

Japan

Ranks, Offices, and Certain Incumbents

A. Ranks, Offices, and Titles of the Court

Through nearly the whole of classical times, from 700 onward, the formal or organizational character of the court remained largely the same. This much is clear from the four chief sources, of which a word must be said:

The Code of the Taihō Era (Taihō Ritsuryō 701)

The Code of the Yōrō Era (Yōrō Ritsuryō 718)

Regulations of the Engi Era (Engi Shiki 927)

Origins of Offices (Shokugenshō 1340)

Since there are no major differences for court organization between the Taihō and Yōrō codes, they will be taken as one and referred to as “Code”. The term *ritsuryō* combines the two features of this body of ancient regulations. The closest modern equivalents would probably be of laws for *ryō* and enforcements for *ritsu*. The Taihō Code has seven parts of *ritsu* and eleven of *ryō*. The Yōrō Code has ten of each. The Engi regulations were drawn up at the order of the very active sovereign, Daigo, and it is in fifty parts. The Origins of Offices amounts to first historical research into these matters, and it was executed by Kitabatake Chikafusa for GoMurakami. These sources show that the main outlines of the court remained unchanged. Since Japan was of course changing greatly over so long a period, the formal organization corresponded less and less to realities of power and to kinds of office not allowed for in the Code. The first section, A, of this part presents main features of court organization according to the Code, with some attention also to extra-Code matters. The remaining sections (B–F) deal with extra-Code matters and various incumbents of these anomalous offices. For the most part, the description in A can be taken as an idealized or simplified version of the early Heian court, or as a plan of court organization that was laid out in theory for government.

The titular head of the Code organization was of course the sovereign, whose will the Code merely pretended to set forth in rational fashion. Since, however, the sovereigns also gave, by their regnal era names, the basis for calculating years, their names and the characters for them have been given in Part Two. It will be observed that throughout this Companion, “sovereign” has been used to render *tennō*. It is not altogether satisfactory as an English term, but the frequently heard “emperor” and its variations are quite misleading. Except for a brief period in this century, there has never been a Japanese empire. “King” has the virtue of simplicity, but its Western associations are too many.

Everyone from the sovereign (*tennō*) down was effectively appointed to office, since

primogeniture was not fully followed by the court. Once appointed and accepted, the sovereign functioned as Shintô shaman, and therefore conductor of rites on behalf of his office and the state; he gave legitimacy to rule. But there were normally a large number of male offspring of the sovereign by various wives and concubines. Depending on the rank of the mother, influence, and so on, the son or daughter of a sovereign might be designated prince (*shinnô*) or princess (*naishinnô*). Otherwise the child might, like Hikaru Genji, be put out to the Minamoto family because of his mother's low rank. It was in such fashion that both the Taira and Minamoto family in their various branches claimed royal ancestry. Princes were designated by the suffixed title, *miya*. The inheritant or sovereign designate ("crown prince") was known as *haru no miya* or, commonly, *tôgu*, the former is more literary. Princesses were designated by appellations that indicated their femaleness, their succession as to order or birth, and *miya*. For example, *Onna san no miya* designated the third princess in order. For both princes and princesses there were grades or ranks (*hon*). For example, the top or first was *ippon no miya*. These were matters of selection or appointment, and there was no little intrigue, much of which centered on the women who lived with the sovereign.

Marriage customs were extraordinarily complex and varied over the centuries. This discussion more or less presumes a time when the court had real power, what might be termed an idealized version of the system in the Heian period. With such provisos, the sovereign's women aspired to be appointed consort, that is *kôgô* or *chûgû*. The consort of an abdicated sovereign was known as *kôtaigô* or *taikôtaigô*, depending on position and power behind them (the title was held by some who did not hold the title of consort earlier). *Kôtaigô* was usually thought of, however, as designating either a dowager consort or the mother of the reigning sovereign. During the Heian period, these women came from certain branches of the Fujiwara family, whose men manipulated the court and held power by becoming fathers-in-law and lineal grandfathers of sovereigns. The ingenious Fujiwara also invented two extra-Code offices of the utmost power (when held during the heyday of the institution). These were the positions of regent (*sesshō*) and chancellor (*kampaku*), which are dealt with in Section B below. Perhaps because of the infusion of so much Fujiwara blood, the sovereigns themselves had the wile to devise a system of abdicated and at least nominally cloistered sovereigns (*insei*), as described in Section C. By this means, sovereigns who wished to shed the onerous ceremonial duties of their position might relinquish nominal power to exercise some portion of real control of the government. Other motives such as the religious might also be involved. But in all these matters, a combination of circumstances and personalities governed the ways in which matters went. Murakami managed to reign twenty years or more, and Daigo his whole reign, without having a regent or chancellor appointed, so exercising power through his office as sovereign and by means of his chosen officials. Some other sovereigns were little more than puppets, even during the heyday of the court. However, through thick and thin, through moments of power centered here or there, ministers were appointed to offices that meant more or less, according to circumstances. At the peak of officials recognized by the Code were *dajōdaijin* (modern version *daijōdaijin*). In theory this prime among ministers was an exemplary individual. In practice men obtained the office as it became vacant and as they could enter it because of the realities of power. Under this officer were the three principal ministers, the Great Ministers of the Left, of the Right, and of the Center, in decreasing seniority. These lords could count on being appointed to the second rank. (In the

heyday of the court, the first rank was usually a fairly rare appointment, commonly being reserved for *dajōdaijin* or posthumous status.) Although extra-Code and extra-legal matters often proved more important than official appointments, men continued to seek the upper three ranks, because of the high revenues that went with them.

A lord or lady held only one rank at a time. A person (we are really considering men) could hold more than one office, but the salary was that of his rank. Office of course brought status, and with the usual Japanese taste for odd numbers, three offices were thought to sound especially nice. In the nature of the case, it is difficult to estimate other kinds of income, whether from family inheritance (which was chiefly matrilineal in early Japan and seems to have changed gradually during the Heian period) or from practices shading from gifts to downright corruption. The governors of provinces had a bad name for milking the districts they administered. The stewards for the nobility in their manors (*shōen*) also were reputed to cheat their masters. Because at some points the highest nobles returned part of their revenues to the sovereign, we must assume that the lucky ones at the top had their hands on the durables. Yet much of what a high nobleman received went, as it were, into circulation by private gifts (*roku*) to dependents. In her *Genji Monogatari*, Murasaki Shikibu speaks about this from time to time, and its implications are large. One thing on Genji's mind as he prepares to take orders in "Maboroshi" is the future of those dependent on him, and those who have been his chief officials at court. The part concludes with his ordering such a scale of gifts as shall never recur (have no second, *ninō*). In pragmatic terms, the system seems to have worked with whatever oppression of the poor.

A government requires more to operate than its ministers. The Code divided the nobility into eight ranks plus initial ranks. In practice, however, the sons of a Fujiwara Michinaga got off to a very fast start, whereas the non-Fujiwaras or lesser Fujiwaras languished in lower grades.

The eight ranks were further divided. First, second, and third each had two divisions, senior and junior. The other five ranks had four: upper senior and lower senior, upper junior and lower junior.

Since the first rank was bestowed so sparingly, in practice the second and third ranks were the ones sought after, because there was a gulf between the first three and the other five, as also another between the fourth and fifth and those below. These breaking points were recognized by non-Code terms, although they had some exceptions. The terms are:

<i>kugyō</i>	high nobility
<i>tenjōbito</i>	attendant nobility
<i>jige</i>	lesser nobility

The *kugyō* (or *kandachibe*, *kandachime*) group had far greater revenues than the others. Its members were defined partly by rank, partly by office. It included those of the first three ranks and others who sat on the Great Council of State. The chief category of others involved the consultants (*sangi*) were of the fourth rank (and extra-Code) and who might number as many as eight. Yet the whole *kugyō* group seems never to have exceeded thirty in Heian times and often was less as offices went unfilled or were held in multiple fashion. For a subject to enter this group was to reach the pinnacle.

Since they acted in the sovereign's name, the *kugyō* obviously attended him. The *tenjōbito*, the

next lower group, consisted of those nobles of the fourth and fifth ranks whom the sovereign specifically designated as attendants or courtiers. The term takes its name from the courtier's room or hall (that is, *tenjô no ma*. See Part Ten for its location in the palace.) Since one had to be specifically selected, the privilege of attendance was not conferred solely by rank. In some usages, *tenjôbito* includes the nobility of the first three ranks and the lesser attendant nobility. There were alternative names as well, such as *tôshô* and *unjôbito*. If we regard the *tenjôbito* as those separate from the first three ranks, they consisted, it seems, of most nobles of the fourth rank and some from the fifth. Like the *kugyô*, their numbers would be augmented by one group from a rank below (the sixth). These were the *kurôdo*, the sovereign's secretaries or chamberlains. (Significantly enough, these exceptional persons were also extra-Code.) The number of the *tenjôbito* varied according to numerous factors (such as the age or power of a sovereign), and is said to have ranged from two or three dozen upwards toward one hundred. It seems safe to say that it would be normal for a mature, alert sovereign to have the company of about one hundred of his nobles, *kugyô* and *tenjôbito*. He would be able to know them all. One other group of people must be included as possible attendants on the sovereign and the consort: the religious. Buddhist priests and nuns, Shintô priests, shrine women, and shamans might be summoned into the presence when a sovereign was ill or a consort was delivering a child. Murasaki Shikibu's diary has a well-known passage describing the tumult in the consort's quarters as she went through an extended labor. Besides the attendant ladies, there were the nobles showing their duty, and the religious in large numbers.

The *jige*, or lesser nobility, consisted of all those who held ranks from the fourth and lower and who were not *tenjôbito*. Since these were the people who executed the purposes of government, or were the bureaucracy at the capital and the governors of the provinces, there must have been hundreds of them. The Code allows for one thousand, but there is reason to suppose that there were not always so many and that these were the first offices to go unfilled as the court lost its strength (that is, when there were no revenues to be gained), and when the status of the grand-sounding titles was what held appeal.

Although power and wealth animate individuals in all societies, the court also had a compulsive concern with rank and status. The first page of the *Genji Monogatari* relates the reaction of the court ladies when the sovereign entered into an affair with a woman of low rank. Attendant daughters of ministers felt anger and contempt. Attendant daughters of the lesser nobility were even worse, as feeling the threat closer home. In the *Kagerô Nikki*, Fujiwara Michitsuna no Haha writhes over the fact that her husband, Kaneie, not only has grown cold toward her but has taken up with a woman greatly her inferior; the diarist later gloats over her inferior's troubles. In Izumi Shikibu's diary, the prince's consort returns to her home when he installs Izumi Shikibu in his palace. The affront consists not simply of the husband's infidelity but in the low rank of Izumi Shikibu – and no doubt her profligate reputation. Everywhere we find the concern for what people would think and say.

The divisiveness implied by such nervousness and by the system of ranks was eased by the very strength of personal relations that made the society into something other than one relating rank to simple talent. For example, the highest nobility seems to have felt a special obligation to provide for their wet nurses (*menoto*). It was also the case that juniors in the nobility attended on seniors, and whatever the distinctions in rank, saw their superiors plain. The happy endings of most

monogatari also suggest that dreams of becoming a high minister or his wife ran through the heads of the nobility.

For brief discussion of the offices of the early court, see Part Four, *kabane*.

Figures 9–1 and 9–2 offer Japanese versions of offices of court ranks in relation to various offices, beginning with the highest, descending to middle ranks, and then dealing with the lower court ranks. Subsequent tables will present the same information in English with various qualifications dealing with changes over time.

As Table 9–1 shows, the two Code bodies closest to the sovereign were the *Jingikan*, the Board of *Shintô*, which reflected the sovereign’s religious status, and the *Dajôkan*, the Grand Council of State. This council included the *kugyô*, as has been seen. Throughout it should be recalled that Left is senior to Right, which is senior to Center. Under the ministers of the Left and Right were Controlling Boards of Offices (*sabenkan*, *ubenkan*). In a line below the minister of the Center were the Counsellors. The *Dainagon* and *Chûnagon* – Major and Middle Counsellors – sat with him and other ministers on the Great Council. The *Shônagon*, or Lesser Counsellors, worked in an office or board (*shônagon no tsubone*), lesser than but more or less parallel to the Controller’s offices. The Code envisioned these offices to be the executive of the state. In short, ministers, counsellors, controllers, secretaries, recorders, and their immediate subordinates made up this group.

Table 9–1. Diagram of the Central Court Government

The figures in square brackets denote the stipulated number of such officials. The order of ranking of the Great Ministers (*Daijin*) was: 1. Prime Minister, 2. Great Minister of the Left, 3. Great Minister of the Right, 4. Great Minister of the Center.

Tennô (Sovereign)	
Jingikan (Department of Shintô)	Dajôkan (Great Council of State)
Dajôdaijin (Prime Minister) [1]	
Sadaijin (Great Minister of the Left) [1]	Udaijin (Great Minister of the Right) [1]
Naidaijin (Great Minister of the Center) [1]	
Dainagon (Major Counsellor) [4]	
Sabenkan (Controlling Board of the Left)	Ubenkan (Controlling Board of the Right)
Chûnagon (Middle Counsellor) [3]	
Sadaiben (Major Controller of the Left) [1]	Udaiben (Major Controller of the Right) [1]
Shônagon (Lesser Counsellor) [3]	
Sachûben (Middle Controller of the Left) [1]	Uchûben (Middle Controller of the Right) [1]
Sashôben (Minor Controller of the Left) [1]	Ushôben (Minor Controller of the Right) [1]

Daigeki (Senior Secretary) [2]

Shôgeki (Junior Secretary) [2]

Sadaishi (Senior Recorder of the Left) [2] Udaishi (Senior Recorder of the Right) [2]

Sashôshi (Junior Recorder of the Left) [2] Ushôshi (Junior Recorder of the Right) [2]

Sashijô (Scribe of the Left) [10] Ushijô (Scribe of the Right) [10]

Sakajô (Office Keeper of the Left) [2] Ukajô (Office Keeper of the Right) [2]

The Four Ministers (*Kyô*) (associated with the Left) of the Ministries of Central Affairs (*Nakatsukasashô*), of Ceremonial (*Shikibushô*), of Civil Administration (*Jibushô*), and of Popular Affairs (*Mimbushô*).

The Four Ministers (*Kyô*) (associated with the Right) of the Ministries of War (*Hyôbushô*), of Justice (*Kyôbushô*), of the Treasury (*Ôkurashô*), and of the Sovereign's Household (*Kunaishô*).

At the bottom of [Table 9-1](#) are named the four ministries associated with the Left and the four with the Right. [Table 9-2](#) sets forth these eight ministries in terms of changes over a period of time. Most originate with the Code, and most continue beyond to the Engi Shiki of 927 and the Shokugenshô of 1340. The tabular abbreviations for these are Code (= C), Engi (= E) and Offices (= O). Where there is a blank (= -) there is a change or an absence. If a line is followed by an entry, there is an addition.

From time to time more in the way of change was introduced in the setting up or disappearance of agencies directly responsible to the Great Council of State, *Dajôkan*. As [Table 9-3](#) shows, there was far more change in these lesser offices than in grander ones.

[Table 9-2. Diagram of the Eight Ministries](#)

[The four ministries \(*shô*\) under the Controlling Board of the Left \(*sabenkan*\)](#)

1. Nakatsukasashô (Ministry of Central Affairs)

- Chûgûshiki (Office of the Consort's Household) C, E, O
- Ôtoneriryô (Bureau of Royal Attendants) C, E, O
- Zushoryô (Bureau of Books and Drawings) C, E, O
- Kuraryô (Bureau of Palace Storehouses) C, E, O
- Nuidonoryô (Bureau of the Wardrobe and Court Ladies) C, E, O
- On'yôryô (Bureau of Divination) C, E, O
- Gakôshi (Painting Office) C, -, -
- Naiyakushi (Palace Medical Office) C, -, -
- Nairaishi (Palace Etiquette Office) C, Takumiryô (Bureau of Skilled Artisans), O

2. Shikibushô (Ministry of Ceremonial)

- Daigakuryô (Bureau of Education) C, -, -
- Toneriryô (Bureau of Scattered Ranks) C, E, O

3. Jibushô (Ministry of Civil Administration)

- Gagakuryô [or Utaryô] (Bureau of Music) C, E, O
- Gembariyô (Bureau of Buddhism and Aliens) C, E, O
- Shoryôshi (Mausolea Office) C, Shoryôryô (Bureau of Mausolea), O
- Sôgishi (Mourning and Burial Office) C, E, O

4. Mimbushô (Ministry of Popular Affairs)

- Shukeiryô [or Kazueryô] (Bureau of Statistics) C, E, O
- Shuzeiryô [or Chikararyô] (Bureau of Taxation) C, E, O

The four ministries (*shô*) under the Controlling Board of the Right (*ubenkan*)

5. Hyôbushô (Ministry of War)

- Heibashi (Military Horses Office) C, –, –
- Zôheishi (Weapons-Manufacturing Office) C, –, –
- Kusuishi [or Kosuishi] (Drums and Fifes Office) C, –, –
- Shusenshi (Ships Office) C, –, –
- Shuyôshi (Falcons Office) C, Hayato no Tsukasa (Hayato Office), O

6. Gyôbushô (Ministry of Justice)

- Zôshokushi (Fines, Smuggled Goods, and Lost Articles Office) C, –, –
- Shûgokushi (Prisons Office) C, E, O

7. Ôkurashô (Ministry of the Treasury)

- Imono no Tsukasa [or Tenchûshi] (Metal Work Office) C, –, –
- Kanimori no Tsukasa (Housekeeping Office) C, –, –
- Nuribe no Tsukasa (Lacquer Office) C, –, –
- Nuibe no Tsukasa (Wardrobe Office) C, –, –
- Oribe no Tsukasa (Weaving Office) C, E, O

8. Kunaishô (Ministry of the Sovereign's Household)

- Dainzeshiki (Office of the Palace Table) C, E, O
- Mokuryô (Bureau of Carpentry) C, E, O
- Ôiryô (Bureau of the Palace Kitchen) C, E, O
- Tonomoryô (Bureau of Palace Equipment and Upkeep) C, E, O
- Ten'yakuryô (Bureau of Medicine) C, E, O
- Kamonryô (Bureau of Housekeeping) –, E, O
- Ôkimi no Tsukasa (Royal Family Office) C, E, O
- Naizenshi (Royal Table Office) C, E, O
- Zôshushi [or Sake no Tsukasa] (Sake Office) C, E, O
- Kaji no Tsukasa (Blacksmiths Office) C, –, –
- Kannu no Tsukasa (Government Slaves Office) C, –, –
- Enchishi (Gardens and Ponds Office) C, –, –
- Dokôshi (Public Works Office) C, –, –

- Uneme no Tsukasa (Palace Women Office) C, E, O
- Shusuishi (Water Office) C, E, O
- Abura no Tsukasa (Oil Office) C, –, –
- Uchi no Kanimori no Tsukasa (Inner Housekeeping Office) C, –, –
- Hakosuemono no Tsukasa (Vessels Office) C, –, –
- Naizenshi (Palace Dyeing Office)

The appropriate Japanese versions of the relations between ranks and offices have been supplied in [Tables 9–1](#) and in [9–2](#), variations have been given under versions of the three heads: Code (= C), Engi (= E), and Offices (= O). Comparison of [Figures 9–1](#) and [9–2](#) with [Tables 9–1](#), [9–2](#), and [9–3](#) should make such matters clear apart from a few small differences between the idealized Japanese and the schematic English versions.

Each office had officials divided into four classes, the *shitôkan*. These were the Head (*kami*), the Assistant (*suke*), the Secretary (*jô*) and the clerk (*sakan*). For such titles, even with the same pronunciation, Chinese characters may differ from office to office.

Table 9–3. Lesser Court Offices

Danjôdai (Board of Censors) C, E, O

Kageyushi (Investigators of the Records of Outgoing Officials) –, E, O

Emonfu (Headquarters of the Gate Guards) C, –, O

Konoefu (Headquarters of the Inner Palace Guards) –, E, O

1. Sakon'efu (Left Division) –, E, O

2. Ukon'efu (Right Division) –, E, O

Ejifu (Headquarters of the Palace Guards) C, Emonfu (Headquarters of the Outer Palace Guards), O

1. Saejifu (Left Division) C, 1. Saemonfu (Left Division), O

2. Uejifu (Right Division) C, 2. Uemonfu (Right Division), O

Hyôefu (Headquarters of the Military Guards) C, Hyôefu (Headquarters of the Middle Palace Guards), O

1. Sahyôefu (Left Division) C, 1. Sahyôefu (Left Division), O

2. Uhyôefu (Right Division) C, 2. Uhyôefu (Right Division), O

Hayato no Tsukasa (Hayato Office) C, [placed under the Hyôbushô Ministry of War], O

Meryô (Bureau of Horses) C, E, O

1. Samaryô (Left Division) C, E, O

2. Umaryô (Right Division) C, E, O

Hyôgoryô (Bureau of Military Storehouses) C, E, O

1. Sahyôgoryô (Left Division) C, E, O

2. Uhyôgoryô (Right Division) C, E, –

Naihyôgoshi (Palace Military Storehouses Office) C, –, –

Kageyushi (Bureau of the High Priestess [of the Great Ise Shrine]) –, E, Ise Saigûryô (Bureau of the High Priestess of the Great Ise Shrine)

Saiinshi (Office of the High Priestess [of the Kamo no Jinja]) –, E, Kamo no Saiinshi (Office of the High Priestess of the Kamo no Jinja)
 Shurikyûjôshi (Office of Palace Repairs) –, –, O
 Jusenshi (Mint Office) –, –, O
 Seyakuinshi (Royal Charity Hospital) –, –, O
 Junnain [a detached palace that was made into a Buddhist temple] –, –, O
 Shôgakuin (Private School of the Ariwara Family) –, –, O
 Gakkanin (Private School of the Tachibana Family) –, –, O
 Naijudokoro (Royal Pages Office) –, –, O
 Naikyôbô (Female Dancers and Musicians Office) –, –, O
 Mizushidokoro (The Sovereign's Dining Room) –, –, O
 Ôtadokoro (Bureau or Office of Traditional Songs) –, –, O
 Kirokujo (Records Office) –, –, O
 Gakusho (Royal Court Music Hall) –, –, O
 Shurikyûjôshi (Officials in Charge of Repairing the Outer Palace Walls) –, –, O
 Zôjishi (Officials in Charge of Building Temples) –, –, O
 Bôkashi (Officials in Charge of Controlling the Kamogawa) –, –, O

The Tôgûbô (Crown Prince's Quarters)

Shajinkan (Division in Charge of Guards) C, –, –
 Shuzenkan (Division in Charge of Food) C, E, O
 Shuzôkan (Division in Charge of Valuables) C, –, –
 Shudensho (Division in Charge of Palace Equipment and Upkeep) C, E, O
 Shushosho (Division in Charge of Books and Writing Materials) C, –, –
 Shushôsho (Division in Charge of Gruel and Drinking Water) C, –, –
 Shukôsho (Division in Charge of Carpentry and Metal Work) C, –, –
 Shuheisho (Division in Charge of Military and Ceremonial Weapons) C, –, –
 Shumesho (Division in Charge of Horses and Riding Equipment) C, –, O

The Kôkyû (Women's Quarters of the Imperial Palace)

Naishi no Tsukasa (Palace Attendants Office) C, –, –
 Kura no Tsukasa [or Zôshi] (Treasury Office) C, –, –
 Fumi no Tsukasa [or Shoshi] (Books and Writing Materials Office) C, –, –
 Kusuri no Tsukasa [or Yakushi] (Medical Office) C, –, –
 Tsumamono no Tsukasa [or Heishi] (Military Equipment Office) C, –, –
 Kagi no Tsukasa [or Ishi] (Keys Office) C, –, –
 Tonomo no Tsukasa [or Denshi] (Palace Equipment and Upkeep Office) C, –, –

For reasons given, there is not always a way of making ranks correspond with offices, but the general outlines can be shown. Table 9–6 sets forth the relation of ranks of the fifth and up to offices in the Great Council of State, the Department of Shintô, the Quarters of the Prince

Inherent, and of one ministry, that for Central Affairs. (Table 9–7 will present the other seven ministries. The tabular abbreviations are Ranks, Council, Shintô, Prince, and Central.) The next table will set forth the same information, again for the fifth rank and up, for the seven other ministries and for four other kinds of offices: the Board of Censors (*danjôdai*); the Headquarters of the Inner Palace Guards (*konoefu*); the Headquarters of the Outer Palace Guards (*emonfu*) and of the Middle Palace Guards (*hyôefu*); and the government headquarters in what is now Kyûshû (Dazaifu). The tabular abbreviations are Ranks, Ministers, Censors, Inner Guards, Out-Mid Guards, and Dazai.

Table 9–4. Court Ranks (Kurai)

Japanese

English

Ranks of Shinnô

Ranks of Princes

1. Ippon
2. Nihon
3. Sambon
4. Shihon

1. First Order
2. Second Order
3. Third Order
4. Fourth Order

Ranks of Ô and Officials

Ranks of Princes and Officials

1. Shôichii
2. Juichii
3. Shônii
4. Junii
5. Shôsammii
6. Jusammii
7. Shôshijô
8. Shôshiige
9. Jushijô
10. Jushiige
11. Shôgoijô
12. Shôgoige
13. Jugojô
14. Jugoige

1. Senior First Rank
2. Junior First Rank
3. Senior Second Rank
4. Junior Second Rank
5. Senior Third Rank
6. Junior Third Rank
7. Senior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade
8. Senior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade
9. Junior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade
10. Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade
11. Senior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade
12. Senior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade
13. Junior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade
14. Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade

Ranks of Officials Only

15. Shôrokujô
16. Shôrokuige
17. Jurokujô

15. Senior Sixth Rank, Upper Grade
16. Senior Sixth Rank, Lower Grade
17. Junior Sixth Rank, Upper Grade

18. Jurokuige	18. Junior Sixth Rank, Lower Grade
19. Shôshichijô	19. Senior Seventh Rank, Upper Grade
20. Shôshichiige	20. Senior Seventh Rank, Lower Grade
21. Jushichijô	21. Junior Seventh Rank, Upper Grade
22. Jushichiige	22. Junior Seventh Rank, Lower Grade
23. Shôhachijô	23. Senior Eighth Rank, Upper Grade
24. Shôhachiige	24. Senior Eighth Rank, Lower Grade
25. Juhachijô	25. Junior Eighth Rank, Upper Grade
26. Juhachiige	26. Junior Eighth Rank, Lower Grade
27. Daishojô	27. Greater Initial Rank, Upper Grade
28. Daishoige	28. Greater Initial Rank, Lower Grade
29. Shôshojô	29. Lesser Initial Rank, Upper Grade
30. Shôshoige	30. Lesser Initial Rank, Lower Grade

There were some other offices suitable for lords of the fifth rank and above. It will be observed that a governor of a province and a *shôgun* were rated in the fifth rank. The governor's grade presumably related to the importance of his province. The low grade of the *shôgun* bespeaks a court outlook. Matters were to change when the military took over. But long before that time, the court itself had devised extra-Code offices that are the subjects of Sections B and C below.

Table 9-5. The Four Classes of Officials

Office, Head, Assistant, Secretary, Clerk

Jingikan (Department of Shintô), Haku (Head), Tayû (Senior Assistant Head), Shô (Junior Assistant Head), Daijô (Senior Secretary), Shôjô (Junior Secretary), Taishi (Senior Clerk), Shôshi (Junior Clerk)

Dajôkan (Great Council of State), Dajôdaijin (Prime Minister), Dainagon (Major Counsellor), Shônagon (Minor Counsellor), Sadaishi (Senior Recorder of the Left)

Dajôkan (Great Council of State), Sadaijin (Great Minister of the Left), Chûnagon (Middle Counsellor), Sadaiben (Major Controller of the Left), Udaishi (Senior Recorder of the Right)

Dajôkan (Great Council of State), Udaijin (Great Minister of the Right), Udaiben (Major Controller of the Right), Sachûben (Middle Controller of the Left), Uchûben (Middle Controller of the Right), Sashôben (Minor Controller of the Left), Ushôben (Minor Controller of the Right), Daigeki (Senior Secretary), Shôgeki (Junior Secretary)

Dajôkan (Great Council of State), [Naidaijin (Great Minister of the Center) worked on the Dajôkan but headed no ministry]

Shô (ministries), Kyô (Minister), Tayû (Senior Assistant Minister), Shôyû [or Shô] (Junior

Assistant Minister), Daijô (Senior Secretary), Shôjô (Junior Secretary), Daisakan (Senior Recorder), Shôsakan (Junior Recorder)

Shiki (important offices) and bô (quarters), Daibu (Master), Suke (Assistant Master), Taishin (Senior Secretary), Shôshin (Junior Secretary), Daisakan (Senior Clerk), Shôsakan (Junior Clerk)

Ryô (bureaus), Kami (Director), Suke (Assistant Director), Daijô (Senior Secretary), Shôjô (Junior Secretary), Daisakan (Senior Clerk), Shôsakan (Junior Clerk)

Shi (lesser offices) and kan or sho (divisions), Kami (Buzen of the Naizenshi [Sovereign's Table Office]) (Chief), [none], Jo (Tenzen of the Naizenshi [Sovereign's Table Office]) (Secretary), Reishi (Clerk) (Taireishi) [Senior Clerk] and Shôreishi [Junior Clerk] of the Ôkimi no Tsukasa [Sovereign's Family Office] and the Shûgokushi [Prisons Office]

Danjôdai (Board of Censors), Kami (President), Daihitsu (Senior Assistant President), Shôhitsu (Junior Assistant President), Daichû (Senior Secretary), Shôchû (Junior Secretary), Daisakan (Senior Clerk), Shôsakan (Junior Clerk)

Konoefu (Headquarters of the Inner Palace Guards), Taishô (Major Captain), Chûjô (Middle Captain), Shôshô (Minor Captain), Shôgen (Lieutenant), Shôsô (Assistant Lieutenant)

Emonfu (Headquarters of the Outer Palace Guards) and the Hyôefu (Headquarters of the Middle Palace Guards), Kami (Captain), Suke (Assistant Captain), Daijô (Senior Lieutenant), Shôjô (Junior Lieutenant), Daisakan (Senior Assistant Lieutenant), Shôsakan (Junior Assistant Lieutenant)

Chinjufu (Pacifying-Ezo Headquarters), Shôgun (General), Fukushôgun (Vice-General), Gungen (Divisional Commander), Gunsô (Regimental Commander)

Dzaifu (Government Headquarters in Kyûshû), Sotsu [or Sochi] (Governor-General), Daini (Senior Assistant Governor-General), Shôni (Junior Assistant Governor-General), Taigen (Senior Secretary), Shôgen (Junior Secretary), Daisakan (Senior Clerk), Shôsakan (Junior Clerk)

Kokushi (Provincial Officials), Kami (Governor), Suke (Assistant Governor), Jô (Secretary) (Daijô [Senior Secretary] and Shôjô [Junior Secretary]) in great provinces [taikoku], Sakan (Clerk) (Daisakan [Senior Clerk] and Shôsakan [Junior Clerk] in great provinces [taikoku])

Gunji (District Officials), Tairyô (Senior Officer), Shôryô (Junior Officer), Shusei (Secretary), Shuchô (Clerk)

Table 9–6. Ranks and Offices (Council and Other)

I Ranks, II Council, III Shintô, IV Prince, V Central

I Shôichii (Senior First Rank) or Juichii (Junior First Rank), II Dajôdaijin (Prime Minister), III –, IV –, V –
I Shônii (Senior Second Rank) or Junii (Junior Second Rank), II Sadaijin (Great Minister of the Left), Udaijin (Great Minister of the Right), Naidaijin (Great Minister of the Center), III –, IV –, V –
I Shôsammi (Senior Third Rank), II Dainagon (Major Counsellor), III –, IV –, V –
I Jusammi (Junior Third Rank), II Chûnagon (Middle Counsellor), III –, IV –, V –
I Shôshijô (Senior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade), II –, III –, IV Fu (Head Tutor), V Kyô (Minister)
I Shôshiige (Senior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade), II Sangi (Royal Adviser), III –, IV –, V –
I Jushijô (Junior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade), II Sadaiben (Major Controller of the Left), Udaiben (Major Controller of the Right), III –, IV –, V –
I Jushiige (Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade), II –, III Haku (Head), IV Daibu (Master), V –
I Shôgoijô (Senior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade), II Sachûben (Middle Controller of the Left), Uchûben (Middle Controller of the Right), III –, IV –, V Tayû (Senior Assistant Minister)
I Shôgoige (Senior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade), II Sashôben (Minor Controller of the Left), Ushôben (Minor Controller of the Right), III –, IV –, V –
I Jugoijô (Junior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade), II –, III –, IV –, V Shôyû [or Shô] (Junior Assistant Minister)
I Jugoige (Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade), II Shônagon (Minor Counsellor), III Tayû (Senior Assistant Head), IV Suke (Assistant Master), Gakushi (Teacher of Classics), V Daikemmotsu (Senior Inspector), Jijû (Chamberlain)

Table 9–7. Ranks and Offices (Ministries, etc.)

I Ranks, II Ministers, III Censors, IV Inner Guards, V Out-Mid Guards, VI Dazai

I Jusammi (Junior Third Rank), II –, III Kami (President), IV Taishô (Major Captain), V –, VI Sotsu [or Sochi] (Governor-General)
I Shôshijô (Senior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade), II –, III –, IV –, V –, VI –
I Shôshiige (Senior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade), II Kyô (Minister), III –, IV –, V –, VI –
I Jushijô (Junior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade), II –, III –, IV –, V –, VI –
I Jushiige (Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade), II –, III Daihitsu (Senior Assistant President), IV Chûjô (Middle Captain), V Kami (Captain), VI Daini (Senior Assistant Governor-General)
I Shôgoijo (Senior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade), II –, III –, IV –, V –, VI Shôni (Junior Assistant Governor-General)
I Shôgoige (Senior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade), II Tayû (Senior Assistant Minister), Daihanji (Major Judge), III Shôhitsu (Junior Assistant President), IV Shôshô (Minor Captain), V –, VI –
I Jugoijô (Junior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade), II –, III –, IV –, V Suke (Assistant Captain), VI –

I Jugoige (Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade), II Shôyû [or Shô] (Junior Assistant Minister), III –, IV –, V –, VI –

Table 9–8. Ranks and Offices (Lower)

I Ranks,

II Chûgûshiki (Office of the Consort's Household); Daizenshiki (Office of the Palace Table);

Kyôshiki (Office of the Capital); Shurishiki (Office of Palace Repairs)

III Kageyushi (Investigators of the Records of Outgoing Officials); Kageyushi Azechifu

(Headquarters of the Royal Investigators); Kageyushi Chinjufu (Pacifying-Ezo Headquarters)

IV Provincial Officials (Kokushi) of taikoku (great provinces); Provincial Officials (Kokushi) of

jôkoku (superior provinces); Provincial Officials (Kokushi) of chûkoku (medium provinces);

Provincial Officials (Kokushi) of gekoku (inferior provinces)

I Jushiige (Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade), II Daibu (Master), III Kami (Head Investigator)

Azechi (Investigator), IV –

I Shôgoijô (Senior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade), II Daibu (Master) [of the Daizenshiki], III –, IV –

I Shôgoige (Senior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade), II –, III –, IV –

I Jugoijô (Junior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade), II –, III Shôgun (General), IV Kami (Governor)

I Jugoige (Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade), II Suke (Assistant Master), III Suke (Assistant Head Investigator), IV Kami (Governor)

B. Regents and Chancellors

During the Heian period, members of the higher nobility found titles that gave some indication of their actual power or status, while the sovereigns reigned. This gave a certain *de jure* status, or at least names, to what was the exercise of power even earlier. The two important titles are those of regent (*sesshō*) and chancellor (*kampaku*). The actual power held by men with such titles varied greatly and in general, but not without fluctuations, decreased in time. The first *sesshō* held the title from 858 to 872; the last in 1867, at the very eve of the modern period. The first *kampaku* held the title from 880 to 890; the last from 1863 to 1867 (see [Table 9–9](#)).

In theory at least, the regents tutored, advised, and administered for a given sovereign before he reached an age to rule. In practice the title was devised as a means to control a sovereign and extend family power. A favorite device of Heian times was for a regent to marry a daughter to a young sovereign, thereby creating for himself a position of seniority and status as father-in-law to a sovereign, with hopes of becoming lineal grandfather to the next sovereign, with the greater authority that that relationship held. As time wore on, other appointments (see Sections D and E, below) eroded a regent's power, but the title continued to have considerable status, or men would not have sought it. The title of chancellor was rather similar, except that it was nominally less a relation as tutor to a sovereign than a civil or subject's title of great power, at least during the heyday of chancellors. Like the regents, the chancellors of later times lost power (with ups and downs) as new titles were invested with more of the reality of power. Once again, the title was

coveted even when it offered no more than status.

The earlier regents and chancellors bore the name of Fujiwara. With the exceptions of two individuals, later men with these titles were all from branches of the Fujiwara. In [Table 9–9](#), the individuals can be put into three groups, for which the characters for what may be termed surnames are given here rather than repeating them for individuals. The first group is that of men using the surname Fujiwara. Thereafter the high ministerial branches of that family used five different names and were known as the five regent families (*gosekke*). They are: Konoe, Kujō, Nijō, Takatsukasa, and Ichijō.

The third category includes but two individuals, who bore the surname Toyotomi (see Section E). It will be observed that the titles of regent and of chancellor were regarded as alternate, in the sense that both were not held at the same time, either by the same or different individuals; but also that an individual might hold one title and then another, or hold a title more than once (for example, Fujiwara Tadamichi, see 1121–1158).

Table 9–9. Regents and Chancellors

Sesshō (Regent)	Kampaku (Chancellor)	
Fujiwara Yoshifusa		858–872
Fujiwara Mototsune		872–880
	Fujiwara Mototsune	880–890
Fujiwara Tadahira		930–941
	Fujiwara Tadahira	941–949
	Fujiwara Saneyori	967–969
Fujiwara Saneyori		969–970
Fujiwara Koretada		970–972
	Fujiwara Kanemichi	972–977
	Fujiwara Yoritada	977–986
Fujiwara Kaneie		986–990
	Fujiwara Kaneie	990
	Fujiwara Michitaka	990
Fujiwara Michitaka		990–993
	Fujiwara Michitaka	993–995
	Fujiwara Michikane	995
Fujiwara Michinaga		1016–1017
Fujiwara Yorimichi		1017–1019
	Fujiwara Yorimichi	1019–1067
	Fujiwara Norimichi	1068–1075
	Fujiwara Morozane	1075–1086
Fujiwara Morozane		1086–1090
	Fujiwara Morozane	1090–1094
	Fujiwara Moromichi	1094–1099

	Fujiwara Tadazane	1105–1107
Fujiwara Tadazane		1107–1113
	Fujiwara Tadazane	1113–1121
	Fujiwara Tadamichi	1121–1123
Fujiwara Tadamichi		1123–1129
	Fujiwara Tadamichi	1129–1141
Fujiwara Tadamichi		1141–1150
	Fujiwara Tadamichi	1150–1158
	Konoe Motozane	1158–1165
Konoe Motozane		1165–1166
Fujiwara Motofusa		1166–1172
	Fujiwara Motofusa	1172–1179
	Konoe Motomichi	1179–1180
Konoe Motomichi		1180–1183
Fujiwara Moroie		1183–1184
Konoe Motomichi		1184–1186
Kujô Kanezane		1186–1191
	Kujô Kanezane	1191–1196
	Konoe Motomichi	1196–1198
Konoe Motomichi		1198–1202
Kujô Yoshitsune		1202–1206
	Konoe Iezane	1206–1221
Kujô Michiie		1221
Konoe Iezane		1221–1223
	Konoe Iezane	1223–1228
	Kujô Michiie	1228–1231
	Kujô Norizane	1231–1232
Kujô Norizane		1232–1235
Kujô Michiie		1235–1237
Konoe Kanetsune		1237–1242
	Konoe Kanetsune	1242
	Nijô Yoshizane	1242–1246
	Ichijô Sanetsune	1246
Ichijô Sanetsune		1246–1247
Konoe Kanetsune		1247–1252
Takatsukasa Kanehira		1252–1254
	Takatsukasa Kanehira	1254–1261
	Nijô Yoshizane	1261–1265
	Ichijô Sanetsune	1265–1267
	Konoe Motohira	1267–1268
	Takatsukasa Mototada	1268–1273
	Kujô Tadaie	1273–1274
Kujô Tadaie		1274

Ichijō Ietsune	1274–1275
Takatsukasa Kanehira	1275–1278
	Takatsukasa Kanehira 1278–1287
	Nijō Morotada 1287–1289
	Konoe Iemoto 1289–1291
	Kujō Tadanori 1291–1293
	Konoe Iemoto 1293–1296
	Takatsukasa Kanetada 1296–1298
Takatsukasa Kanetada	1298
Nijō Kanemoto	1298–1300
	Nijō Kanemoto 1300–1305
	Kujō Moronori 1305–1308
Kujō Moronori	1308
Takatsukasa Fuyuhira	1308–1311
	Takatsukasa Fuyuhira 1311–1313
	Konoe Iehira 1313–1315
	Takatsukasa Fuyuhira 1315–1316
	Nijō Michihira 1316–1318
	Ichijō Uchitsune 1318–1323
	Kujō Fusazane 1323–1324
	Takatsukasa Fuyuhira 1324–1327
	Nijō Michihira 1327–1330
	Takatsukasa Tsunetada 1330
	Takatsukasa Fuyunori 1330–1333
	Konoe Tsunetada 1336–1337
	Konoe Mototsugu 1337–1338
	Ichijō Tsunemichi 1338–1342
	Kujō Michinori 1342
	Takatsukasa Morohira 1342–1346
	Nijō Yoshimoto 1346–1358
	Kujō Tsunenori 1358–1361
	Konoe Michitsugu 1361–1363
	Nijō Yoshimoto 1363–1367
	Takatsukasa Fuyumichi 1367–1369
	Nijō Moroyoshi 1369–1375
	Kujō Tadamoto 1375–1379
	Nijō Morotsugu 1379–1382
Nijō Yoshimoto	1382–1387
Konoe Kanetsugu	1387–1388
Nijō Yoshimoto	1388
	Nijō Morotsugu 1388–1394
	Ichijō Tsunetsugu 1394–1398
	Nijō Morotsugu 1398–1399

	Ichijō Tsunetsugu	1399–1408
	Konoe Tadatsugu	1408–1409
	Nijō Mitsumoto	1409–1410
	Ichijō Tsunetsugu	1410–1418
	Kujō Mitsunori	1418–1424
	Nijō Mochimoto	1424–1428
Nijō Mochimoto		1428–1432
Ichijō Kaneyoshi		1432
Nijō Mochimoto		1432–1433
	Nijō Mochimoto	1433–1445
	Konoe Fusatsugu	1445–1447
	Ichijō Kaneyoshi	1447–1453
	Nijō Mochimichi	1453–1454
	Takatsukasa Fusahira	1454–1455
	Nijō Mochimichi	1455–1458
	Ichijō Norifusa	1458–1463
	Nijō Mochimichi	1463–1467
	Ichijō Kaneyoshi	1467–1470
	Nijō Masatsugu	1470–1476
	Kujō Masamoto	1476–1479
	Konoe Masaie	1479–1483
	Takatsukasa Masahira	1483–1487
	Kujō Masatada	1487–1488
	Ichijō Fuyuyoshi	1488–1493
	Konoe Naomichi	1493–1496
	Ichijō Naomoto	1497
	Konoe Naomichi	1513–1514
	Takatsukasa Kanesuke	1514–1518
	Nijō Tadafusa	1518–1525
	Konoe Taneie	1525–1533
	Kujō Tanemichi	1533–1534
	Nijō Tadafusa	1534–1536
	Konoe Taneie	1536–1542
	Takatsukasa Tadafuyu	1542–1545
	Ichijō Fusamichi	1545–1548
	Nijō Haruyoshi	1548–1553
	Ichijō Kanefuyu	1553–1554
	Konoe Harutsugu	1554–1568
	Nijō Haruyoshi	1568–1578
	Kujō Kanetaka	1578–1581
	Ichijō Uchimoto	1581–1584
	Nijō Akizane	1585
	Toyotomi Hideyoshi	1585–1591

	Toyotomi Hidetsugu	1591–1595
	Kujô Kanetaka	1600–1604
	Konoe Nobutada	1605–1606
	Takatsukasa Nobufusa	1606–1608
	Kujô Tadasaka	1608–1612
	Takatsukasa Nobunao	1612–1615
	Nijô Akizane	1615–1619
	Kujô Tadasaka	1619–1623
	Konoe Nobuhiro	1623–1629
	Ichijô Kanetô	1629
Ichijô Kanetô		1629–1634
Nijô Yasumichi		1635–1647
Kujô Michifusa		1647
Ichijô Akiyoshi		1647
	Ichijô Akiyoshi	1647–1651
	Konoe Naotsugu	1651–1653
	Nijô Mitsuhira	1653–1663
Nijô Mitsuhira		1663–1664
Takatsukasa Fusasuke		1664–1668
	Takatsukasa Fusasuke	1668–1682
	Ichijô Fuyutsune	1682–1687
Ichijô Fuyutsune		1687–1689
	Ichijô Fuyutsune	1689–1690
	Konoe Motohiro	1690–1703
	Takatsukasa Kanehiro	1703–1707
	Konoe Iehiro	1707–1709
Konoe Iehiro		1709–1712
Kujô Sukezane		1712–1716
	Kujô Sukezane	1716–1722
	Nijô Tsunahira	1722–1726
	Konoe Iehisa	1726–1736
	Nijô Yoshitada	1736–1737
	Ichijô Kaneka	1737–1746
	Ichijô Michika	1746–1747
Ichijô Michika		1747–1755
	Ichijô Michika	1755–1757
	Konoe Uchizaki	1757–1762
Konoe Uchizaki		1762–1772
	Konoe Uchizaki	1772–1778
	Kujô Naozane	1778–1779
Kujô Naozane		1779–1785
	Kujô Naozane	1785–1787
	Takatsukasa Sukehira	1787–1791

	Ichijō Teruyoshi	1791–1795
	Takatsukasa Masahiro	1795–1814
	Ichijō Tadayoshi	1814–1823
	Takatsukasa Masamichi	1823–1856
	Kujō Naotada	1856–1862
	Konoe Tadahiro	1862–1863
	Takatsukasa Sukehiro	1863
	Nijō Naritoshi	1863–1867
Nijō Naritoshi		1867

C. Cloistered Sovereigns

The onerous ceremonial duties of being sovereign led many individuals to abdicate while still expecting years of life. Abdication might occur so early that there would be more than one ex-sovereign. Other individuals, beginning with Shirakawa, abdicated with the hope that their freedom from ceremony would enable them to take the reigns of power into their hands. So arose the system of cloistered sovereigns (*insei*): for example, Shirakawa In. Some individuals are less apt to be known, or at least called by, their title as sovereign (*tennō*) than by their later cloistered title (*in*). It is very common to read of GoToba In rather than GoToba Tennō.

The nomenclature is a bit more complicated than that. Besides the reigning sovereign, there could be one or more abdicated sovereigns properly styled *dajō tennō* (*daijō tennō* in modern usage). In practice, that is commonly abbreviated to *dajōkō* (*daijōkō*) or yet more simply to *jōkō*.

Sovereigns would often retire to take orders out of religious purpose, or for some complex of religious and other motives. Such an abdicated sovereign in orders was termed *dajō hōō* (*daijō hōō*). The simplified version of that was *hōō*. The system of cloistered (and abdicated) sovereigns is, then, one variation of abdication, and for a time it held genuine political implications.

Altogether, there were twenty-six periods when there was a cloistered sovereign, beginning in 1086 and ending in 1840. But the institution had political implications of importance only during the first century or two of use. And later practice is vexed by two matters. Three abdicated sovereigns (Fushimi, GoFushimi, GoUda) held the title of *In* twice. And the Nambokuchō period, with its rival northern and southern courts, further complicates matters.

Because the page allows room for them, names are given of the then reigning sovereign(s) during a period of a cloistered sovereign, along with the period of cloistered status.

To calculate these matters any more closely, it will be necessary to compare [Table 9–10](#) with the full list of sovereigns in Part Two, where the characters for their regnal names are also given.

N designates a sovereign of the Northern line.

Table 9–10. Cloistered Sovereigns

Cloistered Sovereign	Then Reigning Sovereign(s)	Dates of Cloistering
Shirakawa In	Horikawa, Toba, Sutoku	1086–1129
Toba In	Sutoku, Konoe, GoShirakawa	1129–1156
GoShirakawa In	Nijô, Rokujô, Takakura	1158–1179
Takakura In	Antoku	1180
GoShirakawa In	Antoku, GoToba	1180–1192
GoToba In	Tsuchimikado, Juntoku, Chûkyô	1198–1221
(GoTakakura In)	GoHorikawa	1221–1223
GoHorikawa In	Shijô	1232–1234
GoSaga In	Gofukakusa, Kameyama	1246–1272
Kameyama In	GoUda	1274–1287
Gofukakusa In	Fushimi	1287–1298
Fushimi In	GoFushimi	1298–1301
GoUda In	GoNijô	1301–1308
Fushimi In	Hanazono	1308–1313
GoFushimi In	Hanazono	1313–1318
GoUda In	GoSaga	1318–1321
GoFushimi In	N Kôgon	1331–1333
N Kôgon In	N GoEnyû	1336–1351
N GoKôgon In	N GoEnyû	1371–1374
N GoEnyû In	N Gokomatsu	1382–1393
Chôkei In	GoKameyama	1385
Gokomatsu In	Shôkô, GoHanazono	1412–1433
GoYôzei In	Gomizuno`o	1611–1617
Gomizuno`o In	Meishô, GoKômyô, Reigen	1629–1680
Reigen In	Higashiyama, Nakamikado	1687–1732
Kôkaku In	Ninkô	1817–1840

Hanazono (reigned 1308–1318) is often referred to as *In*, but the title seems to have been a courtesy one, perhaps accounting for the strange title of his diary.

The ranks, offices, and titles given in Sections A, B, and C represent court titles, at least in their inception. As such, they relate to the system of rule about a sovereign. To speak of a system is perhaps to use a word that insufficiently accounts for the Japanese genius for exception or anomaly. In any event, in the next sections of this part attention is given to titles and individuals who might or might not work within the system of rule about a sovereign. Of course the line of sovereigns continued as the source of legitimacy for rule, but even as the ranks and titles considered in these three sections continued to be used and enjoyed, new titles reflecting new realities of power also came into use.

D. The Kamakura Bakufu, Shoguns, and Regents

From the twelfth century or so the court began perceptibly to lose some of its power. The sovereign and nobility were not attacked directly but rather through a series of economic and political changes, as also frequently by infiltration. Two warrior families were conspicuous, the Taira or Heike, and the Minamoto or genji. Both justly claimed descent from sovereigns, both consisted of many separate groups, much like the Fujiwara, and there was not always agreement among them. The Taira were the first to take on the rule of government, working in effect as a displacement of the Fujiwara at the court. Taira Kiyomori (1118–1181) rose to a succession of court posts, including that of *dajōdaijin* (prime minister) in 1167, and five years later had a daughter become consort of Takakura. According to the moral lesson of the Heike Monogatari, Kiyomori overreached himself and so was to be humbled from his high station.

The long series of struggles between Taira and Minamoto, the Gempei wars, came substantially to its end with the defeat of the red banner of the Taira by the white of the Minamoto at the Battle of Dannoura in 1185. Fujiwara Teika's famous remark in this diary, *Meigetsuki*, probably typified court attitudes: "The strife between the red and white is no concern of mine." But his kind were involved in the outcome of warrior struggles. In the next few years Minamoto Yoritomo consolidated his power and, in 1192, extracted from the court appointment as *shōgun* in Kamakura. More precisely, his office was *sei taishōgun*, something like "barbarian-quelling generalissimo." He deliberately chose Kamakura as a place distant from Kyōto and what he regarded as the baneful influence of its courtiers. Like Kiyomori, he was ruler of the land, that is, a person than whom no other was more powerful; his rule was obeyed wherever his arms or his authority exercised for the sovereign was acknowledged. He ruled this way from 1192 to 1199, following the time-honored practice of the military houses, by consultation with trusted senior advisors, including in particular his redoubtable wife (Hōjō) Masako (1157–1225). In one sense, the Minamoto triumph went no farther than these few years of Yoritomo. In another, it had lasting effect as a model for later *bakufu*, and more particularly in creating an institution that others might use more immediately.

Yoritomo's eldest son, Yoriie, succeeded as *shōgun* on his father's death. He was, however, so inept and corrupt that Masako worked with her father, Hōjō Tokimasa, to set the Minamoto *bakufu* in order. This took some years. Before very long, Masako persuaded Yoriie that it would be better if he took the tonsure, and her father saw to it that the ex-shōgun was murdered, just to avoid trouble. Then Yoritomo's second son, Minamoto Sanetomo, was appointed third *shōgun*. A would-be courtier and an alcoholic, he nonetheless had real abilities, not least as a poet. But he was cut down in public by an uncle, who was then done away with. Thereafter the Hōjō family intervened. Acting as regents (*shikken*), they decided that there was too much trouble involved with Minamoto candidates for *shōgun*, and so decided to import elegant nobodies from Kyōto, first two high-born Fujiwaras and then four princes of the blood. Their idea was to appoint these high ones at as young an age as possible and to get rid of them when they showed any sign of thinking for themselves. They could be persuaded either to take the tonsure or to be packed off to Kyōto, or both. Here, then, are the Minamoto shoguns:

Table 9–11. Minamoto Kamakura Shoguns

Shôgun	Lifetime	Office
1. Minamoto Yoritomo	1147–1199	1192–1199
2. Minamoto Yoriie	1182–1204	1199–1204
3. Minamoto Sanetomo	1192–1219	1204–1219
4. Fujiwara (Kujô) Yoritsune	1218–1256	1226–1246
5. Fujiwara Yoritsugu	1239–1256	1246–1252
6. Munetaka Shinnô	1242–1274	1252–1266
7. Koreyasu Shinnô	1264–1326	1266–1289
8. Hisaakira Shinnô	1276–1328	1289–1308
9. Morikuni Shinnô	1301–1333	1308–1333

Considered purely as a shogunate, the Kamakura *bakufu* set up by Yoritomo went through only three generations, ending in less than thirty years. But from this seeming disaster, the Hôjô regents were able to make a stable government. It is generally agreed that the first half of the Hôjô regency gave Japan a more stable, just, and efficient government than it had long had, and certainly more so than the country would know for a very long time.

Such success was a practical achievement of intelligence snatched from apparent irrationality. The sovereign still reigned, and nobody would dare suggest an alternative to that institution. Around him were the nobility with their grand titles, wealth, and ways – nobleman becoming ministers, regents and chancellors, positions recognized everywhere as the pinnacles of prestige a subject could reach. Meanwhile, the main actual details of rule had been ceded to the *bakufu* in Kamakura. There a *shôgun* held the sovereign's appointment to legitimize the exercise of power, but a Hôjô regent actually gave the orders, after consulting trusted advisors among family and allies. The advisors might include women other than Masako, for especially in the first half of the Hôjô regency women might run provinces, defend castles, and fight in the field. Neoconfucianism with its ordering, clarifying, and often suffocating doctrines was not yet public policy. The variety (not to say anomaly) and the undoubted efficiency of this period testifies to something fine and enduring in classical Japanese experience, perhaps also in modern Japanese life. All told, there were sixteen Hôjô regents.

Table 9–12. Hôjô Regents

Regent (shikken)	Lifetime	Office
1. Tokimasa	1138–1216	1203–1205
2. Yoshitoki	1163–1224	1205–1224
3. Yasutoki	1183–1242	1224–1242
4. Tsunetoki	1214–1246	1242–1246
5. Tokiyori	1227–1263	1246–1256

6. Nagatoki	1229–1264	1256–1264
7. Masamura	1205–1273	1264–1268
8. Tokimune	1251–1284	1268–1284
9. Sadatoki	1272–1311	1284–1301
10. Morotoki	1274–1311	1301–1311
11. Munenobu	1259–1312	1311–1312
12. Hirotoki	1279–1315	1312–1315
13. Mototoki	d. 1332	1315
14. Takatoki	1303–1333	1316–1326
15. Sadaakira	d. 1333	1326
16. Moritoki	d. 1333	1326–1333

Apart from the entropy that affects resistant institutions and regimes, the Hôjô regency found sudden trouble from a source it could not have anticipated. Far to the west, at least beyond the Japan Sea, the Mongols were running over country after country in their eastward movement. Kublai Khan, who had completed the Mongol conquest of China, twice attempted to conquer Japan (1274, 1281). Although caught off guard the first time, the Hôjô were saved by luck in the form of a delivering wind, which repelled or sank the invading ships. For the expected second onslaught, the regency impoverished itself, but it succeeded. In saving the country it was left without means to reward those it had called on, and had exhausted most of its power and authority along with its means. As Hôjô power waned, the country gradually slid into the anarchy that would mark it for a considerable period.

E. The Muromachi Bakufu and Ashikaga Shoguns

By 1300, the Kamakura *bakufu* had become as much a fiction as a reality. The Hôjô family continued to matter, but merely as one of several warrior houses groping for power. So uncertain was the situation that GoDaigo (reigned 1318–1339) believed that he saw a chance to centralize power once more in Kyôto and about the royal house. Intriguing with various houses disaffected from the Hôjô, he instituted what is often called the Kemmu Restoration, which may more literally be termed the Kemmu Renovation (*Kemmu Shinsei*) in 1334. In the struggles that followed, GoDaigo's attempt failed, the Kamakura *bakufu* was ended, and the Ashikaga house had formed a new *bakufu* at Muromachi in the capital (1338). In another year, GoDaigo was sent into exile.

The successive Ashikaga shoguns from Takauji onward had a taste for glory expressed in their generous support of the arts of drama (*nô*), painting, architecture, and seemingly everything that bespoke grandeur. The Medicis in later Italy might have thought them kindred spirits, if, of course, the West had thought much of the glories of the East. The ruder art of power was not one the Ashikagas mastered, however, and although they often had excellent advice, they did not always follow it and, in any event, never extended their rule much beyond the provinces surrounding the capital. The Ashikaga sought to exercise power by appointing certain *shugo daimyô* to major advisory positions such as administrator general (*kanrei*) and steward (*shitsuji*). Among the houses so selected were the Hosokawa, Hatakeyama, and Yamana, the last of which

exercised something like rule in ten provinces. The problem with the system was that the supposed subordinates were commonly as ambitious of power, and as ineffectual in achieving or holding to it, as the Ashikagas themselves. The nation was severely fractured into warring factions, so that the Muromachi *bakufu* was partly a grand illusion and partly a system that somehow continued for lack of better. Before the reality and its grand fiction exploded completely, there were fifteen Ashikaga shoguns.

Table 9–13. Ashikaga or Muromachi Shoguns

Name	Lifetime	Office
1. Takauji	1305–1358	1338–1358
2. Yoshiakira	1330–1367	1358–1367
3. Yoshimitsu	1358–1408	1368–1405
4. Yoshimochi	1386–1428	1405–1423
5. Yoshikazu	1407–1425	1423–1425
6. Yoshinori	1394–1441	1429–1441
7. Yoshikatsu	1434–1443	1442–1443
8. Yoshimasa	1436–1490	1469–1473
9. Yoshihisa	1465–1489	1473–1489
10. Yoshitane	1466–1523	1490–1494; 1508–1521
11. Yoshizumi	1479–1512	1494–1508
12. Yoshiharu	1511–1550	1521–1546
13. Yoshiteru	1536–1565	1546–1565
14. Yoshihide	1546–1568	1568
15. Yoshiaki	1537–1597	1568–1573

Note: Differing dates are given for the periods of office. Those given above are taken from Chûsei Handbook, comp. Nagahara Keiji et al. (Tôkyô: Kondô Shuppansha, 1973).

The fact that so many Ashikaga shoguns were appointed while still in their nonage amply testifies to the basic powerlessness of many individuals who held the office. One of the more enterprising, Yoshimochi (fourth *shôgun*), affected the title of sovereign in dealing with the Chinese court. Whatever the boast of one *shôgun* or the youth of another, in Japanese fashion the institution could prove stronger than any individual occupant when buttressed by powerful and loyal *shugo*. Such happy circumstances were always a matter of lucky balance, and the Ashikagas can be judged variously as spendthrifts or as brilliant patrons of the arts, as power-seekers or as people who did the best anyone might have done in an increasingly impossible situation.

F. Anarchy and Potentates; from the Azuchi-Momoyama Period to the Edo Bakufu

Although the Muromachi *bakufu* continued to have its shoguns till 1573, its last incumbent was really a figurehead. How this came about requires attention to the civil wars that had been ravaging the country. Among these, one was the Ōnin War (1467–1477), which devastated the capital and made it largely uninhabitable during much of the decade or so of fighting. But the period from 1482 to 1568 was a time of such constant and bloody tumult throughout the land that it (or all of 1467–1568) goes under the name of the Sengoku jidai, that is, the era of the nation or the provinces at war. Japan was clearly ready either for prostration or for rule by some strong figure capable of government.

The Azuchi-Momoyama period brought strength and government in three stages represented by potentates of quite differing disposition. The first was Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582). From his base of power in Owari and Mikawa (the modern Nagoya region), he gradually moved westward. By 1568, he was acting on behalf of the last Muromachi *shōgun*, Ashikaga Yoshiaki, entering Kyōto nominally to exert *bakufu* authority. Before long, he had made Yoshiaki a puppet and was de facto ruler of much of the country, at least of central Japan. But in 1582 he was murdered. Nobunaga was succeeded by one of his lieutenants, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) and his son Hideyori (1593–1615). Hideyoshi was one of the most remarkable figures in Japanese military and political history. As was the case with many in those anarchic times, he was able, in spite of low birth, to rise to very high position. Within three years of Nobunaga's assassination, he had acquired sufficient power to set up government at Momoyama, where he continued the artistic splendors of the Ashikagas. Among other achievements, he opened trade to the continent, waged wars against Korea (even planning one against China). His official appointments are exquisitely revealing of the state of the nation. He was of too low an origin to qualify as *shōgun*. In lieu of holding that office, he managed to get himself appointed chancellor (*kampaku*) of the court in 1585, and in the next year prime minister (*dajō daijin*). This settling for mere court ranks tells us how far the court had declined, but the choice of them shows nonetheless that the titles were still far from negligible and might have become the basis for a new system of government, if the Fujiwara and Taira trick could be played again. He took measures to just that end, measures at least of social reorganization and usually termed feudal. He required that commoners relinquish swords and be set in a social hierarchy; he decreed that every person should stay in the occupation of the house into which he or she had been born. In 1594, the symbol of his glory, the Momoyama palace, was built. The effort to found a new dynasty failed at his death, however, because of the weakness of his sons, and even more because of the strength of Nobunaga's other lieutenant, Tokugawa Ieyasu, who had been biding his time patiently. Ieyasu moved strongly on Hideyoshi's death, and by 1603 was able to make the claim of *shōgun*. He followed Minamoto Yoritomo's example, in choosing a site far from the capital, in Edo. By 1615, with the fall of Ōsaka castle and Hideyoshi's descendants, Ieyasu was in greater control of the country than had been anyone since the Hōjō regents. Abandoning Hideyoshi's grand, or grandiose, continental aspirations, Ieyasu concentrated on his own country, using Hideyoshi's centralizing and restrictive measures with a rigor matched by thoroughness. As is detailed in Part One D, this involved a thorough reconstitution of society into social orders that did not include

the court. Ieyasu cut the revenues available to the sovereign and the nobility. And if he was not able to do without the sovereign for purposes of legitimacy, he kept a close eye on Kyôto. The Edo *bakufu* was designed to be a totalitarian regime. In practice it dispersed degrees of power to various *daimyô*, allotting rice revenues generously or meagerly depending on a given house's closeness to the Tokugawa, or on past support to its cause. Ieyasu closed the country to foreign entry or native departure, on pain of death. In short, he established a repressive centralized regime whose rule was executed by organs of his household with local supervision by a warrior aristocracy carefully controlled by a system that included triennial visits to Edo, and the leaving of major members of a daimyate family as hostages when the daimyô was in his own province. The hard-worked farmers were taxed in an economy determined by units of rice, with artisans and merchants classed still lower. In official theory, at least, society consisted of four major orders – in the descending sequence of samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants (*shi-nô-kô-shô*). This was the most systematic and innovative regime the country had known for centuries, perhaps ever. It imported Neoconfucianism as a philosophical justification, if not quite a legitimizing factor of power (see Part Six P). A ravaged, exhausted nation at least found peace, and, as time went on, new energies and new ways to express them in literary activity. As [Table 9–14](#) shows, the Edo *bakufu* had at its head a series of fifteen shoguns from the Tokugawa family.

Table 9–14. Tokugawa or Edo Shoguns

Name	Lifetime	Office
1. Ieyasu	1542–1616	1603–1605
2. Hidetada	1570–1623	1605–1623
3. Iemitsu	1604–1651	1623–1651
4. Ietsuna	1641–1680	1651–1680
5. Tsunayoshi	1646–1709	1680–1709
6. Ienobu	1633–1712	1709–1712
7. Ietsugu	1709–1716	1713–1716
8. Yoshimune	1684–1751	1716–1745
9. Ieshige	1711–1761	1745–1760
10. Ieharu	1737–1786	1760–1786
11. Ienari	1772–1841	1787–1837
12. Ieyoshi	1793–1853	1837–1853
13. Iesada	1824–1858	1853–1858
14. Iemochi	1846–1866	1858–1866
15. Yoshinobu	1837–1913	1866–1867

Benefiting in different ways from the models and mistakes of the earlier *bakufu*, Ieyasu designed a system that lasted more than two and a half centuries. His successors added to his plan, but did little to alter its general features. The most important organ of government was the *rôjû*, the Senior Council, or Council of Elders, as it is variously translated. There, four or five advisors

gave their counsel, and if a shôgun was too young to rule in his own right, there could always be appointed some sort of regent (*hosa, kôken*). Because of the lengthy time during which the Edo *bakufu* lasted, some charting of its government seems desirable. Unfortunately, there is no full, agreed-on list of English versions of offices, as there is for the court. In lieu of that, a briefer chart is offered in [Table 9–15](#).

Table 9–15. Chief Offices of the Edo Bakufu

Shôgun

The Great Corridor

The Antechamber Regent (*hosa, kôken, etc.*)

- Great Counsellor (tairô) [1]
- Senior Counsellors (rôjû) [4–5]
 - Secretaries (yûhitsu) [about 60]
 - Chamberlains (sobashû) [6–7]
 - Masters of Official Ceremony (kôke) [16–26]
 - Counsellors for the Three Lords (karô; Tayasu karô, Hitotsubashi karô, Shimizu karô)
 - Keepers of Edo Castle (rusui) [4–6]
 - Captains of the Great Guards (ôbangashira) [12]
 - Inspectors General (ômetsuke) [4–5]
 - Edo City Magistrates (Edo machi bugyô) [2]
 - Superintendents of Finance (kanjô bugyô) [4]
 - Deputies (gundai) [3]; (daikan) [40–50]
 - Superintendents of the Treasury (kane bugyô) [4]
 - Superintendents of Cereal Stores (kura bugyô) [2]
 - Gold Monopoly (kinza)
 - Silver Monopoly (ginza)
 - Copper Monopoly (dôza)
 - Cinnabar Monopoly (shuza)
 - Comptrollers of Finance (kanjôgimmiyaku) [4]
 - Kantô Deputy (Kantô gundai) [1]
 - Superintendents of Works (sakuji bugyô) [2]
 - Superintendents of Public Works (fushin bugyô) [2]
 - Kyôto City-Magistrates (Kyôto machi bugyô) [2]
 - Ôsaka City-Magistrates (Ôsaka machi bugyô) [2]
 - Magistrates of Nagasaki (Nagasaki bugyô) [3–4]
 - Magistrates of Uraga (Uraga bugyô) [1–2]; etc.
- Grand Chamberlain (sobayônin) [1]
- Junior Councilors (wakadoshiyori) [4–5]
 - Captains of the Body Guard (shoinbangashira) [6]
 - Captains of the Inner Guards (koshôgumibangashira) [6]

- Captains of the New Guards (*shimbangashira*) [6]
- Superintendents of Construction and Repair (*kobushin bugyô*) [2]
- Chiefs of the Pages (*koshô tôdori*) [6]
- Chiefs of the Attendants (*ko'nando tôdori*) [3]
- Inspectors (*metsuke*)
- Chiefs of the Castle Accountants (*nandogashira*) [2]
- Attendant Physicians (*ishi*)
- Attendant Confucianists (*jusha*)
- Superintendents of the Kitchen (*zen bugyô*) [3–5]
- Masters of Shogunal Ceremony (*sôjaban*) [20 or more]
- Superintendents of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyô*) [4]
- Kyôto Deputy (*Kyôto shoshidai*) [1]
- Keeper of Ôsaka Castle (*Ôsaka jôdai*) [1]
- Supreme Court of Justice (*hyôjôsho*)

Regular duty: Superintendents of Temple and Shrines, Edo City Magistrates, Superintendents of Finance

Irregular duty: a Senior Councilor, the Grand Chamberlain, other Magistrates and Superintendents when residing in Edo

Assisted by: Comptrollers of Finance, Inspectors General and others

The conspicuous feature of the spirit of the Edo *bakufu* is its desire to order everything along lines justified by Neoconfucian rational and moral principles. The conspicuous thing about the history of the Edo *bakufu* is that such philosophy did no more than any other to reduce corruption or prevent change. Change was the one element most resisted by the regime, since its Neoconfucian principles were universal truths. Its system was postulated on a rice-crop fiscal system, on an immobile population, and on total exclusion from the rest of the world. The gap between such theory and reality grew steadily. The fiscal system became monetary, and people began to move about more – socially as well geographically. Finally, there came pressure from without. Had the *bakufu* had Hideyoshi's alertness to foreign affairs or the Hôjô regents' practical efficiency, the foreign threat would have meant much less. But if the *bakufu* had had those things, it would not have been what it was. By the first third of the nineteenth century, matters were increasingly out of hand, opposition was ever stronger. It seems ironic that what neither GoToba nor GoDaigo could do on behalf of the court was finally done by some disgruntled, geographically peripheral houses, when in 1868 the *bakufu* came to its squeaky end (although not without its loyal adherents, not without a very strong legacy to modern Japan) – restore the *tennô* to the center of the state.

It will not do to stress only the fixity of the Edo *bakufu*. At the very top, experiments were tried. The rôjû was a council essential from the beginning. But first in 1636 and intermittently thereafter, there were *tairô* appointed. Tanuma Okitsugu (1719–1788), referred to earlier, introduced a liberalized era under Ieharu, getting on famously with corruption, debasement of the currency, profits for the *bakufu*, and liberal thought, until there were peasant uprisings that gave his enemies an excuse to bring him down.

So there was color in the Edo *bakufu*. And yet if we compare it with previous regimes, one cannot but be struck by the fact that neither these shoguns, nor their chief advisors, are memorable as poets. Once a year the shōgun would have to write a *renga* stanza or so after a Satomura master had written the opening stanza. The contrast with Yoritomo and Sanetomo could hardly be greater. (Hosokawa Yūsai provides an even better example, however.) In short, it is hard to escape the conclusion that for the first time in their history Japanese continued to create a great literature in spite of their government. It is all the more important, therefore, to point to what imagination there was. Perhaps the fifth *shōgun*, Tsunayoshi, will do. He was so irrationally considerate of dogs that he issued edicts of heinous punishment for people who neglected or mistreated the animals. He became celebrated in plays and known as His Dog Lordship (*inu kubō*). Tokugawa virtue had some more or less redeeming features.

Sources

The information on pre-Edo matters derives chiefly from Mitsutoshi Takayanagi et al., *Kadokawa Nihonshi Jiten*, 2nd ed. (Kadokawa Shoten, 1974), Nagahara, and two studies in English: Robert Karl and Jean Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1937) and William H. and Helen Craig McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* (a very copiously annotated translation of the great compendium of Heian lore, the *Eiga Monogatari*), 2 vols. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980). The kinds of information are modeled on Takayanagi. Our figures and their details are from Takayanagi, supplemented by Nagahara, the Reischauers, and the McCulloughs. Some narrative elements and certain details are also indebted to the McCulloughs. For Edo matters, we are indebted again to Takayanagi. Our table of offices is adapted and enlarged (with added Japanese characters) from that in John Whitney Hall, *Tanuma Okitsugu, 1718–1788, Forerunner of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955)

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