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Medieval practical literacy and documents in Japan and England

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Key words : literacy, medieval, documents, Japan, England

The purpose of this paper is to *invite* to the round-table discussions those readers who had no chance to sit in the symposium on 'comparative study of medieval documents in Japan and England' at the fourth international forum in Kumamoto University on 2-5 April, 2001. The programme of the symposium is shown in the appendix.

Introduction

If we try to compare 'Romanesque' architecture and 'Shyoinzukuri' (a type of Japanese architecture exemplified by the Silver Pavilion in Kyoto) and start arguing that there must be different cultural mentalities behind two architectures (twelfth-century Renaissance and Zen), we can be easily caught in a trap of 'historical science'. Both are concepts, like 'feudalism', invented by modern historians. By comparing the concepts without a fundamental knowledge of architecture, our effort will be unpromising and superficial. Then, what is 'a fundamental knowledge'? It is knowledge of the materials, tools, and techniques of building and maintenance, the mentalities of masons or carpenters, and of their society. What are the 'material' and 'techniques' of history? Chiefly the written record, its forms, formats, processes of making, methods of preservation. Surprisingly, only a few studies have so far been made of what we might call 'recordology' by historians. This is why Michael Clanchy's famous book occupies a unique position, although it seems to be basic¹. Much ink, indeed, has been spent on comparative historical researches into different worlds, but comparative 'recodological' studies have been barely attempted². Without them, how is it possible for us to understand other histories in this global world? This symposium was planned as a tiny first step on the long and winding road to establish comparative 'recordology' in Japan and England.

For future comparison, we show here two points at issue. First, we are going to examine much the

* We express our special thanks to Daiwa Anglo-Japanese Foundation and British Academy for their financial help to support this symposium, as well as to friends of Battle Conference, particularly, Professor David Dumville.

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same types of written records in Japan and England. We are dealing with two types of record. One is the letter and the other is the register, both terms used in their wider sense. We cannot be concerned with the diary type of record such as the chronicle, because of limitations of time in the symposium. Secondly, we are briefly referring to the phenomena of secularization and embryonic 'documentalization', which took place during the middle ages in Japan and England.

Two papers in Session I are concerned with letters as records. Professor Kazushige Kondo provides an important new interpretation of the confirmation charters (*ando-ryo*) by examining it in relation to the wide variety of records with which it was associated. Dr Ann Williams outlines the range of Anglo-Saxon documents categorized as charters, notifications, and letters, and elucidates their forms in relation to their functions. Both demonstrate that it is misleading to look at documents in isolation. It is only by examination of them in relation to each other that their true significance emerges.

Two papers in Session II focus on systems of governmental record-keeping. Mr Kazuki Takahashi describes the attempt of the thirteenth-century Kamakura Bakufu to centralize legal records. Here the intention seems to have been to wrest control of archives as a source of power from officials, in the event an attempt frustrated by continuing ties between those officials and litigants. In England, by contrast, the impetus for record-keeping and the preservation of archives was seemingly more *ad hoc*. Dr Stephen Church argues that it was driven, no more and no less, by the imperative need to keep track of debts.

Two papers in Session III are concerned with commemoration-records of one kind or another and what they reveal about the living. Professor Michio Kamikawa shows how three new types of document of the tenth and eleventh centuries, namely *ōjyo-den*, *kakochyo*, and *kishyo*, were at once both symptomatic of and instrumental in the emergence of an indigenous Buddhism which reflected the mentalities of the common people. In examining the Durham *liber vitae*, Dr William Aird unravels the complex stratigraphy of a text which was added to and used over 700 years and elegantly demonstrates how attitudes to commemoration may change with the passage of time. Both papers remind us of the power of the written word in the representation and simultaneous shaping of the mental world through time.

Two papers in Session IV reassess records of land-survey type. Professor Naoki Haruta describes several types of document produced by interested parties in the process of land-survey and reconstructs the ideas and mentalities behind them. Dr David Roffe, in a revolutionary reading of the Domesday survey and texts, argues that in essence the inquest was a mechanism of consultation. Here a study of the texts reveals to what degree both Japanese and English rulers and lords depended on the consent of their subjects and men.

Two papers in Session V are concerned with the record-keeping and archives of religious institutions. Professor Kazuo Yamakage traces the development of archival practices in Kōyasan Buddhist Temple. Here documents and register-books were kept in different chests or archives under central control, according to their importance (original or copy), but were recatalogued and subdivided as the need demanded. Professor Hirokazu Tsurushima traces changing attitudes to documents and their preservation by comparing an early twelfth-century cartulary, the *Textus Roffensis* (Rochester), with a late thirteenth-century one, Lambeth Palace MS.1212 (Canterbury). Here significant differences in format and composition chart the progress of 'documentalization' in England.

All of these papers demonstrate how the form of documents can illuminate the workings of societies in ways in which the contents alone cannot. For the historian it is all too easy to assume that documents

were produced and preserved for their own sake. It is, after all, axiomatic that sources are sacred. The impetus to document, however, did not always spring from a need to make a record in the modern sense. The 'documentalization' of societies is a protracted process in which the centrality of the record itself was slow to emerge. Thus it is that the form of a record, and the very fact of preservation, can speak so eloquently of the societies which produced them.

Although Japan, as the more literate society, embarked on the road of documentation earlier than England, this 'documentalization' was equally true of both societies. What emerges pointedly from these studies is that the acquisition of the habit of literacy did not follow a single timetable in each country. In England it is a truism to say that writing is first associated with the Church. Christianity is a religion of the book, and the written word was always central to its liturgy. Writing was a representation of eternal truth, and its use was always perceived as a potent reality. Much the same seems to have been true in Japan. Here Buddhism used novel types of text to mould and create its own unique identity in the local context.

Government followed this lead in both countries. The Bakufu's attempt to create a central archive was surely a belated realization that writing embodied power, but the regime's difficulties with factionalism in the later thirteenth century must in part reflect its failure to achieve this. English kings were more successful. The production of Domesday Book may have been central to this process, as Michael Clanchy has argued. Throughout the twelfth century government had in its possession an almost archetypal embodiment of the power of the written word. The impetus to produce routine administrative records may have been to enable government 'to talk to itself', but from the beginning of the process there was a clear concept of the authority of the word. Thus, Pipe Rolls were not just casual memoranda: they followed a form and all mistakes and changes had to be transparent.

The management of records reflects the changing perceptions of the written word. Again, there are remarkable parallels here. What was kept in the *mieido* (the worship-hall, the liturgical centre of the temple) at Koyasan changed over time. Initially it seems to have been the repository of all records, but subsequently the more mundane were separated and managed elsewhere. Much the same development can be perceived in England. Whereas solemn diplomas might be kept in the sanctuary or entered in a Gospel-book, subsequently records were kept in estate-offices and ordered and indexed for ease of use.

The pattern of documentation, then, was much the same in Japan and England, even if the chronology was different. The parallels are interesting in the light of the early histories of the two countries. Both had distinctive identities but, equally, both were peripheral to more powerful cultures, China in the case of Japan, and Rome and its Frankish successors in the case of England. Each borrowed from its neighbour and, again, each had to make its borrowings its own. The written word was a vital factor in the process of acculturation.

Although those indigenous cultures were very different from each other, their documents show that they faced similar problems. It is striking that just about every type of document in one culture can find its parallel in the other, but this is perhaps not as surprising as it might at first appear. Where historians have looked no further than the content of documents, sources have tended to be seen as executive instruments founded in the exercise of power within a specific context. The interpretation of the *ando-jyo* and the European inquest are prime examples of this process: the one 'clearly' illustrates a lord disposing of the land of a subordinate, and the other a lord managing his own household. We can now see from our 'diplomatological' perspective that in fact both embody a relationship, and one of respect and cooperation

if not equality. If a single theme emerges from these papers it is that documents are primarily representing the interactions of a verbal society and only slowly coming to mediate them.

This symposium reveals much about the similarities and differences between the medieval societies of Japan and England. But it also has more to say about how societies in general come to feel the need for literacy and how they come to terms with it. This theme is of fundamental importance to any historian attempting to describe any early society.

Abstracts of papers

1. Form and function of written land-confirmations (*ando-jyo*)

Shigekazu Kondo³

The *ando* charter (*jyo*) was carefully preserved by thirteenth-century warrior (*bushi*) families along with the *yuzuri-jyo* (testamentary record, in effect a property-deed). Under the Kamakura Bakufu (shogunate) régime (c. 1192-1333), an *ando-jyo* was always sought from a superior when a parent alienated property to their child and was granted after an examination of the *yuzuri-jyo*. It has thus been thought that its function was to confirm the transfer of land. However, the *ando* was not admissible in lawsuits as evidence of right to land, and another explanation of its function must therefore be sought.

The overwhelming majority of *ando* charters was issued by the Bakufu, but some emanated from other lords. The Houjyos, for example, was a vassal clan whose members usually received *ando* charters from the Kamakura government [the Bakufu], but they themselves issued *ando* charters on their own behalf to their followers. Outside the sphere of the Bakufu, *ando* charters were also issued by *honke* (overlords) to *ryoke* (proprietors) of *shoen* (manors). Here the *ando* charter was granted without any confirmation of title, usually before the *yuzuri-jyo* was drafted. A lord might support the tenure of land even where his man had no right to it. It seems clear, then, that the essence of the *ando* charter was the affirmation of the relationship between lord and vassal. Thus it is that the *ando* charter was issued to the inferior not only when the land of a vassal was transferred to an heir, but also when his lord was succeeded by his heir. The *ando* charter was thus akin to a western *inspeximus* charter.

In defining the nature of the *ando* charter, this paper casts important new light on the development of lord-vassal bond not only under the Kamakura Bakufu régime but also beyond, in the area of imperial administration.

2. Charters, notifications, and letters: an introduction to the documentary sources for pre-Conquest England, c. 700-1066

Ann Williams⁴

Before any attempt to interpret a text, it is first necessary to understand what it is. This is especially important in the case of early texts, whose survival is often a matter of chance rather than deliberate intention. This paper attempts to sketch the nature and purposes of the documents from pre-Conquest

England (c. 670-1066) : charters, notifications, and letters. The first (and most numerous) type includes, first, the diplomas issued in the names of pre-Conquest kings, and secondly the private (that is, non-royal) charters in the names of ecclesiastics and lay persons. The effect of the first was to create the privileged tenure known (to contemporaries) as *bookland*, in which royal dues were diverted to the beneficiary. The second type covers exchanges, sales, and leases between ecclesiastics and laymen; the leases in turn establish the tenure called 'loanland', held for a specified term with reversion to the donor. Notifications, which begin to proliferate in the tenth century, are much less formal in structure and cover a wide variety of matters, including leases of land, marriage-contracts, and wills. Finally, the letter-form developed a special aspect as the means whereby the king communicated with the local communities of his kingdom: the writ, accompanied and authorized by the royal seal. All three kinds of document are an essential source of information for the nature and workings of the Old English kingdom.

3. The keeping of records and their use in the Kamakura Bakufu

Kazuki Takahasi⁵

What record-making processes and procedures lie behind the production of documents and records by medieval governments and institutions? Who drew up records, utilized, kept, or even destroyed them, and why? Although many studies have been made of the forms and functions of documents issued by the Kamakura Bakufu, little has been written about their management within the government. To some extent this is due to lack of evidence: many documents were destroyed after the fall of the Kamakura government. But to a greater degree it reflects the methods of historians who have over-stressed the roles of the parties concerned in legal processes. In order to counter the bias, this paper is devoted to identifying the different types of judicial documents and records drawn up by the Kamakura government and kept in its archives, and to discussing their functions from the point of view of those who were responsible for preserving them.

In the thirteenth century the Kamakura government created a central institution, the *bunko*, for the preservation of records emanating from its courts. Here were kept the original documents produced in the course of actions. In parallel the *bugyo-nin* (legal officials) who conducted the cases kept copies and drafts in their own private household-archives. At this time a central archive was unprecedented, and it would seem that the Bakufu wished to establish government-control over documentation. In practice, however, litigants and families preferred to consult the household archives of the *bugyo-nin* rather than the official archive.

This paper provides an important insight into a government's perception of documentation and how it tried to manage that.

**4. Talking to itself: the impetus for government record-making
under the Angevin kings
Stephen Church⁶**

This article seeks to place the twelfth-century pipe-rolls, and other analogous documents, into the context of the theory and practice of Angevin kingship.

The fundamental thesis of this article is that the exchequer functioned as an arm of the Angevin royal household and that, like all parts of the royal household, the exchequer was subordinate to the king, serving his interests alone. The exchequer was the main debt-collecting agency of the king, responsible for collecting money due but yet to be paid. This view of the role of the exchequer is fundamental to our understanding of what may be found in its major document of record, the pipe-rolls. The pipe-rolls were not created to audit the king and his revenue but to record the names of those responsible for outstanding debts at the end of each financial year.

This paper has two important points: the first is that historians need to be aware of the limits of record of the pipe-rolls, and other analogous documents, in order to appreciate fully what they find in those records; the second is that Angevin kingship accepted few, if any, theoretical limits to its power, and as a result administrative structures were constructed which allowed Angevin kings to exercise that power. The exchequer was a key part of that administration.

**5. The new norm of life and death: the *ōjyo-den*, *kakochyo*, and *kishyo*
in the Heian period (794-1192)
Michio Kamikawa⁷**

The Middle Ages in Japan are often called 'the Age of Buddhism'. An import from China, Buddhism was originally an aristocratic affectation, but from the tenth century the government promoted it as a popular cult as it moulded itself to Japanese society and culture. Symptomatic of the process was the adoption and development of certain new types of document, namely *ōjyo-den*, *kakochyo*, and *kishyo*.

Ōjyo-den were lives of men who died a peaceful death and were reborn in Paradise. Most *ōjyo-den* were written in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries and followed Chinese models of the Tang and Sung periods. Their themes are the worship of Amitabha, the monks, attaining enlightenment, and laymen of various classes, along with stories of missions and miracles. *Kakochyo* (book of past), appearing from the late tenth century, was a commemorative list [not unlike the *libri vitae*] for use in the liturgy. It was entered in a register which at first might also include *ōjyo-den* and *kishyo*. First drawn up in the tenth century, *kishyo* were rules of religious guilds. By the twelfth century *kishyomon*, written pledges to undertake certain duties, had also developed.

This paper is an examination of the ways in which these three types of document both shaped and reflected the political and social forces which led to the emergence of a truly indigenous form of Buddhism by the twelfth century.

6. Death and remembrance: the *liber vitae* in Anglo-Norman England

William Aird⁸

This paper is devoted to a category of commemorative document known as the *liber vitae*. In particular the author considers the nature and historical significance of the three known examples of *libri vitae* surviving from medieval England: namely, Thorney Abbey (British Library MS Additional 40000), Hyde Abbey (Winchester) (British Library MS Stowe 944), and Durham Priory (British Library MS Cotton Domitian vii). The author concentrates, however, on the Durham text. The discussion begins with a description of the Durham manuscript and a consideration of the previous editions of this text. At the core of these *libri vitae* lie lists of the names of individuals commemorated by the monastic institutions which produced these documents. The arrangement and dating of these lists is significant, and the author examines the commemorative stratification of the Durham *liber vitae*. The paper goes on to examine just how the text was used in the monastic liturgy and how those recorded in its folios were received into bonds of confraternity with the monks. Apart from the lists of names, the Durham *liber vitae* also contains other types of record, including *memoranda* concerning gifts of land to the abbey, the manumission of slaves, as well as notes about ecclesiastical synods. The interpretations of this material by modern scholars, particularly, in the case of the English *libri vitae*, by the late Cecily Clark⁹ and by Professor John Moore¹⁰, are considered against the more extensive historiographical background of Continental scholarship. The final sections of the paper are focused on the Durham text, particularly its evidence for Durham's 'catchment-area' of interests. It is argued here that the monks of Durham had interests as widely dispersed as Northern France and Scandinavia, as well as most other regions of the British Isles. Two specific lists are considered, namely those for the Scots and English kings of the tenth to twelfth centuries, and a list concerning the Danish royal house of the same era. The paper also considers the demographic evidence which the *liber vitae* supplies in the form of family-groups. Several examples relating to figures of national and local importance are considered. Finally, it is argued that there are historically identifiable periods of scribal activity in the Durham *liber vitae*, and that it is possible to relate the wider concerns of the monks of Durham to these specific entries. The discussion closes with a detailed examination of the scribal additions made in the period 1080-1130, especially those by the precentor and historian of the abbey, Symeon. It is argued that Symeon's dual role as monastic remembrancer and liturgist gave the particular character to the entries made in the Durham *liber vitae* in this period. Essentially, Dr Aird argues that historians must not be too ready to assign historical material to one particular category of document or another, as in the case of the Durham *liber vitae* which, though ostensibly a liturgical work, encapsulates much of wider historical interest.

7. Land-surveys, inside and outside

Naoki Haruta¹¹

The manor (*shoen*) in Japan was a unit of lordship within the *shoryo* (honour, the sum total of land-rights from which an overlord, temple, or shrine derived profit). *Nengu* (annual taxes) were not arbitrarily imposed on the *shoen* but were assessed according to the size and number of rice-fields and other fiscal

lands like warland in England within the bounds of the manor. The lord of the manor therefore had to know the extent of his lands, and this he determined through a survey known as the *kenchu*. The register, the result of the survey, was named *kenchu-chyo*. This paper is devoted to four points: first, the character of the survey from which the register was drawn up; second, the use to which the register was put, beyond its immediate fiscal purpose; third, the physical scope of the register; and fourth, the types of interests other than land which it included. What stands out from this review of the evidence is the extent to which the *kenchu* was a communal enterprise, enlisting the support of the peasantry not only to assess the extent of land but also to resolve disputes relating to it. It was this characteristic which conferred on it considerable authority as a record of title.

8. Talking to the others: the Domesday Inquest

David Roffe¹²

To read many textbooks one would be forgiven for concluding that medieval kingship was merely a matter of force. To rule effectively a king had to be strong, but in equal measure he had to listen to his subjects. It is argued here that the inquest, as illustrated by the Domesday survey of 1086, was one of the main means by which rulers consulted with the ruled. Inquest-records have usually been characterized as products of an executive process; an appendix which David Roffe showed in the symposium illustrates how this perception has determined the analysis of the Domesday texts and their interrelation. In reality, they signally failed to resolve disputed matters, and it can be shown that they were intended to embody communally agreed 'fact' on which subsequent negotiations could be based. In 1086 they seem to have informed (but not determined) a reform of taxation and provisions for the defence of the realm following a threat of invasion. As such, inquest-records are contrasted with abbreviations. Domesday Book is a typical example. It was written for administrative purposes, probably after the revolt of 1088, and was never intended to embody decisions on right. The reputation which it subsequently enjoyed reflects the concerns of the twelfth century rather than those of the eleventh. Throughout the Middle Ages, as a reference resource, abbreviations never had the same status as verdicts.

9. The making and development of a record-making system in Kongobuji Temple

Kazuo Yamakage¹³

Hitherto there has been no study of the archival system of a major temple in medieval Japan. This paper provides a brief account of the management of records and documents in Kongōbuji Temple from the twelfth- to the fifteenth-century. Kongōbuji, located in Kōyasan (Mt. Kōya) at Takano town (Wakayama prefecture), was built by Kōbō Daishi (the great teacher) in 816 and belonged to the Shingon sect of Buddhism. Up to the early thirteenth century, records relating to the founder were kept in the *mieido* (the worship-hall), the holiest part of the temple, and all other records in the *hozo* (treasury). Thereafter, however, documents of permanent value, such as estate-deeds, were transferred to the *mieido* (Class A

archives), while administrative documents, accounts, and the like (Class B), were stored in *nen-nyobitsu*, a series of chests, and entrusted to the *nen-nyo* (chief secretary/ administrator). From the fourteenth century there was further refinement of the system. Everyday documents were distinguished from annual records in Archive B to create Archive C. In the fifteenth century records relating to peasant-holdings were moved out of the temple altogether and entrusted to the communities to which they related, and gradually the temple archives became integrated into a wider network of record-keeping.

In the case of 'Tōji' (the East Temple) in Kyoto, the mother-temple of Kongōbuji, in the *tebumi-bako* (the letter-boxes) of which *nen-nyo* took charge, there were kept *hikitsuke* (the registers of indexes) as well as cartularies. On the other hand, there were no *hikitsuke* or cartularies in *nen-nyobitsu* of Kōyasan. The registers of indexes will shed a new light on the comparative studies of great secular families or temples or churches in England as well as in Japan.

10. Cartularies: without or with index

Hirokazu Tsurushima¹⁴

In examining pre-Conquest documents from England, Ann Williams confined herself to single-sheet originals. However, as she indicated, most documentary evidences have been handed down to us not as single-sheet originals but through copies in cartularies. What is a cartulary? Is it possible for us to regard these 1344 medieval cartularies from Britain (which G. R. G. Davis explored) as types of sources¹⁵? Cartularies can be the preserved collections of copies of those documents by beneficiaries which recorded the legal or customary actions which affected other people. Fundamentally, they are the method of preservation of evidence or memory. Concerning the preservation of historical sources, the king's government had started making copies of the documents which they sent out since the end of the twelfth century. Here we can see the premature sprout of a positive system of keeping the documents of the government, which is one of the core-issues of the paper read by Stephen Church. Before this, the cartularies were the major method of keeping the documents. This system on the side of the beneficiaries got into step with government record-making and reached the golden age in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century. The purpose of this paper is to show the process of development of cartularies as a system of keeping records, mainly by comparing two of them: the *Textus Roffensis* (Rochester) in the early twelfth century and Lambeth Palace MS 1212 (Canterbury) in the late thirteenth century.

Appendix: Programme

Title	The comparative study of medieval documents in Japan and England
Organiser	Hirokazu Tsurushima (Kumamoto University)
Commentators	Murai Shōsuke (Tokyo University) Morimoto Yoshiki (Kurume University)
Interpreters	Nakamura Atsuko (Kyoto University) Judith Froehlich (Kurume University)

Date & Time	Content
2nd April 2001	
Session 1 LETTERS & TITLE-DEEDS	
13:15-14:00	1. Form and function of written land confirmations Kondo Shigekazu (Tokyo University) Chairman Yamada Shyo (Miyazaki University)
14:00-14:20	Discussion
14:20-14:40	Coffee
14:40-15:25	2. Charters, notifications, and letters: an introduction to the documentary sources for pre-Conquest England c. 700-1066 Ann Williams (University of East Anglia) Chairman Yoshitake Kenji (Keio University)
15:25-15:45	Discussion
15:45-16:15	High Tea
Session 2 DOCUMENTS & GOVERNMENT	
16:15-17:00	3. Keeping of records and their use in the Kamakura Bakuhu Takahashi Kazuki (National Museum of Japanese History) Chairman Ōmura Takuo (Osaka Industrial University)
17:00-17:20	Discussion
17:20-17:40	Coffee
17:40-18:25	4. Talking to itself: the impetus for government record-making under the Angevin Kings. Stephen Church (University of East Anglia) Chairman Tsuzuki Akira (Saga University)
18:25-18:45	Discussion
3rd April 2001	
Session 3 CHURCH & TEMPLE	
9:30-10:15	5. New concept of life and death in the Heian era Kamikawa Michio (Aichi prefectural University) Chairman Ito Toshikazu (Meijyo University)
10:15-10:35	Discussion
10:35-10:55	Coffee
10:55-11:40	6. Death and remembrance: The <i>liber vitae</i> in Anglo-Norman England William Aird (Cardiff University) Chairman Arai Yukio (Ochanomizu Women University)
11:40-12:00	Discussion
12:00-13:30	Lunch
13:30-15:00	A short visit to medieval documents of Aso clan in the University Library
Session 4 LAND & SURVEY	
15:00- 15:45	7. Land-surveys, inside and outside Haruta Naoki (Kumamoto University) Chairman Kudo Keiichi
15:45-16:05	Discussion
16:05-16:25	Coffee
16:25-17:10	8. Talking to the others: the Domesday Inquest David Roffe (University of Sheffield) Chairman Miyagi Tōru (Ryukyu University)
17:10-17:30	Discussion
17:30-18:30	High Tea
18:30-20:30	Farewell Party (Kusunoki Kaikan)

4 th April 2001	
Session 5	RECORDS & ARCHIVES
9:00-9:45	9. System of document preservation Yamakage Kazuo (Kōyasan University) Chairman Matsui Teruaki
9:45-10:05	Discussion
10:05-10:25	Coffee
10:25-11:10	10. Cartularies: without or with index Tsurushima Hirokazu Chairman Yamada Masahiko (Kumamoto University)
11:10-11:30	Discussion
11:30-13:00	Lunch
13:00-14:00	Conclusion Murai Shosuke Morimoto Yoshiki
14:00-19:00	A field trip to Aso-machi
5th April 2001 (in Saigandenj)	
9:00-13:00	Closing Discussion

- 1 Michael Clanchy, *From memory to written record: England, 1066-1307* (Oxford, 2nd edn., 1992).
- 2 Cf. Richard Britnell ed., *Pragmatic Literacy; East and West, 1200-1330* (Woodbridge, 1997). This book is a precious exception.
- 3 Kondo Shigekazu is a professor of medieval Japanese history at Tokyo University. His published papers include 'Changes in the letter of order in the Kamakura Bakufu', *The Japanese Journal of Diplomatic*, 17/18 (1981); 'The structure of medieval kingship', *Journal of Historical Studies* (Tokyo), 573 (1987); 'Leadership in the medieval Japanese warrior family', in Neary, Ian, ed., *Leaders and Leadership in Japan* (Japan Library, 1996); 'Kume Kuniwake as a historiographer', in Nish, Ian, ed., *The Iwakura Mission in America and Europe*. (Japan Library, 1998); 'Insei: rule by the abdicated emperor' *Romanian Journal of Japanese Studies*, No. 1. (1999).
- 4 Ann Williams, now a senior fellow of the University of East Anglia, was before retirement lecturer in medieval history at the Polytechnic (now University) of North London. Her research-interests cover tenth- and eleventh-century England, especially the study of noble families and their influence. She is co-editor of the facsimile edition of *Domesday Book*, published by Alec Historical Editions, and author of *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England, c. 500-1066* (London, 1999), and various articles on tenth- and eleventh-century prosopography. She is currently preparing a study of the reign of Aethelred 'the Unready', 978-1016.
- 5 Kazuki Takahashi is an academic assistant at the National Museum of Japanese History. His publications include 'Making of the medieval shoen and land attached to it', *Journal of Japanese History*, 452(2000); 'The system for the storage and utilization of legal documents and records in the Kamakura Shogunate archives (*bunko*) and bureaucratic (*bugyonin*) family-lines (*ie*)', *Journal of Historical Studies* (forthcoming).
- 6 Stephen Church is a senior lecturer of history at the University of East Anglia. He has published *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge, 1999) and has edited *King John: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 1999) and *The Pakenham Cartulary for the Manor of Ixworth Thorpe, Suffolk, c.1250-c.1320*, Suffolk Records Society, Charter Series, vol. 17 (Woodbridge, 2001).
- 7 Michio Kamikawa is a professor at Aichi Prefecture University. He is a specialist in the history of medieval Buddhism. He has published several papers on this subject including 'Issai-sutra and medieval Buddhism', *Annual Reports of Medieval Studies*, 24 (1999); 'Medieval Buddhism and "Japanese nation"', *Journal of Japanese History*, 465 (2001).

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