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**Autor:** Müller, Simone

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Simone Müller\*

# Temporal Regimes in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* (Daily Observances of the Kenmu Era), with annotated translation

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**Abstract:** This article examines time recording and time practices in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*, a medieval document describing daily and monthly routine at the court of Emperor Go-Daigo in the beginning of the fourteenth century. By probing into the text's chronographic and chronopolitical features, it is shown that *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* is strongly concerned with temporality, providing an ideal in which court regularities are meant to repeat identically according to a minutely regulated sequential progression. These peculiar temporal characteristics exhibit the text's political function: by way of a chronological and at the same time cyclical structure, the image of a divine order is provided, thus legitimizing imperial rule.

**Keywords:** chronography, chronopolitics, imperial court, *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*, medieval Japan, time

## 1 Introduction

This article<sup>1</sup> examines temporal regimes at the imperial court of medieval Japan as reflected in a document known as *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* 建武日中行事 (Daily Observances of the Kenmu Era), attributed to the authorship of Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288–1339, r. 1318–1339),<sup>2</sup> who is known for his coup to overthrow the shogunate and restore imperial rule, the so-called Kenmu Renovation (*Kenmu no shinsei* 建武の親政, 1333–1336). It describes the reputed daily and monthly routine

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<sup>2</sup> Supporting evidence for the authorship of Emperor Go-Daigo is provided by Tokoro 1989: 416.

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**\*Corresponding author: Simone Müller**, Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies, University of Zurich, Rämistrasse 59, 8001 Zurich, Switzerland, E-mail: [simone.mueller@aoi.uzh.ch](mailto:simone.mueller@aoi.uzh.ch)

at Emperor Go-Daigo's court in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The text exemplifies how the imperial palace was idealized as a refined and integral spatiotemporal mechanism. The document may be considered part of Go-Daigo's reform ambitions to revive or "reinvent"<sup>3</sup> discarded court etiquette from the Heian period.

*Kenmu nitchū gyōji* is part of a literary tradition of manuals describing court ceremonies and etiquette (*yūsoku kojitsu* 有職故実). The genre developed from *kanbun nikki* 漢文日記, sinographic diaries written by male aristocrats.<sup>4</sup> The specific subcategory of *nitchū gyōji* 日中行事 (daily observances) emerged in the ninth century.<sup>5</sup> Early examples are volume 10 of *Saikyūki* 西宮記 (Records from the Western Palace, 969) written by Minamoto no Takaakira 源高明 (914–982), *Kanpyō kurōdo shiki* 寛平蔵人式 (Rites of Chamberlains in the Kanpyō Era), *Tenryaku kurōdo shiki* 天曆蔵人式 (Rites of Chamberlains in the Tenryaku Era), a lost work presumably written in the middle of the tenth century,<sup>6</sup> and the *nitchū gyōji* 日中行事 (Daily Observances) in the imperial Higashiyama Library (Higashiyama Gobunko 東山御文庫本), presumably written at the beginning of the eleventh century, that is known under the title *Higashiyama gobunkobon "nitchū gyōji"* 東山御文庫本『日中行事』.<sup>7</sup>

The work attributed to Emperor Go-Daigo initially did not have a specific title but like the text in the Higashiyama Library was simply transmitted as *nitchū gyōji*. According to Edo-period scholar Ōishi Chibiki 大石千引 (1770–1834), who provided the work's earliest encompassing annotation with *Nitchū gyōji ryakuge* 日中行事略解 (Brief Explanation of *Nitchū gyōji*, 1820), the title *nitchū gyōji* used to be crowned with prefixes designating the imperial palace such as *dairi* 内裏, *kinchū* 禁中, or *kinri* 禁裏.<sup>8</sup> *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*, which is the work's most commonly used title today, was popularized in the Edo period (1603–1868).<sup>9</sup> As the work is attributed to the authorship of Emperor Go-Daigo, it is also known under the name of *Go-Daigo tennō nitchū gyōji* 後醍醐天皇日中行事 (Daily Observances of Emperor Go-Daigo). The text's time of production is not known, but it is generally dated to the beginning of the Kenmu era (1334–1336).<sup>10</sup> Investigations into the work's

3 Goble 2001: 128.

4 Matsuzono/Kondō 2017: 1.

5 Matsuzono/Kondō 2017: 16.

6 The work is mainly known by quotations in *Saikyūki* and *Jichū gun'yō* 侍中群要 (Cornerstones of Jichū Officials, eleventh century).

7 See Nishimoto 2012: 139–153, 155. Nishimoto derives the date of text formation from similarities with *Jichū gun'yō*, from the work's quotations of other texts as well as from peculiarities of etiquette that suggest that the work must have been written in the first half of the eleventh century.

8 Ōishi 1951 [1820], quoted in Tokoro 1989: 419.

9 Tokoro 1989: 416–417.

10 Tokoro 1989: 419.

counterpart, *Kenmu nenjū gyōji* 建武年中行事 (Annual Observances of the Kenmu Era),<sup>11</sup> describing 86 annual ceremonies at the imperial court and also attributed to the authorship of Emperor Go-Daigo, suggests that the work may also have been written slightly earlier.<sup>12</sup> The author allegedly relied on a number of reference works. Tokoro mentions *Jichū gun'yō* 侍中群要 (Cornerstones of Chamberlains) from the late eleventh century, and *Kinpishō* 禁秘抄 (Annotations of Court Secrets, 1221).<sup>13</sup> In my view, the most important model was probably *Higashiyama gobun-kobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” that not only in content but also regarding its structure and chronographic features strikingly resembles *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*. Other than previous *nitchū gyōji*, *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* is written in vernacular language (*kana majiri-bun* 仮名交じり文), which may be considered the work's most striking peculiarity. More than 40 manuscripts and three printed editions are transmitted, namely the ones included in *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 (Collection of Writings Sorted by Type, 1971 [1779 and 1819], vol. 26), *Shinchū kōgaku sōsho* 新註皇学叢書 (Newly Annotated Book Series of Imperial Studies, 1926–1931, vol. 5) and *Ressei zenshū* 列聖全集 (Complete Collection of Canonized Works, 1915–1917, vol. 6).<sup>14</sup> Most of them seem to be based on a transcript from 1527.<sup>15</sup> The most detailed annotation is provided by Wada Hidematsu (1865–1937).<sup>16</sup> For his comprehensive analysis completed in 1903, Wada compared different manuscripts by relying heavily on Ōishi's commentary.<sup>17</sup> Wada's annotation was revised and republished in 1929 and reworked once more in a paperback book by Tokoro Isao in 1989 (Kōdansha).

In the following, I will examine temporal regimes at the court of Emperor Go-Daigo as reflected in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* by analyzing the work's chronographic features as well as time-specific court practices described in the text. The article closes with a full annotated English translation of *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*, the first rendering of the text into a Western language. For the translation, I relied on Wada's annotated version, which again builds on Ōishi's annotation from 1820. The translation itself is based on the text in *Shinchū kōgaku sōsho* (vol. 5).

<sup>11</sup> The work was annotated in detail by Wada Hidematsu (1989a [1903]) and translated into German by Verena Blümmel (1979).

<sup>12</sup> See Matsuzono/Kondō 2017: 68, 73; Blümmel 1979: 12–13.

<sup>13</sup> Tokoro 1989: 419.

<sup>14</sup> *Nitchū gyōji* (1915–1917); *Nitchū gyōji* (1926–1931); *Nitchū gyōji* (1971). The *Gunsho ruijū* text (no. 466) is available online on JapanKnowledge.

<sup>15</sup> Available online at: [https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/wa03/wa03\\_06274/index.html](https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/wa03/wa03_06274/index.html). (last visited June 16, 2021).

<sup>16</sup> Wada 1989a [1903]. Wada's commentary is digitized in the version of 1903. It is available online on the website of the National Diet Library (Kokkai Toshokan 国会図書館): <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/772031> (last visited June 16, 2021).

<sup>17</sup> See Tokoro 1989: 432.



## 2 Chronography in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*

*Kenmu nitchū gyōji* purportedly records the daily procedures at the court of Emperor Go-Daigo. The text begins, according to the Chinese zodiac system of 12 hours of the day (*jūni shinkoku* 十二辰刻<sup>18</sup>), in the early morning at the hour of the Hare (c. 5–7 am) with the raising of the lattice shutters and the morning cleaning of the palace. Thereafter, the document describes various daily observances such as the imperial washing and meals, and it ends with the lightening of the oil lamps in the emperor's sleeping room at night (Table 1). The work closes with brief overviews of pertinent monthly court observances such as the reporting of the officials' working hours to the emperor on the third day, the six Buddhist days of abstinence *rokusainichi* 六齋日,<sup>19</sup> or the memorial service *Kannon-gu* 觀音供.<sup>20</sup> Below are two examples:

On the first day of every month, the *kurōdo*<sup>21</sup> changes the timesheets (*hanachigami* 放紙) on the [duty] board [...].

**18** One time unit (*shinkoku* 辰刻 or *toki* 時) equals about two modern hours. They were subdivided into four quarters (*koku* 刻 or *ten* 点). In the Heian period, time was measured with water clocks (*rōkoku* 漏刻) and announced by the Yin-Yang Office (Onmyōryō 陰陽寮), the government office in charge of astronomical observations, divination, and calendar making (see note 86). Whether this system was still in practice during the time of Emperor Go-Daigo is not clear. For further details on time measurement in premodern Japan, see, e.g., Yuasa 2015.

**19** *rokusainichi* 六齋日: six monthly days of abstinence on the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, and last day of the month, on which laypeople had to abide to eight purifications (*hassaikai* 八齋戒), by refraining from 1) killing living beings, 2) stealing, 3) lying, 4) drinking, 5) sexual intercourse, 6) meals in the afternoon, 7) sleeping in elevated or wide beds, 8) perfuming.

**20** *Kannon-gu* 觀音供: service for the Buddhist deity Kannon on behalf of the health and welfare of the emperor conducted monthly on the 18th day by *gojiisō* monks (see note 228) in the Two-Bay Room (*futama* 二間, see note 198), a room at the Seiryōden 清涼殿, the emperor's residential palace (see note 27), that housed a Kannon image. This service was therefore also called *futama no gu* 二間供 (service of the Two-Bay Room).

**21** *kurōdo* 藏人: government officials of the chamberlains' office Kurōdodokoro 藏人所. They initially administered the imperial archive and lawsuits and later served as close attendants of the emperor in charge of the transmission of imperial edicts and reports, the execution of appointment ceremonies and festivities, and the utensils and clothing of the palace. The Kurōdodokoro presided over the *tenjōbito* 殿上人 (see note 55), high ranked officials who had access to the emperor's residential palace Seiryōden and was administered by a director-general, the so-called *bettō* 別当, in charge of transmitting imperial edicts, and two directors (*kurōdo no tō* 藏人の頭), in charge of various business affairs. The directors held the fourth rank, their subordinates the fifth or sixth rank. The *kurōdo* of the fifth rank were in charge of various duties, the *kurōdo* of the sixth rank of the emperor's meals. They attended alternately in a daily rhythm (cf. Wada 1983: 211). The office of *kurōdo* was very prestigious. The term *kurōdo* is also used as an abbreviation of female *kurōdo* (*nyōkurōdo* 女藏人), court ladies under the rank of *naishi* 内侍 (see note 120) and *myōbu* 命婦 (see note 134), who were in charge of various duties. Here, the term probably refers to male *kurōdo*.

Table 1: Structure of *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*

Time of the Day	Observances
hour of the Hare ( <i>u no toki</i> 卯の時) (c. 5–7 am)	– morning cleaning ( <i>asagi yome</i> 朝清) – raising of lattice shutters ( <i>agekōshi</i> 上格子)
hour of the Dragon ( <i>tatsu no toki</i> 辰の時) (c. 7–9 am)	– imperial washing ( <i>oyu o kūzu</i> 御湯を供ず) – prayer at the Lime Altar ( <i>ishibai no dan no ryōdan saihai</i> 石灰壇の両段再拜)
in the morning ( <i>asa no hodo</i> 朝のほど)	– informal breakfast ( <i>asagarei no omono</i> 朝餉のおもの) – meal of upper court officials ( <i>ue no onokodomo no daiban</i> 上の男どもの台盤) – work time reporting ( <i>nikkyū</i> 日給)
hour of the Horse ( <i>uma no koku</i> 午の刻) (c. 11 am–1 pm)	– formal morning meal (=lunch) ( <i>asa no gozen</i> 朝の御膳)
hour of the Sheep ( <i>hitsuji no koku</i> 未の刻) (c. 1–3 pm)	(no specific observance recorded)
hour of the Monkey ( <i>saru no koku</i> 申の刻) (c. 3–5 pm)	– formal evening meal (=dinner) ( <i>yū no gozen</i> 夕の御膳)
when the daily affairs are finished ( <i>hiru no koto-domo hatenureba</i> 昼の事ども果てぬれば)	– lightening ( <i>shōtō</i> 掌燈) – storing of [duty] board ( <i>fuda o fūzu</i> 簡を封ず)
hour of the Boar ( <i>i no toki</i> 亥の時)(c. 9–11 pm)	– lowering of lattice shutters ( <i>sagekōshi</i> 下格子) – name-calling ( <i>nadaimen</i> 名対面)
when going to sleep ( <i>o-shizumari no hodo ni</i> 御静まりの程に)	– relocation of dining tables ( <i>daiban'yose</i> 台盤寄せ) – lightening of the Royal Bedchamber ( <i>yoru no otodo no sashiabura</i> 夜の御殿のさし油)

On the Six Days of Fasting, without fail, abstinence needs to be abided to.<sup>22</sup>

The work thus has a double structure: the first part, comprising around 90% of the whole text, describes the daily routine of the court, while the last part, covering about 10%, depicts its monthly routine. In terms of chronography,<sup>23</sup> both parts are structured chronologically, pointing at linear morphologies of time.<sup>24</sup> However, the observances are not dated and therefore not—as is the case with *kanbun* diaries—structured as a linear flow within “fully relational” historical time with an

<sup>22</sup> *Nitchū gyōji* 1926–1931: 7 (see Japanese source text below, Sections 14 and 15).

<sup>23</sup> The terminology used for describing the chronography of the text follows Steineck (2018), who distinguishes between “chronographic modes of expression” (implicit/explicit), “chronographic dimensions” (theoretical-descriptive/practical-prescriptive/aesthetic-expressive) and “chronographic functions of determination” (metric/thetic/typological/modal).

<sup>24</sup> Maki 2003: 163.

open end—meaning that it is possible to calculate the temporal distance to those events from our present position in time—but as one prototypical daily or monthly cycle within “absolute” time.<sup>25</sup> In the quotation above, this cyclical structure is implied by iterative expressions such as “on the first day of every month” (*maigetsu tsuitachi* 毎月一日). The text thus exhibits linear and cyclical temporal features alike.

Another genre-specific chronographic peculiarity is the text’s chronological structuring along the zodiac hours, followed by stating the central observance that takes place within this specific time frame. After that, the progression of the respective affair is described in detail chronologically. The following entries exemplify the text’s chronographic structure:

At the hour of the Monkey [c. 3–5 pm], the evening meal is served. Its etiquette is the same as in the morning. [...]

When the daily affairs are finished, the lights are put on here and there with portable candlesticks: first at the two lanterns at the unroofed balcony of the Jijūden,<sup>26</sup> and the five lanterns of the Seiryōden.<sup>27</sup> [...]

At the hour of the Boar [c. 9–11 pm], the lattice shutters and bamboo blinds are lowered, and the lanterns of the second bay are taken inside and put on the hangers. Each lattice shutter is lowered and the *shitone* cushions changed. [...]

When going to sleep, the dining table of the Courtiers’ Hall (*tenjō[noma]*<sup>28</sup>) is placed at the wall of the Kyōshoden,<sup>29</sup> and everyone goes to the *tatami* mats and lies down. They take the zither and render it their pillow.<sup>30</sup>

25 Steineck 2018: 175.

26 Jijūden 仁寿殿: one of the main buildings of the Heian palace situated at the center of the palace and east of the Seiryōden. It was also called Chūden 中殿 (Central Palace) or Tōden 東殿 (Eastern Palace). Originally, it was used as the emperor’s daily living quarters, but they were relocated to the Seiryōden (see note 27) in the ninth century. From then on, the Jijūden was used for private dinners, Sumo wrestling, and imperial music performances.

27 Seiryōden 清涼殿: habitual residence of the emperor, located in the west of the Jijūden (see note 26). Since the middle of the Heian period, it was also used for official ceremonies such as investitures (*joi* 叙位), appointments (*jimoku* 除目), or the New Year’s ceremony Salute to the Four Directions (*shihōhai* 四方拝). At the time of the text’s production, Emperor Go-Daigo resided at the Nijō Tominokōji Palace 二条富小路内裏 since the Imperial Palace had burned down in 1227. The Nijō Tominokōji Palace was constructed after the model of the Imperial Palace.

28 *tenjō* 殿上: in a broad sense, the term designates the Imperial Palace (*dairi* 内裏), but most commonly it is used as an abbreviation of the Courtiers’ Hall (*tenjōnoma* 殿上の間), a waiting room, office, and council room at the southern aisle of the Seiryōden where the *tenjōbito* (see note 55) were stationed (cf. Asai 1985: 38). It was primarily the waiting room of the *kurōdo* (see note 21), but it was also used for consultations of *kugyō* 公卿, senior nobles from the first to the third rank (see note 219). In the Courtiers’ Hall, the emperor’s dining table (*daiban* 台盤), the royal chair for the emperor’s appearances and outings (*ishi* 椅子), the officials’ duty board (*tenjō no fuda* 殿上の簡), etc. were repositied.

29 Kyōshoden 校書殿: pavilion housing the historical archives, administered by the *kurōdo*.

30 *Nitchū gyōji* 1926–1931: 1, 6, 7 (see Japanese source text below, Sections 7, 11 and 12).

The first sentence of each observance functions as sort of heading that structures the text temporally and provides orientation to the reader. Pertaining to chronography, the headings exemplify an explicitly affirmative qualitative, or “chronothetic”<sup>31</sup> determination of time (at the hour X, action A takes place; at hour Y, action B takes place). The text’s specific sequential structure can be expressed as follows: 1a) temporal specification 1, → 1b) main action 1, → 1c) detailed progression of main action 1 (or reference to identical progression described earlier in the text), → 2a) temporal specification 2, → 2b) main action 2, → 2c) detailed progression of main action 2, etc. This temporal structure differs from other texts that allegedly have served as models, such as *Jichū gun’yō* and *Kinpishō*, which are structured according to specific themes, offices or observations. On the other hand, this structure along clock time shows striking similarities with *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*”, in which the temporal-topical headings are even more distinguished since they are marked by the topical expression *koto* 事 (affair). A comparison of entries of *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” and *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* exemplifies the difference:

*At the hour of the Hare [c. 5–7 am] the [main] affair is the morning cleaning by the [custodians of the] palace provisions office Tonomoryō. Court officials instruct their subordinates to wipe and clean the Southern Palace’s garden and the eastern garden of the Seiryōden, the pots of the Breakfast Room (asagarei), the kitchen, and other places. [...] At the hour of the Dragon [...] is the raising of the lattice shutters. One kurōdo enters from the Demon Room (oninoma<sup>32</sup>).<sup>33</sup>*

*At the hour of the Hare [c. 5–7 am],<sup>34</sup> the kurōdo stir at the sound of the morning cleaning by the [custodians of the] palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa<sup>35</sup> and raise the lattice shutters*

31 Steineck 2018: 173.

32 *oninoma* 鬼間: room in the south of the western aisle. On its southern wall was a painting of the Indian heroic figure Hakutaō 白沢王 killing a demon. In the eastern edge of the southern wall was a small window in the shape of a comb through which court ladies could peek into the Courtiers’ Hall, the station of court officials. On the border to the main hall (*moya* 母屋) was a so-called *torii* sliding door (*torii shōji* 鳥居障子) with a Japanese painting, on the border to the Table Room (*daibandokoro* 台盤所, see note 145), a cloth sliding door (*nuno shōji* 布障子), and inside was a cabinet with double doors (*zushi* 厨子), where the imperial tableware was stored. The officials who had night shifts were stationed in the Demon Room after the emperor had retreated to the Royal Bedchamber (*yoru no otodo* 夜御殿).

33 卯剋、主殿寮奉仕朝清事、官人以下[...]率僚下、弘清南殿庭并清涼殿東庭・朝餉壺・台盤所壺及所々。[...]辰剋、[...]上格子事、藏人一人入自鬼間。Higashiyama gobunkobon “*nitchū gyōji*” 2008: 51; 2013: 233, emphasis added.

34 In other *nitchū gyōji*, for instance *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” (cf. Yoshinouchi 2008: 52; 2013: 233) or *Saikyūki* (1953: 129) and other documents on court observances (e.g., *Jichū gun’yō* 1984: 362), the time of raising the lattice shutters is at the first quarter of the hour of the Dragon (*tatsu ikkoku* 辰一剋), corresponding to approximately 7:00–7:30 am. The hour of the Hare is somewhat unusual for this activity.

35 Tonomori no Tsukasa 主殿の司 (Tonomoryō 主殿寮): office of the Ministry of the Imperial Household (Kunaishō 宮内省) (or its officials) in charge of the administration of the palace’s

of the Seiryōden. [A *kurōdo*] tries to push open [the door in the] second bay to the south. As it is still locked, he enters from the Demon Room.<sup>36</sup>

Whereas the former excerpt from *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” is decidedly documentary, *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* appears to be more subjective and situational. This difference might be due to a divergence in language: the use of Japanese seems to render *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* more “narrative” than its Chinese counterpart.<sup>37</sup>

Another critical difference between *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* and its generic predecessor is a higher degree of temporal vagueness concerning the daily observances. *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” is more tightly structured and consequently states the exact hour of each observance by way of “formal”<sup>38</sup> clock time, sometimes even providing “numeric” quarters (*koku* 刻). *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* mentions clock time less frequently, and sometimes even uses “material”<sup>39</sup> instead of “formal” chronometry. Another comparison with *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” shows the difference:

*At the hour of the Dragon* [c. 7–9 am], the daily attendance reports of the court officials take place. [...] *At the hour of the Sheep* [1–3 pm], the board of the Courtiers’ Hall is stored.<sup>40</sup>

*In the morning* [...], the daily attendance reports take place. [...] *When the daily affairs are finished*, the board of the Courtiers’ Hall is stored.<sup>41</sup>

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vehicles, furniture, cleaning of the garden, bathing, lightening, etc. It was managed by a director (*tonomo no kami* 主殿頭), an assistant director (*tonomo no suke* 主殿助), and other staff members and originally comprised approximately 150 people. There was also a Tonomori no Tsukasa office at the emperor’s Back Palace (*kōkyū* 後宮) in charge of the Back Palace’s lightening, floor, seats, and cleaning. It consisted of a director (*shōden/tonomori no kami* 尚殿), two assistant directors (*tenden/tonomori no suke* 典殿), and six servants (*nyōju* 女孺, see note 114). See Asai 1985: 193–194, 229; Wada 1983: 117–118.

<sup>36</sup> *Nitchū gyōji* 1926–1931: 1, emphasis added (see Japanese source text below, Section 1).

<sup>37</sup> On the text’s narrativity and its implications for fictionality, cf. Müller (forthcoming).

<sup>38</sup> In Steineck’s (2018: 175–176) category of “quantitative chronography,” which is inspired by temporal categories developed by Harweg (2008–2009), “formal” refers to chronometry by way of reference to time units. It is subdivided into “numeralized” chronometry, such as “1966” or “third month,” and “denominative” chronometry, for instance “autumn,” “Monday” or “hour of the Dragon.”

<sup>39</sup> In Steineck’s (2018: 175–176) category of “quantitative chronography,” “material” refers to time that is inherent to specific situations. It is subdivided into “implicit material” chronometry, such as “blossom out and wither,” and “explicit material” chronometry, for instance “when all buds burst.”

<sup>40</sup> 辰刻、殿上日給事、[...] 未刻封殿上簡事、*Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” 2008: 51; 2013: 233, 238, emphasis added.

<sup>41</sup> *Nitchū gyōji* 1926–1931: 3, 6, emphasis added (see Japanese source text below, Sections 4, 5 and 11).



Whereas *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” contains 44 entries in the Chinese zodiac clock system, *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* provides only seven such entries. Instead, “formal nominal” chronometry is used, such as “in the morning” (*asa no hodo* 朝のほど) or “material explicit” chronometry, such as “when the daily observances are over” (*hiru no koto-domo hatenureba* 昼の事ども果てぬれば). Despite these differences, the chronography of *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* attests to the fact that the work is highly concerned with temporality.

### 3 Chronopolitics in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*

By way of the text’s chronographic features, the imperial court is depicted as a space in which days and months cyclically repeat in the form of an identical workflow and in which actions are minutely scheduled, not leaving much space for individual time management, neither on the side of the emperor nor his entourage. On the linguistic level, the observances, embedded into a fixed temporal order, are mainly—to use Steineck’s (2018) terminology—“theoretical-descriptive,” but their function is “practical-prescriptive” because they are meant to serve as a model to be followed in precisely the order described. The work’s prescriptive character becomes explicit only sparsely, for instance through the use of the verbal suffix *beshi*, which expresses the necessity of an action.<sup>42</sup>

As in *kanbun* diaries, the chronological sequence of the individual actions that are to be followed is interlinked with sequential chronometric expressions, such as “first” (*mazu* まづ), “next” (*tsugi ni* 次に), “in sequence” (*shidai ni* 次第に), “after” (*ato/nochi* 後), “before long” (*yagate* やがて) or—as in the quotation above—by circumscribing “material chronometry,” such as “when daily affairs are finished” (*hiru no koto-domo hatenureba* ひるの事どもはてぬれば). Furthermore, the chronology of actions is coordinated visually by one action becoming the signal for the next. Below is an exemplary sequential description of the formal morning meal (=lunch) (*asa no gozen* 朝の御膳), taking place at hour of the Horse (c. 11 am–1 pm):

When (*hodo*) the partitioning sliding door is brought from the Demon Room, the servant at the royal table (*baizen*)<sup>43</sup> heralds the way. He says “make way.” [...] First (*mazu*), the four spices [miso, salt, vinegar, and sake] are brought. They are placed on the first tray. [...] Next,

<sup>42</sup> The verbal suffix *beshi* appears seven times in the text. See Japanese source text below, Sections 1, 2, 3, 5, 15.

<sup>43</sup> *baizen* 陪膳: refers to either the act of serving at the imperial dining table or the person serving. At formal morning and evening meals officials of the fourth rank and at the morning meal in the Breakfast Room (see note 109), court ladies or officials of the fifth rank and above attended. According to Yoshinouchi (2013: 250), the duty to serve the formal imperial meals shifted from

(*tsugi ni*) the food in the *gaiban*<sup>44</sup> plate is placed [...]. Next (*tsugi ni*), the third tray: one *kubotsuki*<sup>45</sup> basket and four *hiramori*<sup>46</sup> bowls are placed in the middle of the second dining table.<sup>47</sup>

The court also provided a system to synchronize actions by acoustic signals.<sup>48</sup> One such example occurs in the context of the imperial washing ceremony:

At the hour of the Dragon [c. 7–9 am], [the custodians of] the palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa offer hot water to the Emperor. [...] When [the *tenji*<sup>49</sup>] takes the rice bran, which is placed on a four-legged table, presents it [to the Emperor] and throws [the earthenware on the floor], a *tonomori no suke*<sup>50</sup> *kurōdo* [...] hears the sound of the earthenware and strikes a bowstring.<sup>51</sup>

The sound of the rice bran, whose earthenware is thrown on the ground, becomes a signal for the *kurōdo* to strike a bowstring, which represents apotropaic magic intended to turn away evil spirits and pollution.<sup>52</sup> Acoustic and visual synchronizations may be defined as “causal chronotypological relations,”<sup>53</sup> as one action causes the action next in time.

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ladies-in-waiting to officials between the Engi 延喜 (901–923) and Tenryaku 天曆 (947–957) era. I therefore interpreted the *baizen* here to be male.

**44** *gaiban* 蓋盤: plate with a cap, used for the rice at the emperor’s lunch.

**45** *kubotsuki* 窪坏 (also called *kubote* 窪手): basket made from oak in which food and offerings for the gods were placed.

**46** *hiramori* 平盛り: rice and vegetables piled up to the edge of the bowl.

**47** *Nitchū gyōji*, 1926–1931: 49, emphasis added (see Japanese source text below, Section 5).

**48** In *Higashiyama gobunkobon “nitchū gyōji”*, actions that take place during the same zodiac time unit are signaled by the term *dōkoku* 同刻. Dux (1992), who understands time as a socially created and evolutionary developed category that allows human beings to coordinate actions (cf. Steineck 2017: 28–29), allocates simultaneous actions to “abstract global time” (*abstrakte Weltzeit*) (Dux 1992: 336) predominant in modern societies. According to Dux, “abstract global time” evolved in European cities in the late medieval period as an effect of commercialization (Dux 1992: 336–343). However, Dux refers here to the synchronization of various regional systems that are not in direct contact with each other (Dux 1992: 77–78), and not – such as in the case of the medieval Japanese court – to one local place at which various actions are conducted simultaneously.

**49** *tenji/naishi no suke* 典侍: assistant secretary of the Back Palace’s handmaids’ office Naishi no Tsukasa 内侍司.

**50** *tonomori no suke* 主殿のすけ: 1. Assistant director of the palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa (see note 35) of the lower sixth rank. 2. Assistant director of the Back Palace’s provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa. Here it probably refers to male officials.

**51** *Nitchū gyōji* 1926–1931: 1–2 (see Japanese source text below, Section 2).

**52** For detailed information on this apotropaic custom, see, e.g., Blacker 1999.

**53** Steineck 2018: 173.



Acoustic synchronization of actions is also found in the custom of the courtiers' name-calling (*nadaimen* 名代面<sup>54</sup>), which takes place in the evening at the hour of the Boar (c. 9–11 pm). Here, human voices become a signal for actions:

After the lowering of the lattice shutters, the name-calling of the *tenjō[bito]*<sup>55</sup> takes place. [...] The *kurōdo* of the sixth rank come forth in front of the head [*kurōdo*], and when [the head] queries, “Who are you?”, they each give their name. [...] One *kurōdo* of the sixth rank walks on the wide aisle towards the north, [...] and when [the head *kurōdo*] queries, “Who is attending?”, the *takiguchi*<sup>56</sup> strike a bowstring and everyone calls out his name.<sup>57</sup>

From other sources, we also know that the court even provided a system by which the actions of persons in remote rooms could be coordinated. For instance, the *kodoneri* 小舎人, servants of the chamberlains' office *Kurōdodokoro* 蔵人所, who were stationed at the *Kyōshoden* 校書殿, which is the pavilion housing the historical archives, used to be called by the *kurōdo* to the Courtiers' Hall by way of ropes with bells.<sup>58</sup>

Court observances therefore clearly follow—to use the terminology of Günther Dux in his sociological theory of time—a “logic of action” (*Handlungslogik*), in which each operation has an initiation, execution, and completion,<sup>59</sup> or in which—in the terminology of Maki Yūsuke—observations follow the principle of “segmented linear time” (*senbunteki na jikan* 線分的な時間).<sup>60</sup>

54 *nadaimen* 名対面: specific court etiquette. Roll call, during which the person called upon responds by giving his name. Also called *monjaku* 問籍 and *tonoimōshi* 宿直奏. Usually, it was conducted for the night guards of the palace and took place at the hour of the Boar (c. 9–11 pm). The name-calling of the *tenjōbito* is said to have started in 901.

55 *tenjōbito* 殿上人: people among court officials of the fourth or fifth rank, who had access to the Seiryōden, as well as *kurōdo* of the sixth rank. They were stationed at the Courtiers' Hall, directed by the head *kurōdo* and were in charge of various duties close to the emperor. They worked as servants at the royal table (*baizen*) and night guards (*tonoi*) in a rotation system (cf. Shimura 2009: 1–2). *Tenjōbito* serving at court numbered approximately 40–50 people on average (cf. Shimura 2009: 5). According to *Kinpishō* 禁秘抄 quoting from *Kanpyō goyuikai* 寛平御遺誠 (Bequeathed Regularities of the Kanpyō Era, 897), the number varied from 25 to over a hundred people (*Kinpishō* 1971: 390).

56 *takiguchi* 滝口: guards of the imperial palace taking turns on duty. Originally ten, later twenty men. They were stationed at the *takiguchi*, a guardroom northeast of the Seiryōden, where the water of the ditch streamed down. They accompanied the emperor on boat tours, acted as messengers and were in charge of planting the imperial garden. The name-calling of the *takiguchi* was only conducted when more than three people were present. Cf. Wada 1983: 217–218.

57 *Nitchū gyōji*, 1926–1931: 6 (see Japanese source text below, Section 11).

58 See Ishimura 1987: 87.

59 Dux 1992: 121–129.

60 Maki 2003: 163, 195.

Not only the sequence of actions but also the court's hierarchy was temporally regulated. This becomes most apparent at the meal of the *tenjōbito* 殿上人,<sup>61</sup> high ranked officials who had access to the Seiryōden:

The upper court officials perform the meal at the Courtiers' Hall. [...] When the head [*kurōdo*] takes his place at the half-size dining table (*kiridaiban*<sup>62</sup>), the people after him come out from the lower door [of the Courtiers' Hall], make a bow, and, conforming to the head's assignment, come one after the other to the back end [of the room]. [...] The [custodians of the] palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa, beginning with the low servants, traverse the Small Garden (*koniwa*<sup>63</sup>), and one after the other place the earthenware on the dining table. [...] The head *kurōdo* says: "The [custodians of the] palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa shall arrive quickly." Each of the following *kurōdo* [of the fifth rank] says this. [...] The vice-senior [*kurōdo*] (*nirō*<sup>64</sup>) and the people in rank below wait until the senior [*kurōdo*] (*ichirō*<sup>65</sup>) takes the chopsticks. When he holds the chopsticks, the *kurōdo* lowest in rank do not put down their chopsticks, do not hold up the earthenware, and eat with their faces turned down.<sup>66</sup>

As the quotation exemplifies, people of higher rank had the privilege to take their seats and chopsticks first and utter commands before the people lower in rank. Conversely, servants of low rank brought the dishes first.

Hierarchies at the imperial court were not only structured temporally but also spatially, and these spatiotemporal rules were often interconnected: the order of seats of the *kurōdo*, for example, was regulated hierarchically according to the years of service. In the quotation above, the *ichirō* was the eldest in terms of employment and therefore had a higher seat position than the vice-senior *nirō*.<sup>67</sup> As we have already seen in the case of the *tenjōbito*, the access to specific rooms or the distance of the courtesan's chambers to those of the emperor were also hierarchically regulated. *Kurōdo* of higher rank, for instance, were allowed to sleep in the higher ranked rooms of the palace, i.e., in the Demon Room.<sup>68</sup> Hierarchical structures were thus semanticized topologically by way of complementary

61 *tenjōbito* 殿上人: see note 55.

62 *kiridaiban* 切台盤: dining table half the size of a normal dining table. Two *kiridaban* put together could be used as a regular dining table.

63 *koniwa* 小庭: small-sized garden, located in the southeastern corner of the Seiryōden. There was also a Big Garden (*ōniwa* 大庭), located in the south of the Shishinden 紫宸殿, the main ceremonial hall of the inner palace compound.

64 *nirō* 二臈: vice senior of the *kurōdo* of the sixth rank.

65 *ichirō* 一臈: senior of the *kurōdo* of the sixth rank, also called *kyokurō* 極臈.

66 *Nitchū gyōji* 1926–1931: 3 (see Japanese source text below, Section 4).

67 See Wada 1983: 211–212.

68 *Nitchū gyōji* 1926–1931: 7.

antipodes such as above–below, or inside–outside.<sup>69</sup> It would be most revealing to explore the interconnectedness of time and space pertaining to the court’s social structure in more detail, but such an investigation would exceed the scope of this article, which is why it needs to be relegated to another occasion.

The observation most closely connected to temporality in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* is probably the recording of the attendance of court officials at the imperial palace, called *nikkyū* 日給. In the morning, usually at the hour of the Dragon (c. 7–9 am), it was customary for the *kurōdo* in duty to fill in the timesheets (*hanachigami* 放紙) of the *tenjōbito*. These timesheets were affixed on a duty board (*nikkyū no fuda* 日給の簡) of approximately 160 cm length, 26 cm width at the top, and 23 cm width at the bottom.<sup>70</sup> It was placed in the Courtiers’ Hall. The officials’ daily attendance at court was marked by the character *hi* 日 (day), night shifts by *yū* 夕 (night) and days off by *fu* 不 (not).<sup>71</sup> At the hour of the Sheep (c. 1–3 pm), the attendance of officials, who were on duty until that time, was confirmed and the board stored. The sheets were collected and replaced by new sheets on the first day of every month. Each official’s working days were numbered and reported to the emperor on the third day of every month. These reports provided the basis for seasonal stipends (*iroku* 位禄; *kiroku* 季禄) that were awarded according to the number of days attended.<sup>72</sup> The respective entry on the recording of court officials’ attendance in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* reads as follows:

In the morning [...], the daily attendance reports take place. The [duty] board (*fuda*<sup>73</sup>) in the bag is taken out and put as usual beside the [six-legged] Chinese-style chest (*karabitsu*<sup>74</sup>). The bag is folded and placed under the board. The sheets affixed to the third row of the board under the names [of the respective official] are called *hanachigami*. On these sheets, under the names, the day on which the court officials have been called on is written. [Hour of the] Horse [c. 11 am–1 pm] or [hour of the] Sheep [c. 1–3 pm] is written. For the court officials who have lodged [in the palace] “night” is written beside. The *kurōdo* are in charge of this. [...]

When the daily affairs are finished, [...] the board of the Courtiers’ Hall is stored. [...]

<sup>69</sup> See, e.g., Jury Lotman’s structuralist-semiotic space-model, developed in *The Structure of the Artistic Text* (Lotman 1977). See also Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 14–22.

<sup>70</sup> See Wada 1989b: 384.

<sup>71</sup> Shimura 2009.

<sup>72</sup> The monthly rapports of the working days are described in detail in vol. 5 of the anthology *Chōya gunsai* 朝野群載 (1116), compiled by Miyoshi Tameyasu 三善為康 (1049–1139). An entry from Chōhō 長保 2.2.1 (1000) in *Gonki* 権記 (Diary of Provisional Chief Councilor of State Yukinari, 991–1017), written by Fujiwara no Yukinari 藤原行成 (972–1027), exemplifies the way of recording court attendances:

夕夕      不夕夕                      夕夕      夕夕

酉戌戌不丑寅卯辰巳午未申酉戌不子丑寅卯不已午未申酉戌亥子丑. Quoted from Shimura 2009: 6.

<sup>73</sup> *fuda* 簡: referring to the *nikkyū no fuda* 日給の簡.

<sup>74</sup> *karabitsu* 唐櫃: a type of chest in which the *kurōdo* used to store their diaries.

On the first day of every month, the *kurōdo* changes the timesheets on the [duty] board. He opens the folded end of the old sheets and writes down the number of the court officials' attended days. He signs them before the third day and reports them to the Emperor.<sup>75</sup>

The custom of *nikkyū* appears to have been recorded for the first time in an entry from the 23rd day of the seventh month in 950 in the diary *Kyūreki* 九曆 (Calendar of the Ninth Avenue, 930–960) by Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (908–960).<sup>76</sup> *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” also provides a description which roughly corresponds to the one in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*, but in much more detail. From that document, we learn that in summer the recording took place at the hour of the Dragon (c. 7–9 am), while in winter it was performed at the hour of the Snake (c. 9–11 am).<sup>77</sup> According to Shimura, this was the time when the officials who had a night shift returned home,<sup>78</sup> meaning that night shifts ended later in winter, as the nights were longer. The entry in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* may therefore describe the schedule practiced in winter.<sup>79</sup>

There is one striking difference between *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* and *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*”. The confirmation of attendance and storing of the duty board, traditionally taking place at the hour of the Sheep (c. 1–3 pm), is recorded in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* after the lightening of the palace, traditionally conducted at the hour of the Rooster (c. 5–7 pm).<sup>80</sup> The lightening of the palace and the storing of the duty board are not specified by clock time; they are only vaguely scheduled “after the daily affairs are finished” (*hiru no koto-domo hatenureba*). Nevertheless, the chronological placing after the palace lightening is rather unusual, allowing three possible interpretations: 1) At the time of Emperor Go-Daigo, the storing of the duty board indeed took place at the hour of the Rooster (c. 5–7 pm), after the lightening of the palace.<sup>81</sup> 2) The chronology in *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* is ruptured, and the act of storing the board represents an anachrony (analepsis). 3) The temporal positioning of the storing of the duty board after the lightening of the palace is a mistake. If one agrees with the third interpretation, this misplacement may be

<sup>75</sup> *Nitchū gyōji* 1926–1931: 3–4, 6–7 (see Japanese source text below, Sections 4, 5, 11, and 14).

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Shimura 2009:3.

<sup>77</sup> *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” 2008: 51; 2013: 233.

<sup>78</sup> Shimura 2009: 7.

<sup>79</sup> This view is substantiated by the description of a brazier (*hibitsu* 火櫃) (cf. *Nitchū gyōji* 1926–1931: 3), which was only used in winter.

<sup>80</sup> The scheduling of these two observances at the hour of the Sheep and the hour of the Rooster respectively is also confirmed in *Jichū gun'yō* 1984: 358–359, 365.

<sup>81</sup> According to *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*”, there were special occasions in which the storing of the duty board took place at a later hour, namely on days when Buddhist ceremonies took place. See *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” 2008: 54; 2013: 238; see also Shimura 2009: 3.

considered proof for the fictitious elements within the text, meaning that work attendance reports were no longer in use during Emperor Go-Daigo's reign. However, this point would need to be verified by comparisons with other documents of the time, which is not within the scope of this article. As I have shown elsewhere, *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* may indeed contain fictitious elements, notably regarding imperial meals.<sup>82</sup> A detailed comparison with *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” shows the chronographic and chronopolitical similarities and differences of the two works (Table 2).<sup>83</sup>

The stronger orientation towards clock time in *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” also becomes apparent by the work's detailed descriptions of the time announcement at the imperial court,<sup>84</sup> which was the responsibility of the so-called *naiju* 内豎:<sup>85</sup>

At the hour of the Dog [c. 7–9 pm], the time announcement of the *naiju* [starts]. When the *naiju* hears the sound of the bells at the Yin-Yang Office (Onmyōryō<sup>86</sup>), he calls out his name and the clock time in front of the Mumyōmon Gate, enters through the gate, pulls out the time picket, turns around the [time] board and inserts the time picket in the hole on the right side under the character of the Dog. Every time unit (*koku*), he calls out his name and the time, and changes the time picket. But after the hour of the Hare [c. 5–7 am], he does not call out his name and the time anymore, but only changes the time picket.<sup>87</sup>

As the quotation exemplifies, at court, time was announced by a time board being placed in the Small Garden south of the Seiryōden. In addition, oral time announcements were conducted during the night, between the hour of the Dog (c. 7–9 pm) and the hour of the Tiger (c. 3–5 am). According to Yoshinouchi, this is

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Müller (forthcoming).

<sup>83</sup> This table only reproduces the daily observances since the monthly observances do not show any remarkable differences pertaining to schedule. Time differences are marked by italics, while observances only reported in one source are underlined.

<sup>84</sup> A detailed analysis of the time announcement in *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” is provided by Yoshinouchi (2008: 2013).

<sup>85</sup> *naiju* 内豎: servants, often young boys, in charge of various duties at the court. Since the Heian period, they worked under the control of the so-called *Naijudokoro* (内豎所).

<sup>86</sup> Onmyōryō 陰陽寮: government office in charge of astronomical observations, divination, calendar making and time announcement. It was managed by a director (*kami* 頭) an assistant director (*suke* 助) and various other staff members, for instance diviners (*onmyōji* 陰陽師) or water clock experts (*rōkoku hakase* 漏刻博士). Originally, it consisted of about 80 people.

<sup>87</sup> 戌刻、内豎刻奏、先奏時内豎聞陰陽寮鐘聲、於無名門外、稱姓名・時刻、入自件門、抜杭翻簡而立、取杭挿於戌字下之右一穴、但每刻限稱姓名、時刻挿之如初、自卯刻後、不稱姓名・時刻而挿。 *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” 2008: 54; 2013: 239–240.

**Table 2:** Comparison of Daily Observances in *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” and *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*

Time	<i>Higashiyama gobunkobon</i> “ <i>nitchū gyōji</i> ”	Time	<i>Kenmu nitchū gyōji</i>
Hare (c. 5–7 am)	– morning cleaning	Hare (c. 5–7 am)	– morning cleaning – <i>raising of lattice shutters</i>
Dragon (c. 7–9 am)	– <i>working time reporting (from 9th to 2nd month hour of the Snake)</i> – <i>raising of lattice shutters</i> – <u>offerings by the four guard offices</u> – imperial washing – prayer at the Lime Altar	Dragon (c. 7–9 am)	– imperial washing – prayer at the Lime Altar
Snake (c. 9–11 am)	– informal breakfast	In the morning	– informal breakfast – <u>meal of upper court officials</u> – <i>working time reporting</i>
Horse (c. 11 am–1 pm)	– formal lunch	Horse (c. 11 am–1 pm)	– formal morning meal (=lunch)
Sheep (c. 1–3 pm)	– <i>storing of duty board</i>	Sheep (c. 1–3 pm)	
Monkey (c. 3–5 pm)	– formal evening meal	Monkey (c. 3–5 pm)	– formal evening meal
Rooster (c. 5–7 pm)	– lightening	When daily affairs are finished	– lightening – bonfire at the Hita-kiya station – <i>storing of duty board</i>
When it gets dark	– bonfire at the Hitakiya station		
Dog (c. 7–9 pm)	– <u>time announcement by the <i>naiju</i></u> – <i>lowering of lattice shutters</i>		
Dog 2 (c. 7:30–8 pm)	– <i>name calling of takiguchi guards</i>		
Boar 2 (c. 9:30–10 pm)	– name-calling of <i>tenjōbito</i> – <i>relocation of dining table</i> – <u>night watch of guard office</u>	Boar (c. 9:00–11 pm)	– <i>lowering of lattice shutters</i> – name-calling of <i>tenjōbito</i> and <i>takiguchi</i> guards
		When going to sleep	– <i>relocation of dining table</i> – <u>lightening of Royal Bedchamber</u>



because it was too dark at night to read the time on the time board.<sup>88</sup> From various documents, we know that the time announcement at court was an important custom during the Heian period, and negligence was rigidly punished. If the time picket was lost, the Yin-Yang Office conducted prayers to prevent evils. It also appears that the emperor used to carry the time board with him on outings, and that on abdications the time announcer brought the time board to the newly appointed emperor.<sup>89</sup>

As *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* has no entry on time announcement, we do not know whether this custom was still practiced at the court of Emperor Go-Daigo.<sup>90</sup> Several sources suggest, however, that this was still the case. *Takakura-in Itsukushima gokōki* 高倉院巖島御幸記 (Account of the Journey of the ex-Emperor Takakura to Itsukushima, 1180) explicitly mentions the court's time announcer, called *keijin/niwatoribito* 鶏人.<sup>91</sup> In *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (The Tale of Heike, 13th century), it is described that the emperor, during his escape from the capital, took the time board with him, and *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集 of 1254 written by Tachibana no Narisue 橘成季 (?-?) also mentions the board.<sup>92</sup> Finally, *Kinpishō* mentions water clocks and the time announcement at court by stating that the *kurōdo* had been in charge of the announcement in recent times.<sup>93</sup> Therefore, we may assume that, at least at the beginning of the Kamakura period, time was still announced at court.

### 3.1 Summary

A chronographic and chronopolitical analysis revealed that *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* is strongly concerned with temporality. The work provides a temporal ideal in which court regularities are meant to recur identically according to a fixed flow. The observances' progression is structured by clock time, sequential chronometry, and causal relations, indicated by visual and acoustic signals. The various actions are ordered hierarchically, by principles of seniority temporally structuring

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<sup>88</sup> Yoshinouchi 2008: 41; 2013: 214–215.

<sup>89</sup> See Yoshinouchi 2008: 41–44; 2013: 215–220.

<sup>90</sup> See Yuasa 2015: 199.

<sup>91</sup> *Takakura-in Itsukushima gokōki* 1990: 405.

<sup>92</sup> Quoted from Yoshinouchi 2008: 41–44; 2013: 214–215.

<sup>93</sup> *Kinpishō* 1971: 278.



hierarchies. The procedures at the imperial court thus simultaneously follow a temporal “logic of action,” in which each operation has a clear workflow, as well as a “logic of substance,” in which every action recurs as part of a defined cycle.<sup>94</sup> This peculiar temporal structure exhibits the text’s political function: by way of a chronological and at the same time cyclical structure in a historical vacuum, or—to use Roland Harweg’s terminology—within “mythographic time,”<sup>95</sup> the image of a divine place in which every day repeats orderly and peacefully according to a strictly regulated schedule is provided, thus authorizing imperial rule.

However, as has already become apparent, *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” is more detailed and temporally more meticulously structured than *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*. Moreover, observations pertinent to time, such as time announcement, are absent from *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*. This suggests that even though the text simulates a minutely temporally regulated court, in reality this temporal regime may not have been practiced as strictly as advised. Considering the chaotic political situation and the court’s weakened position at the beginning of the fourteenth century, we may therefore infer that at the medieval court, clock time did not play as essential a role as it did in the Heian period.

The strong resemblance of *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* and *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchū gyōji*” along with our knowledge about Emperor Go-Daigo’s ambitions to restore imperial rule thus suggest that Go-Daigo modeled his work after court etiquette of the Heian period in order to glorify the imperial court and his very rule. Therefore, *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* may be considered a narrative that aims to create an idealized “temporal regime” of court routine to reinstall and consolidate imperial power, or to use Andrew Goble’s words, “to establish a new framework for ceremonial life that pivoted around the imperial personage.”<sup>96</sup> By describing the imperial court as a refined and integral temporal mechanism, the emperor is integrated into a regularity from which he evolves as a symbol of social and political order and thus as an authoritative ideal.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Dux 1992: 121–129.

<sup>95</sup> Harweg 2009.

<sup>96</sup> Goble 2001: 128.

<sup>97</sup> See Müller (forthcoming).

## 4 Annotated Translation of *Kenmu nitchū gyōji*<sup>98</sup>

1. At the hour of the Hare [c. 5–7 am],<sup>99</sup> the *kurōdo*<sup>100</sup> stir at the sound of the morning cleaning by the [custodians of the] palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa,<sup>101</sup> and raise the lattice shutters (*kōshi*<sup>102</sup>) of the Seiryōden.<sup>103</sup> [A *kurōdo*] tries to push open [the door in the] second bay (*ma*) to the south.<sup>104</sup> As it is still locked, he enters from the Demon Room (*oninoma*).<sup>105</sup> [The *kurōdo*] unfasten the wooden locks one after the other and raise the lattice shutters. [Ladies-in-waiting of the palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa<sup>106</sup>] arrange the furniture, spread the *shitone* cushions beautifully and place the inkstone case in front of the imperial seat on the right side. The imperial sword is placed on the right side of the *shitone* cushion, hilt facing west, blade facing south. The girdle is flattened and placed the same way beside. In case the imperial

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**98** Source text: *Nitchū gyōji* 1926–1931. The old characters from the source text are changed into simplified characters (*shinjitai* 新字体) and marginal notes are omitted. In order to render the translation more reader friendly, I decided to translate the various rooms of the emperor's residential palace, the Seiryōden, into English. For this, I referred to the Online Glossary of Japanese Historical Terms on the website of the Historiographical Institute, The University of Tokyo (Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所), available at <http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/> (last visited June 16, 2021), as well as to Hulvey 2005 and Tyler 2016. However, for the various offices of the Imperial Palace and employment titles, I opted for Japanese terms in order to make them more easily identifiable.

**99** Wada Hidematsu (1989b: 358) narrows the time down to the middle of the hour of the Hare, that is, to c. 6 am. This and the following explications of specific terms and offices draw mainly on Wada's *Shintei kanshoku tsūkai* 新訂官職通解 (1983), Asai Torao's *Shintei jōkan tsūkai* 新訂女官通解 (1985), Ishimura Teikichi's *Yūsoku kojitsu* 有職故実 (1987) as well as *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典, *Kokushi daijiten* 国史大辞典, *Zenbun zen'yaku kogo jiten* 全文全訳古語辞典 and *Nihon daihyakka zensho* 日本大百科全書, accessed through JapanKnowledge.

**100** *kurōdo* 藏人: see note 21. Here, the term probably refers to male *kurōdo*.

**101** Tonomori no Tsukasa 主殿の司: see note 35.

**102** *kōshi* 格子: square lattice-work shutters backed by wood or paper; lowered they served as walls. They were lifted open and hooked up. In the case of the emperor's residence Seiryōden they folded in.

**103** Seiryōden 清涼殿: see note 27.

**104** According to custom, one *kurōdo* entered the emperor's daily quarters through the Demon Room (see note 32). The other *kurōdo* waited at the second bay of the eastern aisle and were let in by the *kurōdo* who had entered from the Demon Room.

**105** *oninoma* 鬼間: see note 32.

**106** A comparison with other documents such as *Jichū gun'yō* (1984: 360–361) suggests that the arrangement of the utensils in the emperor's living quarters were conducted by female custodians of the palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa (*nyōju* 女孺, see note 114).

seat is facing east or west, the way of placing the imperial sword is probably the same as now, when [the seat] faces east, [the sword] is left of the imperial seat. When [the seat] faces south, left of the imperial seat, hilt facing south, blade facing east. When it faces north, it is the same. In the case of provisional imperial seats, it ought to be the same. When the bamboo blinds (*gyoren*) are raised and the morning cleaning is finished, the *kurōdo* wait at the Courtiers' Hall (*tenjō[noma]*<sup>107</sup>). Pertaining to the morning cleaning, officials of the palace provisions office Tonomori [no Tsukasa] of the fifth rank sweep the Emperor's habitual residence (*tsune no gosho*<sup>108</sup>) and the garden at the Breakfast Room (*asagarei*<sup>109</sup>), dressed in *ikan*<sup>110</sup> court robes. *Tsukasa no miyatsuko*<sup>111</sup> clean the various other places, dressed in dark indigo dresses and caps (*kachikōburi*<sup>112</sup>). The palace floor (*dōjō*<sup>113</sup>) is cleaned by female servants (*nyōju*<sup>114</sup>) of the housekeeping office Kamon [no Tsukasa]<sup>115</sup> and the palace provisions office

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107 *tenjō[noma]* 殿上[間]: see note 28.

108 *tsune no gosho* 常の御所: daily apartment of the emperor, here it refers to the Seiryōden.

109 *asagarei* 朝餉: abbreviation of *asagarei no ma* 朝餉の間, a room, the size of two bays at the western aisle of the Seiryōden in which the emperor used to take light informal meals and change his clothes. In the west, a small garden (*asagarei no niwa* 朝餉の庭) was located. Originally, the room was used for the morning meal, but with time it was also used for other meals, private amusements and audiences.

110 *ikan* 衣冠: dress used at court since the middle of the Heian period, slightly simpler than the official *sokutai* 束帯 (see note 211). It usually consisted of a cap (*kanmuri* 冠), a robe with a round collar and stitched sides (*hōeki no hō* 縫腋の袍), trousers (*sashinuki* 指貫), an undergarment (*akome* 柏), an unlined garment (*hitoe* 単), and shoes (*kutsu* 沓). Initially, it was used as a night guard dress, but in the Kamakura period it also came to be used for palace visits.

111 *tsukasa no miyatsuko* 司のみやつこ: servants of the palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa (see note 35).

112 *kachikōburi* 褐冠: dark indigo dress with a cap.

113 *dōjō* 堂上: according to *Kokugo daijiten*, *dōjō* applies to the Courtiers' Hall (*tenjōnoma*, see note 28). Other sources suggest that *dōjō* 堂上 may also refer to other places in the emperor's residential palace. However, according to Asai (1985: 230), the Courtiers' Hall was cleaned by *nyōju* (see note 114) of the palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa (see note 35) and the housekeeping office Kamon no Tsukasa (see note 115), thus I interpret *dōjō* here as the Courtiers' Hall.

114 *nyōju* 女孺: ladies-in-waiting of lower rank in charge of the palace's cleaning, lightening, and other duties.

115 Kamon (no Tsukasa) 掃部司 (Kamonryō 掃部寮): office of the Ministry of the Imperial Household (Kunaishō) in charge of the cleaning of the imperial palace and the preparation of ceremonies. There was also a Kamon no Tsukasa at the emperor's Back Palace comprising a director (*kamon no kami* 尚殿), two assistant directors (*kamon no suke* 典殿), and ten female servants (*nyōju* 女孺). Here it refers to the latter. See Asai 1985: 193–194; Wada 1983: 120–121.

Tonomori [no Tsukasa]. They are *kado no warawa*.<sup>116</sup> They do not step on the beam (*nageshi*<sup>117</sup>). Nowadays, both cannot be seen [anymore]. Within the [Seiryōden] palace, *kurōdo* ought to attend.

2. At the hour of the Dragon [c. 7–9 am], [the custodians of] the palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa offer hot water to the Emperor. The so-called *sumashi*<sup>118</sup> *nyōkan*<sup>119</sup> prepares it. A *naishi*<sup>120</sup> investigates the temperature of the water and reports its condition. Sometimes, the *naishi* who attends to the Royal Bathroom (*oyudono*<sup>121</sup>) wears a waistcloth. It is, for instance, a *kōtō* [*naishi*].<sup>122</sup> When [the Emperor] comes down to the Royal Bathroom and the water is ordered, a *tenji*<sup>123</sup> or a *jōrō nyōbō*<sup>124</sup> offers a linen bathrobe to the Emperor. When she takes the rice bran (*kawagusuri*<sup>125</sup>), which is placed on a four-legged table, presents it [to the Emperor] and throws [the earthenware on the floor],<sup>126</sup> a *tonomori no suke*<sup>127</sup> *kurōdo*, if he is not from the palace provisions office Tonomori [no Tsukasa], he is from somewhere else, hears the sound of the earthenware and

116 *kado no warawa* 葛野童: unmarried girls from Kadono District in Yamashiro Province.

117 *nageshi* 長押: tie beams running between columns in traditional Japanese architecture. Customarily, it is not allowed to step on them.

118 *sumashi* 清: abbreviation of *sumashime*, ladies-in-waiting of lower rank in charge of cleaning utensils and observances of the Royal Bathroom (*oyudono* 御湯殿, see note 121).

119 *nyōkan* 女官: the term usually refers to ladies-in-waiting in general. Here, however, it designates a select category of ladies-in-waiting, distinguished by the pronunciation *nyōkan* instead of *nyokan* (see Asai 1985: 232–233). Usually, *nyōkan* served in the kitchen or the bathroom.

120 *naishi* 内侍: ladies-in-waiting from the gentlewomen's office Naishi no Tsukasa 内侍司, the most important of the twelve offices at the emperor's Back Palace. Since the late Heian period, *naishi* refers to the so-called *shōji* 掌侍, ladies-in-waiting of the third rank.

121 *oyudono* 御湯殿: room in the western aisle of the Seiryōden used for the emperor's bathing.

122 *kōtō* [no *naishi*] 勾当[の内侍]: highest in rank of the *shōji*, ladies-in-waiting of the third rank.

123 *tenji/naishi no suke* 典侍: see note 49.

124 *jōrō no nyōbō* 上臈の女房: lady-in-waiting of high rank who is allowed to wear the forbidden colors (*kinjiki* 禁色), colors that were only allowed for members of the royal family.

125 *kawagusuri* 河薬: rice bran, put in a bag, used to remove the dirt of the body at the imperial washing occasion. According to Wada (1989b: 365), here it refers to the rice bran that is put into the bath.

126 In *Kinbishō* (1971: 376), it is recorded that every morning a *naishi no suke* 典侍, an assistant secretary of the gentlewomen's office Naishi no Tsukasa, dressed in a waistcloth (*yumaki* 湯巻) offers the emperor a single-layered bathrobe (*o-yukatabira* 御湯帷), then throws the earthenware of the rice bran on the wooden floor. When the *kurōdo* in charge hears this, he makes a sound with a bowstring (*meigen* 鳴弦) outside the door. The earthenware was probably broken to prevent its reuse, as it was considered polluted after having been used.

127 *tonomori no suke* 主殿のすけ: see note 50.

strikes a bowstring.<sup>128</sup> Officials of the palace provisions office Tonomori [no Tsukasa], fifth rank, call their names at the threshold of the Royal Bathroom. The striking of the bowstring cannot always be heard. It should be conducted according to the original ceremonial. Before long, a servant for the Emperor's dressing and combing (*miuchiki no hito*) is summoned to the Hand-Washing Room (*o-chōzunoma*<sup>129</sup>). Upon the call, this person arrives with a *uchiki* dress<sup>130</sup> dyed in sappanwood that hangs on a partitioning screen with the image of a horse (*umagata no shōji*<sup>131</sup>). This person stores the comb for the sidelocks (*o-binkaki*), hands over the dress, a *nōshi*,<sup>132</sup> and leaves. The washing water from the water supply office Mondō no Tsukasa<sup>133</sup> arrives. A *nyōkan* puts it on a table and brings it. She places two *hanzō* pots, the washbasin with a plate, and two silver vessels, in one of which she pours washing powder. She orders two sets of chopsticks and offers them. One *myōbu*<sup>134</sup> and one [female] *kurōdo* attend to the drainboard (*sunoko*), slightly lift the bamboo blinds and offer

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**128** *tsuruuchi* 弦打 (*meigen* 鳴弦): incantation in order to expel evil spirits, demons, and pollution by way of striking bowstrings with the hands. When the emperor took a bath, the *kurōdo* made a sound with the bowstring outside the Royal Bathroom. This custom is also known from births or the bathing ceremonies after births. In *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* 紫式部日記 (Diary of Murasaki Shikibu, 1008–1010), the custom is described at the birth of the imperial prince, the later Emperor Go-Ichijō 後一条天皇 (1008–1036, r. 1016–1036). See *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* 1989: 138. In the medieval period, this custom was also used to expel diseases and thunder, accompanied by shooting an arrow affixed with a cover that whistles when shot (*hikime* 墓目).

**129** *o-chōzu no ma* 御手水の間: room at the western aisle of the Seiryōden between the Breakfast Room and the Royal Bathroom where the emperor used to wash his hands and face each morning.

**130** *uchiki* 桂: dress worn under the *nōshi* 直衣 or *kariginu* 狩衣 outer garment.

**131** *umagata no shōji* 馬形の障子: partitioning screen with the picture of a horse on the front side and a Chinese rider playing pool (*dakyū* 打毬) on the back side.

**132** *nōshi* 直衣: the ordinary dress of *kugyō* 公卿, senior nobles of the third rank and above (see note 219). In winter, the outer garment was white and the inner garment double-layered reddish indigo; in summer, as there was no inner garment, only double-layered reddish indigo was used. The underclothes and trousers were the same as with the *ikan* robe, but often a so-called *ebōshi* 烏帽子 cap was used.

**133** Mondō no Tsukasa 主水の司: office or officials at the Ministry of the Imperial Household (Kunaishō) in charge of drinking water and ice.

**134** *myōbu* 命婦: designation for court ladies. In the Ritsuryō system, it referred to court ladies or wives of officials of the fifth rank and above. After the Heian period, the term came to be used for middle ranked ladies-in-waiting in general.



them. A *tenji* serves at the royal table (*baizen*<sup>135</sup>) and offers them one after the other. The Emperor takes a seat at the dais (*daishōji*<sup>136</sup>). Before the round sitting mat, before the dais, is an armrest. He crosses his hands and orders the washing water without rolling up his sleeves. If [the sleeves] are over the armrest, they do not get wet. [The *tenji*] takes the towel from the imperial towel box and wipes his hands. Is it because His Majesty does not sit facing west? The Hand-Washing Room lies in the west, but the dais is placed facing north.

3. The Emperor goes to the Lime Altar (*ishibai no dan*<sup>137</sup>) and conducts the prayers. He bows twice in two rounds (*ryōdan saihai*), facing southeast [in the direction of the Ise Shrine]. The rest ought to be entrusted to his mood. The four seasons folding screen (*shiki no go-byōbu*), which stands at the end of the main hall (*moya*) in the first bay facing south, is taken, placed behind, right beside [the Emperor], and the round sitting mat of the dais is laid out within. The *kurōdo* prepare the bamboo blind in the first bay at the specified time. During the worship, one *naishi* waits at the wide aisle (*hirobisashi*<sup>138</sup>) and when she gracefully hands over the cleaning water, a *nyōkan* says twice: “The cleaning water is handed over.” A *nyōbō*<sup>139</sup> responds with “ah.”<sup>140</sup> The *nyōkan* inserts a pair of chopsticks into the bamboo blind and says twice, “I sincerely would like to withdraw [the vessel] (*makari idashimairasesōrōwan*).”<sup>141</sup> The *nyōbō* again answers with “ah.”

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135 *baizen* 陪膳: see note 43.

136 *daishōji* 大床子: legged table used by the emperor for meals and haircuts.

137 *ishibai no dan* 石灰の壇: Shintō sanctuary in the southern edge of the eastern aisle of the emperor's residential palace Seiryōden, two bays in size, with a lime (*ishibai*) plastered floor, where the emperor performed the prayers to the Ise Shrine each morning.

138 *hirobisashi* 弘廂 (also called *magobisashi* 孫廂): room or aisle outside the main aisles of the Seiryōden's main hall.

139 *nyōbō* 女房: lady-in-waiting allowed an individual chamber (*bō* 房). Since the middle of the Heian period, the term refers to ladies-in-waiting serving high ranking court ladies such as *naishi* (see note 120), *myōbu* (see note 134), and empresses. In *Kinpishō*, *nyōbō* are categorized according to their social status and pedigree into *jōrō* 上臈, *chūrō* 中臈 and *gerō* 下臈. Cf. *Kinpishō* 1971: 396.

140 *ah* あ: one of the select answers to the command of the emperor expressing agreement. See also *Kinpishō* 1971: 377.

141 Wada (1989b: 373–374) reads *makari* as *magari* 杓, a kind of ladle, and understands the sentence in the sense of “I would like to withdraw the washing utensils.” A manuscript from 1527, available online (see note 15), which may have been the model for the *Shintei kōgaku sōsho* transcript, renders the pertaining text passage as *makari*.

4. The Breakfast (*asagarei no omono*)<sup>142</sup> is served. A *tokusen*<sup>143</sup> takes the food tablets (*midai*<sup>144</sup>), goes to the Table Room (*daibandokoro*<sup>145</sup>), and puts them on the meal shelf (*omonodana*<sup>146</sup>). Imperial objects are not placed directly on the dining table (*daiban*<sup>147</sup>). The [*jōrō*] *nyōbo* serving at the royal table waits at the mats at the end of the Breakfast Room. *Chūrō*<sup>148</sup> wait at both sides of the kitchen's sliding door. *Gerō*<sup>149</sup> stand behind. The breakfast is brought as usual. If [the Emperor] does not eat properly, the servant at the royal table places the chopsticks, breaks the end and serves [the food]. She returns three times. We do not know the meaning of this, but now it is a custom. The second time her hair is lifted. The upper court officials (*ue no onoko-domo*)<sup>150</sup> take their meal at the Courtiers' Hall. In the morning, before the reading of the daily attendance report (*nikkyū*<sup>151</sup>), all are dressed in night shift dresses (*tonoisugata*<sup>152</sup>). When

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**142** *asagarei no omono* 朝餉の御膳: light informal meal taken in the morning, at the Breakfast Room. It was prepared by the palace kitchen office Mizushidokoro 御厨子所 (see note 159) and served by ladies-in-waiting. The precise time of the meal is not mentioned. However, as it is scheduled between observances taking place between c. 7 and 9 am and those taking place between c. 11 am and 1 pm, it can be deduced that the informal breakfast is temporally located at the hour of the Snake (c. 9–11 am). This scheduling is backed by other documents such as *Jichū gun'yō*, *Higashiyama gobunkobon* “*nitchu gyōji*”, or *Kinpishō*.

**143** *tokusen* 得選: lady-in-waiting of lower rank working at the palace kitchen office Mizushidokoro involved in meals and various observances.

**144** *midai* 御台: dining table of high nobles or their meal.

**145** *daibandokoro* 台盤所: room in which the dining table was placed. At the Heian imperial palace, it was located in the middle of the western aisle. It was also the waiting room of the *nyōbō*.

**146** *omonodana* 御膳棚: specific portable shelf (often two-storied) placed in the palace kitchen office Mizushidokoro, the Table Room, or the Small Garden in front of the Courtiers' Hall on which meals that were to be put on the dining table were placed temporarily.

**147** *daiban* 台盤: low oblong dining table with four legs usually placed in the Seiryōden or the Courtiers' Hall, used for festivities, banquets, and imperial meals. There were red and black dining tables and dining tables with gold or silver lacquer or mother-of-pearl ornamentations. They were four or eight *shaku* 尺 in size (one *shaku* is equivalent to approximately 30 cm).

**148** *chūrō* 中臈: middle-ranked *nyōbō*.

**149** *gerō* 下臈: low-ranked *nyōbō*.

**150** *ue no onoko-domo* 上のをのこ共: refers to *tenjōbito* 殿上人: see note 55.

**151** *nikkyū* 日給: daily routine of registering courtiers who are on and off duty. See discussion above.

**152** *tonoisugata* 宿直姿: dress worn during night guard duty and used as a counterpart to the official *sokutai* 束帯 dress (see note 211) worn during the day. From the *sokutai*, the undergarment (*shitagasane* 下襲) and leather belt (*sekitai* 石帯) were removed, and the white overtrousers (*ue no hakama* 表袴) were replaced by the wider *sashinuki* 指貫trousers. Since the middle of the Heian period, it was used for court attendance in general and even for formal occasions.



the head [*kurōdo*<sup>153</sup>] takes his place at the half-size dining table (*kiridaiban*<sup>154</sup>), the people come out from the lower door [of the Courtiers' Hall] after him, make a bow (*seieki*<sup>155</sup>) and, conforming to the head's assignment, come to the back end [of the room] one after the other. When there are many people, the cover of the [six-legged] Chinese-style chest (*karabitsu*<sup>156</sup>) is placed on the square brazier (*hibitsu*<sup>157</sup>), and they take their places at the dining table. This is conducted by guards (*banshū*<sup>158</sup>) of the palace kitchen office Mizushidokoro.<sup>159</sup> The [custodians of the] palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa, beginning with the low servants, traverse the Small Garden, and one by one place the earthenware on the dining table. For each meal, the chopsticks are placed first. The head *kurōdo* says: "The [custodians of the] palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa shall arrive quickly." Each of the following *kurōdo* [of the fifth rank] speaks this [phrase]. All, except the senior [*kurōdo*] (*ichirō*<sup>160</sup>), summon the [custodians of the] palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa twice (*futakoe*<sup>161</sup>). The *suinō*,<sup>162</sup> *kodoneri*,<sup>163</sup> etc. stand in a line at the opposite wall and call out constantly, "Please come quickly." In front, [the vessels] are stacked like mountains. Because they should sparkle, the *banshū* say that they sparkle, but no particular [sparkling] can be seen.

153 *kurōdo no tō* 蔵人の頭: second highest office at the chamberlains' office Kurōdodokoro established in 810, consisting of two persons of the fourth rank.

154 *kiridaiban* 切台盤: see note 62.

155 *seieki* 請益: salutation of companions in court ceremonies by way of a slight bow in order to receive permission for a specific action.

156 *karabitsu* 唐櫃: see note 74.

157 *hibitsu* 火櫃: square brazier in which ash and charcoal fire was stored. It was placed at the Courtiers' Hall in winter; in summer, it was replaced by Go tables.

158 *banshū* 番衆: men acting as night guards in a shift system at court as well as at the *bakufu*.

159 Mizushidokoro 御厨子所: bureau at the office in charge of the emperor's meals (Naizenshi 内膳司) at the Ministry of the Imperial Household, which administered the preparation and procurement of the emperor's meals and the serving of food and alcoholic drinks at seasonal court banquets. See Ishimura 1985: 87.

160 *ichirō* 一臈: see note 65.

161 Wada (1989b: 377) here writes "once" (*hitokoe* 一こゑ). A manuscript from 1527, available online (see note 15), which may have been the model for the *Shintei kōgaku sōsho* transcript, renders the pertaining text passage as "twice (*futakoe* 二声)."

162 *suinō* 出納: low servants of the chamberlains' office Kurōdodokoro. They were in charge of the receipts and expenditure of the Kurōdodokoro's properties, as well as general affairs.

163 *kodoneri* 小舎人: servants of the chamberlains' office Kurōdodokoro in charge of various duties at the Courtiers' Hall. Originally, they numbered six people, but later they increased to twelve people (see *Kinbishō* 1971: 393, Ishimura 1987: 87).

Occasionally, *banshū* are summoned to the garden, lanterns (*tōrō*<sup>164</sup>) are hung around their necks, and *kurōdo* reprimand them. The chopsticks are placed, the sake servant is summoned, and [a person of] the palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa pours the sake in three cups (*sankon*<sup>165</sup>). The soaked rice (*yuzuke*) etc. is eaten, and everyone stands up. When they are about to begin the meal, the *kurōdo* summon the [custodians of the] palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa to close the upper door and the two gates. The vice-senior [*kurōdo*] (*nirō*<sup>166</sup>) and the people of lower rank wait until the senior [*kurōdo*] takes the chopsticks. When he holds the chopsticks, the *kurōdo* lowest in rank do not put down their chopsticks, do not hold up the earthenware, and eat with their faces turned down.

5. When the meal is finished, the court officials change into their night shift dress. The *kurōdo* descend to [their lodgings in] town and return. The cover of the royal chair (*go-ishi*<sup>167</sup>) is taken and hung up at the *saonoma*.<sup>168</sup> The daily attendance reports take place. The [duty] board (*fuda*<sup>169</sup>) in the bag is taken out and put as usual beside the [six-legged] Chinese-style chest. The bag is folded and placed under the board. The sheets affixed in the third row of the board under the names are called *hanachigami*.<sup>170</sup> On these sheets, under the names, the day of the court officials, who have been called on, is written. “Hour of the Horse” [c. 11 am–1 pm] or “hour of the Sheep” [c. 1–3 pm] is written. For the court officials that have lodged [in the palace], “night” is written beside. The *kurōdo* are in charge of this. After that, the people in a night shift dress do not attend at the Courtiers’ Hall. When the head [*kurōdo*] or the

164 *tōrō* 灯楼: square lanterns made from wood or iron, with windows and a roof, on which a rope was fixed to rings. They were suspended from the ceiling of the aisles or the main hall. The lanterns that were suspended in the four corners of the imperial bedroom were called *kaitomoshi* 搔灯.

165 *sankon* 三献: specific etiquette at banquets. Accompanied by a clear broth soup and appetizers, sake is served three times each time, first from a small, then from a medium, and finally from a big cup. This etiquette is also known as *shikisankon* 式三献 and *sansankudo no sakazuki* 三三九度の杯.

166 *nirō* 二臈: see note 64.

167 *go-ishi* 御椅子: seat of nobles, especially the seat on which the emperor receives his retainers’ worship at ceremonies. Usually, it was placed at the Seiryōden’s Courtiers’ Hall and the Shishinden.

168 *saonoma* 棹間: space between two pillars in the middle of the southern side of the Courtiers’ Hall. The cover of the imperial seat stored in the Courtiers’ Hall was hung up on a beam connecting these two pillars. One of the oldest mentions of the beam is to be found in vol. 17 of *Saikyūki*.

169 *fuda* 簡: refers to the *nikkyū no fuda* 日給の簡. See discussion above.

170 *hanachigami* 放紙: see discussion above.

people in duty of serving the imperial meal (*baizenban*<sup>171</sup>) attend at the Courtiers' Hall, the *kurōdo* gives a sign at the lower door to order the imperial meal. The servant at the royal table leaves the Courtiers' Hall and first orders the washing water. For the head *kurōdo*, *kurōdo* carry it. For the *tenjōbito*, [custodians of the] palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa carry it. Two people carry the [first] dining table (*daiban*), which stands in the roofed corridor (*watadono*<sup>172</sup>) together with the trays (*dai*), and place it sideways in front of the dais. It has a horse-face-shaped plate (*batōban*<sup>173</sup>). The next two *kurōdo* carry this<sup>174</sup> dining table and place it vertically to the south of the first dining table. When the partitioning sliding door (*torii shōji*<sup>175</sup>) is brought from the Demon Room, the servant at the royal table heralds the way. He says “make way (*oshi*).” The servant at the royal table waits at the round sitting mat. Before the *zushi* cabinet<sup>176</sup> within the folding screen. First, the four spices [miso, salt, vinegar, and sake] are brought. The servant at the royal table comes forward and places them left of the horse-face-shaped plate. Next, the food in the plate with a cap (*gaiban*<sup>177</sup>) is placed north of the horse-face-shaped plate. The spoon is on the left side of the plate. Or it is placed at the northern rim of the four spices. Next, the third tray: one *kubotsuki* basket<sup>178</sup> and four *hiramori* bowls<sup>179</sup> are placed in the middle of the second dining table. The *hiramori* bowls are placed on the left and right sides of the *kubotsuki* basket. The fourth tray: one *kubotsuki* bowl is placed *vis-à-vis* the former *kubotsuki* basket. Two *hiramori* bowls are placed at the left and right end of the former [*kubotsuki* basket]. The [bowls with] soup are lined up at the northern end of the second dining table. Fifth tray: a sake cup is placed within the eastern rim of the second dining

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171 *baizenban* 陪膳番: a group of people who were in charge of the emperor's meal on a specific day.

172 *wata(ri)dono* 渡殿: roofed, wooden-floored corridor connecting two buildings, also called *hosodono* 細殿.

173 *batōban* 馬頭盤: four-legged plate shaped like the head of a horse. It was used to place chopsticks and spoons.

174 Wada (1989b: 385) transmits “second dining table” (*ni no o-daiban* 二の御台盤) and *Shintei kōgaku sōsho* “this dining table” (*kono o-daiban* 此の御台盤). According to a drawing in Wada 1989b: 386, the horse-face-shaped plate was placed on the first dining table. A manuscript from 1527, available online (see note 15), which may have been the model for the *Shintei kōgaku sōsho* transcript, renders the pertinent text passage as “this dining table.”

175 *torii shōji* 鳥居障子: partitioning paper sliding door that stood across the Table Room and the Demon Room. Its upper part had the shape of a *torii*, a Shinto shrine archway.

176 *zushi* 厨子: cabinet to store utensils, calligraphic works, diaries, and food.

177 *gaiban* 蓋盤: see note 44.

178 *kubotsuki* 窪坏: see note 45.

179 *hiramori* 平盛り: see note 46.

table. The cover is not taken away. The sixth tray: a bowl with water is placed on the northern rim of the first dining table. The *amagatsu* bowl<sup>180</sup> is placed within the four spices. Or at the rim in the north of the four spices, or before the horse-face-shaped plate in line with the four spices. When the Emperor does not come [to the meal], the *yakusō*<sup>181</sup> is ordered to place the food on the second dining table. When the servant at the royal table stands in front of the first dining table, he receives a sign. The first and second dining tables arrive, and when the *kurōdo* says twice, “The *takamori*<sup>182</sup> bowls shall come quickly,” at the two-leaf wooden door (*tsumado*<sup>183</sup>) at the end of the roofed corridor, the *banshū* answer at the *nageshi*<sup>184</sup> beams, “They come.” Then, one plate with *takamori* bowls and one plate with flame-broiled food is ordered to be brought. It is carried and served by the *kurōdo*. The servant at the royal table takes it and places it in two rows on the right side of the horse-face-shaped plate. *Takamori* bowls. At the southeastern rim, both earthenware bowls with flame-broiled food are placed. The servant at the royal table retreats to the round sitting mat. The *kurōdo* places his hands on the balustrade of the Table Room’s drainboard and announces to the Emperor, “The meal arrives (*mairu*),” or “It has arrived (*mairinu*).” The sovereign comes to the dais. He puts his knees on the end of the dais, ascends, crawls forward, and sits gracefully on the round sitting mat. The servant at the royal table heralds his arrival at the round sitting mat by bowing his knees. When the Emperor attends from the beginning, the servant at the royal table announces the meal at the round sitting mat. [The Emperor] is supposed to eat properly, but recently he comes only for the sake of formality. Sometimes he eats rice soaked in water. The servant at the royal table arrives, distributes the dishes, and when he puts it into the vessel for hot water and serves it, a *kurōdo* brings the rice soaked in water. When the meal is finished, [the Emperor] sticks the chopsticks erect into the rice and enters [his private

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**180** *amagatsu* あまがつ: The term usually refers to T-shaped dolls placed besides young children up to the age of three years to protect them from misfortunes. They were also placed next to infant imperial princes during meals. In the case of *Kenmu nitchū gyōji* it seems to refer to an earthenware (*amagatsu no kawarake* 阿末加津の土器) (cf. Wada 1989b: 388) used as a purification object (*agachigo* 贖児), another term for *amagatsu*. According to *Kenmu nenjū gyōji* (Wada 1989a: 281–182, 320, 332), it was brought from the Department of Worship (Jingikan 神祇官) to the palace from the first to the 8th day of the sixth, eleventh, and twelfth month. Wada (1989b: 389) conjectures that it was called *amagatsu no kawarake* because it was brought by female attendants of the Department of Worship called *agachigo*.

**181** *yakusō* 役送: a high noble or priest who carries the emperor’s meal and acts as waiter. Here it is the person who hands over the food from the *baizen*, the servant at the royal table.

**182** *takamori* 高盛り: food highly piled up in a bowl.

**183** *tsumado* 妻戸: hinged double door in *shindenzukuri* 寝殿造 architecture.

**184** *nageshi* 長押: see note 117.

chambers]. When he does not eat properly, the *saba* dish<sup>185</sup> [for the offering to the gods] is taken, placed in an *amagatsu* bowl and offered. The servant at the royal table summons the *tenjōbito* to the seats with two calls, and the *kurōdo* go forward to the partitioning paper sliding door (*torii shōji*) in the Demon Room. They stretch out [their dresses] gracefully, but only the sleeves. The servant at the royal table orders to withdraw [the food]. When the spoons and plates are brought, the trays are taken out. The erected chopsticks are substituted with different [wooden] chopsticks,<sup>186</sup> their end broken, and taken out. Everything should be taken out as [set up] before, but the things on the first and the second dining table are placed on the first tray [only], and brought out in three rounds. The *kurōdo* takes the removal tray (*makari no ban*), the *makarisū*, from the Courtiers' Hall, enters from the second bay of the aisle, kneels left beside the servant at the royal table, and puts the tray on the floor without raising it. When he gently brings them close to his side, the *kurōdo* takes the *takamori* bowls and the *hiramori* bowls out, which the servant at the royal table has put [on the tray], and puts them on the dining table in the Courtiers' Hall. The first and second dining tables are brought out as usual. The *yakusō* hands the things over from the servant at the royal table to the head *kurōdo*.

6. The [formal] morning meal is at the hour of the Horse [c. 11 am–1 pm]. If the daily offerings (*nie*<sup>187</sup>) are brought before that, they are stored in the food shelf in the Small Garden.
7. At the hour of the Monkey [c. 3–5 pm], the evening meal is served. Its etiquette is the same as in the morning.
8. In the fourth month, on the day of the Kamo Festival,<sup>188</sup> garlic is offered. When the formal meal is over, the evening meal is taken at the Courtiers' Hall. It is the same as in the morning.<sup>189</sup>
9. From the first day of the sixth month until the last day of the seventh month, sweet rice wine (*hitoyozake*) is served. It is placed on the earthenware beside the sake cup.

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**185** *saba* 散飯: Buddhist term. A small portion of the meals that was taken away to be donated to fierce gods (*kishin* 鬼神), hungry ghosts (*gaki* 餓鬼), and wild animals (*chōjū* 鳥獸).

**186** The chopsticks, which were placed before, were silver. See Wada 1989b: 391.

**187** *nie* 贄: offerings that were brought from various provinces every day, notably birds and fish. See Wada 1989b: 395.

**188** *Kamo matsuri* 賀茂祭: festival in Kyōto. Initially, it took place in the fourth month, on the 2nd day of the Rooster according to the lunisolar calendar. Today, it is conducted on the 15th day of the fifth month of the Gregorian calendar. On the day of the Horse or the Sheep, before the festival, there was a purification ceremony at the Kamo River.

**189** According to Wada (1989b: 398), this sentence is in the wrong place; it should be at the end of the evening meal section (Section 7).



10. The [unofficial] daily ceremony for the invocation of the dead (*shōkon*<sup>190</sup>) is a custom nowadays. The *kurōdo* of the sixth rank on duty that day (*higerō kurōdo*<sup>191</sup>) brings linen dolls (*on-nademono*<sup>192</sup>) from the Table Room, and orders guards (*eiji*<sup>193</sup>) to bring them to the Ying-Yang Master (*onmyōji*<sup>194</sup>).
11. When the daily affairs are finished, the lights are ignited here and there with portable candlesticks (*shōtō*<sup>195</sup>): first, the two lanterns (*tōro*) at the unroofed balcony (*rodai*) of the Jijūden,<sup>196</sup> and then the five lanterns of the Seiryōden. Except for the vestibule (*gaku no ma*<sup>197</sup>), south of [the Seiryōden], there is one [lantern] at every fourth bay. In front of the Two-Bay Room,<sup>198</sup> one hangs on a rope made of sappanwood. The fire of the *hitakiya*<sup>199</sup> station is summoned, and [the lanterns] are lightened. On top of and below the dining table of the Courtiers' Hall, *tōdai* oil lamp,<sup>200</sup> in the Small Garden in front of the *koitajiki*,<sup>201</sup> lantern, in the roofed corridor, lantern. In the Breakfast Room, first, the light of the lanterns is ignited, and only after the *kurōdo* have entered and lowered the

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**190** *shōkon* 招魂: a festival for the appeasement of the souls of the dead. Usually, this festival is conducted in the eleventh month. According to Wada (1989b: 399), here it refers to an unofficial custom conducted daily.

**191** *higerō no kurōdo* 日下臈の蔵人: person on duty among the *kurōdo* of the sixth rank, in charge of various observations and the emperor's meal. As there were usually four *kurōdo* of the sixth rank, they were on duty every fourth day.

**192** *on-nademono* 御撫物: stand-in dolls or clothes to expel pollution, used at exorcisms and purification ceremonies. By caressing the body, pollution and calamities were transferred to the dolls, which were then washed away in rivers.

**193** *eiji* 衛士: soldiers protecting the palace and the court nobles.

**194** *onmyōji* 陰陽師: person affiliated to the Yin-Yang Office. They were responsible for divination and geomancy and conducted oracles according to the Chinese five element system (*onmyō gogyōsetsu* 陰陽五行説).

**195** *shōtō* 掌灯: portable candlesticks on a saucer, carried in one's hands.

**196** Jijūden 仁寿殿: see note 26.

**197** *gaku no ma* 額の間: space between the central front pillars at the main halls of the Seiryōden, the Shishinden, and the imperial audience hall Daigokuden 大極殿, where the building's name was written on a wooden board (*gaku* 額).

**198** *futama* 二間: two bays (*ma*) long room located in the eastern aisle of the Seiryōden, next to the Royal Bedroom. The emperor slept with his pillow facing east, and this room was always kept open. Sometimes the night shift priest was present, conducting prayers.

**199** *hitakiya* 火炊屋: station for the night guards who were in charge of lightening the palace's bonfire and garden lights.

**200** *tōdai* 灯台: interior light fixture made of a wooden pole with an oil-filled dish and a wick on top of it.

**201** *koitajiki* 小板敷: wooden floor used as an entrance to the Courtiers' Hall from the Small Garden in its south upon which the *kurōdo* used to wait. On it, *tatami* mats with purple borders were placed, and the *kurōdo* attended there.

lattice shutters, it is transferred to the *kiritōdai*<sup>202</sup> oil lamps. One in the Hand-Washing Room, one in the Table Room, all *takatōdai* lamps.<sup>203</sup> At the other places, it is as usual. The *naishi* bring the *kaitomoshi* oil lamps for the Royal Bedchamber (*yoru no otodo*) from the Hand-Washing Room and light the lanterns in the four corners. The duty board of the Courtiers' Hall is stored, i.e., put back into the bag. After that, the men in night shift dress feel at ease (*habakari nashi*). They take the cover of the imperial chair that hangs on the rod (*sao*) and cover the chair. At the hour of the Boar [c. 9–11 pm], they lower the lattice shutters and bamboo blinds, take the lanterns of the second bay inside and hang them on the hangers (*tsurigane*). They lower each lattice shutter and change the *shitone* cushions. They take the inkstone case, put the imperial sword on top, and place it on the *zushi* cabinet of the dais. The *kurōdo* attach the locks to the lattice shutters, slide shut the *torii* paper sliding door of the Demon Room and leave. After the lowering of the lattice shutters, the name-calling (*nadaimen*<sup>204</sup>) of the *tenjō[bito]* takes place. The head *kurōdo* places his bottom on the stairs south of the wide aisles (*magobisashi*<sup>205</sup>). The *tenjōbito* wait at the upper door entrance, [the *kurōdo*] of the sixth rank at the wall. The imperial guards *takiguchi*<sup>206</sup> enter from the northern door and stand in the front yard. The *kurōdo* of the sixth rank come forth in front of the head [*kurōdo*], and when [the head] queries, “Who are you?”, they each give their name. The [*kurōdo*] of the sixth rank add their family name. One *kurōdo* of the sixth rank walks on the wide aisle towards the north, kneels on the third wooden floor (*itajiki*) from the end in front of the Two-Bay Room, and when [the head *kurōdo*] queries, “Who is attending?,” a *takiguchi* plucks a bowstring (*tsuruuchi*<sup>207</sup>) and everyone calls out his name. They leave from the door of the *takiguchi* guardroom, and the forefront of the [officials who conduct the] name-calling disperses. Beginning at the northern guard station (*kita no jin*), the name-calling is conducted at various places, at the Royal Bathroom and

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202 *kiritōdai* 切灯台: one of the light fixtures (*tōdai* 灯台) (see note 200). Pillar stand with cut edges on which oiled plates were affixed.

203 *takatōdai* 高灯台: oil lamp affixed to a high pillar.

204 *nadaimen* 名対面: see note 54.

205 *magobisashi* 孫廂 (also called *hirobisashi* 弘廂): porch or aisle outside the main aisles of the Seiryōden's main hall.

206 *takiguchi* 滝口: see note 56.

207 On the occasion of the name-calling (*nadaimen*) at the imperial palace, the palace guards *takiguchi*, upon the query of the *kurōdo*, answered by sounding their bowstrings and calling their names.



the entrance to the Courtiers' Hall (*tenjō no kuchi*<sup>208</sup>). At the Courtiers' Hall, it is [conducted by] the head *kurōdo*. When he asks if they have waited at the *koitajiki* [today], the [custodians of the] palace provisions office Tonomori no Tsukasa answer that this was not the case. If the head *kurōdo* is there, they ask for permission (*menkyo*<sup>209</sup>) on their knees [to be released from their daily duties]. After their return, they play and sing.

12. When going to sleep, the dining table in the Courtiers' Hall is placed at the wall of the Kyōshoden,<sup>210</sup> and everyone goes to the *tatami* mats and lies down. They take the zither (*wagon*) and render it their pillow. The people in *sokutai*<sup>211</sup> dress remove the leather belt (*uwate*<sup>212</sup>). The *kurōdo* who have a night shift at the palace spread their *tatami* mats<sup>213</sup> in the Demon Room.
13. The *kurōdo* and *hikurōdo*<sup>214</sup> [of the sixth rank] are summoned to carry the oil for the lamps to the Royal Bedroom. They open the pivot-hinged door (*tatakido*) [between the Emperor's bedroom and his daily living quarters], enter, and ensure that [the lamps] stay on all night. The *hikurōdo* stand at the door, do not look inside, and enlighten the oil lamps as well as the

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**208** *tenjōguchi* 殿上口: entrance to the Courtiers' Hall facing the gates Muryōmon 無名門 and Shinsenmon 神仙門. Here, the Courtiers' Hall was entered through the wooden floor (*itajiki* 板敷) or the shoe-removing (*kutsunugi* 沓脱). At the *tenjōguchi*, people who had no access to the Courtiers' Hall too were received.

**209** Wada (1989b: 404) interprets *menkyo* 免許 (permit) as permission to register their leave in the so-called *monzeki* 門籍, a list of names of court officials who were allowed to enter the palace. This list was placed at the palace gate, and it was changed twice a month, on the first and 16th day respectively.

**210** Kyōshoden 校書殿: see note 29.

**211** *sokutai* 束帶: official dress worn by the emperor and court officials at ceremonies, palace visits, and official government business. It consisted of a cap (*kanmuri* 冠), a round-neck robe (*hō* 袍), a short-sleeved undergarment (*hanpi* 半臂), a *shitagasane* 下襲 undergarment, an *akome* 裊 undergarment, an unlined garment (*hitoe* 単), white overtrousers (*ue no hakama* 表袴), *ōkuchi* 大口 trousers, a leather belt (*sekitai* 石帶), shoes (*kutsu* 靴), and under-shoes (*shitōzu* 襪). Part of this outfit were also a ritual baton (*shaku* 笏) and a letter paper (*tatō* 帖紙). Military officers additionally carried a sword (*tsurugi* 劔) and a flat binding cord (*hirao* 平緒).

**212** *uwate* 上手: leather belt attached to the left end of the *sekitai* 石帶 belt, a special belt used in ceremonial court dress, covered in black lacquer and decorated with stones and jewels.

**213** *tatami* 畳: In the Heian period the tatami mats did not have a fixed wooden frame but only a thin border.

**214** *hikurōdo* 非蔵人 (also *hishiki* 非職): staff members of the chamberlains' office Kurōdodokoro, who were chosen from respectable families of people from the sixth rank and served under the *kurōdo*. When there were vacancies among the *kurōdo* of the sixth rank, they were usually filled by a former *hikurōdo* (cf. Wada 1983: 215).

*kaitomoshi* lanterns<sup>215</sup> [in the four corners of the bedroom], beginning in the southeastern corner and disappearing (*kakushitsu*<sup>216</sup>) from the northeastern corner. They do not pass [the front of] the eastern pillow<sup>217</sup> of the curtained sleeping platform (*michō*<sup>218</sup>).

14. On the first day of every month, the *kurōdo* [in duty] changes the timesheets on the [duty] board. He opens the folded end of the old sheets and writes down the number of the court officials' attended days. He signs them before the third day and reports them to the Emperor. In the case of senior nobles (*kugyō*<sup>219</sup>) as well as *shōnagon*<sup>220</sup> and *geki*,<sup>221</sup> it is signed and reported by the *daigeki*.<sup>222</sup> In the case of *benkan*,<sup>223</sup> it is reported by the

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**215** *kaitomoshi* 搔灯: light in the Royal Bedroom. In order to protect the imperial regalia, i.e., the treasured sword and the emperor's seal that were enshrined in the imperial bedroom, the light was stirred (*kaku* 搔く) to be kept burning throughout the whole night.

**216** Wada (1989b: 405) transmits *hatsu* はつ (to end). A manuscript from 1527, available online (see note 15), which may have been the model for the *Shintei kōgaku sōsho* transcript, renders the pertaining text passage as *kakushitsu* かくしつ, referring to the completed act of disappearance.

**217** The direction of the east allows to enter Yang 陽 energy, and therefore the pillow was directed towards the east. The *kurōdo* probably did not pass there in order to avoid blocking the Yang energy.

**218** *michō* 御帳: a sort of baldachin serving as the sleeping platform of the emperor. On a square podest (*hamayuka* 浜床), *tatami* mats were spread, and pillars were erected at the four corners. The baldachin was covered with curtains (*tobari* 帳), of which the middle curtain was rolled up in order to create an entrance.

**219** *kugyō* 公卿 (also called *kandachime* 上達部, *gekkei* 月卿, *gesshō* 卿相, or *kyokuro* 棘路): a general term for nobles of the third rank and above, comprising the Grand Minister (*daijōdaijin* 太政大臣), the Minister of the Left (*sadaijin* 左大臣), the Minister of the Right (*udaijin* 右大臣), as well as the Chief Councilors of State (*dainagon* 大納言), the Vice Chief Councilors of State (*chūnagon* 中納言), and the State Councilors (*sangi* 参議).

**220** *shōnagon* 少納言: Lesser Councilor of State of the junior fifth rank, lower grade, staff member of the Council of State (*Daijōkan* 太政官). *Shōnagon* commanded the officials of the council secretariat *Geki* 外記 (see note 221) and organized the executive offices of said department.

**221** *Geki* 外記: office (or officials) of the Council of State in charge of corrections of drafts of imperial edicts and the writing of reports to the emperor, as well as the administration of ceremonies. It consisted of two senior secretaries (*daigeki* 大外記, see note 222), two junior secretaries (*shōgeki* 少外記), ten scribes (*shishō* 史生), etc. Later on, the *geki* came to represent the *Shōnagon* office (*Shōnagonkyoku* 少納言局) and was called *Gekikyoku* 外記局.

**222** *daigeki* 大外記: two staff members of the Department of State of the senior seventh rank, upper grade; highest in rank of the council secretariat *Geki* (see note 221). The *daigeki*, together with the *shōgeki* 少外記 were responsible for personal affairs, imperial edicts, and the organization of the council secretariat.

**223** *benkan* 弁官 (also *ben* 弁): office of the Department of State in charge of documents, business, and the communication between the different government offices and provinces. It was divided into a *Benkan* of the Left (*sabenkan* 左弁官) and a *Benkan* of the Right (*ubenkan* 右弁官).

*shi*.<sup>224</sup> In the [*Engi*]*shiki*, it says that on the first day and intensified days (*jūnichi*)<sup>225</sup> bad things are mostly not reported.

15. On the Six Days of Fasting (*rokusainich*)<sup>226</sup>, abstinence needs to be observed without fail. The meal at the Courtiers' Hall is also a mixture of vegetable-based food and fish dishes (*suemaze*)<sup>227</sup>. The *gojisō*<sup>228</sup> brings the Emperor's meal. No rice is added. Mostly, no food except the one from the imperial table office Naizen<sup>229</sup> is eaten. The imperial food, brought by the *gojiisō*, is put out on the dining table of the Courtiers' Hall.
16. On the eighteenth day, the Memorial Service to Kannon (*Kannon-gu*)<sup>230</sup> takes place. The *azari* monk of the [annual Shingon prayer rituals] Later Seven Days<sup>231</sup> is in charge throughout the whole year. It is custom that he serves at the principal object of worship (*honzon*). It is located between the Eleven-Faced Kannon (Jūichimen Kannon), the Shōkannon, and the Nyoirin Kannon.<sup>232</sup> During the Enkyū era [1069–1074] [the worship of] the Nyoirin Kannon was conducted separately. The monks of the mountain (*yamahōshi*)<sup>233</sup> were also in charge of this.

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**224** *shi* 史: secretary (*sakan* 主典) of the Department of Worship or the Department of State, in charge of documents and the handling of general affairs reported by the various government offices.

**225** *jūnichi* 重日: days of the Snake, on which Yang energy accumulates, and days of the Boar, on which Yin energy intensifies. As it was believed that misfortunes would double, affairs that were thought unfortunate were avoided on these days. Conversely, auspicious events were believed to double as well, but marriages were avoided because a second marriage would not be desirable.

**226** *rokusainichi* 六斎日: see note 19.

**227** *suemaze* 居交: mixture of vegetable-based food (*shōjinmono* 精進物) and fish in accordance with the rules of abstinence.

**228** *gojisō* 御持僧 (護持僧): monk who worked in the Altar Room (*butsuma* 仏間) of the palace and was in charge of protecting the emperor. Only monks of the temples Tōji 東寺, Enryakuji 延暦寺, and Onjōji 園城寺 were allowed for this position.

**229** Naizen 内膳: abbreviation of Naizenshi 内膳司 (also Uchinokashiwade no Tsukasa), an office that belonged to the Ministry of the Imperial Household and that was in charge of the administration of food preparation and poison tasting of the emperor's meals.

**230** *Kannon-gu* 観音供: see note 20.

**231** *goshichinichi no azari* 後七日のあざり: abbot calling on the Shingon'in the imperial palace to conduct the Buddhist prayers of the so-called Later Seven Days, lasting from the 8th to the 14th day of the first month. This service was conducted by the principal of the Tōji temple. From the first to the 7th day Shinto rituals for the gods (*kami*) were conducted. These were called Former Seven Days (*zenshichinichi* 前七日).

**232** Jūichimen Kannon 十一面観音 (Ekadaśamukha), Shōkannon 聖観音 (Avalokiteśvara), Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪観音 (Cintāmaṇicakra): three of the six Bodhisattva's, the Buddhist deities of compassion.

**233** *yamahōshi* 山法師: monks of the Enryakuji temple 延暦寺 on the mountain Hieizan 比叡山 who notably emerged as warrior monks at the end of the Heian period.

17. For the Purification of the Seven Evils (*shichirai no on-harae*<sup>234</sup>), a fixed day (*hitsuide*) is chosen. [Newly appointed] *kurōdo* [of the sixth rank] (*gerō no kurōdo*) consult about it and take measures. Among [the *tenjōbito* of] the fifth rank, seven are chosen as messengers [for the seven places], and [the exorcism] is conducted. The officials of the royal guard office Konoe no Tsukasa<sup>235</sup> with wooden boards (*kensaku*<sup>236</sup>) do not necessarily attend. On the dining table in the Table Room, woven straw mats (*mushiro*) are laid out because the dining table is private (*watakushimono*), and on it a doll-chest, brought by the Yin-Yang Master, is placed, and lady-in-waiting-dolls are dressed. They are put into the chest and tied up with strings made of twisted paper (*kamibineri*). *Jōrō nyōbō* bring them, and after having caressed the bodies [of the dolls], they put them into the dress box (*misobako*), prepare a one-layered garment (*hitoe*), wrap them tightly and, at the same time, leave from the western side of the Table Room.
18. The Daiyaku Festival (*daiyaku matsuri*)<sup>237</sup> is conducted by the presiding Yin-Yang Master. The purification of the last day of the month (*tsugomori no on-harae*<sup>238</sup>) is approximately the same. *Kurōdo* act as messengers.
19. The invocations at the end of the month (*tsugomori no on-nenju*<sup>239</sup>) are conducted by the *azari* monk of the [annual Shingon prayer rituals] Later Seven Days at the Shingon'in.<sup>240</sup> The bureau of the imperial palace kitchen *Ōiryō*<sup>241</sup> provides the rice.

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**234** *shichirai no on-harae* 七瀬の御はらえ: purification ritual conducted every month at a propitious day fixed by an oracle. Dolls (*hitogata* 人形) bearing the emperor's calamities were brought to seven rapids by seven imperial messengers and then set adrift.

**235** Konoe no Tsukasa 近衛司 (近衛府, also read Konoefu): one of the six guard offices. Its armed guards watched the palace and participated in court ceremonies. They also accompanied the emperor during imperial outings. The office was split into a Guard Office of the Right (*Ukon'efu* 右近衛府) and a Guard Office of the Left (*Sakon'efu* 左近衛府) and consisted of Generals (*taishō* 大將), Vice-Generals (*chūjō* 中將), Major Generals (*shōshō* 少將), etc.

**236** *kensaku* 劍笏: board held in the right hand when wearing the official *sokutai* dress (see note 211).

**237** *daiyakumatsuri* 代厄祭: one of the religious services conducted on the last day of every month at the Yin-Yang Office, aimed at securing the emperor's health and longevity.

**238** *tsugomori no on-harae* 晦の御祓え: purification ritual conducted on the last day of the sixth and twelfth month at the Suzakumon Gate 朱雀門.

**239** *tsugomori no on-nenju* 晦の御念誦: prayers for the protection of the emperor by reciting sutras, the Buddha's name, and mantras according to the three mysteries (*sanmitsu* 三密) of the Shingon school.

**240** Shingon'in 真言院: prayer hall of the court, established in 834 due to a petition to the emperor by Kūkai 空海 (774–835), the founder of the Shingon school. The annual Shingon prayer ritual Later Seven Days (*goshichinichi* 後七日) (see note 231) was conducted between the 8th and 14th day of the first month.

**241** *Ōiryō* 大炊寮: part of the Ministry of the Imperial Household according to the Ritsuryō system. The *Ōiryō* was in charge of the storage of rice and cereals from the various provinces and its distribution to the government offices.

## 5 Source text<sup>242</sup>

1. 卯の時に、主殿の司朝清する音に驚きて、蔵人御殿の格子を上ぐ。南の第二の間を押して見るに、未だ鎖したれば、鬼の間より入りて、次第に鎖子木をはづして格子を上ぐ。御調度引直して、御茵麗しく敷く。御硯の筥御座の前右のかたに置く。御剣御茵の右柄西刃南に置く。帯取延べて、すゑに等しく置くなり。大方御剣を置く様、東向西向の御座は今の様なり。西向なる折は御座の左にあたる也。南向なる折りは、御座の左、柄南、刃東なり。北向も同じ。あからさまなる御座も斯様なるべし。御簾を上げ、朝清ども、上下果てぬれば、蔵人ども殿上に候ふ。朝清は御殿常の御所、朝餉の庭主殿の官人、五位衣冠して是を掃く。其外の所々は、司の宮奴褐冠して払ふ也。堂上は掃司殿司の女孺是を掃く。葛野童と云ふ者あり。長押の上へは登らず。今の世は何れとも見えず。御殿の内は、蔵人ども仕う奉るべき也。
2. 辰の時に主殿司御湯を供うず。すましと云ふ女官是を調ふ。内侍御湯の熱さ温さを探りて、事の由を申す。御湯殿仕奉る内侍、湯巻を着る事もあり。勾当など也。御湯殿へ下りさせ給ひて、御湯召しぬれば、典侍若しは上臈の女房、御湯帷を奉る。四足に居たる御かはぐすりを取りて、参らせて投げぐる時、土器の音を聞きて、主殿のすけなる蔵人、とのもりならずばいづれにても。弓の弦を打つ。主殿の官人、五位御湯殿の狭間にて名乗る。鳴弦は常には聞えず。本儀はあるべき也。臈て御手水の間にて、御桂の人を召す。其人召によりて、馬形の障子に掛けたる蘇芳の桂を上引き着て参る。御鬢搔き理め、御装束御直衣奉りて、其の人は罷出づ。主水司の御手水を参る。女官案に居ゑて持ちて参る。半挿二、盥の中の盤、白金の器物二居ゑて、一には御手水の粉を入れる。御楊枝二具して参らす。命婦蔵人二人、簀子に候ひて、御簾を少し上げて参らす。典侍陪膳に候ひて、次第に是を供す。大床子に着かせ御座します。円座の前に大床子のまへ御脇息あり。御手を越して、袖を掲げずして御手水を召す。御脇息越なれば御袖は濡れざるなり御手拭の筥にあるた手拭を取りて、御手を拭ふなり。大方主上は西向に座し給はずと云ふ故にや。御手水の間西向なれども、大床子は北へ向て立てたり。
3. 石灰の壇に出で御座しまして御拝あり。辰巳に向ひて両段再拝、その外御心に任すべし。一の間之母屋の下に、南に向て立てたる四季の御屏風取りて、御後の方の御傍に立てゝ、大床子の円座を其内に敷く。一の間御簾を垂れたる刻限に蔵人装ふなり。御拝の程内侍一人弘廂に候ひて、御手水麗しく参らす折は、女官御手水参らせ候はむと二声申

<sup>242</sup> Nitchū gyōji 1926–1931: 1–8.



す。女房あと云ふ。女官楊枝二を簾に挿して、まかり出し参らせ候はむと二声申す。女房又あと云ふ。

4. 朝餉の御膳参る。得選女官御台を持ちて、台盤所に参りて、御膳棚に置く。白地にも、台盤の上に公物は置かぬ事也。陪膳の女房、朝餉の端の畳に候す。御中の人、台盤所の両面副障子のもとに候ふ。下の人其次にあり。朝餉参る事常の如し。麗しく聞召さぬ折は、陪膳の人御箸を立てゝ、すゑを折りかけて出だす。三度おし重ねて参る。心得ぬ事なれど、今は定れる事也。中の度は髪を上ぐ。額の上ばかり也。上のをのこ共、殿上にて台盤行ふ。朝の程日給よりさきは、皆宿直姿也。頭、切台盤に着きたれば、次々の人、下の戸より出でて請益して、頭の気色に随ひて、次第に奥端に着く。人多ければ、唐櫃の蓋を、火櫃の上に置き、台盤に着く。御厨子所の番衆是を営む。主殿司下侍の方より小庭を経て、次第に土器を台盤に取り置く。膳毎に箸はもとより据ゑたり。上首の蔵人、主殿司疾うやと云ふ。次の蔵人各々皆云ふ。一臈の外は、主殿司二声召す也。出納、小舎人など向の壁のもとに並び居て、疾く参れやと、声絶えず云ふなり。前々に山の様に取り居ゑ重ねたり。煌き候へと云へば、番衆ども煌き候と申せども、さしたる物も見えず。番衆を庭に召し出だして、灯楼首に掛けさせなどして、蔵人是を勘発する折もあり。箸立たてゝ造酒司召して、三献主殿司酌を取る。湯漬など召して皆立ちぬ。台盤行はむとて、蔵人主殿司に仰せて、上の戸並に両門閉ぢよと仰するなり。総て一臈箸を取らぬ程、二臈已下是を待つ。箸を取りたる程は、末の蔵人箸を置かず。土器擡げず。俯きて食ふなり。
5. 台盤果てゝをのこども各々宿直装束を改む。蔵人町に下りてかへり参る。御倚子の覆を取りて、棹の間に懸く。日給の事あり。袋に入れたる簡を取り出して、元の儘に唐櫃の側に立つ。袋は畳みて簡の下に敷く。簡の三段に、名の下に押したる紙を、放紙と云ふ。その紙に名の下に参りたる者をば、日を書く。午とも未とも書なり。宿したるをば、其傍に夕と書く。蔵人是を勤むるなり。此後宿直姿の人、殿上に臨まず。頭もしは陪膳番の人、殿上に候へば、蔵人下の戸のもとに御膳召すと示す。陪膳の人殿上を立ちて、先手水を召す。頭は蔵人是をかく。殿上人は主殿司かくるなり。渡殿に立てたる台盤を、台ながら二人して舁きて、大床子の前に横ざまに居たり。馬頭盤有り。次々の蔵人二人、此の御台盤を舁きて、一の御台の南に豎ざまに居う。鬼の間の鳥居障子に入る程、陪膳警蹕す。おしと云ふ。陪膳円座に候。御厨子の前屏風の内。まづ四種参る。一盤に居う。陪膳進みて、馬頭盤の左に居う。次に蓋盤御膳を馬頭盤の北に居う。匙は御盤に残す。或は四種の通の北の縁に居う。次に三の御盤、窪器一、平盛四、二の御台の中に置く。窪器の左右に平盛居う。四の御盤、窪器一、先の窪器に向へて居う。平盛二、もとのすゑに左右に居う。御汁二の御台の北の縁に並べて居う。五の御盤、御酒盞、二の御台の東の縁の中の程に居う。匙を取らず。六の御盤、御湯の



器、一の御台の北の縁に居う。あまがつ四種の中に居う。或は四種の北の縁、或は四種の通に置ける馬頭盤の前なり。出御無き時は、二の御台の物は役送に置かしむ。陪膳一の御台の前に居たれば、気色を蒙る也。一二の御台参りて、蔵人渡殿の末の造り合の妻戸の下にて、高盛とうやと、二声云へば、番衆長押の下にて参ると云ふ。さて高盛一盤、焼物一盤参らす。蔵人持ちて参る。陪膳取りて、馬頭盤の右に二行に居う。高盛なり。焼物東南の縁に二土器づゝ居う。陪膳円座に退き着く。蔵人台盤所の簀子に、高欄に手を懸けて御膳参ると奏す。或は参りぬ。主上大床子に着かせ給ふ。大床子の端に膝を掛けて登りて、膝行り寄りて、円座に麗しく御座あるなり。陪膳円座の上に居ながら、足を逃がして警蹕す。本より出御あらば、陪膳円座にて御膳を奏するなり。麗しく召すべきを、近代は由ばかり也。湯漬を召す事あり。陪膳参りて、御盤をわけて、御湯の器に入れて出せば、蔵人御湯漬を持ちて参るなり。召し果てゝ、御箸を御飯に立てゝ入らせ給うふ。麗しく召さず。御散飯を取りて、あまがつに入れて立させ給ふ。陪膳座にて、をのこどもを召す二声、蔵人鬼の間の鳥居障子の下に進む。麗しく出す。袖ばかりを出すなり。陪膳退り候ふと仰す。匙盤持ちて参れば、御盤出す。立てられたる御箸を取代へて、あらぬ御箸を立て、先を折りて出す。本の儘出すべけれど、一の御台二の御台の物、各々一盤に執り居ゑて三度に出す。蔵人殿上の退盤退居を退居ふ。持ちて、庇の二の間より入りて、陪膳の左の傍に跪きて、盤を地に着けて擡げず、やをら差寄れば、陪膳高盛、焼物等を取り入るゝを蔵人取り出て、殿上の台盤の上に置くなり。一二の御台退り出す常の如し。陪膳より上首も役送を務むる也。

6. 朝の御膳は午の刻なり。それより先日次の御贅参らせたらば、小庭の御膳棚に置く。
7. 申の刻に夕の御膳参る。其作法朝に同じ。
8. 四月、賀茂の祭の日は、蒜を供ずるなり。御膳果て、殿上夕の台盤あり。朝に同じ。
9. 六月一日より七月晦日まで、一夜酒を供ず。御酒盞の傍の土器にて是を居ふ。
10. 日毎の招魂の御祭、今は定まれる事也。日下臈の蔵人、台盤所にて、御撫物申し出だして、衛士をして、陰陽師がもとに遣はす。
11. 昼の事ども果てぬれば所々の掌灯す。先仁寿殿の露台の灯楼二、清涼殿の灯楼五、額の間を除きて、それより南の方へ四間毎に有り。二間の前各々蘇芳の綱に懸けたり。火焚屋の火を召して、是を点す。殿上の台盤の上下、灯台小板敷の前の小庭、灯楼渡殿灯楼。朝餉は先づ灯楼に点して、蔵人内へ参りて、格子下して後、内の切灯台にうつすなり。御手水の間に一、台盤所一、皆高灯台其外所々常の如し。夜の御殿の搔灯、御手水の間より、内侍持て参りて、四の隅の灯楼に点す。殿上の簡封ず。袋に入るゝを云ふなりこの後宿直姿の人憚り無し。御倚子の覆、棹の間に懸けた

るを取りて御倚子を覆ふ。亥の時に下格子御簾を垂れて、第二の間の灯楼を内に取り入れて、釣金に懸く。各々下格子して、御茵を打ちかへす。御硯の筥取りて、上に御剣を加へて置きて、大床子の御厨子の上に置く。格子どもに鎖子木挿して、鬼の間の鳥居障子引立てゝ蔵人は出づる也。下格子の後、殿上の名謁の事あり。蔵人頭孫廂の南の端に尻を懸く。殿上人は上の戸の口、六位は壁の下に候す。滝口北の戸より入りて前庭に立つ。六位の蔵人上首の前に進みて、誰ぞと云ふ。各々名乗す。六位は姓を加ふ。六位の蔵人一人、孫廂を北へ歩み行きて、二間の前の端より第三の板敷の上に跪づきて、誰々が侍ると云ふ。滝口弦打して、各々名乗を称ふ。滝口の戸より退り出でて、門籍の先追散して、北の陣より始めて、所々の門籍御湯殿の間、殿上の口等にて申しめぐる。殿上にては貫首なり。小板敷に伺候したるやと尋ぬれば、然なき由を主殿司答ふ。貫首あれば、免許につきて、跪づきて申なり。還遊に歌謡ふ。

12. 御静まりの程に、殿上の台盤を、校書殿の壁の下に寄せ懸かけさせて、畳に寄せて、各々臥合へり。和琴を取りて枕などにす。束帯の人は上手を外す。上臥し承はる蔵人は、鬼の間に畳を敷きて侍る也。
13. 夜の御殿の指油、蔵人非蔵人に持せて、叩戸を開けて参りて、終夜消えぬ様にするなり。非蔵人は、戸の下に立て内を見せず。指油も搔灯も、辰巳の角より始めて、丑寅にてかくしつ。御帳の東御枕をば通らず。
14. 毎月一日は、蔵人殿上の簡の放紙をしかへて、旧き放紙の末折り返したるを延べて、人々の上日の数を書く。三日前に記して奏するなり。公卿並に少納言、外記は大外記記して奏聞す。弁官は史是を奏す。大方一日並に重日には、悪き事をば奏せずと式に見えたり。
15. 六斎日には必ず御精進あるべし。殿上の台盤も居交ぜなり。御持僧供御を参らす。御飯は副へず。大方内膳の外の御飯は召さず。御持僧の参らせたる供御は、殿上の台盤にも出さる。
16. 十八日には観音供あり。後七日の阿闍梨、其年一年は勤む。本尊に就きてならひあり。十一面、正観音、如意輪の間なり。延久には如意輪を別に行はる。是は山法師も勤む。
17. 七瀬の御祓、日序を選びて、下臈の蔵人申し沙汰す。五位の中七人を使にさして催す。近衛司剣笏の輩等は、強ち勤めず。台盤所の台盤の上に筵を敷きて、だいはんはわたくし物なるゆゑ也。其の上に陰陽師参らせたる人形の櫃を置きて、女房人形に衣を着さす。櫃に入れて紙捻を結はす。上臈の女房是を参らせて、御身を撫でつれば、御衣筥に入れて、御単衣を具して、打包みに包みて、台盤所の西向より同時に出すなり。
18. 代厄の御祭、管領の陰陽師勤むる也。晦日の御祓へ大方同じ。蔵人使を勤む。
19. 晦日の御念誦、後七日の阿闍梨、真言院にて行ふ。大炊寮料米を遣はす。

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