Women in Saikaku: Good, Bad, or Victims of Circumstance?

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Ihara (or Ibara) Saikaku (Kan’ei 19/1642-Genroku 6/1693) is generally regarded today as the premier writer of the late seventeenth century. A product of Osaka merchant and townsfolk culture, Saikaku singlehandedly transformed prose narrative from the vaguely-defined kana-zoshi forms that had dominated publishing through the first century of Tokugawa rule, creating a new (and commercially successful) genre called the ukiyo-zōshi (“floating-world books”) with his Tenna 2/1682 Kōshoku ichidai otoko (“A Single-Generation Promiscuous Man”). Western critics have also recognized Saikaku as a major figure, which we can see through the number of translations of Saikaku’s works that have appeared in English. We can safely state that Saikaku is the most heavily translated early modern Japanese writer into English.¹

This paper was first presented at the Washington/Southeast Region Japan Seminar, Williamsburg, Virginia, April 23, 1994, with an expanded version presented at the University of Virginia, April 26, 1994. The author expresses his sincere thanks to those at both sessions who asked questions and provided advice for improvement, especially Professor Paul Schalow, Rutgers University, who served as discussant at the Seminar.

Teaching Saikaku in English translation, I have encountered among my students deep-seated resistance to the depiction of various female characters, as well as to the comments about women found scattered throughout Saikaku’s works. Based on these comments and depictions, many of my students have concluded that Saikaku and his society harbored a deeply-rooted misogynistic character. I suspect that this view of Saikaku commands a sympathetic following among readers in general, in the context of the more self-aware, gender-sensitive framework in which we read and evaluate our readings today.

Consider the following passage, for example, often cited as representing Genroku era notions of “feminine beauty”:

Looking very grave, (the retainer) explained, ‘I’m here to choose a concubine for my lord.’

‘We’ve had these requests from all the daimyō’, he was assured. ‘Now just what sort would you like?’

Then the old fellow produced from a scroll box of straight-grained paulownia wood the painting of a beautiful woman. ‘I’d like to engage one about like this’, he said, to make clear his preference. And he added, as they looked at it: ‘First of all, her age should be


With regard to Saikaku’s works in modern Japanese editions, I consulted reprints in the Iwanami bunko series, Nihon koten bungaku zenshū, Kadokawa bunko, the prewar Nihon meicho zenshū series (that is unfortunately excised in many strange places), Shin Nihon koten bungaku taiseki, Taiyaku Ihara Saikaku zenshū, and Maeda Kingorō, Kōshoku gonin onna zen chūshaku. The reader is encouraged to check the episodes in the original in these and other Saikaku collections.

The daimyō’s retainer is, of course, placing an order for an ideal, one that can only exist in a painting. We nonetheless discover that the nameless protagonist-narrator of Kōshoku ichidai onna (“A Single-Generation Promiscuous Woman,” 6 vols., Ōzaka: Okada Saburōemon, Jōkyō 3/1686) fits the order perfectly, and is indeed procured by the retainer for a generous sum.

The above quote strikes us with its almost obsessive

concern over superficial qualities. If we compare this to, say, Heian courtly ideals, most often exemplified by the "Rainy-night Rankings of Qualities" (amayo no shinasadame) in the second chapter of Genji monogatari, the qualitative gap between curled-up big toes or lack of hair strands on the nape of the neck in Saikaku, and the ability to compose moving "morning after" poems for women in Genji, is especially great. Furthermore, considering the fact that the purpose of the request is to procure a mistress (who might bear the daimyō a son and heir that his consort was apparently unable to provide), then the notion of the woman as a commodity to be bought, sold, and exchanged becomes even more readily apparent.

In this paper let us review a succession of women and the circumstances of their various stories as we find them in a number of Saikaku's selections. While issues of early Saikaku vs. late Saikaku, or issues of non-Saikaku authorship are indeed important, I propose that, in this study, we put such concerns on hold and focus instead on the various women we encounter in these stories. As a result of this examination I predict that we shall discover women depicted in a surprisingly broad spectrum of characterizations, notwithstanding the didactic and generally deprecatory comments that narrators make in these narratives. In other words, we shall find that Saikaku's narrators are often manipulating the reader into framing a particular incident in a negative ideological perspective, while the actions of the characters themselves in fact provide different, more morally problematic, readings of events and the people caught up in them.

Since we have already seen her idealized "advertisement" portrait, let us first examine Saikaku's

promiscuous woman." In episode 1:3, "Provincial Lord's Favourite," the narrator/protagonist is indeed placed in the daimyō's Edo mansion, and enjoys undreamed of luxuries and diversions. She sees little of her lord, however, and comments on the fact that for her and other women in the strict warrior household, the lack of access to men drives them to auto-eroticism, stimulated by Moronobu shunga prints. When her lord finally takes her to bed with him, she discovers to her dismay that he is impotent. Even his virility drugs are ineffective, and he continues to waste away while she tries in vain to excite him. Eventually the daimyō's inner circle accuse her of physically draining him with too much sex, and dismiss her back to the care of her own family. The narrator's tongue-in-cheek conclusion is, "Experience teaches that a lack of virility is sad indeed--especially for a woman!" (Hibbett, 171).

In this particular incident, the woman, through no fault of her own, is branded as dangerously lustful, and ironically dismissed from her sexual duties. While her own comment on how "sad" it is to be stuck with an impotent man would seem to support the very sources of criticism aimed at her, the daimyō was certainly impotent before she had arrived. In fact, the careful nature of the search to find a woman who would realize the daimyō's specific fantasies supports the hypothesis that the daimyō's impotence had thrown the domain into a potential succession crisis, and that the woman was hired to arouse the daimyō to the point where she would bear his child. The failure of this plan led the senior retainers to send the woman back home under false charges. Even though they were certainly aware of the daimyō's condition.

Ironically, the woman later uses the same sexual power that above she had been wrongfully accused of having employed, in order to punish another man. In 2:4, "Lady Etiquette-Teacher and Letter-Writer," she ghost-writes love letters for young men who come to her office for

3 Genji of course differs from Ichidai onna in that it was written by a woman, and the entire "rainy-night rankings" discussion has a highly ironic air of "locker room talk" male posturing about it. At the level of comparison for this paper, however, suffice it to say that the Heian work is concerned with internal qualities while the Edo period work focuses on the external.

4 Hibbett, 165-71, Morris, 130-36.
assistance. Her letters are so convincing that she herself comes to lust for one of her customers. He assents, but in a manner so distasteful to her (he wants her to realize from the outset that their relationship is to be purely physical, and that she must expect no gifts or money) that she is about to reject him, when the lights suddenly go out, and he grabs her. While he declares that she will "do to (she's) a hundred" (Hibbett, 197), she vows to make the relationship so physical that it will mean his downfall.

I began to frolic with him night and day. When he weakened, I fed him mud-fish soup, eggs, and yams. As might have been expected, he gradually withered away.

It was pitiful! The next spring, when everyone had changed to light kimono, he went on wearing layers of thickly padded clothes. One doctor after another gave him up. His beard was shaggy, his nails long. He listened with his hand cupped behind his ear—and if there was any talk about good-looking women, he turned away reproachfully. (Hibbett, 197)

The reader (either 17th- or 20th-century) might here censure the woman for having intentionally brought a person to ruin out of personal spite. After all, she is willing to sleep with the man until he so coldly makes clear that he is not about to pay anything for their affair. The fact that material concerns even enter his mind make him despicable in the woman's eyes.

However, here too, the story is more complex than it first may seem. As a master of the epistolary arts, the woman is capable of bringing life into her letters. Before meeting the young man she later destroys, she recounts an experience with a man with whom she had previously had relations as a courtesan. Their affair had been sincere, and when he had been unable to visit her (for financial reasons?)

she had written letter after letter to him, to the point that the letters he carried to bed with him took on her form and he was able to converse aloud with her in his sleep. The woman comments, "And that was only natural. If you concentrate when you write a letter, put your whole mind to it and forget everything else, your thoughts will certainly not go astray." (Hibbett, 196)

This interpretation adds three important dimensions to the narrative situation. First, we must recognize that the woman has already had a relationship with another man which was all-consuming and mutually fulfilling. ("I trusted him completely and opened my heart to him."/Hibbett, 196) Second, the power of her love for this man, as well as her letter-writing skill, have created the conditions by which her letters have communicated the intensity and purity of her thoughts. To the man, her letters had the power to transform themselves into her spirit, which was then able to communicate with him in his dreams of longing for her. Finally, he later told her directly of his experience, which she then confirmed.

Given this surprisingly complex personal experience, it is no wonder that the woman would become seduced by her own love letters written for any customer who has happened to come in. Unfortunately, the customer with whom she becomes infatuated is clearly incapable of satisfying either her physical desires or the depth of her love. The customer may indeed deserve punishment for his uncouth attitudes, but the woman's power of expression and sensitivity to the rhetoric of love make her especially vulnerable, and pave the way for her violent reaction, after he takes advantage of her in the darkened room. In other words, the same power contained in fervently written love letters, that had succeeded in transporting her spirit to her earlier lover, now works to bind her, mistakenly in this case, to someone who cannot reciprocate her feelings.

At one point, the "promiscuous woman" herself becomes a victim to overindulgence. In 2:3, "Bonde's Wife in a Worldly Temple," she assumes a contract over

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Hibbett. 193-97; Morris, 153-58.
three years to become the secret mistress to a corrupt Buddhist priest. The narrator describes her situation as follows:

(T)he priest will have a deep recess built in the corner of his private apartment; this is provided with a narrow skylight, so designed as to be invisible from the outside. In order that no sound of voices may escape, he has his apartment built to a considerable depth, with earth piled heavily on the roof, and the walls a foot in thickness.

It was in such a place that I was now immured each day; only at night I would emerge to visit the priest’s bedchamber. This was indeed a constrained existence, and it was grievous to think that it was not love that brought me to it, but the need to gain a livelihood. (Morris, 150)

Basically kept as what we would call today a sex slave, the woman laments the uncertain and dangerous nature of her profession, by which she is unable to choose the type of relationship that suits her. The priest fornicates with her so much that she becomes “wasted and thin from overmuch indulgence.” (Morris, 150) Resigning herself to the situation, she even comes to berate those mountain acetics and impoverished monks who have no choice but to observe Buddhist rites and abstain from eating meat and consorting with women. “(T)hey come to look like dried-up pieces of wood.” (Morris, 151)

One day the woman encounters in a daydream the living spirit (ikiryō) of the priest’s former mistress, who is actually twenty years his elder. This spirit recounts the details of her past, and declares that henceforth she will also have her way with the woman, in order to make up for the loss of sexual outlet that had resulted when the priest had rejected her for the younger woman. At this turn of events, the narrator knows she must escape, and does so by feigning pregnancy. The priest encourages her departure, thinking it temporary, and even provides her with infant’s clothes that had been donated to the temple as an offering by a couple who had lost their own child.

In this episode as well, the woman is depicted more as a victim than as a perpetrator. Even the older former mistress, while threatening the woman with her own sexual advances, evokes our pity in the cold-hearted way in which the priest had “dumped” her. We can also understand why she might have been attracted to the younger woman in the first place: the episode opens with an account of how the narrator plied her trade of sexual favors from temple to temple disguised as a young rōnin, complete with shaven crown (forelocks remaining) and two swords. If the older woman had caught a glimpse of the young woman in male disguise, she might well have been attracted by the sight. At any rate, it is clear that both women, especially the narrator, are depicted in terms that arouse our sympathy rather than our scorn as readers.

We can identify many other episodes in Ichidai onna that support the notion that women, even those who have embarked upon a career of sexual gratification, are prone to the same vicissitudes of good and bad fortune as are men. The second last episode, “Song for a Woman of the Streets” (6:3), in the narrative, in which the woman lives alone in a hovel waiting to die of starvation, is a case in point. In contrast to so many other episodes, in which the woman is drawn into prostitution or other sexual relationships by chance, misfortune, or in reaction to a wrong committed against her, we here encounter the woman near despair, with no means of livelihood at hand. She has a terrifying vision of the ninety-five fetuses she had aborted over her career. (Fig. 1) Her regret is not so much in having deprived them of a chance at life, but rather at the fact that, had she raised them in this world, they would have supported

6Morris, 148-53.
7Morris, 192-203.
Iichidai onna, deals with such military themes as loyalty, duty, and honor. The reader might expect to find women in these stories treated as objects of derision in this male-centered social order, but, in fact, this is not the case. In story 4:4, “The Woman Wore a Cap and Lived by Deceit” we encounter the following situation.9

The twelve-year-old granddaughter, nicknamed Kozakura (“Little Cherry”), of a samurai who had distinguished himself at the Battle of Sekigahara is born into rural poverty, and, discovered by a smooth-talking procuress, is sold by her widowed mother into prostitution. The procuress convinces the mother (or, at least, this is what the mother wants to believe) that Kozakura is to enter into the service of a certain daimyō’s mother in Osaka. Kozakura herself is delighted to do something to aid in the family’s finances, so does not realize the true nature of her commitment until long after she has been in residence at the house. When a close girlfriend is raised to the high rank of tenshoku prepared for her first night with a patron, Kozakura suddenly realizes her own fate and takes to her bed, refusing food or medicine. As she approaches death, the brothel proprietor pledges to release her from her contract so she can return home to her mother. At this, however, Kozakura is adamant in her refusal: “Her last words were, ‘I am the daughter of a samurai.’” (Callahan,108) She dies, preserving both her fidelity to martial codes of conduct, and her honor to the commitment her mother had made with the procuress.

9Callahan, 105-08.

Figure 1: Kōshoku ichidai onna 6:3, “Song for a woman of the Streets”

their aged mother in comfort and security.8 She is eventually convinced that she could make a living as a “sōka” streetwalker, but when she rents all of the necessary accoutrements (each item is listed, together with its per diem rental fee) and goes out for the night, she returns without having “turned” a single “trick.” Incapable of selling herself for sexual favors, she is now only one step away from her ultimate destiny as the aged nun, mistress of the Kōshoku-an, or “Sex-Attraction Hermitage.”

At this point it is necessary to examine how women are depicted in other Saikaku works. Rather than continue to take examples from his kōshoku collections, let us turn to his buke-mono stories of martial figures. Buke giri monogatari ("Tales of Samurai Honor," six vols., Kyō: Yamaoka Ichibei, Edo: Yorozuya Seibe, Ōsaka: Yasui Kahei, Jōkyō 5 (=Genroku 1)/1688), written two years after

8The "childlike figures" do indeed chastize her with cries of, “Oh, cruel mother that you were!” (Morris, 194) The woman’s inability to fulfill her (Confucian) duty as mother returns to haunt her in this episode, but the issues confronted here are still far from our contemporary (Christian) discourse on “right to life” versus “freedom of choice.”
willingly chosen this livelihood. Nowadays, however, many are forced into prostitution by grinding poverty: they must sell their bodies in order to provide for their parents. Not all prostitutes are low born, nor do all come from families in which prostitution would seem to be the obvious career. There are women who were forced by the exigencies of fate to become what they are. (Callahan, 105-06)

The courtesans encountered in Ichidai otoko are portrayed as unattainable deities, the opportunity to spend an evening with being considered well worth the fortune it would cost to achieve. In Ichidai onna, we find that same life portrayed from the perspective of the courtesan herself, one in which she must be at pains to remain cool, aloof, and highly selective of her patrons. Here, however, the narrator outlines a grim true-to-life portrait of the tragedy of institutionalized prostitution, focusing especially on the tolls this life exacts on the women themselves.

This does not mean, of course, that samurai women are any less passionate than their counterparts in the civilian classes. In 6:2 "A 'Married' Couple Whom the Ties Could Not Bind," we read of a man of over seventy living in seeming wedlock with a girl not yet sixteen. They publicly feign marriage in order to discourage potential suitors, but in reality, the man is an elderly retainer of the girl's father, who has been killed in battle. The family is dispersed, and the retainer interprets his responsibility after the master's death to be protecting the daughter. The façade holds for several years, but with increasing difficulty for the retainer.

One summer evening, the couple is at home when a sudden storm hits, blowing out the lamps and flashing lightning outside their dilapidated house. The terrified young woman clutches at the retainer, which sets his heart beating.
frantically. Only after a great deal of self-restraint and chanting of the sutras\(^\text{10}\) does he regain his composure and avoid consummating his relationship with his charge. Later, when a certain noble family approaches her to enter into service, their only concern is the rumors that the two have been living together as husband and wife. The old retainer proves his sincerity by severing his left arm, which convinces the noble house. When the noble and the young woman spend their first night together and it is clear that she was indeed a virgin, the retainer's fidelity is confirmed and all are rewarded.

Again, the story is not as satisfying a narrative as those found in *Ichidai otoko, Ichidai onna*, or *Gonin onna*.\(^\text{11}\) We might be tempted to believe that the woman plays a totally passive role in this story as I have summarized it here. However, the illustration to this story makes it clear that the two are in a potentially highly compromising position. (Fig. 3) The young woman is seated upon the retainer's lap, who in turn is reclining on the tatami mats of their house looking out into the garden in the warm summer rains. She has slipped one hand into his kimono collar, as though she were checking his heartbeat. The scene makes it clear that she is playing the role of the aggressor. While she is also of a martial house, as is Kozakura above, she has allowed the elderly man to bear the brunt of the discipline entailed in serving as a loyal kashin (house retainer). Instead, she is young, beautiful, healthy, and realizes that, to the outside world, they are considered already married. It is only natural that she would be drawn to him in such a situation. While we find

the retainer almost superhuman in his duty, this does not detract from the young woman's sensual human nature. In other words, Saikaku's readers have no cause to censure the young woman for desiring to sleep with the man under those tempting circumstances.

If we are to discover any misogyny in Saikaku, we shall certainly find it in his "Great Mirror of Male-Male Loves" (*Nanshoku okagami*, 8 books in 10 vols., Ozaka: Fukaeya Taröbei, Kyö: Yamazakiya Ichibei, Jökyö 4/1687). The work opens with a satirically humorous preface declaring the divine origins of "male force," continuing with the "licentious communion" of male and female, and lamenting the influence women with their attractive features have possessed over men.

Women may serve a purpose for the amusement of retired old men in lands lacking handsome youths, but in a man's lusty prime they are not worthy companions even for conversation. Our entry into the gateway of boy love has been delayed long enough! (Schalow, 49)

Thus we are introduced to the perspective that, when it comes to having a fulfilling relationship, nothing is as satisfying for "lusty" men than having a youth as paramour. Women are rated as inferior, if for no other reason than because they are poor conversationalists (for those men, that is).

Story 1:1, "Love: The Contest Between Two Forces,"\(^\text{12}\) continues in this vein in a defense, based on honored Chinese and Japanese precedents, of man-youth relationships. The narrator (first-person in this introductory story) goes on to list twenty-three options between male and female lovers, and asks the reader to choose between:

...Lying rejected next to a courtesan, or

\(^\text{10}\)A similar scene narrated from a totally different perspective appears in *Ichidai onna* 3:1 (Hibbett, 200-01; Morris, 162-63). The woman, searching for sex, tries to seduce an old man asleep in the pantry, who prays to the bodhisattva Kannon for protection. (Fig. 2)

\(^\text{11}\)Koshoku gonin onna ("Five Amorous Women"), 5 vols., Ozaka: Morita Shôtarö, Edos: Yorozuya Seibei, Jökyö 3/1686. These five short stories dealing with deeply passionate commitments have been considered by many to be Saikaku's masterpiece.

\(^\text{12}\)Schalow, 51-56.
blossoms, it is twisted and bent. A youth may have a thorn or two, but he is like the first plum blossom of the new year exuding an indescribable fragrance. The only sensible choice is to dispense with women and turn instead to men. (Schalow, 53-54, 56)

Perhaps the only sensible choice for a woman is to avoid such men if at all possible!

Nevertheless, the misogynistic ideology expressed in this introductory story is not supported by the events of the narratives that follow. For example, in 6:4, “A Secret Visit Leads to the Wrong Bed,” the kabuki actor of female roles (onnagata) Kichiya learns the secrets of beauty by picking and choosing the most attractive details of the various women he observes.13 Kichiya is one day called to the mansion of a member of the nobility, requesting that he come “in drag,” dressed in his onnagata robes. Unsure of the nature of the request, he is summoned into the recesses of the apartments of a princess and her household of maidservants. Kichiya is flushed with expectation as he arrives.

The ladies rushed forward, curious, to look at him. It had been a long time since most of them had seen a man, and they seemed to go suddenly and uncontrollably mad. Some of them were so excited that they turned pale with desire. It was truly vulgar behavior. (Schalow, 240)

Aside from the last narratorial comment, the scene is remarkable in the fact that the women know that this beautiful onnagata is, in essence, a male. If he had been recognized as a man, however, he would never been allowed on the premises. In fact, the princess’ brother suddenly returns, and, while the women try to hide Kichiya, the noble finds

13Schalow, 237-41.
him so beautiful that the noble decides to have Kichiya for himself.

He did not hesitate to begin love-making immediately. Kichiya, unable to reject his advances, was in a quandary. Having no other recourse, he removed his lady’s wig and showed himself to the nobleman.

“Why, this is even better!” the gentleman said when he saw him, and proceeded to give Kichiya the full measure of his affection. (Schalow 240-41)

We can recognize behavior that is much more “vulgar” in the manner by which the noble can decide who strikes his fancy, without giving that individual the opportunity to decide whether he or she wishes to remain with the noble. The narrator berates the women’s vulgarity, while the narrative exposes the noble’s hypocracy. The dashed expectations in this story are caused by the the socio-economic position of the noble vis-à-vis his sister, and by the helpless position in which Kichiya finds himself. The fact that Kichiya is taken for the night regardless of his gender strongly supports the thesis that even Nanshoku ōkagami is not really involved with suppressing women.

We have thus considered the portrayal of women in three of Saikaku’s works, Kōshoku ichidai onna, Buke giri monogatari, and Nanshoku ōkagami. In each of these works women are often described by the narrator in negative, even disparaging, terms. However, when we examine the carefully constructed stories and episodes in which these characters figure, it is clear that the women themselves are not the targets of some authorial attacks. On the contrary, the women (and actors of female roles) in Saikaku’s stories distinguish themselves by their determination to make the most of often difficult social circumstances. If as a result of not being able to marry and settle down with a family, they must make a living on their own, they do so with perseverance and ingenuity. In a major respect, the “promiscuous woman” is representative of all of Saikaku’s contemporary women who, each in her own way, conducted her affairs with as much dignity as she could muster. Ichidai onna is often characterized as a dark, tragic work, but in this reading, it is more accurately an ode to all of the women in Saikaku’s day, who not only made a living without relying on the support of a single male-oriented household, but who also found ways to fulfill their needs for sexual intimacy.

Perhaps it is appropriate at this point to close with this quotation from Saikaku’s female narrator:

...I’ve seen enough of the world to know that (men) can’t do without (wives)... As I picked my way along the edge of a lonely cliff I came to a man living in a little sloped-roof hut. It looked as if there were no amusements besides listening to the wind in the cedars by day and watching the flame of a pine-torch by night. ‘You could be living in the capital’, I told him. ‘How can you stand it here, of all places?’

The yokel grinned. ‘It’s not so bad’, he said. ‘I’ve got my old woman to take my mind off it.’

...A woman doesn’t enjoy living alone either. (Ichidai onna 3:1, Hibbett, 198)

Gender is only one of a great many social, religious, economic, and other power issues that in combination and juxtaposition yield Saikaku’s literary floating worlds.
Recommended Reading

This reading list was created based on member responses to an EMJ survey. Our thanks to all who sent in recommendations.

Allinson, Gary
The new *Iwanami Nihon tsūshi* has some very good essays

Blaylock, David

Cort, Louise
岡佳子 and others, 『隔冥記にみる寛永文化の世界』 (series) 日本美術工芸 655 (April 1993)

Davis, James L.
杉山滋郎、日本の近代科学史 (朝倉書房, 1994)

Doak, Kevin
尹健次『民族幻想の蹉跎』(思想 December 1993)

Earns, Lane
Ōta Katsuya, *Sakoku jidai Nagasaki boekishi no kenkyū*

Graham, Patricia
日本美術の一九世紀, exhibition catalogue, Hyogo Prefecture Museum of Art, 1990 (Himeiji)

Harrison, Elizabeth
千葉徳爾&大津忠思 Chiba Tokuiji and Ōtsu Tadao 『間引と水子一子育てのフォークロア』Mabiki to mizuko Tokyo:農山漁村文化協会 a 民俗学 study of the practice of *mabiki* (infanticide) during Tokugawa era; includes review of standard views.

Hauser, William B.
Norma Field, *In the Realm of a Dying Emperor*

Hess, Laura E.
Inoue Yasushi’s *Kōshi*

Hesselink, Reiner
Sone Hiromi 曾根ひろみ “Baita-kō” 「売女」孝 (An Essay on “Whores”)

Howell, David L.

Joly, Jacques
Maruyama Masao, *Matusrigoto no kōzō* 政事の構造 in Gendai Shisō 現代思想 January 1994, Tokyo, Seidosha 青土社

Jones, Sumie
松田修『江戸異端文学ノート』(青土社, 1993)

Kornicki, Peter
Kotenseki sōgō mokuroku

Leupp, Gary P.

Marceau, Lawrence
井沢蟠竜著（いざわばんりょう）『広益俗説弁(1715年刊)』「東京：平凡社, 1989」白石良夫校訂
McClain, James L.  

Nakai, Kate Wildman  
Two recent book that I think would be of interest to a wide range of people: 山口啓二, 『鎖国と開国』(岩波, 1993), a broad overview that links developments in different areas of kinsei history in a fresh way, and 藤田覚, 『松平定信』(中公新書, 1993)

Nosco, Peter  
Kojima Yasunori’s Soraigaku to han-sorai (Perikansha, 1994)

Ravina, Mark  

Sandler, Mark H.  

Souyri, Pierre  
Chūsei toshi kamakura no horu, Nihon editaa sukuuru shuppanbu, 1994

Steaben, Barry  

Tao, De-min  
小島康敬, 『徂徠学と反徂徠學』Kojima Yasunori, Soraigaku to han-sorai ペリカン社 1994

Thomas, Roger  
田中優子, 『江戸はネットワーク』

Totman, Conrad  
Andō Seiichi, *Kinsei kōgaishi no kenkyū* (see review in MN 48-1)

Troost, Kristina  
The new Heibonsha Nihonshi daijiten; an interesting article could be written comparing Sōten Nihon no Rekishi, Shinshiten Nihon no rekishi and Iwanami Kōza Nihon tsūshi (I have heard this indicted as too Tōdai and too traditional. It would be interesting to get general opinions.)

Walthall, Anne  
1) Miyagi Masato, “Fūsetsudome kara mita bakumatsu shakai no tokushitsu,” *Shisō* 1993.9 #831:4-26
2) Hosaka Satoru, “Hyakusho ikki - sono kyōzō to jitsuzō” in *Nihon no kinsei* vol 10 *Kindai e no taido* (Chūō kōronsha, 1993).

Waters, Neil  
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