and various kinds of construction. These leaders added peasants and servants, having no kin-relationships to their own domestic units. Frequently these units were politically powerful organizations with a very strong sense of solidarity.

Regarding marriage residence rules in those times, scholars agree that both uxori-virilocal marriage and duo-virilocal marriage were the most common types. In uxori-virilocal marriage the couple initially took up residence where the wife lived. After a few years, or after the birth of the first child they moved to the husband's residence prior to formalized "marriage". In duo-virilocal residence the husband and wife lived separately for a few years after the marriage or until their first child was born. The husband made "night visits" to his wife, returning home in the morning. Later they took up residence where the husband lived. In addition to these two types, neolocal marriage also existed. It should be emphasized also that polygyny was common among the upper class and that duolocal residence was also practiced. The husband made night visits to his wives who lived separately. This type of residence became very common among the aristocrats during the Heian Period (794–1185) and is illustrated in the famous *Tale of Genji* written around 1000 A.D.

During the Kamakura Period (1192–1333), however, warriors (*samurai* or *bushi*) gradually assumed political power. With the increasing emphasis on masculinity and the husband's dominance during this period, traditional residence rules (both uxori-virilocal and duo-virilocal) were gradually replaced by virilocal residence, and from the outset married couples lived in the husband's residence.

Probably, this new residence rule became the dominant practice among the warrior classes during the Muromachi Period (1338–1573).   Gradually this form of residence was adopted by the upper status commoners.   Only by the beginning of the 18th century, in the middle of the Edo or Tokugawa Period (1603–1868) did virilocal residence finally become widespread among the lesser commoners of castle towns. It was not until the latter half of the Meiji Period (1868–1912) or during the beginning of Taisho Period (1912–1926) that virilocal residence became a standard type of marriage in smaller towns and rural villages [NOGUCHI 1969: 97].

Finally it should be noted that the early written records referred to above are from Nara, Kyoto and other centers in which the ancient culture developed.   Inevitably, therefore, academic discussion based on these data is valid for these regions only.   Even at that time, considerable regional variation was probably to be found in specific localities.   Among some mountain hamlets of the Shirakawa region of Central Japan, for example, it was customary up until the late 19th century for only the eldest son to live virilocally after marriage.   Younger sons had to stay at their natal houses even after marriage.   Every night after supper they visited their wives but during the daytime they had to work together to help their parents and eldest brother. Their children were raised by their wives.   Since each household had several daughters and each daughter was responsible for her children (ranging up to about 10 in number), the total number of family living under one roof at the middle of the Meiji Period must have been in the order of 30–50.   Land was extremely scarce in this mountainous area, thus cooperative work by brothers remained indispensable for their system of slash-and-burn agriculture.   With the development of heavy industries, roads and railroads toward the end of the 19th century, younger sons began to leave their village to work in the urban centers.   Consequently, this formal traditional large family soon disappeared [BEFU 1968; KOYAMA 1954].

Similar cases are reported from other isolated areas.   According to the records of a mountain village in Kochi Prefecture, Shikoku, written in 1853, duolocal marriage was generally observed [ŌMACHI 1958: 182].   It is quite probable that these and other local variations in marriage customs existed since the earliest times in Japanese history despite inducements to conform to the centrally controlled census regulations.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AS SEEN THROUGH JAPANESE MYTHS

Japanese myths can be analyzed from the perspective of interpersonal relationships to throw some light upon intrafamilial tensions existing among the early Japanese.   A book entitled *Kojiki* (*Record of Ancient Matters*) compiled in A.D. 712 by the Central Government and is known as the oldest history book in Japan is a collection of the most important myths inherited orally from ancient times.   It is clear that the major purpose of the *Kojiki* was to show that the Emperors are legitimate rulers descended from the proper Ancestor God.   However, I think that interpersonal relationships illustrated in these myths should reflect the social reality of the time,

although, of course, there should be anticipated exaggeration. It is from this view-point that I have taken up the myths as important data. Many historians and anthropologists have studied the *Kojiki* but it seems that none have taken a psycho-social approach.

Among the 91 myths included in the *Kojiki* 34 are stories of some kind of intra-family relationship as follows:

Brother-brother relationship	15
Husband-wife relationship	10
Father-son relationship	3
Father-daughter relationship	2
Brother-sister relationship	2 (including one case of incest)
Mother-son relationship	1
Sister-sister relationship	1

Thus, in the ancient records, the most frequently described family stories involve a brother-brother relationship. (Both "brothers from the same mother" and "brothers from different mothers" are included here.) Among the fifteen myths, only three describe friendly relations, the remainder depict competition and aggression among brothers. In eight of these twelve stories, brothers are killed (in six cases elder brothers are killed by younger ones). This seems to be a frequent theme in the *Kojiki*. To take one example, the Emperor Yūryaku killed two of his elder brothers because they were not brave enough to cooperate with him in avenging their eldest brother's murder. Prince Yamato Takeru killed his elder brother by tearing off his arms and legs, simply because he did not join a repast. Umihiko, a god of the sea, attacks his younger brother, Yamahiko who rules the mountains. But finally Umihiko surrenders. In all three examples, the brothers are of the same mother. There are also stories about fights among brothers of different mothers. One such story is about Ōkuninushi-no-Mikoto, who was attacked and killed by his eighty half-brothers. He subsequently revived.

The second largest group of stories is about husband-wife relationships, in which heterosexual love is most openly emphasized. In three stories the main theme is the very strong jealousy of the first wife toward other wives.

As illustrated above, one of the most remarkable characteristics of these myths is that the sentiments and emotions existing among brothers and married couples are most openly and vividly expressed. But on the other hand, those between parents and children are not so well described. The father-son relationship appears in three myths, but in none does the patriarchal and strong image of father exist. Rather the father seems to be gentle and amicable toward the son. The mother-son relationship appears only once in the myths. A young, brave and violent prince, Susanoono-Mikoto, cries ceaselessly after his mother's (Izanagi-no-Mikoto) death. He cried so loudly and continuously that most of the trees in the mountains perished. His

father became so angry at this that he banished his son from the country. Even in this story there is no interaction between mother and son, and there is no myth whatsoever in which the mother's sentiment toward her children is illustrated. Neither does the mother-son relationship appear in any of the myths included in the *Nihon Shoki* (lit. *Chronicle of Japan*) compiled by the Government in A.D. 720, shortly after the compilation of the *Kojiki*. The *Manyōshū*, the oldest anthology said to have been compiled at the beginning of the 9th century, contains more than four thousand poems, the majority of which express very openly the heterosexual love between lovers or spouses——again the mother-son relationship received no representation.

The above facts seem to be most important when compared with the situation in present-day Japan. From the end of World War II, until about the beginning of the 1960's the favorite recreation for the Japanese general public was watching movies, especially Japanese movies. The most popular movies were "haha-mono" (lit. "mother films") stories dealing with mother-son relationships. Frequently a mother and her illegitimate son exist under sad circumstances but the mother's very strong affection toward her son is emphasized repeatedly [MINAMI 1957: 575–576]. More recently, movies have been replaced by television viewing as the major form of recreation. In 1964, for example, the most popular TV program was a drama entitled "Okāsan" (Mother). During this period, more than 300 serialized stories were aired, each of which was a different story about a mother and her son. The most frequent basic theme has been that of the mother's strong affection for her son and their continuing mutual dependency [YAMAMURA 1970].

The psychiatrist Takeo Doi has compared Japanese and Americans, including psychopathic patients, and presented the concept of *amae* as the key to understanding Japanese psychology [DOI 1962, 1963, 1971]. *Amae* is a popular word in Japan frequently used by the general public to express interpersonal relationships. It is defined by Doi as "to depend and presume upon the other's benevolence". He points out that a child forms *amae* relationship with its mother early in life, and this ultimately leads to a so-called "mother-complex". This relationship is maintained into adulthood and emerges as a very strong continuing dependency need. My own research also indicates that *amae* also exists among Japanese high school students [SOFUE 1979: 15–16]. It should not be surprising, therefore, that *amae* between mother and son is the most frequent theme of Japanese movies and TV dramas. That such a theme never appears in any ancient writings similarily should be considered a reflection of the prevailing mother-son relationships of the time.

Following the Nara Period, discussed in the preceeding section, comes the Heian Period (794–1185), and in A.D. 905 around the middle of this period, a new anthology, entitled *Kokin Wakashū* (lit. *Collection of Old and New Poems*), was compiled. Comparing the approximately one thousand poems included in this anthology with those in the *Manyōshū*, compiled about one hundred years earlier, scholars agree that there are apparent considerable differences between the two groupings of poems. *Manyōshū* poems are characterized by open expressions of very strong interpersonal sentiments, most noticeably in heterosexual relationships. Both men and

women do not suppress their sentiments of love, and express them openly in poems. Among the *Kokin Wakashū* poems such sentiments are suppressed. This suppression is especially true for women [MARUYAMA 1981: 3–5]. The causes of these differences have been discussed by scholars but the principal causal factor was probably that the Fujiwara family gradually became the most powerful of aristocrats in the Central Government, and polygyny became increasingly common among them. In addition, the number of court ladies increased rapidly. As a consequence, a type of femininity was greatly stressed in which ladies were supposed to suppress their emotions [ŌNO 1961: 110–111].

A related fact is the existence of a large vocabulary of words used exclusively by women, which may have become a unique characteristic of the Japanese language from the beginning of the Heian Period. Court ladies should appear to be graceful and as part of their comportment use only "feminine" words. A special ladies' vocabulary was further developed during the Muromachi Period (1392–1568), later, there was a gradual increase in such usage among common women [ŌNO 1961: 65–66]. It should be recalled that virilocal residence became popular at the beginning of this Period.

Another related fact to be stressed here is the changing role played by women in the field of literature. During the Nara Period women could express their emotions openly in poems, whereas during the Heian Period they had to suppress their feelings. However, they could still express themselves by writing poems, essays and even novels. The famous *Tale of Genji* and a collection of essays entitled *Makura no Sōshi* are typical examples; both were written by intellectual court ladies. After the end of this period, however, women writers disappeared completely from the scene [ŌNO 1961: 112–113]. Transitions in social background should be closely related.

The position of women as well as intrafamily relationships thus changed considerably after the Heian Period. The question arises as to when *amae* relationships came into prominence. As already discussed, this relationship never appears in *Kojiki* or in *Nihon Shoki*. There it may be concluded tentatively that mother and son at that period were more independent of each other and the tendency of mutual dependency did not exist or at least was much weaker. The earliest description of the very close relationship between mother and son appears in a novel entitled *Sagoromo Monogatari* (lit. *Tale of Sagoromo*), which is said to have been written around A.D. 1050 by a court lady who obviously tried to imitate the famous novel *Tale of Genji*, written around A.D. 1000.

The hero of this tale is an aristocrat called Sagoromo, who is very handsome and good at music and poetry. This novel is actually a story of how his parents raised him with great care. The following describes what happened when he was eighteen years old:

"His parents tried to protect him not only from the rain but even from the sunshine and moonlight. However, Sagoromo himself gradually came to feel ill at ease about his parents' excessive care. When Sagoromo went out pleasure-seeking at night, both parents never went to bed but kept waiting for him until early morning.

When he came back, the parents never scolded him but just smiled with great joy about his safe return.   They just looked ridiculous.   Even when Sagoromo did something very dishonorable, his parents hesitated to stop him and could not say anything to him about it.''

It should be noted here that the earliest record in which the word *amae* appears is the *Tale of Genji* [ŌNO *et al*. 1974: 53], and I suspect it was around this time that *amae* became one of the fundamental traits of Japanese interpersonal relationships, and especially of the mother-son relationship.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

So far I have discussed the historical changes in intrafamily relations since the Nara Period.   At the same time, however, I should point out also that there is a noticeable continuity in some fundamental psychological traits of the Japanese.   Such characteristics as group-orientedness and other-directedness are most frequently mentioned traits of the Japanese [CONNOR 1977: 9–10; SOFUE 1963, 1980], but "re-ceptivity" may be worth considering here as an example of a long continuous existent trait.

"The Japanese are willing to copy anything from abroad."   This has been point-ed out very frequently as one of the most remarkable traditional characteristics of the Japanese.   But it is only recently that this trait became a subject for analysis among social scientists.   Among them, an anthropologist, Masuda [1967: 6–29], carefully examines Japanese prehistory and history and shows that from about the 1st century B.C. through the beginning of the 16th century A.D. the Japanese admired the Chinese civilization, which they accepted with such enthusiasm.   During the 16th century the Japanese became attracted by Portuguese culture.   Some of the upper class tried to copy the Portuguese costumes and other usages.   Then, after the Meiji Restoration, in 1868, the Japanese eagerly absorbed traits borrowed from the German, British, French and other western cultures with which they made contact.   Masuda emphasizes, however, that such "receptivity" may have existed since the Stone Age.

In Japan, settled agriculture began around 300 B.C. (at the beginning of the Yayoi Period) and the Japanese State was established in the earliest years of the 4th century (at the beginning of the Kofun Period).   The interval between these two fundamental-ly important events is only about 600 years.   On the other hand, intervals between the beginning of settled agriculture and the establishment of the historic state took 3,500 years in Mesopotamia, 3,000 years in Egypt, Mexico and Peru.   The same can be said of Indian and Mediterranean cultures.   Clearly then, culture change in Japan was much faster even during prehistoric times, and it should be noted that the begin-ning of sedentary agriculture in Japan was obviously a result of the ready acceptance of a new culture involving wet rice field cultivation, which probably came in from southern China.   At the same time, the establishment of the state is today generally interpreted as a result of influences from Central Asian nomads, who periodically probably entered Japan via Korea.

Therefore, it is obvious that the ready acceptance of alien cultures was occurring rapidly in Japan as early as the Yayoi Period. However, Masuda points out also that the earliest evidence of such receptivity may date back even to the Jōmon Period which preceded the Yayoi Period. One suspects influence of various alien cultures, probably from Southeast Asia and Oceania, as influential, especially during the Middle Jōmon Period (around 2,000 B.C.).

If such receptivity has existed since the Stone Age, as suggested by Masuda, then the interpersonal relationships of the early Japanese were already characterized by this trait, although early Japanese may have been more independent or more individualistic than those of later periods.

Finally I would also like to refer to the prevalent Japanese sensitivity to "vertical relationships". This trait has been pointed to by many scholars (e.g., [Nakane 1967, 1970]). Historians maintain that this trait originated and was developed by the very strong feudal system that characterized the Edo Period. Then the question is, did this hierarchical sensitivity exist before the Edo Period, and to what extent? One of the clues to answering this question may lie in the history of honorific terms (*keigo*) which characterize the Japanese language.

According to linguistic studies, honorific terms appeared in the oldest written records in Japan of the 6th century [Kasuga 1971: 35–36], as well as in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*. But the terms of the time were mostly those addressed to the Emperor and to the gods. These terms are thought to be the origin of all honorifics [Tsujimura 1968: 82–3, 1971: 119]. People probably had a strong feeling of awe and respect toward the Emperor and gods who were believed to have strong magical powers. Animistic beliefs were very strong among the early Japanese and probably the feeling of awe toward natural objects was extended to the Emperor and gods [Ōno 1961: 46–49, 74–75]. However, fathers and elder brothers lacked autocratic powers over sons and younger brothers; and women and wives were not submissive to men and husbands. Vertical relationships must have developed with the change of society in the Kamakura Period. Honorific terms became more elaborate and complicated, paralleling the changes occurring in interpersonal relationships.

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