

JAPAN'S FIRST BUREACRACY
A Study of Eighth-Century Government

by
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NOTE

The existence of this monograph was first called to my attention by Felicia G. Bock, who had been asked by Delmer M. Brown to see whether it might be published. The Editorial Board of the Cornell University East Asia Papers concurred in my opinion that it is an invaluable commentary on materials that are beyond the competence of most scholars outside Japan, and that it should be made available to them.

The manuscript's title page bears the date October 1975 and the words "First Draft." Had he lived to re-work the document, Richard J. Miller might well have changed it in some of its details, but as the reader will see, both the basic structure and the interpretative passages clearly reveal a degree of confidence in handling the materials that suggests that the work was very close to its final form.

Felicia G. Bock, translator of the Engi-shiki, gave the manuscript a careful reading, resolving a few inconsistencies and providing an occasional editorial note. I subsequently read it through and made a few minor changes. If there remain anomalies and errors, they are entirely our responsibility.

I should like to thank Mrs. Richard J. Miller for her kindness in providing the original copy of the typescript from which for the most part this publication is photocopied.

Robert J. Smith
Cornell University
July 1978

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PREFACE

This monograph, Japan's First Bureaucracy: A Study of Eighth Century Government, marks the culmination of a lifetime of research by Richard James Miller on the administration of government in Japan from the sixth to the early ninth century--that is, from the pre-Taika age to the beginning of the Heian Period. Richard Miller's career was many faceted for he served his fellow human beings with diverse talents in a variety of ways. After his service as a language officer in the U.S. Navy, including a tour of duty in Japan at the end of World War II, he was administrator of the School of Far Eastern and Russian Languages of the University of California Extension at Berkeley. Subsequently he became an official of the Asia Foundation--in Japan, in Taiwan and in Pakistan. In the 1960's he was the editor of the Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan, published in Tokyo as a digest in English of important contemporary Japanese thought. He then became an associate professor of Asian History at the International Christian University in Tokyo. During those years he collaborated in writing a textbook on Japan for use in secondary schools in the U.S. which is unsurpassed in quality of content and illustration: Japan, by Richard J. Miller and Lynn Katoh (pub. by Franklin Watts, Inc., N.Y., 1969). He came to the University of California at Davis as guest lecturer in 1968-1969, and received a full appointment there in 1970 and was Professor of History until his untimely death in 1976. He was a gifted teacher, inspiring enthusiasm and diligence in his students. He was

successful in founding and promoting the Asian Studies Program at Davis. In his own courses he offered outstanding breadth and depth in the study of Asian cultures and particularly rich dimensions in Japanese History. On another side, he was a sensitive esthete with a deep appreciation of arts and crafts. He and Mrs. Miller collected artifacts and objets d'art in each of the countries of Asia where they lived.

Two major concerns dominate Richard Miller's research from the beginning of his graduate study in the 1940's. First he was interested in the structure of early Japanese society, its traditions and functioning. Second, he concerned himself with the system of law which was instituted to bind that society. In his doctoral dissertation (1953) he treated the formation of the centralized Japanese State in the late sixth century, outlining the economic expansion and political growth of the Imperial House, as well as the organization of classes within the society: nobility, gentry, commoners and slaves. The titles conferred by the sovereign on the noble houses (uji) in the pre-Taika age (before 645 A.D.) differed from the titles conferred by the sovereign Temmu Tennō in the late seventh century. The eight rank system of Temmu is the subject of Richard Miller's book, Ancient Japanese Nobility: the Kabane Ranking System (University of California Press, 1974). In that work the correlation between proximity to the throne and the granting of a kabane, or clan rank title, is demonstrated. The actual personages who were recipients of titles are carefully catalogued. This study shows the persistence of the custom of granting

kabane ranks even after the introduction of a new system of court ranks based on the Chinese cap rank system. There had previously been more than thirty kabane titles in use, but the modified eight rank system of Temmu was the vehicle for creating a "new" aristocracy and only five of the titles were conferred upon a total of 177 uji during Temmu's reign. The total scope of this study covered the 189-year span from the reign of Keitai Tennō (507 A.D.) to the end of Empress Jitō's reign (697 A.D.), using the Nihon Shoki as principal source for historical data on the members of noble uji. The classification and distribution of kabane-bearing lineage groups is based on the Shinsen Shōjiroku, or "The New Compilation of the Register of Families", a genealogical work of the early ninth century.

The second theme of his research was initiated in his Master's thesis entitled An Historical Study of the Higher Administrative Officials of the Council of State in Japan in the Eighth Century A.D. (1947). In this work Richard Miller showed the development of law, starting with the Taika Reforms of 645-646 A.D., and traced the formation of the Council of State (daijōkan) and the Eight Ministries as established by the Taihō and Yōrō Codes of Law. The interpretation of the codes formulated in the early eighth century is found in the two commentaries on these laws: the Ryō-no-gige (833 A.D.) and Ryō-no-shūge (ca. 869 A.D.). The Taihō Codes of 701-702 were drawn up under the direction of Prince Osakabe and Fujiwara no Fubito. They are not extant in their original form, but their substance is known from the aforementioned commentaries. The Taihō were superseded by the Yōrō Codes of 718. These were not formally implemented until 757,

so for a time both the "old" (T'aihō) and the "new" (Yōrō) provisions were referred to as being in force. Because of the conciseness of their Chinese written form and the difficulty of understanding the terminology, the laws were not easily understood even by government officials. The central government therefore sent out from the capital "Doctors of Illuminating the Law" (myōhō hakase) to the provinces to instruct local officials in its provisions. In this process originated some of the many private interpretive notes which were embodied in the two commentaries cited above.

For Richard Miller the past was a living part of the present. The historical personages in the Nihon Shoki and Shoku Nihongi chronicles were well known to him by name and administrative role. Those luminaries of the seventh century, Empress Suiko, Prince Shōtoku, and later Prince Nakaano Ooe (who became Emperor Tenchi) and his staunch ally, Nakatomi no Kamatari, founder of the Fujiwara noble line, were as familiar to him as present-day politicians. He demonstrated in his early work the true purpose of the composing of the Nihon Shoki, namely, to supply the geneology of the Imperial Sun Line, and authenticate the lineages of the noble houses. Those uji who were believed descended from deities came to be classed as shimbetsu, those descended from emperors as kōbetsu, and those of foreign origin as shōban. The data given in the Shinsen Shōjiroku show the foreign lineages to constitute more than one fourth of the nobility in the eighth century.

Richard Miller's familiarity with ancient Japan was

undergirded by his knowledge of archeology which gave physical testimony of the life of prehistoric Japan and of Nara culture. In a paper delivered to the Western Branch of the American Oriental Society in 1974, he dealt with the wooden tallies (mokkan) which government offices used as invoices on materials transported in and out of the capital in the seventh and eighth centuries. Large numbers of these have been excavated from around the old capitals of Asuka, Fujiwara and Heijō-kyō (Nara), furnishing data on the economic life of those times.

In regard to Japan's First Bureaucracy: A Study of Eighth Century Government, it is well to explain why the form used is a description and analysis of the government structure rather than a translation of the administrative code. A literal translation of either the Ryō-no-gige or the Ryō-no-shūge would be extremely tedious and unwieldy because of the multiplicity of comment drawn from official and private sources on each phrase of the of the law. The Ryō-no-shūge, the more complete of the two and on which this monograph relies most heavily, quotes the letter of the law in large characters and these are followed by passages from various private commentaries which are again supported by quotations from Chinese commentaries. These citations are sometimes followed by the text of procedures supplementing the law: kyaku (relative to penal provisions) and shiki (relative to civil and administrative provisions) The material offered in this monograph outlines the upper administrative structure, including the offices of the Council of State and the Eight Ministries and all their subordinate

departments. The method of presentation enables the reader to better understand the system by which the government and society of Nara and early Heian were regulated than was heretofore possible. The Glossary, Chapter XII, with its hundreds of terms, titles and office names, rendered into acceptable English terms, will prove an invaluable reference for the student of this period of Japanese History. In its entirety the monograph will be a helpful companion to any study of early Japan--whether historical, literary or legal.

Felicia G. Bock

Berkeley, California 1978

Abbreviations

- DNJJ Dai Nihon Jinmei Jisho Kankōkai, compil. Dai Nihon jinmei jisho.
- Iwahashi Iwahashi Koyata. Jōdai kanshoku seido no kenkyū.
- KJK Kojiki.
- KJK I Donald L. Philippi, tr. Kojiki.
- KJK II Basil Hall Chamberlain, tr. Kojiki or Records of Ancient Matters.
- Kondō Kondō Yoshiki. Hyōchū Ryō-no-gige kōhon.
- Kubomi Kubomi Masayasu. Taihō-ryō shinkai.
- NKJJ Takeuchi Rizō, et al. Nihon kodai jinmei jiten.
- NKSJ Endō Motoo, ed. Nihon kodaishi jiten.
- NRD Kawade Shobō. Nihon rekishi daijiten.
- NSK Nihon Shoki.
- NSK I W.G. Aston, tr. Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from Earliest Times to A.D. 697.
- NSK V Sakamoto Tarō, et al., annotators. Nihon koten bungaku taikai, vols. 67-68, Nihon Shoki.
- RGG Ryō-no-gige.
- RGG I Kokushi Taikai (fukyūban edition, 1975), Ryō-no-gige.
- RSG Ryō-no-shūge.
- RSG I Kokushi Taikai (fukyūban edition, 1974), Ryō-no-shūge. vol. 1.
- SNG Shoku Nihongi.
- SNG I Saeki Ariyoshi, ed. Zōhō rikkokushi, vols. 3-4, Shoku Nihongi.
- SSJR Shinsen shōjiroku.
- SSJR I Kurita Hiroshi. Shinsen shōjiroku kōshō.
- SSJR II Saeki Arikiyo. Shinsen shōjiroku no kenkyū, honbunhen.
- TASJ Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Author's Preface

It has been more than thirty years since I first developed an interest in the political and social institutions of ancient Japan. In 1947 I wrote a master's thesis at the University of California, Berkeley, entitled "An Historical Study of the Higher Administrative Officials of the Council of State in Japan in the Eighth Century A.D." Then, at the same institution in 1953 I wrote a doctoral dissertation dealing with an earlier period, entitled "A Study of the Development of a Centralized State Prior to the Taika Reform (A.D. 645)." Both of these works have remained unpublished for at least two good reasons, the first being the general paucity of objective Japanese secondary works so soon after World War II, and the second being my recognition of the fact that I would require more years of study before venturing publication on subjects relating to ancient Japanese history.

The first reason has been overcome, because the postwar revolution in Japanese historical studies has happily occurred and has resulted in an unending flow of highly esteemed monographs from the presses of Japan today. As to the second reason given above, the fact that I now embark on a publication relating to ancient Japan should not be construed to mean more than that I now feel somewhat better prepared to do so than I did three decades ago. I have been gratified on a number of occasions in past years to hear that my two unpublished

works have been of value to some graduate students in Far Eastern studies at Berkeley. And since there appears to exist a need for a readily-available monographic study of Japan's governmental structure of the eighth century, it is sincerely hoped that this present work will help to meet that need.

The unpublished master's thesis mentioned above deals primarily with the principal officials of the State Council, the highest administrative organ of government below the level of the sovereign. That Council directed the course of the nation through its supervision of eight ministries of the central government and their numerous offices, bureaus, etc. This present work is much more inclusive in that it outlines the staffing and responsibilities not only of the State Council but also of its eight ministries, of the Hinder Palace of the palace women, of the Eastern Palace of the heir apparent, of the Board of Censors, of the eleven guard and armory units for the palace, as well as of the various local-government organs for the administration and control of the capital area, the Settsu and Dazai-fu areas, and the provinces and their districts. Altogether more than one-hundred offices of government are dealt with.

The descriptive material relating to these government bodies is based primarily on the Yōrō Administrative Code (Yōrō-ryō) of 718 as preserved for us in two ninth-century commentaries, the Ryō-no-gige (RGG) and the Ryō-no-shūge (RSG). Four of the thirty sections of that code have been of special use in the preparation of this present work. They are the

Officials' Court Ranks Code (Kan'i-ryō), the Officials' Appointments Code (Shokuin-ryō), the Officials' Appointments Code for the Hinder Palace (Kōkyū-shokuin-ryō) and the Officials' Appointments Code for the Eastern Palace (Tōgū-shokuin-ryō). To this information there has been added material drawn from modern Japanese and Western commentaries, monographs and reference works such as historical encyclopedias and dictionaries.

The descriptions of governmental structure found below may appear to the novice to be unduly detailed, but the fact remains that this structure represents in Japanese history of the post-tribal period the starting point of institutions which survived for centuries. The compilation of administrative and penal statutes in the early eighth century provided Japan with an extensive and technical Chinese glossary of terms and titles to enrich the political vocabulary of the Japanese. Although those institutions and vocabulary underwent numerous alterations and changes in subsequent centuries, they became an integral part of the Japanese lexicon, appearing with great frequency in creative literature, in legal compilations and in historical works down to modern times. It is for this reason that I have taken care to provide at the end of this work an ample glossary of Japanese terms and their English renditions in the hope that it will provide the Western student of things Japanese with a useful source of technical information. It is thereby hoped that this work will provide some students of Japanese history with a sort of "short-cut" so that they will not have to probe dictionary and

encyclopedia for the elucidation of each and every technical term.

The starting point and early inspiration for this present work have been the late Sir George B. Sansom's two articles entitled "Early Japanese Law and Administration," which were published four decades ago in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, (vol. IX, 1932 and vol. XI, 1934). To my knowledge those were among the first renditions into English of portions of the Yōrō Code, and I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Sansom's pioneer work. His articles have been invaluable in providing an introductory guide to this my present work. According to his own statement, Sansom's original intention in publishing the two articles was to make available notes that he had compiled on the code. From the beginning, my intention has been to expand his work by rendering more completely the pertinent sections of the code and by incorporating analyses and more extensive commentaries.

II

Introduction

Japanese and Western scholars have written extensively about the tendencies of Japan's leaders in the late seventh and early eighth centuries to adopt almost blindly Chinese institutions which later proved unworkable on Japanese soil, and which were thus subsequently susceptible to frequent alteration and adjustment. However, this thesis is valid only to a degree; with equal force it should be pointed out that Japan's new political structure of the eighth century differed radically from that of China's of the Sui and early T'ang dynasties. That difference rested in large part on the obvious fact that China's and Japan's respective social structures, mores and psychologies were perhaps as fundamentally dissimilar then as they are now. Japan's compilers of administrative and penal statutes in the post-Taika period were forced to express themselves in the Chinese written script, which, not surprisingly led to descriptions of institutions that were decidedly Chinese in "flavor." Nevertheless, traditional Japanese religious, social and political concepts and institutions, which greatly predated the administrative codes of the early eighth century, found places in the basically alien context of Chinese-style administrative law.

Perhaps we would arrive at something closer to the truth if we were to expand or reverse this statement and point to the truism that the "alien context of Chinese-style administrative

law" was but a limited context at best. The concepts and institutions that Japan adopted from the Asiatic continent were later adapted to her own needs within the much broader and influential context of her own traditional modes of thinking and decision making. I believe that the study of the ways in which those traditions expressed themselves through Chinese-style administrative law provides us with a better understanding of Japan's cultural dynamics of the time. It permits us to see more clearly that Japan in the seventh and eighth centuries created little more than a legal and administrative façade that hid but superficially her long-standing traditions and ways of functioning. The Chinese-like facade erected by Japan's leaders in the seventh and eighth centuries did not alter fundamentally her traditional social and political dynamics.

Political, social and economic changes took place in Japan in the sixth through eighth centuries, which led eventually to the evolution of fundamentally new institutions of governance and new economic patterns. The period during which these changes were effected coincide in part with one of China's most remarkable and dynamic periods of history, the Sui (c.581-618) and T'ang (618-907) dynasties. After a brief period of reunification during the Sui, the T'ang attained cultural leadership of vast portions of East Asia and influenced China's neighbors in numerous ways.

Japan was susceptible to influences from the Asiatic continent during the sixth and seventh centuries, because her

own ancient system of clan government had weakened by factionalism and strife amongst the powerful clan chieftains that had traditionally clustered around the chieftain of the Sun Line to constitute a ruling coalition. Then, in the last quarter of the sixth century the traditional forms of clan participation in government changed with the elimination from positions of leadership of some of the most prominent clan chieftains and with the attainment of almost paramount power by just one clan, the Soga. This shift in leadership aroused an opposition movement which led to the decisive changes that were made from the middle of the next century. In preparation for these changes, the Soga leadership was eliminated in a brief but violent palace coup in 645. The successful faction headed by the Nakatomi clan started a program known in history as the Taika reform movement, which involved adoption from China of new political concepts and institutions for the establishment of an entirely new type of central and local government system.

The Taika Reform movement initiated in the next seven decades a series of changes in Japan's political and economic institutions that were to influence Japanese history down to the nineteenth century. I do not mean to imply here that these new institutions remained static; quite the contrary. Alterations and adjustments continued to be made throughout the eighth and subsequent centuries. And even after the new institutions had been altered to meet Japan's felt needs they never were altered to the degree that Japan reverted to the kind of political community that had traditionally existed in

Japan prior to the seventh century. In a word, the new institutions evolved by Japanese leadership in the second half of the seventh century became the standard or norm by which one can measure the degree of subsequent institutional change.

For at least half a millennium before these changes took place, Japan had been subject in varying degree to influences of many types emanating from the Asiatic continent, either directly from China itself or indirectly from China by way of the Korean peninsula. Archaeologists have uncovered masses of data that clearly point to the presence of Chinese artifacts as early as the Yayoi period (roughly from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D.). The evidence becomes even more impressive in the following tomb period that lasted to the end of the seventh century. In addition, and despite the lack of total confidence one must have in the accuracy or historicity of Japan's two earliest extant national histories, the Kojiki (KJK) and the Nihon Shoki (NSK), both of the early eighth century, the evidence is irrefutable that immigrants of Korean and Chinese origin arrived in Japan in the post-Yayoi period in significant numbers. It is also clear that these people of immigrant stock brought with them technologies of continental origin, including, most importantly, a written script. By the seventh century significantly large groups of the descendants of continental immigrants had settled in various parts of the country, particularly in the Home Provinces. They contributed significantly to the technical know-how and wealth of those Japanese clans that had been fortunate enough

(continued from p. 8) to gain control over such groups, and the leaders of some of these immigrant groups were even used in some of the lower echelons of government.

A few of the most prominent members of Japan's aristocracy had gained expert control of written classics of Confucian, Taoist and Ying-yang's persuasions, as well as with a number of the major Buddhist sutras. In this context the work of Prince Shotoku during the reign of his aunt, Empress Suiko (592-628), need not be stressed other than to say that the available record indicates that the early seventh century was a period when political philosophies and religious thought of continental origin began greatly to influence high personages. And out of such influences there developed a seminal idea that was to change political and religious practice for centuries to come, some down to the present era. This idea was that the chieftain of the lineage group claiming descent from the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu no Mikami, was, because of his descent, the fountainhead of legitimacy, the apex of society, the owner of all land, and the arbiter for all.

It was for the purpose of effectuating the new idea of imperial paramountcy that the Soga leadership was overthrown in the Taika palace coup of 645. And it is within the context of this new idea that one can find the meaning and major thrust behind the institutional, philosophical and religious borrowings that are made in rapid succession during the (continued on p. 9)

latter half of the seventh century and in the eighth. Japan's new leaders were eclectic in their approach and the products of their adaptations were infused with meanings that would have been totally alien in China or Korea. Japan's leaders were primarily interested in selecting from the continent those concepts and institutions that would lend support to their policy of imperial hegemony, in the same way as they nourished purely Japanese concepts and institutions that performed the same function. In a word, Japan's leaders were not interested in the mere imitation of things Chinese because of their novelty but because of their specific value in policy implementation.

I am not here asserting that all aspects of the complex reactions of ancient Japan to the wave of Chinese influences that flowed into the country between the late sixth and the end of the eighth centuries can be explained by this thesis alone. Quite naturally, borrowings and adaptations were made by many other aristocratic and powerful social elements during that period, elements that were not involved in the decision-making processes of the court and central government. What I am asserting here is that the major idea behind the leadership-directed innovations made from the beginning of the Taika-reform period were oriented to the goal of enhancing the prestige and paramountcy of the imperial institution.

It must be recognized that Japan possessed her own traditional canons and values system which actively and constantly came into play during the intense period of sinification

of the Nara and early Heian periods. I believe that the Japanese ruling élite of that time regarded sinification as an acceptable means whereby their social, political and economic patterns could be altered but still remain fundamentally traditional in orientation. As the centuries-old tribal confederations and clan rule had begun to weaken in the sixth and early seventh centuries, a smaller, more viable group of powerful clans and their chieftains clustered around the leadership of the Sun Line descendants. In order to elevate their own relative position within the overall sociopolitical hierarchy, those clans found it expedient to alter and embellish the traditional Japanese concepts of kingship. The alteration involved elevating the chieftain of the Sun Line to an absolute and apical social and political position above all other chieftains and leaders. In part they converted him into a Chinese-style emperor to attain this goal, but the conversion did not aim in any way at lessening the traditional sacerdotal duties and obligations of their chieftain-priest. The "loyal" clans that succeeded in implementing this alteration in kingship profited from the endeavor: to the degree that they succeeded in raising the relative position of the emperor above all other clan chieftains, to the same degree was their own relative position raised within the sociopolitical hierarchy.

Japan did borrow a great deal from China, and it is for this reason that secondary works on Japanese history frequently compare the Chinese prototype with the Japanese adaptation, and the comparisons are usually favorable to the former and unfavorable to the latter. I would like to cite one concrete illustration of this tendency, which deals with Japan's capitals of the Nara and Heian periods.

The early capitals of Japan, first at Fujiwara from 694 and then at Heijō (or Nara) from 710, and finally the first permanent one at Heian (or Kyoto) from 794, provide us with examples of outright Japanese adoptions of a traditional Chinese symbol of rulership and the state. Secondary works on Japan's ancient history usually compare the city plans of those capital sites with Ch'ang-an of T'ang China. They usually include references to the grid system of streets, lanes and wards, and always with a note to the effect that the Japanese capitals were smaller in scale than their Ch'ang-an prototype. Other marked similarities are frequently touched on, such as the palace and administrative offices being located at the north center of the grid system, with the palace facing south, and with a certain number of gates around the palace areas. But do such similarities, or more precisely descriptions of such similarities, tell us anything very significant, other than that Japanese city planning basically was borrowed from the Chinese? Do they convey any understanding

of the complex factors involved when that cultural borrowing occurred?

China during the T'ang dynasty was culturally dynamic, socially cosmopolitan and politically expansionistic, in sharp contrast to Japan during the Nara and early Heian periods when she was relatively isolated, culturally receptive and politically in a developmental stage. In a word, culturally, socially and politically China and Japan of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries could scarcely have been more different. To what degree therefore does it make sense to judge Japan of that period almost exclusively in terms of how well and how completely she succeeded in copying or imitating Chinese social, cultural, political and economic prototypes? Is it not possible that when Japan did not "succeed" in certain instances of imitating completely some Chinese institution or prototype that it was for some quite good reason of which the Japanese leadership may well have been aware?

Since these questions are not often asked, comparisons between China and Japan stress that the latter's achievements did not match the prototype in China. For example, one scholar writes, "Certainly Japanese civilization at this time shows nothing of the originality, the amazing inventiveness of Chinese life. The difference is very marked; it is as clear as the distinction between talent and genius."¹ In another work he states, "If we may judge from modern Kyoto, the city of Heian did not present as a whole an imposing spectacle. It must have lacked in grandeur, for apart from a few great

palaces an observer looking down from an eminence would see only a flat expanse of shingled roofs, in monotonous rectangular patterns, broken rarely by some tall pavilion."² Another scholar joins in saying, "...a visitor from the continent would not have been greatly impressed by what he saw in Heian Kyō, even if he had chanced to arrive during the palmy days of Michinaga."³

While the Ch'ang-an and Nara capitals may have been remarkably similar in some respects, in other respects of fundamental importance they were completely different. Professor Wright states in his article, "Changan," in Toynbee's Cities of Destiny, that Ch'ang-an was sited for "strategic advantages of defense," that Sui Wen-ti in building his capital was "aware ... of its symbolic links with a glorious past," that "the men who planned this city drew ideas and inspiration from... the canons and traditions of Chinese city-building, and their experiences with cities of north China built in the period of disunion by various non-Chinese dynasties."⁴ In contrast to these factors, the capitals of Fujiwara, Nara and Heian were not sited for strategic advantages of defense and no defensive walls were built around them. They did not represent to the Japanese a symbolic link with a glorious past, nor were they built in terms of canons and traditions of Japanese city-building. In a word, Ch'ang-an and Nara were fundamentally different in conception, while being similar only in outward appearance. I believe it is sufficient to state simply here that the parallels between Chinese prototypes and Japanese

adaptations can be drawn only a short way, because their social, political and ideological bases were so different. The building of Japan's first capitals represented for the leadership of the time an important ideological aspect in the time-consuming construction of a refurbished and enriched institution of kingship. The process had already consumed almost a century prior to the building of Japan's first capital at Fujiwara in 694. Both before and after the Taika palace coup of 645, especially from the reign of Emperor Tenmu (672-686), a number of other concrete steps were taken to effectuate and symbolize the crown's claim of absolute paramountcy.

As early as 603, during the regency of Prince Shōtoku, a Chinese-like system of cap ranks was first adopted. Its purpose was to provide a means of visually distinguishing the ranks of officials on the basis of varying colors of the caps they were to wear. During the following ninety-eight years the system was revised on a number of occasions. Initially the system consisted of twelve ranks, but after three revisions in 647, 649 and 664 the system had been expanded to twenty-six ranks. Then in 685, during the reign of Tenmu, the system was fundamentally revised for the dual purpose of designating officials both in terms of their rank and their lineage. In that revised system members of the imperial house were designated in rank by one system and members of other lineages by a different system. This alteration involved a two-tiered arrangement in which twelve ranks were reserved for imperial princes (shinnō) and princes (ō) and forty-eight for officials

of other lineages. Additional distinctions of this same nature were provided for in the Taihō Code of 701 in which a three-tiered arrangement was provided. The top system was composed of four ranks reserved for imperial princes; the middle rank, of fourteen ranks for princes; and the lower, of thirty ranks for officials of other lineages. Thus, we find that by the early eighth century two court-rank systems had been implemented that differed in kind rather than in degree for members of the imperial family, on the one hand, and for officials who were not members of that family, on the other. The explanation cannot be avoided that such a system was implemented for the further social enhancement of the Sun Line.

The compilation and writing of Japan's two earliest officially-sponsored histories, the KJK and the NSK, in the first two decades of the eighth century also had the aim of supporting the policy of imperial hegemony. While they owed much to the Chinese historiographic tradition, they also incorporated much that was uniquely Japanese, particularly in relation to the mythological past. In support of imperial claims of political and social supremacy both of these works hark back to a mythological past in which the Sun Goddess was made the supreme deity and the progenitrix of the imperial line. Various other deities that played a part in the native mythologies at the time of the writing of the KJK and NSK were ranked below the Sun Goddess and were made the progenitors of noble clans or lineages that were prominent in the eighth century and earlier. It is readily apparent that

the stratification of mythological ancestors one finds in these two works was a reflection of the power-structure stratification of the early eighth century and of the policy of enhancing imperial pretensions of paramountcy.

Another step was taken by Japan's leadership in the last quarter of the seventh century to further enhance imperial pretensions. That step involved a revision of what is known as the kabane system. Prior to the end of the seventh century noble clans (but not the members of the imperial family) bore such clan titles. All members of a given clan bore the same clan title, and to a limited degree a given clan title was indicative of a given type of lineage.

Before the reign of Tenmu (673-686) approximately thirty different clan titles or kabane can be distinguished, but their lineage implications in most cases were not precise. During the reign of Tenmu a revision of the traditional kabane system was carried out when a so-called "Eight-Rank Kabane System" (Yakusa-no-kabane) was instituted. In actuality, the revision involved merely the imposition of four new classes of kabane above the traditional system. These four were mahito, asomi, sukune and imiki, and a select number of clans were granted these new kabane. The significant point here is that all clans that were awarded mahito and the majority of the ones granted asomi were lineage groups that claimed descent from emperors who had reigned in the previous two centuries. Thus we find that a large majority of the clans that were granted the top two clan titles of mahito and asomi were,

during Tenmu's reign, the closest collateral relatives of the reigning sovereign, exclusive of the imperial family itself. One of the aims of this arrangement undoubtedly was to enhance the social prestige of these particular clans and thereby further raise the prestige of the imperial family relative to all other clans.⁵

By the early ninth century the Japanese leadership further formalized distinctions of clans on the basis of lineage types. In 815 an officially-sponsored genealogical work entitled Shinsen Shōjiroku, or "New Compilation of the Register of Clan Titles and Clans," was compiled, which classifies 1182 noble clans into three broad categories on the basis of lineage. The three categories were as follows: kōbetsu, or clans descending from former emperors; shinbetsu, or clans descending from Japanese deities (kami); and shoban, or clans descending from non-Japanese or immigrant stock. The arrangement of these three categories within the Shinsen Shōjiroku is significant: the clans categorized as descending from former emperors, and thus ultimately from the Sun Goddess, were placed first and therefore ranked by category above all other clans. The official sponsorship of such a compilation and its system of lineage categories represented an attempt on the part of the leadership of the early ninth century to preserve or certify the genealogical authenticity and "purity" of clans that were believed to have been descended from former emperors.

Another step of this nature was taken in the late seventh century, which was probably formalized in the various

administrative codes of the time that are no longer extant. The step was definitely formalized in the Yōrō Code of 718, which is extant. The step involved placing an office devoted to the Japanese native cult of Shintō at the highest level of government. The supreme administrative organ of government was the State Council that stood at the apex of a pyramidal distribution of ministries, bureaus, offices, etc., but to one side of it was placed the Kami Affairs Council (Jingikan) whose responsibilities were related exclusively to native Japanese Shintō affairs. While a number of parallels may be drawn between the top administrative structures of China and Japan, no parallel at all can be drawn between the Kami Affairs Council in the Japanese system and any counterpart in the Chinese. Here again we see a Japanese adjustment to local tradition and the provision of an office of government devoted to the ceremonial aspects of the native religion at the center of which was the cult of the Sun Goddess, the progenitrix of the imperial line. The conclusion cannot be avoided that one aim of this arrangement was to convert the deity ancestor of the imperial line into a supreme or national deity. The purpose was to have it appear that the Sun Goddess was as much a "sovereign" amongst the deities as was the emperor amongst the clan chieftains.⁶

In light of these various steps taken by Japan's leaders in the seventh and eighth century to elevate the sovereign to the social and political pinnacle of the land, it is not surprising to find frequent references to the same general theme

in the creative literature of the time. The famous eighth-century collection of poems known as the Manyōshū clearly reflects the aura of divinity in which the sovereign was robed at that time, and the way in which the capital where he ruled was viewed. The theme of the god-emperor (sumeragi-no-mikoto) and the imperial capital as the stage on which the sovereign might display majesty are exemplified in the following selections.

When the Fujiwara capital was being constructed in 693, Empress Jitō visited the site and the following is a selection from a poem supposedly written by a workman on that occasion. It will be noted that the "gods of heaven and earth" are here in the service of the sovereign.

Our great Sovereign who rules in peace,
 Offspring of the Bright One on high,
 Wills, as a goddess, to rule her dominion
 And to decree her towering Palace
 On the plain of Fujiwara.
 The gods of heaven and earth,
 Gracious to serve,
 Float the cypress timbers
 From Mount Tanakami of Omi
 Down the stream of Uji.... (I:50)

The following dates from 752 during the reign of Empress

Kōkō:

Lasting as tall the tsuga-trees,
 Green on many a mountain
 And endless as the pine-tree's roots,
 Our Sovereign, Our goddess--
 That she may rule the land for ages
 In the Imperial City of Nara--
 This day holds a royal banquet,
 Out of her godlike will;
 And courtiers of eighty clans,
 Their locks bedecked with tachibana,
 Ripened in the garden,
 And their ribands loosened,

Wish her a life of a thousand years,
 And rejoice and revel in her presence;
 At this I revere her all the more. (XIX:4266-7)

The following is a short selection from a poem probably written in the late eighth century after the capital at Nara had been abandoned:

The Land of Yamato over which reigns
 Our great Lord and Sovereign in peace,
 Being a land governed by the Imperial House
 Since the time of the first God Emperor,
 This Imperial City of Nara was here founded,
 That hence the heirs born to the Throne
 Might rule the under-heaven in endless succession
 Down through the myriads of ages.... (VI:1047-9)?

Drawing on their mythological past and on the bureaucratic and other traditions of China, Japan's leaders in the late seventh and early eighth centuries succeeded in erecting what they considered to be an appropriate structure to house their god-emperor and to rule the land. It is with the bureaucratic structure they erected that this present work is concerned.

Notes

1. George Sansom, History of Japan to 1334, Stanford, California, 1958, p. 125.

2. George Sansom, Japan, A Short Cultural History, revised edition, New York, 1943, p. 192.

3. Ivan Morris, The World of the Shining Prince, New York, 1964, p. 10.

4. Arthur Wright, "Changan," in Arnold Toynbee, et al., Cities of Destiny, 1967, pp. 143-144.

5. Details of the kabane system will be found in Richard J. Miller, Ancient Japanese Nobility, the Kabane Ranking System, Berkeley, 1974

6. For full details on the Kami Affairs Council as presented in the Engi-Shiki of 927, see Felicia G. Bock's translation and annotations in her Engi-Shiki, Procedures of the Engi Era, 2 vols., Tokyo, 1970 and 1972. For a translation of the Kami Affairs Code (Jingi-ryō), Section 6 of the Yōrō Code, see George Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (TASJ), second series, V. 11, 1934, pp. 122-149.

7. These three selections are taken from Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, The Manyōshū, One Thousand Poems Selected and Translated from the Japanese, Tokyo, 1940, pp. 67-68, 171 and 228. (1965 edition)

III

The Yōrō Code and its Precursors

The study of Japan's administrative institutions of the eighth century requires investigation of the legal instruments which provided for them and their evolution and application. Both China and Japan in the seventh and eighth centuries actively compiled legal codes, both administrative (ryō) and penal (ritsu), and it is Japan's administrative codes of the early eighth century that command our particular attention in this work. They provide us with details as to the organization and staffing of the central and provincial governments.

The earliest extant administrative code is the Yōrō Code (Yōrō-ryō) of 718, but it had three known predecessors dating between the late seventh and the first years of the eighth centuries.¹ They were the Ōmi, Kiyomigahara (or: Kiyomibara) and Taihō Codes, and while they are no longer extant, Japanese authorities generally believe that they were quite similar in content.

The Ōmi Code, the full title of which was "The Administrative Code of the Ōmi Court" (Ōmi-chōtei-no-ryō), was a set of administrative statutes which is believed to have been compiled prior to and during the reign of Emperor Tenchi (661-672) when he resided in the Ōtsu palace in the province of Ōmi (Ōmi-no-Ōtsu-no-miya), located north of the present city of Ōtsu in Shiga Prefecture. It is believed that this code described the organization of both the central and provincial

governments. Before becoming emperor, Tenchi was known as Imperial Prince Naka-no-ōe. He was made crown prince in 645 immediately after his successful palace coup in which he was assisted by Nakatomi Kamako, later to become known as Fujiwara Kamatari. It is also believed by some authorities that Kamatari collaborated closely with Prince Naka-nō-ōe in the preparation of the Ōmi Code from the time of that palace coup until the former's demise in 669, just one year after Naka-no-ōe finally "assumed the imperial dignity" as Emperor Tenchi.

The Ōmi Code is said to have been based upon Chinese models, more specifically, upon the Yung Hui Penal and Administrative Code (Yung Hui LU Ling) that appeared in the T'ang dynasty during the Yung Hui era (650-655). The Ōmi Code comprised twenty-two books (kan) of administrative statutes and did not, as far as we know, include penal statutes.² It was revised in 681 during the reign of Emperor Tenmu (673-686) and again in 689 during the reign of Empress Jitō (687-697). These revisions are generally referred to as the Kiyomigahara Code after the name of the site by that name where Tenmu resided, which is near the present-day town of Asuka in Nara Prefecture. The full title of the code in Japanese was the Asuka Kiyomigahara Chōtei Ritsu-ryō or "The Penal and Administrative Code of the Kiyomigahara Court at Asuka."

It is clear that steps were taken during the reigns of Tenchi, Tenmu and Jitō to compile an administrative code, but modern Japanese scholarship is divided over whether the Ōmi and Kiyomigahara Codes ever existed under those names and

whether they really represented two separate codifications or just one. Questions have arisen because the Nihon Shoki (NSK) refers merely to "the new penal administrative codes" (shin-ritsu-ryō) in 671 (Tenchi 10/1/6) rather than specifically to the Ōmi Code as such.

Those who support the existence of both the Ōmi and Kiyomigahara Codes (for example, Takikawa Masajirō and Sakamoto Tarō) rely primarily on references found in two other works, the one known as Kaden, which contains the Fujiwara family records and was compiled around 760-764, and the other is the Kōnin-kyaku-shiki, which was compiled in 819 during the Kōnin era (810-823).³ The first work states that in 668, the year Tenchi formally assumed the imperial dignity, Fujiwara Kamatari received an imperial order to compile penal and administrative statutes. The second work states that, in the same year, statutes amounting to twenty-two volumes were compiled and the compilation was referred to as the Ōmi-chōtei-no-ryō, that is, "The Administrative Code of the Ōmi Imperial Court." These two references are used to support the contentions that the Ōmi Code was compiled during Tenchi's reign and that it was revised during Tenmu's reign and finally appeared as the Kiyomigahara Code in 689, the third year of Jitō's reign.

Several NSK citations during the reigns of Tenmu and Jitō are also used to support this position. The first is a citation of 681 (Tenmu 10/2/25) which has the emperor and empress proclaiming in audience that it was their desire to revise the laws, and the second is of 689 (Jitō 3/6/29) which

states that the administrative code consisting of twenty-two volumes was distributed to the various offices.⁴ Authorities who support the existence of two legal codes before the compilation of the Taihō Code in 701 believe that these two citations refer to the Kiyomigahara Code. Other less direct references from the NSK, which refer to official titles and names of government offices, are also used to support this contention, largely on the basis that such titles and names of offices are either identical or very similar to those that appear in later codes.

Other Japanese scholars express reservations in these regards. (For example, Konakamura Kiyonori, Nakada Kaoru and Aoki Kazuo)ⁱ While they tend to differ over details, they point out that the Kaden of the Fujiwara family and the Kōnin-kyaku-shiki are not fully reliable, because, after all, they are both post-eighth century works. They also point out that the NSK does not contain specific references by name to the Ōmi and Kiyomigahara Codes. Other scholars point out that while it may be true that the administrative laws were first compiled during Tenchi's reign, they claim that they were not completed until the third year of Jitō's. While some scholars may support the existence of the Ōmi Code, they deny the existence of the Kiyomigahara Code; others take the reverse position.

Despite these varying interpretations, there is no question but that the compilation of the legal statutes, (quite apart from what they may have been titled), did occur during

the reigns of Tenchi, Tenmu and Jitō, and that those compilations provided the foundations for both the Taihō and Yōrō Codes of the eighth century.⁵

The compilation of the next set of statutes was started in 700 and completed the following year, the first year of the Taihō era. These statutes are known as the Taihō-ritsu-ryō, that is, as "The Taihō Penal and Administrative Code," which, unfortunately, is not extant. The compilation of this code was ordered by Emperor Monmu (697-707), and was the work of an officially appointed commission. Five months before the commission was established, initial preparations were made to revise the existing administrative statutes. We are told by the Shoku Nihongi (SNG) that in 700 (Monmu 4/3/15), "The princes and ministers were directed by imperial decree to study the text of the administrative statutes and likewise to make a selection of penal statutes." Three months later (Monmu 4/6/17) the SNG records that a decree was issued appointing a commission of eighteen persons to draw up a penal and administrative code. The commission was headed by Imperial Prince Osakabe and Fujiwara Fuhito, and funds were granted to the members of the commission for compiling the new code. Fujiwara Fuhito served as a direct link with the original Taika reformers, since he was the son of Fujiwara Kamatari who had been instrumental in the compilation of Japan's first administrative statutes, the Ōmi Code.

Despite the fact that the Taihō Code was not a compilation of entirely new statutes, and was perhaps based in large

part on the previous codes, it is safe to assume that the court was under the impression that the preparation of the Taihō Code constituted a milestone in Japan's legislative history. Several unusual steps were taken in 700-701, which lead to this conclusion. One such step was to distribute drafts of the code throughout the country, and an edict was issued ordering officials both at court and in the provinces to read and study them.

A second unusual step was the dispatch by the code's compilation committee of "doctors for illuminating the law" (myōhō hakase) to the provinces to lecture on the code for the benefit of local officials. The Taihō Code was written in Chinese, and it is possible that the educational level of many members of the ruling elites in the central and provincial governments was not sufficiently high for them to understand the code. It is likely that the "doctors for illuminating the law" were among the few members of the establishment who possessed sufficient specialized knowledge to explain the meaning of the new code. The court and the commission undoubtedly felt that it was essential for Japan to possess a body of law that would be comparable to the magnificent body of Chinese law in both technical terminology and concept. The result was a compilation that was highly imitative of Chinese law and that therefore required elucidation by specialists for the benefit of the average official.

Effort was exerted not only to promulgate the new code expeditiously but also to disseminate it widely and educate

officials regarding its content and implications. A SNG notation for 701 (Taihō 1/4/2) is illustrative of the whole spirit of that moment. There we are told that the Controller of the Left, Shimotsuke no Asomi-Furumaro, and two others were sent to expound the new laws, and "On this, the first occasion of the kind, the Princes of the Blood, the Ministers of State and the official heads of all the departments were in attendance as learners." Thus, the government took steps to educate the officials concerning the new laws well in advance of their promulgation in the second month of 702.

Between the time the new code was promulgated until the completion of the Yōrō Code in 718 during the reign of Empress Genshō (715-724), it was amended and modified on numerous occasions. Although the text of the Taihō Code is not extant, it is generally assumed that the Yōrō Code rather closely reflects it both in content and tenor.

The compilation of the Yōrō Code was completed in 718 (Yōrō 2) but it was not until 757, thirty-nine years later, that it was finally enforced. Scholars for many years have studied this problem and have been able to point out many of the differences between the Taihō and Yōrō Codes, but the basic reasons for the long delay in implementation are as yet not fully clarified. The three codes that preceded the Yōrō Code were all implemented relatively soon after their completion. For example, the preface of the Kōnin-kyaku-shiki of 819 states that the Ōmi Code was completed by 668, the year that Tenchi assumed the imperial dignity after

exercising the powers of sovereign for seven years following the death of Empress Saimei. Three years later in 671 (Tenchi 10/1/5 and 10/1/6) the NSK records that a chancellor (daijōdaijin) and a counsellor (gyōshitaifu) were appointed, and that on the following day a revised system of cap ranks was instituted. An interlinear gloss of the NSK there states that the cap ranks were based on the "new penal and administrative code." In the previous year as well (Tenchi 9/2) the NSK records that population registers were compiled. These various notations would indicate that the Ōmi Code was implemented within two to three years after its completion.

The next legal code, the Kiyomigahara Code, was also implemented sometime between 682 and 689, shortly after its compilation. In 682 (Tenmu 11/6/5) the sovereign ordered that the laws be revised, and in the following year (Tenmu 11/6/5) imperial princes and officials were ordered to present to court those matters that should be incorporated in the new code. It is not known precisely when the code was completed, but in 685 (Tenmu 14/1/21) the NSK notes that the terminology and grades for the court-rank system were "altered again." Some scholars use this notation as evidence to support the contention that the new code was completed before that year.

The compilation of the new code certainly was completed, at the latest, before 689, for the NSK then notes (Jitō 3/6/29) that twenty-two volumes of administrative statutes were distributed to the "various offices," probably meaning the various offices of the central government. In the following year

(Jitō 4/7/5) the NSK notes that new appointments were made in "the eight ministries and the hundred offices." It thus appears certain that only about seven years were consumed between the beginning of compilation and the implementation of the Kiyomigahara Code.

The Taihō Code which followed was clearly implemented immediately upon completion. The SNG notes that it was completed in 701 (Taihō 1/8/3) and distributed to all of the provinces the following year (Taihō 2/10/14). Even before the completion of the new law in the eighth month of 701, the SNG notes that in the fifth month of that year the titles of offices (officials?) and ranks were changed in terms of the new legal code. While these notations indicate that the Taihō Code was expeditiously implemented, such was not the fate of its successor, the Yōrō Code.

The thirty-nine year delay between the completion of the Yōrō Code and its implementation had no precedent.⁶ On the basis of the evidence found in the SNG and in several ninth-century legal commentaries, Takikawa Masajirō and Sakamoto Tarō, two of Japan's most senior and respected scholars in this field, have identified a relatively large number of inconsistencies and defects in the Yōrō Code. One type of inconsistency relates to the absence or omission in this code of the supplementary regulations that were instituted in the seventeen-year period between the writing of the Taihō and Yōrō Codes. Logically, it would be expected that changes in government structure made between 702 and 718 would have been incorporated into the new code, but in some

twenty cases such was not the case. To cite just one example, in 704 the SNG notes that the number of counsellors (dai-nagon) was reduced by two from the original four provided in the Taihō Code and that two associate counsellors (chū-nagon) were added where none were provided for earlier. Contrary to expectations, the Yōrō Code follows the earlier code in providing for four counsellors but no associate counsellors.

Sakamoto Tarō also points out a number of instances in which the Yōrō Code utilizes awkward or even unintelligible phraseology, representing in his view an inaccurate understanding of the Chinese codes from which the phrases were adopted. He opines that the very slow implementation of the Yōrō Code may well have been due to its not meeting the high standards and expectations of its compilers.

Politics and family ambitions, rather than the quality of its contents, were probably more at the root of the delay in the code's implementation. The death of Fujiwara Fubito in 720 (Yōrō 4/8/3) may well have provided an opportunity for the opponents of the Fujiwara family to inhibit the spreading power of that family. While the death of Fubito did not prevent the completion of the draft of the code, it may well have prevented its immediate implementation.

The commission appointed by the court to compile the Taihō Code had been directed by Imperial Prince Osakabe and three of its members under him represented some of Japan's most prestigious families. In addition to Fujiwara Fubito they included Awata Mahito and Shimotsuke-no-Komaro whose clans had been honored with the high-ranking clan title (kabane) of

asomi when Tenmu revised the clan-title system fifteen years earlier. At the time of the Taihō Code's compilation these commission members all held the fourth or fifth court ranks. Fubito thus worked on the Taihō Code in cooperation with powerful peers and under the direction of an imperial prince. However, in the case of the Yōrō Code, the compilation committee's composition was entirely different. First of all, Imperial Prince Osakabe had died some years before in 705, and, second, Fubito this time was in charge of a commission whose members were of considerably lower rank. With the exception of Fubito himself, it was composed largely of legal specialists who held the sixth court rank or lower. At the time of the code's completion Fubito was Minister of the Right in the State Council. As such he was the highest administrative official of the government because the office of chancellor had not been filled since 715 and the Minister of the Left, Isonokami Maro, had died in 717. The conclusion seems almost inescapable that prior to Fubito's death in 720 he had been in a supremely powerful position to rig the new legal code to the advantage of his own family.

Sakamoto Tarō believes that the appointments made to the higher posts of the State Council immediately after Fubito's death imply a not-so-subtle movement counter to the Fujiwaras. For example, on the day after Fubito's death, Imperial Prince Toneri was made the Acting Chancellor (Chidaijōkanji) and Imperial Prince Niitabe was placed in charge of various of the palace guards. Then, in the following year, Prince

Nagaya was promoted to the second court rank and appointed Minister of the Right to succeed Fubito in that post.⁷ The sons of Fubito were passed over. At the time of Fubito's death, his eldest son, Muchimaro, was an official in the Eastern Palace of the Crown Prince and held only the fourth court rank, and his second son, Fusasaki, was an adviser (sangi) also of the fourth court rank. It would appear from the nature of the new appointments mentioned above that, at the time of Fubito's death, his sons did not have the power or prestige sufficient to ensure their accession to their father's commanding position in government. It is possible that the imperial princes appointed to the key offices of the State Council were inclined and able to block for the time being the legal code that had been compiled under the direction of Fujiwara Fubito.⁸

The full title for the Yōrō Code is "The Yōrō Penal and Administrative Code" (Yōrō-ritsu-ryō). The penal statutes amounted to ten volumes comprised of thirteen sections, most of which have been lost, and the administrative statutes amounted to ten volumes comprised of thirty sections, most of which fortunately are extant. It is primarily with the latter statutes that this work is concerned. The thirty sections relating to administrative matters include regulations concerning many aspects of both official and private life, ranging from the staffing of government offices down to detailed sumptuary regulations regarding dress. Of the thirty sections comprising the Yōrō Code only two are no longer extant. The

missing portions are Section 22 dealing with storehouses for government property, and Section 24 dealing with pharmaceuticals. The text of the Yōrō Code that is available derives from two ninth-century commentaries that are described below. The following detailed listing of the ten volumes and the thirty sections of the administrative portion of the code will serve to indicate its scope.

Volume Section

- | | |
|-----|---|
| I | 1. Officials' Court Ranks (<u>Kan'i-ryō</u>) |
| | 2. Officials' Appointments (<u>Shokuin-ryō</u>) |
| | 3. Officials' Appointments for the Hinder Palace
(i.e., the women's quarters) (<u>Kōkyū-shokuin-ryō</u>) |
| | 4. Officials' Appointments for the Eastern Palace
(i.e., the Heir Apparent's Household)
(<u>Tōgū-shokuin-ryō</u>) |
| | 5. Officials' Appointments in Households (i.e., of
imperial princes of the fourth princely court
rank [<u>shihon</u>] and above, and of officials of
the third court rank and above)
(<u>Keryō-shokuin-ryō</u>) |
| II | 6. Kami Affairs (<u>Jingi-ryō</u>) |
| | 7. [Rules for] Monks and Nuns (<u>Sō'ni'-ryō</u>) |
| | 8. [Compositions and Assessments of] Households
(<u>Ko-ryō</u>) |
| III | 9. Rice Paddies (<u>Den-ryō</u>) |
| | 10. Labor Taxes (<u>Fuyaku-ryō</u>) |
| | 11. Education (<u>Gaku-ryō</u>) |

Volume Section

- IV 12. Selection and Promotions [of officials]
(Senjo-ryō)
13. Succession (Keishi-ryō)
14. Discipline [of officials] (Kōka-ryō)
15. Emoluments [given to officials] (Roku-ryō)
- V 16. Palace Guards (Kyūei-ryō)
17. Military Defense (Gunbō-ryō)
- VI 18. Ceremonies (Gisei-ryō)
19. Court Dress (Ifuku-ryō)
20. Construction and Repairs [of government facilities] (Eizen-ryō)
- VII 21. Forms [for official documents] (Kōshiki-ryō)
- VIII 22. Storehouses [for government property]
(Sōko-ryō)
23. Stables and Pastures [for government horses and cattle] (Kyūboku-ryō)
24. Pharmaceuticals (Ishitsu-ryō)
- IX 25. Holidays and Leaves of Absence (Kan'nei-ryō)
26. Funerals and Burials (Sōsō-ryō)
27. Barriers and Markets (Kanshi-ryō)
28. Capture and Arrest [of fugitives] (Hobō-ryō)
- X 29. Prisons (Goku-ryō)
30. Miscellany (Zō-ryō)⁹

The structure of government in the Nara period is described in fine detail in Section 2 of the Yōrō Code, which is known as the Shokuin-ryō, or Officials' Appointments Code. For the student of ancient Japan, this section of the code provides an invaluable framework and technical vocabulary for gaining an understanding of the kind of political apparatus that had evolved in Japan by the early eighth century, an apparatus that was destined to influence Japanese political structure and philosophy for centuries to come. It is a detailed table of organization, which lists all of the various ministries, bureaus, offices, etc., of government, and the responsibilities of the heads of those offices, as well as of those of numerous subordinate personnel attached thereto. The important factor of relative status of the higher echelons of officialdom is delineated in Section 1 of the code, which is known as the Kan'i-ryō, or Officials' Court Ranks Code. Three other sections of the Yōrō Code deal with other groups of officials. Section 3, the title of which is the Kōkyū-shokuin-ryō, deals with the female officials attached to the Inner Palace which was the palace's women's quarters; Section 4, or the Tōgū-shokuin-ryō deals with officials attached to the Eastern Palace, the residence and offices of the crown prince. This present work is primarily based on a description and analysis of these four sections of the code, to which have been added amplifications drawn from other portions of the code and from commentaries of the ninth century and modern times.

Many of the thirty sections of the Yōrō Code are highly imitative and based in large part on the T'ang laws of China. Despite an apparent lack of originality on the part of the code's compilers, it is in the Officials' Appointments Code that one detects the greatest degree of originality and adaptation of Chinese models to Japanese felt needs of the time. This fact is clearly evident in the over-all structure of government in which the State Council (Daijōkan) stood at the apex of that structure above all other administrative organs. This structural pattern stood in sharp contrast to the tripod T'ang pattern in which there were three major administrative organs, namely, the Departments of Affairs of State (Shang-shu-shêng), of the Imperial Secretariat (Chung-shu-shêng), and of the Imperial Chancellor (Mên-hsia-shêng).¹⁰

In a narrower sense, one detects other adaptations among many of the personnel in specialized crafts, certain of whose titles and responsibilities reflect much earlier Japanese traditions. A few examples that come to mind deal largely with workers' groups whose titles indicate that their ancestors were among immigrants from the Three Kingdoms of Korea, such as the Kudara handworkers. Others were clay workers (haji-be) whose ancestors may well have been the ones who fashioned clay figures (haniwa) for grave mounds back in the tomb period of Japan's proto-historic period; falconers' guilds; Mono-no-be guards; and Hayato, aboriginal peoples of southern Kyushu, who were employed in various guard and military capacities. Details concerning these personnel will be

found described below in the text that follows.

What we know of the structure and contents of the Yōrō Code derives from two ninth-century commentaries, the Ryō-no-gige (RGG) and the Ryō-no-shūge (RSG). The RGG was prepared in 833, one hundred and fifteen years after the Yōrō Code was compiled and seventy-five years after its implementation. Between the early eighth and the early ninth centuries a considerable body of legal literature of an unofficial character had developed, which aimed at clarifying the meaning and the proper application of the operative administrative and penal statutes. Apparently various differences of opinion had evolved among the jurists of the time regarding the interpretation of the statutes, since their application does not seem to have been uniform. Because of the legal confusion that had arisen by 826, Nukada Imatari memorialized Emperor Junna (823-833), recommending that legal commentaries and their application should be made uniform. Imatari was in an excellent position to be fully aware of the difficulties that had developed because of the lack of an officially-sanctioned standard commentary on the laws. He was a doctor for illuminating the law and held the relatively elevated court rank of junior fifth, lower grade. At the time he memorialized the throne, he was an official of the Great Learning Bureau in the important Ceremonies Ministry.¹¹

Responding to Imatari's memorial the Emperor Junna in 827 appointed a commission of twelve men under the direction of Kiyohara Natsuno (782-837) to prepare a commentary on the Yōrō

Code. By 833 the commission had completed its work, which was entitled the Ryō-no-gige, meaning an exposition or commentary on the laws. The following year the work was put into effect as the official commentary on the operative Yōrō Code. Natsuno was of noble birth, being a direct descendant of Emperor Tenmu, who possessed wide experience in government administration. He had been appointed Minister of the Popular Affairs Ministry in 826; he was promoted to the rank of Senior Counsellor in 830; and was then elevated to the prestigious position of Minister of the Right by the time the draft of the new commentary was completed.¹²

The next commentary of importance to appear was the Ryō-no-shūge. Some authorities argue that this work was primarily a compilation of commentaries on the Taihō Code, while others believe it was intended to be a collection of commentaries on the Sakutei Penal and Administrative Code (Sakutei-ritsu-ryō) which was compiled in 769, put into effect as an official commentary on the Yōrō Code in 791, and suspended as such in 812. The Sakutei Code is not extant, but it is referred to in private legal commentaries which are in turn, found quoted in the RSG. The Sakutei Code was compiled by Kibi no Makibi (693-775) and appears to have been an attempt on his part to rectify discrepancies in the Yōrō Code.

Other authorities point out that the RSG includes extracts from various codes and commentaries of the time, including both the Taihō and the Sakutei Codes, in addition to references drawn from other privately-compiled commentaries.

The text as it stands today is not entirely in its original form. In the course of its transmittal in hand-written manuscripts, which were copied and re-copied from time to time, mistakes and interpolations of questionable accuracy found their way into the text. There is evidence also that commentaries of later date have been incorporated into the original text.¹³

It appears that the compiler of the original text of the RSQ was Koremune Naomoto who was a Doctor for Illuminating the Law and held the (rather middling) court rank of senior seventh, lower grade around 877. The identity of Naomoto is not at all well established and nothing is known about his antecedents. It is known, however, that he was an outstanding jurist during the reigns of Emperors Seiwa (858-876), Yōzei (876-884), Kōkō (884-887), and Uda (887-897), and that he was one of a large number of jurists who were active in the late ninth century.¹⁴

In the opinion of Miura Hiroyuki and Takikawa Masajirō, the RSQ was probably written in the early Jōgan era (859-877), a conclusion deduced primarily from the fact that while the RSQ draws on many commentaries of the pre-Jōgan era, it does not allude to the important Procedures of the Jōgan Era (Jōgan-shiki), that was compiled in 869.

An understanding of Naomoto's motivation in compiling the Ryō-no-shūge would provide a valuable commentary on legal trends and schools of thought of the ninth century. We do not however possess a clear statement of his motivation, but

we do know that the RSG was the work of a private individual and was not compiled as a result of official order or sanction. The opinion cannot be avoided that it represented a school of legal thought which was at considerable variance from that official school that based its interpretation and application on officially designated codes and commentaries. The RSG is of great value to the legal historian, because it provides us with an additional text of the Yōrō Code to compare with the one that is found in the RGG. In addition it incorporates extracts or quotations from a great number of both Japanese and Chinese sources, many of which are no longer extant. Altogether more than one-hundred and twenty works were used in its compilation, among which more than seventy were Chinese dictionaries and encyclopedias.

Notes

1. For background information on this and other codes, see: George Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, v. 9, pp. 67ff and his Japan, A Short Cultural History, pp. 158-159; Felicia G. Bock, Engi-Shiki, Procedures of the Engi Era, v. 1, chap. 1, "Development of Law in Japan"; Yoshimura Shigeki, "Yōrō-ritsu-ryō" in Nihon Rekishi Daijiten (NRD), Kawade Shobō, v. 9, p. 472; John W. Hall, Government and Local Power in Japan, 500 to 1700, chaps. 2 and 3, and his Japan from Prehistory to Modern Times, chaps. 5 and 6.

2. There is debate concerning this point. See Seki Akira, "Ōmi-ritsu" in NRD, v. 2, p. 169. See also the following old but standard work by an outstanding authority: Takikawa Masajirō, Ritsu-ryō no kenkyū, pp. 41-76.

3. For Kaden, see NRD, v. 3, pp. 45-46. Kyaku and shiki were supplementary regulations relating to the implementation of the penal and administrative statutes (ritsu and ryō). In the T'ang legal system, the kyaku were supplements to the penal code and the shiki, to the administrative code. But this distinction was not clearly maintained in eighth-century Japan. For definitions of these terms, see: George Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, pp. 67-70; Felicia G. Bock, Engi-Shiki, Procedures of the Engi Era, v. 1, pp. 10-12.

4. The NSK text here probably refers to the offices of the central government rather than "to all the Local Governors," which is Aston's rendition. Compare W.G. Aston (tr.),

Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from Earliest Times to A.D. 697, 2 vols. (hereinafter NSK I), v. 2, p. 393 with Sakamoto Tarō, et al. (annotators), Nihon Shoki, 2 vols. (hereinafter, NSK V), v. 2, p. 498.

5. See NSK V, v. 2, p. 584, supplementary note 27-18.

6. But the delayed implementation of this code may have provided a precedent for subsequent ones. It may be noted in this respect that the Sakutei Code (Sakutei-ritsu-ryō) was compiled in 769 during the reign of Empress Shōtoku, but was not implemented for another twenty-one years. Likewise, the compilation of the Engi-shiki was ordered in 901, but was not implemented until 967.

7. For biography, see "Nagaya-ō" in Takeuchi Rizō, et al. (eds.), Nihon kodai jinmei jiten, (hereinafter, NKJJ), v. 5, 1251-1254.

8. For this line of argumentation, see especially Sakamoto Tarō, "Yōrō ritsu-ryō no shikō ni tsuite," Shigaku Zasshi, v. 47, no. 8, pp. 945-973. Other scholars have stressed the marked similarities that probably existed between the Yōrō Code and earlier codes, stating that it is likely that the thinking of the mainstream of the original Taika reformers enjoyed a high degree of continuity from the time of the palace coup of 645 and the completion of the Yōrō Code in 718. Some of them stress that the Taihō and Yōrō Codes were basically the same except for minor changes in the numbers and titles of officials, in the general arrangement of the codes' contents, and in some cases in the sentence structure of the

text. Other scholars believe that the Taihō and Yōrō Codes were based on different Chinese models and claim that the latter was based more closely on the T'ang laws of the K'ai-yuan period than the former.

9. Compare the following for similar lists: Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, pp. 70-71 and Bock's Engi-Shiki, v. 1, pp. 10-11.

10. Iwahashi Koyata, Jōdai kanshoku seido no kenkyū, (hereinafter, Iwahashi), 1962, pp. 154-158.

11. For the Ryō-no-gige, see Nihon rekishi daijiten (hereinafter, NRD), v. 9, pp. 610-611. For Nukada's biography, see NRD, v. 7, p. 585.

12. For biography of Kiyohara Natsuno, see NRD, v. 3, p. 577.

13. Miura Hiroyuki and Takikawa Masajirō, Teihon Ryōshūge Shakugi, 1931, p. iii et passim.

14. For biography of Koremune Naomoto, see NRD, v. 4, p. 661. His original clan name was Hata no Kimi. He came to the capital in 877 and was granted the new clan name and title of Koremune no Asomi in 883.

IV

Evolution of the State Council prior to A.D. 718

During the interval between the beginning of the Taika reform movement in 645 and the completion of the Yōrō Code in 718, the traditional clan system of government was gradually replaced by a new bureaucratic system modelled in part after Chinese institutions. Within this space of almost seventy-five years entirely new political institutions were gradually established and activated. At the same time that these changes were being made the compilation proceeded on the three codes of Ōmia Kiyomigahara and Taihō that were described in the chapter above. As mentioned there, none of these codes is extant, and what knowledge we possess of them and the new government forms during the post-Taika coup period before 718 derives primarily from the Nihon Shoki (NSK) and the Shoku Nihongi (SNG).¹ From them only a basically fragmentary organizational model can be reconstructed.*

The data available in these two sources indicate that the post-Taika government borrowed heavily from Chinese models, but in numerous instances the borrowings were placed side by side with, or accommodated to, purely Japanese institutions and terminology. The hybrid organization that finally evolved by 718 was the result of progressive changes that the governing elites made in order to adjust alien concepts of governance to the Japanese political values that had grown out of Japan's centuries-old clan system of government. It is

*Later augmented by provisions of the Yōrō Code and commentaries on it.--Ed.

apparent that the administrative codes compiled before 718 represented attempts to stabilize in written statutes the hybrid system of government which was evolving gradually and which was subject to frequent emendation. Despite these attempts the administrative history of Japan even after 718 clearly demonstrates that the period of transition from one governmental system to another did not achieve complete adjustment or accommodation to imported Chinese institutions. Throughout the eighth century changes and adjustments continued to be made in the organizational details of the government. It cannot be denied that Japan's eighth-century government structure owed a great deal to contemporaneous Chinese models, when viewed in broad perspective, but at the same time it must be characterized as having been peculiarly Japanese in the majority of its finer details and in its application.²

The tendency to develop a hybrid form of central government is evident from the moment that Kōtoku (645-654) ascended the throne in the sixth month of 645 immediately following the palace coup that successfully eliminated the Soga clan's leadership. The following is just one of numerous examples that could be cited to illustrate this tendency. At that time Abe Kurahashimaro was appointed the Minister of the Left, Soga Kurayamada Ishikawamaro was made Minister of the Right, and Nakatomi Kamako (later to become Fujiwara Kamatari) was made Minister of the Interior.³ The term for "minister" was written (sei jin) to which the characters for "left" and "right" were added to distinguish the two ministers. The two characters for

"minister" however had been in use long before the Taika coup and were read "ōomi", a title that had been used to designate the high chieftain of clans bearing the clan title (kabane) of omi. For example, it had been the title used to designate the Soga chieftain, that is Soga-no-ōomi, who was forcibly eliminated in the palace coup earlier in the same month. The hybridization of this term resulted from the addition of the "left" and "right" designations to the title. It was the first time that a distinction of left and right officials was made by the Japanese and may have been influenced by a Chinese model such as Tso-yu p'u-yeh or vice-presidents of the left and right in the Department of the Affairs of State (Shang-shu-shêng). It is generally agreed among Japanese scholars that these first two appointments of ministers of the left and right represented no more than the mere addition of the designations of "left" and "right" to the traditional Japanese title of ōomi, rather than the establishment of new official titles of Chinese origin. For this reason, the terms rendered in English as "minister of the left" and "minister of the right" were most likely read at the time in Japanese as "hidari-no-ōomi" and "migi-no-ōomi" rather than in their Sino-Japanese readings of sa-daijin and u-daijin.⁴

It was not until 649 (Taika 5/2) that orders were given to establish what were called "the eight ministries and the hundred officials" (hasshō and hyakkan), which is interpreted to refer to the establishment of a Chinese-style bureaucratic government system. It is, therefore, the practice of some

scholars to read the titles of the ministers of the left and right in their Japanese forms as "hidari-no-ōomi" and "migi-no-ōomi" when they appear in the NSK text for the period before 649, but as sa-daijin and u-daijin thereafter. Other scholars argue that the order of 649 to establish "the eight ministries and the hundred officials" witnessed merely the beginning of a long developmental process and that the new system did not become functional for some years to come. For example, they cite the fact that it was not until 671 (Tenchi 10/1/5) that a chancellor (daijōdaijin) was first appointed. This office was undoubtedly provided for in Japan's first written administrative statutes, namely, in the no-longer extant Ōmi Code compiled during Tenchi's reign (661-671). They argue that until this post of chancellor was established a State Council probably had not yet come into existence. The implication of this line of argument is that the terms for ministers of the left and right should be read in their Japanese forms rather than in Sino-Japanese when these terms appear in the text of the NSK for the period 645-671.⁵

The appointments of Abe Kurahashimaro and Soga Kurayamada Ishikawamaro possibly represented the continuation of one aspect of the clan system of government, in that both the Abe and the Soga clans had traditionally borne the clan title (kabane) of omi. Their new titles of ministers of the left and right were written with the same Chinese characters as used for centuries for the title of ōomi and this can hardly be dismissed as a coincidence. By contrast however, the

appointment of Nakatomi Kamako as minister of the interior (naijin or uchi-tsu-omi) in 645 represented a sharp break with past tradition, in that the Nakatomi clan had long borne the clan title of muraji. Kamako's appointment to a position written in part with the Chinese character for omi was the first instance of a person with a muraji-bearing clan to be given an omi-related title. The post of naijin does not appear as a part of the State Council as described in the Yōrō Code, but it does appear in the eighth century as an extra-legal office to which a Fujiwara was appointed in 721. Naijin was a direct borrowing from the continent; it appears in the government systems of China as well as in those of the Three Kingdoms of Korea.⁶

It should not be assumed that the hybrid character of Japanese governmental institutions that gradually evolved between the mid-seventh and early eighth centuries resulted from insufficient or inaccurate knowledge of contemporaneous Chinese institutions. Rather, the evidence points to a clear-cut policy of the early post-Taika coup reformers to adapt Chinese organizational patterns to Japan's particular needs. Some of the individuals who participated directly in the planning of the new institutions had had lengthy experience in China. For example, it was mentioned above that two individuals were ordered in 649 to "establish the eight ministries and the hundred officials." Those two were Takamuku Genri (also referred to as Takamuku Kuromaro) and Priest Min (also referred to as Priest Bin) who were appointed "National

Doctors" (kuni-no-hakase) immediately after the palace coup of 645. The term "kuni-no-hakase", as used in the eighth century by the Yōrō Code, referred to a specialist in Confucian studies. However in 645 the term undoubtedly meant an adviser. The NSK records that these two were sent to T'ang China as students in 608 (Suiko 16/9/11), and thirty years later in 639 (Jomei 12/10/11) the same source records that Takamuku returned to Japan. It is apparent that he was valued very highly as an expert in things Chinese for later on in 654 (Hakuchi 5/2) he was sent as a high-ranking envoy to T'ang China where we are told he died shortly thereafter. Less is known about Priest Min, other than that he returned to Japan with Takamuku in 639. There is little question but that, because of their expertise, these two men were explicitly charged with planning a new government organization that would draw heavily on Chinese models.

It is difficult to reconstruct with any degree of accuracy the titles of "the eight ministries and the hundred officials" that Takamuku and Priest Min were ordered to set up, largely because the NSK nowhere specifically provides details of the plans they may have been responsible for. We are forced, therefore, to depend merely upon scattered references found in the NSK and elsewhere, which do indicate that by the reign of Tenchi there had evolved many of the organizational elements of the central government as described for us in the extant version of the Yōrō Code of 718. For example, although the terms for the Kami Affairs Council and

State Council do not appear in the NSK during Tenchi's reign, the terms for the four highest offices of the State Council do appear, namely, the chancellor, the ministers of the left and right, and the senior counsellors. Then, in the very first years of Tenmu's reign (673-686) the terms for the Kami Affairs Council and State Council appear, in addition to those for the ministers of the left and right, counsellors and controllers.

While authorities may debate as to the degree that the Ōmi Code resulted from the work of Nakatomi Kamako, Prince Naka-no-ōe, Takamuku Kuromaro and Priest Min, and as to the degree that the subsequent Kiyomigahara and Taihō Codes reflected their respective predecessors, it is clear from various NSK references that the basic structure of the highest administrative organ of government, the State Council, had come into existence by the first years of the eighth century. The following table lists on the left side the Kami Affairs and State Councils, plus the terms for the highest eleven administrative officials of the State Council, which appear in the Yōrō Code. To the right are the years in which the terms for these councils and officials appear in the NSK and the SNG in the period between 661 and 701 during the five reigns of Tenchi, Kōbun, Tenmu, Jitō and Monmu.⁷

Yōrō Code (718)NSK References

	Tenchi (661- 671)	Kōbun (672) and Tenmu (673- 686)	Jitō (687- 697)	Monmu (697- 707)
A. Kami Affairs Council		674	689 691 692 694	698
B. State Council		686	689 691	
1. Chancellor	671		690	
2. Minister of the Left	671	673		700 701
3. Minister of the Right	671	673	690 691 696	701
4. Senior Counsellor				
Gyoshitaifu	671			
Nagon		673 681	687	
Dainagon			696	701
5. Assistant Counsellor				
6. Controller of the Left		679 (<u>Daibenkan</u>) 686		701
7. Controller of the Right		(<u>Daibenkan</u>)		
8. Associate Controller of the Left				
9. Associate Controller of the Right				
10. Assistant Controller of the Left				
11. Assistant Controller of the Right				

On the basis of numerous references in the SNG for the period 701-718, we know that the terminology used for the eight ministries in both the Taihō and Yōrō Codes was very similar. All but one of the eight ministries of the State Council are referred to in the NSK and the SNG in the period prior to 701 (Taihō 1), and the following table lists first the terms for the eight ministries as they appear in the Yōrō Code (together with their English renditions) and then as they appear in the five reigns between Tenchi and the fifth year of Monmu's reign.

<u>Yōrō</u> Code	<u>NSK and SNG</u>			
	<u>Tenchi</u>	<u>Kōbun-</u> <u>Tenmu.</u>	<u>Jitō</u>	<u>Monmu</u>
<u>The Eight Ministries</u>				
1. <u>Nakatsukasa-shō</u> (Mediate Affairs)				
2. <u>Shikibu-shō</u> (Ceremonies)	<u>Hō-kan</u>	<u>Hō-kan</u>		
3. <u>Jibu-shō</u> (Regulatory)		<u>Ri-kan</u>		
4. <u>Minbu-shō</u> (Popular Affairs)		<u>Minbu-shō</u> & <u>Min-kan</u>		<u>Min-kan</u>
5. <u>Hyōbu-shō</u> (Military Affairs)		<u>Hyōjō-kan</u>		
6. <u>Gyōbu-shō</u> (Justice)		<u>Gyō-kan</u> <u>Gyō-shō</u>		
7. <u>Ōkura-shō</u> (Treasury)	<u>Ōkura-shō</u>	<u>Ōkura-shō</u> & <u>Okura</u>		
8. <u>Kunai-shō</u> (Imperial Household)		<u>Kunai-kan</u> & <u>Kunai</u>		

Notes

1. The Shoku Nihongi is the second of the "Six National Histories" (Rikkokushi) and covers chronologically the period 697-791. In this work I have used the 1939 edition edited by Saeki Ariyoshi and published by Asahi Shinbun Sha in the Zōhō Rikkokushi series, 2 vols. (hereinafter SNG).

2. In support of this statement, see J.I. Crump, " 'Borrowed' T'ang Titles and Offices in the Yōrō Code," Occasional Papers, No. 2, Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1952, pp. 35-58. This paper is in support of Crump's claim that "... out of more than four hundred possibilities of borrowing titles for bureaucratic posts from T'ang administration, the framers of the Yōrō Code used, in the central government and the women's palace, only a... eleven." (p. 35)

3. Soga Kurayamada Ishikawamaro was a member of the powerful Soga clan, who cooperated with the planners of the coup, Imperial Prince Naka-no-ōe and Nakatomi Kamako, for personal gain. For his biography, see NKJJ, v. 4, p. 998.

4. For the use of the terms "left" and "right" in the titles of T'ang officials, see Sakamoto Tarō, "Taika Kaishin" in Nihon Rekishi, 1935, p. 121 ff.

5. On the problem of Japanese versus Sino-Japanese readings, see NSK V, v. 2, pp. 270 (note 10), 306, 375 (note 25); and Iwahashi, pp. 139-140.

6. For naijin, see NSK V, v. 2, p. 567, supplementary note 25-3.

7. The two tables which follow are adaptations of ones found in NSK V, v.2, pp.624-627.

The State Council(Daijōkan)

The primary goal for administrative change in the second half of the seventh century and the early eighth was to provide a legal basis for a government structure in which the emperor occupied the political apex of the Japanese state. To affect such a fundamental change, Japan's leaders after 645 evolved a highly centralized administrative structure capped by the State Council which served the pleasure of the sovereign. This administrative structure's purpose was to gain and retain direct control over the people, and thereby preempt the administrative power held traditionally by various influential clans. To this end the legal codes by the early eighth century provided for a complex structure below the level of the State Council, consisting of eight ministries, forty-six bureaus and offices attached to them, and over six-thousand administrative, technical and menial personnel to man its various parts.

The following table illustrates the magnitude of these particular personnel allocated according to the Officials and Appointments Code of the Yōrō Code as it has survived:¹

	<u>Secretariats, bureaus & offices</u>	<u>Adminis- trators</u>	<u>Clerical Staff</u>	<u>Special- ized staff</u>	<u>Menials & other</u>	<u>Totals</u>
State Council		28	34		168	230
<u>MINISTRIES</u>						
Mediate Affairs	10	88	26	2319	300	2733
Ceremonies	2	22	28	439	129	618
Regulatory	4	28	16	431	126	601
Popular Affairs	2	22	22	4	108	156
Military Affairse	5	27	12	50	109	198
Justice	2	32	12	100	117	261
Treasury	5	25	8	143	129	305
Imperial Household	18	84	12	609	571	1296
<u>Totals</u>	48	356	170	4095	1777	
				<u>Grand total</u>		6398

The grand total noted above includes only personnel in the State Council and the eight ministries. If to these were added the figures for personnel assigned to the Kami Affairs Council, the Hinder Palace of the women's quarters, the Eastern Palace of the crown prince, the Board of Censors, plus the various guard and military units of the central government, the grand total would amount to more than 9400.

One of the unusual organizational features of Japan's eighth-century government was that the State Council administered both the affairs of the nation at large and of the imperial court itself. In addition, it is clear that a high percentage of the offices and personnel noted in the table above were involved in duties primarily related to the sovereign and the imperial house. The Mediate Affairs Ministry was in fact the principal organ for maintaining liaison between the sovereign and the higher officials of the State Council above all other government units below. Of the forty-eight secretariats, bureaus and offices attached to the eight ministries, twenty-eight were wholly or largely concerned with affairs relating to the sovereign. In terms of numbers, 4029 persons out of a total of 6398 were attached to these particular ministries and their offices. The number of persons primarily in the service of the sovereign and the imperial family advances to more than 5000 if we add other personnel attached to offices related to the administration of the palace and court, such as those attached to the twelve offices of the Hinder Palace and the nine offices of the Eastern Palace of the crown

prince. This high concentration of personnel in palace- and court-related offices is indeed a major characteristic of Japan's eighth-century central government, and I believe it represents one of the end results of the policy of emphasizing the sovereign's political and social hegemony, which had gradually taken form from the early seventh century.²

The complex government bureaucracy that evolved in the second half of the seventh century and in the early eighth was subject to adjustment and change in the following century. Various officials were increased or reduced in number, titles were changed though the position frequently remained the same, and new positions were created and sandwiched into the existing structure. The new bureaucratic system and the numerous changes made in it subsequent to the beginning of the Taika reform movement in the mid-seventh century were codified on a number of occasions before the Yōrō Code appeared in 718. Unfortunately none of these earlier administrative codes is extant, as was mentioned in Chapter III, above. During the whole course of the Nara period of the eighth century, changes and adjustments continued to be made in the system, even after the completion of the Yōrō Code.

The State Council was pyramidal in structure and at the same time rather strictly organized in a bilateral fashion with officials and subordinate offices arranged by rank to the left and to the right. The terms "left" and "right" were used in reference to the sovereign's left and right. According to both Chinese and Japanese custom, the sovereign sat

facing south in ceremonial situations. Accordingly, the imperial palaces always were located in the north-central sector of the capitals and the throne room always faced south. In addressing the throne all officials faced north, but officials of the left stood to the sovereign's left and officials of the right stood to his right. The following abbreviated table of organization will make more meaningful some of the detailed descriptions found below.

EmperorState Council
(Daijōkan)Kami Affairs Council
(Jingikan)Chancellor
(Daijōdaijin)Minister of the Right
(U-daijin)Minister of the Left
(Sa-daijin)Senior Counsellors
(Dai-nagon)Controller of the Right
(U-daiben)Controller of the Left
(Sa-daiben)Associate Controller
of the Right
(U-chūben)Associate Controller
of the Left
(Sa-chūben)Assistant Controller
of the Right
(U-shōben)Assistant Controller
of the Left
(Sa-shōben)Assistant Counsellors
(Shō-nagon)Four MinistriesFour MinistriesMilitary Affairs
(Hyōbu-shō)Mediate Affairs
(Nakatsukasa-shō)Justice
(Gyōbu-shō)Ceremonies
(Shikibu-shō)Treasury
(Ōkura-shō)Regulatory
(Jibu-shō)Imperial Household
(Kunai-shō)Popular Affairs
(Minbu-shō)

A private Japanese legal commentary on the Yōrō Code, known as the Ryō-shaku, is quoted in the Ryō-no-shūge (RSG) and describes in general terms the functions and moral responsibilities of the State Council as follows:³

[The State Council] is the guardian of the nation and has jurisdiction over it. It receives orders from the emperor and issues various commands. It avoids licentious and false persons and causes good and virtuous persons to advance. It is to be considered the [ranking] authority by all of the officials, and it shall be looked to in reverence by the people. Therefore, it ranks after the Two Principles (Nigi) and above the Eight Ministries.⁴

The sentiments expressed in this passage are obviously influenced by a Chinese prototype, but from them we learn little concerning the State Council's specific duties and obligations. However, we do know that the State Council was conceived of as being composed of two main divisions: the first division consisted of officials of the rank of counselor and above, and the second consisted of the controller of the left, the controller of the right and the assistant counsellors. The functional basis for such an administrative distinction was the fact that the chancellor, the ministers of the left and right, as well as the counsellors, were the chief policy formulators for, and advisers to, the sovereign. As such, their duties were not subject to specific definition. By contrast, the assistant counsellors and controllers of the left and right were assigned specific administrative responsibilities.

The chancellor, ministers of the left and right and the counsellors had direct access to the emperor, because of their

advisory duties, but the real burden of the administrative work of government fell on the shoulders of the various controllers (benkan) who acted as liaison officers between the State Council's advisory officials above and its eight ministries below. The controller of the left and the controller of the right each supervised the activities of four ministries and passed on to them the directives of the State Council. Each of the ministries, in turn, was in the charge of a minister under whom was an administrative staff and a number of bureaus and offices.

Chancellor

The chancellor (daijōdaijin) was the director of the State Council and the most important government official below the level of the emperor. The Yōrō Code describes his position and responsibilities in the following lofty terms:

There shall be one [chancellor]a. As a preceptor to the emperor he will shape the [destinies of the] Four Seas [i.e. the empire]. He will administer the nation and discourse on the [proper] Way. He will harmonize with Yin and Yang. If there is no person [with the proper qualifications], [the position] will not be filled.

If the order in which his duties are described is an index of the relative importance of his functions, it may be assumed that his most important duty was to proffer advice to the emperor and to assume the major administrative role in governing the nation. The last sentence of the passage quoted above would indicate that the post of chancellor was considered to be of so exalted a nature that it would be difficult to identify a properly qualified person to fill it. And when a suitable person could not be found the post of chancellor was to go vacant. In actual practice, in the Nara period, the position was frequently left unfilled. At times when the position was not filled, it was the practice to appoint either an imperial prince or prince as acting chancellor (chidaijōkanji), which was an extra-legal office not provided for in the legal code. The first such appointment was made in 703 when Imperial Prince Osakabe became the acting chancellor. It became a practice to grant posthumously the title of chancellor to high officials who had served the statea

exceptionally well.

From a reading of the passage quoted above it is at once apparent that it is shot through with concepts and terminology of Chinese origin. The references to the "Four Seas," to "Yin and Yang," and to the "Way" are wholesale borrowings, the practical significance of which is difficult to determine.

The Ryō-no-gige (RGG) commentary to this passage philosophizes on the text of the Yōrō Code without telling us very much about a chancellor's specific duties. The following selected passages are of interest primarily because of their Chinese provenance:

It has been said that a person who instructs others does so by means of the Way.... The Four Seas [i.e. the empire] consist of the nine barbarian tribes of the east, the seven barbarian tribes of the west, and the six barbarian tribes of the south....

A person who administers is one who produces harmony. A person who regulates is a person who administers. This means that the chancellor assists the ruler, discourses on the Way, and in managing [the government] adjusts the affairs of the country. In harmonizing Yin and Yang he causes harmony; therefore, he is one who is selected because he is virtuous.

The RSG commentary continues with a few statements that contribute to some understanding of the duties and position of the chancellor. The following passage is taken from the Anaoki, a private commentary quoted in the RSG:⁵

What are the duties of the chancellor:
 Answer: In the Forms Code [for official documents sec.21 of Yōrō Code], there is a passage which says, "He signs memorials to the throne." In addition, in the Ceremonies Code [sec.18 of Yōrō Code] there is a passage saying, "If one occupies a seat in the government office, he meets with the chancellor." Therefore he is just the same as the minister of the left in that he participates in various government affairs.

The Shoku Nihongi (SNG), our principle chronological text of the eighth century, provides us with considerable specific information on many of the acts and functions of the State Council. In some instances, however, the term Daijōkan, that is, State Council, is used in the text in such a way that it remains uncertain as to whether the term refers to acts of the State Council as a whole or to those of some specific official. It seems quite certain that the chancellor, the ministers of the left and right, and the senior counsellors (assuming that all these positions were filled at a given time) acted in concert as a committee and their decisions were recorded as being those of the State Council as a whole.

The available data demonstrate that the scope of the Council's interest and involvement was very broad indeed. It handed down policies and regulations in all the functional areas in which the eight ministries assumed responsibility under the direction of the controllers of the left and right. Both central and provincial governmental matters were the subjects of the Council's directives. At court for example, the Council formulated regulations for imperial audiences granted to officials of the fifth court rank and above, for the granting of court ranks, both regular and temporary; and for the methods to be followed in nominating and appointing officials. The Council also regulated the enfeoffment of serfs, the granting of amnesty and pardons, and the commutation or punishment of local-government officials. It had the authority

in the economic sphere to regulate the allocation of tax receipts and to standardize the means of measuring and reporting on the assets of government granaries at the provincial level. It issued orders in the form of daijō Kan-pu.

Ministers of the Left and Right

The minister of the left (sa-daijin) and the minister of the right (u-daijin) performed identical functions in the State Council, but the minister of the left ranked above the one of the right. The RSG and the private commentary known as the Anao-ki, mentioned just above, stress that the positions of the chancellor and the minister of the left differed only in degree and not in kind, as follows:

The Prisons Code [of the Yōrō Code] says, "Their seats [i.e., of the chancellor and the minister of the left] will be together. Those [persons of the rank] of minister of the right and above are classified as directors [kami]." According to this passage, even though it does not explain the nature of the posts and the duties involved, he [i.e., the chancellor] does not handle affairs differently from the minister of the left. There are only differences in degree.

The chancellor and the ministers of the left and right stood at the apex of the administrative pyramid and were, in reality, a back-up system in situations in which either the post of chancellor or that of the minister of the left, or both, were left vacant, as was frequently the case during the eighth century.

When the chancellorship was not filled and if no acting chancellor was appointed, the minister of the left assumed the

duties of the chancellor. On such occasions the minister of the left was referred to as "ichi-no-kami," a term that may best be rendered as "prime director." This back-up system extended further: when the chancellorship was filled but that of the minister of the left was not, the minister of the right assumed his duties.

The Yōrō Code provides for the ministers of the left and right, as follows:

There shall be one [minister of the left]. He shall be charged with the supervision of the affairs of state. He shall pass judgment on various matters in conformity with the details [of the laws]. When the judgments of the judicial officers are in error, he shall be empowered to pass judgment on such [misjudgments].

There shall be one [minister of the right]. His duties shall be the same as those of the minister of the left.

The role of the ministers of the left and right as higher judicial officers is emphasized in this passage of the code. Commentaries to this passage indicate that these ministers were empowered to undertake judicial reviews of the decisions of the Board of Censors (Danjō-dai), for example. When the Board of Censors arrived at improper judgments on illegal acts, the ministers of the left and right were empowered to summon the offending censors before the State Council to investigate and denounce, when appropriate, the censors' misjudgments. This check-and-balance procedure also extended upward to the chancellor who was empowered to investigate and denounce, when appropriate, the misjudgments of both the Board of Censors and the ministers of the left and right. In turn, the chancellor was responsible only to the sovereign for his acts.⁶

Senior and Assistant Counsellors

The Yōrō Code provided for four senior counsellors (dai-nagon)⁷ and three assistant counsellors (shō-nagon). Later in the eighth century the position of associate counsellor (chū-nagon) was created as an extra-legal office. The senior counsellors acted as chamberlains or gentlemen-in-waiting (jijū) to the sovereign, and advised him on important affairs of state. In this capacity, they were part of the small group of imperial advisers that included the chancellor and the ministers of the left and right. The senior counsellors acted as liaison officers between the emperor and their senior officials of the State Council, on the one hand, and the eight ministries, on the other. In this position their duties included transmitting imperial edicts to subordinate officials and offices and presenting memorials addressed to the throne. Their duties naturally also included giving advice regarding the memorials that were submitted to the State Council by lower officials and on edicts and policy decisions to be transmitted from the State Council to the officials below. As chamberlains and assistants to the emperor, the senior counsellors were empowered to offer advice and remonstrance to the sovereign.⁸ Another of their responsibilities was to record the utterances of the emperor. In the absences of the ministers of the left and right, or when those posts were not filled, the senior counsellors assumed the administrative duties of those ministers.

The post of senior counsellor was usually reserved for

imperial princes holding the princely court rank of the third or fourth grade and for princes and officials holding the ordinary court rank of senior third grade.

Assistant counsellors were provided for in the Yōrō Code, the text of which states:

There shall be three [assistant counsellors]. They shall be charged with submitting memorials to the emperor and proclaiming imperial edicts relative to minor matters. [They shall be charged with] requesting from and returning to [the government] the bells, seals, and tallies for requisitioning relay horses (rei-in-tenpu) and with awarding of and returning to [the government] relay-station boxes and bells. They shall, at the same time [be charged with] the custody of the official seals [of the State Council] (kan'in). The assistant counsellors shall be included among the chamberlains.

It can be seen from this text that the duties of the assistant counsellors fell into three categories: those involving memorials and imperial edicts; those relating to the State Council's seals and passes; and those as chamberlains to the emperor. Memorials and edicts that were considered to be of major importance were handled by the senior counsellors and those of lesser importance, by the assistant counsellors.

The assistant counsellors were responsible for requesting, receiving, disbursing, collecting and later returning various credentials of the State Council that were required by government officials. The credentials were primarily those required by officers in requisitioning horses for travel on government business outside of the capitol. These included the following: relay-station bells (ekirei), horse-requisitioning tallies (denba-no-fu), and boxes and bells used by officials travelling on urgent state business (hieki kanrei).⁹

The relay-station bells were made of copper and were carried by the officials as they traveled. The sound of the jingling bells provided advance notice to the horse-relay stations along the way of the approach of an official on urgent business, so that advance arrangements could be made for him to change horses with the least possible delay. The bells also served as credentials which empowered the official to requisition horses at the relay station. The horse-requisitioning tallies were wooden tablets that were issued to an official, which authorized him to requisition horses at relay stations when traveling to the provinces on less urgent business. The boxes were used by a traveling official to carry his written credentials and state papers. The Mediate Affairs Ministry was the repository of the boxes, bells and tallies, but it was the assistant counsellors who requested them from that ministry on behalf of the State Council, issued them to an official who would use them on his travels, collected them from him upon completion of his mission, and returned them to the Mediate Affairs Ministry.

The assistant counsellors were also charged with the custody of the official seals of the State Council (kan'in). There is some uncertainty here, because the term kan'in may refer to either official seals, in general, or to the seal of the State Council, in particular. The Forms Code (Section 21 of the Yōrō Code) provides for two types of seals: nai'in or "inner seals" and ge'in or "outer seals." The inner seals included the shinji or "divine seal" (which was also known as

the tenshi-no-shinji or the "divine seal of the son-of-heaven") and apparently was not used. Also included was the tennō-no-gyoji or the emperor's privy seal which was affixed to documents relating to the granting of the fifth court rank and above and on correspondence to the provincial governments. The outer seal was the seal of the State Council and was also known as the kan'in referred to above. It was affixed to correspondence of the State Council and to documents relating to the granting of the sixth court rank and below. Other seals, of course, were used during the eighth century, which are not mentioned in the code. They included district-government seals (gun'in), military-brigade seals (gundan-in), etc.¹⁰

The third category of the duties of the assistant counsellors consisted of acting as chamberlains to the emperor. They were designated chamberlains, because the nature of their responsibilities necessitated frequent access to the palace and the sovereign. In the ninth century, however, the office of the assistant counsellors greatly declined in importance. In 810 the Emperor's Private Office (kurōdodokoro) was established. Private secretaries to the emperor (kurōdo) had existed before that time, but after 810 they gradually took over many of the duties which had been performed in earlier times by the assistant counsellors and the Mediate Affairs Ministry. From the ninth century on, the assistant counsellors' work was largely restricted to the handling and certification of the various seals of government.

Assistant counsellors usually bore the court rank of

junior fifth, lower grade, a rank which placed them within a relatively low position within the State Council, but in a relatively high position within the overall government structure. The complex court-rank system provided for in the Yōrō Code consisted of thirty gradations, and the assistant counsellors' rank of junior fifth, lower grade was fourteenth from the top. Officers holding this court rank or higher were considered to be in a class by themselves. It was the lowest court rank which could be held by a prince, and court ranks below this grade could be held only by officials not related to the imperial family.

The staff of the assistant counsellors consisted of two secretaries (dai-geki) who drafted imperial edicts and memorials directed to the sovereign. They kept records on these matters as well as on certain investitures of officials or their removal from office. There were also two assistant secretaries (shō-geki) who performed basically the same functions as the secretaries. The secretaries were men of ability and elite social backgrounds, factors reflected in their relatively high court rank of senior sixth, upper grade. As such they were just one grade below that of an assistant counsellor. The code rounds off the staff with ten clerks (shishō) who made drafts and copied documents.

Controllers of the Left and Right

The controllers of the left (sa-daiben) and right (u-dai-ben) supervised, at the level of the State Council, the activities of the subordinate eight ministries. The controllers' offices were the liaison channel through which the State Council's higher officials kept informed about and controlled the activities of the eight ministries. The controllers transmitted the orders originating from the higher levels of the State Council to the directors of the ministries under them.

The Yōrō Code, in outlining the responsibilities of the controllers, states:

There shall be one controller of the left. He shall be charged with the supervision of the Mediate Affairs, Ceremonies, Regulatory, and Popular Affairs Ministries, the receipt and dispatch of various matters, judgment on matters pertaining to officials of the government, the affixing of his signature to documents in draft form, the correction of mistaken judgments, the supervision of the night watches of the various offices, [the supervision of] audiences at court for [envoys from the] various provinces. If there is no controller of the right [appointed], the controller of the left [shall then carry out the combined duties] of both offices.

There shall be one controller of the right. He shall be charged with the supervision of the Military Affairs, Justice, Treasury and Imperial Household Ministries. The remainder [of his duties] shall be the same as those of the controller of the left.

There shall be one associate controller of the left (sa-chūben). He shall be charged with the same [duties] as those of the controller of the left.

There shall be one associate controller of the right (u-chūben). He shall be charged with the same [duties] as those of the controller of the right.

There shall be one assistant controller of the left (sa-shōben). He shall be charged with the same [duties] as those of the associate controller of the left.

There shall be one assistant controller of the right (u-shōben). He shall be charged with the same [duties] as those of the associate controller of the right.

The basic characteristic of the system described in the above quotation is its bilateral supervisory division of the eight ministries, with each side provided with a controller and associate and assistant controllers supervising the activities of the eight ministries. On each side there is a well-defined system of subordination and of back-up responsibilities for which there were three ranks of controllers charged with virtually identical responsibilities. Only at the apex of this system of controllers was the left-right division of responsibilities not fully maintained, because the controller of the left was empowered to supervise the four ministries on the right side in the absence of a controller of the right.

From commentaries, we learn that the controllers were charged with the receipt of various matters that were to be transmitted to their subordinates, and that they were obliged to transmit the matters in question to the proper government office not later than the following day. Controllers also were empowered to pass judgment on conflicts pertaining to the officials of the State Council below their own rank, which would mean the associate and assistant controllers, as well as of officials within the eight ministries, with the probable exception of the directors of the ministries whose court ranks were slightly higher than those of the controllers. They were also empowered to investigate and correct errors

and delays which had been caused by subordinate officials. Additional responsibilities included acting as the chief security officers for the night watches of the various offices and bureaus of the State Council and processing the annual reports submitted in the eleventh month by provincial officials.

Unlike higher officials of the State Council, such as the chancellor, ministers of the left and right, and counselors, the controllers of the left and right were not designated by the legal code to function in an advisory capacity. The controllers performed at the practical level the daily substantive functions of the State Council. As such the controllers occupied an important and strategic position within the State Council. The court rank of the controllers of the left and right was usually junior fourth, upper grade, and as such they ranked three grades below an associate counsellor and four grades above an assistant counsellor.

The controllers' staff consisted of two secretaries of the left (sa-daishi) and two secretaries of the right (u-dai-shi), plus four assistant secretaries, two of the left (sa-shōshi) and two of the right (u-shōshi). As in the case of the two secretaries on the staff of the assistant counsellors, the four secretaries of the left and right on the controllers' staff were persons of considerable position and held the court rank of senior sixth, upper grade, and the four assistant secretaries held the court rank of senior seventh, upper grade.

The lower ranking members of the controllers' staff consisted of twenty clerks, ten of the left and ten of the right

(sa-shishō and u-shishō); four office supervisors, two of the left and two of the right (sa-kanshō and u-kanshō); 160 pages, eighty of the left and eighty of the right (sa-shibu and u-shibu); and, lastly, eight watchmen, four of the left and four of the right (sa-jikichō and u-jikichō).

Notes

1. The following table has been adapted from one found in Miyamoto Tasuku, "Shuto to chihō," Kodai no Nihon, v. 1 (Yōsetsu), 1971, p. 229.

2. ibid., pp. 228-230.

3. This quotation and the others below relating to the State Council are taken from the Kokushi Taikei (fukyūban) editions of the Ryō-no-gige (1975), (hereinafter, RGG I), pp. 30-32, and the Ryō-no-shūge v.1 (1974), (hereinafter, RSG I), pp. 40-54. For other commentaries, see: Kubomi Masayasu, Taihō-ryō shinkai, 1916, (hereinafter, Kubomi), pp. 30-39; Kondō Yoshiki, Hyōchū Ryō-no-gige kōhon in Kojitsu Sōsho, 1938, v. 38, (hereinafter, Kondō), pp. 60-69; and Iwahashi, pp. 159-166.

4. The Ryō-shaku is not extant. It was a commentary on the Yōrō Code and consisted of seven books (kan) and thirty sections (hen). The author and the time of its composition is unknown. The "Two Principles" stand for either Yin and Yang or Heaven and Earth.

5. The Anao-ki is thought to have been a private legal commentary written sometime between 782 and 796. It was quoted in the Sakutei Penal and Administrative Code, the RSG and RGG.

6. Kondō, p. 60.

7. The Yōrō Code uses the term dai-nagon, but as early as 665 officials called gyoshi-taifu were appointed to the State Council and it is believed that they performed functions essentially the same as those of senior counsellors. This belief is supported by the fact that in 672 that title of gyoshi-taifu was changed to dai-nagon. In 757 the title was changed back to gyoshi-taifu, and in 764 it was changed back to dai-nagon.

8. The term used here by the Yōrō Code is kentei or kentai which means basically to advance good and banish evil, and by extension it came to mean to assist the sovereign. The term has given rise to speculation as to whether it means just assisting the sovereign in a very general sense, or whether the senior counsellors actually were empowered to go one step further and tell the sovereign when he was wrong.

9. The standard work on Japan's ancient system of horse-relay stations remains Sakamoto Tarō's Jōdai ekisei no kenkyū, 1928.

10. For a concise summary of seals, see "Inshō" in NRD, v. 1, pp. 486-487. See also Section 21 of the Yōrō Code devoted to forms for officials documents, RGG I, p. 252, and J.B. Snellen, "Shoku Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan, Continued, from A.D. 697-791," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 14, p. 247, n. 38.

VI. The Eight Ministries

A. Mediate Affairs Ministry

The Mediate Affairs Ministry (Nakatsukasa-shō) was the most important of the eight ministries below the level of the sovereign and the Council of State.¹ Its rank was superior to the other seven ministries, because its responsibilities were of pivotal concern to the sovereign and the imperial family, and because it acted as the primary organ of communication between the sovereign and the State Council above and the lesser administrative organs below. The superior position of this ministry was reflected in the court rank held by its minister, which was senior fourth rank, upper grade, while the directors of the other seven ministries held the senior fourth rank, lower grade. As would be appropriate to a ministry of such importance, only persons of high social position were appointed to this office during the Nara period. Twelve persons were appointed to the position of minister, one of whom was an imperial prince, two were princes, and nine were members of such traditionally prominent clans as the Ono, Ōtomo, Tajii, Fujiwara and Mononobe. In the following Heian period it became more common to appoint as minister only imperial princes, and princes, rather than individuals drawn from lower social elements within the officialdom.

According to the statutes of the Yōrō Code, the minister's duties and responsibilities were varied and numerous. For example, he served the sovereign in the capacity of chamberlain

and advised him, so we are told, on matters relating to the suppression of evil, the upholding of good, and in matters of proper decorum and ceremony. From lower officials he received, inspected and checked the drafts of imperial rescripts and edicts. He was also responsible for the maintenance of numerous lists and records relating to various women of the palace, such as princesses and court ladies of the fifth rank and above. He had custody of the census records of various provinces, the records on the collection of the paddy-field taxes (so) and taxes-in-kind (chō), and the registers of Buddhist monks and nuns.²

The minister's duties as chamberlain-in-waiting on the sovereign, as well as advising him in matters of ethics, decorum and ceremony, as mentioned above, were essentially the same as those performed by the senior counsellors of the State Council, who were superior in rank and responsibility. The minister's more specific responsibility was to have such documents as rescripts, edicts, proclamations and memorials drafted by the ministry's palace secretaries (naiki)³ and then inspect the drafts and affix his name to them prior to proper transmission. He also received and authenticated imperial orders of various sorts prior to proclaiming them. These could cover a variety of matters such as having the palace attendants (u-toneri) mobilize the troops, to extend the appreciation of the crown to, or reward, officials who had resigned from service, or to express the imperial concern for officials who were sick. The minister also received memorials prepared

and submitted by lower officials and passed them to the State Council for transmission to the sovereign.

It will be seen from the above that the Mediate Affairs Ministry functioned primarily in a liaison capacity between the imperial court and various of the government's other administrative offices. One consequence of this arrangement was an apparent duplication of function as between this and the other seven ministries. In some instances the duplication resulted from the ministry's responsibility of inspecting and supervising the work of other ministries; while in others, the apparent functional duplication arose from the ministry's being responsible for record keeping of court personnel as well as of officials holding relatively high court ranks. For example, while the Ceremonies Ministry handled matters relative to the status of civil officials and the Military Affairs Ministry, relative to that of military personnel, the Mediate Affairs Ministry handled those relative to the court ladies. And while the Popular Affairs Ministry was responsible for the keeping of census and tax records, the Mediate Affairs Ministry arranged for their submission to the emperor for his inspection.

In view of its multifarious duties and responsibilities, it is not surprising that the staff of the Mediate Affairs Ministry was extensive, by far the largest of any of the other seven ministries. The ministry's administrative staff comprised 10 positions, but when one includes the entire staff from the highest officials to the lowest ranking pages and watchmen in

the ministry and in its ten functional departments, the figure rises to more than 2700.⁴

The senior administrative staff comprised a minister, an associate minister (tai-u or ta-yu) and an assistant minister (shō-yu). They in turn were supported by an executive secretary (dai-jō), 2 assistant executive secretaries (shō-jō), 1 recorder (dai-roku) and 3 assistant recorders (shō-roku), plus 20 clerks.

These officials had the general administrative responsibilities of the ministry, while the balance of the officials in the ministry were charged with more specialized duties. There were 8 chamberlains (jijū) whose duties were similar to those of the counsellors and assistant counsellors of the State Council, which were to attend the emperor, to be of general assistance to him, and to remonstrate with him when necessary. It was consequently not unusual for some of the eight chamberlains (noted below) to hold concurrently the post of assistant counsellor within the State Council. Within the system of court ranks such an arrangement was entirely possible, since chamberlains in the Mediate Affairs Ministry and assistant counsellors in the Council of State held the same court rank of junior fifth rank, lower grade.⁵

The ministry was assigned 90 palace attendants (u-toneri) who performed various duties in the service of the sovereign such as those of palace guard, which included the manning of the night watches. They carried swords and also marched fore and aft of the imperial conveyance when the sovereign

went on visitations. They were selected from among male offspring of noblemen bearing the fifth court rank or above. When such offspring reached twenty-one years of age or more they could submit to an examination conducted by the Ceremonies Ministry. Upon passing the examination they could be assigned appropriate duties as palace attendants, if they were considered intelligent and possessed a good bearing and manners.

There were several different types of attendants assigned to government duties by the Yōrō Code. They derived from slightly different social strata, although there was some apparent overlapping. In addition to the palace attendants mentioned above, there were also senior attendants (ō-toneri) who were offspring of noblemen of similar rank but were individuals who could not be employed as palace attendants for one reason or another. ō-toneri were also selected from among both legitimate and natural offspring of officials whose court ranks ranged between the inner sixth and inner eighth grades.

The code provided for 2 palace secretaries (dai-naiki), 2 associate palace secretaries (chū-naiki) and 2 assistant palace secretaries (shōnaiki), whose duties consisted of drafting imperial edicts (shōchoku), proclamations (senmyō), and responses (chokutō)^a They also drafted memorials directed to the sovereign (jōsō) and kept records of court-rank investitures. Since their responsibilities entailed the drafting of documents, persons appointed as secretaries had to be skilled in literary composition in the Confucian style. The 20 clerks mentioned above assisted the secretaries as copyists.

In the early Heian period the position of associate palace secretary was eliminated, and later the palace secretaries were reduced to one.

The code next provides for 2 inspectors (dai-kenmotsu), 4 associate inspectors (chū-kenmotsu) and 4 assistant inspectors (shō-kenmotsu), together with 4 clerks, who were in charge of the palace storehouses and of the handling of the storehouse keys. It is interesting to note that there was a strict regulation that princes within the third degree of relationship with the sovereign were not permitted to assume duties relating to the palace storehouse keys.⁶

The code provides for 2 bell wardens (dai-shūryō) and 2 assistant bell wardens (shō-shūryō) whose duties included the issuance and receipt of relay-station bells (ekirei), horse-requisition tallies (tenpu) and boxes and bells (hieki kanrei) used by officials on urgent business to requisition horses at relay stations. The bell wardens were also in charge of the issuance and receipt of the imperial seals (nai'in). These duties of the bell wardens were supervised by the assistant counsellors in the State Council.

The code also provides for 2 key wardens (dai-tenyaku) and 2 assistant key wardens (shō-tenyaku). In actuality, these officials were seldom if ever appointed and there is no reference to them in the SNJ.

The staff of the Mediate Affairs Ministry is then rounded off with 2 office supervisors (shōshō) who were generally responsible for supervising the 70 pages (shibu) and 10 watchmen.

* * * * *

Functionally, the Mediate Affairs Ministry was charged with two primary responsibilities: the first was to care for the needs of the sovereign and the palace; and the second was to provide liaison between the State Council, above, and the other seven ministries, below. Of these two areas of responsibility, the first was the more apparent, as is exemplified by the fact that the responsibilities of the 10 subordinate departments of this ministry related exclusively to the sovereign and palace. The 10 departments comprised 1 secretariat (shiki), 6 bureaus (ryō) and 3 offices (tsukasa or shi) as follows:

1. Empress' Household Secretariat
2. Senior Attendants' Bureau of the Left
3. Senior Attendants' Bureau of the Right
4. Manuscripts and Books Bureau
5. Palace Storehouses Bureau
6. Wardrobe Bureau
7. Divination Bureau
8. Painting Office
9. Pharmaceutical Office
10. Palace Discipline Office

1. Empress' Household Secretariat (Chūgū-shiki)

This secretariat dealt primarily with affairs relating to the empress (kōgō), the empress dowager (kōtaikō), and the grand empress dowager (tai-kōtaikō). Chūgū is a term used in the Yōrō Code to refer to these three imperial consorts. The code states that the responsibility of this secretariat was to submit matters to its superiors and to hand down orders from above. This statement is taken to mean to submit to the imperial consorts communications from the government and to transmit the consorts' orders to the appropriate government offices.

The staff of this secretariat consisted of 8 administrative officers and 433 subordinates. The administrative officers consisted 1 director, 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 1 recorder and 2 assistant recorders. The subordinates consisted of 400 attendants, 30 pages, and 3 watchmen. The attendants manned the night watches of the palace and performed other miscellaneous functions within the palace. According to the Military Defense Code (Section 17 of the Yōrō Code), the attendants were scions of families who enjoyed the fifth court rank or higher, and who were twenty-one years of age or older.

Numerous changes were made during the eighth century in both the name of this secretariat and in its staffing. For example, during the reign of Empress Kōken (749-758), Emi Oshikatsu changed the name of the Chūgū-shiki to Shibi-chūdai

and again in the reign of Emperor Junnin (758-764) to Kongū-
kan (Kongū being an alternate name for the empress' palace,
 therefore, a literal translation would be the "Empress'
 Palace Office.") After the fall of Emi Oshikatsu, the original
 name of Chūgū-shiki was restored.

2 & 3 . Senior Attendants' Bureaus of the Left and Right
(Sa-U-ōtoneri-ryō)

These two Senior Attendants' Bureaus were largely respons-
 ible for the administration of the numerous attendants used
 for palace security and related tasks.[?] The bureaus were i-
 dentically staffed with each having 6 administrative officers
 and 822 subordinates. The administrative officers consisted
 of 1 director, 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary,
 1 assistant executive secretary, 1 recorder and 1 assistant
 recorder; and the subordinates consisted of 800 senior attend-
 ants, 20 pages and 2 watchmen.

The director handled such matters as the personnel re-
 gisters of the senior attendants, the assignments for guard
 duty within the palace precincts, the supervision of staff
 department, and determining days off, etc. The senior attend-
 ants in these bureaus performed much the same functions as the
 90 palace attendants attached to the staff of the Mediate Af-
 fairs Ministry. For example, they were employed to man the
 night watches within the palace precincts and guard the imper-
 ial carriage fore and aft when the emperor travelled outside
 of the palace. It is interesting to note here that the

associate director was referred to as "the auspicious rope assistant" (mikō-suke), because he held the rope of the royal carriage when the emperor travelled out of the palace. Because of the nature of the senior attendants' duties they were permitted to carry arms, although they were not classified as military personnel. As the occasion demanded they also performed police functions on ceremonial occasions and guarded the inner gates when memorials were submitted to the emperor.

The use of attendants in the service of officials and government is provided for in a number of places in the code. The institution of toneri stretches back beyond the Taika-reform period for at least several centuries, probably to as early as the fifth or sixth centuries. Both the KJK and the NSK make frequent reference to toneri in conjunction with various types of workers groups, such as the Shiraka-be-toneri, Isonokami-be-toneri, who served emperors and crown princes. It appears that in provincial areas, away from court, influential rural families acted for the sovereign as rural managers (tomo-no-miyatsuko) in charge of such attendants' groups.

By 673 in the second year of the reign of Tenmu (by which time the Ōmi Code was probably operative), reference is made to senior attendants. The NSK (Tenmu 2/5) informs us that the emperor commanded:

Let those who first take service [under the Government] be at the outset employed by the Ohotoneri. Afterward, let them be allotted to suitable offices, selection being made according to their capacities.⁸

It is likely that the formal incorporation of attendants into the legal and administrative system began at this time. The Yōrō Code provides for relatively large numbers of several types of toneri such as the 90 palace attendants attached to the Mediate Affairs Ministry, the 400 attendants in the Empress' Household Secretariat, the 1600 senior attendants provided here in the Attendants Bureaus of the Left and Right, plus 600 attendants in the Eastern Palace (Tōgū) of the heir apparent.

4. Manuscripts and Books Bureau (Zusho-ryō)

This bureau performed miscellaneous duties relative to books, documents, Buddhist paraphernalia and office supplies. The Yōrō Code charged the director with the care of the classics and divination charts; the compilation of the nation's history; the care of Buddhist sutras and images; arrangements for certain Buddhist ceremonies in the palace; the copying, collecting and checking of documents for accuracy; and, finally, for the issuance of paper, brushes and ink required by the other offices of the government. The RSG comments that the classics refer to the five (Confucian) classics and the six (Confucian) classics, that the divination charts (zusho) refer to the "river charts" (kato) and to "falling water charts" (rakusho), both of which were important for divination purposes. The "river charts" dealt primarily with the eight divination signs (hakke), and the "falling water charts" depicted the markings that appear on the back of a divine

tortoise in falling water.

The administrative officers of this bureau consisted of the following: 1 director, 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 assistant executive secretary, 1 recorder and 1 assistant recorder. The specialist and subordinate staffs consisted of the following: 20 copyists (shasho-shu), 4 bookbinders (sōko-shu), 4 papermakers (zōshi-shu), 4 brushmakers (zōhitsu-shu), 4 inkmakers (zōboku-shu), plus 20 pages, 2 watchmen and an unspecified number of paper-manufacturing guilds (kami-be). The activities of the specialist staff are apparent from their designations, but a word or two should be said about the paper-manufacturing guilds for which the code does not specify the number. The RSG, quoting another source that is no longer extant, states that there were fifty such guilds in Yamashiro Province and that each guild annually supplied one member to the court. They worked there between the tenth month of a given year and the third month of the following year. During that time they were exempted from the payment of taxes-in-kind (ichō) and the miscellaneous additional labor and labor-substitute taxes (zōyō).

5. Palace Storehouse Bureau (Kura-ryō)

This bureau took charge of the receipt, issuance and storage of clothes and valuables used by the emperor and his chief consort. Its duties therefore placed the bureau's administrative staff in close contact with the sovereign and his immediate family. The bureau itself was early referred to as the "Uchi-no-kura-no-tsukasa," meaning the "Inner" Storehouse Bureau. It was also referred to as the "Dairi-no-kura-no-tsukasa," or the "Imperial Palace" Storehouse Bureau. It is believed that these titles for the bureau were used to distinguish it from the Treasury Ministry whose title was Ōkura Shō and therefore so similar to Palace Storehouse Bureau's Japanese titles of Kura-ryō or Kura-no-tsukasa. Although similar in their Japanese titles, the Palace Storehouse Bureau and the Treasury Ministry bore markedly different responsibilities. The former served the sovereign in a personal way, while the latter handled the government's general tax receipts and disbursements.

The Yōrō Code provides that the director of the bureau be in charge of such valuables as gold and silver, gems and other valuables such as fine brocades and items made of fur that had been received in tribute "from the various barbarians" (shoban) meaning, of course, gifts received from foreign envoys. These items were transmitted to the bureau from the Treasury Ministry. We are told that the director took charge of the emperor's and empress' clothing and also took charge of the offerings made by the sovereign to Shintō

shrines.

The balance of the administrative staff consisted of 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder and 1 assistant recorder. The subordinate staff consisted of 2 key wardens (dai-shuyaku) and 2 assistant key wardens (shō-shuyaku), who handled the receipt and disbursement of items in the charge of the bureau. Then there were 40 warehousemen (kura-be) who performed miscellaneous functions, including the security of the storehouses and the receipt and disbursement of their contents; 2 estimators (kachō) whose responsibility it was to determine the value of goods purchased by the bureau; 2 cobblers (tenri) who supervised the making of footgear for the sovereign and took charge of 10 Kudara-te-hito or Kudara handworkers.⁹ The Kudara handworkers were the ones who sewed the footgear. The balance of the staff consisted of 20 pages, 2 watchmen and an unspecified number of Kudara guilds (Kudara-be). It is probable that the Kudara workers were descendants of immigrant stock from Korea and that they were taken into service from Kudara guilds as the occasion demanded. They were said to be workers in fine leather goods. The RGG states that there were 6 Kudara-be in the Left Ward of the Capital (sakyō) and 4 in Kii Province.

6. Wardrobe Bureau (Nuidono-ryō; other readings for this bureau are Nuidono-no-tsukasa and Nui-no-tsukasa.)

This bureau was charged with the weaving, braiding and sewing of the imperial garments and of garments presented as gifts to others by the sovereign. The director of the bureau was charged with the following responsibilities: the keeping of the registers of palace personnel such as princesses (joō) and other female officials (myōbu), both inner and outer, and to evaluate and record the sewing and the clothes made by the functional staff of the bureau. The princesses were descendants from imperial princes in the male line, who were within the second and fourth generations of descent of an emperor. There were two kinds of myōbu: "inner" female officials (nai-myōbu) belonging to fourth or fifth court rank; and the "outer" female officials (ge-myōbu) whose husbands were of the fifth court rank or above.

The records kept on female officials included those who worked in a number of other offices, such as the twelve offices of the Hinder Palace (i.e., the palace women's quarters). The records also consisted of daily statistics on the work accomplished by the various seamstresses, etc. The reports on these matters were sent to the Mediate Affairs Ministry where they were probably used for making commendations.

In addition to the director mentioned above, the administrative staff consisted of 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder and 1 assistant recorder, plus a subordinate staff consisting of 20 pages and 2 watchmen.^a

These figures belie the fact that during the Nara and early Heian periods this bureau's staff was greatly expanded to include specialists who sewed, worked in silk, and dyed materials. In 799 (Enryaku 18) the bureau was upgraded to become a "major" bureau (ō-ryō), and in 808 (Daidō 3) the Needlework Office (Nuibe-no-tsukasa) of the Treasury Ministry, and for a time, the Palace Women's Office (Uneme-no-tsukasa) and the Palace Dyeing Office (Naisen-shi), both of the Imperial Household Ministry, were joined with it.

7. Divination Bureau (Onyō-ryō or Onmyō-ryō)

The Yōrō Code charges the director of this bureau with the following areas of responsibility: astronomical observations, calendrical computations, observation of the winds and clouds, and the confidential reporting of unusual natural phenomena to his superiors. Commentaries inform us that the astronomical observations related to the sun, moon, the five planets and the twenty-eight constellations of the heavens, and that calendrical computations involved calculations of the days and months for constructing the calendar and telling the time of the year. It was the responsibility of the Astrology Doctor (listed below) to observe the clouds and determine whether the portents were favorable or not. If anything out of the ordinary was observed a written notation was to be made of it and sent to the bureau director for transmittal to the Mediate Affairs Ministry.

It can be safely said that it was in the area of Chinese

science and technology that Japan made wholesale borrowings with the least amount of adaptation to native tradition. The reason was simply that in the seventh and eighth centuries there existed in Japan no comparable scientific tradition to which the importations could have been adapted. Within the Chinese scheme of things the computation of an accurate calendar and the observation and interpretation of natural phenomena were thought to be of pivotal importance for the maintenance of stable government and the peaceful continuation of the imperial line.

China as an agricultural society required a calendar for the computation of the seasons, and from very early times it had become the responsibility of the sovereign to insure the accuracy of the calendar. The observation of nature to determine the moral and spiritual implications of phenomenal omens and portents was a closely related activity. Adverse weather conditions that would damage or destroy crops, or natural disasters such as floods that would bring misery to the people, were thought of as indications of divine displeasure and as warnings to the sovereign because of his misconduct. While Japan adopted Chinese mathematics, astronomy and Ying-Yang, she did not go the whole way and adopt the Chinese concept that the sovereign and his dynasty could be replaced by others if his conduct was not corrected. Nevertheless, Japan's agrarian base required an accurate seasonal calendar as much as China's, and the Japanese court took most seriously omens and portents as signs of divine displeasure or approbation. The

Divination Bureau was doubtless placed under the Mediate Affairs Ministry, the most important of the eight ministries of government, because its responsibilities were thought to be highly supportative of the sovereign and the imperial line.

It is uncertain as to how early Yin-Yang concepts and technology were imported and utilized by Japan, but the NSK refers to Yin-Yang from the last half of the seventh century during the reigns of Tenchi, Tenmu and Jitō. The earliest reference to Ying-Yang methodology appears in the NSK in 671 (Tenchi 10), and it appears that a Divination Bureau may have existed as early as 676 (Tenmu 4). During the Nara period, Yin-Yang, along with Buddhism and Shintō, were utilized to succor the nation in times of natural disasters. The interpretation of omens, as well as the reading of sutras in Buddhist temples and the appeals of court messengers to important Shintō shrines, were thought by Japan's leaders to exert ameliorative influences. By the Heian period a large number of Yin-Yang festivals and regularly-scheduled Palace ceremonies were observed, many of which had been imported from China.¹⁰

In addition to the director mentioned above, the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of the following:
 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 20 pages and 2 watchmen. The specialized complement of the bureau consisted of the following:

1 Yin-Yang doctor (Onyō-hakase) who were in charge of
 divining and physiognomizing;

6 Yin-Yang tutors (Onyō-shi) who taught 10 Yin-Yang

students (onyō-sei);

1 calendar doctor (reki-hakase) who made calendars and taught that art to 10 calendar students (reki-sei);

1 astrology doctor (tenmon-hakase) who was responsible for reporting unusual phenomena on the basis of observations made of the configurations in the heavens, and for teaching 10 astrology students (tenmon-sei);

2 clepsydra doctors (rōkoku-hakase; also known as tokimori-no-hakase) who supervised the time keepers within the palace and the recording of the hours registered on the water-clocks;

20 time-keepers (shushin-chō or tokimori) who observed the time designated by the water-clocks and sounded the times with gongs and drums. One commentary states that in a 24-hour period drums sounded the time thirteen times and gongs forty-eight times.

8. Painting Office (Edakumi-no-tsukasa)

The Yōrō Code charges the director of the Painting Office with the execution of paintings and the supervision of the coloring supplies used for their execution. The art work done by this office was for the embellishment of palace utensils and furnishings. From commentaries we learn that painting supplies were not permanently stored in the Painting Office but had to be requisitioned from the Treasury Ministry and the Palace Storehouse Bureau attached to the Mediate Affairs Ministry.

The administrative and subordinate staff of this office was not large and consisted of a director plus 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 16 pages and 1 watchman. The specialized complement of the staff consisted of 4 painters (eshi) and 60 members of painters' guilds (ekaki-be).

The painters supervised the work of the members of the painters' guilds, who worked primarily within the palace area. Similar personnel in large numbers were employed in the decoration of the many newly-built temples during the eighth century, such as the Tōdaiji and scores of others. The earliest reference to painters occurs in the early seventh century, and other available evidence makes it clear that the majority of them were immigrants or of immigrant stock deriving from China and Korea. For example, the NSK notes in 606 (Suiko 19/9) that Kibumi painters (Kibumi-no-eshi) and Yamashiro painters (Yamashiro-no-eshi) were for the first time settled in Japan. The evidence is also clear that groups of such painters resided in the home provinces near the capital and worked under the supervision of court-appointed royal managers (tomo-no-miyatsuko). The NSK provides evidence of this in a notation of 683 (Tenmu 12/9/23) where we find an individual bearing the title of Kibumi-no-miyatsuko being granted the clan title of muraji. The Shinsen Shōjiroku, a valuable genealogical work of the early ninth century, provides the information that the Kibumi-no-miyatsuko clan was of Korean lineage.¹¹

9. Palace Pharmaceutical Office (Naiyaku-shi; also read Uchi-no-kusuri-no-tsukasa)

This office was charged with the care and compounding of medicinals and aromatics for the palace. The administrative and subordinate staff was small, consisting of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 10 pages and 1 watchman. The specialized complement of the office consisted of the following: 4 court physicians (jii) who were responsible for examining the imperial personages, diagnosing their illnesses and administering appropriate medicinals; and 10 pharmacists (yakusei) who ground, sifted and compounded the required medicinals.

There is evidence that the specialized complement of this office was expanded during the eighth century after the Yōrō Code had been compiled. For example, a SNG notation of 722 (Yōrō 6/11/7) states that provision was made for female medical doctors (joi-hakase), but it does not specify their number or the office to which they were attached. It is likely, however, that they were attached to the Palace Pharmaceutical Office. In support of this likelihood, there is a notation of 895 (Kanpyō 8/10/5) stating that this office was transferred to the Pharmaceutical Bureau (Tenyaku-ryō) in the Imperial Household Ministry, and the staff at that time included 4 court physicians, 11 female medical doctors and 10 pharmacists.

10. Palace Discipline Office (Nairai-shi)

The director of this office was charged with the maintenance of proper etiquette and decorum by persons within the palace, and for the investigation of their breaches. Commentaries add that these responsibilities were limited to the inner palace (dairi) precincts, specifically within the gates known as the kōmon, which were located to the east and west of the Dai-kyokuden, or imperial audience hall. Breaches of etiquette or decorum that occurred outside of those gates were handled by the Board of Censors (Danjōdai).

The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages and 1 watchman. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of just 6 censors (shurai).

The censors' responsibility was to identify breaches of etiquette and report them to the director of the Palace Discipline Office for eventual transmission to the Mediate Affairs Ministry and the Board of Censors. The censors were not responsible directly for reproofing or punishing breaches of conduct.

B. Ceremonies Ministry (Shikibu-shō or Nori-no-tsukasa)

The Ceremonies Ministry was responsible for a wide variety of activities relating to officials at court and in the provinces.¹² The Yōrō Code and available commentaries indicate that the minister's responsibilities consisted of the following. He was charged with the maintenance of registers on civilian officials of the central and provincial governments. The term used to make the distinction between central- and provincial-government officials is nai-ge bunkan, meaning "the inner and outer literary officials." The inner officials were those who held positions in the central government and the outer officials held positions in the provincial governments. The term "literary" referred to officials involved in administration in contrast to military officials who were assigned duties relating to the security of the inner precincts of the palace (kinri).¹³

The minister also was charged with evaluating the performance of officials and the management of government offices. It appears that his primary duty was to implement relevant portions of the Discipline Code (Kōka-ryō; Section 14 of the Yōrō Code). More specifically, his duties included: the selection, downgrading and dismissal of officials; the supervision of officials' department and court ceremonies, including the protocol and precedence to be maintained; the keeping of records of officials' court ranks; and the recommendation

of rewards for meritorious administrative and military officials at court. These rewards included grants of merit-rice fields (kōden) or the income from households given in fief (jikifu). Briefly, there were four types of jikifu as follows: (1) fugo which were households given in fief, the tax collections from which were wholly or in part granted to members of the imperial family and high officials as merit rewards; (2) ifu which were households given in fief to officials holding the third court rank or above and varying from a maximum of 300 households for an official of the senior first court rank down to 100 households for an official of the junior third court rank; (3) shikifu or households given for meritorious service to top officials of the State Council who held the senior third court rank or above (which naturally would mean just the chancellor, the ministers of left and right, and the senior counsellor) and varying from 800 down to 100 households, depending on the court rank of the recipient; and (4) kōfu or households given in fief for meritorious service to officials of the fifth court rank and above.

The minister was charged with matters relating to the selection and appointment procedures for the provincial officials who reported on provincial-government affairs to the central government. They were known as chōshūshi and were dispatched annually from the provincial governments or governors (kokushi) to deliver the provinces' annual reports (chōshūchō) to the State Council.

The minister was also responsible for the education and

examination of young men aiming at acquiring government positions. The various commentaries indicate that the term "education" here refers to training in the Chinese classics and examinations conducted to determine an applicant's knowledge of them. The Great Learning Bureau, under the authority of the minister, was the functional office that provided the educational facilities.

The minister was assigned a number of other miscellaneous duties. For example, he was in charge of deciding on the leaves of absence and holidays of officials, probably in terms of the statutes found in the Holidays and Leaves of Absence Code (Kan'nei-ryō; Section 25 of the Yōrō Code). The minister also handled the appointments of personnel to the households of imperial princes of the fourth princely rank (shihon) and above, and of officials with regular assignments of the third court rank and above. These appointments were made in terms of the statutes found in the Officials' Appointments in Households Code (Keryō-shokuin-ryō; Section 5 of the Yōrō Code). Such personnel were assigned to the offices handling the household affairs of such high-ranking personages.

The administrative and subordinate staff under the minister consisted of 1 associate minister, 1 assistant minister, 2 executive secretaries, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 1 registrar, 3 assistant registrars, 20 scribes, 2 office supervisors, 80 pages and 5 watchmen.

Only two bureaus were attached to the Ceremonies Ministry, namely, the Great Learning Bureau and the Court Ranks of

Non-Administrative Personnel Bureau.

1. Great Learning Bureau (Daigaku-ryō)¹⁴

The Great Learning Bureau was the educational arm of the central government for the training of young men in the Chinese classics, and for conducting examinations of candidates for government positions. The director of the bureau was charged in the Yōrō Code with the selection and examination of students and with the management of Confucian ceremonies. From other sources we know that these ceremonies were first instituted in 702 in the reign of Monmu and were conducted each year in the second and eighth months. Because of the nature of this bureau's responsibilities, it was the custom to appoint scholars to fill its specialized positions. In addition to the director mentioned above, the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of the following: 1 assistant director, 1 executive secretary, 1 assistant executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 20 pages and 2 watchmen. The specialized and student complement consisted of:

1 doctor (hakase) and 2 assistant professors (kyō) who were in charge of the instructional program in the Chinese classics and the examination of students, plus 400 students (gakushō) who were charged with taking instruction in the classics.

2 doctors of pronunciation (on-hakase) who taught students how to read by rote the Sino-Japanese readings of selected Chinese texts and dictionaries such as the

Ērh-ya (J. Ji-ga)

2 doctors of writing (sho-hakase or fumi-no-hakase) who taught Chinese calligraphy

2 doctors of arithmetic (san-hakase) who taught calculation methods, and

30 arithmetic students (san-shō)

There were four different disciplines in which a candidate had to be adept in order to acquire an appointment to office. These were known as the "four gates" (shimon; Ch. ssū-mên), a term of Chinese origin. Examinations in each of these four disciplines were given to student-candidates for appointments, and the successful examinees were given one of the following degrees depending on the discipline in which they were tested: shūsai (Ch. hsiu-tsai); myōkyō (Ch. ming-ching); shinshi (Ch. chin-shih); and myōhō (Ch. ming-fa).

The shūsai degree (meaning "talented person") was awarded to applicants who wrote two essays relating to the fundamentals of government administration, a topic, incidentally, in which the Great Learning Bureau did not offer instruction. The myōkyō degree (meaning literally "illumination of the [Chinese] classics") was the one that attracted the central attention of the Great Learning Bureau. Students pursuing this degree were called "students for illuminating the classics" (myōkyōsej) and their field of study was called "the way to illuminating the classics" (myōkyōdō). Students in this field were under the direction of the bureau's one doctor and two assistant professors who offered instruction in the Chinese

classics. ¹⁵

The shinshi degree (meaning "advanced scholar") was awarded to examinees who had written two acceptable essays on current government policies, were adept at reading such reference works as the Wên-hsüan and the Êrh-ya, and could explain the meaning of the three Chinese histories, namely, the Shih-chi, Han-shu and the Hou Han-shu. The Yōrō Code does not make specific reference to the instructional staff and students pursuing this discipline, but the SNG does refer in 728 (Jinki 5/7/21) to the existence then of a doctor of literature (monjō-no-hakase) and twenty students. Although that is the first reference to such personnel in the SNG it is highly likely that they dated from an earlier time and that the code omitted reference to them for unknown reasons.

The myōhō degree (meaning "illuminating the law") was awarded to successful examinees in a discipline that included instruction in the penal and administrative codes. Just as in the case of the shinshi discipline mentioned above, the Yōrō Code makes no provision for an instructional staff and students in this discipline. However, the RGG commentary on the Discipline Code (Section 14 of the Yōrō Code) states that provision for such personnel originally must have been made for doctors for illuminating the law and for their students. ¹⁶ Such doctors are first referred to in the SNG in a notation of 701 (Taihō 1/8) which states that doctors for illuminating the law were sent out at that time to lecture on the new Taihō Code. It is therefore believed that provision for personnel

in the myōhō discipline of the Great Learning Bureau was first made in the Taihō Code but for unknown reasons omitted from the Yōrō Code.

Students enrolled in these four disciplines were examined every ten days and at the end of the year, and their training in these subjects could last for as long as nine years. Those who did not show promise were asked to withdraw from the instructional programs. Those who completed their training, as well as those who were recommended by provincial governments, were examined by the Ceremonies Ministry. The students who successfully passed the examinations were given a court rank in terms of both their examination grades and the academic disciplines they had pursued. They were then appointed to an official position commensurate with their respective court ranks.

It should be pointed out that this examination system was not the only way in which a young man could gain court rank or appointments in government. There was another system of ranks called on-i (also in-i), a literal translation of which is "shadow ranks." By reason of this system, it was often more advantageous for a young man to rely upon his family's position and lineage rather than on the results of examinations, in order to acquire a position in government. The shadow rank system provided that the sons and grandsons of officials holding the fifth court rank or above automatically were to be granted certain court ranks upon attaining the age of twenty-one. For example, if an official enjoyed the first

court rank, his son at age twenty-one automatically was given the fifth court rank and his grandson the sixth. This system made it possible for young men of little ability, but from important families, eventually to attain high positions in government without subjecting themselves to academic training and examination. Such was particularly the case because the shadow court rank received by a young man was often higher than the court rank he could gain had he successfully passed through the examination system.¹⁷

2. Court Ranks of Non-Administrative Personnel Bureau (San'i-ryō or Sanni-ryō)

The awkward English rendition of this bureau's name results from the special usage of the term san'i (or sanni). It was used to refer to temporary court ranks of both central and provincial-government civilian and military personnel who were not assigned to a regularly-established government office or position that required a certain minimal court rank. For convenience sake these court ranks are sometimes referred to in English as "scattered ranks," a literal translation of the term "san'i."

The director of this bureau was charged with two responsibilities: the maintenance of registers on the status of civilian and military personnel bearing such scattered ranks, and the management of the dates for appearance at court of provincial delegates who at regular intervals reported to the State Council. According to commentaries on the Yōrō Code, the

registers of persons holding scattered court ranks encompassed all persons from those of the highest (that is, from the first court rank) down to the lowest. If a holder of a scattered rank later was appointed to a government office or post requiring a regular court rank, his name was removed from the registers maintained by this bureau.

This bureau did not have the sole management of the provincial delegates while they were at court. Their management was shared by the controllers in the State Council, the higher officials of the Ceremonies Ministry, and by the Military Affairs Ministry. One commentary states that this bureau decided only on the dates for the various provincial delegates to report at court.¹⁸ The bureau was abolished in 896 (Kanpyō 8/9/7) and its affairs were thereafter handled by the administrative staff of the Ceremonies Ministry.

The administrative and subordinate staff of this bureau was small, consisting of the following: 1 director, 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 6 clerks, 20 pages, and 2 watchmen.

C. Regulatory Ministry (Jibu-shō)

An accurate descriptive translation of the title of this ministry is a problem, and perhaps the translation "Regulatory Ministry" itself is not entirely satisfactory. The translation of "Ministry of Civil Administration" has often been used by Western scholars, but it is unsatisfactory because its implications are far broader than the ministry's limited responsibilities. For example, it implies that the ministry's activities related to the civilian population, which was not the case. Its work was confined to activities relating to the nobility, including both officials and non-officials, rather than to the citizenry as a whole.¹⁹

The ministry was charged with a number of responsibilities by the Yōrō Code. It gives the minister regulatory powers relating to clan titles (kabane), succession, marriages, auspicious omens, funerals, presentation of condolence gifts, national mourning, posthumous names, and the reception of foreign dignitaries.

The commentaries on the Yōrō Code are not in full agreement on the ministry's responsibilities with regard to clan titles. After the revision of the kabane system during the reign of Tenmu (673-686) we know that kabane continued to play their traditionally important role in the Nara period of differentiating the social stratification of noble clans based on lineage considerations. But it is also known that the

fabrication of false genealogies by many clans and their consequent adoption of false kabane was a concern of the court during the seventh and eighth centuries. It is entirely possible, therefore, that the code gave the ministry responsibility for verifying the authenticity of kabane borne by noble clans.²⁰

The minister's responsibility in matters of succession related to the maintenance of registers of the members of officials' families, in order to insure the proper succession of legitimate children. This responsibility was limited to the family members of officials who bore the fifth court rank or above. To this end he kept registers on the marriages entered into by the legitimate offspring of such officials, particularly in the case of the daughters of such officials in order to settle succession disputes that might arise in the future. The detailed regulations in these regards are set forth in the Succession Code in Section 13 of the Yōrō Code.

It is uncertain as to just what the minister did to fulfill his responsibilities regarding auspicious omens (shōzui), but he probably kept records on them and reported them to the appropriate senior officials in the Regulatory Ministry for transmittal to the State Council. Omens of all kinds were considered to be of great importance, not only during the Nara period but in earlier and later ages as well. There were four categories of auspicious omens, ranging from the most important ones relating to the stars, clouds and winds, birds and animals of unusual color, and on down to the least important

involving vegetation.²¹

The Regulatory Ministry managed funeral arrangements and the maintenance of imperial graves. It kept records on the posthumous names (imina) created for deceased members of the imperial line and took charge of the award of condolence gifts which could take the form of either valuable commodities or posthumous court ranks. It administered the observance of the death anniversaries of the imperial ancestors. Such observances were known as kokki, the literal meaning of which is "national mourning." And finally, the ministry handled the arrangements for the court reception of foreign dignitaries.

One often sees in secondary sources a statement to the effect that the Regulatory Ministry was equivalent to the Li-pu (J. Rei-bu) or the Board of Rites in the T'ang government, and, indeed, its name was changed to Reibu-shō for a few years after 758 (Tempyō-hōji 2/8/25). However, the parallel between the Li-pu of China and the Jibu-shō of Japan cannot be drawn too far, because the Li-pu of China did not handle such matters as clan titles, records of succession, or marriages in officials' families. The parallel elements of the Li-pu and the Jibu-shō relate only to such matters as auspicious omens, Buddhism, aliens, and funeral arrangements.

The administrative and subordinate staff of the Regulatory Ministry consisted of the following: 1 minister, 1 associate minister, 1 assistant minister, 1 executive secretary, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 1 recorder, 2 assistant recorders, 10 scribes, 2 office supervisors, 60 pages and 4 watchmen.

The specialized complement of the staff consisted of 4 legal examiners (dai-tokibe) who adjudicated disputes over genealogical and succession problems. They were usually temporarily assigned from other government offices for this purpose, and some authorities suggest that they may have been academic personnel drawn from the Great Learning Bureau of the Ceremonies Ministry.

The ministry directed the work of two bureaus and two offices as follows:

1. Music and Dancing Bureau
2. Buddhism and Aliens Bureau
3. Imperial Mausolea Office
4. Funeral Logistics Office

1. Music and Dancing Bureau (Gagaku-ryō, also read Uta-no-tsukasa, Uta-mai-no-tsukasa and Uta-ryō)

The activities of this bureau were more instructional than administrative in nature, and thus similar in this respect to those of the Great Learning Bureau in the Ceremonies Ministry. This bureau dealt with the training of artists in the areas of ceremonial music, singing, and dancing for presentations at court and elsewhere. In addition to the training of artists and the presentation of native Japanese singing and dancing, it also dealt with musical forms adopted from China and the Three Kingdoms of Korea.

The bureau's director, whose formal title was Gagaku-no-kami and his informal title Uta-no-kami, is charged in the

Yōrō Code with the following responsibilities: the management of formal court music and dancing of both a civilian and martial nature; and the maintenance of registers on male and female musicians and singers, and with the training and examination of the performers. Commentaries state that the distinction between civilian and martial music and dancing was based on whether or not the performers required weapons for a particular performance. A distinction was also made here between native Japanese music and the dancing and music imported from abroad.²²

The administrative and subordinate staff of the bureau, in addition to its director mentioned above, consisted of the following: 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 assistant executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 20 pages and 2 watchmen. The specialized complement consisted of instructors, musicians and students as follows:

4 singing teachers (uta-shi) who taught the singers. One commentary states that two were for teaching "standing songs" (tachi-uta) that were sung in a standing position in the palace court yard on the occasion of "The New-Rice Tasting Festival" (Daijōsai) and certain banquets. Two of these teachers taught ō-uta ("important" or "great songs") that were sung at court on other festive and ceremonial occasions. One authority believes that these teachers specialized in teaching native Japanese songs and ballads that were accompanied by the ancient koto (wagon),

and that instruction in the use of this instrument must have been given, even though the Yōrō Code does not specifically refer to it. This assumption is based on a SNG reference to a teacher of wagon on whom gifts were bestowed in 721 (Yōrō 5/1/27). The four singing teachers listed above were in charge of instructing 30 male (uta-bito) and 100 female singers (uta-me or utai-me).

2 female singing teachers.

4 dancing teachers (mai-shi), who taught foreign-style dancing (zatumai) to 100 dancing students (mai-sei).

2 flute teachers (fue-shi or teki-shi) who taught 6 flute students (fue-shō). In addition there were 8 flutists (fue-dakumi or fuefuki).

12 Tang-style music teachers (Tōgaku-shi) who taught 60 music students (gaku-shō). In addition there were 4 Kōrai-style music teachers (Kōraigaku-shi) who taught 20 music students; 4 Paekche-style music teachers (Kudaragaku-shi) who taught 20 music students; and 4 Silla-style music teachers (Shiragigaku-shi) who taught 20 music students.

1 gigaku teacher (gigaku-shi) who taught students the art of gigaku, which it is believed was originally imported from southern China. One reason for this belief is that a special drum used in gigaku performances was called a "Kure drum" (Kure-tsuzumi), "Kure" being the Japanese reading for the "Wu" area of southern China. After the students had learned the

art of gigaku they were organized into special music groups (gaku-ko) and were then given instruction in the use of this drum by 2 drum teachers (yōko-shi).²³ The Yōrō Code does not specify the number of students involved in this special study nor the composition of the gaku-ko. One authority states that gigaku was performed in Buddhist-related ceremonies, and another states that it was performed each year on ceremonial occasions on the eighth day of the fourth month and on the fifteenth day of the seventh month.²⁴

In 809 (Daidō 4/3) the number of persons in this bureau was reduced, and by the middle Heian period its functions were transferred to the Ō-uta-dokoro (Great Songs Office) and the Gaku-dokoro (Music Office), both of which had earlier been established as extra-legal offices.

2. Buddhism and Aliens Bureau (Genba-ryō)

According to some authorities, the word geni in the title of this bureau means "distant," and if this is so, the title of the bureau might better be rendered freely as "the bureau for aliens from distant places," but others assert that the work gen refers to the dark garments worn by Buddhist clergy and that the ba 番 refers to foreign guests. I believe that the latter is more correct in view of the functional responsibilities assigned to this bureau by the Yōrō Code. For example, the code charges this bureau's director with the following responsibilities: the maintenance of registers of

Buddhist temples, monks and nuns; the management of Buddhist ceremonies (gusai), the reception, banqueting and sending off of foreign guests; the management of various aliens when they were present in the capital; and the supervision of the lodgings for the guests.²⁵

The Monks and Nuns Code (Section 7 of the Yōrō Code) provides additional information. It is comprised of twenty-seven articles that deal primarily with offenses and punishment of members of the Buddhist clergy and with the punishment of provincial and district officials who condone such offenses. This section of the code also provides for the proper channels of official communication between the Buddhist clergy and the government and for informing the central government of the status of members of the clergy. For example, members of the clergy were not permitted to file applications directly with higher authorities on behalf of their temple affairs. Such applications were to be submitted first to the superior of the monastery where the applicant resided, then to the head of the sect of the applicant's monastery, then to the Buddhism and Alien Bureau in the capital and, if necessary, to the minister of the Regulatory Ministry and finally to the State Council.

Article 3 of the Monks and Nuns Code provides that monks and nuns who voluntarily revert to lay status must report the matter to their superiors, who, in turn, must report to proper government authorities. Article 20 specifies that the deaths of monks and nuns must be reported to the provincial authorities who, in turn, must supply annually the information to the

central government. Both of these articles were for the purpose of assisting the Monks and Nuns Bureau in keeping accurate registers. Article 3 involves another aspect of government, namely, it states that clergy reverting to lay status became subject to regular tax responsibilities.²⁶

According to the Miscellany Code (Section 30 of the Yōrō Code), the registers of Buddhist monks and nuns were to be compiled every six years in three copies by the capital and provincial offices. The originating office was to keep one copy, and the other two were to be sent to the State Council for distribution to the Mediate Affairs and Regulatory Ministries.

The management of Buddhist ceremonies is not further elaborated on by the code. It does not specify whether the ceremonies in question were those that were conducted just in the capital or in the provinces as well. There was probably some overlap in responsibility here, in that the Manuscripts and Books Bureau of the Mediate Affairs Ministry was given responsibility for arranging for certain Buddhist ceremonies within the palace.

The reference above to "various aliens" is a rendition of the term iteki, and its meaning is not absolutely clear. In this context, its literal meaning, of course, is "barbarian." One authority states that the term refers to the emishi (i.e., the Ainu) of the northern provinces of Dewa and Mutsu, while another commentary states that the term refers to all aliens, including emishi, who had come to the

capital but not for the purpose of being received at court.

The lodgings for foreign guests refers to the Kōrokan which were located in the capital as well as at Naniwa in Settsu Province and at Hakata and the Dazai Headquarters in northern Kyūshū to accommodate state visitors.²⁷ The name here was adopted from China where its use harks back to at least the Han Dynasty. Traditionally in China, Buddhist temples were under the direction of one office (Ch'ung-hsuan Shu) and foreign guests were under a temple called the Hung-lu Szǔ, but in the Sui and early T'ang dynasties the responsibilities of the former were placed under the latter. The Japanese copied this revised system, including the Sino-Japanese reading of Kōro for the Chinese Hung-lu, but dropped the term for "temple" (szǔ) in favor of the term for "lodging or "pavilion" (kan). This explains why the bureau under discussion here was given responsibility for such disparate elements as Buddhist temples, monks and nuns, on the one hand, and aliens, on the other.

In addition to the director, the administrative and subordinate staff of this bureau consisted of 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 assistant executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 4 clerks, 20 pages and 2 watchmen.

3. Imperial Mausolea Office (Shoryō-shi or Misasagi-no-tsukasa)

The Yōrō Code charges the director of this office with responsibility for the management of memorial services at imperial mausolea, for funeral ceremonies and obsequies, and for the keeping of registers of the mausolea and of grave wardens. According to available commentaries, the funeral arrangements, memorial services and mausolea were not limited to just the sovereigns', but also included those of imperial sons, grandsons and mothers. In addition, the duties of this office extended to the funeral arrangements and related activities of individuals who had borne one of the top three court ranks. The office also arranged for representatives to pay official respects at the graves of the illustrious dead in the twelfth month of each year. The grave wardens (ryō-ko; also referred to as hakamori) were in charge of guarding and maintaining these graves and the land attached to them.

The administrative and subordinate staff was very small and consisted of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 10 pages, 1 watchman and 10 clayworkers (hajibe). The code provides that, when necessary, personnel of other government offices could be called in temporarily to assist. Commentaries state that the clayworkers were the ones who actually performed the duties relating to funeral arrangements and entombment, and that they were drawn from among members of the Haji clan. They state that during such ceremonies these members of the Haji clan wore purple clothing and carried swords.

Clayworkers traditionally modeled various types of clay

figurines, houses, boats, etc., which are known as haniwa for funerary purposes, as well as dishes and clay utensils. There are numerous references in the NSK relating to their activities from very early times. These early references are interesting and informative, although for such an early period, their historicity must be questioned. In Suinin 32/7/6 (traditional date: 3 A.D.) one finds the story of a hundred clayworkers being summoned from Izumo Province to model clay figures of men, horses and other objects to be placed in graves as substitutes for live human subjects previously buried with the dead elite. From this kind of activity it is apparent that clayworkers became involved in grave and tumulus construction and funeral ceremonies. According to a reference found in the NSK for Yūryaku 9/5 (traditional date: 464), clayworkers in the pre-Taika period before 646 were under the direction of a royal manager or managers (tomo-no-miyatsuko) who bore the clan name of Haji, the descendants of whom played relatively important roles throughout the eighth century. The reference noted above for Suinin 32/7/6 mentions a Haji clan bearing the clan title of omi. This probably was the same Haji-no-omi clan that was granted the new clan title of sukune in 684 (Tenmu 13), which was upgraded to asomi in 790 (Enryaku 9).²⁸

In 729 (Tenpyō 1/8/5), ten years after the completion of the Yōrō Code, the status of this office was raised to that of a bureau, with the consequent enhancement in rank and emoluments of its director and administrative staff.

4. Funeral Logistics Office (Sōgi-shi)

Very little factual information is available on the exact nature of this office's activities during the eighth century. There is no reference to it in the SNG. The Yōrō Code states that the director was in charge of funeral ceremonies and the equipment needed for them. However, it is likely that the personnel of this office were more involved in the supply of funeral equipment than in the ceremonies themselves. The emphasis of the commentaries is on the supply of funeral equipment such as musical instruments, including bells, gongs and drums, as well as shields, poles, banners and curtains used in funerals. In addition, the office's director bore the relatively low court rank of senior sixth, lower grade, and it is therefore unlikely that he would have played a prominent role himself in making decisions regarding funeral ceremonies of exalted personages.

The administrative and subordinate staff was very small, consisting of only 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages and 1 watchman.

The Funeral Logistics Office survived through the eighth century, but in 808 (Daidō 3/1/20) it was absorbed by the Drum and Flute Office of the Military Affairs Ministry.²⁹

D. Popular Affairs Ministry (Minbu-shō)

The rendition of this title is somewhat misleading because the majority of its responsibilities centered on such matters as population, cadastral and tax records. It dealt almost exclusively with records relating to commoners below the level of the nobility and the official class. Thus, only in a restricted sense may this ministry be termed as "popular." It was not a large ministry, for in addition to the administrative staff, it comprised just two bureaus, one dealing with statistics and the other with taxes.

Because of the economic importance of this ministry, at numerous times during the Nara period persons appointed as minister concurrently held the position of counsellor or higher in the State Council. The Yōrō Code charges the minister with a number of tax and budget-related responsibilities including the following: the keeping of census records sent from the provinces; the management of tax matters; filial obligations; rewards for meritorious conduct; tax relief for the distressed; household serfs and slaves, bridges and roads; harbors and docks; mountains and rivers; woods and swamps; and, lastly, of rice paddies in the various provinces.³⁰

Commentaries elaborate on the above succinct listing of this ministry's responsibilities as follows. The text states that the census records kept were those of "the various provinces" (moromoro-no-kuni), a term that usually excludes the

capital area. In this case, however, the census records of the capital area were also included in this ministry's duties. The references to filial obligations, rewards for meritorious conduct, and the relief of the distressed relate to various forms of tax relief as rewards for merit or for social welfare purposes. The terms "household serfs and slaves" (kenin and nuhi) refer to registers of two classes of unfree persons. This ministry dealt only with the registers of the government-owned members of these classes. The Government Slaves Office (Kannu-no-tsukasa) of the Imperial Household Ministry prepared the name registers of these unfree government-owned personnel, copies of which were sent to the Popular Affairs Ministry.³¹

The references to bridges, roads, etc., do not mean that this ministry had any responsibility for their construction, upkeep or inspection. Rather, the ministry merely kept documentation on such facilities for tax purposes.

The administrative and subordinate staff of the ministry consisted of 1 minister, 1 associate minister, 1 assistant minister, 1 executive secretary, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 1 recorder, 3 assistant recorders, 10 clerks, 2 office supervisors, 60 pages and 4 watchmen.

A review of the NSK reveals that Nara-period antecedents of this ministry date back only to the late seventh century. The earliest NSK notation occurs in 678 (Tenmu 6/10) when the minister is referred to as the Minbu-no-kami. The ministry itself is first referred to in 678 (Tenmu 6/10) as the Minbu-shō and then later in 686 (Shuchō 1/9) as the Min-kan. For

a short time during the eighth century in the reign of Junnin (758-764) the name of this ministry was changed to Ninbu-shō which means literally "The Humane Ministry."

The ministry directed the activities of just two bureaus, namely, the Statistics Bureau and the Tax Bureau.

1. Statistics Bureau (Shukei-ryō; also read Kazue-ryō, Kazūru-tsukasa)

According to the Yōrō Code, the director of this bureau was responsible for the calculation of income from taxes-in-kind (chō or mitsugi) and of miscellaneous receipts such as the labor-substitute taxes-in-kind (yō) and other products submitted from the provinces. He was also charged with budgetary matters such as estimating the financial requirements of the central government and balancing expenditures accordingly.

It will be seen that this bureau was basically the central government's accounting office. Taxes-in-kind were the primary source of the government's income. They included many types of local produce and goods deriving from the provinces, including such things as marine products, woven and dyed materials, salt and agricultural products. Account books were submitted by the provinces to the central government by the end of the eighth month each year. On the basis of them the Statistics Bureau was able to calculate whether the tax income would be adequate in the following year to meet the needs of the central government.³²

The bureau's administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 director, 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 assistant executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 6 clerks, 20 pages and 2 watchmen. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 2 accountants (sanshi) who made the actual calculations of tax income and required expenditures.

2. Tax Bureau (Shuzei-ryō; also read Chikara-no-tsukasa)

The director of this bureau was charged in the Yōrō Code with the management of the government's granaries, which included handling the receipt and disbursement of the rice-paddy taxes (denso) paid to the government by the various provincial governments and the Capital Secretariats. Such taxes included both polished rice (shōmai) and finely-milled rice (tengai or atsu-usu).

Rice-paddy taxes were collected at the local-government level. A third of such tax receipts was kept in granaries at the district (gun or kōri) level, a third in granaries at the provincial level and a third was polished and sent to the capital. The Tax Bureau daily issued the amount of this rice required by the Palace Kitchen Bureau (Ōi-ryō) attached to the Imperial Household Ministry, and the Statistics Bureau kept accounts on the amounts supplied. The Tax Bureau inspected the various government granaries located in the capital, but merely kept accounts of those located in provinces on the

basis of reports submitted to it.

The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 director, 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 assistant executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 ~~assistant recorder~~, 4 clerks, 20 pages and 2 watchmen. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 2 accountants who kept tax records.

E. Military Affairs Ministry (Hyōbu-shō;

also read Tsuwamono-no-tsukasa)

The Yōrō Code charges the minister with the maintenance of registers on military officers in the capital and the provinces, registers on their performance, selection, appointments, promotions and court ranks, and the maintenance of name registers of military personnel of the level of heishi (soldiers of commoner origin) and above. The minister was also charged with responsibilities relating to: the provincial delegates sent annually to court (chōshūshi); leaves of absence and holidays for military personnel; the mobilization of soldiers; the management of weapons for both combat and ceremonial occasions; and the supervision of fortifications and of smoke and fire beacons.³³

The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 minister, 1 associate minister, 1 assistant minister, 1 executive secretary, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 1 recorder, 3 assistant recorders, 10 clerks, 2 office supervisors, 60 pages and 4 watchmen.

In addition to this administrative staff the Military Affairs Ministry had under its direction five offices as follows: Remount Office, Arsenal Office, Drum and Flute Office, Ships Office and Falconry Office.

1. Remount Office (Hyōba-no-tsukasa)

The director was charged with the supervision of the pasturing of horses for military use, of horse-relay stations, and of both government- and privately-owned horses and cattle.ⁱ

The elaborations found in commentaries indicate that this office handled the care and pasturing of horses attached to the various provincial brigades (gundan). The horse-relay stations were those used by officials on urgent business.³⁴ The office also had charge of privately-owned cattle and horses which were subject to requisitioning by the government in times of emergency.

There is a question as to just how far the management of this office extended, in view of its very small staff. It is likely that its primary responsibility was merely to keep records on the activities listed above, which included the regular receipt of registers on these matters delivered annually to the State Council by the provincial delegates.

In addition to its director, this office's administrative and subordinate staff consisted only of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 6 pages and 1 watchman.

This Remount Office survived the eighth century but was eliminated in 808 (Daidō 3/1/20), and its responsibilities were taken over by the ministry's administrative staff.

2. Arsenal Office (Tsuwamono-tsukuri-no-tsukasa)

The director was charged with the manufacture of various types of military hardware, and with the maintenance of census and name registers of artisans' guilds (kō-be). The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 12 pages and 1 watchman. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 20 general artisans (zakkōbe) who were drawn from an unspecified number of general artisans' guilds (zakkō-be). They undoubtedly included workers who fashioned bows, arrows, quivers, shields, etc.

Sansom defines zakko as "the various guilds of industrial workers who, though not slaves, could not escape from their guilds and were thus analogous to the corporati of the later Roman empire."³⁵ These workers possessed special craft skills and were attached to a number of government offices. In some respects they were similar in social position and organization to the bemin, or hereditary workers corporations, of the pre-Taika period. During the eighth century they stood socially midway between free (ryō) and unfree (sen) people, not so much in point of law as in reality.³⁶ For the period of the present study one finds these workers as paper manufacturers in the Manuscript and Books Bureau, as medical and dairy workers in the Pharmaceutical Bureau, as brewers in the Wine Making Office, or as clayworkers in the Clayworks' Office, to cite just a few examples.

3. Drum and Flute Office (Kusui-shi; also read Tsutsumi-fue-no-tsukasa)

The director of this office was charged with the training of musicians in the playing of wind and percussion instruments. The trainees were members of drum and flute guilds (tsutsumi-fue-be) who specialized in the playing of martial music. The flutes were the so-called "large and small flutes" (hara-no-fue and kuda-no-fue) which were originally imported from China. These flutes were used in playing martial tunes in court ceremonies and on the battle field. The percussion instruments were drums, gongs and bells.

The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 10 pages and 1 watchmen. The specialized complement of the staff consisted of 30 flutists (fuebe) plus an unspecified number of drum and flute guilds (tsutsumi-fue-be).

It is somewhat of a mystery as to why the Yōrō Code, in its extant form, omits reference here to drum and flute teachers. However, the consensus of commentaries on this text is that teachers of drums, and of both kinds of flutes mentioned above, were active in the work of this office. For example, the RSG refers to a State Council order of 800 (Enryaku 19/10) that has a reference to such teachers.

Drum and flute guilds were rather numerous in the eighth century. For example, the SNG refers to drum and flute guilds in 726 (Jinki 3/8/17) and states that their number was set at 300. The SNG, drawing from an unnamed source, places this

figure at 200. It further states that certain tax relief was afforded the members of these guilds during their training period which lasted from the ninth month of a given year to the second month of the next. In the third month the trainees were tested and the best ones for selected for government service.

It is believed that the origins of this office date back to at least 682 (Tenmu 10/3) when the emperor had drums and flutes played at court. During the Nara and early Heian periods the office went through numerous changes in the number and types of personnel attached to it. In 808 (Daidō 3), for example, the Funeral Logistics Office (Sōgi-ryō) of the Regulatory Ministry was absorbed by the Drum and Flute Office.

4. Ships Office (Shusen-shi; or Funeano-tsukasa)

The director of the Ships Office was charged with the supervision of both government and privately owned ships and equipment. The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff was very small and consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchman, added to which was a specialist complement consisting of an unspecified number of shipworkers' guilds (funamori-be).

Other Ships Offices were located at Naniwa in Settsu Province and at the Dazai Headquarters (Dazai-fu) in northern Kyushu, which were supervised by this present Ships Office attached to the Military Affairs Ministry. This information

derives from a reference in the RGG commentary on the Construction and Repairs Code (Section 20 in the Yōrō Code).

It is likely that the antecedents of the Ships Office date back to the sixth century. For example, the NSK refers as early as 553 (Kinmei 14/7/4) to one Ōshinmi (or Ōjinni), a person of foreign extraction, as the superintendent of ships (fune-no-tsukasa). He was in charge of keeping records on the collection of shipping taxes, and at that time was granted the clan name and title (kabane) of Fune-no-fubito. A Fune-no-fubito is also referred to in the NSK in 608 (Suiko 16) where we find him participating in the reception of envoys from T'ang China at Tsukushi in Kyushu and at Naniwa in Settsu Province. The descendants of Fune-no-fubito were granted the clan title of muraji in 684 (Tenmu 12/10) at the time of Tenmu's revision of the traditional clan-title system. The clan continued to figure quite prominently in the eighth century.³⁷

5. Falconry Office (Taka-tsukasa or Shuo-shi)

The director of this office supervised the training of both falcons and hunting dogs. The administrative and subordinate staff below the director was very small and consisted of just 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchman, plus a specialist complement of an unspecified number of falconers' guilds (takabe).

The use of falcons for hunting purposes in Japan dates back to very early times. While the historicity of the NSK

may well be questioned for such an early period, it does refer in the forty-third year of Nintoku's reign (traditional date: 362) to the emperor employing a falcon to hunt. The reference implies that the falcon was imported from the Kingdom of Paekche in Korea and states that a falconers' guild (taka-kai-be) was established. The history of falconry from then into the Heian period is very spotty, and the extant Yōrō Code provides us with very little additional information to go on. However, a SNG notation of 726 (Jinki 3/8/17) states that the number of falconers' guilds was set at ten, while the RSG commentary refers to a total of seventeen such guilds (taka-tsukai-be or taka-kai-be) which were located in the Home Provinces of Yamato, Kawachi and Settsu. The RSG goes on to state that the members of these guilds were employed by the government each year, during which time they were exempted from the payment of taxes-in-kind and from doing forced labor (chōeki).

The fate of this office in the late eighth century and in the ninth is uncertain. For example, the SNG notes in 764 (Tempyō Hōji 8/10/2) that the office was abolished, but it may later have been reestablished, because another SNG reference for 791 (Enryaku 10/7/27) also states that the office was suspended. Nevertheless one finds references in the Sandai Jitsuroku to personnel caring for falcons and dogs in 883 (Gangyō 7/7/5).³⁸

F. Justice Ministry (Gyōbu-shō)

During the Nara period the Justice Ministry functioned primarily as a high court of law. It reviewed criminal cases that could not be decided at the local level and made decisions when possible. When it was unable to arrive at a decision in a case the ministry referred it to the State Council for higher review and judgment.³⁸

The Yōrō Code lists the minister's responsibilities as follows: to investigate crimes, to pass judgment on them, and to decide on penalties; to decide on questionable cases referred to him from provincial judicial authorities; to maintain registers of free and unfree persons; and to supervise such matters as imprisonment, and to make decisions on the default of debts and their redemption.³⁹

The Prisons Code (Section 29 of the Yōrō Code) states that the associate and assistant ministers, as well as the minister, were authorized to pass judgment on crimes and decide on penalties. The RGG and modern commentators agree that the registers of free and unfree persons mentioned above refer to records kept by the ministry on lawsuits of free persons against unfree and vice versa, as well as on the judicial decisions made in such suits.⁴⁰

The ministry's administrative and subordinate staff was relatively numerous and consisted of 1 minister, 1 associate minister, 1 assistant minister, 2 executive secretaries, 2

assistant executive secretaries, 1 recorder, 2 assistant recorders, 10 clerks, 2 office supervisors, 80 pages and 6 watchmen.

The specialist complement of the staff consisted of:

2 judges (dai-hanji), 4 associate judges (chū-hanji) and

4 assistant judges (shōhanji);

2 legal secretaries (dai-zoku) and 2 assistant legal secretaries (shō-zoku);

10 legal examiners (dai-tokibe), 20 associate legal examiners (chū-tokibe) and 30 assistant legal examiners (shō-tokibe).

The sixty legal examiners were responsible for investigating legal suits or criminal action and preparing preliminary bills of particulars or recommended judgments. Their recommendations were reviewed by the ministry's judges and rulings were then arrived at in consultation with the minister. The legal secretaries were responsible for copying drafts of the legal documents.

Only two offices were attached to the ministry: the Fines Office and the Prisons Office.

1. Fines Office (Agamono-no-tsukasa)

The director was charged with the confiscation and receipt of possessions belonging to convicted persons, and their transmittal to the appropriate government offices. For example, weapons of a convicted military man were deposited with the Armories of the Left and Right; written materials were deposited with the Manuscripts and Books Bureau of the Mediate

Affairs Ministry; valuables were deposited with the Treasury Ministry; and the father and children of certain of the convicted were placed in the custody of the Government Slaves Office of the Imperial Household Ministry. Recovered stolen goods and gold were retained by this office, and one commentary states that such valuables were used to keep the jails in repair. The Fines Office also had custody of articles of value that had been lost and not reclaimed by their owners.

The administrative and subordinate staff of this office consisted of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 10 pages and 1 watchman.

2. Prisons Office (Shūgoku-shi; also read Hitoya-no-tsukasa)

The director was charged with the following responsibilities: the imprisonment of convicted criminals; supervision of criminals' enforced labor during imprisonment; determination of the work the prisoners regularly were to perform during imprisonment; and the execution of sentences imposed by the Justice Ministry.

The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder and 1 assistant recorder. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 40 Mononobe guards who had custody of prisoners and the execution of their sentences, and 20 Mononobe warders (Mononobe-no-yoboro).⁴¹

Mononobe guards in the eighth century were assigned

to guard and police duties, and they represented the continuation of a traditional institution that dates from well before the Taika-reform period. Mononobe groups were located in many parts of the country from early times and were under the supervision and control of a royal manager in the service of the sovereign. The royal manager's clan name and clan title were Mononobe-no-muraji. This clan and its chieftains were among the most powerful political elements in Japan in the sixth century, but the power of the clan was temporarily eclipsed after its defeat by the Soga clan in the late sixth century. After the elimination of the Soga leadership in 645, it began to recover its position and prestige and was granted the high clan title of asomi by Tenmu in 684 (Tenmu 13/11/1).

By the end of the seventh and during the eighth centuries, the Mononobe clan played an important role as the Isonokami-no-asomi clan, a name adopted by the clan from the Isonokami Jingū, a shrine of importance in the clan's mythological origins. The shrine is located in the outskirts of present-day Tenri City, Nara Prefecture.

The Mononobe guards and warders derived from different social strata. The warders were conscripted from among freemen in the provinces, and were under the supervision of the guards. The RGG commentary states that the Ceremonies Ministry made the assignments of these guards to the Prisons Office, and the Popular Affairs Ministry assigned the warders. Commentaries are in general agreement that the Mononobe guards were selected from workers groups (tomo-be) that had

traditionally carried arms in the service of the imperial house. They were the same type of personnel as the Mononobe that one finds assigned to the Gate Guards' Headquarters and to the Capital Secretariats; Market Offices of the East and West, which are described below in this work.

G. Treasury Ministry (Ōkura-shō or Ōkura-no-tsukasa)

The Treasury Ministry in the Nara period was responsible for activities relating to the safe storage, accounting, receipt and issuance of a wide range of valuables. It was not involved in the computation of government budgets and revenue, as one might assume from the meaning of the term "treasury ministry" in its modern context. The term "Ōkura" as used for this ministry is to be taken more in its literal meaning of "main storehouse."⁴²

The Yōrō Code charges the minister with the following responsibilities: the receipt and transmittal of the taxes-in-kind (chō) deriving from the provincial governments; weights and measures; placing evaluations on articles to be sold or purchased; and the management of tribute goods received from various places.

It is quite clear from the commentaries that this ministry did not actually handle more than certain types of collected taxes-in-kind. Fish, for example, was received by the Palace Table Office of the Imperial Household Ministry. While the code's text does not mention labor-substitute taxes-in-kind (yō), it is generally assumed that this ministry handled certain of them as well. This assumption is based on a reference in the SNG for 707 (Keiun 3/IC/1) that states that labor-substitute taxes-in-kind consisting of certain types of fabrics henceforth would be deposited with the Treasury Ministry.

The other types of taxes-in-kind deposited with this ministry and specifically listed in the code were as follows: coins, gold and silver, jewels, articles made of bone, horn and tusks, feathers and furs, as well as lacquerware, and draperies and canopies.⁴³

Coins were first cast in Japan in 708 (Wadō 1), and in 712 (Wadō 5/12/7) the SNG mentions that coins could be used in place of taxes-in-kind. In 723 (Yōrō 6/9/21) the SNG lists a number of provinces that for the first time sent currency in place of commodities as taxes-in-kind.⁴⁴

The Barriers and Market Code (Section 27 of the Yōrō Code) provides that both government and privately-owned scales as well as measures were to be taken to the Treasury Ministry in the second month of each year to be checked for accuracy and corrected. Those outside of the capital were to be taken to the respective provincial government offices to be checked. The implication of the code here is that the Treasury Ministry also had custody of the government's weights and measures, which would seem proper in view of the ministry's responsibility of estimating the value of articles to be purchased or sold. Commentaries inform us that the actual purchase or sale price of a given article was based on an average of the various estimates made of it.

The tribute goods received from various places, as mentioned in the first paragraph above, probably refers to gifts of value that were received by the court from both the provinces and foreign countries. However, some question remains

concerning the term "various places," and commentaries do not agree as to its meaning. One states that the term refers to just the various provinces, but another claims that it refers to both the provinces and the "shoban" (literally, "various barbarians"), meaning persons from foreign countries as well as autochthonous peoples such as the Emishi of northern Japan. One contemporary commentator claims that the term tribute here refers to goods purchased by the government, such as novelty articles of gold, silver and jewels deriving from the various provinces.

The Treasury Ministry's administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 minister, 1 associate minister, 1 assistant minister, 1 executive secretary, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 1 recorder, 2 assistant recorders and 6 clerks, 2 office supervisors, 60 pages, 4 watchmen and 6 runners. The specialist component of the staff consisted of 2 key wardens, 2 assistant key wardens, 6 warehousemen, 4 estimators, 2 cobblers, 10 Kudara handworkers, 1 leather worker (tenkaku), 6 leather dyers (chikushibe or komabe), in addition to an unspecified number of Kudara and Koma guilds (Kudara-be and Koma-be).

The following are some of the responsibilities and comments concerning the specialized staff of the ministry. The cobblers were charged with the sewing of boots, shoes and saddlery, and they supervised the Kudara handworkers who fashioned a variety of sewn leather goods. These workers are also found assigned for similar work in the Palace Storehouses Bureau of the Mediate Affairs Ministry, which was described

above. Those workers fashioned the footgear for the sovereign and probably for the immediate members of the imperial family, while the ones attached here to the Treasury Ministry probably fashioned such articles for high government officials. The one leather worker was in charge of the dyeing of leather goods, and he supervised the work of the six leather dyers.

In addition to the staff described above, the Treasury Ministry was comprised of five offices, as follows: Casting Office, Housekeeping and Supply Office, Lacquerware Office, Tailoring Office and Weaving Office.

1. Casting Office (Imono-no-tsukasa; also read Imoji-no-tsukasa and Tenchū-shi)

According to the Yōrō Code, the director of this office supervised the casting of gold, silver, copper and iron; the plating and gilding of cast-metal objects; the fabrication of glass and beads; and the maintenance of registers of artisans' guilds (kō-be).

The administrative and subordinate staff of this office consisted of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 10 pages and 1 watchman. The specialist complement consisted of 10 general artisans (zakkōbe) and an unspecified number of members of general artisans' guilds (zakkō-be).

The RSG commentary, drawing from other sources no longer extant, states that the artisans employed in this office were assigned from the Arsenal Office in the Military Affairs Ministry and from the Metalworkers' Office in the Imperial

Household Ministry. It also states that Kōryō, Paekche and Silla artisans were used as well. It adds a further comment to the effect that the Casting Office did fabricate metal objects but not those made of iron. Iron objects, it claims, were fabricated by the Metalworkers' Office of the Imperial Household Ministry.

2. Housekeeping and Supply Office (Kanimori-no-tsukasa)

This office's primary function was to manage the supply of household furnishings and the materials needed for cleaning and maintenance purposes. To this end the director was responsible for the supply of a wide variety of soft goods used for sitting and sleeping purposes, such as grasses, reeds, rushes and bamboo, as well as for floor coverings, screening, etc.

The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchman and 20 runners. The specialist staff consisted of 10 housekeepers (kanimori).

3. Lacquerware Office (Urushibe-no-tsukasa; also read Nuribe-no-tsukasa)

The director of this office supervised the lacquering of utensils and other objects. These probably included lacquered bowls, dishes, trays, as well as panels, rails, etc. in the palace. The administrative and subordinate staff consisted

of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchman, and the specialist complement consisted of 20 lacquerers (nuribe).

4. Tailoring Office (Nuibe-no-tsukasa)

This office was charged with the supervision for the cutting and tailoring of clothes. There is considerable uncertainty as to the personnel that this office served. For example, one commentary informs us that the clothes in question were for the palace guards (eshi) and were therefore probably uniforms. Another commentary states that the Wardrobe Bureau of the Mediate Affairs Ministry tailored clothes for "inner personnel," which probably means the members of the imperial family and/or high government officials, and that this Tailoring Office in the Treasury Ministry tailored clothes for "outer personnel," which probably means personnel assigned to duties at the palace but were not part of its administrative staff. However, another commentary states that the director of this office had charge of the tailoring for both the inner palace personnel (dairi) and for the guards assigned to the palace from the provincial brigades (gundan).

The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchman, and the specialist complement consisted of 4 tailors (nuibe) and an unspecified number of seamstresses drawn from seamstresses' guilds (nuime-be).

The commentaries generally agree that the seamstresses were women who were resident in the capital, and who were conscripted to sew in the palace.

In the reorganization of government offices in 808 (Daidō 3/1/20) this office was combined with the Wardrobe Bureau of the Mediate Affairs Ministry.

5. Weaving Office (Oribe-no-tsukasa)

This office supervised the weaving of fine fabrics such as brocades* (nishiki), figured silk (aya) and various types of light silk gauzes and pongee (tsumugi). It also supervised certain types of dyeing.

The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchman, and its specialist complement consisted of 4 fabric designers (chōmon-shi or ayatori-shi), 8 weavers (ayatori-shō) and an unspecified number of dyers' guilds (some-be).

The fabrics produced by this office were of very high grade and were for the use of the imperial family and the highest nobility. It appears that in the area of dyeing, however, the Palace Dyeing Office of the Imperial Household Ministry (described below) handled the dyeing of materials intended for the sovereign, while this Weaving Office dyed materials intended for somewhat lesser personnel. The distinction made between the respective responsibilities of these two offices remains unclear. The fabric designers prepared the patterns to be copied by the weavers in the

*i.e. polychrome silks

manufacture of the fabrics, and the dyeing of fabrics was done by the members of the dyers' guilds.

It is quite clear that the small size of the specialist staff listed above would not have been able to meet the large demands of the sizeable palace personnel for fancy fabrics. And, indeed, various commentaries state that scores of specialized weaving and dyeing guilds were located in the various provinces, from which the government very likely drew the necessary personnel. For example, one source cited by the RSG mentions that 350 such guilds were located in Kawachi Province alone, and it is quite clear that the central government acquired much of its needed fabrics in the form of taxes-in-kind derived from the provinces.

As early as 711 (Wadō IC-6/14) the central government became interested in expanding the manufacture of fancy fabrics, for the SNG notes then that fabric designers were for the first time sent to the provinces to teach weaving techniques.⁴⁵

This office survived into the early Heian period but thereafter gradually declined in importance to the point that it existed in name only. The SNG contains only four brief references to this office and they deal only with the appointments of directors to the Weaving Office between 763 and 790.

H. Imperial Household Ministry (Kunai-shō;
 also read Miya-no-uchi-no-tsukasa)

Both in terms of the number of its administrative subdivisions and personnel, the Imperial Household Ministry was one of the two largest of the eight ministries under the supervision of the State Council. It was composed of one secretariat, four bureaus and thirteen offices. Overall, it is estimated that approximately 1300 persons were assigned to it by the Yōrō Code. The Mediate Affairs Ministry had fewer administrative subdivisions (one secretariat, five bureaus and three offices) but was staffed with more personnel, approximately 2725 persons. While these were the two largest ministries of the government in terms of number of personnel, little parallel can be drawn between the two in terms of their respective administrative responsibilities. The Mediate Affairs Ministry was concerned with court administration and with liaison between the State Council above and the other seven ministries below. By contrast, the Imperial Household Ministry was largely concerned with housekeeping matters for the provisioning, care and maintenance of the inner palace of the sovereign.⁴⁶

The Yōrō Code charges the minister with the following responsibilities: management of the receipt and issuance of taxes-in-kind (chō) from the various provinces, as well as of miscellaneous products and polished rice (shōmai); supervision of the fields for the imperial table (kanden); and reports on

food production for the sovereign. He was also responsible for the handling of special foods and delicacies.

The RGG and RSG and contemporary commentators provide amplification of this succinct inventory of the minister's many responsibilities, although it must be recognized that numerous points remain moot and subject to varying interpretation. It is apparent that the minister was responsible for the receipt and issuance only of those taxes-in-kind, other miscellaneous products and rice that were required for use in the palace. The Statistics Bureau of the Popular Affairs Ministry budgeted for the taxes-in-kind required by the entire central government, while the Treasury Ministry handled their initial receipt from the provincial governments and distributed them as requisitioned to the relevant offices in the Imperial Household Ministry. The code does not specify what miscellaneous products included, but they were probably foodstuffs used by the director of the Palace Table Secretariat (described below) who was charged with food preparation and the handling of such products.

The kanden mentioned above has been variously rendered into English as "official lands" and "imperial estates," but the rather awkward rendition of "fields for the imperial table" is more accurate. Such fields were located in provinces relatively close to the capital and produced the rice used at the imperial table. The reports on food production mentioned above relate to inventorying of the quantity and quality of foodstuffs produced in the royal fields, gardens, ponds and

the icehouses. The special foods and delicacies refer to food products sent to the court from various places, and were in addition to the regular taxes-in-kind. Some of these delicacies included dried marine products from places as distant as the island of Kyushu.

The ministry's administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 minister, 1 associate minister, 1 assistant minister, 1 executive secretary, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 1 recorder, 2 assistant recorders, 10 clerks, 2 office supervisors, 60 pages and 4 watchmen.

1. Palace Table Secretariat (Daizen-shiki; also read O-kashiwade-no-tsukasa)

The director was responsible for the handling of the food products received as taxes-in-kind from the provinces and for the preparation of a variety of dishes, including preserves, dried or marinated meats, fermented beans, bean paste, fish, fruits, rice cakes, vegetables, etc.⁴⁷ He also supervised the cooks (kashiwadebe) and the serving of meals. One commentary states that the meals the secretariat prepared were for court officials and that the sovereign's meals were prepared by the Imperial Table Office described below.

The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 director, 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 assistant executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 30 pages, 2 watchmen and 80 runners. The specialist complement of the staff was composed of 2 master picklers (shushō)

who were in charge of preparing various pickles and bean paste; 2 master confectioners (shukahei) in charge of preparing confections and various cakes; and 160 cooks (kashiwadebe), plus an unspecified number of miscellaneous guilds to supply the imperial table (zakku-be).

The RGG commentary states that the "miscellaneous guilds to supply the imperial table" refers to three different types of fishermen, namely, to cormorant fishermen, net fishermen and river fishermen. The RSG adds that there were thirty-seven guilds of cormorant fishers, 150 of net fishermen and eighty-seven of river fishermen.

2. Carpentry Bureau (Moku-ryō; other readings are Kodakumi-no-tsukasa and Moku-ryō)

The Yōrō Code charges the director of this bureau with supervising the building and repair of the palace's wooden structures and with the lumbering of timber.⁴⁸ The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of the director, plus 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 20 pages, 2 watchmen and an unspecified number of runners. The specialized complement of the staff consisted of 20 carpenters (takumi-be).

This bureau processed and stocked lumber in amounts as budgeted by the Statistics Bureau of the Popular Affairs Ministry. In the eighth century the carpenters were not necessarily members of occupational guilds but, rather, were

individuals who possessed special skills. RGG classifies them socially as hakutei, who were freemen but were without official rank and were thus not usually classified as officials.

In some restricted cases, however, such persons were appointed to official posts of low rank. As freemen, they were subject to the payment of taxes, the corvée and military service.⁴⁸

3. Palace Kitchen Supplies Bureau (Ōi-ryō; also read Ōi-no-tsukasa)

The director of this bureau supervised food supplies and their distribution to the various offices. The supplies included both polished rice, other grains and legumes that the government had received as taxes-in-kind from the provinces. Commentaries inform us that the food supplies for the morning and evening meals were distributed daily, in addition to special rations once each month. The offices receiving such supplies were probably limited to those within the Imperial Household Ministry.

The administrative and subordinate staff below the director consisted of 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 20 pages, 2 watchmen and 30 runners, and the staff's specialist complement consisted of 60 cooks (ōibe).⁴⁹

4. Palace Custodians and Supply Bureau (Tonomo-ryō; also read Tonomori-no-tsukasa)

The director of this bureau was in charge of a number of special supplies, furnishings and services for the palace. For example, he had supervision of the imperial palanquins and carriages, responsibility for the supply of sunshade hats, fans, screens and curtains used in dividing rooms, for preparing bath water, for sweeping and sprinkling down the palace courtyard, for the care of oil lamps and candles, for the supply of wood and charcoal, etc.

The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff below the director consisted of 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 20 pages, 2 watchmen and 80 runners, plus a specialist complement of 40 palace custodians (i.e. janitors, etc., tonomoribe)

A modern commentator states that this bureau was supplied with tubs for heating bath water and that the heated water was then carried to the palace. The men who did this work were called kanaedono or bathmen (literally, "kettle-keepers"). In addition, four young girls of the Hata clan were used to assist in the work of the bureau, as well as a number of female officials who helped with the cleaning.⁵⁰

5. Pharmaceutical Bureau (Tenyaku-ryō; also read Kusuri-no-tsukasa)

The director was charged with the supervision of medicinals, the cure of diseases and illness, and the herb gardens. To fulfill these responsibilities the bureau was staffed with medical specialists such as physicians, acupuncturists, masseurs, bone-setters, exorcists and herbalists. The bureau also carried on an instructional program in these specializations and was therefore staffed with both teaching and student personnel.

The Pharmaceutics Code, Section 24 of the Yōrō Code, stipulates that the illnesses of officials of the fifth court and above were to be reported to the emperor and that physicians were to be sent to treat the patient. However, the RGG commentary states that reports on illness were to be sent to the Imperial Household Ministry first, and in the case of really serious illness a report was to be submitted to the State Council for transmittal to the emperor. On the basis of the Pharmaceutical Code's regulation and its commentaries, some modern scholars interpret it to mean that the bureau handled the illnesses only of high officials of the fifth court rank and above and not officials of lesser rank. Others believe that the statute referred only to the reporting of illnesses of important personages and not to the treatment of illness per se, which they infer was not limited by the court ranks of officials requiring treatment.

The administrative and subordinate staff of this bureau

consisted of a director, 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 20 pages and 2 watchmen. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of the following:

- 10 physicians (i-shi) who were charged with the diagnosis and treatment of diseases and illnesses; 1 medical professor (i-hakase) who taught medical students on compounding of medicines and classical texts on the pulse; 40 medical students (isei) who studied various treatments and cures;
- 5 acupuncturists (hari-shi) who were charged with the cure of diseases and illnesses;⁵¹ 1 acupuncture professor (hari-hakase) who taught 20 acupuncture students (hari-shō);
- 2 masseurs (anma-shi) who also treated various kinds of bone fractures; 1 massage professor (anma-hakase) who taught the art of massage; 10 massage students (anma-shō) who studied both massage and the treatment of bone fractures;
- 2 conjurers (jugon-shi) who cast and removed charms and spells. Commentaries state that they read exorcistic texts and drove out evil spirits. They also were able to cast spells so that a person could not be harmed by wild animals, poisonous insects, etc.; 1 conjurer professor (jugon-hakase) who taught the art of exorcism to 6 conjuring students (jugon-shō);
- 2 herbalists (yakuen-shi) whose responsibilities were to

be informed of the properties, forms and names of medicinals, to gather the various medicinal herbs and plants in the herb gardens, and to instruct the herbalist students in these matters; 6 herbalist students (yakuen-shō) who studied medicinals;

An unspecified number of medical guilds (vaku-be) and dairy guilds (chi-be or nyū-be);

The RSG commentary states that there were seventy-five medical guilds that supplied the government with thirty-seven laborers (yoboro) each year and fifty dairy guilds that supplied ten such laborers each year. During the period of their service the laborers were exempted from the payment of taxes-in-kind and miscellaneous additional labor-substitute taxes (zōyō);

The first reference to a pharmaceutical bureau is found in the NSK in a notation of 675 (Tenmu 4/1/1) where it states that students of the Great Learning Bureau, the Divination Bureau and the "Outer Pharmaceutical Bureau" (Geyaku-ryō or To-no-kusuri-no-tsukasa) and others presented gifts of medicinals and other precious things. While no "Outer Pharmaceutical Bureau" appears elsewhere in the NSK, SNG or the legal codes, it is believed that the use of the designation of "outer" in this instance was to distinguish it from an "inner" office of the same nature that may have been for the treatment of the imperial family. It is assumed that the predecessor of the present Pharmaceutical Bureau attached to the Imperial Household Ministry was the "Outer" Pharmaceutical Bureau

mentioned in the seventh century during Tenmu's reign.⁵²

6. Imperial Family Registry Office (Ōkimi-no-tsukasa; also read Ōkimidachi-no-tsukasa and Ōkindachi-no-tsukasa)

The director of this office was charged by the Yōrō Code with maintaining name registers (meiseki) of imperial kindred (kōshin). The RGG states that such kindred here refers to members of the imperial family within the second and fourth generations of descent, with the sovereign counted as the first generation. A distinction must be made between name and household registers (koseki). Household registers were kept by other government offices and were census records of the members of households. The matter is subject to debate but it is believed by some authorities that the household registers of imperial kindred between the second and fourth generations of descent were kept by the Capital Secretariats of the Left and Right, which are described below in the chapter on local government.

It was during the reign of Tenmu (673-686) that a distinction was first made between imperial princes and princesses (shinnō) on the one hand, and princes and princesses (ō), on the other. The Succession Code (Section 13 of the Yōrō Code) states that those in the fifth generation of descent were classified as princes (ō) but were classified as imperial kindred (i.e., kōshin). According to a supplementary statute (kyaku) of 706 (Keiun 3/2/16), the rule was changed and the fifth generation was classified as imperial kindred. In 729

(Tempyō 1/8), however, another supplementary statute provided that the offspring of a fifth-generation prince and an imperial granddaughter was to be considered to be imperial kindred. In 798 (Enryaku 17/I.C.5/23) this provision was eliminated in favor of the earlier arrangement. This reversion probably resulted from the financial drain on the state coffers for the economic support of the greatly expanded number of persons classified as imperial kindred by that time.

The administrative and subordinate staff of this office was small and consisted of a director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 10 pages and 1 watchman.⁵³

7. Imperial Table Office (Naizen-shi; also read Uchi-no-kashiwadeano-tsukasa)

The Yōrō Code charges this office with responsibility for preparing the sovereign's meals and for tasting the food before being served.

The code does not provide for a director (kami) of this office, but instead for two royal stewards (buzen), which represents a marked departure from the norm. The apparent reason for this exception was that two clans, the Takahashi and Azumi, had acquired hereditary rights to the position of royal steward from well before the eighth century. In 768 (Jingo-Keiun 2/2/18) the SNG lists a score of new government appointments, including that of Prince Fuse as director (kami) of the Imperial Table Office. At the end of the long list of appointments there is a notation stating that, by imperial

decree and in terms of the code, when persons of the Takahashi and Azumi clans were appointed to head this office their title was to be "royal steward" (buzen), but when any others were appointed to head the office, their title was to be "director" (kami). The SNG contains only seven notations regarding such appointments in the eighth century, and they fall between 759 and 779. Five of them were appointments of royal stewards, and went to three members of the Takahashi clan and two to members of the Azumi clan. The other two appointments in 768 and 774 went to Prince Fuse, mentioned above, and to Prince Yamabe.⁵⁴

The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff below the level of the two royal stewards consisted of 6 associate royal stewards (tenzen) who supervised the preparation of the sovereign's meals and checked their preparation as to both flavor and temperature, 1 recorder, 10 pages, 1 watchman and 20 runners, and the specialist complement of the staff consisted of 40 cooks (kashiwadebe).⁵⁵

8. Wine-Making Office (Zōshu-shi; also read Sake-no-tsukasa)

The director of this office was responsible for the brewing of sake, sweet sake and vinegar. The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 12 pages and 1 watchman. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 60 brewers (sakabe), who were responsible for the supply of wine for the palace and other offices of government on various festive and ceremonial

occasions, plus an unspecified number of brewers' guilds (saka-be).

The RSG, quoting other sources no longer extant, states that there were 185 brewers' guilds in the provinces, as follows: ninety in Yamato, seventy in Kawachi and twenty-five in Settsu. The ones in Yamato and Kawachi annually supplied eighty workers to the court and they were exempted from the payment of taxes-in-kind and labor-substitute taxes while in service. The RSG further states that at the time of its compilation ten such guilds were designated for the supply of workers to serve at court when banquets were held.⁵⁶

9. Metalworkers' Office (Kanuchi-no-tsukasa; also read Kaji-no-tsukasa)

The director of this office was charged with supervising the manufacture of copper and iron articles and with the maintenance of household and name registers of the metalworkers' guilds (kanuchi-be). The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of the following: 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 16 pages and 1 watchman. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 20 metalworkers (kanuchibe), plus an unspecified number of metalworkers' guilds.

The RSG states that there were 338 metalworkers' guilds that supplied workers to the court each year between the tenth month of a given year and the third month of the following year, during which time they were exempted from the taxes-in-

kind and the labor-substitute taxes.⁵⁷ The SNG records that in 744 (Tenpyō 16/4/21) this office was abolished and, although the SNG does not record the event, it must have been reestablished shortly thereafter. This assumption is based on the fact that the RSG records that directors of this office were appointed in 767 (Jingo-keiun 1/5/25) as well as on five other occasions between that year and 791. The office was again abolished in 808.

Terms for metalworkers and metalworkers' guilds appear throughout the NSK from earliest times, the earliest being a reference during the reign of the legendary Emperor Suzei, Jinmu's successor. In that reference a man is referred to as a "Yamato-kanuchi", that is, as a "Yamato metalworker." While the historicity of this and other references dating from before the sixth century are to be questioned, abundant archaeological data indicate that the fabrication of metal artifacts had attained a high degree of technical excellence by the middle tomb period, probably as early as the late fourth or early fifth centuries. Grave goods from that period include a wide variety of iron objects, ranging from small arrow tips to complex mail armor. The broad geographic distribution of the sites where such artifacts have been found possibly indicates that metalworkers' groups in earlier centuries were controlled by powerful regional magnates or clans in many parts of Japan other than just the Yamato area. The Yōrō Code's provision of this Metalworkers' Office very likely reflected a centuries-old tradition of control that had been

exerted by powerful clans over specialized workers who were indispensable because of their skills in the manufacture of swords and other weapons.⁵⁸

10. Government Slaves Office (Kannu-no-tsukasa; also read Yakko-no-tsukasa)

The director was charged with the maintenance of the name registers of government serfs (kanko), and male and female government slaves (nuhi),⁵⁹ as well as of records regarding their rice-field allotments (kubunden). The balance of the staff under the director consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 10 pages and 1 watchman. In major changes made in government in 808 (Daidō 3/1/20) the duties of this office was absorbed by the Palace Housekeeping and Supply Office of the Imperial Household Ministry.

The Household Code (Section 8 of the Yōrō Code) specifies that name registers for government serfs and for male and female government slaves were to be maintained separately. They were also to be prepared in duplicate each year. The RSG adds the commentary that one copy was to be sent to the State Council for transmission to the Popular Affairs Ministry, where undoubtedly it was used in the computation of the government's annual tax income. Government serfs and slaves were given rice-field allotments and were thus subject to taxation.

It should be stressed here that there were other classes of unfree persons in Japanese society during the Nara period, but only the two classes mentioned above fell within the

purview of the Government Slaves Office. Well before the beginning of the Taika period, distinction was made between freemen (ryō) and slaves (nuhi). One of the regulations laid down by the Taika reformers as early as 645 (Taika 1/8/5) deals with the disposition of children born to these two classes. The child of a free man and a slave woman was to belong to the mother, and a child of a free woman and a slave man was to belong to the father. The child of two slaves attached to different houses was to belong to the mother, etc. Under the legal codes of the eighth century, a distinction between free or "good persons" (ryōmin) and unfree or "base persons" (senmin) was maintained in a system referred to as the ryōsen-sei.

There were five grades of base persons as follows: ryōko or grave wardens who guarded the imperial graves, as described above in the Imperial Mausolea Office of the Regulatory Ministry; kan-ko or government serfs who were attached to the various offices of the government; ku-nuhi or public slaves; shi-nuhi or private slaves; and kenin or household serfs. The grave-warden class of base persons was treated more liberally than the other four. For example, grave wardens were given the same amount of rice-field allotments as free persons and were taxed similarly. The major limitation placed on them was that they were not permitted to marry free persons. The government serfs were assigned to work in government offices and were given the same amount of rice-field allotment as free persons. It is thought that this class of

base person included individuals of at least two types, namely, those who formerly had been government officials and thus free persons, but who had forfeited such status because of criminal infractions; and individuals who were offspring resulting from liaison between a free person and a household serf.

A distinction was made between public and private slaves. The public slaves were owned by the government and were assigned here and there in government offices to perform miscellaneous tasks. They were given the same amount of rice-field allotments as free persons. Also, as in the case of free persons in government service, they were allowed one day off in every ten and were provided with a set of clothing twice a year in spring and winter. Upon reaching the age of sixty-six, public slaves were classified as government serfs (kanko).

Private slaves had a much lower status than public slaves. They were considered to be chattel of their private owners and could be bought, sold or given to others. They were allowed only one-third of the rice-field allotment normally given to free persons, the income from which was tax free. Persons classified as slaves (nuhi) were not permitted to maintain a family unit. It is generally accepted that approximately ten percent of the population was classified as slaves during the Nara period, the vast majority of which were under the control of the influential clans, shrines and temples. Slavery was supposedly abolished in the early tenth century, but manifestations of this earlier slave tradition continued

for some centuries.

Household serfs (kenin) were treated by the government in the same way as free persons except that they were given only one-third of the amount of rice-field allotments normally given to free persons. They could not be bought and sold, and they were permitted to maintain a family unit. While the origins of this class of unfree persons is unknown, it is generally believed that their status developed as the result of a given lineage group rendering service of a servile nature over a number of generations to another lineage group of higher social status.⁶⁰

11. Gardens and Ponds Office (Enchi-shi; also read Sonoike-no-tsukasa)

The director was charged with the supervision of gardens and ponds and with the cultivation of vegetables, trees and fruits, etc. The gardens and ponds produced vegetables, grains and herbs for the sovereign's table.

The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff included 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages and 1 watchman, plus an unspecified number of gardeners' guilds (sono-be).⁶¹

The RSG quotes another source, which is no longer extant, to the effect that there were 300 gardeners' guilds and that 150 of them annually provided gardeners to work under the direction of this office. During the time of such service they were exempted from the payment of taxes-in-kind and the labor-

substitute taxes-in-kind.

12. Clayworkers' Office (Doko-shi; also read Tsuchi-takumi-no-tsukasa)

The director of this office supervised the baking of clay tiles and the preparation of limea. The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 10 pages and 1 watchman. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 20 plasterers (nuribe),⁶² and an unspecified number of plasterers' guilds (nuri-be).

These plasterers specialized in the making of tiles and in plastering walls with daub and are not to be confused with the hajibe, or clayworkers, that were attached to the Imperial Mausolea Office in the Regulatory Ministry. Originally the hajibe manufactured figurines placed on and around tombs in the pre-eighth century era, but under the legal codes they came to be more identified with funerary matters than with the fabrication of clay objects.

Very little is known about this office since it is not mentioned in the SNG nor in the balance of the six national histories. It is also not referred to in the Engi-shiki of the early tenth century. Some authorities believe that this office may have been absorbed by the Carpentry Bureau in the Imperial Household Ministry during the eighth century, but there is no certainty of this. The RSG quotes another source no longer extant to the effect that there were fifty-one clayworkers' guilds which regularly sent twenty-five workers

(yoboro) to work under the supervision of this office. During the time of such government service these workers were exempted from the corvée and the payment of taxes-in-kind (yōeki).

13. Palace Women's Office (Uneme-no-tsukasa)

The director of this office was charged with matters relating to the palace women (uneme and others). The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 10 pages and 1 watchman. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 6 supervisors of palace women (unabe or unemebe*).

There are here several textual problems relating to the RGG and RSG commentaries on the Yōrō Code. The first deals with the director's responsibilities. Some commentators believe that the director's responsibilities related to the discipline of the palace women, but others interpret the code's text to mean that his responsibilities related to the maintenance of the palace women's name registers and the assignment of such women to government offices. I am inclined to accept the second interpretation for the following reason: the RGG is silent on this subject, but the RSG commentary stresses the director's roles of maintaining the name registers and making assignments of palace women to the Hinder Palace (Kōkyū) which is described below. The Palace Women's Office survived the eighth century but was absorbed by the Wardrobe Bureau in 808 (Daidō 3/1/20). It was later reactivated as a separate entity in 812 (Kōnin 3/2/21).

*Ryō-no-gige annotation gives this reading.
ed.

The practice of employing women and young girls in official and menial capacities dates from long before the Taika-reform period. It was customary in earlier times for the family of each powerful regional leader to select one of its young girls and present her to the court to be a palace woman. The girls were employed in various capacities in the palace, including the serving of the sovereign's meals. It is possible that the supervision of such personnel was traditionally in the hands of the Uneme-no-Omi clan which acted in this capacity as a royal manager (tomo-no-miyatsuko) for the court.⁶³

As early as 645 (Taika 2/1/1) one finds references to uneme in the imperial proclamations that outlined policies for the Taika-reform movement. It is specified there that the families of district supervisors and assistant supervisors should provide uneme for the government's use and that they should be of attractive appearance. The Officials' Appointments for the Hinder Palace (Section 3 of the Yōrō Code) incorporates virtually the same wording as that of the NSK text of Taika 2/1/1. The code also provides that the girls be selected from the members of noble clans (uji) and that they be over thirteen years of age but under thirty. Those selected were classified then as "clan women" (ujime) and were assigned primarily to the Hinder Palace, or women's quarters. There they were assigned as serving girls (joju or nyōju). The Officials' Appointments for the Hinder Palace (Section 3 of the Yōrō Code) provides for the appointments of 66 palace women and 152 serving girls in the numerous offices of that palace.

14. Palace Water Office (Shusui-shi; also read Mohitori-no-tsukasa, and in later times, Mondo-no-tsukasa)

The director of this office supervised the supply of drinking water as well as thick and thin rice gruel. He also managed the government's icehouses (himuro). The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 10 pages, 1 watchman and 20 runners. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 40 watermen (mohitoribe) and an unspecified number of watermen's guilds (mohitori-be).

The RSG comments that this office handled the supply of water for Buddhist priests and others to wash their hands when attending religious ceremonies in the palace. However, when there was a large number of priests attending such services and the hot water facilities were inadequate, the Palace Custodians' and Supply Bureau in this same ministry helped to supply the required hot water.

There are very few reliable references in the NSK to the existence of watermen and watermen's guilds prior to the eighth century. One historically unreliable reference is found in the reign of Jinmu (2/2/2) where we are informed that one Takeda-no-agata-nushi was the ancestor of the watermen (mohitori-ra) of Uda. The next reference occurs in 684 when the Mohitori-no-miyatsuko clan was granted the clan title (kabane) of mura-ji by Emperor Tenmu. We may assume from this last reference that, prior to the eighth century, the head of the Mohitori-no-miyatsuko clan acted as a royal manager in

charge of the various watermen's guilds.

Unfortunately the extant texts of the Yōrō Code are slightly corrupt with regard to the specialized personnel attached to this office. The RGG uses the terms "watermen" and "watermens' guilds," but the RSG uses "icemen" (kōribe) and "icemen's guilds (kōri-be). The latter goes on to comment that there were 144 icemen's guilds that supplied thirty icemen to the court from the ninth month of each year until the second month of the next, and another thirty from the third month until the eighth month. The Engi-shiki of the early tenth century notes that there were icehouses or ice-storage facilities in twenty-one places in the provinces of Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Ōmi and Tanba, and that in 540 places ice was gathered from ponds.

The SNG contains no reference to icehouses, and the NSK contains but one and that in the sixty-second year of Nintoku's reign (traditional date A.D. 374), and thus of doubtful historicity. However, the notation itself does present an accurate description of the construction and use of icehouses, but permits us merely to assume that icehouses were in use in Japan well before the eighth century.⁶⁴

15. Palace Oil Office (Abura-no-tsukasa)

The director was in charge of the animal fats and vegetable oils that were paid to the government as taxes-in-kind and the allocation of these commodities for palace consumption.

The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages and 1 watchman.

The Labor Taxes Code (Section 10 of the Yōrō Code) specifies the amounts of the various oils that were to be paid as taxes-in-kind. The oils included those extracted from sesame seed, flax seed, wild-boar fat, etc. It is apparent that most of these oils were used for lamps to light the palace. Very little is known about this office, other than that six officials were appointed as its directors during the eighth century. The SNG makes no other reference to it.

16. Palace Housekeeping and Supply Office (Uchi-no-kanimori-no-tsukasa)

The director of this office was responsible for essentially the same kinds of services as those assigned to the director of the Housekeeping and Supply Office in the Treasury Ministry. However, the services of the office here under consideration were restricted to the sovereign's living quarters in the palace, whereas the one in the Treasury Ministry dealt with the needs of other palace offices. In both cases the offices supervised the supply of mats for sitting and sleeping facilities, as well as for floor coverings, blinds, screens, etc.

In addition to the director, the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 10 pages, 1 watchman and 40 runners, and the specialist

complement consisted of 30 housekeepers (kanimori).

In 820 (Kōnin 11/1/5) this and the similar office in the Treasury Ministry were made into a single unit, reduced to the status of a bureau, but retained in the Imperial Household Ministry.

17. Food Receptacles Office (Hakosue-no-tsukasa; also read Hakosuemono-no-tsukasa)

The director of this office supervised the supply of food receptacles and vessels used in the palace. The RGG adds the commentary that the receptacles and vessels were made of both wood and pottery, and the RSG implies by its quotations from other sources that the office handled drinking cups, dishes, and boxes and tubs that were used as food containers.

The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchman, and the specialist complement consisted of an unspecified number of receptacle-makers' guilds (hako-be).

In view of the reference above to receptacle-makers' guilds, it is entirely possible that the director of this office also supervised the manufacture of dishes and other receptacles used in the palace. The RSG, quoting another source no longer extant, notes that there were 197 such guilds, and that each guild annually supplied one laborer (yorobo) to the court and supplied a certain number of vessels.

This office and the Palace Table Office were combined into one unit under the Imperial Household Ministry in 808

(Daidō 3/1/20).⁶⁵i

18. Palace Dyeing Office (Naisen-shi; also read Uchi-no-somemono-no-tsukasa)

The director of this office supervised the supply of various dyed materials used by the sovereign. The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff under the director consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages and 1 watchman, and the specialist complement consisted of 2 master dyers (some-shi).

The RGG curiously comments here that this office used government slaves rather than runners, but their number is not indicated. Since numerous other government offices did not have runners assigned to them, one wonders about the implications of the statement. Another curiosity is that while the master dyers are listed above, no provision is made for dyers to work under them. It would appear that the text of the code here is fragmentary.

The Palace Dyeing Office was combined with the Wardrobe Bureau under the Mediate Affairs Ministry in 808 (Daidō 3).

NotesA. Mediate Affairs Ministry

1. For text and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Mediate Affairs Ministry and its ten subordinate offices, see RGG I, pp. 32-38; RSG I, pp. 57-76; Kondō, pp. 69-92; Kubomi, pp. 39-52; Iwahashi, pp. 166-173; George Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, v. 9, pp. 78-82.

2. For succinct descriptions of these taxes, see "so" in NRD, v. 6, p. 222 and "chō" in NRD, v. 6, p. 605.

3. See "Naiki" in NRD, v. 7, p. 309.

4. See Miyamoto Tasuku, "Shuto to chihō," pp. 228-258 for similar but somewhat different statistics. Mine are based on actual count of the Yōrō Code's provisions.

5. For a brief but useful survey of the changes in the number and functions of these chamberlains subsequent to the Yōrō Code, see "Jijū" in NRD, v. 5, p. 288.

6. See Kubomi, p. 42.

7. See "ō-toneri" in NRD, v. 2, p. 264, and "Toneri" in NRD, v. 7, pp. 261-262.

8. NSK I, v. 2, pp. 322-323. See also NSK V, v. 2, p. 412.

9. Ten Kudara-te-hito were also assigned to the Treasury Ministry, which see below.

10. For a convenient list of thirty such festivals and ceremonies, see "Onyōdō-no-matsuri" in NRD, v. 2, p. 473.

11. For Kibumi-no-muraji and Kibumi-no-miyatsuko, see Miller, Ancient Japanese Nobility, pp. 162, 192, 199; see

also "Edakumi-no-tsukasa" in NRD, vol. 2, p. 43 and "Ekakibe" and "Eshi" in Endō Motoo (ed.), Nihon kodaishi jiten, 1974, (hereinafter, NKSJ), pp. 201 and 203. For references to eshi, ekaki and edakumi, see NSK V, v. 2, pp. 104, 168, 186, 320, 341 and 428.

B. Ceremonies Ministry

12. For text and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Ceremonies Ministry and its two subordinate offices, see: RGG I, pp. 38-39; RSG I, 76-82; Kondō, pp. 92-98; Kubomi, pp. 53-56; Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, pp. 82ff; Iwahashi, pp. 173-175. See also Kitayama Shigeo, "Shikibu-shō" in NRD, v. 5, pp. 267-268. The detailed statutes regarding the educational activities of this ministry are found in the Education Code, Section 11 of the Yōrō Code.

13. The code makes another kind of distinction, namely, between kyōkan or "capital officials" and gekan or "outer officials" who held positions in the provincial governments.

14. Perhaps I have taken some liberty in rendering into English the title of this bureau, which is commonly referred to as the Universities Bureau. But since the educational program provided by this bureau was far from being university-like in a modern sense, and since its primary emphasis was on the Chinese classics, the allusion to one of the Confucian Four Books does not seem too far afield.

15. Instruction was offered in the Chou-i, Shang-shu, Chou-li, Yi-li, Li-chi, Shih-ching, Tso-chuan, Lun-yu, Hsiao-ching and the various commentaries on these works. The

successful candidates for this degree had to be especially adept in the Hsiao-ching.

16. RGG I, p. 166.

17. See K. Yamamura, "The Decline of the Ritsuryō System," p. 10 for a discussion of shadow ranks. See also Mayuzumi Hiromichi, "Daigaku-ryō," NRD, v. 6, p. 310.

18. Kondō, p. 97.

C. Regulatory Ministry

19. For texts and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Regulatory Ministry and its four subordinate offices, see: RGG I, pp. 39-42; RSG I, pp. 85-93; Kondō, pp. 98-110; Kubomi, pp. 56-61; Iwahashi, pp. 175-179; Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, pp. 84-87. The translation of "Regulatory Ministry" places emphasis on one of the basic meanings of the character ji (or osameru) in the title Jibu-shō, which means to regulate or to arrange things properly and thereby bring about improvement.

20. For a discussion of the role of clan titles (kabane), primarily during the seventh century, see Miller, Ancient Japanese Nobility, pp. 1-17.

21. Some of the details on such omens may be found in the Ceremonies Code, Section 18 of the Yōrō Code. See also useful references for the Heian period in Morris' The World of the Shining Prince.

22. The term used in the Yōrō Code for imported music is zatsugaku or kusagusa-gaku. According to one authority, it was also known as sangaku, literally "scattered music." Iwahashi, p. 176.

23. There is also a NSK notation for 613 (Suiko 20) stating that an immigrant from the Korean kingdom of Paekche had learned the Wu style of dancing and singing, and he taught students this style after his arrival in Japan. The "Kure drum" was called koshi-tsuzumi or yōko, because it was played in a seated position. Koshi and yō are respectively, the Japanese and Sino-Japanese readings for the character meaning hips or derriere. For gaku-ko, see NKSJ, p. 218, gigaku, see NRD, v. 3, p. 368.

24. Kubomi, p. 59 and Kondō, p. 105.

25. The best available source of colorful and detailed information in English on the treatment of foreign guests in China during the T'ang dynasty is to be found in Edwin O. Reischauer (tr.), Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law, New York, 1955 and in Ennin's Travels in T'ang China, New York, 1955, by the same author.

26. See Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 11, pp. 127-134 for a translation of the Monks and Nuns Code.

27. See additional information on the Kōrokan in the chapter below entitled Local Government, especially the part dealing with the Dazai Headquarters.

28. It hardly need be noted here that NSK references to events dating from before the sixth century are historically unreliable and represent more tradition than facts. For references to the Haji clan and clay workers, see: NSK I, v. 1, p. 106, n. 4; NKSJ, pp. 396-397; Miller, Ancient Japanese Nobility, pp. 179, 195, 198.

29. For information on burial regulations of 645, see NSK V, v. 2, pp. 572-573, supplementary note 25-23. See also J. Edward Kidder's Early Buddhist Japan, London, 1972, especially Chapter 8, "Burial Practices and the Cult of Relics," pp. 127-146.

D. Popular Affairs Ministry

30. For texts and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Popular Affairs Ministry and its two subordinate offices, see: RGG I, pp. 42-43; RSG I, pp. 93-98; Kondō, pp. 110-115; Kubomi, pp. 62-64; and Iwahashi, pp. 179-181. For helpful descriptions found in the NRD, see "Minbu-shō" in v. 9, p. 144; "Shukei-ryō" in v. 5, p. 496; and "Shuzei-ryō" in v. 5, p. 504.

31. See detailed comments on serfs and slaves in the section below on the Government Slaves Office in the Imperial Household Ministry.

32. For an extensive list of commodities received as taxes-in-kind from the provinces during the Nara period, see the study of wooden tallies excavated at the site of the Heijō palace in Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, Heijō-kyū mokkan, Kyoto, 1968, pp. xxxii-xxxv.

E. Military Affairs Ministry

33. For texts and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Military Affairs Ministry and its five subordinate offices, see: RGG I, pp. 43-45; RSG I, pp. 98-104; Kondō, pp. 115-121; Kubomi, pp. 64-68; Iwahashi, pp. 180-183; and Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, pp. 88-90. The following concise descriptions

found in the NRD are also helpful: "Hyōbu-shō," v. 8, p. 238; "Kusui-shi" (Drum and Flute Office), v. 4, p. 43; "Shusen-shi" (Ships Office), v. 5, p. 505; "Taka-tsukasa" (Falconry Office), v. 6, p. 413. For additional statutes relating to military matters, see the Military Defense Code, Section 17 of the Yōrō Code in RGG I, pp. 183-203.

34. For additional references to horse-relay stations, see the section relating to the senior and assistant counselors in the State Council described above.

35. Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 11, p. 138.

36. NKSJ, pp. 288-289.

37. Miller, Ancient Japanese Nobility, chap. 3, pp. 38-51 for the significance of the kabane of muraji, and pp. 163, 192 and 198 for references to Fune-no-fubito.

38. For an informative monograph on falconry, see Everett W. Jameson, The Hawking of Japan: the History and Development of Japanese Falconry, Davis, California, 1962.

F. Justice Ministry

38a. For texts and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Justice Ministry and its two subordinate offices, see: RGG I, pp. 45-46; RSG I, pp. 104-112; Kondō, pp. 122-127; Kubomi, pp. 68-73; Iwahashi, pp. 183-184; and Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, pp. 90-91. See also "Gyōbu-shō" by Yoshimura Shigeki in NRD, v. 3, p. 548.

39. It was due to such responsibilities that other readings for the Justice Ministry have been used, namely, Utaetada-tsukasa and Utae-no-tsukasa, the literal meaning of which would be "Complaint Office."

40. See RGG I, p. 45; Kubomi, p. 70; and Iwahashi, p. 183.

41. Reading of Mono-no-be-no-yoboro uncertain. The reading of yoboro here taken from the reading of tsukae-no-yoboro who were laborers sent to the court from the provinces to work in miscellaneous servile capacities. For tsukae-no-yoboro, see "Shichō" in NKSJ, p. 300, which states that two such laborers were provided for government service from each fifty households.

G. Treasury Ministry

42. For texts and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Treasury Ministry and its five subordinate offices, see: RGG I, pp. 46-48; RSG I, pp. 112-118; Kondō, pp. 127-135; Kubomi, pp. 73-80; Iwahashi, pp. 184-187; and Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, pp. 91-92.

43. Additional details on the various articles of value listed here may be found in the Labor Taxes Code, Section 10 of the Yōrō Code. See RGG I, pp. 115-127.

44. For coins in eighth-century Japan, see Delmer M. Brown, Money Economy in Medieval Japan: A Study in the Use of Coins, New Haven, 1951. See also numerous index references to coins and currency in Kidder, Early Buddhist Japan.

45. For excellent illustrations of the types and designs of quality fabrics of the eighth century, see Ishida Mosaku and Wada Gunichi, The Shosoin, An Eighth Century Treasure House, Tokyo, 1954. (Text in Japanese and English). See also, Shosoin Office (ed.), Treasures of the Shosoin, Tokyo, 1965.

H. Imperial Household Ministry

46. For texts and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Imperial Household Ministry and its eighteen subordinate offices, see: RGG I, pp. 49-55; RSG I, pp. 122-137; Kondō, pp. 136-159; Kubomi, pp. 80-98; Iwahashi, pp. 68-194; and Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, pp. 92-97. For concise descriptions, also see: "Ōkura-shō" in NRD, v. 4, p. 68 and NKSJ, pp. 253-254.

47. For a concise description of the Palace Table Secretariat, see "Daizen-shiki" in NRD, v. 6, p. 343.

48. For a concise description of the Carpentry Bureau, see "Moku-ryō" by Takeuchi Rizō in NRD, v. 9, p. 257. See also "tomobe" and "hakutei" in NKSJ, pp. 378 and 395-396, respectively.

49. For a concise description of the Palace Kitchen Supplies Bureau, see "Ōi-ryō" by Yoshimura Shigeki in NRD, v. 2, p. 183.

50. For a concise description of the Palace Custodians and Supply Bureau, see "Tonomo-ryō" in NRD, v. 7, p. 262.

51. According to Kubomi, pp. 87-88, "the cure of diseases and illness" had something to do with a technique that resulted

in lending support to the good vapors and eliminating the bad ones within a patient. It would appear from other references that this technique involved pressure exerted by the thumbs of the acupuncturists, in which case it may well have been similar to the present-day shiatsu or finger-pressure therapy. Another text (RSG I, p. 128) is variant regarding "the cure of various diseases and illnesses" and reads "curing various skin disorders (boils?) and diseases." If the latter text is correct then it would seem that acupuncturists dealt in both internal and external medical practices.

52. For "Geyaku-ryō," see NSK V, v. 2, p. 416 and supplementary note 29-10 on p. 592.

53. For the Succession Code, see RGG I, pp. 147-148; and for household registers, see the Households Code, RGG I, pp. 91-106, as well as an English translation in Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 11, pp. 134-149.

54. See the following valuable translation and linguistic analysis of an eighth-century document concerning a conflict between the Takahashi and Azumi clans over the matter of precedence of the two royal stewards: Douglas E. Mills, "The Takahashi Uzibumi," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XVI, I (1954), pp. 113-133.

55. For a description of the Imperial Table Office, see "Naizen-shi" by Yoshida Akira in NRD, v. 7, p. 311.

56. For a description of the Wine-Making Office, see "Zōshu-shi" by Yoshimura Shigeki in NRD, v. 6, p. 242.

57. See similar RSG references to miscellaneous artisans guilds in the Arsenal Office of the Military Affairs Ministry and in the Casting Office of the Treasury Ministry.

58. For additional details, see "Kanuchi-be" by Tōma Seitō in NRD, v. 3, pp. 81-82. See also the numerous references to metalwork from earliest times through the eighth century in J. Edward Kidder's two works, Japan Before Buddhism, 1959, and Early Buddhist Japan, 1972.

59. The text reads "kanko nuhi" which is an abbreviation for the terms kanko and kannuhi.

60. See references to freeing of slaves as early as 689 (Jitō 3/10/22) in NSK V, p. 500 and p. 602, supplementary note 30-7. See also "Kannu-no-tsukasa" and "kannuhi" in NRD, v. 3, p. 333 and the following references in NKSJ: "kanko," p. 235; "kenin," p. 261; "dorei-sei," pp. 378-379; "nuhi," p. 386; and "ryōsen-sei," p. 465.

61. NRD, v. 2, p. 124 states that in the pre-Taika period there were sonobe (or enbe?) headed by a sono-be-no-obito, but I find no such references to it in the NSK.

62. The RSG I, p. 134 gives the curious reading of hatsukashi-no-tomo-miyatsuko 波都加比乃友造 for clayworkers. There is only one NSK reference that possibly refers to clayworkers' guilds. It appears in the annals of the mythological Emperor Suinin (39/10) with the reading of hatsukashi-be 泊標部. See "Hatsukashi-be" in NKSJ, p. 397 and "Dokō-shi" by Matsuda Takeshi in NRD, v. 7, pp. 235-236.

63. The Uneme-no-omi clan was granted the prestigious new clan title (kabane) of asomi in 684. For Uneme-no-miyatsuko and Uneme-no-muraji, see Miller, Ancient Japanese Nobility, pp. 164, 193, 203, and for Uneme-no-omi, see pp. 172, 194 and 203. For uneme, see also NSK V, v. 2, p. 564, supplementary note 23-2.

64. For himuro, see NSK V, v. 1, p. 143, n. 26, and for Mohitori-no-miyatsuko and Mohitori-no-muraji, see Miller, Ancient Japanese Nobility, pp. 161, 191 and 200. For a concise description of the Palace Water Office, see "Shusui-shi" in NRD, v. 5, p. 504. One excellent example of an icehouse of this period survives intact in Kyeong-ju, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Silla in Korea.

65. See numerous references to haji and sue pottery of ancient Japan in Kidder, Early Buddhist Japan.

VII

Censors' Board

(Danjō-dai)

The next portion of the Yōrō Code provides for the personnel and duties of the Censors' Board which was subordinate to the State Council but not to any of its eight ministries. Considering its potentially important role in government, the code provides the board with surprisingly few personnel to fulfill its responsibilities. The code outlines the board's responsibilities in such a succinct fashion that varying interpretations have evolved concerning its work, some of which appeared as early as the ninth century, as demonstrated by the glosses one finds in the RGG and RSG.¹

The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of the following: 1 director who supervised the purification of manners and customs, the censorship of unacceptable conduct "within and without" (naigai), and the reporting of such conduct to the throne; 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary and 2 assistant executive secretaries, who supervised rounds of inspection, the impeachment of unacceptable conduct "within and without," in addition to the normal handling of the paperwork and other duties of the board; 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 6 clerks, 30 pages and 2 watchmen. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 10 patrolling censors (junsatsudanjō) who were responsible for making the rounds of inspection and impeaching unacceptable conduct.

It will be seen that the board was something like a police board, in that it was empowered to identify wrongdoers and report their delinquencies to higher authority. At the same time, the reference to the "purification" of manners and customs implies that certain of the qualified members of the board were empowered to take correctional measures, a responsibility normally reserved for the judiciary in a modern society. It is probably because of such an implication in the work of the board that another reading of its title was Tadasu-tsukasa, that is, the "Correctional Office." The RGG commentary states that the purification of manners and customs could be accomplished through the proper application of decorous exhortation. It goes on to cite one example, namely, the bad custom of wives committing suicide to follow their husbands to the grave, which, incidentally, was a custom forbidden by imperial edict as early as 646 (Taika 3/2/22).

The references to "within and without" noted above are of uncertain meaning in this context. The RGG states quite clearly that in so far as the executive secretary and the two assistant executive secretaries were concerned, the "within" referred to the left and right sectors of the capital area, and the "without" referred to the five home provinces and the seven circuits. In other words, these three officials, according to the commentary cited, were responsible for censorship activities of the entire country outside of the capital area. That commentary then states that in so far as the patrolling censors were concerned, the "within" referred to

patrolling the palace area, and the "without" referred to patrolling the capital area. If the "within" in this case does refer to patrolling the palace area, it is unlikely that the duties of the censors included scrutinizing the Inner Palace or dairi, the residential area of the sovereign, his consorts and the heir apparent. The code charges the Palace Discipline Office of the Mediate Affairs Ministry with that responsibility.

Despite the RGG commentary cited above concerning the use of decorous exhortation in the purification of unacceptable manners and customs, it is clear that the Censors' Board did not concern itself with the people at large. Its responsibilities related solely to the members of the officialdom. One modern authority (Iwahashi) states that the board in fact gradually dispensed with the censuring of officials' legal infractions and concentrated more on their extravagances. It would appear that the staff of the board was far too small to undertake the task of inspecting and impeaching the unacceptable conduct of the entire officialdom in the capital and provincial areas. It is far more likely that the ten patrolling censors bore responsibilities limited to the capital area, and that the director and others of the administrative staff of the board merely supervised and administered censorship activities of officials assigned to government posts outside of the capital area.

The director of the Censors' Board was always an individual who enjoyed high rank. For example, the Officials' Court Ranks Code (Section 1 of the Yōrō Code) specifies that the

director should have the court rank of junior fourth, but in 759 (Tenpyō-hōji 3/7/13) the State Council enhanced that rank to junior third. As such, the director's rank equalled that of an associate counsellor of the State Council and thus ranked considerably above most of the heads of the eight ministries. About half of the directors of this Board mentioned during the eighth century were princes (ō) and members of the imperial family.

The existence of censors and censorates began at an early date in Chinese history, at least as early as the Han Dynasty, and the censorate system of the Sui-T'ang period certainly influenced the compilers of Japan's legal codes of the early eighth century. It is just as certain, however, that the Japanese counterpart or adaptation was never an effective instrument for the maintenance of control by the central government over provincial officials. It was undoubtedly because of its ineffectiveness that the system of police commissioners (kebi-shi) was established in the early ninth century. The police commissioners gradually took over the responsibilities of the Censors' Board, and by the middle Heian period it had become a far more effective central-government instrument of control over provincial areas. The result was that the activities of the censors became confined very largely to the capital area.

Notes

1. For the text and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Censors' Board, see: RGG I, p. 55; RSG I, pp. 137-140; Kondō, pp. 159-161; Kubomi, pp. 99-100; Iwahashi, pp. 194-195; Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, p. 98. For concise descriptions of the Censor's Board, see: "Danjō-dai" by Akai Tatsurō in NRD, v. 6, pp. 545-546; and "Danjō-dai" in NKSJ, p. 355.

VIII

Palace Guard, Stable and Armory Units

The years following the Taika palace coup of 645 were turbulent and culminated in the Jinshin War of 672. That war led to the overthrow of Kōbun, Tenchi's son and heir to the throne, and the accession of Tenchi's younger brother as Emperor Tenmu. In view of such a background of strife and division in the last half of the seventh century, it is not surprising to find that the successful court faction led by Tenmu took steps to incorporate into the administrative codes adequate means to insure the safety of the sovereign and the security of the palace. Under Tenmu and then during the succeeding reigns of Empress Jitō, his wife, and of Emperor Monmu, his son, the foundations were laid for the administrative statutes that culminated in the Yōrō Code of 718.

That code provided for a palace guard and armory system consisting of the Five Guards' Headquarters (Go-e-fu) plus five stables and armory units. The former consisted of the Gate Guards' Headquarters, the Palace Guards' Headquarters of the Left and Right, and the Military Guards' Headquarters of the Left and Right. The latter consisted of the Stables Bureaus of the Left and Right, the Armories of the Left and Right, and the Palace Armory. These guard, stables and armory units were under the direction of the State Council but were not subordinate to any of the eight ministries. Much of the terminology employed in the code for these units and their personnel

can be traced to Chinese origins, but it is also apparent that a significant amount of the terminology employed referred to traditional Japanese military and guard-related elements that predated the Taika period and the compilation of administrative codes.¹

The following are the stipulations laid down by the Yōrō Code for the staffing and responsibilities of these guard, stables and armory units:

A. Gate Guards' Headquarters (Emon-fu; also read Yugei-no-tsukasa)

The director was responsible for the supervision of: the guarding of the palace gates; the checking on persons entering and leaving through the palace gates; the patrolling of the palace area on ceremonial occasions; the Hayato guards; and the maintenance of gate registers and registers of articles.

The administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 director, 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 2 recorders, 2 assistant recorders, 30 pages and 4 watchmen. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 1 physician (ishi), 200 gate guards (kadobe), 30 Mono-no-be guards,² plus an unspecified number of palace guards (eshi).

The gate guards were freemen of commoner stock who were selected from among soldiers (heishi) in the provincial brigades (gundan).³ The Gate Guards' Headquarters supervised

a special unit known as the Hayato Guards' Office (Hayato-no-tsukasa). The Hayato were tribal people who were not considered to be racially related to the Japanese and whose original home was in southern Kyushu. The director of the office was charged with the supervision of the Hayato guards (Hayato), the maintenance of their name registers, the supervision of their training in singing and dancing, and their manufacture of woven bamboo headgear. The balance of the staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 10 pages, 1 watchman, and an unspecified number of Hayato guards.

The KJK and NSK contain numerous references to Hayato in very early periods. Some of the references are historically unreliable and are so legendary in nature that they serve no other purpose than to indicate traditions surrounding the Hayato when the KJK and NSK were compiled in the early eighth century. One such tradition links the Hayato to guard duties close to members of the imperial line. One NSK notation records that an imperial prince was slain by his own Hayato guard, bribed by Prince Midzuha, just prior to the first year of the reign of Richū (traditional dates 400-405). And in the first year of Seinei's reign (traditional dates 480-484) the NSK records that when the previous emperor, Yūryaku, was buried Hayato mourned at the side of the burial mound for a week before they died of starvation.

There are several other references to Hayato that occur during the reigns of Tenmu and Jitō, which are historically more reliable than the ones referred to in the above paragraph.

In 683 (Tenmu 11/7/3), we are told, numerous Hayato of Ōsumi at Ata, both regions of southern Kyūshū, presented to the court tribute comprised of native products. The two groups of Hayato also held a wrestling match before the court in which those from Ōsumi won. Tenmu died in 687, and in the following year (Jitō 1/5/22) the NSK informs us that when the heir apparent and officials performed ceremonies at Tenmu's temporary burial place, the chiefs of the Ata and Ōsumi Hayato, accompanied by their people, pronounced eulogies. Later in the same year the NSK records that gifts were given to these chiefs and their people who totaled 337 persons in all.⁴

B. Palace Guards' Headquarters of the Left and Right (Sa-eshi-fu and U-eshi-fu)

The code states that the Left and Right units of these Headquarters were identical in respect of their staffing and responsibilities. The director of each had responsibility for the following: guarding of the area within the palace precincts; supervision of the various units of palace guards; patrolling of the palace precincts; the maintenance of name registers of the palace guards, and their selection and assignments for guard duty at the palace storehouses and armories; the outfitting of the palace guards on ceremonial occasions; and the provision of guard units to lead and follow the imperial conveyance.

The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 associate director, 2 executive secretaries,

2 assistant executive secretaries, 2 recorders and 2 assistant recorders, 60 pages and 3 watchmen. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 2 physicians and an unspecified number of palace guards (eshi).

C. Military Guards' Headquarters of the Left and Right
(Sa-hyōe-fu and U-hyōe-fu)

The code states that the Left and Right units of these headquarters were identical in respect of their staffing and responsibilities. The director of each was responsible for supervising the military guards (hyōe) and their assignments to the small gates (kōmon) to the east and west of the imperial audience hall; the provision of guards to lead and follow the imperial conveyance; the maintenance of name registers of the military guards and registers of articles. These registers were for recording articles that were brought into or taken out of the palace area.

The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff consisted of 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 assistant executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 30 pages and 2 watchmen. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 1 physician, 4 group commanders (banchō; each in charge of 100 military guards), and 400 military guards. Military guards were selected from among both the legitimate and natural sons of middle echelon officials and district supervisors (gun-shi) in the provinces.⁵

D. Stables Bureaus of the Left and Right (Hidari-no-uma-no-tsukasa and Migi-no-uma-no-tsukasa; other readings are Me-ryō and Ma-ryō)

The Yōrō Code states that the Left and Right units of these bureaus were identical in respect of their staffing and responsibilities. The director of each was responsible for supervising: the stables; the breeding, care and training of horses; the provision of riding gear required by the sovereign; the provision of feed for the horses; the maintenance of the household and name registers of the grooms' guilds (umakai-be or me-be). The balance of the administrative and subordinate staffs of each bureau consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 20 pages and 2 watchmen. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 1 veterinarian (ba'i or uma-kusushi, literally "horse doctor"), 60 grooms⁶ (umabe or mebe), plus an unspecified number of grooms guilds.

Prior to the compilation of administrative codes before the eighth century, occupational groups of grooms or grooms' guilds (umakai-be) existed in many parts of the country. They were classified as tomo-be and were thus the property of the imperial house but were supervised by a royal manager whose clan name and title were Umakai-no-miyatsuko. One example of this name appears in the NSK in a notation of 645 (Taika 1/7/10).⁷ Other examples appear during the reign of Tenmu between 682 and 684 when the four clans of Kawachi-no-umakai-no-miyatsuko, Sarara-no-umakai-no-miyatsuko, Uno-no-umakai-no-miyatsuko and Yamato-no-umakai-no-miyatsuko were

granted the clan title (kabane) of muraji.

In the latter half of the eighth and in the early ninth centuries the SNG and Nihon Kōki contain references to two bureaus relating to stables and horses. They were the Palace Stables Bureau (Naikyū-ryō) and the Stables Bureau (Shuba-ryō), both of which were extra-legal offices not provided for in the administrative codes. The former was established in 765 (Tenpyō-jingo 1/2/2), and other subsequent references are made to it in the sources. It was abolished sometime in the Daidō era (806-809). The Shuba-ryō was first mentioned in 781 (Ten'ō 1/5/7) when a member of the Ise-no-asomi clan was appointed its director. It is not known under which ministries or other administrative units these bureaus were attached. The views of specialists vary but it is possible that the name of Uma-no-tsukasa or Me-ryō for the Stables Bureau was changed to Shuba-ryō sometime during the reign of Emperor Kanmu (781-806) and was then changed back to its original name sometime during the Daidō era.⁸

E. Armories of the Left and Right (Sa-hyōgo and U-hyōgo; also read Tsuwamono-no-tsukasa)

The Yōrō Code states that the Left and Right units of these armories were identical in respect of their staffing and responsibilities. The director of each armory was responsible for supervising: the storage of arms, both ceremonial and military; the receipt, issuance, airing and proper care of the same; and the issuance of arms upon receipt of orders

and reporting of the matter to higher authorities. The balance of the administrative and subordinate staffs of each armory consisted of 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 1 assistant executive secretary, 1 recorder, 1 assistant recorder, 20 pages and 2 watchmen.

Around 898 the Armories of the Left and Right, together with the Military Affairs Ministry's Arsenal Office and the Drum and Flute Office were reorganized into a single bureau within that ministry.⁹

F. Palace Armory (Uchi-no-hyōgo)

The Yōrō Code here merely lists this armory's staffing and states that the director's responsibilities were the same as those of the directors of the Armories of the Left and Right described immediately above. The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff consisted merely of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 10 pages and 1 watchman.

The code provides no other information, nor does the RGG, concerning the reasons for establishing this Palace Armory as a unit distinct from the Armories of the Left and Right. The RSG quotes another source that is no longer extant to explain that armory units were required in two places in times of emergencies, one "inside" and the other "outside" (nai-gai). Whether "inside and outside" meant inside the palace and outside in the capital, or inside the capital area and outside in the provinces, is not clear. The Palace Armory survived

through the eighth century, but was absorbed by the Armories of the Left and Right in 808 (Daidō 3/1/20).¹⁰

Notes

1. For the text and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding these guard, stables and armory units, see: RGG I, pp. 56-58; RSG I, pp. 140-148; Kondō, pp. 162-174; Kubomi, pp. 100-108; Iwahashi, pp. 196-203; and Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, pp. 98-99.

2. 40 Mono-no-be guards were also assigned to the Justice Ministry's Prisons Office, and 20 each to the Capital Secretariats' Market Offices of the East and West, the latter of which are described below in the chapter on local government.

3. Provincial brigades are dealt with below in the chapter on local government.

4. For Hayato, see NSK V, v. 1, p. 570, supplementary note 2-18.

5. District supervisors are dealt with in the chapter below on local government.

6. The text has 飼丁 which would be read umakai-yoboro, and the RSG I, quoting another source, states that this is the same as 飼戸, which would be read umakaibe. Iwahashi, p. 201 states that the former term in the code's text is incorrect and that the latter was intended. However, there is one SNG reference to umakai-yoboro (Wadō 6/5/12) indicating that such a term did exist. Also, it should be indicated here that the Stables and Pastures Code (Section 23 of the Yōrō Code) uses the term 馬戸 uma-be in reference to grooms' guilds. See RGG I, p. 271.

7. For Umakai-no-miyatsuko, see NSK V, v. 2, p. 568, supplementary note 25-6.

8. Compare Iwahashi, p. 202 and "Me-ryō" in NKSJ, p. 443. For numerous references to the Umakai-no-miyatsuko clans of Kawachi, Sarara, Uno and Yamato, see Miller, Ancient Japanese Nobility, pp. 162, 164, 192-193 and 199-204. See also "Uma-tsukasa" and "Uma-tsukasa-no-mon" in NRD, v. 1, p. 607 and "umakai-be" in NKSJ, p. 199.

9. See "Hyōgo-ryō" in NRD, v. 8, p. 234. The title of this unit was Hyōgo, according to the RGG, but Hyōgo-ryō, that is, "Armory Bureau," according to the RSG. The former appears in the SNG, but not the latter; nevertheless, the terms used in the RGG and RSG for the administrative officials (shitōkan) are the ones used for such personnel in the bureaus (ryō) of the government. It is possible, but not at all certain, that the term Hyōgo-ryō is an anachronism if applied to this armory before the end of the ninth century.

10. A second problem relates to the Japanese title of this armory: the RGG reads Uchi-no-hyōgo meaning "Palace Armory," whereas the RSG reads Uchi-no-hyōgo-shi meaning "Palace Armory Office." I have not found this latter title in either the NSK or SNG.

IX

Hinder and Eastern Palaces

A. Hinder Palace (Kōkyū)

The Officials' Appointments for the Hinder Palace (Kōkyū-shokuin-ryō) constitutes the third section of the Yōrō Code, and outlines briefly the responsibilities and personnel assigned to that palace and its twelve offices. The term Hinder Palace was used in several ways with related meanings. It could mean the group of buildings located behind the sovereign's apartments where the imperial consorts resided, and it could also mean the staff of female palace officials (nyōkan) who were assigned to the offices in the service of those consorts. The term also could refer to the various consorts of the sovereign below the level of the empress.¹

The twelve offices of the Hinder Palace generally parallel, and are analogous to, the service-oriented offices of the Imperial Household Ministry. The Hinder Office was functionally self-contained but for administrative purposes it was subordinate to the State Council. The staffs within this palace consisted wholly of female officials and menials, the former of whom bore court ranks. While the palace was not involved officially in the administration of matters of state, the fact remains that at times in Japanese history, its inhabitants exerted important influence on the policy formulations of the State Council and its agencies.

To handle the necessary liaison between the Hinder Palace and the State Council and its agencies, we find the Mediate Affairs Ministry's first and most important office to be the Empress' Household Secretariat. The staff of that secretariat was composed entirely of male officials and menials in contrast to the female staffs in the Hinder Palace. One of the responsibilities of that secretariat was to maintain the name registers of the female staffs assigned to the Hinder Palace.

The Officials' Appointments for the Hinder Palace does not provide for an overall director of this palace, in contrast to the eight ministries and their offices under the State Council. Instead, it first provides for three types of consorts below the level of the empress, each one varying somewhat in the matter of court rank. But there was a marked difference between the court ranks of other officials in the government and the court ranks of these imperial consorts. In the former case, each office of government required that it be filled by an official of a certain minimal court rank. Slight exceptions were made in that system, but a means was available even there for indicating an official whose rank was slightly higher or lower than an office required. But in the case of the three types of consorts in the Hinder Palace, court rank was awarded after a consort had been selected to attend the sovereign.

The code provides for nine consorts of three types, each type being distinguished by a certain minimal court rank.

The three types were hi (or kisaki), fujin and hin.² There were two hi requiring a minimum of the fourth princely court rank (shihon) or above; three fujin requiring a minimum of the third court rank (san-i) or above; and four hin requiring a minimum of the fifth court rank (go-i) and above. One may assume from these court ranks that the hi or kisaki were either imperial princesses or women who were later awarded court ranks equivalent to imperial princesses. Commentaries indicate that girls were selected when they were young and after their appointments as one of the three types of consorts below the level of the empress they were given a court rank at the pleasure of the sovereign. Below the level of these imperial consorts there were, of course, other concubines.

The following is a brief summary of the twelve offices that provided their functional support for the Hinder Palace. In all cases the twelve offices had names that were similar to offices and bureaus one finds in the eight ministries under the State Council. It can be assumed that their duties and responsibilities were quite similar, though the ones in the Hinder Palace were on a lesser scale and adjusted to the special needs of that palace. I have thought it to be of some value to list below the staffs of each of the offices, because of the special system employed in their designations. These designations do not follow the system that is called the "Four Categories of Officials" (shitōkan), which applies to all the other ministries, offices and bureaus under the State Council, as well as to other administrative and military units.

1. Palace Retainers' Office (Naishi-no-tsukasa)

This was the principal administrative office of the Hinder Palace, which supervised the work and personnel of the other eleven offices. It also handled liaison between the Hinder Palace and the administrative offices under the State Council. In these respects it was generally analogous to the Mediate Affairs Ministry. The staff consisted of the following: 2 directors (shōji), 4 associate directors (tenji), 4 executive secretaries (shōji) and 100 serving girls (nyōju).³

2. Storehouse Office (Zō-shi or Kura-no-tsukasa)

While the Palace Retainers' Office was the principal administrative office of the Hinder Palace, the Storehouse Office was of higher rank than the other eleven offices because it was responsible for the custody of the "Divine Jewel" (shinji), one of the three imperial regalia, and because of its duties relating to the clothing and precious articles belonging to the sovereign. In these and other respects, this office was generally analogous to the Palace Storehouse Bureau of the Mediate Affairs Ministry. The staff consisted of the following: 1 director (shōzō), 2 associate directors (tenzō), 4 executive secretaries (shōzō) and 10 serving girls.

3. Manuscripts Office (Sho-shi or Fumi-no-tsukasa)

This office was generally analogous to the Manuscripts and Books Bureau of the Mediate Affairs Ministry. Its staff consisted of the following: 1 director (shōsho), 2 associate directors (tensho) and 6 serving girls.

4. Pharmaceutical Office (Yaku-shi or Kusuri-no-tsukasa)

This office was generally analogous to the Palace Pharmaceutical Office in the Mediate Affairs Ministry. The staff consisted of the following: 1 director (shōyaku), 2 associate directors (tenyaku) and 4 serving girls.

5. Armory Office (Hei-shi, Hyō-shi or Tsuwamono-no-tsukasa)

This office stored arms as needed by the Hinder Palace. Some authorities believe these arms were ceremonial in nature rather than for practical military purposes. If they were indeed real weapons, then they may have been requisitioned from the Armories of the Left and Right. The staff consisted of the following: 1 director (shōhei), 2 associate directors (tenpei) and 6 serving girls.

6. Gates Office (I-shi or Kado-no-tsukasa)

This office was in charge of the issuance and custody of keys for the inner gates of the palace. The staff consisted of the following: 1 director (shō'i), 4 associate directors

(ten'i) and 10 serving girls.

7. Supply Office (Tonomo-no-tsukasa or Den-shi)

This office was generally analogous to the Palace Custodians' and Supply Bureau and the Palace Oil Office in the Imperial Household Ministry. Its staff consisted of the following: 1 director (shōden), 2 associate directors (tenden) and 6 serving girls.

8. Housekeeping Office (Sō-shi)

This office also was generally analogous to the Housekeeping and Supply Office in the Treasury Ministry as well as to the Palace Housekeeping and Supply Office in the Imperial Household Ministry. Its staff consisted of the following: 1 director (shōsō), 2 associate directors (tensō) and 10 serving girls.

9. Water Office (Sui-shi) or Mohitori-no-tsukasa)

This office was analogous to the Palace Water Office in the Imperial Household Ministry. The staff consisted of the following: 1 director (shōsui), 2 associate directors (tensui) and 6 palace women (uneme). Because their social status was higher than that of serving girls, palace women were employed in this office since their duties involved serving the sovereign during meals.

10. Table Office (Zen-shi)

This office was generally analogous to the Imperial Table Office in the Imperial Household Ministry. The staff consisted of the following: 1 director (shōzen), 2 associate directors (tenzen), 4 executive secretaries (shōzen) and 60 palace women.

11. Wine Office (Shu-shi or Sake-no-tsukasa)

This office was generally analogous to the Wine-Making Office of the Imperial Household Ministry. The staff consisted of just 1 director (shōshu) and 2 associate directors (ten-shu). The code makes no provision for a complement of serving girls or palace women. It is thought that the Wine-Making Office of the Imperial Household Ministry, mentioned above, supplied the wines to this office for use in the Hinder Palace.

12. Sewing Office (Nui-no-tsukasa)

This office was given three responsibilities. The first was to sew and tailor clothes, etc., and in this respect was analogous to the Wardrobe Bureau of the Mediate Affairs Ministry. The second was to supervise the conduct of the serving girls and palace women who were assigned to the Hinder Palace. The third was to schedule when the female officials (myōbu) were to come to serve at court. The code does not provide for the assignment of serving girls or palace women to this office, and it is assumed that when sewing was required, such personnel

was made available on a temporary basis from other offices of the Hinder Palace. The staff consisted of the following: 1 director (shōhō), 2 associate directors (tenpō) and 4 executive secretaries (shōhō).

B. Eastern Palace (Tōgū)

The Officials' Appointments for the Eastern Palace (Tōgū-shokuin-ryō) constitutes the fourth section of the Yōrō Code and outlines briefly the responsibilities and personnel assigned to the palace and its nine offices. The term Eastern Palace was borrowed from China where it was used to refer to the residence and person of the heir apparent. Another term used was the Spring Palace, which may be read as either Tōgū or Haru-no-miya, and possesses the same implications. The term Eastern Palace was probably originally used because the heir apparent's palace was located to the east of the sovereign's apartments, and the term Spring Palace was probably originally just the name of a building or a group of buildings in which the heir apparent resided. With the compilation of the administrative codes in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, the term Tōgū also came to refer to the Eastern Palace Agency (Tōgū-bō) and its subordinate service offices in charge of the heir apparent's affairs.⁴

Considering the enormous flair for detail exhibited by the codifiers of the administrative codes of the early eighth century, it is curious that the Yōrō Code does not lay down statutes to govern the selection of an heir apparent. In fact, it was not until several centuries later that such statutes were formulated. Before that time the appointment of a member of the imperial house as heir apparent was not limited by any rules of primogeniture nor confined to males. In addition, at some times in ancient Japanese history, the title of

heir apparent was not confined to just one person. The NSK provides evidence to indicate that at times before the eighth century a reigning sovereign designated his successor, and at other times not. The heir apparent was often an offspring of the sovereign, but there are instances in which an uncle or nephew was so designated. And there are other examples of an imperial son or daughter succeeding their father without having been first designated heir apparent. Perhaps the absence of statutes in the Yōrō Code governing the appointment of heirs apparent results from a desire on the part of the powerful clan chieftains clustered around the sovereign to avoid regulations concerning heirs apparent, which might deny them at some time in the future the opportunity of gaining additional influence by the appointment of one who would be satisfactorily cooperative.

The following is a brief summary of the offices and staffing of the Eastern Palace. It will be seen that its nine service offices parallel, or are analogous to, offices of the eight ministries of the State Council and the Hinder Palace. The Officials' Appointments for the Eastern Palace is divided into two distinct portions, much as in the case of the Officials' Appointments Code Code for the Hinder Palace. In both instances non-administrative personnel are provided for first. In the case of the Hinder Palace described above, the code provides for three types of consorts below the level of the empress; in the case of the Eastern Palace, it provides first for something akin to a moral guardian plus several scholars

to guide the heir apparent in moral and humane training.

The first official provided for is a preceptor (fu) whose responsibility was to render guidance to the heir apparent in the "Way and Virtue" (dōtoku). This reference to the "Way and Virtue" meant, of course, the cardinal Confucian virtues such as filial piety, obedience, humaneness, righteousness, decorum, wisdom and trustworthiness. This role of the heir apparent's preceptor was similar to one played by the chancellor of the State Council, who was given the duty of providing moral guidance to the sovereign. The provision of a preceptor for the heir apparent represented a borrowing from T'ang China. In the Chinese system, the crown prince was provided with three preceptors (san-shih), the second of which was called the t'ai-fu, the fu being the same character as used in the Japanese system. The heir apparent's preceptor in Japan's case was always a man of eminence who held the high court rank of senior fourth, upper grade, which ranked him as equal to the minister of the Mediate Affairs Ministry.

There is next provision for two scholars (gakushi) whose responsibility was to teach and explain the Chinese classics to the heir apparent. One can assume that one of the classics was certainly the Classic of Filial Piety (Hsiao Ching), a ready compendium of the cardinal Confucian virtues listed above. Below the level of these three non-administrative personnel there was placed the Eastern Palace Agency (Tōgū-bō; also read Miko-no-miya-no-tsukasa) with its nine service offices. The administrative staff of the agency consisted of

the following: 1 director, whose basic responsibility was to keep records of the work and personnel of the three departments (kan) and six service offices (sho) under his control plus 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 1 recorder, 2 assistant recorders, 30 pages and 3 watchmen.

The nine departments and service offices were as follows:

1. Attendants' Department (Toneri-no-tsukasa)⁵

The director's primary function was to maintain the name registers of the numerous attendants (toneri) attached to the Eastern Palace, and to take charge of their assignments. In these respects the director's duties were comparable to those of the director of the Attendants' Bureaus of the Left and Right in the Mediate Affairs Ministry. The balance of the staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 10 pages, 1 watchman, plus a complement of 600 attendants.

2. Table Department (Shuzen-kan)⁶

The director's duties were analogous to those of the director of the Imperial Table Office of the Imperial Household Ministry and to those of the Table Office of the Hinder Palace. The balance of the staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchmen, 20 runners and 60 cooks (kashiwadebe).

3. Storehouse Department (Shuzō-kan)⁷

The director's main responsibility was to store the heir apparent's precious items such as jewels, as well as clothing, etc. His duties were analogous to those of the directors of the Palace Storehouse Bureau in the Mediate Affairs Ministry and the Storehouse Office in the Hinder Palace. The balance of the staff consisted of 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchman, 2 runners, and 20 warehousemen (kurabe).

4. Housekeeping and Supply Service Office (Shuden-sho)⁸

The director's responsibility was to supply bathwater and lamps, and to supervise the cleaning, etc., of the Eastern Palace. These duties were comparable to a combination of those of the Palace Housekeeping and Supply Office and the Palace Custodians' and Supply Bureau in the Imperial Household Ministry. The balance of the staff consisted of 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchman, 10 runners and 20 palace custodians (tonomoribe).

5. Manuscripts and Medicinals Service Office (Shusho-sho)⁹

The director supervised the supply of books, manuscripts, brushes and ink stones, as well as medicines required by the heir apparent. As such, this office was analogous to a combination of the Manuscripts and Books Bureau and the Palace Pharmaceutical Office in the Mediate Affairs Ministry, and to a combination of the Pharmaceutical Bureau in the Imperial

Household Ministry and the Manuscripts Office in the Hinder Palace. The balance of the staff consisted of 1 recorder, 6 pages and 1 watchman.

6. Water Service Office (Shushō-sho)

The director supervised the supply of drinking water, rice gruels and beverages for the heir apparent. This office was analogous to the Palace Water Office in the Imperial Household Ministry or to the Water Office in the Hinder Palace. The balance of the staff consisted of 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchman, 6 runners and 10 watermen (mohitoribe).

7. Repairs Service Office (Shukō-sho)

The director's duty was to supervise repairs that involved carpentry, plastering, or copper and iron fittings. This office was analogous to a combination of three offices in the Imperial Household Ministry: the Carpentry Bureau, the Clayworkers' Office and the Metalworkers' Office. The English rendition of this office's title is open to debate, though it was arrived at on the basis of an RSG statement to the effect that this service office did not manufacture metal implements but worked with already-fashioned ones. It also states that the lumber employed by this office was supplied by the Carpentry Bureau in the Imperial Household Ministry. The balance of the staff consisted of 1 recorder, 6 pages, 1 watchman, 60 runners and 6 carpenters (takumibe).

8. Arms Service Office (Shuheishi)¹⁰

The director supervised the supply of ceremonial weapons and arms for the heir apparent. This service office was generally analogous to the Armory Bureaus of the Left and Right. The RSG commentary, quoting other sources no longer extant, stresses that the weapons and arms in question were used for ceremonial occasions, which were carried, for example, when the heir apparent left the palace. It further states that these weapons and arms were made by the Repairs Service Office in the Eastern Palace. The balance of the staff consisted of 1 recorder, 6 pages and 1 watchman.

9. Stables Service Office (Shubashi)¹¹

The director supervised the supply of riding horses and saddles for the heir apparent. This service office was generally analogous to the Palace Stables Office of the Left and Right, which the RSG states provided the horses required by this Stables Service Office. The balance of the staff consisted of 1 recorder, 10 pages, 1 watchman and 10 grooms (mebu).

Notes

1. The term "Hinder" is used in contradistinction to the Chūgū, which means literally "Middle Palace," a term that simply referred to the empress, the empress dowager, and the grand empress dowager. For this reason the Chūgū is rendered into English as "Empress's Household" as in the Empress's Household Secretariat in the Mediate Affairs Ministry. The sovereign's private apartments and living quarters, as well as the Hinder Palace, were together known as the Dairi or Ō-uchi, a term meaning "Great Interior," which is rendered in this work as "Inner Palace."

For the texts and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Hinder and Eastern Palaces, see: RGG I, pp. 63-73; RSG I, pp. 169-187; Kondō, pp. 195-221; Kubomi, pp. 125-147; Iwahashi, pp. 214-218; Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, pp. 108-109. For concise descriptions of these palaces, see "Kōkyū-jūni-shi" in NRD, v. 4, p. 324 and "Tōgū" in NRD, v. 7, p. 159.

2. The characters used to indicate these three types of consorts were adopted from a Chinese context that differed sharply from that in which they were used in Japan in the eighth century. See Glossary.

3. See "Naishi-no-tsukasa" in NRD, v. 7, p. 311. I have thought it to be of some value to list here and below the titles of the administrative officials, because of the special system employed in their designation. These

designations do not follow the usual ones of officials in ministries, bureaus and offices of government.

4. See "Tōgū" in NRD, v. 7, p. 159.
5. See "Toneri-no-tsukasa" in NRD, v. 7, p. 261.
6. See "Shuzen-kan" in NRD, v. 5, p. 505.
7. See "Shuzō-kan" in NRD, v. 5, p. 505.
8. See "Shuden-sho" in NRD, v. 5, pp. 508-509.
9. See "Shusho-sho" in NRD, v. 5, p. 504.
10. See "Shuheisho" in NRD, v. 5, p. 512.
11. See "Shuba-sho" in NRD, v. 5, p. 511.

X

Local Government

The descriptions of government structure thus far have been devoted entirely to that of the central government and court, but the Yōrō Code does provide as well considerable detail on structures for local government. Specifically, it provides for the governance of the following: the capital exclusive of the palace itself; the two strategic areas of Settsu on the Inland Sea where the nearest port of entry to the capital was located, and the vital area of northern Kyushu where there was located the nearest port of entry to Japan from the Asiatic continent; as well as a general pattern for the administration of provinces together with the districts and villages that comprised them. Finally, the code provides for military brigades at the provincial level for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in regions away from the capital.

A. Capital Secretariats (Kyō-shiki)

The administrative codes of the early eighth century provided for a central government that was structured primarily for the maintenance, support and benefit of the sovereign, the imperial family and the aristocratic official class. The majority of the ministries and their various bureaus and offices under the State Council bore responsibilities that exclusively concerned the aristocracy. The vast majority of the administrators assigned to posts in the central government were aristocrats, who, in turn were in control of significant numbers of commoners, both free and unfree, to perform specialized or menial tasks within the offices of the central government. The masses of the common people in the country at large were looked upon as the source of income in the form of labor and taxes-in-kind that were needed to insure the viability of this aristocratically-oriented administrative structure.

The idea of a bureaucratic central government, as well as the way in which the capital was designed, were adopted from China. While the respective concepts of kingship of China and Japan in the eighth century differed in detail, the capitals of both were thought of as being primarily the abode of the sovereign and only secondarily as the seat of the central government. To the Japanese of the eighth century, the capital was where the sovereign resided, as described in the Introduction above. The sovereign's presence rather than the

location of the central government's administrative organs was the determining factor. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Japanese capital was at times referred to as the Misato, meaning "The Sovereign's Residence" or, more literally, "August Hometown."

The Yōrō Code provides for two secretariats for governing the capital area, exclusive of the palace area which included the private apartments of the sovereign, his consorts and the heir apparent, as well as the office buildings of the State Council, its eight ministries and the various palace guard and armory units.

1. The Capital Secretariats of the Left and of the Right
(Sa- and U-kyō-shiki; also read Hidari- and Migi-no-
misato-no-tsukasa)

The two secretariats had identical responsibilities and staffing, and each directed one office in charge of markets. The Capital Secretariat of the Left administered the eastern half of the capital, and the one of the Right administered the western half.¹ Considering the multiplicity of duties that were handled by the secretariats, their staffs were extremely small. The administrative and subordinate staff of each secretariat consisted of 1 director, 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 1 recorder, 2 assistant recorders, 30 pages and 2 watchmen, and the specialist complement consisted of 20 block captains (bōrei).

The numerous responsibilities of the directors of the two Capital Secretariats were analogous on a lesser scale to

many of those that were assigned by the code to the more differentiated administrative bureaus and offices found in the eight ministries under the State Council. Briefly, each secretariat was charged with the following duties:

They were responsible for maintaining household and name registers of the capital's inhabitants. The RSG commentary adds tax registers (keichō) to this list, which all local governments were required to prepare and submit to higher authority each year at the end of the sixth month. The registers contained detailed accounts of all taxes collected from the households under the supervision of local governments. The secretariats were also responsible for the proper care of the people (hyakushō). The RSG infers that this requirement refers to the aged, infirm, orphans, etc. The meaning of hyakushō in this context is open to debate: some authorities claim that it refers to freemen who were the chief components of the farming class, while others claim they were persons in the lower levels of the officialdom who possessed family names.

Other responsibilities of the Capital Secretariats included: policing of residences; recommending appropriate persons for official appointments; exempting from the payment of certain taxes persons of outstanding moral conduct (literally, "filial piety and righteousness"); and supervision of fields and residences. The RSG comments to the effect that this last responsibility related to the sale and purchase of fields and residences.

The secretariats were also to supervise the corvée (zōyō) which was a type of additional labor tax that local authorities could impose. Such forced service was limited to not more than sixty days a year, but special tax commutations were allowed to persons when they were required to work more than sixty days in a given year.

The secretariats were also given judicial authority, such as the adjudication of conflicts arising between free and unfree persons. However, suits that could not be settled at the level of the secretariats were referred to the Justice Ministry for review and judgment. The secretariats were also to supervise and inspect the sale and trade of merchandise in the East and West Markets, as well as to verify the accuracy of the weights and measures used therein. They also supervised the storehouses and the collection and storage of paddy-field taxes and taxes-in-kind. The secretariats were responsible as well for the supervision of soldiers (heishi) and the use of weapons within the capital area. Heishi were conscripts of commoner origin drawn from each household containing at least three able-bodied males above twenty-one years of age and below sixty. It is likely, therefore that the code here means that the Capital Secretariats supervised the conscription process of these soldiers from among the households resident in their respective areas. And, finally, the secretariats were responsible for: the supervision of roads and bridges; the maintenance of records of persons passing through the check stations and the issuance of passes to them; the care

and conveyance of lost and abandoned articles; and the maintenance of name registers of monks and nuns.

The early capitals of Japan built on the Chinese model of Ch'ang-an were sited with a north-south orientation. The palace was located at the extreme north-center of a grid of roads and streets. A major road bisected the city and extended from north to south from the main gate (Shuyaku-mon) at the southern edge of the palace area to the extreme southern limit of the city. The eastern sector of the city was called the Left Capital (Sa-kyō), and the western sector was called the Right Capital (U-kyō). In the case of the Heijō capital (Nara), each half of the city was divided by a grid system of roads to form square blocks known as bō. For each block there was a block warden (bōchō), and for each four bō there was a block captain (bōrei). Their duties were to oversee the inhabitants and households in their respective block or blocks.²

In 761, and for a brief period thereafter, when Fujiwara Nakamaro was in power, the Capital Secretariats were placed under the control of a single director. With Nakamaro's fall from power, the earlier system was restored. From around the 720s the office of the director of the Capital Secretariat of the Left was dominated by prominent members of the Fujiwara family, whereas it was not until 789 that the SNG records a Fujiwara as a director of the Capital Secretariat of the Right. As in the case of so many other governmental offices provided for in the Yōrō Code, the authority of the Capital Secretariats

of the Left and Right gradually diminished during the Heian period with the expanding power of the Police Commissioners (Kebii-shi).

2. Market Offices of the East and West (Higashi and Nishi-no-ichi-no-tsukasa)

The Yōrō Code provides for an office in each of the left and right sectors of the capital to supervise what were known as the Market Offices of the East and West. Each office had an identical administrative and subordinate staff consisting of 1 director, 1 executive secretary, 1 recorder, 10 pages and 1 watchman. The specialist complement of the staff consisted of 5 estimators (kachō) and 20 Mononobe guards. The responsibilities of these offices included the following: supervision of the merchandise traded; inspection for the quality of the articles brought to the markets for sale; verification at regular intervals of the accuracy of the various weights and measures used in the markets; evaluation of the commodities for the determination of their proper prices; and the policing of the markets to prevent or detect unacceptable conduct. Although the code does not state specifically, it is likely that the five estimators attached to each market office decided on the quality of articles for sale, verified the accuracy of weights and measures and estimated the values of commodities. The Mononobe guards were responsible for the policing of the market places.

B. Settsu Secretariat and the Dazai Headquarters

The Yōrō Code provides for special regional administrations in two areas that had been for centuries of critical importance to the Yamato leadership. They are referred to in the code as the Settsu Secretariat (Settsu-shiki) and the Dazai Headquarters (Dazai-fu). These two administrative units were placed in charge of regions that encompassed ancient Japan's most critical ports of entry from the Asiatic continent. The Settsu Secretariat was in charge of the area at the eastern end of the Inland Sea around the port of Naniwa which was the major port for the Yamato area that encompassed the capital and the five Home Provinces. The Dazai Headquarters was in charge of the area of northern Kyūshū with the important port of Hakata which was Japan's closest point of entry from the continent. It was there that envoys from China and Korea arrived and were received by Japanese officials. Official guest houses were maintained there for such envoys and their entertainment.

1. The Settsu Secretariat³

During the seventh century in the reign of Empress Saimei (655-661), the port city of Naniwa, in an area known as Settsu, was temporarily made the capital city. Even after the capital had been moved back to the Asuka region in Yamato Province, Naniwa continued to be regarded as an alternate capital. It is probably in view of this background that the code provides

for a secretariat (shiki) for Naniwa's administration, which was virtually identical in responsibility and staffing to those of the Capital Secretariats of the Left and Right described immediately above. It was not until 793 (Enryaku 12/2/9) on the command of the State Council that the Settsu Secretariat was made the Settsu Provincial Office (Settsu-no-kuni-no-tsukasa), since by that time Naniwa and the surrounding area were no longer considered to be a site of an alternate capital.

The director of the Settsu Secretariat was charged in the code with a multitude of administrative responsibilities. Those relating to registers, care of the people, police duties, recommending the virtuous, fields and residences, adjudication, markets, weights and measures, storehouses, taxes, the corvée, soldiers and weapons, roads and bridges, check stations, abandoned articles and registers of monks and nuns were apparently identical to the responsibilities with which the directors of the Capital Secretariats of the Left and Right were charged. The following were the responsibilities charged to the director of the Settsu Secretariat which were not applicable in the case of the Capital Secretariats. He was in charge of kami ceremonies and the supervision of shrines; the encouragement and supervision of mulberry culture; the maintenance of harbors; the care of foreign envoys going to and from the capital; the supervision of the relay stations and horses (yūeki-denba); the inspection and supervision of boats and their equipment; and the maintenance of registers of Buddhist temples. The

exclusion of responsibilities relating to Shintō matters in the case of the Capital Secretariats was undoubtedly due to the fact that such matters there were handled by the Kami Affairs Council (Jingi-kan) of the central administration.

Despite the multifarious responsibilities of the Settsu Secretariat, the administrative and subordinate staff was very small, consisting of the director, plus 1 associate director, 1 executive secretary, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 1 recorder, 2 assistant recorders, 3 clerks, 30 pages and 2 watchmen.

2. Dazai Headquarters⁴

The Dazai Headquarters, located in the northwestern sector of the island of Kyūshū, was by far the most important of all the offices provided by the Yōrō Code for the administration of local government. The responsibilities with which it was charged by the code were more numerous than those of the Settsu Secretariat. In areas relating to the normal administration of government at the local level, the responsibilities of this headquarters were similar to those of the Settsu Secretariat. However, the strategic importance of northern Kyūshū, lying as it does so close to the Korean peninsula and the Asiatic continent, required that the Dazai Headquarters be empowered to administer numerous aspects of Japan's diplomatic relations with the continent, and to be provided as well with the necessary installations and personnel for the military defense of the area.

The provisions of the code and the physical installations of a civilian and military nature made the Dazai Headquarters a kind of capital in miniature. And it was indeed for this reason that it was referred to in the literature of the time as "The Distant Court" (Tō-no-mikado). The code first provides that the Dazai Headquarters also administer Chikuzen Province (Chikuzen-no-kuni), the province in which the headquarters were located. This provision is analogous to the one for the Settsu Secretariat that was also charged with the administration of the general area around the port of Naniwa. The next provision of the code is for one Kan-zukasa (or Kamuzukasa), which may be rendered as "Kami Affairs Supervisor," who was in charge of overseeing Shintō ceremonies held in shrines. The RSG adds the commentary that this supervisor's geographical area of responsibility encompassed "the nine provinces and the three islands," meaning the nine provinces comprising the Western Sea Circuit (Saikai-dō), plus the three islands of Iki, Tsushima and Tane. The code's placement of the Kami Affairs Supervisor before the director of the Dazai Headquarters was out of respect for the kami, just as in the case of the code's placement of the Kami Affairs Council before the State Council. In neither case did superior relative ranking play a part in such placement; quite to the contrary. The Kami Affairs Supervisor's court rank was generally senior seventh, lower grade, while that of the director of the Dazai Headquarters was very much higher, generally the fourth princely rank (shihon) if he was a member of the

imperial family, but of the ordinary junior third rank if he was not. Such ranking placed the director on an equal footing with the senior counsellor in the State Council. By contrast, the Kami Affairs Supervisor's court rank placed him merely at the level of one of the key wardens in the Mediate Affairs Ministry.

The administrative subordinate staff of the Dazai Headquarters consisted of 1 director, 1 associate director, 2 assistant directors, 2 executive secretaries, 2 assistant executive secretaries, 2 recorders, 2 assistant recorders and 20 clerks. Many of the director's responsibilities were identical to those of the Settsu Secretariat's director. They were those that related to kami ceremonies, population registers, the care of the people, mulberry culture, police duties, recommending the virtuous, fields and residences, adjudication, taxes, storehouses, the corvée, soldiers and weapons, relay horses and stations, check stations, abandoned articles, and registers of Buddhist temples, monks and nuns.

The responsibilities of the director which differed from those of the Settsu Secretariat's director were as follows: the provision of drums and flutes, a responsibility that was analogous to that of the Military Affairs Ministry's Drum and Flute Office; the provision of smoke and fire beacons for sending signals, which was another of the responsibilities of the Military Affairs Ministry in the capital; the provision of fortifications and pastures; and the supervision of government and privately-owned horses and cattle, which was one of

the responsibilities of the Remount Office of the Military Affairs Ministry. It is quite clear that all these responsibilities should be interpreted in military terms.

The following responsibilities of the director related to his role in international relations: the processing of arriving foreigners, which refers primarily to foreign envoys, and involved recording the dates of their arrival, etc.; processing foreign immigrants, for whom provisioning and relocation within the country was initially handled by this headquarters; and the supervision of the entertainment and banquetting of foreign guests. At this point in the code the RSG stresses that the responsibilities listed above were borne exclusively by the officials located at the Dazai Headquarters and Chikuzen Province, and did not extend to all nine provinces comprising the Western Sea Circuit.

The code states that the associate director's (dai'ni) responsibilities were the same as those of the director, and that the responsibilities of the 2 assistant directors (shōni) were the same as those of the associate director. The 2 executive secretaries (daigen) and the 2 assistant executive secretaries (shōgen) were charged with the supervision of justice within the Dazai Headquarters (meaning, according to the RSG, the entire Chikuzen Province), and the investigation of crimes, etc. The 2 recorders (taiten) and 2 assistant recorders (shōten) were responsible for the inspection, preparation, and transmittal of documents.

The following is a listing of the specialist complement

of the staff and their responsibilities as provided in the code:

1 judge (hanji) and 2 assistant judges (shō-hanji), whose duties were analogous to those of the judges in the Justice Ministry at the capital, and 1 legal clerk (dai-ryōshi) and 1 assistant legal clerk (shō-ryōshi) who worked under the judges.

1 engineer (daikō) and 2 assistant engineers (shōkō) who supervised the construction projects such as fortifications, moats, boats, etc. These duties were analogous to those of the Military Affairs Ministry's Arsenal and Ships Office.

1 doctor (hakase) of Chinese classics, who gave instruction in the classics and examined students in this subject. The code here does not provide for students of the classics as it does in the case of the Ceremonies Ministry's Great Learning Bureau.

1 Yin-Yang tutor

2 physicians

1 accountant

1 border guards' director (sakimori-no-kami) and 1 border guards' secretary (sakimori-no-jō), who were responsible for maintaining the name registers of the border guards, as well as for training them, equipping them, and providing them with paddy fields for their sustenance. Border guards were selected from among ordinary soldiers (heishi), largely from those in the provincial brigades

(gundan), for three-years' service in Kyūshū. In 664 following the defeat of the Japanese forces in Korea, border guards were sent to Tsukushi in norther Kyūshū and to the islands of Tsushima and Iki.

1 shipwright (shusen) who was in charge of the repair of ships. According to some authorities, the engineers mentioned above built ships, while shipwrights repaired them.

1 chef (kuriya-no-tsukasa) who supervised the preparation of various dishes including marinated foods, vegetables, fish, etc. It is possible that this chef was in charge of the preparation of the delicacies served to foreign envoys or to the senior staff members of the Dazai Headquarters.

The importance of the northern Kyūshū port of Hakata can be traced back for centuries into protohistoric times. It is possible that the area was under the command of some sort of military leader as early as the third century, for the famous Chinese account of the kingdom of Yamatai and its "queen" Himiko found in the Wei Chih mentions an official called an "ōsotsu" who may have been something like a general of an army. That source tells us that he supervised relations between the continent and Kyūshū from Ito-no-kuni, which has been identified by some authorities as the site of present-day Itojima District of Fukuoka Prefecture. The Wei-chih also mentions the first reference to the harbor of Na-no-tsu that later became known as Hakata.⁵

The area around present-day Fukuoka city with its old port of Hakata increased greatly in importance in the fourth and fifth centuries when the forces of the Japanese court gained a foothold at the southern tip of the Korean peninsula and took control of a number of small enclaves in that region. In 527 the Japanese court's control of the strategic area of Kyūshū was threatened for a time by the revolt of Iwai, the Kuni-no-miyatsuko of Tsukushi. On that occasion the chieftain of the Mononobe clan, Mononobe no Ōmuraji Arakai, was placed in command of Tsukushi-no-kuni and eventually defeated Iwai. Shortly thereafter, in 536 (Senka 1/5/1), we are told by the NSK that a government office or house (miyake) was ordered constructed in Tsukushi at Na-no-tsu.⁶ The imperial edict at that time clearly states that the new installation was desirable because Tsukushi in northern Kyūshū was the place where foreign visitors to the Japanese court entered the country. It also indicates that the new installation would provide storage for food supplies that could be used for the entertainment of foreign guests, for "evil times," meaning, I presume, in times of crop failure, famine or invasion. The government maintained special guest houses, known as Kōrokan, at the Dazai Headquarters, Naniwa and the capital, but it is unknown when they were first established. The one in Kyūshū was maintained until the twelfth century. The fact that Kyūshū was at such a great distance from the capital in Yamato made it essential for the government's representatives in Kyūshū to be adequately provisioned and militarily equipped

to enable them to react quickly to threats from abroad without first having to communicate with the court for instructions.

The NSK refers to a Tsukushi Dazai for the first time in 609 (Suiko 17/4/4), which Aston renders as "The Viceroy of Tsukushi." It is unknown when this term first came into use as a title for an official in charge of the Kyūshū area, but it appears frequently in the NSK and SNG in the seventh and eighth centuries. The name Tsukushi originally referred to just one area in northern Kyūshū but after the establishment of the office of Tsukushi Dazai the term came to be synonymous with the island of Kyūshū, probably because of the Dazai's paramount control of that area.

In 663 (Tenchi 2/8) the Japanese forces in Korea were defeated by the Chinese forces of the T'ang court in the famous battle at Hakusukiano-e (Pekchon River). This defeat, and Japan's subsequent withdrawal from the peninsula, led the following year to the relocation of the Dazai Headquarters further inland and to the construction of three fortified areas to defend and control passage and communications between the port of entry and the Dazai Headquarters. In 664 (Tenchi 3/12) a large earthen barricade was constructed and named the Mizu-ki or "Water Fort," and in the following year (Tenchi 4/8) Koreans were sent to Tsukushi to construct two additional forts which became known as the Ōno-ki and Ki-ki.

These three forts came to comprise the Dazai's main lines of defence. The remains of the Mizu-ki barricade or fort

indicate that it was about a kilometer in length and ten meters in height. Water was diverted in times of emergency from the Mikasa River (Mikasa-gawa) to flood the area. Culverts discovered in recent years show that the water was drained away, probably in times of peace. The Ono-ki fort was constructed to the north of Dazai-fu on a mountain 410 meters above sea level, and excavations have shown that it was of a type known in Korea. The remains of the fort show that the ridge of the mountain was enclosed in a stone and earthen barricade about five kilometers in circumference. The stone foundations and flagstones of gateways, barracks, storehouses, etc. have been unearthed. The Ki-ki fort was constructed to the west of Dazai-fu and measured about a kilometer from north to south and about 700 meters from east to west.²

C. Provincial Government (Koku-shi or Kuni-no-tsukasa)

The Yōrō Code next provides for local government comprised of provinces (koku or kuni) and their subordinate districts (gun or kōri).⁸ There were four classes of provinces and five possible classes of districts under their direction. The four classes of provinces were designated as large, upper, medium and lower provinces. The five classes of districts were large, upper, medium, lower and small districts. The staffing of a given province or district differed slightly, depending upon which of these classifications it bore.

The code does not specify the standards employed in designating the particular classes of provinces. However, it is assumed that the size of the population, or more specifically the number of households or census groups (ko) in the districts comprising a given province, was the deciding factor. It is well known that T'ang China employed a similar system of three classes of provinces based on the number of households. In Japan's case, the Households Code (Section 8 of the Yōrō Code) only stipulates that the five classes of districts were distinguished on the basis of the number of villages (ri or sato) they encompassed. It also stipulates that a village was a community composed of fifty households. The code then states that a large district was one encompassing a minimum of sixteen and a maximum of twenty villages; an upper district ranged between twelve and fifteen villages; a medium district ranged between eight and fourteen villages; a lower district ranged between four and seven villages; and a small district

ranged between two and three villagesa

While the code does not stipulated the specific number of districts comprising each of the four classes of provinces, it is clear from these regulations that the respective classes of provinces and their districts were determined on the basis of population rather than geographical extent. Thus, both the geographically small province of Yamato near the capital and the geographically large province of Mutsu in the far north of Honshu were classified as large provinces.

Only the responsibilities of the provincial governor (kami) and the other personnel of large provinces are laid down in the code. A majority of the responsibilities listed for a provincial governor were identical to many of those specified in the code for the directors of the Capital Secretariats, the Settsu Secretariat and the Dazai Headquarters. The exceptions deal largely with defense matters.

The identical responsibilities related to the following: shrines and Shintō ceremonies; population registers; care of the people; mulberry culture; police duties; recommending the virtuous; fields and residences; adjudication; taxes; storehouses; the corvée; soldiers and weapons; drums and flutes; relay horses and stations; smoke and fire beacons; fortifications and pastures; check stations; government and privately-owned horses and cattle; abandoned articles; and registers of temples, monks and nuns.

The following were special responsibilities for selected provincial governors. The governors of Mutsu and Dewa Provinces

in the far north of Honshu, and of Echigo Province on the Japan Sea side of Honshu were given special duties relating to the menace of the aboriginal Yemishi (i.e. Ainu) in those regions. They were charged with the supervision of "provisioning and gifts," which is interpreted to refer to pacifying the Yemishi by buying them off. These particular provincial governors were also responsible for patrolling their areas, and for punitive action, when required, to chastise rebellious Yemishi.

The provincial governors of the islands of Iki and Tsushima and of the provinces of Hyūga, Satsuma and Ōsumi were responsible for defense against attacks by foreign countries, the pacification of domestic uprisings, the reception of foreign guests and the processing of foreign immigrants. The domestic uprisings here undoubtedly refer to those of the Hayato tribal peoples of southern Kyūshū, primarily those in Satsuma and Ōsumi Provinces. There were such uprisings of the Hayato in Satsuma in 702 and in Ōsumi in 720, and in the latter instance the provincial governor was slain. The island of Iki and Tsushima were of vital importance in the defense of Kyūshū against possible attack from the Korean kingdom of Silla after Japan's defeat on the peninsula in 663 and Silla's subsequent unification of the area.

The code next specifies that the governors of the "three check-station provinces" were responsible for the security and control of passage through the important check stations (sekishō) in their areas. The three provinces were Ise

with its Suzuka check station; Mino with its Fuwa check station; and Echizen with its Arachi check station.

The balance of the administrative and subordinate staff of a large province consisted of the following: 1 provincial vice-governor or associate director (suke), whose responsibilities were the same as those of the provincial governor; 1 provincial executive secretary (daijō) and 1 provincial assistant executive secretary (shōjō), whose duties included acting as judges within their respective provinces, processing documentation, and investigating crimes; 1 recorder and 1 assistant recorder, whose duties included the receipt and copying and submission of documents, the review and checking of drafts of documents, etc.; and 3 clerks.

The code also provides for one national doctor (kuni-no-hakase) and one physician (i-shi) to be assigned to each province. National doctors were in charge of provincial schools (kokugaku) in which the study of the Confucian classics was stressed. The code specifies that the number of students in the provincial school of a given province was to vary as to the class of the province, as follows: fifty students in large provinces; forty in upper provinces; thirty in medium provinces; and twenty in lower provinces. These schools were primarily for the education of the sons of district officials, in other words, for sons of rural families that had traditionally exercised authority at the local level. The Education Code (Section 11 of the Yōrō Code) specifies that these students should be between the ages of thirteen and twenty. It

is clear from other sources that not every province was actually assigned a national doctor nor had its own school. In some instances there was but one school for a group of two or three provinces.

The principal responsibility of the physician assigned to each province was to give instruction to medical students. The code specifies that the number of medical students was to be eighty percent fewer than those studying under a national doctor in each class of province. We may therefore assume that there were supposed to be ten medical students in large provinces, eight in upper provinces, six in medium provinces and four in lower provinces. Medical students were drawn from a lower social class than the other students described above. These students were classified socially as hakutei, that is, as tax-paying freemen without public office or position. On the basis of their attainments in the study of medicine they could gain office (for example, in the Pharmaceutical Bureau of the Imperial Household Ministry) but could seldom rise very high in the bureaucratic hierarchy.

As mentioned above, the Officials' Appointments Code specifies the responsibilities of only the officials attached to large provinces. For the other three classes of province, the code merely lists the number of officials to be assigned to them and does not further elaborate on their responsibilities. The number of such administrative officers varied as to the class of province, as follows:

	governor (<u>kami</u>)	vice- governor (<u>suke</u>)	secretary (<u>jō</u>)	recorder (<u>sakan</u>)
large provinces	1	1	2	2
upper provinces	1	1	1	1
medium provinces	1	0	1	1
lower provinces	1	0	0	1

At the time of the compilation of the Engi-shiki in the early tenth century, Japan comprised 68 provinces, thirteen of which were classified as large, thirty-five as upper, eleven as medium and nine as lower. The following is a list of these provinces arranged alphabetically:

Province	Classification				Location							
	L a r g e	U p p e r	M e d i u m	L o w e r	K i n a i	T o k a i d o	T o s a n d o	H o k u r i k u d o	S a n i n d o	S a n y o d o	N a n k a i d o	S a i k a i d o
1. Aki		X								X		
2. Awa (Chiba)			X			X						
3. Awa (Tokushima)		X									X	
4. Awaji				X							X	
5. Bingo		X								X		
6. Bitchu		X								X		
7. Bizen		X								X		
8. Bungo		X										X
9. Buzen		X										X
10. Chikugo		X										X
11. Chikuzen		X										X
12. Dewa		X					X					
13. Echigo		X						X				
14. Echizen	X							X				
15. Etchū		X						X				
16. Harima	X									X		
17. Hida				X			X					
18. Higo	X											X
19. Hitachi	X					X						
20. Hizen		X										X
21. Hōki		X							X			
22. Hyūga			X									X
23. Iga				X		X						
24. Iki				X								X
25. Inaba		X							X			
26. Ise	X					X						
27. Iwami			X						X			
28. Iyo		X									X	
29. Izu				X		X						
30. Izumi				X	X							
31. Izumo		X							X			

Province	Classification				Location							
	L a r g e	U p p e r	M e d i u m	L o w e r	K i n a i	T ō k a i d ō	T ō s a n 	H o k u r 	S a n i n 	S a n y ō 	N a n k a 	S a i k a
32. Kaga		X						X				
33. Kai		X				X						
34. Kawachi	X				X							
35. Kazuza	X					X						
36. Kii		X									X	
37. Kōzuke	X						X					
38. Mikawa		X				X						
39. Mimasaka		X								X		
40. Mino		X					X					
41. Musashi	X					X						
42. Mutsu	X						X					
43. Nagato			X							X		
44. Noto			X					X				
45. Ōki				X					X			
46. Ōmi	X						X					
47. Ōsumi			X									X
48. Owari		X				X						
49. Sado			X					X				
50. Sagami		X				X						
51. Sanuki		X									X	
52. Satsuma			X									X
53. Settsu		X			X							
54. Shima				X		X						
55. Shimōsa	X					X						
56. Shimotsuke		X					X					
57. Shinano		X					X					
58. Suō		X								X		
59. Suruga		X				X						
60. Tajima		X							X			
61. Tanba		X							X			
62. Tango			X						X			
63. Tosa			X								X	
64. Tōtōmi		X				X						
65. Tsushima				X								X
66. Wakasa			X					X				
67. Yamashiro		X			X							
68. Yamato	X				X							
<u>Totals</u>	13	35	11	9	5	15	8	7	8	8	6	11

Summary:

<u>Location</u>	<u>Classification</u>				<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Large</u>	<u>Upper</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Lower</u>	
Kinai	2	2		1	5
Tōkaidō	5	6	1	3	15
Tōsandō	3	4		1	8
Hokurikudō	1	3	3		7
San'indō		5	2	1	8
Sanyōdō	1	6	1		8
Nankaidō		4	1	1	6
Saikaidō	1	5	3	2	11
<u>Totals</u>	13	35	11	9	68

D. District Government (Gun-shi or Kōri-no-tsukasa)

The codes specifies the responsibilities of just the administrative officers assigned to large districts, and it is assumed that those borne by such officials in the other four classes of districts were virtually identical. The code provides for 1 district supervisor, 1 associate district supervisor, 3 district executive secretaries and 3 district recorders. The district supervisor was responsible for the care of the people and for overseeing the affairs of his district. The associate district supervisor bore the same responsibilities. The three district executive secretaries bore identical responsibilities, which were to act as judicial officials of their district, handle documents and check drafts, and investigate unacceptable conduct. The three district recorders prepared drafts of documents and submitted them to their superiors, etc.

The following table is a condensation of the staffing for the five classes of districts:

	<u>district</u> <u>supervisor</u> (kami)	<u>dist. associa</u> <u>supervisor</u> (suke)	<u>district</u> <u>executive</u> <u>secretaries</u> (jō)	<u>district</u> <u>recorders</u> (sakan)
large districts	1	1	3	3
upper districts	1	1	2	2
medium districts	1	1	1	1
lower districts	1	1	0	1
small districts	1	0	0	1

As described above, the class of a given district was determined by the number of villages it comprised, from large

districts containing a minimum of sixteen villages to small districts containing a minimum of just two villages. The code stipulates that each village was to be administered by a village head (ri-chō or sato-osa) who was responsible for the following: supervision of the members of the households (i.e., census groups) comprising his village; encouragement of mulberry culture; policing of the village to prevent crime; arranging for those in the village who were to perform forced labor or corvée (buyaku). The village head was appointed from among the freemen (hakutei) and he was usually a person of rectitude and a natural leader of the village.

E. Provincial Brigades

The Yōrō Code next provides for provincial brigades (gundan) under the supervision of provincial governors. Their purpose was to maintain peace and order within their respective provinces and to train the soldiers for the brigades. These soldiers at times were later recruited for military duties in the capital or for border-guard duty in outlying provinces. The staffing within each brigade (dan) was as follows:⁹ 1 brigade commander (daigi; i.e., kami) whose responsibilities were to supervise the soldiers conscripted into the brigades, to provide them with arms and equipment, to train them in the use of the bow and arrow and in horsemanship, and to inspect their camps; 2 assistant brigade commanders (shōgi; i.e., asuke) whose responsibilities were the same as those of the brigade commander; 1 brigade recorder (shuchō; i.e., sakan); 5 regimental commanders (kō'i); 10 battalion commanders (ryōsui); and 20 company commanders (taishō).

The Military Defense Code (Section 17 of the Yōrō Code) provides additional information as do, of course, other sources, from which a rather clear understanding of the full complement of a brigade is gained. The history of the provincial brigades is traceable back to the early Taika-reform period, when in 645 (Taika 1/7/2) the first move was made by the reformers to deprive clan chieftains and powerful regional groups of their traditional right to maintain private military forces and weapons. It was then ordered that armories or arsenals (hyōgo) be constructed for the warehousing of

privately-owned swords, armor, bows and arrows in the various provinces and districts. The only exception was made for provinces bordering on areas where the Yemishi were active; there the arms were to be inventoried by government officials but retained by their owners.¹⁰ The staffing listed above refers only to large brigades (daidan). There were two other types, namely, medium brigades (chūdan) and small brigades (shōdan) and the number of personnel of each differed considerably. The following table summarizes these differences:

	<u>large brigades</u>	<u>medium brigades</u>	<u>small brigades</u>
brigade commanders	1	1	0
asst. brigade commanders	2	1	1
regimental commanders	5	3	2
battalian commanders	10	6	5
company commanders	20	12	10
brigade recorders	1	1	1

The smallest military unit was comprised of five soldiers (heishi) and was known as a gō or squad.¹¹ Two squads, composed of a total of ten soldiers, were known as a hi or platoon, and five platoons (fifty soldiers) were known as a tai or company and was under a company commander. Two companies (100 soldiers) was known as a ryō or battalion and was under a battalian commander. Two battalions (200 soldiers) was known as a kō or regiment and was under a regimental commander. Five regiments (1000 soldiers) was known as a dan or gundan and was under the command of a brigade and assistant brigade commanders.

A company was composed of both foot soldiers (hohei) and cavalry (kihei). Each company also had two long-bow archers (ōyumide or ishiyumide) assigned to it. Soldiers were conscripted from among members of the farming class, and the code provides that one out of each three able-bodied males between twenty and sixty years of age in any given household was subject to being called up for military duty. In theory, therefore, thirty percent of all able-bodied males in that age bracket could be called up at any one time, but the consensus is that the percentage actually called up was very much below this figure. The conscripts were exempted from payment of the taxes-in-kind and the labor-substitute taxes-in-kind while in service.

The soldiers' duties were not confined to the province of their residence nor to strictly military matters. As mentioned above, they could be assigned to frontier areas to act as palace guards. In addition, the provincial governors had the authority to assign soldiers to perform special tasks, such as police duties, within their respective provinces.

Duty in distant border areas as border guards was usually for a three-year period. Such a long absence of a soldier from his home province entailed a heavy economic burden on his farming family group, because he was not available to help with planting and harvesting. There were other abuses in the system in the form of provincial governors and provincial brigade commanders using the soldiers for their own personal gain. These two factors contributed eventually to the

widespread flight of farming families from their land allotments, particularly from allotments in the Home Provinces where the authority of the central and provincial bureaucracies was most thoroughly exercised. These factors contributed to a growing weakness in the conscription system provided for in the administrative codes.

By the 790s this conscription system was suspended except in certain of the border provinces and in the area under the control of the Dazai Headquarters in Kyūshū. In its stead a new system of militia (kondei) was established, in which the recruits were drawn from the families of district officials rather than from the farming class. The recruits were known as kondei, a literal translation of which would be "valiant youths." The new militia system was under the direction of the Military Affairs Ministry in the capital, and its primary mission was to guard provincial arsenals, government offices and other vital installations.

Notes

1. For the text and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Capital Secretariats, see: RGG I, pp. 58-59; RSG I, p. 155; Kondō, pp. 174-178; Kubomi, pp. 109-112; Iwahashi, pp. 203-205; Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 9, pp. 99-100. See also "Kyō-shiki" in NRD, v. 3, p. 523.

2. 2. For an excellent description of the city plans of some of Japan's early capitals and palaces, see Kidder, Early Buddhist Japan, chaps. 4 and 5.

3. For the text and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Settsu Secretariat, see: RGG I, p. 59; RSG I, pp. 156-158; Kondō, pp. 178-180; Kubomi, pp. 112-113; Iwahashi, pp. 205-206; and Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 11, p. 118. See also "Settsu-shiki" in NRD, v. 6, p. 163.

4. For the text and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the Dazai Headquarters, see: RGG I, pp. 59-60; RSG I, pp. 158-163; Kondō, pp. 180-185; Kubomi, pp. 113-117; Iwahashi, pp. 207-209; and Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 11, pp. 118-120. See also "Dazai-fu" by Takeuchi Rizō in NRD, v. 6, pp. 465-467.

5. The references to Japan in the third-century Chinese history known as the Wei-chih have presented a number of historical conundrums that Japanese scholars have been attempting to unravel for centuries. Down to the present day, an unending stream of books and articles on the subject flow

from the presses of Japan. Very few materials in English are available on the subject, except for one monograph relating to the historiographic problems involved. It is John Young's The Location of Yamatai: A Case Study in Japanese Historiography, Baltimore, 1958. See also many references to the role played by Kyūshū in Japan's ancient history in Gari Ledyard's excellent article, "Gallop Along with the Horseriders: Looking for the Founders of Japan," The Journal of Japanese Studies, v. 1, no. 2 (Spring 1975), pp. 217-254.

6. For a short but authoritative statement on miyake, see NSK V, v. 2, pp. 550-552, supplementary note 18-13. The term miyake is registered in the NSK by various Chinese characters, but its basic meaning is "auspicious residence" which, of course, refers to the sovereign. The term is also commonly registered as 米倉 which more specifically refers to either a storehouse or to an official administrative structure. By the sixth century the term frequently refers to agricultural estates that were under the control of the court or powerful local clans. From the available sources it is known that such estates were broadly scattered throughout the country, particularly in the Home Provinces.

7. For the Mizu, Ōno and Fi forts, see NSK V, v. 2, p. 581, supplementary note 27-6.

8. For the text and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the staffing and responsibilities of provincial and district governments, see: RGG I, pp. 60-63; RSG I, pp. 164-167; Kondō, pp. 186-192; Kubomi, pp. 117-123; Iwahashi, pp. 209-214;

Sansom, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," TASJ, 2nd series, v. 11, pp. 120-121. For the Households Code (Section 8 of the Yōrō Code) regarding village government, see: RGG I, pp. 91-92 and the English translation in Sansom, supra, p. 134. For useful references to provincial and district government in specific local areas, see John W. Hall, Government and Local Power in Japan, 500 to 1700, pp. 67-79, for Bizen in the Inland Sea area; and Michiko Y. Aoki (tr.), Izumo Fudoki, Tokyo, 1971, pp. 12-17, for the Izumo area on the Japan Sea.

9. For the text and commentaries of the Yōrō Code regarding the provincial brigades, see: RGG I, p. 63; RSG I, pp. 167-169; Kondō, 192-193; Kubomi, pp. 123-124; Iwahashi, p. 213. For the Military Defense Code of the Yōrō Code, see RGG I, pp. 193-203. See also "Gundan" by Nishioka Toranosuke in NRD, v. 4, pp. 177-179.

10. See NSK V, v. 2, p. 274, notes 16 and 17.

11. The English terms that I employ here obviously are mere approximations, based on relative numbers of soldiers involved in the different brigade units. They convey few of the implications they possess in a modern Western context.

XI

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XII

Glossary

Note: All Romanized Japanese and Chinese terms appearing in the text above are included in this glossary, together with inventories of personnel attached to the various government units described. For the sake of brevity, the following abbreviations are used in the titles of those government units so described.

A.	for Agency	(<u>bō</u>)
B.	for Bureau	(<u>ryō</u>)
D.	for Department	(<u>kan</u>)
Hq.	for Headquarters	(<u>fu</u>)
M.	for Ministry	(<u>shō</u>)
O.	for Office	(<u>shi</u> or <u>tsukasa</u>)
S.	for Secretariat	(<u>shiki</u>)
S.O.	for Service Office	(<u>sho</u>)

Abe Kurahashimaro 阿倍倉梯麻呂

Abura-no-tsukasa 主油司

Palace Oil O., Imperial Household M.

Agamono-no-tsukasa 贖贖司

Fines O., Justice M.

Aki Province

安芸國

Anao-ki

完記

A Yōrō Code commentary of late eighth century. Not extant.

anma-hakase

按摩

massage professor (1 in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.)

anma-shō	按摩生	massage student (10 in Pharmaceutical B. Imperial Household M.)
anma-shi	按摩師	masseur (2 in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.)
Arachi-seki	愛發関	Arachi check station, Echizen Province.
<u>Asuka Kiyomigahara</u> <u>Chōtei Ritsu-ryō</u>	飛鳥淨御原 朝廷律令	Penal and Administrative Code of the Kiyomigahara Court at Asuka; see <u>Kiyomigahara-ryō</u> .
atsu-usu		finely-milled rice; same as <u>tengai</u> , which see.
Awa Province	安房國	Part of present Chiba Prefecture.
Awa Province	阿波國	Part of present Tokushima Prefecture
Awaji Province	淡路國	
ayatori-shi		another reading for <u>chōmon-shi</u> (fabric designer), which see.
ayatori-shō	挑文生	weaver (8 in Weaving O., Treasury M.)
Azumi clan		Azumi-uji
ba'i	馬醫	veterinarian (for horses; 1 each in Stables B. of the Left and Right)
banchō	番長	group commander (2 each in the Military Guards Hq. of the Left and Right)
Bingo Province	備後國	
Bitchū Province	備中國	
Bizen Province	備前國	
bō	坊	a city block in the capital
bōrei	坊令	block captain (20 each in the Capital S. of the Left and Right)

bukan	武官	military officials, as opposed to <u>bunkan</u> or civilian officials.
Bungo Province	豊後國	
bunkan	文官	civilian officials as opposed to <u>bukan</u> , or military officials.
buyaku	賦役	forced labor; corvée
Buzen Province	豊前國	
buzen	奉膳	royal steward (2 in Imperial Table O., Imperial Household M.)
chi-be	乳産	dairy guild (unspecified number in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.)
chidaijōkanji	知太政官事	acting chancellor, State Council
Chikara-noatsukasa		same as <u>Shuzei-ryō</u> (Tax B., Popular Affairs M.), which see.
Chikugo Province	筑後國	
chikushibe or <u>Koma</u> -be	狛部	leather dyera (6 in Treasury M.)
Chikuzen Province	筑前國	
chō, <u>or</u> mitsugi	調	taxes-in-kind
chōeki	調役	taxes-in-kind (<u>mitsugi</u>) and forced labor (<u>edachi</u>)
chokutō	勅答	imperial responses
chōmon-shi	挑文師	fabric designer (4 in Weaving O., Treasury M.)
chōshuchō	朝集帳	annual reports from provincial governments delivered to the court by provincial delegates (<u>chōshūshi</u>).
chōshūshi	朝集使	provincial delegates (who delivered reports from the provincial governments to the court).

chōyō-min	調庸民	tax-payers; a term used in reference to <u>hakutei</u> (free-men subject to taxation), which see.a
chūben	中弁	associate controller, State Council; see <u>sa-chūben</u> and <u>u-chūben</u> .
chūdan	中団	medium brigade
Chūeifu	中衛府	Central Guards' Hq.
Chūgū-shiki	中宮職	Empress' Household S., Mediate Affairs M.
chū-hanji	中判事	associate judge (see <u>hanji</u>).
chū-kenmotsu	中監物	associate inspector, Mediate Affairs M.; see <u>kenmotsu</u> .
chū-nagon	中納言	associate counsellor, State Council
chū-naiki	中内記	associate palace secretary (2 in Mediate Affairs M.)
Ch'ung-hsuan Shu	崇玄署	government office in China that supervised Buddhist temples.
Chung-shu-shêng	中書省	Department of the Imperial Secretariat in T'ang China.
Chūshorei	中書令	Ch. Chung-shu-ling; President of the Grand Imperial Secretariat in T'ang China.
chū-tokibe	中解部	associate legal examiner; see <u>tokibe</u> .
daiben	大弁	controller, State Council; see <u>sa-daiben</u> and <u>u-daiben</u> .
daidan	大団	large brigade
Daigaku-ryō	大學寮	Great Learning B., Ceremonies M.
dai-geki	大外記	secretary (2 in State Council)
daigen	大監	secretary, Dazai Hq.

daigi	大 穀	brigade commander (1 in each provincial brigade)
dai-hanji	大 判 事	judge; see <u>hanji</u> .
daijin	大 臣	minister, in State Council; cf. <u>daijō-daijin</u> , <u>sa-daijin</u> , <u>u-daijin</u> and <u>nai-daijin</u> .
daijō	大 丞	executive secretary (in a m.)
daijō	大 掾	executive secretary (in a provincial government)
daijōdaijin	太 政 大 臣	chancellor, State Council
Daijō-e, or Daijo-sai	大 當 祭	Great New Food Festival at time of the enthronement. Also read <u>O-nie-no matsuri</u> .
Daijōkan	太 政 官	State Council
dai-kenmotsu	大 監 物	inspector, Mediate Affairs M.; see <u>kenmotsu</u> .
daikō	大 工	engineer (1 in Dazai Hq.)
Daikyokuden	大 極 殿	imperial audience hall
dai-nagon	大 納 言	senior counsellor (4 in State Council)
dai-naiki	大 内 記	palace secretary (2 in Mediate Affairs M.)
daiāni	大 貳	associate director, Dazai Hq.
dairi	内 裏	Inner Palace; same as <u>ō-uchi</u> .
Dairi-no-kura- no-tsukasa	内 藏 寮	another reading for the Palace Storehouses B., Mediate Affairs M.
dai-roku	大 録	recorder (in a m.)
dai-ryōshi	大 令 史	legal clerk; see <u>ryōshi</u> .
daishi	大 史	secretary; see <u>sa-daishi</u> and <u>u-daishi</u> .

dai-shūryō	大主鈴	bell warden; see <u>shūryō</u> .
dai-shuyaku	大主屋齋	key warden; see <u>shuyaku</u> .
dai-tenyaku	大典金齋	key warden; also read <u>kagi-no-tsukasa</u> ; see <u>tenyaku</u> .
dai-tokibe	大解部	legal examiner; see <u>tokibe</u> .
Daizen-shiki	大膳職	Palace Table O., Imperial Household M.
dan	団	brigade; same as <u>gundan</u> (provincial brigade), which see.
dai-zoku	大屬	legal secretary; see <u>zoku</u> .
Danjō-dai	彈正台	Censors' Board
Dazai-fu	大宰府	Dazai Headquarters
denba-no-fu	傳馬符	tallies for requisitioning horses at relay stations.
<u>Den-ryō</u>	田令	Rice Paddies Code; Section 9, Yōrō Code.
Den-shi		Another reading for <u>Tonomo-no-tsukasa</u> (Supply O., Hinder Palace), which see.
denso	田租	rice-paddy taxes
Dewa Province	出羽國	
Dokō-shi	土工司	Plasterers' O., Imperial Household M.
Echigo Province	越後國	
Echizen Province	越前國	
Edakumi-no-tsukasa	畫工司	Painting O., Mediate Affairs M.
<u>Eizen-ryō</u>	營繕令	Construction and Repairs Code, Section 20 of the Yōrō Code.
ekaki-be	畫部	member of painters' guild (60 in Painting O., Mediate Affairs M.)

ekirei	馱鈴	relay-station bells
Emi Oshikatsu	惠美押勝	
Emishi	蝦夷	aboriginals of northeastern Japan.
Emon-fu	衛門府	Gate Guards' Hq.
Enchi-shi	園池司	Gardens and Ponds O., Imperial Household M.
<u>Engi-shiki</u>	延喜式	
<u>Erh-ya</u>	爾雅	
eshi	畫師	painter (4 in Painting O., Mediate Affairs M.)
eshi	衛士	palace guard (unspecified number in Gate Guards' Hq. and in the Palace Guards Hq. of the Left and Right)
Eshi-fu	衛士府	Palace Guards' Hq.
Etchū Province	越國	
fu	傳	preceptor to heir apparent, Eastern Palace
fu	府	headquarters
fuebe	吹部	flutist (30 in Drum and Flute O., Military Affairs M.); see also <u>fue-dakumi</u> .
fue-dakumi	笛工	flutist (8 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.); see also <u>fuebe</u> .
fue-fuki		another reading for <u>fue-dakumi</u> (flutist), which see.
fue-shi	笛師	flute teacher (2 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)
fue-shō	笛生	flute student (6 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)

fugo	封戸	households given in fief to imperial-family members and high officials as merit rewards.
fujin	夫人	imperial consort of the third court rank or above (3ain the Hinder Palace)
Fujiwara Fubito	藤原不比等	
Fujiwara Fusasaki	藤原房前	
Fujiwara Kamatari	藤原鎌足	
Fujiwara Muchimaro	藤原武麻呂	
Fujiwara Nakamaro	藤原仲麻呂	
Fujiwara Tsugutada	藤原継縄	
fumi-no-hakase		same as <u>sho-hakase</u> (doctor of writing), which see.
Fumi-noatsukasa		another reading for <u>Sho-shi</u> (Manuscripts O., Hinder Palace), which see.
funamori-be	船戸 or 船守戸	shipworkers' guild (unspecified number in Ships O., Military Affairs M.)
Fune-no-fubito	船史	occupational title (<u>kabane</u>) awarded to Ōshimi as superintendent of ships (<u>Fune-no-tsukasa</u>) in 6th century.
Fune-no-tsukasa		another reading for Ships O. (<u>Shusen-shi</u>), which see.
fune-noatsukasa	船司	superintendent of ships
Fuse, Prince	布勢王	Fuse-no-ō
Fuwa-seki	不破関	Fuwa check station, Mino Province
<u>Fuyaku-ryō</u>	賦役令	Labor Taxes Code, Section 10 of the Yōrō Codea
Gagaku-ryō	雅樂寮	Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.

Gaku-dokoro	樂所	Music 0.
gaku-ko	樂戶	musical group performing <u>gigaku</u> .
<u>Gaku-ryō</u>	學令	Education Code, Section 11 of the Yōrō Code.
gakushi	學士	scholar for heir apparent (2 in Eastern Palace)
gakushō	樂生	music student (120 in Music and Dancing B.a Regulatory M.a 60 for T'ang music; 20 for Kōrai music; 20 for Kudara music; 20 for Shiragi music.)
gakushō	學生	student (400 of Chinese classics in Great Learning B., Ceremonies M. and 50 in large provinces, 40 in upper, 30 in medium, and 20 in lower provinces.)
ge'in	外印	seal of the State Council; also called <u>kan'in</u> ; literally, "outer seal" in contrast to <u>nai'in</u> ("inner seal"), which see.
gekan	外官	"outer officials," that is, officials holding positions in provincial governments, in opposition to <u>kyōkan</u> , or officials in the central government.
ge-myōbu	外命婦	"outer" female officials whose husbands were of the fifth court rank or above.
Genbaeryō	玄蕃寮	Buddhism and Aliens 0., Regulatory M.
Geyaku-ryō	外藥寮	Outer Pharmaceutical B., (pre-Taihō period)
gigaku	伎樂	imported style of dance and music; also read <u>Kuregaku</u> ("music of Wu"), which see.
gigaku-shi	伎樂師	<u>gigaku</u> teacher (1 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)

<u>Gisei-ryō</u>	儀制令	Ceremonies Code, Section 18 of the Yōrō Codea
<u>Gi Shi</u>		See <u>Wei Chih</u> .
gō	伍	squad of five soldiers (<u>heishi</u>)
Go-e-fu	五衛府	Five Guardsa Hq; namely, Hq. of the Gate Guards, the Palace Guards of the Left and Right, and the Military Guards of the Left and Right.
<u>Goku-ryō</u>	獄令	Prisons Code, Section 29 of the Yōrō Code.
gun	郡	district; administrative division below level of a province (<u>kuni</u>).
<u>Gunbō-ryō</u>	軍防令	Military Defense Code, Section 17 of the Yōrō Codea
gundan	軍團	provincial brigade, composed of 5 regiments of 400 soldiers each
gunshi	郡司	district supervisor or the office of a district supervisor
gusai	供齋	managing Buddhist ceremonies
Gyōbu-shō	刑部省	Justice M.
Gyō-kan	刑官	Pre-Yōrō Code term for Justice M. (<u>Gyōbu-shō</u>).
gyoshi-taifu	御史大夫	same as <u>dai-nagon</u> , which seea
hajibe	土部	clayworker (10 in Imperial Mausolea O., Regulatory M.)
Haji-no-uji	土師氏	Haji clan; acted as the court manager (<u>tomo-no-miyatsuko</u>) of the <u>haji-be</u> (clayworkersa guild).
hakamori	墓守 or 陵守	grave warden; same as <u>ryō-ko</u> , which see.

hakase	博士	doctor (specialist in Chinese classics; 1 in Great Learning B., Ceremonies M.; 1 in Dazai Hq.)
hakke	八挂	eight divination signs
hako-be	篋戸	receptacle-makers' guild (unspecified number in Food Receptacles O., Imperial Household M.)
Hakosuemono-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Hakosue-no-tsukasa</u> (Food Receptacles O.), which see
Hakosue-no-tsukasa	篋陶司	Food Receptacles O., Imperial Household M.
Hakusuki-no-e	白村江	Pekchon River in Korea; site of Japanese defeat in 663.
hakutei	白丁	freemen (adult males); often employed in government offices, but without rank and not classified as officials; subject to regular taxes and military duty. They were thus also referred to as <u>chōyō-min</u> (i.e., tax-payers) and <u>kaeki-min</u> (i.e., people subject to taxes and service).
haniwa	埴輪	clay figurines and other clay artifacts made by the <u>haji-be</u> .
hanji	判事	judge (10 in Justice M. as follows: 2 judges, 4 associate and 4 assistant judges; 3 in Dazai Hq. as follows: 1 judge and 2 assistant judges); see <u>dai-</u> , <u>chū-</u> and <u>shō-hanji</u> .
hara-no-fue	大角	large flute for playing martial music
hari-hakase	針博士	acupuncture professor (1 in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.)
Harima Province	播磨國	

hari-shi	針師	acupuncturist (5 in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.)
hari-shō	針生	acupuncture student (20 in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.)
Haru-no-miya	春宮	another reading for <u>Tōgū</u> (Eastern Palace of the heir apparent), which see.
hasshō	八省	the eight ministries
Hata Uji	秦氏	Hata clan
Hayato	隼人	tribal people of southern Kyūshū (an unspecified number in Hayato Guards' O., Gate Guards' Hq.)
Hayato-no-tsukasa	隼人司	Hayato Guards' O.
Hei-shi	兵司	Armory O., Hinder Palace
heishi	兵士	soldier of commoner origin
hi	妃	imperial consort of the fourth princely court rank or above (2 in Hinder Palace).
hi	火	platoon, composed of two squads (<u>gō</u>) of five soldiers each.
Hida Province	飛騨國	
Hidari-no-misato-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Sa-kyō-shiki</u> (Capital S. of the Left), which see.
hidariano-ōomi		another reading for <u>sa-daijin</u> , which see.
Hidari-no-uma-no-tsukasa		Stables B. of the Left; see <u>Uma-no-tsukasa</u> .
hieki kanrei	飛駟函鈴	box and bells used by officials travelling on urgent state business.

Higashi-no-ichi-no-tsukasa	東市司	Market O. of the East (Capitalis. of the Left)
Higo Province	肥後國	
himuro	氷室	icehouse
hin	嬪	imperial consort of the fifth court rank or above (4 in the Hinder Palace)
Hitachi Province	常陸國	
Hitoya-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Shūgoku-shi</u> (Prisons O., Justice M.), which see.
Hizen Province	肥前國	
<u>Hobō-ryō</u>	捕亡令	Capture and Arrest Code, Section 28 of the Yōrō Code.
hohei	歩兵	foot soldier
Hō-kan		Pre-Yōrō Code term for Cere- monies M. (<u>Shikibu-shō</u>)
Hōki Province	伯耆國	
<u>Hsiao Ching</u>	孝經	Classic of Filial Piety
Hung-lu Szű	鴻臚寺	Government office in China that supervised foreign guests; see <u>Kōrokan</u> .
hyakkan	百官	the hundred officials; euphe- mism for all of the officials.
hyakushō	百姓	freemen of the farming class; the people
Hyōba-no-tsukasa	兵馬司	Remount O., Military Affairs M.
Hyōbu-shō	兵部省	Military Affairs M.
hyōe	兵衛	military guard (400 each in the Hq. of the Left and Right)
Hyōe-fu	兵衛府	Military Guards' Hq.
Hyōgo	兵庫	Armories

Hyōgo-ryō	兵庫寮	Armories B.; same as <u>Hyōgo</u> , which see.
Hyōjō-kan	兵政官	Pre-Yōrō Code term for Military Affairs M. (<u>Hyōbu-shō</u>)
Hyō-shi		another reading for <u>Hei-shi</u> (Armory O., Hinder Palace), which see.
Hyūga Province	日向國	
Ichi-no-kami	一の上	"prime director," a term referring to minister of the left.
Ichi-no-tsukasa	市司	Market O., Capital S.
ifu	位封	households given in fief to officials of the third court rank and above.
Ifuku-ryō	衣服令	Court Dress Code, Section 19 of the Yōrō Code.
Iga Province	伊賀國	
i-hakase	醫博士	medical professor (1 in Pharmaceutical B.i, Imperial Household M.)
Iki Province	壺岐國	
imina	諱	posthumous name
in-i		another reading for <u>on-i</u> ("shadow" ranks), which see.
Imoji-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Imono-no-tsukasa</u> (Casting O.), which see.
Imono-no-tsukasa	興金司	Casting O., Treasury M.
Inaba Province	因幡國	
Ise Province	伊勢國	
i-sei	醫生	medical student (40 in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.; 40 in large provinces, 32 in upper, 24 in medium and 16 in lower provinces).

i-shi	醫師	physician (10 in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.; 1 in Gate Guards' Hq.; 4 in Palace Guards' Hq. [2 each in the Hq. of the Left and Right]; 2 in the Military Guards' Hq. [1 each in Hq. of the Left and Right]; 2 in Dazai Hq.; and 1 in each province).
I-shi	闈司	Gates O., Hinder Palace
<u>Ishitsu-ryō</u>	医疾令	Pharmaceutics Code, Section 24 of the Yōrō Code.
ishiyumide		another reading for <u>ōyumide</u> (longbow archer), which see.
Isonokami Jingū	石上神宮	
Isonokami Maro	石上麻呂	
iteki	夷狄	various aliens; literally, barbarians.
Iwai, Tsukushi-no- kuni-no-miyatsuko	筑紫國造磐井	
Iwami Province	石見國	
Iyo Province	伊予國	
Izu Province	伊豆國	
Izumi Province	和泉國	
Izumo Province	出雲國	
Jibu-shō	治部省	Regulatory M.
<u>Ji-ga</u>		see <u>Erh-ya</u> .
jii	侍醫	court physician (4 in Palace Pharmaceutical O., Mediate Affairs M.)
ji jū	侍從	chamberlain (8 in Mediate Affairs M.)

jikichō	直丁	watchman (8 on controllers' staff, State Council; 10 in Mediate Affairs M.; 3 in Empress' Household S.; 2 each in Senior Attendants B. of Left and Right; 12 in Manuscripts and Books B., Mediate Affairs M.)
jikifu	食封	households given in fief.
Jingikan	神祇官	<u>Kami</u> Affairs Council
Jingi-ryō	神祇令	<u>Kami</u> Affairs Code, Section 6 of the Yōrō Code.
Jinshin-no-ran	壬申の乱	Jinshin War (of 672).
Jitō, Empress (687-697)	持統天皇	
<u>Jōgan Shiki</u>	貞觀式	<u>Procedures of the Jōgan Era</u> , compiled in 869.
joi-hakase	女醫博士	female medical doctors
joju		clan women used as serving girls in the Hinder Palace. See <u>nyoju</u> .
jokyoō	助教	assistant professor (of Chinese classics; 2 in Great Learning B., Ceremonies M.)
joō	女王	princess
jōsō	上奏	memorials directed to the sovereign.
jugon-hakase	咒禁博士	conjurer professor (1 in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.)
jugon-shi	咒禁師	conjurer (2 in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.)
jugon-shō	咒禁生	conjuring student
junsatsu-danjō	巡察彈正	patrolling censor (10 in Censors' Board)
kabane	姓	clan title

kachō	價長	estimator (2 in Palace Storehouse B. Mediate Affairs M.a 4 in Treasury M., 10 in the Market Offices [5 each in the Office of the East and West], Capital S. of the Left and Right).
<u>Kaden</u>	家傳	Fujiwara family records (ca. 760- 764).
kadobe	門部	gate guards (200 in Gate Guards' Hq.)
Kado-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>I-shi</u> (Gates O., Hinder Palace), which see.
kami	卿	minister (director of a ministry)
kaeki-min	課役民	people subject to taxes and service; a term used in reference to <u>hakutei</u> (freemen subject to taxation), which see.
Kaga Province	加賀國	
kagi-no-tsukasa		same as <u>dai-tenyaku</u> , which see.
Kai Province	甲斐國	
Kaji-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Kanuchi-no-tsukasa</u> (Metalworkers' O.), which see.
kami-be	紙戶	paper-manufacturing guilds (unspecified number, Manuscripts and Books B., Mediate Affairs M.)
kamu-zukasa	神司	another reading for <u>kan-zukasa</u> (<u>Kami</u> affairs supervisor, Dazai Hq., which see.
kan	盥	board (i.e., a government office)
kanaedono	釜殿	bathman (literally, "kettle-keeper")
kanden	官田	fields for the imperial table (also known as <u>kugoden</u> , literally, "fields for the emperor's meal"), which see.
<u>Kan'nei-ryō</u>	假寧令	Holidays and Leaves of Absence Code, Section 25 of the Yōrō Code.
kan'i	冠位	cap-rank
kan'i	官位	court-rank

kan'in	官印	seal of the State Council
kanimori	掃部	housekeeper (10 in Housekeeping and Supply O., Treasury M.; 30 in Palace Housekeeping and Supply O., Imperial Household M.)
Kanimori-no-tsukasa	掃部司	Housekeeping and Supply O., Treasury M.
<u>Kan'i-ryō</u>	官位令	Officials' Court Ranks Code, Section 1 of the Yōrō Code.
kanko	官戸	government serf
kanmuri	冠	cap (worn by officials)
kannuhi	官奴婢	government slave
Kannu-no-tsukasa	官奴司	Government Slaves O., Imperial Household M.
Kanpaku	關白	Regent (during a sovereign's minority)
<u>Kanshi-ryō</u>	關市令	Barriers and Markets Code, Section 27 of the Yōrō Code
kanshō	官掌	office supervisor (2 of the left [<u>sa-kanshō</u>] and 2 of the right [<u>u-kanshō</u>] Controllers' staff, State Council)
kanuchi-be	鍛産	metalworkers' guild (an unspecified number in Metalworkers' O., Imperial Household M.)
kanuchibe	鍛部	metalworker (20 in Metalworkers' O., Imperial Household M.)
Kanuchi-no-tsukasa	鍛治司	Metalworkers' O., Imperial Household M.
Kan-zukasa	主神	<u>Kami</u> affairs supervisor (1 in Dazai Hq.)
kashiwadebe	膳部	a cook (160 in Palace Tableis.; 40 in Imperial Table O., Imperial Household M.; 60 in Table D., Eastern Palace)
Kashiwade-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Zen-shiki</u> (Royal Tableis. of pre-Taihō period), which see.

kato	河圖	"river chart" used in divination
Kawachi Province	河内國	
Kazue-ryō		another reading for the <u>Shukei-ryō</u> (Statistics B., Popular Affairs M.), which see.
Kazūru-tsukasa		another reading for the <u>Shukei-ryō</u> (Statistics B., Popular Affairs M.), which see.
Kazuza Province	上総國	
kebii-shi	檢非違使	police commissioner
keichō	計帳	tax registers
<u>Keishi-ryō</u>	継嗣令	Succession Code, Section 13 of the Yōrō Code.
kenin	家人	household serf
kenmotsu		inspector (10 in Mediate Affairs M, as follows: 2 inspectors, 4 associate and 4 assistant inspectors); see <u>dai-kenmotsu</u> , <u>chū-kenmotsu</u> and <u>shō-kenmotsu</u> .
kentei (or kentai)	獻替	"to advance good and banish evil;" to assist the sovereign.
<u>Keryō-shokuin-ryō</u>	家令職員令	Officials' Appointments in Households (of imperial princes of the fourth princely court rank and above, and of officials of the third court rank and above); Section 5 of the Yōrō Code.
Kibi no Makibi (693-775)	吉備真備	
Kibumi-no-eshi	黃書畫師	Kibumi painters
Kibumi-no-miyatsuko	黃文造	
Kibumi-no-muraji	黃文造	
kihei	騎兵	cavalryman
Kii Province	紀伊國	

Ki-ki	楦城	Ki Fort
kinri	禁裏	inner precincts of the palace
kisaki		another reading for <u>hi</u> (imperial consort), which see.
Kiyohara Natsuno (782-837)	清原夏野	
<u>Kiyomigahara-ryō</u>	淨御原令	Kiyomigahara Code
ko	戸	household; census group; or tax-paying unit.
kō	校	regiment, composed of two battalions of 100 soldiers each
kō-be	工戸	artisans' guild
kōbetsu	皇	a genealogical classification for clans claiming descent from emperors
kōburi		another reading for <u>kanmuri</u> (cap worn by officials), which see.
kōburi-kurai		another reading for <u>kan'i</u> (cap rank), which see.
Kodakumi-no-tsukasa		another reading for Moku-ryō (Carpentry B., Imperial Household M.), which see.
kōden	功田	merit rice fields
kōfu	功封	households given in fief as merit rewards to officials holding the fifth court rank and above.
kōgō	皇右	empress
<u>Kojiki</u>	古事記	
<u>Kōka-ryō</u>	考課令	Discipline Code, Section 14 of the Yōrō Code.
kokki	國忌	"national mourning" (literally); observance of death anniversaries of imperial ancestors
koku	國	province

kokugaku	國學	provincial school (primarily for study of Confucian classics)
kokushi	國司	provincial government office; also a provincial governor.
Kōkyū	後宮	Hinder Palace (i.e., women's quarters)
<u>Kōkyū-shokuin-ryō</u>	後宮職員令	Officials' Appointments for the Hinder Palace (i.e., women's quarters), Section 3 of the Yōrō Code.
komabe	狛部	same as <u>chikushibe</u> (leather dyer), which see.
Koma-be	狛戶	Koma guild, or Koma workers' group (unspecified number in Treasury M.)
kōmon	閤門	gates to the east and west of the imperial audience hall
kondei	健兒	militia; also soldier drawn from family of a district official; literally "valiant you n"
Kongū-kan	坤宮官	temporary designation of the Chūgū-shiki (Empress' Household S., Mediate Affairs M.), which see.
<u>Kōnin-kyaku-shiki</u>	弘仁格式	compilations of the penal and administrative supplements to the law made between the early eighth century and 819.
Kōraigaku-shi	高麗樂師	Kōrai-style music teacher (in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)
Koremune Naomoto	惟宗直木	
kōri		another reading for <u>gun</u> (district), which see.
kōri-be	氷戶	ice-keepers' guild (reading of <u>kōri-be</u> uncertain)
kōribe	氷部	iceman

kōri-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>gunshi</u> (district supervisor or his office), which see.
Kōrokan	鴻臚館	lodgings for foreign guests at the Dazai Hq., Naniwa and the capital.
<u>Ko-ryō</u>	戸令	Household Code, Section 8 of the Yōrō Code.
kōryō	古令	"the old administrative code;" a term used in reference to the Taihō Code after the compilation of the Yōrō Code; see also <u>zenryō</u> .
koseki	戸籍	household register
<u>Kōshiki-ryō</u>	公式令	Forms Code (for officials documents), Section 21 of the Yōrō Code.
kōshin	皇親	imperial kindred
koshi-tsuzumi	腰鼓	drum used in <u>gigaku</u>
kōtaikō	皇太后	empress dowager
kubunden	口分田	rice-field allotment
kuda-no-fue	小角	small flute for playing martial music
Kudara-be	百濟戶	Kudara guilds (unspecified number in Palace Storehouse B., Mediate Affairs M. and unspecified number in Treasury M.)
Kudaragaku-shi	百濟樂師	Paekche-style music teacher (4 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)
Kudara-te-hito	百濟手部	Kudara handworkers (10 in Palace Storehouse B., Mediate Affairs M.; 10 in Treasury M.)
kugoden	供御田	literally, "fields for the emperor's meal;" same as <u>kanden</u> , which see.
kō'i	校尉	regimental commander (5 in large brigades, 3 in medium and 2 in small brigades)

Kunai	宮内	Pre-Yōrō Code term for Imperial Household M. (<u>Kunai-shō</u>)
Kunai-kan	宮内官	Pre-Yōrō Code term for Imperial Household M. (Kunai-shō)
Kunai-shō	宮内省	Imperial Household M.
kuni		another reading for <u>oku</u> (province), which see.
kuni-no-hakase	國博士	national doctor (taught Confucian studies in provincial schools; 1 in each province)
kuni-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>kokushi</u> (provincial government office or governor), which see.
ku-nihi	公奴婢	public slave
kurabe	藏部	warehousemen (40 in Palace Storehouse B., Mediate Affairs M.; 6 in Treasury M.; 20 in Storehouse D., Eastern Palace)
Kura-ryō	内藏寮	Palace Storehouses B., Mediate Affairs M.
Kura-no-tsukasa	内藏寮	another reading for <u>Kura-ryō</u> (Palace Storehouses B.), which see.
Kura-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Zō-shi</u> (Storehouse O., Hinder Palace), which see.
Kuregaku	吳樂	"music of Wu;" another term for <u>gigaku</u> .
Kure-tsuzumi	吳鼓	another term for a <u>koshi-tsuzumi</u> , a drum used in <u>gigaku</u> .
kuriya-no-tsukasa	主厨	chef (1 in Dazai Hq.)
kurōdo	藏人	private secretary to the emperor
Kurōdodokoro	藏人所	Emperor's Private Office; established in 810.
kusagusa-gaku		same as <u>zatsugaku</u> (imported dancing and music), which see.
kushichō	馳使丁	runner (or messenger boy)
Kusui-shi	鼓吹司	Drum and Flute O., Military Affairs M.
Kusuri-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Tenyaku-ryō</u> (Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.), which see.

Kusuri-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Yaku-shi</u> (Pharmaceutical O., Hinder Palace), which see.
kyaku	格	supplementary regulation for implementation of penal and administrative codes (<u>ritsu-ryō</u>)
kyōkan	京官	"capital officials," that is, officials holding positions in the central government; see <u>gekan</u> .
Kyō-shiki	京職	Capitalis. (of the Left and Right)
<u>Kyūboku-ryō</u>	厩牧令	Stables and Pastures Code, Section 23 of the Yōrō Code.
<u>Kyūei-ryō</u>	宮衛令	Palace Guards Code, Section 16 of the Yōrō Code.
Li-pu	禮部	Board of Rites, T'ang China
mai-sei	舞生	dancing student (100 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)
mai-shi	舞師	dancing teacher (4 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)
<u>Manyōshu</u>	萬葉集	
Ma-ryō		another reading for <u>Uma-no-tsukasa</u> (Stables B.), which see.
mebu	馬部	groom (120 in the Stables B. [60 each in the B. of the Left and Right]; 10 in Stables S.O., Eastern Palace)
meiseki	名籍	name register
Men-hsia-chi-shih-chung	門下給事中	grand secretaries in Department of the Imperial Chancellery in T'ang government.
Mên-hsia-shêng	門下省	Department of the Imperial Chancellery in T'ang government
Men-hsia-shih-chung	門下侍中	president of the Imperial Chancellery in T'ang government.
Me-ryō		another reading for <u>Uma-no-tsukasa</u> (Stables B.), which see
Migi-no-misato-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>U-kyō-shiki</u> (Capital S. of the Right), which see.

migi-no-ōomi		another reading for <u>u-daijin</u> (minister of the right), which see.
Migi-no-uma-no-tsukasa		Stables B. of the Right (See <u>Uma-no-tsukasa</u>)
Mikado-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>I-shi</u> (Gates O., Hinder Palace), which see.
Mikasa-gawa	御笹川	Mikasa River
Mikawa Province	美河國	
Miko-no-miya-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Tōgū-bō</u> (Eastern Palace A.), which see.
miko-suke	御綱助	"auspicious rope assistant;" a term used for the assistant directors of the Attendants B. of the Left and Right.
Mimasaka Province	美作國	
Minbu-no-kami	民部卿	pre-Yōrō Code term for the minister of the Popular Affairs M.
Minbu-shō	民部省	Popular Affairs M.
Min-kan	民官	pre-Yōrō Code term for <u>Minbu-shō</u> (Popular Affairs M.), which see.
Mino Province	美濃國	
Misasagi-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Shoryō-shi</u> (Imperial Mausolea O.), which see.
Misato	御里	another term for the capital city; literally, "August Hometown;" the sovereign's residence
mitsugi		another reading for <u>chō</u> (taxes-in-kind), which see.
miyake	宮家宅 御宅	government house, office, storehouse; royal agricultural estate; literally, "auspicious residence."
Mizu-ki	水城	Mizu Fort
mohitoribe	水部	watermen (40 in Palace Water O., Imperial Household M.), 10 in Water S.O., Eastern Palace)
mohitoriabe	水戸	watermen's guild (unspecified number in Palace Water O., Imperial Household M.)

Mohitori-no-miyatsuko	水取造	
Mohitori-no-muraji	水取連	
Mohitori-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Shusui-shi</u> (Palace Water O., Imperial Household M.), which see.
Mohitori-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Sui-shi</u> (Water O., Hinder Palace), which see.
Moku-ryō	木工寮	Carpentry B., Imperial Household M.
Mondo-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Shusui-shi</u> (Palace Water O., Imperial Household M.), which see.
monjō-no-hakase	文章博士	doctor of literature, Great Learning B., Ceremonies M.
Monka-jichū	門下侍中	see: <u>Men-hsia-shih-chung</u>
monka-kyūji.chū		see: <u>Men-hsia-chi-shih-chung</u>
Monmu, Emperor (697-707)	文武	
Mononobe		<u>Mononobe</u> guards (40 in Prisons O., Justice M.; 30 in Gate Guards' Hq.; and 20 each in Market O. of the East and West, Capitalis. of the Left and Right)
Monoñobe no-yoboro	物部丁	<u>Monoñobe</u> warders (20 in Prisons O., Justice M.)
Muku-ryō		another reading for <u>Moku-ryō</u> (Carpentry B., Imperial Household M.), which see.
muraji	連	a clan title (<u>kabane</u>)
Musashi Province	武藏國	
Mutsu Province	陸奥國	
myōbu	命婦	female officials; see <u>nai-myōbu</u> and <u>ge-myōbu</u> .

myōhō	明法	academic degree in penal and administrative legal codes; one of the four disciplines (<u>shimon</u>) in the Great Learning B., Ceremonies M.
myōhō hakase	明法博士	doctor for illuminating the law
myōkyō	明經	academic degree in the Chinese classics; one of the four disciplines (<u>shimon</u>) in the Great Learning B. Ceremonies M.
myōkyōdō	明經道	the academic discipline in Chinese classics, Great Learning B., Ceremonies M.
myōkyōsei	明經生	student pursuing the <u>myōkyō</u> degree in the Great Learning B. Ceremonies M.; literally, "student for illuminating the law."
Nagato Province	長門國	
Nagaya ō	長屋王	Prince Nagaya
naidaijin	内大臣	minister of the interior
nai'in	内印	emperor's privy seal; literally, "inner seal;" same as the <u>tennō-no-gyōji</u> , which see.
naijin	内臣	minister of the interior; may also be read <u>uchi-tsu-omi</u> .
naiki		palace secretary; see <u>dai-naiki</u> , <u>chū-naiki</u> and <u>shō-naiki</u> .
Naikyū-ryō	内厩寮	Palace Stables B.
nai-myōbu		another reading for <u>uchi-no-myōbu</u> ("inner" or "palace" female officials), which see.
Nairai-shi	内禮司	Palace Discipline O., Mediate Affairs M.
Naisen-shi	内染司	Palace Dyeing O., Imperial Household M.
Naishi-no-tsukasa	内侍司	Palace Retainers O., Hinder Palace
Naiyaku-shi	内藥司	Palace Pharmaceutical O., Mediate Affairs M.

Naizen-shi	内膳司	Imperial Table O., Imperial Household M.
Naka-no-oe, Imperial Prince	中大兄皇子	
Nakatsukasa-shō	中務省	Mediate Affairs M.
Naniwa	難波	
Na-no-tsu	那津	Na Harbor; earlier name of Hakata
<u>nigi</u>	= 義	The Two Principles, standing for either <u>Yin</u> and <u>Yang</u> or for Heaven and Earth.
Niitabe Shinnō	新田部親王	Imperial Prince Niitabe
Ninbu-shō	仁部省	temporary term for the Popular Affairs M. during Junnin's reign (758-764).
Nishi-no-ichi-no-tsukasa	西市司	Market O. of the West (Capital S. of the Right)
Nori-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Shikibu-shō</u> (Ceremonies M.), which see.
Noto Province	能登國	
nuhi	奴婢	slave
nuibe	縫部	tailor (4 in Tailoring O., Treasury M.)
Nuibe-no-tsukasa	縫部司	Tailoring O., Treasury M.
Nuidono-ryō	縫殿寮	Wardrobe B., Mediate Affairs M.
nuime-be	縫女部	seamstresses' guild (unspecified number in Tailoring O., Treasury M.)
Nui-no-tsukasa	縫司	Sewing O., Hinder Palace
Nukada Imatari	額田今足	
nuribe	漆部	lacquerer (20 in Housekeeping and Supply O., Treasury M.)
nuri-be	or 泥戸 or 奴利戸	plasterers' guild (unspecified number in Clayworkers' O., Imperial Household M.)
nuribe	泥戸	plasterer (20 in Clayworkers' O., Imperial Household M.)

Nuribe-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Urushibe-no-tsukasa</u> (Lacquerware O.i, Treasury M.), which see.
nyōju	女孺	serving girl (152 in the Hinder Palace as follows: 100 in Palace Retainers' O.i; 10 in Storehouse O.; 6 in Manuscripts O.; 4 in Pharmaceutical O., 6 in Armory O.; 10 in Gates O.; 6 in Supply O.; 10 in Housekeeping O.)
nyōkan	女官	female officials, Hinder Palace
ō	王	prince or princess
ōibe	大炊部	cook (60 in Palace Kitchen B.i, Imperial Household M.)
Ōi-ryō	大炊寮	Palace Kitchen Supplies B.i, Imperial Household M.
Ōi-no-tsukasa	大炊寮	another reading for <u>Ōi-ryo</u> (Palace Kitchen Supplies B.i, Imperial Household M.), which see.
Ō-kashiwade-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Daizen-shiki</u> (Palace Tableis., Imperial Household M.), which see.
Okī Province	隱岐國	
Ōkimidachi-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Ōkimi-no-tsukasa</u> (Imperial Family Registry O., Imperial Household M.), which see.
Ōkimi-no-tsukasa	正親司	Imperial Family Registry O.i, Imperial Household M.
Ōkindachi-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Ōkimi-no-tsukasa</u> (Imperial Family Registry O.i, Imperial Household M.) which see.
Ōkura	大藏	pre-Yōrō Code term for Treasury M. (<u>Ōkura-shō</u>), which see.
Ōkura-shō		Treasury M.
Ōkura-no-tsukasa		another term for <u>Ōkura-shō</u> (Treasury M.), which see.
omi	臣	a clan title (<u>kabane</u>)

<u>Ōmi-chōtei-no-ryō</u>	近江朝廷之令	The Administrative Code of the Ōmi Court, referred to in its abbreviated form of <u>Ōmi-ryō</u> or Omi Code.
Ōmi-no-Ōtsu-no-miya	近江大津之宮	title of Emperor Tenchi's residence; literally, the Ōtsu Palace in Ōmi.
Ōmi Province	近江國	
<u>Ōmi-ryō</u>	近江令	The Ōmi Code, the full title of which is <u>Ōmi-chōtei-no-ryō</u> .
on-hakase	音博士	doctor of pronunciation (2 in Great Learning B., Ceremonies M.)
on-i	蔭位	"shadow" ranks; also read <u>in-i</u> .
Onmyō-ryō		alternate reading of <u>Onyō-ryō</u> (Divination B., Mediate Affairs M.), which see.
Ōno-ki	大野城	Ōno Fort
Onyō-hakase	陰陽博士	<u>Yin-Yang</u> doctor (6 in Divination B., Mediate Affairs M.)
Onyō-ryō	陰陽寮	Divination B., Mediate Affairs M.
onyō-sei	陰陽生	<u>Yin-Yang</u> student (10 in Divination B., Mediate Affairs M.)
Onyō-shi	陰陽師	<u>Yin-Yang</u> tutor (1 in Divination B., Mediate Affairs M.; 1 in Dazai Hq.)
Oribe-no-tsukasa	織部司	Weaving O., Treasury M.
Osakabe Shinnō	刑部親王	Imperial Prince Osakabe
ōsotsu	大率	general of an army; mentioned in <u>Wei Chih</u> .
Ōsumi Province	大隅國	
ō-toneri	大舍人	senior attendant (800 each in Senior Attendants; B. of the Left and Right)
Ōtsu-no-miya	大津宮	residence of Emperor Tenchi; see <u>Ōmi-no-Ōtsu-no-miya</u> .
Ō-uchi	大内	another term for <u>Dairi</u> (Inner Palace), which see.

Ō-uta-dokoro	大歌所	Great Songs Office
Owari Province	尾張國	
ōyumide	弩手	longbow archer
Priest Min	僧旻	
rakusho	洛書	"falling water chart" used in divination
Reibu-shō	禮部省	temporary name of the <u>Jibu-shō</u> (Regulatory M.) from 758
rei-in-tenpu	鈴印傳符	bells, seals and tallies for requisitioning relay horses
reki-hakase	曆博士	calendar doctor (1 in Divination B., Mediate Affairs M.)
reki-sei	曆生	calendar student (10 in Divination B., Mediate Affairs M.)
ri	里	village (composed of fifty households or <u>ko</u>); also read <u>sato</u> .
ri-chō	里長	village head
Ri-kan	理官	pre-Yōrō Code term for Regulatory M. (<u>Jibu-shō</u>)
<u>Rikkokushi</u>	六國史	The Six National Histories
ritsu	律	penal code
ritsugaku-hakase	律學博士	doctor of the penal code
rōkoku-hakase	漏刻博士	clepsydra doctor (2 in Divination B., Mediate Affairs M.)
<u>Roku-ryō</u>	禄令	Emoluments Code, Section 15 of the Yōrō Code.
ryō	寮	bureau
ryō	令	administrative code
ryō	旅	battalion, composed of two companies of 50 soldiers each
ryōge-no-kan	令外官	extra-legal offices and officials not provided for in the legal code.

<u>Ryō-no-gige</u>	令義解	Commentary on the Yōrō Code (A.D. 833)
ryō-ko	陵戸	grave warden
ryōmin	良民	freemen; literally, "good persons"
ryōsen-sei	良賤制	system of free and unfree persons
<u>Ryō-shaku</u>	令釋	Commentary on the Yōrō Code and quoted in the <u>Ryō-no-saūgea</u> . It is not extant.
ryōshi		legal clerk (1 legal clerk and 1 assistant legal clerk in Dazai Hq.a)
<u>Ryō-no-shūge</u>	令集解	Commentary on the Yōrō Code (ca. 880)
ryōsui	旅師	battalion commander (10 in large brigades, 6 in medium and 5 in small brigades)
sa-caūben	左中弁	associate controller of the left, State Council
sa-daiben	左大弁	controller of the left, State Council
sa-daijin	左大臣	minister of the left, State Council
sa-daishi	左大史	secretary of the left (2 on controllers' staff, State Council)
Sado Province	佐渡國	
sa-eshi-fu	左衛士府	Palace Guards' Hq. of the Left
Sagami Province	相模國	
sa-hyōe-fu	左兵衛府	Military Guards' Hq. of the Left
sa-hyōgo		Armory of the Left; see <u>Hyōgo</u> .
Saikai-dō	西海道	Western Sea Circuit
sa-jikichō	左直丁	watchman of the left, controllers' staff, State Council; see <u>jikichō</u> .
saka-be	酒戸	brewers' guild (an unspecified number in Wine-Making O., Imperial Household M.)
sakabe	酒部	brewer (60 in Wine-Making O, Imperial Household M.a)

sa-kanshō	左官掌	office supervisor of the left, controllers' staff, State Council; see <u>kanshō</u> .
Sake-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Zōshu-shi</u> (Wine-Making O., Imperial Household M.), which see.
Sake-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Shu-shi</u> (Wine O., Hinder Palace), which see.
sakimori	防人	border guard
sakimorianō-jō	防人佐	border guards' executive secretary (1 in Dazai Hq.)
sakimori-no-kami	防人正	border guards' director (1 in Dazai Hq.)
<u>Sakutei-ritsu-ryō</u>	冊小定律令	Sakutei Penal and Administrative Code
Sa-kyō-shiki	左京職	Capital S. of the Left
Sa-ma-ryō		Stables B. of the Left; see <u>Uma-no-tsukasa</u> .
sangaku	散樂	imported dancing and music; literally, "scattered music;" same as <u>zatsugaku</u> , which see.
sangi	參議	adviser, State Council
san-hakase	算博士	doctor of arithmetic (2 in Great Learning B., Ceremonies M.)
san'i	散位	"scattered ranks;" court ranks assigned to personnel not assigned to a regularly-established government office.
san'a-ryō	散位寮	Court Ranks of Non-Administrative Personnel B., Ceremonies M.
sankō	三公	The Three Dukes, used in reference to the chancellor and the ministers of the left and right; Ch. <u>san-kung</u> .
sankyoku	三局	the three departments of State Council, namely, of the controller of the left, the controller of the right, and the assistant counsellors.

san-shih	三師	three preceptors for heir apparent, T'ang China
sanshō	算生	arithmetic student (30 in Great Learning B.a Ceremonies.)
Sanuki Province	讃岐國	
sa-ōtoneriaryō	左大舍人寮	Senior Attendants' B. of the Left, Mediate Affairs M.
sa-shibu	左使部	page of the left, controllers' staff, State Council; see <u>shibu</u> .
sa-shishō	左史生	clerk of the left, controllers' staff, State Council; see <u>shishō</u> .
sa-shōben	左少弁	assistant controller of the left, State Council
sa-shōshi	左少史	assistant secretary of the left (2 on controllers' staff, State Council)
sato		another reading for <u>ri</u> (village), which see a
sato-osa		another reading for <u>ri-chō</u> (village head), which see a
Satsuma Province	薩摩國	
sa-uma-no-tsukasa		Palace Stables B. of the Left; see <u>Uma-no-tsukasa</u> .
sekisho	関所	check stations
Senjo-ryō	選叙令	Selection and Promotions Code, Section 12 of the Yōrō Code.
senmin	賤民	unfree persons; "base persons"
senmyō	宣命	imperial proclamations
Settsu-no-kuni-no-tsukasa	攝津國司	Settsu Provincial Office
Settsu Province	攝津國	
Settsu-shiki	攝津	Settsu S.
shang-shu-lang	尚書郎	grand secretaries in the Department of Affairs of State, T'ang China.

Shang-shu-shêng	尚書省	Department of Affairs of State, Tang China.
shashō-shu	寫書手	copyista(20 in Manuscripts and Books B. a Mediate Affairs M.)
shi	司	office
Shibi-caūdai	紫微中台	Temporary designation of the Chūgū-shiki (Empress' Household S., Mediate Affairs M.), which see.
shibu	使部	page (160 [80 of the left and 80 of the right] on controllers' staff, State Council; 70 in Mediate Affairs M.; 30 in Empress' Household S., 40 [20 each] in the Senior Attendants' B. of the Left and Right, and 20 in the Manuscripts and Books B., all of the Mediate Affairs M.)
shijō	史生	clerk; see <u>shishō</u> .
shiki	式	supplementary regulations to the penal and administrative code (<u>ritsuryō</u>)
shiki	職	secretariat
Shikibu-shō	式部省	Ceremonies Ministry
shikifu	職封	households given in fief for merit to State Council officials holding third court rank and above.
Shima Province	志摩國	
shimon	四門	the four disciplines; literally, "four gates," taught in the Great Learning B., Ceremonies M. They led to the following degrees: <u>shūsai</u> , <u>myōkyō</u> , <u>shinshi</u> and <u>myōhō</u> , which see.
Shimōsa Province	下總國	
Shimotsukeno no Asomi Furumaro	下毛野朝臣古麻呂	
Shimotsuke Province	下野國	
Shinano Province	信濃國	

shinbetsu	神別	a genealogical classification for clans claiming descent from Japanese deities (<u>kami</u>).
shinji	神璽	abbreviation for <u>tenshi-no-shinji</u> , or "divine jewel of the son of heaven;" one of the three imperial regalia, the other two being the mirror and and the sword.
shinnō	親皇	imperial prince or princess
shin-ritsu-ryō	新律令	"the new penal and administrative codes;" a term used by the <u>NSK</u> in reference to the Ōmi Code.
shinryō	新令	"the new administrative code;" a term used in reference to the Yōrō Code to distinguish it from the Taihō Code.
shinshi	進士	academic degree in government policy, Chinese history, etc.; one of the four disciplines (<u>shimon</u>) in the Great Learning B., Ceremonies M.
shi-nuhi	私奴婢	private slave
Shiragigaku-shi	新羅樂師	Silla-style music teacher (4 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)
shishō	史生	clerk (10 on assistant counsellors staff; 10 of the left (<u>sa-shishō</u>) and 10 of the right (<u>u-shishō</u>), controllers staff, State Council; and 24 in Mediate Affairs M.
shitōkan	四等官	"the four categories of officials;" refers to the four types of administrative officials found in each ministry, office, bureau, etc., of the government.
shō	省	ministry
sho	署	service office
shoban	諸蕃	a genealogical classification for clans claiming descent from non-Japanese ancestors, both foreign and autochthonous; literally, "various barbarians."

shōben	少弁	assistant controller, State Council; see <u>sa-shōben</u> and <u>u-shōben</u> .
shōchoku	詔勅	imperial edict
shōdan	少団	small brigade
shōden	尚殿	director (1 in Supply O., Hinder Palace)
shō-geki	少外記	assistant secretary (2 in State Council)
shōgen	少監	assistant secretary, Dazai Hq.
shōgi	少毅	assistant brigade commander (2 in each brigade, and 1 each in medium and small brigades)
sho-hakase	書博士	doctor of writing (2 in Great Learning B., Ceremonies M.)
shō-hanji	少判事	assistant judge; see <u>hanji</u> .
shōhei	尚兵	director (1 in Armory O., Hinder Palace)
shōhō	尚縫	director (1 in Sewing O., Hinder Palace)
shōhō	掌縫	executive secretary (4 in Sewing O., Hinder Palace)
shō'i	尚障	director (1 in Gates O., Hinder Palace)
shōji	掌侍	executive secretary (4 in Palace Retainers' O., Hinder Palace)
shōji	常侍	director (2 in Palace Retainers" O., Hinder Palace)
shōjō	少丞	assistant executive secretary (in a ministry)
shōjō	少掾	provincial assistant executive secretary
shō-kenmotsu	少監物	assistant inspector, Mediate Affairs M.; see <u>kenmotsu</u> .
shōkō	少工	assistant engineer (2 in Dazai Hq.)
<u>Shokuin-ryō</u>	職員令	Officials' Appointments Code, Section 2 of the Yōrō Code.

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shōmai	春米	polished rice
shō-nagon	少納言	assistant counsellor (3 in State Council)
shō-naiki	小内記	assistant palace secretary (2 in Mediate Affairs M.)
shōni	少貳	assistant director, Dazai Hq.
shō-roku	少録	assistant recorder (in a ministry)
Shoryō-shi	諸陵司	Imperial Mausolea O., Regulatory M.
shō-ryōshi	少令史	assistant legal clerk; see <u>ryōshi</u> .
Sho-shi	書司	Manuscripts O., Hinder Palace
shōshi	小史	assistant secretary; see <u>sa-</u> and <u>u-shōshi</u> .
shōsho	尚書	director (1 in Manuscripts O., Hinder Palace)
shōshō	省掌	office supervisor (2 in Mediate Affairs M.)
shōshu	尚酒	director (1 in Wine O., Hinder Palace)
shō-shūryō	少主鈴	assistant bell warden, Mediate Affairs M.; see <u>shūryō</u> .
shō-shuyaku	少主鑰	assistant bell warden; see <u>shuyaku</u> .
shōsō	尚掃	director (1 in Housekeeping O., Hinder Palace)
shōsui	尚水	director (1 in Water O., Hinder Palace)
shōten	少典	assistant recorder, Dazai Hq.
shō-tenyaku	少典鑰	assistant key warden; see <u>tenyaku</u> .
shō-tokibe	少解部	assistant legal examiner; see <u>tokibe</u> .
shōyaku	尚藥	director (1 in Pharmaceutical O., Hinder Palace)

shō-yu	少輔	assistant minister
shōzen	尚膳	director (1 in Table O., Hinder Palace)
shōzen	掌膳	executive secretary (4 in Table O.i, Hinder Palace)
shōzō	尚藏	director (1 in Storehouse O., Hinder Palace)
shōzō	掌藏	executive secretary (4 in Storehouse O., Hinder Palace)
shō-zoku	少屬	assistant legal secretary; see <u>zoku</u> .
shōzui	祥瑞	auspicious omen
Shuba-ryō	主長寮	Stables B.
Shuba-sho	主馬署	Stables S.O., Eastern Palace
shuchō	主帳	brigade recorder (1 in each provincial brigade)
Shuden-sho	主殿署	Housekeeping and Supply O., Eastern Palace
Shūgoku-shi	囚獄司	Prisons O., Justice M.
Shuheisho	主兵署	Arms S.O., Eastern Palace
shui	主醬	master physician (2 in Palace Table S., Imperial Household M.)
Shujaku-mon	朱雀門	main central gate, south of palace area
shukahei	主菓食餅	master confectioner (2 in Palace TableiS.i, Imperial Household M.)
Shukei-ryō	主計寮	Statistics B., Popular Affairs M.
Shukō-sho	主工署	Repairs S.O., Eastern Palace
Shuō-shi		another reading for <u>Taka-tsukasa</u> (Falconry O., Military Affairs M.), which see.
shurai	主禮	censor (6 in Palace Discipline O., Mediate Affairs M.)

shūryō	主鈴	bell warden (2 bell wardens and 2 assistant bell wardens in Mediate Affairs M.)
shūsai	秀才	academic degree in government administration; one of the four disciplines (<u>shimon</u>) in the Great Learning B., Ceremonies M.
shusen	主船	shipwright (1 in Dazai Hq.)
Shusen-shi	主船司	Ships O., Military Affairs M.; also read <u>Fune-no-tsukasa</u> .
Shu-shi	酒司	Wine O., Hinder Palace
shushin-chō	守辰丁	timekeeper (20 in Divination B., Mediate Affairs M.)
Shucho-sho	主書署	Manuscripts and Medicinals S.O., Eastern Palace
Shushō-sho	主策署	Water S.O., Eastern Palace
Shusui-shi	主水司	Palace Water O., Imperial Household M.
shuyaku	主鑰	key warden (2 key wardens and 2 assistant key wardens in Palace Storehouse B., Mediate Affairs M.); see <u>dai-shuyaku</u> and <u>shō-shuyaku</u> .
Shuzei-ryō	主稅察	Tax B., Popular Affairs M.
Shuzen-kan	主膳監	Table D., Eastern Palace
Shuzō-kan	主藏監	Storehouse D., Eastern Palace
so	租	paddy-field tax
sochi	師	director, Dazai Hq.
Soga Kurayamada Ishikawamaro	蘇我倉山田 石川麻呂	
Sōgi-shi	喪儀司	Funeral Logistics O., Regulatory M.
sōko-shu	裝潢手	bookbinder (4 in Manuscripts and Books B., Mediate Affairs M.)
<u>Sōko-ryō</u>	倉庫令	Storehouses Code, Section 22 of the Yōrō Code.

some-be	染戸	dyers' guild (unspecified number in Weaving O., Treasury M.)
some-shi	染師	master dyer (2 in Palace Dyeing O., Imperial Household M.)
<u>Sō'niaryō</u>	僧尼令	Monks and Nuns Code, Section 7 of the Yōrō Codea
sono-be	園戸	gardeners' guild (unspecified number in the Gardens and Ponds O., Imperial Household M.)
sonobe	園戸	gardener
Sonoike-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Enchi-shi</u> (Gardens and Ponds O., Imperial Household M.), which see.
Sō-shi	掃司	Housekeeping O., Hinder Palace
sotsu		another reading for <u>sochi</u> (director, Dazai Hq.), which see.
Sui-shi	水司	Water O., Hinder Palace
Suo Province	周防國	
Suruga Province	駿河國	
Suzuka-seki	鈴鹿關	Susuka check station, Ise Province
tachihaki-no-toneri	授力舎人	armed attendant
Tachihaki-no-toneri-no-tsukasa	授力舎人寮	Armed Attendants' B.
tachi-uta	立歌	"standing songs," i.e., songs sung in a standing position at the <u>Daijōsai</u> and at certain banquets.
Tadasu-tsukasa		another term for <u>Danjō-dai</u> (Censors' B.) meaning "Correctional Office.
tai	隊	company, composed of five platoons of ten soldiers each
taifu	太傅	grand master; title of the minister of the left (758-764) as one of the three preceptors (<u>sanshi</u>); Ch. <u>t'ai-fu</u> .

taihō	太保	grand guardian; title of the minister of the right (758-764) as one of the three preceptors (<u>sanshi</u>); Ch. <u>t'ai-pao</u> .
tai-kōtaikō	太皇太后	grand empress dowager
<u>Taihō-ritsu-ryō</u>	大寶律令	Taihō Penal and Administrative Code; referred to in abbreviated form as <u>Taihō-ryō</u> or Taihō Code.
taishi	太師	grand preceptor; title of the chancellor (758-764) as one of the three preceptors (<u>sanshi</u>); Ch. <u>t'ai-shih</u> .
taishi	大史	secretary; on controllers' staff, State Council; see <u>sa-daishi</u> and <u>u-daishi</u> .
taishō	隊正	company commander (20 in large brigades, 12 in medium and 10 in small brigades)
taiten	大典	recorder, Dazai Hq.
Tajima Province	但馬國	
taka-be	鷹戶	falconers' guild; other readings are <u>taka-tsukai-be</u> and <u>taka-kai-be</u> , which see; (unspecified number in Falconry O., Military Affairs M.)
Takahashi clan	高橋氏	Takahashi-uji
taka-kai-be	鷹甘部	falconers' guild; see also <u>taka-be</u> .
Takamuku Genri	高向玄理	
Takamuku Kuromaro	高向黒麻呂	same as Takamuku Genri, which see.
taka-tsukai-be	鷹養部	falconers' guild; see also <u>taka-be</u> .
Taka-tsukasa	主鷹司	Falconry O., Military Affairs M.
Taka-tsukasa	放鷹司	a variant <u>kanji</u> reading for Falconers' O., Military Affairs M., which see.
takumi-be	工戶	carpenters' guild
takumibe	工部	carpenter (20 in Carpentry B. & Imperial Household M.; 6 in Repairs S.O. & Eastern Palace)

Tanba Province	丹波國	
Tango Province	丹後國	
tate-be	楯部	same as <u>tatenui-be</u> (shieldmakers' guild), which see.
tatenui-be	楯縫戶	shieldmakers' guild, Arsenal O., Military Affairs M.
teki-shi		another reading for <u>fueshi</u> (flute teacher), which see.
Tenchi, Emperor (661-672)	天智天皇	
Tenchū-shi		another reading for <u>Imono-no-tsukasa</u> (Casting L.), which see.
tenden	典殿	associate director (2 in Supply O., Hinder Palace)
tengai	碾磴	finely milled rice
ten'i	典圍	associate director (4 in Gates O., Hinder Palace)
tenji	典侍	associate director (4 in Palace Retainers' O., Hinder Palace)
tenkaku	典革	leather worker (1 in Treasury M.)
tenmonahakase	天文博士	astrology doctor (1 in Divination B., Mediate Affairs M.)
tenmon-sei	天文生	astrology student (10 in Divination B., Mediate Affairs M.)
Tenmu, Emperor (686-697)	天武天皇	
Tennō-no-gyoji	天皇御璽	emperor's privy seal; also called <u>nai'in</u> .
tenpei	典兵	associate director (2 in Armory O., Hinder Palace)
tenpō	典縫	associate director (2 in Sewing O., Hinder Palace)
tenpu	伝符	horse-requisition tallies, issued to officials by the State Council permitting them to requisition horses at relay stations.

tenri	典履	cobbler (2 in Palace Storehouse B., Mediate Affairs M.; 2 in Treasury M.)
tenshi-no-jinji	天子神璽	"divine seal of the son of heaven"
tensho	豊書	associate director (2 in Manuscripts O., Hinder Palace)
tenshu	典酒	associate director (2 in Wine O., Hinder Palace)
tensō	典掃	associate director (2 in Housekeeping O., Hinder Palace)
tensui	典水	associate director (2 in Water O., Hinder Palace)
tenyaku	典藥	associate director (2 in Pharmaceutical O., Hinder Palace)
tenyaku		key warden (2 key wardens and 2 assistant key wardens in Mediate Affairs M.; 2 key wardens and 2 assistant key wardens in Treasury M.); see <u>dai-tenyaku</u> and <u>shō-tenyaku</u> .
Tenyaku-ryō	典藥寮	Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.
tenzena.	典膳	associate royal steward (6 in Imperial Table O., Imperial Household M.)
tenzen	典膳	associate director (2 in Table O., Hinder Palace)
tenzō	典藏	associate director (2 in Storehouse O., Hinder Palace)
Tōgaku-shi	唐樂師	T'ang-style music teachers (12 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)
Tōgū	東宮	the Eastern Palace; the heir apparent's palace.
Tōgū-bō	春宮坊	Eastern Palace A.
<u>Tōgū-shokuin-ryō</u>	東宮職員令	Officials and Appointments for the Eastern Palace, Section 4 of the Yōrō Codea

tokibe	解部	legal examiner (4 legal examiners and 6 assistant legal examiners in Regulatory M.; 10 legal examiners, 20 associate and 30 assistant legal examiners in Justice M.)
tokimori	時守	another term for <u>shushinchō</u> (time-keeper), which see.
tokimori-no-hakase	時守博士	another term for <u>rōkoku-hakase</u> (clepsydra doctor), which see.
To-no-kusuri-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Gevaku-ryō</u> (Outer Pharmaceutical O.), which see.
Tō-no-mikado	遠の朝廷	a term for Dazai Hq., Kyūshū; literally, "The Distant Court"
tomo-be	伴部	a general term applied in the 8th century to workers' groups and artisan groups of various sorts.
tomo-no-miyatsuko	伴造	royal manager; an official that managed workers groups (<u>tomo</u> or <u>be</u>) for the sovereign in the pre-Taika period.
toneri	舍人	attendant (400 in Empress' Household S., Mediate Affairs M.; 600 in Attendants' D., Eastern Palace); see also <u>ō-toneri</u> and <u>u-toneri</u> .
Toneri Shinnō	舍人親王	Imperial Prince Toneri
Toneri-no-tsukasa	舍人監	Attendants' B., Eastern Palace
tonomoribe	殿部	palace custodian (40 in Palace Custodians and Supply., Imperial Household M.; 20 in Housekeeping and Supply S.O., Eastern Palace.
Tonomori-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Tonomo-ryō</u> (Palace Custodians and Supply B., Imperial Household M.), which see
Tonomo-ryō	主殿寮	Palace Custodians and Supply B., Imperial Household M.
Tonomo-no-tsukasa	殿司	Supply O., Hinder Palace
Tosa Province	土佐國	

Tōtōmi Province	遠江國	
tso-yu p'u-yeh	左右僕射	T'ang title for vice-presidents of the left and right, Department of Affairs of State.
Tsuchi-takumi-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Dokō-shi</u> (Clayworkers' O., Imperial Household M.), which see.
Tsugano Mamichi	菅野真道	
tsukaebe		another reading for <u>shibu</u> (page), which see.
tsukae-no-yoboro	仕丁	laborers sent from provinces
tsukasa		office if written ; bureau if written .
Tsukushi-no-kuni	筑紫國	originally northern Kyūshū; later meant all of Kyūshū.
Tsushima Province	対馬國	
tsutsumi-fue-be	鼓吹戸	drum and flute guild (an unspecified number in Drum and Flute O., Military Affairs M.)
Tsutsumi-fue-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Kusui-shi</u> (Drum and Flute O., Military Affairs M.), which see.
Tsuwamono-no-tsukasa		another reading for the <u>sa-</u> and <u>u-hyōgo</u> (Armories of the Left and Right), which see.
Tsuwamono-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Hyōbu-shō</u> (Military Affairs M.), which see.
Tsuwamono-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Hei-shi</u> (Armory O., Hinder Palace), which see.
Tsuwamono-tsukuri-no-tsukasa	造兵司	Arsenal O., Military Affairs M.
Uchi-no-hyōgo	内兵庫	Palace Armory
Uchiano-kanimori-no-tsukasa	内掃部司	Palace Housekeeping and Supply O., Imperial Household M.
Uchi-no-kashiwade-no-tsukasa	内藏寮	another reading for <u>Naizen-shi</u> (Imperial Table O., Imperial Household M.), which see.

Uchi-no-kura- no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Kura-ryō</u> (Palace Storehouse B., Mediate Affairs M.), which see.
Uchi-no-kusuri- no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>naiyaku-shi</u> (Palace Pharmaceutical O., Medi- ate Affairs M.), which see.
uchi-no-myōbu	内命婦	"inner" or "palace" female offi- cials of the fourth or fifth court rank in the Hinder Palace.
uchi-tsu-omi		another reading for <u>naijin</u> or <u>naidaijin</u> , which see.
Uchi-somemono- no-tsukasa	内染司	Palace Dyeing O., Imperial House- hold M.
Uchi-no-somemono- no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Naisen-shi</u> (Palace Dyeing O., Imperial House- hold M.), which see.
u-chūben	右中弁	associate controller of the right, State Council
u-daiben	右大弁	controller of the right, State Council
u-daijin	右大臣	minister of the right, State Council
u-daishi	右大史	secretary of the right (2 on con- trollers' staff, State Council)
U-eshi-fu	右衛士府	Palace Guards' Hq. of the Right
U-hyōe-fu	右兵衛府	Military Guards' Hq. of the Right
U-hyōgo		Armory of the Right; see <u>Hyōgo</u> .
uji.	氏	lineage group or clan
u-jikichō	右直丁	watchman of the right (control- lers' staff, State Council), see <u>jikichō</u> .
ujāme	氏女	clan women sent to be <u>uneme</u> in the palace
u-kanshō	右官掌	office supervisor of the right, controllers' staff, State Council
U-kyō-shiki	右京職	Capital S. of the Right

uma-be	馬戶	grooms' guild
umabe	馬部	groom; see <u>mebu</u>
umakai-be	飼戶	grooms' guild (unspecified number in the Stables B. of the Left and Right)
umakai-noi miyatsuko	馬飼部造	royal manager in charge of workers' groups of grooms (<u>umakai-be</u>)
uma-kusushi		another reading for <u>ba'i</u> (veterinarian), which see.
U-ma-ryō		Stables B. of the Right; see <u>Uma-no-tsukasa</u> .
Uma-no-tsukasa	馬寮	Stables B. (divided into Left and Right B.)
unabe or <u>unemebe</u>	采部	supervisor of palace women (6 in Palace Women's O., Imperial Household M.)
uneme	采女司	palace woman (6 in Water O. and 60 in Table O., Hinder Palace)
Uneme-no-omi	采女臣氏	Uneme-no-omi clan
Uneme-no-tsukasa	采女司	Palace Women's O., Imperial Household M.)
U-ōtoneri-ryō	右大舍人寮	Senior Attendants B. of the Right, Mediate Affairs M.
Urishibe-no- tsukasa	漆部司	Lacquerware O., Treasury M.
u-shibu	右使部	page of the right, controllers' staff, State Council; see <u>shibu</u> .
u-shishō	右史生	clerk of the right, controllers' staff, State Council; see <u>shishō</u> .
u-shōshi	右少史	assistant secretary of the right (2 on controllers' staff, State Council)
u-shōben	右少弁	assistant controller of the right, State Council
uta-bito	歌人	singer (male) (30 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)

Utaetada-tsukasa		another reading of <u>Gyōbu-shō</u> (Justice M.), which see.
Utae-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Gyōbu-shō</u> (Justice M.), which see.
utai-me		another reading for <u>uta-me</u> (singer, female), which see.
Uta-mai-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Gagaku-ryō</u> (Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.), which see.
uta-me		singer (female) (100 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)
Uta-ryō		another reading for <u>Gagaku-ryō</u> (Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.), which see.
uta-shi	歌師	singing teacher (4 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)
Uta-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Gagaku-ryō</u> (Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.), which see.
u-toneri	内舍人	palace attendants (90 in Mediate Affairs M.)
U-uma-no-tsukasa		Palace Stables B. of the Right; see <u>Uma-no-tsukasa</u> .
wagon	和琴	ancient Japanese <u>koto</u> (lute)
Wakasa Province	若狭國	
<u>Wei Chih</u>	魏志	
yahagi-be	矢作部	arrowmakers' guild, Arsenal O., Military Affairs M.
Yakko-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Kannu-no-tsukasa</u> (Government Slaves O., Imperial Household M.), which see.
yakuen-shi	薬園師	herbalist (2 in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.)
yakuen-shō	薬園生	herbalist student (6 in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.)
yaku-be	薬戸	medical guild (an unspecified number in Pharmaceutical B., Imperial Household M.)

yakusa-no-kabane	八色姓	eight rank <u>kabane</u> system
yakusei	藥生	pharmacist (10 in Pharmaceutical O., Mediate Affairs M.)
Yaku-shi	藥司	Pharmacæutical O., Hinder Palace
Yamabe-no-ō	山邊王	Prince Yamabe
Yamashiro-no-eshi	山背畫師	Yamashiro painters
Yamashiro Province	山背國	山城國
Yamato Province	大和國	
yō	庸	labor-substitute taxes-in-kind
yoboro	丁	laborer or worker
yōeki	徭役	corvée; forced labor
yōko		another reading for <u>koshi-tsuzumi</u> (drum used in <u>gigaku</u>), which see.
yōko-shi	腰鼓師	drum teacher; taught use of <u>koshi-tsuzumi</u> (2 in Music and Dancing B., Regulatory M.)
<u>Yōrō-ritsu-ryō</u>		Yōrō Penal and Administrative Code; referred to in this work as <u>Yōrō-ryō</u> and Yōrō Code.
yūeki-denba	郵驛傳馬	relay stations and horses
yuge-be	弓削戶	bowyers' guild, Arsenal O., Military Affairs M.
Yugei-no-tsukasa		another reading for <u>Emon-fu</u> (Gate Guards' Hq.), which see.
<u>Yung-hui Lü-ling</u>	永徽律令	<u>Yung Hui Penal and Administrative Code</u> (650-655)
zakko	雜戶	general artisans
zakkō-be	雜工戶	general artisans' guilds (unspecified number, Arsenal O., Military Affairs M.; and in Casting O., Treasury M.)
zakkōbe	雜工部	general artisans (20 in Arsenal O., Military Affairs M.; 10 in Casting O., Treasury M.)

zakku-be	雜供戶	miscellaneous guilds to supply the imperial table (unspecified number in Palace TableiS., Imperial Household M.)
zatsugaku	雜樂	imported dancing and music
zatsumai	雜舞	foreign-style dancing
zenryō	前令	the former administrative code; a term used in reference to the Taihō Code after the compilation of the Yōrō Code; see also <u>kōryō</u> .
Zen-shi	膳司	Table O.i, Hinder Palace
Zen-shiki	膳職	Royal Table S.
zōboku-shu	造墨手	inkmaker (4 in Manuscripts and Books B., Mediate Affairs M.)
zōhitsu-shu	造筆手	brushmaker (4 in Manuscripts and Books B., Mediate Affairs M.)
zoku	屬	legal secretary (2 legal secretaries and 2 assistant legal secretaries in Justice M.)
Zō-ryō	雜令	Miscellany Code, Section 30 of the Yōrō Code.
zōshi-shu	造紙手	papermaker (4 in Manuscripts and Books B., Mediate Affairs M.)
Zōshu-shi	造酒司	Wine-Making O.i Imperial Household M.)
Zō-shi	藏司	Storehouse O., Hinder Palace
zōyō	雜徭	corvée or miscellaneous additional labor and labor substitute taxes
zusho	圖書	divination charts; see <u>kato</u> ("river charts") and <u>rakusho</u> ("falling water charts")
Zushoeryō	圖書寮	Manuscripts and Books B., Mediate Affairs M.