who was chamberlain under Tsunayoshi and on the politics of shogunal succession.

The 1982, NHK series was given the abstruse title Tōge no gunzō, translatable as something like “group portrait at the divide,” implying that the Genroku period was a kind of historical watershed. The Ako Incident here appeared less as the main theme than as the backdrop to the depiction of the lives of a group of ordinary citizens of Edo. According to the analysis of Gregory Barrett, “sentimentality was used to fashion a contemporary message of patriotism through the treatment everyone receives,” as reflected in the lenient treatment of Kira, of the Ako retainers who were not loyal, and even of the notorious shogun Tsunayoshi himself. Thus, Barrett argues, “NHK's Chūshingura bears a remarkable resemblance to the Japanese family drama in which no one is to blame for arguments resulting from misunderstandings that are ironed out in the final reconciliation scene.” By this process of watering down and deflection of emphasis away from the theme of either loyalty or protest, the Chūshingura legend has been further adapted to postwar needs.

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The kind of “lenient treatment” of old villains that Barrett detects in the 1982 NHK series, however, reflects more than just a pious wish to show Japan as one big happy family. Rather it emerges from an ongoing process of critically reexamining the legend and challenging some of its central verities by turning back to the historical event. In a sense, this is in the spirit of discovering the “real” Ako Incident pioneered earlier in the century by Fukumoto Nichinan and carried forth in a more explicit mode of critically reexamining the legend and challenging some of its central verities by turning back to the historical event. In a sense, this is in the spirit of discovering the “real” Ako Incident pioneered earlier in the century by Fukumoto Nichinan and carried forth in a more explicit mode of debunking by Tamura Eitarō in his argument of the 1930s that the Akō vendetta was no more than a campaign to win new employment.

What has changed since the war is a widening of the field of debunking activity and the emergence of a virtual industry of amateur history-writing aimed at revealing the “truth” of the Akō Incident in ways that often amount to the most fantastic speculation. The best example, perhaps, is the problem of the cause of the incident that began it all: the attack by Asano in the Pine Corridor of Edo Castle. The way was first cleared by the demonstration of respectable historians—notably Matsushima Eiichi in his judicious 1964 Chūshingura: Sono seiritsu to tenkai in the Iwanami Shinsho series—that the surviving documentation gave very few clues as to the real reasons for Asano's grudge against Kira. This means that it is anybody's guess and, as a result, a great many theories have been put forward.

Take, for example, the episode on the Pine Corridor incident that appeared in NHK's “Invitation to History” (Rekishi e no shōtai) series in which academic historians, amateur historians, and writers of historical fiction are all happily mixed together to debate a particular issue. One major topic of discussion in this particular program was the “salt-farm theory,” deriving from the fact that both Akō and Kira Yoshinaka's own domain of Kira-cho, located 40 km southeast of Nagoya on Atsumi Bay, just happened to be producers of salt. It was the novelist Ozaki Shirō—a native of Kira-cho—who first proposed in 1949 that the incident had its origins in a salt rivalry between Asano, whose Akō salt was of superior quality, and Kira, who had easier access to the Edo market. Of the several versions of the salt-farm theory, the most common envisions Kira sending spies to Akō to steal the secrets of superior salt technology, thereby provoking Asano and eventually the Matsu-no-rōka attack. Never mind that there is not a shred of evidence for the theory: the NHK show made a virtue of this by featuring a lengthy discussion by a leading expert of Edo salt production who conclusively demonstrated that the industrial spy theory was in fact implausible, since the geological and labor conditions in Kira-cho would have made Akō's techniques useless anyway.

Also offered on the same show was a novel theory centering on the abnormal psychology of Asano, proposed by Anzai Norio, a specialist in the "psychology of history" from Ōremon Gakuk University in Osaka and the author of such works as A Psychological Walking Tour of Kyoto and The Psychology of the Tea Ceremony. Professor Anzai diagnoses Asano as a clear case of an obsessive-compulsive personality type (nenchaku kishitsu), characterized by exaggerated attachment to form and ceremony, extreme preoccupation with cleanliness, and a revulsion against money—naturally extending to the offering of bribes. What actually happened in the Pine Corridor, however, was a kind of epileptic fit to which this type of personality is susceptible and allegedly ran in the Asano family. The immediate provocation of the attack, Anzai speculates, was a sudden burst of light that struck Asano’s eye, triggering what is known as a “illuminant seizure” (kōsensei hōsa). Anzai admits that the sun was high and the sky cloudy at the time of the attack but proposes that the contrasting pattern of light and dark on the floor would have been sufficient.

Without going into the five other theories discussed on the NHK show, this should be enough to suggest the amount of ingenuity that has been devoted to explaining the twists and turns of the Akō Incident. These
have been put forth in a steady outpouring of books claiming to tell, once again, the "truth" of the Ako Incident. In effect, the incident has become much like a mystery story to be figured out by clever detectives; any concern with the deeper moral and political implications of the event recedes into the background. In these ways, the historicity of the Ako Incident has served to keep the Chushingura legend alive even when those political implications no longer seem compelling. Symptomatic of this trend is Izawa Motohiko's Chushingura Genroku jujoten no hangyaku described on the cover as a "historical detective story." It involves a young contemporary playwright who is asked to write a play about Chushingura and becomes entangled in the mysteries of the historical event itself. In this way, Chushingura is made palatable to a new generation as history.

In the entire body of debunking and revisionism about the Ako Incident, the two themes that stand out are the reevaluation of Kira Yoshi-naka and of the "disloyal" retainers who failed to participate in the attack. Each of these themes has a considerable history. In particular, the rescue of Kira from his villainous fate, emphasizing his role as a model lord in his own domain, has been pressed since the 1930s and has become especially active in the postwar period. The town of Kira-chō itself has become a popular tourist site, attracting some ten thousand visitors a year. Various recent books have been devoted entirely to telling the Kira story, such as Fumidate Teruko's nonfiction Kira Közukenosuke no Chushingura or Morimura Seichi's two-volume historical novel, Kira Chushingura, both published in 1988.

The writer of the 1980s who has made the most imaginative use of what might be called "anti-Chushingura" themes was Inoue Hisashi, a virtuosos parodist who looks back to Edo popular fiction (gesaku) for inspiration. This began with his Fushihushingura, serialized irregularly in Subaru from May 1980 to December 1984, and published as a single volume in 1985. It is, the title tells us, a "Treasury of Disloyal Retainers," that is, a series of nineteen portraits of those retainers of Asano who did not participate in the vendetta. Inoue's takes as point of departure the argument that the forty-seven rônin accounted for fewer than one in six of the 308 former retainers of Asano, and that it would clearly be a mistake to see this minority in any way typical. For a real "model" of Japanese behavior, one needs rather to turn to the "disloyal" retainers. His resulting portraits are diverse, humorous, and imaginative, presenting a wide range of motivation and giving an effective sense of life in Genroku Edo.

Inoue followed the disloyal retainers with a new characterization of Kira in the play Inu no adauchi (Dog's Revenge), written for a performance at the Komatsuza in Tokyo in September 1988. The play recreates the final two hours of Kira's life in real time, from the point at which he goes to hide in a charcoal shed when the Ako band attacks. Hiding in the shed with him are a dog that had been a personal gift from Tsunayoshi, various personal retainers and maids, and a thief who just happens to have sneaked into the mansion on the night of the attack. In the final scene, Kira wakes up to the fact that he has been little more than a victim of Tsunayoshi's regime and grasps Oishi's true intent as rebellion against the shogun. Kira realizes that although he himself will be despised as a villain for the rest of time, he will play a key role in the survival of the valiant story of Oishi and his band. Sensing that he and Oishi thus share a common glorious destiny, Kira leaves the charcoal shed in triumph to meet his fate declaring that "Now Kósuke-no-suke goes forth to live!"

**Maruya Saiichi's "What is Chushingura?"**

Even more than Inoue Hisashi, the writer who did the most to revive Chushingura in the 1980s was Maruya Saiichi, whose Chushingura to wanani ka (What is Chushingura?) became a bestseller after its appearance in 1984 and has continued to inspire new writings in and about the legend. It is difficult in brief compass to do justice to the complexity of Maruya's various arguments or to the sheer interest of the book, with its wealth of fascinating and arcane detail about the Ako Incident and Edo culture in general. Some of his major emphases, however, can be quickly outlined. Maruya, it must be remembered, is a novelist and literary critic, and these callings do much to fashion his conception of Chushingura. His basic approach is seen most clearly in his explicit use of "Chushingura" to refer to both to the historical event and to Kanadehon Chushingura, distinguishing the two as "jiken to shite no Chushingura" and "shibai to shite no Chushingura." This in turn reflects his central theme: that the historical Ako vendetta was literally a "dramatic" incident (gekiteki na jiken), in the sense that the forty-seven rônin were reenacting the vendetta of the Soga Brothers as it had been understood through Edo kabuki performances. In short, Maruya proposes, the historical Ako Incident was essentially a literary event—a new and daring conflation of the role of history and literature in the Chushingura legend as a whole.

The various specific arguments advanced by Maruya tend to be drawn from folklore and anthropology, thus tying in with a generally popular...
intellectual trend in Japan of the 1980s. He argues that the vendettas of the Soga Brothers and the forty-seven rōnin were both attempts to appease the vengeful spirits (onnō) of their dead masters (or father in the Soga case), drawing on Japanese folklore research on onnō. Maruya’s arguments here bear a strong resemblance to the those of Umehara Takeshi in Kakusareta jūōka (1972) in which it is argued that the rebuilding of Hōryū-ji after the fire of 672 was intended in many complicated ways as an effort to ward off the avenging spirit of Shōtoku Taishi, which was angry at the termination of his line. Indeed, Maruya’s entire approach shares much with that of Umehara: both are contemptuous of established academic theories, both are drawn to riddles and mysteries, both are prone to seek explanations in hidden spiritual forces, and both are compelling writers.

Not content with seeing the force of onnō in the vendetta of the Akō rōnin, Maruya asserted a hidden element of hostility to the bakufu in the act, tracing it back to an alleged anti-Yoritomo motif in the revenge of the Soga brothers. In this way, Maruya continued an older tradition of seeing the Akō vendetta as essentially directed against the bakufu, but he now gave it an even more sinister and seditious sense. In Maruya’s most controversial allegation, he carried this theme of a disguised rebellion over to Kanadehon Chushingura, which he interprets as a kind of “carnival” in the European manner, a springtime festival involving the ritual killing of the king of winter—in this case, Moronao, by implication, the shogun Tsunayoshi as well.

The first reviews of Maruya’s book were uniformly enthusiastic, but in March 1985, a lengthy and highly critical review by Suwa Haruo, a historian of Edo theatre, appeared in the journal Shingeki. Suwa systematically argued against most of Maruya’s arguments about the meaning of the Soga drama and its impact on the Akō affair. Maruya answered Suwa in a scathing counterattack in Gunzō in May 1985, leading to a counter-reply by Suwa and then a counter-counter-reply by Maruya. Meanwhile, Maruya was attacked on another front by the anthropologist Yamaguchi Masao, who accused him of both misunderstanding and misapplying Western anthropological theory in his notion of Chushingura as “carnival.”

Without going into the many complexities of all the arguments involved, let me simply say that on strictly historical grounds, I tend to side with Suwa Haruo, who claims that Maruya’s theories simply cannot be proven. Maruya himself recognized this in one of his responses to Suwa, claiming that since he was dealing with deep, hidden motivations, one could not expect to find any direct evidence. Time and again, Maruya claims to have a special sense of the superstitious and magical (jujututake, one of his frequently used words) beliefs of the common people of Edo, enabling him to see through to the true motivations of the Akō rōnin, which have been misrepresented over the centuries by Confucian scholars. Here, as in his reliance on the findings of folklorists, Maruya clearly sees himself practicing a kind of minshūshi (people’s history).

In the end, Maruya has succeeded in using history to further the cause of Chushingura as literature. Yamaguchi Masao, at the end of his hostile review of Maruya’s book, quotes approvingly the remark of a science-fiction writer who wondered why Maruya, “with that much knowledge, didn’t just go ahead and write a novel.” And in the end, that is probably the best way to read Chushingura to wa nanika—as a novel. Or more accurately, we must realize that we have reached a point in the history of Chushingura that any systematic effort to separate history from fiction is doomed to frustration.

**What the Hell is Chushingura?**

Chushingura has shown remarkable resilience throughout its history of almost two centuries and seems alive and well today. Indeed, mass media even declared a “Chushingura boom” in 1986, beginning with New Year’s Eve when a Nihon Television production of Chushingura achieved an audience share of 17 percent when competing against NHK’s venerable song contest, “Kōhaku uta-gassen.” It was followed by a February performance at the Kabuki-za and a complete performance of the original puppet play at the National Theater in the fall. In addition, Chushingura went international with the European tour of “The Kabuki,” a French adaptation of the Chushingura theme performed by the Tokyo Ballet. In the same year, Inoue Hisashi’s Fuchūushingura appeared and the first volume of Morimura Sciichi’s new epic historical novel of Chushingura was published in October.

But is it possible that we are reaching the end of Chushingura as a living tradition? The possibility is raised by a consideration of the age of the authors responsible for the spate of books published in the 1980s, which are listed in the appendix for this chapter. Out of fourteen for whom birth years could be ascertained, five were born in the 1920s, eight in the years 1931–34, and one (Izawa Motohiko, the author of the “historical detective” story mentioned earlier) in 1954. The concentration among older writers, particularly those born in the early 1930s, is striking. In other words, Chushingura is being kept alive by a generation that
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could still read the account of Ōishi Yoshio in the prewar elementary school textbooks and who reached maturity during the great postwar era of Chushingura film popularity from 1949 to 1962.

Does this mean that Chushingura will in fact begin to disappear as this older generation and its readers disappear? One small piece of evidence to the contrary is one of the most curious books of the 1980s, a 1988 work by the implausible author "Akita to Ikumi to Tamiko-chan" with the equally implausible title "Heh, Chushinguraa, nanda sore?" to iu kata ni pittari no Chushingura desu. This slangy title, which appeared in zany typography on a shocking pink cover, is difficult to translate in a way that captures the sense of the contemporary Tokyo slang, but the authors themselves provide a good stab at it in an English table of contents provided as an appendix (itself a revealing mark of contemporary youth culture): What the Hell is Chushingura?

As the title suggests, the book is clearly intended for a generation that did not grow up with Chushingura but somehow feels responsible for knowing about it. The main text, although written in the characteristic jargon of teenagers and illustrated with cheeky cartoons, actually provides a serious and responsible account of all the details of the historical Akō Incident. In a mark of contemporary egalitarianism, all honorifics are dropped and Lord Asano becomes "Asano-kun," while Kira is referred to as "Kira no jisama" (something like "Grandpa Kira"). It is hard to know exactly what to make of a book like this, but at the very least it proves that there is clearly an audience for Chushingura in the younger generation, if only to overcome its embarrassment at not really knowing anything about it.

Epilogue: After the 300th Anniversary

After completing this writing in early 1990, I forgot about Chushingura for several years but eventually decided that I should myself take advantage of the upcoming 2001–2003 tercentenary of the Akō Incident in some way. I organized a workshop in England in August 1999, and a conference in New York in March 2003, and taught both graduate and undergraduate seminars about Chushingura in spring 2002. I profited greatly from the stimulation of colleagues and students and learned much more about the history of this immensely complicated chapter in Japanese history—although I know that I have barely scratched the surface. My basic approach and concerns have not really changed, however, and

with the exception of the small emendations indicated in the notes, I find myself in basic agreement with what I wrote in 1990. Here I would simply like to provide an update on what has happened to the Chushingura phenomenon in Japan in the intervening thirteen years between 1990 and the tercentenary begun in 2001 and running through 2003. I noted in 1990 that the younger generation of Japanese seemed to have precious little interest in Chushingura and that most Chushingura-related books of the 1980s were written by the prewar generation. I must now qualify at least the second assertion: the continued outpouring of Chushingura books in the 1990s revealed the emergence of a generation of postwar-born Japanese with a consuming interest in the history of the Akō incident. Not only were an increasing percentage of the new books written by a younger generation but there also, predictably, appeared respectable Web sites about the historical Akō incident, proof that a new generation was taking advantage of a new technology.

On the whole, however, publishing trends from the early to mid 1990s suggest a stable continuation of the Chushingura boom of the late '80s, and the year 1994 even saw the appearance of feature films on Chushingura for the first time since 1978. What I did not anticipate was that NHK would select Chushingura once again—for the fourth time—as the theme of its Sunday evening program "Taiga Drama" in the year 1999, entitled Genroku ryōran (A Hundred Flowers of Genroku). The publishing industry responded with a vengeance, churning out in a single year from autumn 1998 almost exactly the same number of titles about Chushingura that had been produced in the entire decade of the 1980s. I was in Japan in the latter half of 1999 and did not sense that the Japanese nation was any more obsessed with Chushingura than ever before; it was rather once more a mark of the astonishing power of NHK to determine what interests the Japanese people (and when), and to stimulate the book market accordingly. My conclusion remains the same: The single most powerful influence in sustaining the capacity of Chushingura since the 1960s is television in general and NHK in particular.

Genroku ryōran in 1999 seems to have exhausted popular interest in Chushingura, and the anniversary celebrations of 2001–2003 were muted and modest. Local institutions with a vested interest in Gishi-related tourism, notably Sengakuji temple in Tokyo and Ōishi Shrine in Akō, mounted massive fund-raising campaigns to build new structures to celebrate the tercentenary, but public interest on the whole was muted. It was certainly not the "mind-boggling" celebration that I had predicted. It is particularly revealing that events related to the 300th anniversary of
the night attack, in late 2003, were almost entirely performances of the classical theatrical versions of Kanadehon Chushingura on the kabuki and bunraku stages.

These events now lead me to predict that whatever happens to Chushingura in the future, it will be television and not printed books that will be the decisive factor. Apart from the periodic year-long NHK dramas, Chushingura regularly appears in various guises in many other TV programs, and these turn out to be heavily concentrated in the month of December. The pattern began from the start in 1953, which was the first year of public television broadcasting when both NHK and Tokyo TV showed special Chushingura dramas on December 14 and 15. The heavy concentration of Chushingura themes in December has continued until this day as clearly revealed in a detailed chronology of Chushingura-related television programs that appears in a series of materials edited by Ako City. This shows that in the four decades from 1953 to 1992, over one thousand programs related to Chushingura have been shown of which 52 percent were in the month of December, for an average of 14.2 Chushingura shows every December—versus an average of 1.2 shows during the other months. It seems clear that it has been primarily the medium of television that has ingrained Chushingura into the year-end seasonal consciousness of the Japanese nation. As the historian Miyazawa Seichi has noted, Chushingura has become an "annual celebration" (nenjū gyōji), as though reliving the story of the revenge of the Ako Gishi at the end of the calendar year might provide a cleansing and cathartic effect that is appropriate to the season.

It seems best, therefore, to think now of Chushingura in twenty-first-century Japan as more of a national "habit" than a national "legend," that is, a reassuring seasonal event that demands as little thought about its deeper meanings as Christmas does for the majority of the U.S. population. Still, the weight of Chushingura and its undeniable capacity to encompass many of the values that have been forged by the Japanese people over three centuries will remain a topic of abiding interest to scholars of Japan and of the ways in which national cultures invest themselves in special stories from their past.

NOTES

1. The students and their topics were: Michael Ainge (short stories about Ōishi Kuranosuke by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke and Nogami Yaeko), Andy Cane (Umaro parody prints on Chushingura), John Carpenter (early uki-e Chushingura prints), Iori Joko (kibyōshi parodies of Chushingura), Sue Kawashima (the case for Kira Kōzuke-no-suke), Jordan Sand (reporting the Ako incident in Edo), and Keiko Takahashi (Hiroshige's Chushingura prints).

2. In actual fact, the term "Chushingura" seems to have been used prior to Kanadehon, in an illustrated kurohon chapbook of 1746. Few, however, are aware of this.


7. Kosaka Jirō, Genroku o-tatami bugyō no nikki (Tokyo: Chūkō shinshō, 1984), 180-83. I now believe that Kosaka was wrong, since he failed to notice that Asahi Bunzaemon's single line on the night attack was followed by a note that said, "for details, see juninroku," which is a manuscript collection that appears to have a variety of materials related to the Ako incident. I might have underestimated the degree to which information about the night attack spread quickly throughout Japan, although I remain doubtful that the response was uniformly positive.


13. This and three other kibyōshi parodies were the topic of the seminar paper by Iori Joko, "Chushingura Parodies in Kibyōshi," seminar paper, Columbia University, 1989. Anadehon Chushingura appears in an annotated edition in Koike Masatane, et al., eds., Edo no geshaku ehon, zokkan 1 (Shakai shisôsha, 1984). Note, A kibyōshi dating one year earlier than Kanadehon Chushingura appears in a list


15. It might be argued that the two words “Kanadehon” and “Chūshingura” imply two different vectors in the interpretation of the Akō vendetta, with the former emphasizing the individuality and sense of honor of each of the forty-seven separate retainers and the latter implying their unity as a band loyal to a single lord. In the variants of Kanadehon Chūshingura listed by Fujino Yoshio (Kanadehon Chūshingura: Kashiwa to kenyū [Tokyo: Ōfusha, 1974]) words referring to the kana number (particularly iroha and shijūōshichi) are about twice as common in the kabuki tradition as words relating to loyalty (chūshin, gishin, chūgi, etc.) up until Meiji, which is when terms of loyalty becomes dominant.


17. As cited by Sato, Chūshingura, 96. from a privately published work, Eiga Chūshingura.

18. Mayama’s work is discussed in detail in Donald Keene, “Variations on a Theme: Chūshingura,” in Brandon, Chūshingura, 13–21. Sato, Chūshingura, quotes Mayama’s daughter as claiming that her father really wanted to depict the Akō rōnin as opponents of tyrannical shogunal rule but was prevented by the militiaman of the times (108). Mayama’s Genroku Chūshingura served as the basis for Mizoguchi Kenji’s two-part film of the same name, 1941–42.


20. Sato, Chūshingura, 111.


22. The work is mentioned in Matsushima, Chūshingura, 223, as having appeared under the penname Ōkawa Hyōnosuke, entitled “Oishi Yoshiro no baai.” I have since located the article, which was published in the March 1929 issue of Shinbō kagaku no kata no moto ni, and included in Hani Gerō rekishiron chōsakushū, vol. 3 (Aoki Shoten, 1967), 120–25. Hani saw the Akō incident as the result of a crisis in the feudal class of the Genroku period that led Tsunayoshi to increase pressure on the daimyo through forced confiscations and by using pains like Kira to exact bribes. He saw the rōnin avengers as reacting out not from concern for their real interests, which would have led to a revolutionary alliance with the unpropertied classes, but from ideological distractions with high ideals. Hani doubtless considered the Akō affair to have lessons for Japan of the late 1920s, when the state was increasingly oppressive and many intellectuals were unemployed.


as serious efforts (albeit by amateurs) to engage in online history. Particularly impressive is the site of Tanaka Mitsurō (born ca. 1960), called "Long Ivy" (Rengaibì / Nagatsuta) after the area of Yokohama where he lives. Also of use and interest is the "Akō Gishi Shiryōkan" site of Satō Makoto (http://www.age.ne.jp/os/satomako/TOPh.htm), who is a bit younger than Tanaka.

39. The tradition of theatrical feature films of Chushingura essentially ended in 1962, when television took over as the major visual medium. Exceptions were Akō-jō dansestu (Tōei, dir. Fukasaku Kinji, 1978) and the two films that appeared simultaneously in October 1994: Shūshichiti-nin no shikyaku (Tōei, dir. Ichikawa Kon) and Chushingura gaiden: Yotsuya kaiden (Shōchiku, dir. Fukasaku Kinji).

40. This is based on a search of the National Diet Library Online Public Access Catalog using the subject heading of "Akō gishi" plus the title keyword "Chushingura," which yields 144 titles for the year September 1998 through August 1999 versus 143 for the decade 1980–89. (These totals include reprints and overlaps between the two searches.)


APPENDIX

Chūshingura-Related Books
of the 1980s

When originally prepared in 1990, this list contained thirty titles. Since then, new bibliographies and electronic resources have enabled this more complete list of fifty-six titles, which is still selective, excluding about two dozen books considered too marginal or narrow. Reprints or anthologies of older works have also been omitted. The books below are classified into six types: D (drama, excluding TV scripts), F (fiction), G (general), H (history), K (kabuki-related, including ukiyo-e), and L (literature other than joruri and kabuki, mostly Edo senryū and novels). For many more Chushingura-related short stories, plays, and TV scenarios that were published singly in journals or anthologies, see the bibliography of novels and plays in Akō-shi Sōmubu Shishi Henshitsu, ed., Chushingura, vol. 6 (1997), in which pp. 399–408 cover the 1980s. For a chronology of about 240 Chushingura-related television programs (excluding repeats) shown in the 1980s, see Akō-shi Sōmubu Shishi Henshitsu, ed., Chushingura, vol. 5 (1993), 854–76.

March 1980 NHK, ed. Chushingura. Rekishi e no shōtai, vol. 5. NHK. (Reissued with revisions as vol. 15 in November 1988.) [H]


