Love and Marriage:

The Male – Female Relationship in Tokugawa Japan

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"It has been stated above that the human heart is susceptible to love – no one can avoid it. Once involved in and disturbed by it, the wise and foolish alike frequently behave illogically in spite of themselves, and they end up losing control of the country, and ruining their bodies and their reputations… Love, of all the things in life, is most difficult to suppress in spite of every effort to control it."

- Motoori Norinaga [i]

In the Yoshiwara
The way of the warrior
Cannot conquer.

-Eighteenth-Century Verse [ii]

The Genroku era –which reached its zenith in the 1690's – was the peak of Japan's economic prosperity, and blossoming of the arts. During this period, the culture of the merchant class – the *chonin*- came to the fore, making it the first time that that culture of the country was lead by a ruled class, rather than the ruling class. *Chonin* culture centred on the gay quarters, the pleasure districts that were filled with courtesans, entertainers, musicians, *kabuki* actors, puppet theatre, and all manner of interesting diversions. Members of all social classes visited the gay quarters, and social class mattered little there; despite any other attributes that were desired, the only thing that was really required was money. However, outside of the gay quarters, society was strictly prescribed and controlled by the Neo-Confucian ethic that the Tokugawa Shogunate had adopted – less out of an ideological need, and more out of political expedience. Samurai, Peasant, Artisan and Merchant were all encouraged to live, work and marry among their own, and live by the ideals that the Chinese scholar Zhu Xi had set forth – particularly in the arena of male-female relations.

In keeping with both Confucian and *chonin* influence, the male-female relationship was presented in the plays, books, and poetry of the time as having very few dynamics, merely that of husband and wife, mother and son, and concubine and client, and of those three, only that of husband and wife, and the dynamic of the pleasure quarters are highlighted. However, these relationships have a number of different depictions; from the dutiful virtuous wife, and the wayward husband, to the couple who live, work, and fight side by side; and from the loyal concubine desperately in

love with her client, to the man who spends his entire fortune just to consort with the highest-ranking and loveliest women the gay quarters can provide. These depictions, in their variety, show a culture that, though influenced by Confucian ideals, is not bound by them. We see a startlingly varied and vivid picture of Japanese life that, while not always entirely accurate, seems quite close to reality. Men and women did not blindly follow the Confucian ethics of the day, but chose to build relationships in several different ways, many of which are reflected in the literature of the time.

"The married couple is the foundation of morality. A couple is basically lustful, and if they get along, they produce a righteous harmony, but if they do not, everything falls apart."[iii]
-A precept written for peasants

Husband and wife is one of the five human relationships in Confucian ideology. Women in Confucian society were to follow the Three Obediences (*sanju*): To her parents as a child, to her husband when married, to her children when she grew old. The *Onna Daigaku*, or The Greater Learning for Women, was written for women, and sets forth the rule of subservience and obedience to parents, in-laws, husband, and sons. It is generally attributed to Ekken Kaibara. Interestingly, Ekken's own wife was treated by him as an equal, and is said to have written the work herself.[iv] However, not all views on marriage were Confucian; Hirata Atsutane, a *kokugaku* (National Learning) scholar who believed in Shinto's supremacy over all other religion once stated that, "Humanity, righteousness, filial piety and the rest are all principles governing to proper conduct of man. If they are always automatically observed, and never violated, it is unnecessary to teach them… The ancient Japanese all constantly and correctly practised what the Chinese call humanity, righteousness, the five cardinal virtues and the rest without having to name them or teach them."[v] It was unnecessary to devise laws of marriage in Japan since, from remotest antiquity, the conduct of man and wife had been perfectly decorous – regulations or special terms governing behaviour were superfluous.[vi] While this is unlikely, it certainly sparked debate and raises the question: What precisely was marriage of the time like?

If we pay attention to Akinari's ' The House Amid the Thickets', an interesting picture of peasant marriage is painted. The story is of a young man, Katsushiro, successor to a wealthy peasant family, who was lazy, impetuous, and "…disliked working the land, and regarded labour as a dreary task." As a consequence, his wealth declined, and he sought another way to make money for his family. He asked a silk merchant to take him to Kyoto to become a merchant, and the man agreed. Katsushiro then sold his remaining rice fields, spending the money on silk, and prepared to leave. Though his wife, Miyagi, disapproved, she could not dissuade him, so she "faithfully helped him to get ready." Katsushiro assured her that he would return in the fall, and left for the city[vii] Fighting breaks out in the countryside, which delays Katushiro, and worries Miyagi. Though she should have taken shelter, she "trusted in her husband's bidding", despite warring factions, and a man's attempt to seduce her. During the same period of time, Katsushiro is robbed, falls ill, is taken in by friends, and "before he knew it, seven years had gone by as if in a dream."[viii] Berating himself for his inconstant nature, he returns to his home to find out what has happened to his wife. He finds a dirty and dishevelled Miyagi, who is overjoyed to see that he has returned. They tell one another their stories; Katsushiro attempting to explain his behaviour, Miyagi telling him of her hardships, particularly the men who tried to "trick me with flattering words, but I knew that I would rather die a broken jewel than go on living as common clay."[ix] They lie down for the evening, and when Katsushiro wakes, his wife is gone. He realizes that Miyagi is dead, finds her poor and improper grave, and is distraught. He composes a poem to mark her passing, but this small indication of respect comes too late. This story, highlighting the importance of staying in one's own class, and the importance of hard work is interesting due to it's message, which is decidedly Confucian for a portrayal of the peasantry, who were less influenced by Confucian ethics than any other class. Miyagi does little more than attempt to dissuade her husband, and then waits at home, subject to the whims of Katsushiro. She remains virtuous, despite attempts to sully said virtue, and dies waiting for her husband to return. Were Miyagi accurately portrayed, she likely would have found another husband, or not let him sell the

fields in the first place. In peasant families, women and men worked closely – the wife was helpmate and partner to her husband.[x] The organization of the household was not necessarily the *ie* structure that the Shogunate prescribed – in some villages, there were still large communal families. While the male household head represented the household to the outside world, the female household head had control over the household. Called the *shufu*, she was leader of the women in the household, and supervised their activities. There was no way to become a *shufu* other than marrying the head of the household, or the successor.[xi] Control over rice meant control over the domestic economy, and this control was in the hands of the female household head.[xii] Considering these factors, it is unlikely that Katsushiro would have been able to merely sell off his lands without the agreement of his wife.

The peasantry also did not pay much attention to the Confucian concept of sexual virtue. The peasantry did segregate the young people at the age of initiation (14 or 15 for boys, and first menstruation for girls) – but to leave their parent's houses to live in communal houses (*yado*) for males and females respectively, where they were taught skills by the elder youths. As soon as they moved into the houses, the boys would begin visiting the girls at night. When (and if) a couple decided they wanted to marry, or the girl became pregnant, the boy's houseparent would visit the girl's father with sake, asking that they be given permission to marry. The father rarely refused, as that refusal could mean that the boy's peer group would withhold labour cooperation, which would cause difficulties. The young men of that age group were a powerful agricultural labour collective.[xiii] Divorce was not an issue for women, nor was a second marriage, as virginity was not valued for the first marriage – the culture was decidedly promiscuous. [xiv] Miyagi's virtue, though noble, would hold less weight with the peasantry than it would with an upper-class samurai family.

In 'The Battles of Coxinga' Chikamatsu presents the relationship between the hero, Coxinga, and his wife, Komutsu as one of mutual attraction and affection for one another. Komutsu (though often comic relief in the play) is an equal in many ways, mostly due to her cleverness and her

loyal nature. When the Princess Sendan of China is found, having escaped to Japan in fear for her life, Coxinga (at that time known as Watonai) agrees to go and wage war on the people who have threatened her life, and also exiled his father. Komutsu immediately assumes that Sendan is the Chinese wife that Coxinga's father has sent for. She attempts to throw herself off a cliff, so that her "…fury will turn into a serpent of jealousy," so she can have her revenge. Coxinga stops her, telling her he had to test "a woman of low birth" to see if she could be entrusted with the Princess, stating that it "should prove that your husband's heart has not changed." They bid one another a tearful farewell.[xv] Though this incident does not necessarily seem fair, the fact that Komutsu is entrusted with the Princess' care speaks highly of the trust and mutual respect both Coxinga and Komutsu have for one another – it was not precisely Komutsu herself that must be tested, but rather, her nature as a woman of the lower classes. Later, Komutsu takes on the guise of a man, and with her sword fighting ability learned from observing her husband, she is confident that she can protect Sendan. She and Sendan decide to go on to China, even though they have received no word from the other country.[xvi] When Koumutsu arrives in China, she leads a group of soldiers, is called Ushiwaka, the youthful name of one of the greatest samurai in history, and goes boldly into battle to help her husband defeat the Tartar army.[xvii]

The relationship between Komutsu and Coxinga is remarkably equal – Komutsu is portrayed as equally heroic and capable as her husband. Their marriage is a love match, rather than the more common arranged marriage of the Tokugawa period which were used sometimes to pass on the *ie* to a faithful worker[xviii], sometimes to solidify relations between families, and towards the end of the period, often used by samurai to fix difficult financial positions with merchants.[xix] Love matches did happen in the samurai and merchant classes occasionally, if there were no objections. As for equality, some men and women had the freedom and privilege to choose to treat one another as life partners. Patricia Fister profiles three woman *bunjin* (or literati) artists from the Tokugawa period who lived their lives in a less-than-traditional manner. Ike Gyokuran, Ko Raikin, and Tani Kankan all married other talented artists, and were encouraged by their

husbands to develop their skill and talent. Gyokuran did not even have children; instead, she and her husband, Taiga, dedicated their lives to painting, poetry and music. Raikin collaborated on works with her husband, and Kankan's husband, Buncho, who was the most important *bunjin* artist in Edo at the time, was so saddened by her death that he issued a memorial print, and erected an image of her at her gravesite. Though members of the samurai or *chonin* class, background or social status help little interest for these people, who were drawn together out of an intense interest in Chinese literature, art and culture. [xx] These men and women had a deep and lasting effect on one another's lives, and treated each other as partners in art and life, rather than subscribing to the Neo-Confucian conception of the husband-wife relationship. Though they were all artists, and perhaps granted a certain leniency, they were also *chonin* or samurai by birth, which could infer that Confucian mores did not affect marriage as rigidly as once thought.
In the Confucian ethic, too much learning was thought to spoil a girl's character, but in the middle and upper classes, some education was approved, in literature, music, verse, and handwriting.[xxi] In Edo, *chonin* daughters sought to be placed in the service of upper class samurai households to learn upper-class etiquette and culture, since this was prerequisite to a good marriage.[xxii] This prerequisite makes sense, particularly of the merchant class, where wealth, cleverness, and success were paramount – an unlearned wife would be near useless to a man who wanted to make or maintain a financial success. *Chonin* daughters with this experience often became the wives of influential Edo merchants, and assumed an important position in society.[xxiii] Wealthy peasants would also have their daughters serve in the homes of local daimyo to acquire skills of the upper classes, along with feminine comportment.[xxiv] Saikaku, in 'The Life of an Amorous Woman', discusses the practise of retired court ladies, and others with such skills teaching the same lessons one would learn in a samurai household to young ladies – presumably those without the connections or the luck to gain appointment in a samurai household – when the title character tries to make a go of a legitimate life by teaching young women penmanship.[xxv]

There was a great increase in education and literacy in the Tokugawa period, and it was likely partially due to these practises that education became an important thing for any well-raised girl. Also, since family pride was strong, a woman who was ill treated by her husband could be the target of revenge by her parents or brothers.[xxvi] As in the peasant class, the bridegroom can force a father's hand; the opposite can be done in other classes. A prime example of this is in Chikamatsu's 'The Love Suicides at Amijima', where Jihei, the protagonist, begs his father-in-law to be allowed to stay with his wife, Osan, saying that he is deeply indebted to her. Her father takes her away, likely to obtain a divorce, disgusted with Jihei's involvement with a low-ranked courtesan, his poverty, and angry that Osan's dowry has been pawned to pay their debts.[xxvii] Divorce may have been stigmatized in the upper classes, as per the *Onna Daigaku*'s assertion that a virtuous woman is only married to one man in her life, but the norm was not even entirely upheld with the elite. Men would often take wives from equally influential families, and that limited their ability to simply divorce a wife at their whim. And as alliances were built thought marriage, men did not hesitate to marry sisters and daughters off for a second time. The Confucian mores regarding marriage may have been true for part of the samurai class, but were not necessarily true for others in the time period.[xxviii] Thought the mores are in place, they were used selectively, even by the class that were their main proponents.

As Osan and Jihei's abrupt end of their marriage shows, marriage is not depicted as a perfect thing in the literature of the time, nor was it perfect in life. Women were forced to accept some of the realities of Confucian ethics, political realities, and for the *chonin*, of the culture of the gay quarters. For example, the *sankin kotai* system, which required a daimyo to spend approximately half their time in Edo, and the other half in their domain, caused difficulty for their wives and children. They were left behind in Edo to be virtual hostages, as a method of discouraging any seditious or separatist thoughts.[xxix] It could not have been a simple thing to live at the mercy of the Shogun, and conditional upon the behaviour of one's husband.

In ‘The Love Suicides of Amijima’, the protagonist, Jihei, has broken with the courtesan Koharu because of her ‘infidelity’ of emotion. His wife, Osan believes he is still in love with her. She is upset that even after he has agreed to no longer see Koharu, he will not sleep with her, as he has not for over two years.[xxx] Despite this, when she finds that Koharu is to be redeemed by a man she despises, Osan tells him the truth, alarmed that Koharu will kill herself.

> “There is not a grain of deceit in Koharu. It was I who schemed to end the relations between you. I could see the signs that you were drifting towards suicide. I felt so unhappy that I wrote a letter, begging her as one woman to another to break with you, though I knew how painful it would be.”

Osan wanted to save Jihei’s life, out of love, and Koharu agreed to give him up, out of duty to the other woman. Osan was compelled to tell Jihei by her sense of duty to Koharu – even if she might lose her husband.[xxxi] One of the most important themes of the Tokugawa period was the conflict between the sense of duty (*giri*) and human feeling (*ninjo*). The meanings of *giri* and *ninjo* varied considerably according to circumstances. It might mean duty to members of the family unit, to one’s class, or to society at large, or refer to something akin to the abstract concept of honour.[xxxii] Here, Osan is torn between her emotion for her husband, and her sense of duty to a woman she made a deal with. This reciprocal idea of duty is echoed through the play, and is evident in society. Ninomiya Sontoku, the ‘Peasant Sage of Japan’‘s ‘The Repayment of Virtue’ runs the theme of man’s dependence on nature and society and his obligation to repay that debt. The refrain does have some Confucian aspects, but seems to be based more out of practicality than anything else. The refrain points to the importance of debt to ancestors, and family, as well as to the land.[xxxiii] The concept of *giri* seems well ingrained into all levels of the culture.

Again in ‘The Love Suicides of Amijima’, Osan gives Jihei a good half of the money to save Koharu from being redeemed by Tahei, the man she hates. The money was raised to pay their debts from pawning her dowry clothing, and she gives him the last of their clothing to raise the rest, despite the fact that she does not know what her role will be in the house once the courtesan is brought to the home.[xxxiv] When Jihei begs her forgiveness for the crimes he has committed

against her, she says, "I'd be glad to rip the nails from my fingers and my toes, anything that might serve my husband."[xxxv] Whether these things are done out of a sense of love or obligation are unclear. Earlier, Osan showed herself to be a woman of duty, and willing to lose her husband out of a sense of duty. Either way, there is little doubt that many women of the merchant class found themselves in the same position, though whether they would react in such a generous and noble way is also unclear.

Perhaps the most practical and true statement about marriage in the Tokugawa period, or perhaps any other time is from 'The Life of an Amorous Woman': "When we come to think of it, indeed, a man's state is better without a wife. Howbeit, in order to live in this world, he cannot be without one…the solace of having a partner is one thing that a man can ill forgo. Nor, being said, does it afford a woman any comfort to live alone."[xxxvi]

The gods provided mankind with sexual organs as a gift that should be valued. To attempt to put an end to lust is therefore foolish. Hirata exalted sex, sometimes for it's own sake, but more commonly because it represented the beginning of creation.[xxxvii]

Ukiyo was the word used to describe the world of the pleasure districts – the 'floating world' had been used to indicate the fundamental sadness of living in a world that was insubstantial, and ever changing, but in Genroku times, Ukiyo meant that the world was pleasurable precisely due to the ever-changing, exciting nature of the world. The pleasure quarters were essential safety valves in the Tokugawa society – they allowed an escape from the heavy responsibilities of family, and class – in fact, class meant little in the pleasure quarters – it was money that usually carried the day.[xxxviii] Therefore, the merchant class mostly ruled the pleasure quarters. Since both samurai and peasants depended on agriculture for their income, only the *chonin*, who could adjust to price fluctuations, were in a position to profit significantly from the economic growth of the age.[xxxix] This, however, did not stop the samurai from visiting the pleasure quarters, though they would do so in disguise – the classes were not supposed to mix in such a way. Also, it would likely weaken the Confucian ethic in the country if the ruling class were to openly flout the rules by which the

supposedly lived. If they did it in disguise – even if the unspoken fact was widely known – they could not be accused to corrupting the country's moral standard.

The world of the gay quarters was marked by formal etiquette, elaborate ritual, and aesthetic discrimination. The high-ranking courtesans (*yujo*), many of whom were recruited from among the daughters of the unemployed samurai, were endowed with physical beauty, magnificent dress and accoutrements, artistic refinement, knowledge of etiquette, and a culture, which, though strictly circumscribed, was greater than most townswomen of the period.[xl] These were, of course, the high-ranking courtesans. The lower-ranked ones were likely not so cultured or refined. In any case, prostitution was a major part of the literature of the time because it was in fact a major part of the time. Though only a few people could afford the high-ranking prostitutes, there were always streetwalkers, and many men availed themselves of them.

In Saikaku's "The Wind that Destroyed the Fanmaker's Shop in the Second Generation', the title character finds a note from a samurai to a low-ranking courtesan, and though her first intends to keep the coin that was enclosed therein, he goes to the pleasure district to return the coin. When he finds that the woman for whom the coin is intended is ill, he decides to spend it on an assignation for himself. In a short period of time, he had moved up through the ranks of the courtesans, "…until, in the end, he had bought the favours of every single top courtesan in Shimabara." After a few years of blowing his money away, his fortune was completely lost.[xli] This sort of thing very likely happened, as the pleasure quarters were expensive at best. The price for one of the top-ranked courtesans, with attendant, at its most basic level, was 76 *momme* of silver. However, after various expenses, tips, and so forth, the price ends up being closer to 551 *momme*, which, in Western terms, was about $420 – a substantial amount of money at the time. The fanmaker, in the course of about four or five years, managed to spend the equivalent of about $1 500 000.[xlii] While this sum of money seems astounding, it is less so when one considers the amount men and women through the ages have wasted on members of the opposite sex; It takes little to become addicted to a lifestyle where attractive people find one endlessly interesting.

Saikaku's 'The Life of an Amorous Woman' detailed the entire life of a courtesan (and nymphomaniac) from her time in the courts to her eventual end as an old woman. The Amorous Woman embarks on her career when at court at the age of twelve, when she falls in love with a low-ranked man. When their affair comes to light, her lover is put to death, and she is sent back to her parent's home.[xliii] This was not uncommon at the time, as laws were especially harsh in it's treatment of offences, such as adultery between members of different classes, or men and women on different levels in the same class.[xliv] This is only the first of several incidents in her life that sends her down through the ranks of what is called the 'flower and willow world'.

After her lover's death, she apparently forgot about him, stating that, "From this, one may truly judge that nothing in this world is as base and fickle as a woman's heart."[xlv] This is only one of several Confucian sentiments in the book that refer to women's inferiority. The title character says later "There is nothing in this world so wretched as a woman."[xlvi] One of the men she works for, as a maid states, "Nothing in this world is so odious as a woman's mind"[xlvii] when he is speaking about this wife. It is interesting that Saikaku, who is most closely associated with *chonin* culture, and who wrote some of the most sexually frank and explicit prose of the time was so clearly influenced by Confucian ethics and morals.

In the chapter titled 'The Fair Mistress of a Provincial Lord', we find the Amorous Woman severing as a concubine in a large and lovely house. However, all is not well as the lord is not as interested in the women as he appears to be in the young men that attend him. She does enjoy her time there, but as the lord grows ill, the retainers believe that the Amorous Woman has made him ill. She leaves the house, and says "…we can truly say that a man whose appetite for love is weak is a sorry thing for the women of this world."[xlviii] This was a rather common attitude among people involved in the ukiyo; money, though the thing of greatest importance, was not the only thing that ensured success in the pleasure quarters. Aesthetic taste, a sense of style, sexual prowess, and a knowledge of etiquette were all important to a man's reputation in the ukiyo.[xlix] Considering all of these were important, it is difficult to see how the pleasure quarters were the

‘safety valve’ that they were, as men of the time must have felt a certain amount of pressure to be witty, wealthy, and sexually skilled. Perhaps the ‘levelling’ of social status was enough – in that, at least, all men who visited were on something close to an equal playing field.

There is, of course, the issue of love between the courtesan and her client. When a courtesan was unlucky enough to feel true emotion for a client, the relationship was likely doomed to fail. In “The Love Suicides of Amijima’, Jihei and Koharu accept that their relationship is doomed, and leave the city to commit suicide, beginning the *michiyuki*, or lover’s journey. The *michiyuki* was the high point of the play –the journey of the lovers to their predetermined fate.[l] Their suicide is a way to be reborn together – in fact; Koharu states that she copied a sutra “in the hope that [they] may be born on one lotus.”[li] These suicides were common; in fact, they were more or less torn from the scandal sheets. The class structure, and the massive amount of debt placed upon the courtesans by the house they worked for made most such relationships impossible, though it is likely that these stories occasionally had happy endings.

Koharu also insists that she be killed in one spot, and Jihei kill himself in another, so that Osan does not think that Koharu “… treated as mere scrap paper the letter I sent promising her, when she asked me not to kill you, that I would not, and vowed to break all relations…I fear her contempt more than the slander of a thousand or ten thousand strangers.” Jihei agrees, and even in breaking their vows, they attempt to fulfil some sort of obligation to Osan.[lii] *Giri* is thus shown as important in even the pleasure quarters, despite the hedonistic nature of the ukiyo.

The books and literature concerning the pleasure quarters, called ukiyo-zoshi (notes of the Floating World) were not limited to the Floating World itself. In a broader sense, they were concerned with the conditions and culture of the contemporary merchants and samurai. They provide a remarkably vivid picture of the times, - excepting the peasant class, who were incidental to the literature.[liii] The portrait of the Floating World, however, seems the most ‘real’ of all the depictions.

The literature of the Tokugawa period paints a varied and fascinating picture of Japanese life, and in particular, an interesting depiction of male-female relationships. From the strictest Confucian household, to the most unconventional artist's home there is something in the literature of the period that would reflect the relationships that men and women involved themselves in. Though Confucian ethics indeed affected both the merchant and samurai classes, the peasants were left virtually untouched by its influence, and not surprisingly, had the most balanced concept to male-female relations. The relationships depicted in the literature of the period, varied as they are, show that Tokugawa Japan is no more or less deserving of a reputation for inequality than any other world society – the variations and exceptions are there; one merely needs to look for them.

Endnotes

[i] Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, Columbia, pg. 75
[ii] Ihara Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, New Directions, pg. 10
[iii] Sarah S. and Brady Hughes, Women in World History, M.E. Sharpe, pg. 30
[iv] Sir George Sansom, A History of Japan, Stanford, pg. 88
[v] Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, Columbia, pp. 42-43
[vi] Donald Keene, The Japanese Discovery of Europe, Stanford, pg. 161
[vii] Akinari Ueda, "The House Amid the Thickets", Charles E. Tuttle, pg. 121-122
[viii] Akinari Ueda, "The House Amid the Thickets", pp. 123-124
[ix] Akinari Ueda, "The House Amid the Thickets", pp. 125-127
[x] Hughes, Women in World History, pg. 31
[xi] Chizuko Ueno, "The Position of Japanese Women Reconsidered", Cultural Anthropology, pg. S77
[xii]Chizuko, "The Position of Japanese Women Reconsidered", pg. S77
[xiii]ibid, pg. S78
[xiv]ibid, pg. S78
[xv] Donald Keene, Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu, Columbia, pp. 79-84
[xvi] Keene, Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu, pg. 109
[xvii] Keene, Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu, pp. 126, 128
[xviii] Nakane and Shinzaburo, Tokugawa Japan, University of Tokyo, pp. 216-217
[xix] Keene, The Japanese Discovery of Europe, pg. 100
[xx] Patricia Fister, "Bunjin (Literati Artists)", Japanese Women Artists, 1600-1900, pp. 84-87
[xxi] Sansom, A History of Japan, pp. 89-90
[xxii] Nishiyama Matsunosuke, Edo Culture, University of Hawaii Press, pg. 35
[xxiii] Matsunosuke. Edo Culture, pg. 45
[xxiv] Hughes, Women in World History, pp. 27-28
[xxv] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 153
[xxvi] Sansom, A History of Japan, pp. 89-90
[xxvii] Keene, Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu, pg. 195-196

[xxviii] Chizuko, "The Position of Japanese Women Reconsidered", pg. S78
[xxix] H. Paul Varley, Japanese Culture, Third Edition, University of Hawaii Press, pg. 149
[xxx] Keene, Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu, pp. 190-191
[xxxi] Keene, Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu, pg. 192
[xxxii] Keene, Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu, pg. 33
[xxxiii] Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, pg. 77
[xxxiv] Keene, Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu, pg. 192-193
[xxxv] Keene, Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu, pg. 194
[xxxvi] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pp. 160-161
[xxxvii] Keene, The Japanese Discovery of Europe, pg. 168
[xxxviii] Varley, Japanese Culture, Third Edition, pg. 159
[xxxix] Varley, Japanese Culture, Third Edition, pg. 150
[xl] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 9
[xli] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 216
[xlii] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 287-288
[xliii] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 125
[xliv] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 5
[xlv] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 125
[xlvi] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 164
[xlvii] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 172
[xlviii] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 136
[xlix] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 10
[l] Varley, Japanese Culture, Third Edition, pg. 168
[li] Keene, Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu, pg. 203
[lii] Keene, Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu, pp. 204-205
[liii] Saikaku, The Life of an Amorous Woman, pg. 14