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日本令にみるジェンダー  
— その(2) 後宮職員令(上) —

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Part 2: Laws on Officials in the Back Palace(1)

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はしがき

本稿は、ジェンダー分析の視点で古代の法体系のあり方を検討する試みである。本企画は、英語圏読者・初学者に向けた日本女性史関係法令の英文テキストを作りたいという共著者 J.R.ピジョーの要請を受け、3 年前に開始した。戸の編成・把握、戸内部の家族秩序、良賤の身分秩序、国司・郡司による人民教化などを規定する戸令<sup>こりょう</sup>については、『帝京史学』28 号(2013 年 2 月発行)の「日本令にみるジェンダー——その(1) 戸令——」において現代語訳・注釈・解説を行った。本稿は、その続編である。戸令編では、家族秩序などジェンダーに密接に関わる条文を選択してとりあげたが、今回の後宮職員令<sup>こうきゅうしきいんりょう</sup>は、篇目全体がジェンダーに直接かかわるため、条文全体をとりあげ、11 項目にわけて考察した。今回は、その前半にあたる 5 項目を掲載する。

30 篇から成る養老令のなかで、ジェンダー構造の特色がもっとも示されているのは、戸令と後宮職員令である。本企画は、日本令全体の逐条解釈・英訳を企図するものではない。あくまでも法体系にみられるジェンダー構造の特質解明を目標とし、そのための解釈・英訳をめざしている。したがって、将来的には、戸令と、後宮職員令のそれぞれを核とした分析にすすみたい。戸令を中心とし、田令<sup>でんりょう</sup>、賦役令<sup>ふえきりょう</sup>等の関連条文も包括した検討によって、親族体系・婚姻習俗・労働編成等を含む社会の基層のジェンダー構造と、法がそれにいかなる方

向づけを与えようとしたかが、よりいっそう明らかになるはずである。また、後宮職員令を中心とし、公式令、<sup>くしきりよう</sup>考課令等も包括した検討によって、古代国家が意図した国家・行政システムのなかの女性のあり方が明確になるだろう。分析の上では、女性史研究のこれまでの成果を集約するとともに、最新の到達点を反映させることを心がけていることもつけ加えておきたい。ゆくゆくは、英文テキストの刊行をめざしている。

後宮職員令は、皇后以外の天皇の妻（キサキ）たちと女性官僚（<sup>にょうかん</sup>女官＝<sup>くになん</sup>宮人）に関する規定である。令文は全 18 条で、①キサキ（1～3 条）と乳母（<sup>にゅうも</sup>17 条）、②12 の後宮官司（後宮十二司）の職掌と勤務評定（4～15 条）、③朝廷の儀式に参列する女性たちの序列（16 条）、④出仕規定（18 条）——の 4 つの部分から構成される。大宝令では後宮<sup>こうきゅうかんいんりよう</sup>官員令と書かれていた（『令集解』後宮職員令「古記」）。

前回の戸令は、行政組織の末端単位としての戸の編成・把握に関する法規定であり、国家の収取体系や家族実態、「家」の成立をめぐる研究等と深く関わるため非常に重視され、膨大な研究成果が蓄積されてきた。一方、後宮職員令についての本格的な研究は、これまでほとんどないといつてよい。天皇の私生活に奉仕する女性に関する規定であるとみなされたため、官僚機構の一部として分析対象とされることは稀だったからである。そのため、1970 年代までは、男性貴族による政争史のバックグラウンドとして言及されるにとどまっていた。

その段階においても、後宮十二司を総合的に捉えようとした代表的な研究に、野村忠夫 1970・1978、角田文衛 1973 があり、後宮官司の個別研究では須田春子 1978・1982 があった。なお、浅井虎夫『新訂女官通解』（講談社学術文庫、1985）は、1906 年発行同書の新訂版で、後宮制度を網羅的に解説したものであるが、律令女官制度が大きな変容を遂げた中世以降の史料によって女官制度を解釈するという傾向をもつ。明治期の研究という時代的制約もあるが、日本古代史や女性史の飛躍的發展を経た今日の歴史研究の到達点から見て、8 世紀の律令女官制度の理解のためには不適切なものであることも指摘しておきたい。

1980 年代に入ると、平安前期の法解釈書（『令義解』『令集解』）や令の施行細則を集成した十世紀前半の『延喜式』から後宮における女性労働を復原する研究が現れ、男子禁制の空間ではなく、日常的には「男女共勞」（男女官人の共

同での職務遂行)が行われていたことが明らかにされた(文珠正子 1992、勝浦令子 2000)。さらに、律令官僚制のなかでの女官の役割について、春名宏昭 1997、吉川真司 1998a が本格的に検討した。春名 1997 は、天皇の意志が法として定立する過程における女官の役割を初めて明らかにした。吉川 1998a は、後宮官司の1つである<sup>いし</sup>閤司の職掌が令制前に遡ることを明らかにしたことによって、律令国家成立時における女性官司設置の経緯を解明する道筋を示した。

なお、日本文・英文ともに3名で緊密な討論を重ねたことは前回戸令と同様であるが、今回の後宮職員令については、日本文は伊集院の文責、英訳はピジョーの文責で、Glossary は義江が作成した。日本文原稿は上記の研究の成果を踏まえて、伊集院の後宮女官制全般についての概観(伊集院葉子 2013a)をもとに、後宮職員令の分析と注釈・解説をおこなうものである。

後宮十二司に配属された官人は、長官以下、すべて女性である。令制用語では女性官僚は「宮人」であり、史料上で「女官」の語が用いられるのは八世紀末からである(野村忠夫・原奈美子 1977)。本稿では、女官の語が定着した九世紀以降の史料も紹介する。したがって、八世紀の記述で「宮人」を用い、九世紀以降では「女官」と記する煩を避けるため、仕官女性を指す言葉は、「女官」で統一した。また、先に『帝京史学』28号に掲載した「戸令」編とでは、篇目名をはじめとし、若干、英訳の用語に不統一がみられる。検討を重ねながら最適の訳語を模索している段階であることに鑑み、ご寛恕願いたい。英文テキストとして発行する時点で統一をはかり、有用な Glossary を提供できるようにしたい。

戸令編を掲載した『帝京史学』28号の発行後、大津透氏による日本史リブレット『律令制とはなにか』が刊行された。ジェンダー分析という視角ではないが、現時点において律令制理解の助けとなる好著であり、紹介しておきたい。

\*本稿中、令文の本注は〈 〉内に記した。



## 【凡例】

### 史料

### 略称

- ・『延喜式』〔新訂増補国史大系〕26、吉川弘文館、1965 年 『延喜式』  
 ＊虎尾俊哉編『延喜式』〔訳注日本史料〕集英社、全3巻（既刊上・中巻）、2000～に詳しい注釈がある。
- ・『続日本紀』〔新訂増補国史大系〕2、吉川弘文館、1966 年 『続紀』  
 ＊青木和夫他校注『続日本紀』〔新日本古典文学大系〕12-16、岩波書店、1989～98 に詳しい注釈がある。
- ・『大日本古文書 編年』全25巻、東京大学出版会、1968年覆刻 『編年』
- ・坂本太郎他校注『日本書紀』上下〔日本古典文学大系〕67・68、岩波書店、1965～1967年
- ・律令研究会編『訳註日本律令』一～十一、東京堂出版、1978年～99年 『訳注』
- ・井上光貞他校注『律令』〔日本思想大系〕3、岩波書店、1976年 『律令』
- ・『令義解』〔新訂増補国史大系〕22、吉川弘文館、1966年 『義解』
- ・『令集解』〔新訂増補国史大系〕23・24、吉川弘文館、1966年 『集解』
- ・『類聚三代格』〔新訂増補国史大系〕25、吉川弘文館、1965年 『三代格』  
 ＊関見他校注『類聚三代格』〔神道体系〕古典編10、神道大系編集会、1993年には、狩野文庫本の類聚三代格もあわせ所収。
- ・『類聚符宣抄』〔新訂増補国史大系〕27、吉川弘文館、1965年 『類聚符宣抄』

## 後宮職員令の注釈と解説

以下、5項目にわたり、9条文をとりあげて、**本文**、**語釈**、**解説**の順で記す。

### ① 後宮職員令 1 妃条・2 夫人条・3 嬪条

#### 本文

〔原文〕1 妃二員。右四品以上。

2 夫人三員。右三位以上。

3 嬪四員。右五位以上

〔訓読〕1 <sup>ひ</sup>妃二員。右は<sup>しほん</sup>四品以上。

2 <sup>ぶにん</sup>夫人三員。右は<sup>さんみ</sup>三位以上。

3 <sup>ひん</sup>嬪四員。右は<sup>ごい</sup>五位以上。

- 〔現代訳〕 1 妃の定員は2人。四品以上（を帯びる者）であること。  
2 夫人の定員は3人。三位以上（を帯びる者）であること。  
3 嬪の定員は4人。五位以上（を帯びる者）であること。

### 語釈

妃……皇后の次のランクに位置する天皇の妻。キサキ（妃）は、一般的には天皇の妻の総称として使用されるが、後宮職員令 1 妃条で規定する「ヒ（妃）」は、皇后に次ぐ天皇の妻の号である。天皇の皇女・姉妹（<sup>ないしんのう</sup>内親王）であることが妃の条件である（「品・位」の語釈参照）。

品・位…品は、天皇の皇子女・兄弟姉妹（親王・内親王）に授けられる<sup>くらい</sup>位。最高位一品から最低位四品までの4等級がある（公式令 54 条）。したがって、四品以上を帯びる妃とは、内親王であることを意味する。

位は、天皇に仕える男女官人たちに授けられる位階。<sup>しょういち</sup>最高位の正一位から<sup>しょうそい</sup>少初位下まで 30 等級ある。さらに、地方官人や下級氏族に授けられる<sup>げ い</sup>外位が<sup>げのしょうごい</sup>外正五位上から<sup>しょうそい</sup>外少初位下まで 20 等級ある。内位・外位ともに男官・女官に共通で、女官だけを対象とする特殊な位はない。

『<sup>りょうのしゅう</sup>令集解』後宮職員令 1 妃条「<sup>こま</sup>古記」（『令集解』中で引用された大宝令の注釈書）は、妃、夫人、嬪という令で規定されたキサキ（令制キサキ）の称号を得ると、当該の品・位を授けられたとする。

夫人…妃の次のランクの天皇の妻。2 世王以下の王族や諸臣の女性が就任する。  
嬪……夫人の次のランクの天皇の妻。

### 解説～キサキが持つ2つの顔～

1～3 条は、皇后以外の天皇の妻（キサキ）に関する規定である。キサキが、令制下の職員であったため、後宮職員令中に規定された（『訳註日本律令』10、後宮職員令、p.602）。皇后は職員ではなく天皇と並ぶ存在であったので、令には規定されなかった。

妃、夫人、嬪の3種のキサキは、大宝令で設置されたもので、<sup>あすかきよみはらりょう</sup>飛鳥浄御原令までは、キサキの間に序列は存在しなかったというのが、最新の研究成果である（遠藤みどり 2011、pp.7-16）。

本条を理解するためには、後宮という言葉の意味と、大宝令・養老令制定時の日本の実態を熟知する必要がある。後宮には、①天皇のキサキたち（人間）、②キサキたちが集住する区域(空間)―の2つの意味がある。中国では、男性が

国政を担い、女性は家政を掌るという古くからの思想（『周礼』『礼記』）に基づき、皇帝の家政のために後宮制度が整えられ、多数の妃妾が置かれた（鎌田重雄 1949、p.75）。隋唐でもその思想が継承された。唐の初期には、皇帝の正規の妾の定員だけでも 120 名にのぼった（『大唐六典』内官条注）。唐の長安では、皇帝の居所である太極宮の西に掖庭宮があり、そこに皇帝の妻妾が集住していた。

しかし、日本では、キサキの集住空間としての後宮は、大宝令が制定された当時は、まだ存在しなかった。天皇の妻たちは、それぞれが「キサキの宮」と呼ばれる独自の宮と経営基盤を持ち、天皇の住む宮の外に、バラバラに居住していたからである。その形態は、大宝令制定後も続いていた。たとえば、聖武天皇（在位 724-749）の皇后である藤原光明子は、平城宮東隣に皇后宮を営み、他の聖武のキサキたちも、平城宮外に独自の宮を持ち、居住していたのである（三崎裕子 1997、pp.15-21）。日本において皇后宮が内裏内に建設されるのは、八世紀後半の光仁天皇（在位 770-781）の時代であり、皇后以外のキサキの居所が内裏内に建設されるのは、桓武天皇（在位 781-806）の時代に至ってからであるという\*（橋本義則 2011a、pp.62-64）。

\*平安宮では、内裏に後宮空間がつくられた。天皇の居所であった仁寿殿の後方に、常寧殿・貞観殿・麗景殿・宣耀殿・弘徽殿・登花殿・承香殿と、昭陽舎（梨壺）・淑景舎（桐壺）・飛香舎（藤壺）・凝花舎（梅壺）・襲芳舎（雷鳴壺）のあわせて十二の宮殿が建てられた。そこに、后妃たちが住んだのである。九世紀の皇后の居所は、常寧殿だったという（西野悠紀子 1997、p.157。東海林亜矢子 2004、pp.48-49）。

このように天皇の妻たちが独自のキサキの宮を有していたのは、日本古代の豪族のあり方が関係していた。キサキの一員である夫人は、訓読みではオオトジと読まれるが、古代ではオオトジは、自身の宅（ヤケ、「日本令にみるジェンダー—その（1）戸令—」『帝京史学』28、p.399 参照）を所有し経営する豪族女性の尊称であった。豪族女性がキサキとなると、彼女の宅は政治的拠点としての意味を持った。すなわち、それは皇子女たちの生育の場ともなり、出身氏族と国家機構によって支えられ、キサキと出身氏族が政治権力に関与していく根拠地ともなったのである（義江明子 2011 [英訳は Yoshie Akiko 2005 参照]、

pp.115-117)。キサキは、天皇の妻であると同時に、大規模な経営拠点を保持し運営する氏族のオオトジ（大刀自）でもあるという、2つの顔を持っていたのである。九世紀初頭の史料では、天皇の妃を、「妃+出身氏族の名+オオトジ」と呼んでいたことが明らかになっている（『類聚符宣抄』p.131、弘仁8年[817]6月23日中納言宣）。たとえば、藤原氏のキサキであれば、「妃<sup>ひ</sup>藤原（朝臣）のオオトジ」であり、多治比氏<sup>たじひ</sup>のキサキであれば、「妃多治比（真人）<sup>まひと</sup>のオオトジ」と呼ばれたのである。キサキがもつ、オオトジとしての側面を言い表した呼称といえよう（義江明子 2011、p.118）。

キサキの身分は、夫である天皇の死後も変化しないが、九世紀初頭に平城天皇（在位 806-809）の2人の妃が辞職した記録があり、退任が可能であったことがわかっている（『日本後紀』弘仁3年[812]5月癸酉条、同月癸未条）。

律令の規定では、女性への給付は同位階の男性の半分である（禄令 10食封条<sup>じきふ</sup>）。しかし、令制キサキは、禄令 12<sup>ひんいじょう</sup>嬪以上条により、半減の規定を適用されず全給される仕組みとなっていた。さらに、嬪以上のキサキには国家からの人員支給によって公的家政機関が設置されていた（考課令 66家令条<sup>けりょう</sup>）。このような令制キサキに対する手厚い人的・物的支給は、皇子女の資養のためであったという（遠藤みどり 2011、pp.2-7）。

妃は醍醐天皇（在位 897-930）妃の<sup>いし</sup>為子内親王、夫人は嵯峨天皇（在位 809-823）夫人の藤原緒夏<sup>おなつ</sup>が史料上で確認できる最後である。嬪は正史では文武天皇（在位 697-707）の2人の嬪しか確認できないが、遠藤みどり氏によると、聖武～桓武朝にも存在したという（遠藤みどり 2010、p.9-12）。しかし、桓武朝には、令の規定にはない女御<sup>にようご</sup>が、嵯峨朝には更衣<sup>こうい</sup>が現れて天皇の妻の地位を占めるようになり、八世紀末～九世紀初を境として、令制キサキは姿を消していった。

## ② 後宮職員令 4 内侍司条

### 本文

〔原文〕 宮人職員

内侍司

尚侍二人。〈掌。供奉常侍。奏請。宣伝。檢校女孺。兼知内外命婦朝参。及禁内礼式之事。〉典侍四人。〈掌同尚侍。唯不得奏請。宣伝。若

無尚侍者。得奏請。宣伝。〉掌侍四人。〈掌同典侍。唯不得奏請。宣伝。〉

女孺一百人。

〔訓読〕宮人<sup>くにな</sup>の職員

内侍司<sup>ないし/ないしのつかさ</sup>

尚<sup>しょうじ</sup>侍<sup>ないしのかみ</sup>二人。〈掌<sup>つかさど</sup>らんこと、常侍<sup>じょうじ</sup>、奏請<sup>そうせい</sup>、宣伝<sup>せんでん</sup>に供奉<sup>ぐぶ</sup>せんこと。

女孺<sup>にょじゆ/めのわらわ</sup>を檢校<sup>けんぎょう</sup>せんこと。兼ねて内外<sup>ないげ</sup>の命婦<sup>みょうぶ</sup>の朝參<sup>ちようさん</sup>、及び禁内<sup>きんない</sup>の

礼式<sup>らいしき</sup>知らんこと。〉典<sup>てんじ</sup>侍<sup>ないしのすけ</sup>四人。〈掌らんこと尚侍に同じ。唯し奏

請、宣伝すること得ず。若し尚侍<sup>も</sup>無くは、奏請、宣伝すること得ん。〉

掌<sup>しょうじ/ないしのじょう</sup>侍<sup>ないし</sup>四人。〈掌らんこと典侍に同じ。唯し奏請、宣伝すること

得ず。〉女孺一百人。

〔現代訳〕（以下は）宮人の職員（に関する規定である）

内侍司

尚侍（長官）の定員は 2 人。〈職掌は、天皇に常に侍し、奏請と宣伝を行うことである。女孺の檢校、内外命婦の朝參、禁内の礼式もあわせて所管する。〉典侍（次官）の定員は 4 人。〈職掌は尚侍と同じ。唯し、奏請・宣伝はできない。もし尚侍が不在ならば、奏請・宣伝をしてよい。〉掌侍（判官）の定員は 4 人。〈職掌は典侍と同じ。唯し、奏請・宣伝はできない。〉女孺の定員は 100 人。

### 語釈

宮人…仕官する女性の総称（『義解』）。ただし、「はしがき」でも触れたように、八世紀末からは「女官」の語が使われるようになる。

尚・典・掌…後宮の女性官司には共通して、長官（かみ）には「尚」、次官（すけ）には「典」、判官（<sup>はんが</sup>ん）（三等官・じょう）には「掌」の文字が充てられ、それぞれの司名の前に付す。内侍司の場合は、長官である尚侍は「しょうじ／ないしのかみ」、次官である典侍は「てんじ／ないしのすけ」、判官である掌侍は「しょうじ／ないしのじょう」と呼ばれる。解説で詳述するが、令制では後宮十二司には、主典（<sup>さかん</sup>書記官）を置かなかつた。このことは、長官、次官、判官、主典で構成する「<sup>しとうかんせい</sup>四等官制」を採らなかつたことを意味する。

常侍…つねに近辺で仕えること。

奏請・宣伝…奏請は、男官諸司の意見を天皇に伝えて（奏上）、天皇の判断を請

うこと。宣伝は、天皇の意思を口頭で諸司に伝えること。

女孺…長官・次官・判官に任じられていない後宮官司の下級女官。女官として出仕すると、まず、このポストに就任し、後宮各司に配属される。

検校…管理・監督すること。

内外命婦…内命婦ないみょうぶと外命婦げみょうぶのこと。内命婦は、自身が五位以上の位を持つ女性。

外命婦は、五位以上の官人の妻。唐制では、内命婦は皇帝・皇太子の妃妾、外命婦は皇女・王妃及び五品以上の高官の母妻を指す。唐における内命婦は、夫の地位に応じて女性に与えられる身位であり、日本とは異なる。

朝参…天皇の臣下が朝廷の儀式に参ること。

禁内礼式…内裏の儀式・礼儀。

**解説**～天皇の言葉を行政命令に変換する女官の役割～

後宮職員令 4 内侍司条～15 縫司条までは、後宮十二司に関する規定であり、長官・次官・判官の職掌と定員、配属される女孺または采女の員数が定められている。内侍司は、十二司の筆頭。なお、唐にも内侍省があり、その長官が内侍であるが、女性ではなく、宦官かんがん（去勢された男性）が任じられた。日本では宦官制はない。したがって、後宮官司はすべて女性で構成された。（十二司の官名と定員は表を参照）

日本では、官位令によって、位階に相当する官職が決められており（官位相当制）、定期的な勤務評価の結果、位階が上がれば官職も上昇する仕組みとなっていた。しかし、女官には官位相当規定はなく、位階が高くなっても官職に連動することはなかった。

一方で官人への季節ごとの給与は、本人の任じられている官職の対応位階に応じて支給される規定であった。そのため、女性の官職には、禄令 9 官人給禄条によって支給基準となる位が決められた。准位じゅんいである。この規定による内侍司役職者の准位は、尚侍じやうごいは従五位、典侍じゆんくゐは従六位、掌侍じやうしちゐは従七位である。

令制下の後宮職員は、すべて天皇に奉仕するための官であり、皇后には別途、中官職が置かれてその活動と生活を支えることになっていた（職員令 4 中官職条）。皇后が内裏に居住し、皇后を頂点とする中国流の後宮が成立するのは九世紀に入ってからであり、その後、内侍が皇后にも奉仕するようになったという（橋本義則 2011b、pp.318-319）。

内侍司は、10人の職事<sup>しきじ</sup>（長官・次官・判官の任に就いている役職者のこと）と、散事<sup>さんじ</sup>（役職に任じられていない女官のこと）である100人の女孺から構成される、十二司中最大の官司である。その職務は多岐にわたるが、最も重要なものは、天皇の傍らに常に侍し、奏請と宣伝を行うことである。かつては、内侍司が担う奏請・宣伝の内容は小事に過ぎず、大事は男官が担当していたのではないかという見解があった。しかし、春名宏昭氏は、尚侍が、詔勅を起草する専門官<sup>ないき</sup>（内記＝男官）に天皇の旨を伝え、文章起草作業を監督していたことを指摘し、天皇の意志を法として定立する過程における内侍司の役割を明らかにした（春名宏昭 1997、pp.258-267）。

律令国家は、文書行政を行政運営の基本原則としたが、口頭伝達も併用された。八世紀の造東大寺司における命令伝達の実態を検討した吉川真司氏によると、女官は天皇の言葉を直接受け、それを造東大寺司官人らに口頭で宣したという。天皇から女官への伝達と、女官から造東大寺司への伝達はすべて口頭伝達であり、それを承けた男官が文章化したのである（吉川真司 1998b、pp.195-198）。つまり、内侍司は、天皇の意志を行政に反映させていく過程で、口頭伝達から文書行政への結節点に位置していたのである（伊集院葉子 2013b）。

なお、後宮十二司の職員構成の特徴として、男性官司には必ず置かれた書記官（サカン）が置かれなかったことが挙げられる。男性官司は、長官、次官、判官に加えて書記官という四等官制が採られた。なかには、三等官制、二等官制の官司もあったが、どんなに小さな官司であっても、男性官司には書記官<sup>じょし</sup>が置かれた。唐でも、後宮の女性官司のすべてに女性書記官（女史）が置かれた（ただし唐の女史の担当は、後宮内の記録に限られていた）。日本の後宮十二司には、なぜ書記官は置かれなかったのか。その理由は、現時点では明らかにされてはいない。

一方で正倉院文書には、3通の内侍司文書（内侍司<sup>ちよう</sup>牒）が残されており、内侍司の中に、文書を書く女官が存在していたことを明示している（図1「内侍司牒」参照）。その女官は、八世紀の神亀年間（724～729）に内侍司に設置された令外官<sup>りょうげのかん</sup>である女史であった。八世紀のすでに前半から、内侍司においても、口頭伝達だけではなく文書行政への対応が行われていたのであり、律令の当初の規定を超えて女官は文書行政にも参画していったのである（伊集院葉子 2013b）。

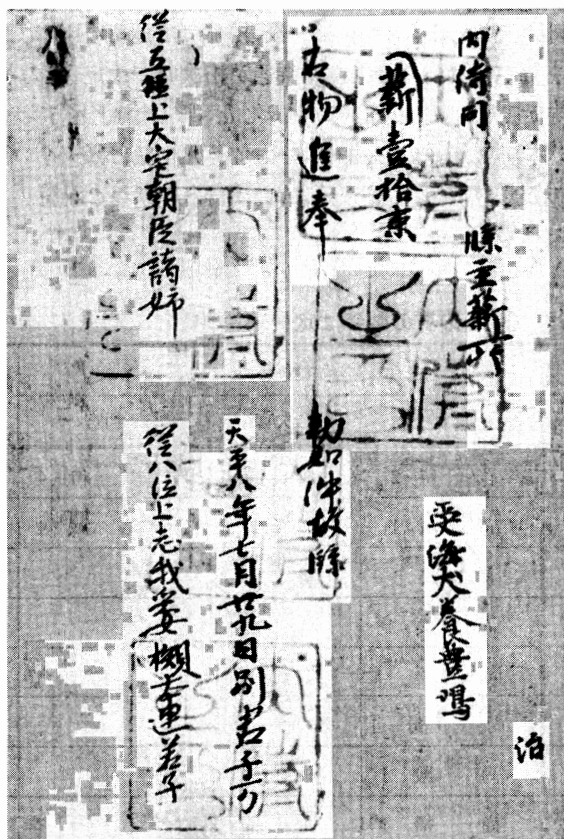


図1 内侍司牒

**Illustration 1 : a horizontal communiqué of the Office of Female Chamberlains**

内侍司が男性官司である主薪所に出した文書。薪 10 束を進めるよう命じている。日付は、天平 8 年(736)7 月 29 日。(大日本古文書 2-4/正倉院宝物)

Here is a horizontal communiqué (*chō* 牒)—“horizontal” because it was exchanged between bureaucratic units of equal stature—that was brushed by an official of the Office of Female Chamberlains and sent to the Firewood Stores (Shushinjo 主薪所), a unit staffed by male bureaucrats. The communiqué requests ten measures (*soku*) of firewood and is dated the twenty-ninth day of the Seventh Month in 736 (Tenpyō 8). The document is part of the treasures of the Shōsōin (Shōsōin hōmotsu) and has been published in *Dai Nihon komonjo* vol. 2, p. 4.



なお、内侍司は、設置当初の地位は、蔵司、膳司、縫司に比べて高くはなかったが、八世紀を通じて尚侍らの准位や待遇が相次いで改定され、807年には尚侍従三位、典侍従四位、掌侍従五位と上昇した『三代格』巻5、大同2年〔807〕12月15日太政官謹奏、pp.221-222)。一方で、九世紀には天皇のキサキが尚侍に任じられる例が現れ、平安中期以降には、尚侍はキサキの地位の1つとなり、女官としての実体を失った。

表 後宮十二司（職名の右の数字は定員）

官名 (音読／訓読)	職事			散事
	長官	次官	判官	女孺・采女
ないし/ないしのかみ 内侍司	しょうじ/ないしのかみ 尚侍 2	てんじ/ないしのかみ 典侍 4	しょうじ/ないしのかみ 掌侍 4	によじゃ/めのわらわ 女孺 100
ぞうし/くものつかさ 蔵司	しょうぞう/くものつかさ 尚蔵 1	てんぞう/くものつかさ 典蔵 2	しょうぞう/くものつかさ 掌蔵 4	女孺 10
しょうし/ふみのつかさ 書司	しょうしょう/ふみのつかさ 尚書 1	てんしょう/ふみのつかさ 典書 2		女孺 6
やくし/くすりのつかさ 薬司	しょうやく/くすりのつかさ 尚薬 1	てんやく/くすりのつかさ 典薬 2		女孺 4
ひょうし/つわものつかさ 兵司	しょうひょう/つわものつかさ 尚兵 1	てんひょう/つわものつかさ 典兵 2		女孺 6
いし/みかどのつかさ 蘭司	しょうい/みかどのつかさ 尚蘭 1	てんい/みかどのつかさ 典蘭 4		女孺 10
でんし/とのもりのつかさ 殿司	しょうでん/とのもりのつかさ 尚殿 1	てんでん/とのもりのつかさ 典殿 2		女孺 6
そうし/かにもりのつかさ 掃司	しょうそう/かにもりのつかさ 尚掃 1	てんそう/かにもりのつかさ 典掃 2		女孺 10
すいし/もいとりのつかさ 水司	しょうすい/もいとりのつかさ 尚水 1	てんすい/もいとりのつかさ 典水 2		うねめ 采女 6
ぜんし/かしわでのつかさ 膳司	しょうぜん/かしわでのつかさ 尚膳 1	てんぜん/かしわでのつかさ 典膳 2	しょうぜん/かしわでのつかさ 掌膳 4	采女 60
しょうし/さけのつかさ 酒司	しょうしょう/さけのつかさ 尚酒 1	てんしょう/さけのつかさ 典酒 2		なし
ほうし/ぬいどのつかさ 縫司	しょうほう/ぬいどのつかさ 尚縫 1	てんほう/ぬいどのつかさ 典縫 2	しょうほう/ぬいどのつかさ 掌縫 4	余の女孺

①訓読は岩波『律令』を参照しながら適宜改めた。

②音読は現在の日本で通用している音読みを優先させた。

### ③ 後宮職員令 5 蔵司条

#### 本文

〔原文〕 蔵司

尚蔵一人。〈掌。神璽。閑契。供御衣服。巾櫛。服翫。及珍宝。綵帛。賞賜之事。〉典蔵二人。〈掌同尚蔵。〉掌蔵四人。〈掌。出納。綵帛。賞賜之事。〉女孺十人。

〔訓読〕

蔵 司

尚 蔵 一人。〈掌らんこと、神璽、閑契、供御の衣服、巾櫛、服翫のこと。及び珍宝、綵帛、賞賜のこと。〉典 蔵 二人。〈掌らんこと尚蔵に同じ。〉掌 蔵 四人。〈掌らんこと、出納、綵帛、賞賜のこと。〉女孺十人。

〔現代訳〕 蔵司。

尚蔵（長官）の定員は 1 人。〈職掌は、神璽、閑契、供御の衣服・巾櫛・服翫、及び珍宝、綵帛、賞賜に関すること。〉典蔵（次官）の定員は 2 人。〈職掌は尚蔵と同じ。〉掌蔵（判官）の定員は 4 人。〈職掌は、出納、綵帛・賞賜に関すること。〉女孺の定員は 10 人。

#### 語釈

神璽…天皇位の象徴としての宝物（神器）のこと。神祇令 13 踐祚条は鏡・剣のこととする。しかし、公式令 40 天子神璽条の神璽は「印」と考えられている（『律令』神祇令補注、p.538）。詳細は不明。神器に関する先行研究の整理と考察は、黛弘道 1982 が行っている。

閑契…非常時の閑の通過に必要な割符。木製（「古記」）。2 片に割り、1 片は、本条により蔵司が保管した。ほかの 1 片は、公式令 43 諸国給鈴条により、伊勢・美濃・越前の三閑国の国守が管理した。伊勢には鈴鹿閑、美濃には不破閑、越前には愛発閑があった。割符の左右を合わせて真偽を判別する。20 人以上の兵士の動員にも閑契が必要とされる（軍防令 17 差兵条、及び『義解』）など、天皇権力の発動に関わる重要なものであった（勝浦令子 1982）。

供御衣服・巾櫛・服翫…天皇が身につけたり、使用する衣服・被り物や玉など。巾は、頭巾（「古記」）、服翫は、双六や囲碁などの遊び道具類（『集解』

「伴記」)。

珍宝…男官の内蔵寮も金銀・珠玉・宝器を収蔵しており、蔵司管掌の珍宝との相違は不明。皇位継承の際に引き継がれる、神璽につぐ重要な宝を指すという(『訳註』10、pp.651-652)。

綵帛…綵は染めた絹、帛は白いままの絹。

賞賜…天皇が臣下に褒美として物を与えること。

出納…出し入れ。

**解説**～天皇位のシンボルを所管する女官～

蔵司(女官)以下の官司には、職掌の面で対応する男性官司が存在する。蔵司は、<sup>くらりょう</sup>内蔵寮(男官)の職掌と類似する(職員令7内蔵寮条)。しかし、神璽の管理は蔵司独自のものである。天皇権力の行使にかかわる関契の保管と神璽の管理によって、蔵司は重んじられた。禄令により定められた季禄の支給基準となる位(准位)は、尚蔵正三位、典蔵従四位、掌蔵従七位。三位は、男官の大納言に匹敵する位階であり、諸臣女性の最高位である。

八世紀には、<sup>しょうさんみ</sup>正三位藤原<sup>おひら</sup>衰比良(?～762。藤原仲麻呂[706～764]の妻)、<sup>きびのゆり</sup>従三位吉備由利(?～774。吉備<sup>きび</sup>真備[695～775]の親族)など、天皇の厚い信任を得て活躍した尚蔵・典蔵が輩出した。このため、八世紀半ばには待遇も上昇し、尚侍とともに尚蔵の<sup>ふ</sup>封戸(「日本令にみるジェンダー—その(1)戸令—」『帝京史学』28号、p.401参照)・<sup>いであん</sup>位田が全給されるように改定された(『続日本紀』天平宝字4年[760]12月戊辰条)。しかし、平安時代に入ると、内侍司などに職掌を吸収され、実体を失っていった。

#### **4** 後宮職員令6書司条・7薬司条・8兵司条]

**本文**

〔原文〕6 書司

尚書一人。〈掌。供奉内典。経籍。及紙。墨。筆。几案。糸竹之事。〉  
典書二人。〈掌同尚書。〉女孺六人。

7 薬司

尚薬一人。〈掌。供奉医薬之事。〉典薬二人。〈掌同尚薬。〉女孺四人。

8 兵司

尚兵一人。〈掌。供奉兵器之事。〉典兵二人。〈掌同尚兵。〉女孺六人。

〔訓読〕 6

書司

しょうしよ/ふみのつかさ

尚書一人。〈掌らんこと、ないてん内典、けいせき経籍に供奉せんこと、及び紙、墨、筆、きあん几案、しちく糸竹のこと。〉てんしよ/ふみのすけ典書二人。〈掌らんこと尚書に同じ。〉女孺六人。

7

薬司

しょうやく/くすりのつかさ

尚薬一人。〈掌らんこと、てんやく/くすりのすけ医薬に供奉せんこと。〉典薬二人。〈掌らんこと尚薬に同じ。〉女孺四人。

8

兵司

しょうひょう/つわものつかさ

尚兵一人。〈掌らんこと、兵器に供奉せんこと。〉てんひょう/つわものすけ典兵二人。〈掌らんこと尚兵に同じ。〉女孺六人。

〔現代訳〕 6 書司は、尚書（長官）の定員は1人。〈職掌は、天皇の内典、経籍を管理すること。また、紙、墨、筆、几案、糸竹についても同様。〉典書（次官）の定員は2人。〈職掌は尚書と同じ。〉女孺の定員は6人。

7 薬司は、尚薬（長官）の定員は1人。〈職掌は、天皇の医薬への奉仕。〉典薬（次官）の定員は2人。〈職掌は尚薬と同じ。〉女孺の定員は4人。

8 兵司は、尚兵（長官）の定員は1人。〈職掌は、天皇の兵器を管理すること。〉典兵（次官）の定員は2人。〈職掌は尚兵と同じ。〉女孺の定員は6人。

語釈

内典…仏教の典籍。

経籍…儒教の典籍。

几案・糸竹…几案は、机のこと。糸竹は、楽器のこと。糸が弦楽器で、竹が管楽器。

兵器…この条文の兵器が何を指すのかは不明である。内裏に別置されていた貴重な大刀（くろづくりにかけはきのたち黒作懸佩刀など）が、ここでいう兵器の一部かとする説がある（『訳註』10、pp.666-667）。しかし、黒作懸佩刀などは聖武の死後、光明皇后によってるしやなぶつ盧舎那仏に献納されており、公的なものとは考えにく

い。

**解説**～男性官司との対応関係～

②の内侍司と③の蔵司は、長官・次官・判官の三等官制だったが、この項でとりあげる3つの官司は、二等官制。ほかに、膳司と縫司が三等官制で、その他は二等官制である。長官の准位が五位以上の官司、すなわち重要な官司は三等官制を採り、長官の准位が六位以下の小規模な官司は二等官制を採った（②の表参照）。禄令による准位は、尚書・尚薬は従六位、尚兵は正七位、典書・典薬・典兵は従八位。

書司の職掌は、男官の<sup>すしりょう</sup>図書寮の職掌の一部と対応する（職員令6 図書寮条）。このため、平安時代には、天皇が日常閲覧する内典・経籍の管理も男官に移行した（『訳註』10、p.660）。このような職掌の変化は、平安前期に実施された天皇の家政機関の再編と、男官も含む諸官司の統廃合という大きな流れの一環だと考えられる。

ただし、楽器の管理は書司独自のもので、平安時代に入ってから、書司の女官である典書が行っていた（『醍醐天皇御記』延喜8年〔908〕正月1日条）。八世紀半ばの一時期、尚書であった奈良女王が従五位下を帯びていたことが正倉院文書から確認できる（『編年』5、p.308）。当時の仏教重視の国家政策を反映し、書籍の中で仏典が重要視され、管掌する尚書も高い位を得たものとみることが可能であろう。

薬司については不明な点が多い。天皇の調薬は内薬司（男官）、診療は侍医（男官）の職掌であり（職員令11 内薬司条）、薬司の令制上の具体的な働きはわからない。平安時代には、内薬司が作った薬を預かるのが薬司の職掌だという解釈がされていた（『集解』「<sup>しやせつ</sup>朱説」）。また、平安期には、正月に天皇・皇后・皇太子に薬を献じる儀式である<sup>みくすりをくうするぎ</sup>供御薬儀が年中行事として実施されており、尚薬が伺候したが、平安中期には蔵人の差配に代わったという（丸山裕美子 1998、p.163）。

兵司も、不明の部分が多い官司である。唐の後宮官司の1つである<sup>しじょう</sup>司仗との対応関係も考えられる（勝浦令子 2000、p.134）。司仗は、儀式に用いる武器を掌る女官の官司である。朝廷の武器は、男官の<sup>ひょうご</sup>左右兵庫が管掌し（職員令 64 左兵庫条）、天皇の兵器は、同じく男官の<sup>うちのひょうご</sup>内兵庫が管掌した（職員令 65 内兵庫条）。平安時代の明法家がすでに、兵司（女官）が所管する兵器とは何かと疑問

を呈しており(『集解』『朱説』)、早い時期に実体が失われていたとみられる。ただ、九世紀には、大和国<sup>しきのしもぐん</sup>城下郡の外従五位下大和宿祢<sup>やまとのすくねつぐこ</sup>継子が典兵をつとめていた時期に親族の京<sup>きょう</sup>貫<sup>がん</sup>(本籍地を平安京に移すこと)を許可された(『日本三代実録』貞観5年〔863〕8月17日条)。外従五位下<sup>えのものとむらじな</sup>榎本連直子が尚兵に任じられた記事もある(同貞観18年〔876〕11月25日条)。外位は、男女を問わず、地方出身者や下級氏族の官人に与えられる位階である。尚兵・典兵は、九世紀には、外位に叙される下級氏族出身の女官が就任することが多かった官職といえるかもしれない。

## ⑤ 後宮職員令9 閤司条

### 本文

〔原文〕 閤司

尚閤一人。〈掌。宮閤管鑑。及出納之事。〉典閤四人。〈掌同尚閤。〉女孺十人。

〔訓読〕

閤<sup>いし/みかどのつかさ</sup> 司<sup>つかさどら</sup> 一人。〈掌<sup>きゆうこう</sup> らんこと、宮<sup>かんい</sup> 閤<sup>つ</sup>の管鑑<sup>すい</sup>のこと、及び出納<sup>しやうい</sup>の事。〉典<sup>てん</sup> 閤<sup>い</sup> 四人。〈掌<sup>らん</sup>こと尚閤<sup>じやう</sup>に同じ。〉女孺<sup>じよ</sup> 十人。

〔現代訳〕 閤司

尚閤(長官)の定員は1人。〈職掌は、宮・閤の鍵の管理と出納である。〉  
典閤(次官)は4人。〈職掌は尚閤と同じ。〉女孺10人を置く。

### 語釈

閤<sup>い</sup>……宮中の門。御門<sup>みかど</sup>。

宮閤<sup>きゆうもん</sup>…宮門<sup>きゆうもん</sup>と閤門。閤門は、宮城(大宝令編纂時には藤原宮、養老令編纂時には平城宮のこと)内の天皇に近接する門。宮門は、閤門の外側、宮城門との間にあった門。閤門・宮門・宮城門の位置は、図2「藤原宮の閤門、宮門、宮城門」(44ページ)を参照。

管鑑…管、鑑いずれも鍵。

出納…金品の出し入れのこと。ここでは、一般的な物の出し入れの場合と、鍵の出し入れの場合とが考えられるが、『令義解』は、鍵の出し入れを指すとする。

解説～天皇の居所空間を管理する官司～

闔司は、宮城の諸門のうち、天皇の居所に最も近い門の鍵を管理する職掌であるため、天皇の居所空間の管理者としての位置づけが想定される条文である。禄令による准位は、尚闔が正七位<sup>しょうしちい</sup>、典闔が従八位<sup>じゆはちい</sup>である。

唐令では後宮六局のうちの尚宮局<sup>しょうきゆう</sup>に宮門の鍵を管理する闔司<sup>いし</sup>があり、司闔<sup>し</sup>6人、典闔6人、掌闔6人、女史4人が置かれた。宦官の官司にも宮闔局があり、鍵の管理・出納などを行っていた。

日本では、閤門と宮門の鍵の出納は女官である闔司が担当した。ただし、閤門の警備と官人の出入りは男官である兵衛府<sup>ひょうえふ</sup>、宮門の警備と官人の出入りは、同じく男官の衛門府<sup>えもんふ</sup>が管理し、衛士府<sup>えしふ</sup>が補助した。このように、男女の職掌の連関と分担がみられる。②で記した通り、日本では、内侍司が天皇と男官諸司の間に位置し、男官である内記を直接監理して文書を起草させた。唐の場合は、後宮にいる皇帝の命は、女官から門司という宦官を経て男官に伝えられた（松本保宣 2008、p.73）。唐のように宦官を介在させず、女官と男官が直に接し、分担や共働をして職務を遂行するところに、日本の特色がある。

令に明記された闔司の職掌は鍵の出納だけである。しかし、平安時代に令の施行細則を集成した『延喜式』(905年編纂開始、967年施行)<sup>だいいぎしき</sup>や、『内裏儀式』(818年以前に成立)、『内裏式』(821年)などの儀式書には、元日節会や大嘗祭をはじめとする諸儀式の際に、天皇の居所である閤門内に官人が入るさいの天皇の許可を、闔司が取り次ぐ次第が記されている。たとえば元日の七曜曆<sup>しちようれき</sup>\*の奏上では、大舍人が門外で「みかどのつかさ」と呼びかけて用件と官人名を申し、それを闔司が天皇に奏し、天皇の勅答を官人に伝える。この一連の行為<sup>いしそう</sup>は闔司奏と呼ばれる、官人が天皇居所の門に入るための作法であった。これは、天皇の居所に入るには天皇の許可が必要だったことを示している。このような許可を女官である闔司が伝える役割を果たしたのは、律令制定前から天皇居所の閤門内が天皇と女官だけの空間だったからだという見解がある（吉川真司 1998a、p.106）。しかし、古代の宮廷における男女共同労働の指摘（文珠正子 1992、勝浦令子 2000）を踏まえて考えると、令制前の閤門内が天皇と女官だけの空間だったとする見解は、検討の余地があると思われる。

\*七曜曆とは、日・月・土・木・火・金・水の天体の1年毎日の位置を記した曆のこと。天皇が時間も支配するという思想により、毎年、元日に

天皇に奏上された。

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# Gender in the Japanese Administrative Code

## Part 2 : Laws on Officials in the Back Palace (1)

Ijûin Yôko

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### Introduction, by Ijûin Yôko

This article represents the second stage of our ongoing collaborative project to translate, annotate, and analyze sections of the Yôrô administrative code 養老令 that provide insights on gender structures, practices, and relations in early classical Japan. Responding to Professor Joan Piggott's long held desire to render relevant sections of the Yôrô code that concern gender into English for readers across the globe, as well as the plans of Yoshie Akiko and Ijûin Yôko to prepare a useful text to inform general readers in Japan, we began this joint project three years ago. Our first efforts, published in Spring 2013 (*Teikyô shigaku* 28, pp. 317-418; <http://appsv.main.teikyo-u.ac.jp/tosho/shigaku28-03.pdf>), was "Gender in the Japanese Administrative Code, Part 1: Laws on Residence Units." That publication included an annotated translation into both modern Japanese and English of the relevant sections of the Yôrô code Laws on Residence Units 戸令. As many readers will know, that chapter prescribes the organization of residence units (*ko* 戸), the hierarchy of the household group within residence units, the social order that included free-born (*ryômin* 良民) and bound people (*senmin* 賤民), and the responsibility of provincial governors (*kokushi* 国司) and district chieftains (*gunji* 郡司) to nurture social virtues in the society over which they ruled.

Here in Part 2 of the project, we turn to the Yôrô code chapter entitled "Laws on Officials in the Back Palace" (*Kôkyûshikiinryô* 後宮職員令), wherein every clause concerns matters relevant to gender at the eighth-century court. So in

contrast with our previous translation of selections from the Laws on Residence Units, here we will translate and analyze all of the chapter's eighteen clauses categorized in eleven groups. Publication will ensue in two segments. In this first segment, we include nine clauses in five groups. And in the near future, we will publish annotated translations and analysis of the remaining nine clauses.

We began our Yôrô gender and law translation project with these two chapters because, among the thirty chapters of the Yôrô administrative code compiled between 717 and 724 (but promulgated in 757), they contain the most fundamental evidence for gender structures and practices inscribed by codal lawmakers at the time. On the one hand, the Laws on Residence Units provide an outline of the structures of family, marriage, and labor organization. On the other hand, the Laws on Officials in the Back Palace outline roles and duties of female officials as they participated integrally in the administration of the classical polity. And as our project progresses, we will take these two chapters of administrative law as the core for our analyses of additional sections of Yôrô law. We will show, for instance, how the Laws on Rice Fields 田令 and the Laws on Taxes 賦役令 supplement insights on eighth-century society gained from the Laws on Residence Units, and how the Laws on Official Documentation 公式令 together with the Laws on the Evaluation of Officials 考課令 provide more information on the roles of female officials in the administrative and political systems of the court. Throughout, our purpose is to bring the fruits of recent research in the history of gender to readers in Japanese and English.<sup>1</sup>

The content of the eighteen Laws on Officials in the Back Palace can be abstracted in four thematic clusters: clauses concerning the monarch's wives (Clauses 1-3) and wet nurses (Clause 17); clauses concerning the duties and evaluation of officials in the twelve offices of the Back Palace (Clauses 4-15); the hierarchy of royal and noble women participating in court ceremonies (Clause 16); and rules concerning the promotion of female officials (Clause 18). Laws such as these were not new in the Yôrô code—we know that a similar chapter, the Kôkyûkan'inryô 後宮官員令, appeared in the earlier Taihō code 大室令, given citations from it in the *Koki* 古記 commentary on the Taihō code that are included

in the ninth-century compilation of commentaries, the *Ryônosshûge* 令集解.

In our previously published translations and analyses of the Yôrô Laws on Residence Units, we showed how thinking on those laws has advanced steadily, thereby enabling a wealth of new research on such matters as taxation, the actual family structure of early Nara times, and the developing patrilineal stem family (*ie* 家). Unfortunately for our work here, research concerning female officials in the Back Palace as members of the *ritsuryô* bureaucracy remains limited. And when female officials have been discussed by researchers, they have been viewed primarily as women who served the *tennô* in his or her private life. Through the 1970s, most researchers described the activities of these women only as background for the aristocratic politics in which male officials were seen to have played leading roles. Herein we aim to shine more light on their official functions.

Previous research concerning the twelve offices of the Back Palace includes studies by Nomura Tadao (1970, 1978) and Tsunoda Bun'ei (1973). Suda Haruko also described each of the twelve offices (1978, 1982). Meanwhile, Asai Torao's *General Explanation of Female Officials* (*Jokan tsûkai*), written in 1906, has been revised and republished (*Shintei jokan tsûkai*, Kôdansha Bunko, 1985). But since Asai relied on later medieval and early modern sources, compared with more recent research his work is not useful for the study of female officials in the eighth century.

In the 1980s and beyond, researchers attempting to reconstruct the roles of women in the Back Palace took the early Heian-period legal commentaries, the *Ryônogige* 令義解 and *Ryônosshûge*, and the early tenth-century compilation of protocols and regulations known as the *Engi shiki* 延喜式 as basic sources. Based on their conclusions, it has become clear that the Back Palace was not a place where men did not enter. Rather it was a place where male and female officials worked cooperatively together (Monju Masako, 1992; Katsuura Noriko 2000). In this vein, Haruna Hiroaki and Yoshikawa Shinji have considered the roles of women in the *ritsuryô* bureaucracy (Haruna 1997, Yoshikawa 1998a). Haruna made it clear that female officials were instrumental in transforming the monarch's orders into written law. And Yoshikawa argued that Clause 9 of the Laws on

Officials of the Back Palace, which specifically concerned the Office of Inner Gatekeepers 関司, provides significant clues as to how these officials and their duties predated the *ritsuryō* era of the late seventh century, and how the twelve offices of the Back Palace developed in the early classical polity.

As in our previous work on the Laws on Residence Units, all three members of the project team have been deeply involved in every aspect of this interpretation and analysis, but with some specialization. Ijūin Yōko has authored the Japanese text throughout, expanding on her previously published research (2013a). Joan Piggott has interpreted the texts—introduction, translation, annotation, and analysis—into English, adding additional perspectives and bibliography for English and non-specialist readers. Yoshie Akiko has compiled the Glossary.

Officials of the twelve offices of the Back Palace were all women, from the highest to the lowest rankers. In the vocabulary of the codes, they were *ku'nin* 宮人, courtiers, although an alternative term *nyokan* 女官 appeared in the later eighth century (Nomura Tadao and Hara Namiko 1977). Here we will use the latter term *nyokan* to denote female officials, and we will include references to ninth-century sources when the vocabulary for female officialdom was being routinized.

As the project has progressed and we have learned more about Yōrō codal law, occasionally we have become aware of the need to adjust earlier translations in the interest of clarity and consistency. In such cases we will highlight changes and explain our reasoning in the English notes.

## TRANSLATION AND ANALYSIS

### LAWS ON OFFICIALS IN THE BACK PALACE

#### Clauses 1, 2, and 3

#### On the Heavenly Sovereign's Wives

Clause 1 Second-level wives (*hi* 妃) — two [should be appointed, and they should

then be given] the fourth princely rank or higher.

Clause 2 Third-level wives (*bu'nin* 夫人) — three [should be appointed, and they should then be given] the third rank or higher.

Clause 3 Fourth-level wives (*hin* 嬪) — four [should be appointed, and they should then be given] the fifth rank or higher.

### Explanation of Terms

妃 *hi* a general title for the wives of the heavenly sovereign (*tennô* 天皇) is *kisaki*, written with this same character. But when it is used as it is here in the administrative code to denote the second-level wives of the *tennô*, the character is read *hi*. The *hi* were second in stature as royal wives only to the queen-consort (*kôgô* 皇后), and they were to be daughters or sisters of the monarch — that is, *naishinnô* 内親王, since according to *ritsuryô* law only such women were to be given the fourth princely rank (cf. *Kushikiryô* 公式令 Clause 54).

品 *hon* princely ranks bestowed on male and female progeny and siblings of the monarch. There were four grades, from the first down to the fourth (from *ippon* 一品 to *shihon* 四品, cf. *Kushikiryô* Clause 54). The *Koki* 古記 commentary on the Taihō code cited in the *Ryôonoshûge* 令集解, the ninth-century compilation of legal commentaries, advised that second-level wives of the monarch were to be given the fourth princely rank (*shihon*) or higher after appointment.

位 *i/kurai* \* a system of ranks given to officials. There were nine ranks for officials working in the capital (*nai'i* 内位), and those ranks extended downward from the first to the beginning (ninth) rank, with upper and lower steps for each rank, thus comprising a thirty-step system. There was also an outer rank (*ge'i* 外位) system of twenty steps for provincial officials and those from lower titled lineages (*shizoku* 氏族). Official ranks, inner and outer, were given to both men and women.

夫人 *bu'nin* a third-level consort of the monarch. According to the *Koki* commentary, female royals of the second generation or later as well as women from ministerial families could be appointed *bu'nin* and were then to be given the third rank or higher.

嬪 *hin* a fourth-level wife of the monarch, who, according to a citation from the *Koki* commentary, was to be given the fifth rank or higher after appointment.

\*In cases like this, we have used a slash to separate readings in Chinese (*onyomi*) from readings in Japanese (*kunyomi*). The first reading is the Chinese reading.

## Analysis

### Two Aspects of Royal Wives, as Officials and as Noble Women with Independent Households

These first three clauses of the Laws on Officials in the Back Palace concern the monarch's wives, collectively called *kisaki*. Significantly the queen-consort (*kôgô* 皇后) is not included here. That is because, unlike the *hi* 妃, *bu'nin* 夫人, and *hin* 嬪 discussed in these three clauses, the queen-consort was considered the monarch's full partner in ruling the realm, while the monarch's second-, third-, and fourth-level wives were considered officials. So prescriptions concerning them were included in the Laws on Officials in the Back Palace 後宮職員令 (*Yakuchû Nihon ritsuryô* Vol 10, *Kôkyûshikiinryô*, p. 602).

A full understanding of these three clauses requires familiarity with the concept of a royal "back palace" (*kôkyû* 後宮), as well as actual circumstances in the monarch's residential palace during the early eighth century when the Taihō 大寶 and Yōrō 養老 codes were compiled. First, the term "back palace" was used to refer both to the monarch's wives and to the space where they assembled. In China there was a very old principle that men should command the government while women were responsible for overseeing the household (as seen, for example, in Chinese canonical texts such as the *Chou Li* 周礼 and *Li chi* 礼記). Reflecting this ideal, the Back Palace was the household of the monarch and the place where his numerous wives resided (Kamata Shigeo 1949, p.75; Robert Joe Cutter and William Gordon Crowell 1999, 9-45; Burton Watson 1974, 247-78; Patricia Ebrey 1993, esp.1-44). Such thinking continued into China's Sui 隋 (581-618) and Tang 唐 (618-907) dynasties (Dorothy Ko, J. Habousch, & J. Piggott 2003, 1-26). In early



Tang times, the set number for official royal wives reached 120 (*Daitô rikuten* 大唐六典, in the note on the Neikuan 内官 clause). And in the Tang capital at Changan 長安, the monarch's many wives resided in a palace to the west of the monarch's royal residence.

While the three-level hierarchy of royal wives was already set in Japan's early eighth-century Taihō code 大宝令, recent research has shown that this hierarchy did not exist in the earlier Asuka Kiyōmihara code 飛鳥浄御原令 (Endō Midori 2011, pp. 7-16). Moreover, when the Taihō code was compiled in 701, there was not yet an actual back palace. At the time royal wives maintained their own households, known as *kisaki no miya*, where they resided outside the residential palace of their royal mate. That situation continued into the later eighth century. For instance, the queen-consort of Shōmu Tennō 聖武天皇 (r. 724-49), Fujiwara no Kōmyōshi 藤原光明子, had her own palace to the east of the Heijō palace 平城宮. Meanwhile Shōmu's other wives had their own residences outside the Heijō palace as well (Misaki Yūko 1997, pp. 15-21).

It was only in late Nara times, during the era of Kōnin Tennō 光仁天皇 (r. 770-81), that the queen-consort came to have her own residence within the residential palace, and it was only during the era of Kōnin's successor, Kammu Tennō 桓武天皇 (r. 781-806), that other royal wives also moved into the monarch's palace (Hashimoto Yoshinori 2011a, pp. 62-64; Joan Piggott 2008, pp. 73-75). Still later at the palace in the Heian capital 平安京, the twelve pavilions that came to make up the Back Palace were constructed behind the Jijūden 仁寿殿, where the monarch then resided. Those twelve pavilions were the residences of the wives of Heian monarchs. In the ninth century, the queen-consort herself lived in one of them, the Jōneiden 常寧殿 (Nishino Yukiko 1997, p. 157; Shōji Ayako 2004, pp. 48-49).<sup>2</sup>

The fact that in the eighth century royal wives maintained their own independent palaces had to do with the social organization of the nobility. For instance, the title *bu'nin* for a third-level royal wife had as its Japanese reading "*ōtoji*" (大刀自), which was used as a respectful title for a noble woman who managed her own household (*yake* 宅, cf. our Koryō translation 2013, p. 399). This

reflected the fact that when a noble woman became a royal wife, she kept her own household as her economic base and the place where her royal children were raised. Her own family members supported court government and participated fully therein (Yoshie Akiko 2011, pp. 115-17). This means that a royal wife had two aspects: she was both the wife of the monarch, a *kisaki*, and an *ôtoji*, a noble woman with her own household and economic base.

This explains why in an extant ninth-century document a royal wife held the title of *kisaki*, the name of the noble titled family whence she came, and the title of *ôtoji* (*Ruijû fusenshô* 類聚符宣抄, Kônin 弘仁 8 (817) 6/23—a royal order transmitted by the Middle Counselor, Chûnagon sen 中納言宣, p. 131).<sup>3</sup> So was a royal wife from the Fujiwara family 藤原氏 called “Hi Fujiwara no Ason no Ôtoji” 妃藤原朝臣大刀自. And a royal wife from the Tajihi family was called “Hi Tajihi no Mahito no Ôtoji” 妃多治比真人大刀自. A royal wife’s possession of both titles—*hi* and *ôtoji*—denoted two facets of her existence in early classical times (Yoshie Akiko 2011, p. 118; Yoshie 2005).

It is notable too that the status of a monarch’s wife did not change with the death of her royal husband. But that she could resign is seen in a record from the early ninth century, when two wives of Heizei Tennô 平城天皇 (r. 806-809) resigned after that monarch’s retirement from the throne (*Nihon kôki* 日本後紀, Kônin 弘仁 3 (812) 5/16, 5/26).

The salary of a female official was to be half that of a male official of the same rank (Rokuryô 禄令 Clause 10). Significantly, however, a monarch’s wife was not subject to this principle. Rather she was to be remunerated equally to male officials of her rank (Rokuryô Clause 12). In addition, royal wives from the level of *hin* upwards were to be provided with their own official households (*kaseikikan* 家政機関; cf. Kôkaryô 考課令 Clause 66), which were comprised of staff paid for by government resources. This generous treatment for royal wives gave them the wherewithal to raise their royal children (Endô Midori 2011, pp. 2-7).

The second-level wife of Daigo Tennô 醍醐天皇 (r. 897-930), Princess of the Blood Ishi (為子内親王), and the third-level wife of Saga Tennô 嵯峨天皇 (r.

809-23), Fujiwara no Onatsu 藤原緒夏, are the last *hi* and *bu'nin* named in the historical record. As for fourth-level royal wives, the only ones recorded are two wives of Monmu Tennô 文武天皇 (r. 697-707). But Endô Midori thinks that there were fourth-level royal wives appointed during the reigns of Shômu and Kammu (Endô Midori 2010, pp. 9-12). Meanwhile new categories of royal wives were also created. In Kammu Tennô's time, junior consorts (*nyôgo* 女御) were added; and during the reign of Saga Tennô, royal concubines (*kôï* 更衣) were appointed and gained the status of royal wives. This meant that the original four-level *ritsuryô* system of royal wives had ended.

#### Clause 4

##### The Office of Female Chamberlains (Naishishi/Naishinotsukasa 内侍司)

There shall be two directors (*shôji/naishinokami* 尚侍). Their responsibilities shall include daily service for the *tennô*, announcing memorials to the throne, and transmission of royal orders. The directors shall also oversee lower ranking female officials (*nyoju/menowarawa* 女孺); court attendance by female officials of the fifth rank and higher (*naimyôbu* 内命婦) as well as that by wives of male officials of the fifth rank or higher (*gemyôbu* 外命婦); and matters of palace etiquette.

There shall be four second-level managers (*tenji/naishinosuke* 典侍). Their responsibilities shall be the same as those of the directors, although they may not announce memorials or transmit royal orders except in the absence of the directors. In the case of such absence, they are permitted to do so.

There shall be four third-level managers (*shôji/naishinojô* 掌侍), and they shall share the same responsibilities as the second-level managers. However they may not announce memorials or transmit royal orders.

The lower ranking female officials (*nyoju/menowarawa* 女孺) shall number 100.

## Explanation of Terms

宮人 *ku'nin* the general term for female officials used in the early ninth-century commentary *Ryônogige* 令義解. However, as noted in the Introduction, the term *nyokan* 女官 was also utilized from the later eighth century onward.

尚・典・掌 *shô/kami, ten/suke, shô/jô* All of the twelve offices of the Back Palace used these same three characters to denote the three levels of their managerial staffs (*santôkan* 三等官). Directors 長官 were denoted by the character 尚, *shô/kami*; second-level managers 次官 were denoted by the character 典, *ten/suke*; and third-level managers 判官 were denoted by the character 掌, *shô/jô* (in these pairs, the first is a Chinese-style reading, *onyomi* 音読み; and the second is the Japanese reading, or *kunyomi* 訓読み). Typically these managerial titles were joined with the name of the office: for instance, for the Office of Female Chamberlains the directors had the title of *shôji* 尚侍 (alt. *naishinokami*), the second-level managers were *tenji* 典侍 (alt. *naishinosuke*), and the third-level managers were *shôji* 掌侍 (alt. *naishinojô*). Notably no fourth-level secretaries (*sakan* 主典) were appointed in Back Palace offices, in contrast with offices staffed by men, where four levels of management (*shitôkan* 四等官) that included secretaries were typical.

常侍 *jôji* performance of habitual services for the monarch.

奏請・宣伝 *sôsei, senden* *sôsei* denotes the announcing of the opinions or requests of officials to the throne by means of a memorial (*sô* 奏), a process also called *sôjô* 奏上, and requesting the monarch's response thereon (*sei* 請). *Senden* denotes the converse: the oral transmission of the monarch's views and orders to various units of government.

女孺 *nyoju/menowarawa* lower ranking female officials—that is, those who were not directors or second- and third-level managers. Their services were divided among the offices of the Back Palace.

檢校 *kengyô* oversight, supervision.

内外命婦 *naigemyôbu naimyôbu* 内命婦, *gemyôbu* 外命婦 while *naimyôbu*

denotes female courtiers of the fifth rank or higher, *gemyôbu* denotes the wives of male courtiers holding the fifth rank or higher. At the Tang 唐 court, where a wife's rank was determined by her husband's status, *naimyôbu* included the wives and concubines of the monarch and crown prince, while *gemyôbu* included princesses, the wives of princes, and mothers and wives of courtiers with the fifth rank or higher. In Japan, however, the status of a *naimyôbu* derived from her own rank and post, a situation very different from that in Tang China.

朝参 *chôsan* participation in ceremonies at court by the monarch's ministers and officials, male and female.

禁内礼式 *kinnai no raishiki* etiquette and protocols of the royal residential palace.

## Analysis

### The Role of Female Officials in Transforming the Monarch's Spoken Word into Administrative Orders

From Clause 4, concerning the Office of Female Chamberlains 内侍司, through Clause 15, concerning the Office of Seamstresses 縫司, we find regulations concerning the personnel that staffed the twelve offices of the Back Palace 後宮十二司. These rules include provisions for the numbers and responsibilities of the managerial staffs in each office, each of which was to be overseen by directors plus second- and third-level managers (see the chart on pp.32, entitled "Management in the Twelve Offices of the Back Palace"). These laws also included rules for the distribution of lower ranking female officials and attendants from provincial elite families (*uneme* 采女) that worked in these offices.

The subject of Clause 4 is the Office of Female Chamberlains, the premier supervisory office in the Back Palace. At the Tang 唐 court there had been a Ministry of Palace Attendants (Neishihsheng 内侍省) whose director held the title *neishih* 内侍, but he was a eunuch 宦官. In Japan, where the use of eunuchs never developed, officials in the Back Palace were all female.

Meanwhile the Laws on Posts and Ranks (*Kan'iryô* 官位令) prescribed

## Management in the Twelve Offices of the Back Palace

Office Name	Director	Second-level Managers	Third-level Managers	Lower Rankers
Office of Female Chamberlains Naishishi/Naishinotsukasa	shôji/naishinokami 2	tenji/naishinosuke 4	shôji/naishinojô 4	menowarawa 100
Office of the Treasury Zôshi/Kuranotsukasa	shôzô/kuranokami 1	tenzô/kuranosuke 2	shôzô/kuranojô 4	menowarawa 10
Office of the Library Shoshi/Fuminotsukasa	shôsho/fuminokami 1	tensho/fuminosuke 2		menowarawa 6
Office of Medicine Yakushi/Kusurinotsukasa	shôyaku/kusurinokami 1	tenyaku/kusurinosuke 2		menowarawa 4
Office of the Armory Hyôshi/Tsuwamononotsukasa	shôhyô/tsuwamononokami 1	tenhyô/tsuwamononosuke 2		menowarawa 6
Office of Inner Gatekeepers Ishi/Mikadonotsukasa	shôi/mikadonotsukasanokami 1	ten'i/mikadonotsukasanosuke 4		menowarawa 10
Office of Supplies Denshi/Tonomorinotsukasa	shôden/tonomorinokami 1	tenden/tonomorinosuke 2		menowarawa 6
Office of Purification Sôshi/Kanimorinotsukasa	shôsô/kanimorinokami 1	tensô /kanimorinosuke 2		menowarawa 10
Office of Drinking Water Suishi/Moitorinotsukasa	shôsui /moitorinokami 1	tensui/moitorinosuke 2		uneme 6
Office of the Royal Table Zenshi/Kashiwadenotsukasa	shôzen/kashiwadenokami 1	tenzen/kashiwadenosuke 2	shôzen/kashiwadenojô 4	uneme 60
Office of the Brewery Shushi/Sakenotsukasa	shôshu/sakenokami 1	tenshu/sakenosuke 2		
Office of Seamstresses Hôshi/ Nuidononotsukasa	shôho/nuidononokami 1	tenhô/nuidononosuke 2	shôhô/nuidononojô 4	menowarawa (extras)

Note: We have followed current modern practice in the Chinese readings (*onyomi*). We have followed the Japanese readings (*kunyomi*) used in the Inoue Mitsusada's *Ritsuryô*.

that an official's post accord with his rank, a concept known as *kan'i sôtôsei* 官位相当制. And given the regular system of evaluations prescribed by the codes, an official's rank could advance, leading to promotion. There were, however, no such provisions for female officials in the Back Palace. Nonetheless since remuneration for officials depended on rank, Clause 9 of the Laws on Official Emoluments (*Rokuryô* 禄令) prescribed that a director of the Office of Female Chamberlains was to receive remuneration (*roku* 禄) equivalent to that for a junior fifth ranker; the Office's second-level managers were to receive remuneration equivalent to junior sixth rankers; and third-level managers were to receive remuneration equivalent to that of junior seventh rankers.

The Office of Female Chamberlains was the largest of the twelve offices of the Back Palace. It employed a total of ten managers (*shikiji* 職事), including directors, second-level managers, and third-level managers, plus 100 lower ranking female officials who were officials without post (*sanji* 散事).

By law the sole purpose of female officials in the Back Palace was to serve the monarch, while another bureaucratic unit was to serve the queen-consort 皇后 (cf. *Shikiinryô* 職員令, Clause 4 on the *Chûgûshiki* 中宮職). Indeed as noted earlier, it was only around the turn of the ninth century when the queen-consort came to reside with the *tennô* inside the residential palace (Dairi 内裏), leading to the actual establishment of a Chinese-style back palace. From that point on, directors of the Office of Female Chamberlains served both the monarch and his queen-consort (Hashimoto Yoshinori 2011b, pp. 318-19).

While their most important duty was to serve closely by the monarch's side, officials in the Back Palace performed a variety of functions. Their responsibilities included announcing the views of male officials to the *tennô* and transmitting the ruler's views to others. It has long been suggested that the role of female officials as transmitters of royal orders would have been limited to less important matters. But as Haruna Hiroaki has pointed out, female directors of the Office of Female Chamberlains communicated directly with residential palace secretaries (*naiki* 内記), who were male bureaucrats responsible for writing up drafts of royal edicts (*shôchoku* 詔勅). Moreover these female directors actually oversaw the writing of

drafts by the residential palace secretaries, signifying direct involvement in the process of making the monarch's orders into law (Haruna 1997, pp. 258-67).

Although it is true that the *ritsuryô* system depended heavily upon written documents for administrative communication, there were many oral transmissions. For instance, according to Yoshikawa Shinji, female officials transmitted royal orders orally and directly to officials in the Office to Construct Tôdaiji (*ZôTôdaijishi* 造東大寺司), and male officials there wrote them down (Yoshikawa Shinji 1998b, pp. 195-98). In other words, the Office of Female Chamberlains played an important role in the oral transmission of royal orders as well as in their transformation from oral to written form (Ijûin Yôko 2013b, pp.1-16).

In this regard it is striking that none of the twelve offices of the Back Palace had fourth-level *sakan* 主典 on their staffs. As is well known, in other *ritsuryô* units staffed by male officials such officials with writing skills were always appointed. And in the Back Palace of Tang China there were also female writing specialists 女史, but their documents were limited to affairs in the Back Palace and did not concern government administration. It is not clear why the codes in Japan did not include such female writing specialists as members of the Back Palace staff. And yet there are three extant documents in the Shôsôin archives (*Shôsôin monjo* 正倉院文書) brushed by *naishi*, making it clear that there actually were women in the eighth-century Office of Female Chamberlains who wrote documents. An example can be seen in Illustration 1, a horizontal communiqué (*chô* 牒) brushed by an official of the Office in 737. Such a document was likely written by one of the female secretaries that held the extralegal posts (*ryôgenokan* 令外官) established during the Jinki 神龜 era (724-29). Thus we know that even in the early eighth century there were female officials whose roles went beyond oral transmission of royal orders and who contributed to the documentary tasks of *ritsuryô* administration in ways that codal lawmakers had not foreseen (Ijûin Yôko 2013b, pp. 1-16).

In its early days the Office of Female Chamberlains was not superior in status to the Office of the Treasury 藏司, the Office of the Royal Table 膳司, and the



Office of Seamstresses 縫司. But as the eighth century advanced, the equivalent rank and official remuneration of its managers increased. By 807 its directors held the equivalent of the junior third rank, second-level managers held the equivalent of the junior fourth rank, and third-level managers held the equivalent of the junior fifth rank (*Ruijû sandai kyaku* 類聚三代格, Vol 5, *Daijôkan kinsô* 太政官謹奏 大同 2 (807) 12/15, pp. 221-22). During the ninth century, however, the monarch's wives were frequently appointed as directors of the Office of Female Chamberlains. And by mid-Heian times the directors' posts came to be routinely occupied by a royal wife, meaning that these posts in the Back Palace had lost their original significance as positions of significant stature for female officials.

## Clause 5

### The Office of the Treasury (Zôshi/Kuranotsukasa 蔵司)

There shall be one director (*shôzô/kuranokami* 尚蔵). Her responsibilities include the regalia (*shinji* 神璽), barrier passes (*genkei* 関契), royal clothing (*kugo no ifuku* 供御の衣服), caps and combs (*konshichi* 巾櫛), board games (*fukugan* 服翫), various treasured items (*chinpô* 珍宝), stores of dyed and white silk (*saihaku* 綵帛), and materials for gifts (*shôshi* 賞賜).

There shall be two second-level managers (*tenzô/kuranosuke* 典蔵), whose responsibilities shall be the same as those of the director.

There shall be four third-level managers (*shôzô/kuranojô* 掌蔵), whose responsibilities shall be oversight of goods taken in and out [as well as the disposition of] dyed and white silk and gift materials.

There shall be ten lower ranking female officials (*nyôju /menowarawa* 女孺).

## Explanation of Terms

神璽 *shinji* the royal regalia, although which items were included is not clear. According to Clause 13 concerning the Enthronement Rite (*Senso* 踐祚) of a monarch in the Laws on Deities (Jingiryô 神祇令), the royal regalia included the mirror and the sword. But Clause 40 of the Laws on Official Documentation (Kushikiryô 公式令) notes only the royal seal (see *Ritsuryô*, Jingiryô, Hochû, p. 538; and research on the royal regalia in Mayuzumi Hiromichi 1982).

関契 *genkei* a wooden pass (*gen* 関, also called a *warifu* 割符 /*kei* 契) that authorized emergency passage through an official barrier (*seki* 関) by an official emissary. These wooden passes were broken in half, with one half to be kept in the Office of the Treasury 蔵司 and one-half to be kept at the provincial headquarters in each of the three great barrier provinces 三関国: Ise 伊勢, Mino 美濃, and Echizen 越前 (Kushikiryô 公式令 Clause 43). The barriers were located at Suzuka 鈴鹿 in Ise, Fuwa 不破 in Mino, and Arachi 愛発 in Echizen. An agent carrying the appropriate half could be identified at the barrier as a valid royal emissary. According to the Laws on Defense 軍防令, the movement of a troop of soldiers of more than twenty also required presentation of such a pass (Gunbôryô 軍防令 Clause 17; and *Ryônogige* 令義解). These passes were thus important signs of royal authority (Katsuura Noriko 1982).

供御衣服 *kugo no ifuku* 巾櫛 *konshichi* 服翫 *fukugan* the *tennô's* robes, headwear, and board games, respectively. For the latter, games such as *sugoroku* 双六 and *go* 碁 were included, according to commentaries in the *Ryônosshûge* 令集解. All were items for the personal use of the monarch.

珍宝 *chinpô* treasures it is known that the Bureau of the Royal Treasury (Kuraryô 内蔵寮) stored goods made of silver and gold as well as jewels and other treasures, but it is not clear whether the materials stored in the Office of the Treasury 蔵司 in the Back Palace were the same or not.

綵帛 *saihaku* dyed and white silk—while *sai* 綵 denotes dyed silk, *haku* 帛 denotes white silk.

賞賜 *shôshi* treasured goods to be used by the monarch as gifts and rewards

for subordinates.

出納 *suinô* the movement of goods in and out.

## Analysis

### Female Officials Who Managed the Monarch's Treasures

The Office of the Treasury was entrusted with the monarch's regalia as well as other symbols of royal authority including barrier passes (*genkei*). Such responsibilities reflected its importance. Moreover, according to the Laws on Official Emoluments (Rokuryô 禄令), the director (*shôzô/kuranokami*) of the Office of the Treasury was to receive remuneration equivalent to that of a senior third ranker; its second-level manager (*tenzô/kuranosuke*) was to receive remuneration equivalent to that of a junior fourth ranker; and its third-level manager (*shôzô/kuranojô*) was to receive remuneration equivalent to that of a junior seventh ranker. With her remuneration equivalent to a male official of the third rank, the director of the Office of the Treasury was the equal in stature to a senior counselor (*dainagon* 大納言) on the Council of State (Daijôkan 太政官), and that status made her the highest ranking female official at court.

It should be noted too that the Office of the Treasury had personnel and responsibilities similar to those of another bureaucratic unit that was staffed by male officials, the Kuraryô 内蔵寮 (Shikiinryô 職員令 Clause 7). Such parallel units staffed by female and male officials were not unusual in the *ritsuryô* bureaucratic system.

The record also shows that in the eighth century directors and second-level managers of the Office of the Treasury included women deeply trusted by monarchs. For instance there was Fujiwara no Ohira 藤原袁比良 (?-762), the wife of the powerful minister Fujiwara no Nakamaro 藤原仲麻呂(706-64)—Ohira actually held the senior third rank. She served contemporaneously as both director of the Office of the Treasury and director of the Office of Female Chamberlains. There was also Kibi no Yuri 吉備由利 (?-774), a relative of the well known royal tutor

and minister Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (695-775). She held the junior third rank and served as director of the Office of the Treasury.

In the mid-eighth century remuneration for the director of the Office of the Treasury in the form of prebendal residence units (*fuko* 封戸) and rank fields (*iden* 位田) increased, just as did remuneration for the director of the Office of Female Chamberlains (*Shoku nihongi* 続日本紀, Tenpyô Hôji 天平宝字 4 (760) 12/12). But in the early Heian Period, the Office of the Treasury was merged with the Office of Female Chamberlains (Naishishi/Naishinotsukasa 内侍司), thereby ending the independence of the Office of the Treasury.

## Clauses 6, 7, and 8

### On the Offices of the Library, Medicine, and the Armory

#### Clause 6 Office of the Library (Shoshi/Fuminotsukasa 書司)

In the Office of the Library there shall be one director (*shôsho/fuminokami* 尚書). Her responsibilities include oversight of the monarch's Buddhist sutras (*naiten* 内典), boxes of Chinese canonical texts (*keiseki* 經籍), paper (*kami* 紙), charcoal ink (*sumi* 墨) and brushes (*hitsu* 筆), as well as desks (*kian* 几案) and musical instruments that include stringed and bamboo instruments (*shichiku* 糸竹). There shall be two second-level managers (*tensho/fuminosuke* 典書) with responsibilities identical to those of the director. And there shall be six lower ranking female officials (*nyoju/menowarawa* 女孺).

#### Clause 7 Office of Medicine (Yakushi/Kusurinotsukasa 藥司)

In the Office of Medicine there shall be one director (*shôyaku/kusurinokami* 尚藥). Her responsibility is to oversee medical matters for the monarch. There shall be two second-level managers (*tenyaku/kusurinosuke* 典藥) with the same responsibilities as the director. And there shall be four lower ranking female officials (*nyoju/menowarawa*).

## Clause 8 Office of the Armory (Hyôshi/Tsuwamononotsukasa 兵司)

In the Office of the Armory there shall be one director (*shôhyô/tsuwamono no kami* 尚兵). Her responsibility is to oversee weapons. There shall be two second-level managers (*tenhyô/tsuwamononosuke* 典兵) with the same responsibilities as the director. And there shall be six lower ranking female officials (*nyoju/menowarawa*).

### Explanation of Terms

内典 *naiten* Buddhist texts

経籍 *keiseki* boxes of Chinese canonical texts

几案 *kian* 糸竹 *shichiku* *kian* is a desk or writing stand, and *shichiku* are stringed and bamboo musical instruments

兵器 *hyôki* weapons—it is unclear exactly what weapons are referred to here. Treasured swords such as the Kurozukuri Kakehakinotachi 黒作懸佩刀 (its name indicates a sword with a black lacquered sheath that hung from the hip) were kept in the residential palace (*Yakuchû*, Vol. 10, pp. 666-67). But after the monarch Shômu's 聖武 death in 756, many treasures including that sword were donated by Queen-consort Kômyô 光明皇后 to the Great Buddha of Tôdaiji 東大寺, so it is unlikely that it remained as official property under the oversight of the Back Palace Office of the Armory.

### Analysis

#### The Correspondence of Female and Male Officials as Evidenced by Offices of the Back Palace

Among the twelve offices of the Back Palace 後宮十二司, the most important offices had three levels of management (*santôkan* 三等官), including one or more

directors plus second-level managers and third-level managers. The larger offices were the Office of Female Chamberlains 内侍司, the Office of the Treasury 蔵司, the Office of the Royal Table 膳司, and the Office of Seamstresses 縫司 (see the chart entitled “Management in the Twelve Offices of the Back Palace”). However smaller offices like those described in Clauses 6, 7, and 8 had only two levels of managers—they were *nitôkan* 二等官, with only a director and second-level managers. Furthermore according to the Laws of Remuneration (*Rokuryô* 禄令) the status of the managers in these smaller offices was low: for instance, the directors of the Office of the Library and the Office of Medicine were to receive seasonal remuneration (*kiroku* 季禄) equivalent to that of a junior sixth ranker; the director of the Office of the Armory received remuneration equivalent to that of a senior seventh ranker; and second-level managers in these three offices all received remuneration equivalent to that of a junior eighth ranker. However there was notably a time in the middle of the eighth century when the director of the office of the Library was a princess with the junior fifth rank lower step (cf. *Dai Nihon komonjo Hennen Shiryô* vol 5, p. 308). At the time Buddhist texts cared for by the Office were of great importance, a fact that was confirmed by the high rank of the princess director.

In part the duties of the Office of the Library corresponded to those of the Bureau of the Library (*Zushoryô* 図書寮), which was staffed by male officials (*Shikiinryô* 職員令 Clause 6). In Heian times, as the organization of the residential palace was revised and the overall number of bureaucratic units staffed by male and female officials was reduced, oversight of texts used daily by the monarch—whether Buddhist or Chinese canonical texts—was transferred to the Bureau of the Library (*Yakuchû* Vol 10, p. 660). However one distinct responsibility of the Office of the Library was caring for royal musical instruments—the Bureau of the Library never shared this duty, and later records confirm that female officials of the Office of the Library continued looking after the royal musical instruments well into Heian times (*Daigo Tennô gyoki* 醍醐天皇御記, Engi 延喜 8 (908) 1/1).

As for the Office of Medicine, *ritsuryô* law itself provides few details. We

know that medicine for the monarch was provided by another unit, the Palace Medicine Office (Naiyakushi/ Uchinokusurinotsukasa 内薬司), which was staffed by male officials. And treatment for the monarch was managed by his own dedicated male physician, the *jii* 侍医 (Shikiinryô Clause 11). But according to a citation from the *Shu* commentary in the *Ryônosshûge*, medicine provided by the Palace Medicine Office was passed to and kept by the Office of Medicine. And during the annual court event (*nenchûgyôji* 年中行事) known as the Medicine-taking Rite (*Mikusuriwokûzurugi* 供御薬儀), the director of the Office of Medicine presided when medicine was dispensed to the monarch, the queen-consort, or the heir apparent at New Year's. By mid-Heian times, however, the Royal Secretariat (Kurôdodokoro 蔵人所), which was staffed by male courtiers, took over this duty (Maruyama Yumiko 1998, p. 163).

The Office of the Armory is another unit about which little is known. In some ways it is thought to have resembled an office in the back palace of Tang 唐 China known as the Shijô 司仗 (Katsuura Noriko 2000, p. 134). It was an office of female officials charged with guarding the weapons used by the monarch during ceremonial events. However actual defensive weapons of the court were in the keeping of the left and right armories 左右兵庫 (Shikiinryô Clause 64), and weapons for the monarch himself were kept in an armory in the residential palace, the Uchinohyôgo 内兵庫 (Shikiinryô Clause 65). Beyond that, details are scarce. According to the *Shu* commentary, even legal scholars in the Heian Period were uncertain about exactly which weapons were to be kept in the Office of the Armory—the unit may have disappeared early on. Nevertheless there are ninth-century records that mention its officials. For instance Yamato no Sukune Tsuguko 大和宿禰継子 from Shikinoshimo district 城下郡 in Yamato province 大和国 held the outer junior fifth rank lower step while serving as a second-level manager of the Office of the Armory. That is why she was given permission to change the site of her residence unit registration (本貫) to the Heian capital (*Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録, Jôgan 貞観 5 (863) 8/17). And another female official, Enomoto no Muraji Naoko 榎本連直子 with the outer junior fifth rank lower step was also appointed director of the Office of the Armory (*Nihon sandai*

*jitsuroku* Jōgan 19 (877) 11/25). Since outer ranks were given to either male or female officials from the provinces or from lower titled lineages, it seems that by the ninth century the women appointed director or second-level manager of the Office of the Armory came from less prestigious backgrounds.

## Clause 9

### The Office of Inner Gatekeepers (*Ishi/Mikadonotsukasa* 闈司)

There shall be one director (*shōi/mikadonotsukasanokami* 尚 闈). Responsibilities include taking charge of keys—checking them in and out—for interior and inner gates (*kyūkō* 宮閤).

There shall be four second-level managers (*ten'i/mikadonotsukasanosuke* 典 闈). Responsibilities are the same as those of the director.

There shall be ten lower ranking female officials (*nyoju/menowarawa* 女孺) appointed.

## Explanation of Terms

闈 (*i/mikado*) all the gates of the greater palace precincts, also called *mikado* 御門.

宮閤 *kyūkō* interior gates of the greater palace precincts (*Daidairi* 大内裏) known as *kōmon* and *kyūmon*. As seen in Illustration 2, based on what is known of the layout of the greater palace precincts at the Fujiwara 藤原 capital (694-710), the *kōmon* 閤門 were inner gates closest to the monarch's daily living space, one of which opened into the Throne Hall (Daigokuden 太極殿). The *kyūmon* 宮門 were located outside the *kōmon*, and one of them opened into the Garden of Ministries (Chōdōin 朝堂院). Beyond the *kōmon* and *kyūmon*, outer perimeter gates of the greater palace precincts were the twelve *kyūjōmon* 宮城門, one of



which was the main Suzaku Gate (Suzakumon 朱雀門).

管鑑 *kan'itsu* keys—*kan* 管 and *itsu* 鑑 both mean “key.”

出納 *suinô* while generally denoting revenue and expenditure payments in coin, here, according to the early Heian legal commentary *Ryônogige* 令義解 (833), it refers to the movement and use of gate keys.

## Analysis

### Female Officials Who Managed the Living Space of the Monarch

Female officials of the Office of the Inner Gatekeepers kept keys for interior gates of the greater palace precincts, including those for the *kômon*, which opened immediately into the monarch's residential space, and for the *kyûmon*, one of which gave entry to the Garden of Ministries (see Illustration 2, p.44).

In terms of status, according to the Laws on Official Emoluments (Rokuryô 禄令) the director of the Office of Inner Gatekeepers was to receive remuneration equivalent to that of a senior seventh ranker, while the four second-level managers were to receive remuneration equivalent to that of junior eighth rankers.

The Tang administrative code 唐令 provided for a gatekeepers' office, the *Ishi*, in the *Shôkyûkyoku* 尚宮局, one of the six bureaux of the Back Palace. It had six directors, six second-level managers, and six third-level managers—all female—as well as four female secretaries. There was also a bureau called the *Kyûikyoku* 宮闈局 that was staffed by eunuchs (*kangan* 宦官). Its officials presided over keys as well as whatever came in or went out through residential palace gates.

In Japan, however, female officials of the Office of Inner Gatekeepers took charge of gate keys while male officials of the Palace Guards Headquarters (*Hyôefu* 兵衛府) guarded the *kômon*, and the Gate Guards Headquarters (*Emonfu* 衛門府), aided by the Outer Palace Guards Headquarters (*Ejifu* 衛士府), oversaw the coming and going of officials and goods through the *kyûmon*. This arrangement

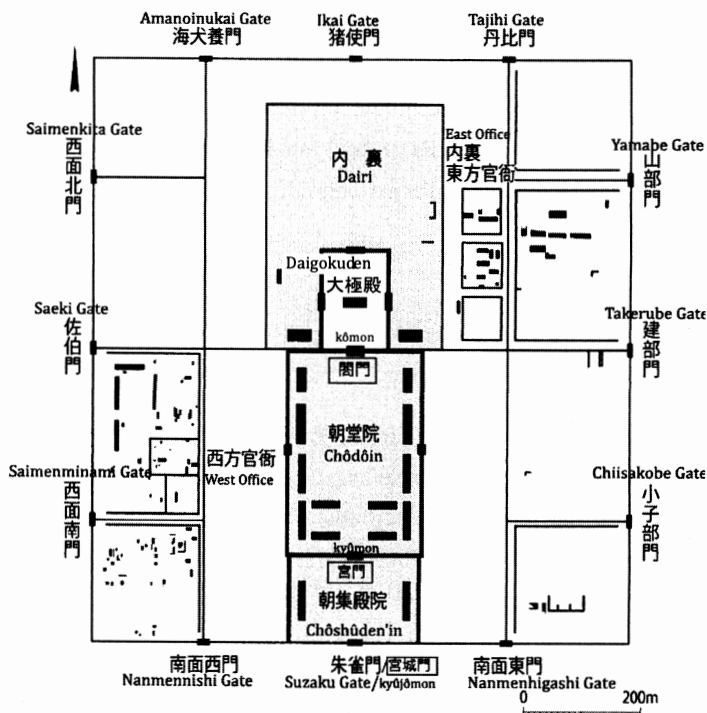


図 2 藤原宮の閤門、宮門、宮城門  
Illustration 2 : Gates of the Fujiwara Greater Palace Precincts

閤門、宮門、宮城門の位置関係を説明するために、便宜的に藤原宮の図を用いる。閤門、宮門、宮城門はそれぞれ複数あるが、読者の理解の便のために各一箇所を例示する。それ以上の詳細は不明である。内裏、大極殿、朝堂院、朝集殿院の語意は、本稿末尾掲載の glossary 参照のこと。内裏東方官衙は、内裏の東側に位置した役所の建物群。西方官衙は、朝堂院の西側にあった役所の建物群である。門の名称は諸説ある。(奈良文化財研究所『特別史跡 藤原宮跡』〔2011〕の「藤原宮建物配置復元図」を改変・加筆した)

It is not known how many inner gates (*kōmon*) and interior gates (*kyūmon*) existed. Here we show only one of each. At Fujiwara, there were 12 outer perimeter gates (*kyūjōmon*), with the Suzaku Gate at center front. There are various explanations for the naming of the gates. See the Glossary for specific translations of terminology.

Based on the drawing in Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo,  
*Tokubetsu shiseki: Fujiwarakūyōseki*, 2011, with emendations

demonstrates how responsibilities of female and male officials were coordinated in the Japanese administrative code. This reminds us of the situation discussed in the analysis of Clause 4, whereby officials of the Office of Female Chamberlains 内侍司 acted as liaisons between the monarch and male residential palace secretaries (*naiki* 内記) while personally overseeing a residential palace secretary's drafting of documents. In Tang China an order from the Son of Heaven 天子 made from the Back Palace moved through eunuch gatekeepers and was transmitted by the eunuchs to male officials (Matsumoto Yasunobu 2008, p. 73). In Japan, where the practice of utilizing eunuchs was not adopted, male and female officials dealt with each other directly in carrying out their duties.

Clause 9 indicates only that personnel in the Office of Inner Gatekeepers had charge of the keys for interior and inner gates in the palace precincts. We learn more from detailed Heian-period compilations and ritual handbooks such as the *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (compiled 905-67), the *Dairi gishiki* 内裏儀式 (compiled before 818), and the *Dairishiki* 内裏式 (compiled 821), which note specific duties of this Office. For instance, during events such as the New Year's Royal Banquet (*Ganjitsu Sechie* 元日節会) and the Accession Celebration (*Daijôsai* 大嘗祭), the monarch's permission for officials to enter an inner gate was received by the Inner Gatekeepers' Office. Also when the new calendar known as the *shichiyôreki* 七曜曆 was memorialized to His Majesty on the first day of every new year, a senior royal attendant (*ôtoneri* 大舍人) would call out for officials from the Inner Gatekeeper's Office from outside an inner gate, requesting admittance.<sup>4</sup> He would then announce his business and the names of officials seeking entrance. This information was memorialized to the *tennô* 天皇 by the gatekeepers, who also transmitted the monarch's permission for the visitors to enter. This process, known as the Inner Gatekeeper's Memorial (*Ishisô* 閤司奏), was required for those wishing to enter the inner residential palace.

In past it has been hypothesized that royal permission to enter the inner residential palace was communicated by the female officials of the Office of Inner Gatekeepers because there had been only female officials serving in the monarch's residential space prior to the *ritsuryô* era (Yoshikawa Shinji 1998a, p. 106).<sup>5</sup> But

given that male and female officials worked cooperatively in the *ritsuryō*-era palace of Nara times (Monju Masako 1992, Katsuura Noriko 2000), the supposition that only female officials staffed the pre-*ritsuryō* residential palace needs additional study.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>. Of particular interest is the new and accessible overview of *ritsuryōsei*—focusing on the structure and significance of the codes, and the chronology of the “*ritsuryō* process”—by Ōtsu Tōru. Entitled *Ritsuryōsei to wa nanika* (2013), while it does not concern itself with issues of gender, it is a very good introduction to the study of *ritsuryō* law and its society. And for translations and analyses of various chapters of the *Yōrō* code in English as well as useful bibliography, readers can consult the Ritsuryō Studies page of the University of Southern California Project for Premodern Japan Studies Website <<http://dornsife.usc.edu/ppjs/>>. For an English overview of the bureaucracy of the codes see Richard J. Miller, *Japan's First Bureaucracy* (1979). And for comparative perspectives on palace women and how study of them provides new insights on monarchical systems and their societies, see Anne Walthall ed. *Servants of the Dynasty* (2008).

<sup>2</sup>. We have used the readings provided by Fujioka Michio, Fukuyama Toshio, and Oboroya Hisashi in their various entries in the *Kokushi daijiten* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979-93): Jōneiden 常寧殿, Jōganden 貞觀殿, Reikeiden 麗景殿, Sen'yōden 宣耀殿, Kokiden 弘徽殿, Tōkaden 登花殿, Shōkōden 承香殿, Jōyōsha 昭陽舍, Nashitsubo 梨壺, Shigeisha 淑景舍, Kiritsubo 桐壺, Higiyōsha 飛香舍, Fujitsubo 藤壺, Gyōkasha 凝華舍, Umetsubo 梅壺, Shūhōsha 襲芳舍, Raimeinotsubo 雷鳴壺.

<sup>3</sup>. *Ruijū fusenshō* 類聚符宣抄 (Compendium of Royal Orders Categorized by Topic) was compiled in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It has been published in the *Shintei zōho kokushi taiki* series (vol. 27) of primary sources by Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

<sup>4</sup>. The *shichiyōreki* was a calendrical table showing the position of the sun, moon, and five planets (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn) for each day of the year. Therefore it can be called “a calendar of the seven luminaries 七曜曆.” A new version was presented to the *tennō*—the pillar linking heaven and earth and thus the one who presided over the movement of time—as a memorial on the first day of every year.

<sup>5</sup>. One of Yoshikawa's essays has been translated into English: see Yoshikawa Shinji, “Ladies-in-waiting in the Heian Period” (1999).

## Appendix

### Chapters of the Yôrô Administrative Code

官位令	Kan'iryô	Laws on Posts and Ranks	19 clauses
職員令	Shikiinryô	Laws on Appointments to Offices and Posts	80 clauses
後宮職員令	Kôkyûshikiinryô	Laws on Appointments in the Back Palace	18 clauses
東宮職員令	Togûshikiinryô	Laws on Appointments in the Household of the Crown Prince	11 clauses
家令職員令	Keryôshikiinryô	Laws on Appointments in Royal and Noble Households	8 clauses
神祇令	Jingiryô	Laws on Propitiation of the Deities of Heaven and Earth	20 clauses
僧尼令	Sôniryô	Laws on Oversight of Buddhist Monks and Nuns	27 clauses
戸令	Koryô	Laws on Residence Units	45 clauses
田令	Denryô	Laws on Rice Fields	37 clauses
賦役令	Fuekiryô	Laws on Taxes	39 clauses
学令	Gakuryô	Laws on Official Scholarship and the Royal University	22 clauses
選叙令	Senjoryô	Laws on Promotion	38 clauses
継嗣令	Keishiryô	Laws on Inheritance and Succession	4 clauses
考課令	Kôkaryô	Laws on the Evaluation of Officials	75 clauses
禄令	Rokuryô	Laws on Official Emoluments	15 clauses
宮衛令	Kueryô	Laws on Gatekeeping in the Residential Palace	28 clauses
軍防令	Gunbôryô	Laws on Defense	76 clauses
儀制令	Giseiryô	Laws on Ceremonial Protocols	26 clauses
衣服令	Ifukuryô	Laws on Dress	14 clauses
宮繕令	Eizenryô	Laws on Construction and Repairs	17 clauses
公式令	Kushikiryô	Laws on Official Documentation	89 clauses
倉庫令	Sôkoryô	Laws on Official Storehouses	16 clauses
厩牧令	Kumokuryô	Laws on Official Stables and Pastures	28 clauses
医疾令	Ishitsuryô	Laws on Medical Practices	26 clauses
仮寧令	Kenyôryô	Laws on Officials' Holidays and Leaves	13 clauses
喪葬令	Sôsôryô	Laws on Funerary Practices and Mourning	17 clauses
関市令	Genshiryô	Laws on Barriers, Markets, and Trade	20 clauses
捕亡令	Homôryô	Laws on Arrest and Flight	15 clauses
獄令	Gokuryô	Laws on Judging Crimes, Imprisonment, and Pardons	63 clauses
雑令	Zôryô	Laws on Miscellaneous Matters	41 clauses

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## Glossary

Japanese	Romanized reading	English meaning	Section site
飛鳥浄御原令 夫人 珍宝 長安	Asuka Kiyomihara ryô bu'nin chinpô Chôan	Asuka Kiyomihara code a third-level wife of the tennô treasures Changan, the capital of China in Han-Tang- times	BP 1-3 BP 1-3 BP 5 BP 1-3
朝堂院	Chôdôin	Garden of Ministries	BP 9 BP illust 2
長官 朝参 朝集殿院 朝廷 大仏 太政官 大嘗祭 大納言 大内裏	chôkan/kami chôsan Chôshûden'in chôtei Daibutsu Daijôkan Daijôsai dainagon Daidairi	directors of <i>ritsuryô</i> bureaucratic units attendance at the monarch's court Garden of Ministries entryway court of the monarch Great Buddha Council of State Accession Celebration senior counselor on the Council of State Greater Palace Precincts	BP 4 BP 4 BP illust2 BP intro BP 6-8 BP 5 BP 9 BP 5 BP 9 BP illust2
内裏	Dairi	Residential Palace of the monarch	BP 9 BP illust2
大極殿	Daigokuden	Throne Hall	BP 9 BP illust 2
男女共勞 男官 田令 衛士府 衛門府 賦役令 封戸 服翫 元日節会 外従五位下 外位 外命婦	danjokyôrô dankan Denryô Eijifu Emonfu Fuekiryo fuko fukugan Ganjitsu Sechie genojugoinoge gei gemyôbu	male and female officials working together male officials Laws on Rice Fields Outer Palace Guards Headquarters Gate Guards Headquarters Laws on Taxes prebendal residence units board games New Year's Royal Banquet outer junior fifth rank lower step outer rank system for provincial officials wives of male officials of the fifth rank or- higher	BP intro BP 4 BP intro BP 9 BP 9 BP intro BP 5 BP 5 BP 9 BP 6-8 BP 1-3 BP 4
関契 儀式書 郡	genkei gishikisho gun/kôri	barrier passes ritual handbooks district, a <i>ritsuryô</i> territorial unit within a- province	BP 5 BP 9 BP 6-8
軍防令 郡司 平安京 判官 平城宮	Gunbôryô gunji/kôrinotsukasa Heiankyô hangan/jô Heijôkyû	the Laws on Defense district chieftains Heian capital a third-level manager in a <i>ritsuryô</i> - bureaucratic unit Heijô palace complex	BP 5 BP intro BP 1-3 BP 4 BP 1-3

篇	hen	chapter	BP intro
妃	hi	a second-level wife of the tennô	BP 1-3
嬪	hin	a fourth-level wife of the tennô	BP 1-3
筆	hitsu	writing brush	BP 6-8
品	hon	princely rank	BP 1-3
本貫	hongan	residence-unit registration	BP 6-8
縫司	Hôshi/Nuinotsukasa	Office of Seamstresses	BP 4
兵衛府	Hyôefu	Palace Guards Headquarters	BP 9
兵司	Hyôshi/Tsuwamonono-tsukasa	Office of the Armory	BP 6-8
位	i/kurai	official rank	BP 1-3
位田	iden	rank fields	BP 5
家	ie	patrilineal stem family	BP intro
闌司奏	Ishisô	Inner Gatekeeper's Memorial	BP 9
闌司	Ishi/Mikadonotsukasa	Office of Inner Gatekeepers	BP 9
侍医	jii	monarch's dedicated physician	BP 6-8
次官	jikan/suke	second-level manager in a <i>ritsuryô</i> -bureaucratic unit	BP 4
神祇令	Jingiryô	Laws on Deities	BP 5
女王	joô	princess	BP 6-8
条	jô	clause	BP intro
常侍	jôji	daily service at the side of the monarch	BP 4
女史	joshi	female writing specialists	BP 4
從五位下	jugoinoge	junior fifth rank lower step	BP 6-8
階	kai	step	BP 1-3
下級氏族	kakyû shizoku	lower titled lineages	BP 1-3
宦官	kangan	eunuch	BP 4
官位令	Kan'iryô	Laws on Posts and Ranks	BP 4
官位相当制	kan'i sôtôsei	principle of posting in accord with rank	BP 4
管鑑	kan'itsu	key	BP 9
官司	kanshi	bureaucratic units	BP 6-8
家政機關	kaseikikan	official household apparatus, household-administrative staff	BP 1-3
經籍	keiseki	Chinese canonical texts	BP 6-8
檢校	kengyô	oversight, supervision	BP 4
几案	kian	writing stand, desk	BP 6-8
禁内礼式	kinnai no raishiki	residential palace etiquette	BP 4
季祿	kiroku	seasonal remuneration	BP 6-8
キサキ	kisaki	wives of the monarch	BP intro
起草	kisô	writing up drafts of documents	BP 1-3
貴族女性	kizoku josei	noble women	BP 4
戸	ko	residence unit	BP intro
古代国家	kodai kokka	the classical polity	BP intro
皇后	kôgô	queen-consort	BP intro
更衣	kôi	royal concubines	BP 1-3

考課令	Kôkaryô	Laws on the Evaluation of Officials	BP intro
古記	Koki	a commentary on the Taihō code cited in the ninth-century compendium <i>Ryôdoshûge</i>	BP intro
国	koku/kuni	province	BP 6-8
国司	kokushi	provincial governor	BP intro
後宮	Kôkyû	Back Palace	BP intro
後宮十二殿舎	Kôkyû jûnidensha	twelve pavilions of the Back Palace	BP 1-3
後宮十二司	Kôkyû jûnishi	twelve offices of the Back Palace	BP intro
後宮職員令	Kôkyûshikiinryô	Laws on Officials in the Back Palace	BP intro
後宮六局	Kôkyûrokukyoku	six bureaux of the (Tang) Back Palace	BP 9
巾櫛	konshichi	headwear	BP 5
戸令	Koryô	Laws on Residence Units	BP intro
皇子女	kôshijo	royal children	BP 1-3
皇太子	kôtaishi	crown prince	BP 4
供御衣服	kugo no ifuku	the tennô's robes	BP 5
宮人	ku'nin	female officials as courtiers	BP intro
	→also see nyokan		BP 4
訓読み	kunyomi	Japanese reading of characters	BP 4
内蔵寮	Kuraryô/Kuranotsukasa	Bureau of the Treasury	BP 5
蔵人所	Kurôdodokoro	Royal Secretariat	BP 6-8
黒作懸佩刀	Kurozukurikakehagi no-tachi	a treasured sword with a black lacquered-sheath that hung from the hip	BP 6-8
公式令	Kushikiryô	Laws on Official Documentation	BP intro
宮閣門	kyûkômon	interior gates of the greater palace precincts	BP 9
供御薬儀	Kugoyakugi/Mikusuriwo-kûzurugi	the Medicine-taking Rite	BP 6-8
宮	miya	palace	BP 1-3
内兵庫	Naihyôko	Residential Palace Armory	BP 6-8
内位	nai'i	ranks for officials working in the capital	BP 1-3
内記	naiki	Residential Palace secretary	BP 4
			BP 9
内命婦	naimyôbu	female officials of the fifth rank and higher	BP 4
内親王	naishinnô	daughters or sisters of the monarch	BP 1-3
内侍司	Naishishi/Naishinotsukasa	Office of Female Chamberlains	BP 4
内侍省	Naishishô	Ministry of Palace Attendants at the Tang-court	BP 4
内典	naiten	Buddhist texts	BP 6-8
内薬司	Naiyakushi/Uchinokusurinotsukasa	Palace Medicine Office	BP 6-8
年中行事	nenchûgyôji	annual event at court	BP 6-8
二世王	niseiô	a royal of the second generation	BP 1-3
女御	nyôgo	junior consort	BP 1-3
女孺	nyôju/menowarawa	lower ranking female officials	BP 4
女官	nyokan	female officials	BP intro
女官制	nyokansei	female officialdom, its structures and-practices	BP intro

乳母	nyûmo/uba	wetnurse	BP intro
音読み	onyomi	Chinese reading of characters	BP 4
大舍人	ôtoneri	senior royal attendant	BP 9
大刀自	ôtoji	a noble woman with her own household- and economic base	BP 1-3
王族女性	ôzoku josei	women of royal blood	BP intro
律令官司	ritsuryô kanshi	<i>ritsuryô</i> bureaucratic units	BP 4
律令国家	ritsuryô kokka	<i>ritsuryô</i> polity	BP intro
律令官僚制	ritsuryô kanryôsei	ritsuryô bureaucratic system	BP 5
禄	roku	remuneration, salary	BP 1-3
禄令	Rokuryô	Laws on Official Emoluments	BP 4
令	ryô	administrative code	BP intro
令外官	ryôgenokan	extralegal offices and posts	BP 4
良民	ryômin	free-born person	BP intro
綵帛	saihaku	dyed and white silk	BP 5
主典	sakan	fourth-level secretaries in <i>ritsuryô</i> units	BP 4
三関国	sangenkoku	the three barrier provinces	BP 5
散事	sanji	officials without post	BP 4
三等官	santôkan	management staff with three levels	BP 4
	→also see hangan		
左右兵庫	sayûhyôko	left and right armories	BP 6-8
関	seki	barrier	BP 5
宣伝	senden	transmission of royal orders	BP 4
賤民	senmin	bound person	BP intro
践祚	Senso	Rite of Enthronement	BP 5
糸竹	shichiku	stringed and bamboo musical instruments	BP 6-8
七曜曆	shichiyôreki	calendar of seven luminaries	BP 9
四品	shihon	the fourth princely rank	BP 1-3
職事	shikiji	managers of a <i>ritsuryô</i> unit	BP 4
神璽	shinji	royal regalia	BP 5
臣下	shinka	ministers and officials of the monarch	BP 4
四等官	shitôkan	management staff with four levels	BP 4
	→also see sakan		
氏族	shizoku	noble titled lineages	BP 1-3
詔勅	shôchoku	royal edicts	BP 4
尚闌	shôi/mikadonotsukasano- kami	director of the Office of Inner Gatekeepers	BP 9
小事	shôji	less important matters	BP 4
掌侍	shôji/naishinojô	third-level managers of the Office of- Female Chamberlains	BP 4
尚侍	shôji/naishinokami	directors of the Office of Female- Chamberlains	BP 4
賞賜	shôshi	materials to be used for gifts	BP 5
書司	Shoshi/Fuminotsukasa	Office of the Library	BP 6-8
尚書	shôsho/fuminokami	director of the Office of the Library	BP 6-8

正倉院文書	Shōsōin monjo	the Shōsōin archives	BP 4
尚藥	shōyaku/kusurinokami	director of the Office of Medicine	BP 6-8
掌藏	shōzō/kuranojō	third-level managers of the Office of the Treasury	BP 5
尚藏	shōzō/kuranokami	director of the Office of the Treasury	BP 5
朱記	<i>Shuki</i>	the <i>Shu</i> commentary in the ninth-century-legal compendium <i>Ryōnoshūge</i>	BP 6-8
初位	soi	the beginning (ninth) rank	BP 1-3
奏請	sōsei	announcing memorials to the throne	BP 4
出納	suinō	the movement of goods in and out (of the-residential palace)	BP 5
墨	sumi	charcoal ink	BP 6-8
尚兵	shōhyō/tsuwamononokami	director of the Office of the Armory	BP 6-8
大宝令	Taihōryō	Taihō administrative code	BP intro
典兵	tenhyō/tsuwamonono-suke	second-level managers of the Office of the Armory	BP 6-8
典闈	ten'i/mikadonotsukasano-suke	second-level managers of the Office of- Inner Gatekeepers	BP 9
典侍	tenji/naishinosuke	second-level managers of the Office of- Inner Gatekeepers	BP 4
天皇	tennō	the <i>ritsuryō</i> monarch, the heavenly-sovereign	BP 1-3
典書	tensho/fuminosuke	second-level managers of the Office of the- Library	BP 6-8
典藥	tenyaku/kusurinotsuke	second-level managers of the Office of- Medicine	BP 6-8
典藏	tenzō/kuranosuke	second-level managers of the Office of the- Treasury	BP 5
唐	Tō	China's Tang Dynasty	BP 1-3
唐令	Tōrei	Tang administrative codes	BP 9
氏	uji→see shizoku		
采女	uneme	female attendants from provincial elite-families	BP 4
宅	yake	household—also a cluster of buildings including a residence and storehouses that functioned as a unit of production and residence	BP 1-3
藥司	Yakushi/Kusurinotsukasa	Office of Medicine	BP 6-8
養老令	Yōrō ryō	Yōrō administrative code	BP intro
膳司	Zenshi/Kashiwadeno-tsukasa	Office of the Royal Table	BP 4
藏司	Zōshi/Kuranotsukasa	Office of the Treasury	BP 4
造東大寺司	ZōTōdaijishi	Office to Construct Tōdaiji	BP 4
隋	Zui	China's Sui Dynasty	BP 1-3
図書寮	Zushoryō	Bureau of the Library	BP 6-8

Note: Laws on Officials in the Back Palace (BP)