

DE GRUYTER

Alexandra Ciorciaro

TIME IN DIARIES OF COURT AND BAKUFU OFFICIALS IN THE LATE 13TH CENTURY

A STUDY OF *KANCHŪKI*, *KENJI SANNEN KI* AND
EININ SANNEN KI



Schweizerische
Asiengesellschaft
Société
Suisse-Asie

WELTEN OSTASIENS
WORLDS OF EAST ASIA
MONDES DE L'EXTRÊME ORIENT



DE
G

Alexandra Ciorciaro

Time in Diaries of Court and Bakufu Officials in the late 13th Century

Welten Ostasiens / Worlds of East Asia / Mondes de l'Extrême Orient



Im Auftrag der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft –
On behalf of the Swiss Asia Society –
Au nom de la Société Suisse-Asie

Edited by

Wolfgang Behr

Claire-Akiko Brisset

David Chiavacci

Andrea Riemenschnitter

Raji C. Steineck

Laure Zhang

Nicolas Zufferey

Volume 39

Alexandra Ciorciaro

Time in Diaries of Court and Bakufu Officials in the late 13th Century



A Study of *Kanchūki*, *Kenji sannen ki*
and *Einin sannen ki*

DE GRUYTER

The publication of this monograph was funded by the European Research Council (ERC) with an Advanced Grant under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 741166).

ISBN 978-3-11-134569-7
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-134571-0
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-134591-8
ISSN 1660-9131
DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111345710>



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. For details go to <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.

Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) not original to the Open Access publication and further permission may be required from the rights holder. The obligation to research and clear permission lies solely with the party re-using the material.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2024940380

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2025 the author(s), published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
The book is published open access at www.degruyter.com.

Cover image and frontispiece: Drawing by Alexandra Ciorciaro, 2019
Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com



Acknowledgements

Many people deserve my sincerest gratitude for enabling and supporting my research. The monograph at hand is a revised version of my dissertation submitted to the University of Zurich in 2023 where I was fortunate to conduct my research as part of a group of outstanding researchers in the ‘Time in Medieval Japan’ (TIMEJ) Project.

I would first like to express my deepest gratitude to my primary adviser, Professor Simone Müller, for her continued support throughout my research. This endeavour would not have been possible without her guidance, her valuable feedback on my drafts, and our numerous enlightening discussions. I greatly appreciated our close collaboration in the past years.

I am also extremely grateful to my co-adviser Professor Raji C. Steineck, whose advice and insightful comments helped to guide and structure my research, and my co-adviser Professor Andrew Goble, who offered rich commentary on my ideas in addition to deeply valued encouragement.

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the European Research Council for funding the TIMEJ Project with an Advanced Grant (grant agreement No 741166). I am also deeply indebted to the knowledge and expertise of my other colleagues from the TIMEJ team, with whom I have had the opportunity to discuss a variety of topics related to my research: Vroni Ammann, Dr. Georg Blind, Dr. Kōhei Kataoka, Dr. Stefania Lottanti von Mandach, Etienne A. F. Staehelin, and Dr. Daniela Tan.

I would further like to extend my sincere thanks to Professor Tobias Heinzelmann, who provided counsel and assisted me in resolving multiple issues at various stages of the research process.

I am very grateful to the Maeda Ikutokukai foundation for the opportunity to visit their Sonkeikaku library and to view the facsimile of one of my main sources, as well as other institutions and colleagues who welcomed me warmly and offered me encouragement. My special thanks go out to the doctoral students from different disciplines whom I had the chance to meet along the way. Exchanging our ideas was always a highly motivating experience.

I am extremely grateful to the Schweizerische Asiengesellschaft for the opportunity to publish this monograph as part of the renowned *Welten Ostasiens*. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to the anonymous peer reviewer for their time, expertise, and valuable feedback, which allowed me to further refine my manuscript. I would also like to express my gratitude to LexAcademic for enhancing my writing through its exceptional copy editing service.

VIII — Acknowledgements

I am also grateful for the continuous support of my doctoral coordinator, Dr. Milena Guthörl, and the assistance provided by TIMEJ's student assistant Jannick Scherrer, the administrative assistants, and the library staff.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for their love and moral support, and for never failing to lift my spirits. Thank you.

Contents

Acknowledgements — VII

Introduction — 1

- The Study of Time — 1
- Historical Background — 5
- Sources and State of the Art — 8
- Methodology and Outline — 15
- Notes on Format — 23

Chapter 1

Temporality of Diaries — 25

- 1.1 The Origin and Function of Diary Keeping — 25
 - Diary Keeping at the Imperial Court — 25
 - Diary Keeping at the Kamakura *Bakufu* — 32
 - Orientation Towards the Future — 35
 - 1.2 Diary Writing — 36
 - Documenting a Lifetime Career — 37
 - A Multi-Step Writing Process — 40
 - When Did People Write Their Diaries? — 47
 - 1.3 Diary Text's Temporal Structure — 49
 - Calendrical Framework — 49
 - Additional Framings — 57
 - Structure of Individual Entries — 62
 - Temporal Double Structure — 69
- Reflection — 70

Chapter 2

Temporal Routines — 72

- 2.1 Routines in the Court Diary *Kanchūki* — 73
 - Recording and Adapting Annual Rhythms — 80
 - Degree of Self-Determination — 98
 - 2.2 Routines in the *Bakufu* Diaries *Kenji sannin ki* and *Einin sannin ki* — 100
 - Annual Events at the Kamakura *Bakufu* — 102
 - Monthly Meeting Rotations — 117
 - Degree of Self-Determination — 133
- Reflection — 134

Chapter 3

Time Reckoning, Notions of Time, and Temporal Regimes — 138

- 3.1 Timekeeping as a Tool of Political Authority — 138
 - 3.2 Multiple Modes of Time Reckoning — 144
 - The Lunisolar Calendar — 144
 - Era Names — 154
 - The Sexagenary Cycle — 157
 - 3.3 Dating Practices in Diaries and the Social Importance of Different Calendar Systems — 164
 - Variance in Dating Practices — 164
 - Reckoning with the Sexagenary Cycle — 170
 - Different Scheduling Practices — 173
 - 3.4 (Spatio-)Temporal Regulations — 176
 - Daily Fortunes — 176
 - Directional Fortunes — 178
 - Traces of (Spatio-)Temporal Regulations in the Diaries — 180
 - 3.5 Multiple Modes and Applications of Clock Time — 184
- Reflection — 193

Chapter 4

The Coordination of Action — 195

- 4.1 Differing Modes of Coordination — 196
 - 4.2 Coordination of Action at Ceremonial Events — 203
 - 4.3 Planning Future Events — 209
 - 4.4 Coordination of Action in the *Bakufu's* Deliberative Council and at *Yoriai* Meetings — 220
 - 4.5 The *Bakufu's* Adjudication of Conflicts — 225
- Reflection — 242

Chapter 5

Chronoschemes and Evaluations of Time — 244

- 5.1 Chronoschemes — 245
 - Calendrical Time — 245
 - Seasons — 248
 - Below the Temporal Scale of the Day — 250
 - Other Functions of Chronography — 254

5.2 Temporal Horizons and Evaluations of Time — **255**
 The Past — **255**
 The Future — **259**
 The Present — **261**
 Modality of Action and Evaluation of Tempo — **264**
Reflection — **267**

Conclusion — 270

Bibliography — 277

Index — 285

Introduction

The Study of Time

Human existence is fundamentally defined by time. Throughout history and across cultures, societies have negotiated time in various ways. The study of time is preoccupied with a plurality of culturally constructed aspects, such as different approaches to time reckoning, routines and schedules, or conceptualisations and experiences of time. Numerous disciplines have grappled with this field, and the abundant research published on the topic of time illustrates the variety of research questions and analytical tools that can guide inquiries into this vast and fascinating arena.

Research into the ways in which different societies have approached time in all its aspects reveals that concrete formations pertaining to time are historically particular and defined according to specific social contexts, while also shedding light on several fundamental issues with which all societies must contend. The study of time across multiple historical contexts thus not only deepens our understanding of the societies in question but also yields insights into our contemporary attempts to grapple with the pluralistic nature of ‘time’ itself.

As Raji C. Steineck’s article ‘Time in Old Japan: In Search of a Paradigm’ demonstrates, comprehensive and systematic studies of time as it was conceived of in premodern Japanese societies are scarce, and scholarship has tended to portray ‘premodern Japan’ as a monolithic entity that stands in contrast to ‘contemporary, globalised modernity’.¹

Studies such as Tanaka Gen’s *Kodai nihonjin no jikan ishiki* 古代日本人の時間意識 (‘Time Consciousness of Japanese People in the Ancient Period’) or Florian Coulmas’ *Japanische Zeiten* (‘Japanese Times’) describe a premodern consciousness of time that was oriented towards the rhythms of the natural world.² Sociologist Maki Yūsuke’s monograph *Jikan no hikaku shakaigaku* 時間の比較社会学 (‘Comparative Sociology of Time’) stands out among such portrayals.³ For Japan’s ancient period (ca. seventh–twelfth centuries), Maki observes that a sense of alienation of human, historical time from mythological, natural time emerges in the poetry of the *Manyōshū* 万葉集 (c. 759)⁴ and identifies an awareness of abstract calendrical time that is portrayed in tension with natural, seasonal time in

1 Steineck 2017: 17. See also Steineck [forthcoming] ‘Some Words on Theory and Method’.

2 E.g. Tanaka 1977, 1993; Coulmas 2000.

3 Maki 2003.

4 Maki 2003: 100–123.

the poetry of the *Kokinshū* 古今集 (c. 920).⁵ Maki contextualises these developments against the establishment of the bureaucratic *ritsuryō* 律令 state in the seventh and eighth centuries, which introduced a centralised abstract time reckoning system for its governmental activities and divided human time into ‘social time’ (*kyōdōteki na jikan* 共同的な時間) and ‘individual time’ (*koteki na jikan* 個的な時間).⁶

Maki’s theory assumes an increase in complexity across history but stands out in relation to other general theories of time in departing from a clear cut evolutionary conception of history in favour of four models or ‘morphologies’ of time that are derived from the analysis and positioned alongside one another on a coordinate system.⁷

Similar to most existing research on premodern Japanese time consciousness, Maki’s investigation is based on literary sources produced at the Imperial court and is primarily concerned with the Heian period (794–1182) and earlier periods, without touching on the medieval period (ca. twelfth–fifteenth centuries). Hirano Kimihiro’s articles on time consciousness and Nagafuji Yasushi’s monograph *Chūsei nihon bungaku to jikan ishiki* 中世日本文学と時間意識 (‘Medieval Japanese Literature and Time Consciousness’) form notable exceptions that trace historical developments into the subsequent Kamakura period (1182–1336). Both authors examine literary expressions of temporality and, as succinctly summarised by Simone Müller, argue that poetry witnessed a re-orientation towards the positive potential of the fleeting moment during the Kamakura period, complementing an inclination towards lamentations of impermanence.⁸ While these two authors attempted an overarching study of literary production in the medieval period, other scholars, such as Imazeki Toshiko, closely analysed individual literary works and their temporal features.⁹ Müller, for example, demonstrated the potential to employ temporality as an element through which unfulfillment and social criticism could be expressed in literary texts of the Kamakura period in a case study of the medieval memoir *Utatane* うたたね (‘Fitful Slumbers’, thirteenth century).¹⁰

5 Maki 2003: 137–155. This tension between institutionalised calendrical time and the individual’s experience of the natural world in the poetry of the ancient period is also explored in Leins 2021a.

6 Maki 2003: 124–137.

7 Maki 2003: 158–165. For an introduction to the theory in English, see Steineck 2017: 24–28.

8 Müller 2020: 230. Hirano 1969, 1984; Nagafuji 1984.

9 E.g. Imazeki 2005.

10 Müller 2020: 230–232, 256–257.

Calendrical systems and time reckoning, which exerted a significant impact on the time regimes of elite social spheres, have emerged as further key topics in scholarly explorations of temporality in premodern Japan. For example, Hashimoto Manpei described these systems in the monograph *Nihon no jikoku seido* 日本の時刻制度 ('Timekeeping Systems in Japan'),¹¹ while Hosoi Hiroshi additionally addressed the temporal practices of the nobility associated with such systems in the monograph *Nihonshi o manabu tame no 'kodai no koyomi' nyūmon* 日本史を学ぶための〈古代の暦〉入門 ('Introduction to "Ancient Calendars" in order to Learn Japanese History').¹² However, these works are not typically integrated with broader considerations of different aspects of temporality.

Professor Raji C. Steineck, Principal Investigator (PI) of the ERC-Advanced Grant Project 'Time in Medieval Japan' (TIMEJ) at the University of Zurich, has highlighted the potential applicability of different theories of time to the study of premodern societies, while additionally advocating for the investigation of a wider range of sources to avoid generalisations that, in reality, more accurately represent genre conventions.¹³ My research is part of this project, and is situated in a climate of recent interest and ongoing activity to study varying aspects of time in different social spheres throughout medieval Japan. This climate has yielded numerous publications that tackle different themes and angles of this pluralised, complex society.¹⁴ I conducted my research as part of the research area 'Time at the court and the *bakufu*' of the TIMEJ project led by Professor Simone Müller and some of the results presented in this monograph were developed in collaboration with Professor Müller and in discussions with the TIMEJ research group.

This monograph aims to contribute to the study of temporality in the social sphere of aristocratic elites in the Kamakura period by contributing perspectives gleaned from non-literary texts to this field of research. In my investigation, I analyse temporality as it emerges from diaries produced by government officials during the late thirteenth century, which served as a form of semi-official documentation for the purpose of recording the officials' daily activities. These accounts of day-to-day life offer a micro perspective of the everyday lives of individuals, while also yielding insights into broader societal concerns and temporal patterns. The texts therefore permit a closer view of everyday life than historiographical works, while also offering a more practice-oriented perspective on time than philosophical or lit-

¹¹ Hashimoto 1978 [1966].

¹² Hosoi 2015 [2014].

¹³ Steineck 2017: 34.

¹⁴ E.g. Ammann 2021; Müller 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023; Steineck 2017, 2018; Steineck/Müller/Balmes 2021; Steineck/Morino/Kataoka [forthcoming] Time in Medieval Japan; Tan 2020.

erary texts. I analyse how time is expressed in these diaries, scrutinise the time practices that they disclose, and reflect on related conceptualisations and evaluations of time.

While a substantial number of studies of time in literary works and poetry have been published, these documentary diaries have not yet been sufficiently studied in this context. In 2021, Daniel Schley published an investigation of temporal practices in the Heian period diary *Gonki* 権記 (911–1011) by the courtier Fujiwara no Yukinari 藤原行成 (972–1027).¹⁵ This article remains an exception and demonstrates how the genre can inform about the social coordination of time at the Imperial court and values held in relation to it, thus attesting to the rich insights such texts offer for the study of time.

As I shall outline in further detail below, the medieval Kamakura period was characterised by the establishment of a warrior government, called the shogunate or *bakufu* 幕府, in Kamakura. This vital social sphere has been insufficiently explored with respect to time. As such, a central concern of the present investigation is to illuminate this important sphere and draw connections to the elite circle of the Imperial court. Given that the *bakufu*'s institutions and practices were originally adapted from the Imperial court, it is reasonable to trace and discuss these origins, identify the shared cultural practices of both aristocratic social spheres, and unveil the practices particular to the Kamakura *bakufu*.

The available source materials narrowed down the framework of the study to the late thirteenth century — the only period from which diaries of the Kamakura *bakufu* remain.¹⁶ This time period emerges as particularly fruitful in comparing the *bakufu* with the Imperial court, given that the institutions and practices originally adapted from the court had time to develop and change into distinct practices particular to the geographically distant Kamakura *bakufu*. Moreover, as outlined in the historical summary below, it marks the peak of the Hōjō family's power and a period of increased loss of political authority for the Imperial court, a shift that may reflect practices, conceptualisations and experiences of time.

My investigation aims at a synchronous comparison between the Kamakura *bakufu* and the Imperial court. While I draw on research literature about diaries and practices of the Nara and Heian periods, the in-depth study of consistencies and differences across these larger time spans is beyond the scope of my investigation, as is the subject of historiography.¹⁷

¹⁵ Schley 2021.

¹⁶ A handful of diaries written by *bakufu* officials of the subsequent Muromachi period (1336–1573) are transmitted as well.

¹⁷ For an investigation into time and historiography, see Schley [forthcoming]: 'Historiography in Medieval Japan'.

I limit myself to an in-depth study of only a select few texts introduced below that reflect a highly specific and clearly defined time frame and social sphere, in order to provide a framework from which to consider temporality on multiple levels as it pertains to the human experience. I do not claim, therefore, to provide an encompassing account of a generalised ‘medieval time consciousness’, but rather aim to contribute one of many perspectives on a complex cultural system in which a plurality of claims and cultural domains intersected and at times competed with one another.

Historical Background

The Kamakura period was dominated by three elite social groups that shared political authority: the court nobility centred around the Imperial court in the Heian capital (*kuge* 公家); a warrior nobility centred on the shogunate in Kamakura (*buke* 武家); and members of major temples and shrines belonging to different religious schools based mostly in areas surrounding the capital (*jisha* 寺社). These three groups had managed to establish themselves as driving forces in the sociopolitical system because of an ongoing trend towards privatisation in the antecedent centuries. Through the accumulation of private tax-exempt estates (*shōen* 荘園) and a body of dependent personnel, members of these groups gradually became economically independent and were thus able to enforce their interests, eventually coming to dominate the political landscape by sharing governmental duties.¹⁸

The court’s bureaucratic structure was originally based on the *ritsuryō* system of centralised government, established in the seventh–eighth centuries and modelled on the Chinese Tang dynasty (618–907). Privatised extra-statutory offices were created over the course of the Heian period, and these attained increasing importance and ultimately took over the core court administration functions.¹⁹ Of the various noble families of the court, the Fujiwara family had asserted its hegemony in the ninth–eleventh centuries by taking control of the right to provide consorts for Imperial princes, thus inextricably linking themselves to Imperial succession and establishing a regency government (*sekkon seiji* 摂関政治) in which members of their family acted as Imperial Regents on the Emperor’s behalf.²⁰ This was followed by a period of so called ‘cloister government’ (*insei* 院政) in the eleventh–twelfth century, during which the Imperial family regained political control after amassing private

¹⁸ Adolphson 2000: 1–4, 10–20.

¹⁹ Kondō Yoshikazu 2017: 7–15.

²⁰ *sesshō* 摂政 was the title given to the regent of an underage Emperor, and *kanpaku* 関白 referred to the regent of an adult Emperor.

resources. In contrast to earlier periods in which the titular Emperor had ruled, retired Emperors now exercised political control after their abdication.²¹

The beginning of the Kamakura period was marked by the establishment of a warrior government in the city of Kamakura, approximately 400 km east of the Heian capital in the late twelfth century. Following a war with the rival Taira warrior family, who had gained considerable influence at court, the Minamoto warrior family was able to secure control of eastern territories consolidated under their leadership, where they set up what is now known as the shogunate, or *bakufu*. This newly founded institution was integrated within the existing system of rule and was cautious not to infringe upon the court's authority. Its primary function was to govern, oversee, and police estates in the eastern provinces, and it was led by the shogun, a figure who acquired legitimacy through his appointment by the Imperial court.²² The *bakufu*'s institutions were originally modelled on those of the court, and civil bureaucrats were recruited from the capital to staff superior positions within its bureaucratic structures, with local warriors occupying mid-level positions.²³

Following numerous violent power struggles in Kamakura, the Hōjō warrior family established itself as the new dominant force at the *bakufu* in the thirteenth century. The Hōjō family leader, known as the *tokusō* 得宗, acquired legitimacy through the newly created title of shogunal regent (*shikken* 執権) and acted on behalf of the shogun, a position now invariably filled by Imperial princes that occupied a largely symbolic role.²⁴

After Emperor Go-Toba's 後鳥羽天皇 (1180–1239, r. 1183–1198) attempt to overthrow the *bakufu* in the Jōkyū war in 1221, the relationship between court and *bakufu* gradually changed, and the *bakufu* began to exercise increased control of the Imperial court in the ensuing decades. They established new institutions in the capital, including the Rokuhara office (*Rokuhara* 六波羅), a government institution with judicial and policing authority of the western provinces, and a liaison officer (*kantō mōshitsugi* 関東申次), who served as an intermediary between the court and the *bakufu*. The Rokuhara deputies (*rokuhara tandai* 六波羅探題), the two highest posts of the Rokuhara office, were filled by members of the Hōjō warrior family, while the liaison office was under the hereditary control of the court's Saionji family. The Saionji family was under Hōjō patronage and succeeded in limiting the regent Fujiwara family's influence by providing Imperial consorts, a role previously carried out by the Fujiwara family. The *bakufu* eventually also took con-

21 Adolphson 2000: 11–13.

22 Hurst III 1982: 3–10.

23 Goble 1985: 31–37.

24 Hurst III 1982: 11–14.

trol of Imperial succession and limited the retired Emperor's direct influence on judicial and policy matters by interposing a Council (*In no hyōjō* 院評定) for decision making.²⁵

Major temples and shrines, such as Enryakuji 延暦寺 or Kōfukuji 興福寺, had also accumulated sufficient political, economic, and military power to exert pressure on secular authorities, and are thus regarded as the third crucial agents of the sociopolitical landscape of the Kamakura period. Among other areas of influence, temples were important actors in the realm of trade, administering trading ports, and their marketplaces offered spaces in which traders could avoid the taxes imposed by the civil authorities.²⁶ The Imperial court had sought to gain some control over these various religious institutions via the office of Head Abbot,²⁷ a position filled by court aristocrats who were expected to serve as mediators between the court's interests and the clergy and execute the court's policies. This led to the formation of economically independent rival lineages (*monzeki* 門跡), as estates were privatised under aristocratic abbots and handed down within these lineages.²⁸ The Kamakura period was marked by both internal conflicts between temple lineages regarding temple estates, as well as protests against the attempts of secular authorities to limit temple authority in their communities.²⁹

The Kamakura *bakufu* was at the height of its power in the late thirteenth century under the control of the Hōjō family, but, as Adolphson emphasises, it relied on 'the court to exercise its bureaucratic power and on the religious elites to perform their duties'.³⁰ The Kamakura period eventually came to a close in the mid-fourteenth century, when Emperor Go-Daigo attempted to restore Imperial rule in the Kenmu Restoration (1334–1336). As a result, the Hōjō family and Kamakura *bakufu* were destroyed, with the help of the Ashikaga warrior family, who then founded the new Muromachi *bakufu* in the Imperial capital after Go-Daigo failed to consolidate power.³¹

25 Hurst III 1982: 14–22.

26 Ammann 2021: 208–209.

27 The exact title depends on the temple, e.g. the Kōfukuji's Head Abbot is called *bettō* 別当, whereas the Enryakuji's Head Abbot is called *zasu* 座主.

28 Adolphson 2000: 70–74.

29 The topic of 'forceful appeals' (*gōso* 強訴) is covered in Adolphson 2000: 240–287.

30 Adolphson 2000: 239.

31 Hurst III 1982: 22–27.

Sources and State of the Art

The diaries examined in this study were written at the end of the thirteenth century by officials of both the Imperial court and the *bakufu*. They are part of a long-standing tradition of court documentation, and were subject to genre conventions pertaining to their format, language, contents and tradition history. In the contemporary Japanese research discourse they are considered part of the genre of ‘old records’ (*kokiroku* 古記録), which designates documentations of actual events as opposed to fictionalised accounts. To differentiate the genre from other diary-like texts produced in premodern Japan, the genre is also known as ‘*kanbun* diaries’ (*kanbun nikki* 漢文日記), a term that references the language they are written in. *Kanbun* 漢文 is a domesticated version of classical Chinese that served as the official language of government throughout the ancient and medieval periods. These documentative diaries were written almost exclusively by men and survive in impressive numbers from the Heian period onwards. Diaries written by court officials are particularly numerous. The earliest works were written by members of the Imperial family, but these declined in number over time, while the practice became more widespread within other social spheres. *Bakufu* officials also kept diaries during the Kamakura period, although most surviving works date to the Muromachi period (1336–1573).³²

Kanbun diaries should be distinguished from another major group of texts commonly referred to as ‘diary literature’ (*nikki bungaku* 日記文学), a term that designates a literary genre with narrative and fictional elements, often compared to the genre of memoir (*kaisōki* 回想記). Diary literature, although heavily reliant on the author’s real-life experiences, was composed with an artistic intent and thus differs considerably from documentative *kanbun* diaries in various aspects — chiefly, narrative structure, function, and intended audience.³³ Furthermore, most works of this literary genre were written by court ladies in vernacular Japanese (*kana* 仮名).³⁴ Because my work is concerned only with *kanbun* diaries, I shall henceforth simply use the term ‘diary’ to refer to this genre, unless it is necessary to differentiate it from other genres in the interest of clarity.

With respect to format, *kanbun* diaries closely align with our contemporary expectations of what constitutes a diary. The texts consist of dated entries that describe the author’s experiences on a given day, typically describing official activities and noteworthy events. While nowadays, diaries are characteristically re-

32 For an overview of major diaries of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, see Takahashi 2005: 223–234.

33 Morita 1996: 1–5.

34 Matsuzono/Kondō Yoshikazu 2017: 3.

garded as a private space wherein thoughts and emotions may be explored and processed, intended only for personal reflection and consumption, the diaries examined herein were written as a form of semi-official documentation, and thus differed in their function and intended readership. They were passed on as reference manuals and were specifically designed to be read by others. As such, the texts do not, as a rule, include many private comments, details about the author's personal life outside their duties, or their innermost thoughts, as this was not their main purpose.³⁵ Rather, descriptions typically centre on the author's official duties or events of public interest, such as the activities of politically relevant figures or conflicts involving influential religious institutions.

Although *kanbun* diaries have been studied extensively by Japanese scholars, scholarly contributions in non-Japanese-language publications remain scarce. Historian Francine Hérail introduced various historical documents (*monjo* 文書), including *kanbun* diaries, in an article in 2004.³⁶ Hérail furthermore published annotated French translations of the two Heian period diaries *Midō kanpaku ki* 御堂関白記 (998–1021) by Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1028) and *Shunki* 春記 (1026–1054) by Fujiwara no Sukefusa 藤原資房 (1007–1057).³⁷ The translation of *Midō kanpaku ki* also includes a detailed introduction to the genre.³⁸

Donald Keene's famous work on literary history *Seeds in the Heart* from 1993 includes a short chapter on the famous diary *Meigetsuki* 明月記 (1180–1235) by the poet and courtier Fujiwara no Teika (also known as Fujiwara no Sadaie 藤原定家, 1162–1241).³⁹ This diary has also been studied and partially translated by Paul S. Atkins in an article published in 2010.⁴⁰ It also serves as one of many sources in Atkins' monograph *Teika* from 2017. In this book, select passages from the diary are deployed to illustrate key events in Teika's life,⁴¹ and to 'explore the role of China or more precisely, classical Chinese literary and historical texts, in Teika's writings'.⁴²

In 1992, Judith N. Rabinovitch and Akira Minegishi published an annotated translation of select excerpts from four diaries, including the late twelfth century text *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 (1168–1203) by Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207).⁴³ More re-

35 Morita discusses some anecdotal examples of personal evaluations. Morita 1996: 58–62.

36 Hérail 2004.

37 Hérail 1987, 2001.

38 Hérail 1987, vol. 1: 26–37.

39 Keene 1993: 828–832.

40 Atkins 2010.

41 Atkins 2017: 9–42.

42 Atkins 2017: 125, 124–163.

43 Rabinovitch/Minegishi 1992.

cently, in 2018, the historian Mikael Adolphson published a comprehensive article outlining various types of historical records in addition to contextualising the role of written artefacts in the early medieval period.⁴⁴ Most research, however, has been focused on works of the earlier Heian period. This also includes Schley's investigation of temporality in the Heian period diary *Gonki* by the courtier Fujiwara Yukinari in 2021 mentioned above.⁴⁵

In Japanese, substantial contributions by scholars of both history and literary history have been published. Takahashi Hideki's *Kokiroku nyūmon* 古記録入門 ('Introduction to Old Records') from 2005 offers an encompassing introduction to the genre, and includes valuable resources used to understand the state of source materials.⁴⁶ While most relevant publications include brief information on the genre's history, I wish to highlight Morita Kaneyoshi's contribution in the 1996 monograph entitled *Nikki bungaku no seiritsu to tenkai* 日記文学の成立と展開 ('The Origins and Developments of Diary Literature'). This book on diary literature dedicates an entire chapter to a detailed outline of the origins and development of *kanbun* diaries, as Morita argues that the literary genre's roots lay in the earlier practice of documentary diary writing.⁴⁷

Several publications specifically discuss the diaries of the medieval period, such as Gomi Fumihiko's edited volume *Nikki ni chūsei o yomu* 日記に中世を読む ('Reading about the Medieval Period in Diaries') from 1998,⁴⁸ or the edited volume *Nikki de yomu nihon chūsei shi* 日記で読む日本中世史 ('Japanese Medieval History as Read in Diaries') from 2011 by Matsuzono Hitoshi and Motoki Yasuo.⁴⁹ The edited volume *Chūsei nikki no sekai* 中世日記の世界 ('The World of Medieval Diaries') by Matsuzono Hitoshi and Kondō Yoshikazu from 2017 contextualises

44 Adolphson 2018.

45 Schley 2021.

46 Takahashi 2005. Takahashi's monograph list source texts chronologically, including title, author, the archives and collections that house them, and whether they have been edited into block letters (*kanpon* 刊本). Takahashi 2005: 223–234.

47 Morita 1996: 18.

48 Gomi 1998. The volume covers characteristics of the genre and its writing process in the introduction and then dedicates individual chapters to discussing individual diaries and their corresponding themes. It also includes an extensive list of existing research on *kanbun* diaries on pp. 287–309.

49 Matsuzono/Motoki 2011. The book is structured into three sections according to historical period (i.e., Kamakura, Muromachi, and Sengoku periods), discussing several of each period's more famous works. It also offers an overview of existing texts and corresponding research on pp. 294–310. Matsuzono also published an article in the same year reflecting on the research history of *kanbun* diaries and further scrutinising the characteristics of diaries dating to the late medieval period. See Matsuzono 2011.

medieval *kanbun* diaries within the broader landscape of records produced by various actors of elite social spheres, and discusses them alongside other types of diary-like texts.⁵⁰

While the diaries of court officials have been transmitted in large numbers from the Kamakura period, only two texts from this period written by *bakufu* officials survive today. To date, research about diary keeping at the Kamakura *bakufu* has been more limited and has focused primarily on the two existent texts.⁵¹ A notable contribution that regards larger issues is a chapter in Gomi Fumihiko's *Azuma Kagami no hōhō* 吾妻鏡の方法 ('The Method of Azuma Kagami') from 1990, in which the author demonstrates that *bakufu* diaries were used as a source material for the compilation of this chronicle.⁵²

I selected three diaries from the available sources as objects of my investigation: the two existent diary texts written by officials of the *bakufu* — *Kenji sannen ki* 建治三年記 and *Einin sannen ki* 永仁三年記 — and one diary written by a court official in the same time period, *Kanchūki* 勘仲記. I relied on printed editions of these texts, as my investigation is primarily focused on their contents rather than their materiality or calligraphic properties.

The diary *Kenji sannen ki* 建治三年記 ('Record of the Third year Kenji [1277]') was written by Ōta Yasuari 太田康有 (1228–1290) and has been transmitted as an original manuscript (*jihitsu* 自筆). The document consists of a single scroll that covers the entire year Kenji 3 (1277) and is believed to be a selective excerpt of what was originally a more extensive diary.⁵³ It is the oldest surviving diary of a *bakufu* official and is stored at the Sonkeikaku library (*Sonkeikaku bunko* 尊経閣文庫). Ōta Yasuari was a descendant of the Miyoshi family, one of the civil bureaucrat families who had been brought to Kamakura upon the founding of the *bakufu*.⁵⁴ The Ōta branch of the family had secured hereditary control of the post of the Director of the Board of Inquiry (*monchūjo shitsuji* 問注所執事), a position that Yasuari held at the time he wrote his diary.⁵⁵

The second existent *bakufu* diary from the Kamakura period is *Einin sannen ki* 永仁三年記 ('Record of the Third Year Einin [1295]'), a diary kept by Yasuari's son Ōta Tokitsura 太田時連 (1269–1345). This text has been transmitted in the form of a copy (*shahon* 写本) created almost two centuries later in the year Bunmei 4 (1482) by a certain Machino Nobuyasu 町野淳康 (fifteenth century). It is

⁵⁰ Matsuzono/Kondō Yoshikazu 2017.

⁵¹ E.g. Ryō 1952; Kawazoe Hiroshi 1954.

⁵² Gomi 1990: 86–146.

⁵³ Ryō 1952: 5–6.

⁵⁴ Goble 1985: 33–34.

⁵⁵ Goble 1985: 40–41.

also believed to be only a partial copy of an originally longer diary, and it is unknown whether or not the copyist was selective in its creation. The existent scroll covers only the first to the eighth month of the year Einin 3 (1295). Tokitsura, the text's original author, followed in his father's footsteps as Director of the Board of Inquiry and also held this position in the year covered by the remaining fragment of his diary.⁵⁶

The Board of Inquiry (*Monchūjo* 問注所) supervised by both of these authors was one of the *bakufu*'s principal judicial offices. The historian Satō Shin'ichi, who described the Kamakura *bakufu*'s institution in detail, has characterised the second half of the thirteenth century as a period of transition during which the *bakufu*'s legal system moved from categorising lawsuits according to criteria of social class (by differentiating the lawsuits of vassals (*gokenin* 御家人) from those of commoners (*zōnin* 雜人)), to a system that differentiated between criminal law and different types of civil law.⁵⁷ The Board of Inquiry had originally handled the civil lawsuits of commoners in the eastern provinces and later assumed charge of *zatsumu sata* 雜務沙汰 of said region that, according to Carl Steenstrup, roughly corresponds to modern civil law's 'obligation rights'.⁵⁸ The Board of Inquiry was also the central administrative organ to which all civil lawsuits were submitted. It would receive and process these lawsuits according to standardised procedures and then assign them to the appropriate office.⁵⁹

As Directors of the Board of Inquiry, both Yasuari and Tokitsura were also members of the Deliberative Council (*Hyōjō* 院評 or *Hyōjōshū* 評定衆), the *bakufu*'s primary organ for decision making. Its membership amounted to about fifteen, and was composed of the supervisors of the *bakufu*'s different judicial institutions, members of the Hōjō family — including the Hōjō *tokusō* and his advisor or 'co-signer' (*rensho* 連署) — and other high-ranking members of the *bakufu*'s bureaucracy.⁶⁰ The Council met regularly at the 'Council office' (*hyōjōsho* 評定所), which was located in the shogunal palace, and discussed the lawsuit pre-

56 Ryō 1952: 9–10; Kawazoe Hiroshi 1954: 47–48.

57 Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 39–40.

58 Steenstrup, 1996: 95. This includes civil law regarding rights to property other than land and specifically also the transfer of landowning rights, but not suits directly regarding landowning rights. Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 77. The 'Administrative Board' (*Mandokoro* 政所) shared a similar responsibility for Kamakura city and was also an important body of the *bakufu*'s financial administration, albeit not the only one. Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 79, 81.

59 Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 79.

60 The members for 1225–1284 are listed in the contemporary document *Kantō hyōjōshū den*. For a reconstruction of members of later years, see Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 225–323.

sented to them by the judicial offices before presenting a verdict.⁶¹ Andrew Goble has emphasised that the Deliberative Council was a locus of administrative but not political power. The latter was firmly in the hands of the Hōjō *tokusō*, who controlled appointments to the Council, dictated topics of discussion, and had the final say on any decisions made.⁶²

The two members of the Ōta family whose diaries survive were thus both involved at a high level with the *bakufu*'s governing activities, and worked in close collaboration with the respective Hōjō *tokusō*. Their writings primarily document activities related to the Deliberative Council and records of notable events at the *bakufu*; the respective shogun features only rarely in their texts.

I selected the diary *Kanchūki* 勘仲記 ('Record of K. K.'⁶³) written by the court noble Kadenokōji Kanenaka 勘解由小路兼仲 (1244–1308) as a comparative text. It covers the time span of Bun'ei 11–Shōan 3 (1274–1301) with relatively few gaps and is thus situated within the same time window as the two existent *bakufu* texts. This overlapping time window was one reason for selecting this diary as a comparative text, as I primarily aimed at a synchronous comparison of the elite spheres of court and *bakufu*. Additionally, the text was largely transmitted as an original manuscript. This mostly factors out the need to account for potential modifications to the original text by copyists and related issues that add complexity to the research. Also, renowned historians Takahashi Hideki, Sakurai Yoshio and Endō Tamaki have recently published an extensive and revised text edition of this diary,⁶⁴ which renders the text easily accessible in a reliable printed edition. Finally, the text also lends itself to my study because it contains calendar records (*rekiki* 曆記) of various years — notes that the author made on his calendar — which encourage consideration of certain themes such as, for example, the diary writing process. The length of the extant text not only offers valuable opportunities, but also poses certain challenges for analysis. The volume of text prohibited a close reading of the entire text, and therefore I selected the remaining parts of the year 1277 — the year covered in the *bakufu*'s *Kenji sannen ki* — as a sample for in-depth scrutiny. I also scanned the remaining text with regard to some of the discussed themes and to identify patterns of interest.⁶⁵

61 Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 44. Entry Kenji 3.7.27 (1277) of *Kenji sannen ki* indicates that the Council office was located in the shogunal palace at the time. *Kenji sannen ki*: 10.

62 Goble 1982: 190.

63 The name of the diary is an acronym of the author's full name Kadenokōji Kanenaka 勘解由小路兼仲, translated here as his initials.

64 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1–7.

65 The parts of the diary covering the year 1295 paralleling the time frame recorded in *Einin sannen ki* are not transmitted.

The author Kanenaka was a courtier descendant of the Hirohashi family — a branch of the Hino family — that had a history of service at the Imperial court in the Controller's Office (*Benkan* 弁官) and the Imperial Secretariat (*Kurōdo dokoro* 藏人所), as well as in the function of the regent Fujiwara family's household officials (*keishi* 家司).⁶⁶ In 1259, Kanenaka was appointed Junior Assistant Minister of Civil Administration (*jibu no shō* 治部少輔) — a third-level low-ranking official within the Ministry of Civil Administration (*Jibushō* 治部省).⁶⁷ He also worked as household official (*inkei* 院司) of Muromachi-in 室町院 (also known as Imperial Princess Kishi 暉子内親王, 1228–1300). Additionally, following the inauguration of Takatsukasa Kanehira 鷹司兼平 (1228–1294) as Imperial Regent (*sesshō*) in 1275, he served as Kanehira's household official (*keishi*).⁶⁸

Kanenaka ended up on the road to higher office when his older brother and the primary family heir Hirohashi Kaneyori 広橋兼頼 (1239–1280) died of an illness in 1280. Kanenaka inherited the family career path and was appointed Imperial Secretary (*kurōdo* 藏人) in 1284, later rising to the position of Head Imperial Secretary (*kurōdo no tō* 藏人頭) in 1291. He also worked in the Controller's Office, where he was appointed Right Lesser Controller (*ushōben* 右少弁) in 1287 before rising to the position of Right Middle Controller (*uchūben* 右中弁) in 1289 and then to Right Major Controller (*udaiben* 右大弁) in 1290. In 1292, he was appointed Advisor to the Council of State (*sangi* 参議), followed by Provisional⁶⁹ Middle Counsellor (*gon-chūnagon* 権中納言) in 1293.⁷⁰

Owing to his position as household official, Kanenaka worked closely with the Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira, who features as the most prominent figure in those parts of Kanenaka's diary that I have examined. The text also attests to the duties he performed for Muromachi-in and sometimes Retired Emperor Kameyama 龜山天皇 (1249–1305, r. 1260–1274), two members of the Imperial family who are mentioned more frequently than the acting Emperor Go-Uda 後宇多天皇 (1267–1324, r. 1274–1287) in the studied sections.

⁶⁶ Takahashi 1998: 84, 90–91.

⁶⁷ Yano 1965 [1936]: 5.

⁶⁸ Takahashi 1998: 106.

⁶⁹ The prefix *gon* 権 indicates that an individual was provisionally appointed to a position in excess of the ordinary number of office-holders.

⁷⁰ Yano 1965 [1936]: 5.

Methodology and Outline

The present study aims to systematically investigate time on various analytical levels, based on select diary texts and drawing on a range of theories of time proposed by different authors. Steineck emphasised the potential of Ernst Cassirer's theory of symbolic forms as a tool for cultural analysis because it conceives culture as an 'open, historically developing system of symbolic forms', and allows for an understanding of culture that reconciles both universalistic and particularistic perspectives.⁷¹ Therefore, I draw on the theory of symbolic forms to contextualise my findings. As seen in Steineck's outline, interest in Cassirer's work has produced several critical discussions of the theory of symbolic forms and publications addressing select aspects thereof.⁷² In my research, I follow Steineck's reformulation of the theory of symbolic forms, as it clarifies several areas that were not fully developed in Cassirer's work and defines terms that are suitable to my investigation.⁷³

Fundamentally, the theory of symbolic forms posits that both the production and reception of meaning are guided by specific normative contexts — so-called symbolic forms.⁷⁴ Different symbolic forms follow different normative demands (*nomoi*):⁷⁵ science is concerned with the search for objective truth, whereas art is concerned with aesthetic creation and law is concerned with social order. Symbolic artefacts that convey meaning — that is, specific works, such as the diaries investigated here — may be subject to one or several of these normative demands.⁷⁶

Symbolic articulations invariably appear in historically specific formations: like other symbolic artefacts, my sources are situated within a specific historical context that encompasses certain types of media, formats, institutions, attitudes, traditions etc. that were prevalent in the social spheres in which they were produced.⁷⁷ For example, they were written with ink on paper scrolls, whereas I myself write on a computer.

Different formats and modes of presentation are shared among different symbolic forms and among different historical formations.⁷⁸ In other words, the diary format — an arrangement of text in the form of dated entries — is particu-

71 Steineck 2020: 137–138. See also Steineck [forthcoming] 'Some Words on Theory and Method'.

72 Steineck 2020: 139–141.

73 Steineck 2020; Cassirer 2001 [1923].

74 Steineck 2020: 138.

75 Steineck 2020: 143.

76 Steineck 2020: 143–144.

77 Steineck 2020: 144–145.

78 Steineck 2020: 145–147.

lar neither to thirteenth-century Japan nor contemporary Switzerland, and can appear as a form of documentation (administration) or as a stylistic element in a novel (art).

When symbolic forms achieve social acceptance of their autonomy, they form cultural domains with institutions to produce, preserve, reproduce, criticise, and reflect their works.⁷⁹ Given that the production and transmission of symbolic artefacts are associated with resource expenditure and a degree of social coordination, Steineck emphasises the necessity to consider the material reality that underlies them.⁸⁰ For example, for their diaries to have survived to the present day, the people writing them had to be embedded in the court's bureaucracy and its structures of document transmission and preservation.

The specific formation of different cultural domains and their relationships with one another at any given time and space forms what Steineck calls the 'cultural constellation'.⁸¹ Different coexisting symbolic forms may complement or compete with one another, thus potentially subjecting a situation to different normative demands.⁸² The Imperial court, for example, was an arena of political competition, an institution of government administration, a primary locus for literary production, and thoroughly permeated by religious practices. Depending on the context, one or more of these symbolic forms may thus have predominated over the others. These core ideas derived from Cassirer's theory of symbolic forms thus provide a framework that is capable of accommodating and interpreting a variety of seemingly conflicting phenomena.

From my analysis emerged two superordinate realms of meaning, which, to my knowledge, have not yet been systematically described as symbolic forms although they appear to hold this potential: politics and administration. Devising a comprehensive and precise definition of 'politics' and 'administration' as symbolic forms is a complex undertaking in its own right and therefore remains beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, I attempted a preliminary definition to convey central considerations about 'politics' and 'administration' as symbolic forms which proved immensely useful in interpreting and contextualising my findings.

The normative demand of the symbolic form of politics could be formulated as the mediation of interests. This definition is deliberately broad in order to allow it to enclose a wide variety of issues subsumed in the term 'interests', such as the demand for legal rights, the assertion of values, claims to authority, or the

79 Steineck 2020: 145.

80 Steineck 2020: 148–152.

81 Steineck 2020: 148.

82 Steineck 2020: 148, 151–152.

fulfilment of personal desires. These interests are negotiated in a context in which interests external to the individual or group in question are also relevant, be they aligned or opposed to each other. This definition therefore not only encompasses the sphere of politicians and political activists, i.e., ‘politics’ in a narrow sense, but a plurality of contexts in which people negotiate their interests with and against each other: institutions such as universities, companies, or sports clubs, for example, but also family relations, or friend groups.

On the other hand, the normative demand of the symbolic form of administration could be described as the need to coordinate or organise activities. This is also a deliberately broad definition that applies to a wide range of contexts. What comes to mind easily are the organisational structures of government institutions and corporations with standardised administrative processes and procedures, but administration also plays a role in the coordination of events such as weddings or birthday parties, for example.

The preliminarily outlined symbolic forms of politics and administration — much like other symbolic forms that have been more elaborately defined in research literature — are devoid of a concrete attachment to a specific content and not tied to a singular context and cannot be reduced to another symbolic form. They allow for coexistence and interaction with other symbolic forms, such as for example the symbolic form of art: while a theatre play is first and foremost concerned with aesthetic creation (art), it requires the coordination of rehearsals and logistical components (administration), and may affirm or criticise the interests of a social group (politics). The reception of the play is also not solely dependent on its artistic quality (art), but on the quality of the organisation of the event (administration), and the potential identification of the audience with the conveyed interests (politics).

Although there is much more work to be done in positioning ‘politics’ and ‘administration’ as symbolic forms, these preliminary considerations provide a framework that guides the interpretation of findings and enables the formulation of overarching arguments in the present study.

To ensure that the present study captures a broad spectrum of interlinked facets of time, I investigate time on three distinct analytical levels, each of which build on existing models and theories of time. These three levels are chronography, chronopolitics, and chrononoetics/-poetics. These categories were defined by the TIMEJ project’s Principal Investigator Professor Raji C. Steineck and refined in discussions with the research group.⁸³

⁸³ Steineck [forthcoming] ‘Some Words on Theory and Method’.

On the first level — chronography — I analyse how time is both explicitly and implicitly expressed in the diaries. This includes a consideration of the terminology used and goes hand in hand with a consideration of relevant time units based on methods of time reckoning and calendrics. On this analytical level, I am methodologically guided by the works of two philologists: Roland Harweg's typology of chronography and Steineck's model for chronographical analysis.⁸⁴

Harweg devised a meticulous typology of chronographical expressions outlined in a book series entitled *Zeit in Mythos und Geschichte* ('Time in Myth and History') and applied the model to probe various sources from different cultures and historical contexts in three subsequent volumes.⁸⁵ Within this framework, Harweg also studied texts produced in varying stages of premodern Japan. While most of the sources investigated are literary texts, Harweg also notably included the historiography *Jinnō shōtōki* 神皇正統記 ('Chronicles of the Authentic Lineages of the Divine Emperors') from 1343 in his analysis.⁸⁶

Harweg distinguishes 'mythographical chronography' from 'historiographical chronography',⁸⁷ a terminology that suggests an implicit evolutionary aspect. To avoid this association, Steineck proposed the more neutral terms 'absolute chronography' and 'relational chronography' to indicate what lies at the core of Harweg's distinction between 'mythographical' and 'historiographical' chronography: whether its temporal indications may be viewed in relation to other points in time (relational) or not (absolute).⁸⁸

Other useful categories that Harweg delineates are the distinctions between 'formal' and 'material' chronography and between 'implicit' and 'explicit' chronography. Material chronography offers a way of referring to time that is bound to material phenomena. This is most commonly achieved through reference to natural phenomena or human actions and social phenomena. By contrast, formal chronography is abstracted from such phenomena and operates in units, such as hours. These examples are all forms of explicit chronography in that they directly reference time or temporal relations in some way. Implicit forms of chronography are more subtle references to temporality — for example, the duration implied by the verb 'search'.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Harweg 2008; Steineck 2019.

⁸⁵ The typology is developed in volume 1, whereas volumes 2–4 are concerned with the model's application to various texts from different cultures and historical contexts. Harweg 2008.

⁸⁶ Harweg 2008, vol. 3: 236–310. *Jinnō shōtōki* is covered on pp. 280–287.

⁸⁷ Harweg 2008, vol. 1: 5.

⁸⁸ Steineck 2018: 175–176.

⁸⁹ Harweg 2008, vol. 1: 5.

These distinctions proved useful in characterising the temporal structure of the genre of *kanbun* diaries and naturally invited reflections on the topic of social organisation, thus linking to the analytical level of chronopolitics.

Steineck's essay 'Chronographical Analysis: an Essay in Methodology' goes beyond Harweg's typology to outline a more comprehensive model that allows us to capture a wider range of temporal expressions — statements about the characteristics of time, questions of its affirmation or negation, and considerations of the degree of certainty with which statements about time are made.⁹⁰ Steineck also distinguishes three dimensions of chronography that indicate whether statements about time are descriptive, aim to prescribe a course of action, or primarily serve to express emotions.⁹¹ Steineck's model aided me in identifying the 'chronoschemes'⁹² of the studied texts: the predominant temporal scales and relative importance afforded to various temporal aspects in individual works. Furthermore, it aided me in investigating evaluations of time in the source texts, thus connecting to the analytical level of chrononoetics.

The second analytical level — chronopolitics — regards social temporal practices, which includes a discussion of regular routines that structured officials' everyday lives, the importance of schedules, the rigidity with which these schedules were adhered to, and a consideration of how actions were temporally coordinated. This level of analysis draws on writings by the sociologists Eviatar Zerubavel and Günther Dux, who adopt a social-constructivist approach to the study of time.⁹³

I draw on two of Zerubavel's articles to guide my investigation of chronopolitical practices. In the article 'Timetables and Scheduling: On the Social Organization of Time', Zerubavel outlined salient topics and questions for the study of the temporal patterns underlying social organisation and demonstrated how temporal practices can map hierarchical social relations.⁹⁴ The second article, 'The Language of Time: Toward a Semiotics of Temporality', in turn, explored the social communication offered by temporal practices on both an interpersonal level and on a larger societal scale.⁹⁵ Zerubavel's work guided my investigation of the social cycles reflected in the investigated diaries and my scrutiny of what they convey about scheduling practices and temporal social organisation.

⁹⁰ Steineck 2018: 172–173, 181, 184, 186.

⁹¹ Steineck 2018: 174–175.

⁹² Term coined by Steineck. See Steineck [forthcoming] 'Some Words on Theory and Method'.

⁹³ Dux 1992; Zerubavel 1976, 1987.

⁹⁴ Zerubavel 1976.

⁹⁵ Zerubavel 1987.

In the monograph *Zeit in der Geschichte* ('Time in History'), Dux argues that the primary way in which people within a given society coordinate their actions is strongly related to that society's conceptualisation of time. Dux juxtaposes a conceptualisation of temporality according to a logic of action (*Handlungslogik*) based on a mode of coordination primarily rooted in direct interaction between individuals, with a conceptualisation of abstract global time (*Weltzeit*) based on a mode of coordination relying on an external temporal framework. Dux also adopts an evolutionary view by describing a historical development from the former to the latter.⁹⁶ The main idea that I have transferred from Dux's theory to my analysis is the importance of reflecting on what the diaries disclose about how people coordinated their actions (beyond social cycles) and how that reflects on conceptualisations and expressions of time. While Dux covers similar themes as Norbert Elias' famous work *Über die Zeit*,⁹⁷ the application of Dux's concepts of *Handlungslogik* and *Weltzeit* in particular lends itself to my investigation to demonstrate that certain contexts favour one mode of social coordination over the other.

The third analytical level concerns chrononoetics and chronopoetics. Chrono-noetics refers to the conceptualisation and evaluation of time. In probing these topics, I lean heavily on Maki Yūsuke's model of variant morphologies of time, outlined in *Jikan no hikaku shakaigaku* ('Comparative Sociology of Time'), and on J. T. Fraser's hierarchical theory of time.⁹⁸ Maki distinguishes four different ways to conceptualise time that are represented as quadrants within a coordinate system. One axis describes whether time is conceived of as reversible, and the other axis differentiates between abstract time and time that differentiates between qualitative stages. This yields the following four morphologies.⁹⁹

- 1) **Oscillating time** (*hanputeki na jikan* 反復的な時間), which is qualitative and reversible. In this conception, two fundamentally distinct states alternate between one other.
- 2) **Segmented linear time** (*senbunteki na jikan* 線分的な時間), which is qualitative but irreversible. In this teleological conception of time, time unfolds as a unidirectional line up to an endpoint, at which a qualitatively distinct state is reached.

96 Dux 1992: 347–348.

97 Elias 2014 [1984].

98 Maki 2003; Fraser 2007 [1989], 2007 [2001], 2007 [2003]; Steineck 2017: 17–28.

99 Maki 2003: 195; Steineck 2017: 25; Tan 2020: 20.

- 3) **Circular time** (*enkanteki na jikan* 円環的な時間) or, as Steineck and Ammann suggest, **cyclical time**,¹⁰⁰ which is quantified and reversible. This conception of time is marked by a repetition of the same — or rather, the similar.
- 4) **Abstract linear time** (*chokusenteki na jikan* 直線的な時間), which is quantitative and irreversible. This conception of time construes time as an indefinitely extending line.¹⁰¹

Maki thus presents a multidimensional model that allows for the categorisation of different time conceptions according to two vectors. Of Maki's morphologies, the linear and cyclical morphologies are of particular interest in my investigation, as they allow me to contextualise a variety of phenomena disclosed on all three analytical levels.

Fraser's hierarchical theory of time instead distinguishes different, nested layers of temporality that relate to different areas of reality. These layers range from atemporality — the (non-)temporality of physical particles — to sociotemporality — temporality that is relevant in human societies, as Table 1 illustrates.¹⁰² Fraser argues that the meaningful determinations in one of these layers are not necessarily meaningful on others, and therefore affirms the coexistence of different temporal structures.¹⁰³

Table 1: Fraser's hierarchical theory of time.

Layer	Umwelt	Sequence of Events
Atemporality	Particles with zero rest mass	No coherent sequence of events
Prototemporality	Sub-atomic particles	Statistical relations of sequence, probabilistic laws govern the connections of events
Eotemporality	Solid matter	Local sequence that can be reversed
Biotemporality	Living matter	Events follow a unidirectional sequence
Nootemporality	Individual human beings	Actions are organised according to long-term goals
Sociotemporality	Human societies	Actions of individuals are contextualised in social institutions

¹⁰⁰ Steineck 2017: 26; Ammann 2021: 196–197.

¹⁰¹ Maki 2003: 158–165; Steineck 2017: 24–28.

¹⁰² Table 1 is based on Steineck 2017: 18.

¹⁰³ Fraser 2007 [2001], 2007 [1989]: 272–277, 2007 [2003]: 58–61; Steineck 2017: 17–24.

This fundamental principle of plural, coexisting modes of temporality is fundamental to my investigation. Fraser's theory thus aided me in distinguishing these coexisting layers of temporality and reflecting on their interactions. Of the different layers of temporality, I am primarily interested here in the concepts of nootemporality — the temporality of individual human beings — and sociotemporality — the temporality of social institutions and conventions. The differentiation between temporality that is relevant to a society as a whole and temporality that is relevant to the individuals living within that society opens up the field of subjective perception of time and its evaluation on both the individual and societal levels. On the level of chronopoetics, I therefore also consider issues pertaining to attitudes towards time.

The diaries under investigation include no philosophical treatises or artistic musings on the nature of time. While the topic of time is not in itself thematic in these texts, they nonetheless refer to certain frameworks built on conceptual ideas of time that lend themselves to reflection. Therefore, I scrutinise which aspects of institutionalised time appear to have been of the greatest importance in different contexts. Although the texts do not address what time 'is' or how it generally 'feels', in some cases, authors offer momentary evaluations of time that permit insights into their attitudes towards it.

Given that not all information related to time is necessarily verbalised in the texts that I study, I also considered some of the texts' chronopoetical aspects. This term is derived from Roman Jakobson's model of communication, which defines its poetic function as the 'set (*Einstellung*) toward the MESSAGE as such, focus on the message for its own sake'.¹⁰⁴ Following Jakobson's description, I thus consider the configuration of the diary texts themselves and how they are shaped to convey information about time.¹⁰⁵ Through this lens, I address questions pertaining to text format and layout, the length of narrative descriptions, and abbreviations thereof, among other aspects.

The issues captured by the outlined analytical layers strongly intersect with one another, and therefore I shall not adhere to these rigid lines in presenting my results. Rather, I structure each chapter around distinct themes that emerged as essential from my analysis, and I highlight which of the analytical layers connect to it in the discussion of these results, relating them to the theory of symbolic forms.

In Chapter 1, I first examine the diaries' *causa scribendi* and establish their function and readership, which inform their disposition towards time. I also ex-

¹⁰⁴ Jakobson 1960: 356.

¹⁰⁵ Jakobson 1960: 356–357. In recent years, Steineck and Kaufmann have advocated using Jakobson's model as an approach in philosophical research, briefly illustrating its applicability to the religious writings of premodern Japan. Kaufmann/Steineck 2018.

amine the writing process as an activity that takes place in and takes up time. Finally, I discuss the role that time plays in structuring the texts.

In Chapter 2, I outline the most dominant temporal routines pertinent to the examined diary texts, and how routine activities are portrayed within them. In this context, I also highlight how the actual practice diverged from idealised descriptions of these routines and draw attention to the adaptation of schedules in various circumstances.

In Chapter 3, I address the time reckoning systems that formed the basis of the temporal regimes of the court and *bakufu* and outline these systems' ideological underpinnings. I discuss related temporal practices, briefly address the importance of the described timekeeping systems for scheduling purposes and analyse the associated dating practices in the examined diaries.

In Chapter 4, I discuss what the diaries reveal about the coordination of action at the court and *bakufu* by examining several case studies that prove particularly insightful.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I identify the chronoschemes of the individual texts — that is, which magnitudes of time are addressed — and the relative emphasis afforded to them in the examined works. I thereby illuminate the contexts in which certain forms of chronography predominantly appear. This analysis also offers an ideal opportunity to highlight instances in which emotive statements about time are expressed, and thus ties in with an examination of the perception and evaluation of time.

In synthesising different approaches to the study of time, I aim to analyse various aspects of time to obtain a comprehensive picture of how time was expressed, used, negotiated, perceived, and understood by the officials who wrote the diaries under investigation. I argue that we may discern a plurality of coexisting modes of time and that certain aspects and concerns will take precedence over others in different situations, depending on which symbolic form is predominant in said situation.

This research demonstrates how, when carefully studied, these sources can provide insight into general attitudes towards fundamental determinants of human life such as time, that manifest differently depending on the specific social requirements dominating any given situation. It also contributes to a more comprehensive theory of time by elucidating the perspective of a premodern South-East Asian society.

Notes on Format

It was, and mostly still is, conventional to write in columns from right to left in Japan. Following the conventions in English research literature, quotations from

the diaries are instead formatted in rows in this monograph. It is therefore not possible to exactly portray the diaries' format, although I strived to convey a general sense for it by transferring some features preserved in the printed text editions I worked with. Occasionally authors inserted sentences or words in a smaller font which is written in superscript and introduced by a circle: ○ 例文. Text written in someone else's' hand is marked by Japanese parentheses: 「例文」. I followed the punctuation of the printed text editions but for consistency uniformly used 、 rather than 。 which is used in some editions.

If not otherwise indicated, definitions of terms such as various utensils and special events are based on *Kokushi daijiten* 国史大辞典 ('Great Dictionary of Japanese History') and *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 ('Great Dictionary of Japanese Language') accessed via the JapanKnowledge Online Library. Similarly, biographic information is based on *Nihon jinmei daijiten* 日本人名大辞典 ('Great Dictionary of Japanese Names') also accessed via JapanKnowledge.¹⁰⁶ I chose to translate titles and nicknames as true to the sources as possible so that readers unfamiliar with this field of research may get an impression of their style of communication. I based my translations on the 'Online Glossary of Japanese Historical Terms' formerly hosted on the website of the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo¹⁰⁷ and currently preserved as a spreadsheet that was circulated via the Premodern Japanese Studies (PMJS) Listserv in October 2022.

In my analysis, I shall reference entries within the diaries following the established conventions for dating in research literature: I use a format that approximates the contemporary conventions by indicating the year with era names, followed by the month and the day. I indicate intercalary months with an 'i' before their ordinal number. To offer the reader a better orientation, I also provide the year notations in Common Era format. For example, the first day of the first month of the year Kenji 3 (1277) will be rendered as Kenji 3.1.1 (1277). The indicated dates thus reference the contemporary *Senmyōreki* calendar, which can be translated to the proleptic Gregorian calendar or the Julian calendar using, for example, a table provided in the reference book *Koyomi no hyakkajiten* 暦の百科事典 ('Calendar Encyclopedia').¹⁰⁸

106 <https://japanknowledge.com/lib/search/basic/index.html> (10.03.2023)

107 <https://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/> (10.03.2023)

108 Nishizawa 1993 [1986]: 431–494.

Chapter 1

Temporality of Diaries

In my Introduction, I have outlined the need to consider the contexts in which symbolic artefacts were produced and the institutions that oversaw their production, tradition, and reception. I shall thus trace the origins of the concrete historical formation of the diaries that I investigate and determine the texts' communicative function. This will not only serve to make this strand of research available to an Anglophone readership, but will also establish the texts' functionality, which ties into the questions of temporality that are subsequently explored in this chapter. Specifically, I contemplate the activity of diary writing and its surrounding circumstances, and examine the way in which time acts as a structuring factor in the formation of these texts (i.e., their chronopoetic features).

1.1 The Origin and Function of Diary Keeping

Diary Keeping at the Imperial Court

The earliest documental, diary-like texts in the form of continuous, dated records are presumed to have been produced by the offices of the *ritsuryō* system of government upon its establishment in the seventh century. Morita Kaneyoshi has demonstrated that diary-like records from the Nara period (710–794) had served as reference material for the famous chronicle *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (720). During this time period, people who ordinarily would not keep records did so on extraordinary occasions, such as overseas travels or in times of war. The text *Iki no Hakatoko no fumi* 伊吉連博徳書 ('Iki Hakatoko's Writings'), documenting a diplomatic mission to Tang in the second half of the seventh century by the court official Iki no Hakatoko 伊吉博徳 (?–?), is believed to be the oldest known diary. The original has not been preserved but is quoted in the *Nihon shoki*.¹⁰⁹

Diaries recording court activities are well documented from the ninth century onwards, and were produced by different groups of officials to keep a continuous record of various areas of court administration. Council Secretaries (*geki* 外記) kept records of general court matters in Council Secretary diaries (*geki nikki* 外記日記), Palace Secretaries (*naiki* 内記) documented matters relating to the palace itself in Palace Secretary diaries (*naiki nikki* 内記日記), and Imperial

109 Morita 1996: 28–34, 47.

Secretaries (*kurōdo* 藏人) kept similar records, known as Courtiers' Hall diaries (*tenjō nikki* 殿上日記). Female officials also produced official records that were written in *Kana* — an example wherein the language distinction does not equate to a distinction in genre.¹¹⁰

These diaries were a form of public documentation kept as an integral aspect of the official duties of certain court offices and are thus categorised as 'public diaries' (*kōnikki* 公日記) in the research discourse. They are distinguished from the 'private diaries' (*shinikki* 私日記) that came to dominate the genre in the course of the ninth century. These terms do not relate to the texts' reception but instead describe the circumstances of their production. Namely, they designate whether the authors were assigned the task from the top down as part of their official duties (public) or whether they wrote them without having been expressly instructed to do so (private).

Towards the end of the ninth century, in the wake of the increasing privatisation of politics and administration, a practice of maintaining private diaries emerged in parallel to these officially commissioned and centrally organised diaries. The practice originated within the Imperial family, the diaries of Emperor Uda 宇多天皇 (*Uda tennō gyōki* 宇多天皇御記, 887–897) and Emperor Saga 醍醐天皇 (*Saga tennō gyōki* 醍醐天皇御記, 897–929) remaining as the oldest surviving texts. This was soon mimicked by members of the regent Fujiwara family, the oldest surviving work being the diary of Imperial Regent Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (*Teishin kōki* 貞信公記, 907–948).¹¹¹

The investigation of calendar formats helps trace the expansion of diary keeping from the Imperial family to other court officials during the Heian period. As I shall explore in greater detail in Chapter 1.2, authors kept notes in officially issued calendars that formed the basis for their diary texts. This calendar format is attested to by the well-known *Midō kanpaku ki* (998–1021) of the Imperial Regent Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1028) — the oldest surviving original manuscript of a diary. These calendar text versions were presumably also the point of origin of the older Emperor diaries. Initially, only the Emperor's calendar provided sufficient blank space to comfortably write personal notes on it every day. Surviving artefacts suggest that members of the regent Fujiwara family were the first to receive similar calendars, until the eventual incorporation of blank spaces

¹¹⁰ Morita 1996: 18–27; Takahashi 2005:16–20. Famous examples of these female official records are *Daikō gyōki* 太后御記 (early mid-tenth century) and *Oyudono no ue no nikki* 御湯殿上日記 (1477–1687).

¹¹¹ Takahashi 2005: 20–22. Other documents attest to an even older text that has not been transmitted: a diary from the Gangyō-era (877–885) written by Imperial Prince Motoyasu 本康親王 (?–902), a son of Emperor Ninmyō 仁明天皇 (810–850, r. 833–850). Takahashi: 20.

into the calendars' format became more widespread at court.¹¹² Leinss suggests that in the tenth–eleventh century, the calendar format was personalised to respond to the demands of individual officials.¹¹³

Leinss also presented evidence of a calendar fragment from 746 on which a court official's personal notes were inscribed. The author is presumed to have been a certain Shihi no Maro 志斐麻呂 (?-?), an official working in the Sūtra Copying Department (*Shakyōjo* 写経所) of the Empress' household agency. The sample includes only a handful of notes, thus differing significantly from later, more consistent and frequent diary records.¹¹⁴ However, it demonstrates that a rudimentary practice of noting down significant events in calendars already existed among court officials during the earlier stages of government, before the practice became widespread — although this is the only extant example from the ancient period.

While public diaries predate private examples, the latter were popularised during the Heian period beyond the Imperial family and the Fujiwara regents, until various courtier families established traditions of diary keeping. Private diaries eventually became the predominant form in which courtiers documented their duties at court, and while public diaries did not disappear entirely after the Heian period, their numbers are marginal in comparison to the favoured private ones. By the Kamakura period, private diaries had thus taken over the function of court documentation that had formerly been organised as top-down public diary keeping in the earlier stages of government, a function that was now fulfilled by members of various court official families.

In a contribution to a volume on medieval diaries, Kondō Yoshikazu has examined this development towards a reliance on private diary keeping in the context of changes in the political and administrative structure of the court. New extra-statutory offices that simplified administrative processes had been introduced to the court in the ninth century. Based on their new practice of employing Imperial edicts (*senji* 宣旨) to convey orders, they are known as *senjishoku* 宣旨職 ('Imperial edict offices'). These offices all became increasingly important over the course of the Heian period, and appointment to them relied heavily on personal ties to the Emperor.¹¹⁵

112 Morita 1996: 34–37.

113 Leinss 2021b: 117.

114 Leinss 2021b: 108–111; Morita 1996: 35.

115 Kondō Yoshikazu 2017: 13. Chief among them were the offices of Imperial Regents (*sesshō* 摂政 for minor Emperors, and *kanpaku* 関白 for adult Emperors), the aforementioned Imperial Secretaries (*kurōdo* 蔵人), and the Imperial Police (*keibiishi* 檢非違使).

In the course of these developments, access to the Emperor became restricted by various means. On one hand, the Emperor's movements were limited to a smaller sphere, as he did not move around as freely as before and only rarely left the palace enclosure (*dairi* 内裏).¹¹⁶ On the other hand, admission to the Courtiers' Hall (*tenjō* 殿上 or *tenjō no ma* 殿上間) — a part of the Seiryōden Hall 清涼殿 in the Imperial Palace used by the Emperor in everyday life — became a privilege exclusive to the highest echelons of the court. This system introduced a new distinction that stratified the officials into two social status groups: those with permission to enter the Courtiers' Hall — the so-called *tenjōbito* 殿上人 ('Royal Intimates')¹¹⁷ — and the remaining court officials without such privileges. Important court ceremonies formerly held in the more public space afforded by the Shishinden Hall 紫宸殿 were transferred to the Seiryōden Hall, and thus were conducted from then on among a more restricted circle of people. The number of people with direct access to the Emperor had consequently decreased and, simultaneously, their personal ties secured them better opportunities for appointment to core offices.¹¹⁸

Kondō argues that the Emperor's narrower public sphere that had been created by these limitations was not covered by the etiquette of the *ritsuryō* system. The older manuals were thus unable to provide adequate guidance for the administration of new court events, and the same was true of various procedures relating to the newly created offices.¹¹⁹ Additionally, with the advent of the cloister government system (*insei*) in the late eleventh century, additional ways of conducting events at the court of the Retired Emperor also emerged.¹²⁰

According to Kondō, therefore, officials were obliged to adapt and respond to these new circumstances by deciding on a course of action and thus establishing precedent for subsequent events. The new set of procedures that emerged after these institutional changes was not codified like its predecessors but had rather been created through everyday practice and passed on as a series of precedents. This newly emerged court etiquette is known as *yūsoku kojitsu* 有職故実, and was transmitted both orally and in various text formats. Diaries therefore ac-

116 Such occasions became extraordinary events known as 'outings' (*gyōkō/miyuki* 行幸).

117 The privilege was granted to all court members of the first to third ranks and individual officials from the fourth, fifth, and — occasionally — sixth ranks who performed specific functions in this part of the palace, such as Imperial Secretaries (*kurōdo*).

118 Kondō Yoshikazu 2017: 13–17.

119 Kondō Yoshikazu 2017: 17.

120 Kondō Yoshikazu 2017: 19.

quired considerable importance as manuals for consultation with the aim of keeping track of and confirming precedents.¹²¹

Mikael Adolphson has advanced a similar argument in an essay entitled ‘Documents and Literary Manuscripts in Early Medieval Japan’.¹²² Adolphson argues that the Heian period witnessed a trend towards the privatisation of political power and economic resources that was exacerbated during the Kamakura period and that this privatisation led to increased reliance on written documents in general. This was particularly true for proprietors of private land that was exempt from taxation and not regulated by the *ritsuryō* codes (so-called *shōen* estates, 庄園 or 莊園) in the absence of any central archive or institution to administer the records pertaining to these lands. Rather, owners were expected to keep the records themselves and present them to the authorities when needed.¹²³ Adolphson likens the diaries of courtiers to such legal documents: privatisation had produced new procedures that necessitated recording by decentralised elites.¹²⁴

By the Kamakura period, most court offices were privatised into the hands of organisational structures that had formed around family networks, known as ‘houses’ or ‘families’ (*ie* 家). These families had secured hereditary office tenures and had become specialised in particular areas of court administration. Members of a given family would thus perform and document their duties at court while anticipating that their descendants would one day follow in their footsteps. In documenting their activities and associated procedures, they equipped future generations with the knowledge and instructions required to adequately execute their duties, thus ensuring them a significant advantage over potential rival candidates.¹²⁵

Keeping records of these activities over generations in the form of private diaries thus became a closely guarded cultural capital that would ensure future control of hereditary office tenures, and thus secure the family’s lasting economic stability. The knowledge preserved in diaries was guarded as a valuable asset, and the texts were not freely accessible outside the family.¹²⁶ This is not to say that they were not circulated at all: people with close personal ties would sometimes be permitted to view or copy parts of family diaries and some of the knowledge contained in the diaries also appears to have been circulated via word of mouth. Evidence

121 Kondō Yoshikazu 2017: 17–20; Takahashi 2005: 23–24. Court etiquette was also recorded in specialised document types, such as *gishikisho* 儀式書 (recordings of ceremonies) and *nenjū gyōji* 年中行事 (yearly observances).

122 Adolphson 2018.

123 Adolphson 2018: 299–301.

124 Adolphson 2018: 315.

125 Matsuzono/Motoki 2011: 5–8; Takahashi 2005: 23–25, 32–33.

126 Morita 1996: 49.

also attests to cases in which families without an elaborate practice of keeping and preserving diaries of their own would collect diaries by buying them or borrowing them from others.¹²⁷ Nonetheless, the knowledge contained in the diaries was closely guarded overall, and the families exercised strict control over who was granted or denied access to it. Matsuzono has noted that the restriction of access to this knowledge brought with it the advantage that one's authority was not easily questioned, even when one diverged from well-established proceedings. After all, who was to say that one was not following an uncommon precedent that was only recorded in their family archives?¹²⁸

Some families became exceptionally well-known for their vast knowledge of diary precedents and etiquette, and thus became known as *nikki no ie* 日記の家 ('diary houses' or 'diary families'). According to Adolphson, the widespread use of this term in the eleventh–fourteenth centuries attests to the importance of diaries in this period in particular.¹²⁹ These families did not simply keep family diaries but were publicly regarded as experts who could be called upon for advice regarding precedents, as they could consult their family diaries and provide counsel in these matters.¹³⁰

According to Takahashi, these diary-expert families may be broadly categorised into two groups: those who had an advisory function and were consulted in questions of precedent, and those who specialised in record keeping for a superordinate house (*shuka* 主家).¹³¹ For example, although the Fujiwara regents kept diaries, their entries were typically not overly detailed, particularly in the later medieval period. Rather, the family relied on their household officials (*keishi*) to keep detailed records. The diary contents thus vary with respect to their focus and length, depending on the diarist's social standing.¹³²

The importance of these diaries is clear when one considers the sheer numbers in which they were replicated. The conscious intention to establish both a tradition of transmission and the long-term continuity of documentation is demonstrated by the convention of recording and dating relevant activities, such as the creation of copies, excerpts, and indexes. Such indications are typically included at the end of an individual scroll, thus informing future readers of the transgenerational transmission history of that particular portion of the text. For example, the scroll of *Kanchūki* that covers the eleventh and twelfth months of

127 Morita 1996: 55–56; Takahashi 2005: 24.

128 Matsuzono/Motoki 2011: 5.

129 Adolphson 2018: 314.

130 Takahashi 2005: 37–39.

131 Takahashi 2005: 38–39.

132 Matsuzono/Motoki 2011: 6–7.

the year Kenji 2 (1276) contains an annotation at its end, recording that Kanenaka's son Hirohashi Mitsunari 広橋光業 (1287–1361) excerpted it:

Founding year of Ōcho [1311] 6th month 19th day, excerpt completed.
Provisional Assistant Captain of the Left Gate Watch [Hirohashi Mitsunari]
(signature)

應長元年六月十九日、抄出了、
右衛門權佐(花押) (*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 258).

Not only do we know that Kanenaka's direct descendant used the text and reproduced part of it in the form of an excerpt, but an additional notation subsequent to Mitsunari's indicates that the text was still being used and edited a good two centuries later:

5th year of Taiei [1525] 9th month 7th day, perusal and then completion of excerpt.
Imperial Secretary Left Lesser Controller [Hirohashi Kanehide] (signature)

大永五年九月七日、一覽之次抄出之畢、
藏人權左少辨(花押) (*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 258).

In the year 1525, approximately 250 years after Kanenaka originally wrote the diary, another remote descendant of his — Hirohashi Kanehide 広橋兼秀 (1506–1567) — reviewed it and created his own excerpt. As may be gleaned from his title, he too served in both the Imperial Secretariat (*Kurōdo-dokoro*) and the Controller's Office (*Benkan*) at court, a function that had been performed by Hirohashi family members since before Kanenaka's time.

Mitsunari's and Kanehide's signatures appear throughout the text, as both were evidently most active in its replication and editing. Both revisited it on multiple occasions, and their engagement with the text spanned several years. For example, Mitsunari twice excerpted the scroll covering the first and second months of the year Kōan 2 (1279): once in the year Ōchō 1 (1311) and a second time in the year Genkō 4 (1324).¹³³ Meanwhile, Kanehide occupied himself with the scroll covering the spring of the year Kenji 3 (1277) on two different occasions. According to the notations, he completed an excerpt on Taiei 4.9.1 (1524) and returned around a year later to 'index' the scroll (*mokuroku o toru* 取目錄), an activity completed on Taiei 5.9.8 (1525).¹³⁴

¹³³ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 92.

¹³⁴ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 293–294. This means that Kanehide added annotations to diary entries to indicate their contents, as discussed in Chapter 1.3.

The records of Mitsunari's and Kanehide's activities indicate that they did not work chronologically: for example, Mitsunari worked on the scroll of the year Kōan 2 (1279), before that of Kenji 2 (1276); and Kanehide similarly worked on the scroll of Kenji 3 (1277) before that of Kenji 2 (1276). Moreover, Mitsunari did not replicate all the scrolls, as no such indication is made in the scroll of Kenji 3 (1277), for example. We may presume that they instead applied other criteria to determine the sequence, perhaps prioritising scrolls that included content that was pertinent to their own duties or otherwise significant events.

People thus copied old texts to ensure easy readability, created selective excerpts, and edited the documents by adding annotations. A substantial number of diaries have survived thanks to the efforts undertaken by many people over the course of centuries to duplicate and preserve them.¹³⁵ Various measures were also taken to protect them from fires and floods, including raising them off the ground, storing them in portable or easily movable 'document carts' (*fukuruma* 文車), or storing multiple copies of the same document in different locations. Because main residences were typically located in residential areas, where lamps were lit every night, they were particularly prone to fires, and so the diaries were sometimes stored in other locations, such as secondary residences in more rural areas (*bessō* 別荘) or remote storage facilities. Some sources show that when a fire struck, attempts to salvage parts of the family archive would prioritise diaries over other important manuscripts.¹³⁶

Diary Keeping at the Kamakura *Bakufu*

Upon the founding of the *bakufu*, the first shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199) recruited officials from both among his warrior vassals and from among the civil bureaucrats of the capital. These bureaucrats provided the newly established government institutions with the necessary experience and expertise to ensure an efficient administration. The bureaucrat families retained hereditary control of these leading positions within the *bakufu*'s administration throughout the Kamakura period. The mid-level officials, in contrast, were recruited locally in the Kantō region from lesser-known warrior families. Many of these families also succeeded in establishing hereditary control over these positions. Both groups' officials were dependent on the *bakufu*'s functioning and continuance to ensure their

¹³⁵ Matsuzono/Motoki 2011: 4; Adolphson 2018: 315. Because the copies were created by different people in different periods, many diaries are known by multiple names today. For example, the *Kanchūki* is also commonly referred to as *Kanenanka-kyō ki* 兼仲卿記 ('Lord Kanenaka's record').

¹³⁶ Takahashi 2005: 42–43.

own families' status and survival, as they were largely isolated from other loci of power.¹³⁷

From the outset, therefore, the *bakufu* administration was decidedly shaped by bureaucratic experts formerly involved in the Imperial court's administration, and therefore it seems reasonable to assume that the diary keeping practice was brought to Kamakura with these civil bureaucrats.

The only two extant diaries written by *bakufu* officials in the Kamakura period today are *Kenji sannen ki* (1277) and *Einin sannen ki* (1295, copy from 1482). Both are fragments of diaries written by members of the Ōta family, a branch of the Miyoshi family. The Miyoshi family was among those civil bureaucrat families brought to Kamakura by Minamoto Yoritomo upon the founding of the *bakufu* and had since established itself as hereditary tenant of the highest post of the Board of Inquiry.¹³⁸

The historian Gomi Fumihiko identified that both court and *bakufu* diaries that were used as reference material for the compilation of the Kamakura period chronicle *Azuma Kagami* 吾妻鏡 ('Mirror of the East', covers 1180–1266).¹³⁹ Specifically, Gomi identified part of *Azuma Kagami* that was most likely based on a diary of Miyoshi Yasunobu 三善康信 (1140–1221), the grandfather of Ōta Yasuiri, who authored *Kenji sannen ki*. Gomi thus demonstrated that members of the Miyoshi family were already producing records in the form of diaries before the two extant texts. Also, an entry in *Azuma Kagami* indicates that Yasunobu's archive burned down on Jōgen 2.1.16 (1208).¹⁴⁰ This suggests a long-standing tradition of diary keeping at the *bakufu* and demonstrates that the records were stored in family archives, akin to those at court.

Gomi further demonstrated that other branches of the Miyoshi family also kept diaries that were used in the compilation of *Azuma Kagami*. Specifically, Gomi identified Yano Tomonaga 矢野倫長 (1210–1273), a member of the Deliberative Council (*Hyōjōshū*), as potential diarist who likely kept a diary in the year Kenchō 4 (1252) that was subsequently lost.¹⁴¹

Gomi further found indications that the Miyoshi family were not alone in keeping records in form of diaries at the Kamakura *bakufu*. Gomi suggests that the Nikaidō family, another of the civil bureaucrat families brought to Kamakura upon the *bakufu*'s foundation that had secured hereditary tenure in the position

137 Goble 1985: 32–37.

138 Goble 1985: 40–41.

139 Gomi 1990: 86–146.

140 Gomi 1990: 87–97.

141 Gomi 1990: 105–110.

of Director of the Administrative Board (*mandokoro shitsuji* 政所執事),¹⁴² had also kept diaries. Gomi identified Nikaidō Yukimasa 二階堂行政 (ca. twelfth century) and his son Nikaidō Yukimitsu 二階堂行光 (1164–1219) as likely diarists.¹⁴³ Somewhat paralleling the example of Yano Tomonaga, Gomi also discussed the possibility of a diary kept by Nikaidō Yukikata 二階堂行方 (1206–1267), who was not involved in the Administrative Board but was a member of the Deliberative Council. Gomi argued that Yukikata’s diary likely stems from a time in which he had served in the palace of the shogun Imperial Prince Munetaka 宗尊親王 (1242–1274), on the grounds that the corresponding passages in the *Azuma Kagami* revolve around the shogun.¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, no diaries kept by servants in the shogunal palace remain. We may expect that such works would likely have exhibited greater similarity to the diaries of officials serving in the Imperial Palace or in the household of the regent Fujiwara family.

Gomi’s reconstruction of the source material used for the compilation of *Azuma Kagami* paints a picture of a relatively thriving culture of diary keeping at the *bakufu* dating back to the Kamakura *bakufu*’s inception. It places the two existent texts within a broader, continuous tradition of diary keeping among various families of the *bakufu*. Gomi also provided evidence that it was not only officials in the highest positions who kept diaries but that, similar to the court, members of other family branches in other positions also did so.

In contrast to *Kanchūki*, *Einin sannen ki* was not transmitted as an original manuscript by Tokitsura, but was passed on as a copy created by a certain Kiyohara Motosada 清原元定 (?–?) in 1482.¹⁴⁵ This is noted at the end of the document:

The above record is [part of] the family record of successive generations of the Ōta. This is one volume of it that was inherited and passed on by Machino Former Governor of Kaga Atsuyasu.¹⁴⁶ Privately he lent it out to be copied. Successful completion on the 20th [day] Yin Water Ox [#50] in the 2nd month of the year Bunmei Yang Water Tiger [#39] [1482].¹⁴⁷ [Contains entries] from the 1st day of the 1st [month], until the 25th [day] of the 8th [month], 18 pages.
Low-ranking official¹⁴⁸ [Kiyohara] Motosada

142 Goble 1985: 41–42.

143 Gomi 1990: 129–140.

144 Gomi 1990: 99–105.

145 Kawazoe Hiroshi 1954: 46.

146 Machino Atsuyasu 町野淳康 (?–?) was a grandson of Miyoshi Yasunobu 三善康信 (1140–1221). Yasunobu was the first to inhabit the position of Director of the Board of Inquiry. The Machino family was a parallel family branch to the Ōta family. Goble 1985: 40–41.

147 This sentence uses dates of the sexagenary cycle. See Chapter 3.2 for an explanation thereof.

148 *chōsan taifu* 朝散大夫 refers to officials of junior fifth rank and lower.

右記録者、太田累代之家記也、而町野加賀前司淳康相傳之、此一冊其内、竊令借用書寫畢、文明壬寅二月念己未之日功訖、自正朔至八廿五、十八枚也、朝散大夫元定 (*Einin sannen ki*: 48).¹⁴⁹

The record indicates that the diary of the Ōta branch of the Miyoshi family, to which the original author Tokitsura belonged, was passed on within the parallel Machino branch and then loaned out to a member of a different family to be copied. This demonstrates that a similar transmission history applies to the diaries of *bakufu* officials, who passed on family records and were involved in the reproduction of their ancestors' diaries in an attempt to preserve these reference works for the instruction of future generations.

The existent *Kenji sannen ki* document is an excerpt that was created by its original author, Yasuari, possibly for use in the compilation of *Azuma Kagami*. The excerpt is undated, and thus the timing of its creation is uncertain. This demonstrates that even original authors sometimes replicated alternative versions of their texts and that new and different iterations of the 'same' document were produced.

Unfortunately, little more about this topic can be derived from the existent source material. The loss of diaries written by *bakufu* officials is primarily attributable to the destruction of the city of Kamakura during the Genkō War (1331–1333) by Emperor Go-Daigo in his attempt to restore Imperial rule. The full extent to which *bakufu* officials produced diaries thus remains unknown.

Orientation Towards the Future

In both the sphere of the Imperial court and the *bakufu*, diaries were crucial in stabilising a family's social standing and economical status. The career path of individual officials was typically foreseeable and relied on the family's monopoly of knowledge and expertise in certain areas of administration. Thus, record keeping became a crucial — albeit not officially mandated — part of the official's everyday activities, as it was a key pillar supporting the family's future stability.

While diaries may, on a superficial level, appear to be concerned primarily with documenting the past, the texts are inherently oriented towards the future. The description of past events was a means of affecting the future, given that the

¹⁴⁹ The document additionally records that it was repaired on Kaei 6 (1853).7.25 by a certain Tobe Yoshihiro 卜部良熙. However, nothing otherwise appears to be known of this individual, as research literature includes no notable information about them.

aim was to create a reference manual that could be consulted should similar situations recur in the future, thus equipping the author and their descendants with a resource that would allow them to excel in their duties. While the diaries are descriptive in the sense that they describe actual events as they unfolded, they are prescriptive in their function: the implicit assumption is that the described procedures will serve as models to guide appropriate actions in similar circumstances.¹⁵⁰

The diaries are further situated within the larger context of generational transmission of knowledge in a double sense: each text is one in a series of multiple diaries written by successive generations of the same family and is itself also transmitted and edited by different people of successive generations. Diary authors were acutely conscious of this function and the intended readership of their texts at the time of their production, which influenced both the writing process and the texts' structure.

The significance of these works in transmitting knowledge and serving as guidelines for posterity is reaffirmed by the fact that even in the sixteenth century, Kanenaka's diary was consulted by a descendant, and Tokitsura's diary was loaned out for copying in the fifteenth century. In adding a record of one's own replication or modification of the text, the editors exhibit a consciousness of their own roles within a long chain of transmission that transports this knowledge through time, from the past into a potentially open-ended future.

In the following, I analyse how the text's fundamental disposition, which combines a link to the past with an orientation towards the future, influences the text's formation and related temporality on various analytical levels. This includes an investigation of the temporal aspects of the activity of writing and how the writing process was organised (i.e., questions of chronopolitics). It also encompasses a consideration of the configuration of the diary texts and how time serves to structure the narrative (i.e., questions of chronopoetics and chronography). In this context, I briefly touch on practices surrounding the modification of diary texts throughout their transmission history, which again combines these different levels of analysis.

1.2 Diary Writing

In the introduction to an edited volume about different genres of premodern diaries, the scholar Horiuchi Hideaki has considered the origins of the term *nikki*

¹⁵⁰ See also Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'.

日記 ('diary'), which was imported from China, where it had been in use since at least the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). Based on the research of Tamai Kōsuke, Horiuchi argues that the term's early application to various types of text suggests that the etymology is connected to the idea that a certain text was worked on daily as distinct from a record categorised according to days.¹⁵¹ Although it was used in the latter sense in premodern Japan, there is merit in highlighting this underlying meaning from which the term evolved, given its emphasis on the continuity and persistence of the writing process associated with diaries.

Diary writing was continuous not only in the sense that it entailed noting down events and experiences on a daily basis, but also because it relied heavily on the revision of notes and previous drafts. Repeated editing was an important feature of the text genre. The act of writing also adds another temporal dimension, as time is invested in deliberating what should be committed to paper, writing out sentences, and so on. As such, different questions emerge in relation to time and diary writing: for example, at what point within the span of their lifetimes did officials keep their diaries, and what prompted them to start and stop? When, within a particular day, and how often did diarists take time to write their diaries on a regular basis? What did this writing process look like, and how time-consuming was it?

The relevant meta-information about diary keeping is not explicitly addressed in the source material, which makes these questions somewhat hard to answer. Previous research and a consideration of the sources, however, allow for the collation of information and the formulation of some thoughts on these issues.

Documenting a Lifetime Career

To demonstrate the significance afforded to record keeping as part of an official's court career, Takahashi studied various sample diaries dating between the eleventh–fifteenth centuries to identify which occasions prompted court officials to begin writing diaries regularly. Takahashi noted that the attainment of access rights to the Courtiers' Hall (*tenjō* or *tenjō no ma*) — that is, the opportunity to interact with the Emperor — emerged as a prominent instigation of diary keeping. The acquisition of such privileges generally marked an important milestone in an official's career, as it signified their successful progress en route to high office.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Horiuchi 1984: 1.

¹⁵² Takahashi 2005: 27–30. For example, Fujiwara no Tsunefusa 藤原経房 (1142–1200) was granted this privilege in 1166 and was promoted in rank shortly thereafter. Tsunefusa's diary *Kikki* 吉記 (1166–1193) begins in that year. Takahashi 2005: 29.

Other examples provided by Takahashi demonstrate that the death of the family leader, marking a shift in family leadership, was also a significant event that led officials to begin keeping a diary, along with the generational change marked by the inauguration of a new Emperor. Fujiwara no Munetada's 藤原宗忠 (1062–1141) diary *Chūyūki* 中右記 (1087–1138) began in the founding year of Kanji (1087), the year of Emperor Horikawa's 堀河天皇 (1079–1107; r. 1087–1107) ascension to the throne.¹⁵³ In light of the fact that higher offices typically required confirmation by the new Emperor,¹⁵⁴ this too marked an important milestone in the diarist's court career.

Takahashi thus argues that one's promotion to higher rank and an awareness of generational change — both in terms of Emperor succession and one's family leadership — were important factors in officials' decision to commence diary keeping.¹⁵⁵ I would go one step further and add that these factors are connected to a young courtier's prospects of career success and the continuation of hereditary office tenure.

In said investigation, Takahashi also touches on *Kanchūki* and observes that the text version that is still extant today begins in the year in which the author's father Hirohashi Tsunemitsu (1212–1274) died.¹⁵⁶ A calendar record exists of the year Bun'ei 11 (1274) and a continuous diary text exists from the subsequent founding year Kenji (1275) onwards. The calendar record's entry Bun'ei 11.6.4 (1274) indicates that most of Kanenaka's writings were lost in a fire that same year, although it is not clear what kind of texts are being referred to.¹⁵⁷ As such, it is possible that Kanenaka had kept diary-like records before.

As mentioned in the Introduction, Kanenaka was not Tsunemitsu's main heir but found himself on the path to higher office when his older brother Hirohashi Kaneyori (1239–1280) died in the year Kōan 3 (1280) of an unspecified illness. Kanenaka had thus begun keeping his diary before he was set on the path to higher office, evidencing that various officials throughout the court hierarchy kept records of their activities. Kaneyori's diary does not survive today, but references in *Kanchūki* indicate that he kept records that were closely affiliated with diary keeping. For example, entry Kōan 1.i10.28 (1278) states:

153 Takahashi 2005: 27–30.

154 Kondō Yoshikazu 2017: 15.

155 Takahashi 2005: 30.

156 Takahashi 2005: 30. Tsunemitsu had kept his diary *Minkeiki* 民経記 (1212–1274) until his death. Takahashi has demonstrated that the text is sometimes referenced in *Kanchūki*. Takahashi 1998: 92.

157 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 37–38.

28th day, Yin Fire Sheep [#44], serene. Early in the morning, I went to the Lord Secretary Controller¹⁵⁸ [Hirohashi Kaneyori]. He lent me documents, topical compilations, etc. relating to the Kasuga shrine visit.

廿八日、丁未、晴、早旦參頭辨殿、御春日詣文書并部類記等所借給也、
(*Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 26).

Whether these records had been written by Kaneyori himself or were part of family records written by earlier generations and preserved by Kaneyori is unclear. It seems reasonable to assume that Kaneyori had also kept a diary but that its importance declined vis-à-vis the records kept by Kanenaka, who went on to enjoy a successful court career and whose writings were prioritised in preservation efforts.

While officials began writing their diaries at significant points in their careers or upon generational changes, they typically ceased the activity at the end of their official careers. Takahashi offers several examples to illustrate this, positing that retirement from office by taking the tonsure (*shukke* 出家) marked the point in officials' lives at which they typically ceased diary keeping. *Entairyaku* 園太曆 (1311–1360), the diary of the courtier Tōin Kinkata 洞院公賢 (1291–1360) marks an insightful exception to this rule, as Kinkata continued his diary after his retirement in 1359 because his successor had not yet begun writing his own diary. Takahashi's findings thus suggest a strong motivation to ensure continuity of record keeping across generations.¹⁵⁹

No similar studies to date have focused on the diaries kept by *bakufu* officials, as the two extant texts from the Kamakura period cover only about one year each and thus do not allow for a comparable investigation. Gomi's research outlined earlier attests to a certain cross-generational continuity in record keeping among the Miyoshi and Nikaidō families.¹⁶⁰ The motives that determined the start and end points of diary keeping for *bakufu* officials may have resembled those outlined here for court officials.

Diary writing can thus be characterised as an important activity pursued throughout the majority of one's career as an official on a more or less daily basis. The diarists' main concern lay in conveying information regarding their official activities, which is why they set out to write their diaries upon reaching career milestones and continuously pursued this activity for several decades until their death or retirement. The end of one official's era of record keeping was typi-

158 *tō no ben* 頭弁 indicates a double appointment as Imperial Secretary (*kurōdo*) and Controller (*benkan*).

159 Takahashi 2005: 30–31.

160 Gomi 1990: 86–146.

cally marked by a new generation's assumption of the responsibility, thus establishing a long and continuous body of diaries that documented the duties of various generations. The diaries thereby may also have served to keep track of family merits over multiple generations.

A Multi-Step Writing Process

Earlier, I briefly touched upon the format of calendar records (*rekiki* 曆記) and the idea that the practice of diary writing originated in notes inscribed on officially issued calendars. Well into the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, it was standard practice in diary writing to take notes in the calendar as a first rough outline for entries that, in a next step, served as a basis to formulate a neater and more elaborate stand-alone text version (*hinamiki* 日次記). It appears that this strong relationship with calendars began to deteriorate in the late medieval period, as diary entries were composed directly, without the writer having taken any prior notes on calendars.¹⁶¹

The diary writing process has been studied in detail by Nakamaru Takafumi in an article that demonstrated that intermediate drafts and revisions would precede the composition of final versions (*seisho* 清書). Nakamaru illustrated this by studying a specific part of the Heian period diary *Gonijō Moromichi ki* 後二条師通記 (1083–1099) kept by Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062–1099). It represents a peculiar case, as Moromichi died suddenly and unexpectedly, never concluding his editorial work on the diary. For the first three years, 1083–1085, there are two extant text versions that were kept in parallel, and, contrary to other cases, neither seems to represent the diary's final edition. Nakamaru therefore argues that these work-in-progress texts offer unique insights into the diary writing and editing process of the time, offering clues as to the processes of creation and editing of diaries that were not yet smoothed out of the final edition.¹⁶²

One text version is a copy of the record that Moromichi had noted directly on his calendar, likely in close temporal proximity to the described events. Nakamaru characterises this version as somewhat note-like, lacking consistency, and containing occasional reduplications, often omitting crucial information. The second text, in contrast, is a revised edition that elaborates on the previous version's contents

161 Takahashi 2005: 50–53.

162 Nakamaru 2007a: 31–32, 40–41.

and sometimes reorganises the whole structure of the entries. For the most part, the two versions clearly represent different stages in the editing process.¹⁶³

However, Nakamaru asserts that the second version is also not a final edition of the diary, as towards the end, the style changes and the entries become more sparse and note-like. Nakamaru thus argues that the author began to rely more heavily on the first text version and possibly a third, supplementary text.¹⁶⁴ The study not only elucidates the diary writing process, but also demonstrates that the editorial work was sustained over many years and explores how it could change over time.

Nakamaru confirmed that these considerations reflect the general writing practices of the genre by illustrating similar findings for both the diaries *Midō kanpaku ki* (998–1021) and *Chuyūki* (1087–1138).¹⁶⁵ I shall complement Nakamaru's study, which focused on diaries of the eleventh century, with an example from the *Kanchūki*. This demonstrates that the outlined practices were continued in the Kamakura period and also provides a more concrete and vivid illustration of the different stages of the writing process.

From the *Kanchūki*, three complete, original calendar records of the years Bun'ei 11 (1274),¹⁶⁶ Kōan 7 (1284),¹⁶⁷ and Kōan 11/Shōō 1 (1288)¹⁶⁸ have been preserved. While no edited diary version was transmitted for Bun'ei 11 (1274), a partial, edited daily record exists alongside the calendar record for both Kōan 7 (1284)¹⁶⁹ and Kōan 11/Shōō 1 (1288).¹⁷⁰ Below, I juxtapose Kanenaka's calendar notes of Kōan 7.11.1 (1284) with part of the corresponding daily record. The calendar notes are marked by their brevity:

Serene. I went to the Retired Emperor [Kameyama]. Because of a Council meeting, I did not report to him. I went to the Imperial Palace. Calendar Presentation. I distributed it.

晴、參院、依御評定
不違奏事、參内、御曆奏、
千分配、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 217).

This concise account of events essentially mentions the sequence in which Kanenaka visited different places of service. Notable details about the corresponding events are specified in an annotation rendered in smaller script, a format known

¹⁶³ Nakamaru 2007a: 32–36.

¹⁶⁴ Nakamaru 2007a: 38–40.

¹⁶⁵ Nakamaru 2007a: 36–38.

¹⁶⁶ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 1–100.

¹⁶⁷ *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 154–229.

¹⁶⁸ *Kanchūki*, vol. 5: 237–306.

¹⁶⁹ *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 230–279, vol. 4: 1–177.

¹⁷⁰ *Kanchūki*, vol. 6, vol. 7: 1–48.

as *warichū* 割注. This record is indeed note-like in character, as it provides only rudimentary information about Kanenaka's activities, omitting most details. The entry is rather representative of other entries in the calendar record of Kōan 7 (1284).

By contrast, the daily record of Kōan 7.11.1 (1284) explains the context and precise occurrences in greater detail, painting a more elaborate picture of those events, as exemplified by the first part of the entry that elaborates on the visit to Retired Emperor Kameyama:

1st day, Yin Wood Boar [#12], serene. I went to the Retired Emperor [Kameyama]. Because there was no adequate opportunity at the Council, I did not report to him. Because of the untimely death of the Kamo shrine official Mitsumoto, it was desired that there be a discussion in the related Council. [The Council discussed whether] Provisional shrine official Hidetsugi should be appointed [to the vacant office] or whether it should be passed on to the son of Mitsumoto, Mitsunobu. Provisionally, the Council decided on a divination. The Head Minister [Taira Tadayo] urged on the Yin and Yang Experts, etc. Lord¹⁷¹ [Abe] Kunitaka, Lord [Kamo] Mitsukoto, Lord [Abe] Arimitsu, Lord [Kamo] Arihide, Lord [Abe] Arihiro, etc. handed down their evaluation. Reportedly, this ceremony was on the north side.

一日、乙亥、晴、參院、評定無機嫌¹⁷² 間¹⁷³ 不奏事、鴨社祝光基夭亡之間、所望輩評定有御沙汰、權祝秀繼轉任歟、光基息子¹⁷⁴ 光信讓与歟、俄被決御占、頭卿催陰陽師等、國高朝臣・在言朝臣・有¹⁷⁵ 光朝臣・在秀朝臣・有弘朝臣等被下御點、於北面有此儀云々、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 4: 127).

In this text version, Kanenaka provides additional context and elaborates on the topic that was discussed in the Retired Emperor's Council. The discussion concerns the succession of the office of the Kamo shrines' shrine official (*hafuri* 祝). The Council discussed two possible options: either to pass the office on to the deceased's son or to promote the provisional shrine official (*gon-hafuri* 權祝) to the position. The Council ultimately decided to obtain a divination by Yin and Yang Experts (*onmyōji* 陰陽師) on the matter. The marker for indirect speech (*unnun*

171 The suffix *ason* 朝臣 is a hereditary title of high prestige (*kabane* 姓) that is typically not translated. In favour of easy readability to non-specialist audiences, I elected to translate *kabane* as 'Lord', akin to general honorary suffixes such as *dono* 殿.

172 The original text states 謙 here but this is thought to be an error, as indicated by the editors. *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 217.

173 The author originally wrote 條 but corrected it to 間.

174 The author originally wrote 朝臣 but corrected it to 息子.

175 The author originally wrote 良 but corrected it to 有.

云々) at the end of the section indicates that the writer obtained information by hearsay. It is unclear whether this applies to all of the information about the Council, or only the exchange with the Yin and Yang Experts.

As illustrated here, other perspectives occasionally appear in the diarists' descriptions of events, as information was shared among members of the court and could be recorded second-hand in this way to offer a more comprehensive account of events. Therefore, the diaries did not constitute an exclusive record of the author's personal experiences, but instead offered a more comprehensive window into an objective past that could encompass the second-hand reports of others.

The entry then proceeds to elaborately describe the Calendar Presentation ceremony (*on-koyomi no sō/goryaku no sō* 御曆奏) at the palace of the Emperor:

Next, I went to the Imperial Palace. Calendar Presentation. Because I [was in charge of] distribution, I was at the discussion. The supervising noble¹⁷⁶ Middle Counsellor Yoshida [Tsunenaga] distribution arrived at the guard post meeting¹⁷⁷ inner side. He summoned me via an official. I went to the guard post meeting and ascended at the end of the Advisor-seats. I kneeled down and the supervising noble said: 'It is the Calendar Presentation.' I received the written order¹⁷⁸ and went to the Emperor [Go-Uda]. At the Table Room,¹⁷⁹ I presented it via his lady-in-waiting.¹⁸⁰ Recounting what I had heard, I went to the guard post meeting and said: '[The Emperor] is not out. Bring it to the Mirror Room.'¹⁸¹ Then, I left. The supervising noble summoned officials and ordered them to call the Council Secretary. Because the Senior Secretary [Kiyohara] Yoshisue had contact with defilement,¹⁸² Secretary [Miyoshi] Yasuari came to the small garden¹⁸³ [instead]. The supervising noble said: 'Bring it to the Mirror Room.' [The Secre-

176 *shōkei* 上卿 refers to the Senior Noble (*kugyō* 公卿) supervising the event.

177 *jin no za* 陣座 or *jōza* 仗座 refers to a meeting in which Senior Nobles (*kugyō*) discussed official matters. It originally took place in the guard post of the Inner Palace Guards but was later conducted near the Shishinden Hall.

178 *jōsen* 上宣 is an imperial order (*senji* 宣旨) issued by the supervising noble (*shōkei*).

179 The Table Room (*daiban dokoro* 台盤所) was the main space of the Emperor's ladies-in-waiting — that is, the female equivalent to the Courtiers' Hall. It was so named because dining tables were stored in its facilities. Male officials were not permitted to enter it.

180 *omotobito* are close servants of the Emperor; *naishi* are female officials/ladies-in-waiting who act as messengers to the Emperor.

181 *naishi dokoro* 内侍所 or *kashiko dokoro* 賢所 was a room in the Unmeiden Hall 温明殿 of the Palace, where one of the Imperial Regalia, the sacred mirror, was stored.

182 *hyō no e* 丙穢 is a type defilement (*kegare* 穢) that temporarily limits one's activities due to related taboos.

183 The garden in front of the Courtiers' Hall was known as the small garden (*koniwa* 小庭), as opposed to the large garden (*ōniwa* 大庭) in front of the Shishinden Hall.

tary] acknowledged the order¹⁸⁴ and left. Then, he brought it to the Mirror Room. The calendar was in a box and on a table.¹⁸⁵ Aside from the contact between the supervising noble and the Secretariat's official, nothing unusual. Then, I left [for the day].

次參内、御曆奏事、予分配之間所申沙汰也、上卿吉田中納言分配、着仗座、與、以官人被召予、出陣昇參議[座]末、跪座下、上卿云、御曆奏候フ、承上宣、參御所方、於臺盤所以侍從内侍奏聞、仰聞食之由、出陣、予仰云、不出給、令付内侍所ヨ、次退、上卿召¹⁸⁶ 官人被仰外記可召之由、大外記良季觸丙穢之間、史康有參小庭、上卿仰云、令付内侍所、稱唯退、[次]付内侍所、御曆入櫃居案上、觸上卿并官外記之外無殊事、次退出、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 4: 127).

This text version again paints a clearer picture of the events. Kanenaka was tasked with presenting the calendar to the Emperor, but the procedures had to be adapted because the Emperor was not in the expected part of the palace and wished to have the calendar delivered to a different room. Kanenaka's diary offers insight into the workings of the palace, as he reported this change in procedure back to his superior and other officials had to be called to fulfil the task. The difference between the two text versions is striking, and it is clear that the calendar notes captured only the essentials that were later expanded on in the revision process.

In a second article, entitled *Kioku no genzai: kanbun nikki kaku koto no ronri* 記憶の現在: 漢文日記書くことの論理 ('The Presence of Memory: the Logic of Writing *Kanbun* Diaries'), Nakamaru elaborates on the motivation to write the diaries in such a multi-step procedure. Nakamaru argues that the practice of writing diaries was informed by a concern with forgetting information. Memories were written down as quickly as possible in the form of calendar notes to ensure that details were remembered correctly and that the information transmitted in the diaries was accurate.¹⁸⁷ This requirement certainly relates to the diaries' function to transmit knowledge about correct procedures to descendants in order to secure their career paths.

This concern with memory is expressed in *Kujō-dono ikai* 九条殿遺誡 ('Instructions of the Late Lord Kujō', tenth century), a famous family precept (*kakun* 家訓) in which Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (909–960) imparted directions on diary writing to his descendants. Although the instructions are brief, this document is

184 *ishō* 称唯 is a prescribed way to acknowledge orders by covering one's mouth and saying 'ooo' or 'oshi'.

185 *an* 案 are tables used to present various items, such as documents, clothing, offerings, etc.

186 The author originally wrote 問 but corrected it to 召.

187 Nakamaru 2007b: 14–16.

probably the best-known text that directly addresses the protocol surrounding diary keeping and is thus often quoted in research literature about the genre. After instructing the diarist to consult the calendar daily in the morning, the text states:

Public affairs of the previous day and unavoidable personal matters, lest they be forgotten, should be concisely noted in [your] calendar.

昨日公事、若私不得止事等、爲備忽忘、又聊可注付件曆、¹⁸⁸

The calendar notes thus served as memory aids for their authors, forming the basis for more elaborate text versions, and would ensure that the representations of the events were true to reality. As evidenced by Nakamaru's research, intermediate versions were revised and re-edited, sometimes years or decades later, into a final diary edition that was specifically designed to be understood by others and passed on to descendants as stand-alone texts. An entry in *Chuyūki* suggests that the underlying calendar notes were no longer needed when such editions were created, and were therefore typically destroyed.¹⁸⁹ For this reason, few calendar records survive, in contrast to the vast number of edited diary texts. It appears likely that descendants concentrated their efforts to preserve and replicate documents on finished editions, prioritising their transmission over that of calendar notes and draft text versions.

In considering the two text versions of the *Kanchūki* entry quoted above, the difference in function of the two versions clearly emerges: one is primarily a memory aid and rough first draft, and the other is a polished piece of textual work that is targeted towards a specific reader requiring details and context to understand what was recorded in only a few sentences in the previous text edition. The daily records entailed more careful consideration and creative application, and the investment of both time and effort was therefore comparably higher. Given that the entries are substantially longer, the very act of writing out the characters on paper also took more time.

Takahashi has highlighted an entry in *Kanchūki* that attests to the fact that entries were sometimes left open-ended for subsequent revision:¹⁹⁰ Entry Kenji 1.10.21 (1275) records the ceremony of Takatsukasa Kanehira's reappointment to the office of Imperial Regent (*sesshō*), and the description of events ends with the following statement:

¹⁸⁸ Original and translation quoted from Leinss 2021b: 115. See also *Kujō-dono ikai*: 137.

¹⁸⁹ Nakamaru 2007a: 41.

¹⁹⁰ Takahashi 2005: 36.

At a later day, I will inquire with the officials and the Council Secretary and amend [this entry].

後日相尋官・外記續加之、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 103).

Subsequently, copies of the five permission documents crucial to the ceremony are included in the entry. They are not written in Kanenaka's own hand, so presumably he had someone else do this work for him.¹⁹¹ This suggests that the author initially did not have the relevant documents to hand and was only able to have their contents copied at a later time after conversing with the appropriate officials.¹⁹²

By way of such statements, the daily records testify to their authors' continuous active engagement with the texts and, most importantly, their constant revisions. It is clear from this evidence that individual entries were not necessarily finished in one sitting but could remain temporarily open-ended while correct information was sought.

This is particularly relevant for entries that include copies of documents. The act of transferring the document's contents into the main body of the diary text requires an additional investment of time in addition to the effort to get one's hands on the documents in the first place. Sometimes, such documents were instead transmitted in a supplementary collection that was transmitted along the diaries.¹⁹³

In terms of time, we can thus identify various factors that shaped the diary writing process. One concern was to take notes in close temporal proximity to one's experiences, driven by a motivation to retain accurate information and not risk losing it to forgetfulness after allowing too much time to pass. A normative demand to correctly reproduce procedures in the diary texts mandated by the symbolic form of administration was thus fundamental in this writing process. The symbolic form of administration also ultimately required the texts to be shaped in a way that would be intelligible to others. The texts had to be meaningful to different people, even those inhabiting an intangible future.

While the diary writing process of court officials can be reasonably comprehensively reconstructed, the writing process followed by *bakufu* officials is not documented. Comparison of various text versions akin to those above is not possible, as no calendar records were transmitted from the Kamakura *bakufu*. The question is further complicated by the fact that the extant version of *Kenji sannen ki* is an excerpt, while the extant version of *Einin sannen ki* is a later copy that may also

191 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 103–105.

192 Takahashi 2005: 36.

193 Takahashi 2005: 55.

have applied selection criteria that omitted certain parts of the original text. The factual basis on which one might construe arguments is thus rather thin.

A notable aspect of the extant documents is that, with some exceptions, the entries are on average substantially shorter than those in *Kanchūki* or other courtier diaries. They are often limited to only a few sentences, and focus on essentials. Even when the texts elaborate on events more thoroughly, the level of detail is incomparable to that found in *Kanchūki*. For example, the entry Kenji 3.6.17 (1277) in *Kenji sannen ki* describes the author Yasuari's activities in only a few sentences:

17th day, serene.

The Tonsured¹⁹⁴ Suwa Left Gate Watch [Shinshō]¹⁹⁵ told me that Mutsu¹⁹⁶ Lieutenant Commissioner of the Left Palace Guard [Akahashi Yoshimune] was added to the Deliberative Council. He told me to write and pass on the order.¹⁹⁷

十七日、晴、

爲諏方左衛門入道奉被仰云、陸奥左近大夫將監所被加評定衆也、可書進御教書云々、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 6).

Given that the entries in both *bakufu* texts are rather concise, their authors may have followed a simplified writing process that was not particularly reliant on revisions and intermediary text editions. We cannot even say with certainty whether calendar notes were taken at the *bakufu*.

When Did People Write Their Diaries?

In the case of diaries written by court officials, the detailed description of events could result in rather lengthy diary entries, indicating that the diary writing process was clearly time consuming. Rather than composing lengthy entries on a regular basis, it appears that diarists instead opted to take short notes regularly, which then served as a basis for composing more elaborate texts that were meaningful to others and that provided context and details at a later point in time. The writing process was thus temporally structured into different stages and marked by revisions.

¹⁹⁴ *nyūdō* 入道 indicates that the individual had taken the tonsure and preliminary Buddhist vows but had not entered a monastery.

¹⁹⁵ Suwa Shinshō 諏訪真性 (?-?) was a retainer of the *tokusō* Hōjō Tokimune. He conveyed Tokimune's orders to the diarist here.

¹⁹⁶ Members of the *bakufu* were typically referred to by the provinces they governed.

¹⁹⁷ *kantō migyōsho* 関東御教書 are documents conveying orders of the *tokusō* or his advisor.

This complicates the question of when people typically wrote their diaries. The topic is commonly addressed in research literature based on consultation of the aforementioned *Kujō-dono ikai*. As noted above, the text instructs the reader to record the previous day's events every morning, placing diary writing within the framework of a routine that includes the consideration of daily fortunes and personal hygiene prior to one's attendance to one's official duties.¹⁹⁸ However the text also acknowledges that this time frame may not have been sufficient to allow everything to be written down, and therefore explains in a side note that longer entries may be written throughout the day:

Next, record the events of the previous day. In the case of an eventful day, they can [also] be recorded over the course of the day.

次記昨日事、事多日、日中可記之、(*Kujō-dono ikai*: 136).

The text remains rather vague in its instructions on when to complete these longer entries, suggesting that this was probably dependent on the workload and left to the individual's discretion. It is also unclear whether people were only expected to take daily notes on the calendar or whether they were to work on revisions on a daily basis as well. Whether or not this ideal of the tenth century represents the actual practice in the thirteenth century is also uncertain.

The diaries explored in this study do not reference the writing process itself and thus do not provide meaningful indications about the timing and frequency of this activity. In *Kanchūki*, a substantial portion of the diary entries state that the author went somewhere 'early in the morning' (*sōtan* 早旦) to perform duties. The recollection of the day begins directly with the commencement of official duties, omitting any personal routine that Kanenaka may have observed prior to attendance at court. If diary writing, in any stage or form, was indeed part of a morning routine as described in the *Kujō-dono ikai*, it would place this activity outside the bounds of official duty and in the realm of a 'personal' routine, which was not the primary objective of the text's transmission of information. The same may be said of the two *bakufu* diaries, which also do not touch on their author's personal lives beyond their duties.

Times of rest are rarely addressed in the diaries, and the duration of individual activities are typically unspecified. We may imagine that the diarists had some time on their hands between the described events to dedicate themselves to diary writing, but such instances are not recorded in the texts, perhaps reflecting the fact that it was not an officially assigned activity.

198 *Kujō-dono ikai*: 136.

It is thus clear that the routine of diary writing and the conditions surrounding this activity lie beyond the knowledge that is transmitted through the diaries themselves. It was likely important knowledge considering the status that the diaries occupied in court society, but was probably transmitted orally or acquired through observation and emulation of one's relatives and superiors, rather than written down formally. We are thus left with little concrete information regarding when diarists worked on revisions and can only form tentative speculations.

Given that the writing process could be time-consuming, particularly for longer entries, it seems natural that people would resort to taking quick notes while they lacked the time to compose something more elaborate, making an effort instead to write down the essentials of their experiences as soon as possible to ensure they were not forgotten. It thus seems feasible that the gist of events was indeed jotted down daily, as suggested by *Kujō-dono ikai* (whether in the morning or at another point during the day), but it still seems unlikely that people had sufficient time at their disposal to keep elaborate diaries on a daily basis. Rather, the revised diary versions were probably created whenever the workload was light and there was room to pursue this semi-official activity, with entries remaining open ended at times, until the author had time to complete them. The composition of longer diary entries may have been somewhat variable and spanned broader temporal horizons, as revisions and final editions were sometimes made after long intervals.

Any assertions that might be made about when *bakufu* officials wrote their diaries must be even more tentative. The activity is not mentioned in the texts themselves, and I am not aware of any other contemporary texts that address it. Considering the core requirement that the recorded information had to be accurate and thus had to be written down in relative temporal proximity to the experienced events, which also holds true for these texts, we can presume that *bakufu* officials also wrote their diaries on a regular basis.

1.3 Diary Text's Temporal Structure

Calendrical Framework

The general structure of *kanbun* diaries aligns closely with our contemporary idea of what constitutes a diary: a string of chronologically arranged, dated entries that describe the events that occurred on each given date. The entries can vary in length, depending on different factors, such as how eventful the day was and whether the diarist decided to provide a detailed description of individual activities or merely a general outline. Some days are omitted from the record al-

together, possibly because the author was not on duty or nothing noteworthy occurred on that day.¹⁹⁹

The entire text is subdivided into monthly sections, and new months are introduced by headers written in a separate line. This style is illustrated by way of the first two entries in the third month of the year Kenji 3 (1277) in *Kanchūki*:

Third month large²⁰⁰

1st day, Yang Metal Tiger [#27], serene. Due to an impediment, I did not go to his highness [Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira].

[in another hand:] Duty as intermediate waiter at the seasonal banquet of the Imperial Princess

3rd day, Yang Water Dragon [#29], serene. I went to the palace. Seasonal banquet²⁰¹ of the Imperial Princess [Shōkeimon'in²⁰²]. Head waiter²⁰³ Lord [Fujiwara] Takahiro. Intermediate waiter²⁰⁴ me. I catered from the eastern double-leaf door of the Shishinden Hall. Torch ceremony²⁰⁵ of the Retired Emperor [Kameyama], Lord [Fujiwara] Sadafuji was the administrator.²⁰⁶

Buddhist service of all scriptures²⁰⁷ at Byōdōin temple. Household official Imperial Secretary Junior Assistant Minister of the Imperial Household Ministry [Taira] Nobusuke went there for the unsealing. The Nobles²⁰⁸ [Takashina] Yoriyasu and [Fujiwara] Kanenobu etc. went there for dressing room functions.²⁰⁹

三月大

一日、庚寅、晴、依故障不參殿下、

〔姫宮御節供役送御勤仕事〕

199 Some of the arguments in this subchapter are also presented in Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'.

200 This indicates that the month consisted of 30 days.

201 *osechiku* 御節供 is an umbrella term used to refer to five seasonal banquets that were conducted annually. The one conducted on the third day of the third month is called *jōji* 上巳.

202 Shōkeimon'in 昭慶門院 (also known as Imperial Princess Kishi 憲子内親王, 1270–1324) was the daughter of Retired Emperor Kameyama and Fujiwara no Masako 藤原雅子 (?–?).

203 *haizen/baizen* 陪膳 refers to the person who serves food at the banquet.

204 *yakusō* 役送 refers to the person who hands over items to the *haizen/baizen* (head waiter).

205 *miakashi* 御燈 is a ceremony conducted semi-annually on the third days of the third and ninth months to reaffirm the Emperor's authority.

206 *bugyō* 奉行 or *bugyōnin* 奉行人 refers to the official in charge of executing functions at a given event.

207 *issai kyōe* 一切経会 is a Buddhist service with sacrifices to the Buddhist canon.

208 *shodaibu* 諸大夫 refers to individuals of fourth and fifth rank.

209 *kaguya* 楽屋 are individuals serving as assistants in the break room of musicians and dancers.

三日、壬辰、晴、參院、姫宮御節供、陪膳、降博朝臣、役送、予、自寢殿東面自妻戸供之、上皇御燈儀、定藤朝臣奉行、平等院一切經會也、開封家司藏人宮内少輔信輔參行、樂屋行事諸大夫賴泰・兼信等參行、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 284–285).

As demonstrated here, the diary text is composed of individual entries grouped by day that form a unit of meaning. The individual entries typically list one or multiple events of note that took place on each day. Sometimes, the descriptions can be further deconstructed into individual actions that pertain to the same event or activity. The above example, however, shares few details about the different events, with the exception of certain key participants.

The diaries' entire texts are thus formed by stringing together a succession of single-day accounts, which are then also grouped by month. In the *bakufu* diaries examined herein, the visual presentation further emphasises this by accentuating the calendrical dates: they are noted on a separate line and form a sort of header for each entry. The following two entries made in the third month of *Kenji sannen ki* exemplify this:

Third month

25th day, serene.

Directional change²¹⁰ of the shogun at the dwelling of the Former Governor of Shimotsuke Utsunomiya [Kagetsuna].

26th day

Reportedly, because the daughter of the monk²¹¹ Former Governor of Tōtōmi [Nagoe] Noritoki²¹² passed away, both Governor-Generals [*tokusō* Hōjō Tokimune and advisor Hōjō Yoshimasa] wore mourning garments for distant relatives.

三月

廿五日、晴、

御所御方違宇津宮下野前司宿所、

廿六日、

遠江前司教時法師女子他界之間、兩大守御輕服云々、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 3).

²¹⁰ *katatagae* 方違え is a strategy to circumvent directional taboos, see Chapter 3.4.

²¹¹ *hōshi* 法師 is an honorific Buddhist title.

²¹² Nagoe Noritoki 名越教時 (1235–1272) was executed in a violent conflict with the Hōjō family in 1272 (known as the *nigatsu sōdō* 二月騒動). His wife was the daughter of Hōjō Shigetoki 北条重時 (1198–1261) who was Yoshimasa's father and a distant paternal relative of Tokimune's. Itō 1999: 32–33.

While the execution differs from text to text, the genre shares a fundamental chronopoetic feature: The sub-units into which the text is divided by calendrical dates correspond to the temporal scale of the day, and the single day thus emerges as the most pronounced and immediately relevant temporal scale from these records on the chronopoetical level.

The calendrical dates not only structure the text by forming units of meaning, but also serve to clarify the temporal relationships between the described events. Notably, these temporal relations are indicated in such a way that any potential reader may understand them easily. This is achieved by gesturing towards an external, shared frame of reference that permeated the life of the elites. This calendrical time operates with abstracted quantified time units and is therefore a kind of formal chronography.

The calendar dates are also a form of relational chronography, because the temporal specifications may be positioned in relation to other points in time and to the reader's temporal position, for example. Diaries were consulted and read by different people at different times. Calendar dates that reference a universal, objectified timekeeping system were thus a suitable means of establishing the temporal relationships and orders in a way that would be meaningful to a range of individuals beyond the original author. The temporal layer of sociotemporality therefore majorly influenced the chronographic structure of the texts.

The dates both locate the described events in time and create a sense of chronology evoked by subsequent entries, as they offer information about what happened before and after. Readers expect a linear progression of time that is spatially mapped onto the diary texts: one may look to the right for past entries and to the left for entries for later dates. The dates thus fulfil both a localising and a consecutive function of chronography.

The recorded events are generally recounted in a chronological fashion that reflects how they unfolded over the course of several days. This is exemplified by entries in *Kanchūki* surrounding the *Yuishiki*-service (*yuishiki-e* 唯識会) of the Kasuga shrine 春日神社 in Nara in the year Kenji 3 (1277). The event entailed a Buddhist service and lecture of Consciousness-Only Treatises (*yuishiki-ron* 唯識論). The diary entry Kenji 3.3.9 (1277) mentions that a messenger sent by the Kōfukuji temple affiliated with said shrine spoke to the court about several issues surrounding the upcoming event:

Administrator Dai□kai²¹³ from the pagoda of Ichijōin temple²¹⁴ visited as a delegate. He was heard and explained that in both years, the *Yuishiki*-service and the rice for it had been delivered late and it was difficult for the service to start from the 15th day.

自一乘院御塔勾當代□海、爲御使參仕事、兩年唯識會、會并當會米及遲濟者、於會者自十五日難被始行之由、講聽申之、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 285).

The service was planned for Kenji 3.3.15 (1277), but an issue relating to the delivery of rice arose. Entry Kenji 3.3.14 (1277) indicates that the diarist Kanenaka went to the shrine on the day before the event, expecting the service to be performed on the next day:

14th day, Yin Water Hare [#40], serene. Early in the morning, I went to the Kasuga shrine. From tomorrow on the *Yuishiki*-service will begin. Thus, there were things to do. Towards the end of the [hour of the] Monkey [approximating 17:00],²¹⁵ the Lord²¹⁶ Head Priest [Ōnakatomi Yasumichi] arrived at the shrine's main hall. Aside from a rest, there was nothing else [to note].

十四日、癸卯、晴、早旦參春日社、自明日可被始行唯識會、依行事也、申斜着社頭神主館、休息之外、無他事者也、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 286).

On the following day — the day of the event itself — the service was officially cancelled at short notice:

[in another hand:] The Ichijōin's High Priest announces the postponement of the *Yuishiki*-service 15th day, Yang Wood Dragon [#41], serene. I went to the Ichijōin temple's High Priest [Shinshō]²¹⁷ to the Karin-in residence.²¹⁸ The *Yuishiki*-service was postponed. It was announced through the Venerable²¹⁹ Gyōken.

²¹³ The middle character of the name is unidentifiable due to the erosion of the document.

²¹⁴ A cloister lineage (*monzeki* 門跡) of Kōfukuji temple that was affiliated with the Kasuga shrine where the service was conducted.

²¹⁵ *naname* 斜 indicates that the midpoint of an hour had passed and that its endpoint was close.

²¹⁶ *yakata* 館 is an honorific suffix.

²¹⁷ Shinshō 信昭 (1253–1286) was Kōfukuji's Head Abbot since 1274.

²¹⁸ *Karin-in* 花林院 was the residence of the Kōfukuji's Head Abbot.

²¹⁹ *hōgen* 法眼 is a monastic rank.

「唯識會延引事被申一乘院僧正御房事」

十五日、甲辰、晴、參一乘院僧正御房、花林院御所、唯識會延引事、以行賢法眼所申入也、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 286).

The events surrounding this incident are recounted in the diary in a chronological fashion, not grouped together in any way. The diarist describes what happened each day as part of a general account of these individual days, which also mentions other activities. Entry Kenji 3.3.9 (1277), for example, also addresses the eight lectures (*mihakkō* 御八講) delivered at Chōkōdō temple from the ninth–twelfth day.²²⁰ Kanenaka added no editorial commentary to comment on the overarching temporal relations or developments or to foreshadow what was yet to come, for example by stating on the ninth day that the concerns were realised or that he had travelled to the shrine to assist with preparations in vain on the fourteenth day.

In *Kenji sannen ki*, events are narrated in a similar fashion as exemplified by the account of the retirement of the *rensho* Hōjō Yoshimasa 北条義政 (1242–1282) in that year. Yoshimasa received official permission to take the tonsure and retire from office (*shukke* 出家) from the shogun Prince Koreyasu 惟康親王 (1264–1326, r. 1266–1289) on Kenji 3.4.4 (1277):

Reportedly, around the hour of the Sheep [13:00–15:00], [shogun Koreyasu] granted Musashi [Hōjō Yoshimasa] permission to take the tonsure. At the time of the Monkey [15:00–17:00], he fulfilled this long-cherished wish.

未刻許、武州令賜出家暇、申時令遂素懷給云々、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 3).

Taking the tonsure did not necessarily mean that an individual immediately left to live in a monastery, but only that they retired from official duties. Often, they remained in their residences and were available for unofficial consultation regarding administrative and political matters. Formally cutting ties with secular society and withdrawing into monastic life was known as *tonsei* 遁世. Around two months later, Yoshimasa also took this step, as indicated in entry Kenji 3.6.2 (1277):

2nd day, serene.

The Tonsured Lord Musashi [Hōjō Yoshimasa], on the 22nd day of the previous month, entered monastic life and headed out to Zenkōji temple. Reportedly, Toki Left Gate Watch Yukimasa went to the Yamanouchi residence to tell [Hōjō Tokimune] that because for many days, members of the family²²¹ had not known

²²⁰ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 285.

²²¹ According to Itō, this refers to Tokimune's family. Itō 1999: 50.

this yet and it had been announced to them for the first time today, there had been great bewilderment on all sides.

二日、晴、

武藏入道殿、去月廿二日御遁世令趣善光寺給、御家中人々、日來猶以不存知今日始披露之間、内外仰天之由、土岐²²²左衛門入道行正參山内殿申入云々、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 5).

Notably, the information was recorded on the date that it was announced rather than retrospectively inserted in another, earlier diary entry. An entry three days later then includes a correction of this date:

5th day, serene.

Reportedly, because of Musashi's [Hōjō Yoshimasa] retirement to monastic life in a Zen monastery, Kudō's third son, the Tonsured Right Gate Watch Dōe [Kudō Mitsuyasu],²²³ was sent out as a messenger in order to convince him to stay. It had been announced that he had entered monastic life on the 22nd day of the previous month, but reportedly the set date was the 28th day.

五日、晴、

武藏禪門御遁世之間、爲被留申被立御使、工藤三郎右衛門入道々惠云々、御遁世去月廿二日之由披露之處、定日者廿八日云々、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 5).

As Yoshimasa's retirement had been prompted by an ongoing illness, the messenger may have been sent out only by courtesy.²²⁴ Similar to the example seen in *Kanchūki*, these events are recorded only when the author received the information and are thus tied to his personal experience of how they unfolded over time rather than as they immediately occurred. The correction of the date on which Yoshimasa entered monastic life was written down when the author learned of the mistake, and not retrospectively adapted in the first entry. The structure of the text, therefore, is oriented towards an individual's experience of events rather than an objective, historical timeline edited to precisely reflect events. This fundamental structure is shared by the examined texts and thus likely represents a generic feature.

²²² The *Shiryō taisei* edition of the text states 土持 here, but Itō points out that this is an error. Itō 1999: 50.

²²³ Kudō Mitsuyasu 工藤光泰 (thirteenth century) was a retainer of the *tōkusō* Hōjō Tokimune and was sent on his behalf. Itō 1999: 51.

²²⁴ Kawazoe Shōji 2001: 176–177, 180–181.

The daily, chronological arrangement was certainly favoured by the fact that the authors took notes on calendars first, which means that the material on which their diaries were based was already pre-structured into such chronological daily units. However, the continuous emergence of new, previously unknown information also determined the temporality of the narration that unfolded in parallel to the accrual of events. As authors continuously amended their texts on a more or less daily basis, they were typically unaware of future developments while writing and were limited in their ability to include stylistic devices, such as prolepses. Such an endeavour would have required a significant editorial effort when revising the text, and since the diaries were intended as instructional aids for future generations, there was little need for such an intense restructure or any attention to literary devices. Revisions instead focused on providing context and inserting specific details into the descriptions to aid future readers, rather than drastically reorganising the texts.

This approach to depicting events was also suited to the text's function in the way that it evoked the experientiality of real life. By depicting the developments as they unfolded over time, the text's narrative fosters an understanding of how the author experienced them. It thereby adequately portrays the reality of everyday life, wherein the future is largely unpredictable and at times involves abrupt changes. This serves the text's purpose of realistically depicting activities and notable events within one's sphere of operations so as to inform future generations about what they might expect and how to handle different situations.

The outlined textual configuration, although strongly determinative of the genre, also constitutes a specific format that exists in detachment from any particular content. An example that demonstrates how the format could transcend different symbolic forms is the *Kagerō nikki* 蜻蛉日記 (ca. 974), a work of diary literature written with an artistic intent. This text contains passages that imitate the structure of *kanbun* diaries, and even indicate the weather conditions in some parts of the text after the day's date.²²⁵

This exception notwithstanding, the temporal structure of *kanbun* diaries differs considerably from other textual genres produced primarily at the Imperial court, as the symbolic form of administration has normative demands that differ from the symbolic form of art, which favours different temporal configurations and chronopoetic arrangements. Müller, for example, has attested to a complex temporal structure underlying the memoir *Utatane* that combines seasonal, cyclical elements with segmented linear time, and also employs prolepses as a stylistic element.²²⁶

225 Miyazaki 2014: 3, 6.

226 Müller 2020: 237–238.

Additional Framings

Hitherto, I have identified that the genre shared a fundamental temporal structure defined by a dated 'framework' into which one's experiences were inscribed and that the framework fulfils a three-fold function in structuring the text into smaller compositional units, locating events in time, and creating an overarching chronological timeline. In courtiers' diaries in particular, additional layers of structure may be identified that (re-)frame events in a different light.

On some occasions we find instances in which the author prefaced a diary scroll with an index tailored to a specific chain of events that is silhouetted against the backdrop of the everyday life inscribed in the text. These indexes do not catalogue all entries contained within that part of the diary, but rather select a particular chain of events and list the related entries. Such an index, for example, prefaced the scroll covering the eleventh and twelfth months of the year Kenji 2 (1276) in *Kanchūki*. This part of the diary is transmitted as an original manuscript, and the index was created by Kanenaka himself. It lists entries describing certain activities following the birth of Imperial Prince Hirohito 啓仁親王 (1276–1278), son of Retired Emperor Kameyama and Shin'yōmeimon-in 新陽明門院 (also known as Konoe Ishi 近衛位子, 1262–1296):

- 17th day, Shin'yōmeimon-in gives birth Imperial Prince [Hirohito]
- 18th day, end of the major Buddhist prayers
- 19th day, celebration of the 3rd night after birth, bathing, reading duty
- 20th day, reading duty at the bathing
- 21st day, celebration of the 5th night after birth, reading duty at the bathing
- 22nd day, reading duty
- 23rd day, celebration of the 7th night after birth, discussion with the Retired Emperor [Kameyama], attending reading duty at the bathing today compensation
- 25th day, end of the Buddhist prayer to the six incarnations of Kannon. New born Prince's first prayer. Celebration of the 9th night after birth discussion with Ōmiya-in.²²⁷ Duty at the bowstring ceremony
- 26th day, duty at the bowstring ceremony
- 12th month
- 22nd day, first outing of the newborn Prince Retired Emperor [Kameyama] and his Imperial consort [Shin'yōmeimon-in] go out, I accompany them

²²⁷ Ōmiya-in 大宮院 (also known as Saionji Kitsushi 西園寺姞子, 1225–1292) was the mother of Retired Emperor Kameyama, and thus the infant's grandmother.

十七日、新陽明門院御産、皇子、
 十八日、大法結願
 十九日、三夜御養産、浴殿讀書參仕、
 廿日、浴殿讀書出仕、
 廿一日、五夜御養産、浴殿讀書出仕、
 廿二日、讀書出仕、
 廿三日、七夜御養産、院御浴殿讀書、今日結願、
沙汰
 廿五日、六字法結願、今宮御祈始、大宮院九夜御養産、御沙汰鳴弦出仕、
 廿六日、鳴弦出仕、
 十二月
 廿二日、院・女院御幸、今宮御行始、子供奉、 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 224–225).

As exemplified in the index, it was customary to conduct a bathing ceremony for a period of seven days following the birth of an Imperial infant, during which an official stationed outside the bathhouse would read Chinese classics aloud. Kanenaka was among the various officials who worked in shifts to perform this duty, and he appears to have served in this function for four consecutive days. He was also part of a two-day bowstring ceremony conducted after this seven-day period. The bowstring ceremony entailed an official striking the string of a bow, creating the sound which would ward off evil spirits. The index ends by recording the infant's first outing approximately a month after their birth, in which the author also participated.

This index does not aim to categorise all entries contained in the diary or even to indicate the entire contents of said entries. Rather, it singles out the events related to the birth, thus recontextualising them as a remarkable chain of events. It not only highlights these occurrences against the normal court routine, but also represents a handy timeline that can be consulted easily. In its function as a reference book, the text thus anticipated that future readers would likely consult this specific scroll for procedures regarding service at the bathing and bowstring ceremonies of an Imperial childbirth.

Although indexes are not included in all parts of *Kanchūki* and are not a feature of all courtier diaries, they are nonetheless a recurring element within the genre, offering further insight into how the temporality of the works themselves is decidedly oriented towards the future, as diarists anticipated the future reader's needs and undertook efforts to present crucial information in a manner that was easily intelligible. In a way, the indexes thus more strongly pronounce a chronological, linear morphology of time that details which event happened when.

Courtiers also sometimes created supplementary records (*bekki* 別記, lit. 'separate records') that described a specific occasion in detail. They were written as

separate documents and transmitted along with diaries.²²⁸ The advantage of these supplementary records lay in the fact that readers interested in a special occasion could consult the record conveniently rather than searching for relevant information within multiple diary entries. The ‘Supplementary Record of the Roofing at Kōfukuji in the Year Kōan 2 [1279]’ (*Kōan ninen Kōfukuji jōtō bekki* 弘安二年興福寺上棟別記) of *Kanchūki* is one such example.²²⁹ It records a voyage to Nara, where Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira attended the roofing ceremony of Kōfukuji temple in the tenth month of the year 1279. Although neither the document nor its index were written in Kanenaka’s handwriting, it contains several revisions by him,²³⁰ indicating that it was likely written under his supervision or on his behalf, possibly based on his earlier draft.

Aside from creating indexes and separate records for specific, important occasions, diarists occasionally also added topical markers to their entries to improve the texts’ overall readability. These topical markers indicate the most important event of the day next to the date, as exemplified by entry Kenji 3.3.27 (1277) in *Kanchūki*:

Great Minister of the Council of State’s first letter to the Emperor, administration
27th day, Yang Fire Dragon [#53], rain was falling. Early in the morning, I put on formal dress and went to his highness [Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira]. Today, he offered his first letter to the Emperor²³¹ as Great Minister of the Council of State. I administered it.

太政大臣初度御上表、奉行
廿七日、丙辰、雨降、早旦着束帶參殿下、今日被上太政大臣初度御表、予所奉行也、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 288).

Similar topical markers added by Kanenaka are also contained in entries Kenji 3.2.20–29 (1277),²³² but the majority of comparable annotations in other entries within the same scroll were added by Hirohashi Kanehide in the sixteenth century.²³³

²²⁸ Takahashi 2005: 53.

²²⁹ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 135–156.

²³⁰ Indication made by publishers. *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 136. Corrections can be found, for example, on p. 145 and p. 152.

²³¹ *hyō* 表 is a letter, report, or document for the Emperor by one of his subjects. There are various types.

²³² *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 280–284.

²³³ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 267 (Kenji 3.1.5 (1277)), 271 (Kenji 3.1.9 (1277)), 277–279 (Kenji 3.1.29 (1277) and Kenji 3.2.1–18 (1277)), 284–297 (Kenji 3.3.3–10 (1277), Kenji 3.3.15–20 (1277) and Kenji 3.3.26 (1277)).

In several instances, Kanehide not only added annotations at the beginning of entries but also used them to mark thematic subsections within individual entries.²³⁴ They serve to section entries into thematic blocks, as illustrated by the following example (entry Kenji 3.1.29 (1277)):

[in another hand:] Visit to Hōjōji temple to recover the box with the sash

29th day, Yin Earth Sheep [#56], either serene or cloudy. First, I went to the [Hōjōji] temple hall. I recovered the box with the sash and brought it to the palace. The ink stone recovered last year was returned. Because of the Kasuga [in another hand:] The Imperial Regent set up the Kasuga-festival horse race. Duty as head waiter at the purification ceremony

shrine festival tomorrow, his highness set up the horse race. There was a purification ritual. I was on duty as head waiter. The intermediate waiter was [Fujiwara] Kanenobu. [Fujiwara] Muneo held the ritual wand.²³⁵ Then was the ritual wand-offering of the Lord Senior Counsellor [Takatsukasa Kanetada]. I was on duty as head waiter, same as for the purification ceremony. Then, I had the box with the sash and went to the temple to return it. And then

[in another hand:] Report on auspicious days

I went to the Imperial Palace. At the Rest Room²³⁶ the report on auspicious days²³⁷ was conducted. It was my duty to recite it.

〔御參法成寺被出御帶管事〕

廿九日、己未、或晴、或陰、先參御堂、取出御帶管持參御所、去年所取出

〔殿下被立春日祭十列御襖陪膳御勤仕事〕

之御硯被返納之、依明日春日祭、殿下被立十列、有御襖、陪膳予勤之、役送兼信、幣取宗雄、次有大納言殿御奉幣、御襖陪膳同勤之、次給御帶管

〔吉書奏申讀御勤仕事〕

參御堂返納之、即參内、於御直廬被行吉書奏、と申所勤仕也、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 277).

234 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 271 (Kenji 3.1.9 (1277)), 277 (Kenji 3.1.29 (1277)), 286–287 (Kenji 3.3.20 (1277) and Kenji 3.3.26 (1277)).

235 *gohei* 御幣 are wooden wands decorated with paper strips folded into zigzags used in Shintō rituals.

236 *jikiro/chokuro* 直廬 was a room in the palace used by the highest ranking nobles for resting and when spending the night at the palace. It was mainly used for private meetings, and for the Imperial Regent to administer state affairs.

237 *kissho* 吉書 is a document listing auspicious days for certain activities that was presented to authority figures on various occasions.

Kanenaka was involved in many activities that day: first he went to the Hōjōji temple to obtain a sash that was used in the subsequent purification ceremony (*gokei* 御禊), in which he served as head waiter (*haizen/baizen* 陪膳). Later, he was present at the report on auspicious days (*kissho no sō* 吉書奏), which is subsequently described in considerable detail.

Kanehide's annotations provide an additional structural layer to the text, differentiated by theme, in parallel to its chronological disposition. This facilitates the diary's use as a reference manual, allowing the readers to swiftly understand the highlights of entries and to identify reference points to consult when looking for a specific event.

While abstract linear time was clearly paramount in providing a framework for the texts, a thematic classification complemented this ordering principle, although it was typically emphasised in the course of the text's tradition.

Similarly, a demand for reference manuals centred on a specific event led to the creation of compilations in form of 'topical records' (*buruiki* 部類記), based on diary texts. Information in these text editions that were transmitted with the regular diaries was restructured by excerpting passages pertinent to a certain event from various years within the same diary, or from a number of different diaries.²³⁸ *Kanchūki* does not contain such a topical record, but for example *Minkeiki* 民経記 (1212–1274), the diary of Kanenaka's father Tsunemitsu, contains multiple examples.²³⁹

Other types of compilations also exist, some combining information from different sources, such as event reports, oral transmissions, and diaries from across multiple generations.²⁴⁰ Information was thereby compiled into a format that allowed users to quickly consult a specific topic, rather than being obliged to consider various diary scrolls.

Topical markers, indexes, supplementary records, and thematic compilations are not included in either of the extant diaries of the Kamakura *bakufu* officials. Generally speaking, the entries in these texts are rather concise, and therefore these diaries are easier to navigate. Specific dates or information can be found more easily and rapidly, and therefore additional aids to find entries of interest are not as necessary. This ultimately means that the framing of the described

²³⁸ Takahashi 2005: 56–58.

²³⁹ E.g. *Minkeiki*, vol. 5: 77–78 (*Kaigen buruiki* 改元部類記), vol. 8: 42–46 (*Dainagon haiga chakujin buruiki* 大納言拜賀著陣部類記).

²⁴⁰ Takahashi 2005: 58–59. For example, Gomi Fumihiko discusses the *Seikai ganshō* 清齋眼抄 (early Kamakura period), a text compiling procedures of the Imperial Police (*keibiishi* 檢非違使) regarding deaths by fire or drowning. It is based on excerpts from the diary of the author's grandfather as well as his oral teachings. Gomi 1998: 6–9.

events is more uniform in the *bakufu* diaries compared to the variance encountered in *Kanchūki* and other courtier diaries.

Structure of Individual Entries

While an abstract notion of time embodied by calendrical dates was instrumental in lending a temporal context and structure to the recorded activities and events, their description within individual entries follows different principles.

Although the day was divisible into smaller units of abstract time, such as twelve zodiacal hours and their smaller fractions, or broader notions such as ‘early morning’ (*sōtan* 早旦), ‘evening’ (*yū* 夕), or ‘deep night’ (*shinkō* 深更), none of these categories emerge as systematic, structuring elements of the studied texts. Although such terms are occasionally used, they are not deployed as a means of organising the texts in the same way that dates are used to add structure. Indeed, many entries provide no information at all to indicate what time of day the described events took place. In terms of creating a temporal structure for the narrative, abstract time units are of relatively little concern within entries in contrast to the highly quantified framework within which they are placed. Instead, these descriptions are structured along different criteria, and some stylistic differences between *Kanchūki* and the two *bakufu* diaries can be identified in this respect.

First, I shall examine the *Kanchūki*, which is similar to other courtier diaries. Generally speaking, the narrative’s temporality is strongly determined by the succession of different events or actions, which are listed one after the other. Take, for example, the following passage from the *Kanchūki* that recounts different activities that took place throughout the day on Kōan 7.11.3 (1284):

3rd day, Yin Fire Ox [#14], serene. Today was the ceremony of my infant three years old tasting fish for the first time. The ceremonial meal was presented. Three trays²⁴¹ one tray with rice, one tray with chopsticks, one tray with sweets. Two flat plates one with raw [fish], one with dried [fish]. A flask with a one-sided muzzle. Junior Lieutenant of the Left Gate Watch [Nakahara] Hisatsuna was employed as head waiter. I fed [the infant]. At the Guardroom²⁴² and the Servant Boy’s

241 *dai* 台 are flat utensils used to place food and other items on.

242 *samuraidokoro* 侍所 here refers to the guardroom of the guards serving the Imperial Regent.

Room²⁴³ etc. they had food and drinks. Everything was in great fortune, great fortune. Then the hair-growth ceremony.²⁴⁴ Because I was summoned through a female attendant a letter by Lord Ienari I went to the Lord Inner Minister [Konoe Iemoto]. He ordered me to go and report that he told Muromachi-in²⁴⁵ about the incense for the fifth season's [dance].²⁴⁶ This was roughly the content of what I should pass on. I went to his highness [Takatsukasa Kanehira] and discussed various matters. Then, I returned to the Lord Inner Minister and told him the reply. This evening was the appreciation of third rank Lord Middle Captain's [Konoe Kanenori] promotion to senior third rank. [There was] an outing to the Konoe residence. Household official [Taira] Nakakane administered it.

三日、丁丑、晴、今日小兒三歳、魚味儀也、前物膳部調進之、臺三本、瓶一本、箸一本、箸一本、菓子一本、平盤二、生物二、干物二、片口銚子、陪膳左衛門少尉久綱勤之、予含之、侍所并小舍人所等給酒肴、每事幸甚とと、次生髮、依召召人家成朝臣奉書、參内大臣殿、被仰下云、五節料薰物事被申室町院、即參入申此由、大略可被進之躰也、參殿下申條と事、次歸參内大臣殿、所申御返事也、今夕三位中將殿正三位御慶申、於近衛殿有御出立、家司中兼奉行、(Kanchūki, vol. 4: 128).

This entry describes Kanenaka's various activities on this day, beginning with a ceremony celebrating a milestone in his infant's life. The child in question was his first-born son Mitsusuke 光資.²⁴⁷ After the ceremony, he was summoned to serve as a messenger between the Inner Minister (*naidaijin* 内大臣) Konoe Iemoto 近衛家基 (1261–1296) and Takatsukasa Kanehira regarding preparations for a dance festival. Finally, an event to celebrate the promotion of Konoe Kanenori 近衛兼教 (1267–1336) was held in the evening.

As this entry exemplifies, explicit temporal expressions are typically deployed only sparingly, and instead the text relies on the implicit temporality that is inherent to the described actions to convey a sense of passing time. We understand that feeding an infant takes some time, just as moving from one place to another and holding conversations also takes time. The text's chronography is

243 *kodoneridokoro* 小舍人所 refers to the room of servant boys.

244 *kami oi/seihatsu* 生髮 was a ceremony performed at age two or three, after which a child's hair was grown long.

245 Muromachi-in was the daughter of Emperor Go-Horikawa 後堀河 (1212–1234, r. 1221–1232) and a daughter of Jimyōin Ieyuki 持明院家行 (1175–1226) whose name is unknown.

246 The *gosechi no mai* 五節の舞 or *gosechi no maihime* 五節の舞姫 was a dance festival held annually in the eleventh month.

247 The mother was Kanenaka's wife, a woman of unknown name who was a daughter of Minamoto Chikatoki 源親時 (?–?). Takahashi 1998: 105.

thus predominantly material, as it operates with terms that convey temporal information bound in a material state — usually human actions.

The extant calendar records of *Kanchūki* also provide some hints that the specification of temporal information was not deemed pivotal by the authors. As noted above, calendar records typically consist of bullet-point notes containing the crucial information that the authors require to later compose more elaborate diary entries. The calendar record corresponding to the above entry, for example, simply lists the last event after the others, without specifying that it took place in the evening.²⁴⁸ This indicates that the temporal information found in the diary edition was added later, along with other details that were filled in from memory.

While chronology is a dominant constituent of the textual structure of the diaries, it is not, however, the only organising dimension. After recounting the author's activities in sequence, the entry Kōan 7.11.3 (1284) closes with several statements regarding other important events that were conducted on that day under the supervision of other officials:

Today was the selection of dancers for the fifth season's dance. The supervising noble did this. Today the [Hirano shrine's] extraordinary festival was decided on. The Secretary Middle Captain [Fujiwara Motoaki] did this.

今日五節定、頭卿候之、臨時祭定、頭中將候之、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 4: 128).

While it is possible that these events also took place in the evening or at night, after everything else that was described, it seems more likely that the entry's conclusion breaks with the chronological structure to indicate some notable events that were taking place in parallel. Different events are then listed side by side, signifying their coexistence within the temporal space of the day, without giving any more detailed definition to their temporal measures. Time, as a whole, takes a step back to give precedence to a list-like format in which a topical distinction between different items of note is essential.

The communicative function of the texts favours the prioritisation of the diarist's own duties and involvement in official matters, as this information was most likely to be of interest to future readers. From this perspective, it makes sense to follow the occurrences along the individual's chronological experience of events and then complement this sequential account by listing information about other noteworthy events of the day, for which an understanding of temporal sequence is not always necessary.

²⁴⁸ *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 217–218 (Kōan 7.11.3 (1284) calendar record).

A thematic ordering principle also resonates throughout the descriptions, as the narration in *Kanchūki* tends to move from the general to the specific. For example, individual duties are often presented with an opening general statement to orient readers with respect to the topic before clarifying individual steps or details pertaining to it. The entry presented above demonstrates this: first, a general statement provides information about the ceremony of the infant's first time eating fish before a range of information regarding the people, utensils, and actions involved is provided. While not all entries can be perfectly mapped to this model, a general inclination to narrate from the general to the particular is discernible as a conspicuous pattern in *Kanchūki*. This thematic structure also enables readers to browse the text easily, as one can scan for general statements and disregard subsequent details if they are not deemed relevant.

Although the contents of the extant *bakufu* diaries are similar to those of *Kanchūki* in the general sense that the authors recorded activities that were part of their official duties in them along with other notable events that occurred in the respective social spheres, the style in which this is done differs significantly. This also has implications for the way in which entries are temporally structured.

Rather than elaborate entries describing details regarding exchanges and procedures, *Kenji sannenshi* contains numerous one liners that refer to one notable event of the day without providing any specifics, including any temporal information. The text appears to be more interested in committing to record that something occurred on a given date, without examining the event more closely, whereas courtier diaries, such as *Kanchūki*, also tend to be preoccupied with conveying the relevant procedures, thus detailing individual actions.

Both *Kenji sannenshi* and *Einin sannenshi* prominently document the activities of the Deliberative Council (*Hyōjōshū*), the *bakufu*'s main decision-making organ, and many entries are strongly reminiscent of meeting protocols as they summarise topics of discussion and decisions made in the Council. *Einin sannenshi* also contains a large number of entries listing the participants in Council sessions without providing any further indications about the topics under discussion.

Only some of the entries in both *bakufu* diaries resemble the sequential temporality outlined for *Kanchūki*. This style is found whenever a specific event or activity is elaborated on in greater detail or when complex discussions of the Deliberative Council were recorded in detail.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ In *Kenji sannenshi*, for example, the relocation of shogun Prince Koreyasu to his renovated palace (Kenji 3.7.19 (1277)), or the coming-of-age ceremony of Hōjō Sadatoki (Kenji 3.12.2 (1277)) are described in greater detail than other events. *Kenji sannenshi*: 7–8, 14. The description of the first Council of the year in *Einin sannenshi* comes to mind as one such example (Einin 3.1.5 (1295)). *Einin sannenshi*: 21–22.

The main concern in entries documenting Council discussions, however, seems to lie first and foremost with a thematic division of information. *Einin sannēn ki* is characterised by a peculiar style of entry indicating that the Council was in session, often differentiating the type of meeting and listing the attendees in the second line, before recording any topics of discussion. This is exemplified by entry Einin 3.1.30 (1295):

30th day, Yin Wood Boar [#12], serene. Council.
 [Attendees:] Governor-General [Hōjō Sadatoki], Mutsu [Ōsaragi Nobutoki], Owari [Nagoe Kintoki], Stable Officer [Hōjō Morotoki], Suruga [Hōjō Masanaga], Oki [Sasaki Tokikiyo], Noto [Sasaki Munetsuna], Ise [Nikaidō Naritsuna], Toyono [Yano Tomokage], [Miyoshi] Tokitsura.
 Various matters that Tokitsura administers were discussed.

卅日、乙亥、晴、評定、
 太守、奥州、尾州、典厩、駿州、隱州、能州、勢州、豐州、時連、
 時連奉行事條々申沙汰了、 (*Einin sannēn ki*: 25).

Sometimes, the text is particularly unspecific about these topics, as is the case here, while other times, the contents of the discussion are summarised more extensively.²⁵⁰ *Kenji sannēn ki*, by contrast, never lists attendees and often does not even specify that the Council was in session, opting rather to simply list the decisions or announcements made therein.

In both diaries, individual topics that were discussed in the Council are characteristically introduced on a new line, sometimes prefaced by a dash.²⁵¹ This aids in clarifying the introduction of a new theme, and the visual presentation thus accentuates the text's structure, rendering entries easier to read. This format is particular to both *bakufu* texts, and by contrast different events are typically not visually distinguished in *Kanchūki* (except by annotations in some cases). This may be related to the already higher consumption of paper by authors of typically longer entries, which may have motivated them to use space more sparingly.

The following entry Kenji 3.8.5 (1277) from *Kenji sannēn ki* demonstrates that information tends to be structured according to topic and that the narrative occasionally breaks with the chronological order in which activities were performed:

²⁵⁰ For examples of more complex lawsuits that mandated detailed recording, see Chapter 4.5.

²⁵¹ E.g. *Kenji sannēn ki*: 8–9 (Kenji 3.7.23 (1277)), 17–19 (Kenji 3.12.25 (1277)). *Einin sannēn ki*: 21–22 (Einin 3.1.5 (1295)).

5th day, serene. Council, young[est spoke first].²⁵²

It was announced that Suruga [Akahashi Yoshimune] shall be nominated as Administrator of Commoner Lawsuits of the Ueno province. I promptly wrote the document²⁵³ to inform him of the decision.

Lord Saionji [Sanekane] notified us that Kōfukuji temple burned down on the 26th day of the previous month due to a lightning strike.

五日、晴、評定、若、

上野國雜人奉行事、可被仰付駿州云々、即書御書下申御判了、

興福寺、去月廿六日爲雷火炎上之由、西園寺殿被注申之、 (*Kenji sannen ki*: 10).

This entry records two topics discussed in the Council, and the lines of temporality appear to blur. The author Yasuari grouped together the announcement of the office appointment and his own task to compose the related document before listing the second topic — namely, news received from the capital about a fire at Kōfukuji temple. He likely wrote the document afterwards rather than during the Council. The events are thus not recounted in the sequence in which they were performed but are presented as information grouped according to the individual topics that were addressed in the Council.

That is not to say that a sense of sequentiality is completely absent in these meeting records, but terms to signify sequences are used extremely sparingly. In two instances in *Kenji sannen ki*, a new topic is introduced by the term *tsuide/tsugi* 次 ('then' or 'next'),²⁵⁴ while *Einin sannen ki* has slightly greater variety, as both *igo* 已後 ('afterwards'),²⁵⁵ and *sono ato* 其後 ('after this')²⁵⁶ are also each found once.²⁵⁷ However, the vast majority of entries abstain from using such temporal indications.

When more complex cases are addressed in the Council, the diaries elaborate on the discussions in greater detail, often recounting crucial past events that contributed to the conflict in a way that brings time to the fore and renders it clearly visible. In fact, these are typically cases in which entries offer even greater insight into attitudes and concerns with respect to time. Entries of this nature and their related themes are therefore discussed in greater detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

²⁵² The order in which people contributed to discussions was determined by age, see Chapter 4.4.

²⁵³ *kakikudashi* 書下 is a type of document used by warriors to convey orders regarding land-holdings, office appointments, military conscriptions etc.

²⁵⁴ *Kenji sannen ki*: 9 (*Kenji* 3.7.25 (1277)), 19 (*Kenji* 3.12.27 (1277)).

²⁵⁵ *Einin sannen ki*: 23 (*Einin* 3.1.20 (1295)).

²⁵⁶ *Einin sannen ki*: 27 (*Einin* 3.2.10 (1295)).

²⁵⁷ *tsuide/tsugi* 次 is used to introduce topics of discussions twice. *Einin sannen ki*: 24 (*Einin* 3.1.25 (1295)), 27 (*Einin* 3.2.10 (1295)).

Otherwise, entries documenting Council meetings often appear to be almost devoid of temporality, lacking temporal expressions and listing discussion topics without using many verbs that signify action and thus represent a form of implicit material chronography. While the order in which different topics are listed appears to reflect the sequence in which they were discussed, it is unclear whether this is actually the case or if earlier points were perhaps occasionally revisited in the course of the discussions.

Entries in the *bakufu* diaries roughly fall into two categories: those that describe actions and therefore emphasise a sequential temporality similar to that found in courtier diaries, and concise meeting records, wherein the temporal dimensions appear diluted in comparison, with the exception of cases in which diarists expanded on the Council's more complex discussions.

While the overall tone and temporal structure of entries in the two *bakufu* diaries are similar to one another in this basic sense, they also differ in one fundamental respect: *Einin sannenshi* records a large number of Council meetings for which no topic of discussion whatsoever is recorded. By contrast, *Kenji sannenshi* contains no such entries that appear almost 'empty', but includes an entry for a given day only if there is something of substance to report. Moreover, it often records the content of discussions without explicitly indicating that a Council was held on that date. Although the density of entries is lower in *Kenji sannenshi*, they appear to be richer in content, in the sense that each records some event of interest, such as the deaths of prominent political figures or discussions of the Council.

The two texts thus also appear to be antithetically opposed to one another in this respect. The two *bakufu* diaries thus can be said to represent two modes of time favoured by the symbolic form of administration. *Kenji sannenshi* emphasises singular events and their chronology: What happened when? Which event led to another? Meanwhile, *Einin sannenshi* emphasises another crucial side of administration: the established regularities that ensure the continuity of the administration business. What strikes me as important are not individual events or dates, but the meticulously recorded iterations. An iterative, cyclical morphology of time is thus pronounced in *Einin sannenshi*, whereas the temporal morphology of *Kenji sannenshi* is more linear.

The different emphases of these two texts is likely grounded in their different functions: *Einin sannenshi* is a diary that was passed on and copied within the family to serve as an instruction and reference for later generations. Kawazoe additionally suggested that it may also have been a specialised excerpt that focused particularly

on the Council's activities.²⁵⁸ Either way, the document passed on the interactions and patterns underpinning the functioning of the bureaucratic apparatus.

Kenji sannen ki, meanwhile, is believed to have been created for the express purpose of submitting this excerpt to the *bakufu*, likely to serve as source material for the compilation of the chronicle *Azuma Kagami*.²⁵⁹ The selection criteria applied in the creation of this excerpt remain unknown, but most of the entries appear to centre on events of political interest and political figures, which suits the idea that the motivation behind the creation of this text edition was to provide material for the compilation of a major historiographical work. This may have skewed the work's temporality in favour of a perspective that was more removed from the minutiae of everyday life and instead regarded events on a larger historical scale. To apply visual terms, the text only seldom 'zooms' in on events to illuminate their proceedings, preferring a lower 'image resolution' that allows a broader overall perspective.

Temporal Double Structure

The three texts under examination share a general chronopoetic format on the macro level that regards their arrangement of entries within a calendrical framework. However, each text exhibits distinctive differences in how descriptions within individual entries are temporally structured. The chronological arrangement is mirrored on the micro level by a highly sequential temporality encoded in the human action described in *Kanchūki* and more descriptive entries within the two *bakufu* diaries. A substantial portion of entries in the examined *bakufu* diaries allow the dimension of the temporal to almost dissolve, with only one major event mentioned per day and Council discussions summarised according to topic.

Two layers of temporality thus determine the narrative structure of *kanbun* diaries: an abstract, quantified temporal framework serves to embed and contextualise descriptions of events that are based on either a highly sequential, implicit form of chronography encoded in human action or a thematic depiction in which the temporal dimension takes a back seat.

In either case, the diary structure is defined by the interlinking of the author's individual, personal experience of time with the primary social framework of temporal reference — that is, the calendar. Diary writing is a process of recollecting memories and experiences and is thus influenced by an individual's expe-

258 Kawazoe Hiroshi 1954: 48.

259 Ryō 1952: 10–11. Gomi 1990 mentions some passages based on *Kenji sannen ki* on pp. 97–99.

rience of time (nootemporality). As the diaries preserve the calendar dates to introduce each entry, this experience is always contextualised within an external, social frame of reference (sociotemporality). This fundamental structure is guided by the communicative function of the texts that intended to transmit knowledge across large temporal distances to a variety of people who needed to understand the basic structures of everyday life and the temporal relations between the described events. Perhaps even more importantly, the texts could also thereby be easily cross-referenced with other contemporary documents, another feature promoted by the symbolic form of administration. Individual and social perspectives of time thus intersect within these texts, and the diarists' assumptions that future generations will need instruction on traditional practices and ways of conducting official business is also indicative of both individual and communal attitudes towards the preservation of tradition and culture.

The diaries' chronopoetic characteristics are shaped in a way that facilitates the handling of the text by others and are thus strongly influenced by the diarist's anticipation of future readers' needs. The orientation towards the future in the form of a motivation to preserve knowledge for the future as a means to stabilise and prolong one's own and also one's descendants' economic stability thus resonates through the compositional elements of the text. The text's overall structure is designed for convenience of use, and ultimately to save future readers' time.

A look at practices surrounding document transmission once more confirms this observation. The motivation to reframe the contents of diary texts was typically driven by practical concerns: present and future convenience of use as reference manual and efficiency with one's time when consulting diaries. The diaries' orientation towards the future at the time of composition is complemented by an orientation towards all three temporal dimensions at the time of consultation. The reader can look into the past via the diary to consult a role model for assistance with a present or future situation. Through modifications to the text, the time required for this activity — the 'present' or 'near future' — is optimised.

Reflection

The historically specific formation of *kanbun* diaries is marked by the genre's function as reference manuals for future generations to support them in their duties at the court or *bakufu*. This function affects a textual disposition characterised by an inherent orientation towards the future, also demanding an accurate representation of events. This requirement for a factual depiction of the past to provide guidance in the future left its marks on the way in which diaries were composed, symbolically formulated, and transmitted. The need to describe the

past accurately likely contributed to the multi-staged and continuous writing process described in this chapter: to guarantee the transmission of correct information, notes were taken in close temporal proximity to the events they described. These notes then served as memory aids to facilitate a more elaborate and detailed description that would be made intelligible for others. A textual structure that drew on the calendar to organise events chronologically, place them in historical time, and unequivocally clarify the temporal relationships between these events ensured readability for a wide range of people in a potentially open-ended future. This consciousness of historical time corresponding to a linear temporal morphology is also iterated in practices surrounding the transmission of the texts, in which multiple people positioned themselves as part of a long line of officials who engaged with the original diary text.

Chapter 2

Temporal Routines

As Zerubavel asserts in the article ‘Timetables and Schedules: On the Social Organization of Time’, social cycles are periodic patterns according to which societies organise themselves — that is, they are socially relevant routines observed by a significant portion of a given society. These social cycles may take their cues from natural rhythms and may be structured along seasonal cycles, for example, or may be devoid of an equivalent in the natural world. Even in the former case, out of a potential multitude of natural rhythms, only a select few become seminal to the temporal routines of a society. Zerubavel thus emphasises that social cycles are primarily defined by social norms rather than by the natural world.²⁶⁰ In other words, they pertain to the layer of sociotemporality, rather than the layer of biotemporality.

Zerubavel further argues that a common feature of social cycles is a tendency to highlight their beginnings or endings with social practices.²⁶¹ Zerubavel expanded on this in a second article that examines the various ways in which ‘time’ can serve a means of communication within cultures, addressing the ‘temporal contrasts’ used to create noticeable temporal patterns, such as the Jewish week, which alternates between six ordinary days and the Sabbath, an extraordinary ‘peak day’. This peak day is a day of rest that is qualitatively distinct from the rest of the week and thus forms a temporal contrast. It marks the beginning and end points of the week and serves to accentuate its repetition in a way that is noticeable in individuals’ experiences.²⁶² It is precisely this ‘peak’ that defines the rhythm according to which everyday life is structured and makes it palpable from the individual’s perspective.

The present chapter scrutinises the routines that can be discerned from the diaries under examination and the impact they exerted on their authors’ everyday lives. Crucially, I am also interested in which aspects of the events related to the identified routines are inscribed into the texts. In other words, how are events that recur annually, monthly, daily, etc. recorded in the various diaries, and how similar are the texts in this regard?

As noted by Zerubavel, the importance of temporal routines lies in their function of structuring and synchronising a society’s activities, not only in the present

260 Zerubavel 1976: 90–91.

261 Zerubavel 1976: 90–91.

262 Zerubavel 1987: 347–349.

but also, crucially, in the future.²⁶³ Along with calendars (discussed in Chapter 3), routines help people to grasp and structure future events, rendering the future at least partially predictable.

The topic of social cycles thus relates to the topic of scheduling, given that activities are planned in advance and are expected to occur at a specific time. Therefore, I pay special attention to the rigidity of schedules, cases in which routines were modified, and how this relates to people's expectations.²⁶⁴ The investigation is structured into two parts. In the first part, I investigate which routines emerge prominently from *Kanchūki* and what the diary reveals about the social organisation surrounding them at the Imperial court. In the second part, I examine the *Kenji sannen ki* and the *Einin sannen ki* to determine which social cycles are ingrained in these two texts and what they reveal about routine operations at the Kamakura *bakufu*.

2.1 Routines in the Court Diary *Kanchūki*

Of the various social cycles that provided a guideline for the organisation of social life at court, the routine formed by the observance of annually reoccurring ceremonial events stands out most strikingly in *Kanchūki*. These events are known as 'annual observances' (*nenjū gyōji* 年中行事) and can be mapped into different categories. Some fulfilled symbolic functions by reinforcing authority and its legitimacy or hierarchical structures within the court bureaucracy, while others were religious in nature. Furthermore, some crucial government functions were also organised according to annual schedules. Different types of functions drawing on different realms of symbolic meaning were thus integrated into a unified annual routine and a fixed rhythm of life. Many of the annual observances also marked important political events that offered officials the opportunity to socialise and network with other actors within the elite sphere — at banquets, for example.

The annual routine of the court is thoroughly documented by a genre of text also called *nenjū gyōji* 年中行事 ('annual observances'), specifically dedicated to the recording of these events and their procedures. From the Kamakura period survives a text attributed to Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288–1339, r. 1313–1318): the *Kenmu nenjū gyōji* 建武年中行事 ('Annual Observances of the Kenmu Era',

²⁶³ Zerubavel 1976: 91.

²⁶⁴ Zerubavel 1976 draws attention to these questions on pp. 89–91.

fourteenth century). Because this routine stands out most prominently from *Kanchūki*, I discuss it in more detail in the next section.²⁶⁵

Some insight into the monthly and daily routines of the Imperial court at the end of the Kamakura period is provided by *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* 建武日中行事 ('Daily Observances of the Kenmu Era', late fourteenth century), another etiquette manual attributed to Emperor Go-Daigo. Similar to its annual counterpart, it centres on the Emperor's idealised daily and monthly rhythms, likely as part of Go-Daigo's plans to restore Imperial rule and older traditions.²⁶⁶ As observed by Müller, who extensively studied various temporal features of the text and published an annotated English translation of it, the routines portrayed in the two etiquette manuals are to be taken with a grain of salt: They may not reflect the actual practices of the time, as the texts may have sought to re-introduce these routines precisely because they had been neglected or changed by the late Kamakura period.²⁶⁷ Furthermore, the etiquette manual *Kinpishō* 禁秘抄 (1221) from the Kamakura period, written by Emperor Juntoku 順徳天皇 (1197–1242, r. 1210–1221), also includes a section that describes monthly events of the court. However, these routines remain rather inconspicuous in *Kanchūki*.

Among a variety of monthly recurring religious events, the 'seven streams cleansing' (*nanase no harae* 七瀬祓) is occasionally encountered in *Kanchūki*. In this event, seven representatives were dispatched on behalf of members of the Imperial family to seven select bodies of water located in the area of the capital to release a human-shaped figurine made of straw, wood, metal, or other materials into the water as an act of purification. It was conducted on a monthly basis, but its first occurrence in a new year also marked a special occasion. This was highlighted by the designation 'Special river cleansing' (*karin no harae* 河臨祓), while the alternative designation 'Beginning of prayers' (*o-inori hajime* 御祈始) emphasised that a certain routine was begun over again each year.

The annual special river cleansing is recorded reliably in *Kanchūki* for various members of the Imperial family,²⁶⁸ indicating that to an official, such as Kane-naka, who performed duties in service of various households, the routine did not consist of only one special river offering but included multiple instances that

²⁶⁵ Some of the arguments in this subchapter are also presented in Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'.

²⁶⁶ Müller 2021: 89–90.

²⁶⁷ Müller 2021: 106; Müller 2023: 114, 118–119. For the English translation of *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* including the source text, see Müller 2021: 107–127.

²⁶⁸ For example, it is mentioned in entry Kenji 3.1.4 (1277) for multiple members of Retired Emperor Kameyama's family, and in entry Kenji 3.1.9 (1277) for Muromachi-in. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 267, 271.

were conducted for different people. On the other hand, the monthly seven streams offering is noted only in some months, but not all. For example, in Kenji 3 (1277) it is mentioned on 1.28 and 3.26,²⁶⁹ but not in the second month. This indicates that Kanenaka was only occasionally involved, and the duty was shared among different court officials. For this reason, it does not emerge as a prominent individual monthly routine from his perspective. While this event may thus have been a monthly regularity for a figure such as the Emperor, it did not hold the same prominence in the life of an official like Kanenaka.

In terms of more administrative monthly tasks, *Kanchūki* occasionally mentions a ‘first day report’ (*kōsaku* 告朔) in passing. In the beginning of each month, the court offices submitted an activity report to the Council of State (*Daijōkan* 太政官). Originally, a ceremony in which the Emperor inspected these reports had been attached to it, however this practice was simplified already by the Heian period.²⁷⁰ The record of this activity in the diary is not at all consistent or detailed, and in some years it only appears once.²⁷¹ This suggests that Kanenaka likely had no involvement in it and that it bore little importance in his activities. This again illustrates that these cycles were not relevant to Kanenaka on an individual (i.e., nootemporal) level.

Meetings of the ‘Retired Emperor’s Council’ (*In no hyōjō* 院評定, or *Sentō no hyōjō* 仙洞評定) stand out as somewhat regular events in the diary’s latter years. This Council was introduced by the *bakufu* in 1246 to restrict the Retired Emperor’s control of the court’s judicial institutions.²⁷² It was modelled on the *bakufu*’s own Deliberative Council (*Hyōjō* 院評) and consisted of various court members, including the *bakufu*’s liaison officer (*kantō mōshitsugū*).²⁷³

The Council occasionally discussed policy matters but was largely engaged in the resolution of legal disputes involving courtiers in the capital. Mirroring the practices of the *bakufu*’s Deliberative Council outlined in Chapter 2.2, various cases were discussed according to different schedules in the Retired Emperor’s Council.²⁷⁴ Its meetings are occasionally recorded in *Kanchūki* as the Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira attended them, and they become more frequent beginning with the year Kōan 7 (1284), in which Kanenaka was appointed Imperial

269 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 276, 287.

270 Furuse 1979. See also Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

271 E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 177 (Kōan 3.2.1 (1280)); vol. 3: 7 (Kōan 5.11.1 (1282)); vol. 4: 254 (Kōan 9.5.1 (1286)).

272 Hurst III 1982: 21–22.

273 Kiley 1982: 38.

274 Kiley 1982: 37–43.

Secretary.²⁷⁵ In these later years, the topics of discussion are occasionally recorded as well, suggesting that they became more relevant to Kanenaka's duties.

The historian Kondō Shigekazu has identified that in the year Kōan 9 (1286) disputes regarding religious matters and official appointments (*tokusei sata* 徳政沙汰) were discussed by the Ministers (*daijin*) and Senior Councillors (*dainagon*) three times per month, while various other lawsuits (*zasso sata* 雑訴沙汰) were discussed by Middle Counsellors (*chūnagon*) and Advisors (*sangi*) six times per month. The system was reformed in the years that followed, and the officials were divided into three subdivisions (*ban* 番), each of whom held their own meetings twice per month.²⁷⁶

Based on Kanenaka's records, the Council appears to have met for discussions on the first, sixth, eleventh, thirteenth, and twenty-first days of the month, as these dates are recorded most frequently. Less frequent notes regarding Councils are also made repeatedly on the third, sixteenth, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth days of the month. Several other dates appear only once, suggesting that they may reflect extraordinary cases. Kanenaka's record of the Council meetings is inconsistent, however, and it is thus difficult to discern a regular meeting pattern from this source alone. A more extensive survey of different diaries, preferably written by officials who regularly attended the Council meetings, would therefore serve to illuminate this aspect of court routines in greater depth.

Various regular events can be traced in *Kanchūki*, but they do not present themselves as conspicuously regular rhythms in the text in the same way that annual events do. As demonstrated below, certain annually occurring events were so important that the author documented them reliably each year, even when he was not involved. The same may not be said for the monthly events, which are only inconsistently recorded.

Similarly, a daily routine is only noticeable in *Kanchūki* in a very broad sense. We know that the court's daily routine was segmented into two parts on the basis of *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*. The text specifies that Imperial Secretaries wore different attire for dayshift and nightshift duties and returned home between these two shifts. Additionally, it conveys that officials' attendance was tracked by marking dayshift duty with the character *hi* 日 ('day') and nightshift duty by the

275 E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 182 (Kenji 2.2.6 (1276)); vol. 2: 114 (Kōan 2.7.25 (1279)), 224 (Kōan 4.6.9 (1281)), 268 (Kōan 4.9.6 (1281)); vol. 3: 79 (Kōan 6.3.28 (1283)); vol. 4: 24 (Kōan 7.i.4.21 (1284)), 35 (Kōan 7.5.13 (1284)), 73 (Kōan 7.7.13 (1284)), 80 (Kōan 7.8.1 (1284)), 89–90 (Kōan 7.8.16 (1284)), 98 (Kōan 7.9.6 (1284)), 247 (Kōan 9.4.11 (1286)), 254 (Kōan 9.5.2 (1286)).

276 Kondō Shigekazu 2006: 164–165.

character *yū* 夕 ('evening').²⁷⁷ This well-documented distinction between daytime and night-time duty at the Imperial court finds some resonance in *Kanchūki*.

Following Kanenaka's appointment to Imperial Secretary in Kōan 7 (1284), *Kanchūki* includes entries for days on which he was only on duty in the evening or at night but not during the day. This circumstance is explicitly verbalised in statements such as:

Not on duty during the day. When night came, I went to his highness [Takatsukasa Kanehira].

晝間不出仕、入夜參殿下、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 4: 175 (Kōan 7.12.27 (1284))).

The opposite is also documented, as exemplified by the following example:

When evening came, I returned home.

及晚歸宅 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 4: 175 (Kōan 7.12.28 (1284))).

I was unable to discern a regular pattern according to which Kanenaka was assigned daytime or night-time duty from his diary. Perhaps a more comprehensive study of the text or other sources may shed some light on the topic; or perhaps there was indeed no set rhythm that determined which shift officials attended, and this was coordinated according to different criteria. All that can be gleaned from this source text is that Kanenaka was sometimes on duty only during the day or at night and that some activities are explicitly mentioned as having taken place in the evening or at night, while others (often implicitly) took place during the daytime.

While day and night were subsumed under a common date in the text (chronopoetics) and conceived of as part of the same day (chrononoetics), as Chapter 3 shall demonstrate, the two categories were relevant in the structuring of everyday life, similar to other temporal categories such as 'day', 'month', or 'year' (chronopolitics).

As indicated in an examination of the writing practices earlier in this monograph, examination of the body of the entries also yields insight into what sort of 'day' is being recorded in the diaries. *Kanchūki*'s entries frequently open with phrases indicating that Kanenaka went to the Imperial Regent, or some other place of duty.²⁷⁸ The 'day', as recorded in the *Kanchūki*, begins with the com-

²⁷⁷ Müller 2021: 114, 125. See also Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

²⁷⁸ Examples for different variations: 'Early in the morning, I went to his highness.' (*sōtan denka ni mairu* 早旦參殿下). *Kanchūki*, vol. 4: 127 (Kōan 7.11.2 (1284)). 'I went to his highness

mencement of official duty rather than with the moment the author wakes, gets dressed, consults his calendar, or eats. It begins with his spatial movement away from his personal dwelling into an ‘official’ space. The description’s beginning and end is thus set to the commencement and termination of official duties for the day.

In terms of a ‘daily routine’, we can thus only determine from the text that Kanenaka typically went to his places of service at the beginning of his shifts and attended his duties there. The way in which Kanenaka’s activities throughout a single day are depicted in *Kanchūki* suggest that actions were coordinated rather situationally, without a predefined, rigid schedule, as Chapter 4 shall explore in detail.

Diaries clearly presumed a certain level of prior knowledge from their readers, and it was likely expected that certain knowledge — particularly that pertaining to everyday business operations — was acquired through different channels, such as oral transmission or lived practices. Moreover, if a large portion of the daily routine relied on situational exchanges with one’s superiors and peers, the provision of a ‘universal’ guideline in writing would have proven rather difficult. To write out every exchange in great detail would take too long, and so diarists were motivated to limit themselves to the information they deemed most important. Many entries therefore focus on recording the types of tasks assigned to an official and do not outline every step in detail. Rather, more detailed entries tend to pertain to either extraordinary circumstances, questions of etiquette regarding how certain special events should be set up, which precedents to apply, which document formats to use, or which procedures to follow in various ceremonies.

Finally, social cycles are not necessarily structured along natural or calendrical rhythms, and their tempo is not necessarily even or arithmetical. A set of events relating to the lifespan of members of the Imperial family and Imperial Regents also emerges as a relevant category from within the *Kanchūki*. Of course, to the respective individuals, such life events were unique occurrences, but to collective members of the court, they merged into a chain of iterative events:²⁷⁹ throughout their lifetimes, officials served at rites surrounding the births of multiple members of the Imperial family, attended the coming-of-age ceremonies of different subsequent Emperors, and observed mourning rituals for various deceased members of the Imperial family. While these events are tied to biotemporal

wearing formal dress.’ (*sokutai ki denka ni mairu* 着束帯参殿下). *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 276 (Kenji 3.1.28 (1277)).

279 This distinction has been pointed out by Zerubavel 1976: 90.

ality — the aging of the body — and are unique on a nootemporal level, they are part of a social cycle on the sociotemporal level.

For example, *Kanchūki* attests to elaborate temporal practices surrounding individuals' births and deaths. The former is particularly well-documented in a series of entries following the of birth of Imperial Prince Tsuguhito 繼仁親王 (1279–1280)²⁸⁰ in the sixth month of Kōan 2 (1279).

Following the birth of an Imperial infant, a seven-day bathing ceremony was conducted, during which an official stationed outside the bathhouse would read Chinese classics aloud. Celebrations involving cleansings, drinks, meals, dice games, and music were then repeated on the third, fifth, and seventh nights following the birth.²⁸¹ After this seven-day period, another celebration was conducted on the fiftieth and hundredth days after the birth.²⁸² Kanenaka created a similar record of the events surrounding the birth of Imperial Prince Hirohito in the eleventh month of Kenji 2 (1276), as attested to by the existent index of that scroll, but part of the pertinent entries were lost.²⁸³ The fact that Kanenaka records these events and their procedures in detail illustrates the importance of those routines, which he deemed relevant information to transmit to his descendants, presumably as they were also expected to attend to them in the future.

Buddhist memorial practices following the death of relatives were also heavily temporally regulated: the initial mourning period spanned 49 days (seven seven-day periods), and the hundredth day after their passing marked a special milestone. Memorial days (*kinichi* 忌日) of important political figures were collectively remembered on an annual basis and sometimes even on a monthly basis.²⁸⁴ *Kanchūki* records both these collective remembrance days and the days of mourning for direct family relatives. Recurring memorial days for deceased authority figures include, for example, the annual memorial of the Imperial Regent Fujiwara no Yorimichi 藤原頼通 (992–1074, r. 1017–1067)²⁸⁵ for which messengers were sent to the memorial service, or the monthly anniversary of Emperor Go-Saga 後嵯峨天皇

²⁸⁰ A son of Retired Emperor Kameyama and Shin'yōmeimon-in.

²⁸¹ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 103–106 (Kōan 2.7.1–5 (1279)). The record of the day of the birth itself is lost.

²⁸² *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 122–124 (Kōan 2.8.18 (1279)). The record of the hundredth day celebration is lost.

²⁸³ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 224–225 (index), 228–240 (Kenji 2.11.17 (1276), Kenji 2.11.25–26 (1276)). Fiftieth day celebration on pp. 271–273 (Kenji 3.1.9 (1277)) and hundredth day celebration on pp. 282–284 (Kenji 3.2.29 (1277)). The index was quoted earlier in Chapter 1.3.

²⁸⁴ Goble [forthcoming] 'A Doctor's Operating Times'.

²⁸⁵ E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 181–182 (Kenji 2.2.2 (1276)), 278 (Kenji 3.2.2 (1277)), vol. 2: 177 (Kōan 3.2.2 (1280)).

(1220–1272, r. 1242–1246) that affected the activities of members of the Imperial family.²⁸⁶

The *Kanchūki*'s calendar record of Bun'ei 11 (1274) also demonstrates that the death of Kanenaka's father Tsunemitsu was followed by a prolonged period, during which Kanenaka was occupied with intense religious practices, including the copying of sūtras and visits to the grave site. The seven day intervals are clearly noted in the record as well.²⁸⁷ It thus adumbrates that Kanenaka's regular activities were strongly influenced and disrupted by his father's passing. In subsequent years, the anniversary of his father's death is recorded multiple times throughout the diary, and the text occasionally even specifies that Kanenaka was excused from duty because of it.²⁸⁸

Kanchūki attests to various social cycles that served to structure the court's activities, which, although relevant on a sociotemporal level, were not all equally important to Kanenaka on the nootemporal level. A rhythm of annually recurring events emerges most prominently from his diary and will thus serve to illustrate how routine events were recorded and portrayed in his text and how idealised routines were adapted for various reasons.

Recording and Adapting Annual Rhythms

While the genre of annual observances tends to portray an ideal model of repetition to be followed uniformly each year, *Kanchūki* and other diaries portray the actual practice, disclosing deviations from this norm and the variance in implementation experienced by individuals throughout their lifetimes. I thus complement existing studies of idealised routines portrayed in *Kenmu nenjū gyōji* with an investigation that focuses on the lived practices to which *Kanchūki* attests.²⁸⁹ Moreover, because the author of the *Kanchūki* was a household official (*keishi*) of the Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira, his diary is skewed towards events that were relevant to the Imperial Regent rather than the Emperor, thus offering a different perspective than the aforementioned manual.²⁹⁰ I have selected several examples to

286 E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 6: 67 (Kōan 11.2.17 (1288)), 105 (Kōan 11.3.17 (1288)), 124 (Kōan 11.4.17 (1288)), 233 (Kōan 11.7.17 (1288)).

287 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 25–39 (Bun'ei 11.4.15–6.5 (1274) calendar record).

288 E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 91 (Kōan 6.4.15 (1283)), vol. 5: 107 (Kōan 10.4.15 (1287)).

289 Satō Atsuko 2003; Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

290 Satō Atsuko has pointed out that *Kenmu nenjū gyōji* also skews towards the perspective of the Emperor, at times overemphasising his role in the events, such as the Rank Awards (*jōi* 叙位), for example. Satō Atsuko 2003: 137–140.

discuss the schedules and modifications thereof. I further demonstrate the various ways in which events were — or indeed were not — recorded in Kanenaka’s diary.

The beginning of a new year stands out as a period during which ceremonial activities were particularly pronounced. In the first three days of a new year, the ‘hand washing’ (*o-chōzu* 御手水) of Imperial Regent Takutsukasa Kanehira emerges as an important aspect of Kanenaka’s regular routine throughout his diary. This event involved a small ceremony in which Kanehira washed his teeth and hands. In *Kenmu nenjū gyōji*, this is not listed as an annual event, but it is listed in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* and *Kinpishō* as part of the Emperor’s daily routine.²⁹¹ From Kanenaka’s diary the event however emerges as integral part of the Fujiwara regent’s New Year’s routine and can therefore be described as an important iterative event on a par with other regular ceremonial activities. The text therefore attests to the fact that the Imperial Regent’s routine also affected the routines of the officials in his service. This further substantiates that not all routines were equally important to all members of the court.

This is also illustrated by *Kanchūki*’s record of two Buddhist events that were conducted in parallel during the first month of the year. Beginning on the eighth day, the court conducted a seven-day ‘Buddhist Meal-Service’ (*gosaie* 御齋会) to pray for peace in the realm. Monk scholars were invited to the Imperial Palace, where they received meals and conducted religious services. Within the same time frame, the Hōjōji temple 法成寺 in the capital conducted its annual ‘New Year’s Prayer’ (*shushōe* 修正会), which also served to pray for peace, joy, and a bountiful harvest and included artistic performances. The event is often recorded daily from 1.8–1.14 in various years of *Kanchūki*, because Kanenaka performed duties there, while the *gosaie* is barely acknowledged.²⁹² The Hōjōji temple’s New Year’s Prayer was an annual event of major significance to the regent Fujiwara family²⁹³ and thus impacted Kanenaka’s duties more noticeably. Occasionally, different periodical events were conducted simultaneously so that different members of the court were preoccupied with different events at certain times of the year, which is reflected in their diaries.

²⁹¹ Müller 2021: 109–111, 124. *Kinpishō*: 376–377.

²⁹² E.g. Kōan 3.1.14 (1280) takes a brief note of the ‘end of the *gosaie*’ (*gosaie tsui* 御齋會竟). *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 175. In the year Kenji 3 (1277), Kanenaka visited the Hosshōji temple’s 法勝寺 New Year’s Prayer as part of Retired Emperor Kameyama’s entourage on Kenji 3.1.8 (1277). The same entry briefly mentions who performed duties at the Hōjōji’s New Year’s Prayer but omits the *gosaie* completely. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 268–271.

²⁹³ Takeghara 2015: 105 (Table 3).

The description of the hand washing ceremony in the year Kenji 3 (1277) in *Kanchūki* serves to exemplify the ways in which routine events are typically portrayed in the text. It is most thoroughly described on the second day, when Kanenaka himself features in the event (entry Kenji 3.1.2 (1277)):

2nd day, Yang Water Dragon [#29], the sky cleared up, from time to time snow flew. Wearing formal dress, I went to the Imperial Regent [Takatsukasa Kanehira] and served as head waiter²⁹⁴ at the hand washing. The guest seat²⁹⁵ was prepared in the third bay²⁹⁶ on the west side of the eastern gallery.²⁹⁷ The attire of all things is like in the previous year, thus I did not note it down. The lord [Takatsukasa Kanehira] appeared in his seat on the eastern gallery in the first bay in the north. ^[inserted:] The hand washing ceremony: [Takashina] Yoriyasu brought a portable elbow rest and placed it in front of [Kanehira]. I took the roll-out carpet silk, 3 *no* [ca. 90 cm wide] and 8 *shaku* [ca. 240 cm long]. I entered the bay where his seat was and knelt in front of [Kanehira]. I draped the carpet over the portable elbow rest and spread out the rest [of the carpet] ^[inserted:] and then stayed in front of [Kanehira]. [Takashina] Tokikata brought the tub.²⁹⁸ I took it and placed it in front of [Kanehira] in front of the elbow rest. Then, [Fujiwara] Kanenobu brought the tray with the towel. I took it and put it on the right of the tub. Then, [Fujiwara] Takayasu brought the bamboo mat, and I rolled it out and put it on top of the tub. Then, ^[inserted:] [Fujiwara] Munekane brought one jar I poured the hot water [into the tub]. I took it and put it on the side. Kanenobu also brought one [jar] I poured the cold water [into the tub]. I took it and put it on the side. The procedure for the preparations was complete. The lord [Kanehira] took the toothpick²⁹⁹ and put it in the tub. Then, with [a cup made of] unglazed earthenware he rinsed his mouth. I held the medium-sized cold water bowl ^[inserted:] and put it to the side where it was before. Then he washed his hands. ^[inserted:] I poured [water] on using the hot water bowl. Then he wiped [his hands dry] with the towel. After that, the responsible officials [the aforementioned Yoriyasu, Tokikata and Kanenobu] etc. stepped in front of [Kanehira]. The procedures for removal: I took the bamboo mat and passed it to the responsible officials. I made an error. The bamboo mat should be removed while [still]

294 *haizen/baizen* 陪膳 commonly refers to the person serving food at a banquet, but in this case the function was to hand over the water bowls used for the washing.

295 *hinen* 賓筵 commonly refers to the seat prepared to host guests at a banquet, but in this case it refers to the Imperial Regent's seat for the ceremony.

296 *ken* 間 indicate the intervals between the pillars of traditional buildings.

297 *rō* 廊 is a covered passageway that connects different buildings.

298 *tarai* 盥 is a container to hold water used for washing.

299 *yōji* 楊枝 is a large toothpick made from willow-wood used to clean one's teeth.

placed on the tub. This is the proper way. The silk roll-out carpet covers the tub with its four edges and it is taken away. The Nobles Tokikata and Kane-nobu both carried it and left. Then I left. Yoriyasu stepped forward and removed the elbow rest. I did not put my *shaku*³⁰⁰ in my belt. It was secretly in my chest pocket.³⁰¹

二日、壬辰、天晴、雪時と飛、着束帶參殿下、御手水陪膳勤之、東廊西面三个間被儲賓筵、毎事如去年御裝束、仍不注之、主人出御東廊座、北第、○有御手水儀、頼泰持參御脇息立御前、予取打敷長相三幅、入御座當間跪御前、打懸打敷於御脇息上、其殘令敷之、○即祇候御前、時方持參御盥、予取之居御前、脇息、次兼信持參巾臺、予取之置盥右、次隆泰持參貫簀、予取之弘置盥上、次○宗兼持參椀一口、入御、予取之置傍、兼信又持○參一口、入水、予取之置傍、次第事供了、主人取楊枝令入盥給、次以土器令嗽令、予持水椀三度入之、○如元置傍、次令洗御手給、○予以御湯椀令奉懸、次以手巾令拭給、其後本役人等參進、次第撤却之、貫簀予取之傳本役人、予失也、於貫簀者乍置盥令撤之、本儀也、打敷絹以四方妻覆盥取出之、諸大夫時方・兼信兩人舁之退、次予退、頼泰參進撤御脇息、予不搯笏、密所懷中也、 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 260).

In this instance, the entry notes many details of the procedure: the preparation of the utensils, the way in which Kanehira proceeded to wash his teeth and hands, and how the utensils were removed again. Furthermore, an error in procedure on the author's part is mentioned, accompanied by instructions on the correct procedure.

A note in the first part of the entry references the previous year's ceremony, thus abbreviating an elaborate description of the set-up. In this way, diary entries sometimes explicitly signal that the described events are part of a larger, regular routine, invoking a sense of iterative temporality that is tied to past traditions.

While the procedures of the event's second day are elaborately portrayed, the entries for the first and third days merely acknowledge the event in a short sentence. The entry for the first day, for example, records the following (entry Kenji 3.1.1 (1277)):

His highness [Takatsukasa Kanehira] went to the Retired Emperor [Kameyama] and the Imperial Palace. Before that was the hand washing ceremony. Lord [Fujiwara] Sadafuji was on duty as head waiter.

³⁰⁰ *shaku* 笏 is a flat wooden sceptre of about thirty centimetres that was carried as part of formal dress. In certain parts of ceremonies, it was stowed away in the belt, while in others, it had to be held.

³⁰¹ *futokoro* 懷 is a space in the chest area created by the overlap of traditional clothing.

殿下御參院・内裏、先有御手水儀、陪膳定藤朝臣奉仕之、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 259).

On those two days, Kanenaka did not participate in the ceremony, and thus the entries merely name the individuals that instead staged in the role of head waiter which he had performed on the second day. The event's various iterations are thus recorded differently: the 'tempo' of the narration is either stretched or contracted — the ceremony is either described in all its minute procedures, thus evoking a sense of time's passing or it is presented in a short factual statement that appears to be almost devoid of temporality.

A series of various 'Salutations' (*hairei* 拜礼) on New Year's Day emerges as another integral part of the annual routine in *Kanchūki*. Each Salutation was dedicated to a specific authority figure — the Imperial Regent and major members of the Imperial family — and served to affirm private etiquette between them and their subordinates.³⁰² The Salutations were arranged in succession to one another, so that the high-ranking courtiers were able to attend all of them, and Kanenaka's diary records them reliably over several years, typically dedicating a substantial portion of space to the depiction of the Imperial Regent's Salutation, which he attended.

Before detailing how these ceremonies feature in the diary and what temporal features they disclose, I wish to draw on the case of the Salutations held in the year Kenji 3 (1277) in order to illustrate the flexibility in the lived practices of these annual events vis-à-vis their ideal schedules. According to standard protocol, the Salutations were held on the first day of the new year; in Kenji 3 (1277), however, all were postponed until the following day, as Kanenaka's diary attests (entry Kenji 3.1.1 (1277)):

3rd year of the Kenji era, first month, 1st day, Yin Metal Hare [#28]. Since the break of dawn it was pouring with spring rain again. [...] Because of the rain today, there was no Salutation [of the Imperial Regent]. Reportedly, it would take place tomorrow. Reportedly, the Small Court Salutation and the Salutation of both Retired Emperors [Kameyama and Go-Fukakusa] also would take place tomorrow.

建治三年正月一日、辛卯、自曉更春雨滂沱、[...] 今日依雨無拜礼、可爲明日云々、小朝礼・兩院拜礼同可爲明日云々、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 259).

This entry cites the incessant rain as the reason for the events' postponement. As is apparent from the description of their procedure, quoted below, the Salutations took place outside, in the garden. It appears that highly pragmatic considerations led to the adjustment of the event's schedule in this instance, as being out in the open, ex-

302 Satō Atsuko 2003: 42.

posed to a steady rain at a rather cold time of year was presumably not in anyone's interest. The next day, the weather had improved, as said entry indicates.³⁰³

Unfortunately, the entry does not specify who made the decision to postpone the Salutations, and only indicates through the marker for indirect speech (*unnun* 云々) that the author learned of the decision from someone else. Nevertheless, the diary provides valuable insight into the circumstances that might lead to the re-scheduling of a regular event at short notice. Evidently, the decision to postpone it was only made on the day of the event itself. Moreover, the diary does not convey a sense of bewilderment or controversy regarding the decision, thus indicating that a certain degree of variability in the routine was allowed for, or even expected.

The first Salutation to take place was that of Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira. It appears in the diary directly after the description of his hand washing ceremony, and is portrayed in great detail once more. A crucial part of the ceremony required the court officials to line up in various groups, according to a specific sequence determined by their court rank and function. This plays into another aspect of time that Zerubavel highlighted: sequential orders that are dictated by social norms, rather than technical constraints, typically correlate with priority and importance.³⁰⁴ Therefore, they can yield insights into the values held within a society and may mirror or emphasise other ordering principles deemed relevant by that society. To exemplify this, I shall quote the last part of the event's description (entry Kenji 3.1.2 (1277)):

Then, the Inner Minister³⁰⁵ [Fujiwara Iemoto] entered [through] the fence-gate and stood in the South Garden he entered east on the northern side. My Lord Senior Counsellor [Takatsukasa Kanetada], Tōin Middle Counsellor [Kinmori], Lord of the Imperial Household Ministry [Fujiwara Yorichika], etc. aligned in the same way. Then, the Royal Intimates [stood] in one line. After the second Senior Noble,³⁰⁶ the Head Imperial Secretary³⁰⁷ and his subordinates [inserted:] including [lit. 'until'] [Minamoto] Akitsuna stood [in line]. [inserted:] Next, household officials, secretariat officials,³⁰⁸ and council officials³⁰⁹ of fifth rank [stood] in one line. Then, council officials of sixth rank. End of that line. After standing still, two simultaneous bows. We left [starting with] the people of lowest

303 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 260 (Kenji 3.1.2 (1277)).

304 Zerubavel 1976: 89; Zerubavel 1987: 347.

305 *naifu* 内府 is an alternative designation for *naidaijin* 内大臣.

306 *kugyō* 公卿 refers to courtiers of third rank and higher.

307 *kanju* 貫首 is an alternative designation for *kurōdo no tō* 藏人頭.

308 *shikiji* 職事 are officials of the Imperial Secretariat (*Kurōdo dokoro*).

309 *jōgan/shōkan* 政官 are officials of the Council of State (*Daijōkan*).

rank. I turned right and left. The Senior Nobles left starting with the people of highest rank. The Inner Minister walked in front of the Senior Nobles that stood in line, turned right and left. The procedure for [Takatsukasa Kanehira's] retreat: The Senior Nobles shortly stood in front of the folding screen. My Lord [Kanehira] stepped down in the bay of the eastern gallery stairs. His bodyguards walked in front of him. The Royal Intimates and vanguards etc. accompanied him. In front of the line of Senior Nobles he put on a formal facial expression. He mounted [the ox cart] outside the gate.

次内府令入幬門給、令立南庭給、東上殿大納言殿・北面洞院中納言・宮内卿等同列立、殿上人一列、自第二公卿後程立、貫首已下[○]至顯綱、[○]次家司・職事・五位政官一列、次六位政官列其末³¹⁰、立定之後、同時二拜、自下藤退、予右廻退、公卿自上藤退、内相府經公卿列立³¹¹前、右廻令退給、次第退出、公卿暫立^ゝ蔀前、主人自東廊階間下御、御隨身前行、殿上人・前駟等在御共、至公卿列前令氣色給、於門外乘御、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 261).

Characteristically, for these ritualised events, the authority figure occupied a special role, remaining largely static. This static figure was approached by specific people in a particular and highly regulated manner. In this case, the Imperial Regent Kanehira only walked past the line of Senior Nobles (*kugyō* 公卿) at the end of the ceremony, as he proceeded to mount an ox cart to leave the premises and make his way to Retired Emperor Kameyama's residence. Otherwise, he remained in the same space throughout the event.

One's status in relation to other people within the court apparatus was reflected not only by the seating (or standing) arrangements but also by the temporal procedures that dictated when individuals should get in line and when they should leave. It appears that the high-ranking officials, as a group, stayed on the scene the longest, while the group of lower-ranking officials were the last to enter but the first to leave. The groups also differ with respect to the regulations that applied to them: in the lower-ranking group, individuals of the lowest ranking left first, while in the high-ranking group, the most prestigious members were the first to leave. This further contrasts the difference in status between Senior Nobles and other members of the court hierarchy. In this particular case, the fact that the most prestigious members within the group of Senior Nobles were the first to leave is likely related to the fact that they had lined up once more in front of the screen that the Imperial Regent passed. Permission to leave the scene before others meant that these individuals were granted more time to line up again

310 The author originally wrote 一列 but corrected it to 列其末.

311 The author originally wrote 座 but corrected it to 列立.

in the next space. The sequencing reflects a consideration of the comfort of high-status individuals who were conceded slightly more time to prepare for the subsequent step.

The court's hierarchical structure was reflected not only in the spatiotemporal configuration of such ceremonies but also in the configuration of the diary texts that recorded them. Kanenaka generally tends to list participants at events in hierarchical sequences in his diary: typically high-ranking officials are listed first and are often mentioned individually. Next, other officials are mentioned in a hierarchically descending order, and it is not uncommon for the author to summarise lower-ranking officials into a group rather than naming them individually. In an earlier part of the description of the Salutation, he began by naming individual Senior Nobles and Royal Intimates, and proceeded to use more generalisations before ultimately subsuming the lower-ranking officials into a group of 'Council Secretaries and Scribes of sixth rank etc.' (*rokui geki shi nado* 六位外記・史等).³¹² Kanenaka took more time to record the activities of individual people with higher social status and 'contracted' time around people of lower status, almost eliminating individuals from his recollection of the events. In the quote presented above, he then did not spell out everything in detail for a second time but used shorthand to indicate groups of officials to optimise the time required to write out the diary entry. The social hierarchy was thus reflected both in the related temporal practices (i.e., the analytical level of chronopolitics) and the formation of textual artefacts that record them (i.e., the analytical level of chronopoetics).³¹³

The Salutation of the Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira was followed by the Salutation of Retired Emperor Kameyama. This was held at a different location, in his Tokiwai residence. The entry describes the route taken by the Imperial Regent and indicates that the Senior Nobles accompanied him, while Kanenaka and other lower-ranking officials parted from them. As Kanenaka did not attend the event, no details are recorded in the entry, with the exception of some participants.³¹⁴

After the Salutation of the Retired Emperor, the Salutations of Senior Retired Emperor Go-Fukakusa 後深草天皇 (1243–1304, r. 1246–1260), and Ōmiya-in 大宮院 (also known as Saionji Kitsushi 西園寺姞子, 1225–1292), the mother of the two Retired Emperors, took place in Go-Fukakusa's Tominokōji residence.³¹⁵

³¹² *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 260 (Kenji 3.1.2 (1277)).

³¹³ For a more detailed exploration of temporal hierarchies at the Imperial court, see Müller 2021: 97–105; Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'.

³¹⁴ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 261 (Kenji 3.1.2 (1277)).

³¹⁵ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 261 (Kenji 3.1.2 (1277)).

The sequence in which the Salutations took place also mirrors hierarchical structures in following an order of descending priority, wherein the Imperial Regent, who acted on behalf of the Emperor, took precedence over other members of the Imperial family. Retired Emperor Kameyama's event came before that of his older brother Go-Fukakusa, who was at a greater temporal remove from his time as acting Emperor. The last Salutation was that of Ōmiya-in, their mother, who was only indirectly tied to the Imperial throne via her sons.

The entry Kenji 3.1.2 (1277) in *Kanchūki*, however, indicates some controversy surrounding this sequence:

The Salutation of the Senior Retired Emperor [Go-Fukakusa] was conducted at the Tominokōji residence. Ōmiya-in was in the same dwelling. First was the [Senior] Retired Emperor's Salutation. Then, Ōmiya-in's Salutation was conducted. For this, there was a new ceremony. Also, she is his mother. [Hers] should have been conducted first? Furthermore, her tonsured appearance and also her nun clothing showed through the textile screen.³¹⁶ It was uncomfortable and awkward. Nevertheless, the [Senior] Retired Emperor's Salutation was conducted first. There was a discussion in front of his highness [Takatsukasa Kanehira] about this.³¹⁷

本院拜礼、於富小路殿被行、大宮院御同宿、先有院拜礼、次被行大宮院拜礼、此事爲新儀、且御母儀也、尤先可被行歟、而御出家之御身、如鈍色几帳出現、又無便宜、事難治也、然而先被行院拜礼了、於殿下御前此事有御沙汰、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 261).

As this passage attests, the fact that Go-Fukakusa's Salutation was given precedence over that of Ōmiya-in was criticised. In the previous year, the order had been the same,³¹⁸ as it had been in most of the years for which it is recorded in *Kanchūki*. However, in the year Kōan 3 (1280), the order was inverted and Ōmiya-in's Salutation took place before that of Retired Emperor Go-Fukakusa.³¹⁹ The diary offers no further detail on the circumstances, but the example demonstrates

³¹⁶ She had taken the tonsure a few years prior, in 1272, after the death of her husband Emperor Go-Saga.

³¹⁷ The concerns expressed in the text summarise what was discussed and should not be considered the author's personal views. Whether Kanenaka shared these concerns is not entirely clear from the text.

³¹⁸ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 168 (Kenji 2.1.1 (1276)).

³¹⁹ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 157 (Kōan 3.1.1 (1280)). In entries of subsequent years that record the Salutations, hers is no longer mentioned at all. E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 295–296 (Kōan 5.1.1 (1282)), vol. 3: 34–36 (Kōan 6.1.1 (1283)).

that the iterations of annual events were sometimes organised differently and also perceived and evaluated differently, depending on the circumstances.

To conclude the series of Salutations in the new year, the Emperor's Salutation was conducted last. This event, known as the 'Small Court Salutation' (*kochōhai* 小朝拜) had its own name to set it apart from the others and to highlight its exclusivity. The *Kanchūki* mentions the Small Court Salutation in every recorded year but often only in a brief sentence, as exemplified here by the entry Kenji 3.1.2 (1277):

The Small Court Salutation was conducted today; the liaison officers subordinate to the Senior Nobles should create event reports. Courtiers' Hall Carousal: Imperial Secretary Middle Captain [Fujiwara Motoaki], [Fujiwara] Kin'yori, [Minamoto] Aritsugu and Secretariat Official [Fujiwara] Tamekata etc. sat down.

小朝拜今日被行之、公卿已下申次人可尋記、殿上淵醉、頭中將・公賴・有經、職事爲方等着座、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 261).

Sometimes, as in this instance, the text detailed who was expected to keep a detailed record of an event, suggesting a conscious intention to maintain a shared tradition of record keeping. This may also be understood as a pointer to the diary's reader as to who should be consulted if knowledge of the specific event or related procedures was required.

The quoted passage also records the 'Courtiers' Hall Carousal' (*tenjō enzui* 殿上淵醉), which took place after the Small Court Salutation. As mentioned above, the Salutations were typically conducted on the first day of the year, followed by the annual 'New Year's Day Banquet' (*ganjitsu no sechie* 元日節会).

In this year, however, the Salutations had been postponed until the second day owing to the rain, while the New Year's Day Banquet had taken place on the first day, according to its usual schedule. The Courtiers' Hall Carousal was customarily held on the second or third day and allowed for the celebration of the new year in a familial setting, with drinking and music. It is likely not coincidental that it followed the Small Court Salutation on the second day in this case: although the two social events differed somewhat from one another, the typical rhythm whereby the day of the Salutations closed with a social event was maintained. In fact, the Courtiers' Hall Carousal is seldom recorded in *Kanchūki*, and thus its explicit mention in this year may have served to emphasise that this aspect of the rhythm was still observed, although the Salutations had been postponed.

Although very rarely mentioned in the *Kanchūki*, the Emperor's annual routine started with a 'Salutation to the Four Cardinal Directions' (*shihōhai* 四方拜)—the first ceremony described in *Kenmu nenjū gyōji*. In this ceremony, the Emperor first

greeted the pole star and then heaven and earth in the four cardinal directions.³²⁰ This Salutation served to affirm a link between cosmic order and human society that served as an ideological basis for the legitimisation of authority, as outlined in more detail in Chapter 3.1.³²¹ The objective of the Salutation to the Four Cardinal Directions concerned with cosmic relations was hierarchically superordinate to the salutations concerned with social relations and therefore preceded them. The sequence of descending priority in which the various salutations were conducted started with the Emperor and ended with him, which heightened his symbolic importance while positioning him ‘beyond’ social hierarchies.

While the first few days of the year were particularly marked by different ceremonial activities, observances related to the new year were dispersed throughout the entire first month, even extending into the second month in some instances. In particular, various religious efforts were made to ensure a favourable baseline for the remainder of the year, as indicated by the aforementioned Buddhist prayers. Additionally, a Shintō ritual wand offering to pray for the year’s harvest (*kinenkoku hōhei* 祈年穀奉幣) was conducted on a semi-annual basis, in both the second and seventh months. The offerings were made at various shrines to which Imperial messengers were dispatched. The Emperor would also perform a worship at the Shishinden Hall. The record of this event in the entry Kenji 3.2.26 (1277) illustrates which aspects of such religious events were of prime interest to the diarist:

Ritual wand offering to pray for the year’s harvest: beginning of Imperial outing and worship 26th day, Yin Wood Rooster [#22], cloudy. Ritual wand offering to pray for the year’s harvest. Imperial Secretary Middle Captain [Fujiwara Motoaki] administered it. Today was an Imperial outing for the first time. Imperial worship: The first time the Imperial worship took place was at the spring harvest offering in the year of the coming-of-age ceremony [of Emperor Takakura], the second year of the Kaō era [1170].³²² This time’s [worship] had been discussed in the previous days and reportedly this precedent could be used.

祈年穀奉幣始出御有御拜事

廿六日、乙酉、陰、祈年穀奉幣、頭中將奉行、今日始有出御、有御拜、嘉應二年御元服年春祈年穀奉幣、始有御拜、今度兼日有其沙汰、所被用彼例也云々、 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 282).

³²⁰ *Kenmu nenjū gyōji*: 22–30.

³²¹ See also Müller 2023: 123–124; Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

³²² Emperor Takakura’s 高倉天皇 (1161–1181, r. 1168–1180) coming-of-age ceremony took place on Kaō 3 (1171).1.3, so this appears to be an error.

Here, the event is recorded mainly from an administrative perspective, in that the interest lies not in the prayer itself or its related procedures but in the associated decision-making process that relied on precedent. It is difficult to discern precisely which aspects of the event the discussion of precedents related to, but it likely concerned questions about who would perform certain duties at the Imperial worship, or details regarding related documents, utensils, clothing, etc. It is thus not the religious content of the event that was recorded in the text, but its connected administrative aspects. In this case, the symbolic form of administration clearly took precedence over the symbolic form of religion.

This entry also demonstrates that, although annual events were part of an established routine, the details had to be planned anew every year. This suggests that the details of an event's execution varied in each iteration of the routine. Precedents from earlier years were often used as models to give concrete form to an event. While this certainly had practical purposes, it also led to an invocation of iterative traditions through temporal practices. The tendency to look to the past for guidance for an appropriate implementation of an event further indicates a consciousness of a past tradition and the desire to continue these past cycles by perpetuating them into the present and future.

Each year, a report of auspicious days was presented to the Emperor (*kissho no sō* 吉書奏). The document listed auspicious days for particular activities, such as the collection of annual rice taxes or various shrine and temple festivals. The event took place not only at the beginning of the year but also upon beginning certain other social cycles, such as the proclamation of a new era or an Emperor's coming-of-age ceremony. The various occasions on which this event was performed indicate that it fulfilled a symbolic function to accentuate the beginning of a new type of 'governance' — in a new year, in a new era, by a new adult Emperor, from a new location, and so on.

Finally, several of the court's administrative procedures were also structured along an annual cycle. The new year brought about a regular term for promotions in court rank, which were awarded in the so called 'Rank Awards' (*jo* 叙位) conducted on 1.5. For most years, *Kanchūki* records details about the fifth day and notably affords great focus to the preparatory work that was regularly conducted in the days prior to the main event on 1.5 which are not described in *Kenmu nenjū gyōji*, for example. The 'viewing of the Rank Award specialist report' (*jo kanmon goran* 叙位勘文御覽) stands out as a recurring event that was documented in the text in relation to these promotions. On this occasion, the Imperial Regent was presented with a specialist report (*kanmon* 勘文) containing pertinent information that was used to plan certain aspects of the ceremony, such as applicable precedents and auspicious timings. The viewing of the document customarily took place on the first day of the year, as shown by regular entries in various

years of *Kanchūki*. In the year Kenji 3 (1277), however, it was postponed until the third day, as indicated in entry Kenji 3.1.1 (1277):

Regarding the specialist report for the Rank Awards: today was no review ceremony. The day's fortune was inauspicious.³²³ Lord³²⁴ [Kiyohara] Yoshisue ordered that the review should be on the day after tomorrow on the third day.

敍位勘文今日無御覽之儀、日次不宜、明後日三日、可有御覽之由被仰良季眞人了、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 259).

A similar case is recorded in the year Kōan 6 (1283), when the event was postponed to the second day owing to the first day's inauspiciousness. The entry is, in fact, more specific, as it indicates not only that the day's fortune was inauspicious but also that it was a 'Nine-north-day' (*kyūkan nichi* 九坎日).³²⁵

Certain routine activities relating to the administration and preparation of annual events were thus also conducted on fixed dates unless the spatiotemporal constellation was regarded as unfavourable. In such circumstances, the day's temporal qualities took precedence over the regular schedule, and people rescheduled their actions accordingly. In cases in which the inauspiciousness is described only in vague terms, one may wonder to what degree it may have served as an excuse to postpone certain activities with a sufficiently authoritative justification.

On 1.5, the main day of the Rank Awards, court members' submitted requests for promotion were reviewed and pre-selected during the daytime before being officially and publicly approved in the evening. In the year Kenji 3 (1277), Kanenaka documents the Rank Awards in his diary as follows (entry Kenji 3.1.5 (1277)):

[in another hand:] Rank Awards

5th day, Yin Wood Sheep [#32], serene. Today was the discussion of Rank Awards. Imperial Secretary Controller [Yoshida Tsunenaga] administered it. Review of written requests: Due to a mild cold, his highness [Takatsukasa Kanehira] did not appear. It was said that the review would be informal and, as an exception, household officials would be omitted from the approval meeting. Attire of the Rest Room [where the review was conducted] according to

³²³ In this case, it is not specified further, only that it is 'not good' (*yoroshikarazu* 不宜).

³²⁴ The suffix *mahito* 眞人 is a hereditary title of the highest prestige (*kabane*) that is typically not translated. In favour of easy readability to non-specialist audiences, I elected to translate *kabane* as 'Lord', akin to general honorary suffixes such as *dono* 殿.

³²⁵ *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 36 (Kōan 6.1.1 (1283)). This inauspicious day was determined by an interplay between solar months and sexagenary cycle days. For more details, see Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 197.

precedent. When night came, the Lord Imperial Regent [Kanehira] visited the Imperial Palace. The chief household official Ōimikado Advisor to the Council³²⁶ Middle Captain Lord Fuyusuke was on duty. The Senior Nobles should create event reports.

〔敍位事〕

五日、乙未、晴、今日敍位議也、頭弁奉行、申文内覽、殿下依御風氣無御出、内々御覽云々、撰定座家司俄闕如云々、直廬御裝束儀如例、入夜攝政殿有御參内、執事大炊御門宰相中將冬輔脚、勤之、公卿可尋記、
(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 267).

Kanenaka's account of the event is interesting for various reasons. First, the text does not explicitly mention that the Imperial Regent's visit to the palace in the evening was related to the Rank Awards, as this was presumably evident to the reader. It exemplifies that the text presupposed a degree of pre-existing knowledge on the part of the reader, particularly in the documentation of routines. The diarist presumed that the reader would be able to deduce what was going on based on the entry's specification of the place (i.e., the palace) and the timing (i.e., the evening of the fifth day in the first month).

Furthermore, in this particular instance, the Imperial Regent skipped the more administrative part during the daytime as he felt unwell, but he attended the more public and symbolically meaningful part in the evening. This illustrates that certain figures' presence was not equally important at all events, and at least part of the routine could be conducted even in their absence.

Kanenaka's record appears to be particularly interested in this first part of the event, as he would typically have attended it. Owing to the unforeseen circumstances, however, the procedures were modified somewhat: the review was held on a more informal basis, and the presence of certain people (i.e., the household officials, Kanenaka among them) was not required. The timing of activities was thus not the only parameter subject to adjustment within the routine, and in this case, Kanenaka recorded the special circumstances that had affected his duties, or rather, his relief from them.

While this offers an example wherein events were held in the absence of important figures, annual events were occasionally cancelled as a result of such absences. For example, entry Kenji 3.2.11 (1277) records the cancellation of several events owing to Emperor Go-Uda having fallen ill:

326 *saijō* 宰相 is an alternative designation for *sangi* 參議.

[in another hand:] Line-up inspection

11th day, Yang Metal Horse [#7], serene. Today was the line-up inspection.³²⁷ The supervising noble Provisional Middle Counsellor Lord [Minamoto] Morochika, Advisor to the Council of State Chikatomo, Controllers Left Senior [Yoshida Tsunenaga] and Left Junior [Taira] Tadayo. Due to the Emperor's illness, the [subsequent] banquet and the informal follow-up banquet³²⁸ were stopped. Reportedly, the Confucius-festival on the past 8th day had also been cancelled.

「列見事」

十一日、庚午、晴、今日列見也、上卿權中納言、師範
朝、參議、親
朝、弁、左大・左
少忠世、依内裏御不豫被止宴穩座了、去八日釋奠同被停止之云々、 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 279).

On this day, the annual inspection of low-ranking officials (*rekken* 列見) was conducted by the officials in charge as usual, but the subsequent banquets that would usually take place in the Emperor's presence were cancelled. The entry further indicates that the semi-annual Confucius festival (*sekiten* 釈奠) that had been scheduled for Kenji 3.2.8 (1277) had also been cancelled. This event included discussions and lectures but also a sake banquet (i.e., a social event). A major aspect of these events lay in the opportunities they provided for networking and strengthening personal ties with the Emperor. His absence thus exerted a considerable impact on such an event, and it may have been considered disrespectful for aristocrats to amuse themselves while the Emperor was indisposed. By contrast, the review of rank awards in the previous case served the administrative purpose of pre-screening applications prior to the public ceremony proper. Its cancellation would thus have had wider implications, and, as the entry conveys, the task could also be performed by others in the Imperial Regent's absence.

Routine events were not only rescheduled but were occasionally even cancelled. The diary includes no indications that this was particularly disruptive, thus suggesting that the cancellation of some events — for reasons of ill health, for example — was not out of the ordinary.

Finally, even more dramatic disruptions that led to disrupted routines over longer periods of time are also discernible in the diary. Such disruptions to the court's collective routines were occasionally forced by monastic institutions, which protested against court decisions and policies. In the year Kōan 5 (1282), for example, a handful of events in the new year, including activities related to the

³²⁷ *rekken* 列見 was an annual event in which candidates for low-ranking offices lined up for inspection.

³²⁸ *onza* 穩座 was an informal banquet involving drinking and entertainment that was conducted after more formal banquets at ceremonial events.

Rank Awards, the Rank Awards of Female Staff (*onna joi* or *nyojoi* 女叙位), and the Hōjōji temple's New Year's Prayer were cancelled owing to political protests, in which members of Kōfukuji temple carried the sacred tree of Kasuga shrine into the capital.³²⁹ The protest had already been ongoing for several months, and some events had also been cancelled in the previous year.³³⁰

Various temples were known to conduct such forceful appeals (*gōso* 強訴) as a litigation tactic with the aim of protesting decisions or inaction of secular authorities. Monks would bring sacred trees (*kamiki* 神木) or portable shrines (*mi-koshi* 神輿) into the capital to exert spiritual pressure on the court, and the court typically scaled back palace activities in the deities' presence.³³¹ Infringing on the court's routines in this way was thus deemed an effective means of ensuring that the monastic institution's concerns were heard. This also demonstrates that monastic institutions were sufficiently powerful to impact the court's inner temporal organisation through forcefully disrupting the habitual rhythms of life.

Similar to the yearly promotions in rank, appointments to office also followed a regular, annual rhythm. The appointment of provincial officers (*agatameshi no jimoku* 県召除目) took place in the first month and continued for three days, while the appointments of officials stationed in the capital (*kyōkan no jimoku* 京官除目) took place at the end of the year in a one-day event. During the early Heian period, both had taken place at the beginning of the year, but the routine changed and, by the Kamakura period, this rhythm had become established.³³²

The appointment of provincial officers took place during the first month of the following year. While *Kenmu nenjū gyōji* prescribes that they were to take place starting with the eleventh day of the first month,³³³ *Kanchūki* indicates that this does not reflect practices in the late thirteenth century. In Kenji 3 (1277), for example, they took place on the twenty-seventh–twenty-ninth days, and other years suggest a variable schedule.³³⁴ Satō has provided examples from both the tenth and thirteenth centuries that disclose a tendency to determine an auspi-

329 *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 295–298 (Kōan 5.1.1–8 (1282)). E.g. Kōan 5.1.6 (1282): 'The Rank Award discussion was not conducted due to the sacred tree [protest]'. (叙位議依神木事不被行). *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 297.

330 E.g. on Kōan 4.11.10 (1281), the Kasuga shrine festival was cancelled as a result. *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 283.

331 Adolphson 2000: 241, 245, 247, 265–266, 286–287.

332 Imae 1979.

333 *Kenmu nenjū gyōji*: 161.

334 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 275–277 (Kenji 3.1.27–29 (1277)). E.g. in the year Kenji 2 (1276) they took place from the 21st–23rd days, and in the year Koan 2 (1279) from the 22nd–24th days. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 179–181, vol. 2: 76–77.

cious time window for the event rather than following its prescribed schedule, which is substantiated by entries in *Kanchūki*.³³⁵

On the first day of the event, the diary records the review of applications and an approval process.³³⁶ Kanenaka was not involved on the event's second day, and thus mentions the event only briefly in his diary.³³⁷ On the last evening, Kanenaka worked as a head waiter in the completion of documents (*jūgan* 入眼), when the documents were drafted and attendees shared drinks together. Kanenaka provides a general account of the event in his diary and remarks that the officials responsible for creating final copies of the documents convened the following morning to complete them. In the final paragraph, he pays special attention to a discussion regarding a formality concerning the manner in which Takatsukasa Kanehira was listed in the documents.³³⁸ Once more, Kanenaka's focus in the diary is skewed towards issues relating to administrative matters and the handling of documents, topics that were of specific interest to his duties, and thus he anticipated that future readers would appreciate guidance on such matters.

In the appointment of capital officials, applications were pre-screened during the day and officially reviewed in the evening. Entry Kenji 2.12.15 (1276) in *Kanchūki* indicates that there were around 40 or 50 applications to review that day and that certain reservations about them resulted in their being examined by four different people in that particular case.³³⁹

Promotions in both rank and office were standardised with respect to their procedures and their periodicity. Organisation of promotions according to a periodical annual rhythm offered a degree of stability and planning reliability to members of the court in terms of their own career advancement, as they knew when to expect the next assessment of promotion requests.

With that being said, 'lesser office appointments' (*kojimoku* 小除目), also known as 'extraordinary office appointments' (*rinji no jimoku* 臨時除目), with simplified procedures were also conducted as necessary.³⁴⁰ While the court bureaucracy was founded on routine and stability, the system possessed an inherent flexibility that allowed it to adapt to various circumstances, even outside this routine.

While the beginning of the year was marked by a density of ritual activities, it was also marked by a period during which the everyday duties and governing

335 Satō Atsuko 2003: 146.

336 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 275–276 (Kenji 3.1.27 (1277)).

337 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 277 (Kenji 3.1.28 (1277)).

338 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 277 (Kenji 3.1.29 (1277)).

339 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 248 (Kenji 2.12.15 (1276)).

340 Yoshida 1979.

activities of the court were more relaxed. On the last day of the *gosaie* (i.e., on 1.14), a suitable day was selected on which the Council of State (*Daijōkan*), the main governing body of the Imperial court, would resume its regular activities. The resumption of the regular routine was highlighted by the ‘Beginning of Government’ (*matsurigoto hajime* 政始). This represents another way in which the beginning of the civil year was marked by a temporal contrast to the remainder of the year, as regular activities were periodically suspended. In light of the density of ritual activities that took place at the beginning of the new year, it is unsurprising that normal operations were temporarily put on hold. Logistically, it was likely impossible for everyone involved to keep up with both the annual events and everyday business during this period.

While etiquette documents portraying ideal routines would have us believe that events were conducted identically every year, the *Kanchūki* portrays a more nuanced picture characterised by modifications and variation. The timing of recurring events was subject to change for several reasons, such as the weather, health issues, or adverse temporal qualities. Societal pressure could also lead to a modification of the procedures, as seen in the case of the Salutations. In some cases, the routine was not only modified but even disrupted. The protests organised by monastic institutions illustrate how the temporal practices of one social sphere could be impacted by the actions of actors in other social spheres.

Moreover, because the record is skewed towards subject matter that was most relevant to Kanenaka’s daily life, several of the annual events in which he was not involved are rarely mentioned in the diary. Notwithstanding this bias, a contradictory tendency can also be observed. Many of the annual events in which Kanenaka was not involved are at least acknowledged in brief sentences, sometimes even including a mention of the event’s participants or a statement about who was expected to keep record, as is typically the case for the New Year’s Banquet, for example.

Although not all aspects of the annual routine were equally important to Kanenaka, the periodicity and regularity of many events appears to have exerted its presence in his experience of time and the passing of annual cycles. The cyclical morphology of time represented by a routine of regular activities that involved different members of the court to different degrees thus permeated his life, even when he was not directly affected by these events. His individual activities (i.e., his nootemporal experience) were thus embedded against a sociotemporal backdrop of routines that influenced others around him.

Degree of Self-Determination

To conclude this examination, I shall address a final question posed by Zerubavel — namely, the degree to which schedules are either self-determined or externally determined.³⁴¹ Annual routines were externally dictated by the established norms that assigned fixed dates and intervals to them, as I shall explore in Chapter 3.3. While, as demonstrated in this chapter, the schedules were variable, the diarist was not involved in this decision-making process but was merely informed of the changes that had been made.

An interesting case in relation to this topic is found in the eighth month of the year Kōan 4 (1281), when an official failed to appear at the scheduled autumn scroll reading (*shūki no mi-dokyō* 秋季御読経)³⁴² (entry Kōan 4.8.18 (1281)):

18th day, Yin Metal Boar [#48], serene. The autumn scroll reading began from today on. I believe³⁴³ it has not been conducted in a long time since the Kan-gen era [1243–1247]. Imperial Secretary Provisional Senior Assistant Minister of Military Affairs [Taira] Nakakane administered it. The Senior Nobles should write an event report about the decision [event] and so on. Hearsay: The Council of State's administrator Left Middle Controller Lord [Minamoto] Masanori left early and did not go to the Southern Hall³⁴⁴ [where the ceremony was conducted]. No one ordered him [to leave]. The Left Senior Controller Advisor to the Council [Yoshida Tsunenaga] got angry. In the course of the next days it will be reported to the Emperor and furthermore, there will be a serious discussion of the matter. And an agreement would have to be reached with his highness [Takatsukasa Kanehira] about what kind of discussion there should be.

十八日、辛亥、晴、自今日被始行秋季御讀経、寛元以後久不被行歟、藏人兵部權大輔仲兼奉行、定已下公卿可尋記、傳聞、官方奉行左中辨雅憲朝臣早

³⁴¹ Zerubavel 1976: 91–92.

³⁴² At seasonal scroll readings (*ki no mi-dokyō* 季御読経), the Large Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras (*Daihannyakyo* 大般若経) were read to pray for peace in the realm and for the Emperor. They were originally conducted twice a year at the Imperial Palace, for a period of four days in the second and eighth months. During the first half of the thirteenth century the practice had disappeared, and this entry indicates that a reading was organised again for the first time in decades.

³⁴³ This sentence is marked as a question (*ya* 歟) and thus expresses a sense of uncertainty that I hope to convey by this wording.

³⁴⁴ An alternative name for the Shishinden Hall.

出、不行南殿事、無人于下知、左大弁宰相腹立、後日經奏聞、以外嚴密有其沙汰、且如何樣可有沙汰哉之由、可被申合殿下云々、 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 266).

Kanenaka had learned through hearsay about an incident involving the official Minamoto Masanori 源雅憲 (?-?), who had left unprompted before the event. This enraged his superior, Yoshida Tsunenaga 吉田経長 (1239–1309), and led to his citation before the Imperial Regent. The ensuing conversation, to which Kanenaka appears to have been party, is recorded in an entry two days later (entry Kōan 4.8.20 (1281)):

20th day, Yin Water Ox [#50], serene. I went to his highness [Takatsukasa Kanehira] at the Ōmiya palace. Discussion of various matters. These six items are [recorded] on a separate sheet. Lord Masanori arrived. There was a serious discussion about his early departure on the previous day. Reportedly, because of an illness he had contacted a secretariat official and left. Also, he did not inconsiderately attend the ceremony. Furthermore, he had completed his duties at the decision [event] and so on. In an easy, effortless way, these things could be agreed on with his highness. He was especially instructed that he should have reported it. He apologised, saying that he should have reported it, and left.

廿日、癸丑、晴、參殿下、大宮殿、申條と事、目六在別昏、雅憲朝臣入來、昨日早出事、有嚴密御沙汰、依所勞相觸職事罷出了、更無荒出之儀、其上定已下所役勤仕畢云々、吹毛難無術、此事可被申合殿下云々、殊可申入之由被相示、能可申入之由謝遣了、 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 266–267).

The evaluation of the situation upon Masanori's appearance before the Imperial Regent reveals that he left because he was feeling unwell. He is not necessarily criticised for his absence, but rather for his failure to properly notify his superiors. This indicates that officials were not at liberty to decide whether they would attend such events but that it was up to their superiors to relieve them of their duties in special circumstances.

This case also demonstrates that it was not considered unusual for officials to give short notice when they were taken ill and that people were expected to raise issues by seeking out their superiors when necessary. The event's schedule had been established beforehand, and people were expected to adhere to it or to communicate with other members of the court if their circumstances changed. The fact that he had completed his other duties and that he decided not to attend in an unfavourable state appears to have been considered in his favour in the discussion.

Aside from this example, the diary permits little insight into the degree to which the courtier's time on duty was planned out and whether their schedules

throughout the day entailed a higher degree of self-determination outside such fixed events.

2.2 Routines in the *Bakufu* Diaries *Kenji sannen ki* and *Einin sannen ki*

The emphasis on the temporal scales on which regular routines are located in the two *bakufu* diaries differs from that in *Kanchūki*. Because they only cover a year each, they render it more difficult to seek out annual and supra-annual patterns. Moreover, the sources available on the Kamakura *bakufu*'s routines differ from those documenting the Imperial court. No *bakufu* etiquette manuals describing its routines are transmitted from the Kamakura period, and it is unclear whether such texts were ever produced.³⁴⁵ Below, I reflect on the annual events recorded in the two *bakufu* diaries to reconstruct the *bakufu*'s related practices and draw comparisons to the court.³⁴⁶

Because the authors of both diaries examined herein were members of the *bakufu*'s Deliberative Council (*Hyōjōshū*), its activities are thoroughly documented in these two texts. Disputes brought before the *bakufu* were handled by four judicial offices, each with their own competencies, procedures, and body of officials: the Board of Retainers (*Samuraidokoro* 侍所) in charge of criminal lawsuits; the Administrative Board (*Mandokoro* 政所) and Board of Inquiry (*Monchūjo* 問注所) in charge of 'economical rights and interests other than real property'; and the Board of Coadjutors (*Hikitsuke* 引付 or *Hikitsukeshū* 引付衆) in charge of 'real property'.³⁴⁷ Cases of the Board of Inquiry and the Administrative Board were presented for in-depth discussions in the Deliberative Council, whereas the cases of the Board of Coadjutors were discussed in independent Coadjutor-meetings, and only obtained final approval from the Council. The Board of Retainers handled cases completely independently from the Council, and was directly supervised by the Hōjō *tokusō*.³⁴⁸

345 Two texts belonging to the genre of *nenjū gyōji* (annual observances) exist from the fifteenth century, a time at which the *bakufu* had been re-established in the capital and new dynamics of social and cultural exchange had developed between members of the court and *bakufu* elites. These two documents are titled *Denchū ika nenjū gyōji* 殿中以下年中行事 and *Jishō-in dono nenjū gyōji* 慈照院殿年中行事.

346 Some of the arguments in this subchapter are also presented in Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'.

347 Steenstrup 1996: 95.

348 Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 23, 44–47, 100.

As Directors of the Board of Inquiry (*monchūjo shitsuji* 問注所執事), both Yasuari and Tokitsura attended the Council's various meetings, which took place several times a month according to a fixed schedule. This emerges as the most pronounced routine from the two texts, which I shall discuss in further detail below.

Similar to *Kanchūki*, the two diary texts disclose little about the details of their author's daily activities, and thus the daily routines of the Kamakura *bakufu* officials appear to be shrouded in mystery. I have not been able to confirm whether the *bakufu* also segmented its work days into day and night shifts. However, like *Kanchūki*, the authors tend to specify if a certain activity took place in the evening or at night, suggesting that their main activities otherwise took place during the daytime.

The *bakufu* officials likely also followed a routine that entailed leaving their personal lodgings and entering a public space of duty, such as the Council office, even if they do not specifically record this in their diaries. Similar to *Kanchūki*, the two authors limit their records to their official duties and events of public interest while excluding any information relating to the realm of their personal lives (e.g., morning or evening routines) from their diaries.

Other routines are also difficult to discern from the extant *bakufu* diaries, as they cover a considerably shorter time span than *Kanchūki*. *Kenji sannen ki* records the coming-of-age ceremony of Hōjō Sadatoki 北条貞時 (1272–1311, r. 1284–1301), the future *tokusō* and son of Hōjō Tokimune, on Kenji 3.12.2 (1277), thereby attesting to some similarities to court routines.³⁴⁹ The event is afforded less emphasis in the diary than the account of the coming-of-age ceremony of Emperor Go-Uda in the same year of *Kanchūki*.³⁵⁰ Not only is the description more detailed in *Kanchūki*, but the text also positions the event in relation to previous coming-of-age ceremonies, which had established a precedent for the one in question, thus evoking a stronger sense of iteration (for a comparison of the two, see Chapter 4.2).³⁵¹

While miscarriages and deaths exerted an impact on the Council's meeting routines, as detailed below, no regular activities relating to memorial days feature in the extant texts. This may be related to the fact that neither Yasuari nor Tokitsura served in the household of the shogun or *tokusō* who had experienced the recorded losses and thus were not involved in any activities that may have been connected to them.

³⁴⁹ *Kenji sannen ki*: 14.

³⁵⁰ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 262–267 (Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)).

³⁵¹ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 266–267 (Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)). It also records that an 'after banquet' (*goen* 後宴) was conducted on the subsequent day. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 267 (Kenji 3.1.4 (1277)).

Annual Events at the Kamakura *Bakufu*

The annual routines of the Kamakura *bakufu* had to be reconstructed from various textual genres, including diaries, historiographies such as *Azuma kagami*, chronicles like the *Kamakura nendaiki* 鎌倉年代記 ('Kamakura Annals', ca. 1331), or the records of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine — the *Tsurugaoka shamu kir-oku* 鶴岡社務記録 ('Tsurugaoka Business Record', 1192–1355).³⁵² In an article entitled *Kamakura bakufu ni okeru Kamakura-dono kasei to nenjūgyōji* 鎌倉幕府における鎌倉殿家政と年中行事 ('Household Management of the Kamakura Shoguns and the Annual Events of the Kamakura *Bakufu*'), Takegahara Yasuhiro has reconstructed the observances practiced in various stages of the Kamakura period based on these sources and traced shifts during the time periods dominated by the three different groups of shoguns: the Minamoto shoguns (1192–1219), the Kujō shoguns (1226–1252), and the Imperial Prince shoguns (1252–1333).³⁵³

Takegahara argues that the core annual observances of the Kamakura *bakufu* had been established by the Minamoto shoguns and had been influenced by ceremonies held at the Imperial court. After the installation of the first Kujō shogun who had no relational ties to the Minamoto family, annual Buddhist memorial services for the deceased Minamoto shoguns and their relatives were carried on by the Hōjō family which had marital ties with the Minamoto family. The remaining annual observances grew detached from familial ties and instead became associated with the figure of the shogun as the *bakufu*'s figure of symbolic authority. Therefore, they were continued by both the shoguns descendant of the Kujō family and the Imperial family as distinct Kamakura *bakufu* traditions.³⁵⁴

Just as it had been at the court, the new year at the *bakufu* was particularly marked by various annually recurring activities, thus distinguishing the beginning of the annual cycle from its remainder. *Kenji sannen ki*'s first entry mentions a shrine visit and a banquet held on New Year's Day:

1st day, Yin Metal Hare [#28], rain and snow.

[The shogun Koreyasu made a] shrine visit, at the hour of the Snake [9:00–11:00]. It was accompanied by riders of fifth and sixth rank. After the return, a banquet was conducted according to precedent.

352 The Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine originated as a branch of the important Iwashimizu Hachimangū shrine near the capital and became the most important temple-shrine complex in Kamakura. Takegahara 2015: 97.

353 Takegahara 2015.

354 Takegahara 2015: 107–108, 112–114.

一日、辛卯、雨雪、
御參宮、巳時、供奉之五位六位騎馬、還御之後、被行垵飯如例、 (*Kenji sannen ki*: 1).

This entry describes a visit that the shogun Imperial Prince Koreyasu made to Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine, presumably accompanied by the author Yasu-ari.³⁵⁵ A shrine visit on New Year's Day had already been recorded in the *Azuma Kagami* in 1181,³⁵⁶ and the Business Records of the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Shrine, which only tend to take note of regular events when their regular schedule is disrupted, note that the visit did not take place in 1327. This indicates that it was an annual regularity throughout the entire Kamakura period.³⁵⁷

The event is not mentioned in *Einin sannen ki*, although it is not unusual for the diaries to omit information that was common knowledge to their audience, as the case of the Life Release ceremony (*hōjōe* 放生会) below demonstrates. However, it documents the banquet and mentions horses, perhaps alluding to the shrine visit:

1st day, Yang Fire Horse [#43], the sky cleared up, the wind was calm. Governor-General's [*tokusō* Hōjō Sadatoki] banquet according to precedent.
Sword: Musashi [Hōjō Tokimura]. Bow and arrow: Minister of Popular Affairs [unknown]. Leg-wraps for hunting: Oki [Sasaki Tokikiyo].
Horses and so on according to precedent.
Then, the viewing of the report of auspicious days, according to precedent.
Idewa Mikane [unknown] brought it.

一日、丙午、天晴風靜、太守御垵飯如例、
御劔武州、御調度 戸部侍郎、御行騰 隱州、
御馬以下如例、
次吉書御覽如例、出羽三金持參、 (*Einin sannen ki*: 21).

The entry also attests to the *bakufu's* practice of presenting a report of auspicious days (*kissho* 吉書) to an authority figure in the beginning of the year, thus mirroring the practices of the court.³⁵⁸ Takegahara indicates that this was practiced already since the late twelfth century.³⁵⁹

355 Itō 1999: 14.

356 Takegahara 2015: 95 (Table 1).

357 Takegahara 2015: 111 (Table 4).

358 It is not clear from the text whether the document was presented to the shogun or the *tokusō*.

359 Takegahara 2015: 96 (Table 1), 101.

Einin sannen ki records similar banquets held on the two subsequent days to celebrate the new year.³⁶⁰ The banquets were hosted by different important political figures and arranged in an order that parallels hierarchical temporal structures evident at the Imperial court: just as the court's Salutations followed a hierarchically descending sequence, these banquets were also hosted by the person in the highest position first: the *tokusō* Hōjō Sadatoki, followed by his advisor (*rensho*) Ōsaragi Nobutoki 大仏宣時 (1238–1323) and finally Hōjō Tokimura 北条時村 (1242–1305), who succeeded Nobutoki in the office of Advisor (*rensho*) in 1301.

Notably, none of these events were hosted at the shogunal palace, although it is highly likely that the shogun attended them. Tokitsura, the diary's author, offers little information on the events aside from listing certain items and corresponding names. This may refer to some kind of duty associated with them — perhaps carrying them for the shogun. This practice of mentioning only certain individuals who occupy key positions is reminiscent of the *Kanchūki*'s approach to recording certain events, such as the New Year's Banquet or the Small Court Salutation.

The concise record of events, presented in an almost note-like fashion, is quite common for the two *bakufu* texts. Both tend to drastically abbreviate their testimony of events using the phrase 'according to precedent' (*rei no gotoshi* 如例) in lieu of a description of the respective procedures. This notation attests to the regularity of these events and the standardised practices that underpin them. In this regard, the *bakufu*'s annual events appear to have closely resembled the court's annual events, even if their specific nature and procedures may have differed.

These banquets also date back to the late twelfth century and fulfilled a similar function to some court events to reinforce hierarchical structures, and reinforce personal relations between members of the respective social spheres.³⁶¹ An addendum to the law code in 1284, called *Shin go-shikimoku* 新御式目, substantiates that, by the late thirteenth century, banquets on the first three days were the norm and even indicates the need to limit such social events, which may have been a bit too popular:

— Banquets aside from those in the three days should be stopped.

一、碗飯三日之外可被止事、(*Shin go-shikimoku*: 71).

³⁶⁰ *Einin sannen ki*: 1 (Einin 3.1.2 (1295) and Einin 3.1.3 (1295)).

³⁶¹ Takegahara 2015: 101–102.

While the diaries attest to these social events that were part of the New Year's routine, no mention is made of more 'private' observances, such as the hand washing ceremony. The shogun's hand washing on the first day is however explicitly mentioned in the Muromachi period etiquette manual *Denchū ika nenjū gyōji* 殿中以下年中行.³⁶² It is difficult to conclude whether this represents the continuation of a *bakufu* practice from the Kamakura period or whether the spatial proximity to the Imperial court encouraged the Muromachi shoguns to imitate this observance. If this observance was practiced in Kamakura, we might expect it to have been primarily relevant to the shogun or the *tokusō*. A diary written by a servant of the shogun's court or the *tokusō*'s personal household would likely have been able to yield greater insight into whether such practices were followed by the leaders of the Kamakura *bakufu* or not. Unfortunately, no such record survives, and the members of the Ōta family whose diaries were transmitted did not serve at such functions, despite their personal ties with the Hōjō *tokusō*.

Another important annual event of the *bakufu* that took place in the first month to mark the new year was the 'first archery' (*omato-hajime* 御の始), which originated in the court's archery event (*jarai* 射礼) and can also be traced to the late twelfth century.³⁶³ In this event, members of the *bakufu* elite assembled, presumably in the garden of the shogunal palace,³⁶⁴ to shoot arrows as a means of divining fortunes and to cast away evil at the beginning of the new year.

Both extant diaries include brief records of the event, although neither offers a detailed account, as exemplified by entry Kenji 3.1.15 (1277) of *Kenji sannen ki*:

15th day, serene.

Archery [lit. 'bow'] 15 sets. Then, First Council old[est spoke first].

十五日、晴、

御弓、一五度、次御評定始、老、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 1).

The side note stating that it involved '15 sets' indicates that it was quite a large event. In the standard five-set archery, five pairs of archers (i.e., 10 participants) shot ten arrows each. In this case, the number of participants was tripled, with a line-up of 15 pairs of archers to make a total of 30 individuals shooting 300 arrows.³⁶⁵

³⁶² *Denchū ika nenjū gyōji*: 302.

³⁶³ Takegahara 2015: 96 (Table 1), 101.

³⁶⁴ Itō 1999: 19.

³⁶⁵ Itō 1999: 19.

According to the above-mentioned law code addendum *Shin go-shikimoku*, the archery event was scheduled for the seventh day of the first month.³⁶⁶ However, both diaries indicate that this does not reflect the actual practices of the time. In Kenji 3 (1277), it was conducted on the fifteenth day, and in Einin 3 (1295), it was conducted on the fourteenth day.³⁶⁷ Neither diary indicates that this clashed with the diarist's expectations or that special circumstances were at play, and so it appears that the events schedule was likely flexibly scheduled for a date within the first month.

While the first archery was an annual event regularly conducted at the beginning of the new year, *Kenji sannen ki* also demonstrates that it took place in the context of other 'beginnings', similar to the report on auspicious days (*kissho*). The diary records the renovation of the shogunal palace in the course of the first half of the year, to which the shogun Koreyasu eventually relocated on Kenji 3.7.19 (1277). A report of auspicious days was conducted on the same day, and the first archery, also consisting of 15 sets, took place the following day.³⁶⁸ The relocation itself marks one of the rare occasions on which a ceremonial event of the *bakufu* is recorded in substantial detail in one of the diaries. For this reason, I quote it here:

19th day, serene.

The shogun [Koreyasu] relocated [to the palace], at the hour of the Horse [11:00–13:00]. In an ox cart. Accompanied by [individuals] of fifth and sixth rank horse-riders as customary. The Senior Nobles,³⁶⁹ Royal Intimates³⁷⁰ and Nobles already had gone to the palace that was prepared [for the reception].³⁷¹ Sagami Governor-General [*tokusō* Hōjō Tokimune] already had gone to the West Guard Post [inside the palace]. We attended the shogun's entrance and sat down in the garden. The vassals etc. also lined up in the garden. After the shogun entered, he viewed the report of auspicious days. Next, Sagami [Tokimune] and his subordinates returned to the Guard [Post] and a banquet was held. Today's feast, etc. and the preparation of the buildings were all [done] according to Sagami's [i.e., Tokimune's] orders.

366 *Shin go-shikimoku*: 71.

367 *Einin sannen ki*: 23.

368 *Kenji sannen ki*: 8.

369 *gekkei* 月卿 is an alternative designation for *kugyō* 公卿.

370 *unkaku* 雲客 is an alternative designation for *tenjōbito* 殿上人.

371 *mōke no goshō* 儲けの御所 indicates that preparations had been made at the palace for the reception. Itō 1999: 70.

十九日、晴、

御所御移徙、午時、御車、五位六位供奉騎馬、如常、月卿雲客諸大夫兼參儲御所、相大守兼御參西侍、臨入御之期着座于庭、御家人等同烈庭、³⁷² 入御之後吉書御覽、次相州以下還參侍被行垵飯、今日御膳以下屋々御儲、一向相州御沙汰、 (*Kenji sannenshi* ki: 7–8).

The procedures described in this excerpt are reminiscent of the court's events, at which people lined up in groups according to their hierarchical status. In this case, the most important figure is also the last to appear on the scene, a common pattern in many court events. The authority figure makes an appearance once everyone else has arrived and the scene has been set, and their arrival on the scene then marks the official beginning of the ceremony, thus imbuing them with a specific temporal authority at the event.

According to Takegahara, one of the *bakufu*'s most important annual events was the 'Life Release at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Shrine' (*Tsurugaoka Hachimangū hōjōe* 鶴岡八幡宮放生会) conducted on 8.15.³⁷³ Life Release ceremonies were practiced at various shrines dedicated to the deity Hachiman on this date. For the Imperial court, the event at the Iwashimizu Hachimangū shrine was the most significant, and a parallel practice became established at the *bakufu*.

Although Minamoto no Yoritomo had first introduced this tradition at the *bakufu*, Takegahara also listed the court's corresponding event at the Iwashimizu Hachimangū shrine as an annual event of special significance for the regent Fujiwara family,³⁷⁴ thus making it an important observance in the era of the Kujō shoguns by virtue of its ties to the role of shogun as well as the traditions associated with the Imperial Regent family.

The Life Release ceremony at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine lasted for two days, and included a horseback archery event on the second day. The event is well-documented in both *Azuma Kagami*³⁷⁵ and the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine records³⁷⁶ and is also mentioned in both diaries. The two diaries document it in a peculiar manner however, as it is not referred to by name. In the *Kenji sannenshi ki*, it is instead referred to as an 'outing of the shogun' (*gosho shutsugyo* 御所出御):

³⁷² The *Shiryō taisei* edition of the text punctuates as follows: 御家人等同烈、庭入御之後吉書御覽、*Kenji sannenshi ki*: 7. I here follow Itō's interpretation that concurs with the punctuation of the *Gunsho ruijū* edition. Itō 1999: 69; *Kenji sannenshi ki* (*Gunsho ruijū* edition): 328.

³⁷³ Takegahara 2015: 100.

³⁷⁴ Takegahara 2015: 106 (Table 3).

³⁷⁵ Takegahara 2015: 95–97 (Table 1).

³⁷⁶ Takegahara 2015: 110–111 (Table 4).

15th day, gentle rain.

Outing of the shogun [Koreyasu], an escort etc. accompanied him according to precedent.

16th day, gentle rain.

Ceremony of [shogunal] outing, as before. Reportedly, horseback archery, horse racing, etc. according to precedent.

十五日、微雨、

御所出御、隨兵已下供奉如例、

十六日、微雨、

出御儀式同前、流鏑馬、競馬以下如例云々、 (*Kenji sannen ki*: 10).

Einin sannen ki makes a similarly brief note of the event, only mentioning it by name on the sixteenth day:

15th day, cloudy.

Reportedly, dance and music at the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine. Because the shogun [Hisaaki] was indisposed, he did not attend.

16th day, serene. Life Release ceremony. Ceremonies of horseback archery and so on according to precedent.

十五日、陰、

鶴岡八幡宮舞樂云々、御所憚之間、無御出、

十六日、晴、放生會、流鏑馬以下儀式如例、 (*Einin sannen ki*: 47).

This tendency to be ‘vague’ about well-known routines is thus also apparent in these two diaries, which presume that the readers are aware of the traditions, and will immediately recognise the allusions to the Life Release ceremony in expressions such as ‘outing’, ‘dance’, ‘music’, and ‘horse racing’, etc. A sense of regularity is also evoked by the recurring statements that the described events are according to precedent.

Each diary, in its own way, attests to the fact that the shogun usually visited the shrine in person on both days. The Tsurugaoka shrine was located within the centre of Kamakura and thus very close to the residences of the *bakufu* elite. By contrast, the Imperial court on this occasion dispatched select courtiers to the Iwashimizu shrine, which was located south of the capital and required a longer journey. The Life Release ceremony at the *bakufu* followed its own specific practices, which differed from those of the court. As these entries demonstrate, the event included dance and music on the first day and a second day dedicated to horseback archery and horse racing. It thus appears that the Life Release cere-

mony at the *bakufu* was not only a religious event but involved several activities that allowed the elite to socialise and enjoy themselves.

Einin sannen ki also illustrates that the event in this case took place in the absence of shogun Imperial Prince Hisaaki 久明親王 (1276–1328, r. 1289–1308). The cited indisposition of the shogun relates to the death of Ordained Imperial Prince Jijo 慈助法親王 (1254–1295), as indicated in entry *Einin* 3.8.10 (1295).³⁷⁷ He was the twelfth son of Emperor Go-Saga, who was also the paternal grandfather of the shogun Hisaaki, who thus mourned the loss of a family relative.

The mourning period affected the shogun's routine, as he did not participate in the Life Release ceremony, but the event was not postponed or cancelled. The organisation of this large event itself was likely time-consuming and presumably involved the temple's personnel and infrastructure, which may have discouraged postponement or cancellation of the event at short notice.

Like the court, the *bakufu* was also a government institution that relied on members of its bureaucracy to engage with administrative matters on a regular basis. I will explore the patterns surrounding the activities of the *bakufu*'s Deliberative Council in detail later. Like the court, the beginning of the new year was typically marked by a brief suspension of these activities in favour of the described ceremonial customs. Somewhat paralleling the Beginning of Government (*matsurigoto hajime*), the *bakufu* diaries record the First Council (*hyōjō hajime* 評定始), which signified the resumption of discussions in the Deliberative Council.

Akin to the Beginning of Government, the timing of this first Council of the year was determined anew in each instance until it was standardised in the late thirteenth century.³⁷⁸ In the year *Kenji* 3 (1277), it happened to coincide with the first archery event and is briefly mentioned in the entry *Kenji* 3.1.15 (1277), quoted above. In 1284, the law code addendum *Shin go-shikimoku* set the timing of the first Council meeting of the year to 1.5.³⁷⁹ Contrary to the example of the archery event, it seems that this change may have been implemented, as the First Council in *Einin* 3 (1295) was indeed held on the fifth day of the first month. The diary contains a longer entry for *Einin* 3.1.5 (1295) that details the meeting's participants as well as three topics discussed:

5th day, Yang Metal Dog [#47], serene. Then, First Council young[est spoke first]
 [Attendees:] Governor-General Lord [Hōjō] Sadatoki, Mutsu Lord [Osaragi] Nobutoki, Mutsu Lord [Hōjō] Tokimura, Owari [Nagoe] Kintoki, Buddhist name Dōkan, Stable Officer [Hōjō] Morotoki, the Tonsured Tōtomi [Nagoe] Tokimoto, Buddhist name Dōsai, Suruga [Hōjō] Masanaga,

³⁷⁷ *Einin sannen ki*: 46.

³⁷⁸ Itō 1999: 20.

³⁷⁹ *Shin go-shikimoku*: 71.

Kōzuke [Ōsaragi] Munenobu, Shimotsuke [Utsunomiya] Kagetsuna, the Tonsured Settsu [Nakahara Chikamasa], Noto Minamoto Munetsuna, the Tonsured Ise [Nikaidō] Naritsuna, [Buddhist name] Gyōsei, Toyono [Yano] Tomokage, [Miyoshi] Tokitsura.

— Provisional Senior Assistant Director of the Council of Shrine Affairs Lord Tsuneyo reported a matter regarding Kuwana in the Ise province Toyono [Yano Tomokage]³⁸⁰

— A matter regarding the Iikura estate in the Musashi province of the Grand Ise Shrine landholdings Tokitsura

— The Estate Manager of the Fukuda estate in the Bitchū province reported a contravention by the Estate Steward³⁸¹ Kiyokane

After discussing these three topics, the document³⁸² was presented. Musashi [Tokimura] and Noto [Munetsuna] brought it.

Then, after those three topics, there were drinks and food, according to precedent.

Then was the Board of Inquiry's report of auspicious days, according to precedent.

五日、庚戌、晴、御評定始、若、
 太守、貞時朝臣、奥州、宣時朝臣、武州、時村、尾州、公時、法名道鑒、典
 廐、師時、遠入、時基、法名道西、駿州、政長、上州、宗宣、³⁸³野入、景綱、
 攝入、能州、源宗綱、勢入、盛綱、行誓、豐州、倫景、時連、
 一、神祇權大副經世朝臣申伊勢國桑名事、豐州、
 一、大神宮領武藏國飯倉御厨事、時連、
 一、備中國福田庄雜掌申地頭非法事、清金、
 三ヶ條沙汰以後、御口書³⁸⁴上覽、武州、能州持參、
 次三候之後、盃飯例如、
 次問注所吉書例如、 (*Einin sannen ki*: 21–22).

The entry indicates specifically that the First Council was followed by a social event in which the Council members ate and drank together. On this day, a report

³⁸⁰ This notation indicates who was in charge of the respective case.

³⁸¹ The Estate Manager (*zassho* 雜掌) was located in Kamakura whereas the Estate Steward (*jitō* 地頭) acted on site.

³⁸² *kotogaki* 事書 is a document format that lists different items starting with a dash and ending on *koto* 事, akin to this meeting record in the diary.

³⁸³ The original text states 'Sadanobu' 定宣 here but this is an error. The individual referred to was Ōsaragi Munenobu 大佛宗宣 (1259–1312), the son of the *rensho* Nobutoki. Kawazoe Hiroshi 1954: 50.

³⁸⁴ The middle character is unidentifiable due to the erosion of the document, but from context it is clear that it spelled 事, as indicated by the editor. *Einin sannen ki*: 22.

of auspicious days (*kissho*) was also presented to the Board of Inquiry, headed by Tokitsura. It is unclear from the studied texts whether this simply happened to coincide with the First Council or was customarily done on this occasion. After this entry, the regular meeting routine was resumed, with records of meetings on the seventh and ninth days, for example.

The year Kenji 3 (1277) marks a special case, however. Although a First Council was held on 1.15, a few months later, the diary again indicates that the Council's routine was to be resumed on Kenji 3.4.20 (1277):

19th day, serene.

I was given orders by the Castle Governor³⁸⁵ [Adachi Yasumori] who administered [this matter] that tomorrow the Council should be conducted for the first time.

十九日、晴、

明日可被始行御評定之由、爲城務奉行被仰下、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 4).

Kenji sannen ki's entries tend to focus on summarising the discussions and decisions made in this Council, and the document contains only a handful of entries for the first four months. The diary records a miscarriage of the child of *tokusō* Hōjō Tokimune on Kenji 3.2.1 (1277),³⁸⁶ and states that both Tokimune and his advisor (*rensho*) Hōjō Yoshimasa wore mourning clothes following the death of Hōjō Noritoki's 北条教時 (1235–1272) daughter on Kenji 3.3.26 (1277).³⁸⁷ Based on this evidence, I conclude that these unforeseen tragedies that affected the Hōjō family and their respective mourning periods had disrupted the Council's regular activities and that their meetings had been suspended during these months. As several entries indicate, activities such as office appointment and the dispatch and reception of messengers were still pursued (e.g. 2.24, 2.27, and 2.29), but the Council's regular routine was only resumed in the latter half of the fourth month.³⁸⁸ In this example,

385 *jōmu* 城務 is short for *Akitajō no suke* 秋田城介 ('Assistant Governor of Akita castle'). This refers to Adachi Yasumori 安達泰盛 (1231–1285) who was the father-in-law of the *tokusō* Hōjō Tokimune. Itō 1999: 55.

386 *Kenji sannen ki*: 2. The original text does not mention the name of the woman carrying the child. It is presumed to have been Tokimune's wife Kakusanni 覚山尼 (1252–1306). She was the daughter of Adachi Yoshikage 安達義景 (1210–1253) and was adopted by her half brother Adachi Yasumori as an infant. Itō 1999: 23–24.

387 *Kenji sannen ki*: 3. The name of the deceased daughter is unknown. Noritoki's wife was likely a daughter of Hōjō Shigetoki 北条重時 (1198–1261) who had been *rensho* from 1247–1256. Itō 1999: 32–33.

388 *Kenji sannen ki*: 2–3.

a significant disruption to the *bakufu*'s routine on a smaller time scale thus led to the repetition of the First Council meeting in the fourth month.

Unlike the court, the *bakufu* did not have regular terms for promotions. Court ranks were awarded exclusively by the Imperial court and in the mid-thirteenth century, a special official called *kanto bugyō* 官途奉行 was appointed at the *bakufu* to handle its vassal's requests to obtain court rank.³⁸⁹ This topic does not feature at all in either *bakufu* diary. Meanwhile, office appointments are recorded multiple times in both texts. Notably, they appear throughout the year, typically coinciding with meetings of the Deliberative Council, suggesting that they were announced on these occasions.³⁹⁰

Until around the first half of the year 1277, appointments to offices were also discussed in the Council before a request or recommendation was sent to the Imperial court to formally finalise the decision. This process is described in the following entry Kenji 3.5.5 (1277) in *Kenji sannen ki* on a date on which the Council typically held a meeting.³⁹¹

5th day, serene.

Reportedly, it was recommended [to the court] that the Junior Assistant Director of the Board of Censors [Hōjō Naritoki] be appointed as Governor of Echigo.

五日、晴、

禪正少弼可被任越後守之由被舉申云々、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 4).

Another entry at the end of the same month records that the appointment was officially made and announced, attesting to a relatively swift process once the decision had been taken.³⁹² However, these procedures were changed just over a month later, on Kenji 3.6.16 (1277) as the following entry attests:

Regarding people's office appointments: It was decided that from now on, we will abandon the formalities of a Council meeting [to discuss them] and they

³⁸⁹ Fukuda 1979.

³⁹⁰ E.g., *Kenji sannen ki*: 4–6 (Kenji 3.5.5 (1277), Kenji 3.5.30 (1277) and Kenji 3.6.25 (1277)). *Einin sannen ki*: 31–32 (Einin 3.i2.12 (1295) and Einin 3.i2.18 (1295)), 38 (Einin 3.5.2 (1295)), 46 (Einin 3.8.5 (1295)). Not all entries explicitly state that a Council meeting took place on this date. However, they all fit the regular meeting schedule (see the next section entitled 'Monthly Meeting Rotations').

³⁹¹ Although the entry does not explicitly state that a Council meeting took place, its content and style strongly indicate this, in addition to the regular rhythm according to which the meetings were scheduled.

³⁹² *Kenji sannen ki*: 5.

shall be assessed informally by directly hearing them according to the lord's [i.e., Hōjō Tokimune's] decision.

Earlier, when appointed as Provincial Governors, mid-ranking officials³⁹³ were not required [to pay] a fee and low-ranking officials³⁹⁴ did submit a fee. The process was not uniform. It was decided that in order to gain public income [i.e., an office], from now on, an average fee will be charged, without debate on whether [the individuals] are mid-ranking officials or low-ranking officials.

諸人官途事、自今以後罷評定之儀、准御恩沙汰直被聞食内々可有御計之由、被定了、且前々名國司御免之時、諸大夫者不及成功沙汰、侍者進成功之條、御沙汰之趣不一准歟、爲被全公益、向後者不論諸大夫侍、平均可被召功要之由、同被定了、 (*Kenji sannen ki*: 6).

This entry indicates that the procedures for office appointments were altered in such a way that future appointments would no longer be discussed in the Council but rather decided directly by the *tokusō*.

During the early Kamakura period, office recommendations had been under the shogun's control, but Hōjō Yasutoki 北条泰時 (1183–1242, r. 1224–1242) introduced a procedure whereby they were discussed within the Council as part of a set of reforms aimed at consolidating the Hōjō's political influence in the thirteenth century.³⁹⁵ This return to a more direct, informal approach is understood by scholars as a step to strengthen the *tokusō*'s power over office appointments.³⁹⁶ The decision accelerated the appointment process, particularly in light of the fact that meetings were conducted according to a fixed rhythm that determined at which times such an issue might be discussed. It also freed up time for discussion of other items in Council meetings. Aside from a change to the decision-making process, the fees associated with the commencement of a new office were standardised for people of different ranks, further streamlining the administrative processes involved.³⁹⁷

While the appointment of provincial governors was at least formally approved by the court, changes to the personnel structure within *bakufu* offices were made at the *tokusō*'s discretion, most likely whenever it was deemed neces-

393 *shodaibu* 諸大夫 are individuals of fourth and fifth ranks.

394 *samurai* 侍 are individuals of sixth rank and lower.

395 Itō 1999: 59.

396 Itō 1999: 59; Kawazoe Shōji 2001: 184–185.

397 The original law code of 1232 (*Goseibai shikimoku* 御成敗式目) had prescribed fixed fees called *jōgō* 成功 to be paid by the *bakufu*'s vassals when applying for an office or court rank. Although, in principle, they were fixed, in reality, the amount had depended on one's status. Itō 1999: 60.

sary. Both diaries, for example, record changes made to the Board of Coadjutors' personnel structure.³⁹⁸

The *modus operandi* at the *bakufu* in terms of office appointments thus clearly differed from that of the court. There were no regular terms for appointments, and the diaries attest to an increasingly streamlined process that allowed the *tokusō* to control the appointments, which were determined on the basis of necessity rather than according to a regular routine. The Council's regular meetings, however, still provided a framework in which such information was shared on a regular basis.

The two diaries of the Ōta family indicate that a regular annual routine was present in everyday life at the *bakufu*, but the frequency of these annual events was decidedly lower than that at the court. In this social sphere too, activities peaked in the beginning of a new year, but events aimed at ensuring positive prospects for the new annual cycle in particular were more pronounced at the Imperial court. The spiritual protection of the realm and the promotion of its prosperity fell under a specific sphere of authority that was claimed by the court and was not among the *bakufu*'s competences. Many of the events recorded in the *bakufu* diaries appear to have had a strong social aspect, whether in the form of banquets or spiritual events that involved communal activities, such as the archery competitions. This indicates that the opportunity to network and socialise with other members of the elite was perhaps the aspect that was of greatest significance to the diarists.

While other sources suggest that certain events had a fixed schedule, in the case of the first archery, the diaries indicate that these schedules were not necessarily adhered to in practice. Examples of postponements of events or modifications to the annual routines are not verbalised in either text. Takegahara's research, however, attests to the fact that the *bakufu*'s annual routine was also subject to variation and disruptions.³⁹⁹

A major difference between the court and *bakufu* diaries is reflected in the lengths of the descriptions of these events, which indicates that the *bakufu* officials generally invested less time in recording them. While the court diaries occasionally offer descriptions of even well-known procedures, the *bakufu* diaries are more inclined to abbreviate information that would have been common knowledge to a reader. Events were thus typically noted only concisely, indicating that the *bakufu* officials did not deem lengthy descriptions necessary.

³⁹⁸ E.g. *Kenji sannen ki*: 11 (Kenji 3.8.29 (1277) and Kenji 3.9.4 (1277)). *Einin sannen ki*: 31 (Einin 3. i2.12 (1295)).

³⁹⁹ Takegahara 2015: 110–111 (Table 4).

In an article entitled *Hōjō Tokiyori seiken ni okeru Kamakura bakufu nenjūgyōji no saiken to zasetsu* 北条時頼政権における鎌倉幕府年中行事の再建と挫折 ('Rehabilitation and Setbacks of the Kamakura *Bakufu's* Annual Events in the Regency of Hōjō Tokiyori') Momosaki Yūichirō investigated the phenomenon that *bakufu* vassals actively sought to avoid serving in annual events in the mid-thirteenth century. Momosaki compiled a list of examples from the years 1252–1265 of reasons quoted by individuals in order to be excused from their duties, including illness, difficulties in obtaining necessary clothing in time, and having eaten deer meat which imposed a taboo preventing them from entering the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine.⁴⁰⁰ Authorities reacted by thoroughly investigating claims, imploring individuals to attend despite mild illnesses, or offering alternative solutions, such as changing assigned duties or offering necessary clothing for rent.⁴⁰¹ The deer meat excuse therefore became especially popular because it hardly left room for negotiation. People claimed to have eaten it for medical reasons, by mistake, or feigned ignorance about the taboo. For risk of offending higher powers, authorities were left with little choice but reprimanding officials retrospectively for it or demanding a representative be sent instead.⁴⁰² These strategies provide a fascinating window into the ways in which people utilised complex (spatio-)temporal regulations to their own advantage.

Momosaki argues that the attempts by the authorities to deter officials from finding excuses were ineffective, as the *bakufu* lacked the means of punishing offenders in a meaningful way, and that they failed to address the root problems.⁴⁰³ Many *bakufu* officials were not keen on serving in annual events, as such a service placed an economic strain upon them. They were expected to supply necessary equipment, such as appropriate clothing, bow and arrow, etc. out of their own pockets.⁴⁰⁴ Momosaki further argues that the vassals had previously experienced a substantial financial drain due to the reconstruction of the Kan'in Imperial Palace (*kan'in dairi* 閑院内裏) on their expense.⁴⁰⁵ Following political unrests during which the Hōjō family had destroyed the rivaling Miura family and deported the shogun Kujō Yoritsune 九条頼経 (1218–1256, r. 1226–1244) back to the capital, people feared being drawn into further military conflicts and therefore

400 Momosaki 2016: 3–6.

401 Momosaki 2016: 6–9.

402 Momosaki 2016: 12–14.

403 Momosaki 2016: 11, 26–27.

404 Momosaki 2016: 7.

405 Momosaki 2016: 23–24.

did not wish to appear to be strongly aligned with the new shogun Kujō Yoritsugu 九条頼嗣 (1239–1256, r. 1244–1252).⁴⁰⁶

Although this avoiding stance was not purely directed at annual events, the installation of Imperial Prince Munetaka as new shogun changed the nature of ceremonial events that significantly exacerbated the situation. Because the ceremonies newly involved a member of the Imperial family, they became more extravagant, requiring bigger banquets and more gifts, thereby increasing the financial pressure they posed on retainers. It seems this was recognised by authorities to some degree, as the *tokusō* Hōjō Tokiyori 北条時頼 (1227–1263, r. 1246–1256) limited their number.⁴⁰⁷

The tendencies to avoid duties at ceremonial were eventually controlled more effectively by *tokusō* Hōjō Masamura 北条政村 (1205–1273, r. 1264–1268), as requests to be excused from duty were prohibited altogether in 1265.⁴⁰⁸

Momosaki's research suggests that the *bakufu*'s annual events did not have the same significance for its officials as the annual events of the Imperial court. As the annual events in this social sphere had evolved from various traditions adapted from the court, they likely served similar symbolic functions to affirm (shogunal) authority, and were more immediately relevant to servants of the shogunal household. This idea is supported by the fact that the Imperial shogun Munetaka appears to have placed greater emphasis on the observation of annual events at the *bakufu* than his predecessors.⁴⁰⁹ However, events pertaining to the shogun may have been omitted from the existent *bakufu* diaries in light of the fact that the authors did not occupy positions in his court but rather were members of a group of bureaucrats in high office who gravitated towards the Hōjō *tokusō*.

The diaries of the *bakufu* officials record annual events mostly in passing, attesting to a temporal regime in which annual cycles were ingrained but did not dominate the author's day-to-day experiences. Other temporal routines that directly impacted on their main activities as judicial officers instead emerge as prominent from the diaries: meeting schedules that determined the days on which the officials met to discuss legal cases and policy matters.

406 Momosaki 2016: 19–21.

407 Momosaki 2016: 22–23.

408 Momosaki 2016: 24–25.

409 Takegahara 2015: 109.

Monthly Meeting Rotations

The patterns of regular Councils emerging from *Einin sannen ki* have been studied before by the Japanese scholar Ishii Kiyofumi in an article entitled *Hōjō Sadatoki seikenki ni okeru hyōjō no yōsō* 北条貞時政権期に於ける評定の様相 ('The State of the Deliberative Council During the Regency of Hōjō Sadatoki').⁴¹⁰ Ishii highlights that participant numbers at the meetings fluctuated.⁴¹¹ Of around twenty Council members,⁴¹² on average typically only half were present at a meeting. The diary's author, Tokitsura, attended very regularly and kept a relatively comprehensive record, offering valuable insights into the temporal patterns which underpinned the *bakufu's* governing activities. He recorded 104 Council meetings in the diary, some of which were suspended⁴¹³ and some for which participants are not listed. He attended seventy out of a total of seventy-eight Council meetings for which participants were recorded, which amounts to an attendance rate of 89.7%.⁴¹⁴

The *Einin sannen ki* thus represents a rich source of information on the topic of temporal rhythms, as it accounts for most days within a month and records meetings very reliably, specifying the meeting type for around half of the recorded meetings.⁴¹⁵ Kawazoe has suggested that the existing document may have been an excerpt specifically focused on the Council's activities.⁴¹⁶ Notably, a substantial portion of these entries do not indicate the content of their meetings. Entries in *Kenji sannen ki* exhibit the opposite tendency: the text often does not explicitly state that the Council was in session, but simply lists the topics under discussion. The most obvious example of this is entry Kenji 3.4.20 (1277): The previous entry indicates that a Council meeting was held on the twentieth day, but on the day of the meeting itself, this information is omitted, and only the contents

410 Ishii 1985.

411 Ishii 1985: 72–75.

412 The number of members fluctuated as people joined during the course of the year.

413 *en'in* 延引 lit. means 'postponed', but not all were actually conducted at a later point in time.

414 Ishii calculated an attendance rate of 87.3% for Tokitsura, which implies he attended 69/79 meetings. This contains two miscounts: 1) The total number of meetings for which participants are listed is 78, and not 79. 2) Although Tokitsura's attendance is indicated at 70 meetings in the table, a total count of 69 is indicated in it. Ishii 1985: 74–75 (Table II). His attendance rate is lower if we assume that the meetings for which participants are not listed, and any meetings fitting the regular schedule that are not recorded at all took place in his absence, but even then it remains above 70%.

415 For the rest, the more vague and general term *hyōjō* 評定 ('Council'), or *go-hyōjō* 御評定 ('Council' with honorative prefix), is used.

416 Kawazoe Hiroshi 1954: 48.

of the Council's discussion are summarised.⁴¹⁷ A more nuanced approach is thus required in analysing the patterns in *Kenji sannen ki*, as the contents of entries may implicitly refer to a meeting rather than plainly stating that one took place. Moreover, meeting types are never differentiated in this text. These complicating factors notwithstanding, I was able to confirm the tendencies identified in Ishii's article for *Einin sannen ki*⁴¹⁸ and demonstrate that the identified rhythms can also be discerned in *Kenji sannen ki*.

Broadly speaking, the Deliberative Council held meetings almost every other day, and these meetings alternated between three different types: 'Formal Councils' (*shiki hyōjō* 式評定), 'Informal Councils' (内評定 *nai hyōjō*), and 'Coadjutors-Councils' (*hikitsuke hyōjō* 引付評定), in which the officials of the Board of Coadjutors attended to discuss their cases. In addition to these periodical meetings, irregular 'Extraordinary Councils' (*rinji hyōjō* 臨時評定) were occasionally organised.

Formal Councils (*shiki hyōjō*) were typically held on the fifth, tenth, sixteenth, twentieth, twenty-fifth, and the last day of the month (i.e., the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day). Little is known about the procedures and format of the Council meetings in general, but Ishii identified that Formal Councils were usually consistently attended by more people than other Councils and that the *tokusō* Hōjō Sadatoki had a significantly higher attendance rate for them compared to other meetings.⁴¹⁹

Ishii did not include the end-of-month meeting within the category of Formal Councils, presumably owing to some ambiguity in the *Einin sannen ki* surrounding this particular meeting. It is only classified as a formal meeting in entry *Einin*

⁴¹⁷ *Kenji sannen ki*: 4.

⁴¹⁸ Ishii 1985: 72–73 (Table I).

⁴¹⁹ Ishii calculated an average number of 11.1 participants for all meetings that are explicitly marked as formal meetings, 71.9% of which the *tokusō* attended. Ishii also made an adjusted calculation to include certain other, supposedly formal meetings. For those 32 meetings, the average participant number is 11.5. Ishii 1985: 73. I made my own calculations based on Ishii's model, including the last meeting of the month and other meetings that fit the schedule of Formal Councils that are not explicitly classified as such in the record. The average number of participants at formal meetings then is 10.7, and the *tokusō* has an attendance rate of 70.3%. I counted 37 formal meetings in which participants are listed, 4 formal meetings in which no participants are listed, and 2 formal meetings that were suspended. I included the meetings of i2.18 and 3.17, assuming that the meeting of the respective sixteenth day had been postponed to those dates. I did not include the two meetings of 3.20 and 7.30, as the record shows that officials of the Board of Coadjutors attended, and it is thus unclear whether they were formal meetings in which Coadjutors extraordinarily attended, or whether they were closer to the joint Coadjutors-Council meetings. I also excluded any other extraordinary meetings, as they are harder to classify, and the first meeting of the year.

3.6.29 (1295).⁴²⁰ However, it generally exhibits a rather high participant number, with ten attendees on *Einin* 3.1.30 (1295) and *Einin* 3.i2.29 (1295), twelve attendees on *Einin* 3.5.30 (1295), and eleven attendees on *Einin* 3.6.29 (1295).⁴²¹ Moreover, the *tokusō* participated in all of them, with only a single exception (*Einin* 3.i2.29 (1295)), suggesting that it was likely also a Formal Council.

The Formal Councils thus took place in an approximate five-day cycle on days that were multiples of five, except in the middle of the month, when the meeting took place on the sixteenth day. A look at other social spheres, such as the temporal practices in Dōgen's (1200–1253) monasteries, reveals that five-day cycles were also common in other cultural contexts and that dates that were multiples of fives in particular were reserved for more formal or special occasions.⁴²²

Various factors, such as higher attendance rates, the presence of the *tokusō*, and the dates themselves indicate that these Formal Councils were the most important meetings. The contents of the entries further substantiate this idea: Only twenty-one entries in *Einin sannen ki* include a description of the topics that were discussed in the Council, as depicted in Table 2. As may be easily discerned by their dates, the majority are formal meetings (others are marked with an asterisk).

These findings corroborate results obtained from an analysis of *Kenji sannen ki*. As the number of recorded meetings is significantly lower than that in *Einin sannen ki*, all are listed in Table 3. Brackets indicate that a Council is not specifically mentioned in the entry but that its contents suggest that it was in session on the date in question.⁴²³ Notably, the timing of most listed meetings also corresponds to the schedule of Formal Councils identified above (others are marked with an asterisk).

This observation suggests that the meeting routine of Formal Councils had already been in place for approximately two decades before the time documented

420 *Einin sannen ki*: 43.

421 *Einin sannen ki*: 25, 33, 41, 43.

422 Steineck et al. [forthcoming] 'Time and Religion in Medieval Japan'; Steineck [forthcoming] *Zen Time: Dōgen's Uji in Context*.

423 Entries *Kenji* 3.1.25 (1277) and *Kenji* 3.7.10 (1277) mention messages from the *bakufu*'s liaison officer in the capital, Saionji Sanekane 西園寺実兼 (1249–1322), which seem to have been typically shared in the Council. Entries *Kenji* 3.6.2 (1277) and *Kenji* 3.6.5 (1277) pertain to the retirement of the former *rensho* Hōjō Yoshimasa, another item of information likely shared in the Council. On *Kenji* 3.6.16 (1277), an office appointment is announced, which was typically done at Council meetings. Entries *Kenji* 3.2.24 (1277) and *Kenji* 3.2.29 (1277) also record office appointments, however, as outlined in the previous section, likely no regular Council meetings had been conducted in this month.

Table 2: Councils with recorded contents in *Einin sannen ki*.

1.5	First Council meeting
1.16	
1.20	
1.25	
1.29*	Extraordinary meeting
1.30	
2.5	
2.7*	Meeting with Coadjutors
2.10	
2.16	
2.20	
i2.5	
i2.12*	Meeting with Coadjutors
i2.18	Likely the meeting of i2.16
i2.23*	Meeting with Coadjutors
i2.25	
4.20	
5.20	
6.16	
6.26*	Extraordinary meeting / <i>yoriai</i>
7.9*	Extraordinary meeting

by *Einin sannen ki* and that of the various meeting types, the Formal Councils are the best documented in both texts. In Chapter 4.5, I shall demonstrate that major cases were primarily discussed in Formal Councils, which explains why these meetings required more careful records.

The Formal Councils were complemented by a set of Council meetings that were conducted in attendance of Coadjutors (*hikitsuke hyōjō*). The joint meetings were scheduled to take place five times a month: on the second, seventh, twelfth, twenty-third, and twenty-seventh days. This rhythm is also reminiscent of a five-day cycle, although a meeting on the seventeenth day appears to be ‘missing’, and one would expect a meeting on the twenty-second rather than the twenty-third day.

At the time, the Board of Coadjutors was organised into five subdivisions (*ban* 番). Tokitsura’s record indicates that members of two different divisions typically participated in one meeting.⁴²⁴ From the information provided in the diary,

⁴²⁴ The attending divisions are occasionally mentioned in the first line in a smaller font, before the indication of the speaking order, and the attending Coadjutors were typically listed after the

Table 3: Councils in *Kenji sannen ki*.

1.15	First Council meeting
(1.25)	
4.20	
(6.2*)	
(6.5)	
(6.16)	
(7.10)	
(7.12*)	
7.19	Likely the meeting of 7.20
7.23*	
7.25	
7.27*	Meeting is suspended
8.5	
8.29	Meeting at the end of the month
9.16	
9.20	
10.29	Meeting of 10.30
11.10	
12.10	
12.16	
12.25	
12.27*	

we may deduce that the different divisions had fixed dates for their meetings with the Council:

- First division: 2nd and 12th days
- Second division: 7th and 23rd days
- Third division: 12th and 27th days
- Fourth division: 2nd and 23rd days
- Fifth division: 7th and 27th days

With this system in place, a sixth meeting per month on the seventeenth day would have been unnecessary. The structure of the Board of Coadjutors changed multiple times after its initial establishment in 1249. Originally, three divisions had been installed, but the number later rose to five and eventually to seven or

Council's participants in a new, separate line. E.g. *Einin sannen ki*: 24–25 (Einin 3.1.27 (1295) and Einin 3.2.2 (1295)).

eight after 1302.⁴²⁵ The office was even briefly abolished for about a year in 1293–1294.⁴²⁶ It seems feasible that the schedule of joint meetings was adapted to the existing structure of the Board of Coadjutors as it changed, despite having remained stable with five divisions for a considerable period during the thirteenth century.

In contrast to the Formal Councils, the contents of these meetings are only rarely recorded in *Einin sannenshi*. The occasions on which the topics discussed are mentioned are as follows: On Einin 3.i2.12 (1295), the appointments of some officials of the Board of Coadjutors and the Board of Retainers was announced at the meeting.⁴²⁷ On Einin 3.2.7 (1295), a messenger from the Ichijōin temple 一乗院 located in Nara arrived in Kamakura, and the question of whether or not he should be interrogated was raised.⁴²⁸ On Einin 3.i2.23 (1295) the Council discussed a battle in Nara that a *bakufu* messenger had reported on two days earlier.⁴²⁹ In all these situations, extraordinary events led to a discussion of topics that likely mandated documentation, as they either related to an ongoing dispute that occupied the Deliberative Council over longer periods of time (see Chapter 4.5), or impacted the personnel structure of the judicial offices. Compared to the Formal Councils, it appears that it was less important for the author to keep records regarding the contents of these joint meetings. Moreover, the average number of Council members participating in these meetings was 9.3, and the *tokusō* attended 41.5% of them.⁴³⁰ Both numbers are noticeably lower than those of the Formal Councils.

These observations may be confirmed by a study of *Kenji sannenshi*, although the text only rarely records meetings fitting this schedule of joint meetings between Coadjutors and the Council. The contents of both entries Kenji 3.7.12 (1277) and Kenji 3.7.23 (1277) indicate that a meeting took place on the dates in question, as they summarise discussions regarding an ongoing dispute repeatedly addressed in the Council.⁴³¹ The diary further notes on Kenji 3.7.27 (1277) that the

⁴²⁵ Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 32–35.

⁴²⁶ Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 52–53.

⁴²⁷ *Einin sannenshi*: 31.

⁴²⁸ *Einin sannenshi*: 26.

⁴²⁹ *Einin sannenshi*: 33.

⁴³⁰ Similar to the earlier calculation, I included meetings that fit the meeting schedule even if they are not marked explicitly as joint meetings. I counted 41 joint meetings in which participants are listed, and 2 joint meetings in which no participants were listed. I did not include the two meetings of Kenji 3.3.20 (1277) and Kenji 3.7.30 (1277), as they are also part of the formal meeting schedule and thus may have been a sort of special formal meeting.

⁴³¹ *Kenji sannenshi*: 7–9.

‘Council [is] postponed’ (*hyōjō en’in* 評定延引),⁴³² suggesting that a meeting was regularly scheduled on the twenty-seventh day. Moreover, entry *Kenji* 3.12.27 (1277), which is explicitly marked as a Council meeting, states that the Board of Coadjutors’ investigations were up for discussion:

[...] I directly received the order that the Retired Emperor’s edict regarding the Sanmon matter that had just arrived shall be discussed before the report of the Board of Coadjutors’ investigations is read aloud [in the Council]. [...]

[...] 山門事 院宣只今到來、引付勘録讀申以前可申沙汰之由、直蒙仰之間、
[...] (*Kenji sannen ki*: 19).

While these constitute strong indications that a similar rhythm for the joint Coadjutors-Council meetings may already have been in place in 1277, the evidence for the second and seventh days of the month is less conclusive. No statements can be made about the seventh day, given the absence of entries, but entry *Kenji* 3.6.2 (1277) records an announcement that the former *rensho* Hōjō Yoshimasa had entered monastic life several days previously, suggesting that this information was shared in the Council.⁴³³

Given the diarists’ tendency not to record the discussions of joint Coadjutors-Council meetings as thoroughly as those of the Formal Council meetings, this lack of documentation should not be interpreted as evidence that the meetings were not held regularly, but rather as a statement about the different documentation practices for the two meeting types.

These approximate five-day rhythms were complemented by an approximate pattern of ten, as three Informal Councils (*nai hyōjō*) were held within a month, on the first, thirteenth and twenty-first days. The participants in these meetings are never listed in *Einin sannen ki*, and neither does it detail any topics of discussion, which led Ishii to believe that they were likely conducted within a small circle of people.⁴³⁴

The rhythm outlined here appears to have been observed quite regularly, although records of Informal Councils become rarer in the diary’s latter half. It is possible that the Informal Councils were not held as consistently as other meetings; perhaps Tokitsura was not always involved, or it was not deemed a priority to record them. The meeting’s informal character may have made record keeping

⁴³² *Kenji sannen ki*: 10.

⁴³³ *Kenji sannen ki*: 5.

⁴³⁴ Ishii 1985: 73.

less important for these discussions; alternatively, they may have required a certain level of confidentiality, meaning that their contents were typically not committed to paper.

Informal meetings do not appear in *Kenji sannen ki* at all, which may be considered further indications of these considerations. Or perhaps they were simply not conducted at all during Yasuari's time.

The three cycles described are reminiscent of even intervals, even though they all have one date that appears to be an 'odd one out'. Combination of the three different meeting cycles reveals a comprehensive schedule of various Councils that was iterated every month, as depicted in Table 4.

Table 4: Juxtaposition of Councils in *Einin sannen ki* and *Kenji sannen ki*.

Day	<i>Einin sannen ki</i>	<i>Kenji sannen ki</i>
1st day	Informal Council	
2nd day	Council with the Board of Coadjutors' 1st and 4th divisions	Council?
3rd day		
4th day		
5th day	Formal Council	Council
6th day		
7th day	Council with the Board of Coadjutors' 2nd and 5th divisions	
8th day		
9th day		
10th day	Formal Council	Council
11th day		
12th day	Council with the Board of Coadjutors' 1st and 3rd divisions	Council
13th day	Informal Council	
14th day		
15th day		
16th day	Formal Council	Council
17th day		
18th day		
19th day		

Table 4 (continued)

Day	<i>Einin sannen ki</i>	<i>Kenji sannen ki</i>
20th day	Formal Council	Council
21st day	Informal Council	
22nd day		
23rd day	Council with the Board of Coadjutors' 2nd and 4th divisions	Council
24th day		
25th day	Formal Council	Council
26th day		
27th day	Council with the Board of Coadjutors' 3rd and 5th divisions	Coadjutors-Council
28th day		
29th day	Last day of the month: Formal Council	Council
30th day		

Overall, the Council was in session on 13 days of the month. Typically, a meeting was held every other day, with some exceptional two day-long breaks. The only instances in which meetings were scheduled on subsequent days involve Informal Councils. This suggests that they may have been less demanding than the other types of meetings, or that they may have served as debriefing sessions.

The only time three meetings were held on consecutive days was at the transition from one month to the next: a Formal Council at the end of the month, an Informal Council on the first day of the new month, and a joint Coadjutors-Council on the second day. To balance this, a short break in which no regular meetings were scheduled for three days is located around the middle of the month, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth day. This appears to have been a deliberate pause aimed at counterbalancing the heightened activity on the transition between months. The social cycle was thus marked by two peaks: one of contracted, busy Council activity at its beginning and one of stretched out, relaxed activity at its midpoint. The schedule is thus not only composed of a set of different cyclical patterns, but also incorporates a balance between meeting days and rest days.

This more holistic outlook introduces new considerations concerning the various sub-cycles. A joint Coadjutors-Council on the twenty-second day and an Informal Council on the eleventh day would both have led to additional three-day meeting streaks, which may have been regarded as an undesirable rhythm. Simi-

larly, a Formal Council on the fifteenth day would have created an ever-longer period without meetings at the month's midpoint. These considerations suggest that perhaps the 'deviations' identified above may have resulted from a need or desire to establish an appropriate temporal rhythm within the month, which trumped any concerns for mathematical regularity within the individual sub-cycles.

Both diaries provide evidence that this fixed, regular Council routine was adapted on numerous occasions. For example, entry Kenji 3.10.29 (1277) in *Kenji sannan ki* states that the final meeting of the month had been pushed forward by one day in the first line:

29th day, serene. Council, tomorrow's share, old[est spoke first].

廿九日、晴、評定、明日分、老、(*Kenji sannan ki*: 13).

The reason for this change of schedule is indicated at the end of the subsequent entry Kenji 3.10.30 (1277):

Reportedly, the purification at the Fuji[sengen shrine] is [conducted] especially strictly from today on. Until the sixth day of the next month, there will not be any [Council] discussions.

富士御精進、自今日殊嚴密、至來月六日不可有御沙汰云々、(*Kenji sannan ki*: 13).

The *tokusō* Hōjō Tokimune undertook this purification ritual, which involved a pilgrimage to the Fujisengen shrine in the Suruga province, which lasted several days.⁴³⁵ Tokimune was therefore absent on the final day of the month, and the meeting was instead held one day earlier. Additionally, the meetings at the beginning of the following month were temporarily suspended. The next recorded meeting took place on Kenji 3.11.10 (1277) — presumably once Tokimune had returned to Kamakura.

Einin sannan ki also mentions a purification pilgrimage. In this instance, however, the routine is only minimally affected. Entry Einin 3.2.23 (1295) states the following:

Because from tomorrow on, the Governor-General [*tokusō* Hōjō Sadatoki] will start the purification at the two shrines,⁴³⁶ the Council [meeting] was conducted at Mutsu's [*rensho* Ōsaragi Nobutoki] residence.

435 Kawazoe Shōji 2001: 171.

436 Izusan shrine 伊豆山神社 and Hakone shrine 箱根神社.

太守自明日被初二所之御精進之間、於奥州御亭被行評定、(*Einin sannen ki*: 28).

The *tokusō* Hōjō Sadatoki did not participate in the meeting, and the meeting was held in the private residence of his advisor (*rensho*) Ōsaragi Nobutoki, rather than in the Council office. Sadatoki's departure is noted in the subsequent entry, but the next regular Council session on the twenty-fifth day took place as usual.⁴³⁷ Although no participants are listed in the entries, it is highly unlikely that Sadatoki had already returned from his voyage to Hakone and Izusan within this short time span. Moreover, he is not listed among the attendees of the subsequent meeting on the twenty-seventh day. This indicates that the regular meeting schedule was not interrupted by the *tokusō*'s absence in this case.

Ishii noted that that Nobutoki was more involved than Sadatoki in the Council activities in the recorded year. In fact, Nobutoki has the highest participation rate of all Council members, with seventy-four out of the seventy-eight recorded meetings attended (94.9%), as opposed to Sadatoki, who attended only forty-four meetings in total (56.4%).⁴³⁸ Ishii argues that the reason for Nobutoki's stronger involvement was based on the fact that the fifty-eight-year-old was more mature and politically experienced than the twenty-five-year-old Sadatoki.⁴³⁹

However, *Kenji sannen ki* suggests that Hōjō Tokimune, the *tokusō* at the time, had a tight grip on the *bakufu*'s decision making, despite being only twenty-six years old. Tokimune was assisted by his father-in-law Adachi Yasumori 安達泰盛 (1231–1285), as well as his family vassals (*tokusō hikan* 得宗被官) Taira no Yoritsuna 平頼綱 (?–1293) and Suwa Shinshō 諏訪真性 (also known as Suwa Moritsune 諏訪盛経, ?–?).⁴⁴⁰ It thus appears that he could rely on support and advice from these more experienced people. His advisor (*rensho*) Hōjō Yoshimasa, meanwhile, retired from office on Kenji 3.4.4 (1277) and entered monastic life on Kenji

437 *Einin sannen ki*: 29.

438 Ishii indicates the participation rates as 93.7% for Nobutoki and 55.7% for Sadatoki. This result from Ishii's having mistakenly counted a total of 79 meetings (instead of 78). Ishii 1985: 74–75 (Table II).

439 Ishii 1985: 76–78.

440 This group of vassals was directly tied to the Hōjō *tokusō* and was also referred to as the 'inner people' (*mi-uchibito* 御内人), as opposed to the vassals of the shogun, the so-called 'outer vassals' (*tozamoto gokenin* 外様御家人). Satō reconstructed which families counted among these *tokusō* vassals and demonstrated that this structure remained largely stable from the reign of the third shogunal regent Hōjō Yasutoki 北条泰時 (1183–1242, r. 1224–1242), who was responsible for the consolidation of the Hōjō's power, to the end of the Kamakura period. Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 66–77.

3.5.28 (1277).⁴⁴¹ The position was not filled until six years later, in 1283, when Hōjō Naritoki 北条業時 (1241–1287) was appointed.⁴⁴²

The political dynamics in these two cases were thus decidedly different, and this is reflected in the way in which the routines of the *bakufu* were affected by the *tokusō*'s absence. The routine was not strongly impacted by Sadatoki's absence apart from the change of location, which only further highlights the important role that Nobutoki fulfilled at the time. By contrast, Tokimune's absence significantly disrupted the routine, indicating that he exerted a stronger influence over the rhythms of the lives of those around him. This case illuminates how the study of time can lead to conclusions about political affairs.

What we instead find in *Einin sannen ki* is a case in which the shogun's disposition affected the Council's activities, as recorded in entry Einin 3.8.10 (1295):

10th day, rain.

The Rokuhara office reported that the Imperial Prince of Shōrenin temple [Ordained Imperial Prince Jijo]⁴⁴³ passed away. Therefore, the shogun [Imperial Prince Hisaaki] felt indisposed and the Council was suspended.⁴⁴⁴

十日、雨、
青蓮院宮御入滅之由、自六波羅所申云々、仍御所御憚之間、御評定延引、
(*Einin sannen ki*: 46).

As mentioned above, the deceased Ordained Imperial Prince Jijo was related to shogun Imperial Prince Hisaaki via Emperor Go-Saga, and the shogun had not attended the Life Release ceremony on the fifteenth day owing to his loss.⁴⁴⁵ While that event had not been cancelled on these grounds, the Council meeting on Einin 3.8.10 (1295) was cancelled. The news of the death thus interfered with and impacted the Council's routine, bringing it to a temporary halt. The Council's routine was resumed rather quickly, however: the Informal Council of the thirteenth day was held as usual, and the Coadjutors-Council meeting of the twelfth day was held on the fourteenth instead.⁴⁴⁶ The reason for this postponement is not noted

441 *Kenji sannen ki*: 3 (Kenji 3.4.4 (1277)), 5 (Kenji 3.6.2 and Kenji 3.6.5 (1277)).

442 Kawazoe Shōji 2001: 182.

443 He was the Tendai Head Abbot (*tendai zazu* 天台座主), associated with its Shōrenin cloister lineage (*monzeki*).

444 *en'in* 延引 lit. 'postponed', but there is no indication that the meeting was actually scheduled for a different date.

445 *Einin sannen ki*: 47 (Einin 3.8.15 (1295)).

446 *Einin sannen ki*: 46.

in the text, and it remains unclear whether it was related to these circumstances. The disruption to the routine thus appears to have been rather short-lived.

Itō Kazumi, who published an annotated edition of *Kenji sannen ki*, indicated that the shogun attended the first Council of the year.⁴⁴⁷ The above passage begs the question whether the shogun regularly attended other Council sessions as well. He is never mentioned in *Einin sannen ki* as an attendee, but this omission may be attributable to the fact that his presence was presumed. The above observations may suggest that perhaps the shogun only attended Formal Councils, which would explain why only the Formal Council was cancelled in his absence while the others went ahead.

As these examples suggest, specific events could result in the temporary suspension of Council activities. Additionally, *Einin sannen ki* also records a handful of meetings that were postponed (or suspended) without indicating a specific reason, not all of which appear to have actually been rescheduled for a later date.⁴⁴⁸ Sometimes, therefore, meetings were simply skipped, perhaps when there was no pressing need for discussion.

When a regular meeting was postponed to a different date, the new date is typically marked as an Extraordinary Council (*rinji hyōjō*) in *Einin sannen ki*.⁴⁴⁹ In some cases, however, these Extraordinary Councils also denote meetings that were organised in addition to the normal routine.⁴⁵⁰ This indicates the occasional necessity of discussing certain matters outside the normal routine: these matters were either urgent, warranting discussion ahead of the usual schedule, or they were more complex, and the Council required more time to discuss them, thus necessitating a separate meeting to afford them the Council's full attention. The discussions that took place during extraordinary meetings that were organised in addition to regular meetings are typically recorded in the diaries, lending further support to the idea that they may have been important or urgent issues that mandated good record keeping. Although the Council had a distinct routine in place that determined the rhythms of their monthly activities, the records at the same time disclose an inherent flexibility within these schedules.

In addition to his role as Council member, Tokitsura, the author of *Einin sannen ki*, was also active as an official of the Board of Coadjutors. His diary thus provides insights into the routines of this institution as well, and similar dynamics reveal themselves through his records. There were fluctuations in the office's structure, but it was generally organised into different subdivisions, consisting of a supervisor (*hikitsuke*

447 Itō 1999: 20.

448 Informal Council of Einin 3.i2.13 (1295) and the Formal Council of Einin 3.3.5 (1295). *Einin sannen ki*: 31, 34.

449 E.g. Einin 3.i2.16 (1295) seems to have been postponed to Einin 3.i2.18 (1295). *Einin sannen ki*: 32.

450 E.g. *Einin sannen ki*: 25 (Einin 3.1.29 (1295)), 44 (Einin 3.7.9 (1295)).

tōnin 引付頭人) and a handful of members.⁴⁵¹ These sub-units handled cases together and held their own group meetings. In Tokitsura's time, the office was organised into five divisions who held regular internal meetings, independent of the Council.

Even before the establishment of the Board of Coadjutors in 1243, Council members had been divided into three subdivisions that held separate meetings every fifth day of the month. According to Satō, this marked an attempt to reform the judicial system that eventually culminated in the institution of the Board of Coadjutors in 1249 in a bid to speed up lawsuits and consolidate the *tokusō*'s power.⁴⁵²

Satō has demonstrated that the Board of Coadjutors' different divisions had, at some point, held meetings together, as this practice was prohibited in a source tentatively dated back to 1284.⁴⁵³ However, by the time that the diary was written (1295), the different divisions each held their own internal meetings. Whether each division followed the same schedule or not cannot be determined from *Einin sannē ki*. Given that it was not uncommon for people to hold double offices in the Council and the Board of Coadjutors, and that officials were also occasionally reassigned to new divisions, a uniform rhythm is feasible, as it would have avoided scheduling difficulties.

The meetings of the third division, with which Tokitsura was affiliated, are recorded in *Einin sannē ki* in the same style as the Council's meetings. They were regularly held on the third, ninth, fourteenth, nineteenth, twenty-fourth, and possibly twenty-eighth days of the month. It is difficult to determine whether a meeting was definitely conducted on the twenty-eighth day, although a statement in entry *Einin* 3.2.28 (1295) notes that the Coadjutors' meeting was postponed, and thus suggests that it was usually held on this day.⁴⁵⁴ The only other entry made on a twenty-eighth day is *Einin* 3.4.28 (1295), when an extraordinary joint Coadjutors-Council meeting took place.⁴⁵⁵ Presumably, this was to make up for the meeting of the previous day, although the text does not explicitly state this. It is possible that both meetings were organised for that day and that only one was recorded or that the Coadjutors' need to coordinate with the Council outweighed the need for internal discussions. Once again, the interval between meetings thus approximates five days.

451 The members for 1225–1284 are listed in the contemporary document *Kantō hyōjōshū den*. For a reconstruction of members of earlier years, see Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 32–33. For a reconstruction of members of later years, see Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 225–323.

452 Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 30–31.

453 Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 46–48.

454 *Einin sannē ki*: 29. Ishii also suggests that a meeting with the Coadjutors possibly took place regularly on the twenty-eighth day. Ishii 1985: 72–73 (Table I).

455 *Einin sannē ki*: 37–38.

Table 5: Juxtaposition of Council meetings and Board of Coadjutors' internal meetings.

Day	Council	Board or Coadjutors' 3rd division
1st day	Informal meeting	
2nd day	Meeting with 1st and 4th divisions	
3rd day		Meeting
4th day		
5th day	Formal meeting	
6th day		
7th day	Meeting with 2nd and 5th divisions	
8th day		
9th day		Meeting
10th day	Formal meeting	
11th day		
12th day	Meeting with 1st and 3rd divisions	
13th day	Informal meeting	
14th day		Meeting
15th day		
16th day	Formal meeting	
17th day		
18th day		
19th day		Meeting
20th day	Formal meeting	
21st day	Informal meeting	
22nd day		
23rd day	Meeting with 2nd and 4th divisions	
24th day		Meeting
25th day	Formal meeting	
26th day		
27th day	Meeting with 3rd and 5th divisions	

Table 5 (continued)

Day	Council	Board or Coadjutors' 3rd division
28th day		Meeting?
29th day	Last day of the month: Formal meeting	
30th day		

In Table 5, I juxtapose the Coadjutors' internal meeting schedule with that of the Council.⁴⁵⁶ Meetings were timed in such a way that internal Coadjutors meetings and sessions with the Council alternated. As indicated earlier, each division discussed their cases with the Council twice a month. In the case of the third division, this means that they held three internal meetings, held a session with the Council, and then held another three internal meetings before their second meeting with the Council. Some of the other divisions had less even rhythms, divided into four and two internal meetings between the joint Coadjutors-Council meetings.

Nine–ten days on which no meetings were normally held stand out, depending on the length of the month. Most meetings recorded on these days are distinctly marked as 'extraordinary' (*rinji* 臨時) in *Einin sannen ki*, drawing attention to the fact that these dates were not routinely intended for meetings.⁴⁵⁷

In both diaries, entries made on these dates primarily concern either annual ceremonial events⁴⁵⁸ or remarkable and unpredictable events. Examples of such extraordinary events include earthquakes and strange weather conditions,⁴⁵⁹ deaths or miscarriages,⁴⁶⁰ or the arrival or dispatch of messengers and travellers in

⁴⁵⁶ A similar table is found in Ishii 1985: 72–73.

⁴⁵⁷ Extraordinary Council meetings: *Einin sannen ki*: 25 (Einin 3.1.29 (1295)), 32 (Einin 3.i.2.18 (1295)), 36 (Einin 3.4.6 (1295)), 42 (Einin 3.6.26 (1295)). The meeting on Einin 3.8.17 (1295) is an exception to this. In this case, the regular meeting of the sixteenth day had likely been postponed because of the Life Release Ceremony. *Einin sannen ki*: 47. Extraordinary Coadjutors' meeting on Einin 3.2.26 (1295). *Einin sannen ki*: 29. On Einin 3.3.22 (1295) a *yoriai* took place and on Einin 3.5.4 (1295) the author had a discussion with another official. *Einin sannen ki*: 35, 38.

⁴⁵⁸ First Council meeting on Kenji 3.1.15 (1277), Heart Sūtra reading on Einin 3.1.8 (1295), and the Life Release Ceremony on both Kenji 3.8.15 (1277) and Einin 3.8.15 (1295). *Kenji sannen ki*: 1, 10. *Einin sannen ki*: 22, 47.

⁴⁵⁹ *Einin sannen ki*: 37 (Einin 3.4.26 (1295)), 39 (Einin 3.5.8 (1295)), 41–42 (Einin 3.6.17 (1295) and Einin 3.6.18 (1295)).

⁴⁶⁰ Death within the extended Hōjō family on Kenji 3.3.26 (1277). *Kenji sannen ki*: 3. A miscarriage on Einin 3.3.29 (1295) led to the suspension of regular meetings for a short period. *Einin sannen ki*: 36.

Kamakura.⁴⁶¹ Sometimes, the authors also learned of matters that were later discussed in a Council session slightly ahead of time.⁴⁶² *Kenji sannen ki* also records several directional changes of the shogun Koreyasu on such dates.⁴⁶³ In sum, the entries typically relate to extraordinary events that were not scheduled ahead of time in accordance with a predictable routine.⁴⁶⁴

One may wonder whether these days were not only meeting-free but may even have been rest days, although both diarists were clearly active on such days when matters relevant to their duties arose.

The two examined *bakufu* diaries reveal that the most distinct temporal rhythm that permeated their authors' lives was determined by a regular schedule of various, alternating government meetings. The rhythm was composed of various periodical cycles integrated into a network of recurring activities that were structured according to a monthly cycle. In accordance with Zerubavel's theory, this social cycle was marked by temporal contrasts upon the starting point of each iteration and, in the case of the Council meeting routine, also by a peak in the middle of the month.

Degree of Self-Determination

The examined *bakufu* diaries also do not yield much insight into the degree of self-determination of their authors' schedules. Momosaki's research outlined earlier demonstrates that attendance and duty at the *bakufu*'s annual events was externally dictated. The examples of *bakufu* officials citing higher powers in the

461 *Kenji sannen ki*: 1 (Kenji 3.1.11 (1277)), 5 (Kenji 3.6.8 (1277)). *Einin sannen ki*: 37 (Einin 3.4.22 (1295)), 40 (Einin 3.5.17 (1295)).

462 Yasuari was summoned to Hōjō Tokimune's mansion to discuss a letter from Saionji Sane-kane on Kenji 3.7.8 (1277) and to discuss personnel changes on Kenji 3.9.4 (1277). *Kenji sannen ki*: 7, 11. Tokitsura records a complaint regarding appointments to the Board of Coadjutors (Einin 3.12.11 (1295)) and an issue brought to the *bakufu*'s attention by the high priest (*sōjō* 僧正) of Jōjūin temple (Einin 3.6.22 (1295)). *Einin sannen ki*: 31, 42.

463 *Kenji sannen ki*: 1 (Kenji 3.1.8 (1277)), 3 (Kenji 3.4.11 (1277) and Kenji 3.4.18 (1277)).

464 Entries in *Kenji sannen ki* for dates on which the Coadjutors' internal meetings were conducted may be described similarly. Often no entries are found at all, and otherwise they cover events such as directional changes on Kenji 3.1.9 (1277) and Kenji 3.1.24 (1277), the arrival of a messenger on Kenji 3.4.9 (1277), the relocation of the shogun to the new palace on Kenji 3.7.19 (1277), a report of murder on Kenji 3.10.14 (1277) and some office appointments on Kenji 3.2.24 (1277) and Kenji 3.12.14 (1277). *Kenji sannen ki*: 1–3, 7–8, 12, 15.

form of taboos to get out of such duties indicates that the room for negotiation was small and required very robust excuses.⁴⁶⁵

As Ishii highlighted, participation in the Council's sessions fluctuated,⁴⁶⁶ suggesting that attendance may not have been equally mandatory for everyone. Unfortunately, the sources do not disclose whether this decision was left to the individuals or whether the *tokusō* or another top-tier member of the Council determined these matters. Satō, who described the institutions and related procedures of the Kamakura *bakufu* in great detail, also does not address this question, indicating that it may be unknown.⁴⁶⁷ Similarly, there is little concrete evidence concerning the degree of freedom that officials had in managing their time on duty on a daily basis. The authors of the Ōta family, who occupied high-ranking positions in the *bakufu*'s bureaucratic hierarchy, may have had more freedom in this respect than other officials, though this remains uncertain.

As argued in Chapter 1.3, the two examined *bakufu* diaries do not equally reflect the rhythms of this social sphere, but differ from one another in their respective chronopoetic configurations. While *Einin sannē ki* affords stronger emphasis to the routines of the Council, the investigation in this chapter has demonstrated that these underlying rhythms are also discernible in *Kenji sannē ki* and that the routines were similar — if not equal — in 1277 and 1295, and thus were relatively stable. The routine of the Deliberative Council provided an integral framework within which the judicial system could function effectively, as it established a norm for the timing and format of different discussions. The sources also indicate that this schedule was adapted to meet circumstantial requirements and that additional, extraordinary meetings were organised when necessary.

Reflection

Social cycles on various temporal scales combined to form a complex web of routines that permeated the lives of the elites at both the court and the *bakufu*. As demonstrated, their annual routines integrated distinct cultural spheres and symbolic forms within a periodical, rhythmical pattern that was ingrained into their everyday working lives. These different domains are subsumed under the logic of administration in the diaries, which dictated the lens through which the authors selected to describe certain aspects of the events. This is particularly evident in

⁴⁶⁵ Momosaki 2016.

⁴⁶⁶ Ishii 1985: 74–75 (Table II).

⁴⁶⁷ Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943].

Kanchūki, as Kanenaka tends to describe elements that are directly relevant to his own work and related know-how, while relegating the events in which he has no involvement to the sidelines.⁴⁶⁸ For example, the specific religious contents of a Buddhist service that appear in his diary are typically not recorded. By contrast, he does occasionally copy administrative documents into his diary, either to illustrate their format or to relay their precise contents.

This style is not necessarily universal to the diaries of the period, as other texts may prefer to focus on different aspects — for example, recording the poems produced at social gatherings — which is very rare in *Kanchūki*. Müller's study of temporal features in a number of *kanbun* diaries of the Kamakura period complements my research and demonstrates differences between the texts produced by various actors of the Imperial court.⁴⁶⁹ Further research dedicated to comparing the diaries written by a range of authors in different functions would certainly assist in deepening our understanding of the concerns that may have differed among individuals and which genre-specific practices were shared.

While several parallels may be drawn between the court and the *bakufu* with respect to various aspects of these temporal routines, the studied documents also exhibit clear differences in their respective emphases on the differing social cycles.

The annual routine was clearly more tightly knit at the Imperial court than at the *bakufu* and more dominant in the life of the courtier Kanenaka, whose diary frequently depicts them. Many of the events served to affirm the court's authority and hierarchy; furthermore, knowledge and the command of ceremonial etiquette were valued as a competence required to advance one's career at court.

By contrast, the lives of the *bakufu* officials, who held important posts within the government hierarchy in Kamakura, were more rigidly structured according to a monthly cycle determined by regular Council meetings. Similar meetings took place at the court during the same period, but they do not dominate Kanenaka's record and regular activities to the same degree. The way in which the bureaucracy was organised and conducted its regular business thus impacted the importance placed on different routines in the two social spheres. In the Imperial court, office appointments were ceremonialised and structured in annual patterns, whereas they were handled more flexibly at the *bakufu* and announced in Council meetings.

The authors' daily routines are not as well documented in either diary text. That is not to say that this daily routine was less important to officials than the

⁴⁶⁸ In this regard, the diary strongly differs from the *Kenmu nenjū gyōji*, which, for example, also regularly describes the roles and activities of female officials at these events, whereas one might get the impression from Kanenaka's diary that women were almost uninvolved.

⁴⁶⁹ Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

respective monthly or annual routines. The fact that the authors attended to their duties on a regular and almost-daily basis was indubitably fundamentally determinative of their life rhythms. However, the ways in which people were able to coordinate their actions with one another across different timescales likely contributed to an omission of detail regarding daily routines in diary texts. While the timescale of a single day is strongly dominant in terms of chronography and chronopoetics, as individual dates structure the text into daily units, it appears to be less poignant on the chronopolitical level in these records.

Several practices relating to annual events at the Kamakura *bakufu* originated in the traditions of the court society, which had changed over the course of the Kamakura period. At the same time, the introduction of a system in which judicial cases were discussed in the Retired Emperor's Council at regular intervals at court attests to the fact that institutions and institutionalised organisational patterns were also transmitted in the opposite direction, from Kamakura to the court.

Remarkably, all of the investigated texts include instances in which the authors were not personally involved in an annual event or regular meeting, but elected to record them anyway. The documents thus communicate that the temporal regimes of the respective social spheres were being upheld, suggesting that collective compliance with these rhythmical patterns was deemed socially relevant. Knowledge of routines affecting other members of one's social circle could also be useful to the individual, as these routines potentially impacted their own activities: when superiors or peers were expected to attend a particular event on a regular basis, the result was that they were not available for consultation at certain times.

Another similarity between the court and the *bakufu* lies in their respective ritual cementations of the beginning of the year. Both spheres emphasised this beginning by a blend of various special activities and a short 'extraordinary' timeframe in which otherwise consistent routines, such as the everyday governing activities of the Council of State (*Daijōkan*) and the Deliberative Council (*Hyōjō*), were suspended. This was accompanied by other practices to celebrate and accentuate the new year within the first month. Similarly, monthly transitions were marked by two contrasting peaks of condensed and relaxed activity in the case of the *bakufu*'s Deliberative Council schedule.

The sources further demonstrate that some events highlighted the beginnings of other social cycles located on supra-annual time scales. They were typically related to new 'government cycles', marked for example, by the enthronement of a new symbolically relevant authority figure (Emperor or shogun), the relocation of such a figure to a new palace, or an era name change.

I am reluctant to generalise these findings to the respective spheres of the court and the *bakufu* as a whole, because my findings are strongly linked to the different functions that the authors fulfilled within their respective social spheres. We might expect that the day-to-day life of a servant in the shogunal household, who did not hold a seat in the Deliberative Council (or any judicial office), would have differed significantly from those of the Ōta family officials and would more likely have shared similarities with the lives of servants within the Imperial household. Different routines were thus of different relevance to different actors within the society.

Zerubavel mentions that social cycles are ahistorical in character, meaning that they ideally recur, independent of historical, recorded time.⁴⁷⁰ This facet of ‘absolute’ temporality is represented in etiquette manuals that portray an ideal cycle, but diaries complement the picture with their portrayal of how real-life events affected these cycles, resulting in modifications and disruptions that were pinned down in historical ‘relational’ time. The routines were not necessarily as rigid as etiquette manuals would have us believe, and the lived practices appear to have been characterised by a considerable degree of variability and flexibility.

Zerubavel also emphasises that recurring events may be perceived as both linear and cyclical, in the sense that an individual can perceive them both as a class of recurring events (cyclical) while still experiencing each event as unique and self-contained (linear).⁴⁷¹ The *Kanchūki* aptly illustrates this temporal duality. While some events are mentioned regularly but only in passing, thus emphasising a cyclical temporality, other events described in greater detail tend to acknowledge the particularity of the described event and variation in established practices. Thus, the diary not only records the court routine but also records the uniqueness and variability of different instances within this routine.

The primary merit of these various routines lay in the fact that they established clear expectations with respect to various matters — for example, when to expect a financial drain, owing to service at an annual ceremony, or whether the Council meeting schedule allowed for the immediate discussion of an urgent issue or an extraordinary meeting would need to be arranged. Clearly defined temporal rhythms to structure different individuals’ activities were thus crucial for long-term planning and facilitated coordination of actors by providing a familiar framework for recurring activities

470 Zerubavel 1976: 90.

471 Zerubavel 1976: 90.

Chapter 3

Time Reckoning, Notions of Time, and Temporal Regimes

As observed in Chapter 1, calendrical time was strongly embedded in the everyday lives of the elites, as attested to by the fact that people regularly took notes for their diaries on physical calendars and that these calendrical dates dominated the texts' temporal structures. Calendrical time determined not only the dating practices found in the examined diaries, but also informed the organisation of the social lives of the elites, as Chapter 2 has demonstrated. In this chapter, I elaborate on why the Imperial court specifically had been concerned with calendar making in the first place, highlighting the political significance of its temporal regime. I shall describe various coexisting systems of timekeeping and reflect on the notions of time that they represent by drawing on Maki's model of temporal morphologies (chrononoetics). I further address what the diary texts reveal about the roles that different calendrical systems played as chronographic parameters (chronography) and outline the ways in which calendrical rhythms impacted schedules at the court and *bakufu* (chronopolitics).

3.1 Timekeeping as a Tool of Political Authority

As was the case with many other institutions, the court's temporal regime as it existed during the Kamakura period had largely been established during the preceding Nara and Heian periods. Several elements, including calendrical calculation methods and certain chronographic practices, had been adapted from the Tang dynasty in the formation and consolidation of the *ritsuryō* state during the ancient period.

The official calendars that formed the basis of the temporal regimes of the court elite are known as *guchūreki* 具注曆 — literally, 'calendars with detailed annotations'. They were issued annually by specialists of the Yin and Yang Office (*Onmyōryō* 陰陽領), which was instituted with the establishment of the *ritsuryō* state. It was supervised by the Director of the Yin and Yang Office (*on'yō no kami* 陰陽頭) and its highest positions were in the hereditary tenure of the Kamo and Abe families since the mid-tenth century.⁴⁷² The office was structured into four

472 Frank 1998: 31.

subdivisions with specific duties and experts that reflect the various fields of expertise that it combined. The highest positions were as follows:

One Yin and Yang Expert (*onmyōji* 陰陽師)

One Astronomy Expert (*tenmon hakase* 天文博士)

One Calendar Expert (*reki hakase/koyomi no hakase* 曆博士)

Two Water Clock Experts (*rōkoku hakase* 漏刻博士)⁴⁷³

The Yin and Yang Office was thus not only the authority on matters regarding *Onmyōdō* 陰陽道 (‘The Way of Yin and Yang’), as its name implies, but was also the authority on matters of astronomy and anything related to time reckoning. By the thirteenth century, however, the announcement of time had been taken over by the Imperial Secretariat (*kurōdo*).⁴⁷⁴

As indicated by the combination of these areas of expertise within a single office, the disciplines were closely related to one another. The measurement of time via water clock was crucial for astronomy and provided a basis for calendrical calculations in ancient China.⁴⁷⁵ Both astronomy and time reckoning were also strongly interlinked with ideas of *Onmyōdō*, a way of structuring the world into categories that were ascribed attributes according to clear principles.⁴⁷⁶ The annotated calendars are a blend of different notions of time that quantify it while also ascribing to it qualifying attributes and characteristics.

The notions, techniques, and foundational works of the three disciplines of *Onmyōdo*, astronomy, and time reckoning originated in ancient China, and by the time they were imported into Japan, their close interrelation was already well-established. Owing to the close relationship between the disciplines, I shall briefly outline several of the core concepts of *Onmyōdō* and astronomy to better contextualise the craft of calendar making and timekeeping in premodern Japan and highlight its symbolic and political implications.⁴⁷⁷

473 Okada 1996: 68; Nakayama 1969: 17–18. For a brief comparison with the office structure in the Tang model, see Nakayama 1969: 17–20.

474 *Kinbishō*: 378.

475 Nakayama notes that in premodern Japan, however, the water clock was likely used for timekeeping exclusively. Nakayama 1969: 71

476 In the Chinese model, matters of Yin and Yang were administratively separated from the other three sciences — a key difference in its Japanese adaptation. Nakayama 1969: 18–20.

477 Some of the research literature I draw upon focuses on premodern China rather than Japan, as some basic principles shared by different lunisolar calendars devised in the ancient period are well laid out in it.

Onmyōdō integrates the principles of Yin and Yang (*onmyō* 陰陽) and that of the five phases (*gogyō* 五行) with Confucian teachings into a comprehensive theory of cosmology that links human activity to the course of the cosmos on multiple levels, such as the realm of social relations or the human body.⁴⁷⁸

The principle of Yin and Yang states that all phenomena result from the interaction of the opposing and reciprocal forces Yin (representing the cold, dark, female, negative, passive, and even numbers, etc.) and Yang (representing the warm, light, male, positive, active, and odd numbers, etc.).⁴⁷⁹ The five phases principle, meanwhile, attributes changes in the cosmos to the mutation of the five phases — wood, fire, earth, metal, and water. Each is ascribed certain characteristics, and they are arranged in a specific succession and interact with one another according to principles of either suppression or generation. Numerous phenomena, such as seasons, planets, or colours are correlated with the five phases, resulting in a general tendency to favour groups and multiples of fives.⁴⁸⁰

It is precisely this principle of positing a connection between cosmological events and the human realm that renders astronomy — the observation of the heavens — such a crucial undertaking in premodern China and Japan. Astronomy embodied both symbolic meanings and political consequences, as it served to reveal cosmological relations between human society and the cosmos and to coordinate human activities accordingly.⁴⁸¹

The cosmographical model in ancient Chinese astronomy was geocentric, envisaging the sky as a sphere that rotates around the Earth.⁴⁸² The main orientation point on the celestial sphere was the northern celestial pole — a region of the sky that is visible all year round and encompasses the circumpolar stars that rotate around the pole star. The pole star (at the time, Kochab, or β Ursae Minoris) was deified as *Taiichi* 太一 (‘the unique supreme’) and tied to the image of the Emperor, who resided in his palace (the north celestial pole), around which the bureaucratic state (the other stars) revolved.⁴⁸³

The celestial sphere was subdivided into distinct segments used to chart the stars and create a coordinate system to track the motions of planets and other

478 Sun 2000: 425–426; Frank 1998: 31; Nakayama 1969: 54–55. For the correlation of cosmic cycles with processes in the human body, see Tan 2020.

479 Sun 2000: 426–427.

480 Sun 2000: 426–427; Atsune 1993 [1986]: 311–314; Nakayama 1969: 54–56.

481 Sun 2000: 425–428; Nakayama 1969: 14, 44–47.

482 Sun 2000 discusses this model of cosmography as well as a predecessor on pp. 478–443. See also Nakayama 1969: 24–43.

483 Frank 1998: 126–129; Needham 1974: 68; Sun 2000: 441–445.

moving celestial bodies.⁴⁸⁴ The celestial bodies visible to the naked eye were correlated to key categories of *Onmyōdō*. The sun represented the Yang aspect of nature, the moon its Yin aspect, and the five planets each corresponded to one of the five phases, as is still evident in their modern Japanese names.⁴⁸⁵ These physical celestial bodies were complemented by a set of fictive counterparts that were often loosely based on astronomical phenomena and followed orbits of their own, impacting on the cosmic constellation. A prominent example is the fictive celestial body *Taisai* 太歳 that was constructed from Jupiter's orbit and related to the directional deity *Taisaijin* 太歳神.⁴⁸⁶

The mission of the Yin and Yang Office was twofold: first, to devise and establish the regularities of astronomical events, revealing a cosmological order in accordance with which human society might live, and second, to interpret irregularities and special events that were perceived as omens that could foretell the welfare of the state. Astronomy and calendrics were crucial for both of these aspects, as their goal was to reveal the order of the universe and its regular, cyclical patterns for the purpose of harmonising the state and human society with these rhythms.⁴⁸⁷ Sun Xiaochun, who wrote about the political nature of astronomy in ancient China, summarised this function as follows:

This cosmological view about the relationship between man and universe was extremely influential and important, because it incorporated into its system almost all domains of human culture. Politics was one of them — the political ideology based on this cosmology claimed that the ruler could only procure authority by receiving the mandate of heaven, which changes and shifts in accordance with cosmic cycles, and that the ruler could rule harmoniously only by following the Way of heaven. Accepting this ideology, no ruling authority could afford to neglect astronomy; thus it has acquired the characteristic of 'political' or 'official' astronomy.⁴⁸⁸

484 Needham 1974: 68–69; Sun 2000: 444–448.

485 Sun 2000: 450. Their modern Japanese names are: 'Water star' 水星 *Suisei* (Mercury), 'Metal star' 金星 *Kinsei* (Venus), 'Fire star' 火星 *Kasei* (Mars), 'Wood star' 木星 *Mokusei* (Jupiter), and 'Earth star' 土星 *Dosei* (Saturn). In premodern Japan — parallel to the Chinese model — they were more commonly referred to by other names indicating appearance, attributes, or calendrical function. Sun 2000: 450.

486 Dubs 1958: 298; Frank 1998: 36, 172.

487 Sun 2000: 443–444. Other irregularities, such as changes in the colour and brightness of stars, comets, or the appearance of new stars were also interpreted in terms of their implications for human society. Sun 2000: 448–450.

488 Sun 2000: 451.

The argument can certainly be extended to include the craft of calendar making, which was instrumental in the prediction of the coming year's cosmological rhythms. Sun renounces the idea that the calendar was devised purely for agricultural purposes, and instead regards it as a symbol of the ruler's authority, imposing a temporal regime that claims to be synchronised with a higher heavenly order.⁴⁸⁹ Although Sun's work focused on ancient China, the argument may also be applied to premodern Japan, which imported this complex web of concepts and integrated it with vernacular practices surrounding the observation of stars.⁴⁹⁰

Sun further argues that calendar making was infused with a strong sense of history. Calendars were created on the basis of an understanding of past cosmic cycles that were extrapolated into the future using mathematical procedures.⁴⁹¹ In a way, calendrics thus served as a means by which the continuity and stability of 'universal' orders could be projected onto both the past and the future — a highly political act.

The annotated calendars (*guchūreki*) that the Yin and Yang Office issued yearly were originally based on a Chinese model. They were created annually under the supervision of the calendar expert on the basis of a manual entitled *Daitō in'yō sho* 大唐陰陽書 ('Yin and Yang Writings of the Tang Dynasty').⁴⁹² Annotated calendars were written in *kanbun*, the language used for official matters, and the Yin and Yang Office officials responsible for its production signed their names at the end. The calendars were thus clearly official in nature, which was further highlighted by a ritualised procedure for their annual presentation to the Emperor.⁴⁹³

The Yin and Yang Office also produced copies intended for other members of the court and its other offices throughout the provinces.⁴⁹⁴ Calendar making was thus centralised in the hands of the court, which dictated the temporal regimes of its dependent elites. Drawing on the work of Yamashita Katsuaki, Gerhard Leinss has argued that the official, centralised system of calendar distribution deteriorated somewhat in the eleventh century, based on evidence of courtiers providing the Yin and Yang Office with paper and textiles for the purpose of obtaining personalised copies of the annotated calendars.⁴⁹⁵ While the previous, formalised

489 Sun 2000: 428–430.

490 For a discussion of vernacular practices relating to astronomy, see Renshaw/Ihara 2000.

491 Sun 2000: 431–432.

492 Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 172. For a survey of annotated calendar fragments from Japan's ancient period, see Leinss 2021b: 105–108.

493 Yuasa 2013: 42. The calendar records of *Kanchūki*, for example, contain the signatures of five Yin and Yang Office officials, thus attesting to the authority of this institution. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 99 (Bun'ei 11 (1274)), vol. 3: 229 (Kōan 7 (1284)), vol. 5: 305 (Kōan 11/Shōō 1 (1288)). See a quotation from entry Kōan 7.11.1 (1284) of *Kanchūki* describing the Calendar Presentation in Chapter 1.2.

494 Leinss 2021b: 111; Yuasa 2013: 42.

495 Leinss 2021b: 117–118.

channels of calendar distribution had changed, centralised control of calendar making remained firmly in the hand of the Yin and Yang Office well into the Kamakura period. It appears as though the annotated calendars had become so indispensable to the lives and duties of officials that the Yin and Yang Office could afford to outsource the expenditure on resources (such as the procurement of paper) to the calendars' consumers.

Using annotated calendars, the court continued to uphold a temporal regime that could be traced back to the founding of the *ritsuryō* state — the model that continued to form the symbolic basis of the court system during the Kamakura period. Through calendar making, the court implicitly reinforced its centuries-old legitimacy, connected the past with the present, and projected a stable future that could be predicted and quantified by its calendar experts. The symbolic form of politics, therefore, played a decisive role in this context, as the meaning conveyed by annotated calendars was not only the prescription of a temporal structure but was also a symbolic affirmation of ruling authority. Zerubavel has also invoked the example of calendrical rhythms to exemplify how symbolic meanings can be conveyed through 'time' and how various institutions have utilised calendrical rhythms to assert their dominance.⁴⁹⁶ Notably, the ideology that legitimised the Imperial family's rule by claiming the synchronicity of human society with a cosmic hierarchical order was rendered visible by means of annual rituals.⁴⁹⁷ It was not only fundamental to the calendrical system, but also informed the Imperial court's social practices and consequently was reflected on a chronopolitical level. The projection of stable calendrical rhythms was supported by a projection of the stable rhythms of the periodic re-enactments of these annual rituals.

The symbolic form of politics is complemented by the demands of the symbolic form of administration, which mandates a universal temporal framework that allows for meaningful communication about time across different institutions. More pragmatically, the calendars that the Yin and Yang Office issued provided a universal frame of reference to the extended bureaucratic apparatus that facilitated the referral of documents and issues between provincial offices, the court, and the *bakufu*.

The documents produced by the Kamakura *bakufu* clearly demonstrate that it operated according to the same temporal framework as that of the Imperial court. We may therefore assume that the *bakufu*, like provincial offices, acquired its copies of the official calendar from the court. Data that might permit more de-

⁴⁹⁶ Zerubavel 1987: 349–353.

⁴⁹⁷ Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'; Müller 2021: 105–106; Müller 2023: 123–124.

tailed descriptions of the calendars used at the Kamakura *bakufu* are lacking, however.

As the *bakufu* drew legitimacy from the Emperor, who appointed a shogun as its symbolic leader upon whose authority the Hōjō family operated, its own claim to legitimacy relied on the ideological underpinnings of official astronomy and calendar making. It was thus not in the interest of the *bakufu*'s authorities to challenge this temporal regime or to remove the competence of calendar calculation from the hands of the Imperial court. Moreover, ceremonies to affirm these cosmic–human relationships were not necessary, as they were already performed at the Imperial court.

3.2 Multiple Modes of Time Reckoning

The Lunisolar Calendar

The lunisolar calendar system, known as the *Senmyōreki* 宣明曆, lay at the heart of annotated calendars, the everyday lives of the elites, and government administration. It was one of various lunisolar calendar systems that had been devised during the Tang dynasty, where it was known as the *Xuanming* 宣明曆 calendar, and was adapted during the formation of the *ritsuryō* state. While it was only in use from 822 to 892 in the Tang state,⁴⁹⁸ it remained in continuous use in Japan from its introduction in 862 until a major calendar reform in 1685.⁴⁹⁹ To date, therefore, it is the longest continually used calendrical system in Japanese history.

Like other lunisolar calendars, the *Senmyōreki* was designed to reconcile the lunar year (ca. 354 days), based on the moon's phases, with the solar year (ca. 365 days), allowing for a seasonally accurate time reckoning. Similar to other Chinese lunisolar calendars, it was calculated annually, according to a specific calendrical norm, using constants that were originally derived from astronomical observations, such as the length of the solar year, and utilising predefined mathematical procedures to predict key events, such as new moons.⁵⁰⁰

It thus combined the two cosmic cycles of the sun and the moon into a unified temporal framework that defined the organisation of social life. These two defin-

⁴⁹⁸ Martzloff 2016: 277. Martzloff has pointed out a small discrepancy between calculations in the *Xuanming* calendar of 877 and the *Senmyōreki* of the same year. Martzloff suggests that perhaps political factors or taboos led to an adaptation of the procedures, and that these findings do not necessarily indicate discrepancies in procedures themselves. Martzloff 2016: 279 (Footnote 6).

⁴⁹⁹ Yuasa 2015: 199.

⁵⁰⁰ Tsumura 2012: 349.

ing celestial bodies are represented in the names of the temporal units used in the *Senmyōreki*.

A day in the *Senmyōreki* was defined as a nyctemeron — a period of twenty-four hours in our time. The character used to designate this unit, *nichi* 日 (‘day’) derives from that used to denote the sun (*hi* 日), referencing the observable phenomenon of the sun rising and setting according to regular cycles.⁵⁰¹ A single day was segmented into smaller intervals that were necessary to conduct accurate astronomical and calendrical calculations.⁵⁰²

Civil months were primarily based on the synodic month — one lunar phase or lunation. The importance of the lunar component for the definition of months is emphasised in the unit’s name, *gatsu* 月 (‘month’), which is derived from the character that denotes the moon (*tsuki* 月). A synodic month is approximately 29.5 days long, which translated into either ‘small’ (*shō* 小) civil months with twenty-nine days, or ‘large’ (*dai* 大) civil months with thirty days in the lunisolar calendar.⁵⁰³

The beginning of each civil month was, as a rule, set to a new moon — that is, the conjunction of the moon with the sun. In practice, however, the beginning of the month did not always coincide consistently with the new moon, as other considerations would occasionally take precedence.⁵⁰⁴

The civil months of the *Senmyōreki* were not only based on the lunation, but were calculated and determined by coordinating synodic months with mean solar months. The mathematician and sinologist Jean-Claude Martzloff has dubbed this underlying principle of coordination the ‘lunisolar coupling’.⁵⁰⁵ The solar terms (*sekki* 節氣) and lunar phases, two core elements used for the calculation of the lunisolar coupling, were noted in regular intervals in the annotated calendars.⁵⁰⁶

501 Martzloff 2016: 62. Martzloff describes fundamental aspects shared by premodern Chinese lunisolar calendar systems that largely apply to the *Senmyōreki* as well on pp. 61–103. I therefore draw on this author’s writings in my explanation of the basic calendrical principles. See also Leinss 2021a: 11–16; Hosoi/Yuasa [forthcoming] ‘Calendar in Medieval Japan’.

502 The segmentations of the day are described in more detail in Chapter 3.5.

503 Martzloff 2016: 69–70; Nakayama 1969: 68.

504 Tsumura 2012: 365 (Note 8). Tsumura 2012 discusses some cases where the beginning of the month was altered to preserve certain calendrical rhythms on pp. 354–357.

505 Martzloff 2016: 73–76. See also Nakayama 1969: 68.

506 In the calendar record of the eleventh month of the year Kōan 7 (1284), for example, the following indications are found: ‘Winter solstice, midpoint of the eleventh solar month’ (*tōji jūichigatsū chū* 冬至十一月中) on 11.7 and ‘lesser frost, beginning of the twelfth solar month’ (*shōkan jūnigatsū setsu* 小寒十二月節) on 11.22. ‘Moon in the first quarter’ (*jōgen* 上弦) on 11.9, ‘full moon’ (*mochi* 望) on 11.16 and ‘moon in the last quarter’ (*kagen* 下弦) on 11.23. *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 218–221.

The inclusion of the lunar and solar cycles in these calendars maintained the link between the civil calendar and the cosmic cycles visible in everyday life, while also ensuring that the calendar had a degree of objectivity or accountability.

The days within a month were generally counted numerically, but both the first and last days of the month could also be referred to by alternative nominal terms. The first day was also known as *tsuitachi/sakujitsu* 朔日 ('the day of the moon's departure'), and the last day as *misoka/kajitsu* 晦日 ('the day of darkness'). These two expressions are examples of material chronography in that they allude to the image of the new moon that ideally marked the beginning of a civil month and the dark night sky before that, when the moon was typically not visible. Although they had functionally become synonymous with the first and last days of the civil months, which were not always perfectly synchronised with the lunar phase, they invoked the image of the moon and thus emphasised this ideal synchronicity.

The months of the *Senmyōreki* were also counted numerically, with the exception of the first month of the year, which was exclusively referred to as the 'normed month' (*shōgatsu* 正月), a standard designation used in various Chinese lunisolar calendar systems. Martzloff explains the term as follows, highlighting some of its implications:

The first month of the lunar year is called *zhengyue* 正月, an appellation intended to draw attention to the fact that its position with respect to the solar component of the calendar is not fixed once and for all but changes with respect to some official lunisolar norm *zheng* (正) [...]. In other words, the first month of the Chinese calendar is not merely a first month but also a distinguished month, having a particular position marking the kind of lunisolar norm chosen in order to establish a connection between the solar year and the beginning of the lunar year.⁵⁰⁷

The *Senmyōreki* operated according to the Xia calendar norm 夏正 that was used for most of Chinese history.⁵⁰⁸ This calendrical norm defines a synchronicity between the eleventh civil month, the zodiac of the Rat (*ne* 子) and the calendrical winter solstice (*tōji* 冬至), one of twenty-four segments of the solar year called 'solar terms' (*sekki* 節氣).⁵⁰⁹ The future civil calendar was then calculated based

507 Martzloff 2016: 69.

508 Martzloff 2016 also discusses two alternative calendrical norms known in China on pp. 76–77.

509 For more details on the solar terms, see Martzloff 2016: 63–66; Atsune 1993 [1986]: 319–324.

on the alignment of these three elements.⁵¹⁰ The first day of the eleventh month was thus an important calendrical reference point.

Both the civil new year on 1.1 and this calendrical reference point on 11.1 were affirmed by ritual practices at the Imperial court. The beginning of a new civil year, a point in time that had been constructed according to cosmic cycles, was celebrated by a plethora of ceremonial practices over the course of several days. The first month was thus not only marked out as special by a chronography that designated it nominally as the ‘normed month’, in contrast to the other numerically named months, but also by chronopolitical practices that set it apart as a month during which ritual activities intensified.

Additionally, Kanenaka made a habit of prefacing entries on New Year’s Day with flowery phrases in his diary. The entry Kenji 3.1.1 (1277), for example, commences as follows:

3rd year of the Kenji era, first month, 1st day, Yin Metal Hare [#28]. Since the break of dawn it was pouring with spring rain again. I welcome the first month of the year⁵¹¹ and there is much joy in my heart. Everyone celebrates the family’s prosperity.

建治三年正月一日、辛卯、自曉更春雨滂沱、迎上陽之新節、多中心之榮樂、家門之繁昌旁祝着者也、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 259).

Notably, alternative designations that emphasise the beginning of the new season were used to refer to the first month in this example. A similar phenomenon can occasionally be observed at the beginning of new months, typically when Kanenaka mentions the ‘first day report’ (*kōsaku*) I briefly touched upon in Chapter 2.1. For example, the entry Kenji 2.7.1 (1276) reads as follows:

2nd year of the Kenji era, 7th month, 1st day, Yin Water Snake [#30], serene. First day report of the seventh month. Great fortune, great fortune.

建治二年七月一日、癸巳、晴、夷則告朔、幸甚々々、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 191).

In this example, the introductory date uses the numerical terminology of the luni-solar calendar (*shichigatsu* 七月). However, within the entry’s text, the seventh month is instead referred to by the alternative term *isoku* 夷則. Such diary entries read almost like set phrases, as they typically follow the same pattern and

⁵¹⁰ Martzloff 2016: 76–77.

⁵¹¹ Both *jōyō* 上陽 and *shosetsu* 初節 refer to the first month of the year.

include the same wording. Notably, the chosen alternative designations for the months vary and do not refer to a single frame of reference.⁵¹² *Kanchūki* in particular thus emphasises the beginning of the social cycles of the year and month on a chronographical level by including repetitions and deploying a chronographic terminology that deviates from the remaining text in these specific contexts.

The calendrical reference point located on 11.1 was acknowledged as special by means of the annual Calendar Presentation ceremony (*on-koyomi no sō/gor-yaku no sō*), in which the Emperor was presented with the annotated calendar for the year ahead. The significance of said point in time for calendrical calculation was thus symbolically emphasised. No special chronographical features stand out from *Kanchūki* in this respect, however.

The presentation of the calendar was not the only event that emphasised the astronomical cycles underlying the calendrical calculations. The Metonic rotation, an astronomical constant used in calendar construction, was also related to ritual practices. The Metonic constant states that nineteen solar years are equal to approximately 235 synodic months, meaning that roughly every nineteen years, the new moon coincides with the winter solstice.⁵¹³ This event was celebrated every nineteen years on 11.1 at court in a major ceremony called ‘New Moon Winter Solstice’ (*sakutantōji* 朔旦冬至), or ‘New Moon Season’ (*sakutan no shun* 朔旦旬). The event is described in entry Kōan 1.11.1 (1278) of *Kanchūki*, which states that the attendees assembled at the end of the hour of the Horse (at approximately 13:00) and that the event lasted until the evening, finishing at the hour of the Boar (between 21:00 and 23:00).⁵¹⁴ Among other things, the calendar was also presented as part of the event:

Carrying the table with the calendar were four Yin and Yang Experts. Lord [Kamo] Arinobu, Lord [Kamo] Arikazu, Lord [Kamo] Arikiyo, [Kamo] Arishige.

昇御曆案、陰陽師四人、在言朝臣・在興朝臣・在清・在重、 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 27).

In comparison to the annual Calendar Presentation, the calendar was presented more publicly by several Yin and Yang Experts, thus emphasising the role of these officials in determining the temporal regime. It was a grander and longer ceremony than that of the Calendar Presentation and also included a banquet. At

⁵¹² A non-exhaustive list of alternative designations for months is found in the bottom text row of Atsune 1993 [1986]: 315–328.

⁵¹³ Tsumura 2012: 354–355.

⁵¹⁴ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 27 (Kōan 1.11.1 (1278)).

the end of the entry, this connection between cosmic calendrical rhythms and the ruling authority is implicitly made by the following statement:

Everything was effortless. Is this the splendour of the Imperial house?

毎事無爲、朝家之大慶歟、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 27).

The *Kanchūki* attests that in the Kamakura period, in the social sphere of the Imperial court, the year was marked by two peaks that pertained to two points related to calendar calculations: the beginning of the civil year on 1.1, and a calendrical reference point on 11.1. The civil new year was clearly the more significant of the two, as attested to by the more numerous ceremonial events associated with it and the fact that *Kanchūki* records them more thoroughly.⁵¹⁵

Events to celebrate the new civil year also took place at the Kamakura *bakufu*; however, no particular events took place on 11.1. Because the *bakufu* had left it to the Imperial court to symbolically affirm the political ideology that legitimised its nominal rule, the leaders in this social sphere did not strongly concern themselves with reaffirming the underlying principles of the temporal regime.

As Martzloff argued in the quote above, the nominal terminology used for the first month highlights the beginning of the civil year as something outstanding that was defined by a specific social norm and was therefore ‘human made’. As demonstrated, civil months and the civil year were constructed to align closely with both the lunar phases and the solar year, but were simultaneously decidedly artificial and distinct from the cosmic cycles with which they were aligned.

An ordinary civil year consisted of twelve civil months in total and amounted to either 353, 354, or 355 days. To make up for the ten–twelve day difference from the solar year, an intercalary month consisting of twenty-nine or thirty days was introduced approximately every three years. Like the variable length of the ordinary civil months, its length and position were not fixed but were calculated anew in each instance in accordance with the lunisolar coupling.⁵¹⁶ Intercalary months were assigned the same number as the month after which they were inserted. For example, if the intercalary month was introduced after the regular ‘second month’ (*nigatsu* 二月), it was referred to as ‘intercalary second month’ (*urū nigatsu* 潤二月), followed by the ‘third month’ (*sangatsu* 三月).

⁵¹⁵ The Calendar Presentation ceremony is only mentioned in passing in *Kanchūki*, with the exception of the year Kōan 7 (1284), when Kanenaka was in charge of distribution. *Kanchūki*, vol. 4: 127 (Kōan 7.11.1 (1284)). The relevant passage is quoted in Chapter 1.2.

⁵¹⁶ Martzloff 2016: 69–70; Tsumura 2012: 350–351.

The concrete temporal structure of a given year was variable, and owing to the complexity of the underlying calendrical procedures, calendar users were unable to predict some of its crucial elements, such as the length of individual months or the position of intercalary months.⁵¹⁷ Although the length of the civil year, civil months and seasons was variable, they can be regarded as social cycles that were deemed regular. As such, it was of prime relevance that certain expectations regarding temporal patterns were met, as demonstrated by Susan Tsumura in a book chapter entitled ‘Adjusting Calculations to Ideals in the Chinese and Japanese Calendars’.⁵¹⁸ Tsumura explored various instances in the history of the *Senmyōreki* wherein conflicting demands complicated its calculation. In the described cases, tensions typically arose because the established calendar calculation methods would have resulted in anomalous rhythms that were deemed unfavourable. These tensions were typically resolved by adjusting the calculation methods so as to preserve the established social rhythms. The introduction of months with twenty-eight or thirty-one days, for example, was considered unacceptable.⁵¹⁹ In other words, it was immaterial whether a month consisted of twenty-nine or thirty days, but imperative that it did not have twenty-eight or thirty-one days.

The pattern of alternation between long and short months also followed certain customs that were preserved. While an alteration between long and short months was generally favoured, the lunisolar coupling often mandated another arrangement. Consequently, long or short months often occurred twice in a row, and sequences of three consecutive long months were not out of the ordinary.⁵²⁰ Sequences of four consecutive long months, however, were considered disruptive, and were thus actively avoided. In the rare instances in which the calendar calculation methods would have dictated such a pattern, the officials in charge made adjustments to their calculations in order to make the calendar fit the expected social rhythms.⁵²¹

Tsumura also explores the afore-mentioned New Moon Winter Solstice ceremony. Because the utilised Metonic constant was merely an approximation,⁵²² and the calendrical procedures were not perfect, corrective adjustments to the calculations were occasionally necessary. Tsumura describes various ways in which this problem was reckoned with from the Heian period to the Muromachi

517 Martzloff 2016: 72–73.

518 Tsumura 2012.

519 Tsumura 2012: 350, 356.

520 Tsumura 2012: 353; Martzloff 2016: 72.

521 Tsumura 2012: 353–354.

522 The real Metonic constant is 19 solar years = 235 synodic months, 1 hour, 27 minutes and 33 seconds.

period, including the postponement of the first day of a month to the day after the new moon (in 860, based on Chinese precedents) or the postponement of the calendrical solstice by 1 hour (in 1202). Noticeably, in these cases, the calendar experts were careful not to break other established temporal patterns.⁵²³

The coordination attempts to avoid four consecutive long months and to ensure that the new moon–winter solstice would recur every nineteen years were eventually discontinued in the late fifteenth century. The related ceremony was henceforth only conducted if the solstice and the new moon happened to coincide ‘naturally’ in the calendar without the need to modify the calculation methods.⁵²⁴ This coincides with a general decline in ceremonial practices during the Muromachi period, along with the decline of the court’s remaining government authority.⁵²⁵ This development emphasises the role that the symbolic form of politics played not only in temporal practices, but notably also in calendar making and time reckoning itself, and the way in which these fields gradually disintegrated with the loss of centralised power at the Imperial court.

During the Heian and Kamakura periods, the perseverance of socially established rhythms that impacted the organisation of people’s lives took precedence over a concern for the mathematical and astronomical categories underlying the calendrical calculations in cases of conflict. Tsumura’s research demonstrates that conscious efforts were taken to coordinate ‘time’ in a way that would result in a desired outcome. This indicates an awareness of the potential to ‘construct’ or shape time in a certain way through human agency.

Martzloff argued that Chinese lunisolar calendar systems in general are characterised by an inherent temporal double-structure: they relied on a ‘deep structure’ of regular, universal, cosmic rhythms and temporal constants that were indispensable for the calculation and construction of its ‘surface structure’. This surface structure manifested in the particular shape the calendar took each year and dictated the rhythms of civil life.⁵²⁶

Because this surface structure was primarily concerned with cyclical patterns, such as the recurrence of months and years, Martzloff argues that it represents a particular, fragmented and cyclical mode of time. Yet this temporality was highly constructed and based on the regular, mathematical temporality of a calendrical deep structure that reckoned time from a fixed point of origin and represented it geometrically as a series of points that were arranged in a straight

523 Tsumura 2012: 355–357.

524 Tsumura 2012: 356–357.

525 Matsuzono 2011 explored the effects of the sociopolitical changes and decline of ceremonial practice in this time period on diary writing. The topic is also breached in Takahashi 2005: 25–26.

526 Martzloff 2016: 29.

line extending indefinitely.⁵²⁷ In Maki's model of temporal morphologies, this corresponds to an abstract linear morphology for the calendrical deep structure and a cyclical morphology for the calendrical surface structure.

Gerhard Leinss also observed the temporal double structure inherent in the *Senmyōreki* in a study entitled 'The Adoption of the Chinese Calendar and its Impact on Seasonal Poetry in Early Japan (c. 700 to 1000)', and demonstrated that an awareness of this temporal double structure is discernible in poetry written in the ancient period.⁵²⁸ Leinss also characterised two different layers of temporality but arrived at an inverse conclusion: Leinss agrees that the structure of the luni-solar calendar was irregular, but regards social time as linear, as opposed to the cyclical solar terms that underpin its calculation.⁵²⁹

While this may appear to be contradictory, it seems that both authors essentially describe the same phenomenon: calendar making was an act of the quantification and linearisation of time through mathematical procedures. In the context of Leinss' discussion, this characterises 'social time', which is defined in opposition to the cyclicity of the solar terms, one of the elements underlying the calendrical calculation upon which Leinss specifically focused.

The temporality inherent in such elements, including regular astronomical cycles, is not part of Martzloff's discussion. Martzloff instead differentiates between the act of coordinating a large variety of elements into a temporal framework and the resulting cyclical civil patterns that define the rhythms of everyday life. The specific way in which social life was structured according to patterns of recurring months, years, etc. is what constitutes 'social time' for Martzloff.

As Vroni Ammann has pointed out, the cyclical morphology of time is best represented by the image of a spiral and inherently contains a linear vector.⁵³⁰ It is thus unsurprising that both Leinss and Martzloff emphasise this linear component. The juxtaposition of their arguments reveals an important fact about temporal morphologies — namely, that there is no single way to look at them. Because the two authors focused on different issues, different aspects of time came to the fore in the respective studies. The synthesis of their findings also suggests that the temporal structure of the *Senmyōreki* is perhaps best described as multi-layered: regular, cyclic patterns formed the basis of a mathematical linearisation of time that resulted in similar yet abstracted, socially regular cycles that dictated the rhythms of civil life.

527 Martzloff 2016: 30–32.

528 Leinss 2021a: 16–21.

529 Leinss 2021a: p. 14.

530 Ammann 2021: 196–197.

To complicate the discussion even further, I shall add the observation that while the *Senmyōreki* was mainly concerned with the quantification of time, it was part of a complex system of notions that also correlated time with *Onmyōdō*. For example, both the solar terms and the lunar phases were correlated with Yin and Yang, and the calendrical coordinating principles also resulted in two types of regularly recurring days that were considered inauspicious, and were thus ascribed negative characteristics.

The *Senmyōreki* operated according to mean solar months of thirty days rather than true solar months that vary slightly in length. This resulted in an approximate five-day discrepancy between the institutionalised solar year of 360 days, which was based on mean solar months, and the actual astronomical solar year that consists of 365.25 days. This tension was resolved by inserting five *motsunichi* 没日 days per year, which were evenly distributed throughout that year at intervals of approximately seventy days.⁵³¹

A similar conundrum ensued from the *Senmyōreki*'s calendrical ideal that equated one month to 252'000 *fun* 分 (see Table 7 in Chapter 3.5), an equation also based on the premise of equal, thirty-day months. The lunation that was determinative of civil months, however, is somewhat shorter (29.53059 days), leading to a monthly discrepancy of 3'943 *fun* (ca. 11.264 hours). To correct this deviation, a so-called *metsunichi* 滅日 day was designated every sixty-two or sixty-three days.⁵³²

Using true solar months posed problems for the lunisolar coupling, and therefore the above solutions were applied to adequately reflect the proper length of the solar year and lunar months in the calendar.⁵³³ The calendrical procedures accommodated certain discrepancies by incorporating them into their regular rhythms, while also ascribing negative attributes to these extraordinary days. According to Hosoi, there is evidence of taboos relating to *motsunichi* from the eleventh century, while evidence for taboos relating to *metsunichi* appear only from the Kamakura period.⁵³⁴

These are remarkable examples that demonstrate how problems arising from the quantification of time were resolved by transferring them into the realm of the qualitative. The fact that these two extraordinary days were at odds with the idealised calendrical procedures was reflected by their inauspicious label, as opposed to other days that were not given any attributes on the basis of the lunisolar calendar. While the *Senmyōreki* was predominantly concerned with the quantification of

⁵³¹ Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 196.

⁵³² Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 196.

⁵³³ Tsumura discussed complications that arose in calendrical calculations based on true solar months in the Qin dynasty (1636–1912) and in late nineteenth century Japan. Tsumura 2012: 358–365.

⁵³⁴ Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 196.

time, it cannot be wholly separated from notions of qualitative time. This attests to the fact that, even within a temporal morphology that is abstract and linear, notions concerning time's qualitative attributes can and did have a place in societies. The complexity and diversity of temporalities that intersected in the lives of the elites only becomes richer when additional temporal scales and areas of life beyond the *Senmyōreki* are investigated.

Era Names

Before discussing the sexagenary cycle, the second crucial dating system used in conjunction with the lunisolar calendar, I shall briefly address how civil years were subsumed into broader categories, as this ties into several core themes that I address later.

To categorise and count calendrical years, so-called 'era names' (*nengō* 年号) were utilised. The term *nengō* 年号 literally means 'year name' but is typically translated as 'era name' or 'era', taking into account the temporal unit's function of grouping several years together in clusters by assigning a common name to them. Era names had been used in ancient China for centuries and were introduced into Japan during the establishment of the *ritsuryō* state.⁵³⁵

Era names were an important tool for the quantification of time, as they facilitated the counting of years. The first year of a new era was referred to by the nominal expression *gannen* 元年 ('founding year'), and the subsequent years were then counted numerically. For example, the 'founding year of Kōan' (*Kōan gannen* 弘安元年, 1278) was followed by the 'second year of Kōan' (*Kōan ninen* 弘安二年, 1279). Era names are still used in Japan today alongside the Gregorian calendar as an alternative way of designating years. The year 2023, for example, corresponds to the fifth year of the Reiwa era (*Reiwa gonen* 令和五年).

Era names were also charged with political symbolism, an aspect that took precedence over purely arithmetical concerns. The supra-annual time unit of the era was not mathematically regular and as such is not comparable, for example, to 'decade', which always denotes a ten-year time span. Instead, the era's length was variable, and era name changes (*kaigen* 改元) were implemented with variable frequency in response to various circumstances.⁵³⁶ Era names can be regarded as social cycles whose interval is 'regular' in the sense that cultural norms dictated that changes would occur upon certain events that were expected to recur regularly.

⁵³⁵ Leinss 2002: 243; Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 182–183.

⁵³⁶ Leinss 2002: 244–245.

Arguably, the most important regular but unpredictable occasion that mandated the proclamation of a new era was the enthronement of a new Emperor,⁵³⁷ whereby the proclamation symbolically emphasised this change. During the period under investigation, the appointment of child Emperors was the norm, and these Emperors were installed for only a few years at a time, leading to frequent era name changes. Eras were by no means synonymous with the duration of the Emperor's rule. It is only since the Meiji era (1868–1912) that era names have been congruent with the reign of an Emperor, thus significantly expanding their duration. Short-lived eras were the norm throughout the majority of Japanese history, and in the Kamakura period, an era lasted around three years on average.⁵³⁸

Entry Kōan 11.4.28 (1288) in *Kanchūki* records the era name change following the enthronement of Emperor Fushimi 伏見天皇 (1265–1317, r. 1287–1298) in the previous year. Kanenaka did not attend the related discussions personally but recorded a second-hand account in his diary.⁵³⁹ This highlights the event's significance, as the diarist not only inquired about the event but took the time to compose a relatively detailed account of it, despite his absence.

As described in the entry, era names were customarily selected from various classic Chinese sources and conveyed positive qualities in the hope that they would define the future towards which they looked. Era name specialist reports (*nengō kanmon* 年号勘文) created by the Senior Assistant Minister of the Ministry of Personnel (*shikibu taifu* 式部大輔), document experts (*monjō hakase* 文章博士) of the Bureau of Education (*Daigakuryō* 大学寮), and Confucian scholars (*jukyō* 儒卿) served as a basis for the selection of a new era name.⁵⁴⁰ Kanenaka included a copy of five such documents created by different officials at the end of the entry.⁵⁴¹ The proposed names were discussed in a meeting of high-ranking officials, which Kanenaka listed in the entry, along with their preferred era names.⁵⁴² The Emperor was then presented with the results of the discussion:

The Imperial Secretary Controller [Bōjō Toshisada] took his position at the kneeling pad. He listened to the people's discussion and reported its contents to the Emperor [Fushimi]. After it was ordered that all shall decide, he reported the content to the Emperor. The Emperor ordered that the year Kōan 11 shall become the founding year Shōō. An imperial edict was also ordered.

537 Leinss 2002: 244.

538 The longest era during the Kamakura period was Bun'ei that lasted from 1264–1275.

539 *Kanchūki*, vol. 6: 149–154 (Kōan 11.4.28 (1288)).

540 *Kinpishō*: 401.

541 *Kanchūki*, vol. 6: 150–154 (Kōan 11.4.28 (1288)).

542 *Kanchūki*, vol. 6: 150 (Kōan 11.4.28 (1288)).

[The era name change] is due to the inauguration of a new Emperor and there is no amnesty, according to precedent.⁵⁴³

頭弁就軾、聞人 議奏之趣奏聞、一同可定之由被仰下之後奏聞其趣、改弘安十一年可爲正應元年之由宣下、詔書事同被仰下、依代始無赦令、如例、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 6: 150).

Half a month later, the Beginning of Government (*matsurigoto hajime*) in the new Shōō era is recorded on Shōō 1.5.16 (1288).⁵⁴⁴ The era name change thus came into effect approximately half a year after Emperor Fushimi's coronation. According to the *Kinpihō*, it was standard practice to conduct era name changes in the year subsequent to the new Emperor's enthronement in the Kamakura period.⁵⁴⁵ This is attested to by the diary that records the era name change as 'era name change in the ensuing year' (*yunen kaigen* 踰年改元).⁵⁴⁶

As illustrated by the example from *Kanchūki*, era name changes were not usually conducted at the beginning of a new year but rather in the middle of the year. From a purely quantitative perspective, the alignment of new eras with the beginning of the year would certainly have been more practical. Although era names were used to chronograph individual years and fulfilled an important arithmetical function, considerations of the symbolism and political meaning attached to them also weighed in significantly to dictate these supra-annual time units.

Many other occasions would also induce an era name change. Certain sexagenary cycle dates mandated regular era name changes.⁵⁴⁷ Up to the early tenth century, good omens, such as sightings of albino animals or the discovery of precious metal repositories, also usually prompted an era name change. However, for most of the Heian period and the subsequent Kamakura period, era changes were induced by negative events, and new eras were typically proclaimed after wars, epidemics, natural catastrophes, large fires, and other devastating occurrences.⁵⁴⁸ Therefore, the Heian period witnessed a shift away from the orientation towards a propitious present that was symbolically extended into the future to a mode of overcoming an inauspicious present through the sense of renewal attached to the era change.

543 The *Kinpihō* specifies amnesty as an integral part of an era name change. However, this passage in *Kanchūki* suggests that its implementation depended on the reason for the era name change. *Kinpihō*: 402.

544 *Kanchūki*, vol. 6: 160–169 (Shōō 1.5.16 (1288)).

545 *Kinpihō*: 401.

546 *Kanchūki*, vol. 6: 149 (Kōan 11.4.28 (1288)).

547 Namely, Yang Wood Monkey [#1] (*kinoe-ne* 甲子) and Yin Metal Rooster [#58] (*kanoto-tori* 辛酉). Leinss 2002: 244.

548 Leinss 2002: 244–245.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 2.1, reports of auspicious days (*kissho*) were presented to the Emperor upon changes in era names.⁵⁴⁹ As the report listed time periods with favourable temporal qualities that the court's experts had devised according to their understanding of cosmological patterns, this event served to emphasise the notion that governing activities would continue to be conducted in accordance with rhythmical cosmological patterns that would continue to be understood and monitored in this new era.

The Sexagenary Cycle

Chinese lunisolar calendars were preceded by an ancient timekeeping system, known as the sexagenary cycle (*eto* 干支). Prior to the introduction of lunisolar calendars, it was used as a calendrical system to keep track of time during the Shang-Yin dynasty (1765–1122 BCE), but this function was eventually taken over by lunisolar calendars.⁵⁵⁰ In Japan, the sexagenary cycle never served as a stand-alone calendar system but was used in parallel to the *Senmyōreki* and the era name system. Nonetheless, it remained a relevant chronographic method and exerted a significant impact on activity scheduling in elite spheres.

The sexagenary cycle comprises sixty dates that repeat indefinitely and can be applied to various time scales. These sixty dates are composed of two-character combinations. The English term 'sexagenary cycle' stresses the quantity of sixty dates and their cyclicity, while the domestic term *eto* 干支 indicates its compositional structure: one of ten celestial stems (*jikkan* 十干) is combined with one of twelve terrestrial branches (*jūni shi* 十二支).

These two components are both cycles in and of themselves that predate the sexagenary cycle and are associated with certain characteristics. The ten celestial stems are correlated with the five phases as well as Yin and Yang, as Schematic 1 demonstrates.⁵⁵¹

The twelve terrestrial branches are a zoomorphic cycle that associate each position with a zodiac, a spatial orientation, an hour of the day, a phase, and either Yin or Yang, as depicted in Schematic 2.⁵⁵²

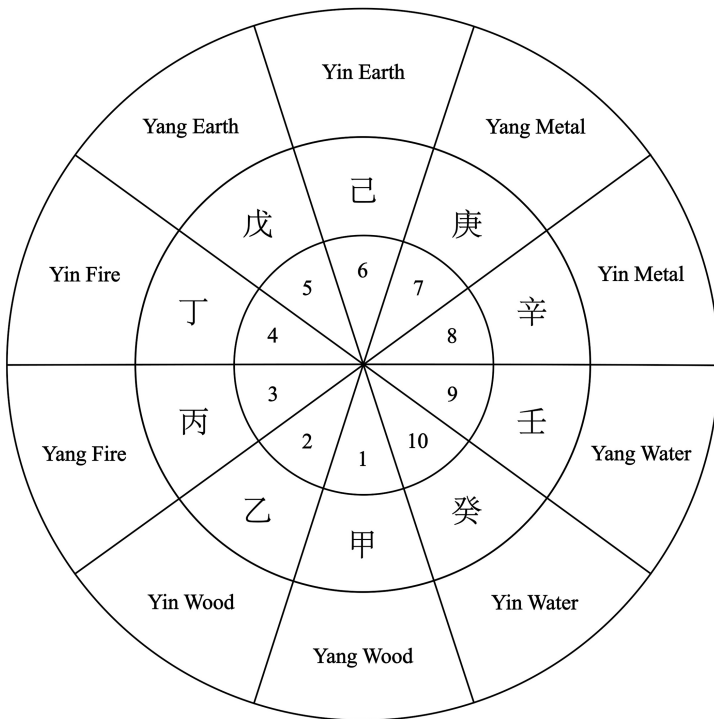
The sexagenary cycle combines these cycles' components according to a specific principle to form sixty dates. Both sub-cycles rotate through their positions

⁵⁴⁹ This is prescribed in the *Kinpishō* and attested to by the entry Kōan 11.4.28 (1288) of *Kanchūki*. *Kinpishō*: 401–402; *Kanchūki*, vol. 6: 150.

⁵⁵⁰ Martzloff 2016: 86.

⁵⁵¹ Atsune 1993 [1986]: 308–309, 313.

⁵⁵² Atsune 1993 [1986]: 309–311, 313–314.



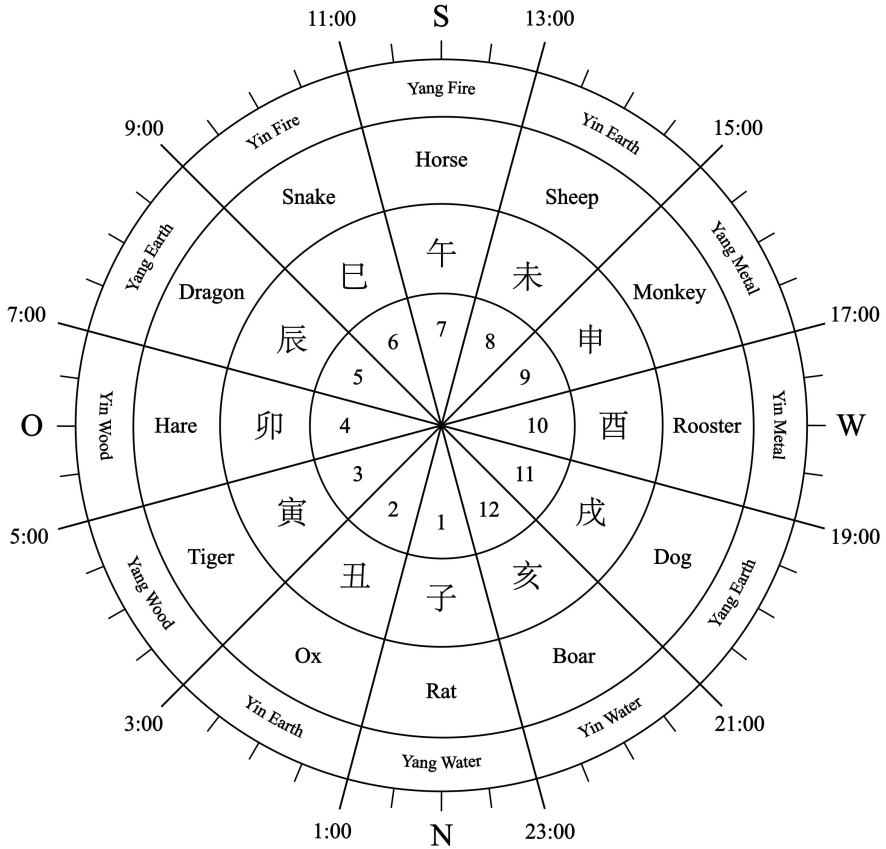
Schematic 1: The ten celestial stems.

independently of one another, and the respective components are combined to form the dates of the sexagenary cycle. Table 6, below, exemplifies this. The resulting sixty combinations thus follow a fixed sequence, and each date corresponds to a fixed numerical position in the cycle.

The dates of the sexagenary cycle not only served to track time, but also ascribed qualitative characteristics to it. In *Onmyōdō*, odd numbers represent the Yang aspect of nature, while even numbers represent its Yin aspect. Yang-affiliated branches are thus only paired with Yang-affiliated stems to form a Yang-affiliated sexagenary cycle date. The zodiac of the Rat (*ne* 子), for example, is only found in the following combinations: Yang Wood Rat (#1), Yang Fire Rat (#13), Yang Earth Rat (#25), Yang Metal Rat (#37), and Yang Water Rat (#49). This explains why only sixty of the theoretically possible 120 combinations were used.

Schematic 3 presents all sixty dates in a traditional format that archaeological findings have traced back to the Shang-Yin dynasty (1765–1122 BCE).⁵⁵³ The format

553 Martzloff 2016: 83–85; Atsune 1993 [1986]: 310.



Schematic 2: The twelve terrestrial branches.

emphasises the celestial stem component of the sexagenary cycle, as each column represents a full rotation of this sub-cycle. In a given row, the celestial stem component remains the same and is found in its six possible combinations. Furthermore, the rows alternate between Yin and Yang, and this aspect can thus be easily determined at a glance.

Martzloff described the cycle and its compositional structure in mathematical terms, and offered an alternative, simplified format of notation ‘more appropriate for mathematical purposes’, that is not found in Chinese sources.⁵⁵⁴ The eschewal of more appropriate existing models to express the cycle mathematically indicates that

554 Martzloff 2016: 85–86.

Table 6: Compositional logic of the sexagenary cycle.

	Celestial Stem		Terrestrial Branch		Sexagenary Cycle
1	<i>kinoe</i> 甲 Yang Wood	1	<i>ne</i> 子 Rat	1	<i>kinoe-ne</i> 甲子 Yang Wood Rat
2	<i>kinoto</i> 乙 Yin Wood	2	<i>ushi</i> 丑 Ox	2	<i>kinoto-ushi</i> 乙丑 Yin Wood Ox
3	<i>hinoe</i> 丙 Yang Fire	3	<i>tora</i> 寅 Tiger	3	<i>hinoe-tora</i> 丙寅 Yang Fire Tiger
...
10	<i>mizunoto</i> 癸 Yin Water	10	<i>tori</i> 酉 Rooster	10	<i>mizunoto-tori</i> 癸酉 Yin Water Rooster
1	<i>kinoe</i> 甲 Yang Wood	11	<i>inu</i> 戌 Dog	11	<i>kinoe-inu</i> 甲戌 Yang Wood Dog
2	<i>kinoto</i> 乙 Yin Wood	12	<i>i</i> 亥 Boar	12	<i>kinoto-i</i> 乙亥 Yin Wood Boar
3	<i>hinoe</i> 丙 Yang Fire	1	<i>ne</i> 子 Rat	13	<i>hinoe-ne</i> 丙子 Yang Fire Rat
...
10	<i>mizunoto</i> 癸 Yin Water	12	<i>i</i> 亥 Boar	60	<i>mizunoto-i</i> 癸亥 Yin Water Boar

‘mathematics’ was not the prime concern for contemporary society in this respect. Rather, the cycle’s calendrical function of counting sets of ten days before the introduction of the lunisolar calendar⁵⁵⁵ and its utility in determining qualitative attributes related to the celestial stems may have favoured this format over other forms of representation.

The morphology of time represented in the sexagenary cycle is similar to that of the lunisolar calendar. While it may appear circular in itself (i.e., repetition of sameness), its use in conjunction with the *Senmyōreki* marks its morphology as decidedly cyclical.

By itself, the sexagenary cycle repeats perpetually, and there is no inherent terminology in place to count its iterations. Although dates belonging to the same iteration are easily positioned in relation to one another, given their fixed positions, the same may not be said for dates across multiple iterations. For example,

555 Martzloff 2016: 86; Dubs 1958: 296.

51 甲寅 Yang Wood Tiger	41 甲辰 Yang Wood Dragon	31 甲午 Yang Wood Horse	21 甲申 Yang Wood Monkey	11 甲戌 Yang Wood Dog	1 甲子 Yang Wood Rat
52 乙卯 Yin Wood Hare	42 乙巳 Yin Wood Snake	32 乙未 Yin Wood Sheep	22 乙酉 Yin Wood Rooster	12 乙亥 Yin Wood Boar	2 乙丑 Yin Wood Ox
53 丙辰 Yang Fire Dragon	43 丙午 Yang Fire Horse	33 丙申 Yang Fire Monkey	23 丙戌 Yang Fire Dog	13 丙子 Yang Fire Rat	3 丙寅 Yang Fire Tiger
54 丁巳 Yin Fire Snake	44 丁未 Yin Fire Sheep	34 丁酉 Yin Fire Rooster	24 丁亥 Yin Fire Boar	14 丁丑 Yin Fire Ox	4 丁卯 Yin Fire Hare
55 戊午 Yang Earth Horse	45 戊申 Yang Earth Monkey	35 戊戌 Yang Earth Dog	25 戊子 Yang Earth Rat	15 戊寅 Yang Earth Tiger	5 戊辰 Yang Earth Dragon
56 己未 Yin Earth Sheep	46 己酉 Yin Earth Rooster	36 己亥 Yin Earth Boar	26 己丑 Yin Earth Ox	16 己卯 Yin Earth Hare	6 己巳 Yin Earth Snake
57 庚申 Yang Metal Monkey	47 庚戌 Yang Metal Dog	37 庚子 Yang Metal Rat	27 庚寅 Yang Metal Tiger	17 庚辰 Yang Metal Dragon	7 庚午 Yang Metal Horse
58 辛酉 Yin Metal Rooster	48 辛亥 Yin Metal Boar	38 辛丑 Yin Metal Ox	28 辛卯 Yin Metal Hare	18 辛巳 Yin Metal Snake	8 辛未 Yin Metal Sheep
59 壬戌 Yang Water Dog	49 壬子 Yang Water Rat	39 壬寅 Yang Water Tiger	29 壬辰 Yang Water Dragon	19 壬午 Yang Water Horse	9 壬申 Yang Water Monkey
60 癸亥 Yin Water Boar	50 癸丑 Yin Water Ox	40 癸卯 Yin Water Hare	30 癸巳 Yin Water Snake	20 癸未 Yin Water Sheep	10 癸酉 Yin Water Rooster

Schematic 3: The sixty dates of the sexagenary cycle.

we can tell that a Yang Wood Rat [#1] day occurs eleven days before a Yin Wood Boar [#12] day, assuming that both instances are located within the same iteration of the cycle. Otherwise, the Yin Wood Boar [#12] day might also be seventy-two days later (+1 iteration), or 132 days later (+2 iterations), or perhaps even fifty-nine days earlier (-1 iteration), and so on.⁵⁵⁶

The cycle was also applied to multiple temporal scales — namely, the year, month, and day. It is thus also important to know, in a given instance, to which of these units a date in the cycle is referring. Although the sexagenary cycle allows for a form of relational chronography, this was only possible within smaller temporal horizons when a concrete context was given. The exclusive use of the sexagenary cycle did not permit the coordination of historical time on a larger scale, and additional markers were thus used to clarify the relationships between individual dates across different iterations of the cycle.

With the import of calendrical knowledge and the establishment of a temporal regime based on the Tang state model, the application of the sexagenary cycle to the level of years, months, and days in conjunction with the *Senmyōreki* and era names became standardised in Japan.

In the Shang-Yin dynasty, before the sexagenary cycle had been devised, the celestial stems were used to count sets of ten days.⁵⁵⁷ Equal solar months consisting of thirty days were thus divided into three equal segments called *xun* 旬 (or *shun* in Japanese),⁵⁵⁸ and when the sexagenary cycle was introduced, a single rotation equated to two solar months. Prior to the construction of the more sophisticated and astronomically accurate lunisolar calendars, this was the dominant mode of chronography in China.⁵⁵⁹

Archeological findings attest to the cycle's application on a diurnal level in the early seventh century in Japan, where it fulfilled chronographic functions. With the establishment of the *ritsuryō* state the cycle became influential for scheduling purposes.⁵⁶⁰ Many ritualised festivals and ceremonies were scheduled according to the sexagenary cycle in the Nara period, and this continued into the Kamakura period, as outlined below.

556 See also Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'.

557 Martzloff 2016: 80; Atsune 1993 [1986]: 308.

558 The related terms *jōjun* 上旬, *chūjun* 中旬, and *gejun* 下旬 are still used to refer to the beginning, middle, and end of a month in modern Japanese.

559 Six full rotations of the cycle (6x60 days) amounted to a total of 360 days — that is, the length of the solar year based on mean values. Dubs 1958: 296.

560 Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 182.

The sexagenary cycle never played a significant role in counting months, for which numerical terms were used already in the Shang-Yin dynasty.⁵⁶¹ The sexagenary cycle was applied to the month's scale during the Tang dynasty, on the basis of the aforementioned Xia calendar norm used to calculate lunisolar calendars. The norm dictated that the eleventh civil month should be aligned with the solar term winter solstice (*tōji*) and the zodiac of the Rat. Each month was thus linked to a specific zodiac sign — that is, the terrestrial branch component of the sexagenary cycle date. As such, the eleventh civil month was always associated with one of five possible sexagenary cycle combinations containing the Rat. The rotation also omits intercalary months, which have no correspondence in the sexagenary cycle.⁵⁶²

This notion was transported to Japan, where a link between the civil months and zodiac signs was furthermore made via the *hokuto shichisei* 北斗七星 asterism (the Plough, or Big Dipper, that is part of the constellation Ursa Major). It is visible all year and rotates clockwise around the pole star in the course of one night. During the course of the year, its 'starting position' in the evening shifts so that the 'handle' points to a different sector of the zodiac wheel each month.⁵⁶³ On this temporal scale, the sexagenary cycle was used purely for its qualifying aspects, as shall be demonstrated below.

The earliest archaeological evidence of the sexagenary cycle in Japan dates to the late fifth century and attests to its application to the level of the year.⁵⁶⁴ It appears to have been the dominant mode used to count and record years in the ancient period, prior to the introduction of era names in the seventh century. On this time scale specifically, it thus fulfilled an important arithmetic and chronographical function in the ancient period. According to Hosoi, the shift to labelling years using era names in conjunction with the sexagenary cycle, as the Tang state had, occurred around the time of the introduction of the Yōrō code (compiled in 718 and promulgated in 757) — the consolidation of the *ritsuryō* state.⁵⁶⁵ In this regard, Japanese chronographic practices in the ancient period developed in a trajectory that was inverse to that of the Chinese ancient period, which first used era names exclusively.⁵⁶⁶

561 Tsumura 2012: 349.

562 Martzloff 2016: 76–77, 86–87.

563 Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 187–189. The correlation of months and zodiac signs is thus known as *gak-kon* or *getsuken* 月建. The term originates in the image of the Plough that 'stands' (*tatsu* 建つ) on its handle in the eleventh month (*gatsu* 月) and thus points in the direction of the zodiac Rat (north).

564 Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 182.

565 Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 182–183.

566 Dubs 1958: 298–299.

While the unique era names allowed for an unambiguous chronography, the sexagenary cycle aided individuals in keeping track of years during their lifetimes. Hosoi has remarked that the short-lived eras, the frequency of era changes, and the fact that these changes occurred in the middle of the year, rendered era names difficult for individuals to keep track of in their daily lives. By contrast, the simpler, regular, and predictable sexagenary cycle was useful for counting years from the individual's perspective.⁵⁶⁷ Indeed, Homer Dubs portrays the introduction of the sexagenary cycle to the annual level in ancient China, which had previously used era names exclusively, as a chronological innovation for this reason.⁵⁶⁸

Furthermore, as Harweg has pointed out, era names could only be used retrospectively, because their lengths were not predetermined and future era changes were unpredictable.⁵⁶⁹ They therefore allowed for references to the present and the past, but not the future. This problem does not arise in relation to the sexagenary cycle, in which future dates are certain.

While on a sociotemporal level pertaining to the retrospective coordination of historic events the sexagenary cycle may have been of subordinate interest, it was immensely useful on a nootemporal level. On the annual level, in particular, the sexagenary cycle was a useful tool that aided individuals in keeping track of time. On other temporal scales, it played a major role primarily for its qualifying aspects that impacted the temporal qualities of individual days, and thus impacted both the organisation of social life and individuals' activities.

3.3 Dating Practices in Diaries and the Social Importance of Different Calendar Systems

Variance in Dating Practices

Having acquired an understanding of the complex web of temporal notions and calendrical systems in play during the Kamakura period, we may now examine what the diaries reveal about the relative importance and primary function of these systems.⁵⁷⁰ To this end, I shall first examine the dating practices in the text in greater detail. As indicated in Chapter 1.3, dates of the lunisolar calendar were a crucial feature of the genre that served to provide a framework within which individuals' expe-

⁵⁶⁷ Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 183.

⁵⁶⁸ Dubs 1958: 299.

⁵⁶⁹ Harweg 2008, vol. 3: 240.

⁵⁷⁰ Some of the arguments in this subchapter are also presented in Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'.

riences were inscribed. Diaries were kept by their authors over several decades, and scrolls were labelled to indicate which time period they covered. For *Kanchūki* and other courtier diaries, which contained long, detailed entries for most days, a scroll typically covers a couple of months. They were labelled by era names, and either months or seasons. For example, the scroll covering the eleventh–twelfth months of Kenji 2 (1276) was labelled on the outside using numerical months:

Record of the 11th month and 12th month of the 2nd year of Kenji

建治二年十一月十二月記 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 224).

By contrast, the outside of the subsequent scroll covering the first–third months of the year Kenji 3 (1277) bears the following title:

Record of the spring of the 3rd year of Kenji

建治三季春記 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 259).

Leinss has observed that seasons came to be conceived of as abstracted time units defined by an equivalence to specific civil months.⁵⁷¹ The use of the seasons to label the scrolls that constitute *Kanchūki* confirms that they were indeed utilised as temporal scales that designated a group of months (e.g. spring = first–third civil months). Months and seasons thus both appear as temporal scales that were used to label and categorise the diary text. Era names were used to label years, and, as illustrated by this example, two variations of the character ‘year’ (*nen* 年, and the less common *nen* 季) were used for dating purposes.

The sexagenary cycle, on the other hand, is never indicated in this context in *Kanchūki*. This stands in contrast with the dating practices observed in the two *bakufu* texts, which indicate the year’s sexagenary cycle date along with the era names. *Kenji sannen ki* is labelled on the outside as follows:

Diary of the 3rd year of Kenji [1277] Yin Fire Ox [#14]

建治三年丁丑日記⁵⁷² (*Kenji sannen ki*: 1).

Einin sannen ki mimics this chronographic style on the inside of the scroll:

571 Leinss 2021a: 23–25.

572 The title was not written in the author’s own hand. Ryō 1952: 5–6.

Diary of the 3rd year of Einin [1295] Yin Wood Sheep [#32]

永仁三年乙未日記 (*Einin sannan ki*: 21).

Both texts thus indicate that the authors added the sexagenary cycle date of the year, although the font size indicates that it was of subordinate relevance compared to the era name. According to Kawazoe, who examined the original document, the outside of *Einin sannan ki* also includes a title added by the copyist Kiyohara Motosada stating:

Diary of the 2nd year of Einin [1294]

永仁二季記⁵⁷³

Kawazoe has confirmed that the date on the inside is correct and that the scroll was likely mislabelled in error.⁵⁷⁴ This notation, however, confirms that which *Kanchūki* indicated — that the year could be referred to in various ways and that the addition of the sexagenary cycle was optional.

As outlined in Chapter 1.3, within a scroll, diary entries were grouped by months. Some chronographical variation may be noted on this level as well. In *Kanchūki*, the month length is indicated in most cases: for example, the second month in the year Kenji 3 (1277) is indicated as ‘second month large’ (*nigatsu dai* 二月大). There are exceptions, however, such as the scroll covering the fifth–seventh months of the founding year of Kōan (1278), which does not include this information at all.⁵⁷⁵

The month’s sexagenary cycle date is only rarely indicated in the text, but it is provided for some months within the years Kōan 10 (1287) and Kōan 11 (1288), for example.⁵⁷⁶ By contrast, the sexagenary cycle date is never noted for the months in *Kenji sannan ki*, and the length is indicated for the ‘normed month small’ (*shōgatsu shō* 正月小) only and no subsequent months.⁵⁷⁷

Einin sannan ki indicates the month lengths for the first–third months, as well as their sexagenary cycle dates, with the exception of the intercalary second month, as intercalary months were excluded from the rotation of the sexagenary

573 Kawazoe Hiroshi 1954: 46.

574 Kawazoe Hiroshi 1954: 46.

575 *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 1–11.

576 E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 5: 44 (Kōan 10.2 (1287)), 114 (Kōan 10.5 (1287)), 184 (Kōan 10.8 (1287)), 218 (Kōan 10.10 (1287)), vol. 6: 1 (Kōan 11.1 (1288)), 40 (Kōan 11.2 (1288)).

577 *Kenji sannan ki*: 1.

cycle. This diary overall exhibits significant variation in the chronography used to designate months, as exemplified by the following enumeration:

正月大	Normed month large	戊寅	Yang Earth Tiger [#15]
二月大	Second month large	巳卯	Yin Earth Hare [#16]
潤二月小	Intercalary second month small		
三月大	Third month large	庚辰	Yang Metal Dragon [#17]
卯月	Hare moon ⁵⁷⁸		
五月	Fifth month		
六月	Sixth month		
七月	Seventh month		
八月	Eighth month		

In this diary, the alternative designation ‘Hare moon’ (*uzuki* 卯月) in reference to the fourth month stands out prominently.⁵⁷⁹ This nominal expression originated in a vernacular lunar calendar that predated the introduction of lunisolar calendars to Japan and is known as *inreki* 陰曆.⁵⁸⁰ It was exclusively oriented towards the lunar cycle and operated largely with a form of material chronography. The terminology used to refer to the different months was derived from natural phenomena, such as the ‘Foliage moon’ (*hazuki* 葉月, eighth month), which evoked the imagery of falling leaves, or the ‘Frost moon’ (*shimotsuki* 霜月, eleventh month), which alluded to the rising frost. The term ‘Hare moon’ is thought to refer to the blooming of the *Deutzia crenata* (*u no hana* 卯の花, lit. ‘hare flower’). However, in light of the fact that the flower really blossoms a bit later, alternative explanations state that it may instead designate *utsuki* 植月 — ‘Planting moon’ —, or simply refer to the zodiac of the Hare — the fourth position in the zodiac cycle marking the fourth month.⁵⁸¹ Either way, the nominal terminology of the lunar calendar came to be used as an alternative to refer to the lunisolar months of the *Senmyōreki*. Use of this alternative terminology was certainly not widespread in *kanbun* diary keeping, but nonetheless demonstrates the variety of options available. It may be regarded as a personal preference on the part of *Einin sannen ki*’s author Tokitsura, rather than a genre-typical practice. While I have demonstrated above that *Kanchūki* also

578 To highlight the difference between the terminology of the two calendrical systems, I translate *tsuki* 月 as moon, rather than month.

579 *Einin sannen ki*: 36.

580 Atsune 1993 [1986]: 315.

581 Atsune 1993 [1986]: 316–317. Notably, in the *Senmyōreki*, the zodiac of the Hare is correlated with the second civil month according to the Xia calendar norm. Martzloff 2016: 77 (Table 2.1).

deployed variant chronography to refer to months in certain entries in the beginning of a new month or year, they are only encountered in this highly specific context, but not as part of the framework that serves to date the entries themselves and localise events in time.

The evidence presented hitherto suggests that the numerical designations of the lunisolar calendar were most relevant to the genre and that supplementary information, such as the length of the months or their sexagenary cycle dates, was of subordinate importance, given its regular omission.

Individual days were also generally dated using the numerical expressions of the lunisolar calendar, and the alternative nominal terms outlined above are only rarely found in diaries. Neither *Kanchūki* nor the two examined *bakufu* texts contain such examples, but in the diary of Emperor Hanazono 花園天皇 (1297–1348, r. 1308–1318), *Hanazono tennō shinki* 花園天皇宸記 (1310–1332), the term *tsuitachi/sakujitsu* 朔日 (‘moon’s departure’ — the first day of the month) can occasionally be found.⁵⁸² Slight variations can also be found among different texts in this regard, likely based on personal preference.

In addition to the lunisolar calendar date, *Kanchūki* consistently notes the sexagenary cycle date for each day. This stands in stark contrast to *Kenji sannen ki*, where it is indicated only twice, on Kenji 3.1.1 (1277) and Kenji 3.2.1 (1277) (Yin Metal Hare [#28] *kanoto-u* 辛卯 and Yang Metal Monkey [#57] *kanoe-saru* 庚申).⁵⁸³ If one seeks to determine a pattern, one might imagine that the author habitually indicated the sexagenary cycle date for the first day of each month and that these two entries happen to be the only ones that were copied during the excerpt’s creation.

Einin sannen ki exhibits a slight variation in the chronography used for the sexagenary cycle, as in entry Einin 3.4.22 (1295), the date Yang Fire Tiger [#3] is spelled with a variant character for Tiger (*hinoe-tora* 丙刁 in place of the more common 丙寅).⁵⁸⁴ In this text, the sexagenary cycle date is consistently indicated for all days in the first–fourth months,⁵⁸⁵ with only two exceptions (Einin 3.2.14 (1295) and Einin 3.4.29 (1295)).⁵⁸⁶ In one of those entries (Einin 3.2.14 (1295)), a blank space is left where the sexagenary cycle date would typically be noted, thus indicating that either the author or the copyist intended to insert the information later but forgot to complete it. In the latter part of the diary, the sexagenary cycle

⁵⁸² Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] ‘Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu’; Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

⁵⁸³ *Kenji sannen ki*: 1–2.

⁵⁸⁴ *Einin sannen ki*: 37.

⁵⁸⁵ *Einin sannen ki*: 21–38.

⁵⁸⁶ *Einin sannen ki*: 27, 38.

date was indicated on just five further occasions,⁵⁸⁷ and in one instance, a similar blank space was left (Einin 3.7.16 (1295)).⁵⁸⁸

Viewed holistically, *Einin sannan ki* appears to include a break in the dating practice around the fourth month. Initially, the text thoroughly indicates the months' lengths and sexagenary cycle dates as well as the sexagenary cycle dates of the individual days, thus closely resembling the dating practices observed in *Kanchūki* and other courtier diaries. In the latter half of the text, supplementary temporal information disappears almost entirely, as the dates are abbreviated to include only numerical lunisolar calendar dates. The dating practices of the text's latter section thus more closely resembles *Kenji sannan ki*. Nothing in the text suggests why such a shift might have taken place. This shift is nonetheless informative, as it demonstrates what temporal information was deemed most relevant and noted consistently, and which aspects were regarded as optional and were often therefore omitted.

A survey of the dating practices observed in the text so far has revealed that the numerical terminology of the lunisolar calendar was most important in indicating the temporal information that localised and ordered entries in time. An example of how the sexagenary cycle could serve to localise events in time is found in the signature left by the Kiyohara Motosada, who copied the *Einin sannan ki* in the late fifteenth century:

Successful completion on the 20th [day] Yin Water Ox [#50] in the 2nd month of the year Bunmei Yang Water Tiger [#39] [1482].

文明壬寅二月念己未之日功訖、 (*Einin sannan ki*: 48).

In this example, the sexagenary cycle was used on the annual level to fulfil a primary localising function, and not just as supplementary information. For reasons already outlined, it was not used entirely by itself but rather was contextualised with an era name. Within this context, the sexagenary cycle date serves to indicate the year within the era instead of numerical terms. The sexagenary cycle was thus a valid dating system, although it typically required some additional contextualisation by external temporal indications. The example also uses the alternative character *nijū* 念 to indicate the twentieth day, instead of the standard *nijū* 廿.

⁵⁸⁷ *Einin sannan ki*: 38–39 (Einin 3.5.1 (1295) and Einin 3.5.5 (1295)), 43–44 (Einin 3.7.2 (1295), Einin 3.7.3 (1295) and Einin 3.7.10 (1295)).

⁵⁸⁸ *Einin sannan ki*: 45.

A survey of *Minkeiki*, the diary of Kanenaka's father Tsunemitsu, and other courtier diaries dating to the late thirteenth century, namely *Sanemi kyōki* 実躬卿記 (1283–1307) by Sanjō Sanemi 三条実躬 (1264–?) and *Kinhira kōki* 公衡公記 (1283–1315) by Saionji Kinhira 西園寺公衡 (1264–1315) confirmed that these dating practices are largely representative of the genre at the time. The sexagenary cycle of the month is indicated only for some months in *Minkeiki*,⁵⁸⁹ but not at all in the other texts. In some parts of *Sanemi kyōki*, only the terrestrial branch is indicated on the diurnal level, rather than the complete sexagenary cycle date.⁵⁹⁰

A screening of two diaries written by officials of the Muromachi *bakufu*, namely *Saitō Mototsune nikki* 齋藤基恒日記 (1440–1456) by Saitō Mototsune 齋藤基恒 (1394–1471) and *Saitō Chikamoto nikki* 齋藤親基日記 (1465–1467) by Saitō Chikamoto 齋藤親基 (?–?), found that the sexagenary cycle date is not indicated on any scale in these two texts.⁵⁹¹ However, a brief survey of the first part of *Chikamoto nikki* 親元日記 (1473–1486) by Ninagawa Chikamoto 蜷川親元 (1488–1433), another Muromachi *bakufu* official, found that it consistently notes the sexagenary cycle date on the diurnal level, thus exhibiting similarities to the *Kanchūki*.⁵⁹²

As demonstrated, the studied texts exhibit a chronographical variability that attests to the multi-faceted options that allowed for different references to calendrical time. In the dated framework in which the diary's entries were embedded, era names and the terminology of the lunisolar calendar clearly emerge as the most relevant categories for the location of events in time. The sexagenary cycle was also consistently indicated on the daily level in *Kanchūki* but appears to have played a comparatively subordinate role in the two *bakufu* texts.

Reckoning with the Sexagenary Cycle

Close analysis of the sexagenary cycle as it is used in *Kanchūki* and *Einin sannē ki* reveals that both texts occasionally contain mistakes in the indicated dates. Compared with one another, they reveal an interesting systematic difference that permits inferences regarding how the two authors reckoned with this calendrical system.

In *Einin sannē ki*, several mistakes in sexagenary cycle dates relate to its compositional structure outlined in the previous chapter. On *Einin* 3.1.24 (1295), instead of the correct Yin Earth Snake [#6] (*tsuchinoto-mi* 己巳), the sexagenary cycle date is indicated as Yin Earth Horse (*tsuchinoto-uma* 己午) — a combination

589 E.g. *Minkeiki*, vol. 9: 281 (Bun'ei 4.8 (1267)), 299 (Bun'ei 4.9 (1267)).

590 E.g. *Sanemi kyōki*, vol. 2: 22–31 (Shōō 4.2.2–29 (1291)).

591 *Saitō Mototsune nikki*; *Saitō Chikamoto nikki*.

592 *Chikamoto nikki*, vol. 1.

that does not exist.⁵⁹³ The Horse inhabits the position subsequent to the Snake in the zodiac cycle, suggesting that Tokitsura accidentally skipped ahead in this sub-rotation. A similar mistake occurs on Einin 3.2.28 (1295), where the inexistent combination Yin Water Tiger (*mizunto-tora* 癸寅) is recorded instead of the correct Yin Water Hare [#40] (*mizunoto-u* 癸卯).⁵⁹⁴ In this case, Tokitsura appears to have forgotten to rotate to the next position in the zodiac cycle.

Another mistake is found in entry Einin 3.2.2 (1295), which contains the non-existent combination Yin Fire Horse (*hinoto-uma* 丁午) in place of Yin Fire Ox [#14] (*hinoto-ushi* 丁丑).⁵⁹⁵ In this case, Tokitsura did not merely misjudge by a single position in the zodiac's sequence but by five positions, indicating that there may have been a different issue in this case — perhaps he confused the two animals, given the similarity of the related sinographs *ushi* 牛 (the animal 'ox') and *uma* 午 (the zodiac 'Horse').⁵⁹⁶

Similarly, on Einin 3.7.10 (1295), Tokitsura mixed up two celestial stems, mistakenly choosing one that was located four positions ahead of the appropriate one. The date indicated is Yang Earth Horse [#55] (*tsuchinoe-uma* 戊午) instead of Yang Water Horse [#19] (*mizunoe-uma* 壬午).⁵⁹⁷ In this case, the resulting combination actually exists within the sexagenary cycle's rotation but is out of place.

The nature of these mistakes suggests that the author did not necessarily know the sequence of the sexagenary cycle by heart, but understood its compositional logic and constructed the date by combining the components of the two underlying cycles in each instance. With that being said, most of the mistakes that occur violate the principle whereby Yin- and Yang-affiliated components should not be mixed, suggesting that this aspect may not have been at the forefront of the author's thoughts as he constructed the date.

The relative frequency with which such errors occur suggests that either Tokitsura did not have unrestricted access to an annotated calendar in the style common to the Imperial court for consultation, or that he may not have deemed the information relevant enough to double-check it with a calendar. It certainly suggests that Tokitsura's writing process likely differed from that of courtiers, as presumably the diary was not written on the basis of calendar notes, since the sexagenary cycle date is indicated each day on annotated calendars.

593 *Einin sannen ki*: 24. The Horse only appears in combination with the earth phase as Yang Earth Horse [#55] (*tsuchinoe-uma* 戊午).

594 *Einin sannen ki*: 29.

595 *Einin sannen ki*: 25.

596 I am indebted to Raji C. Steineck for this observation.

597 *Einin sannen ki*: 44.

Comparison of these mistakes with similar errors in *Kanchūki* is particularly illuminating. While mistakes in dating entries exist in this diary as well, they are fundamentally different: Entry Kenji 3.2.24 (1277), for example, indicates the date as:

24th day, Yang Wood Monkey [#21].

廿四日、甲申、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 282).

Based on the surrounding entries (Kenji 3.2.21 (1277), Yang Metal Dragon [#17], and Kenji 3.2.26 (1277), Yin Wood Rooster [#22]),⁵⁹⁸ it is evident that either the lunisolar calendar date or the sexagenary cycle date must be incorrect here. It is not clear which of the two is correct, but they are out of sync by one date. This mistake does not relate to the compositional structure of the sexagenary cycle itself, but merely reflects a temporary misalignment between lunisolar calendar and sexagenary cycle.

Müller closely studied the aforementioned *Hanazono tennō shinki* and identified both types of errors described above in said diary. In cases of misalignment between the two calendrical systems, Müller demonstrated that the sexagenary cycle date is correct in the *Hanazono tennō shinki*. Müller argues that the sexagenary cycle may have been more internalised by the Emperor than the lunisolar calendar, as many court ceremonies that dictated his temporal routines were scheduled according to the former. Additionally, Müller's investigation found that invalid combinations of the sexagenary cycle are also occasionally encountered in the text. In the cases presented, the incorrect element is always the celestial stem, while the terrestrial branch component is noted correctly.⁵⁹⁹ The schedules of ceremonial events that depended on the sexagenary cycle typically relied on its terrestrial branch component. Therefore, Müller's observation that this component is correctly noted in the *Hanazono tennō shinki*, even when inexistent combinations are mistakenly written down, further supports the presented argument.

While erroneous notations violating the compositional logic of the sexagenary cycle are therefore not unheard of in court diaries, by comparison, the *Einin sannenshi* exhibits a more diverse set of mistakes, as well as a higher frequency thereof. This comparison suggests that the sexagenary cycle carried greater weight in the social sphere of the Imperial court and that it was either better known to court members, or that they typically used a reference source, such as the calendar, to ensure that they noted it correctly.

⁵⁹⁸ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 281–282.

⁵⁹⁹ Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

Generally, the *Kanchūki* and other courtier diaries tend to include more temporal information in the framework within which descriptions of events are placed (i.e., the dating of entries), compared to the examined *bakufu* texts. While examination of the latter reveals that these same temporal categories were also known and predominant in Kamakura to a certain degree, they also clearly demonstrate that they were afforded less weight in comparison. The sexagenary cycle in particular appears to have played a more dominant role at the court than it did at the *bakufu*. This is likely related to social practices relating to this temporal regime that were more pronounced in this social sphere.

Different Scheduling Practices

The differences identified on the chronographical level of analysis with respect to the role of the sexagenary cycle may be partially attributable to the associated chronopolitical practices. While the lunisolar calendar and era names were most relevant for expressions of civil time, facilitated easy coordination of historical time and easy cross-referencing between different texts and documents, the lunisolar calendar and the sexagenary cycle were both relevant for scheduling purposes, particularly at the Imperial court.

As explored in Chapter 2, both the court and the *bakufu* regularly practiced annual observances in the Kamakura period. One of the key differences between the events of these two social spheres is the scheduling rationales that underpinned them and the role that the sexagenary cycle played.

The annual observances at court were conducted according to fixed scheduling principles that can be broadly categorised into three groups: those with fixed dates according to the lunisolar calendar, those with fixed dates according to the sexagenary cycle, and those with a semi-fixed schedule that required additional expertise to determine an appropriate timing.⁶⁰⁰

While some events were scheduled to recur on a specific date of the lunisolar calendar, such as the Torch ceremony (*miakashi* 御燈) scheduled on 3.3 and 9.3 each year, other events were fixed to a certain component of the sexagenary cycle. For example, the ‘Kasuga shrine festival’ (*Kasuga no matsuri* 春日祭) in Nara was scheduled during the second month on the first day containing the terrestrial branch Monkey (*saru* 申). In the year Kenji 2 (1276), it was conducted on

⁶⁰⁰ The scheduling of annual events is described in more detail in Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] ‘Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu’ and in Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

the twelfth day of the second month, which corresponded to the sexagenary cycle date Yang Earth Monkey (*tsuchinoe-saru* 戊申, #45).⁶⁰¹ In the subsequent year Kenji 3 (1277), it took place on the first day of the second month, sexagenary cycle date Yang Metal Monkey (*kanoe-saru* 庚申, #57).⁶⁰²

The timing of a third group of annual events required additional consideration. While they were typically scheduled to occur in a specific month, the precise date had to be determined according to criteria of auspiciousness. Such events include the Beginning of Government (*matsurigoto hajime*) in the first month, or the semi-annual ritual wand offering to pray for the year's harvest (*kinenkoku hōhei*) conducted in the second and seventh months.

At the Imperial court, both the lunisolar calendar and sexagenary cycle thus played crucial roles in structuring the court's activities throughout the year. While most events relied on fixed schedules and arithmetical regularities, a smaller group of events operated according to a schedule that was more strongly defined by qualitative attributes of time. In such instances, the priority was not to tie a given event to a specific quantified date (whether numerical or nominal) but rather to ensure that the cosmic constellation was appropriately favourable. As outlined in Chapter 3.4 below, the determination of daily fortunes was strongly tied to the sexagenary cycle, and thus this calendrical system also played an important role in them.

While scheduling rationales relied on numerical regularities relating to fixed lunisolar dates, regularities tied to different options connected with one or more possible sexagenary cycle dates, and a logic tied to shifting constellations of auspiciousness, contemporary sources do not differentiate between these scheduling categories. Rather, all appear to have been considered equally cyclical and regular. This further supports the argument that quantitative and qualitative concepts of time were not regarded as separate notions but were inextricably linked. It also supports Zerubavel's argument that social cycles are considered regular according to social convention, even if their intervals were not mathematically equal or, in this case, their calendrical dates fixed.⁶⁰³

The scheduling principles for the *bakufu's* annual events are less clearly documented than those of the court. Some events evidently took place on fixed lunisolar calendar dates, such as the celebrations on New Year's Day or the Life Release ceremony (*hōjōe*) at the Tsurugaoka Hachimnagū shrine on 8.15. The tim-

⁶⁰¹ The entry Kenji 2.2.11 (1276) in *Kanchūki* mentions its preparations. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 183.

⁶⁰² *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 278.

⁶⁰³ Zerubavel 1976: 90–91.

ing of other events varied, including that of the big *ninnō* lecture (*dai-ninnō-e* 大仁王会) also held at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine.⁶⁰⁴

Takegahara's research on the Kamakura *bakufu*'s annual observances reports no findings that conclusively indicate that any of the *bakufu*'s annual events were scheduled on fixed sexagenary cycle dates.⁶⁰⁵ Takegahara tentatively suggested the possibility in just a few cases dating to the early Kamakura period (late twelfth century),⁶⁰⁶ but the research does not otherwise suggest that this calendrical system exerted a significant influence over the schedules and rhythms of life at the Kamakura *bakufu*.

Analysis of the *bakufu* diaries reveals the importance of the Deliberative Council's routines, in which the sexagenary cycle played no part. Rather, the meetings were scheduled purely according to the lunisolar calendar. The meeting cycles described in Chapter 2.2 conspicuously resemble rhythms derived from older timekeeping practices. The schedule of the Informal Councils recalls the tri-section of months into *shun* 旬, the ten-day-long subdivisions of solar months. The schedule may have originally drawn inspiration from these (which would locate the middle meeting on the eleventh rather than the twelfth day) and then perhaps changed over time. The preference for five-day cycles may also have been a cultural artefact of ancient timekeeping practices as these ten-day segments were further divided into two equal parts. It may also relate to a general preference for patterns of fives based on the five-phases model. It is thus conceivable that the Council's rotation of Formal Council meetings had originated in a five-day cycle that had morphed over time or had been designed to approximate it.

While the lunisolar calendar features more prominently in diaries, as the primary tool used to count and track days during the Kamakura period, in the social sphere of the court, the scheduling practices surrounding annual events demonstrate that the sexagenary cycle was still deeply ingrained in the court's temporal regime as a framework to determine the timing of a substantial part of its regular events. By contrast, it appears not to have played a major role in scheduling the activities of most Kamakura *bakufu* officials, was therefore less ingrained into their daily lives, and consequently was afforded less significance in their diaries.

604 Takegahara 2015: 111, 122–123 (Table 6).

605 Takegahara 2015.

606 Takegahara 2015: 96 (Table 1).

3.4 (Spatio-)Temporal Regulations

Daily Fortunes

Both specific sexagenary cycle dates and the interplay between different temporal scales generated a particular temporal configuration that entailed certain attributes, which were recorded in the annotated calendars.⁶⁰⁷

For example, so called *chi-imibi* 血忌日 ('blood taboo days') were determined by the interplay of solar months and the terrestrial branch component of the day's sexagenary cycle date. On such days, moxibustion, executions and hunting were taboo. *Kanchūki's* calendar record indicates that Kōan 7.11.8 (1284), Yang Water Horse (#19) was such a day, as it was part of the eleventh solar month and contained the zodiac of the Horse.⁶⁰⁸

Some days were not regarded as auspicious or inauspicious per se, but were believed to reinforce the qualities generated by other configurations, i.e., amplify auspicious or inauspicious fortunes. For example, the ten sexagenary cycle dates that included the branch of the Snake or the Boar (i.e., every half rotation of the zodiac cycle) were regarded as *jūbi/jūnichi* 重日 ('accumulation days'), as Yang accumulated on the days of the Snake and Yin accumulated on days of the Boar.⁶⁰⁹ An example from *Kanchūki's* calendar record is the day Kōan 7.11.1 (1284), Yin Wood Boar (#12).⁶¹⁰

The two most prominent annotations indicated for each day were also derived from the sexagenary cycle: the five tones (*nacchin* 納音) and twelve directives (*jūni choku* 十二直). The five tones represented the phasic qualities associated with one of five musical tones produced by the cosmic constellation.⁶¹¹ Two consecutive days were assigned the same tone and phasic quality, according to a set pattern bound to the day's sexagenary cycle date.⁶¹² Such a musical tone was also assigned to the year after its sexagenary cycle date was determined, as the *Kanchūki* calendar record demonstrates.⁶¹³

607 For a more extensive explanation and overview of various calendar annotations, see Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 168–170, 180–200.

608 Atsune 1993 [1986]: 345. *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 218.

609 Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 169.

610 *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 217.

611 Sun 2000: 435.

612 Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 189–190.

613 E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 154 (Kōan 7 (1284) calendar record).

The twelve directives were determined by the combination of the solar terms (i.e., segments of the solar year) and the day's sexagenary cycle date. They were associated with both positive and negative fortunes with respect to different activities.⁶¹⁴

Both were noted in the annotated calendars directly after the dates of the *Senmyōreki* and the sexagenary cycle, whereas other attributes were typically rendered in a smaller font and in different registers of the calendars. For example, in the calendar record of *Kanchūki* Kōan 7.11.1 (1284), they are indicated as follows

1st day, Yin Wood Boar [#12], fire⁶¹⁵ closing.⁶¹⁶

一日、乙亥、火閉、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 217).

The directive 'closing' (*tozu* 閉) denotes that it was a good day to fill holes and erect tombs, but a bad day to build houses or perform acupuncture and moxibustion.⁶¹⁷ This fortune was amplified by the fact that it was an accumulation day, and in the register of the calendar in which annotations about recommended activities were made, a notation conveys that this day was 'auspicious for filling holes' (*anafusegi yoshi* 塞穴吉).⁶¹⁸

These examples illustrate the important position that the sexagenary cycle occupied in calendrics, as it entailed a series of implications that were determined and indicated in annotated calendars by the Yin and Yang Office's specialists. As indicated above, the annotated calendars also contained indications about suggested activities for each given day, based on the disclosed temporal configurations. These activities ranged from mundane tasks regarding personal hygiene (e.g. cutting one's fingernails, bathing, etc.) to activities that involved multiple people and larger scale planning (e.g. construction work). The calendars thus not only provided a temporal structure for social life, but also prescribed which activities were best performed on what day, ideally regulating and synchronising the behaviour of different individuals.

While this temporal regime played an important role on the chronopolitical level, this type of information is not typically transmitted in the diary texts. Neither *Kanchūki* nor the two *bakufu* diaries ever indicate the musical tone or directives in the entries, nor do they address specific activities prompted by the

⁶¹⁴ Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 190–191. An overview of the directives and related fortunes can be found in Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 191; Atsune 1993 [1986]: 333–335, 348.

⁶¹⁵ This indicates the phase of the tone (*nacchin*).

⁶¹⁶ This is one of the twelve directives (*jūni choku*).

⁶¹⁷ Atsune 1993 [1986]: 335.

⁶¹⁸ *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 217.

calendars. Some variability can, however, be found among different authors in this regard. In *Kinhira kōki*, for example, the entries at the end of the second month and in the third month of the year Kōan 11 (1288) typically note the tone and directive next to the calendrical date.⁶¹⁹

Directional Fortunes

In addition to this temporal framework, the aristocracy also navigated *spatiotemporal* configurations that assigned qualitative attributes to the spatial orientations of specific activities at a given time. These spatiotemporal regulations are known as directional fortunes (*ehō* 恵方 or 吉方) and directional taboos (*kataimi* 方忌), some of which were particular and some of which were universal. The group of directional fortunes that are of primary interest here are those related to so called ‘ambulant deities’ (*yūgyōjin* 遊行神), which were universally applicable. These deities were considered to wander on predefined paths and temporarily occupy certain cardinal directions.⁶²⁰ In English, they are thus typically referred to as ‘directional deities’. Depending on the deity’s nature, various activities, such as travel or construction, were regarded as either auspicious or inauspicious when oriented towards them.⁶²¹

The directional deities’ patterns of movement were considered to be regular and objectifiable — a sort of natural constant. Yin and Yang Office experts were thus tasked with keeping track of their patterns of movement and calculating and predicting them for the upcoming year. The resulting fortunes and taboos were temporary and affected various temporal scales, forming a complex system of spatiotemporal relations that was indicated in the annotated calendars.⁶²²

The deities each followed their own distinct patterns of movement, some more complex than others, which I shall briefly exemplify below. Nine directional deities were tied to the annual cycles: most of the *Hasshōjin* 八将神 (‘Eight General Deities’) moved annually, occupying a new cardinal direction each year, and their positions were mostly correlated to the terrestrial branches of the sexage-

619 *Kinhira kōki*, vol. 1: 104–107.

620 Frank 1998: 49. The direction of north-east (*ushi tora* 丑寅), known as the ‘demon gate’ (*oni no mon* 鬼門), was considered universally and permanently inauspicious for everyone. Certain particular directional taboos applied to individuals temporarily, based on their birthdates (*zetsu-myō* 絶命). Frank 1998: 49.

621 Frank 1998: 52.

622 Some of them were originally related to planetary phenomena, such as various deities related to the planet Venus (e.g. *Taihakujin* 太白神 and *Konjin* 金神).

nary cycle.⁶²³ *Toshitokujin* 歳徳神 (‘Deity of Annual Virtue’) instead occupied one out of five possible directions for two consecutive years in correlation with the celestial stems of the sexagenary cycle.⁶²⁴ *Ōsōjin* 王相神 (‘Sovereign and Minister Deity’) who prohibited construction work in their direction, followed a seasonal rotation related to the solar year.⁶²⁵

The two deities *Ten’ichijin* 天一神 (‘One Heavenly Deity’) and *Taihakujiin* 太白神 (‘Great White Deity’), who both imposed strict taboos on travel and overnight stays in their directions, followed yet other patterns. *Taihakujiin* completed a cycle in ten days, thus leading to swift changes in the spatiotemporal configuration. *Ten’ichijin*, meanwhile, completed a revolution in sixty days, and was considered to ascend to heaven for a period of sixteen consecutive days as part of this rotation, during which the taboos were lifted.⁶²⁶

Notations on the calendars relating to the directional deities were thus key in keeping track of the taboos that severely impacted the everyday lives of the elite. Travel restrictions also applied to short distances, so even travel routes within the city were limited. Moreover, taboos on construction work in particular posed a problem in a time period during which residences of important figures, including Imperial and shogunal palaces, were frequently under construction following fires, attacks, or earthquakes.

While in the tenth century, directional taboos were determined relative to one’s own position, a shift towards the interpretation of directional taboos in relation to one’s main place of residence evolved in the subsequent century. A technique aimed at circumventing these taboos, known as ‘directional change’ (*katatagae* 方違え), had developed as early as the Heian period, and the term features frequently in various texts dating to the Kamakura period. The principle of directional change was originally that of a detour: traveling in a zigzag motion (typically with overnight stays) to avoid traveling directly in the taboo direction. The techniques for interpreting the directional fortunes as well as the techniques

623 *Taisaijin* 太歳神 and *Saiwajin* 歳破神 move annually in a clockwise direction on the zodiac wheel, occupying opposite directions of one another. *Taionjin* 大陰神 also moves clockwise annually, while *Saigyōjin* 歳刑神 moves yearly according to its own distinct sequence. *Saisetsujin* 歳殺神, *Obanjin* 黄幡神 and *Hyōbijin* 豹尾神 also change positions yearly but occupy only four cardinal directions each, thus reappearing in the same position three times within the twelve-year zodiacal cycle. *Daishōgun* 大將軍, on the other hand, resides in the same direction for three consecutive years (north, east, south, or west) and also renders adjacent directions taboo. Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 202 (Table 27); Frank 1998: 172; Atsune 1993 [1986]: 356–359.

624 Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 202 (Table 26); Atsune 1993 [1986]: 353–354.

625 Frank 1998: 51. For a detailed discussion, see Frank 1998: 215–241.

626 Frank 1998: 50–51. For a detailed discussion of *Taihakujiin*, see Frank 1998: 157–163. For a detailed discussion of *Ten’ichijin*, see Frank 1998: 121–155.

for circumventing them evolved during the course of the Heian period. The focus shifted onto how to ‘transfer’ the status of one’s main residence, which had become the reference point for the directional taboo, onto a different location. In this way, one could manipulate the relative position of a construction site, for example, and thereby bypass taboos.⁶²⁷

Two types of directional changes were in practice: spontaneous directional changes often related to the frequently changing taboos imposed by *Ten’ichijin* or *Taihakujin* and regular, preventive directional changes tied to the seasonal or annual intervals of other deities. The most important of these seasonal directional changes (*setsubun no katatage* 節分の方違え) took place on the day of the solar term ‘beginning of spring’ (*risshun* 立春).⁶²⁸

Traces of (Spatio-)Temporal Regulations in the Diaries

The *Kanchūki* attests to the importance of this temporal regime, which ascribed certain qualities to individual days and cardinal directions at the court. As demonstrated in Chapter 2.1, some activities were rescheduled because the usual timing happened to be inauspicious in some years, and, as I shall demonstrate in Chapters 4.2 and 4.3, the planning of ceremonial events involved the consultation of experts who determined auspicious windows of time for specific activities. A particularly interesting case is found in entry Kōan 1.11.22 (1278) of *Kanchūki*, describing a session in which plans were organised for a trip of several days that the Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira would take to Nara.⁶²⁹ The entry notably records discussions surrounding the directional taboos imposed by the deity *Taihakujin* and potential effects on the travel plan:

Next, regarding the travel to the South Capital⁶³⁰ on the 23rd day. Situation of directional taboos caused by [the directional deity] *Taihaku*: There was a discussion that it had not exerted influence at the time of the Kasuga shrine visit of Shumeimon’in⁶³¹ in the fourth year of Kenpō [1216].⁶³² [The Yin and Yang Expert Kamo] Arikane was asked whether the taboos of *Taihaku* should be

⁶²⁷ Hosoi 2015 [2014]: 203–208. For a more in-depth examination, see Frank 1998: 59–120.

⁶²⁸ Frank 1998: 59–63.

⁶²⁹ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 34–42.

⁶³⁰ *nanto* 南都, refers to Nara, the former capital located south of Heian.

⁶³¹ Shumeimon’in 修明門院 (also known as Fujiwara Shigeko 藤原重子, 1182–1264) was a consort of Emperor Go-Toba.

⁶³² Topics of discussions are occasionally indicated by a marker for (rhetorical) questions (*ya* 歟).

avoided anyway. Although there were precedents for [*Taihaku*] not exerting influence within the walls of the shrine, would it be exerting influence on the Hōjōin, which would serve as accommodation this time? He thoroughly investigated and inquired whether the departure would be at dawn of the 23rd day and whether they would be en route after the night bell was struck. We evaluated that those were indeed the circumstances. Was this the right way for this event? Or [should] they directly travel to the South Capital on the 22nd day? Decision that it should be ordered to assess both cases.

次廿三日御下向南都事、爲太白方忌如何、建保四年脩明門院春日御幸之時、無憚由有其沙汰歟、被問在兼朝臣、太白方忌尤可被避歟、社頭塚内先例不憚之、但今度御所爲寶乘院者、尤可被憚歟由申之、重被尋下云、廿三日晚陰御出門、於路次可被打後夜鐘歟、此條又如何、尤可然之由計申之、所詮此儀歟、將又廿二日直御下向南都歟、兩樣有御計可被仰之由有御定、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 34).

As the first sentence indicates, the departure had originally been planned for the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, but concerns caused by a possible effect of *Taihaku* had arisen. As the ensuing discussion reveals, the shrine was considered to ward off *Taihaku*'s influence. However, the travel party would be staying at a location other than that in the cited precedent, thus creating a different spatio-temporal configuration. Ultimately, it came down to the timing of the travel, and a departure on the night of the twenty-third day seemed adverse under the circumstances. As an alternative, a departure on an earlier day had to be considered as a means of avoiding *Taihaku*'s unfavourable influence.

The transcript of the travel plans at the end of the entry suggests that the planned departure was indeed advanced to the twenty-second day, reflecting that *Taihaku*'s taboos on travel and overnight stays posed a serious problem and that the plans were ultimately changed as a result. As indicated by these travel plans, this incurred a higher expenditure of resources, as additional meals were required.⁶³³

The two *bakufu* diaries do not provide the same level of insight into the role that these configurations played at the Kamakura *bakufu*, as they do not contain comparably explicit references to auspicious or inauspicious timings or directional fortunes. However, several entries in *Kenji sannen ki* attest that directional taboos were influential at the *bakufu*, as they record directional changes of the shogun Imperial Prince Koreyasu on various occasions. These directional changes served to avoid directional taboos affecting construction work that was ongoing at the shogunal Wakamiya palace (*wakamiya gosho* 若宮御所) during the first

633 *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 36–41.

half of the year. The palace had burned down in the previous year on Kenji 2.1.20 (1276), and while it was under construction, shogun Koreyasu lived in the main residence of the *tokusō* Hōjō Tokimune. For this reason, Tokimune himself lived in the Yamanouchi residence, a secondary residence in the vicinity of the Hōjō's funerary Hōkaiji temple.⁶³⁴

The following two entries in the first month reveal that the shogun undertook directional changes so that the construction work could proceed:

8th day, serene.

Reportedly, due to a directional change, the shogun [Koreyasu] entered the mansion of Utsunomiya Former Governor of Shimotsuke [Kagetsuna]. The South-Western Gate of the shogunal palace was erected today.

9th day, serene.

Reportedly, the shogun returned at the hour of the Sheep [13:00–15:00].

八日、晴、

御所爲御方違入御宇津宮下野前司亭、今日被立御所西南御門云々、

九日、晴、

未時御所還御云々、 (*Kenji sannen ki*: 1).

In this case, the shogun Imperial Prince Koreyasu went for an overnight stay at the residence of Utsunomiya Kagetsuna 宇都宮景綱 (1235–1298), which was located in the vicinity of the palace, so that the construction could progress without incurring any directional taboos. Similar directional changes are recorded on 1.24, 3.25, 4.11, 4.18, and 4.20 before the ridgepole of the main chamber was raised in the palace on 4.21.⁶³⁵ A final directional change is recorded on 6.7, and after the shogun relocated to the renovated palace on 7.19,⁶³⁶ no further directional changes are recorded. Evidently, once the palace construction had been completed, they were no longer necessary.

This example demonstrates that certain directional taboos at least were taken seriously at the *bakufu* as well, and that the shogun was obliged to leave his residence at certain times as part of a directional change, so as not to impede the construction work. In contrast to the *Kanchūki* example, however, the text does not specify which deity this taboo was associated with.

The practice of directional changes at the Kamakura *bakufu* has been surveyed by Yuasa Yoshimi, who studied various instances of directional changes in the

634 Itō 1999: 56.

635 *Kenji sannen ki*: 2–4.

636 *Kenji sannen ki*: 7–8.

Azuma Kagami in the time span of 1213–1252 in an article entitled ‘*Azuma kagami ni miru Kamakura bushi no katatagai* 『吾妻鏡』に見る鎌倉武士の方違え (‘Directional Changes of Kamakura Warriors, as Seen in the *Azuma Kagami*)’.⁶³⁷

Yuasa found that both irregular directional changes and seasonal directional changes were practices at the *bakufu*.⁶³⁸ Yuasa argues that the studied examples indicate that directional changes were often also treated as occasions for socialising at the *bakufu*, and that occasionally an entourage was involved. Yuasa argues that this socialising component was more prominent in the *bakufu*’s directional changes than in those of the Imperial court.⁶³⁹ In this regard, we may discern several parallels with findings regarding the *bakufu*’s annual events that also often entailed a social component. *Kenji sannen ki* mentions in passing that the *tokusō* Hōjō Tokimune had stayed overnight at the mansion of Taira no Yoritsuna on the night of the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth month because of a directional change.⁶⁴⁰ This directional change is not visibly related to any construction work and thus may have been such an occasion that primarily served to facilitate socialising.

Yuasa also noted that *Azuma Kagami* indicates on various occasions that the Yin and Yang Experts (*onmyōji*) in Kamakura re-measured and re-evaluated the direction of a given location in such a way that they eventually concluded that it was not actually located in the taboo direction or that a directional change was not necessary for other reasons. Yuasa argues that, in these cases, the Yin and Yang experts likely told the *tokusō* what they wanted to hear, indicating that in some circumstances, strict adherence to directional taboos was forsaken in favour of other considerations.⁶⁴¹ This stands in contrast to the example from the *Kanchūki*, which demonstrated that additional resources were expended to avoid *Taihaku*’s negative influence. The latter case indicates that adherence to the temporal regime grounded in an understanding of shifts in cosmic patterns took precedence over economic concerns in the planning of the Imperial Regent’s journey. Because this temporal regime served to affirm and legitimise the authority of the Imperial court and its prime symbolic figures, upholding it in this way held political meaning. Therefore, the symbolic form of politics exerted influence on the chronological level.

Overall, most of the temporal organisation principles incorporated into the annotated calendars (such as indications of auspicious activities), although clearly

637 Yuasa 2006.

638 For examples of seasonal directional changes, see Yuasa 2006: 34, 37.

639 Yuasa 2006: 42–43. Examples of this are discussed on pp. 33, 35–37 and 39–40.

640 *Kenji sannen ki*: 19 (*Kenji* 3.12.27 (1277)).

641 Yuasa 2006: 42–43. Examples of this are discussed on pp. 38 and 41–42.

relevant in the diarists' lives were not significant to the enterprise of documenting court and *bakufu* affairs, and were eliminated in the diary-keeping process. References to them primarily emerge in the examined diaries when the spatio-temporal configuration interfered with scheduled activities and when extraordinary circumstances relating to construction work are documented.

3.5 Multiple Modes and Applications of Clock Time

To accurately calculate the *Senmyōreki*, it was necessary to devise an intricate segmentation of time and an accurate method of measuring it. During the Kamakura period, multiple approaches to segmenting the day into sub-units of varying durations were known and used for different purposes. These time reckoning systems — at least originally — operated according to fixed time intervals (*teijihō* 定時法) or equal hours, which required a technology capable of measuring time independent of sunlight.⁶⁴² At the Imperial court, the preferred technology for this purpose was the water clock (*rōkoku* 漏刻). Simply put, a water clock operates on the principle that a certain volume of water takes a certain time to flow or 'leak' (*rō* 漏) from one container to another. The amount of time elapsed can thus be determined by measuring the water's volume.⁶⁴³

The water clock was first introduced to the court in either the late seventh, or early eighth century, and remained in continuous use throughout the Heian period.⁶⁴⁴ In the Nara and Heian periods, several provincial offices were also equipped with water clocks, and one was stationed in Dazaifu, a civil and military

⁶⁴² Without the technology to measure time in such a way, the segmentation of the day relies on sunlight, which is subject to seasonal changes in Japan, thus resulting in variable intervals (*futeijihō* 不定時法) — that is, seasonal hours. A day is still divided into a predefined number of intervals, but these are determined relative to sunrise and sunset. Depending on the season, a nocturnal hour may then be longer or shorter than a daytime hour. Hashimoto 1978 [1966]: 25–26; Yuasa 2015: 197–200.

⁶⁴³ Hashimoto 1978 [1966]: 79. Another popular device used to measure time was the incense clock (*jōkōban* 常香盤), which took advantage of incense powder's property of burning evenly while posing a low fire hazard. These were predominantly used to measure time in the context of meditation or learning by courtiers and monks and not by the Yin and Yang Office in its official timekeeping function. Some temples also measured time using incense clocks, and one is still in use in Tōdaiji today. Ammann 2021: 200–202, 204–205. The topic of incense, clock time, and temporality is covered in detail in Ammann 2021.

⁶⁴⁴ A passage in the chronicle *Nihon shoki* (720) suggests that the water clock was introduced to the court in the second half of the seventh century. Hashimoto Manpei has called into question the reliability of this account and argued that reliable documentation exists starting with the early eighth century. Hashimoto 1978 [1966]: 36–40, 80–82.

headquarter in today's Kyūshū.⁶⁴⁵ Scholars have claimed that the water clock at court was abolished in the twelfth century based on a passage in the diary *Chōsh-ūki* 長秋記 (1105–1136) of the courtier Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時 (1077–1136) describing its destruction in 1127. Based on entries in diaries dating to the late twelfth century, Hashimoto Manpei has demonstrated that this situation was temporary and that a water clock was present at court again in the late twelfth century, thereby challenging these views.⁶⁴⁶ Available research literature remains silent about the existence or absence of water clocks at court and in other social spheres during the later Kamakura period, however. While there is a consensus that elite society shifted from using a system of fixed time intervals towards a system with variable time intervals to structure social life, authors remain extremely vague about the time period in which this transition is located. Okada Yoshirō locates it after the Heian period,⁶⁴⁷ Hashimoto locates it in the 'medieval period' (*chūsei* 中世) that encompasses approximately the twelfth–fifteenth centuries,⁶⁴⁸ and Yuasa Yoshimi notes that the system had changed by the Edo period (1603–1867).⁶⁴⁹

The *Kinpishō* that dates to the thirteenth century notes the following in the section on time announcement:

In the ancient period, it [time] was announced according to the Yin and Yang Office's water clock. Nowadays, it is measured and the Imperial Secretariat announces it.

上古隨陰陽寮漏剋奏之、近代指計藏人仰之、(*Kinpishō*: 378).

This passage specifies that the responsibility to announce time had changed, but does not specifically mention that the technique to measure time differed as well — albeit it does not exclude the possibility.

It is unclear whether, in the Kamakura period, water clocks and the fixed interval system were still in use for the purpose of regulating social life at court, or whether a variable interval system that segmented the day into twelve variable hours was used in its place. Given the indications outlined above, we might presume that the shift to variable intervals might have occurred in the later medieval period, rather than its earlier years. I therefore elected to indicate references

645 Hashimoto 1978 [1966]: 84–85, 87.

646 Hashimoto 1978 [1966]: 91–92.

647 Okada 1996: 164.

648 Hashimoto 1978 [1966]: 29.

649 Yuasa 2015: 199.

to clock time in the sources according to the *Engishiki* system's fixed intervals outlined below.

The *Senmyōreki* segmented a single day into small units that permitted accurate calculations of various astronomical phenomena relevant to the creation of the annual calendar.⁶⁵⁰ Additionally, Japanese researchers have reconstructed a vernacular system that was used to indicate the times of sunrise and sunset in the annotated calendars.⁶⁵¹ In addition to these two methods, a third and simpler system described in the *Engishiki* 延喜式 (927) was used to structure social life. This latter system appears to have already been in use during the Nara period and was presumably native to the Japanese archipelago, as no corresponding Chinese model is known.⁶⁵²

The three different time reckoning methods all segmented the day into twelve intervals known as the zodiacal hours (*shinkoku* 辰刻, literally 'dragon intervals'). These zodiacal hours were correlated with an ancient zoomorphic cycle and were ascribed characteristics that were relevant for scheduling purposes. As seen in Schematic 2 in Chapter 3.2, each zodiacal hour corresponded to a time span of two hours according to our time reckoning. Remnants of the zodiacal hours may still be discerned in the modern Japanese language. The terms 'forenoon' (*gozen* 午前) and 'afternoon' (*gogo* 午後) literally translate to 'before' (*mae* 前) and 'after' (*ato* 後) 'the [hour of the] Horse' (*uma* 午), which designates the time span from 11:00 to 13:00.

Although the various systems used the same terminology to refer to the subunits of these hours, they differed with respect to their duration. Most crucially, however, they differed in their scope of application — that is, the social contexts in which they were used.

In Table 7, I juxtapose the units of the three systems, beginning with their smallest interval, called *fun* 分:⁶⁵³

The *Senmyōreki* method operated with very small intervals of approximately ten seconds to allow for high accuracy in astronomical projections. It was primarily a mathematical model of time used in astronomy and calendar making.⁶⁵⁴ It was also used to indicate the relative lengths of daytime and night-time in annotated calendars roughly every eight days. The indication is made in *koku* without fractions, and given that one day comprises a hundred *koku*, the provided infor-

650 Yuasa 2015: 199.

651 Hashimoto 1978 [1966]: 51–61. Saitō Kuniharu dedicated an article to the reconstruction of this system. Saitō 1994.

652 Hashimoto 1978 [1966]: 49–50.

653 The indications in Table 7 are based on Hashimoto 1978 [1966]: 44–47, 51–54; Saitō 1994: 96–99, 103.

654 Yuasa 2015: 199.

Table 7: Various methods to segment the day.

	<i>Senmyōreki</i> Method		Annotated Calendar Method		<i>Engishiki</i> Method	
	Subunits	Modern Day Equivalent	Subunits	Modern Day Equivalent	Subunits	Modern Day Equivalent
1 fun	–	10.284 s	–	4 m 48 s	–	3 m
1 koku	84 fun	14 m 23.88 s	Starting <i>koku</i> has 5 fun	24 m	10 fun	30 m
			First to third <i>koku</i> have 6 fun each	28 m 48 s		
			Fourth <i>koku</i> has 2 fun	9 m 36 s		
1 zodiacal hour	8 <i>koku</i> 28 fun = 8 ⅓ <i>koku</i> 700 fun	2 h	4 <i>koku</i> 1 fun = 4 ⅙ <i>koku</i>	2 h	4 <i>koku</i>	2 h
			25 fun		40 fun	
1 day	12 z. hours 100 <i>koku</i> 8'400 fun	24 h	12 z. hours 50 <i>koku</i> 300 fun	24 h	12 z. hours 48 <i>koku</i> 480 fun	24 h
	<i>Koku</i> are counted as follows: 初刻 Starting <i>koku</i> 一刻 First <i>koku</i> 二刻 Second <i>koku</i> 三刻 Third <i>koku</i> 四刻 Fourth <i>koku</i> 五刻 Fifth <i>koku</i> 六刻 Sixth <i>koku</i> 七刻 Seventh <i>koku</i> 八刻 Eighth <i>koku</i>		<i>Koku</i> are counted as follows: 初刻 Starting <i>koku</i> 一刻 First <i>koku</i> 二刻 Second <i>koku</i> 三刻 Third <i>koku</i> 四刻 Fourth <i>koku</i>		<i>Koku</i> are more commonly referred to as <i>ten</i> 點 in the Kamakura period. They are counted as follows: 一點 First <i>ten</i> 二點 Second <i>ten</i> 三點 Third <i>ten</i> 四點 Fourth <i>ten</i> The indication starting <i>koku</i> (初刻) does not exist in this system.	

mation therefore represents percentages, which are easy for individuals to grasp. For example, in the calendar record of the *Kanchūki*, on Kōan 7.11.3 (1284), the annotations state: ‘daytime 40 *koku*’ (*tan yonjū koku* 旦四十刻), and ‘night-time 60 *koku*’ (*yū rokujū koku* 夕六十刻).⁶⁵⁵ In this case, 40% of the day was illuminated by sunlight, and the day was thus slightly shorter than the night.

The Annotated Calendar method used fewer and longer intervals than the *Senmyōreki* method. It was notably used to indicate the times of sunrise and sunset in annotated calendars next to the indication of the relative lengths of daytime and night-time. On Kōan 7.11.3 (1284), the indicated times are as follows:

Sunrise: [hour of the] Dragon, first [*koku*], second *fun* [07:04:48]

Sunset: [hour of the] Monkey, third *koku*, fourth *fun* and a half [16:43:12]⁶⁵⁶

日出辰初二分

日入申三刻四分半 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 217).

This system’s longer intervals of approximately five minutes are more tangible for individuals than the *Senmyōreki*’s smaller intervals of around ten seconds, which were likely too short to be meaningful to an individual’s intuitive perception of time. Assuming that Saitō’s outline of the Annotated Calendar system presented in Table 7 is indeed correct,⁶⁵⁷ the unequal length of its *koku* renders it a rather complex system to keep track of. Yet, it still appears feasible as a tool to approximate time in conjunction with time announcements based on the *Englishiki* system.

The *Englishiki* system is even simpler, as it divides a zodiacal hour into complete *koku*, without fractions. It is more intuitive and easy to keep track of, and was thus used to structure everyday life. Indications of clock time across various textual genres typically reference this time system, which dictated social rhythms.⁶⁵⁸ The day was divided into two halves (Rat–Snake and Horse–Boar), and at court, the zodiacal hours were announced by a set number of *taiko* drum strokes and their four subdivisions (*ten* 點) by bell strokes. The number of strokes used to announce zodiacal hours were as follows:⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁵ *Kanchūki*, vol. 3: 217.

⁶⁵⁶ If we use these indications to calculate the duration of daytime, we get 9 hours, 38 minutes, 24 seconds, which equates to 40.2% of the day.

⁶⁵⁷ Saitō 1994: 98–99.

⁶⁵⁸ Yuasa 2015: 199.

⁶⁵⁹ Hashimoto 1978 [1966]: 99–102; Yuasa 2015: 199. Hashimoto 1978 [1966] discusses two contesting theories that explain why the number of drum strokes were chosen this way on pp. 100–102. For a discussion of time announcement at the Imperial court, see Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming]

Ante-meridie: Rat (9), Ox (8), Tiger (7), Hare (6), Dragon (5), Snake (4).

Post-meridie: Horse (9), Sheep (8), Monkey (7), Rooster (6), Dog (5), Boar (4).

Subdivisions: First *ten* (1), second *ten* (2), third *ten* (3), fourth *ten* (4).

Given the announcement of time in these thirty-minute intervals, the approximate five-minute increments of the Annotated Calendar method used to indicate the times of sunrise and sunset in the calendars could be reasonably well estimated in relation to these regularly announced reference points: in the above example, the sun would rise shortly after the announcement of the second quarter of the hour of the Dog, and would set in the evening a short while before the announcement of the hour of the Rooster.

For calendrical purposes (i.e., in the *Senmyōreki* model), the day was considered to start around midnight, with the first zodiac sign, the Rat (23:00–01:00).⁶⁶⁰ The division of the day within the *Engishiki* system outlined here indicates that the hour of the Rat had likely originally been conceptualised as a threshold in this model as well. However, the *Kinpushō* indicates that in thirteenth-century social life, the day was considered to begin ‘after the hour of the Ox [i.e., after 3:00]’ (*ushi no toki igo* 丑刻以後).⁶⁶¹ This concurs with Hashimoto’s findings stating that the threshold between the hour of the Ox and the Tiger (03:00) was regarded as the threshold between two days in the Heian period.⁶⁶²

In an examined sample of *Kanchūki* (the scroll covering entries of the year Kenji 3 (1277)), the hours mentioned range from the hour of the Snake (09:00–11:00) to the hour of the Dog (19:00–21:00). Both mentions of the hour of the Dog indicate the end of a ceremonial event: Emperor Go-Uda’s coming-of-age ceremony on Kenji 3.1.3 (1277) ended at this time,⁶⁶³ and on Kenji 3.2.29 (1277), Kanenaka was on duty at the celebration of a hundred days after the birth of Imperial Prince Hirohito and was permitted to return home at this time.⁶⁶⁴ The activities for which timings are recorded mostly took place during the daytime and, in some cases, lasted into the evening. One exception is the visit of Retired Emperor Kameyama to the Hosshōji New Year’s Prayer on Kenji 3.1.8 (1277), as Kanenaka describes traveling to Kameya-

‘Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu’ and Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

660 Tsumura 2012: 349.

661 *Kinpushō*: 378.

662 Hashimoto 1978 [1966]: 107–113.

663 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 266.

664 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 284.

ma's residence towards the end of the Rooster (at approximately 19:00) before leaving for the temple.⁶⁶⁵ The visit was thus evidently undertaken in the evening.

In *Kanchūki*, hours are most commonly used to indicate the start of ceremonies or the departure times for outings. Rare cases also note the time of arrival. For example, on Kenji 3.2.18 (1277), Kanenaka accompanied Takatsukasa Kanehira on an outing to Byōdōin temple, located in Uji, to inspect reconstruction work that had been undertaken there. The entry specifies that they departed at 'about the hour of the Snake [09:00–11:00]' (*mi no koku bakari* 巳刻許), and that they arrived at 'the hour of the Monkey [15:00–17:00]' (*saru no koku* 申刻).⁶⁶⁶ The journey thus took them around six hours.

Although references to clock time found in the *bakufu* officials' diaries attest to the presence of a time measuring device at the Kamakura *bakufu*, data that might permit the reconstruction of the operation and accuracy of time measurement and time announcement at the Kamakura *bakufu* are lacking, as noted by Yuasa Yoshimi.⁶⁶⁷

In *Kenji sannen ki*, hours are also mentioned in relation to the timing of ceremonial events, such as shogun Imperial Prince Koreyasu's outing to Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine on New Year's Day,⁶⁶⁸ to time the shogun's relocation to the renovated palace on Kenji 3.7.19 (1277),⁶⁶⁹ and the coming-of-age ceremony of the *tokusō*'s son Hōjō Sadatoki on Kenji 3.12.2 (1277).⁶⁷⁰ They are also used to time several other events, such as deaths,⁶⁷¹ or the shogun's return from a directional change.⁶⁷² The earliest hour in the day mentioned in *Kenji sannen ki* is the Hare (05:00–07:00),⁶⁷³ and the latest is the Monkey (15:00–17:00),⁶⁷⁴ indicating that these timed activities took place during the daytime.

In contrast to these two texts, *Einin sannen ki* only mentions the hours of the day in one specific context, when they are used to precisely record the occurrences of repeated earthquakes over the course of the year.⁶⁷⁵ Perhaps because of this, it is the only examined text that includes a mention of an hour in the middle

665 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 268.

666 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 279.

667 Yuasa 2015: 199.

668 *Kenji sannen ki*: 1.

669 *Kenji sannen ki*: 7.

670 *Kenji sannen ki*: 14.

671 *Kenji sannen ki*: 2 (Kenji 3.2.1 (1277)), 10 (Kenji 3.8.17 (1277)).

672 *Kenji sannen ki*: 1 (Kenji 3.1.9 (1277)).

673 *Kenji sannen ki*: 4 (Kenji 3.4.21 (1277)).

674 *Kenji sannen ki*: 3 (Kenji 3.4.4 (1277)), 10 (Kenji 3.8.17 (1277)).

675 *Einin sannen ki*: 22–23 (Einin 3.1.7 (1295) and Einin 3.1.12 (1295)), 25 (Einin 3.1.29 (1295), 28 (Einin 3.2.21 (1295)), 37 (Einin 3.4.24 (1295)), 44 (Einin 3.7.5 (1295)).

of the night — the hour of the Ox (01:00–03:00).⁶⁷⁶ This indicates that time was also tracked at night in the *bakufu*. The text usually indicates whether the earthquakes occurred at the beginning or the end of an hour, as exemplified by the following two entries:

5th day, serene. Formal Council, old[est spoke first]. Earthquake, at the beginning of the [hour of the] Dragon [ca. 07:00]. Major movement.

五日、晴、式評定、老、地震、辰始、大動、(*Einin sannen ki*: 44 (Einin 3.7.5 (1295))).

7th day, Yang Water Rat [#49]. Major earthquake, at the end of the [hour of the] Dragon [ca. 09:00]. Council, second division, fifth division [of the Board of Coadjutors], old[est spoke first].

七日、壬子、晴、大地震、辰終、評定、二番、五、老、(*Einin sannen ki*: 22 (Einin 3.1.7 (1295))).

The entries thus offer a sense of whether the point in time was, in this case, closer to 07:00 or 09:00. This differs substantially from *Kenji sannen ki*'s chronography, which never makes such approximations but only operates with zodiacal hours to indicate a vague time window. *Kanchūki* also occasionally specifies that something occurred in the second half of an hour, for example in entry Kenji 3.1.8 (1277):

Towards the end of the [hour of the] Rooster [approximating 19:00],⁶⁷⁷ accompanied by horses, we went to the Tokiwai residence [of Retired Emperor Kameyama].

酉斜、相具馬參常葉井殿、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 268).

Although the temporal regime that dictated the social activities within a day segmented the zodiacal hours into four quarters that were announced by bell, references to these segments are extremely uncommon in *Kanchūki*,⁶⁷⁸ and never appear in either of the examined *bakufu* diaries. This lack of information should not be interpreted as an indication that the subdivisions of zodiacal hours had no

⁶⁷⁶ *Einin sannen ki*: 23 (Einin 3.1.12 (1295)).

⁶⁷⁷ *naname* 斜 indicates that the midpoint of an hour had passed and that its endpoint was close.

⁶⁷⁸ E.g. entry Kenji 3.1.9 (1277) mentions 'the first quarter of the Snake [9:00–9:30]' (*mi no koku itten* 巳刻一點). *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 271.

relevance on a chronopolitical level in either sphere. In many contexts in which zodiacal hours are mentioned, their qualitative aspects may have been more significant than their quantitative measure, and therefore temporal specificity on this temporal scale may not have been generally deemed relevant by diarists.

A superficial survey of *Minkeiki*, *Kinhira kōki* and *Sanemi kyōki* and the Muro-machi *bakufu* diaries *Saitō Mototsune nikki*, *Saitō Chikamoto nikki* and *Chikamoto nikki* indicates similarities between the various texts in this regard. However, *Meigetsuki* and *Hanazono tennō shinki* tend to include more frequent and more precise references to clock time so as to be more precise about the timing of activities.⁶⁷⁹ A more extensive study encompassing a larger body of texts is thus required to verify the contexts in which clock time is typically indicated in various works, whether trends changed between the early and later Kamakura period, and whether authors' personal preferences may be discerned.

In the social sphere of the Imperial court, at least, different time reckoning systems coexisted, each with a distinct scope of application. The *Senmyōreki* and annotated calendar methods were of primary interest to officials of the Yin and Yang Office, who used them to calculate and annotate the calendars. In the absence of any calendar records from the Kamakura *bakufu* specifically, the roles of the *Senmyōreki* and annotated calendar methods of time reckoning in this social sphere remain unclear. We may expect that their impact would have been specialised to the same groups of people and contexts as was the case at court. By contrast, the *Engishiki* method predominated in the day-to-day lives of both the court and likely the *bakufu*, as it served as a primary frame of reference for social life.

Within the same social sphere, different contexts favoured different modes of time reckoning. The symbolic form of science related to astronomical observations, calculation, and calendar making favoured the *Senmyōreki* method and its intricate segmentation of time into the small intervals needed to perform mathematical operations. Only this would guarantee accurate astronomical projections and the construction of a calendar that was correctly synchronised with cosmic patterns.

The symbolic form of administration that was concerned with the practicability of physically measuring time and announcing it at certain intervals in a way that was both easily coordinated and meaningful for the purpose of structuring people's activities instead favoured the simplified and more intuitive segmentation of time of the *Engishiki* method. Its intervals were organised in such a way that they could be easily measured and announced with auditory signals that

679 Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

were not too frequent or complex, so that they could successfully and meaningfully communicate the time to members of the court.

The Annotated Calendar method used to indicate sunrise and sunset in the annotated calendars is perhaps best characterised as located in the intersection between these two demands. It was necessary that the indications were accurate; otherwise, they would have been obsolete. Simultaneously, it was necessary that they were expressed in a way that was easy for non-experts to grasp.

As demonstrated in this chapter, different temporal frames of reference coexisted, each valid in different areas of social life, depending on the normative demands of the distinct symbolic forms that dominated them. This means that the level of sociotemporality allowed for latitude and discretion according to purpose and that this variability did not significantly obstruct communication between members of the social sphere.

Reflection

The time regime of the Imperial court, which sought to synchronise human society with the movements of the cosmos, incorporated a range of complementary, complex temporal systems that were integrated into a comprehensive framework to guide various aspects of the social lives of the elites. Calendar time thus had strong political connotations, as it was interwoven with an ideology that served to legitimise Imperial rule and, by extension, formed the basis of other modes of political authority, such as that of the Imperial Regent, the shogun, and the *tokusō*.

The lunisolar calendar, which linearised and abstracted time from concrete changes in the natural world into an artificially created system of time reckoning, remained the primary frame of reference that defined the cyclic rhythms of social life and was primarily used to locate events in time in the dated framework of diary entries across the genre.

The sexagenary cycle, although a valid dating system in and of itself, was primarily relevant in its function of ascribing qualitative characteristics to different time scales. Its impact on the court's chronopolitical practices appears to have been greater than the impact on the *bakufu*, where it did not strongly influence the schedules of recurring events. This difference is reflected in the respective chronographic practices, as *Kanchūki* indicates the sexagenary cycle dates more consistently than the two *bakufu* texts, in which its documentation appears more optional.

This plurality of coexisting temporal systems that influenced different social contexts is mirrored on the smaller scale of zodiacal hours, where different approaches to segmenting time into equal intervals co-existed in parallel with one another. The various systems operated according to different magnitudes of time

that were favoured by different contexts, dominated by distinct symbolic forms. The least complex *Engishiki* method, which structured daily life, emerges as the most relevant system in the examined diaries.

Determining the calendar was by no means a question of quantitative time reckoning alone, as ideas of qualitative temporality were not neatly separable from quantitative temporal relations. This is perhaps most evident in the cases of *motsunichi* and *metsunichi*, whereby issues that arose from the quantification of time had implications for the fortunes of these special days. The ongoing relevance of the sexagenary cycle lay primarily in its connection to a specific spatiotemporal configuration that calendar experts determined and indicated in the annotated calendars and had direct implications for the planning of human activities. The diaries of both the court and the *bakufu* attest to the importance of the regulations imposed by daily fortunes and directional taboos, which impacted on a range of activities, including travel and construction work, thereby revealing the importance of this temporal regime based on principles of a cosmic order expressed in annotated calendars in the organisation of social life.

Chapter 4

The Coordination of Action

In a 1989 monograph entitled *Zeit in der Geschichte* ('Time in History'), the sociologist Günther Dux investigated how societies throughout history have conceptualised time and how this relates to the ways in which people coordinated their actions with one another.⁶⁸⁰

Dux contrasts the abstract concept of 'global time' (*Weltzeit*) with a conception of 'natural' time tied to the 'logic of action' (*Handlungslogik*). In the latter, time is conceived as a quality of actions rather than an abstract dimension of its own. One can, for example, walk slowly or quickly, for either a short while or a relatively long time, but these temporal categories are directly determined by said action — the act of walking. So the concepts of tempo and duration, for example, do not exist as stand-alone concepts in people's minds, but rather exist solely as a modality of specific actions.⁶⁸¹ Dux juxtaposes this with a conception of time in which temporal categories have become alienated and detached from specific actions and exist as abstract entities. Time is conceived as a universal dimension in itself, and a given time period (such as an hour, for example) can be 'filled' with different actions by one or multiple individuals in different locations.⁶⁸²

Dux argues that the logic of action dominates the conception of time prevalent in premodern societies, arguing that the creation myths of different cultures exhibit this mode of thinking about time, as they typically frame events as actions.⁶⁸³ Dux argues that this logic of action was supplanted by an abstract notion of time with the onset of modernity,⁶⁸⁴ and likens this development to a supposed cognitive development in children, who allegedly grasp time according to a logic of action until they develop abstract thinking abilities.⁶⁸⁵ This line of argument posits an evolutionary model wherein one conceptualisation of time evolved and was replaced by a more 'advanced' model in modernity.⁶⁸⁶

In this context, Dux also highlights how people within societies coordinate their actions with one another, primarily regarding how simultaneous actions are organised. Dux argues that a logic of action is favoured in contexts in which peo-

⁶⁸⁰ Dux 1992.

⁶⁸¹ Dux 1992: 44–58.

⁶⁸² Dux 1992: 336–341.

⁶⁸³ Dux 1992: 122–123, 103–311.

⁶⁸⁴ Dux 1992: 312–348.

⁶⁸⁵ Dux 1992: 80–100.

⁶⁸⁶ Dux 1992: 107–109, 248–257, 342–343, 347–348.

ple are in immediate proximity to one another, where they can witness other people's actions first-hand and react accordingly. When distances between people grow, a smooth coordination of actions is rendered more complex, as their communication with each other is delayed. After reaching a certain threshold, such coordination eventually becomes impossible to achieve without a shared, external frame of temporal reference. This is where we witness abstract time's displacement of a temporality based on the logic of action.⁶⁸⁷

In arguing this point, Dux clearly had industrialisation in mind and focused primarily on the possibility of coordinating *simultaneous* actions.⁶⁸⁸ While I agree that a society's need to coordinate actions between different people impacts their need to conceptualise and manage time in different ways, and that distances and the technological means of overcoming them (i.e., communication speed) impact that society's temporal practices, I propose that different social contexts within a single society favour different ways of negotiating and thinking about time.

In this chapter, I shall investigate what the diaries reveal about the various modes applied to coordinate action among members of the same social sphere but also on a larger scale across different social groups and reflect on how this relates to Dux's concepts of the logic of action and abstract time.

4.1 Differing Modes of Coordination

During the Kamakura period, the Imperial court and the *bakufu* were in continuous contact with one another, multiple religious institutions in different areas, and officials stationed in sometimes distant provinces. For these actors to be able to both communicate and coordinate with one another meaningfully across vast distances, an external frame of reference represented in the official calendar was required.

One could even argue that these actors did indeed synchronise their actions to a certain degree. Under ideal circumstances, Life Release ceremonies (*hōjōe*) would be conducted on the same day (8.15) at different shrines dedicated to the deity Hachiman in geographically distant locations, thus synchronising the actions of distant people. While this synchronisation was not necessary in a practical sense — the actions of one group of people did not physically impact the actions of another group — it may have been important for symbolic purposes. By performing certain rites in accordance with long-standing customs and cosmic cycles across the realm, the practice invoked both a political ideology and a symbolic communality. Such

⁶⁸⁷ Dux 1992: 250–257, 335.

⁶⁸⁸ Dux 1992: 331–336.

synchronisation was only made possible by an abstract, universally shared temporal framework. Given that Dux only considered the concrete coordination of simultaneous actions that influenced one another, certain realms of meaning may thus have been overlooked in Dux's investigation.

Moreover, while communication speed may not have allowed people in the Kamakura period to coordinate their actions simultaneously between Kamakura and Kyoto in the same way that a video call does today, people still needed to communicate temporal information to each other in a way that was detached from local events. This is a scenario of social organisation that Dux did not investigate in detail, but one in which the concept of global abstract time is brought to the fore.

The importance of abstract calendrical time in this area of life becomes abundantly clear from entries in *Kenji sannen ki* that record communication between the court and the *bakufu* in the form of letters sent by the *bakufu*'s liaison officer (*kantō mōshitsugū*) Saionji Sanekane 西園寺実兼 (1249–1322) who held the position from 1269–1299. The information conveyed in Sanekane's correspondence was shared in the Deliberative Council and typically concerned noteworthy events that had occurred in the area of the capital. Their timing is typically indicated by references to calendrical time, as the following three examples taken from different entries demonstrate:

Lord Saionji [Sanekane] reported that the coming-of-age ceremony of the Emperor [Go-Uda] had been conducted on the third day of this month.

主上御元服、今月三日被遂行之由、西園寺殿被申之、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 2 (Kenji 3.1.25 (1277))).

— Fire at the Chōkōdō temple on the past fourteenth day. In the night of the also past fifteenth day, [Retired Emperor Kameyama's] Tokiwai residence was ablaze.

A letter from Lord Saionji [Sanekane] arrived [and contained this information]. Dispatch of a messenger Ise fourth son Lieutenant of the Left Gate Watch [Nikaidō Yukitsune] that will convey our dismay.

一、去十四日長講堂回祿、同十五日夜常盤井殿炎上事、西園寺殿御書到來、進御使^{伊勢四郎左衛門尉}可被驚申、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 9 (Kenji 3.7.23 (1277))).

Lord Saionji [Sanekane] notified us that Kōfukuji temple burned down on the twenty-sixth day of the previous month due to a lightning strike.

興福寺、去月廿六日爲雷火炎上之由、西園寺殿被注申之、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 10 (Kenji 3.8.5 (1277))).

Abstract calendrical time was useful in conveying temporal information meaningfully across these vast distances, as it was abstracted from local actions and events and instead referred to a shared universal temporal framework within which they were easily contextualised. Members of the *bakufu* were thus able to make sense of the temporal relations communicated to them and to integrate the events into a larger projection of historical time.

Moreover, the information conveyed in these letters was not reliant on the speed of communication. Whether the messenger carrying the letter arrived a day earlier or later did not affect the message's content, as its temporal specifications did not rely on the tempo of the involved actions to retain its meaning.

While these letters primarily served to inform the *bakufu* of events that did not necessarily prompt further action from them, similar references to calendrical time may be found in messages conveying news about events relating to conflicts that the *bakufu* was trying to resolve. I shall explore this topic in greater depth in Chapter 4.5.

In addition to facilitating communication between distant government institutions, the calendar also provided opportunities to plan and coordinate future events, both locally and across considerable distances. As demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3.3, the calendar was instrumental in scheduling both annual events and Council meetings, thus coordinating the actions of various members of the court and *bakufu* locally. Future planning is another realm in which calendar time emerges as a relevant tool that Dux did not address in detail.

While a significant portion of daily life was structured along routines that relied on a calendrical system for scheduling and were integral in providing a rhythm that synchronised the activities of various people and established a basis for future planning, another substantial aspect of life also relied on the spontaneous coordination among people who were located in close spatial proximity to one another. This emerges clearly in examples wherein fixed schedules were changed at short notice, for example. It may also explain why no daily routines are portrayed in the diaries: many everyday tasks that were not completed according to a scheduled routine were likely treated on a situational basis.

Most day-to-day coordination did indeed rely on a mode of coordinating activities both personally and situationally, according to a logic of action, as described by Dux. The way in which *Kanchūki* depicts Kanenaka's activities throughout the course of a day suggests that actions were coordinated without a predefined, rigid schedule, as illustrated by entry Kōan 7.11.2 (1284):

2nd day, Yang Fire Rat [#4], serene, sometimes it rains. Early in the morning, I went to his highness [Takatsukasa Kanehira]. Informal review of shrine mat-

ters: Discussion of the next writ to the gods of Tōnomine,⁶⁸⁹ the auspicious timing [for it], and such matters. The Imperial Secretary Middle Captain [Fujiwara Kin'atsu] entered, and reviewed these matters informally. I [was responsible for] passing them on. Then, I went to the Retired Emperor [Kameyama]. Via Middle Counsellor⁶⁹⁰ Yoshida [Tsunenaga] I conveyed the matters relating to the shrine etc. Then, I left [from duty]. I headed to the mansion of former Fujiwara Middle Counsellor [Hino Sukenobu]. There were rumours in the last few days about his [impending] death and long-held wish [to take the tonsure]. I headed out in order to inquire whether they were true. I had an audience with the Provisional Assistant Captain of the Right Gate Watch [Hino Toshimitsu].⁶⁹¹

二日、丙子、晴、時 雨降、早旦參殿下、内覽神宮事、次多武峰告文・日次已下條と事所伺申也、頭中將參入、内覽條と事、予申次、次參院、以吉田黄門奏聞神宮已下條と事、次退出、向前藤黄門第、遂素懷之由、昨今有其説、爲聞實否行向、謁右衛門權佐俊光、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 4: 127).

Here, Kanenaka recounts three major events of the day: a review of matters relating to an event at Tōnomine shrine, a subsequent visit to Retired Emperor Kameyama for the purpose of conveying this information, and finally, an unrelated visit to learn more about a relative on his death bed.

Kanenaka went to the Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira as the first order of business in the morning. We can imagine that his availability to his superiors and to complete the tasks assigned to him was an integral part of his duties. Like other members of the court affiliated with a specific institution, he largely shared a space with his superiors and other functionaries of the same office; as such, the assignment of tasks and the coordination of different tasks throughout the day could be adequately handled through simple conversation with colleagues.

Measurable temporal parameters are typically not of primary concern with respect to the completion of tasks under such circumstances. This is reflected in the fact that more often than not, the diary entries under examination provide no information about the timing or duration of the described activities. In this case, for example, the review may have commenced immediately upon Kanenaka's arrival or after he had already been on duty for a while. The duration may have been determined by the activity itself: it was conducted for as long as it took to address all the points that needed addressing. Moreover, we do not learn whether

689 *kōmon* 告文 is a document offered to the gods in which one's wishes are expressed.

690 *kōmon* 黄門 is an alternative designation for *chūnagon* 中納言.

691 Hino Toshimitsu 日野俊光 (1260–1326) was the eldest son of Sukenobu.

Kanenaka had been given advance notice of the review or whether it was initiated spontaneously.

While the ‘internal’ matters of a given office were largely dealt with by people who shared the same space, different offices and parties affiliated with the court were also often in contact with one another. The ‘court’ of the late thirteenth century may be imagined as a network of locations within the capital that included not only the Imperial Palace and the various offices with their own facilities but also the residence of the Retired Emperor and residences of other members of the Imperial family or court nobles. If necessary, it was feasible to relocate to these locales and consult different parties.

This is evident in the above example, wherein Kanenaka describes visiting other places after the review. Crucially, the visit to Retired Emperor Kameyama was related to the prior review of shrine matters, as Kanenaka’s explicit role in it was to inform Kameyama of the results. It is unknown whether Kanenaka left immediately after the review or at a later point during the day. While certain factors may have affected the timing, this information is not conveyed in the text. Rather, the sequence of events is afforded prime importance, as the two activities are causally interlinked. There is nothing to indicate that Kanenaka had anything resembling an appointment for the visit — rather, he appears to have simply arrived and certain people were available to deal with informants like him as necessary.

Following this stop, Kanenaka also visited Hino Sukenobu 日野資宣 (1224–1293),⁶⁹² a family relative, to inquire about rumours of his impending death. The remainder of the entry records no new activities and notes that Kanenaka returned home afterwards, thus suggesting that the visit lasted until the evening.⁶⁹³ We may presume that Kanenaka had the opportunity and time to undertake this visit after having completed his shift, or possibly, after having completed all other tasks required of him for the day.

As this entry exemplified, people who worked closely together (whether within one office or across various offices) could easily coordinate their actions and different tasks with one another. Other people’s residences were sufficiently close to permit spontaneous visits without prior notice, and therefore, the examined diary offers little indication that a rigid schedule or precisely timed appointments were required to complete everyday tasks. Rather, it is reasonable to assume that many interactions were situational and that people could coordinate with one another ad hoc, in person, and on site. Depending on people’s moods, their relation-

⁶⁹² According to Takahashi, Kanenaka regarded Sukenobu as the family head after both his father and elder brother had passed. Takahashi 1998: 90–91.

⁶⁹³ *Kanchūki*, vol. 4: 128 (Kōan 7.11.2 (1284)).

ships with one another, their workloads, etc., matters may have been dealt with more quickly or slowly and certain tasks may have been started somewhat earlier or later, and so on.

The circumstances in Kamakura, a small urban area in which people affiliated with different institutions worked closely together, also permitted the coordination of activities both in person and situationally, like the court. The residences of various political figures appear in the diaries as spaces that were easily visited for the purpose of consulting with their residents, and moreover, people were also available to talk to one another in the Deliberative Council on a frequent basis. The following entry Kenji 3.6.13 (1277) in *Kenji sannen ki* illustrates how Yasuari was spontaneously summoned and assigned a task, indicating that the mode of operation described for the court appears to have prevailed at the *bakufu* as well:

13th day, serene.

When I went to his country house in Matsugaya because the Castle Governor [Adachi Yasumori] had sent out messengers [to contact me], he ordered that informally the situation was that Sagami General-Governor [Hōjō Tokimune] should receive the office of Estate Steward of the Yasutomi estate in the provinces of Higo as a present. He said that right away, a document⁶⁹⁴ should be [inserted:] created and advanced and the written order should be in an order⁶⁹⁵ [composed] by Yasuari.

Thus, I wrote the document and brought it to [Tokimune's] Yamanouchi residence. When I reported it through the Tonsured Suwa Left Gate Watch [Shinshō], I was summoned in front of [Tokimune] in the Park Hall. He said that he was joyful about this message, as there were hardly any objections to be raised against said estate.⁶⁹⁶

十三日、晴、

城務被通使者之間、罷向松谷別庄之處、被仰云、肥前肥後國⁶⁹⁷ 安富庄地頭職、相大守可有御拜領之由、内々有御氣色、只今可被[○]成進御下文、且御下文者可爲康有之奉書云々、

694 *kudashibumi* 下文 are a category of documents that convey orders from a superior official to subordinates. They were used for various purposes.

695 *hōsho* 奉書 is a specific document format used to convey orders.

696 The Yasutomi estate was a large private estate (*shōen*) that had been confiscated from the Taira family by the *bakufu*. According to Kawazoe, this entry constitutes a valuable documentation of how *bakufu* estates (*kantō goryō* 関東御領) were turned into *tokusō* estates (*tokusō ryō* 得宗領) during the second half of the thirteenth century. Kawazoe Shōji 2001: 174.

697 Itō suggests that most likely the author erroneously wrote Hizen 肥前 first, but forgot to cross this out after correcting the error by adding Higo 肥後. Itō 1999: 56.

仍書御下文持參山內殿、以諷方左衛門入道申入之處、於園殿被召御前、被仰云、當庄事聊有子細言上處、申沙汰之條、所悅思食也云々、(*Kenji sannenkki*: 5–6).

In this example, Yasuari was summoned by Adachi Yasumori to his private country mansion and tasked with composing a document, which he subsequently delivered to Hōjō Tokimune. The style is very similar to that of the *Kanchūki* example above. The sequence of these interrelated events is important, as one action directly leads to the next, while their timings and durations are not mentioned at all. The entry is very clear about the fact that Yasuari was contacted spontaneously and that the subsequent actions are then coordinated and performed ad hoc. Upon Yasuari's arrival at Tokimune's residence, he was received by Suwa Shinshō, who often features in an intermediary capacity and whose duties therefore likely included the reception of spontaneously delivered messages. Yasuari clearly did not have an appointment, but it appears that Tokimune had sufficient freedom on that day to receive him personally and respond to the message. This example strongly indicates that *bakufu* officials also coordinated most of their activities in person and situationally, similar to the patterns detected in *Kanchūki*.

Assuming that this mode of situational and in-person coordination was the standard mode of operation for most everyday activities, both at the court and the *bakufu*, it is unsurprising that their diary records are not particularly concerned with specifying temporal indications. Diary entries primarily conveyed *what kinds* of duties or tasks were performed and *how* they were executed. The diarists sought to transmit specific knowledge and competencies to future officials in similar positions to their own, likely assuming that the coordination of most tasks would continue to operate similarly into the future, facilitated by direct contact among the involved parties. In this context, it was unnecessary to describe the temporal dimensions of various tasks in meticulous detail unless they were specifically relevant to the task.

In most cases, a hybrid temporality that combines occasional mentions of abstract time with a mode of coordination that focuses on sequences of actions and the possibility of consulting with relevant personnel most accurately characterises the mode of operation at the court and *bakufu*. To substantiate this argument and demonstrate how the logic of action and the logic of abstract time complemented one another in many situations, I shall present several case studies and scrutinise what they convey about how members of the respective social spheres temporally coordinated their actions.

4.2 Coordination of Action at Ceremonial Events

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, ceremonial events that were conducted according to a fixed schedule and predefined procedures played a key role in shaping life at the Imperial court and, to a degree, the *bakufu*. Using examples from *Kanchūki*, I contemplate the ways in which actions were coordinated at these ceremonial events, which represent distinct situations in which numerous people affiliated with different institutions — including the Emperor, high-ranking nobles, male and female officials in charge of bringing out utensils or food, and, in some cases, monks, etc. — came together to synchronously inhabit a shared space.

As Chapter 2 addressed annual events in detail, I focus here on other ceremonial events to diversify the pool of examples. The description of Emperor Go-Uda's coming-of-age ceremony at the beginning of the year Kenji 3 (1277) is an exceptionally long entry in that year of *Kanchūki* that describes the event's proceedings in great detail. Notably, it also briefly mentions preparations for the event that had been ongoing since the preceding day (entry Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)):

3rd day, Yin Water Snake [#30], sky cleared up, wind was calm. Today, at the Imperial Palace the *Nijō* residence,⁶⁹⁸ was the coming-of-age ceremony of the Emperor [Go-Uda] age eleven years. Due to my duties [at the event] I went to the Imperial Palace. I wore splendid formal dress with an ornate black leather belt⁶⁹⁹ and a rectangular fish ornament⁷⁰⁰ on the right. Imperial Secretary Junior Assistant Minister [Taira] Nobusuke administered this ceremony. [inserted:] Reportedly he had been ordered to help with the attire of the northern aisle⁷⁰¹ of the Southern Hall since yesterday. Since yesterday, his highness [Takatsukasa Kanehira] had been in the Rest Room. At the hour of the Horse [11:00–13:00], many Senior Nobles stepped before him. The Left Minister [Nijō Morotada] arrived at the guard post meeting.

三日、癸巳、天晴風和、今日天皇於内裏^{二条殿}有御元服事、裏^{赤秋十歳}余爲所役參内、着楚と束帶、^{緋方帶、魚袋付右}其儀、藏人少輔信輔奉行、○南殿并北底御裝束自昨日令奉仕云々、殿下自昨日令候直廬給、午刻諸卿參進、左大臣着仗座、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 262).

698 Emperor Go-Uda's palace was the Nijō Takakura palace (*nijō takakura no daira* 二条高倉内裏).

699 *junbō no obi* 巡方帶 also known as *sekitai* 石帶 was a type of belt made of black leather and adorned with rectangular pieces of agate or the horn of a rhinoceros.

700 *gyotai* 魚袋 is a rectangular, wooden ornament decorated with small metal fish that was worn on *sekitai* belts. Royal Intimates (*tenjōbito*) wore silver fish, while Senior Nobles (*kugyō*) and Advisors of the Council (*sangi*) wore golden fish.

701 *hisashi* 庇 are the lowered aisles that surrounded a chamber.

Both Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira and Imperial Secretary Taira Nobusuke 平信輔 (?–?), who oversaw the event's organisation, had stayed in the palace overnight to complete the preparations, whereas other officials, such as the Left Minister Nijō Morotada 二条師忠 (1254–1341), arrived around noon.

The next section of the entry describes the Emperor's appearance at the northern aisle of the Shishinden Hall 'after a short time' (*shōji* 少時) to have his hair styled in preparation for the ceremony.⁷⁰² The subsequent passage goes on to address the starting time of the ceremony:

After that, the auspicious timing was inquired by Nobusuke. He asked about this at the entrance of the Courtiers' Hall. Before that, the Director of the Yin and Yang Office, Lord Kamo Arikiyo had been in front of the Recreation Room.⁷⁰³ He said that [the time is auspicious] until the hour of the Monkey [15:00–17:00]. At the appointed time hour of the Horse [11:00–13:00], the Emperor [Go-Uda] wore the black silk crown⁷⁰⁴ an outer ceremonial garment with open arm-pits. His child garments were not changed. Silk sandals as customary. He made an appearance at his seat⁷⁰⁵ behind the curtains the regalia rested on the large table.

其後以信輔被問吉時、於殿上口問之、先之陰陽頭賀茂在清朝臣祇候下侍前、申時刻至之由、刻限^{午刻}、天皇着空頂黑幘、^{殿開銅袍、不改童服、御絲鞋如例、}出御帳中平敷御座、^{銅盤留大床子、}(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 262).

As described here, an official was sent to consult with a Yin and Yang expert to confirm the ideal timings for the ceremony. The auspicious time window within which the event should begin ended at the hour of the Monkey (15:00–17:00). As mentioned above, the officials had arrived during the hour of the Horse (11:00–13:00). That the beginning of the ceremony was indeed timed to the hour of the Horse is confirmed by the indication that this was the 'appointed time' (*kokugen* 刻限), and by the description of the Emperor taking his seat. The entry later states that the event eventually finished at the hour of the Dog (19:00–21:00), indicating that it had lasted all afternoon.⁷⁰⁶

702 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 262 (Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)).

703 *shimosaburari* 下侍 was a room used as a resting room by the upper nobility located in the Kyōshoden Hall 校書殿 south of the Courtiers' Hall.

704 *kūchō gokusaku* 空頂黑幘 is a type of crown made of black silk that was worn by Emperors at their coming-of-age ceremony.

705 *hirajiki no omashi* 平敷御座 (lit. 'flatly spread out seat') indicates that the Emperor's seat was prepared on an even level and not on an elevated space.

706 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 266 (Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)).

The fact that the officials had arrived at this hour in the first place suggests that the timing had already been determined and communicated ahead of time. As I shall demonstrate in the next subchapter, specialist reports on auspicious timings (*hinami kanmon* 日次勘文) for various events were issued ahead of time, and so the confirmation of the timing with an expert on the day of the event appears to have been a procedural feature of this particular ceremony.

This passage conveys a crucial detail about the timing of events — namely, that they mandated a consideration of the quality of time: clearly, officials were concerned with ensuring that the ceremony commenced at a favourable time, and whether this time would be in the morning or afternoon, for example, appears to have been of only secondary interest. The chronometric aspects of the hours — that is, the quantity of time they measured or the time of day they designated — were less relevant than their chronorelational aspects (i.e., their qualitative attributes). This might explain why the diaries often indicate the timing only in broad terms, by referencing a time period that spanned two hours (according to our time) rather than using the subdivisions of that hour to indicate a more specific point in time. It was not considered important to convey to the reader precisely when within the hour of the Horse the ceremony began; rather, the chief concern was that it commenced within the appointed time — the auspicious time frame.

The entry illustrates that Yin and Yang experts were in charge of determining these auspicious timings and that they were available for consultation. Like other officials, they were physically present at the palace and could therefore be easily consulted when necessary. Because they had authority in these matters, other officials were not required to concern themselves with them in detail.

However, the zodiacal hours time measurement function was, of course, still invaluable in terms of coordinating action. In the context of larger-scale ceremonies in particular, which marked situations in which several people came to inhabit a shared spatiotemporal space for the duration of the event, precisely measured hours were useful in ensuring that everyone involved was ready and available at a given point in time so that the event could commence as planned. While determining an auspicious time for the activity was the primary concern, the coordination of the actions of everyone involved, for which the hour's quantitative function was useful, was also a priority.

This example thus attests that abstract time in the form of both a predefined calendrical date and clock time was instrumental in the coordination of action, establishing the parameters that ensured everyone would gather in one place so that their actions could be synchronised.

The entry suggests that people arrived at the hour of the Horse, but the public ceremony did not officially begin immediately. The Emperor's coiffure was first taken care of in the presences of several high-ranking nobles, including the Imperial Regent,

and the former Inner Minister and the timing of the event was confirmed with an expert.⁷⁰⁷ It thus appears that people were asked to arrive at a certain time, and while some had tasks to perform, others had to wait around for the more public part of the event to officially begin. The starting points of ceremonies do not appear to have been timed to the minute but were set out in broader temporal categories, and once everyone was assembled, things were coordinated on a more situational basis.

This is certainly the impression gleaned from the description of the ceremony's proceedings in *Kanchūki*. They are described in minute detail, down to the individual movements of different people. The narration proceeds with no further mention of clock time, relying instead on recounting sequences of actions. The following excerpt describes a part of the ceremony in which the Emperor's black silk crown (*kūchō kokusaku* 空頂黒幘) was replaced by an adult's cap (*kanmuri* 冠):

Then, again one lady-in-waiting took the cap and placed it on the lid of the chest. She left the curtains through the opening in the west and stood by the border of the western folding screen. The Grand Minister of State [Takatsukasa Kanehira] bowed and proceeded to enter the second bay. Then, by the border of the western folding screen, he put away his *shaku* and took the cap he did not take the lid [on which it was placed]. He stepped before the curtains and bowed deeply. He offered his congratulations⁷⁰⁸ and when finished, entered the curtains on his knees. He put the cap [on the Emperor's head]. He left the curtains and stood in his initial spot. The Left Minister [Nijō Morotada] stepped forward, knelt down, and walked on his knees. He opened the lid of the Chinese chest⁷⁰⁹ and took out the box⁷¹⁰ and the hairpin.⁷¹¹ He first styled the left temple [hair], then he styled the right temple [hair]. In the end, he affixed the hairpin and covered the box with the lid. He left on his knees and returned to stand on the veranda.⁷¹²

次内侍又一人持御冠、盛冠管蓋、出御帳西間戸立西御屏風妻、太政大臣揖參進入第二間、就西御屏風妻、搯笏取御冠、不取蓋進御帳前磬折、奏祝詞了膝行昇御帳、奉加御冠、降御帳歸立初所、左大臣參進跪膝行、開唐匣管蓋取出懸子・髮搔、先奉理左額、次奉理右額、畢納髮搔覆管蓋、膝退、返立簀子、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 263).

707 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 262 (Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)).

708 *norito* 祝詞 refers to a Shinto prayer, or festive words.

709 *karabitsu/karabako* 唐櫃 is an ornate chest with legs used to store various items, such as clothing in this case.

710 *kakego* 懸子 is a box inside a larger box or chest that is used to keep smaller items together.

711 *kōgai/kamikaki* 髮搔 is a specific type of hairpin that was used to pull up temple hair. In this step of the coming-of-age ceremony, the temple hair was cut and then affixed using this hairpin.

712 *sunoko* 簀子 is the covered veranda that runs along the building.

As exemplified by this passage, each individual's actions are recounted step by step, and one action provides the cue for the next. The Left Minister Nijō Morotada could watch the Grand Minister of State Takatsukasa Kanehira present the cap and wait for him to return to his position, signalling that it was his turn to approach the Emperor. The procedures are characteristic of all types of ceremony practiced at the court and relied on a predefined set of actions that was known to the participants.

The duration of each individual phase was not defined by means of quantitative time but by the action itself. It is likely that some variation was involved — for example, one person may have taken longer to stand up than another. This is a classic example of a mode of coordination based on the logic of action, as the involved actors inhabited the same space and could observe one another. A sequential temporality dominated this situation, as the tempo, duration, and timing of individual parts of the ceremony were determined by successive actions.

In some instances, the procedures of ceremonial events underwent spontaneous changes. *Kanchūki* reports such a case during the celebration of the hundredth day after the birth of Imperial Prince Hirohito, the infant son of Retired Emperor Kameyama and Shin'yōmeimon-in. The ceremony was held on Kenji 3.2.29 (1277), and Kanenaka was on drink-serving duty. During the course of the event, he was instructed to deviate from the usual procedure:

I took the sake jar. When I intended to go around the seats after having poured sake for the three Ministers, Senior Counsellor Tsuchimikado [Nakanoin Michiyori] ordered that [the procedure] should be abbreviated. Thus, I left and returned the sake jar.

予取瓶子、大臣三人酌畢後、欲廻奥座之處、土御門大納言可略之由被命、仍退出、返瓶子了、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 283).

This is a rare example of the abbreviation of one part of an event in response to what appears to be a spontaneous decision. The coordination of action in this situation relies wholly on the fact that attendees were able to speak to one another in real time and adapt their behaviour accordingly. This case demonstrates that some participants had a certain degree of control over the flow of events and thus the tempo and duration of the overall ceremony. In this case, the event's duration was affected by the omission of a certain action, as Kanenaka was instructed to leave immediately rather than follow the standard route.

In Chapter 1.2, I presented an example from *Kanchūki* that also serves to illustrate this mode of coordination: Kanenaka meant to present the new calendar to

the Emperor but was instructed to deviate from established practice and therefore had to spontaneously consult other officials.⁷¹³

The *Kanchūki*'s examples reveal that ceremonial events were dependent on abstract time to schedule events and on the logic of action to conduct them. The *bakufu* diary *Kenji sannenshi* happens to include an account of a coming-of-age ceremony that was conducted in Kamakura in the twelfth month of the same year — that of *tokusō* Hōjō Tokimune's son Hōjō Sadatoki. The following excerpt from the entry permits a brief comparison of the related practices and depictions of events:

2nd day, serene.

Coming-of-age ceremony of Sagami Governor-General's son [Hōjō Sadatoki], at the hour of the Horse [11:00–13:00]. At the Two Ridge Building he entered the West Lattice Room.⁷¹⁴ A banquet of sake and fish at the West Guard Post, like on New Year's Day. Echigo [Hōjō Naritoki] announced the appointed time. I believe it was after this, that [shogun Koreyasu] made an appearance. Then, the son [Sadatoki] went behind the bamboo curtain. Then, Musashi [Hōjō Munemasa]⁷¹⁵ also went [behind the curtain] and [fulfilled his] function of hairstyling. Then the Castle Governor [Adachi Yasumori] brought the cap.⁷¹⁶ S. Tsushima [Sasaki Ujinobu]⁷¹⁷ brought the clothing box and Nagai Bizen [Tokihide] prepared the hot water bowl [used for the hairstyling]. After the coming-of-age ceremony, [Sadatoki] was gifted a longsword [by the shogunal family]. I believe [presenting the gift] was Echigo's [Naritoki] function. Sagami Governor-General [Hōjō Tokimune] and his subordinates sat down in the garden. South of the Centre Gate, [Sadatoki] went from south to north, and in front of the Vehicle Hall he went from east to west, and south of the West Gate he went from south to north.⁷¹⁸ The bamboo curtain [of the cart he rode in] was raised.

二日、晴、

相大守賢息御元服、午時、二棟御所被上西御格子、西御侍御酒肴壇 飯如元
三、越州被申剋限、其後出御歟、次賢息被參御簾中、次武州同被參理髮
御役、次城務持參御烏帽子、佐對州持參廣蓋、長井備前湯摩坏、御元服之

713 *Kanchūki*, vol. 4: 127 (Kōan 7.11.1 (1284)).

714 *futanune no gosho* 二棟の御所 was a building in the palace where coming-of-age ceremonies and other ceremonies were often held. Itō 1999: 114.

715 Hōjō Munemasa 北条宗政 (1253–1281) was Tokimune's younger brother and Sadatoki's uncle. Itō 1999: 64.

716 The *eboshi* 烏帽子 was a less formal headgear than the *kanmuri* used in Emperor Go-Uda's ceremony.

717 The name Sasaki 佐々木 is abbreviated to only its first character, translated here as the initial S.

718 The movement described was a ceremony to reaffirm the four cardinal directions. Itō 1999: 115.

後被賜御大刀、越州役歟、相大守已下着座于庭、中門以南々北行、車宿前東西行、西御門以南々北行、被卷御簾、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 14).

The beginning of the entry indicates that a starting time had been established for the event using zodiacal hours and that this time was announced — similar to the court's example, in which the timing was also confirmed on the day of the event. The official opening of the ceremony was marked by the appearance of shogun Koreyasu⁷¹⁹ and coiffure was performed as central part of the event. As exemplified by this passage, the text offers a less detailed account of the ceremony's procedures, as it summarises its different components in a few sentences, rather than portraying individual actions. Nonetheless, by the *Kenji sannen ki*'s standards, the description is relatively detailed and clearly marked by a sequential temporality evoked by listing different activities in chronological order, as distinct from its many other entries from which the progression of time appears to be almost absent. Although the text does not offer the same insight into the proceedings of the *bakufu* ceremony, it appears that a sequential coordination, whereby the completion of one part of the ceremony induced the next part, was likely its mode of operation too.

In summary, ceremonial events at both the court and *bakufu* appear to have relied on a hybrid temporality, with both modes of time that Dux describes complementing one another. Calendrical dates and zodiacal hours provided a framework in which the ceremonies were situated that facilitated event planning and coordination of the participants' attendance. The ceremonies affected the creation of a shared, communal temporality, in which the attendees' lives were synchronised for the duration of the procedure. Thereafter, people inhabited the same space and observed each other's actions, coordinating their movements according to a set procedure of actions without the need to measure time.

4.3 Planning Future Events

Having obtained some insight into how ceremonial events were typically timed and how they progressed, we now turn our attention to the planning of such large-scale events. *Kanchūki* contains an interesting and detailed account of the planning undertaken in advance of Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira's multiple-day trip to Nara to visit the Kasuga shrine (*Kasuga mōde* 春日詣) and attend

⁷¹⁹ The text does not explicitly state that it is the shogun's appearance, as diarists generally avoided naming authority figures directly. Itō's translation implies that the honorific language refers to the shogun. Itō 1999: 113.

the Kōfukuji temple's roofing ceremony (*Kōfukuji jōtō* 興福寺上棟).⁷²⁰ Substantial parts of the temple had to be reconstructed following a fire on Kenji 3.7.26 (1277) (mentioned in Saionji Sanekane's letter to the *bakufu*, quoted earlier).⁷²¹ I briefly touched upon this case study before in Chapter 3.4 in connection with the topic of directional taboos, thus demonstrating the role that spatiotemporal configuration played in the organisation of activities.

The trip was due to take place at the end of the twelfth month of Kōan 1 (1278), and entries in the intercalary tenth month and the eleventh month indicate that related administrative discussions had been ongoing for some time in the months leading up to the trip. In this period, the timing of the event was discussed on various occasions and tentatively set to the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month.⁷²² Entry Kōan 1.11.22 (1278) stands out, as an official, ceremonial 'decision' event (*sadame* 定) was held that day.⁷²³ It marked an important milestone in the event's administration, as decisions were written down and documents were officially issued, thus formalising the plans that had previously been discussed.

The decision event is recorded in great detail in Kanenaka's diary. It summarises discussions surrounding the event's timing and provides a detailed account of the proceedings involved in the determination and write-up of the plans. It thus reveals both how this important step in the planning process was organised and how the plans themselves were formally formulated. The entry starts with an indication of the hour at which the officials gathered to engage planning:

22nd day, Yang Metal Horse [#7], serene. Towards the end of the [hour of the] Monkey [approximating 17:00], I went to his highness [Takatsukasa Kanehira] wearing ceremonial dress. We decided on various matters relating to the Kasuga shrine visit. I urged the Senior Nobles and others who were arriving late. At the appointed time, the Senior Nobles gathered.

廿二日、庚午、晴、申斜着束帶參殿下、被定御春日詣雜事、催促公卿已下遅參人々、刻限公卿參集、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 34).

This passage attests to the fact that the starting time of major events was established in advance using clock time. In this case, it appears that some people were running late, and were therefore urged to get ready. Such remarks are occasionally found in *Kanchūki*, indicating that there was a preoccupation with starting things on time.

⁷²⁰ Kōfukuji-Kasuga was the Fujiwara family's tutelary temple–shrine complex.

⁷²¹ *Kenji sannan ki*: 10 (Kenji 3.8.5 (1277)).

⁷²² *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 24–28 (Kōan 1.i10.1 (1278), Kōan 1.i10.26–29 (1278) and Kōan 1.11.6 (1278)).

⁷²³ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 34–42.

The entry goes on to recount a brief conversation in which Kanenaka informally consulted the Yin and Yang Expert Abe Arihiro 安倍有弘 (?-?) about the correct way to phrase a certain part of the decision document (*sadamebumi* 定文) that he was tasked with writing.⁷²⁴ Following this exchange, a question regarding directional taboos and their effect on the travel plans was raised with Yin and Yang Expert Kamo Arikane 賀茂在兼 (?-?). Owing to the unfavourable influence of *Taihaku*, the original intention to depart on the twenty-third day was called into question, and it was proposed that the departure be brought forward by a day to avoid the directional taboo.⁷²⁵

After this discussion, the formal planning of the visit began in earnest, marked by the appearance of the Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira:

Next, the lord [Takatsukasa Kanehira] made his appearance [wearing a] cap and dress cloak on the guest seat. His entourage of four or five individuals [wearing] hunting gowns⁷²⁶ held up torches and stood in line in the garden. I announced his appearance to the Senior Nobles. My Lord Senior Counsellor [Takatsukasa Kanetada] [wearing a] dress cloak took his seat at the edge. Middle Counsellor Nijō [Tsuneyoshi] also [at the edge] and the new Advisor to the Council Tsunenari, on the inner side took their seats. I stepped before them with upright *shaku* in the bay of the seats and ordered: 'The auspicious timing of the Kasuga shrine visit and the beginning of the gold and silver offering [for it] shall be evaluated.' I ordered only this small thing and then left. It was evaluated at the Imperial Secretariat's office. Before this, the two Yin and Yang Experts Lord [Kamo] Arikane and Lord [Abe] Arihiro had taken their seats. When their evaluation was completed, there were two specialist reports scrolls in a box [wrapped with] one paper slip they handed to me. I took them and by the sliding door, I put away my *shaku*. I put [the box] on the wooden stick⁷²⁷ and proceeded. At the central gallery, I sought the lord's gaze through the double-leaf door. I walked on my knees until [I arrived] under the lintel in the bay of the seats and extended the wooden stick. The lord [Kanehira] took [the box] off [the stick]. He placed it in front of himself. [inserted:] He opened it and viewed it. I took the empty stick and walked in reverse to leave and be on the veranda.

724 *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 34.

725 *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 34. The passage is quoted in Chapter 3.4.

726 *hōi* 布衣 is an alternative name to refer to *kariginu* 狩衣 ('hunting gown'), a type of informal court attire.

727 *fuzue* 文杖 is a wooden stick of about 1.5 m length with a slit at its end in which documents were clipped in order to present them to nobles.

次主人出御冠直衣、寶筵、御隨身四五輩^{布衣}、舉松明列立庭上、出御之由予告公卿、殿大納言殿^{直衣}、御着座、端、二條中納言^同、・新宰相經業、輿、着座、予參進^{正笏}、候御座間、仰云、春日詣并金銀幣始日時等可令勘申、奉仰微唯退出、於藏人所令勘之、先之陰陽師二人在兼朝臣・有弘朝臣着座、勘了勘文二通卷籠一懸昏、傳予、取之於障子上搯笏、插文杖參進、於中門廊妻戸内伺御目、至御座間長押下膝行差寄文杖、主人令拔取給、被置御前^{○御披覽}、予持空杖逆行退候簀子、(Kanchūki, vol. 2: 34–35).

As this part of the entry indicates, the timing of the shrine visit was determined by Yin and Yang Experts at the Imperial Secretariat's office, and the documents were subsequently handed over to Kanenaka, who presented them to the Imperial Regent. The Yin and Yang Office's officials were unmistakably the prime authority on the timing of important activities, and were therefore involved in their planning. Copies of the two specialist reports on auspicious timings (*hinami kanmon*) mentioned are included later in the entry. To exemplify their style and contents, I present them below:

Announcement of the auspicious timing to visit Kasuga shrine

12th month, 24th day, Yang Water Tiger [#39] Time: Tiger [03:00–05:00] and Dragon [07:00–09:00]

Founding year of Kōan, 11th month, 22nd day Provisional Astronomy Expert Lord Abe Arihiro

Director of the Yin and Yang Office Lord Kamo Arikiyo

Announcement of the auspicious timing to begin the gold and silver offering for the Kasuga shrine visit

This month, 22nd day, Yang Metal Horse [#7] Time: Boar [21:00–23:00]

" " " Kōan " " " "

" " " " " "

" " " " " " " " " "

擇申可詣給春日社日時

十二月廿四日壬寅 時寅辰

弘安元年十一月廿二日 權天文博士安倍朝臣有弘
陰陽頭 賀茂朝臣在清

擇申可被始御春日詣金銀御幣日時

今月廿二日庚午 時亥

弘安 \ \ \ \ \

\ \ \ \ \

\ \ \ \ \ (Kanchūki, vol. 2: 41–42).

As these examples demonstrate, the documents indicated the date of the respective event with a numerical lunisolar date, along the nominal sexagenary cycle

date. Additionally, they indicated time windows during the day within which it was deemed appropriate to hold the events. The first document indicates two different hours, thus demonstrating that the Yin and Yang Experts determined several possible auspicious timings and that there was some room for manoeuvre within this framework.

The second document indicates that the auspicious timing to start the preparations for the offerings was later on that very day (11.22). The event is mentioned at the end of the same diary entry, before several copies of different documents are included. Because Kanenaka was not personally involved, it is only briefly mentioned:

Because today was an auspicious day, inquiries for the gold and silver offering were begun. The household official⁷²⁸ in the [Imperial Regent's] Handicraft office Yukitsugu was assigned the task. Household officials were not required to come. I gave the order to Yukitsugu through a written order. Other than this, nothing special [to note].

今日依吉曜被調始金銀御幣、細工所年預行繼所致沙汰也、家司不及着行、予以御教書仰行繼了、此外無殊事、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 36).

This example demonstrates how the diary text typically does not specify when certain activities occurred even when they were evidently timed to a specific hour. It is specified that the discussions regarding the offerings were conducted at the hour of the Boar [21:00–23:00], but only because the copy of the specialist report is included and not because the description in the diary itself mentions it. This indicates that the author did not deem this information essential. The timing of the event was variable and externally dictated, as it had to be determined in each instance by experts according to criteria of auspiciousness. It was thus not crucial that the event took place at this specific time of day in this instance, but rather that the actions were coordinated in accordance with a specific time regime.

Another specialist report denoting the auspicious timing of the roofing ceremony at Kōfukuji temple was also presented to the Imperial Regent after the planning document was written, and a copy thereof is included at the end of the entry. It indicates that the main pillar was to be erected at the hour of the Tiger (03:00–05:00) or the hour of the Dragon (07:00–09:00) and that the roofing should take place at the hour of the Snake (09:00–11:00) or the hour of the Horse (11:00–13:00) of 12.24.⁷²⁹

⁷²⁸ *nen'yo* 年預 was a specific office in the household of a member of the Imperial family or the regent family that handled various administrative tasks.

⁷²⁹ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 42.

As such, the auspicious timeframe for the shrine visit and the erection of the temple's main pillar were identical. The roofing, in turn, would take place at a later hour. Furthermore, the entry also specifies that this specialist report was to be sent to the Head Abbot of Kōfukuji temple.⁷³⁰ In other words, after the Yin and Yang Experts had determined the appropriate timing for the construction, this information was passed on to the Kōfukuji to organise it accordingly.

After describing the presentation of the specialist report for the shrine visit, the entry describes the procedures surrounding the recording of the plans in the aforementioned 'decision document' (*sadamebumi*). Kanenaka was responsible for this task, and gives a detailed account of preparatory steps, such as the setting up of lamp stands and the preparation of the ink and brushes.⁷³¹ The text then indicates that precedents and a model document were used to facilitate the planning:

Then, the lord [Kanehira] made a selection using a model document. The model document was an original decision document of the Eishō era [1046–1053]. He said that it was a book of the Lord Inner Minister [Fujiwara Iemoto].

次主人以例文御与奪、例文永承定文正文也、被中内大臣殿御本云々、 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 35).

This clarifies the importance of precedents in the planning of activities, as a previous decision document served as a template for this activity. Kanenaka wrote down the pertinent information in the decision document and included a copy of it at the end of the entry before the specialist reports quoted above. This account first lists matters pertaining to the shrine visit:

Decision

Various matters regarding the visit to Kasuga shrine and Kōfukuji temple

— Shrine

Offerings each four offerings of gold and silver, six offerings of white clothing

Responsible person: Lord [Fujiwara] Sadafuji

Attire role assigned to the event venue

Compensation

The head priests of fifth rank and the shrine are entrusted one long garment each

⁷³⁰ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 35–36.

⁷³¹ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 35.

Shrine guards each one *hiki*⁷³² of silk

Shrine personnel a hundred *tan*⁷³³ of Shinano textile⁷³⁴

Responsible persons: Lord [Taira] Norikata [Fujiwara] Mitsuyasu

定

可參詣春日社并興福寺給雜事

一、御社

御幣 金銀各四拜、
白紗六拜、

行事定藤朝臣

御裝束 付官行事所

祿

五位神主・神殿預各褂一領

神殿守各疋絹

神人信濃布百端

行事範賢朝臣 光泰 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 36–37).

As demonstrated here, the document lists responsibilities for different tasks, records what offerings were to be made at the shrine, and notes the compensation to be given to the shrine personnel. The latter information is arranged in descending hierarchical order, with higher offices being mentioned first.

The next section of the document similarly lists matters relating to the sojourn for the Kōfukuji temple's roofing ceremony. An elaborate plan detailing how many people were to be hosted for different meals for the duration is also included, which I wish to exemplify here:

— Banquets

Evening of the 22 nd day	at the lodging in the South Capital ⁷³⁵
Nobles: 8 persons	[Tachibana] Tomokuni
Entourage: 14 persons	Kanetaka
Morning of the 23 rd day	at the lodging in the South Capital
Nobles: 8 persons	Tadayori
Entourage: 14 persons	same person
Evening of the same day	at the lodging in the South Capital
Nobles: 8 persons	[Tanba] Tadakage
Entourage: 14 persons	same person

⁷³² *hiki* 疋 is a unit to measure silk.

⁷³³ *tan* 端 is a unit to measure fabric.

⁷³⁴ *shinano nuno* 信濃布 is a type of brown-red, rough textile.

⁷³⁵ *nanto* 南都 was also used to refer to Kōfukuji temple located in Nara, as is the case here.

Morning of the 24 th day	at the lodging in the South Capital
Nobles: 8 persons	Lord [Fujiwara] Hironori
Office Supervisors, ⁷³⁶ Servants,	
Entourage: 20 persons	same person
Same day	prepared by the temple
Senior Nobles ⁷³⁷ and Royal Intimates	
Nobles	
The Head Abbot [Sonjin] ⁷³⁸ [is in charge of] the above	
Evening of the same day	at the lodging in the South Capital
Nobles: 8 persons	Munemasa
Entourage: 14 persons	same person
Morning of the 25 th day	at the lodging in the South Capital
Nobles: 8 persons	Nakatsune
Entourage: 14 persons	[Sugawara] Arihisa
Responsible persons: Lord Sadafuji	[Fujiwara] Akiyo

一、饗

廿二日夕	南都御宿所	
諸大夫八前		知邦
御隨身十四前		兼孝
廿三日朝	南都御宿所	
諸大夫八前		尹賴
御隨身十四前		同人
同日夕	南都御宿所	
諸大夫八前		忠景
御隨身十四前		同人
廿四日朝	南都御宿所	
諸大夫八前		廣範朝臣
官掌召使御隨身廿前		同人
同日	寺家御儲	
上達部殿上人		
諸大夫		
已上寺別當		

736 *kanshō* 官掌 is a position in the Controller's office (*benkan*).

737 *kandachime* 上達部 refers to courtiers of at least third rank that also hold an office of a certain level (*sangi* or higher).

738 The monk Sonjin 尊信 (1228–1283) was a son of the former Imperial Regent Kujō Norizane 九条教実 (1211–1235).

同日夕	南都御宿所	
	諸大夫八前	宗政
	御隨身十四前	同人
廿五日朝	南都御宿所	
	諸大夫八前	仲經
	御隨身十四前	在久
	行事定藤朝臣	顯世 (<i>Kanchūki</i> , vol. 2: 37–39).

As demonstrated here, the receptions were planned in the mornings and evenings using calendar dates that facilitated an easy overview. The names next to the number of people likely indicate who was in charge of the respective groups at those times. The subsequent section in the document indicates the amount of ingredients and fruit to be used in each meal, listing them by date in a similar manner.⁷³⁹ As these excerpts exemplify, the document listed resources, assigned responsibilities, and recorded basic temporal parameters surrounding the event.

After Kanenaka had written the document, it was first presented to Kanehira for review and then passed on to the other attendees one by one. To give an impression of the style in which the entry describes these activities, I present a short excerpt here:

Then, after the lord [Kanehira] opened and viewed [the decision document], it was passed on to the Lord Senior Counsellor⁷⁴⁰ [Kanetada] together with the specialist report on auspicious timings. When the Lord Senior Counsellor finished viewing them, Middle Counsellor Nijō [Tsuneyoshi] viewed them. After that, they were passed on to the new Advisor to the Council [Tsunenari]. When he finished viewing them, the Advisor to the Council⁷⁴¹ stood up from his seat and returned them to the lord. The lord took them and placed them on the wooden tray as before. Following his gaze, I stepped in front of him walking on my knees. I put away my *shaku* and took away the wooden tray. [inserted:] Walking backwards I returned to be on the veranda still without the *shaku*.

次主人御披覽之後、相副日時勘文被傳進垂相殿、ととと御覽了二条黃門覽之、其後傳新宰相、披覽了相公起座、進寄返上、主人令取之給、如元令居折敷給、隨御目予參進、膝行、摺笏引廻折敷給之、○逆行退居簀子、猶負笏、
(*Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 35).

⁷³⁹ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 39–40.

⁷⁴⁰ *ashō* 垂相 is an alternative designation for *dainagon* 大納言.

⁷⁴¹ *shōkō* 相公 is an alternative designation for *sangi* 參議.

Clearly, the coordination of people's actions in this planning session relied heavily on a logic of action. One person reviewed the document and passed it on, and the timing and duration were completely determined by the activity itself. Furthermore, the individuals were able to observe one another, and so Kanehira's action of placing the document on the wooden tray and subsequent glance became cues for Kanenaka to spring into action and remove the finished documents.

All in all, the travel was ultimately planned to last for four days, from the twenty-second to the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month. The decision event described here had thus taken place around one month in advance. Tasks regarding the event are occasionally recorded after this decision event, but only in passing.⁷⁴²

Ultimately, however, the shrine visit and roofing ceremony were postponed by around ten months. Of the twelfth month, only entries for the first, sixth and seventh day are transmitted,⁷⁴³ and no record of the decision and reasoning to postpone the construction and trip remains. However, the earlier entry Kōan 1.11.12 (1278) records that concerns about the feasibility of construction within the remaining year had been raised by the Head Abbot already before the decision event. According to the entry, the timber for the construction had been delayed due to the aridity.⁷⁴⁴ At this point, it was decided to go forward as planned, but it seems likely that this may have been the cause for the postponement. On Kōan 2.2.29 (1279), the planning was revised accordingly in a ceremony similar to that described above. In a side note, the entry states as follows:

29th day, Yang Fire Horse [#43], serene. When evening arrived, I went to his highness [Takatsukasa Kanehira]. The decision event of the Kasuga shrine visit was conducted. This event had been conducted on the 22nd day of the 11th month of last year. Because the roofing ceremony [of Kōfukuji temple] and the shrine visit had been postponed, it was conducted again. They were postponed after the decision event had been conducted. Because it has been conducted for generations, this time it is conducted again in accordance with precedents. The [decision] ceremony can be viewed in detail in last year's record.

廿九日、丙午、晴、及晚參殿下、被行御春日詣定、此事去年十一月廿二日被⁷⁴⁵行了、而上棟并御參社延引之間、又所被行也、被行定之後延引代、重被行之間、今度任例又所被行也。其儀委見于去年記、(Kanchūki, vol. 2: 85–86).

742 Kanchūki, vol. 2: 42 (Kōan 1.11.23 (1278)), 46 (Kōan 1.11.27 (1278)).

743 Kanchūki, vol. 2: 48–53.

744 Kanchūki, vol. 2: 28–29.

745 The author originally wrote 了 but corrected it to 被.

Because the parameters of travel had changed, a new decision document (*sadamebumi*) had to be composed. The account in the diary is less detailed this time, as the entry points out that the details of the procedures can be viewed in an earlier part of the diary. The description of events reveals that the procedures were simplified, as fewer people were involved in the review of the finished document, and the selection was done orally without consulting another model document (*reibun* 例文).⁷⁴⁶ Because the original plan was available and only had to be modified, this event presumably concluded quicker than the first.

Kanenaka included a copy of the new decision document but no specialist reports (*hinami kanmon*). The decision document is very similar to the first one, although the visit was abbreviated to only three days (the twenty-sixth–twenty-eighth days of the tenth month), and some duties for the receptions were assigned differently.⁷⁴⁷ Evidently, now that the travel had been rescheduled, they had returned to the original plan for a three-day visit, as the spatiotemporal configuration was now different and *Taihaku's* influence no longer posed a problem.

While the first decision event had taken place only around a month before the scheduled departure, this event was organised around ten months in advance. This may relate to the fact that the parameters had already been set and only minor adjustments had to be made, and it was convenient to get the task out of the way. In any case, it demonstrates that the temporal distance between an event and its organisation could vary considerably.

This case study demonstrates that the calendar and clock time played a crucial role in the planning of activities, allowing people to think about the future in a structured way and to coordinate major events, such as the Imperial Regent's multiple-day journey to a location outside the capital. The entry also attests to the importance placed on directional taboos and how they affected the coordination of action, meaning that time's qualities were also crucial in the planning of future activities. The court not only planned in terms of numerical days, but also in accordance with cosmological patterns, looking to the past for precedents to guide the decision-making process.

While the case study yields insights into the coordination of longer-term plans, it also reveals how the people involved coordinated their action with one another in the planning process itself. Akin to the example of the coming-of-age ceremony discussed before, a starting time had been set in advance, thus demonstrating that abstract temporality was useful in bringing together the officials of different departments to collaborate in this task. Subsequently, the description of events reveals that events unfolded according to a logic of action once the activity had begun.

⁷⁴⁶ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 86.

⁷⁴⁷ *Kanchūki*, vol. 2: 86–90.

It is difficult to find comparable information in the *bakufu* diaries that might offer similarly profound insight into their planning activities. *Einin sannen ki* contains no entries relating to the coordination of longer-term plans. In *Kenji sannen ki*, entry Kenji 3.9.20 (1277) indicates that the *bakufu* had to organise guards for Emperor Go-Uda's visit to the Kamo shrine and Iwashimizu Hachimangū shrine. The matter is recorded in the diary as follows:

20th day, extreme rain. Council, young[est spoke first].

Satō Central Affairs Officer [Naritsura]⁷⁴⁸ said that in the forthcoming 12th month, there would be an Imperial visit to both shrines Kamo and Hachiman and an entourage of officials and guards etc. was ordered.

廿日、甚雨、評定、若、
來十二月可有兩社賀茂八幡、行幸之由、供奉官人衛府等事被仰下、佐藤中書
了、 (*Kenji sannen ki*: 12).

The Council's degree of involvement in the matter is unclear, but the entry indicates that the coordination of the Emperor's entourage was not handled entirely locally. Although the *bakufu* was not directly involved in the event's planning, the court had requested them to send personnel to serve as entourage. This information was communicated at least three months in advance, giving them enough time to act.⁷⁴⁹ Although the entry discloses little about the content or formalities of the event's planning, it reveals that such matters were to some degree at least discussed in the Council, emphasising the importance of this *bakufu* institution and the utility of its regular meeting rotation that facilitated the discussion of a range of topics.

4.4 Coordination of Action in the *Bakufu*'s Deliberative Council and at *Yoriai* Meetings

Although the diaries of the *bakufu* officials are not overly concerned with procedures of ceremonial events and their planning or plans thereof, they offer fascinating insights into another realm of social coordination — the work of the *bakufu*'s Deliberative Council. While the diaries disclose few details about the temporal di-

⁷⁴⁸ *chūsho* 中書 is an alternative designation for *Nakatsukasashō* 中務省 (Ministry of Central Affairs).

⁷⁴⁹ Other sources show that this visit had been set for Kōan 1.2.16 (1278) and that it was conducted on Kōan 1.3.30 (1278), suggesting it was rescheduled twice. Itō 1999: 100. The matter is not mentioned in the diary again and therefore it is unknown when this change of plans was communicated to the *bakufu*.

mensions of the Council's activities and its mode of coordination, some observations and thoughts on the topics may be formulated based on these details.

The timing of Council sessions is unknown today. The diaries do not indicate at what point within the day the Council was in session, and the research literature consulted also remains silent on the matter. Given that well-established routines were often (partially) omitted from the examined *bakufu* diaries, it is feasible that the Council usually met at a fixed time, but that this time was not recorded in the diaries because it was considered common knowledge. The only occasion for which a time of day is indicated in relation to a Council in *Kenji sannen ki* marks an extraordinary circumstance: in entry Kenji 3.7.19 (1277), the relocation of shogun Koreyasu to the new palace is described as taking place at the hour of the Horse (11:00–13:00). Subsequently, the entry records that a Council was held at the hour of the Sheep (13:00–15:00).⁷⁵⁰

Special circumstances were clearly at play, and presumably the timing of the Council was specifically recorded in this instance to demonstrate that the Council was conducted after the relocation and that the relocation ceremony had adhered to schedule and its auspicious time window, and/or because the Council was held at a different time than usual.

One aspect of coordination within Council meetings that is better documented is the temporal regulations that structured its discussions. Entry Einin 3.1.20 (1295) in *Einin sannen ki* demonstrates that people took turns to contribute to the discussions in a manner that was regulated:

Matter of the South Capital:⁷⁵¹ each individual stepped in front [of the Council]⁷⁵² and conveyed their opinion.

After that, an item regarding appeal officers⁷⁵³ was heard.

南都事、各一人參御前被申所存畢、
已後越訴方事一ヶ條被聳食了、 (*Einin sannen ki*: 23).

As this record attests, the discussion was conducted in a highly regulated manner, with individuals contributing their perspective one by one at a designated moment. Both diaries further demonstrate that the sequence in which people spoke was de-

⁷⁵⁰ *Kenji sannen ki*: 7–8. Although it is not stated as such in the text, the regular meeting of the twentieth day was seemingly pushed up by a day, because the first archery event in the new palace was conducted on Kenji 3.7.20 (1277).

⁷⁵¹ This refers to a conflict between two cloister lineages of Kōfukuji temple that the Council was dealing with at the time.

⁷⁵² *gozen* 御前 more specifically indicates they stepped in front of a high-ranking individual. It may refer to the *tokusō*, or perhaps even the shogun, assuming he attended the Council's meeting.

⁷⁵³ The appeal procedures are described in Satō Shin'ichi 1993 [1943]: 106–124.

terminated according to hierarchical criteria. While descriptions of people's demeanours in the Council are exceptionally rare, the diaries regularly indicate in the first line of an entry whether the youngest or the oldest Council member spoke first.⁷⁵⁴ The speaking order followed a seniority principle, with a fixed, unalterable sequence determined by people's ages or possibly years of service — either way, a factor correlated with professional experience. However, this fixed sequence was reversible, and thus two different temporal successions were available to regulate the discussions.

Einin sannan ki indicates the speaking order for less than half of its recorded meetings, while *Kenji sannan ki* indicates it in eleven out of a total of fourteen cases that are specifically marked as meetings. According to *Einin sannan ki*, the youngest member spoke first at sixteen meetings and the oldest at seventeen meetings. The ratio is similar in *Kenji sannan ki*, which indicates that the youngest member spoke first at five meetings while the oldest spoke first at six meetings. Therefore, neither end of the spectrum appears to have been given precedence by default. According to Satō Shin'ichi, the speaking order was determined anew each time by drawing lots, which is consistent with these observations.⁷⁵⁵

An interesting case relating to the significance of the speaking order presents itself in entry Kenji 3.7.23 (1277) of *Kenji sannan ki*. After listing different topics of discussion, the entry closes with the following statement:

After the Council, when I went to the Yamanouchi residence [of *tokusō* Tokimune] to the Park Hall because I was summoned, I was ordered to record the landholdings of people in Kyōto together with Satō Central Affairs Officer [Naritsura].⁷⁵⁶ I wrote it until the evening. The Tonsured Suwa Left Gate Watch [Shinshō] announced that Suruga [Akahashi Yoshimune] as youngest [member] had permission to offer the first opinion [in the Council] and that we should be conscious of this order.

754 Satō Shin'ichi 2007 [1983]: 125.

755 Satō Shin'ichi 2007 [1983]: 125.

756 Itō suggests that this task was connected to the various fires that had recently occurred in the capital about which the Council was informed on that day. The overview of land ownership in the capital was intended to raise funds to rebuild them. Itō 1999: 78–79. Kawazoe Shōji offers an alternative explanation that bears no connection to the fires but instead relates them to the Mongol invasions. Kawazoe argues that the purpose of this overview was to assess the military strength within the capital in preparation for combat in the event of a new Mongol invasion. This would then connect to discussions in later entries regarding personnel of the Rokuhara office and the newly appointed Rokuhara deputy. Kawazoe Shōji 2001: 187–188.

評定以後依召參山内殿園殿、之處、被仰下云、佐藤中務相共可注抽京都仁所領云々、仍至晚景注之、諏方左衛門入道相觸云、駿州若一之意見有御免、可存其旨云々、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 9).

Itō interpreted the last line to mean that the speaking order of the next meeting was announced in advance.⁷⁵⁷ I am inclined to disagree with this interpretation, as the entry that records the subsequent meeting on Kenji 3.7.25 (1277) indicates that the oldest spoke first in this Council.⁷⁵⁸ Rather, I propose that said statement applied to the meeting of the twenty-third day itself, for which no speaking order was indicated at the beginning of the entry.

Akahashi Yoshimune 赤橋義宗 (1253–1277) had been appointed Governor of Suruga on Kenji 3.6.17 (1277) and subsequently joined the Council as its youngest member, attending a meeting for the first time on Kenji 3.7.19 (1277).⁷⁵⁹ The meeting of Kenji 3.7.23 (1277) represented his second time in attendance, and in a sequence in which the youngest member was to speak first, Yoshimune would have had the first word in the Council. This may have offered a means of testing the newcomer's abilities, or alternatively, to demonstrate support for him. Either way, the statement regarding the speaking order can be interpreted as a critique on Tokimune's part which was conveyed through his vassal Suwa Shinshō: perhaps the Council members had failed to follow the procedures correctly in the meeting and had spoken out of order, thus pre-empting their opinions before Yoshimune had the opportunity to voice his own thoughts on the topics. In the disruption of the speaking order, the spotlight was removed from the newcomer, thus prompting a comment from Tokimune. This case thus demonstrates that the reversibility of the temporal sequence in which people contributed to discussions had a political dimension.

While the *bakufu's* government activities relied on the cyclical, fixed temporal patterns of the Council, certain matters were also dealt with more flexibly outside this routine in another type of meeting called *yoriai* 寄合. The term first appears in the *Azuma Kagami* in the years 1246 and 1247,⁷⁶⁰ and features in both *Kenji sannen ki* and *Einin sannen ki*. *Yorai* meetings were held separately from those of the Council, and were organised on the basis of necessity among a small, closed circle of people with personal ties to the Hōjō *tokusō*. The precise composition of the attendees varied across the years.⁷⁶¹ *Kenji sannen ki* reveals that *yoriai*

757 Itō 1999: 79.

758 *Kenji sannen ki*: 9 (Kenji 3.7.25 (1277)).

759 *Kenji sannen ki*: 6, 8.

760 Goble 1982: 188.

761 In *Kenji sannen ki*, the participants include the *tokusō* Hōjō Tokimune, his father-in-law Adachi Yasumori, his personal retainers Taira no Yoritsuna and Suwa Shinshō, the Director of the Board of

meetings typically took place at the *tokusō*'s residence,⁷⁶² as opposed to the Council's meetings, which took place in the Council office.

Similar to the Council sessions, little information is provided about the temporal parameters of these meetings. Entries Kenji 3.10.20 (1277) and Kenji 3.10.25 (1277) in *Kenji sannen ki* and entry Einin 3.6.26 (1295) in *Einin sannen ki* mention a 'lot [number] 12' (*kuji jūni* 孔子一二).⁷⁶³ This has been interpreted to refer to either the seating arrangement or the speaking order.⁷⁶⁴ No other lot numbers are recorded in either text, and so assuming that lots were drawn each time, lot number twelve may have been notable for some reason and warranted a special mention in the diary.

No regular pattern for the *yoriai* meetings can be discerned from either diary; rather, the evidence suggests that these meetings were scheduled whenever a situation mandated the discussion of certain issues in a smaller setting, often before decisions or matters for discussion were brought into the larger Council meetings. For example, at the end of the twelfth month, *Kenji sannen ki* records a series of *yoriar*i meetings during which responsibilities within the Rokuhara office were discussed, following the appointment of Hōjō Tokimura as the new Rokuhara deputy of the North. Following discussions in *yoriai* meetings on Kenji 3.12.19 (1277) and Kenji 3.12.25 (1277) and some back and forth between the officials involved, the topic is listed in the entry Kenji 3.12.27 (1277), when it was likely discussed in the Council. In the course of these discussions, some changes were made to the plans.⁷⁶⁵ In contrast to the planning session of the visit to Kasuga shrine from *Kanchūki* portrayed earlier, this entire exchange appears to have been less formal, and the diary affords no attention to the associated procedures but focuses entirely on the contents of the decisions.

The *yoriai* meetings recorded in *Einin sannen ki* appear to have been similar, and this diary further sheds some light on the relationship between *yoriai* and the Council. On two distinct occasions, regular Councils were postponed in favour of a *yoriai*, and

Inquiry Ōta Yasuari and an official called Satō Naritsura 佐藤業連 (?-?). All these people appear regularly in the *Kenji sannen ki*, attesting to the important roles they played within the *bakufu* administration. While attendees are listed for most *yoriai* meetings in *Kenji sannen ki*, this information is only provided on one occasion in the *Einin sannen ki* (Einin 3.6.26 (1295)). Aside from the *tokusō* Hōjō Sadatoki and his advisor Ōsaragi Nobutoki, two heads of different divisions of the Board of Coadjutors (Hōjō Tokimura and Hōjō Kintoki), the Directors of the Administrative Board and the Board of Inquiry (Nikaidō Yukifuji and Ōta Tokitsura) and the officials Nagai Munehide and Yano Tomokage attended this meeting. All were members of the of the Council, a clear difference to *Kenji sannen ki*, which records that personal vassals of the *tokusō* with no involvement in the Council attended.

762 *Kenji sannen ki*: 13 (Kenji 3.10.25 (1277)).

763 *Kenji sannen ki*: 13; *Einin sannen ki*: 42.

764 Itō 1999: 104; Kawazoe Shōji 2001: 190.

765 *Kenji sannen ki*: 15–20.

subsequently, appointments to the Board of Retainers were announced.⁷⁶⁶ This suggests that discussions at *yoriai* meetings could take precedence over discussions of the Deliberative Council. It further indicates that although the *bakufu's* government functions were structured according to a monthly routine, institutions that allowed for a flexible and timely response to the situation were built into its governing apparatus.

While some authors have described the emergence of *yoriai* as a format that further consolidated power in the hands of the *tokusō*, Andrew Goble argues that this development has been exaggerated. The topics discussed at *yoriai* meetings tended to concern office appointments, which had been in the hands of the *tokusō* anyway, and so while these meetings were an important organ, they did not particularly enhance the *tokusō's* authority.⁷⁶⁷

4.5 The *Bakufu's* Adjudication of Conflicts

To obtain a more comprehensive picture of the Deliberative Council's activities and the modes of coordination at the *bakufu*, I shall trace the developments in a major conflict documented in *Kenji sannen ki* that preoccupied the Council in the course of several months. A similar case recorded in *Einin sannen ki* further allows for a brief comparison and contemplation of how the *bakufu* operated in the two different time periods documented by these texts. These cases offer insight into how the *bakufu* coordinated both internally and with the different parties involved in the conflict over greater distances.

The case documented in *Kenji sannen ki* concerns a conflict between the two main cloister lineages (*monzeki* 門跡) of Enryakuji temple over the temple's leadership. Enryakuji was a temple shrine complex of the Tendai Buddhist school that had been founded in the late eighth century on Mount Hiei, close to the capital. Similarly to other monastic institutions, it had become a powerful economic, political, and military force in the course of the privatisation of power during the Heian and Kamakura periods. Its leader, the Head Abbot (*zasu* 座主), was appointed by the court to serve as liaison between them and the clergy. The position was monopolised by two rival cloister lineages in the twelfth century: the Shōren-in 青蓮院 lineage and the Sanzenin 三千院 lineage (which is referred to as Na-

⁷⁶⁶ The regular Formal Council on Einin 3.i2.16 (1295) was postponed by two days and a *yoriai* was held instead. The appointments to the Board of Retainers were then announced on Einin 3.i2.18 (1295). *Einin sannen ki*: 32. The same occurred with the Formal Council of Einin 3.4.29 (1295). The appointments were then announced at the joint Coadjutors-Council meeting on Einin 3.5.2 (1295). *Einin sannen ki*: 38.

⁷⁶⁷ Goble 1982: 188–189.

shimoto 梨本 or Nashishita 梨下 in the diary). Most monks were organised under these cloister lineages, which were frequently involved in disputes and violent battles.⁷⁶⁸ The conflict is referred to as the ‘Sanmon matter’ (*sanmon no koto* 山門事) in Yasuuri’s diary, referencing an alternative name of Enryakuji temple.⁷⁶⁹

The conflict is first mentioned in the diary on Kenji 3.7.8 (1277), when the *bakufu* was first made aware of it through a message from Saionji Sanekane:

8th day, serene.

Because I was summoned, I went to the Yamanouchi residence. Through the Tonsured Suwa Left Gate Watch [Shinshō] I was told that a box [containing letters and documents] of Lord Saionji [Sanekane] conveyed the following: the Sanmon’s Nashimoto warrior monks oppose the Head Abbot [Dōgen]. They deny passage onto the [Hiei] mountain and have enclosed themselves in the temple building. There should hastily be a lawsuit. Reportedly, the Rokuhara [deputies] were absent and the box was sent by fast horse.

八日、晴、

依召參山内殿、以諷方左衛門入道被仰出云、西園寺殿御函如此、山門梨本衆徒違背座主、抑留登山閤籠堂舍云々、忝可令申沙汰之由云々、御函、六波羅留守以早馬命遣⁷⁷⁰
(*Kenji sannen ki*: 7).

As indicated at the end, the matter was forwarded to Kamakura by fast horse, as the Rokuhara office was not occupied. The subsequent entry 7.10 specifies that an edict from the Retired Emperor (*inzen* 院宣) and a letter from the Head Abbot (*zazu gosho* 座主御書) were included among the documents sent by Sanekane.⁷⁷⁰ The request for intervention thus originated from the Head Abbot Dōgen 道玄 (1237–1304),⁷⁷¹ who accused the Nashimoto monks of defiance. Dōgen had first addressed the court, who had referred the case to the *bakufu*.⁷⁷²

768 Stone 1999: 112–113.

769 As opposed to the Tendai school’s rivaling Onjōji temple 園城寺 that was known as Jimon 寺門.

770 *Kenji sannen ki*: 7.

771 Dōgen 道玄 (1237–1304) was appointed Head Abbot in 1276, and was affiliated with the Shōrenin lineage. He was a son of the former Imperial Regent Nijō Yoshizane 二条良実 (1216–1270). He remained in the position for only two years, but was made Head Abbot again in 1303. Itō 1999: 65–66.

772 The *bakufu*’s Rokuhara office located in the capital had jurisdiction over lawsuits involving warrior vassals in the western provinces, including Owari and Kaga (i.e., roughly the Kyōto area), and everything west of that. It had its independent institutions but, in reality, cases were often referred or reported to Kamakura, and sometimes people even traveled to Kamakura to present their case directly to them instead of the Rokuhara office. Satō Shin’ichi 1993 [1943]:

The text clearly conveys a sense of urgency, as action was taken swiftly in the Rokuhara's absence, and the messages were transmitted by fast horse. Yasuari was also specifically summoned to the *tokusō*'s mansion to be informed of the letter and its contents on the eighth day. Based on the regular temporal patterns according to which the Deliberative Council conducted its business, the tenth day corresponds to a Formal Council, thus indicating that the information was likely shared with the Council on that day. Yasuari was informed of the matter in advance, demonstrating that the *tokusō* Hōjō Tokimune held pre-discussions with certain officials about important topics before making announcements in the Council.

The subsequent entry of the twelfth day further attests that the *bakufu* took swift action as delegates had already been selected to be sent to the capital. The entry likely documents the contents of a joint Coadjutors-Council meeting:

12th day, rain.

Sanmon matter: people's opinions and the rejection of the delegates Shimotsuke [Utsunomiya Kagetsuna] and Bitchū [Nikaidō Yukiari]⁷⁷³ of the previous day(s) were announced. Approval. Because it was ordered that the former Governor of Bizen [Nagai Tokihide] and the Tonsured Shinano Lieutenant [Nikaidō Yukitada] should go to the capital, I visited the residences of T. S. L.⁷⁷⁴ [Yukitada] and Bizen [Nagai Tokihide]. When I instructed them, they accepted. Thus, I went to the Yamanouchi residence and reported it [to Tokimune].

十二日、雨、

山門事昨日人意見并使節事下野備中辭退之趣、披露了、御免、備前々司、信濃判官入道可上洛之由被仰之間、相向信判入、備前亭仰含之處、申領狀、仍參山内殿、申入此由了、(*Kenji sannenshi* 7).

The entry states that the delegates who had previously been nominated had declined the assignment. These circumstances were communicated on the twelfth day, and new delegates were selected. This discussion was not recorded in the diary, and so it is unclear whether it occurred on the tenth or eleventh day. Yasuari may not have been involved in it, which would account for its omission from the record.

148–160. As seen in this example, disputes involving parties other than warrior vassals were occasionally also brought before the *bakufu*.

773 Itō interpreted 'Shimotsuke Bitchū' as the name of a single, unknown individual. Itō 1999: 68. I instead interpret this as the names of two individuals, because the text suggests that the *bakufu* usually designated two delegates. Furthermore, Utsunomiya Kagetsuna was eventually selected again for this role on Kenji 3.12.25 (1277). *Kenji sannenshi* 7: 17–18.

774 信判入 is an acronym of *shinano hangan nyūdō* 信濃判官入道 ('the Tonsured Shinano Lieutenant'), translated here with the title's initials.

Important matters were typically discussed in Formal Councils, which were frequented in higher numbers. In this case, urgency to dispatch messengers as soon as possible may have motivated the addressing of the topic in a joint Coadjutors-Council meeting instead, which had implications for the coordination among officials. As attested to by *Einin sannen ki*, it was not unusual for Council members to occasionally miss meetings, particularly those held jointly with Coadjutors. On this occasion, the two Council members Yukitada and Tokihide, who were selected as replacement delegates, appear not to have participated in the meeting, and Yasuari thus set out to visit their residences and discuss the assignments with them in person after the Council. A delay in communication was caused by the fact that the persons in question were not on site. This example attests to the utility of fixed routines that establish expectations as to how and when conflicts were discussed by demonstrating the extra steps involved when these rhythms were deviated from. Concurrently, it also attests to the swiftness and flexibility with which the *bakufu* responded to changed circumstances and the important role that spatial proximity played in local coordination.

Before the two delegates were dispatched, the delegates of the Head Abbot and the affiliated Shōrenin monks gave their statements, as recorded in entry Kenji 3.7.23 (1277):

23rd day, serene.

— The Head Abbot's delegate Kyōin and the delegates of the warrior monks of Shōrenin temple Zenjun and Ken'yo talked about the Nashishita warrior monks' seclusion in the temple building.

They said that on the past second day of the sixth month, the secluded monks had dispersed and performed Buddhist rituals and study as before. In light of this, would it still be necessary to send the delegates [Nagai] Tokihide and [Nikaidō] Yukitada?⁷⁷⁵ However, although during the years of Bun'ei [1264–1275] the warrior monks had sent a letter of apology saying there would not be any dissent between the two lineages, now such misdeeds happened — would this become a habit to be repeated from now on? It was decided that the instigators would be summoned and the case of the mountain official [the Head Abbot] would be brought to trial.⁷⁷⁶

775 Questions discussed in the Council are occasionally indicated by a marker for (rhetorical) questions (*ya* 歟). Not all cases permit as literal a translation as this one.

776 *sochin* 訴陳 indicates a specific judicial procedure in which a statement of case (*sojō* 訴状) and the plea of the defendant (*chinjō* 陳状) are considered — which I more freely translated as 'bring to trial'. Itō interprets this sentence to mean that the Council had heard the opinions of both sides that demanded the Head Abbot be summoned. Itō 1999: 75. The record however sug-

The answer to the Retired Emperor's edict should inquire whether there would be an Imperial decision fast. Also, [it was discussed that] Kyōin and Zenjun should be told that a reply to the Head Abbot would not be specifically necessary in addition to the reply to the Retired Emperor's edict.

廿三日、晴、

一、座主使教因、青蓮院衆徒使禪淳、顯譽、申梨下衆徒閉籠堂舍事、去六月二日問籠衆徒退散、佛事講行如元遂行云々、此上者不及被差上御使時秀行一歟、但兩門跡不可有確執之由、文永年中衆徒進怠狀之處、今及此惡行之條向後積習歟、可被召張本山務之條々及訴陳云々、早速可有 聖斷歟之旨可被申、院宣御返事也、就 院宣被進御返事之上者、座主御返事各別不及被申之由、可被仰含教因、禪淳歟、(*Kenji sannenshi* 8).

The delegates reported that although the Nashimoto monks had secluded themselves and ceased to perform Buddhist rituals, the situation had somewhat diffused again, as they had resumed their activities at the beginning of the sixth month.

That the delegate's report represented a turn of events from the *bakufu's* perspective is evidenced in the question of whether it was still necessary to dispatch delegates to the capital as originally intended. The report that the monks' seclusion had ended appears to have reduced the degree of urgency in the matter, as there was no pressing need to induce these monks to resume their duties. Instead, the conversation shifted towards a general concern about ongoing conflicts among the two cloister lineages, the lack of success in resolving similar problems in the past, and concerns about the recurrence of conflicts in the future.

The *bakufu's* main focus thus shifted away from a short-term perspective concerned with urgent intervention to influence the present state of affairs towards a broader, long-term perspective that was mainly oriented towards preventing similar issues from arising in the future.

It is unclear from the record when the delegates had arrived in Kamakura. The diary also does not state whether they gave their statements directly in the Council or whether they had been questioned beforehand and their testimony was shared and discussed in the Council.

gests that at this point, the Council had only heard one side. With my reading, *chōhon* 張本 does not refer to the Head Abbot — the initiator of the lawsuit — but rather to the instigators of the conflict, i.e., the Nashimoto monks accused by the Head Abbot. The fact that the Council later revised its decision to summon the instigators after having heard their defence suggests that this reading may be more coherent with later entries.

In the next entry made two days later, we learn that the delegates of the rival Nashimoto lineage also had come to Kamakura to explain their version of events (entry Kenji 3.7.25 (1277)):

25th day, serene. Council, old[est spoke first].

— The delegates of the Nashishita monks, Eikai and Raikan, said that [the accusations] of secluding themselves in the temple are untrue:

Because it is difficult for Nashishita to report the Head Abbot's unreasonable and ruthless regulations [to the court], it is the old custom of Sanmon that they stop their activities and close off the road in order to announce a lawsuit. It was absolutely not seclusion in the sacred place of the main hall. When the five Buddha halls, Jissōin temple, Jōgyōin temple, etc. of the same [Enryakujū] temple have a lawsuit, it is an ancient place of assembly. So why would this be seclusion?

廿五日、晴、評定、老、

一、梨下衆徒使永海、賴尋申堂舍閉籠無實由事、

座主非據過法、梨下 奏聞難達之間、廢退行徒切塞道路之條者、爲達訴訟山門之故實也、全非本堂靈場之閉籠、彼五佛、實相、淨行院等者、一門有訴訟之時往古集會之場也、仍可閉籠哉、 (*Kenji sannen ki*: 9).

The delegates of Nashimoto denied the accusations brought against them and asserted their right to protest, appealing to established traditions whereby monks ceased their activities as a litigation tactic. They defended their actions against accusations of illegitimacy by citing longstanding practices and argued that the Head Abbot was in the wrong. The next part of the entry indicates what the Council decided as a result:

Eventually, upon having heard both parties, a verdict⁷⁷⁷ was reached quickly. So, regarding truth or lies, are there objections against Nashishita's explanation that they wish to receive an Imperial ruling about whether the mountain-official [Head Abbot] was unreasonable and whether there was seclusion or not? Although on the previous day, we had just decided that the answer to the Retired Emperor's edict should convey that the instigators shall be summoned, now we decided that ordering the instigators would not be necessary. The answer [to the Retired Emperor's edict] should state simply that both sides were summoned and they entrusted justice to an Imperial decision that should be quick.

⁷⁷⁷ *shōketsu* 召決 here refers to the process of summoning the party, discussing their case and deciding on a verdict.

所詮兩方參對之上者、早被召決、就真偽欲蒙御計云々者、云山務之非據、云問籠之實否、梨下陳謝之趣有子細歟、可被召張本之由可被申院宣御返事之旨、先日雖有其沙汰、於今者不及張本之沙汰、只召決兩方、任正義早速可有聖斷之由、可被申御返事、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 9).

Having now heard both parties' accounts, the Council revised its earlier decisions and opted for an approach that did not require additional hearings, and instead requested a ruling by the Retired Emperor on the matter.

These entries demonstrate the lawsuit process in which the assessment of the situation changed in the course of only a few days, and that the *bakufu*'s ultimate intention was to refer the case back to the Retired Emperor. The closing statement suggests that all parties desired a swift resolution of the matter and opted for a more informal and efficient approach rather than a formal investigation.

In both the meetings of the twenty-third and twenty-fifth days, the involvement of *bakufu* vassals who had become monks in the Enryakuji was criticised. This topic was given special attention because the *bakufu* was responsible for disciplining its vassals. The vassal Kyōin who was present in Kamakura and his fellow delegates would be lectured on the fact that his involvement was inappropriate. Additionally, the monk Shinga 信賀 who was the son of Council member Kyōgoku Ujinobu 京極氏信 (1220–1295) and had become a monk in Shōrenin temple was also criticised for his involvement and misconduct. While Kyōin, who was currently present in Kamakura, could be directly reprimanded, the Council discussed that Shinga was to be summoned to Kamakura quickly by his father to be reprimanded as well.⁷⁷⁸ The paragraph on this matter in entry *Kenji* 3.7.25 (1277) closes with the following statement:

[The Council] decided this should be enforced after both the Tonsured Shignano Lieutenant [Nikaidō] Yukitada and [Ōta] Yasuari had a discussion with the delegates from both sides.

但信濃判官入道行一、康有兩人、問答兩方使之後、如此可有施行之由評了、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 9).

This discussion that would bring together both parties was scheduled for the twenty-seventh day. It was overseen by Nikaidō Yukitada, who had previously been nominated as a deputy to travel to the capital, and the diarist Yasuari. The contents of the discussion are not recorded, but notably the Council that had been scheduled for this day was suspended in favour of the discussion that took place in the Council office instead.⁷⁷⁹ Perhaps it was not deemed necessary to as-

⁷⁷⁸ *Kenji sannen ki*: 9 (*Kenji* 3.7.25 (1277)).

⁷⁷⁹ *Kenji sannen ki*: 10 (*Kenji* 3.7.27 (1277)).

semble the entire Council for this task, and instead, two people were tasked with it, while the rest were excused from participation that day.

As demonstrated so far, the conflict was typically discussed in the Council, while occasionally the diarist also coordinated directly with people outside the bounds of this routine to ensure that matters were dealt with quickly. The protocols dictated that the petitioner's statement was heard first, followed by the defense of the accused. Yasuari's record evidences that the Council already discussed the case beforehand to determine their line of action, which was then revisited and adapted based on these testimonies.

The matter was laid to rest after this, and the Sanmon conflict is only briefly mentioned again at the end of the tenth month, when the *bakufu* received a new message from the Retired Emperor. This time, its contents are not disclosed in the diary, but the two related entries merit closer inspection, as they invite some thoughts on the *bakufu*'s approach to coordinating their activities:

29th day, serene. Council, tomorrow's share, young[est spoke first].

On the sixteenth day of this month, reportedly, Echigo fourth grandson [Hōjō] Tokikuni was appointed Lieutenant Commissioner. When it became deep night, I was handed over an edict by the Retired Emperor by Taira Gate Watch⁷⁸⁰ [Yoritsuna]: It concerned the Sanmon matter. I was ordered to bring the reply to the Retired Emperor's edict we discussed today⁷⁸¹ and the Retired Emperor's edict [concerning the Sanmon matter] tomorrow.

廿九日、晴、評定、明日分、若、

今月十六日、越後孫四郎時國任大夫將監云々、及深更爲平金吾奉被付下 院宣、山門事云々、今日御沙汰之、院宣御返事并 院宣、明日可持參云々、 (*Kenji sannen ki*: 13).

As briefly explored in Chapter 2.2, the Council at the end of the tenth month was brought forward by a day because of a purification ritual that had taken Tokimune out of Kamakura, which led to the suspension of Council discussions for several days during the eleventh month. An edict from the Retired Emperor had arrived unexpectedly before this time period, and Yasuari was informed of it the same night and instructed to visit Tokimune's residence the next day for a spontaneously organised discussion. The discussion took place in an informal setting and indicates that some topics had to be addressed urgently before Tokimune's

⁷⁸⁰ *kingo* 金吾 is an alternative designation for *emonfu* 衛門府.

⁷⁸¹ This earlier edict regarded the return of estates that had been claimed for military provisions. *Kenji sannen ki*: 13 (Kenji 3.10.25 (1277)).

departure for the purification ceremony. We can easily imagine that under normal circumstances, Yasuari would not have been contacted late at night but would have been summoned to Tokimune the following day if necessary, as this is more consistent with other examples in the diary. However, because they were pressed for time, it was important that Yasuari was prepared for the discussion the next day, and thus he was given advance notice.

The next day's entry records what had been discussed prior to Tokimune's departure:

30th day, serene.

When I brought the answer to the Retired Emperor's edict discussed yesterday and the Retired Emperor's edict from the previous night etc. to the Yamanouchi residence, I was summoned in front of [Hōjō Tokimune]. [Taira no] Yoritsuna and [Satō] Naritsura also came. Because we were told that the clean copy of the reply to the Retired Emperor's edict of the previous day should be sent to the capital quickly and the Retired Emperor's edict that arrived yesterday should be followed by a discussion, I handed over the reply directly to Naritsura.

卅日、晴、

帶昨日御沙汰之院宣御返事并夜前之院宣等、持參山内殿之處、被召御前、賴綱、業連同參候、昨日清書院宣御返事者早可京進、夜前到來之院宣者追可有沙汰之由、蒙仰之間、於御返事者直付業連畢、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 13).

This informal discussion at Tokimune's residence served to address the topic of how to proceed with the newly arrived edict pertaining to the Sanmon case and how to proceed with the response to an earlier Imperial edict concerning the return of estates that had been claimed for military provisions. The latter topic had been discussed in *yoriai* meetings on the twentieth and twenty-fifth days, and a final reply had been composed on the twenty-ninth day.⁷⁸²

The special circumstances had led to the adaptation of the default mode of operation, and a sense of time pressure relating to Tokimune's imminent departure emerges from the entries. The unexpected arrival of an important message shortly before the Council's hiatus mandated an assessment of priorities. The need for further discussion of the second edict was ascertained in the meeting, whereas the reply to the first edict was sent out immediately. Given that the diary recorded no further information pertaining to the second edict, it is unclear when the discussion and other related tasks were taken care of. Most likely, they were handled within

⁷⁸² *Kenji sannen ki*: 13.

the framework of the normal Council routine after Tokimune's return, as they evidently had not been dealt with prior to his departure.

The Sanmon conflict does not resurface in the diary until the twelfth month, when a new message sent by the Head Abbot reached Kamakura. This information was shared in the Formal Council of the tenth day,⁷⁸³ and the contents of the letter are documented in the entry of the sixteenth day:

16th day, serene. Council, old[est spoke first].

— Sanmon's Head Abbot, the former Senior High Priest of Yoshimizu Dōgen reported: [matter] assigned to Suwa [Morizumi]. Delegate Kenchō.

According to the [Head Abbot's] letter and the delegate's [i.e., Kenchō's] statements, an unexpected battle occurred because the long-secluded Nashishita warrior monks had fired arrows in all directions when they had sent out disciples to a discussion due to a Retired Emperor's edict that had ordered them to protect Imperial messengers and conduct Shinto rituals because of the Great Hiyoshi shrine festival on the 23rd day of last month.⁷⁸⁴ Should we tell them that we are surprised by the battle between the two lineages?⁷⁸⁵ Then, we decided to dispatch delegates to the capital who should conduct interrogations. Utsunomiya the former Governor of Shimotsuke [Kagetsuna] and the Tonsured Shinano Lieutenant [Nikaidō Yukitada] were chosen right away. They shall depart on the upcoming 27th or 28th day.

十六日、晴、評定、老、

一、山門座主吉水前大僧正、道玄、被申事、讓方付之、786
使急聽、

如御書并使申詞者、去月廿三日爲日吉御祭之間、守護敕使可全神事之由、依被下院宣、差遣門徒問答之處、梨下日來立籠衆徒無左右放矢之間、不慮之外及合戰云々者、兩門合戰之條驚存之旨、以御詞可被仰含歎、次差進御使於京都有尋沙汰、宇津宮下野前司、信乃判官入道於當座被差之、來廿七八日比可進發云々、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 15).

The conflict had now escalated into violence, which mandated action from the *bakufu* and once more led to the selection of delegates to be sent to the capital to

⁷⁸³ *Kenji sannen ki*: 14.

⁷⁸⁴ The festival was cancelled because of the battle. Itō 1999: 124.

⁷⁸⁵ A question discussed in the Council.

⁷⁸⁶ Itō's interpretation of the text reads 使急聽 here. Itō 1999: 123. I follow the *Shiryō taisei* and *Gunsho ruijū* editions and interpret this as the name of the delegate. *Kenji sannen ki*: 15; *Kenji sannen ki* (*Gunsho ruijū* edition): 332.

handle the case on site. This time, the date of their dispatch was also decided on directly in the Council, indicating a more active and expeditious stance.

No entry was made in the diary on the twentieth day, and so it is unclear whether a Formal Council was held or whether discussions surrounding the conflict had progressed. On the twenty-fifth day, the Council discussed a draft document to be sent to the capital:

25th day, serene. Council, old[est spoke first].

— Sanmon matter:

The draft of the current document was presented and it stated: ‘Regarding the Sanmon matter, we heard that on the 23rd day of the past 11th month both parties clearly had a battle in the main hall of the [Hiei] shrine. Because we have not yet received word, we do not know the details.⁷⁸⁷ Nevertheless, because it is difficult not to take any action, [Utsunomiya] Kagetsuna and [Nikaidō] Yuki-tada were sent out. Also, that such a bad thing occurred even though both lineages had sent a letter of apology last year stating that there would not be any more disputes is an extreme disturbance. In order to prevent such horrendous things from now on, should there be a reprimanding investigation regarding the origin [of the conflict] and the culprits?’

廿五日、晴、評定、老、

一、山門事、

當座草進事書、其狀云、山門事、去十一月廿三日於社頭兩方既致合戰之由、有其聞、未被仰下之間、雖不存知子細、事依難被默止、所差進景綱、行一也、且先年不可有確執之由兩門進怠狀之處、今及此惡行之條、甚以濫吹也、爲被斷向後之梟惡、云根元云下手、能々可有誠御沙汰歟、
(*Kenji sannen ki*: 17–18).

This draft conveys both a willingness to spring into immediate action by proactively sending delegates to assist in the capital while also signifying a regard for a broader temporal perspective by conveying a concern about the ineffectiveness of past interventions and apprehension about future developments.

An edict from Retired Emperor Kameyama arrived in the morning two days later, which was again tied to a sense of urgency to proceed:

27th day, serene. Council, young[est spoke first].

⁷⁸⁷ This seems to indicate that the *bakufu* did not know the Retired Emperor's opinion on this matter, as they had not received any communication from him yet.

Early in the morning, when I hastily went [to Hōjō Tokimune] since the previous night, he had entered [Taira no] Yoritsuna's mansion in the mountains due to a directional change because I had been summoned, I directly received the order that the Retired Emperor's edict regarding the Sanmon matter that had just arrived shall be discussed [in the Council] before the report of the Board of Coadjutors investigations is read aloud. Because of this, I received the box [with the documents] and returned to [Tokimune's Yamanouchi] residence. [There,] I informed the Castle Governor [Adachi Yasumori] of the situation.

廿七日、晴、評定、若、
 早旦被召之間、馳參<sup>自夜前爲方進入
 御頼綱山内屋形</sup>之處、山門事 院宣只今到來、引付勘錄讀申
 以前可申沙汰之由、直蒙仰之間、賜御函歸參御亭、其子細申城務了、
 (*Kenji sannen ki*: 19).

Not only was Yasuari summoned on short notice to be informed of the message's arrival, but the Council's agenda was also adapted on equally short notice in response. A joint meeting between the Council and the Coadjutors had been planned for this day, and that same morning, Tokimune decided that the Retired Emperor's edict would be discussed before the scheduled item pertaining to the Coadjutors' cases. Presumably, the topic was thus squeezed in because the Council had already decided on a course of action and had drafted a message that now needed to be reconsidered in light of the new circumstances. Moreover, it was the end of the year, and a brief period during which no Councils would be held due to the New Year's festivities was imminent. These factors likely contributed to the decision to change the agenda for the day's Council meeting and give priority to discussion of the edict.

The entry discloses the contents of the Retired Emperor's edict, reporting that Retired Emperor Kameyama shared the overarching concerns about recent developments marked by constant conflicts in Enryakuji and insisted upon seeking a more permanent solution:

— Sanmon matter:

The Retired Emperor's edict from the past 21st day [went] like this: 'Last month, on the same day as the [Hiyoshi] festival, a battle occurred. The Imperial family is concerned. It is an established provision that the violent conflicts often originating from Sanmon should be infrequent.⁷⁸⁸ At the moment, it is again difficult to proceed with an Imperial verdict. Thinking about it carefully and not taking appropriate measures [would mean] that it would not be a peaceful time.' Regarding this [edict] the Council said: [...]

788 Lit. 'it is necessary/essential that they are infrequent occurrences.'

一、山門事、

如去廿一日 院宣者、去月同祭日及合戰、朝家之煩、先規多起自山門之鬪亂、珍事可爲必然、如當時者 聖斷更難事行、廻思慮無計沙汰者、不可有靜謐之期云々者、評定云、[...] (*Kenji sannen ki*: 19).

Aside from showing that the escalation of the conflict was also met with unease by the court, this passage elucidates the speed of communication between the court and *bakufu*. According to the text, the Imperial edict was issued on the twenty-first day — a mere six days before its arrival in Kamakura, indicating that this message was relayed with extraordinary expedience.

Upon the Retired Emperor's appeal for stringent intervention, the Council decided to take drastic measures by banishing the troublemakers and replacing the Head Abbot:

The Council said: Regarding the battle, a persistent investigation of the real crime [shall determine] the origin and culprits, and these people shall be summoned. Also, the instigators shall accompany the delegates when they return. Their accomplices shall be entrusted to the warriors living in the capital and they shall be banished. Next, regarding the two lineages: following the precedent decisions of the previous years, in order to prevent further chaos, shall it be left to the Head Abbot to overthrow the two lineages?⁷⁸⁹

Next, regarding the Head Abbot: a high-ranking monk who combines knowledge and training with governing skills shall be nominated [to this position]. There shall be an Imperial decision for [one] of the two individuals: either Imperial Prince Ōhara [unknown] or the former Senior High Priest of the Bishamon Hall *Kōgō*.⁷⁹⁰

評定云、合戰事、云根元云下手、尋究實犯可召出其身、且於張本者、御使歸參之時可召具之、於與黨者、預在京人等可令配流也、次兩門跡事、任先年御沙汰之例、爲被斷向後狼啖、顛倒兩門跡可被付于座主歟、次座主事、以智行治術兼備之高僧可被補、且大原宮、毗沙門堂前大僧正公豪、兩人中可有御計也、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 19).

⁷⁸⁹ The Council here decided to appoint a new Head Abbot that was not affiliated with either of the two cloister lineages. This had had been done already in the year Bun'ei 5 (1268) and remained an approach that was pursued also in the following years. Itō 1999: 144.

⁷⁹⁰ *Kōgō* 公豪 (?-?) was the son of the Left Minister Sanjō Sanefusa 三条実房 (1147–1225) and later took Dōgen's place as Head Abbot. Itō 1999: 144.

Yasuari's record ends at this stage of the conflict, having yielded remarkable insights into the *bakufu's* coordination of activities and the temporal parameters thereof.

To complement my reflections, I shall first briefly address a similar conflict portrayed in *Einin sannan ki* surrounding the leadership of the Ichijōin 一乗院 cloister lineage of Kōfukuji temple of the Hossō Buddhist school. The conflict had been ongoing for some time, and an armed battle between members of the Ichijōin lineage and the rivaling Daijōin 大乘院 lineage had taken place two years earlier in the eleventh month of Einin 1 (1293). In the subsequent year, the sacred tree of the Kasuga shrine was relocated in protest, and returned only after the *bakufu* agreed to replace the Ichijōin lineage leader (*monshu* 門主).⁷⁹¹ The conflict was thus already known to the *bakufu* in the year Einin 3 (1295). In Tokitsura's diary, the conflict is referred to as the matter of the 'South Capital' (*nanto* 南都), referencing the temple's location in Nara, the former Imperial residential capital south of the Heian capital.

At the beginning of the year, on Einin 3.1.16 (1295), the Council decided that 'there should finally be a discussion about this' (*tsui ni sata arubeku no yoshi hyō shiowannu* 遂可有沙汰之由評了).⁷⁹² Having made this decision, it did not take long for them to follow through and discuss the topic in the next Formal Council on the twentieth day.⁷⁹³ After the first round of discussion, the topic was discussed a second time in the Formal Council on Einin 3.1.25 (1295). Similar to the earlier case, the main issue was the repetitive resurgence of these conflicts and the ongoing failure to definitively resolve them:

Matter of the South Capital, the Tonsured Settsu [Nakahara Chikamune], Akashi

Regarding the Ichijōin's High Priest [i.e., the lineage leader]: although the warrior monks have made forceful appeals on various occasions, they were pardoned from banishment last time. In light of this, it cannot be tolerated now.

Next, regarding the lineage leader: a highly knowledgeable person among the disciples of Ichijōin's High Priest will be selected by a son of Lord Takasuka and there will be an inauguration ceremony — this will certainly achieve peace? In this matter, people knowledgeable in etiquette will research and announce precedents and eventually it should be discussed.

791 Kawazoe Hiroshi 1954: 47.

792 *Einin sannan ki*: 23.

793 *Einin sannan ki*: 23.

南都事、攝入明
民、 794

一乘院僧正坊事、口徒⁷⁹⁵ 條 雖及強訴、先度被宥流刑之上、於今者不及許容、

次門主事、鷹司殿以御子息、一乘院僧正坊門徒中撰知法之口⁷⁹⁶ 有入室有之儀者、定爲靜謐歟、此條古實人々被尋仰先規、遂可有其沙汰、 (*Einin sannen ki*: 24).

In this case, the Council did not propose a specific person to replace the lineage leader but noted that it was necessary to consult precedents for this decision. The question of the succession was addressed again in a follow-up discussion at an extraordinary Council meeting on the twenty-ninth day, organised for this express purpose, and the need to consult an etiquette specialist was cemented.⁷⁹⁷

The topic of succession does not reappear in the following entries, thus indicating that Tokitsura had no further involvement in this affair. At the joint Coadjutors-Council meeting on *Einin* 3.2.7 (1295), the Council was informed that delegates from Ichijōin temple had arrived in Kamakura, and the question of whether or not he should be interrogated had arisen.⁷⁹⁸ Whether they were interrogated or not is not clear from the record. The case was however discussed again in the Formal Council on the tenth day. The contents of the entry are similar to that of the discussion the twenty-fifth day quoted above, suggesting that the Council stood by its earlier decisions despite objections.⁷⁹⁹ The entry ends with a note that emphasises a swift and decisive approach:

These matters and others were sorted out quickly and we decided that finally, they had to be decided.

此等條々早被取捨、遂可有其沙汰之由評了、 (*Einin sannen ki*: 27).

In the next Formal Council on the sixteenth day, the matter was concluded and the decisions committed to writing. The Council also decided to dispatch an official to the capital for an informal inquiry and intended to hold another discussion

794 The text states 明民, but this appears to be an error, as subsequent entries consistently refer to an individual called Akashi 明石 who was involved with this case.

795 The first character is unidentifiable due to the erosion of the document, but from context it is clear that it spelled 衆, as indicated by the editor. *Einin sannen ki*: 24.

796 The first character is unidentifiable due to the erosion of the document, but from context it is clear that it spelled 仁, as indicated by the editor. *Einin sannen ki*: 24.

797 *Einin sannen ki*: 25 (*Einin* 3.1.29 (1295)).

798 *Einin sannen ki*: 26.

799 *Einin sannen ki*: 26–27 (*Einin* 3.2.10 (1295)).

in the future.⁸⁰⁰ Therefore, while the *bakufu* sought to put an end to the present situation quickly, it also remained conscious of the fact that the future would likely bring further problems, and a longer term solution was required.

The conflict eventually also escalated into a violent conflict, which an individual who returned from the capital reported on Einin 3.i2.21 (1295). Notably, this entry mentions both an Informal Council and a *yoriai*. The latter was likely organised in response to this turn of events.⁸⁰¹

In the next joint Coadjutors-Council meeting on the twenty-third day, officials were nominated to consult with several people who were able to provide a detailed account of the event.⁸⁰² Tasks were delegated during this meeting, whereas the information about the investigation was shared in the Formal Council on the twenty-fifth day.⁸⁰³ The topic is not mentioned again, with the exception of entry Einin 3.6.16 (1295) a few months later, recording the Council's discussion of a document that had been composed in relation to the events.⁸⁰⁴ It thus appears as though the matter was henceforth handled by the officials designated in the meeting on Einin 3.i2.23 (1295) and that the Council was no longer informed in detail about their activities.

Both these cases illustrate that the Council's routine meetings provided the basic conditions in which the respective conflicts were addressed. The Formal Councils specifically stand out as occasions on which these matters were discussed in considerable depth. A look at the entries of *Einin sannen ki* reveals that no crucial information detailing developments in the case was shared in joint Coadjutors-Council meetings. Although attendees were occasionally given advance notice of developments and some responsibilities were delegated during them, full discussions took place only in Formal Councils, and important information was typically reiterated in them. It thus appears that joint meetings were typically reserved for discussions of the Board of Coadjutors' cases, while the Formal Council sessions allowed for the discussion of major conflicts, such as those portrayed here. By contrast, *Kenji sannen ki* documents two instances in which major discussions were held on dates that corresponded to joint Coadjutors-Council meetings — namely, Kenji 3.7.23 (1277) and Kenji 3.12.27 (1277).⁸⁰⁵

As mentioned in Chapter 2.2, Ishii has argued that the dynamics portrayed in *Einin sannen ki* suggest that the advisor (*rensho*) Ōsaragi Nobutoki may have

800 *Einin sannen ki*: 27.

801 *Einin sannen ki*: 32.

802 *Einin sannen ki*: 32–33.

803 *Einin sannen ki*: 33.

804 *Einin sannen ki*: 41.

805 *Kenji sannen ki*: 8–9, 19–20.

wielded more political power than the *tokusō* Sadatoki at the time.⁸⁰⁶ My investigation revealed that Hōjō Sadatoki was usually present at important discussions regarding the Kōfukuji conflict. This does not necessarily contradict Ishii's argument, but does indicate that the *rensho* Nobutoki was limited in his powers with respect to government business. Even if he dominated the decision-making processes, it may not have been appropriate for him to make such decisions in the *tokusō*'s absence, thus limiting him to the format of the Formal Council. This may also account for the lack of recorded deviations from the established Council rhythm in *Einin sannen ki*. Nobutoki may not have been at liberty to organise spontaneous discussions in his private residence ahead of the Council in the same way that Tokimune was, as *Kenji sannen ki* proves.

While *Einin sannen ki* depicts a mode of operation that was strongly bound to the Council's regular schedule, with only one extraordinarily organised meeting (Einin 3.1.29 (1295)),⁸⁰⁷ *Kenji sannen ki* reveals that the *tokusō* Tokimune had greater freedom in determining when and how to discuss the cases he oversaw. *Kenji sannen ki* thus yields deep insights into the handling of cases outside the Council's boundaries, as Yasuari received advance notice and attended informal discussions with Tokimune and other officials in his inner circle. While the Council meeting routine still provided a framework within which matters could be discussed formally and on a regular basis, people also coordinated discussions outside this framework by spontaneously conversing with one another.

Additionally, Yasuari was directly responsible for interrogating delegates without the involvement of all Council members, whereas *Einin sannen ki* offers the complementary perspective of a Council member who was well-informed initially, when the matter was primarily discussed in Formal Councils, but who lost touch with the case details once it had been entrusted to dedicated officials.

Both diaries indicate that once the Council decided to put something on the agenda for discussion, it acted swiftly, reaching a decision after around two rounds of discussion. Formal Council meetings, during which the matter was mainly discussed, took place at regular five-day intervals, meaning that the Council settled matters in under a month.

The presented cases also demonstrate that it was not uncommon for the Council to revise decisions upon learning new information. When presented with new input, it reopened the discussions to incorporate this new perspective in their verdict. In major conflicts involving parties located at significant distances from Ka-

806 Ishii 1985: 76–78.

807 *Einin sannen ki*: 25.

makura, travel times delayed communication and these new inputs were somewhat unpredictable.

The *bakufu* was in contact not only with the parties involved in the dispute, but also with the Retired Emperor and other people in the capital, such as their liaison officer. Information was transported across large distances and shared among different social spheres. Calendrical time was thus crucial in describing events so that everyone could understand the order in which things had unfolded over time. This was particularly relevant for lengthy conflicts that were situated within even longer histories of constant disputes and fighting, and were addressed and met with concern.

On various occasions, the entries thus reference calendrical time to clarify what events were discussed. This allows both the retracing of developments in the case (e.g., ‘on the 23rd day of the past 11th month both parties have clearly had a battle in the main hall of the [Hiei] shrine’⁸⁰⁸) and differentiation between multiple instances of communication (e.g. ‘the Retired Emperor’s edict from the past 21st day’⁸⁰⁹).

While coordination between different actors on a macro scale made use of abstract time reckoning, a more situational coordination also factored into the *bakufu*’s operations in the sense that the Council was obliged to adapt to changes and that messengers would arrive for unscheduled visits. To facilitate this coordination, the *bakufu* intended to send delegates to the capital, so that it would have individuals on site who were better able to communicate easily with different parties and thus act and react more swiftly. Within Kamakura, the Council relied on a regular schedule to coordinate its next steps along with the possibility of spontaneously organising extraordinary meetings.

Both an abstract temporal framework and a mode of operation that relied on the availability and accessibility of different actors in Kamakura were thus crucial in the adjudication of conflicts.

Reflection

As demonstrated in the above exploration of the ways in which the court and *bakufu* coordinated actions across various contexts, many situations relied on a logic of action alongside an abstract time to coordinate actions effectively. Although diary entries generally tend to favour a temporality of action, given that many of the activities described were likely coordinated in person, abstract notions of time are also occasionally encountered. They emerge in specific contexts, wherein the

808 去十一月廿三日於社頭兩方既致合戰之由. *Kenji sannen ki*: 18 (Kenji 2.12.25 (1276)).

809 去廿一日 院宣者. *Kenji sannen ki*: 19 (Kenji 2.12.27 (1276)).

coordination between various individuals becomes increasingly complex, either because information is relayed across vast distances or because longer term planning is required. In these cases, a universal, abstracted framework ensures a smooth coordination of actions, while everyday tasks involving temporal and spatial proximity largely operate without it.

However, even in cases wherein people coordinated locally and situationally, abstract temporal categories, such as calendar dates and zodiacal hours, provided a framework that ensured that the different actors gathered in the same space *on time* to commence a communal activity. This mode of coordination is not unique to this historical period. In fact, it is not uncommon for people today to meet one another at a designated time and then coordinate any further actions in person — whether in a sports club or when meeting for lunch and spontaneously deciding on what and where to eat.

In conclusion, I argue that the two layers of temporality — one based on the logic of action, and one on abstract calendrical time — not only coexisted but complemented each other. They connect not only to the way in which life was organised in the social spheres of the elite but also to the communicative function of *kanbun* diaries. The double-layered temporality is best suited to transmitting an adequate picture of everyday life in a social sphere roughly organised according to calendrical time, in which several duties are primarily coordinated situationally and in person. Ultimately, the text's final structure is influenced by the need to be meaningful in a social context and to be easy for others to read.

Chapter 5

Chronoschemes and Evaluations of Time

In the article ‘Chronographical Analysis: an Essay in Methodology’, Steineck outlined a model with which to address different aspects of chronography that go beyond the study of its metric function, which was the focus of Harweg’s typology.⁸¹⁰ Steineck’s model also considers chronography’s other functions — namely, whether time is being affirmed or negated (chronothesis), how time and temporal relations are characterised (chronotypology), and whether statements about time are portrayed as facts, assumptions, questions, etc. (chronomodality).⁸¹¹ Steineck further distinguishes between the descriptive chronography used to describe temporal relations, the prescriptive chronography that instructs on to how to handle time, and the emotive chronography that conveys attitudes and dispositions towards time (chronoaesthetics).⁸¹² The differing determinants and functions of chronography are not mutually exclusive, but often appear in combination and complement one another.⁸¹³

Although I have touched on issues of chronography in earlier chapters, so far, I have primarily considered its metric function and contemplated the diaries’ dating practices while sidelining the discussion of how the texts express and discuss time. Through a structured analysis of the diaries’ chronographical features, I identify their dominant chronoschemes — that is, the aspects of time and temporal scales addressed therein and their relative weight. In light of *Kanchūki*’s extreme length, I selected the year Kenji 3 (1277) as a sample to scrutinise all temporal expressions found in this section of the text and to compare them with my analysis of the temporal expressions found in the two shorter *bakufu* diaries.

Steineck’s model has further proven useful in identifying and analysing passages in which time is evaluated. I thus combine the chronographic analysis with considerations at the level of chronoethics. In this context, I determine the temporal horizons of the diaries by examining how far back into the past or forward into the future their temporal references extend. This prompts a reflection on the evaluations and emotive contemplations of time expressed in the texts.

810 Steineck 2018.

811 Steineck 2018: 173 (Table I), 181, 184, 186.

812 Steineck 2018: 174.

813 Steineck 2018: 174, 195.

5.1 Chronoschemes

Calendrical Time

Kanchūki and *Kenji sannen ki* address large temporal scales to indicate certain times in the past. This includes references to eras that invoke a relatively distant past and, more rarely, references to individual years in the form of deictic expressions, such as ‘in the previous year(s)’ (*sennen* 先年), or ‘last year’ (*kyonen* 去年), to indicate a more recent past.⁸¹⁴ While *Kenji sannen ki* operates exclusively within these forms of formal chronography, *Kanchūki* uses both formal and material chronography in the form of references to, for example, past Emperors.⁸¹⁵

The temporal scale of the month is not strongly pronounced in either text and is only occasionally referenced in the context of planning. The entry Kenji 3.1.26 (1277) in the *Kanchūki*, for example, references a religious service of the ‘upcoming month’ (*raigetsu* 來月),⁸¹⁶ and *Kenji sannen ki* anticipates a shrine visit in the ‘upcoming 12th month’ (*rai jūnigatsu* 來十二月) on Kenji 3.9.20 (1277).⁸¹⁷

Both *Kenji sannen ki* and *Kanchūki* use calendrical expressions to refer to future days on various occasions,⁸¹⁸ but the scale of the single day appears most frequently to describe events of the recent past. In *Kenji sannen ki*, such indications emerge most prominently, as the text mentions specific dates on sixteen different occasions, two of which refer to future dates and the rest to the past.⁸¹⁹ Calendrical time in this text is typically utilised to indicate notable events in the Enryakuji conflict or occurrences that the *bakufu* was informed of by Saionji Sa-

814 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 275 (Kenji 3.1.26 (1277)), 277 (Kenji 3.1.29 (1277)), 287 (Kenji 3.3.21 (1277)). *Kenji sannen ki*: 18 (Kenji 3.12.25 (1277)), 19 (Kenji 3.12.27 (1277)).

815 E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 267 (Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)).

816 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 275.

817 *Kenji sannen ki*: 12.

818 In *Kanchūki*, for example, entry Kenji 3.1.1 (1277) indicates that an event is postponed to the ‘3rd day’ (*mikka* 三日) and entry Kenji 3.2.13 (1277) mentions plans to travel to Uji on the ‘upcoming 18th day’ (*rai jūhachi nichi* 來十八日). *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 259, 279. In *Kenji sannen ki*, entry Kenji 3.10.30 (1277) mentions a purification that is to last ‘until the 6th day of the upcoming month’ (*raigetsu muika itari* 至來月六日), and entry Kenji 3.12.16 (1277) refers to the departure of delegates to the capital on ‘the upcoming 27th or 28th day’ (*rai nijūnana hachi nichi* 來廿七八日). *Kenji sannen ki*: 13, 15.

819 Future dates in *Kenji sannen ki*: 13 (Kenji 3.10.30 (1277)), 15 (Kenji 3.12.16 (1277)). Some examples for past dates in *Kenji sannen ki*: 2 (Kenji 3.6.2 (1277) and Kenji 3.6.5 (1277)), 8–9 (Kenji 3.7.23 (1277)).

nekane, as demonstrated in Chapters 4.1 and 4.5. By contrast, individual calendrical dates are addressed only six times in the *Kanchūki* sample.⁸²⁰

While dates are invoked to locate events in time most frequently in *Kenji sannen ki*, deictic expressions, such as ‘yesterday’ (*kinō* 昨日)⁸²¹ and ‘tomorrow’ (*asu* 明日)⁸²² are relatively common in both *Kenji sannen ki* and *Kanchūki*. This group of deictic formal chronographic terms indicate that people thought about time in relation to their own perspectives.

Kenji sannen ki uses delimiting expressions exclusively to indicate how long a state or activity lasted. For example, in *Kenji sannen ki*, the diarist was informed on Kenji 3.10.30 (1277) that there would be no Council ‘until the 6th day of the upcoming month’ (*raigetsu muika itari* 至來月六日) owing to Tokimune’s absence.⁸²³

Kanchūki uses both durational and delimiting expressions to indicate durations, sometimes even in combination.⁸²⁴ For example, on Kenji 3.1.10 (1277), Retired Emperor Kameyama’s enclosure in Iwashimizu Hachimangū Shrine for prayer ‘for seven days’ (*nanoka* 七个日) is recorded.⁸²⁵ In both its temporal localisation of events and the indication of their duration, the text deploys a mix of temporality that is at times tied to and at times detached from the author’s perspective. *Kanchūki* also often mentions ‘today’ (*kyō* 今日), while the two *bakufu* diaries use this term sparingly. As the dates of the entries already fulfil the function of locating the described events in time, this temporal expression is somewhat redundant, as its meaning is already implied. *Kanchūki* thus generally exhibits a greater density and variety of temporal expressions than the two *bakufu* texts.

Einin sannen ki differs considerably from both *Kenji sannen ki* and *Kanchūki*, as it never addresses the temporal scale of the era, year, or month. Moreover, it only mentions a specific calendrical day once — to specify that the Council of

⁸²⁰ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 259 (Kenji 3.1.1 (1277)), 279 (Kenji 3.2.11 (1277) and Kenji 3.2.13 (1277)), 285 (Kenji 3.3.9 (1277)), 287 (Kenji 3.3.26 (1277)).

⁸²¹ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 262 (Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)), 279 (Kenji 3.2.13 (1277)). *Kenji sannen ki*: 7 (Kenji 3.7.12 (1277)), 13 (Kenji 3.10.30 (1277)). *Kenji sannen ki* also uses ‘in the previous(s) day(s)’ (*senjitsu* 先日). *Kenji sannen ki*: 9 (Kenji 3.7.25 (1277)), 11 (Kenji 3.8.29 (1277)), 19 (Kenji 3.12.27 (1277)).

⁸²² *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 259 (Kenji 3.1.1 (1277)), 262 (Kenji 3.1.2 (1277)), 277 (Kenji 3.1.29 (1277)), 281 (Kenji 3.2.20 (1277)), 286 (Kenji 3.3.14 (1277)), 287 (Kenji 3.3.26 (1277)). *Kenji sannen ki*: 4 (Kenji 3.4.19 (1277)), 13 (Kenji 3.10.29 (1277)), 17 (Kenji 3.12.21 (1277)).

⁸²³ *Kenji sannen ki*: 13.

⁸²⁴ For example, entry Kenji 3.1.16 (1277) notes that the leader of Tōji temple, Dōbō 道宝 (1214–1281), enclosed himself in the Grand Ise shrine for prayer ‘for 30 days from today on’ (*kyō yori sanjūnichichi* 自今日三十个日). *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 274.

⁸²⁵ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 273.

Einin 3.8.12 (1295) was held on Einin 3.8.14 (1295) instead.⁸²⁶ Deictic expressions also appear only twice in *Einin sannen ki*: in entry Einin 3.2.7 (1295), the text refers to the ‘decision/discussion of the previous(s) day(s)’, (*senjitsu no go-sata* 先日御沙汰),⁸²⁷ and in the entry Einin 3.2.23 (1295), the diarist is informed that Sadatoki will be absent ‘from tomorrow on’ (*asu yori* 自明日).⁸²⁸ This text thus uses formal chronography relatively sparingly.

Einin sannen ki uses a durational expression only once — in entry Einin 3.3.29 (1295), to note that discussions in the Deliberative Council were ‘postponed for a while’ (*shibaraku en’in* 暫延引) following a miscarriage.⁸²⁹ In contrast to the examples from the other two diaries, this was not a neatly predefined time period but rather was related to a tragedy that had profound psychological and emotional implications for the affected parties, who needed a period of time to recover — a period that could not be precisely defined in advance.

Notably, none of the investigated diaries use dates from the sexagenary cycle to indicate any of these time scales, but rather deploy the terminology of the lunisolar calendar exclusively. As outlined in Chapter 3.2, the utility of the sexagenary cycle relied heavily on the context in which it was used. Primarily, it was a convenient way for individuals to keep track of time in the context of constantly changing, short-lived eras on a short-term basis, and on a broader social level it allowed people to discuss the future with one another in a way that was meaningful. The chronological examination of the texts, however, revealed that references to the future are seldom found in the diaries, even less so for the distant future. With their conscious awareness that they were transmitting knowledge through time into a distant future, it is not surprising that the diarists gravitated towards the use of era names and omitted the sexagenary cycle in their descriptions of temporal relations, as the cycle’s utility as an arithmetic tool faded on a longer temporal horizon. This indicates that even in the social sphere of the court, where the cycle exerted a profound impact on the chronopolitical level, it was of secondary importance on the chronographic level and was not used to convey metric temporal relations in the studied texts.

⁸²⁶ *Einin sannen ki*: 46 (Einin 3.8.14 (1295)).

⁸²⁷ *Einin sannen ki*: 26.

⁸²⁸ *Einin sannen ki*: 28.

⁸²⁹ *Einin sannen ki*: 36.

Seasons

Leinss traced how poetry collections of the ancient period indicate that seasons came to be conceived of as fixed time periods dictated by the civil calendar.⁸³⁰ Maki further demonstrated that the poetry of the *Kokinshū* addresses rifts between this institutionalised time regime and the individual's perception of seasons through phenomena in the natural world.⁸³¹ These studies thus attest to a complex interrelation between the levels of sociotemporality, represented by institutionalised social time, and nootemporality (the time perception of individuals) that found expression in literary art.⁸³² The studied *kanbun* diaries betray no such tensions. The seasonal time consciousness often attributed to premodern Japan appears to be based primarily on explorations of literary sources and thus may represent a genre-specific temporality favoured by the symbolic form of art.⁸³³

Among formal chronographic expressions, seasons do stand out as a category that merits special attention, however, because clear differences emerge between the roles they play in *Kanchūki* and in the two *bakufu* diaries. Seasonal expressions occur in various, highly specific contexts in *Kanchūki*. They appear regularly as part of the names of annual events, such as the 'Spring Sūtra lecture' (*shunki mid-okyō* 春季御読経) on Kenji 3.3.20 (1277) or the Spring Kagura dance⁸³⁴ (*shunki mikagura* 春季御神楽) on Kenji 3.3.17 (1277).⁸³⁵ In this context, the seasons functioned as temporal units to indicate when these events took place within the cycle of the year, but were simultaneously embedded in a political context that appealed to the sense of natural order with which the court synchronised its annual activities.

The examined section of *Kanchūki* includes an example in which seasonal imagery was deployed to evoke the mood of a situation with greater refinement than usual. Entry Kenji 3.3.17 (1277) describing the Spring Kagura dance at the Kasuga shrine thus states:

Deep in the night, wearing formal dress, I went to the shrine's main hall. A wand offering. Then, I arrived at my seat at the Kagura performance. Everything was according to precedent. The spring night quickly [turned into] morning

830 Leinss 2021a: 23–25.

831 Maki 2003: 137–139.

832 Müller's analysis of *Utatane* attests to conflicts of nootemporality and sociotemporality on other fronts as well. Müller 2020.

833 Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'.

834 *kagura* 神楽 is a Shintō ritual dance performed to purify spirits and gods.

835 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 286.

dawn. The colour and shape of the shrine tree's petals. I did not get a wink of sleep, so I hurried to return [home] and rest.

深更着束帶參社頭、御奉幣、次着神宴座、每事如例、春夜早曙、社樹辨物色、不及一寢、即所促歸歇也、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 286).

This entry is a rare example that conveys the author's subjective experience of the passage of time. The usual austere tone is disrupted by the use of more vivid imagery that deviates from the diary's typical chronographic style: the description instead alludes to the season of the year and morning dawn, a chronographic expression rarely found in the text that invokes the light of the morning sun. Nights are longer in spring than in summer, for example, and yet, the author felt that this night had passed by quickly. From the description's phrasing, we implicitly gain an impression of the author's subjective experience of the event that he likely found positive — exciting or pleasant, perhaps — rather than boring or tedious. At the same time, the text also expresses his exhaustion after a night without sleep and a desire to rest.

By contrast, *Einin sannin ki* contains no reference at all to seasonality, and in *Kenji sannin ki*, only one such reference occurs, when the season is used as a time unit to locate the events in time in entry Kenji 3.6.8 (1277):

Messengers from Dazaifu⁸³⁶ arrived. They reported: Because the Song dynasty has fallen and the Mongols control the territory, the merchant ships etc. that crossed over to Song this spring were unable to trade and have returned hastily.

宰府脚力參着、宋朝滅亡蒙古統領之間、今春渡宋之商船等不及交易走還云々、(*Kenji sannin ki*: 5).

The season in this record is not deployed to appeal to a sense of natural order or to more adequately evoke the mood. Rather, it functions as a time unit to specify an approximate time frame of an event relevant to foreign and military politics. Following multiple threats from Kublai Khan (1215–1294), the Mongol Empire had attempted an invasion of the Dazaifu region in 1274. The *bakufu* remained on high alert for several subsequent decades,⁸³⁷ and this news was thus of interest from an administrative perspective, both in terms of economic impact and the coordination of the empire's military defence.

While seasons do appear in *Kanchūki* to label scrolls and thereby define time frames within which certain events were localised (see Chapter 3.3), the influence

⁸³⁶ *saiifu* 宰府 is short for Dazaifu 大宰府 — the regional government in modern day Kyūshū.

⁸³⁷ Sansom 1959 covers the topic on pp. 438–450.

of the symbolic form of politics inscribed into the court's annual routines, which invoked seasonal patterns as a form of natural order, and the symbolic form of art, which promoted established patterns to express emotions and perceptions via seasonal images,⁸³⁸ can also be clearly traced through the text. By comparison, these symbolic forms appear less pronounced — if not wholly inconsequential — in the *bakufu* texts, indicating that the diaries' differing chronoschemes can also indicate a different cultural constellation dominating the respective social spheres.

Below the Temporal Scale of the Day

Activities that took place throughout the day are only seldom localised within a certain time frame in any of the examined diaries. In *Kanchūki*, activities are sometimes specified as taking place in the early morning (*sōtan* 早旦), in the evening, or at night, whereas the two *bakufu* diaries only specifically mention that certain events or activities took place in the evening or at night. Most of these instances involve extraordinary events, such as the arrival of messengers from the capital,⁸³⁹ deaths and fires.⁸⁴⁰ Additionally, on two occasions in *Kenji sannen ki*, the author specifies that he worked on an assignment with another official at night, thus indicating the tasks' urgency.⁸⁴¹

The terminology used to express these times of day is similar across all the examined texts. The evening is referred to by expressions such as 'when the night begins' (*yo ni iri* 入夜),⁸⁴² or 'this evening' (*kon'yū/konseki* 今夕),⁸⁴³ and the night is expressed as 'deep night' (*shinkō* 深更).⁸⁴⁴ References to larger natural processes or phenomena, such as sunrise or sunset, are limited to references to the

838 Müller 2020.

839 *Kenji sannen ki*: 13 (Kenji 3.10.29 (1277)); *Einin sannen ki*: 39 (Einin 3.5.14 (1295)).

840 *Kenji sannen ki*: 2 (Kenji 3.2.7 (1277)); *Einin sannen ki*: 46 (Einin 3.8.3 (1295)). Additionally, entry Einin 3.2.1 (1295) records that it rained at night. *Einin sannen ki*: 25.

841 *Kenji sannen ki*: 9 (Kenji 3.7.23 (1277)), 17 (Kenji 3.12.19 (1277)).

842 *Einin sannen ki*: 23 (Einin 3.1.13 (1295)), 25 (Einin 3.2.1 (1295)); *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 267 (Kenji 3.1.5 (1277)), 286 (Kenji 3.3.15 (1277)), 290 (Kenji 3.3.27 (1277)).

843 *Kenji sannen ki*: 1 (Kenji 3.1.11 (1277)), 4 (Kenji 3.4.20 (1277)); *Einin sannen ki*: 39 (Einin 3.5.14 (1295)); *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 272 (Kenji 3.1.9 (1277)), 276–277 (Kenji 3.1.27 (1277) and Kenji 3.1.29 (1277)), 286 (Kenji 3.3.17 (1277)).

844 *Kenji sannen ki*: 13 (Kenji 3.10.29 (1277)); *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 273 (Kenji 3.1.9 (1277)), 275 (Kenji 3.1.24 (1277)), 280 (Kenji 3.2.18 (1277)), 285 (Kenji 3.3.9 (1277)), 286 (Kenji 3.3.17 (1277)), 291 (Kenji 3.3.27 (1277)).

darkness of night in phrases such as ‘when the darkness of night came’ (*yain ni oyobi* 及夜陰),⁸⁴⁵ or ‘when it got dark’ (*kage ni oyobi* 及陰).⁸⁴⁶

A recurring expression that stands out from these other terms that is used in both *Kenji sannen ki* and *Kanchūki* relates to the lighting of lamps in the evening: for example, ‘at the time of the lamps’ (*hyōsoku no ki* 秉燭之期)⁸⁴⁷ or ‘after the lamps’ (*hyōsoku no ato* 秉燭之後 and *hyōsoku igo* 秉燭以後).⁸⁴⁸ These terms invoke the scenery of artificial light in the dark and allude to the regular social custom of lighting these lamps in the evening. They represent a form of material chronography that directly references not a natural or seasonal phenomenon but rather a state related to human activity.⁸⁴⁹

Hours of the day are most commonly invoked to indicate the beginning of ceremonies in both *Kanchūki* and *Kenji sannen ki*, whereas they are only used in relation to earthquakes in *Einin sannen ki*. Moreover, hours of the day are mentioned more frequently than hours of the night across all texts. Although the temporal regime that dictated the social activities within a day segmented the zodiacal hours into four quarters that were announced by bell, clock time is typically indicated in rather vague terms in all the examined texts. The sample from *Kanchūki* includes only one mention of such a subunit, when on Kenji 3.1.9 (1277), Kanenaka describes a ceremony to celebrate the 50th day following the birth of Imperial Prince Hirohito that was delayed:

Although we had been urged to come in the first quarter of the Snake [9:00–9:30], [the ceremony] was started after it had gotten later [in the hour]. Reportedly, [Retired Emperor Kameyama] would arrive after the Left Minister [Nijō Morotada] had offered gratitude for his promotion to first rank. This was the reason for the increasing delay.

巳刻一點可參之由雖相催、更闌漏移之後被始行、左府一位拜賀之後、可有御參云々、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 271).

The temporal specificity in this particular entry perhaps serves to emphasise the extent of the delay that had occurred. The event had been scheduled to start in the first quarter of the hour, but another activity was given precedence and thus the beginning of this event was delayed to the third or fourth quarter of the hour (10:00–11:00), which is indicated by the expression *sara ni take* 更闌 that signifies

845 *Kenji sannen ki*: 17 (Kenji 3.12.19 (1277)). *Einin sannen ki*: 22 (Einin 3.1.11 (1295)).

846 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 285 (Kenji 3.3.9 (1277)).

847 *Kenji sannen ki*: 11 (Kenji 3.8.29 (1277)).

848 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 283 (Kenji 3.2.29 (1277)), 290 (Kenji 3.3.27 (1277)).

849 See also Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] ‘Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu’.

that the peak (i.e., the middle) of the hour had passed. The passing of time is evoked by the image of water leaking out of the water clock's container (*moriusuru* 漏移), a form of material chronography that alludes to the technology used to measure time and evokes a sense of stagnancy or boredom. This example reveals that officials were told when to arrive at a location for an event in specific terms, by indicating the quarters of the hours, whereas *Kanchūki* is typically vaguer in its recollection of events and does not tend to indicate the fractions of zodiacal hours.

My analysis has revealed that temporal specificity to a scale below zodiacal hours was deemed relevant by the diarists only in rare cases and that the qualitative aspects of hours may have been more significant than their quantitative measure in many of the contexts in which they are mentioned. Temporal precision in these matters may not have been prioritised by the authors as it was not regarded as information that was worth transmitting to descendants. In light of the expectation that the Yin and Yang Office's officials — the experts in this field — would also be available for consultation in the future, it was likely deemed important only to convey the necessity of operating within a framework that ascribed different qualities to certain portions of the day and who was responsible for understanding this framework and therefore needed to be consulted in this matter. As previously addressed, other texts such as *Meigetsuki* or *Hanazono tennō shinki* display a different chronographic signature that emphasises temporal precision.⁸⁵⁰ Therefore, these observations may not be genre-specific.

Rather than indicating the timing of activities within the timeframe of a given day by means of formal chronography, the temporality of activities is commonly indicated in relation to other activities. Localising material chronography is often tied to certain actions or events — for example, 'when the delegates return' (*otsukai kisan no toki* 御使歸參之時)⁸⁵¹ — but consecutive material chronography is most pronounced in all examined sources. The most frequent temporal expression across all the samples is *tsuide/tsugi* 次 ('then' or 'next'). Other common consecutive expressions include 'after' (*ato* 後, *no ato* 之後, or *sono ato* 其後), 'before' (*izen* 以前), and 'originally' (*moto* 元).

Delimiting chronography that marks the commencement of different activities by *hajimu* 始 or *somu* 初 and the completion of activities by *shimau* 了 or *owannu* 畢 is also not uncommon in either text. In these cases, the focus lies on the completion and commencement but also the sequence of actions, as opposed to their other temporal aspects.

850 Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

851 *Kenji sannen ki*: 19 (Kenji 3.12.27 (1277)).

Kanchūki occasionally states that a certain action took place after or lasted for ‘a short time’ (*shōji* 少時).⁸⁵² The duration of activities is thus usually indicated only in vague terms. An inspection of valuable scriptures stored at Byōdōin temple on Kenji 3.2.20 (1277) is noted to have lasted for ‘several hours’ (*sūkoku* 數刻),⁸⁵³ and in the previous day’s entry, the inspection is characterised as follows (entry Kenji 3.2.19 (1277)):

There was an inspection of various treasures, etc. [It lasted] almost all day. When it became evening, we returned. I was exhausted.

種 々 寶物等有御覽、大略終日、及晩還御、所窮屈也、 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 280).

In this case, the indication of the duration is again connected to the author’s experience of time, as the entry implies that the inspection was taxing. By contrast, the durations of individual activities within a day are not addressed in the *bakufu* diaries.

Iterative chronography emerges more prominently in *Kanchūki* than in the two *bakufu* diaries, because iterative practices played a crucial role in ceremonial events and because they are more thoroughly recorded in this text. On the one hand, current situations were portrayed as part of an iterative chain of similar events, and on the other hand, the procedures within ceremonial events were also marked by repetition. For example, individual actors were required to bow twice (*nihai* 二拜 or *saihai* 再拜) as part of certain ceremonies,⁸⁵⁴ and sake was typically poured in three rounds (*sangon* 三獻).⁸⁵⁵ Because the procedures are typically not detailed in the examined *bakufu* texts, this aspect of time is almost absent in them.⁸⁵⁶

Kanchūki exhibits a greater variability and density of temporal expressions than the two *bakufu* texts and notably contains more passages that convey a sense of the author’s subjective experience of time. As the above examples demonstrate, formal chronography typically plays a role in the expression of this subjective perception: for example, the material chronographic image of leaking water to convey the passage of time is implicitly tied to the clock, and the text

852 E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 260 (Kenji 3.1.2 (1277)), 271 (Kenji 3.1.9 (1277)), 280 (Kenji 3.2.18 (1277) and Kenji 3.2.19 (1277)).

853 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 281.

854 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 262 (Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)), 290 (Kenji 3.3.27 (1277)).

855 *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 265 (Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)), 271 (Kenji 3.1.9 (1277)), 276 (Kenji 3.1.27 (1277)).

856 *Kenji sannen ki* contains only one similar example, as the iterations of archery sets (‘15 times’, *jūgo do* 一五度) are counted in the ceremony of the first archery on Kenji 3.1.15 (1277) and Kenji 3.7.20 (1277). *Kenji sannen ki*: 1. 8.

indicates a more specific clock time than usual in the same description. Moreover, the duration of the inspection at Byōdōin temple is indicated by vague references to clock time.

These examples indicate that individuals' subjective experience of time (noo-temporality) was determined by an internalisation of the dominant social temporal framework — that is, clock time (sociotemporality). These findings thus parallel those of Leinss and Maki with respect to the temporal scale of the seasons, indicating that a similar pattern can also be observed on the level of hours. They furthermore raise the question whether Fraser's hierarchical structuring of nootemporality as prior to sociotemporality might not be problematic, as the latter clearly exerts influence on the former in these examples.

Other Functions of Chronography

Although the three examined diaries exhibit clear differences in their chronographic signatures and chronoschemes, they also share several genre-specific features. The chronothetic determination of chronography in the genre as a whole is affirmative, as time is implicitly presumed to exist, and the depicted events are positioned in historical time by the dates that introduce all entries. As examined in earlier parts of this monograph, entries that recount events in greater detail and thus employ more temporal expressions and verbs evoke a stronger sense of temporality than entries that succinctly list topics of interest and in which time as a whole takes a back seat. In a way, the degree to which time is affirmed as a factor that determines experience is not equally pronounced in all entries, and this contrast between the two styles is more distinct in the examined *bakufu* texts than in *Kanchūki*.

The typological function of chronography is significantly more explicit in *Kanchūki* than in the other two texts. The text occasionally states that the cosmic constellation is unfavourable — for example, on Kenji 3.1.1 (1277), which indicates that the 'day's fortune was inauspicious' (*hitsugi yoshikarazu* 日次不宜), leading to an event's postponement.⁸⁵⁷ While this form of typological chronography that explicitly ascribes attributes to time is more pronounced in *Kanchūki*, all three of the examined texts implicitly allude to this chronographic function through records of fixed time windows for certain activities or directional changes, which point to an underlying temporal regime that ascribes attributes to certain times. Chronography's typological function encompasses a broader range of aspects

⁸⁵⁷ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 259.

than the attribution of characteristics to time. Other examples of this function that pertain to causal temporal relations, for example, shall be discussed in the next section, along with the modal function of chronography, as both of them appeared in specific contexts that warrant closer analysis.

5.2 Temporal Horizons and Evaluations of Time

The Past

As stated above, the past is most commonly referred to by calendrical time in the studied diaries. Deictic expressions, such as ‘last year’ (*kyonen* 去年), typically indicate a vague, recent past, whereas references to eras that are found more frequently refer to a more distant past. In both *Kenji sannen ki* and *Kanchūki*, eras notably appear in the context of precedents: In *Kenji sannen ki*, they relate to statements regarding past attempts at conflict resolution, whereas in *Kanchūki*, they typically relate to questions of etiquette.

In *Kenji sannen ki*, the expression ‘during the years of Bun’ei’ (*bun’ei nenjū* 文永年中) is used twice in entry Kenji 3.7.23 (1277) to indicate approximately when the *bakufu* had last intervened in an internal conflict of the Enryakuji’s clergy similar to that which it then confronted.⁸⁵⁸ The text is not preoccupied with precisely locating these past events in historical time, as the indicated time frame sufficed to differentiate this situation from others and to provide a general idea of the relevant order of magnitude: the events had occurred within the last decade or so rather than a century ago.⁸⁵⁹

Einin sannen ki differs significantly from the two other studied texts in that it contains no expressions that directly refer to large time scales, such as years or eras. Despite the lack of such direct references to time, the entries’ contents are clearly preoccupied with the recent past, as they refer to protests by members of the Kōfukuji temple in previous years. An explicit reference is made using material chronography only, by distinguishing earlier from now in entry Einin 3.1.25 (1295):

⁸⁵⁸ *Kenji sannen ki*: 8.

⁸⁵⁹ Five of the Deliberative Council’s members had been members already at the beginning of the Bun’ei era (1264), chief among them the now *tokusō* Tokimune, and the diarist Yasuari. Other members had joined gradually over the course of the subsequent years. *Kantō hyōjōshū den*: 312–329. A core group of the Council thus had been personally involved in the discussions during the Bun’ei era (1264–1275) and could likely remember them first-hand.

Although the warrior monks have made forceful appeals on various occasions, they were pardoned from banishment last time. In light of this, it cannot be tolerated now.

一乘院僧正坊事、口徒⁸⁶⁰條、雖及強訴、先度被宥流刑之上、於今者不及許容、(*Einin sannin ki*: 24).

This different chronographical mode may be explained by the fact that the conflict situation was still ongoing and likely conceived of as a prolonged period of unrest. By contrast, the Enryakuji's conflict mentioned in *Kenji sannin ki* was a new instance of conflict after the last eruption had been dealt with in the Bun'ei era (1264–1275). The different chronographic styles thus elucidate the experience of time, which influenced how the respective authors perceived and expressed time in the two diaries.

In *Kanchūki*, references to eras are primarily used to cite precedents for specific procedures. For example, entry Kenji 3.3.27 (1277) describes in detail the proceedings of an event that Kanenaka administered, in which Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira sent a letter to Retired Emperor Kameyama for the first time since his appointment to the position of Great Minister of State (*Daijōdaijin*) some months earlier.⁸⁶¹ The letter was drafted by an official who presented it to Kanehira for approval. A clean copy was then created and also presented to Kanehira. After Kanehira added his signature to the document, it was wrapped in paper and placed in a box, the customary manner of transporting messages at the time. Kanenaka took the box and wrapped it with a sash (*obi* 帶) that he tied into a knot with a one-sided bow (*katakagi* 片鑑).⁸⁶² In a side note, he elaborates on this procedure, as follows:

Regarding this way of tying: in the Shōan era [1171–1175] my great-grandfather [Hino Kanemitsu] tied a knot with a one-sided bow, and in the Katei era [1235–1238] my ancestor [Hirohashi Tsunemitsu] did the same. This time, I could follow the exemplary behaviour of these two generations.

此結様、承安曾祖片鑑令結給、嘉禎先人又同、今度所追彼二代芳躅也、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 289).

The passage indicates that this peculiar way of tying the sash was not standard practice and therefore merited an explanatory note. As with the *Kenji sannin ki* example, the main concern lay not in precisely localising these precedents in time but in provid-

⁸⁶⁰ The first character is unidentifiable due to the erosion of the document, but from context it is clear that it spelled 衆, as indicated by the editor. *Einin sannin ki*: 24.

⁸⁶¹ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 288–293.

⁸⁶² *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 288–289.

ing a rough idea of how far back in the past they were located and, most importantly, in conveying a sense of tradition: Kanenaka's commentary invokes a long-standing practice that spanned a century and multiple generations of his family. It emphasises this relationship between the past and the present and the unbroken line of succession that was now perpetuated through the author's own actions by complementing formal chronography (era names) with material chronography (generations).

The example illustrates that although appropriate procedures for correctly handling documents were prescribed, a spectrum of a variant customs had developed over the course of generations that allowed officials to make conscious decisions about them in the actualisation of an event's iteration. In other words, they had a range of options at their disposal that were based on earlier precedents from which they could select their preferred variation.

The quotation furthermore evidences that the precedents set by Kanenaka's ancestors were charged with — in this case positive — meaning, as they are labelled as 'exemplary behaviour' (*hōtaku* 芳躅). This close connection between precedent and the evaluation of time is also attested to by a brief reflection at the end of the entry that describes Emperor Go-Uda's coming-of-age ceremony on Kenji 3.1.3 (1277).⁸⁶³ It contemplates the fact that Takatsukasa Kanehira had already served in the function to coronate the Emperor in Emperor Kameyama's coming-of-age ceremony and was now doing so again:

Actually, [the fact that] both times, the Imperial Regent Grand Minister of State [Takatsukasa Kanehira] has served in the role of putting on the adult's cap [for the Emperor] at the coming-of-age ceremony is an epochal matter. There are no precedents [for this] except for Lord Hosshōji [Fujiwara Tadamichi] who served [in this role] for both generations of Emperor Sutoku [1119–1164] and Konoe [1139–1155]. These sovereigns did not have a glorious rule. Is this not strongly undesirable? It is a good precedent for people of [Kanehira's] family. It should not be objected,⁸⁶⁴ it should not be objected. It should be appreciated, it should be appreciated.

抑攝政太政大臣兩度令勤仕御元服加冠給希代之事也、法性寺殿崇徳・近衛院兩代令勤仕給之外曾無例、於君者非聖代、強不庶幾事歟、於御身者旁御嘉例也、莫言とと、可貴とと、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 266–267).

This passage reveals that precedents may be associated with both negative or positive connotations and that a decision to follow a certain precedent evoked images of the past and associated meanings in the present. In this case, Kanenaka

⁸⁶³ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 262–267.

⁸⁶⁴ *iu koto mana/iu koto nakare* 莫言, lit. 'one should not speak'.

reflected on the circumstances precisely because the selected precedent had negative connotations. Kanenaka's statements also attest that the meaning attached to precedents was fluid and multidimensional. Although the precedent had negative connotations from the Emperor's perspective, it was associated with positive instances from the Imperial Regent's perspective. The symbolic meaning of precedents was thus not set in stone but could depend on the point of view. A sense of criticism emerges from the passage that is rescinded in the end by phrases that are repeated for emphasis. The musings reveal that the selection and evocation of precedents fulfilled a communicative function at court and were part of a 'language of time', as described by Zerubavel.⁸⁶⁵

This passage demonstrates that references to the past were not only made by era names in this text but also through rulers' names. This implies that officials such as Kanenaka were expected to have some knowledge of the succession histories of Emperors and Imperial Regents or to have a reference to hand to consult on this matter. As with the era names, the mention of these figures conveys the general idea that these events occurred during the first half of the twelfth century without the need to specify individual years. Neither of the remaining *bakufu* diaries contains comparable temporal specifications that are tied to, for example, former shoguns or Hōjō family leaders.

All in all, the temporal horizon — i.e., the furthest points in the past referenced — is smallest in *Einin sannan ki*. The text is preoccupied with just the most recent few years, whereas *Kenji sannan ki* references a more distant past that spanned approximately a decade. *Kanchūki*'s horizon is far longer, and references to a time over a century previous to its creation can be found on various occasions, explicitly in the denomination of precedents but also implicitly in mentions of annual memorial services of long-dead figures. An example of this is the memorial of Imperial Regent Fujiwara Yorimichi, who died in 1067.⁸⁶⁶ This longer temporal horizon was strongly connected to the court's iterative temporal practices, which invoked past traditions.

While the two *bakufu* diaries generally do not attest to attitudes surrounding precedents and their communicative function to the same degree as *Kanchūki*, a sense of iterative tradition is invoked by the use of expressions such as 'according to precedent' (*rei no gotoshi* 如例) and 'as usual' (*tsune no gotoshi* 如常) to describe (or rather, abbreviate) the procedures of ceremonial events.⁸⁶⁷ The key difference is that these precedents are not evaluated in the two texts. It is highly

⁸⁶⁵ Zerubavel 1987.

⁸⁶⁶ E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 181–182 (Kenji 2.2.2 (1276)), 278 (Kenji 3.2.2 (1277)), vol. 2: 177 (Kōan 3.2.2 (1280)).

⁸⁶⁷ *Kenji sannan ki*: 1 (Kenji 3.1.1 (1277)), 7 (Kenji 3.7.19 (1277)), 10 (Kenji 3.8.2 (1277)), Kenji 3.8.15 (1277) and Kenji 3.8.16 (1277); *Einin sannan ki*: 21–22 (Einin 3.1.1–3 (1295), Einin 3.1.5 (1295) and

unlikely that precedents did not fulfil such a communicative function in this social sphere as well, since the traditions had grown out of the court's cultural practices. However, the transmission of such values through the medium of diaries does not seem to have been of significant concern, just as transmission of the details of ceremonial procedures was not a priority for these diarists.

The Future

As Imazeki Toshiko has observed, it is a defining generic feature of *kanbun* diaries that the future of the narrated time was unknown to the authors at the time of the entries' composition, in contrast to retrospectively written literary works, such as memoirs, for example.⁸⁶⁸ References to the future are not particularly prevalent in either of the studied texts and typically appear in the context of planning, usually remaining within the scope of a few months or in vague and emotionally loaded terms.

In *Kenji sannen ki*, the Council was preoccupied with the fear that protests and conflicts among members of Enryakuji temple would continue to cause unrest and disrupt the lives of the aristocratic elites, while also creating a higher workload for the *bakufu* (entry Kenji 3.7.23 (1277)):

However, although during the years of Bun'ei [1264–1275] the warrior monks had sent a letter of apology saying there would not be any dissent between the two lineages, now such misdeeds happened — would this become a habit to be repeated from now on?

但兩門跡不可有確執之由、文永年中衆徒進怠狀之處、今及此惡行之條向後積習歟、(*Kenji sannen ki*: 8).

This statement expresses a causal relationship between the past, present, and future. Measures aimed at preventing dissent had been taken in the past in the hope that they would have a lasting impact on the future by averting further conflicts. This expectation was not met, however, and the current situation was projected onto the future. Given that the situation had occurred previously, the concern was that failure to resolve the problem decisively would result in further iterations of conflict in the future.

A similar sense of unease about the future is also expressed in a different context in *Kanchūki*. On Kenji 3.3.15 (1277), the High Priest (*sōjō* 僧正) of Ichijōin temple,

Einin 3.1.8 (1295), 47 (Einin 3.8.16 (1295)). These iterative terms are of course also regularly found in *Kanchūki* in this context. E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 267 (Kenji 3.1.5 (1277)), 286 (Kenji 3.3.17 (1277)).

868 Imazeki 2000: 74–75.

Shinshō 信昭 (1253–1286), informed the court via a messenger named Gyōken 行賢 (?–?) that the rice for the *Yuishiki*-service had not been provided for the second year in a row and that the service had to be postponed for this reason. In this regard, Kanenaka records the following concerns expressed by the temple's members:

[Gyōken] said: Both years, their share [of rice] had not been provided yet. This year's share has not arrived before the service. In the discussion objections had been raised that it is difficult for the capital to conduct [i.e., to provide the rice]. Although there were discussions and many words, they repeatedly did not comply with orders. Causing a deficit in rice — will this [become] the basis for a gradual decline of future prayers?

被仰下云、兩年未進分、當年分、彼是會以前不到着者、都難行之由講聽申子細、都難行之由講聽申子細、問答盡詞、雖及再三不敍用、會米令失墜者、向後之御願弥陵遲之基歟、 (*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 286).

Paralleling the earlier example, the recurrence of a similar situation across two consecutive years and the failure to resolve the problem led to a sense of uncertainty about possible future consequences.

In comparison to the two other texts, the temporal horizon in *Einin sannē ki* is also smaller in its future orientation. Concerns about the future appear to be more focused on an acute present situation, as a recent trend of gossip and malvolence among *bakufu* officials was criticised in a Council meeting on *Einin* 3.2.16 (1295), which is recorded as follows:

In recent days, there were rumours about malicious schemers, conspiratorial alliances and criticism of superiors on various topics. More or less it was due to all Council members etc. badmouthing others. This was said. Is this not the way to further fighting?

奸智之輩、明黨比周、條々入直諫之由、近日風聞之、大略評定衆以下皆以讒之云々、更非諫諍之道歟、 (*Einin sannē ki*: 27).

The concerns expressed here are notably tied to the image of an undesirable future that the current course of action would lead to if the criticised behaviour were to go uncorrected. Although the object of concern was different in this case, the example demonstrates that patterns identified for the other two texts also apply to this diary. The three texts share a tendency to conceptualise the future in emotionally loaded terms that are projected onto it from taxing or difficult situations in the present.

These examples notably express qualitative temporal relationships, as present situations are paralleled with earlier, similar situations, or potential future situations (chronotypology). Furthermore, the modality differs from the texts' usual assertive

narrative tone, which emphasises the emotional connotations of these statements about time (chronomodality). In all presented cases, (rhetorical) questions are deployed to colour the statements with an emotional timbre and emphasise the bewilderment and concerns expressed. Entry Kenji 3.12.27 (1277) in *Kenji sannen ki* conveys that Retired Emperor Kameyama shared the *bakufu*'s concerns regarding the frequent Enryakuji conflicts:

It is an established provision that the violent conflicts often originating from Sanmon should be infrequent. [...] Thinking about it carefully and not taking appropriate measures [would mean] that it would not be a peaceful time.

先規多起自山門之鬪亂、珍事可爲必然、[...]廻思慮無計沙汰者、不可有靜謐之期云々[...] (*Kenji sannen ki*: 19).

This passage contains an apodictic modality: Kameyama demands that the conflicts remain infrequent occurrences (*hitsuzen taru beshi* 可爲必然), and his assertion that the future will not otherwise be peaceful contains a nuance of certainty or inevitability (*bekarazu* 不可) that serves to emphasise these concerns.⁸⁶⁹ The presented cases thus illustrate that the various functions of chronography intertwine to produce an emotive evaluation of time that typically reflects collective attitudes towards time discussed and shared among groups of people.

The Present

Variations on references to the present moment, such as 'now' (*ima* 今) and 'just now' (*tada ima* 只今) or 'at this time' (*tōji* 當時), are found in all the examined texts, but they do not serve to characterise or evaluate the present moment. Neither of the *bakufu* diaries explicitly address the present as such, but the entries surrounding the conflicts of Kōfukuji and Enryakuji certainly evoke a sense of dilemma and difficulty in negotiating the situations at hand. As outlined above, in these cases, the present is usually strongly embedded in its continuity with the past and future. The findings from the sampled section from *Kanchūki* are similar, as the present becomes implicitly thematic in parallel to — or as a continuation of — the past.

The concerns regarding time discussed hitherto tend to be preoccupied with 'sociotemporal' time, as they relate to events strongly interconnected with social organisation, such as the social communicative function of precedents, the socio-

⁸⁶⁹ *Kenji sannen ki*: 19 (Kenji 3.12.27 (1277)).

political organisation of monastic institutions, the social significance of centrally organised religious worship, or social dynamics within the Deliberative Council.

As outlined in the Introduction, *kanbun* diaries in general are not particularly concerned with personal thoughts, which may explain why the evaluations of time found in the texts are skewed towards sociotemporality. Expressions of more personal perceptions and evaluations of time are indeed not found in the two examined *bakufu* texts, but appear occasionally in *Kanchūki*. Aside from examples of the author's perception of the passage of time presented earlier, the text occasionally contains broader contemplations of the situation and a subjective evaluation thereof. Because I do not wish to exclude such fascinating examples from my investigation, I shall discuss an example found in an early part of the diary and not in the sampled scroll of Kenji 3 (1277). Kanenaka became a victim of a fire on Bun'ei 11.6.4 (1274) and described his state of mind in the face of this adversity in considerable detail in his calendar notes:

Serene. At the hour of the Tiger [03:00–05:00], my Kadenokōji residence burned down. Reportedly, the reason was a spreading fire. The document cart got away with mere smoke. I roughly retrieved this: my excerpted books, etc. Not one piece of paper remains of my own texts and the detailed texts, they turned into ashes. In the past month and this month, things were incomparably stressful.

[on the reverse side] 4th day, continuation

Such a seldom occurrence [happened] when the grief regarding the matter of my ancestor [i.e., the death of his father Hirohashi Tsunemitsu] was like nothing else. Is misfortune like this? I must be careful, I must be careful.

晴、寅刻勘解由小路蓬屋焼失、放火之故云々、文車免餘煙、文庫大略取出之、予抄物已下、愚記・細々書籍不殘一帋化灰燼、去今兩月物忽無比類者也、

[裏書] 四日下、

先人御事悲歎無他事之處、如此珍事出來、微運之令然歟、可慎々々、
(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 37–38).

Kanenaka recounts his experience of this personal tragedy by contextualising it against his father's recent demise, which had caused him distress and left him emotionally vulnerable. He describes the fire's devastating effects in his diary entry, remarking that it had affected the family's document archive, only a portion of which could be saved in time. Kanenaka also laments the fact that two such incisive events had occurred within quick succession of one another.

The entry goes on to reveal that Imperial Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira inquired with Kanenaka about the situation. In this context, the direness of the circumstances is further emphasised:

Via a document of a handmaid I was given an order from the palace of the Minister [Takatsukasa Kanehira]. I ^{[inserted:] respectfully} explained [what happened]. Regarding the house, it had been built at the time of my grandfather [Hirohashi Yorisuke]. After its construction it had never encountered a fire accident. After my strict father passed away, this tragedy occurred suddenly. Suffering within suffering. In my heart is nothing but dismay. It is pitiful.

自大殿御所以女房奉書被訪仰下、○畏申上⁸⁷⁰了、件屋祖父之御時被建之、造營之後未逢火災之難也、嚴親令去給之後、忽此災起、歎中之歎、心中惘然之外無他、可哀者也、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 38).

The entry explains that this was the first fire at the house in two generations and contrasts this period of uneventfulness with the sudden disruption at an already difficult point in time. Then, the text once more explicitly addresses and emphasises Kanenaka's emotional state. The narration's focus eventually shifts to a lamentation of the loss of the family records:

About half of the texts of the two generations of my great-grandfather Lord Anegakōji [Kinnobu]⁸⁷¹ and my grandfather Lord Counsellor [Hirohashi Yorisuke] burned down. It is lamentable. The [texts of] Lord Anegakōji were copies. The [texts of] my grandfather were originals. Pitiful, pitiful.

曾祖父姉小路殿・祖父納言殿二代御記半分餘燒失、口惜事也、姉小路殿書寫本也、祖父御自筆也、可哀々々、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 38).

Here, the present is again presented as a disruption, as Kanenaka expresses grief over the fact that the writings of several generations were lost. The emotional impact of these events is emphasised in the text by the repetition of phrases at the end of the paragraphs. It is a remarkable passage in the diary, in that it offers a unique insight into the author's state of mind and his attempts to negotiate a difficult period in his life and also attests to the value ascribed to his predecessors' diaries alongside the devastation caused by the loss of these family treasures.

In contrast to the earlier examples, this case centres more strongly on a noo-temporal perspective: Kanenaka individually experienced the present as painful, incisive, and disruptive, particularly because of the convergence of two personal tragedies in it. The present is thus evaluated negatively for him personally and specifically, but not on a general sociopolitical level. Although entries such as

⁸⁷⁰ The author originally wrote 畏 but corrected it to 上.

⁸⁷¹ Anegakōji Kinnobu 姉小路公宣 (1181–1225) was the son-in-law of Kanenaka's great grandfather Hino Kanemitsu 日野兼光 (1145–1196).

these are rarely found in *Kanchūki*, they demonstrate that the diary genre may in some cases provide insights into their author's (temporary) attitudes towards time, particularly in times that were emotionally challenging.

Modality of Action and Evaluation of Tempo

The modality of actions is seldom discussed in the two *bakufu* diaries, and although *Einin sannen ki* in particular thoroughly documents the meetings of the Deliberative Council, the text is not particularly concerned with the procedures of the Council or the process of discussions. Indications as to whether a consensus was reached swiftly or whether the author perceived the meeting as tedious, for example, are not typically recorded. An exception to this is found in entry Einin 3.2.10 (1295) quoted in Chapter 4.5. In this entry, the author, after noting decisions regarding a conflict involving the Kōfukuji temple, unusually embellishes his account by noting that the matters were 'sorted out quickly' (*hayaku torisuterare* 早被取捨) and thereby conveys his personal experience of the pace of the discussion.⁸⁷²

This is a rare example of a diarist sharing his perception of time and addressing the modality of an action. The entry appears to imply that the discussion of the topic had been outstanding for a while, and that it was finally time to deal with it. It is possible that the festivities at the beginning of the year may have delayed the discussions, as the Council did not meet for a while, or perhaps there had been another delay.

Kenji sannen ki remarkably exhibits a clear tendency to emphasise swiftness and efficiency. The text occasionally specifies that a decision was (to be) reached quickly⁸⁷³ or that communication was taken care of quickly,⁸⁷⁴ as demonstrated in the case study reported in Chapter 4.5. Similarly, entry Kenji 3.8.29 (1277) specifies that the diarist Yasuari was summoned to the *tokusō*'s residence and 'hastily visited' (*hasemairu* 馳參). Changes to the Board of Coadjutors' staff were announced to him and he was ordered to 'quickly' (*haya* 早) announce these orders to them, which he subsequently did by visiting the two officials in question 'at the time of the lamps' (*hyōsoku no ki* 秉燭之期).⁸⁷⁵ Yasuari thus conveys the swiftness with which the *bakufu*'s institutions dealt with matters and highlights the urgency of action in certain cases delegated to him. On the contrary, indications that something was executed slowly are absent from both *bakufu* texts.

872 *Einin sannen ki*: 27.

873 *Kenji sannen ki*: 8–9 (Kenji 3.7.23 (1277) and Kenji 3.7.25 (1277)).

874 *Kenji sannen ki*: 7 (Kenji 3.7.8 (1277)), 13 (Kenji 3.10.30 (1277)), 19 (Kenji 3.12.27 (1277)).

875 *Kenji sannen ki*: 11.

By contrast, *Kanchūki* tends to mention when an event or individual was late rather than emphasising swiftness. For example, entry Kenji 3.3.21 (1277), which describes the restoration of the Yakushi-Buddha statue of the main hall of Hōjōji temple states that the main sculptor Inkei 院恵 ‘came late’ (*chichito mairi* 參遅々) and was reprimanded ‘repeatedly’ (*saisan* 再三) for it, whereas two or three assistant sculptors ‘came early’ (*hayaku mairi* 早參) and mounted the statue on a stand before it was inspected and placed in the main hall.⁸⁷⁶

On Kenji 3.1.8 (1277), the diarist Kanenaka accompanied Retired Emperor Kameyama on an extraordinary visit to the Hosshōji temple’s New Year Prayer in response to repeated encouragement. Along with other officials, he travelled to Kameyama’s mansion to meet him there and depart for the temple. This scene is described as follows in the diary:

Towards the end of the [hour of the] Rooster [approximating 19:00], accompanied by horses, we went to the Tokiwai residence. There were no people except for the administrators of the Retired Emperor. We went rather early. The people who were proceeding late were sent messengers who urged them [to pick up the pace]. The [Retired Emperor’s] cart plaited, with a gabled roof stood under the central gate for a moment. After the preparations were conducted, they were told this. Departure.

酉斜、相具馬參常葉井殿、仙洞奉行人之外無人、隨分早參也、遅參人ゝ遣青鳥責催、御車綱代暫立中門下、催具之後申其由、出御、(*Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 268).

For this temple visit, several people — some on foot, some on horseback — assembled at the residence of Retired Emperor Kameyama. They formed a specific line-up, which is recorded in the diary entry, before making their way to the temple.⁸⁷⁷ Coordination efforts such as this, which relied on the coordinated actions of different people and animals, were more likely to be prone to delays than other, simpler activities. A sense of liveliness is evoked by the description that conjures an image of different people proceeding to get ready at various paces, some of whom may have been distracted and therefore proceeded idly.

In both these instances, certain individuals failed to meet the expected pace and were thus reminded to hurry up by other individuals on site. This indicates the existence of certain expectations regarding the tempo of activities and that there may have been some urgency for the proceedings to begin on time. It also

⁸⁷⁶ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 287. According to the same entry, the statue had been destroyed in a fire in the Kenchō era (1249–1256), and apparently its restoration had been suddenly decided after decades.

⁸⁷⁷ *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 268–270.

illustrates that certain people had greater control over the temporal aspects of a situation than others, as they were authorised to urge others to adapt their pace.

While both examples do mention that certain people acted quickly, this is presented in juxtaposition with others acting slowly. The focus thus centres on this contrast, which emphasises the lateness of one party.

In an article entitled *Heian kizoku no chikoku ni tsuite – sekkanki o chūshin ni* 平安貴族の遅刻について—摂関期を中心に ('Lateness of Aristocracy in the Heian Era – mainly about the Sekkan Era'), Hosoi demonstrates a clear concern of court society with adhering to schedules in the Heian period.⁸⁷⁸ At the same time, the sources — mostly Heian period diaries — reveal that lateness was normalised across all strata of court society. Leniency was awarded to high-ranking members of the court, while lower-ranking individuals were more likely to be punished.⁸⁷⁹ This marks another example wherein the handling of time reflected hierarchical social relations. Hosoi argues that an 'etiquette of lateness' (*chikoku no sahō* 遅刻の作法) became established to address the need to start events on time despite the tardiness of individuals, for example by abbreviating certain procedures or by excusing individuals from events altogether.⁸⁸⁰

The concern for punctuality in *Kanchūki* that is highlighted by recordings of lateness thus aligns with Hosoi's findings for the earlier Heian period.

Aside from such explicit description of delays, *Kanchūki* sometimes also describes the modality of actions more implicitly. At ceremonial events, certain ways of moving within the space were prescribed that inadvertently influenced the pace of said movement. In many examples quoted from *Kanchūki* (such as Emperor Go-Uda's coming-of-age ceremony or the planning of the Kasuga shrine visit), people approached the space in which the Emperor or Imperial Regent was located on their knees (*shikkō* 膝行). They also walked backwards when withdrawing from such authority figures.⁸⁸¹ Another standardised mode of movement during ceremonies was to tiptoe in small steps while holding an upright *shaku*, known as *renpō* 練歩.⁸⁸² These various terms imply a slower pace than walking in long strides or running, and thus are evidence that ceremonial procedures regulated — or rather curtailed — the tempo of actions to some degree.

A close reading of the diaries therefore reveals — albeit often implicitly — several of the values that the authors held in relation to time: A tendency to highlight swiftness and efficiency can be identified in *Kenji sannen ki*, whereas *Kan-*

878 Hosoi 2011: 31–32, 43–44.

879 Hosoi 2011: 33–34, 39, 43.

880 Hosoi 2011: 34–37, 39, 43–44.

881 E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 263 (Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)), 288 (Kenji 3.3.27 (1277)).

882 E.g. *Kanchūki*, vol. 1: 264 (Kenji 3.1.3 (1277)).

chūki instead exhibits a concern with timeliness, with noting when events were delayed and a certain concern with conveying a slowed-down pace at ceremonial events. *Einin sannin ki* appears more ‘neutral’ in this regard, as its entries do not address such issues.

Reflection

The chronoschemes of the examined diaries differ from one another, and each has a distinct chronographic signature. The temporal horizon is largest in *Kanchūki*, in which era names that reference even a rather distant past play an important role. Seasons are also more relevant in this text, albeit not to an extent that is comparable to literary texts produced by members of the court. The scale of the year and the month are not particularly pronounced, although they are present, whereas the scale of the single day appears to be more relevant. Various expressions used to refer to different times of day are more dominant than zodiacal hours, although most activities are not precisely timed.

Kenji sannin ki's chronoschemes primarily differ from those of *Kanchūki* in that it only uses era names but not references to deceased people to refer to the past and that era names and seasons are decidedly less pronounced in the text in general. They appear on only a few occasions and mostly in a pragmatic function to localise events in time rather than invoking a sense of tradition or order. Similarly to *Kanchūki*, individual years or months are not strongly developed. However, the scale of the single day is strongly determinative of the text's chronographic signature and stands out as the most relevant unit of time. The zodiacal hours and times of day are equally deployed to designate points in time throughout the day.

The chronoschemes of *Einin sannin ki* are most unique. The text only addresses the scale of individual days a handful of times and never explicitly mentions any larger temporal scales. Activities are located in time using references to a time of day, and zodiacal hours are used exclusively to locate earthquakes in time. This stark difference is related to the diary's contents: A large portion of *Einin sannin ki* records meetings and participants without any description of actions. Therefore, for more than half the text, no temporal specifications beyond the date introducing the entries are necessary.

In terms of material chronography, the *bakufu* diaries are similar, focusing on consecutive chronography to indicate the succession of actions and events and delimiting chronography to indicate the beginning or end of actions. By comparison, the frequency and variety of material chronographic expressions in *Kanchūki* is significantly higher. Iterative chronography emerges as an important measure, and durations are also indicated in some instances. As demonstrated in Chapter 2.2, the

lives of the *bakufu* officials were also marked by repetition, and thus the relative rarity of iterative chronography does not equate the absence of temporal patterns at the *bakufu* on a chronopolitical level. In *Einin sannenshi*, in particular, this important iterative pattern is strongly embedded in the chronopoetic configuration of the text that records iterative meetings in a fixed, repeating format. This observation highlights the importance of studying time on various analytical levels in order to gain a holistic understanding of the topic.

The analysis of the investigated texts confirmed a general tendency in the genre of *kanbun* diaries to favour the chronometric function of chronography over others. Among these metric functions, localising and consecutive chronography stand out most prominently, and the genre generally prefers formal chronography over material chronography to convey explicit temporal information. In this respect, the chronoschemes of the texts examined here are similar to one another, although this investigation has revealed individual differences between the texts. The temporal expressions in *Kanchūki* are more variable and diverse than that of the two *bakufu* texts, and its temporal horizons are longer. *Kenji sannenshi* exhibited a closer resemblance to this court diary than *Einin sannenshi*.

The subjective experience of time in *Kanchūki* is more notably pronounced and often deploys formal chronography, sometimes in conjunction with other types of chronography.

While the chronometric function of chronography certainly dominates in all examined texts, the examples presented herein also demonstrate the way in which the typological and modal functions of chronography shape the depictions of events. Notably, modalities diverging from the usual assertive tone arise in conjunction with chronotypological statements. It makes sense that statements and concerns about the relationship between the past, present, and future should be more 'opinionated' than other, mostly descriptive statements and that a wider variety of modalities are to be expected in such instances that are focused on a more expressive dimension.

This characterisation of the genre applies to the text's general disposition, which is primarily marked by descriptive chronography. However, the examination of chronoaesthetics (the emotive dimension of chronography in the sampled works), rendered visible another nuance of the genre's chronographic tendencies. In sections of the diaries that can be described as primarily expressive, the metric function of chronography takes a back seat, and its typological and modal functions emerge as primary factors. In the two *bakufu* diaries that document the Deliberative Council's attempts to negotiate the repeated and ongoing conflicts of monastic institutions, the interdependency of past, present, and future is the object of active contemplation and a source of concern. Likely owing to the length of the existent text, *Kanchūki* allows a deeper glimpse at the author's personal

attitudes towards and experience of time, whereas the two *bakufu* texts permit only a view of the Council's collective stance.

While a significant portion of the chronography of *kanbun* diaries serves to describe the temporal relations between depicted events, the texts also encompass an implicitly prescriptive dimension, as precedents guided decisions in the present, and an emotive dimension, as they occasionally conveyed attitudes and concerns about the past, present, and future.

Conclusion

What is the relationship between human beings and time? In order to shed light onto this question which is fundamental to our existence, it is helpful to illuminate the multifaceted aspects that comprise 'time', including the techniques used to measure it, the terminology used to express temporal categories, temporal regimes and temporal organisation principles, implicit and explicit thoughts and attitudes about time, and complex interrelationships between these facets. An investigation of the different ways in which these aspects manifest in different cultures and societies can therefore only help to deepen our understanding of time and our relationship with it. This potential has not yet been fully engaged with, as many studies into past concepts of time have tended to portray them as earlier stages in a progressive linear evolution that inevitably culminated in the present day. In alignment with the TIMEJ project's main hypothesis, my investigation thus aimed to demonstrate that multiple and complex approaches to time are not a unique feature of the modern world by scrutinising a group of sources that have not yet been comprehensively studied in the context of time in premodern Japan.

Kanbun diaries, a format in which people inscribed their experiences in a structured manner, have proven insightful for the study of time. These texts aimed to affect the future by transmitting values and models for future reference, which determined which aspects of time they chose to emphasise over other options. They were thus strongly guided by the normative demands of the symbolic form of administration and developed facets of time that differed from those produced by other textual genres originating in the Japanese medieval period that were subject to other normative requirements.

Kanbun diaries tend to favour chronometry over other aspects of time. Abstract, quantified calendrical time emerged as the dominant temporality in the studied texts in the specific historical formation of the *Senmyōreki* calendar. The relational chronography facilitated the expression of temporal relations in a way that was meaningful to multiple people across different places and times so that events could be contextualised and cross-referenced with other events. Calendrical time is thus crucial on both the chronographic and chronopoetic levels. On the chronopolitical level, the *Senmyōreki* was complemented by the sexagenary cycle and the spatio-temporal regulations derived from it that influenced activities and future plans and was thus also determinative of the live rhythms of the court's elites.

Calendrical and clock time were instrumental in the coordination of action so that people could be assembled at a given time and place for large-scale activities, such as outings or ceremonies. Many situations and activities also relied on close personal ties between actors, and the prominence of shared social spaces in

which they coexisted and coordinated in person and situationally, without relying on schedules and clock time. Moreover, although auspicious timings for certain activities were determined ahead of time, the examined texts exhibit a tendency to omit such temporal information and remain vague with respect to temporal parameters in their portrayal of events. Because these parameters were subject to situational changes and experts were consulted in each instance, the indication of such temporal information was not of primary interest to diarists. The level of chronopolitics — the coordination of actions — influenced how the texts were formulated on a chronographic level. Protocols in formalised settings were typically bound to actions, prescribing sequences and movements, and occasionally paces, rather than timings or durations. This sequentiality of action on the chronopolitical level is mirrored in the descriptions that are marked by consecutive material and formal chronography.

These protocols and elements of correct etiquette are portrayed in greater detail in *Kanchūki* than in the two *bakufu* diaries, which were less concerned with recording them elaborately. The more nuanced depiction in *Kanchūki* coincides with a broader range and density of temporal expressions and occasional glimpses into the author's subjective perception of time. My analysis furthermore revealed certain values with respect to time, which were inscribed into the studied texts: in *Kanchūki*, a concern with conforming to expectations about timing, sequence, and tempo can be clearly discerned, as temporal indications tend to come to the fore in such contexts. *Kenji sannen ki* and, to a lesser degree, *Einin sannen ki* instead tend to highlight swiftness, urgency, and a short response time, thus indicating that efficiency and celerity were held in high regard by their authors. The chronographic signatures of the texts can thus provide information about the themes at play on the chrononoetic level.

Kanchūki looks back on a more distant past that is connected to the present by precedents and traditions that were evoked in ritual practice. From this text emerges a concern for stability and order — for regular rhythms and practices to be reiterated and perpetuated into the future by understanding and correctly executing protocol — and concerns relating to disruptions to such regular patterns. Meanwhile, *Kenji sannen ki* and *Einin sannen ki* look back to a relatively recent past that relates to the *bakufu*'s function in adjudicating the conflicts of monastic institutions. In these texts, the concern for social order relates more strongly to concerns about ineffective interventions in the past and the possible repetition of conflicts in the future. Although time is not thematic in the studied texts, it is typically evaluated as part of such reflexions on the relationship between past, present, and future. Emotive chronography is often interlinked with a feeling of uncertainty or dissatisfaction with a problem or situation that colours the way time is perceived and therefore projected onto.

Sociotemporality that also shaped the experience of time to some degree was marked by a linearisation of time that occurred in the act of its quantification in a calendrical system based on mathematical operations and a cyclical morphology represented by socially regular rhythms of recurring cycles on various time scales and related routines. Both these linear and cyclical aspects are ingrained in the examined diaries, and *Kenji sannenshi* in particular tends to emphasise the linear aspect, whereas *Einin sannenshi* inclines in the opposite direction and emphasises cyclical patterns. My study not only attests to a compelling relationship between the levels of nootemporality and sociotemporality but has demonstrated that sociotemporality entailed variability and a plurality of coexisting frames of reference that tended to dominate different areas of life.

A plurality of symbolic forms converged in the social spheres of the court and *bakufu* and the diaries produced therein: the symbolic form of administration required a universal temporal frame of reference that government agencies could refer to and thereby communicate with one another across large distances. Diaries that transmitted expertise in specific fields of influence were equally subject to this requirement, as they communicated information to the potentially distant future. The symbolic form of politics mandated that this time regime legitimised the ruling authorities and thus claimed it as a mirror of cosmic order that was reinforced by related ritual practices.⁸⁸³ This was achieved by harnessing the symbolic form of science and its normative claims of truth and objectivity that, in turn, also exerted an influence on the calendrical regime, mandating that it should come as close as possible to the actual astronomical cycles after which it was modelled. This cultural constellation is more evident in *Kanchūki*, wherein ritual practices connected to the ideological underpinnings of calendar making and detailed discussions surrounding directional fortunes are occasionally described.

The present study's findings demonstrate the merits of the research questions and analytical models proposed by the different theories of time that served as its methodological basis but also challenge the evolutionary angle that many of these theories incorporate. My findings suggest that the models devised by authors such as Harweg and Dux have the potential to yield even more insights into the topic of time when these preconceptions of a progressive evolution from one conceptualisation of time to another are eliminated. Instead, my findings propose that the distinct modes of temporality outlined by these authors should be regarded as equally valid modes of time that may coexist, complement one another, or eclipse one another in different contexts.

⁸⁸³ See also Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'.

Zerubavel's understanding of time as a crucial dimension of social organisation and a dimension through which meaning is communicated within societies proved a useful guide to chronopolitical practices and could be integrated well with other comprehensive theories of time. Similarly, Steineck's model of chronological analysis assisted the revelation of new layers of meaning that moved beyond those of chronometry, and naturally tied into an analysis of values and attitudes associated with time.

My study was also able to confirm Fraser's and Maki's ideas of coexisting layers and morphologies of temporality, which attest to a plurality of time that is not unique to the twenty-first century, but may be a shared feature of human societies across cultures and history. The combination of the three analytical levels of chronography, chronopolitics, and chrononoetics/poetics has therefore proven effective to investigate various facets of time and the complex interrelations between them.

The theory of symbolic forms further proved useful when contextualising and interpreting the identified patterns and explaining why certain aspects of time appear to be more prominent in some contexts than in others. It also allows for the consideration of distinctions between universally shared formats and normative demands and concrete and potentially particular historical formations. My investigation led me to propose 'administration' and 'politics' as symbolic forms — a topic that needs further attention and a more elaborate theoretical discussion than could be afforded in the present study.

The demand to clearly define processes and follow predefined sequences accurately is a fundamental administrative requirement that is also valid in the twenty-first century. A request to a government agency must typically be filed according to specific protocol, using a designated form, with correct utensils (for example, pencils may not be admissible), and possibly in person and with proof of identity. Moreover, it must be filed with the correct office, and office hours or deadlines may have to be respected. The office clerk also follows predefined procedures to process the request further. Though the ways in which these procedures were defined in the Kamakura period may have been historically particular, they are similar in their fundamental characteristics: a report to the Emperor also had to be transmitted using the correct material by a person of a specific office and/or rank, using the appropriate movements, and so on. While today, the correct process may be written down in a workflow document file on a computer that is distributed to new employees and made accessible to customers via a website, one of the various formats available to pass on this expertise in the Kamakura period was that of *kanbun* diaries. The text format of diaries is also not unique to premodern Japan but transcends historical and cultural boundaries. However, *kanbun* diaries are a specific historic formation that encompasses the concrete material conditions in which they were produced and transmitted, as well as their function and intended readership.

My study revealed patterns shared across the examined sources that hint towards genre-specific schemes while also highlighting key differences between the individual texts. In most respects, the cultural practices of the *bakufu* exhibited parallels to the court from which it had adapted its traditions, but differences emerged in the emphases on certain aspects of time in the diaries produced in these two spheres. My analysis suggests that these differences are likely tied to the different functions that the authors performed in their social spheres, and thus the findings should not be imprudently generalised to reflect differences between the court and the *bakufu*.⁸⁸⁴

Further research to compare a variety of other courtier diaries written by authors occupying a range of functions in the court bureaucracy could deepen our understanding of genre-specific features and reveal dissimilarities between different functionaries. Müller's research, for example, has demonstrated that *Meiget-suki* and *Hanazono tennō shinki* place a greater emphasis on clock time than the diaries examined in this study.⁸⁸⁵ We may expect that diaries written by courtiers with reputations as excellent poets may exhibit different aspects of time than those written by Yin and Yang Experts or judicial officers. Such studies could therefore potentially also reveal more about the interplay between different symbolic forms within a single social sphere. A consideration of other texts produced at the Kamakura *bakufu* could furthermore deepen our understanding of this social sphere's negotiation of time and serve as a more solid basis for comparison with the Imperial court, which has been the topic of considerably more research to date.

Moreover, given that calendrical time and its associated notions and cultural practices were originally adapted from the Tang dynasty, we might expect that the elites in premodern China perhaps operated under similar conditions and exhibited similar patterns of social organisation and thought with respect to time. A comparison of diaries written by these Chinese and Japanese elites could thus yield interesting insights into potential similarities between the cultural constellations and how shared fundamentals produced different concrete manifestations of time-related aspects in the two societies. In turn, a comparison of diaries written by, for example, medieval European courtiers or judicial officers who were operating according to different calendrical systems under different material and sociopolitical conditions within different cultural constellations could also contribute to a broader understanding of universal and particular aspects of humanity's attempts to grapple with time.

884 See also Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'.

885 Müller [forthcoming] *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*.

My findings complement existing studies of the temporal conceptions of premodern Japan by contributing a perspective that is based on sources with high practical relevance as reference works intended to document and guide everyday life. The temporality emerging from the studied texts is marked by an awareness of historical and calendrical time and challenges the notions of a concrete, seasonally bound, or solely action-oriented time consciousness that have been attributed to premodern societies and premodern Japan specifically. Rather, my research suggests that these are different manifestations of a differentiated and stratified society's complex attempts to grapple with time across multiple contexts, as proposed by the Cassirer's theory of symbolic forms. While studies of literary texts dominated by the symbolic form of art have demonstrated an emphasis on chronoaesthetics (that is, the expressive use and evaluation of time),⁸⁸⁶ *kanbun* diaries, as a genre, did not subscribe to these same normative demands, and instead were preoccupied with the accurate and clear transmission of knowledge to future generations, which had implications for how time is manifested in the texts.

My findings open up the possibility for comparison of various social contexts and textual genres produced in medieval Japan within the TIMEJ project and the new 'Time and Emotion in Medieval Japanese Literature' project that launched in 2023. My research thus contributes to a larger aim of obtaining a more nuanced understanding of medieval Japan as a dynamic and multi-faceted society with diverse approaches to time, in order to gain more meaningful insights into humanity's complex relationship with time.

⁸⁸⁶ Müller 2020; Müller 2022; Müller/Ciorciaro [forthcoming] 'Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu'.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Chikamoto nikki*, vol. 1 親元日記 (一). By Ninagawa Chikamoto 蜷川親元. In *Zoku shiryō taisei* 続史料大成 vol. 10, edited by Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, 159–438. Kyōto: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1978.
- Denchū ika nenjū gyōji* 殿中以下年中行事. In *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 vol. 22, edited by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, 302–343. Tōkyō: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai 續群書類従完成會, 1959.
- Einin sannan ki* 永仁三年記. By Ōta Tokitsura 太田時連. In *Zoku shiryō taisei* 続史料大成 vol. 10, edited by Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, 21–48. Kyōto: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1978.
- Kanchūki* 勘仲記. By Hirohashi Kanenaka 広橋兼仲. Edited by Takahashi, Hideki 高橋秀樹, Sakurai Yoshio 櫻井彦, Nakagomi Ritsuko 中込律子 and Endō Tamaki 遠藤珠紀. Vol. 1–7. *Shiryō henshū* 史料纂集. Tōkyō: Yagi shoten 八木書店, 2008–2021.
- Kantō hyōjōshū den* 関東評定衆伝. In *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 vol. 4, edited by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, 282–337. Tōkyō: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai 續群書類従完成會, 1972.
- Kenji sannan ki* 建治三年記. By Ōta Yasuari 太田康有. In *Zoku shiryō taisei* 続史料大成 vol. 10, edited by Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, 1–20. Kyōto: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1978.
- Kenji sannan ki (Gunsho ruijū edition)* 建治三年記. By Ōta Yasuari 太田康有. In *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 vol. 23, edited by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, 325–35. Tōkyō: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai 續群書類従完成會, 1960.
- Kenmu nenjū gyōji* 建武年中行事. By Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇. In *Kenmu nenjū gyōji chūkai* 建武年中行事注解, commented by Wada Hidematsu 和田英松 and revised by Tokoro Isao 所功, 22–356. Tōkyō: Kōdansha 講談社, 1989.
- Kinhira kōki* 公衡公記. By Saionji Kinpira 西園寺公衡. Edited by Hashimoto Yoshihiko 橋本義彦 and Imai Hiromichi 今江広道. Vol. 1–4. *Shiryō henshū* 史料纂集. Tōkyō: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai 續群書類従完成會, 1968–1979.
- Kinpishō* 禁秘鈔. By Emperor Juntoku 順德天皇. In *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 vol. 26, edited by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, 367–418. Tōkyō: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai 續群書類従完成會, 1971.
- Kujō-dono ikai* 九条殿遺誡. By Fujiwara Morosuke 藤原師輔. In *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 vol. 27, edited by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, 136–39. Tōkyō: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai 續群書類従完成會, 1972.
- Minkeiki* 民經記. By Fujiwara Tsunemitsu 藤原経光. Edited by *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo* 東京大学史料編纂所. Vol. 1–10. *Dai nihon kokiroku* 大日本古記録. Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1975–2007.
- Saitō Chikamoto nikki* 齋藤親基日記. By Saitō Chikamoto 齋藤親基. In *Zoku shiryō taisei* 続史料大成 vol. 10, edited by Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, 105–158. Kyōto: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1978.
- Saitō Mototsune nikki* 齋藤基恒日記. By Saitō Mototsune 齋藤基恒. In *Zoku shiryō taisei* 続史料大成 vol. 10, edited by Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三, 49–104. Kyōto: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1978.
- Sanemi kyōki* 實躬卿記. By Sanjō Sanemi 藤原実躬. Edited by *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo* 東京大学史料編纂所. Vol. 1–10. *Dai nihon kokiroku* 大日本古記録. Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1991–2023.
- Shin go-shikimoku* 新御式目. In *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 續群書類従 vol. 23下, edited by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 and amended by Ōta Tōshirō 太田藤四郎, 70–79. Tōkyō: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai 續群書類従完成會, 1959.

Online Resources

JapanKnowledge Online Library: <https://japanknowledge.com/lib/search/basic/index.html>
(10.03.2023)

Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo Database Website: <https://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/> (10.03.2023)

Research Literature

- Adolphson, Mikael S. (2000): *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Adolphson, Mikael S. (2018): 'Weighing in on Evidence: Documents and Literary Manuscripts in Early Medieval Japan'. In *Manuscripts and Archives: Comparative Views on Record-Keeping*. (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 11). Edited by Alessandro Bausi, Christian Brockmann, Michael Friedrich and Sabine Kienitz. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 297–318.
- Ammann, Vroni (2021): 'Variance in Time Morphologies in Production and Consumption of Incense in Medieval Japan'. In *Time in Variance*. (The Study of Time 17). Edited by Arkadiusz Misztal, Paul A. Harris and Jo Alyson Parker. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 195–219.
- Atkins, Paul S. (2017): *Teika: the Life and Works of a Medieval Japanese Poet*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Atkins, Paul S. (2010): 'Meigetsuki, the Diary of Fujiwara no Teika: Karoku 2.9 (1226)'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 130.2: 235–258.
- Atsune Suetada 阿久根未忠 (1993): 'Jitsuyō rekichū jiten 実用暦注事典'. In *Koyomi no hyakka jiten 暦の百科事典*. Edited by Koyomi no kai 暦の会. Tōkyō: Shin jinbutsu ōraisha 新人物往来社, 308–360. (Original work published 1986).
- Cassirer, Ernst (2001): *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*. (Gesammelte Werke / Ernst Cassirer 11–13). Edited by Carl Rosenkranz, Claus Rosenkranz and Julia Clemens. Hamburg: F. Meiner. (Original work published 1923–1929).
- Coulmas, Florian (2000): *Japanische Zeiten: eine Ethnographie der Vergänglichkeit*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Kindler.
- Donald Keene (1993): *Seeds in the Heart: Japanese Literature from Earliest Times to the Late Sixteenth Century*. New York: Holt.
- Dubs, Homer H. (1958): 'The Beginnings of Chinese Astronomy'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 78.4: 295–300.
- Dux, Günter (1992): *Die Zeit in der Geschichte: Ihre Entwicklungslogik vom Mythos zur Weltzeit*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Elias, Norbert (2014): *Über die Zeit*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. (Original work published 1984).
- Fukuda Toyohiko 福田豊彦 (1979): 'Kanto bugyō 官途奉行'. In *Kokushi daijiten Web-han 国史大辞典 Web版*. <https://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=30010zz123990> (10.03.2023).
- Furuse Natsuko 古瀬奈津子 (1979): 'Kōsaku 告朔'. In *Kokushi daijiten Web-han 国史大辞典 Web版*. <https://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=30010zz172360> (03.12.2023).
- Frank, Bernard (1998): *Kata-imi et Kata-tagae: étude sur les interdits de direction à l'époque Heian*. (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Japonaises). Paris: Collège de France.

- Fraser, Julius Thomas (2007): 'Change, Permanence, and Human Values'. In *Time and Time Again: Reports from a Boundary of the Universe*. (Supplements to the Study of Time 1). Edited by J. T. Fraser. Leiden: Brill, 269–294. (The Founder's Lecture, July 10, 1989).
- Fraser, Julius Thomas (2007): 'The Extended Umwelt Principle: Uexküll and the Nature of Time'. In *Time and Time Again: Reports from a Boundary of the Universe*. (Supplements to the Study of Time 1). Edited by J. T. Fraser. Leiden: Brill, 39–49. (Original published in *Semiotica* (2001) 134: 263–273).
- Fraser, Julius Thomas (2007): 'Mathematics and Time'. In *Time and Time Again: Reports from a Boundary of the Universe*. (Supplements to the Study of Time 1). Edited by J. T. Fraser. Leiden: Brill, 53–64. (Original published in *KronaScope* (2003) 3.2: 153–167).
- Goble, Andrew (1982): 'The Hōjō and Consultative Government'. In *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*. Edited by Jeffrey Paul Mass. New Haven: Yale University Press, 168–190.
- Goble, Andrew (1985): 'The Kamakura Bakufu and Its Officials'. In *The Bakufu in Japanese History*. Edited by Jeffrey Paul Mass. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 31–48.
- Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦 (1990): *Azuma kagami no hōhō: jijitsu to shinwa ni miru chūsei* 吾妻鏡の方法: 事実と神話にみる中世. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan 吉川弘文館.
- Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦 (ed.) (1998): *Nikki ni chūsei o yomu* 日記に中世を読む. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan 吉川弘文館.
- Harweg, Roland (2008): *Zeit in Mythos und Geschichte: Weltweite Untersuchungen zu mythographischer und historiographischer Chronographie vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart*. Vol. 1–4. Berlin: Lit.
- Hashimoto Manpei 橋本万平 (1978): *Nihon no jikoku seido* 日本の時刻制度. (Hanawa sensho 塙選書 55). Tōkyō: Hanawa shobō 塙書房. (Original work published 1966).
- Hérial, Francine (1987): *Notes journalières de Fujiwara no Michinaga – Traduction du Midō kanpakuki*. Vol. 1–3. (Hautes études orientales 23–24, 26). Edited by École pratique des hautes études Section 4, Sciences historiques et philologiques; Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie Paris. Genève: Droz.
- Hérial, Francine (2001): *Notes journalières de Fujiwara no Sukefusa – Traduction du Shunki*. Vol. 1–2. (Hautes études orientales 35, 37). Edited by École pratique des hautes études Section 4, Sciences historiques et philologiques; Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie Paris. Genève: Droz.
- Hérial, Francine (2004): 'Au sujet de l'apprentissage de la lecture de documents historiques = Zum Thema des Erlernens der Lektüre historischer Dokumente'. Translated by Maren Lambrecht. In *Actes du deuxième colloque d'études japonaises de l'Université Marc Bloch*. Edited by Sakae Murakami Giroux, Wolfgang Schamoni and Christiane Séguy. Strasbourg: Université Marc Bloch, 7–43.
- Hirano Kimihiro 平野仁啓 (1984): 'Chūsei nihonjin no jikan ishiki (1) "Shinkokinshū" ni okeru jikan ishiki 中世日本人の時間意識 (一) 『新古今集』における時間意識'. *Bungei Kenkyū* 文芸研究 51: 1–30.
- Horiuchi Hideaki 堀内秀晃 (1984): 'Nikki / kikō bungaku 日記・紀行文学'. In *Nikki / kikō bungaku* 日記・紀行文学. (Kenkyū shiryō nihon koten bungaku 研究資料日本古典文学 9). Edited by Ōsone Shōsuke 大曾根章介. Tōkyō: Meiji shoin 明治書院, 1–4.
- Hosoi Hiroshi 細井浩志 (2011): 'Heian kizoku no chikoku ni tsuite: sekkanki o chūshin ni 平安貴族の遅刻について: 摂関期を中心に'. *Jikangaku Kenkyū* 時間学研究 4: 31–47.
- Hosoi Hiroshi 細井浩志 (2015): *Nihonshi o manabu tame no 'kodai no koyomi' nyūmon* 日本史を学ぶための〈古代の暦〉入門. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan 吉川弘文館. (Original work published 2014).

- Hosoi Hiroshi 細井浩志 / Yuasa Yoshimi 湯浅吉美 [forthcoming]: 'Calendar in Medieval Japan'. In *Time in Medieval Japan*. Edited by Raji C. Steineck, Masahiro Morino and Kōhei Kataoka. In preparation.
- Hurst III, G. Cameron (1982): 'The Kōbu Polity: Court-Bakufu Relations in Kamakura Japan'. In *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*. Edited by Jeffrey Paul Mass. New Haven: Yale University Press, 3–28.
- Imae Hiromichi 今江広道 (1979): 'Kyōkan no jimoku 京官除目'. In *Kokushi daijiten Web-han* 国史大辞典Web版. <https://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=30010zz137330> (10.03.2023).
- Imazeki Toshiko 今関敏子 (2000): 'Nikki bungaku ni okeru jikanron 日記文学における時間論'. In *Nikki bungaku jiten* 日記文学事典. Edited by Ishihara Shōhei 石原昭平 and Iwasa Miyoko 岩佐美代子. Tōkyō: Bensei shuppan 勉誠出版, 74–75.
- Imazeki Toshiko 今関敏子 (2005): "'Tamakiwaru" bōtōbu saikō – jikan ninshiki to kaisō 『たまきわる』冒頭部再考 – 時間認識と回想'. *Kawamura Gakuen Joshi Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō* 川村学園女子大学研究紀要 16 (2): 144–156.
- Ishii Kiyofumi 石井清文 (1985): 'Hōjō Sadatoki seikenki ni okeru hyōjō no yōsō: "Einin sannen ki" no hyōjiteki kansatsu o tegakari toshite 北条貞時政権期に於ける評定の様相 – 「永仁三年記」の表示的観察を手掛りとして'. *Seiji keizai shi gaku* 政治経済史学 222: 71–85.
- Itō Kazumi 伊藤一美 (1999): '*Kenji sannen ki*' chūshaku 『建治三年記』注釈. Tōkyō: Bunken shuppan 文献出版.
- Jakobson, Roman (1960). 'Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics'. In *Style in Language*. Edited by Thomas A. Sebeck. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT, 350–377.
- Kaufmann, Paulus / Steineck, Raji C. (2018): 'Another Discourse on Method: Understanding Philosophy through Rhetorical Analysis'. *European Journal of Japanese Philosophy* 3: 117–144.
- Kawazoe Hiroshi 川副博 (1954): 'Einin sannen ki kōshō 永仁三年記考証'. *Shicho* 史潮 50: 33–51.
- Kawazoe Shōji 川添昭二 (2001): *Hōjō Tokimune* 北条時宗. (Jinbutsu sōsho 人物叢書 230). Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館.
- Kiley, Cornelius (1982): 'The Imperial Court as a Legal Authority in the Kamakura Age'. In *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*. Edited by Jeffrey Paul Mass. New Haven: Yale University Press, 29–44.
- Kondō Shigekazu 近藤成一 (2006): 'Kamakura bakufu to kuge seiken 鎌倉幕府と公家政権'. In *Kokkashi* 国家史. (Shin taikai Nihonshi 新体系日本史 1). Edited by Miyachi Masato 宮地正人 and Satō Makoto 佐藤信. Tōkyō: Yamakawa Shuppansha 山川出版社, 144–183.
- Kondō Yoshikazu 近藤好和 (2017): 'Nikki to yūsoku kojitsu 日記と有職故実'. In *Chūsei nikki no sekai* 中世日記の世界. (Shiryō de yomitoku nihonshi 史料で読み解く日本史 1). Edited by Matsuzono Hitoshi 松蘭斉 and Kondō Yoshikazu 近藤好和. Kyōto: Mineruba shobō ミネルヴァ書房, 1–27.
- Leinss, Gerhard (2002): 'Eine Dynastie, zahlreiche Herrscher und Ären: Japans Chronologie im historischen Überblick'. In *Vom Herrscher zur Dynastie: Zum Wesen kontinuierlicher Zeitrechnung in Antike und Gegenwart*. (Vergleichende Studien zu Antike und Orient 1). Edited by Harry Falk. Bremen: Hempen, 240–254.
- Leinss, Gerhard (2021a): 'The Adoption of the Chinese Calendar and Its Impact on Seasonal Poetry in Early Japan (c. 700 to 1000)'. *Asiatische Studien – Études Asiatiques* 75.1: 9–32.
- Leinss, Gerhard (2021b): 'The Conversion of a State Calendar into a Personal Diary: on a New Function of the Chinese Calendar Emerging in Japan between the 8th and 11th Centuries'. In *Calendriers d'Europe et d'Asie de l'Antiquité à la diffusion de l'imprimerie*. (Matériaux pour l'histoire 11). Edited by Alain Arrault, Olivier Guyotjeannin and Perrine Mane. Paris: École nationale des chartes, 105–122.

- Maki Yūsuke 真木悠介 (2003): *Jikan no hikaku shakaigaku* 時間の比較社会学. Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店.
- Martzloff, Jean-Claude (2016): *Astronomy and Calendars – The Other Chinese Mathematics: 104 BC – AD 1644*. Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg.
- Matsuzono Hitoshi 松園斉 (2011): ‘Chūsei kōki no nikki no tokushoku ni tsuite no oboegaki 中世後期の日記の特色についての覚書’. *Nihon kenkyū* 日本研究 44: 407–424.
- Matsuzono Hitoshi 松園斉 / Kondō Yoshikazu 近藤好和 (eds.) (2017): *Chūsei nikki no sekai* 中世日記の世界. (Shiryō de yomitoku nihonshi 史料で読み解く日本史 1). Kyōto: Mineruva shobō ミネルヴァ書房.
- Matsuzono Hitoshi 松園斉 / Motoki Yasuo 元木泰雄 (eds.) (2011): *Nikki de yomu nihon chūseishi* 日記で読む日本中世史. Kyōto: Mineruva shobō ミネルヴァ書房.
- Miyazaki Sōhei 宮崎荘平 (2014): ‘Heianchō “Kagerō nikki” no jikan jujutsu: kokubun ni okeru jikan kenkyū no ikkan toshite 平安朝『蜻蛉日記』の時間叙述 –国文学における時間研究の一環として–’. *Jikangaku kenkyū* 時間学研究 7: 1–8.
- Momosaki Yūichirō 桃崎有一郎 (2016): ‘Hōjō Tokiyori seiken ni okeru Kamakura bakufu nenjū gyōji no saiken to zasetsu: rihi to sensei no reiseishiteki kattō 北条時頼政権における鎌倉幕府年中行事の再建と挫折: 理非と専制の礼制史的葛藤’. *Kamakura ibun kenkyū* 鎌倉遺文研究 37: 1–29.
- Morita Kaneyoshi 森田兼吉 (1996): *Nikki bungaku no seiritsu to tenkai* 日記文学の成立と展開. (Kasama sōsho 笠間叢書 293). Tōkyō: Kasama shoin 笠間書院.
- Müller, Simone (2020): ‘A Young Lady’s Longing for a Lost Past. A Chronotopic Analysis of the Medieval Memoir ‘Utatane’ (‘Fitful Slumbers’)’. *Beiträge zur mediävistischen Erzählforschung* 7: 229–265.
- Müller, Simone (2021): ‘Temporal Regimes in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* (Daily Observances of the Kenmu Era), with Annotated Translation’. *Asiatische Studien – Études Asiatiques* 75.1: 89–129.
- Müller, Simone (2022): ‘Hidden Temporalities: Time and Intertextuality in the Medieval Court Diary *Utatane*’. In *Images from the Past. Intertextuality in Japanese Premodern Literature*. Edited by Carolina Negri and Pier Carlo Tommasi. Venice: Edizioni Ca’ Foscari, 59–80.
- Müller, Simone (2023): ‘Etiquette to “Change the World”? Fictional Time-Order and Imperial Power at the Court of Emperor Go-Daigo’. In *Can Fiction Change the World?* Edited by Alison James, Akihiro Kubo and Françoise Lavocat. Oxford: Legenda, 111–128.
- Müller, Simone [forthcoming]: *Tracing Temporalities at the Medieval Japanese Court*. In preparation.
- Müller, Simone / Ciorciaro, Alexandra [forthcoming]: ‘Time Recorded, Practiced and Perceived at the Court and the Bakufu’. In *Time in Medieval Japan*. Edited by Raji C. Steineck, Masahiro Morino and Kōhei Kataoka. In preparation.
- Nagafuji Yasushi 永藤靖 (1984): *Chūsei nihon bungaku to jikan ishiki* 中世日本文学と時間意識. Tōkyō: Miraisha 未来社.
- Nakamaru Takafumi 中丸貴史 (2007a): ‘Kanbun nikki no seisei: “Go-Nijō Moromichi ki” futatsu no honbun 漢文日記の生成: 『後二条師通記』二つの本文’. *Nihon bungaku* 日本文学 56.9: 31–42.
- Nakamaru Takafumi 中丸貴史 (2007b): ‘Kioku no genzai: kanbun nikki kaku koto no ronri 記憶の現在: 漢文日記書くことの論理’. *Monogatari kenkyū* 物語研究 7: 14–31.
- Nakayama, Shigeru (1969): *A History of Japanese Astronomy: Chinese Background and Western Impact*. Cambridge/Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Needham, Joseph (1974): ‘Astronomy in Ancient and Medieval China’. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series A: Mathematical and Physical Sciences* 276: 67–82.

- Nishizawa Toshio 西沢利男 (1993): 'Shinkyūreki getsubi taishōhyō 新旧暦月日対照表'. In *Koyomi no hyakka jiten* 暦の百科事典. Edited by Koyomi no kai 暦の会. Tōkyō: Shin jinbutsu ōraisha 新人物往来社, 431–499. (Original work published 1986).
- Okada Yoshirō 岡田芳朗 (1996): *Nihon no koyomi* 日本の暦. Tōkyō: Shin jinbutsu ōraisha 新人物往来社.
- Rabinovitch, Judith N. / Minegishi, Akira (1992): 'Some Literary Aspects of four *Kambun* Diaries of the Japanese Court: Translation with Commentaries on Excerpts from *Uda tennō gyōki*, *Murakami tennō gyōki*, *Gonki* and *Gyokuyō*'. In: *Yokohama kokuritsu daigaku jinbun kiyō, dainirui: gogaku bungaku* 横浜国立大学人文紀要. 第二類, 語学・文学 39: 1–31.
- Renshaw, Steven L. / Ihara, Saori (2000): 'A Cultural History of Astronomy in Japan'. In *Astronomy Across Cultures: The History of Non-Western Astronomy*. (Science Across Cultures: The History of Non-Western Science 1). Edited by Helaine Selin. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 385–407.
- Ryō Susumu 竜肅 (1952): 'Kenji sannen ki kō 建治三年記考'. *Kokushigaku* 国史学 57: 1–12.
- Saitō Kuniharu 斉藤国治 (1994): 'Kodai no jikoku no seido: guchūreki no baai 古代の時刻制度 – 具注暦の場合'. *Nihon no rekishi* 日本の歴史 554: 96–104.
- Sansom, George (1959): *A History of Japan*. Vol. 1. London: Cresset Press.
- Satō Atsuko 佐藤厚子 (2003): *Chūsei no kokka gishiki: 'Kenmu nenjū gyōji' no sekai* 中世の国家儀式: 『建武年中行事』の世界. (Chūseishi kenkyū sōsho 中世史研究叢書 4). Tōkyō: Iwada shoin 岩田書院.
- Satō Shin'ichi 佐藤進一 (1993): *Kamakura bakufu soshō seido no kenkyū* 鎌倉幕府訴訟制度の研究. Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店. (Original work published 1943 by Unebi shokan 畝傍書房).
- Satō Shin'ichi 佐藤進一 (2007): *Nihon no chūsei kokka* 日本の中世国家. (Iwanami gendai bunko gakujutsu 岩波現代文庫 学術 173). Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店. (Original work published 1983).
- Schley, Daniel (2021): 'Ritualzeit – Zeitwahrnehmungen und Zeitpraktiken am Hof um 1000'. *Asiatische Studien – Études Asiatiques* 75.1: 69–88.
- Schley, Daniel [forthcoming]: 'Historiography in Medieval Japan'. In *Time in Medieval Japan*. Edited by Raji C. Steineck, Masahiro Morino and Kōhei Kataoka. In preparation.
- Steenstrup, Carl (1996): *A History of Law in Japan until 1868*. Leiden: Brill.
- Steineck, Raji C. (2017): 'Time in Old Japan: In Search of a Paradigm'. *KronoScope* 17.1: 16–36.
- Steineck, Raji C. (2018): 'Chronographical Analysis: An Essay in Methodology'. *KronoScope* 18.2: 171–198.
- Steineck, Raji C. (2020): 'Kritik der Kultur. Überlegungen zu Cassirers Konzept der symbolischen Form'. *Zeitschrift Für Kulturphilosophie* 14.1: 137–152.
- Steineck, Raji C. / Müller, Simone / Balmes, Sebastian (eds.) (2021): 'Zeit in der vormodernen japanischen Literatur / Time in Premodern Japanese Literature'. In *Asiatische Studien – Études Asiatiques* 75.1.
- Steineck, Raji C. / Morino, Masahiro / Kataoka, Kōhei (eds.) [forthcoming]: *Time in Medieval Japan*. In preparation.
- Steineck, Raji C. [forthcoming]: 'Some Words on Theory and Method'. In *Time in Medieval Japan*. Edited by Raji C. Steineck, Masahiro Morino and Kōhei Kataoka. In preparation.
- Steineck, Raji C. et al. [forthcoming]: 'Time and Religion in Medieval Japan'. In *Time in Medieval Japan*. Edited by Raji C. Steineck, Masahiro Morino and Kōhei Kataoka. In preparation.
- Steineck, Raji C. [forthcoming]: *Zen Time: Dōgen's Uji in Context*. In preparation.
- Stone, Jacqueline I. (1999): *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. (Studies in East Asian Buddhism 12). Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press.

- Sun, Xiaochun (2000): 'Crossing the Boundaries between Heaven and Man: Astronomy in Ancient China'. In *Astronomy Across Cultures: The History of Non-Western Astronomy*. (Science Across Cultures: The History of Non-Western Science 1). Edited by Helaine Selin. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 423–454.
- Takahashi Hideki 高橋秀樹 (1998): "'Kanchūki" to "ie"' 『勘仲記』と「家」. In *Nikki ni chūsei o yomu* 日記に中世を読む. Edited by Gomi Fumihiko 五味文彦. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 84–111.
- Takahashi Hideki 高橋秀樹 (2005): *Kokiroku nyūmon* 古記録入門. Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō shuppan 東京堂出版.
- Takegahara Yasuhiro 竹ヶ原康弘 (2015): 'Kamakura bakufu ni okeru Kamakura-dono kasei to nenjū gyōji 鎌倉幕府における鎌倉殿家政と年中行事'. *Nenpō shinjin bungaku* 年報新人文 12: 92–123.
- Tan, Daniela (2020): 'The Body as Place in Time(s): Concepts of the Female Body in Medieval Japan'. *KronoScope* 20.1: 17–40.
- Tanaka Gen 田中元 (1977): *Kodai nihonjin no jikan ishiki: sono kōzō to tenkai* 古代日本人の時間意識: その構造と展開. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan 吉川弘文館.
- Tanaka, Gen (1993). *Das Zeitbewusstsein Der Japaner im Altertum: Struktur und Entwicklung*. Translated by Thomas Leims. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Tsumura, Susan (2012): 'Adjusting Calculations to Ideals in the Chinese and Japanese Calendars'. In *Living the Lunar Calendar*. Edited by Jonathan Ben-Dov, Wayne Horowitz and John M. Steele. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 349–372.
- Yano Tarō 矢野太郎 (1965): 'Kanchūki kaidai 勘仲記解題'. In *Kanchūki* 勘仲記 Vol. 1. (Zōho Shiryō Taisei 増補史料大成 34). Edited by Zōho shiryō taisei kankōkai 増補史料大成刊行会. Kyōto: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1–6. (Original work published 1936).
- Yoshida Sanae 吉田早苗 (1979): 'Jimoku 除目'. In *Kokushi daijiten Web-han* 国史大辞典Web版. <https://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=30010zz232150> (10.03.2023).
- Yuasa Yoshimi 湯浅吉美 (2006): "'Azuma kagami" ni miru Kamakura bushi no katatagai 『吾妻鏡』に見る鎌倉武士の方違え'. *Saitama gakuen daigaku kiyō ningengakubu hen* 埼玉学園大学紀要人間学部篇 6: 31–44.
- Yuasa Yoshimi 湯浅吉美 (2013): 'Nihon no koreki no yōshiki ni tsuite 日本の古暦の様式について'. *Saitama gakuen daigaku kiyō ningengakubu hen* 埼玉学園大学紀要人間学部篇 13: 41–54.
- Yuasa Yoshimi 湯浅吉美 (2015): 'Zenkindai nihonjin no jikan ishiki 前近代日本人の時間意識'. *Saitama gakuen daigaku kiyō ningengakubu hen* 埼玉学園大学紀要人間学部篇 15: 195–202.
- Zerubavel, Eviatar (1976): 'Timetables and Scheduling: On the Social Organization of Time'. *Sociological Inquiry* 46.2: 87–94.
- Zerubavel, Eviatar (1987): 'The Language of Time: Toward a Semiotics of Temporality'. *The Sociological Quarterly* 28.3: 343–356.

Index

- Adachi Yasumori 111, 127, 201–202, 208,
223–224, 235–236
- Azuma *kagami* 吾妻鏡 33–35, 69, 102–103, 107,
183, 223
- Birth 57–58, 78–79, 207
- Byōdōin temple 50–51, 190, 253–254
- Cassirer, Ernst. *See* Theory of symbolic forms
- Chikamoto nikki* 親元日記 170, 192
- Chronography. *See* Harweg, Roland *and*
Steineck, Raji C.
- Daily routine 48–49, 74, 76–78, 101,
135–136, 198
- Death 38, 79–80, 101, 109, 111–112, 128–129,
198–200, 262–264
- Dux, Günther 20, 195–198, 272
- *Handlungszeit* (Logic of action) 20, 195–196,
198–202, 206–209, 217–219, 242–243
- *Weltzeit* (Abstract global time) 20, 195–198,
203–206, 208–209, 210–217, 219, 242–243
- Emperor Go-Uda 14, 93–94, 203–207, 220, 257
- Englishiki* 延喜式 185–189, 192–194
- Enryakuji temple 7, 225–238, 255–256, 259–261
- Fraser, J.T. 20–22, 254
- Nootemporality 69–70, 75, 78–79, 80, 97, 164,
248, 254, 262–264, 272
- Sociotemporality 52, 69–70, 72, 78–79, 80, 97,
164, 193, 248, 254, 261–262, 272
- Genpuku* 元服 (Coming-of-age ceremony)
- Coming-of-age ceremony of Emperor Go-Uda
203–207, 257
- Coming-of-age ceremony of Hōjō
Sadatoki 208–209
- Gōso* 強訴 (Forceful appeal) 95, 238–239, 256
- Guchūreki* 具注曆 (Annotated calendar) 26–27,
138–139, 142–144, 145–146, 176–178,
186–188
- Hairei* 拜礼 (Salutation) 84–90, 104
- Hanazono tennō shinki* 花園天皇宸記 168, 172,
192, 252, 274
- Harweg, Roland 18–19, 242, 272
- Formal chronography 18, 52, 164–166,
245–247, 248, 252, 253–254, 256–257,
268, 271
- Material chronography 18, 63–64, 68, 146,
167, 245, 251–253, 255–257, 267–268
- Heian period (794–1182) 5–6, 8–10, 25–30,
40–41, 150–151, 156, 179–180, 184–185, 266
- Hierarchical social relations 85–88, 89–90, 104,
106–107, 221–223, 266
- Hierarchical theory of time. *See* Fraser, J.T.
- Hikitsukeshū* 引付衆 (Board of Coadjutors) 100,
120–122, 129–130
- Board of Coadjutors meeting 130–132
- Hinami kanmon* 日次勘文 (Specialist report on
auspicious timings) 205, 211–214, 217, 219
- Hirohashi Kaneyori 14, 38–39
- Hirohashi Tsunemitsu 38, 61, 80, 256, 262
- Hōjō Sadatoki 103–104, 118, 126–128, 208–209,
240–241
- Hōjō Tokimune 51, 106–107, 111, 126–128,
181–182, 201–202, 232–234, 240–241
- Hōjō Yoshimasa 51, 54–55, 111, 123, 127–128
- Hōjōe* 放生会 (Life release ceremony) 107–109,
128, 174, 196
- Hōjōji temple 60–61, 81, 94–95, 265
- Hyōjōshū* 評定衆 (Deliberative Council) 12–13,
65, 100, 112–113
- Deliberative Council meeting 66–68, 117–118,
124–129, 175, 220–223, 240–241, 264
- *Hikitsuke hyōjō* 引付評定 (Joint Coadjutor-
Council meeting) 118, 120–123, 240
- *Hyōjō hajime* 評定始 (First Council) 105,
109–112
- *Nai hyōjō* 内評定 (Informal Council
meeting) 118, 123–124, 175
- *Rinji hyōjō* 臨時評定 (Extraordinary Council
meeting) 118, 129, 132, 239

- Shiki hyōjō* 式評定 (Formal Council meeting) 118–120, 175, 240
- Imperial Prince Hisaaki 108–109, 128
- Imperial Prince Koreyasu 102–103, 106–107, 107–108, 181–182
- In no hyōjō* 院評定 (Retired Emperor's Council) 6–7, 42–43, 75–76, 136
- Iwashimizu Hachimangū shrine 102, 107–108, 220, 246
- Kantō hyōjōshū den* 関東評定衆伝 12, 130, 255
- Kantō mōshitsugi* 関東申次 (*Bakufu*'s liaison officer) 6, 75, 119, 197, 242
- Kasuga shrine 52–54, 60, 94–95, 173–174, 180–181, 209–219, 238, 248–249
- Kataimi* 方忌 (Directional taboo) 178–183, 194, 211, 219
- Katatagae* 方違え (Directional change) 179–180, 181–183
- Kenmu nenjū gyōji* 建武年中行事 73–74, 80–81, 89–91, 95, 135
- Kinhira kōki* 公衡公記 170, 178, 192
- Kinpishō* 禁秘鈔 74, 81, 155–157, 185, 189
- Kissho* 吉書 (Report on auspicious days) 60–61, 91, 103, 110–111, 157
- Kōfukuji temple 7, 52–54, 59, 67, 94–95, 197, 209–219, 238–240, 255–256, 261
- Kōsaku* 告朔 (First day report) 75, 147
- Kujō-dono ikai* 九条殿遺誠 44–45, 48–49
- Maki Yūsuke 20–21
- Cyclical morphology of time 68, 97, 151–152, 160, 272
- Linear morphology of time 58, 68, 71, 151–152, 153–154, 272
- Mandokoro* 政所 (Administrative Board) 12, 33–34, 100
- Matsurigoto hajime* 政始 (Beginning of government) 96–97, 109, 156, 174
- Meigetsuki* 明月記 9, 192, 252, 274
- Memorial practices 79–80, 101, 102, 258
- Minkeiki* 民經記 61, 170, 192
- Monchūjo* 問注所 (Board of Inquiry) 12, 100, 110–111
- Monthly routine 74–76, 79–80, 117–133, 135–136
- Morphology of time. *See* Maki Yūsuke
- Müller, Simone 2, 56, 74, 135, 172, 274
- Muromachi period (1336–1573) 7, 8, 40, 105, 150–151, 170
- Nara period (710–794) 25, 138–139, 162–163, 184, 186
- Nengō* 年号 (Era name) 154–157, 162–164, 165–166, 170, 247, 256–258, 267
- Nengō kaigen* 年号改元 (Era name change) 154–157
- Nenjū gyōji* 年中行事 (Annual observances) 134–137, 143
- Annual observances at the Imperial court 73–75, 80–97, 173–174, 248
- Annual observances at the Kamakura *bakufu* 100, 102–116, 133–134, 174–175
- Nikki bungaku* 日記文学 (Diary literature) 2, 8, 10, 56, 248, 259, 267, 275
- O-chōzu* 御手水 (Hand washing ceremony) 81–84, 105
- Office appointments
- Office appointments at the Imperial court 27–28, 76, 95–96
- Office appointments at the Kamakura *bakufu* 13, 112–114, 225
- On-koyomi no sō / goryaku no sō* 御曆奏 (Calendar presentation) 43–44, 142, 148–149
- Onmyōdō* 陰陽道 139–141, 153, 157–159, 175
- Ōsaraqi Nobutoki 104, 126–128, 240–241
- Promotions in rank
- Promotions at the Imperial court 91–93, 96
- Promotions at the Kamakura *bakufu* 112
- Purification ritual 60–61, 74–75, 126–127, 232–233
- Rekiki* 曆記 (Calendar record) 26–27, 40–45, 46–47, 48, 64
- Retired Emperor Go-Fukakusa 84, 87–88
- Retired Emperor Kameyama 14, 50–51, 57–58, 84, 87–88, 189–190, 198–200, 235–237, 246, 251, 261, 265
- Ritsuryō* system, *ritsuryō* state 1–2, 5, 25, 28–29, 138–139, 143, 144, 154, 162, 163

- Saionji Sanekane 67, 197, 226
- Saitō Chikamoto nikki* 齋藤親基日記 170, 192
- Saitō Mototsune nikki* 齋藤基恒日記 170, 192
- Samuraidokoro* 侍所 (Board of Retainers) 100
- Sanemi kyōki* 実躬卿記 170, 192
- Seasons, seasonal time 1–2, 56, 72, 140, 150, 165, 179–180, 183, 248–251, 267
- Shin go-shikimoku* 新御式目 104, 106, 109
- Steineck, Raji C. 1, 3, 15–16, 21
- Chronographical analysis 18–19, 244
 - Chronographic dimensions 36, 244, 256–258, 261, 262–264, 268–269, 271
 - Chronographic functions 244, 254–255, 259–261, 268
- Suwa Shinshō 47, 127–128, 201–202, 222–224, 226
- Taira no Yoritsuna 127–128, 183, 223–224, 232–233
- Takatsukasa Kanehira 14, 59, 80–84, 85–88, 92–93, 98–99, 180–181, 190, 203–204, 206–207, 209–219, 256, 257
- Tang dynasty, Tang state 5, 25, 138–139, 142, 144, 162–163
- Theory of symbolic forms 15–17, 270–275
- Symbolic form of administration 16–17, 46, 56, 68, 70, 91, 143, 192–193, 270, 272–273
 - Symbolic form of art 17, 56, 248, 275
 - Symbolic form of politics 16–17, 143, 151, 183, 249–250, 272–273
 - Symbolic form of science 192, 272
 - Symbolic form of religion 91
- Time regime, temporal regime 116, 136, 138–144, 149, 175, 183, 193–194, 248, 272
- Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine 102–103, 107–108, 115, 174–175
- Water clock 139, 184–186, 251–252
- Yoriai* 寄合 223–225, 233, 240
- Zerubavel, Eviatar 19, 72–73, 85, 98–100, 133–134, 137, 143, 174, 257–258, 273

