

【文献名略号表】

Add. Mss. Additional Manuscripts, British Library, London

AHR American Historical Review

Assi 45 Northern Assize Circuit Depositions, Public Record Office, London

Bargellini, “Vita Notturna” Piero Bargellini, “La Vita Notturna,” in *Vita Privata a Firenze nei Secoli XIV e XV* (Florence, 1966), 75–89

BC British Chronicle (London)

Beattie, *Crime* J. M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1600–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1986)

Beck, *Diary* David Beck, *Spiegel van Mijn Leven; een Haags Daboek uit 1624*, ed. Sv. E. Veldhijzen (Hilversum, 1993)

Best, *Books* Donald Woodward, ed., *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642* (London, 1984)

BL British Library, London

Bodl. Bodleian Library, Oxford

Bourne, *Antiquitates Vulgares* Henry Bourne, *Antiquitates Vulgares; or, the Antiquities of the Common People....* (Newcastle, Eng., 1725)

Bräker, *Life* Ulrich Bräker, *The Life Story and Real Adventures of the Poor Man of Toggenburg*, trans. Derek Bowman (Edinburgh, 1970) ウルリヒ・ブレーカー『スイス傭兵ブレーカーの自伝』(阪口修平・鈴木直志訳、刀水歴史全書49)

Brand 1777 John Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities...* (New Castle upon Tyne, 1777)

Brand 1848 John Brand et al., *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 3 vols. (London, 1848)

Breton, *Works* Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton....*, 2 vols. (1879; rpt. edn., New York, 1966)

Burke, *Popular Culture* Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978) ピーター・バーク『ヨーロッパの民衆文化』(中村賢二郎・谷泰訳、人文書院)

Burt, *Letters* Edward Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London....* 2 vols. (London, 1754)

Cannon, *Diary* Memoirs of the Birth, Education, Life, and Death of Mr. John Cannon, 1684–1742, Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society, Taunton, England

Carter, *Diary* Jack P. Greene, ed., *The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752–1778*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, Va., 1965)

Clegg, *Diary* Vanessa S. Doe, ed., *The Diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith, 1708–1755*, 2 vols. (Matlock, Eng., 1978)

Cohens, *Italy* Elizabeth Storr Cohen and Thomas V. Cohen, *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy* (Westport, Ct., 2001)

Cole, *Diary* Francis Griffin Stokes, ed., *The Blecheley Diary of the Rev. William Cole....1765–67* (London, 1931)

Cowper, *Diary* Diary of Dame Sarah Cowper, Hertfordshire County Record Office, Hertford, England

Crusius, *Nocte* Jacobus Andreas Crusius, *De Nocte et Nocturnis Officiis, Tam Sacris, Quam Prophanis, Lucubrationes Historico-Philologico-Juridicae*

(Bremen, 1660)

Defoe, Tour Daniel Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britian...*, 2 vols. (1724–1726; rpt. edn., London, 1968)

Dekker, Writings Thomas Dekker, *The Wonderful Year [Etc] and Selected Writings*, ed. E. D. Pendry (Cambridge, Mass., 1968)

Dietz, Surgeon Master Johann Dietz, *Surgeon in the Army of the Great Elector and Barber to the Royal Court: From the Old Manuscripts in the Royal Library in Berlin*, trans. B. Miall (London, 1923) エルンスト・コンゼンツィウス編『ヨーハン・ディーツ親方自伝：大選挙候軍医にして王室理髪師』（佐藤正樹訳、白水社）

Drinker, Diary Elaine Forman Crane et al., eds., *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1991)

DUR *Daily Universal Register* (London)

Dyer, Diary Diary of William Dyer, 2 vols., Bristol Central Library, Bristol

East Anglian Diaries Matthew Storey, ed., *Two East Anglian Diaries, 1641–1729: Isaac Archer and William Coe* (Woodbridge, Eng., 1994)

ECR George Francis Dow, ed., *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, 8 vols. (Salem, Mass., 1911–1921)

Evelyn, Diary Esmond Samuel De Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1951)

F. Platter, Journal Seán Jennett, ed. and trans., *Beloved Son Felix: The Journal of Felix Platter, a Medical Student in Montpellier in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1962)

Falkus, “Lighting” Malcolm Falkus, “Lighting in the Dark Ages of English Economic History: Town Streets before the Industrial Revolution,” in D. C. Coleman and A. H. John, eds., *Trade, Government, and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays Presented to F. J. Fisher* (London, 1976), 248–273

Flaherty, Privacy David H. Flaherty, *Privacy in Colonial New England* (Charlottesville, Va., 1972)

FLEMT David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli, eds., *Family Life in Early Modern Times*, Vol. 1 of *The History of the European Family* (New Haven, 2001)

G and LDA *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*

G and NDA *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (London)

Garnert, Lampan Jan Garnert, *Anden i Lampan: Etnologiska Perspektiv på ljus Och Mörker* (Stockholm, 1993)

GM *Gentleman's Magazine* (London)

Griffiths, Youth Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560–1640* (Oxford, 1987)

Grose, Dictionary Francis Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (London, 1785)

Harrison, Description William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968)

Heywood, Diaries J. Horsfull Turner, ed., *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630–1702; His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books...*, 4 vols. (Brighouse, Eng., 1882)

HMM and GA Harrop's Manchester Mercury and General Advertiser

HPL II Georges Duby, ed., *Revelations of the Medieval World*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Vol. 2 of Philippe Ariès and George Duby, eds., *History of Private Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988)

HPL III Roger Chartier, ed., *Passions of the Renaissance*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Vol. 3 of Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., *History of Private Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989)

HWW III Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge, eds., *Renaissance and Enlightened Paradoxes*, Vol. 3 of Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, eds., *A History of Women in the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993)

Isham, Diary Norman Marlow, ed., *The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport (1658–81)...* (Farnborough, Eng., 1971)

Janekovick-Römer, “Dubrovniks” Zdenka Janekovick-Römer, “Post Tertiam Campanam’: Das Nacht-leben Dubrovniks im Mittelalter,” *Historische Anthropologie* 3 (1995), 100–111

JIH *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*

Josselin, Diary Alan Macfarlane, ed., *The Diary of Ralph Josselin* (London, 1976)

JRAI John Cameron and John Imrie, eds., *The Justiciary Records of Argyll and the Isles, 1664–1742*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1949, 1969)

JSH *Journal of Social History*

JUH *Journal of Urban History*

Jütte, Poverty Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1994)

Kay, Diary W. Brockbank and F. Kenworthy, eds., *The Diary of Richard Kay, 1716–51 of Baldingstone, Neary Bury: A Lancashire Doctor* (Manchester, 1968)

Koslofsky, “Court Culture” Craig Koslofsky, “Court Culture and Street Lighting in Seventeenth-Century Europe,” *Journal of Urban History* 28 (2002), 743–768

Lavater, Spirites Lewes Lavater, *Of Ghostes and Spirites Walking by Nyght*, 1572, ed. John Dover Wilson and May Yardley (1572; rpt. ed., Oxford, 1929)

LC *London Chronicle*

LDA *London Daily Advertiser*

Lean, Collectanea Vincent Stuckey Lean, *Lean's Collectanea...*, 4 vols. (Bristol, 1902–1904)

Legg, Low-Life Thomas Legg, *Low-life or One Half of the World, Knows not How the Other Half Live...* (London, 1750)

Le Loyer, Specters Pierre Le Loyer, *A Treatise of Specters of Straunge Sights, Visions, and Apparitions...* (London, 1605)

LEP *Lloyd's Evening Post* (London)

LE-P *London Evening-Post*

Lewis, Diary Diary of John Lewis, 1718–1760, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. misc. f. 10

LM *Leeds Mercury*

Lottin, Chavatte Alain Lottin, *Chavatte, Ouvrier Lillois: Un Contemporain de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1979)

Lowe, *Diary* W. L. Sachse, ed., *The Diary of Roger Lowe* (New Haven, 1938)

Matthiessen, *Natten* Hugo Matthiessen, *Natten: Stuer I Gammelt Byliv* ([Copenhagen], 1914)

Ménétra, *Journal* Jacques-Louis Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, ed. Daniel Roche, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York, 1986) ジャック＝ルイ＝メネトラ『わが人生の記：十八世紀ガラス職人の自伝』（喜安朗訳、白水社）

Moryson, *Itinerary* Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell...*, 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1907)

Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary* Charles Hughes, ed., *Shakespeare's Europe: A Survey of the Condition of Europe at the End of the 16th Century, being Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary (1617)...* (New York, 1967)

Muchembled, *Violence* Robert Muchembled, *La Violence au Village: Sociabilité et Comportement Populaires en Artois du XVe au XVIIIe Siècle* (Turnhout, France, 1989)

Nashe, *Works* Ronald B. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1958)

NHCR I Charles J. Hoadly, ed., *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven, 1638–1649* (Hartford, Ct., 1857)

NHCR II Charles J. Hoadly, ed., *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven, 1653 to the Union (1663)* (Hartford, Ct., 1858)

NHTR Franklin Bowditch Dexter and Zara Jones Powers, eds., *New Haven Town Records*, 3 vols. (New Haven, 1917–1962)

NYWJ *New York Weekly Journal*

O'Dea, *Lighting* William T. O'Dea, *The Social History of Lighting* (London, 1958)

OBP *The Proceedings on the King's Commissions of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol Delivery for the City of London; and also Gaol Delivery for the County of Middlesex, Held at Justice-Hall in the Old Bailey*

ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

OED *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1st edn. (Oxford, 1888–1928)

PA *Public Advertiser* (London)

Parkman, *Diary* Francis G. Walett, ed., *The Diary of Ebenezer Parkman 1703–1782* (Worcester, Mass., 1974)

Paroimiographia *Paroimiographia: Proverbs, or, Old Savves & Adages, in English (or the Saxon tounge) Italian, French, and Spanish, whereunto the British, for Their Great Antiquity and Weight are Added...* (London, 1659)

Patten, *Diary* *The Diary of Matthew Patten of Bedford, N. H.* (Concord, N. H., 1903)

Pepys, *Diary* Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (Berkeley, Calif., 1970–1983) サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記（全10巻）』（白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社）

PG *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia)

Pinkerton, *Travels* John Pinkerton, ed., *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World...*, 17 vols. (London, 1808–1814)

Pitou, “Coureurs de Nuit” Frédérique Pitou, “Jeunesse et Désordre Social:

Les Coureurs de Nuit á Laval au XVIIIe Siècle,” *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 47 (2000), 69–92

PL *Public Ledger* (London)

PL. 27 Palatinate of Lancaster Depositions, Public Record Office, London

Pounds, *Culture* Norman John Greville Pounds, *The Culture of the English People: Iron Age to the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 1994)

Pounds, *Home* Norman John Greville Pounds, *Hearth & Home: A History of Material Culture* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989)

PP *Past and Present*

RB William Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth, eds., *The Roxburghe Ballads*, 9 vols. (1871–1899; rpt. edn., New York, 1966)

Remarks 1717 Remarks on Several Parts of Flanders, Brabant, France, and Italy in the Year 1717, Boldleian Library, Oxford

Ripae, *Nocturno Tempore* Polydori Ripae, *Tractatus de Nocturno Tempore: In quo Absoluta Criminalium Praxis, Canonicaeq; Materiae, Beneficiorum Praecipue Continentur Contractus Etiam, Seruitutes, Judicia Civilia, Vitimae Voluntates ad Susceptam Prouinciam Obseruantur* (Venice, 1602)

Roche, *Consumption* Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600–1800*, trans. Brian Pearce (Cambridge, 2000)

Ruff, *Violence* Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 2001)

Ryder, *Diary* William Matthews, ed., *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715–1716* (London, 1939)

SAI William Shaw Mason, comp., *A Statistical Account, or Parochial Survey of Ireland, Drawn Up from the Communications of the Clergy*, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1814–1819)

Sanderson, *Diary* Robert Sanderson Diary, St. John's College, Cambridge

Sanger, *Journal* Lois K. Stabler, ed., *Very Poor and of a Lo Make: The Journal of Abner Sanger* (Portsmouth, N. H., 1986)

SAS Sir John Sinclair, ed., *The Statistical Account of Scotland: Drawn up from the Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes*, 21 vols. (Edinburgh, 1791–1799)

Schindler, “Youthful culture” Norbert Schindler, “Guardians of Disorder: Rituals of Youthful Culture at the Dawn of the Modern Age,” in Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt, eds., *A History of Young People in the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 240–282

Schindler, *Rebellion* Norbert Schindler, *Rebellion, Community and Custom in Early Modern Germany*, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn (Cambridge, 2002)

Scott, *Witchcraft* Reginald Scott, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (Carbondale, Ill., 1964)

Select Trials *Select Trials at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey* (1742; rpt. edn., New York, 1985)

Sewall, *Diary* Milton Halsey Thomas, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674–1729*, 2 vols. (New York, 1973)

SH *Social History*

SJC *St. James Chronicle* (London)

SWA or LJ *Sussex Weekly-Advertiser: or, Lewes Journal*

Swift, *Journal* Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella*, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford,

1948)
SWP Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, eds., *The Salem Witchcraft Papers: Verbatim Transcripts of the Legal Documents of the Salem Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692*, 3 vols. (New York, 1977)

T. Platter, Journal Seán Jennett, ed. and trans., *Journal of a Younger Brother: The Life of Thomas Platter as a Medical Student in Montpellier at the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1963) トマス・ブラッター『放浪学生ブラッターの手記』(阿部謹也訳、平凡社)

Taillepiéd, Ghosts Noël Taillepiéd, *A Treatise of Ghosts...*, trans. Montague Summers (1933; rpt. edn., Ann Arbor, Mich., 1971)

Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1971) キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)

Thoresby, Diary Joseph Hunter, ed., *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, 2 vols. (London, 1830)

Tilley, Proverbs in England Morris Palmer Tilley, ed., *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries...* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1966)

Torriano, Proverbi Giovanni Torriano, *Piazza Universale Di Proverbi Italiani: or, a Common Place of Italian Proverbs* (London, 1666)

Torrington, Diaries John Byng, 5th Viscount Torrington, *The Torrington Diaries...*, ed. C. Bryan Andrews, 4 vols. (New York, 1935)

Turner, Diary David Vaisey, ed., *The Diary of Thomas Turner 1754-1765* (Oxford, 1985)

UM Universal Magazine

US and WJ Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal (London)

Verdon, Night Jean Verdon, *Night in the Middle Ages*, trans. George Holoch (Notre Dame, Ind., 2002) ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』(吉田晴美訳、原書房)

VG Virginia Gazette (Williamsburg)

Watts, Works George Burder, comp., *The Works of the Reverend and Learned Isaac Watts...*, 6 vols. (London, 1810)

Weinsberg, Diary K.. Höhlbaum et al., eds., *Das Buch Weinsberg, Kölner Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, 5 vols. (Leipzig-Bonn, 1886-1926)

Wilson, English Proverbs F. P. Wilson, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1970)

WJ Weekly Journal (London)

WMQ William and Mary Quarterly

Wood, Life Andrew Clark, comp., *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695...*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1891-1900)

Woodforde, Diary John E. Beresford, ed., *The Diary of a Country Parson*, 5 vols. (London 1924-1931)

WR or UJ Weekly Register or, Universal Journal (London)

York Depositions *Depositions from the Castle of York, Relating to Offences Committed in the Northern Counties in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1861)

●はじめに もう一つの王国

1. Tryon, *Wisdom's Dictates: Or, Aphorisms & Rules ...* (London, 1691), 68.

2. Middleton, *A Mad World, ...* (London, 1608) トマス・ミドルトン『おかしな世の中』(山田英教訳) ～『イギリス・ルネサンス演劇集(2)』所収(早稲田大学出版部); Rousseau, *Emile: or On Education*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York, 1979), 133. ルソー『エミール』(今野一雄訳、岩波文庫ほか)。現代において知られている限りでは、夜に対する関心の欠如を指摘した最初の一人がジョージ・スタイナーだった。彼は1978年に、「社会史学者たちからしばしば見落とされがちだが、人類の大半は人生のかなりの部分を、日没から朝に至るさまざまな度合いの暗さの中で過ごしていた」と書いている(A Reader [New York, 1984], 351)。実際、夜というテーマは、西洋文化の概説から専門的な研究論文に至るまで、歴史研究のあらゆるレベルで無視され続けている。夜に関する優れた書の一つに、20世紀初頭という早い時期に出版され、あまり知られてはいないが、Hugo Matthiessen, *Natten: Stuiet I Gammelt Byliv* ([Copenhagen], 1914) がある。それ以外の初期の探求としては、Maurice Bouteloup, "Le Travail de Nuit dans la Boulangerie" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris, 1909); A. Voisin, "Notes sur la Vie Urbaine au XV. Siècle: Dijon la Nuit," *Annales de Bourgogne* 9 (1937), 265-279; Bargellini, "Vita Notturna." が挙げられる。もっと最近では、何人かの学者たちが夜の生活における特定の側面を探索し始めているが、夜全体を、包括的な社会史または文化史という形で論じることとはまだ試みられていない。以下の研究を参照。Elisabeth Pavan, "Recherches sur la Nuit Vénitienne à la Fin du Moyen Age," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), 339-356; Peter Reinhart Gleichmann, "Nacht und Zivilisation," in Martin Baethge and Wolfgang Essbach, eds., *Soziologie: Entdeckungen im Alltägchen* (Frankfurt, 1983), 174-194; Silvia Mantini, "Per un'Immagine Della Notte fra Tercento e Quattrocento," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 4 (1985), 565-594; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Angela Davies (Berkeley, Calif., 1988) ヴォルフガング・シヴェルブシュ『闇をひらく光』(小川さくえ訳、法政大学出版局); Corinne Walker, "Esquisse Pour une Histoire de la Vie Nocturne: Genève au XVIIIe Siècle," *Revue du Vieux Genève* 19 (1989), 73-85; Piero Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. David Gentilcore (Chicago, 1989), 92-102; Robert Muchembled, "La Violence et la Nuit sous l'Ancien Régime," *Ethnologie Française* 21 (1991), 237-242; Mario Sbriccoli, ed., *La Notte: Ordine, Sicurezza e Disciplina in Età Moderna* (Florence, 1991); Janekovick-Römer "Dubrovniks"; Joachim Schlör, *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London 1840-1930*, trans. Pierre Gottfried Inhof and Dafydd Rees Roberts (London, 1998) ヨアヒム・シュレーア『大都会の夜: パリ、ロンドン、ベルリン: 夜の文化史』(平田達治・我田広之・近藤直美訳、鳥影社・ロゴス企画部); Paul Griffiths "Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England," *Seventeenth Century* 13 (1998), 212-238; Bryan D. Palmer, *Cultures of Darkness: Night Travels in the Histories of Transgression* (New York, 2000); Pitou, "Coureurs de Nuit"; Schindler, "Youthful Culture"; Verdon, *Night* ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』(吉田晴美訳、原書房); Schindler, *Rebellion*; Koslofsky, "Court Culture."

3. G. C. Faber, ed., *The Poetical Works of John Gay...* (London, 1926), 204; Edward Ward, *The Rambling Rakes, or, London Libertines* (London, 1700), 58; Christopher Sten, "'When the Candle Went Out': The Nighttime World of Huck Finn," *Studies in American Fiction* 9 (1981), 49. 「シーズン」という語の使い方については、聖書の次の一節がよく知られている。「天が下のすべての事には時期(シーズン)があり、すべてのわざには時がある」(伝道の書第3章1節)

4. Michael McGrath, ed. and trans., *Cinnine Amhiaoibh Ui Shuilleabháin: The Diary of Humphrey O'Sullivan*, 4 vols. (London, 1936–1937); Émile Guillaumin, *The Life of a Simple Man*, ed. Eugen Weber, trans. Margaret Crosland (Hanover, N. H., 1983) エミール・ギヨオマン『ある百姓の生涯』(犬田卯訳、日本公論社); Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles: A Pure Woman* (1891; rpt. edn., London, 1993), 18. トマス・ハーディ『テス(上下)』(井上宗次・石田英二訳、岩波文庫ほか)
5. Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), 419.

●夕暮れ時

1. Fletcher and Francis Beaumont, *Fifty Comedies and Tragedies* (London, 1679), 217.
2. Lorus Johnson Milne and Margery Joan Milne, *The World of Night* (New York, 1956), 22; Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native* (1880; rpt. edn., London, 1993), 19 トマス・ハーディ『帰郷(上下)』(大沢衛訳、新潮文庫ほか); Nov. 5, 1830, Michael McGrath ed., *Cinnine Amhiaoibh Ui Shuilleabháin: The Diary of Humphrey O'Sullivan* (London, 1936), II, 355–356; John Florio, comp., *Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues* (London, 1611), 79. メンフクロウの鳴き声は昔から死を予言すると考えられていた。Gilbert White, *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne* (London, 1994), 142–143 ギルバート・ホワイト『セルボーン博物誌』(新妻昭夫訳、小学館ほか); Brand 1848, III, 209–210.
3. Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, V, 1, 124, and *Measure for Measure*, IV, 1, 56–57. ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『ヴェニスの商人』『尺には尺を』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか)

第1部 死の影

●序

1. Daniel Boorstin, *The Discoverers* (New York, 1983), 26. ダニエル・J・ブアスティン『大発見：未知に挑んだ人間の歴史』(鈴木主税・野中邦子訳、集英社)
2. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757; rpt. edn., New York, 1971), 272–281 エドモンド・バーク『崇高と美の観念の起源』(中野好之訳、みすず書房ほか); John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Niddich (Oxford, 1975), 397–398, ジョン・ロック『人間知性論』(大槻春彦訳、岩波文庫ほか)
3. Juliette Favez-Boutonier, *L'Angoisse* (Paris, 1945), 134–150.
4. *The Iliad*, trans. Robert Fitzgerald (New York, 1992), 338 ホメロス『イーリアス(上下)』(呉茂一訳、平凡社ライブラリーほか); Kevin Coyne, *A Day in the Night of America* (New York, 1992), 35; Richard Cavendish, *The Powers of Evil in Western Religion, Magic, and Folk Belief* (New York, 1975), 88–89; Geoffrey Parrinder, *Witchcraft: European and African* (London, 1970), 123–124; Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (New York, 1975), 206–207. ノーマン・コーン『魔女狩りの社会史：ヨーロッパの内なる悪霊』(山本通訳、岩波書店)
5. Psalms 23:4「詩篇」23篇4節; John 1:5 ヨハネによる福音書第1章5節; Matthew 27:45 マタイによる福音書第27章45節; Cavendish, *Powers of Evil*, 87–91; Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New Haven, 1964), 98–99. エルンスト・カッシーラー『シンボル形式の哲学』(生松敏三・木田元訳、岩波文庫全4巻ほか)

6. Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study* (London, 1970), 212; Lucy Mair, *Witchcraft* (New York, 1969), 42–43 ルーシー・メア『妖術：紛争・疑惑・呪詛の世界』(馬淵東一・喜多村正訳、平凡社); B. Malinowski, “The Natives of Mailu: Preliminary Results of the Robert Mond Research Work in British New Guinea,” in *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of South Australia* 39 (1915), 647–648; Parrinder, *Witchcraft*, 134–146; John Middleton and E. H. Winter, eds., *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa* (London, 1969) 諸所に。
7. Rolfe Humphries, trans., *The Satires of Juvenal* (Bloomington, Ind., 1966), 43–44; Mark J. Bouman, “Luxury and Control: The Urbanity of Street Lighting in Nineteenth-Century Cities,” *JUH* 14 (1987), 9; Hazel Rossotti, *Fire* (Oxford, 1993), 59; O'Dea, *Lighting*, 14–16, 220.
8. Richard M. Dorson, ed., *America Begins: Early American Writing* (Bloomington, Ind., 1971), 280, 282; Theodore M. Andersson, “The Discovery of Darkness in Northern Literature,” in Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr., eds., *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope* (Toronto, 1974), 9–12.

●第1章 夜の恐怖

1. Nashe, *Works*, I, 345.
2. J. Parival, *The Historie of this Iron Age: Wherein is Set Down the True State of Europe as It Was in the Year 1500...*, trans. B. Harris (London, 1659), 2; George Herbert, *Jaculum Prudentium: or Outlandish Proverbs...* (London, 1651), 70; “Quid Tunc,” SJC, Aug. 29, 1767; Honoré de Balzac, *The Human Comedy* (New York, 1893), II, 6 オノレ・ド・バルザック『バルザック「人間喜劇」セレクション』(鹿島茂・山田登世子・大矢タカヤスほか編訳、藤原書店ほか); William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts, eds., *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester, 1997).
3. Richard Steele, *The Husbandmans Calling...* (London, 1670), 270; Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV, 0, 4; Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece*, 764–767 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『ヘンリー五世』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか)、「ルークリース」～『シェイクスピア全集(8)』所収(小津次郎・高松雄一ほか訳、筑摩書房ほか); Anthony J. Lewis, “The Dog, Lion, and Wolf in Shakespeare's Descriptions of Night,” *Modern Language Review* 66 (1971), 1–11; Anthony Harris, *Night's Black Agents: Witchcraft and Magic in Seventeenth-Century English Drama* (Manchester, 1980); Jean-Marie Maguin, *La Nuit dans le Théâtre de Shakespeare et de ses Prédécesseurs*, 2 vols. (Lille, 1980).
4. John Hayward, *Hell's Everlasting Flames Avoided...* (London, 1712), 30; Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, 3, 252 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『恋の骨折り損』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか); Thomas Granger, *The Light of the World...* (London, 1616), 29; Piero Camporesi, *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Lucinda Byatt (University Park, Pa., 1991), 42; Nashe, *Works*, I, 346; John Dryden and Nathaniel Lee, *Oedipus* (London, 1679), 27; Jean Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident, XIVe-XVIIIe Siècles: Une Cité Assiégée* (Paris, 1978), 97 ジャン・ドリュモエ『恐怖心の歴史』(永見文雄・西沢文昭訳、新評論); Robert Muchembled, “La Violence et la Nuit sous l'Ancien Régime,” *Ethnologie Française* 21 (1991), 241.
5. Anthony Synnott, “The Eye and the I: A Sociology of Sight,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 5 (1992), 619, 618; Constance Classen, *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures* (New

- York, 1993), 58. コンスタンス・クラッセン『感覚の力：バラの香りに始まる』（陽美保子訳、工作舎）
6. Maria Bogucka, “Gesture, Ritual, and Social Order in Sixteenth- to Eighteenthcentury Poland,” in Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, eds., *A Cultural History of Gesture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 191.
 7. *US and WJ*, July 9, 1737 を参照。
 8. Thomson, *The Seasons*, ed. James Sambrook (Oxford, 1981), 192. ジェームズ・トムソン『ジェームズ・トムソン詩集』（林瑛二訳、慶應義塾大学出版会）
 9. Mill, *A Nights Search: Discovering the Nature and Condition of all Sorts of Night Walkers...* (London, 1639); *Herberts Devotions...* (London, 1657), 231; Mark Warr, “Dangerous Situations: Social Context and Fear of Victimization,” *Social Forces* 68 (1990), 892–894.
 10. R. B., “A Serious Address to the Common Council of the City of London,” *G and NDA*, July 16, 1768; Thomas Middleton, *The Wisdome of Solomon Paraphrased* (London, 1597); July 18, 1709, Cowper, *Diary*. また、Henry Chettle, *Piers Plainnes Seauen Yeres Prentiship* (London, 1595) も参照；Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, II, 1, 77. ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『ジュリアス・シーザー』（小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか）
 11. Lavater, *Spirites*, 10.
 12. Richard Jackson, June 7, 1656, *York Depositions*, 74; Heywood, *Diaries*, III, 187.
 13. Mar. 3, 1727, “The Diary of George Booth,” *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historic Society*, New Ser., 28 (1928), 38; *Perpetual and Natural Prognostications...* (London, 1591), 27; T. F. Thiselton-Dyer, *Old English Social Life as Told by the Parish Registers* (1898; rpt. edn., New York, 1972), 233; Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 218; Sara Schechner Genuth, *Comets, Popular Culture, and the Birth of Modern Cosmology* (Princeton, 1997).
 14. 1719, Lewis, *Diary*, 25; June 5, 1742, “Diary of Rev. Jacob Eliot,” *Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries...*, 2nd Ser., 5 (1869), 34.
 15. May 21, 1668, Pepys, *Diary*, 208 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記（全10巻）』（臼田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社）；Walter L. Strauss, ed., *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1550–1600* (New York, 1975), III, 968–969; T. Platter, *Journal*, 217 トマス・ブラッター『放浪学生ブラッターの手記』（阿部謹也訳、平凡社）；Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 232; Steven Ozment, *Three Behaim Boys Growing up in Early Modern Germany: A Chronicle of Their Lives* (New Haven, 1990), 52.
 16. M. de Fontenelle, *Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds*, trans. H.A. Hargreaves (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 130 ベルナール・ル・ボヴィエ・ド・フントネル『世界の複数性についての対話』（赤木昭三訳、工作舎）；Charles Stevens and John Liebault, *Maison Rustique, or, the Countrey Farme*, trans. Richard Surflét (London, 1616), 30; Thomas B. Forbes, “By What Disease or Casualty: The Changing Face of Death in London,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 31 (1976), 408; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 296–297. キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』（荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局）
 17. Niccols, *A Winter Night's Vision...* (London, 1610), 831; Francis T. Havergal, comp., *Herefordshire Words & Phrases...* (Walsall, Eng., 1887), 13; Francois Joseph Pahud de Valangin, *A Treatise on Diet, or the Management of Human Life...* (London, 1768), 275; High Court of Justiciary, *Small Papers*, Main Series, JC 26/42–43 及び諸所に, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh; JRAI 諸所に。
 18. Laurent Joubert, *The Second Part of the Popular Errors*, trans. Gregory David de Rocher (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1995), 280–282. 同様の批判については *The Second Lash of Alazonomastix...* (London, 1655), 234 を参照。
 19. Owen Feltham, *Resolves, a Duple Century* (1628; rpt. ed., Amsterdam, 1975), 211. また Denham, *The Sophy* (London, 1642), 20 も参照。
 20. Camporesi, *Fear of Hell*, 13; Thomas Dekker, *The Gull's Hornbook*, ed. R.B. McKerrow (New York, 1971), 23 トマス・デッカー『しゃれ者いろは帳：他』（北川悌二訳、北星堂イギリス古典選書）；Jan. 12, 1706, Cowper, *Diary*; Caufurd Tait Ramage, *Ramage in South Italy...*, ed. Edith Clay (London, 1965), 6; J. Churton Collins, ed., *The Plays & Poems of Robert Greene* (Oxford, 1905), II, 249; Angelo Celli, *The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, ed. Anna Celli-Fraentzel (London, 1933), 130–154.
 21. Anglicus, *On the Properties of Things*, trans. John Trevisa (Oxford, 1975), I, 540 バルトロマエウス・アングリクス「事物の属性について」～『中世思想原典集成』所収（上智大学中世思想研究所編訳・監修、平凡社）；Thomas Amory, *Daily Devotion Assisted and Recommended, in Four Sermons...* (London, 1772), 15.
 22. Leon Kreitzman, *The 24 Hour Society* (London, 1999), 90–91; Solomon R. Benatar “Fatal Asthma,” *New England Journal of Medicine* 314 (1986), 426–427; Sharon A. Sharp, “Biological Rhythms and the Timing of Death,” *Omega* 12 (1981–1982), 17.
 23. Hanway, *Domestic Happiness... Calculated to Render Servants in General Virtuous and Happy...* (London, 1786), 101; Mary J. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England* (New York, 1997), 247, 252; Pounds, *Culture*, 239, 245–246.
 24. Anna Brzozowska-Krajka, *Polish Traditional Folklore: The Magic of Time* (Boulder, Colo, 1998), 115.
 25. Francis B. Gummere, “On the Symbolic Use of the Colors Black and White in Germanic Tradition,” *Haverford College Studies* 1 (1889), 116; John Fletcher, *The Nightwalker, or the Little Theife* (London, 1640); Daniel Defoe, *A System of Magick...* (London, 1727), 380–381; Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (New York, 1975), 66. ノーマン・コーン『魔女狩りの社会史：ヨーロッパの内なる悪霊』（山本通訳、岩波書店）
 26. C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528–1603* (Cambridge, 1996), 191; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 472, 473–477 キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』（荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局）；Nashe, *Works*, I, 346; George C. Schoolfield, *The German Lyric of the Baroque in English Translation* (New York, 1966), 199.
 27. Nashe, *Works*, I, 346, 348; Bella Millett and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Medieval English Prose for Women: Selections from the Katherine Group and Ancrene Wisse* (Oxford, 1990), 91; Jacob Bauthumley, *The Light and Dark Sides of God...* (London, 1650), 29.
 28. Hale, *A Collection of Modern Relations of Matter of Fact, Concerning Witches & Witchcraft...* (London, 1693), 16, 12–13; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 472. キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』（荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局）
 29. SAS, XIII, 652; Le Loyer, *Specters*, fo. 78; July 1, 1712 Donald F. Bond, ed., *The Spectator*, (Oxford, 1965), III, 572; Essex People, 1750–1900: From

- Their Diaries, Memoirs and Letters* (Chelmsford, Eng., 1972), 32.
30. Brand 1777, II, 430–431; *A View of London and Westminster: or, the Town Spy, etc.* (London, 1725), 1–2; Robert Holland, comp., *A Glossary of Words Used in the County of Chester* (1886; rpt. ed., Vaduz, Liecht, 1965), 182; Brand 1848, II, 507–512; Minor White Latham, *The Elizabethan Fairies: The Fairies of Folklore and the Fairies of Shakespeare* (1930; rpt. edn., New York, 1972), 219–262.
 31. Georgina F. Jackson, comp., *Shropshire Word-Book...* (London, 1879), 117; Samuel Butler, *Hudibras, the First Part* (London, 1663), 19.
 32. Mr. Pratt, *Gleanings through Wales, Holland, and Westphalia* (London, 1798), 142, 136; T. Campbell, *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland ...* (London, 1777), 280; *Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* (London, 1814), 144; R. D. Heslop, comp., *Northumberland Words...* (London, 1892), I, 257; Brand 1777, II, 359.
 33. A. J. Gurevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture*, trans. G. L. Campbell (London, 1985), 107–108; Lewis, *Diary*, 17; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 587–606. キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)
 34. Thomas Alfred Spalding, *Elizabethan Demonology...* (London, 1880), 54; WJ, Nov. 5, 1726; John Holloway, ed., *The Oxford Book of Local Verses* (Oxford, 1987), 215–216; Cannon, *Diary*, 134; Jean Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society* (Chicago, 1998), 185 ジャン・クロード・シュミット『中世の幽霊：西欧社会における生者と死者』(小林宣子訳、みすず書房)；Nov. 29, 1667, Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, 553 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(臼田昭 岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；Brand 1777, II, 430.
 35. John Carr, *The Stranger in Ireland: or, a Tour in the Southern and Western Parts of that Country in the Year 1805* (1806; rpt. edn., Shannon, Ire., 1970), 264–265; Anne Plumtre, *A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in France...* (London, 1810), III, 179; *Craftsman* (London), May 20, 1732; Dietz, *Surgeon*, 166–167 エルンスト・コンゼンツィウス編『ヨーハン・ディーツ親方自伝：大選帝侯軍医にして王室理髪師』(佐藤正樹訳、白水社)；Pierre Goubert, *The Ancien Régime: French Society 1600–1750*, trans. Steve Cox (London, 1973), 280; Caroline Frances Oates, “Trials of Werewolves in the Franche-Comte in the Early Modern Period” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London, 1993); Le Loyer, *Specters*, fo. 101.
 36. Scott, *Witchcraft*, 29; Geert Mak, *Amsterdam*, trans. Philipp Blom (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 48; E. S. De Beer, ed., *The Correspondence of John Locke* (Oxford, 1976), 421–422; Francis Grose, *A Provincial Glossary* (1787; rpt. edn., Menston, Eng., 1968), 17.
 37. Saint Basil, *Exegetic Homilies*, trans. Sister Agnes Clarke Way (Washington, D.C., 1963), 26; Ellery Leonard, trans., *Beowulf* (New York, 1939), 8, 5 『ベーオウルフ：中世イギリス英雄叙事詩』(忍足欣四郎訳、岩波文庫ほか)；Martha Grace Duncan, “In Slime and Darkness: The Metaphor of Filth in Criminal Justice,” *Tulane Law Review* 68 (1994), 725–801; James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England, 1550–1750* (New York, 1996), 15; Cavendish, *Powers of Evil*, 87, 96–97; Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, 207–210. ノーマン・コーン『魔女狩りの社会史：ヨーロッパの内なる悪霊』(山本通訳、岩波書店)
 38. Muchembled, “La Nuit sous l'Ancien Régime,” 239–241; Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, 177; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 455

- キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)；Harris, *Night's Black Agents*, 25–26, 33; Nancy Caciola, “Wraiths, Revenants and Ritual in Medieval Culture,” *PP* 152 (1996), 3–45; Pierre Jonin, “L'Espace et le Temps de la Nuit dans les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes,” *Mélanges de Langue et de Littérature Médiévals Offerts à Alice Planche* 48 (1984), 235–246.
39. Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, 71–74, 97, 100–101 ノーマン・コーン『魔女狩りの社会史：ヨーロッパの内なる悪霊』(山本通訳、岩波書店)；Lynn A. Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2001), 79; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 454–456. キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)
40. G.R. Quaife, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1979), 31; S. Taylor, “Daily Life—and Death—in 17th Century Lamplugh,” *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, New Ser. 44 (1945), 138–141; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 455–461, 498–499. キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)
41. Cohn, *Inner Demons*, 105 ノーマン・コーン『魔女狩りの社会史：ヨーロッパの内なる悪霊』(山本通訳、岩波書店)；VG, Aug. 19, 1737; Christina Lerner, *Enemies of God: The Witch-Hunt in Scotland* (Baltimore, 1981), 22–25; Robin Briggs, “Witchcraft and Popular Mentality in Lorraine, 1580–1630,” in Brian Vickers, ed., *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1984), 346–347; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 560–569. キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)
42. Jon Butler, “Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600–1760,” *AHR* 84 (1979), 322.
43. Scott, *Witchcraft*, 25; Taillepie, *Ghosts*, 94.
44. Wilson, *English Proverbs*, 203.
45. Mrs. Bray, *Traditions, Legends, Superstitions, and Sketches of Devonshire...* (London, 1838), I, 168–169; Kingsley Palmer, *The Folklore of Somerset* (Totowa, N.J., 1976), 23; Taillepie, *Ghosts*, 29, 30. また Nashe, *Works*, I, 358; Brand 1848, III, 52 も参照。
46. SAS, IX, 748; Cohens, *Italy*, 150–151; Roy Porter, “The People's Health in Georgian England,” in Tim Harris, ed., *Popular Culture in England, c.1500–1850* (New York, 1995), 139–142; P.E.H. Hair, “Accidental Death and Suicide in Shropshire, 1780–1809,” *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society* 59 (1969), 63–75; Robert Campbell, “Philosophy and the Accident,” in Roger Cooter and Bill Luckin, eds., *Accidents in History: Injuries, Fatalities, and Social Relations* (Amsterdam, 1997), 19–32.
47. Apr. 16, 1769, *Diary of Sir John Parnell, 1769–1783*, 57, British Library of Political and Economic Science, London School of Economics; Christopher Hibbert, *The English: A Social History* (London, 1988), 348–349.
48. Watts, *Works*, II, 189; Marsilia Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, ed. and trans. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Binghamton, N.Y., 1989), 127; Stanley Coren, *Sleep Thieves: An Eye-Opening Exploration into the Science and Mysteries of Sleep* (New York, 1996), 97, 185 スタンレー・コレン『睡眠不足は危険がいっぱい』(木村博江訳、文芸春秋)；Lydia Dotto, *Losing Sleep: How Your Sleeping Habits Affect Your Life* (New York, 1990), 53.
49. VG, Jan. 5, 1739; Dec. 15, 1744, C. E. Whiting, ed., *Two Yorkshire Diaries: The Diary of Arthur Jessop and Ralph Ward's Journal* (Gateshead on Tyne,

- Eng., 1952), 95; 1721, Dec. 26, 1713, Oct. 26, 1698, *East Anglian Diaries*, 251, 236, 208; Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 302.
50. *The True-Born English-man...*(London, 1708), 16; *New England Weekly Journal* (Boston), July 6, 1736; Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England, 1547-1603* (Oxford, 1995), 216; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic, 17-19* キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局); Ruff, *Violence*, 126.
51. John D. Palmer, *The Living Clock: The Orchestrator of Biological Rhythms* (New York, 2002), 32-34. ジョン・D・パーマー『生物時計の謎をさぐる』(小原孝子訳、大月書店)
52. Edward Burghall, *Providence Improved* (London, 1889), 155, 157, 159; WJ, Aug. 14, 1725; Helen Simpson, ed. and trans., *The Waiting City: Paris 1782-88...*(Philadelphia, 1933), 227; Clifford Morsley, *News from the English Countryside: 1750-1850* (London, 1979), 143.
53. Defoe, *Tour*, I, 308; PG, Nov. 1, 1733; Dobson, *Death and Disease*, 245.
54. J. W. Goethe, *Italian Journey, 1786-1788* (New York, 1968), 347 ヨハン・ヴォルフガング・フォン・ゲーテ『イタリア紀行 (全3巻)』(相良守峯訳、岩波文庫); P.E.H. Hair, "Deaths from Violence in Britain: A Tentative Secular Survey," *Population Studies* 25 (1971), 5-24.
55. Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989), 3-11; Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450-1750* (London, 1995), 20-21.
56. Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800*, trans. Allan Cameron (New Haven, 2002), 109-111.
57. Aug. 16, 1693, Michael Hunter and Annabel Gregory, eds., *An Astrological Diary of the Seventeenth Century: Samuel Jeake of Rye, 1652-1699* (Oxford, 1988), 224; Elborg Forster, ed. and trans., *A Woman's Life in the Court of the Sun King: Letters of Liselotte von der Pfalz, 1652-1722* (Baltimore, 1984), 246; *Some Bedfordshire Diaries* (Streatley, Eng., 1960), 8.
58. June 30, 1766, *Diary of Mr. Tracy and Mr. Dentand, 1766*, Bodl., 14; John Spranger, *A Proposal or Plan for an Act of Parliament for the Better Paving, Lighting, and Cleaning the Streets...*(London, 1754); Paul Zumthor, *Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland* (New York, 1963), 23-24; Walter King, "How High Is Too High? Disposing of Dung in Seventeenth-Century Prescott," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23 (1992), 446-447; James Clifford, "Some Aspects of London Life in the Mid-18th Century," in Paul Fritz and David Williams, eds., *City & Society in the 18th Century* (Toronto, 1973), 19-38; Sarti, *Europe at Home*, trans. Cameron, 110-114.
59. Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698* (London, 1699), 24; Marcelin Defourneaux, *Daily Life in Spain: The Golden Age*, trans. Newton Branch (New York, 1971), 63; G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History, a Survey of Six Centuries: Chaucer to Queen Victoria* (New York, 1965), 438 G・M・トレヴェリアン『イギリス社会史 (全2巻)』(松浦高嶺・今井宏・藤原浩訳、みすず書房); G. E. Rodmell, ed., "An Englishman's Impressions of France in 1775," *Durham University Journal* (1967), 85; Joseph Palmer, *A Four Months Tour through France* (London, 1776), II, 58-60; Bargellini, "Vita Notturna," 80; A. H. de Oliveira, *Daily Life in Portugal in the Late Middle Ages* (Madison, Wisc., 1971), 101-102, 141.
60. Mar. 17, 1709, Sewall, *Diary*, II, 616; Thomas Pennant, *The Journey from Chester to London* (London, 1782), 166; June 30, 1666, Pepys, *Diary*, VII,

- 188 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社); WJ, Jan. 2, 1725; James K. Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal: "History of New England," 1630-1649* (New York, 1908), II, 355.
61. Burton E. Stevenson, *The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (New York, 1948), 1686; Cotton Mather, *Frontiers Well-Defended: An Essay, to Direct the Frontiers of a Country Exposed unto the Incursions of a Barbarous Enemy* (Boston, 1707), 14; Oct. 19, 1691, Sewall, *Diary*, I, 283; Vito Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear: Perceptions of Nature and the City in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1994), 136-148.
62. *A General Collection of Discourses of the Virtuosi of France, upon Question of All Sorts of Philosophy, and other Natural Knowledge...* trans. G. Havers (London, 1664), 204.

●第2章 生命の危険

- Jean Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident, XIVe-XVIIIe Siècles: Une Cité Assiégée* (Paris, 1978), 90. ジャン・ドリュモア『恐怖心の歴史』(永見文雄・西沢文昭訳、新評論)
- P. M. Mitchell, trans., *Selected Essays of Ludvig Holberg* (Westport, Ct., 1976), 51; John Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae; The Mystery of Husbandry Discovered...*(1675; rpt. edn., Los Angeles, 1970), 220; Lawrence Wright, *Warm and Snug: The History of the Bed* (London, 1962), 120. ローレンス・ライト『ベッドの文化史: 寝室・寝具の歴史から眠れぬ夜の過ごし方まで』(別宮貞徳・片柳佐智子・三宅真砂子ほか訳、八坂書店)
- Sara Tilghman Nalle, *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete* (Charlottesville, Va., 2001), 129; Samuel Rowlands, *The Night-Raven* (London, 1620); *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account of the Behaviour, Confession, and Dying Words, of the Malefactors Who were Executed at Tyburn, Nov. 7, 1750*, 10.
- Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370-1600* (Cambridge, 1998), 66-67; Jütte, *Poverty*, 163; F. Alteri, *Dizionario Italiano ed Inglese...* (London, 1726); Paul Griffiths, "Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England," *Seventeenth Century* 13 (1998), 213, 216-217.
- OBP, Jan. 15-18, 1748, 54; *Midnight the Signal: In Sixteen Letters to a Lady of Quality* (n.p., 1779), I, 9 及び 諸所に; John Crowne, *Henry the Sixth, the First Part...* (London, 1681), 18; Griffiths, "Nightwalking," 217-238.
- OBP, May 17, 1727, 6.
- 近世の犯罪に関する文献は数多くあるが、手頃な入門書としては、J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750* (London, 1984); Joanna Innes and John Styles, "The Crime Wave: Recent Writings on Crime and Criminal Justice in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986), 380-435; Ruff, *Violence*などを参照。
- Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedie* (London, 1592) トマス・キッド『スペインの悲劇』(斎藤国治訳、中央公論社ほか); Watts, *Works*, II, 190.
- Hadrianus Junius, *The Nomenclator...* (London, 1585), 425; *The Works of Monsieur Boileau* (London, 1712), I, 199; Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 286; OBP, Sept. 7, 1737, 163; S. Pole, "Crime, Society and Law Enforcement in Hanoverian Somerset" (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge Univ., 1983), 302-303; Julius Ralph Ruff, "Crime, Justice, and Public Order in France, 1696-1788: the Senecaussee of Libourne" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1979), 238; *Select Trials*, II, 234; Beattie, *Crime*, 167-192.
- Sept.8, 1666, Aug. 21, 1665, Pepys, *Diary*, VII, 282, VI, 200 サミュエル・

- ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; OBP, Sept. 6-11, 1738, 146; M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the 18th Century* (New York, 1965), 10-11; Beattie, *Crime*, 148-154.
11. Jeremy Black, *British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1992), 177; Joseph Jacobs, ed., *Epistolae Ho-Eliaeneae: The Familiar Letters of James Howell...* (London, 1900), 45; DUR, Dec. 26, 1788; Marcelin Defourneaux, *Daily Life in Spain: The Golden Age*, trans. Newton Branch (New York, 1971), 68; Moryson, *Itinerary*, I, 141.
 12. An Effectual Scheme for the Immediate Preventing of Street Robberies, and Suppressing All Other Disorders of the Night... (London, 1731) 65; Colm Lennon, *Richard Stanyhurst the Dubliner, 1547-1618* (Blackrock, Ire., 1981), 148; Beattie, *Crime*, 180-181; J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Seventeenth-Century England: A County Study* (Cambridge, 1983), 103.
 13. Richard Head, *The Canting Academy; or Villanies Discovered...*(London, 1674), 69; Thomas Evans, Feb. 8, 1773, Assi 45/31/1/78; Ann Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family...from the Original Autobiography of Rev. James Fontaine* (New York, 1852), 303; Beattie, *Crime*, 152-161; Alan Macfarlane, *The Justice and the Mare's Ale: Law and Disorder in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1981), 136-140; James A. Sharpe, "Criminal Organization in Rural England 1550-1750," in G. Ortalli, ed., *Bande Armate, Banditti, Banditismo* (Rome, 1986), 125-140.
 14. William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures & Painfull Peregrinations...* (Glasgow, 1906), 310; Ruff, *Violence*, 31, 64-65, 217-239; Pierre Goubert, *The Ancien Régime: French Society 1600-1750*, trans. Steve Cox (London, 1973), 104; Uwe Danker, "Bandits and the State: Robbers and the Authorities in the Holy Roman Empire in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," in Richard J. Evans, ed., *The German Underworld: Deviants and Outcasts in German History* (London, 1988), 75-107.
 15. OBP, Jan. 17-20, 1750, 30, Dec. 7-12, 1743, 82, Jan. 12, 1733, 45; B., *Discolliminium: or a Most Obedient Reply to a Late Book...*(London, 1650).
 16. William Keatinge Clay, ed., *Private Prayers, Put Forth by Authority during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge, 1851), 444; Sir Edward Coke, *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England...* (1628; rpt. edn., New York, 1979), 63; Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, ed. William Draper Lewis (Phildadelphia, 1902), IV, 1615 ウィリアム・ブラックストーン『英国治罪法 (全2巻)』(西村玄道訳、律書房) ; Beattie, *Crime*, 163-165.
 17. Head, *Canting Academy*, 179; Eric Partridge, ed., *A Dictionary of the Underworld* (Ware, Eng., 1989), 43, 469; John Poulter, *The Discoveries of John Poulter* (London, 1753), 43; Jan. 30, 1665, Pepys, *Diary*, VI, 25. サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)
 18. OBP, Jan. 16, 1734, 55; Beattie, *Crime*, 163; WJ, July 20, 1728.
 19. July 11, 1664, Pepys, *Diary*, V, 201 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; *Hanging Not Punishment Enough, for Murderers, Highway Men, and House-Breakers* (London, 1701), 6.
 20. OBP, Dec. 10-13, 1707; *Select Trials*, I, 306; Michel Porret, *Le Crime et ses Circonstances: De l'Esprit de l'Arbitraire au Siècle des Lumières selon les Requisitoires des Procureurs Genève* (Geneva, 1995), 258; Beattie, *Crime*, 164-165.
 21. Mill, *A Nights Search: Discovering the Nature and Condition of all Sorts of Night-Walkers...*(London, 1639); Awnsham Churchill, comp., *A Collection of Voyages and Travels...* (London, 1746), VI, 726; Beattie, *Crime*, 161-167; Sharpe, *Seventeenth-Century Crime*, 107; *A New Journey to France* (London, 1715), 85; Henry Swinburne, *Travels Through Spain, in the Years 1775 and 1776...* (London, 1779), I, 348-350.
 22. John L. McMullan, *The Canting Crew: London's Criminal Underworld, 1550-1700* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1984), 162; *A Warning for House-Keepers ...* (London, 1676), 4; Heywood, *Diaries*, III, 206; Cynthia B. Herrup, *The Common Peace: Participation and the Criminal Law in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1987), 27, 30-31, 170-171; Ruff, *Violence*, 221-224; George Huppert, *After the Black Death: A Social History of Early Modern Europe* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 107-109. ジョージ・ハッパート『西洋近代をつくった男と女』(赤阪俊一訳、朝日選書)
 23. Florike Egmond, *Underworlds: Organized Crime in the Netherlands 1650-1800* (Cambridge, 1993), 33, 188-191; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 222; Ruff, *Violence*, 221; Albrecht Keller, ed., *A Hangman's Diary: Being the Journal of Master Franz Schmidt, Public Executioner of Nuremberg, 1573-1617*, trans. C. V. Calvert and A. W. Gruner (Montclair, N.J., 1973), 130.
 24. Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, "Potere Politico e Spazio Sociale: It Controllo Della Notte a Venezia nei Secoli XIII-XV," in Mario Sbriccoli, ed., *La Notte: Ordine, Sicurezza e Disciplinamento in Età Moderna* (Florence, 1991), 48; Daniel Defoe, *Street-Robberies Consider'd...*(1728; rpt. edn., Stockton, N.J., 1973), 68; Alan Williams, *The Police of Paris, 1718-1789* (Baton Rouge, 1979), 287.
 25. Dekker, *Writings*, 193; *The Confession &c. of Thomas Mount...* (Portsmouth, N.H., [1791?]), 19; *Select Trials*, II, 236; Charles Dorrington, Feb. 10, 1764, Assi 45/27/2/125; OBP, Jan. 15-19, 1742, 31, Sept. 6, 1732, 188; *Select Trials*, I, 303.
 26. John Nelson, Aug. 25, 1738, Assi 45/21/3/126.
 27. OBP, May 15-17, 1746, 149.
 28. OBP, June 28-July 2, 1744, 159, Apr. 25-30, 1750, 68, July 11-14, 1750, 87; Macfarlane, *Justice and the Mare's Ale*, 132; OBP, Dec. 5-10, 1744, 7, Dec. 5-10, 1744, 142.
 29. OBP, Oct. 17-19, 1744, 257, Aug. 30, 1727, 4.
 30. Lavater, *Spirites*, 22; Jeannine Blackwell and Susanne Zantop, eds., *Bitter Healing: German Women Writers from 1700 to 1830: An Anthology* (Lincoln, Neb., 1990), 60; Brand 1848, II, 314; Danker, "Bandits," 88. また Taillepied, *Ghosts*, 31 も参照。
 31. Crusius, *Nocte*, ch. 11.9; Keller, ed., *Hangman's Diary*, trans. Calvert and Gruner, 110; Brand 1848, I, 312, III, 278-279; Marjorie Rowling, *The Folklore of the Lake District* (Totowa, N.J., 1976), 26; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 94-95. また Bargellini, "Vita Notturna," 84 ; John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1999), II, 232 も参照。
 32. Karl Wegert, *Popular Culture, Crime, and Social Control in 18th Century Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1994), 101; Keller, ed., *Hangman's Diary*, trans. Calvert and Gruner, 112-113; Brand 1848, I, 312; *Times* (London), July 3, 1790.
 33. Torriano, *Proverbi*, 171.

34. Pinkerton, *Travels*, II, 565; Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore, 2002), 161; Ruff, *Violence*, 120–121.
35. Alessandro Falassi, *Folklore by the Fireside: Text and Context of the Tuscan Veglia* (Austin, 1980), 6; J. Mitchell and M.D.R. Leys, *A History of London Life* (London, 1958), 73 R・J・ミッチェル、M・D・R・リーズ『ロンドン庶民生活史』(松村起訳、みすず書房)；Claude Fouret, “Douai au XVIe Siècle: Une Sociabilité de l’Agression,” *Revue d’Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 34 (1987), 9–10; Robert Muchembled, “La Violence et la Nuit sous l’Ancien Régime,” *Ethnologie Française* 21 (1991), 237; Rudy Chaulet, “La Violence en Castille au XVIIe Siècle,” *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés* 1 (1997), 14–16. また Barbara A. Hanawalt, “Violent Death in Fourteenth- and Early Fifteenth-Century England,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18 (1976), 305, 319 も参照。
36. J. R. Hale, ed., *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis...*, trans. J. R. Hale and J.M.A. Lindon (London, 1979), 82; James Casey, *The Kingdom of Valencia in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979), 212; Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 463, 163; Cleone Knox, *The Diary of a Young Lady of Fashion in the Year 1764–1765* (New York, 1926), 220; Ménétrel, *Journal*, 86 ジャック＝ルイ・メネトラ『わが人生の記：十八世紀ガラス職人の自伝』(喜安朗訳、白水社)；S. Johnson, *London: A Poem...* (London, 1739), 17; James Hervey, *Meditations and Contemplations* (New York, 1848), II, 33; J.S. Cockburn, “Patterns of Violence in English Society: Homicide in Kent, 1560–1985,” *PP* 103 (1991), 86; Matthiessen, *Natten* 141.
37. Dec. 21, 1494, Luca Landucci, ed., *A Florentine Diary from 1450 to 1516 ...*, trans. Alice De Rosen Jervis (1927; rpt. edn., Freeport, N.Y., 1971), 77 ルカ・ランドウッチ『ランドウッチの日記：ルネサンス—商人の覚書』(中森義典・安保大有訳、近藤出版社)；Remarks 1717, 238, 241; Ruff, *Violence*, 75–76; Jonathan Walker, “Bravi and Venetian Nobles, C. 1550–1650,” *Studi Veneziani* 36 (1998), 85–113.
38. Aug. 18, 1692, Wood, *Life*, V, 398; G. C. Faber, *The Poetical Works of John Gay...* (London, 1926), 81; Robert Shoemaker, “Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London,” *SH* 26 (2001), 190–208.
39. *The Rules of Civility* (London, 1685), 114–115 及び諸所に；Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The Development of Manners...*, trans. Edmond Jephcott, 2 vols. (New York, 1978–1982); Ruff, *Violence*, 7–8; Penelope Corfield, “Walking the City Streets: The Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth-Century England,” *JUH* 16 (1990), 132–174; Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, eds., *A Cultural History of Gesture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992) 諸所に。
40. Sir Thomas Overbury, *His Wife* (London, 1622); Feb. 8, 1660, Pepys, *Diary*, I, 46 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；Schindler, “Youthful Culture,” 275; Thomas Bell, May 2, 1666, *York Depositions*, 142; WJ, Mar. 23, 1723.
41. Richard A. Page and Martin K. Moss, “Environmental Influences on Aggression: The Effects of Darkness and Proximity of Victim,” *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 6 (1976), 126–133.
42. Francis Lenton, *Characterismi: or, Lentons Leasures...* (London, 1631); Robert E. Thayer, *The Origin of Everyday Moods: Managing Energy, Tension, and Stress* (New York, 1996) 諸所に。ロバート・E・セイヤー『毎日を気分よく過ごすために』(本明寛監訳、三田出版会)
43. Carolyn Pouncy, ed., *The “Domostroi”: Rules for Russian Households in the Time of Ivan the Terrible* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 81; Arne Jansson, *From Swords to Sorrow: Homicide and Suicide in Early Modern Stockholm* (Stockholm, 1998), 125.
44. F. G. Emmison, ed., *Elizabethan Life: Disorder; Mainly from Essex Sessions and Assize Records* (Chelmsford, Eng., 1970), 206; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 133；Ruff, *Violence*, 126; Muchembled, *Violence*, 31–32.
45. Francis Henderson, June 11, 1777, *Assi* 45/33/1/14a; *Plain Advice to Hard-Drinkers...* (London, 1796), 10; Pieter Spierenburg, “Knife Fighting and Popular Codes of Honor in Early Modern Amsterdam,” in Pieter Spierenburg, ed., *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus, Ohio, 1998), 109; Julius R. Ruff, *Crime, Justice and Public Order in Old Regime France: The Sénéchaussées of Libourne and Bazas, 1696–1789* (London, 1984), 80–81.
46. Dietz, Surgeon, 194 エルンスト・コンゼンツィウス編『ヨーハン・ディーツ親方自伝：大選帝侯軍医にして王室理髪師』(佐藤正樹訳、白水社)；Johnson, *London*, 17; Muchembled, *Violence*, 32; Beattie, *Crime*, 93; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 215–216.
47. Matthiessen, *Natten*, 96.
48. “Palladio,” *Middlesex Journal, or, Chronicle of Liberty* (London), July 30, 1769; Shakespeare, *Othello*, I, 1, 75 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『オセロー』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか)；William Davenant, *The Wits* (London, 1636); Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 15 キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)；Johan Goudsblom, *Fire and Civilization* (London, 1992), 144–145. ヨハン・ハウツブロム『火と文明化』(大平章訳、法政大学出版局)
49. James Gabriel Fyfe, ed., *Scottish Diaries and Memoirs, 1550–1746* (Stirling, Scot., 1928), 259; Samuel H. Baron, ed. and trans., *The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth Century Russia* (Stanford, Calif., 1967), 112; Penny Roberts, “Agencies Human and Divine: Fire in French Cities, 1520–1720,” in William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts, eds., *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester, 1997), 9.
50. Stephen Porter, “Fires in Stratford-upon-Avon in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries,” *Warwickshire History* 3 (1976), 103 及び諸所に。
51. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 333 キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)；Mar. 16, 1701, Cowper, *Diary*; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 121–122.
52. Sir Richard Blackmore, *Prince Arthur* (London, 1695), 190; E. L. Jones et al., *A Gazetteer of English Urban Fire Disasters, 1500–1900* (Norwich, 1984).
53. Roy Porter, *London, a Social History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 85; Sept. 4, 1666, Evelyn, *Diary*, III, 454; Neil Hanson, *The Great Fire of London: In that Apocalyptic Year* (Hoboken, N.J., 2002).
54. NYWJ, Sept. 26, 1737; *SJC*, Aug. 4, 1785; Roberts, “Fire in French Cities,” 9–27.
55. Mar. 30, 1760, “Stow, and John Gate’s Diary,” *Worcester Society of Antiquity Proceedings* (1898), 270; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (Oxford, 1971), 55–63, 206–213, 364–372; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776* (Oxford, 1971), 18, 100–105, 292–294.
56. Ludwig Holberg, *Moral Reflections & Epistles*, ed. P. M. Mitchell (Norvik, Eng., 1991), 169; “The Diary of George Booth,” *Journal of the Chester and*

- North Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historic Society, New Ser., 28 (1928), 40; Enid Porter, *Cambridgeshire Customs and Folklore* (New York, 1969), 205.
57. John Bancroft, *The Tragedy of Sertonius* (London, 1679), 20. また Benjamin Keach, *Spiritual Melody* (London, 1691), 28; Rowlands, *Night Raven* も参照。
58. Benjamin Franklin, *Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay, ed., (New York, 1987), 220–221; “Philanthropos,” *LEP*, Jan. 25, 1763; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590–1642* (New York, 1967), 144; *The Life and Errors of John Dunton...* (London, 1818), II, 606.
59. *Paroimiographia* (English), 5; Thomas Tusser, *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie*, eds. V. Payne and J. Sidney (London, 1878), 179; Jan. 13, 1669, Josselin, *Diary*, 545; Nov. 3, 1710, Raymond A. Anselment, ed., *The Remembrances of Elizabeth Freke, 1671–1714* (London, 2001), 270; Mar. 22, 1683, J. E. Foster, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Newton* (Cambridge, 1890), 84; PG, Feb. 18, 1729.
60. Hugh Platte, *The Jewell House of Art and Nature...* (1594; rpt. edn., Amsterdam, 1979), 50.
61. July 20, 1709, Sewall, *Diary*, II, 622; George Lyman Kittredge, *The Old Farmer and His Almanack...* (Cambridge, Mass., ca. 1904), 147; *DUR*, July 11, 1787.
62. Marybeth Carlson, “Domestic Service in a Changing City Economy: Rotterdam, 1680–1780” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1993), 157–158; Wilson, *English Proverbs*, 167.
63. *Grub Street Journal* (London), May 16, 1734.
64. PA, July 15, 1763; William Langland’s *Piers Plowman: The C Version*, trans. George Economou (Philadelphia, 1996), 25 ウィリアム・ラングランド『農夫ピアースの夢』(柴田忠作訳註、東海大学古典叢書) ; Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450–1750* (London, 1995), 276–277.
65. William Hector, ed., *Selections from the Judicial Records of Renfrewshire ...* (Paisley, Scot., 1876), 239; Bernard Capp, “Arson, Threats of Arson, and Incivility in Early Modern England,” in Peter Burke et al., eds., *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford, 2000), 197–213 バーナード・キャップ「放火、放火の脅威、そして初期近代イングランドの無作法」～『市民と礼儀：初期近代イギリス社会史：サー・キース・トマス・オックスフォード大学退官記念謹呈エッセイ集』所収 (ピーター・パーク、ブライアン・ハリソン、ポール・スラック編、木邨和彦訳、牧歌舎) ; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 121.
66. Goudsblom, *Fire and Civilization*, 158 ヨハン・ハウツブロム『火と文明化』(大平章訳、法政大学出版局) ; Roberts, “Fire in French Cities,” 22; *Country Journal: or the Craftsman* (London), June 24, 1738.
67. SJC, May 25, 1769; Frank McLynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1989), 85; Ruff, “Crime, Justice, and Public Order,” 262; BC, May 20, 1761.
68. Augustus Jessopp, ed., *The Autobiography of the Hon. Roger North* (London, 1887), 41; WJ, Aug. 15, 1724; *Effectual Scheme*, 69–70.
69. Bob Scribner, “The Mordbrenner Fear in Sixteenth-Century Germany: Political Paranoia or the Revenge of the Outcast?,” in Evans, ed., *German Underworld*, 29–56; Penny Roberts, “Arson, Conspiracy and Rumor in Early Modern Europe,” *Continuity and Change* 12 (1997), 9–29.
70. Jacqueline Simpson, *The Folklore of Sussex* (London, 1973), 135–136; Capp, “Arson,” 204 バーナード・キャップ「放火、放火の脅威、そして初期近代イン

- グランドの無作法」～『市民と礼儀：初期近代イギリス社会史：サー・キース・トマス・オックスフォード大学退官記念謹呈エッセイ集』所収 (ピーター・パーク、ブライアン・ハリソン、ポール・スラック編、木邨和彦訳、牧歌舎) ; Thomas D. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619–1860* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), 330–332.
71. Weinsberg, *Diary*, I, 125; SJC, Nov. 4, 1769; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 531–533. キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)
72. Grose, *Dictionary*; 6 Anne c.31; PG, Apr. 30, 1730. また、*Effectual Scheme*, 69; Michael Kunze, *Highroad to the Stake: A Tale of Witchcraft*, trans. William E. Yuill (Chicago, 1987), 147. ミヒャエル・クンツェ『火刑台への道』(鍋谷由有子訳、白水社) も参照
73. Nashe, *Works*, I, 386.
74. Rudolph Braun, *Industrialisation and Everyday Life*, trans. Sarah Hanbury Tenison (Cambridge, 1990), 84.

第Ⅱ部 自然界の法則

●序

- James M. Houston, ed., *The Mind on Fire: An Anthology of the Writings of Blaise Pascal* (Portland, Ore., 1989), 165.
- [Foxton], *The Night-Piece: A Poem* (London, 1719), 10 日常生活に関わる諸機関については, Pounds, *Culture*, 255–301; Cohens, *Italy*, 51–52, 116–125; David H. Flaherty, “Crime and Social Control in Provincial Massachusetts,” *Historical Journal* 24 (1981), 339–360 などを参照。
- Ken Krabbenhoft, trans., *The Poems of St. John of the Cross* (New York, 1999), 19 十字架の聖ヨハネ『カルメル山登攀』(奥村一郎訳、ドン・ボスコ社) ; James Scholefield, ed., *The Works of James Pilkington, B. D., Lord Bishop of Durham* (London, 1842), 340; Verdon, *Night*, 199–215 ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説夜の中世史』(吉田晴美訳、原書房) ; Paulette Choné, *L’Atelier Des Nuits: Histoire et Signification du Nocturne dans l’Art d’Occident* (Nancy, France, 1992), 146–150; John M. Staudenmaier, “Denying the Holy Dark: The Enlightenment Ideal and the European Mystical Tradition,” in Leo Marx and Bruce Mazlish, eds., *Progress: Fact or Illusion* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996), 184–185.
- Daniello Bartoli, *La Ricreazione del Savio* (Parma, 1992), 191–192; John Northbrooke, *A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds with Other Idle Pastimes...* (London, 1577), 20; John Clayton, *Friendly Advice to the Poor...* (Manchester, 1755), 38.
- Piero Camporesi, *Exotic Brew: The Art of Living in the Age of Enlightenment* (Malden, Mass., 1994), 13.
- Thomas Amory, *Daily Devotion Assisted and Recommended...* (London, 1772), 20; George Economou, trans., *William Langland’s Piers Plowman: The C Version* (Philadelphia, 1996), 188 ウィリアム・ラングランド『農夫ピアースの夢』(柴田忠作訳註、東海大学古典叢書) ; Cotton Mather, *Meat Out of the Eater* (Boston, 1703), 129; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York, 1983), 40. キース・トマス『人間と自然界：近代イギリスにおける自然観の変遷』(山内昶監訳、法政大学出版局)

●第3章 公権力の脆弱さ

- Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 350.
- Lean, *Lean’s Collectanea*, I, 352; Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Chicago,

- 1996), 204 ゲルハルト・ドールン＝ファン・ロッスム『時間の歴史：近代の時間秩序の誕生』（藤田幸一郎・篠原敏昭・岩波敦子訳、大月書店）；Remarks 1717, 160; Sigridin Maurice and Klaus Maurice, “Counting the Hours in Community Life of the 16th Century,” in Klaus Maurice and Otto Mayr, eds., *The Clockwork Universe: German Clocks and Automata, 1550–1650* (New York, 1980), 148.
3. T. P. Wiseman, *Remus: A Roman Myth* (Cambridge, 1995), 125; James D. Tracy, ed., *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective* (Cambridge, 2000); R. A. Butlin, “Land and People, c. 1600,” in T. W. Moody et al., eds., *Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691* (Oxford, 1991), 160–161; Remarks 1717, 160; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 18; Ripae, *Nocturno Tempore*, ch. 19.
 4. Adam Walker, *Ideas... in a Late Excursion through Flanders, Germany, France, and Italy* (London, 1790), 69; Verdon, *Night*, 81 ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』（吉田晴美訳、原書房）；*Batavia: or the Hollander Displayed...* (Amsterdam, 1675), 50; Alexander Cowan, *Urban Europe, 1500–1700* (London, 1998), 138–142.
 5. John Chamberlayne, *Magna Britannia Notitia: or, the Present State of Great Britain...* (London, 1723), I, 255; Cowan, *Urban Europe*, 39–40.
 6. Anglicus, *On the Properties of Things*, trans. John Trevisa (Oxford, 1975), I, 539 バルトロマエウス・アングリクス「事物の属性について」～『中世思想原典集成』所収（上智大学中世思想研究所編訳・監修、平凡社）；Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450–1750* (London, 1995), 23.
 7. Corinne Walker, “Esquisse Pour une Histoire de la Vie Nocturne: Genève au XVIIIe Siècle,” *Revue du Vieux Genève* 19 (1989), 74; Moryson, *Itinerary*, I, 41; Remarks 1717, 101–104; Gerhard Tanzer, *Spectacle Müssen Seyn: Die Freizeit der Wiener im 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1992), 55.
 8. OED の “curfew” の項を参照；Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, ed. Charles Lethbridge (1807; rpt. edn., New York, 1965), II, 9.
 9. Toulain Smith, ed., *English Gilds: The Original Ordinances of More than One Hundred Early English Gilds...* (1870; rpt. edn., London, 1963), 194; Falkus, “Lighting,” 249–251; William M. Bowsky, “The Medieval Commune and Internal Violence: Police Power and Public Safety in Siena, 1287–1355,” *AHR* 73 (1967), 6; A. Voisin, “Notes sur la Vie Urbaine au XV. Siècle: Dijon la Nuit,” *Annales de Bourgogne* 9 (1937), 267.
 10. Matthiessen, *Natten*, 21–22; Gerald Strauss, *Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century: City Politics and Life Between Middle Ages and Modern Times* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976), 190–191; J. R. Hale, “Violence in the Late Middle Ages: A Background,” in Lauro Martines, ed., *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200–1500* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972), 23; Verdon, *Night*, 81 ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』（吉田晴美訳、原書房）；Journal of Sir John Finch, 1675–1682, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Allan Finch, Esq...* (London, 1913), I, 69.
 11. Paul Griffiths, “Meanings of Nightwalking in Early Modern England,” *Seventeenth Century* 13 (1998), 224–225; *The Lawes of the Market* (1595; rpt. edn., Amsterdam, 1974); Falkus, “Lighting,” 250–251 及び諸所に。
 12. W. O. Hassall, comp., *How They Lived: An Anthology of Original Accounts Written Before 1485* (Oxford, 1962), 207; Griffiths “Nightwalking,” 218 及び諸所に；Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370–1600* (Cambridge, 1998), 66–67; Bronislaw Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1987), 126, 217; Moryson, *Itinerary*, I, 196; Walker, “Genève,” 75; T. Platter, *Journal*, 204 トマス・ブラッター『放浪学生ブラッターの手記』（阿部謹也訳、平凡社）；Christopher Black, *Early Modern Italy: A Social History* (London, 2001), 102.
 13. Benjamin Ravid, “The Venetian Government and the Jews,” in Robert C. Davis and Benjamin Ravid, eds., *The Jews of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore, 2001), 8, 21; Orest and Patricia Ranum, comps., *The Century of Louis XIV* (New York, 1972), 168; Black, *Early Modern Italy*, 154–156; R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford, 1987), 87.
 14. Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-Light* (London, 1608)；Kathryn Norberg, *Rich and Poor in Grenoble, 1600–1814* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 44; Griffiths, “Nightwalking,” 諸所に；Robert B. Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex, c. 1660–1725* (Cambridge, 1991), 179–181; Luigi Cajan and Silva Saba, “La Notte Devota: Luci e Ombre Delle Quarantore,” in Mario Sbriccoli, ed., *La Notte: Ordine, Sicurezza e Disciplina in Età Moderna* (Florence, 1991), 74.
 15. 13 Edward Ic.4; Sir Andrew Balfour, *Letters Written to a Friend* (Edinburgh, 1700), 86; Bartholomäus Sastrow et al., *Social Germany in Luther's Time: Being the Memoirs of Bartholomew Sastrow*, trans. H.A.L. Fisher (Westminster, Eng., 1902), 172; Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 405, 163; Ruth Pike, “Crime and Punishment in Sixteenth-Century Spain,” *Journal of European Economic History* 5 (1976), 695; Andrew Trout, *City on the Seine: Paris in the Time of Richelieu and Louis XIV* (New York, 1996), 173–174, 217.
 16. A. R. Myers, ed., *English Historical Documents, 1327–1485* (London, 1969), 1073; David Chambers and Trevor Dean, *Clean Hands and Rough Justice: An Investigating Magistrate in Renaissance Italy* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1997), 100; Elisabeth Pavan, “Recherches sur la Nuit Vénitienne à la Fin du Moyen Age,” *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), 354–355.
 17. Verdon, *Night*, 75 ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』（吉田晴美訳、原書房）；Pavan, “Nuit Vénitienne,” 353.
 18. E. S. De Beer, “The Early History of London Street-Lighting,” *History* 25 (1941), 311–324; Falkus, “Lighting,” 251–254; O'Dea, *Lighting*, 94; Paul Zumthor, *Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland* (New York, 1963), 20.
 19. Angelo Raine, ed., *York Civic Records* (Wakefield, Eng., 1942), III, 110; Falkus, “Lighting,” 251–254; J. H. Thomas, *Town Government in the Sixteenth Century...* (London, [1933]), 56–57; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590–1642* (New York, 1967), 153–154.
 20. Charles Knight, *London* (London, 1841), I, 104; De Beer, “London Street-Lighting,” 311–324; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 26.
 21. Jean Shirley, trans., *A Parisian Journal, 1405–1449* (Oxford, 1968), 51; Thoresby, *Diary*, I, 190; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 24, 118; David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989), 74; Bargellini, “Vita Notturna,” 79.
 22. James S. Amelang, ed., *A Journal of the Plague Year: The Diary of the Barcelona Tanner Miquel Parets, 1651* (New York, 1991), 86; Koslofsky, “Court Culture,” 746; Lord Herbert, ed., *Henry, Elizabeth and George (1738–80): Letters and Diaires of Henry, Tenth Earl of Pembroke and His Circle* (London, 1939), 371; Luca Landucci, ed., *A Florentine Diary from 1450 to 1516*, trans. Alice De Rosen Jervis (London, 1927), 161, 29 ルカ・ランドウッチ『ランドウッチの日記：ルネサンス商人の覚書』（中森義宗・安保大有訳、近藤出版社）；May 29,

- 1666, Pepys, *Diary*, VII, 136 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 85–92.
23. A. W. Verity, ed., *Milton's Samson Agonistes* (Cambridge, 1966), 7 ジョン・ミルトン『闘士サムソン：劇詩』(佐野弘子訳、思潮社ほか)；Phillip Stubbes, *Anatomy of the Abuses in England...*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (London, 1877), I, 342; Dec. 6, 1764, Frederick A. Pottle, ed., *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Germany and Switzerland, 1764* (New York, 1953), 243; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven, 1992), 407, 419. また Moryson, *Itinerary*, I, 167, 235, 310 も参照。
24. Schindler, *Rebellion*, 196; Remarks 1717, 69; John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1999), II, 219.
25. John Ray, *Observations Topographical, Moral, & Physiological...* (London, 1673), 317; Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 448; J. W. Goethe, *Italian Journey, 1786–1788* (New York, 1968), 344 ヨハン・ヴォルフガング・フォン・ゲーテ『イタリア紀行(全3巻)』(相良守峯訳、岩波文庫)；Schindler, *Rebellion*, 195–201; Roche, *Consumption*, 116–118.
26. Apr. 16, 1708, Cowper, *Diary*; Stewart E. Fraser, ed., *Ludwig Holberg's Memoirs...* (Leiden, 1970), 115; “Description of the City of Rome,” *Town and Country Magazine* 24 (1792), 260; Henry Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies...* (London, 1783), II, 72–73; Cohens, *Italy*, 156–157; Sara T. Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500–1650* (Baltimore, 1992), 154–156.
27. J. M. Beattie, *Policing in London, 1660–1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror* (Oxford, 2001), 172; Edward MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1969), 197; Eugène Defrance, *Histoire de l'Éclairage des Rues de Paris* (Paris, 1904), 36; Falkus, “Lighting,” 254–264; Lettie S. Multhaupt, “The Light of Lamp-Lanterns: Street Lighting in 17th-Century Amsterdam,” *Technology and Culture* 26 (1985), 236–252; Ruff, *Violence*, 3; Cohens, *Italy*, 116–117; Jonathan Irvine Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (New York, 1995), 681–682; Voisin, “Dijon la Nuit,” 278.
28. J. P. Marana, *Lettre Sicilienne* (1700; rpt. edn., Paris, 1883), 50–51; Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698*, ed. Raymond Phineas Stearns (Urbana, Ill., 1967), 25; John Beckman, *A History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins*, trans. William Johnston (London, 1846), 180–182 ヨハン・ベックマン『モノここに始まる』(今井幹晴訳、小学館ほか)；Koslofsky, “Court Culture,” 748–752; Defrance, *Histoire de l'Éclairage*, 35–38; Leon Bernard, *The Emerging City: Paris in the Age of Louis XIV* (Durham, N.C., 1970), 162–166; Falkus, “Lighting,” 254–260; Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1989), 72–74.
29. SJC, Oct. 25, 1783; De Beer, “Street-Lighting,” 317–320; Beckman, *Discoveries*, trans. Johnston, 180 ヨハン・ベックマン『モノここに始まる』(今井幹晴訳、小学館ほか)；Matthiessen, *Natten*, 26.
30. John Scott, *A Visit to Paris in 1814...* (London, 1815), 40; Defrance, *Histoire de l'Éclairage*, 47; G. E. Rodmell, ed., “An Englishman's Impressions of France in 1775,” *Durham University Journal* (1967), 78. また Maurice Dérivé et Paulette Dérivé, *Préhistoire et Histoire de la Lumière* (Paris, 1979), 117 も参照。
31. Koslofsky, “Court Culture,” 759; Corinne Walker, “Du Plaisir à la Nécessité: l'Apparition de la Lumière dans les Rues de Genève à la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle,” in François Walter, ed., *Vivre et Imaginer la Ville XVIIIe–XIXe Siècles* (Geneva, 1988), 107; Henry Hibbert, *Syntagma Theologum...* (London, 1662), 31; Beattie, *Policing*, 170.
32. Smollet, *Humphry Clinker...* (New York, 1983), 113 T・スモレット『ハンフリー・クリンカー』(長谷安生訳、長谷安生)
33. R. G. Bury, trans., *Plato in Twelve Volumes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), XI, 69 プラトン『プラトン全集(全15巻)』(田中美知太郎・藤沢令夫編・田中美知太郎ほか訳、岩波書店ほか)；Crusius, *Nocte*, ch. 5.5.
34. 13 Edward I c.4; Beckman, *Discoveries*, trans. Johnston, 188 ヨハン・ベックマン『モノここに始まる』(今井幹晴訳、小学館ほか)；Joachim Schlör, *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London 1840–1930*, trans. Pierre Gottfried Imhof and Dafydd Rees Roberts (London, 1998), 73 ヨアヒム・シュレーア『大都会の夜：パリ、ロンドン、ベルリン：夜の文化史』(平田達治・我田広之・近藤直美訳、鳥影社・ロゴス企画部)。
35. Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 365–366; Clare Williams, ed., *Thomas Platter's Travels in England, 1599* (London, 1937), 174; Raine, ed., *York Civic Records*, V, 102; Bowsky, “Medieval Commune,” 9–10; Alan Williams, *The Police of Paris, 1718–1789* (Baton Rouge, 1979), 67.
36. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (Oxford, 1971), 64–67.
37. Beckman, *Discoveries*, trans. Johnston, 189 ヨハン・ベックマン『モノここに始まる』(今井幹晴訳、小学館ほか)；Schlör, *Nights in the Big City*, trans. Imhof and Roberts, 74 ヨアヒム・シュレーア『大都会の夜：パリ、ロンドン、ベルリン：夜の文化史』(平田達治・我田広之・近藤直美訳、鳥影社・ロゴス企画部)；Duke of Ormond, “Whereas by the good and wholesome lawes of this Realm...night-watches should be kept...” (Dublin, 1677); Ruff, *Violence*, 92; M. De La Lande, *Voyage en Italie...* (Paris, 1786), 154.
38. *Memoirs of François-René Vicomte de Chateaubriand*, trans. Alexander Teixeira de Mattos (New York, 1902), IV, 27 フランソワ＝ルネ・ド・シャトーブリアン『わが青春』(真下弘明訳、勁草書房)；William Young, *The History of Dulwich College...with a Life of the Founder, Edward Alleyn, and an Accurate Transcript of His Diary, 1617–1622* (London, 1889), II, 356; A.F.J. Brown, *Essex People, 1750–1900* (Chelmsford, Eng., 1972), 40; Robert C. Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal: Workers and Workplace in the Preindustrial City* (Baltimore, 1991), 157.
39. Mr. Ozell, trans., *M. Misson's Memoirs and Observations in His Travels over England* (London, 1719), 358–359; Beattie, *Policing*, 169–197; Williams, *Police of Paris*, 67; e-mail of Nov. 16, 2003, from Paul Griffiths; Frank McLynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1989).
40. NHCR I, 33; Beattie, *Policing*, 181; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 52; Thomas Forester, ed., *Norway and Its Scenery ...the Journal of a Tour by Edward Price ...* (London, 1853), 181–182; Pinkerton, *Travels*, I, 265; John Carr, *A Northern Summer or Travels Round the Baltic...* (Hartford, Ct., 1806), 129; *An Accurate Description of the United Netherlands...* (London, 1691), 65; Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, 64–67.
41. Robert Poole, *A Journey from London to France...*(London, 1741), 10; Moryson, *Itinerary*, I, 18, 413; Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 365–366, 385; Sir Richard Carnac Temple and Lavina Mary Anstey, eds., *The Travels*

- of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667 (London, 1914), IV, 169; Mr. Nugent, *The Grand Tour, or, a Journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France...* (London, 1756), I, 87; *A Tour through Holland, etc.* (London, 1788), 80–81; John Barnes, *A Tour throughout the Whole of France...* (London, 1815), 6; NHCR I, 485; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 13, 31–32; Theodor Hampe, *Crime and Punishment in Germany...*, trans. Malcolm Letts (London, 1929), 7–8.
42. Thomas Dekker, *Villanies Discovered by Lanthorne and Candle-Light...* (London, 1616) ; Walter George Bell, *Unknown London* (London, 1966), 213; Félix-L. Tavernier, *La Vie Quotidienne a Marseille de Louis XIV à Louis-Philippe* (Paris, 1973), 96; Hana Urbancová, “Nightwatchmen’s Songs as a Component of the Traditional Musical Culture,” *Studies*, 48 (2000), 14; John F. Curwen, *Kirkbie-Kendall...* (Kendall, Eng., 1900), 116. また Einar Utzon Frank, ed., *De Danske Vaegtervers* (Copenhagen, 1932) も参照。
43. Matthiessen, *Natten*, 48; Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 350.
44. Samuel Rowlands, *Heavens Glory, Seeke It* (London, 1628); Henry Alexander, trans., *Four Plays by Holberg...* (Princeton, N.J., 1946), 170; “Insomnis,” PA, Oct. 8, 1767; Colm Lennon, *Richard Stanyhurst the Dubliner, 1547–1618* (Blackrock, Ire., 1981), 147.
45. *Second Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, Containing the Boston Records 1634–1660...* (Boston, 1877), 151; Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *The Picture of Paris Before & After the Revolution* (New York, 1930), 132. メルシエ『十八世紀パリ生活誌：タブロー・ド・パリ（全2巻）』（原宏編訳、岩波書店）；Pounds, *Culture*, 132–134; Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, 374; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 218; Jacques Rossiaud, “Prostitution, Youth, and Society in the Towns of Southeastern France in the Fifteenth Century,” in Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, eds., *Deviants and the Abandoned in French Society: Selections from the Annales Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, trans. Elborg Forster and Patricia Ranum (Baltimore, 1978), 45 n.85; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 115, 117.
46. Awnsham Churchill, comp., *A Collection of Voyages and Travels...* (London, 1745), I, 147; Sept. 11, 1663, Pepys, *Diary*, IV, 304. サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記（全10巻）』（白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社）
47. Thomas Pennington, *Continental Excursions...* (London, 1809), I, 242; Fabian Philipps, *Regale Necessarium: or the Legality, Reason and Necessity of the Rights and Privileges Justly Claimed by the Kings Servants...* (London, 1671), 580; William Edward Hartpole Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1892), II, 106–107; Edward Ward, *Nuptial Dialogues and Debates* (London, 1723), 258; Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment*, 264–265.
48. N. M. Karamzin, *Letters of a Russian Traveler: 1789–1790...*, trans. Florence Jonas (New York, 1957), 305.
49. *The Midnight-Ramble; or, the Adventures of Two Noble Females...* (London, 1754), 20; Sept. 19, 1771, Basil Cozens-Hardy, ed., *The Diary of Syllas Neville, 1767–1788* (London, 1950), 117; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 23.
50. *New England Courant* (Boston), Nov. 16, 1724. ロンドンにおける法執行の優れた論として、Beattie, *Policing*, 77–225 も参照。
51. Walter Rye, ed., *Extracts from the Court Books of the City of Norwich, 1666–1688* (Norwich, 1905), 140–141; OBP, May 1, 1717, 5; *A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, Containing the Boston Records from 1660 to 1701* (Boston, 1895), 8; *The Way to be Wiser...* (London, 1705), 28; Urbancová, “Nightwatchmen’s Songs,” 6; Beattie, *Policing*, 172–174.
52. *The Humourist: Being Essays Upon Several Subjects...* (London, 1724), II, 88; Dekker, *Writings*, 107; Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, III, 3, 56–57. ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『から騒ぎ』（小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか）
53. Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 304; Legg, *Low-Life*, 15; Edward Phillips, *The Mysteries of Love & Eloquence...* (London, 1658), 101; ECR, VI, 439–440; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 41, 46; Walker, “Genève,” 76; Keith Wrightson, “Two Concepts of Order: Justices, Constables and Jurymen in Seventeenth-Century England,” in John Brewer and John Styles, eds., *An Ungovernable People: The English and Their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1980), 21–46 及び諸所に。
54. *Augusta Triumphans: or, the Way to Make London the Most Flourishing City in the Universe...* (London, 1728), 47; Richard Mowery Andrews, *Law, Magistracy, and Crime in Old Regime Paris, 1735–1789* (Cambridge, 1994), 521; Margaret J. Hoad, *Portsmouth Record Series: Borough Sessions Papers, 1653–1688* (London, 1971), 50; Janekovick-Römer, “Dubrovniks,” 107; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 137–139; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 218–219; De La Lande, *Voyage en Italie*, 122.
55. Herbert, *Jaculum Prudentium: or Outlandish Proverbs...* (London, 1651), 54.
56. Jean Carbonnier, *Flexible Droit: Textes Pour une Sociologie de Droit sans Rigueur* (Paris, 1976), 46–51.
57. S. P. Scott, ed. and trans., *The Civil Law: Including the Twelve Tables...* (New York, 1973), I, 58; Crusius, *Nocte*, ch. 7.3, 7 及び諸所に、13.6, 15.3; Ripae, *Nocturno Tempore* 諸所に；Nina Gockerell, “Telling Time without a Clock,” in Maurice and Mayr, eds., *Clockwork Universe*, 137.
58. Matthew Hale, *Historia Placitorum Coronae: The History of the Pleas of the Crown* (1736; rpt. edn., London, 1971), I, 547; David H. Flaherty, *Privacy in Colonial New England* (Charlottesville, Va., 1972), 88; Matthew Bacon and Henry Gwillim, *A New Abridgement of the Law* (London, 1807), II, 346.
59. Legg, *Low-Life*, 101.
60. Ripae, *Nocturno Tempore*, ch. 91.11; DUR, Dec. 23, 1785; Tommaso Astarita, *Village Justice: Community, Family, and Popular Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Baltimore, 1999), 153–154; Patricia H. Labalme, “Sodomy and Venetian Justice in the Renaissance,” *Legal History Review* 52 (1984), 221–222; Samuel Cohn, “Criminality and the State in Renaissance Florence, 1344–1466,” *JSH* 14 (1980), 222; Guido Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), 6, 19; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 137; Aug. 17, 1497, Landucci, ed., *Florentine Diary*, trans. Jervis, 125–126. ルカ・ランドウッチ『ランドウッチの日記：ルネサンスー商人の覚書』（中森義宗・安保大有訳、近藤出版社）
61. Bowsky, “Medieval Commune,” 4; Ripae, *Nocturno Tempore*, ch. 24:3 及び諸所に；JRAI, I and II 諸所に；High Court of Justiciary, *Small Papers, Main Series*, JC 26/42–43 諸所に。Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh; Julius R. Ruff, *Crime, Justice and Public Order in Old Regime France: The Sénéchaussées of Libourne and Bazas, 1696–1789* (London, 1984), 115; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 129.
62. Beattie, *Crime*, 148; Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991), 247; Ian Cameron, *Crime and Repression in the Auvergne and the Guyenne, 1720–1790* (Cambridge, 1981),

- 155–156; Edgar J. McManus, *Law and Liberty in Early New England: Criminal Justice and Due Process, 1620–1692* (Amherst, Mass., 1993), 30–31.
63. “Justus Sed Humanus,” *London Magazine*, April 1766, 204; Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, ed. William Draper Lewis (Philadelphia, 1902), IV, 1579 ウィリアム・ブラックストーン『英国治罪法 (全2巻)』(西村玄道訳、律書房) ; Scott, ed. and trans., *Civil Law*, 59; Katherine Fischer Drew, trans., *The Lombard Laws* (Philadelphia, 1973), 58; F.R.P. Akehurst, ed., *The Coutumes de Beauvaisis of Philippe de Beaumanoir* (Philadelphia, 1992), 429–430; Ripae, *Nocturno Tempore*, ch. 24; Crusius, *Nocte*, ch. 11.5–8; Samuel E. Thorne, ed., *Bracton on the Laws and Customs of England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), II, 408; Porret, *Crime et ses Circonstances*, 288–289.
64. Lottin, *Chavatte*, 356; JRAI, II, 488; Blackstone, *Commentaries*, ed. Lewis, IV, 1618. ウィリアム・ブラックストーン『英国治罪法 (全2巻)』(西村玄道訳、律書房)
65. *An Effectual Scheme for the Immediate Preventing of Street Robberies, and Suppressing All Other Disorders of the Night...* (London, 1731), 62; Edmond-Jean-François Barbier, *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le Règne de Louis XV* (Paris, 1963), 169; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 12; Jeffry Kaplow, *The Names of Kings: The Parisian Laboring Poor in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1972), 22–23.
- 第4章 人の家は城塞である
1. Apr. 6, 1745, Parkman, *Diary*, 114.
2. Bräker, *Life*, 67 ウルリヒ・ブレーカー『スイス傭兵ブレーカーの自伝』(阪口修平・鈴木直志訳、刀水歴史全書49) ; John Milton, *Complete Prose Works* (New Haven, 1953), I, 228; Nina Gockereil, “Telling Time without a Clock,” in Klaus Maurice and Otto Mayr, eds., *The Clockwork Universe: German Clocks and Automata, 1550–1650* (New York, 1980), 131–143.
3. Giambattista Basile, *The Pentamerone...*, ed. and trans. Stith Thompson (1932; rpt. edn., Westport, Ct., 1979), I, 297 ジャンバッティスタ・バジール『ペンタメロネ：五日物語』(杉山洋子・三宅忠明訳、大修館書店) ; Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611), Muchembled, *Violence*, 53; Thomas Hardy, *The Woodlanders* (1887; rpt. edn., London, 1991), 99–100 トマス・ハーディ「森林地の人々」～『トマス・ハーディ全集 (11)』所収 (新妻昭彦訳、大阪教育図書) ; Gockereil, “Telling Time,” 134–136.
4. Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island, or the Isle of Man* (n.p., 1633), 46; Wilson J. Litchfield, *The Litchfield Family in America* (Southbridge, Mass., 1906), V, 344; Sept. 30, 1774, Patten, *Diary*, 330, 385.
5. Henry Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies...* (London, 1783), II, 269; William Sewall, *A Large Dictionary English and Dutch* (Amsterdam, 1708), 79; Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, I, 5, 51. ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『マクベス』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか)
6. “Fantasticks,” Breton, *Works*, II, 15.
7. Oct. 23, 1676, Sewall, *Diary*, I, 28; May 10, 1776, Andrew Oliver, ed., *The Journal of Samuel Curwen, Loyalist* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 156; Philippe Contamine, “Peasant Hearth to Papal Palace: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” in *HPL* II, 499; W. Carew Hazlitt, ed., *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases...* (London, 1882), 291.
8. Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bind: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (New York, 1986), 44; Sir Edward Coke, *The Reports...* (London, 1658), 453; Burt, *Letters*, II, 206.
9. *OBP*, Apr. 29–May 1, 1747, 152, May 14, 1741, 12, July 15–17, 1767, 244; David Ogborne, *The Merry Midnight Mistake, or Comfortable Conclusion* (Chelmsford, Eng., 1765), 34; Timothy J. Casey, ed., *Jean Paul: A Reader*, trans. Erika Casey (Baltimore, 1992), 338; *FLEMT*, xi–xii.
10. Pounds, *Home*, 184–186; Hanawalt, *Ties That Bound*, 38; *A Warning for House-Keepers...* (n.p., 1676), 4.
11. Pinkerton, *Travels*, I, 517; John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities & Design in Early Modern Britain & Early America* (Baltimore, 2001), 36–44, 62–69; Pounds, *Culture*, 118–120.
12. Edward Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation...* (London, 1763), 344; June 20, 1766, *Diary of Mr. Tracy and Mr. Dentand*, Bodl.; John Fielding, *Thieving Detected...* (London, 1777), 9; Monsieur du Sorbier, *A Voyage to England...* (London, 1709), 11.
13. Paolo Da Certaldo, *Libro di Buoni Costumi*, ed. Alfredo Schiaffini (Florence, 1945), 30; Nov. 12, Oct. 21, 1666, Pepys, *Diary*, VII, 367, 336 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; Ann Feddon, Apr. 20, 1751, Assi 45/24/3/42; John Cooper, Dec. 13, 1765, Assi 45/28/2/137; Contamine, “Peasant Hearth to Papal Palace,” 502; Eugen Weber, “Fairies and Hard Facts: The Reality of Folktales,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 42 (1981), 101–102.
14. Dec. 13, 1672, Isham, *Diary*, 175; John Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae: The Mystery of Husbandry Discovered...* (1675; rpt. edn., Los Angeles, 1970), 221; *London Gazette*, Oct. 1, 1694; John Houghton, *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, July 20, 1694; William Hamlet, *The Plan and Description of a Machine...against Fire and House-breaking* (Birmingham, 1786).
15. C. G. Crump, ed., *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood* (New York, 1900), 7; *An Account of a Most Barbarous Murder and Robbery...25th of October, 1704* (London, 1704/1705); OED の “bedstaff” の項を参照 ; Francis Bamford, ed., *A Royalist's Notebook: The commonplace Book of Sir John Oglander* (New York, 1971), 55; Ruff, *Violence*, 49.
16. Mar. 21, 1763, Frederick A. Pottle, ed., *Boswell's London Journal, 1762–1763* (New York, 1950), 224 ジェームズ・ボズウェル『ジェームズ・ボズウェルのロンドン日誌』(秋山平吾訳、千城) ; Leonard R. N. Ashley, ed., *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke...* (1755; rpt. edn., Gainesville, Fla., 1969), 45; J. S. Cockburn, “Patterns of Violence in English Society: Homicide in Kent, 1560–1985,” *PP* 130 (1991), 86–87.
17. Thoresby, *Diary*, I, 345; George Murray, Jan. 10, 1778, Assi 45/33/2/150; Oct. 25, 1704, A. H. Quint, “Journal of the Reverend John Pike,” *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 1st Ser., 14 (1875–1876), 139; *The Province and Court Records of Maine* (Portland, Maine, 1958), IV, 341.
18. OED の “bandog” の項を参照 ; Harrison, *Description*, 339–348; Thomas Kirk and Ralph Thoresby, *Tours in Scotland, 1677 & 1681*, ed. P. Hume Brown (Edinburgh, 1892), 27; *OBP*, Apr. 9–11, 1746, 118; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* (New York, 1983), 101–104 キース・トマス『人間と自然界：近代イギリスにおける自然観の変遷』(山内昶監訳、法政大学出版局) ; Mrs. Reginald Heber, *The Life of Reginald Heber...* (New York, 1830), I, 217; George Sand, *Story of My Life...* ed. Thelma Jurgrau (Albany, 1991), 631. ジョルジュ・サンド『我が生涯の記』(加藤節子訳、水声社)

19. Augustin Gallo, *Secrets de la Vraye Agriculture...* (Paris, 1572), 204; Harrison, *Description*, 343; Daniel Defoe, *Street-Robberies Consider'd...*, (1728; rpt. edn. Stockton, N.J., 1973), 68; M. Conradus Heresbachius, comp., *Four Bookes of Husbandry*, trans. Barnabe Googe, (London, 1577), fo. 154–156; Charles Stevens and John Liebrault, *Maison Rustique, or, the Countrey Farme*, trans. Richard Surflet (London, 1616), 120–122 ; Worldidge, *Systema Agriculturae*, 162, 222; *Times*, Jan. 16, 1790.
20. Campion, *The Discription of a Maske* (London, 1607).
21. Aug. 2, 1708, Cowper, *Diary*; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 諸所に、特に 493–497 キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)
22. George Peele, *The Old Wives Tale*, ed. Patricia Binnie (Manchester, 1980), 42 n. 104 ジョージ・ピール『お婆ちゃんの冬物語』(大井邦雄訳、早稲田大学出版部) ; Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*, ed. Stephen Cornford (Cambridge, 1989), 121; Casey, ed., *Jean Paul*, trans. Casey, 338; R. Sherlock, *The Practical Christian...* (London, 1699), 322; Taillepie, *Ghosts*, 169.
23. W. M., *Hesperides-graphia: or, a Description of the Western Isle...* (London, 1716), 8; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 496–497 キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局) ; Robert Muchembled, “Popular Culture,” in Robert Muchembled et al., *Popular Culture* (Danbury, Ct., 1994), 11.
24. SAS, V, 335; C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528–1603* (Cambridge, 1996), 183, 180–181, 194–195; George Saintsbury, ed., *The Works of John Dryden* (Edinburgh, 1884), IX, 443; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 222–231 キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局) ; Burke, *Popular Culture* 諸所に。ピーター・バーク『ヨーロッパの民衆文化』(中村賢二郎・谷泰訳、人文書院)
25. OED の “night-spell” の項を参照; Minor White Latham, *The Elizabethan Fairies: The Fairies of Folklore and the Fairies of Shakespeare* (1930; rpt. edn., New York, 1972), 38; Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (London, 1987), 137–158.
26. Scott, *Witchcraft*, 27; Catherine Maloney, “A Witch-Bottle from Dukes Place, Aldgate,” *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society* 31 (1980), 157–159; John Demos, *Remarkable Providences: Readings on Early American History* (Boston, 1991), 437–438; Merrifield, *Archaeology*, 159–178.
27. Roderick A. McDonald, *The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves: Goods and Chattels on the Sugar Plantations of Jamaica and Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1993), 40; Carla Mulford et al., eds., *Early American Writings* (New York, 2002), 508.
28. Anna Brzozowska-Krajka, *Polish Traditional Folklore: The Magic of Time* (Boulder, Colo, 1998), 122; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 100; Anonymous, *Travel Diary*, 1795, Chetham's Library, Manchester, Eng.; OED の “mezuzah” の項を参照。
29. Sewall, *Diary*, I, 400; David D. Hall, “The Mental World of Samuel Sewall,” in David Hall et al., eds., *Saints & Revolutionaries: Essays on Early American History* (New York, 1984), 80; Brand 1848, II, 73, III, 20–21; Kingsley Palmer, *The Folklore of Somerset* (Totowa, N.J., 1976), 45; Mrs. Gutch, *County Folk-Lore: Examples of Printed Folk-Lore Concerning the East Riding of Yorkshire* (London, 1912), 64; Karl Wegert, *Popular Culture, Crime, and Social Control in 18th Century Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1994), 71.
30. Trenchard, *The Natural History of Superstition* (London, 1709), 24; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 636–637, 647–648. キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)
31. *UM*, May, 1751, 220.
32. Henry Bull, comp., *Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations...* (Cambridge, 1842), 75.
33. BC, July 1, 1761; Brand 1848, III, 180–182, 228; Brzozowska-Krajka, *Polish Folklore*, 67, 204; R.W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987), 32; Mrs. M. MacLeod Banks, *British Calendar Customs: Scotland* (London, 1941), III, 112, 116–117; イギリス南西部 トーントンのサマセット考古学・博物学協会のデーヴィッド・プロムウィッチ氏より 2002 年 1 月 29 日付 e メールで提供された情報; Muchembled, “Popular Culture,” 24.
34. Dec. 7, 1758, Dyer, *Diary*; June 3, 1662, Pepys, *Diary*, III, 101 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全 10 巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; Ian Cameron, *Crime and Repression in the Auvergne and the Guyenne, 1720–1790* (Cambridge, 1981), 127.
35. Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), 161; Pounds, *Culture*, 109–117; Roche, *Consumption*, 125–130; Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500–1800*, trans. Allan Cameron (New Haven, 2002), 92–93.
36. William Carr, ed., *The Dialect of Craven, in the West-Riding of the County of York* (London, 1828), I, 30; Joseph Lawson, *Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey during the Last Sixty Years* (Stanningley, Eng., 1887), 23; Annik Pardailhe Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (Philadelphia, 1991), 120.
37. Pounds, *Culture*, 110–112; Roche, *Consumption*, 130–131; Tobias George Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, ed. Frank Felsentein (Oxford, 1979), 209.
38. John Earl Perceval, *The English Travels of Sir John Percival and William Byrd II*, ed. Mark R. Wenger (Columbia, Mo., 1989), 137; Defoe, *Tour*, II, 676; Mr. Ozell, trans., M. Misson's *Memoirs and Observations in His Travels over England* (London, 1719), 37–39; Celia Fiennes, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1685–c.1712* (London, 1982), 147, 161; Joan Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* (London, 1967), IV, 453.
39. Caroline Davidson, *A Woman's Work is Never Done: A History of Housework in the British Isles, 1650–1950* (London, 1982), 73–75; SAS, V, 424, XII, 297, 747; SAI, I, 4, 198; James Ayres, *Domestic Interiors: The British Tradition, 1500–1850* (New Haven, 2003), 16.
40. SAS, XVIII, 480; Edward Ward, *A Journey to Scotland...* (London, 1699), 9; Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, IV, 453; Davidson, *Woman's Work*, 81–87; E. Veryard, *An Account of Divers Choice Remarks...in a Journey...* (London, 1701), 19; Paul Zumthor, *Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland* (New York, 1963), 45–46, 302.
41. Robert W. Malcolmson, *Life and Labour in England, 1700–1780* (New York, 1981), 46–47; Davidson, *Woman's Work*, 76–77; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590–1642* (New York, 1967), 99.
42. Llewellynn Jewitt, ed., *The Life of William Hutton...* (London, 1872), 160;

- Davidson, *Woman's Work*, 101.
43. Pounds, *Culture*, 120; A. Alvarez, *Night: Night Life, Night Language, Sleep, and Dreams* (New York, 1995), 6. A・アルヴァレズ『夜：心理・生理・行動』（工藤政司訳、法政大学出版局）
44. Anne Elizabeth Baker, comp., *Glossary of Northamptonshire Words and Phrases* (London, 1854), I, 89; Wilson, *English Proverbs*, 377.
45. Joan Wildeblood and Peter Brinson, *The Polite World: A Guide to English Manners and Deportment from the Thirteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1965), 84; Witold Rybczynski, *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (New York, 1986), 138; O'Dea, *Lighting*, 217. 28,000 リーヴルは、およそ 900 ポンドくらいだった。W. S. Lewis et al., eds., *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Hannah More...* (New Haven, 1961), 80. 当時のイギリスにおける蠟燭の価格については以下を参照。Lord Beveridge et al., *Prices and Wages in England: From the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1939), I ほか諸所に。
46. Eric Sloane, *Seasons of America Past* (New York, 1958), 107; Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, I, 6, 110–111 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『シンペリン』（小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか）；O'Dea, *Lighting*, 35–37, 43; Crowley, *Comfort*, 112–115; Davidson, *Woman's Work*, 104–105, 110; R. D. Oliver Heslop, comp., *Northumberland Words...* (London, 1894), II, 666; S. K. Tillyard, *Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa, and Sarah Lennox, 1740–1832* (New York, 1994), 202.
47. Nov. 1, 1794, Dec. 25, 1799, Woodforde, *Diary*, IV, 150, V, 231.
48. 8 Anne c.9; Sarti, *Europe at Home*, trans. Cameron, 105.
49. Cobbett, *Cottage Economy...* (1926; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), 144; SAS, V, 335; Gilbert White, *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne...* (1789; rpt. edn., Menston, Eng., 1972), 197–199 ギルバート・ホワイト『セルボーン博物誌』（新妻昭夫訳、小学館ほか）；John Caspall, *Making Fire and Light in the Home Pre-1820* (Woodbridge, Eng., 1987), 171–179.
50. “A Dissertation on the Instruments that Communicate Light,” *UM*, May, 1749, 229; Max J. Okenfuss, ed., *The Travel Diary of Peter Tolstoi, a Muscovite in Early Modern Europe* (DeKalb, Ill., 1987), 304; Oct. 8, 1773, Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett, eds., *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, L.L.D., 1773* (New York, 1961), 281 ジェイムズ・ボズウェル『ヘブリディーズ諸島旅日記』（諏訪部仁ほか訳、中央大学出版部）；Pinkerton, *Travels*, I, 766, III, 587; O'Dea, *Lighting*, 40–41; Crowley, *Comfort*, 111–113; Davidson, *Woman's Work*, 106, 109; Maurice Vaussard, *Daily Life in Eighteenth Century Italy*, trans. Michael Heron (New York, 1963), 194.
51. Caspall, *Making Fire and Light*, 176; Journal of James Robertson, 1767, 91–92, Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; “16th Century Lighting in Sweden,” *Rushlight* 15 (1949), 4; *Rushlight* 39 (1973), 8; Jean Kathryn Berger, “The Daily Life of the Household in Medieval Novgorod (Russia)” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Minnesota, 1998), 92–94; Davidson, *Woman's Work*, 107–108; James Brome, *Travels over England, Scotland and Wales* (London, 1700), 99, 218; Perceval, *English Travels*, ed. Wenger, 139; Burt, *Letters*, II, 127–128; Ménétra, *Journal*, 32. ジャック＝ルイ・メネトラ『わが人生の記：十八世紀ガラス職人の自伝』（喜安朗訳、白水社）
52. Everett Emerson, ed., *Letters from New England: The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629–1638* (Amherst, Mass., 1976), 36; Thomas Coulson, “The Story of Domestic Lighting,” *Journal of the Franklin Institute* 256 (1953), 207–208; Caspall, *Fire and Light*, 262.
53. Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, 144; June 6, 1712, Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709–1712* (Richmond, 1941), 540.
54. Garnert, *Lampan*, 104–105, 278–279; Magnús Gíslason, *Kvállsvaka: En Isländsk Kulturtradition Belyst Genom Studier i Bondebefolkningens Vardagsliv...* (Uppsala, 1977), 144, 149; Jonathan Swift, *Directions to Servants: and Miscellaneous Pieces, 1733–1742*, ed. Herbert John Davis (Oxford, 1959), 20. ジョナサン・スウィフト『奴婢訓』（深町弘三訳、岩波文庫）
55. George Washington Greene, ed., *The Works of Joseph Addison* (Philadelphia, 1883), I, 314; O'Dea, *Lighting*, 2; *Domestic Management...* (London, n.d.), 22, 48.
56. J. J. Evans, ed., *Welsh Proverbs: A Selection, with English Translations* (Llandysul, Wales, 1965), 31; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile: or On Education*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York, 1979), 133 ルソー『エミール』（今野一雄訳、岩波文庫ほか）；Craufurd Tait Ramage, *Ramage in South Italy...*, ed. Edith Clay (London, 1965), 150; Garnert, *Lampan*, 76–77; Robert Cleaver, *A Godly Forme of Household Government* (London, 1621); Tour of Sotterley Plantation, Md., Oct. 11, 1992.
57. Alice Morse Earle, *Customs and Fashions in Old New England* (1893; rpt. edn., Detroit, 1968), 127; Henry Davidoff, *World Treasury of Proverbs...* (New York, 1946), 81; *UM*, May, 1751, 220; Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (New York, 1991), 276; Moryson, *Itinerary*, IV, 201–202.
58. Cotgrave, *Dictionarie*.
59. Ruff, *Violence*, 76; Rétif de la Bretonne, *My Father's Life*, trans. Richard Veasey (Gloucester, Eng., 1986), 6; Rudolf Dekker, *Childhood, Memory and Autobiography in Holland: From the Golden Age to Romanticism* (New York, 2000), 33.
60. Apr. 30, 1645, Josselin, *Diary*, 39; May 18, 1668, Pepys, *Diary*, IX, 204. サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記（全10巻）』（白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社）
61. James Gregory, Nov. 26, 1773, Assi 45/31/2; Sept. 6, 11, 1794, June 6, 1795, Drinker, *Diary*, I, 590, 592, 689; Dec. 2, 1766 and Feb. 8, 1767, Cole, *Diary*, 161, 184.
62. Vittore Branca, ed., *Mercanti Scrittori: Ricordi Nella Firenze Tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Milan, 1986), 379; Mar. 31, 1771, Carter, *Diary*, I, 554–555; Dec. 15, 1780, Apr. 14, 1781, Apr. 13, 1785, Dec. 28, 1794, Mar. 14, 17, 1795, Woodforde, *Diary*, I, 298, 307, II, 184, IV, 163, 182, 183.
63. Pinkerton, *Travels*, II, 94; May 20, 1786, Diary of Dr. Samuel Adams, 1758–1819, New York Public Library 及び諸所に；June 7, 1745, Kay, *Diary*, 97 及び諸所に。
64. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, “Martha Ballard and Her Girls: Women's Work in Eighteenth-Century Maine,” in Stephen Innes, ed., *Work and Labor in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), 70; D. B. Horn and Mary Ransome, eds., *English Historical Documents, 1714–1783* (New York, 1957), 671–672; Apr. 10, 1785, Oct. 1, 1804, “Mrs. Ballard's Diary,” in Charles E. Nash, *The History of Augusta, Maine* (Augusta, Maine, 1904), 237, 421 及び諸所に；PL, Oct. 22, 1765; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York, 1990), 203; Anthony F. Aveni, *Empires of Time: Calendars, Clocks, and Cultures* (New York, 1989), 35.
65. Apr. 1, 1657, Josselin, *Diary*, 395; Apr. 14, 1768, Woodforde, *Diary*, I, 74.
66. Abel Boyer, *Dictionaire Royal...* (Amsterdam, 1719); Marvin Lowenthal,

- trans., *The Memoirs of Glückel of Hameln* (n.p., 1932), 120; Frank D. Prager, ed., *The Autobiography of John Fitch* (Philadelphia, 1976), 41; Mary J. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England* (New York, 1997), 274–276.
67. *Paroimiographia* (English), 8; Apr. 6, 1669, *East Anglian Diaries*, 119; Benjamin Franklin, *Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (New York, 1987), 221; Thoresby, *Diary*, I, 7.
68. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, ed. Mary Dewar (Cambridge, 1982), 107; OBP 諸所に; Brettone, *Father's Life*, trans. Veasey, 119; Henry Brisker, Apr. 9, 1766, *Assi* 45/28/2/124; Elizabeth S. Cohen, “Honor and Gender in the Streets of Early Modern Rome,” *JH* 22 (1992), 614.
69. Dec. 13, 1672, *Isham, Diary*, 175; Henry Preston, *Assi* 45/14/1/135; OBP, Apr. 24–27, 1745, 137.
70. OBP, May 10, 1722, 7; *Select Trials*, I, 305.
71. ECR, VIII, 101; OBP, Oct. 16–21, 1728, Apr. 15, 1724, 4–5, Apr. 8–14, 1752, 131.
72. Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality*, trans. Richard Southern (Cambridge, 1979), 44; Oct. 5, 1725, Sanderson, *Diary*, 80–81; OBP, Jan. 16–18, 1745, 62–63; Samuel H. Baron, ed. and trans., *The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth-Century Russia* (Stanford, Calif., 1967), 150. また A. Voisin, “Notes sur la Vie Urbaine au XV. Siècle: Dijon la Nuit,” *Annales de Bourgogne* 9 (1937), 276 も参照。
73. Bonaventure Des Périers, *Cymbalum Mundi: Four Very Ancient Joyous and Facetious Poetic Dialogues* (New York, 1965), 66. また OBP, May 2–5, 1739, 86; *Select Trials*, III, 336; *The Authentick Tryals at large of John Swan and Elizabeth Jeffries...* (London, 1752), 10, 11 も参照。
- 第5章 目に見える暗闇
1. Davenant, *The Platonick Lovers* (London, 1636).
2. Aug. 28, 1624, Beck, *Diary*, 159–160; Nov. 27, 1683, Heywood, *Diaries*, II, 341; Sandford Fleming, *Children & Puritanism* (New York, 1969), 148.
3. Suzanne Chantal, *La Vie Quotidienne au Portugal, après le Tremblement de Terre de Lisbonne de 1755* (Paris, 1962), 245.
4. Dec. 24, 1647, *Yorkshire Diaries & Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Durham, Eng., 1886), 81–82; Jan. 5, 1763, Frederick A. Pottle, ed., *Boswell's London Journal, 1762–1763* (New York, 1950), 125 ジェームズ・ボズウェル『ジェームズ・ボズウェルのロンドン日誌』(秋山平吾訳、千城); Aug. 7–31, 1732, Clegg, *Diary*, I, 151–152.
5. Samuel Briggs, *The Essays, Humor, and Poems of Nathaniel Ames, Father and Son, of Dedham, Massachusetts, from Their Almanacks, 1726–1775* (Cleveland, 1891), 67; May 21, 1707, Cowper, *Diary*; Robert W. Malcolmson, *Life and Labour in England, 1700–1780* (New York, 1981), 95–96; Burke, *Popular Culture* ピーター・パーク『ヨーロッパの民衆文化』(中村賢二郎・谷泰訳、人文書院); Robert Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France, 1400–1750*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Baton Rouge, 1985), 1–107.
6. Rousseau, *Emile: or On Education*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York, 1979), 63. ルソー『エミール』(今野一雄訳、岩波文庫ほか)
7. Bacon, *Essays* (Oxford, 1930), 3 フランシス・ベーコン『ベーコン随想集』(渡辺義雄訳、岩波文庫); Le Loyer, *Specters*, fo. 105; Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things: De Rerum Nautra*, ed. and trans. Anthony M. Esolen (Baltimore, 1995), 93 ルクレティウス『物の本質について』(樋口勝彦訳、岩波文庫); Leon Battista Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, trans. Renée Neu Watkins (Columbia, S.C., 1969), 63. レオン・バッティスタ・アルベルティ『家族論』(池上俊一・徳橋曜訳、講談社)
8. Bacon, *Essays*, 3 フランシス・ベーコン『ベーコン随想集』(渡辺義雄訳、岩波文庫); Scott, *Witchcraft*, 139; Herman W. Roodeburg, “The Autobiography of Isabella de Moerloose: Sex, Childrearing, and Popular Belief in Seventeenth Century Holland,” *JSH* 18 (1985), 522, 521, 523–524; Rudolf Dekker, *Childhood, Memory and Autobiography in Holland: From the Golden Age to Romanticism* (New York 2000), 28, 81–84; Mark Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat: The Education of the Court Nobility, 1580–1715* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 48–49.
9. H. C. Barnard, trans., *Fénelon on Education* (Cambridge, 1966), 8; Pinkerton, *Travels*, II, 757; Timothy J. Casey, ed., *Jean Paul: A Reader*, trans. Erika Casey (Baltimore, 1992), 339; Olwen Hufton, “Women, Work, and Family,” in *HWW* III, 40; Linda A. Pollock, “Parent-Child Relations,” in *FLEMT*, 197.
10. Thomas Bewick, *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick*, ed. Iain Bain (London, 1975), 16.
11. *Dialogues on the Passions, Habits, and Affections Peculiar to Children ...* (London, 1748), 40; William Hazlitt and Elbridge Colby, eds., *The Life of Thomas Holcroft* (New York, 1968), I, 14–15. また *Hibernicus; or Memoirs of an Irishman...* (Pittsburgh, 1828) も参照
12. Rousseau, *Emile*, trans. Bloom, 137 ルソー『エミール』(今野一雄訳、岩波文庫ほか); Mollie Harris, *A Kind of Magic* (London, 1969), 104–105; Restif de la Bretonne, *Monsieur Nicolas; or, the Human Heart Laid Bare* (London, 1966), 29 レチフ・ド・ラ・ブルトンヌ『筑摩世界文学大系 (23) (サド、レチフ)』(澁澤龍彦・生田耕作・片山正樹訳、筑摩書房); *Autobiography of John Younger, Shoemaker, St. Boswells* (Kelso, Eng., 1881), 45; Mrs. Laura M., Oct. 7, 14, 1938, “Game Songs and Rhymes,” *American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers’ Project, 1936–1940*, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Percy B. Green, *A History of Nursery Rhymes* (1899; rpt. edn., Detroit, 1968), 78–80.
13. Thomas Balston, *The Life of Jonathan Martin...* (London, 1945), 3. また Joseph Bougerel, *Vie de Pierre Gassendi...* (1737; rpt. edn., Geneva, 1970), 3 などとも参照。
14. Torriano, *Proverbi*, 171.
15. Mar. 7, 1787, *Diary of Dr. Samuel Adams*, *Diary, 1758–1819*, New York Public Library; Jan. 4, 1705, Cowper, *Diary*.
16. Griffiths, *Youth*, 135; Robert Morgan, *My Lamp Still Burns* (Llandysul, Wales, 1981), 64; Bräker, *Life*, 57–58, 63, 67 ウルリヒ・ブレーカー『スイス傭兵ブレーカーの自伝』(阪口修平・鈴木直志訳、刀水歴史全書 49); Ménétra, *Journal*, 24 ジャック＝ルイ・メネトラ『わが人生の記：十八世紀ガラス職人の自伝』(喜安朗訳、白水社); Valentin Jameray-Duval, *Memoires: Enfance et Éducation d'un Paysan au XVIIIe Siècle*, ed. Jean Marie Goulemot (Paris, 1981), 114; Pounds, *Culture*, 273–274, 409.
17. Joachim Schlör, *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London 1840–1930*, trans. Pierre Gottfried Imhof and Dafydd Rees Roberts (London, 1998), 57 ヨアヒム・シュレーア『大都会の夜：パリ、ロンドン、ベルリン：夜の文化史』(平田達治・我田広之・近藤直美訳、鳥影社・ロゴス企画部); Alberti, *Family in Renaissance Florence*, trans. Watkins, 107. レオン・バッティスタ・アルベルティ『家族論』(池

- 上俊一・徳橋曜訳、講談社)
18. PG, Feb. 11, 1789.
 19. OED の“cat’s eye”の項を参照；T. Row, “Hints for Constructing Glasses to Shew Objects in the Night,” *GM*, 1777, 59; Lorus Johnson Milne and Margery Joan Milne, *The World of Night* (New York, 1956), 8–9; Faber Birren, *The Power of Color...* (Secaucus, N.J., 1997), 228–229. また C. E. Roybet, ed., *Les Serées de Guillaume Bouchet Sieur de Brocourt* (Paris, 1874), III, 238–239 も参照。
 20. John Caspall, *Making Fire and Light in the Home Pre-1820* (Woodbridge, Eng., 1987), 223–227; O’Dea, *Lighting*, 70–76.
 21. Nov. 15, 1729, Sanderson, *Diary*, 30; OBP, Apr. 4, 1733, 119; Thomas Wright, *The Homes of Other Days: A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England...* (New York, 1871), 460.
 22. Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of the Underworld...* (New York, 1950), 448; Eugène Defrance, *Histoire de l’Éclairage des Rues de Paris* (Paris, 1904), 30–33; Christopher Hibbert, *Venice: The Biography of a City* (New York, 1989), 166 クリストファー・ヒバート『ヴェネツィア (上下)』(横山徳爾訳、新書房)；Jeremy D. Popkin, ed., *Panorama of Paris: Selections from Le Tableau de Paris*, Louis-Sébastien Mercier (University Park, Pa., 1999), 132.
 23. Defoe, *Second Thoughts Are Best...* (London, 1729), 15; G. C. Faber, ed., *The Poetical Works of John Gay...* (London, 1926), 81; Popkin, ed., *Panorama of Paris*, 132; *The Novels and Miscellaneous Works of Daniel Defoe* (London, 1885), 515.
 24. OBP, Oct. 4, 1719, 5.
 25. Donald E. Crawford, ed., *Journals of Sir John Lauder* (Edinburgh, 1900), 120; Harry Ross-Lewin, *With “The Thirty-Second” in the Peninsular and other Campaigns*, ed. John Wardell (Dublin, 1904), 146.
 26. Torriano, *Proverbi*, 89; Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, 825–826 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア「ヴィーナスとアドニス」～『シェイクスピア全集 (8)』所収 (小津次郎・本堂正夫ほか訳、筑摩書房)。それに、地方当局は常に松明の使用を制限していた。裸火は火災の危険があったから、17 世紀末頃には各都市でランタンの使用が推奨されるようになった。ストックホルムでは 1725 年に、王室以外は松明の使用が禁じられた。Matthiessen, *Natten*, 28.
 27. Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, 471; Anne Elizabeth Baker, comp. *Glossary of Northamptonshire Words and Phrases...* (London, 1854), 95; G. F. Northall, comp., *A Warwickshire Word-Book...* (1896; rpt. edn., Vaduz, Liecht., 1965), 167; J. W. Goethe, *Italian Journey, 1786–1788* (New York, 1968), 325 ヨハン・ヴォルフガング・フォン・ゲーテ『イタリア紀行 (全3巻)』(相良守峯訳、岩波文庫)；OED の“night-sun”の項を参照
 28. Victor Hugo Paltsits, “Journal of Benjamin Mifflin on a Tour from Philadelphia to Delaware and Maryland, July 26 to Aug. 14, 1762,” *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 39 (1935), 438; Mary Yates, Dec. 11, 1764, *Assi* 45/28/1/16.
 29. William Dickinson, comp., *A Glossary of Words and Phrases Pertaining to the Dialect of Cumberland* (London, 1878), 103; OBP, Sept. 15–18, 1762, 164; *Street Lighting Manual: Prepared by the Street and Highway Lighting Committee of the Edison Electric Institute* (New York, 1969), 63–64; Milne and Milne, *World of Night*, 10.
 30. Robert Bator, *Masterworks of Children’s Literature, 1740–1836: The Middle Period* (New York, 1983), 254; “A.B.,” *SJC*, Sept. 13, 1764; Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Athens, Ga., 1981), 2; Michael O’Malley, “Time, Work and Task Orientation: A Critique of American Historiography,” *Time & Society* 1 (1992), 350.
 31. Bradford Torrey, ed. *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau* (Boston, 1906), II, 372; Nov. 21, 1786, Woodforde, *Diary*, II, 284; Edward Browne, *Journal of a Visit to Paris in the Year 1664*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London, 1923), 22; Feb. 28, 1664, Pepys, *Diary*, V, 68 及び I–IX の諸所に。サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全 10 巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；Swift, *Journal*, I, 356 諸所に；Nov. 9, 1792, Dorothy Heighes Woodforde, ed., *Woodforde Papers and Diaries* (London, 1932), 80.
 32. OBP, Dec. 8, 1742, 16; OED の“shepherd’s lamp”の項を参照；John Clare, *Cottage Tales*, ed. Eric Robinson et al. (Manchester, 1993), 88; Baker, comp., *Northamptonshire Glossary*, III, 225; H. J. Deverson, ed., *Journey into Night* (New York, 1966), 138; OBP, May 30–31, 1745.
 33. *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* 12 (Jan. 1753), 3; OED の“Milky Way,” “Walsingham,” “Watling-street”の項を参照；Eveline Camilla Gurdon, *Suffolk* (London, 1893), 166; “Impressions of a Night Sky Unaffected by Light Pollution,” International Dark-Sky Association, Information Sheet #111, Web: www.darksky.org.
 34. Torrey, ed., *Thoreau Writings*, II, 383.
 35. June 24, 1801, Drinker, *Diary*, II, 1422; M. McGrath, ed., *Cinnine Amhíaoibh Uí Shuileabháin: The Diary of Humphrey O’Sullivan* (London, 1936–1937), I–IV 諸所に；Peter Barber, “Journal of a Traveller in Scotland, 1795–1796,” *Scottish Historical Review* 36 (1957), 43.
 36. Mansie Wauch, *The Life of Mansie Wauch, Tailor in Dalkeith* (Edinburgh, 1827), 85; ECR, VIII, 387; William H. Cope, ed., *A Glossary of Hampshire Words and Phrases* (1883; rpt. edn., Vaduz, Liecht., 1965), 23; Walter W. Skeat, ed., *A Collection of English Words...* (London, 1874), 57, 87, 93; Baker, comp., *Northamptonshire Words and Phrases*, II, 119; Frederic Thomas Elsworthy, comp., *The West Somerset Word-Book...* (1886; rpt. edn., Vaduz, Liecht., 1965), 575; Jan. 18, 1666, Pepys, *Diary*, VII, 18 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全 10 巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；Giuseppe Marco Antonio Baretta, *A Dictionary, Spanish and English...* (London, 1794); OBP, Apr. 24–May 1, 1754, 183.
 37. Jan. 23, 1786, Woodforde, *Diary*, II, 226; William Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy* (London, 1826), 179.
 38. *Diary of Robert Moody, 1660–1663*, Bodl., Rawlinson Coll. D.84; Crawford, ed., *Lauder Journals*, 177; George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (Wesport, Ct., 1972) XIII, 109. また下記も参照。Oct. 9, 1662, Pepys, *Diary*, III, 217 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全 10 巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；Oct. 1, 1794, Woodforde, *Diary*, IV, 138; Barber, “Traveller,” 49.
 39. William Cobbett, *Rural Rides in Surrey, Kent, and Other Counties* (London, 1948), II, 139; Winslow C. Watson, ed., *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, Including Journals of Travels* (New York, 1856), 59. また Thomas Hardy, *The Woodlanders* (1887; rpt. edn., London, 1991), 12. トマス・ハーディ「森林地の人々」～『トマス・ハーディ全集 (11)』所収 (新妻昭彦訳、大阪教育図書) も参照。
 40. George Edward Dartnell and Edward Hungerford Goddard, comps., *A*

- Glossary of Words Used in the County of Wiltshire (London, 1893), 192; *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk...* (Edinburgh, 1860), 125–126; Barber, “Traveller,” 48.
41. Burton E. Stevenson, ed., *The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (New York, 1948), 168; Walter W. Skeat, ed., *Five Reprinted Glossaries...* (London, 1879), 95; Bernard J. Hibbitts, “Making Sense of Metaphors: Visuality, Aurality and the Reconfiguration of American Legal Discourse,” *Cardozo Law Review* 16 (1994), 229–356; Donald M. Lowe, *History of Bourgeois Perception* (Brighton, Eng., 1982), 6–8.
42. Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, 2 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『夏の夜の夢』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか) ; Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago, 1999), 58–59.
43. John M. Hull, *Touching the Rock: An Experience of Blindness* (New York, 1990), 166, 83 ジョン・ハル『光と闇を越えて:失明についての一つの体験』(松川成夫訳、新教出版社) ; Julian Jaynes, *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind* (Boston, 1977), 96–97. ジュリアン・ジェインズ『神々の沈黙:意識の誕生と文明の興亡』(柴田裕之訳、紀伊國屋書店)
44. Barber, “Traveller,” 39; Diary of Rev. William Bennet, 1785, Bodl., Eng. Misc. f. 54, fo. 74; E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (New York, 1991), 362; Joshua Lucock Wilkinson, *The Wanderer... through France, Germany and Italy in 1791 and 1793* (London, 1798), I, 58; Jasper Danckaerts, *Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679–80*, ed. and trans. Henry C. Murphy (New York, 1867), 125.
45. Sept. 20, 1791, Walter Johnson, ed., *Gilbert White's Journals* (1931; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), 394; Milne and Milne, *World of Night*, 13–14, 94; Claire Murphy and William Cain, “Odor Identification: The Blind are Better,” *Physiology & Behavior* 37 (1986), 177–180. 目で見た光景よりも、きつい臭いの記憶のほうがずっと長く残っているものである。 J. Douglas Porteous, *Landscapes of the Mind: Worlds of Sense and Metaphor* (Toronto, 1990), 34–36. ダグラス・ポコック、J・ダグラス・ポーティウス『心のなかの景観』(米田巖・潟山健二訳編、古今書院)
46. W. Carew Hazlitt, ed., *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases...* (London, 1882), 94; Edward Ward, *The London Spy* (1709; rpt. edn., New York, 1985), 40 ネット・ウォード『ロンドン・スパイ:都市住民の生活探訪』(渡邊孔二監訳、中村裕子ほか訳、法政大学出版局) ; Barber, “Traveller,” 39; M. Betham-Edwards, ed., *The Autobiography of Arthur Young* (1898; rpt. edn., New York, 1967), 194. また Sept. 15, 1779, Andrew Oliver, ed., *The Journal of Samuel Curwen, Loyalist* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 560 も参照。
47. OED の “blind road” の項を参照 ; Sept. 16, 1795, “Dr. Pierce's Manuscript Journal,” *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 2nd Ser., 3 (1886–1887), 52; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York, 1990), 202; Hull, *Touching the Rock*, 103. ジョン・ハル『光と闇を越えて:失明についての一つの体験』(松川成夫訳、新教出版社)
48. Faber, ed., *Gay Works*, 83.
49. Descartes, *Selected Philosophical Writings*, trans. John Cottingham et al. (Cambridge, 1988), 58 ルネ・デカルト『デカルト著作集 (全4巻)』(青木靖三・水野和久ほか訳、白水社) ; Harry Porter, *The Pleasant History of the Two Angry Women of Abington* (n.p., 1599) ヘンリー・ポーター『アビントンの焼きもち女房たち』(大井邦雄訳、早稲田大学出版部) ; Oct. 2, 1724, Parkman, *Diary*, 6.
50. Cecil Aspinall-Oglander, ed., *Admiral's Wife: Being the Life and Letters of the Hon. Mrs. Edward Boscawen from 1719 to 1761* (London, 1940), 235; Monique Savoy, *Lumières sur la Ville: Introduction et Promotion de l'Électricité en Suisse: L'Éclairage Lausannois, 1881–1921* (Lausanne, 1988), 50.
51. L'Estrange, *Fables of Aesop and Other Eminent Mythologists: With Morals and Reflections* (London, 1699), I, 103.
52. Torrey, ed., *Thoreau Writings*, III, 340.
53. Farley's *Bristol Journal*, Feb. 18, 1769; Ward, *London Spy*, III, 48–49 ネット・ウォード『ロンドン・スパイ:都市住民の生活探訪』(渡邊孔二監訳、中村裕子ほか訳、法政大学出版局) ; Aileen Riberio, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715–1789* (New Haven, 2002), 85.
54. OBP, July 9–11, 1740, 174; Joseph Lawson, *Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey during the Last Sixty Years* (Stanningley, Eng., 1887), 33; Torriano, *Proverbi*, 170.
55. Hadrianus Junius, *The Nomenclator...* (London, 1585), 160–161; OED の “great-coat” の項を参照 ; John Owen, *Travels into Different Parts of Europe, in the Years 1791 and 1792...* (London, 1796), II, 81; Tobias Smollett, *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves* (London, 1762), 239; Daniel Defoe, *The Life of... Robinson Crusoe* (London, 1729), 180 ダニエル・デフォー『完訳ロビンソン・クルーソー』(増田義郎訳、中央公論社ほか) ; Henry Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies...* (London, 1783), II, 308; Jonas Hanway, *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea...* (London, 1753), II, 336; Riberio, *Dress*, 22–24, 30–31, 87.
56. W. Hooper, ed., *Letters of Baron Bielfeld...* (London, 1768), IV, 166; OED の “nightkerchief”, “mob” の項を参照 ; Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, 296; John Owen, *Travels into Different Parts of Europe, in the Years 1791 and 1792...* (London, 1796), II, 81; Apr. 24, 25, 1665, Pepys, *Diary*, VI, 89 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; F. Pomey and A. Lovell, *Indiculus Universalis; or, the Universe in Epitome...* (London, 1679), 68; Riberio, *Dress*, 49.
57. Thomas Burke, *English Night-Life: From Norman Curfew to Present Black-Out* (New York, 1971), 54; Andrew Henderson, ed., *Scottish Proverbs* (Edinburgh, 1832), 69; OBP, Oct. 4, 1719, 6; Cohens, *Italy*, 49.
58. Torrington, *Diaries*, III, 290.
59. Nov. 28, 1785, Woodforde, *Diary*, II, 216; James Peller Malcolm, *Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London during the Eighteenth Century...* (London, 1810), I, 145. また July 30, 1755, Parkman, *Diary*, 293 も参照。
60. LC, Aug. 18, 1785.
61. Varro, *On the Latin Language*, trans. Roland G. Kent (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), I, 177–179; Censorinus, *De Die Natale*, trans. William Maude (New York, 1900), 40; Henry Hibbert, *Syntagma Theologicum...* (London, 1662), 30.
62. Augustin Gallo, *Secrets de la Vraye Agriculture...* (Paris, 1572), 213; Leonard Lawrence, *A Small Treatise betwixt Arnalte and Lucenda* (London, 1639), 7; Nina Gockereil, “Telling Time without a Clock,” in Klaus Maurice and Otto Mayr, eds., *The Clockwork Universe: German Clocks and Automata, 1550–1650* (New York, 1980), 137. この時間区分は数多くの一次資料に当ることによって導き出したものである。
63. Ralph Knevet, *Rhodon and Iris...* (London, 1631); OED の “hen and

- chickens”、“seven stars”の項を参照；Weinsberg, *Diary*, I, 59; Gockerell, “Telling Time,” 137.
64. Barber, “Traveller,” 42; Crusius, *Nocte*, ch. 3.12; Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, I, 2, 198 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『ハムレット』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか)；*The Rape of Lucrece*, 113–119. 「ルークリース」～『シェイクスピア全集(8)』所収(小津次郎・高松雄一ほか訳、筑摩書房ほか)
65. *OBP*, Oct. 12, 1737, 205; M. D’Archenholz, *A Picture of England...* (London, 1789), II, 79; Ménétrel, *Journal*, 195–196. ジャック＝ルイ・メネトラ『わが人生の記：十八世紀ガラス職人の自伝』(喜安朗訳、白水社)
66. *SWP*, I, 99; Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, I, 1, 143 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『ハムレット』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか)；Bourne, *Antiquitates Vulgares*, 38; Alan Gailey, “The Bonfire in North Irish Tradition,” *Folklore* 88 (1977), 18; Crusius, *Nocte*, ch. 3.36.
67. William Howitt, *The Boy’s Country Book* (London, n.d.), 196; Bourne, *Antiquitates Vulgares*, 87, 84 及び諸所に；Francis Grose, *A Provincial Glossary* (1787; rpt. ed., Menston, Eng., 1968), 3, 2. また James Dawson Burn, *The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy*, ed. David Vincent (London, 1978), 67; Bartholomäus Sastrow et al., *Social Germany in Luther’s Time: Being the Memoirs of Bartholomew Sastrow*, trans. H.A.L. Fisher (Westminster, Eng., 1902), 291 も参照。
68. Lynn Doyle, *An Ulster Childhood* (London, 1926), 61; Charles Jackson, ed., *The Diary of Abraham De la Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary* (Durham, Eng., 1870), 39. また *Life and Struggles of William Lovett...* (London, 1876), 11 も参照。
69. *OBP*, Jan. 16–20, 1752, 48; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 63; Oct. 27, 1771, Basil Cozens-Hardy, ed., *The Diary of Syllas Neville, 1767–1788* (London, 1950), 132; Richard Cobb, *Paris and Its Provinces, 1792–1802* (New York, 1975), 45; Paul Zumthor, *Daily Life in Rembrandt’s Holland* (New York, 1963), 249; James Lackington, *Memoirs of the First Forty-Five Years...* (London, 1792), 34.
70. June 23, 1745, Lewis, *Diary*, 184; “Journal of P. Oliver, 1776–1810,” Egerton Mss. 2672, I, fo. 68, BL; *Diary of John Leake, 1713*, Rawlinson Mss., D. 428, fo. 37, Bodl.; F. Platter, *Journal*, 36.
71. Taillepiéd, *Ghosts*, 78; Moryson, *Itinerary*, IV, 294; *Early Prose and Poetical Works of John Taylor the Water Poet (1580–1653)* (London, 1888), 156; *Letters from Minorca ...* (Dublin, 1782), 213; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 24.
72. Clare Williams, ed., *Thomas Platter’s Travels in England, 1599* (London, 1937), 150; Sept. 19, 1662, Pepys, *Diary*, III, 201 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；Paolo Da Certaldo, *Libro di Buoni Costumi*, ed. Alfredo Schiaffini (Florence, 1945), 14; *OBP*, Oct. 17–19, 1749, 163; Mrs. Grant, *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland...* (New York, [1831?]), I, 121; Jackson, ed., *De la Pryme Diary*, 71; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 215.
73. Yves-Marie Bercé, *History of Peasant Revolts: The Social Origins of Rebellion in Early Modern France*, trans. Amanda Whitmore (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), 278; *Diary of James Scudamore, ca. 1710*, Hereford City Library, Eng.; Feb. 13, 14, 1667, Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, 60, 62 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；Lawrence F. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (New York, 1977), 94. ローレンス・ストーン『家族・性・結婚の社会史：1500年～1800年のイギリス』(北本正章訳、勁草書房)
74. Nov. 18, 1762, Frederick A. Pottle, ed., *Boswell’s London Journal, 1762–1763* (New York, 1950), 43. ジェームズ・ボズウェル『ジェームズ・ボズウェルのロンドン日誌』(秋山平吾訳、千城)。また Dec. 17, 1769, Woodforde, *Diary*, I, 95 も参照。
75. Brian Hill, *Observations and Remarks in a Journey through Sicily and Calabria* (London, 1792), 49; *Journal of Twisden Bradbourn, 1693–1967*, 1698, 103, *Miscellaneous English Manuscripts c. 206*, Bodl. ノエル・タイユピエは、「聖水を撒くのは悪霊の敵意や攻撃から身を守る確かな方法だった」と書いている(Ghosts, 174).
76. Grose, *Provincial Glossary*, 70; R. D. Oliver Heslop, comp., *Northumberland Word...* (London, 1894), I, 204; Brand 1848, III, 15; Muchembled, *Popular Culture*, trans. Cochrane, 84–85; Enid Porter, *Cambridgeshire Customs and Folklore* (New York, 1969), 62; Paul-Yves Sébillot, *Le Folklore de la Bretagne ...* (Paris, 1968), II, 132; Jean Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident, XIVe–XVIIIe Siècles: Une Cité Assiégée* (Paris, 1978), 92 ジャン・ドリュモ『恐怖心の歴史』(永見文雄・西沢文昭訳、新評論)；William Dillon Piersen, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Amherst, Mass., 1988), 85.
77. Faber, ed., *Gay Works*, 81; Rousseau, *Emile*, trans. Bloom, 148 ルソー『エミール』(今野一雄訳、岩波文庫ほか)；John Burnap, July 10, 1766, Assi 45/28/2/97c. また Thomas Hardy, *The Trumpet-Major...* (1912; rpt. edn., New York, 1984), 274. トマス・ハーディ『らっば隊長：ジョン・ラブデイ、ナポレオン戦争の一將兵と弟のロバート、商船一等航海士』(藤井繁・川島光子訳、千城ほか) も参照。
78. Remarks 1717, 175; Watson, ed., *Men and Times*, 115; Bernard Mandeville, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn*, ed. Malvin R. Zirker, Jr. (Los Angeles, 1964), 10; Muchembled, *Violence*, 65, 120–121.
79. Schindler, *Rebellion*, 223; Muchembled, *Violence*, 120–123, 259; William Mowfitt, Aug. 14, 1647, Assi 45/2/1/229; T. Platter, *Journal*, 197 トマス・プラッター『放浪学生プラッターの手記』(阿部謹也訳、平凡社)；Pinkerton, *Travels*, I, 224; Milly Harrison and O.M. Royston, comps., *How They Lived...* (Oxford, 1965), II, 253; *OBP*, May 2–5, 1739, 73; Rousseau, *Emile*, trans. Bloom, 138 ルソー『エミール』(今野一雄訳、岩波文庫ほか)。
80. Anna Brzozowska-Krajka, *Polish Traditional Folklore: The Magic of Time* (Boulder, Colo., 1998), 63; Sébillot, *Folklore de la Bretagne*, II, 162; *Autobiography of the Blessed Mother Anne of Saint Bartholomew* (St. Louis, 1916), 15; Casey, ed., *Jean Paul*, trans. Casey, 339; F. Platter, *Journal*, 104.
81. Abel Boyer, *Dictionnaire Royal...* (Amsterdam, 1719); Paul Monroe, *Thomas Platter and the Educational Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1904), 161, 107; Dietz, *Surgeon*, 110–111. エルンスト・コンゼンツィウス編『ヨハン・ディーツ親方自伝：大選帝侯軍医にして王室理髪師』(佐藤正樹訳、白水社)。また Stephen Bradwell, *A Watch-Man for the Pest...* (London, 1625), 39 も参照。
82. Llewellynn Jewitt, ed., *The Life of William Hutton...* (London, 1872), 159; Bräker, *Life*, 58 ウルリヒ・ブレーカー『スイス傭兵ブレーカーの自伝』(阪口修平・鈴木直志訳、刀水歴史全書 49)；David Pulsifer, ed., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England* (Boston, 1861), XI, 106; Dec. 13, 1765, Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle, eds., *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France, 1765–1766* (New York, 1955), 232.
83. Feb. 7, 1704, Cowper, *Diary*.
84. Jan. 29, 1735, Clegg, *Diary*, I, 217; June 14, 1757, Turner, *Diary*, 100.
85. *SWP*, II, 560–561; Oct. 28, 1833, McGrath, ed., *O’Sullivan Diary*, III, 247.

第Ⅲ部 闇に包まれた領域

●序

1. L. E. Kastner, ed., *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden* ... (New York, 1968), I, 46.
2. Flaherty, *Privacy*, 94; David Levine and Keith Wrightson, *The Making of an Industrial Society: Whickham, 1560–1765* (Oxford, 1991), 280.
3. Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England, 1547–1603* (Oxford, 1995), 515; G. R. Quaipe, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1979), 180–181.
4. Gottfried Von Bulow, ed., “Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, through England in the Year 1602,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Ser., 6 (1892), 65.
5. Oct. 16, 1773, Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett, eds. *Boswell’s Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D., 1773* (New York, 1961), 312 ジェイムズ・ボズウェル『ヘブリディーズ諸島旅日記』(諏訪部仁ほか訳、中央大学出版部) ; *A View of London and Westminster...* (London, 1725), 5–6.
6. Mar. 27, 1782, Sanger, *Diary*, 409; Yves Castan, “Politics and Private Life,” in *HPL* III, 49; Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760* (London, 1988), 76–77, 80, 88, 168.
7. “B,” *Westminster Magazine* 8 (1780), 16. また Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Aphorisms*, ed. R. J. Hollingdale (London, 1990), 44–45; Lena Cowen Orlin, ed., *Elizabethan Households: An Anthology* (Washington, D.C., 1995), 119–120; SAS, II, 311 も参照。
8. Norman Egbert McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 283; May 17, 1709, PL 27/2; OBP, Apr. 28–May 3, 1742, 77; SAS, II, 311; Levine and Wrightson, *Making of an Industrial Society*, 281; Roger Thompson, “‘Holy Watchfulness’ and Communal Conformism: The Functions of Defamation in Early New England Communities,” *New England Quarterly* 56 (1983), 513.
9. John Aubrey, *Miscellanies upon Various Subjects* (London, 1857), 215; *British Magazine*, 2 (1747), 441; Alexandre Wolowski, *La Vie Quotidienne en Pologne au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1972), 184; Breton, *Works*, II, 11.
10. Kathleen Elizabeth Stuart, “The Boundaries of Honor: ‘Dishonorable People’ in Augsburg, 1500–1800” (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1993), 26, 38–40; Jütte, *Poverty*, 164; Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 43–47, 184–190; Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500–1800*, trans. Allan Cameron (New Haven, 2002), 207–211.
11. *Weekly Rehearsal* (Boston), Apr. 24, 1732; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 288–289; Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 188–193.
12. OED の “privacy”、“private” (また “privity” and “privity”) の項を参照。The *Bastard* (London, 1652), 71; *Herbert’s Devotions...* (London, 1657), 217; Flaherty, *Privacy*, 1–13; Ronald Huebert, “Privacy: The Early Social History of a Word,” *Sewanee Review*, 105 (1997), 21–38.
13. Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *Philip Stubbes’s Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespeare’s Youth, A.D. 1583* (London, 1877), I, 329; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), 97–123 ナタリー・ゼーモン・デーヴィス『愚者の王国異端の都市：近代初期フランスの民衆文化』(成瀬駒男ほか訳、平凡社) ; Maria José del Rio, “Carnival, the

World Upside Down,” in Robert Muchembled et al., *Popular Culture* (Danbury, Ct., 1994), 83–84.

14. Harrison, *Description*, 36; David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989) 諸所に ; Griffiths, *Youth*, 156–158; Burke, *Popular Culture*, 194–196. ピーター・バーク『ヨーロッパの民衆文化』(中村賢二郎・谷泰訳、人文書院)
15. Richard Lassels, *An Italian Voyage...* (London, 1698), II, 118; Iain Cameron, *Crime and Repression in the Auvergne and the Guyenne, 1720–1790* (Cambridge, 1981), 197–198; David Chambers and Trevor Dean, *Clean Hands and Rough Justice: An Investigating Magistrate in Renaissance Italy* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1997), 20. また Donald E. Crawford, ed., *Journals of Sir John Lauder* (Edinburgh, 1900), 118; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 200–201 も参照。
16. *The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown in Prose and Verse...* (London, 1708), III, 114; *The Poems of the Late Christopher Smart...* (London, 1790), II, 9; Charles Gildon, *The Post-Boy Rob’d of His Mail...* (London, 1692), 147; Mr. Dibdin, *The Lamplighter* ([London, 1790?]); Kenneth J. Gergen et al., “Deviance in the Dark,” *Psychology Today* 7 (1973), 129–130.
17. Alastair Fowler, ed., *The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse* (Oxford, 1991), 416; Bernard Bailyn, “The Boundaries of History: The Old World and the New,” in *The Dedication of the Casperen Building...* (Providence, 1992), 36; *The London Jilt: or, the Politick Whore...* (London, 1683), Pt. II, 156; Aphra Behn, *Five Plays...*, ed. Maureen Duffy (London, 1990), 35; Dionysius, “Contemplations by Moonlight,” *European Magazine* 34 (1798), 307.
18. Rétif de la Bretonne, *Les Nuits de Paris, ou le Spectateur-Nocturne*, eds. Jean Varloot and Michel Delon (Paris, 1986), 38 レチフ・ド・ラ・ブルトンヌ『パリの夜：革命家の民衆』(植田裕次訳、岩波文庫) ; Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*, ed. Stephen Cornfield (Cambridge, 1989), 122; Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, *Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds*, trans. H. A. Hargreaves (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 10 ベルナル・ル・ボヴィエ・ド・フォントネル『世界の複数性についての対話』(赤木昭三訳、工作舎) ; J. W. Goethe, *Italian Journey, 1786–1788* (New York, 1968), 182 ヨハン・ヴォルフガング・フォン・ゲーテ『イタリア紀行 (全3巻)』(相良守峯訳、岩波文庫) ; Lewis, *Diary*, 161.

●第6章 暗闇の仕事

1. Mill, *A Nights Search: Discovering the Nature and Condition of all Sorts of Night-Walkers...* (London, 1639).
2. John 9:4 ヨハネによる福音書第9章4節 ; *Paroimiographia* (Spanish), 22; Georgina F. Jackson, comp., *Shropshire Word-Book...* (London, 1879), 38; Grose, *Dictionary*.
3. Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Chicago, 1996), 293, 235, 246 ゲルハルト・ドールン＝ファン・ロッスム『時間の歴史：近代の時間秩序の誕生』(藤田幸一郎・篠原敏昭・岩波敦子訳、大月書店) ; Torriano, *Proverbi*, 171; Verdon, *Night*, 110–112 ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』(吉田晴美訳、原書房) ; Monica Chojnacka and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, eds., *Ages of Woman, Ages of Man: Sources in European Social History, 1400–1750* (London, 2002), 159; Wilson, *English Proverbs*, 122; Henri Hauser, *Ouvriers du Temps Passé XVe–XVIIe Siècles* (Paris, 1927), 82–83.
4. Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, trans. Dunlap, 311–312, 294 ゲル

- ハルト・ドールン＝ファン・ロッスム『時間の歴史：近代の時間秩序の誕生』（藤田幸一郎・篠原敏昭・岩波敦子訳、大月書店）；G. C. Coulton, ed., *Life in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1929), 99; Hauser, *Ouvriers*, 82–85; Silvia Mantini, “Per Un’ Immagine Della Notte,” *Archivio Storico Italiano* 4 (1985), 578–579; Maurice Bouteloup, “Le Travail de Nuit dans la Boulangerie” (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris, 1909), 2.
5. Jan. 13, 1573, I. H. Van Eeghen, ed., *Dagboek Van Broeder Wouter Jacobsz* (Gaultherus Jacobi Masius Prior Van Stein: Amsterdam, 1572–1578, *En Montfoort, 1578–1579*) (Gronningen, neth, 1959), I, 134; R.H. Tawney and Eileen Power, eds., *Tudor Economic Documents: Being Select Documents Illustrating the Economic and Social History of Tudor England* (London, 1953), I, 342; Pierre Goubert, *The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Ian Patterson (Cambridge, 1986), 100; Helen Simpson, ed. and trans., *The Waiting City: Paris 1782–88...* (Philadelphia, 1933), 75.
 6. Anthony Horneck, *The Happy Ascetick, or, the Best Exercise* ([London], 1680), 409; Torriano, *Proverbi*, 104; Erskine Beveridge, comp., and J. D. Westwood, ed., *Fergusson’s Scottish Proverbs from the Original Print of 1641...* (Edinburgh, 1924), 266.
 7. Burkitt, *The Poor Man’s Help...* (London, 1694), 16.
 8. Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism,” *PP* 38 (1967), 73, 56–97 及び諸所に。
 9. “John Dane’s Narrative,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 8 (1854), 150; ECR, II, 150; Ménéttra, *Journal*, 32–33 ジャック＝ルイ＝メネトラ『わが人生の記：十八世紀ガラス職人の自伝』（喜安朗訳、白水社）；OBP, Sept. 7, 1722.
 10. Wilson, *English Proverbs*, 169; Thomas Dekker, *The Seven Deadly Sinsnes of London*, H.F.B. Brett-Smith, ed. (New York, 1922), 30; OBP, Feb. 2–Mar. 2, 1765, 120; John Clayton, *Friendly Advice to the Poor...* (Manchester, 1755), 37; Franco Sacchetti, *Tales from Sacchetti*, trans. Mary G. Steegmann (1908; rpt. edn., Westport, Ct., 1978), 231. フランコ・サケッティ『ルネッサンス巷談集』（杉浦明平訳、岩波文庫）
 11. Gaetano Zompini, *Le Arti Che Vanno per Via Nella Città di Venezia* (Venice, 1785), plate 15 及び 諸所に；Max J. Okenfuss, trans., *The Travel Diary of Peter Tolstoi: A Muscovite in Early Modern Europe* (DeKalb, Ill., 1987), 301; Marybeth Carlson, “Domestic Service in a Changing City Economy: Rotterdam, 1680–1780” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1993), 158; Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660–1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow, Eng., 2000), 150–51; OBP, Oct. 12, 1726, 3; Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline,” 60; Legg, *Low-Life*, 10; Restif de la Bretonne, *Oeuvres* (Geneva, 1971), II, 148–149.
 12. Mar. 25, 1661, Pepys, *Diary*, II, 60 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記（全10巻）』（白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社）；J. W. Goethe, *Italian Journey, 1786–1788* (New York, 1968), Part II, 315 ヨハン・ヴォルフガング・フォン・ゲーテ『イタリア紀行（全3巻）』（相良守峯訳、岩波文庫）；OEDの“bunter”の項を参照。
 13. Beveridge, comp., and Westwood, ed., *Scottish Proverbs*, 25; Jan. 18, 1624, Beck, *Diary*, 34; *A General Description of All Trades...* (London, 1747), 204 及び諸所に；John Collinges, *The Weaver Pocket-Book, or, Weaving Spiritualized* ... (n.p., 1695), 87; William Howitt, *The Boy’s Country Book* (London, n.d.), 12–13.
 14. Dec. 24, 1660, Pepys, *Diary*, I, 322 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記（全10巻）』（白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社）；Joan Wake and Deborah Champion Webster, eds., *The Letters of Daniel Eaton to the Third Earl of Cardigan, 1725–1732* (Kettering, Eng., 1971), 72; R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman; Being a Compendious View of All the Trades, Professions, Arts, both Liberal and Mechanic now Practised in the Cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1747) 諸所に；Description of Trades 諸所に。
 15. Steven L. Kaplan, *The Bakers of Paris and the Bread Question, 1700–1775* (Durham, N.C., 1996), 227 及び 諸所に；Bouteloup, “Travail de Nuit,” 3–5; Description of Trades, 10–11.
 16. Campbell, *London Tradesman*, 264, 332; OBP, Jan. 17, 1728, Apr. 24–27, 1745, 104; Apr. 2, 8, 1777, Clement Young Sturge, ed., *Leaves from the Past: The Diary of John Allen, Sometime Brewer of Wapping (1757–1808)*... (Bristol, 1905), 30, 34.
 17. Celia Fiennes, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1685–c.1712*, ed. Christopher Morris (London, 1982), 70; “Speculations,” *PA*, July 15, 1763; *The Memoirs of Charles-Lewis Baron de Pollnitz...* (London, 1739), I, 410; Bouteloup, “Travail de Nuit,” 2; *The Lawes of the Market* (London, 1595).
 18. T. Platter, *Journal*, 46 トマス・ブラッター『放浪学生ブラッターの手記』（阿部謹也訳、平凡社）；Woodward, ed., *Books*, 108; Goubert, *French Peasantry*, trans. Patterson, 140; John Webster, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft...* (London, 1677), 299.
 19. Edward Halle, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancastre & Yorke...* (n.p., 1548), fo. xli; Sigrid Maurice and Klaus Maurice, “Counting the Hours in Community Life of the 16th and 17th Centuries,” in Klaus Maurice and Otto Mayr, eds., *The Clockwork Universe: German Clocks and Automata, 1550–1650* (New York, 1980), 149; Moryson, *Itinerary*, I, 22–23; Pinkerton, *Travels*, I, 329.
 20. Margaret Killip, *The Folklore of the Isle of Man* (Totowa, N.J., 1976), 170; Garnet, *Lampen*, 102, 278; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 194, James Orchard Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words...* (London, 1865), II, 924; Robert Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1594; rpt. edn., Gainesville, Fla., 1954); George Latimer Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases: A Historical Dictionary* (London, 1929), 78; Paul Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century: An Outline of the Beginnings of the Modern Factory System in England* (London, 1952), 77 ポール・マントゥ『産業革命』（徳増栄太郎・井上幸治・遠藤輝明訳、東洋経済新報社）；LE-P, Nov. 6, 1760.
 21. Marjorie McIntosh, “The Diversity of Social Capital in English Communities, 1300–1640 (with a Glance at Modern Nigeria),” *JIH* 26 (1995), 471; Carol F. Karlson, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York, 1984), 171; Thomas Tusser, *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie*, eds. V. Payne and Sidney J. Herrtage (London, 1878), 162; Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500–1800*, trans. Allan Cameron (New Haven, 2002), 190–191.
 22. Wilson, *English Proverbs*, 909; RB, III, Pt. 1, 302–303; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife’s Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York, 1990), 210; Stephen Duck, *The Thresher’s Labour* (1736) 並びに Mary Collier, *The Woman’s Labour* (1739) (rpt. edn., Los Angeles, 1985), 15; *Province and Court Records of Maine* (Portland, Maine, 1928), I, 140; Caroline Davidson, *A Woman’s Work is Never Done: A History of*

- Housework in the British Isles, 1650–1950 (London, 1982), 15.
23. Nov. 20, 1660, Pepys, *Diary*, I, 297 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; Mary Stower, Dec. 15, 1727, Assi 45/18/15/84; OBP, Apr. 28–May 4, 1756, 179; Davidson, *Woman's Work*, 136–152.
24. Collier, *Woman's Labour*, 16; Helen and Keith Kelsall, *Scottish Lifestyle 300 Years Ago: New Light on Edinburgh and Border Families* (Edinburgh, 1986), 97; Timothy J. Casey, ed., *Jean Paul: A Reader*, trans. Erika Casey (Baltimore, 1992), 339; SAS, XIV, 320, XV, 125; Richard Harvey, “The Work and Mentalité of Lower Orders Elizabethan Women,” *Exemplaria* 5 (1993), 418–419.
25. OBP, Dec. 3, 1729, 6; “Extract of a Letter from Edinburgh, dated June 27,” *SJC*, July 6, 1769; Catherine Parker, Jan. 7, 1773, Assi 45/31/1/55; OBP, Dec. 7–12, 1763, 2.
26. Grose, *Dictionary*; Tusser, *Good Husbandrie*, ed. Payne and Hertridge, 58; July 7, 1663, Pepys, *Diary*, IV, 220 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; Ferdinando Bottarelli, *The New Italian, English and French Pocket-Dictionary...* (London, 1777), III; Gerald Strauss, *Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century: City Politics and Life Between Middle Ages and Modern Times* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976), 192; James Clifford, “Some Aspects of London Life in the Mid-18th Century,” in Paul Fritz and David Williams, eds., *City & Society in the 18th Century* (Toronto, 1973), 23–34; Burt, *Letters*, I, 25; Susan B. Hanley, “Urban Sanitation in Preindustrial Japan,” *JIH* 18 (1987), 1–26.
27. Donald Lupton, *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartered into Severall Characters*(1632; rpt. edn. Amsterdam, 1977), 94–96; Kathleen Elizabeth Stuart, “The Boundaries of Honor: ‘Dishonorable People’ in Augsburg, 1500–1800 (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1993), 171–175; Mar. 5–7, 1799, Drinker, *Diary*, II, 1142–1143; Clifford, “London Life,” 27.
28. Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year...* (1722; rpt. edn., London, 1927), 223, 233 及び諸所に。ダニエル・デフォー『ペスト』(平井正穂訳、中公文庫) ; James S. Amelang, *A Journal of the Plague Year: The Diary of the Barcelona Tanner Miguel Parets, 1651* (New York, 1991), 82; OED の “vespillon” の項を参照 ; F. Altieri, *Dizionario Italiano ed. Inglese...* (London, 1726), I; A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, *Containing the Selectmen's Minutes from 1764 to 1768* (Boston, 1889), 12; Aug. 15, 20, 1665, Pepys, *Diary*, VI, 192, 199 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; Michael Kunze, *Highroad to the Stake: A Tale of Witchcraft*, trans. William E. Yuill (Chicago, 1987), 163. ミヒャエル・クンツェ『火刑台への道』(鍋谷由有子訳、白水社)
29. *The Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil*, trans. C. Day Lewis (Garden City, N.Y., 1964), 105. ウェルギリウス『牧歌・農耕詩』(小川正広訳、京都大学学術出版会)
30. Oct. 21, 1807, *Diary of Hiram Harwood* (typescript), Bennington Historical Society, Bennington, Vt.; *A Journal for the Years 1739–1803 by Samuel Lane of Stratham New Hampshire*, ed. Charles J. Hanson (Concord, N.H., 1937), 29; “Mus Rusticus,” *SJC*, Apr. 27, 1773; Crusius, *Nocte*, ch. 4.25; Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, *On Agriculture and Trees*, trans. E. S. Forster and Edward H. Heffner (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), III, 57.
31. Nov. 4, 1777, Sanger, *Journal*, 165 及び諸所に ; SAS, XVII, 597; July 1, 1767, Cole, *Diary*, 236; May 7, 1665, James M. Rosenheim, ed., *The Notebook of Robert Doughty, 1662–1665* (Aberystwyth, Wales, 1989), 54.
32. Aug. 27, 1691, H. J. Morehouse and C. A. Hulbert, eds., *Extracts from the Diary of the Rev. Robert Meeke* (London, 1874), 43; Awnsham Churchill, comp., *A Collection of Voyages and Travels...* (London, 1746), VI, 729; *Journal of James Robertson, 1767*, 118, Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; William W. Hagen, *Ordinary Prussians: Brandenburg, Junkers and Villagers (1500–1840)* (Cambridge, 2002), 120.
33. John Brown, Mar. 19, 1777, Assi 45/33/10c; Augustin Gallo, *Secrets de la Vraye Agriculture...* (Paris, 1572), 16; Tusser, *Good Husbandrie*, ed. Payne and Hertridge, 177; Charles Stevens and John Liebault, comps., *Maison Rustique, or, the Countrey Farme*, trans. Richard Surfleet (London, 1616), 22.
34. Apr. 25, 1698, *Diary of John Richards*, 52, Dorset Record Office, Bournemouth, Eng.; Best, *Books*, 124; Feb. 27, 1692, Sewall, *Diary*, I, 288; Patten, *Diary*, 190; July 26, 1749, Parkman, *Diary*, 199; Aug. 21, 1782, Sanger, *Journal*, 432; Cole, *Diary*, 90.
35. Halliwell, *Archaic and Provincial Words*, I, 149; Giacomo Agostinetti, *Cento e Dieci Ricordi Che Formano il Bvono Fattor di Villa* (Venice, 1717), 230; Feb. 23, 1764, Carter, *Diary*, I, 25 及び諸所に、II の諸所に ; Aug. 14, 1672, Isham, *Diary*, 139; “Henry Vagg,” *B. Chron.*, June 28, 1788; Howitt, *Country Book*, 71; Henry Fielding, *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews* (New York, 1950), 158 ヘンリー・フィールディング『ジョウゼフ・アンドルーズ (上下)』(朱牟田夏雄訳、岩波文庫) ; *Yorkshire Diaries & Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Durham, Eng., 1886), 106; Best, *Books*, 145.
36. Stevens and Liebault, comps., *Maison Rustique*, trans. Surfleet, 24–26 ; Leonard Digges and Thomas Digges, *A Prognostication Everlasting...* (London, 1605), fo. 6; Piero Camporesi, *The Anatomy of the Senses: Natural Symbols in Medieval and Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 1994), 196–197.
37. Best, *Books*, 152; Nov. 7, 1774, Feb. 5, 1776, Mar. 13, 1779, Sanger, *Journal*, 13, 86, 236; James Kelly, *A Complete Collection of Scottish Proverbs ...* (London, 1818), 212; Jasper Charlton, *The Ladies Astronomy and Chronology...* (London, 1735), 35; “Charles Ley,” *SWA or LJ*, Dec. 10, 1770; “On the Harvest Moon,” *SJC*, Sept. 1, 1774.
38. SAS, XVII, 557; Robert Southey, *Journal of a Tour in Scotland*, ed. C.H. Hertford (London, 1929), 113–114; P. Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta...* (London, 1773), 220; Patten, *Diary* 諸所に ; SAS, XIII, 602.
39. Jonas Hanway, *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea...* (London, 1753), II, 216; “A Visit to Rome in 1736,” *GM* 39 (1853), 264; Gallo, *Secrets de la Vraye Agriculture*, 370, 204; Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 355; Pinkerton, *Travels*, VI, 370; Samuel Deane, *The New England Farmer...* (Worcester, Mass., 1790), 327.
40. NYWJ, May 4, 1741; John Lough, *France Observed in the Seventeenth Century by British Travellers* (Stocksfield, Eng., 1984), 44; Cohens, *Italy*, 168, 268–269. また William Langland, *Piers Plowman: The C Version*, trans. George Economou (Philadelphia, 1996), 43 ウィリアム・ラングランド『農夫ビアースの夢』(柴田忠作訳註、東海大学古典叢書) も参照。
41. Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany*, ed. Herbert Barrows (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1967), 103–104; Joseph Palmer, *A Four Months Tour through France* (London, 1776), II, 13; Jan. 28, 1708, Cowper, *Diary*; Jeremy D. Popkin, ed., *Panorama of Paris: Selections from Le Tableau de Paris*, Louis-Sébastien

- Mercier (University Park, Pa., 1999), 96; NYWJ, Aug. 20, 1750; Richard Cobb, *Paris and Its Provinces, 1792-1802* (New York, 1975), 18-19, 26-27.
42. *Paroimiographia* (French), 21; Columella, *On Agriculture and Trees*, trans. Forster and Hefner, III, 123; Josiah Tucker, *Instructions for Travellers, 1757* (New York, n.d.), 243; Patricia James, ed., *The Travel Diaries of Thomas Robert Malthus* (London, 1966), 73 トマス・ロバート・マルサス『マルサス北欧旅行日記』(小林時三郎・西沢保訳、未来社) ; G. E. Fussell and K. R. Fussell, *The English Countrywoman: A Farmhouse Social History, A.D. 1500-1900* (New York, 1971), 38, 69-70.
43. Feb. 9, 12, 1767, Woodforde, *Diary*, I, 62; Rétif de la Bretonne, *My Father's Life*, trans. Richard Veasey (Gloucester, Eng., 1986), 162; Apr. 8, 1777, Sanger, *Journal*, 139 及び諸所に ; Markham's *Farewell to Husbandry...* (London, 1620), 146.
44. Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 153, 168, 191, 195.
45. Taylor, *A Preter-Pluperfect...* (n.p., 1643), 1.
46. Verdon, *Night*, 113-114 ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』(吉田晴美訳、原書房) ; "Mus Rusticus," *SJC*, Apr. 27, 1773; Jeffry Kaplow, *France on the Eve of Revolution: A Book of Readings* (New York, 1971), 145; *OBP*, Apr. 17-20, 1765, 174; Frank Cundall, ed., *Lady Nugent's Journal: Jamaica One Hundred and Thirty-eight Years Ago* (London, 1939), 86; Michael Sonenscher, "Work and Wages in Paris in the Eighteenth Century," in Maxine Berg et al., eds., *Manufacture in Town and Country before the Factory* (Cambridge, 1983), 167.
47. Bouteloup, "Travail de Nuit," 3; Lydia Dotto, *Losing Sleep: How Your Sleeping Habits Affect Your Life* (New York, 1990), 226, 229; Kaplan, *Bakers of Paris*, 264-265.
48. *SAS*, IX, 480.
49. *OBP*, Aug. 28, 1728; Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1992), 377; Robert C. Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal: Workers and Workplace in the Preindustrial City* (Baltimore, 1991), 160-161; Beattie, *Crime*, 175-178. また Kaplan, *Bakers of Paris*, 244 も参照。
50. Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986), 94; "Dane's Narrative," 150; *ECR*, II, 373.
51. Bräker, *Life*, 76, 56 ウルリヒ・ブレーカー『スイス傭兵ブレーカーの自伝』(阪口修平・鈴木直志訳、刀水歴史全書 49) ; Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline," 77; Paul Monroe, ed., *Thomas Platter and the Educational Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1904), 155-156. また Émile Guillaumin, *The Life of a Simple Man*, ed. Eugen Weber, trans. Margaret Crosland (Hanover, N.H., 1983), 74 エミール・ギヨマン『ある百姓の生涯』(犬田卯訳、日本公論社) も参照。
52. Evangeline W. and Charles M. Andrews, eds., *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776* (New Haven, 1923), 108; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 138, 140, 251-253, 358-376 及び諸所に ; Roderick A. McDonald, *The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves: Goods and Chattels on the Sugar Plantations of Jamaica and Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1993), 47.
53. Piero Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. David Gentilcore (Chicago, 1989), 96; June 15, 1760, Drinker, *Diary*, I, 66; *SAS*, XI, 110; William Moraley, *The Infortunate: or, the Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley...* (Newcastle, Eng., 1743), 51; George Lyman Kittredge, *The Old Farmer and His Almanack...* (New York, 1967), 172-173; Roger D. Abrahams, *Singing the Master: The Emergence of African American Culture in the Plantation South* (New York, 1982), 81.
54. J. J. Evans, ed., *Welsh Proverbs...* (Llandysul, Wales, 1965), 23; Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, 753.
55. Abel Boyer, *Dictionnaire Royal...* (Amsterdam, 1719); Mr. Ozell, trans., *M. Misson's Memoirs and Observations in His Travels over England* (London, 1719), 332; Suzanne Tardieu, *La Vie Domestique dans le Mâconnais Rural Préindustriel* (Paris, 1964), 154-161; Verdon, *Night*, 117-123 ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』(吉田晴美訳、原書房) ; Hans Medick, "Village Spinning Bees: Sexual Culture and Free Time among Rural Youth in Early Modern Germany," in Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, eds., *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge, 1984), 317-339; Stephen P. Frank, "Simple Folk, Savage Customs? Youth, Sociability, and the Dynamics of Culture in Rural Russia, 1856-1914," *JSH* 25 (1992), 716, 711-737 及び諸所に ; Alessandro Falassi, *Folklore by the Fireside: Text and Context of the Tuscan Veglia* (Austin, 1980), 3, 248 及び諸所に ; Dec. 16, 1783, Lady T. Lewis, ed., *Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry* (London, 1865), I, 53; Darryl Ogier, "Night Revels and Werewolfery in Calvinist Guernsey," *Folklore* 109 (1998), 54-56; Magnús Gíslason, *Kvállsvaka: En Ísländsk Kulturtradition Belyst Genom Studier i Bondebefolkningens Vardagsliv och Miljö Under Senare Hälften av 1800-Talet och Början av 1900-Talet* (Uppsala, 1977); James H. Delargy, "The Gaelic Story-Teller, with Some Notes on Gaelic Folk-Tales," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 31 (1945), 191-192; *SAS*, VI, 482-483; Mrs. Grant, *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland...* (New York, [1831?]), I, 103; Hugh Evans, *The Gorse Glen* (Liverpool, 1948), 146.
56. Leona C. Gabel, ed., *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II, an Abridgement*, trans. Florence A. Gragg (New York, 1962), 35; G. E. Mingay, "Rural England in the Industrial Age," in G. E. Mingay, ed., *The Victorian Countryside* (London, 1981), I, 14.
57. Robert Bell, *A Description of the Conditions and Manners... of the Peasantry of Ireland...* (London, 1804), 20.
58. Medick, "Spinning Bees," 322-323; Jakob Stutz, *Siebenmal Sieben Jahre aus Meinem Leben: Als Beitrag zur Näheren Kenntnis des Volkes* (Frauenfeld, Switz., 1983), 66-67; James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh, 1805), II, 341 『オシアン：ケルト民族の古歌』(中村徳三郎訳、岩波文庫) ; *SAI*, I, 318.
59. Daniello Bartoli, *La Ricerazione del Savio* (Parma, 1992), 336; Burke, *Popular Culture*, 105-106 ビーター・バーク『ヨーロッパの民衆文化』(中村賢二郎・谷泰訳、人文書院) ; Bernard J. Hibbitts, "Making Sense of Metaphors: Visuality, Aurality and the Reconfiguration of American Legal Discourse," *Cardozo Law Review* 16 (1994), 343-344; Crusius, *Nocte*, ch. 6.3; Takashi Tomita, *Yoru no Shinrijutsu: Hiru Kara Yoru e no Kôdôo, Korkoro no Henka o...* (Tokyo, 1986), 24-25 富田隆『夜の心理術：昼から夜への行動・心の変化をどう読むか』(ごま書房) ; Henrie Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community* (Philadelphia, 1982), 40-41, 74, 105; Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality* (London, 1964), 10 ミルチャ・エリアーデ『エリアーデ著作集 (第

- 7巻)』(中村恭子訳、せりか書房) ; Raffaele Pettazzoni, *Essays on the History of Religions* (Leiden, 1954), 13-14.
60. Moses Heap, “My Life and Times, or an Old Man’s Memories, Illustrated with Numerous Anecdotes and Quaint Sayings,” 3, District Central Library, Rawtenstall, Eng.; Bourne, *Antiquitates Vulgares*, 76; Garnert, *Lampan*, 114.
61. Bretonne, *My Father’s Life*, trans. Veasey, 111; Eric Robinson et al., eds., *The Early Poems of John Clare, 1804-1822* (Oxford, 1989), II, 126; SAS, XVII, 518; Roger Chartier, “Leisure and Sociability: Reading Aloud in Early Modern Europe,” in Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman, eds., *Urban Life in the Renaissance* (Newark, Del., 1989), 112.
62. William Howitt, *The Rural Life of England* (1844; rpt. edn., Shannon, Ire., 1972), 238; Pierre-Jakez Hélias, *The Horse of Pride: Life in a Breton Village*, trans. June Guicharnaud (New Haven, 1978), 73-74; George Peele, *The Old Wife’s Tale* (London, 1595). ジョージ・ピール『お婆ちゃんの冬物語』(大井邦雄訳、早稲田大学出版部)
63. Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality*, trans. Richard Southern (Cambridge, 1979), 108-109.
64. Breton, *Works*, II, 10; Medick, “Spinning Bees,” 334; *Paroimiographia* (Italian), 7; Schindler, “Youthful Culture,” 257.
65. Medick, “Spinning Bees,” 334; Martine Segalen, *Love and Power in the Peasant Family: Rural France in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago, 1983), 126; Madeline Jeay, ed., *Les Évangiles des Quenouilles...* (Paris, 1985) 諸所に; Verdon, *Night*, 121-122 ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』(吉田晴美訳、原書房) ; Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London, 1984), 98.
66. Rudolph M. Bell, *How to Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians* (Chicago, 1999), 249; Medick, “Spinning Bees,” 333, 331; Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford, 1989), 179.
67. SAS, VIII, 417; Bell, *Peasantry of Ireland*, 20-21; Harvey Mitchell, “The World between the Literate and Oral Traditions in Eighteenth-Century France: Ecclesiastical Instructions and Popular Mentalities,” in Roseann Runte, ed., *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture: Volume 8* (Madison, Wisc., 1979), 55; Jean-Michel Boehler, *La Paysannerie de la Plaine d’Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1995), II, 1963.

●第7章 共通の庇護者

1. Mercier, *The Night Cap* (Philadelphia, 1788), 4.
2. *RB*, I, 87; Sean Shesgreen, *Hogarth and the Times-of-the-Day Tradition* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), 47.
3. Jan. 10, 1694, *East Anglian Diaries*, 207 及び諸所に; John Holloway, ed., *The Oxford Book of Local Verses* (Oxford, 1987), 15; Keith Thomas, “Work and Leisure in Pre-Industrial Society,” *PP* 29 (1964), 50-62; Peter Burke, “The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe,” *PP* 146 (1995), 136-151; Joan-Lluis Marfany, “The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe: Comment,” *PP* 156 (1997), 174-192.
4. John Aubrey, *Aubrey’s Natural History of Wiltshire* (1847; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 11; Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York, 1975), 76. エドワード・ショーター『近代家族の形成』(田中俊宏訳、昭和堂)
5. Sept. 10, 1758, Woodforde, *Diary*, IV, 226 及び諸所に; July 26, 1761, Mar. 7,

- 1758, Turner, *Diary*, 232, 141 及び諸所に; ECR 諸所に。
6. Jan. 14, Mar. 14, Nov. 10, 15, 1624, Beck, *Diary*, 32, 61, 203, 206 及び諸所に; Jeroen Blaak, “Autobiographical Reading and Writing: The Diary of David Beck (1624),” in Rudolph Dekker, ed., *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in Its Social Context since the Middle Ages* (Hilversum, 2002), 61-87.
7. Jan. 23, 1662, June 5, 1661, Pepys, *Diary*, III, 17, II, 115 及び諸所に。サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)
8. Clare Williams, trans., *Thomas Platter’s Travels in England, 1599* (London, 1937), 189; Keith Wrightson, “Alehouses, Order and Reformation in Rural England, 1590-1660,” in Eileen and Stephen Yeo, eds., *Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure* (Sussex, Eng., 1981), 10 及び諸所に; Burke, *Popular Culture*, 110 ピーター・バーク『ヨーロッパの民衆文化』(中村賢二郎・谷泰訳、人文書院); Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History* (London, 1983) 諸所に; Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); B. Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville, Va., 2001).
9. Monsieur Sorbier, *A Voyage to England...* (London, 1709), 62; *LC*, June 6, 1761; William W. Hagen, “Village Life in East-Elbian Germany and Poland, 1400-1800: Subjections, Self-Defence, Survival,” in Tom Scott, ed., *The Peasantries of Europe: From the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (Harlow, Eng., 1998), 146; Wrightson, “Alehouses,” 2; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 19 キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局); Hans-Joachim Voth, *Time and Work in England 1750-1830* (Oxford, 2000), 80-81; Brennan, *Public Drinking*, 160-171; Tlusty, *Bacchus*, 150, 158, 187 及び諸所に。
10. OED の “kidney” の項を参照; Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born English-Man...* (London, 1708), 15; L. H. Butterfield et al. eds., *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), I, 214; *RB*, I, 414; *LC*, Jan. 23, 1762, 76; A. M., *The Reformed Gentleman...* (London, 1693), 49; *LE-P*, June 23, 1763; Yves-Marie Bercé, *History of Peasant Revolts: The Social Origins of Rebellion in Early Modern France*, trans. Amanda Whitmore (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), 59.
11. *The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown in Prose and Verse...* (London, 1708), 3; May 30, 1760, Butterfield et al., eds., *Adams Diary and Autobiography*, I, 130; John Addy, *Sin and Society in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1989), 141; A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2001), 89-91; *RB*, VII, 231; Richard Rawlidge, *A Monster Late Found Out...* (London, 1628), 6.
12. *A Curtaine Lecture* (London, 1638), 7.
13. David Herlihy, *Cities and Society in Medieval Italy* (London, 1980), 136; Jeffrey R. Watt, “The Impact of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation,” in *FLEMT*, 147-150; Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), 135.
14. Jan. 6, 1761, Butterfield et al., eds., *Adams Diary and Autobiography*, I, 195; Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford, 1998), 119.
15. Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece*, 674 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア「ルークリー

- ス」～『シェイクスピア全集(8)』所収(小津次郎・高松雄一ほか訳、筑摩書房ほか) ; Ménêtra, *Journal*, 37–38, 168. ジャック＝ルイ・メネトラ『わが人生の記：十八世紀ガラス職人の自伝』(喜安朗訳、白水社) また Jack Ayres, ed., *Paupers and Pig Killers: The Diary of William Holland: A Somerset Parson, 1799–1818* (Gloucester, Eng., 1984), 19.
16. David P. French, comp., *Minor English Poets, 1660–1780* (New York, 1967), III, 318; *Paroimiographia* (British), 4; John S. Farmer, ed., *Merry Songs and Ballads Prior to the Year A.D. 1800* (New York, 1964), IV, 6; *Lusts Dominion; or, the Lascivious Queen* (London, 1657); John Lough, *France Observed in the Seventeenth Century by British Travellers* (Boston, 1985), 119; “A New and Accurate Description of the City of Rome...,” *Town and Country Magazine* 24 (1792), 261; *ECR*, IX, 29.
17. Maurice Andrieux, *Daily Life in Venice in the Time of Casanova*, trans. Mary Fitton (London, 1972), 128; Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, II, 2, 165 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『ロミオとジュリエット』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか) ; Hannah Richards, n.d., Suffolk Court Files #874, Suffolk County Court House, Boston; J. Douglas Porteous, *Landscapes of the Mind: Worlds of Sense and Metaphor* (Toronto, 1990), 7 ダグラス・ポコック、J・ダグラス・ポーティウス『心のなかの景観』(米田巖・湯山健二訳編、古今書院) ; Takashi Tomita, *Yoru no Shinrijutsu: Hiru Kara Yoru e no Kôdô, Korkoro no Henka o...* (Tokyo, 1986), 13 富田隆『夜の心理術：昼から夜への行動・心の変化をどう読むか』(ごま書房) ; Darrell L. Butler and Paul M. Biner, “Preferred Lighting Levels: Variability Among Settings, Behaviors, and Individuals,” *Environment and Behavior* 19 (1987), 696, 702, 709, 710.
18. Grose, *Dictionary*; Robert Abbot, *The Young Mans Warning-Piece...* (London, 1657), 35 (taken from Job 24:15); F. Platter, *Journal*, 80; Samuel Rowlands, *The Night-Raven* (London, 1620); Wendy Doniger, *The Bedtrick: Tales of Sex and Masquerade* (Chicago, 2000) 諸所に ; Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660–1800* (Cambridge, 2003), 140–167.
19. Aug. 18, June 2, 1668, Nov. 8, 1665, Apr. 9, 1667, Pepys, *Diary*, IX, 282, 221, VI, 294, VIII, 159 及び諸所に。サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (New York, 1977), 552–561. ローレンス・ストーン『家族・性・結婚の社会史：1500年～1800年のイギリス』(北本正章訳、勁草書房)
20. Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *Phillip Stubbes’s Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespeare’s Youth A.D. 1583* (London, 1877), I, 149; David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1997), 352; Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 380.
21. Brand 1848, II, 229; Clodagh Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550–1650* (New York, 2002), 34–35; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death*, 427; Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002), 212–213; Edward MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (1950; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), 318.
22. Darryl Ogier, “Night Revels and Werewolfery in Calvinist Guernsey,” *Folklore* 109 (1998), 54; Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality*, trans. Richard Southern (Cambridge, 1979), 108–109; John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1999), II, 203; Steven Ozment, *Flesh and Spirit: Private Life in Early*

- Modern Germany* (New York, 1999), 208.
23. Farmer, ed., *Songs and Ballads*, II, 82; Gloria L. Main, *Peoples of a Spacious Land: Families and Cultures in Colonial New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 7; C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528–1603* (Cambridge, 1996), 112, 128; Griffiths, *Youth*, 258; *Paroimiographia* (British), 25; Thomas Willard Robisheaux, “The Origins of Rural Wealth and Poverty in Hohenlohe, 1470–1680” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Virginia, 1981), 170; Sara Tilghman Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500–1650* (Baltimore, 1985), 28–29; Schindler, “Youthful Culture,” 256.
24. Aug. 19, 1794, Drinker, *Diary*, I, 584; *The Roving Maids of Aberdeen’s Garland* ([Edinburgh?], 1776); Feb. 10, 1873, William Plomer, ed., *Kilvert’s Diary: Selections from the Diary of the Rev. Francis Kilvert...* (London, 1971), II, 322. また Charles Woodmason, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution...*, ed. Richard J. Hooker (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1953), 100 も参照。
25. Roger Lonsdale, *The New Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse* (Oxford, 1984), 405; George Parfitt and Ralph Houlbrooke, eds., *The Courtship Narrative of Leonard Wheatcroft, Derbyshire Yeoman* (Reading, Eng., 1986), 52; Émile Guillaumin, *The Life of a Simple Man*, ed. Eugen Weber, trans. Margaret Crosland (Hanover, N.H., 1983), 41, 43–44. エミール・ギヨオマン『ある百姓の生涯』(犬田卯訳、日本公論社)
26. Lochwd, *Ymddiddan Rhwng Mab a Merch, Y’ngylch Myned I Garu yn y Gwely* (n.p., [1800s]), 4.
27. *A Tour in Ireland in 1775* (London, 1776), 103–104; Ernest W. Marwick, *The Folklore of Orkney and Shetland* (Totowa, N.J., 1975), 86; Rosalind Mitchison and Leah Lenman, *Sexuality and Social Control: Scotland, 1660–1780* (Oxford, 1989), 180; *A Tour in Ireland in 1775* (London, 1776), 103. ニューイングランドだけでなくニュージャージーやペンシルヴェニアも含めた初期アメリカの事情については下記も参照。Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore, 2002), 246–255; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich and Lois K. Stabler, “Girling of it’ in Eighteenth-Century New Hampshire,” *Annual Proceedings*, Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife (1985), 24–36; “John Hunt’s Diary,” *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings* 53 (1935), 111, 112, 122; John Robert Shaw, *An Autobiography of Thirty Years, 1777–1807*, ed. Oressa M. Teagarden and Jeanne L. Crabtree (Columbus, Ohio, 1992), 108; Bernard Cheignard, “Les Voyageurs Européens et la Pratique du ‘Bondelage’ (Bundling) en Nouvelle-Angleterre à la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle,” in *L’Amérique et l’Europe: Réalités et Représentations* (Aix-en-Provence, 1986), 75–87.
28. May 5, 1663, William L. Sachse, ed., *The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire, 1663–74* (New Haven, 1938), 20 及び諸所に ; *Reports of Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture* (1843; rpt. edn., New York, 1968), 365; Griffiths, *Youth*, 259–261; Apr. 5, 18, 1765, Turner, *Diary*, 318, 320; Parfitt and Houlbrooke, eds., *Courtship*, 53 及び諸所に。
29. *Tour in Ireland*, 103–104; Rudolf Braun, *Industrialization and Everyday Life*, trans. Sarah Hanbury Tension (Cambridge, 1990), 44; J.-L. Flandrin, “Repression and Change in the Sexual Life of Young People in Medieval and Early Modern Times,” in Robert Wheaton and Tamara K. Hareven, eds., *Family and Sexuality in French History* (Philadelphia, 1980), 34–35.
30. Enid Porter, *Cambridgeshire Customs and Folklore* (New York, 1969), 5; *Les*

- Nuits d'Épreuve des Villageoises Allemandes... (Paris, 1861), 8.
31. Cannon, Diary, 137.
32. Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Anne S. K. Brown, trans. and eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* (Princeton, N.J., 1972), I, 245; Michael Drake, *Population and Society in Norway 1735–1865* (Cambridge, 1969), 144; Henry Reed Stiles, *Bundling: Its Origin, Progress and Decline in America* (1871; rpt. edn., New York, 1974), 33; Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, 606. ローレンス・ストーン『家族・性・結婚の社会史：1500年～1800年のイギリス』(北本正章訳、勁草書房)
33. Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 385; Hugh Jones, *O Gerddi Newyddion* (n.p., [1783?]), 3; Rice, Jr., and Brown, trans. and eds., *Rochambeau's Army*, I, 32, 169; Drake, *Population*, 144; Christine D. Worobec, *Peasant Russia: Family and Community in the Post-Emancipation Period* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 138–139; Flandrin, “Repression,” 36.
34. Lochwd, *Ymddiddan Rhwng Mab a Merch*, 4; Stiles, *Bundling*, 96, 29–30; Flandrin, “Repression,” 36; Dana Doten, *The Art of Bundling: Being an Inquiry into the Nature & Origins of that Curious but Universal Folk-Custom...* (Weston, Vt., 1938), 156; History and Journal of Charles Joseph de Losse de Bayac, 1763–1783, I, Manuscripts Department, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville; Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840* (New York, 1988), 193–195, 199 ジャック・ラーキン『アメリカがまだ貧しかった頃』(杉野目康子訳、青土社) ; Martine Segalen, *Historical Anthropology of the Family*, trans. J. C. Whitehouse and Sarah Matthews (Cambridge, 1986), 130–131.
35. Flandrin, “Repression,” 35–36; John R. Gillis, *For Better, For Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (New York, 1985), 30–31 ジョン・R・ギリス『結婚観の歴史人類学：近代イギリス・1600年～現代』(北本正章訳、勁草書房) ; Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 385.
36. Jollie's *Sketch of Cumberland Manners and Customs...* (1811; rpt. edn., Beckermert, Eng., 1974), 40; Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500–1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1979), 122.
37. Feb. 8, 1779, Sanger, *Journal*, 29; Farmer, ed., *Songs and Ballads*, IV, 220–222.
38. Bräker, *Life*, 96 ウルリヒ・ブレーカー『スイス傭兵ブレーカーの自伝』(阪口修平・鈴木直志訳、刀水歴史全書49) ; Rice, Jr., and Brown, trans. and eds., *Rochambeau's Army*, I, 245; Baker, *Folklore and Customs of Rural England*, 139; *Les Nuits d'Épreuve*, 9; Sara F. Matthews Grieco, “The Body, Appearance, and Sexuality,” in HWW III, 69; Stone, *Family*, 607 ローレンス・ストーン『家族・性・結婚の社会史：1500年～1800年のイギリス』(北本正章訳、勁草書房) ; Gillis, *British Marriages*, 30 ジョン・R・ギリス『結婚観の歴史人類学：近代イギリス・1600年～現代』(北本正章訳、勁草書房) ; Shorter, *Family*, 103. エドワード・ショーター『近代家族の形成』(田中俊宏訳、昭和堂)
39. Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, ed. Diana Maury Robin (Chicago, 1997), 34.
40. Leo P. McCauley, S. J. and Anthony A. Stephenson, trans., *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem* (Washington, D.C., 1969), I, 188; *Another Collection of Philosophical Conferences of the French Virtuosi of France...*, trans. G. Havers and J. Davies (London, 1665), 316–317; Daniello Bartoli, *La Ricerazione del Savio* (Parma, 1992), 192–193.
41. Burton E. Stevenson, *The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (New York, 1948), 1686; Lucien Febvre, *Life in Renaissance France*, ed. and trans. Marion Rothstein (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 34–36; ODNB の“Elizabeth Carter”並びに“John Scott”の項を参照 ; Cecile M. Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Charlottesville, Va., 1999), 13; Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500–1800*, trans. Allan Cameron (New Haven, 2002), 138–139.
42. William Davenant, *The Works...* (London, 1673); Roger Chartier, “The Practical Impact of Writing,” in HPL III, 111–124.
43. J. R. Hale, *Machiavelli and Renaissance Italy* (London, 1972), 112; Chartier, “Writing,” 124–157; Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print*, 2–6; Anthony Grafton, “The Humanist as Reader,” in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, *A History of Reading in the West*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Amherst, Mass., 1999), 179–181. アンソニー・グラフトン『人文主義者と読書』～ロジェ・シャルティエ、グリエルモ・カヴァッロ編『読むことの歴史：ヨーロッパ読書史』所収(田村毅ほか訳、大修館書店)
44. May 19, 1667, Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, 223, X, 34–39 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; Nov. 4, 1624, Beck, *Diary*, 199–200 及び諸所に ; Canon, *Diary*, 41, 56; Blaak, “Reading and Writing,” 64–76, 83–87.
45. Apr. 27, 1706, Cowper, *Diary* 諸所に ; Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print*, 20, 25–43; François Lebrun, “The Two Reformations: Communal Devotion and Personal Piety” and Chartier, “Writing,” in HPL III, 96–104, 130–134.
46. Yehonatan Eibeshitz, *Yearot Devash* (Jerusalem, 2000), 371; Rabbi Aviel, ed. Mishnah Berurah: *Laws Concerning Miscellaneous Blessings, the Minchah Service, the Ma'ariv Service and Evening Conduct...* (Jerusalem, 1989), 413; Salo Wittmayer Baron, *The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure to the American Revolution* (Westport, Ct., 1972), II, 169, 176, III, 163.
47. Thomas Wright, *Autobiography...1736–1797* (London, 1864), 24; Steven Ozment, *Three Behaim Boys Growing Up in Early Modern Germany: A Chronicle of Their Lives* (New Haven, 1990), 103; Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, trans., *The Memoirs of François René Vicomte de Chateaubriand...* (New York, 1902), I, 54. フランソワ＝ルネ・ド・シャトーブリアン『わが青春』(真下弘明訳、勁草書房)
48. Dec. 31, 1666, Pepys, *Diary*, VII, 426, X, 174–176 及び諸所に。サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; Apr. 26, 1740, Kay, *Diary*, 34.
49. Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, 79; Jan. 2, 1624, Beck, *Diary*, 27–28 及び諸所に ; Cereta, *Letters*, ed. Robin, 101, 31–32 及び諸所に ; Lorraine Reams, “Night Thoughts: The Waking of the Soul: The Nocturnal Contemplations of Love, Death, and the Divine in the Eighteenth-Century and Nineteenth-Century French Epistolary Novel and *Roman-Mémoire*” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of North Carolina or Chapel Hill, 2000), 138; William Riley Parker, *Milton: A Biography* (Oxford, 1968), I, 578, II, 710; Blaak, “Reading and Writing,” 79–87; Chartier, “Writing,” Madeleine Foisil, “The Literature of Intimacy,” and Jean Marie Goulemont, “Literary Practices: Publicizing the Private,” in HPL III, 115–117, 157–159, 327–332, 380–383.
50. Henry Halford Vaughan, ed., *Welsh Proverbs with English Translations* (1889; rpt. edn., Detroit, 1969), 94; Michael J. Mikos, ed., *Polish Renaissance Literature: An Anthology* (Columbus, Ohio, 1995), 168; RB, I, 84.

●第8章 騎士ウォーカー

1. Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, III, 13, 184–187 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『アントニーとクレオパトラ』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックス)。
2. Verdon, *Night*, 127–131 ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』(吉田晴美訳、原書房) ; Pierre Jonin, “L'Espace et le Temps de la Nuit dans les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes,” *Mélanges de Langue et de Littérature Médiévales Offerts à Alice Planche* 48 (1984), 242–246; Gary Cross, *A Social History of Leisure Since 1600* (State College, Pa., 1990), 17–18.
3. Edward Ward, *The London Spy* (1709; rpt. edn., New York, 1985), 43 ネット・ウォード『ロンドン・スパイ: 都市住民の生活探訪』(渡邊孔二監訳、中村裕子ほか訳、法政大学出版局) ; Koslofsky, “Court Culture,” 745–748; Thomas D'Urfey, *The Two Queens of Brentford* (London, 1721); *Another Collection of Philosophical Conferences of the French Virtuosi...*, trans. G. Havers and J. Davies (London, 1665), 419; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 194–195.
4. Diary of Robert Moody, 1660–1663, Rawlinson Coll. D. 84, Bodl.; Marie-Claude Canova-Green, *Benserade Ballets pour Louis XIV* (Paris, 1997), 93–160.
5. Ben Sedgley, *Observations on Mr. Fielding's Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers ...* (London, 1751), 8; “A Short Account, by Way of Journal, of What I Observed Most Remarkable in My Travels...,” June 2, 1697, *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 8th Report, Part 1 (1881), 99–100; Marcelin Defourneaux, *Daily Life in Spain: The Golden Age*, trans. Newton Branch (New York, 1971), 70–71; Koslofsky, “Court Culture,” 745–748; Thomas Burke, *English Night-Life: From Norman Curfew to Present Black-Out* (New York, 1971), 11–22.
6. Tobias George Smollet, *Humphry Clinker* T. スモレット『ハンフリー・クリンカー』(長谷安世訳、長谷安生), ed. James L. Thorson (New York, 1983), I, 87; P. Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta...* (London, 1773), II, 87–90; Remarks 1717, 56; Sedgley, *Observations*, 8; *The Memoirs of Charles-Lewis, Baron de Pollnitz ...* (London, 1739), I, 222; Burke, *Night-Life*, 23–70 及び諸所に。
7. US and WJ, Feb. 28, 1730; Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500–1670* (Cambridge, 2002), 197 及び諸所に ; Craig M. Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700* (New York, 2000), 138, 133–152 及び諸所に ; Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London, 1984), 188–200.
8. Richards, *The Tragedy of Messallina* (London, 1640).
9. Walter R. Davis, ed., *The Works of Thomas Campion...* (New York, 1967), 147; Terry Castle, “The Culture of Travesty: Sexuality and Masquerade in Eighteenth-Century England,” in G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, eds., *Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment* (Manchester, 1987), 158; Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford, Calif., 1986).
10. The Rich Cabinet... (London, 1616), fo. 20; Sara Mendelson, “The Civility of Women in Seventeenth-Century England,” in Peter Burke et al., eds., *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford, 2000), 114 サラ・メンデルソン「十七世紀イングランドの女の礼儀」～『市民と礼儀: 初期近代イギリス社会史: サー・キース・トマス・オックスフォード大学退官記念謹呈エッセイ集』所収 (ピーター・バーク、ブライアン・ハリソン、ポール・スラック編、木邨和彦訳、牧歌舎) ; Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago,

- 1980).
11. Castle, *Masquerade*, 25, 1–109 及び諸所に ; Castle, “Culture of Travesty,” 166–167; HMM and GA, Jan. 28, 1755.
12. Castle, *Masquerade*, 73, 1–109 及び諸所に ; “W.Z.,” GM 41 (1771), 404; WJ, May 16, 1724; *Occasional Poems, Very Seasonable and Proper for the Present Times...* (London, 1726), 5; Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, 1998), 243.
13. Castle, *Masquerade*, 73, 1–109 及び諸所に ; Nancy Lyman Roelker, ed. and trans., *The Paris of Henry of Navarre, as Seen by Pierre de l'Etoile: Selections from His Mémoires-Journaux* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 58; Bulstrode Whitelock, *The Third Charge ...* (London, 1723), 21.
14. Henry Alexander, trans., *Four Plays by Holberg* (Princeton, N.J., 1946), 171.
15. Goffe, *The Raging Turk* (London, 1631).
16. Alexander Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton*, 1744, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948), 177; PG, Dec. 23, 1762.
17. Douglas Grant, ed., *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill* (Oxford, 1956), 52, 55; John S. Farmer, ed., *Merry Songs and Ballads prior to the Year A.D. 1800* (New York, 1964), III, 67; Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998), 245, 246–275 及び諸所に。
18. May 31, 1706, Cowper, *Diary; The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown in Prose and Verse ...* (London, 1708), III, 3; S. Johnson, *London: A Poem...* (London, 1739), 17; US and WJ, Apr. 11, 1730; Bryson, *Courtesy to Civility*, 248–249; Vickery, *Daughter*, 213–214; G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992), 50–51.
19. Elborg Forster, ed. and trans., *A Woman's Life in the Court of the Sun King: Letters of Liselotte von der Pfalz, 1652–1722* (Baltimore, 1984), 219; M. Dreux du Radier, *Essai Historique, Critique, Philologique, Politique, Moral, Littéraire et Galant, sur les Lanternes ...* (Paris, 1755), 92–96; Jeffry Kaplow, *The Names of Kings: The Parisian Laboring Poor in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1972), 106.
20. Oct. 10, 1764, Frederick A. Pottle, ed., *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Germany and Switzerland, 1764* (New York, 1953), 135; June 4, 1763, Frederick A. Pottle, ed., *Boswell's London Journal*, 1762–1763 (New York, 1950), 272–273, 264 n.1 及び諸所に。ジェームズ・ボズウェル『ジェームズ・ボズウェルのロンドン日誌』(秋山平吾訳、千城) ; Craig Harline and Eddy Put, *A Bishop's Tale: Matthias Hovius Among His Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders* (New Haven, 2000), 253–254; John Owen, *Travels into Different Parts of Europe, in the Years 1791 and 1792 ...* (London, 1796), II, 85.
21. Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550–1720* (Oxford, 1998), 109; Jerome Nadelhaft, “The Englishwoman's Sexual Civil War: Feminist Attitudes towards Men, Women, and Marriage, 1650–1740,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 43 (1982), 573, 576; Linda Pollock, “‘Teach Her to Live under Obedience’: The Making of Women in the Upper Ranks of Early Modern England,” *Continuity and Change* 4 (1989), 231–258.
22. *Westward for Smelts. Or, the Water-man's Fare of Mad-Merry Western Wenches...* (London, 1620), 24; Giovannina Boccaccio, *The Corbaccio*, ed.

- and trans. Anthony K. Cassell (Urbana, Ill., 1975), 28; George Chapman, *An Humorous Dayes Myrth* (London, 1599), 9; Feb. 14, 1668, Pepys, *Diary*, IX, 71 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全 10 巻)』(臼田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; April 1683, Wood, *Life*, 42; Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr., eds., *Homosexuality in Early Modern France: A Documentary Collection* (New York, 2001), 38; Piero Camporesi, *Exotic Brew: The Art of Living in the Age of Enlightenment* (Malden, Mass., 1994), 12.
23. Thomas D'Urfey, *Squire Oldsapp: or, the Night-Adventures* (London, 1679), 29; Dec. 27, 1775, Charles Ryskamp and Frederick A. Pottle, eds., *Boswell: The Ominous Years, 1774-1776* (New York, 1963), 206 及び諸所に ; Cecil Aspinall-Oglander, *Admiral's Widow: Being the Life and Letters of the Hon. Mrs. Edward Boscawen from 1761 to 1805* (London, 1942), 88-89; July 13, 1716, William Matthews, ed., *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716* (London, 1939), 274 及び諸所に ; June 5, 1763, Pottle, ed., *Boswell's London Journal*, 273. ジェームズ・ボズウェル『ジェームズ・ボズウェルのロンドン日誌』(秋山平吾訳、千城)
24. "A City Night-piece in Winter," *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* 9 (1779), 272; OBP, Apr. 28, 1731, 16-17; "The Watchman's Description of Covent Garden at Two o'Clock in the Morning," *Weekly Amusement* (London), May 5, 1764.
25. "X.Y.," LM, Jan. 26, 1773; Graham Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey, Being the Life of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester* (London, 1974), 106 グレアム・グリーン『ロチェスター卿の猿、十七世紀英国の放蕩詩人の生涯』(高儀進訳、中央公論社) ; Oct. 23, 26, 1668, Feb. 3, 1664, Pepys, *Diary*, IX, 335-336, 338-339, V, 37 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全 10 巻)』(臼田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; "The Connoisseur," HMM and GA, Mar. 18, 1755; Bryson, *Courtesy to Civility*, 250, 254-255; James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630-1685* (Cambridge, 2002), 226-227.
26. Harold Love, ed., *The Works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester* (Oxford, 1999), 45; Guy Chapman, ed., *The Travel-Diaries of William Beckford of Fonthill* (Cambridge, 1928), II, 55; Robert Shoemaker, "Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London," *SH* 26 (2001), 200; Bryson, *Courtesy to Civility*, 249; Barker-Benfield, *Sensibility*, 47; May 3, 1709, Cowper, *Diary*; Julius R. Ruff, *Crime, Justice and Public Order in Old Regime France: The Sénéchaussées of Libourne and Bazas, 1696-1789* (London, 1984), 91.
27. Thornton Shirley Graves, "Some Pre-Mohock Clansmen," *Studies in Philology* 20 (1923), 395-421; Grose, *Dictionary*; Moryson, *Unpublished Itinerary*, 463; Helen Langdon, *Caravaggio: A Life* (New York, 1999), 133, 312-314.
28. Graves, "Pre-Mohock Clansmen," 399, 395-421 及び諸所に ; Bryson, *Courtesy to Civility*, 249; May 30, 1668, Pepys, *Diary*, IX, 218-219 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全 10 巻)』(臼田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; *The Town-Rakes: or, the Frolicks of the Mohocks or Hawkubites* (London, 1712); Swift, *Journal*, II, 524-525, 508-515 及び諸所に ; Mar. 20, 1712, Cowper, *Diary*; Daniel Statt, "The Case of the Mohocks: Rake Violence in Augustan London," *SH* 20 (1995), 179-199.
29. Shakespeare, *1 Henry IV*, I, 2, 137-139, 159 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『ヘンリー 4 世 (第一部)』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか) ; Verdon, *Night*, 46 ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』(吉田晴美訳、原書房) ; *US and WJ*, Apr. 11,

1730; *A Pleasant and Delightful Story of King Henry the VIII, and a Cobler* (n.p., [1670?]) ; Theophilus Cibber, *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland* (1753; rpt. edn., Hildesheim, Ger., 1968), II, 289; Roelker, ed. and trans., *Paris of Henry of Navarre*, 52, 47, 77; Edouard Fournier, *Les Lanternes: Histoire de l'Ancien Éclairage de Paris* (Paris, 1854), 15; Matthiessen, *Natten* 134, 132; Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland, and Scotland ...* (New Haven, 1820), I, 179; Frederic J. Baumgartner, *France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1995), 222.

●第 9 章 束縛から放たれて

- Shakespeare, *King John*, I, 1, 172. ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『ジョン王』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックス)
- Thomas Dekker, *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, ed. H.F.B. Brett-Smith (1606; rpt. edn., New York, 1922), 31; Eric Robinson et al., eds., *The Early Poems of John Clare, 1804-1822* (Oxford, 1989), II, 197; Douglas Grant, ed., *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill* (Oxford, 1956), 58; E. P. Thompson, "Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?," *SH* 3 (1978), 158; Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge, 1981), 16-52 及び諸所に。
- May 23, 1693, May 25, 1686, Wood, *Life*, V, 423, 187; E.S. De Beer, ed., *Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper* (London, 1864), I, 19; Legg, *Low-Life*, 93.
- Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Sienna and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1999), 85; Nov. 27, 28, 1625, [Andres De La Vega], *Memorias de Sevilla, 1600-1678*, ed. Francisco Morales Padron (Cordoba, 1981), 50; Thomas V. Cohen, "The Case of the Mysterious Coil of Rope: Street Life and Jewish Persona in Rome in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988), 209-221; Elliot Horowitz, "The Eve of the Circumcision: A Chapter in the History of Jewish Nightlife," *JSH* 23 (1989), 48; Anna Foa, *The Jews of Europe after the Black Death*, trans. Andrea Grover (Berkeley, Calif., 2000), 143.
- M[aster] Elias Schad, "True Account of an Anabaptist Meeting at Night in a Forest and a Debate Held There with Them," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 58 (1984), 292-295; E. Veryard, *An Account of Divers Choice Remarks...Taken in a Journey...* (London, 1701), 75; Famiano Strada, *De Bello Belgio: The History of the Low-Country Warres*, trans. Sir Robert Stapylton (London, [1650?]), 61-62; Henry Hibbert, *Syntagma Theologicum...* (London, 1662), 252; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), 214.
- Jan. 20, 1640, Joseph Alfred Bradney, ed., *The Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilo Crosseny in the County of Monmouth, Gentleman: 1603-1654* (Bristol, 1907), 25; Henry Fishwick, ed., *The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly A.D. 1671-1693* (Manchester, 1894), 54 及び諸所に ; David Cressy, *Agnes Bowker's Cat: Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 2001), 116-137; Heywood, *Diaries*, I 及び諸所に。
- F. P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (Oxford, 1957), 61; Giulia Calvi, *Histories of a Plague Year: The Social and the Imaginary in Baroque Florence*, trans. Dario Biocca and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr. (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 90-91; Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year...* (1722; rpt. edn., London, 1928), 233 及び諸所に。ダニエル・デフォー『ペスト』(平井正穂訳、中公文庫) ;

- Walter George Bell, *The Great Plague in London in 1665* (1924; rpt. edn., London, 1979), 210.
8. Angeline Goreau, “‘Last Night’s Rambles’: Restoration Literature and the War Between the Sexes,” in Alan Bold, ed., *The Sexual Dimension in Literature* (London, 1983), 51; OBP, Apr. 20, 1726, 6; Michael Roche, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1996), 151–152, 154–155; Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr., eds., *Homosexuality in Early Modern France: A Documentary Collection* (New York, 2001), 59.
 9. Katherine M. Rogers, ed., *Selected Poems of Anne Finch, Countess of Winchelsea* (New York, 1979), 157.
 10. *Paroimiographia* (French), 28; Richard L. Kagan and Abigail Dyer, eds. and trans., *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics* (Baltimore, 2004), 97.
 11. Joyce M. Ellis, *The Georgian Town, 1680–1840* (New York, 2001), 74; Jutte, *Poverty* 52–59, 146–149; Olwen H. Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750–1789* (Oxford, 1974).
 12. *An Effectual Scheme for the Immediate Preventing of Street Robberies, and Suppressing All Other Disorders of the Night ...* (London, 1731), 33; Schindler, “Youthful Culture,” 271; Solomon Stoddard, *Three Sermons Lately Preach’d at Boston...* (Boston, 1717), 104; Arthur Friedman, ed., *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith* (Oxford, 1966), 431.
 13. Susan Brigden, “Youth and the English Reformation,” *PP* 95 (1982), 38, 44; Griffiths, *Youth*, 36 及び諸所に ; Gary Cross, *A Social History of Leisure Since 1600* (State College, Pa., 1990), 15.
 14. *Nicetas: or, Temptations to Sin...* (Boston, 1705), 35; Schindler, “Youthful Culture,” 243, 278; June 5, 1713, *Diary of Cotton Mather* (New York, [1957?]), I, 216; William Davenant, *The Works ...* (London, 1673).
 15. David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 36; Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660–1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow, Eng., 2000), 34–67, 92–110; Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domesticity in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1996), 101, 105–106; Griffiths, *Youth*, 314–321; Anne Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1981); Cissie Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies: Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France* (Baltimore, 1984); Richard S. Dunn, “Servants and Slaves: The Recruitment and Employment of Labor,” in Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, 1984), 157–194; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998).
 16. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* (Boston, 1854), V, 62; Aug. 27, 1705, Cowper, *Diary*; SAS, XIV, 397.
 17. Hillary Beckles, *Black Rebellion in Barbados: The Struggle Against Slavery, 1627–1838* (Bridgetown, Barbados, 1987), 70; David A. Copeland, *Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content* (Newark, Del., 1997), 134; Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, ed., *The Pettigrew Papers* (Raleigh, N.C., 1971), I, 398; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 524–526 及び諸所に。
 18. Weinsberg, *Diary*, IV, 11; PG, Aug. 2, 1750; Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974), 257.
 19. Tim Harris, “Perceptions of the Crowd in Later Stuart London,” in J. F. Merritt, ed., *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720* (Cambridge, 2001), 251; George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (Westport, Ct., 1972), XV, 365; Samuel Phillips, *Advice to a Child ...* (Boston, 1729), 49 及び諸所に。
 20. Feb. 3, 1772, Carter, *Diary*, II, 648; James Lackington, *Memoirs of the First Forty-Five Years...* (London, 1792), 35; Edward Ward, *The Rambling Rakes, or, London Libertines* (London, 1700), 9; Meldrum, *Domestic Service*, 168–169.
 21. Piero Camporesi, *The Land of Hunger* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 132; Louis Chatellier, *The Religion of the Poor: Rural Missions in Europe and the Formation of Modern Catholicism, c.1500–c.1800*, trans. Brian Pearce (Cambridge, 1997), 171; Guy Chapman, ed., *The Travel-Diaries of William Beckford of Fonthill* (Cambridge, 1928), II, 54; “An Inhabitant of Bloomsbury,” *PA*, Aug. 8, 1770; Bronislaw Geremek, *Poverty: A History* (Oxford, 1994), 215; Jeffry Kaplow, *The Names of Kings: The Parisian Laboring Poor in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1972), 108.
 22. John Bruce, ed., *Diary of John Manningham...* (1868; rpt. edn., New York, 1968), 83; *The Vocal Miscellany: A Collection of Above Four Hundred Celebrated Songs ...* (London, 1734), 120.
 23. Willie Lee Rose, ed., *A Documentary History of Slavery in North America* (New York, 1976), 19; J.F.D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America* (London, 1784), I, 46; Roger D. Abrahams, *Singing the Master: The Emergence of African American Culture in the Plantation South* (New York, 1982), 5; Mark M. Smith, “Time, Slavery and Plantation Capitalism in the Ante-Bellum American South,” *PP* 150 (1996), 160.
 24. Lottin, *Chavatte*, 141; Pieter Spierenburg, “Knife Fighting and Popular Codes of Honor in Early Modern Amsterdam,” in Pieter Spierenburg, ed., *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus, Ohio, 1998), 108; Ann Tlusty, “The Devil’s Altar: The Tavern and Society in Early Modern Augsburg (Germany)” (Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Maryland, 1994), 184; OBP, Sept. 11, 1735, 110; *The Countryman’s Guide to London or, Villainy Detected...* (London, 1775), 78; Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 282–283 及び諸所に ; Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986), 133–134; Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the 18th Century*, trans. Marie Evans (Leamington Spa, Eng., 1987), 255; Feb. 3, 1772, Carter, *Diary*, II, 649.
 25. Hardy, *The Life and Death of the Mayor of Casterbridge: A Story of a Man of Character* (New York, 1984), 307 トマス・ハーディ『カスターブリッジの市長 (前後篇)』(宮島新三郎訳、ゆまに書房)
 26. Erskine Beveridge, comp., and J. D. Westwood, ed., *Fergusson’s Scottish Proverbs...* (Edinburgh, 1924), 39; Legg, *Low-Life*, 21; Bargellini, “Vita Notturna,” 83; F. Platter, *Journal*, 89–90; Fernando de Rojas, *The Celestina: A Novel in Dialogue*, trans. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley, Calif., 1971), 81; Ernest A. Gray, ed., *The Diary of a Surgeon in the Year 1751–1752* (New York, 1937), 74–75; *WJ*, Mar. 20, 1725.
 27. Laura Gowing, “‘The Freedom of the Streets’: Women and Social Space, 1560–1640,” in Mark S. R. Jenner and Paul Griffiths, eds., *Londinopolis:*

- Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London (Manchester, 2000), 143; Linda A. Pollock, "Parent-Child Relations," in *FLEMT*, 215–217; Alan Williams, *The Police of Paris, 1718–1789* (Baton Rouge, 1979), 196; Jane Brewerton, Feb. 29, 1760, Assi 45/26/4/6.
28. Jan. 23, 1574, I.H. Van Eeghen, ed., *Dagboek Van Broeder Wouter Jacobsz (Gaultherus Jacobus Masius Prior Van Stein: Amsterdam, 1572–1578, En Montfoort, 1578–1579)* (Gronningen, Neth, 1959), 359.
29. Thomas Dekker, *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, ed. H.F.B. Brett-Smith (New York, 1922), 41; Nicolas-Edme Restif de la Bretonne, *Les Nuits de Paris or the Nocturnal Spectator* (New York, 1964), 68; Select Trials II, 11; Legg, *Low-Life*, 100; Wilson, *English Proverbs*, 542; *OED*, s.v. "flitting."
30. Dekker, *Writings*, 230; Richard Head, *The Canting Academy; or Villanies Discovered...* (London, 1674), 37, 40; Roger B. Manning, *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509–1640* (Oxford, 1988), 173; Gilbert Slater, *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields* (1907; rpt. edn., New York, 1968), 119–120; Hugh Evans, *The Gorse Glen* trans. E. Morgan Humphreys (Liverpool, 1948), 70.
31. Carol F. Karlson, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York, 1987), 159; Alan Taylor, "The Early Republic's Supernatural Economy: Treasure Seeking in the American Northeast, 1780–1830," *American Quarterly* 38 (1986), 6–34 (記事を提供してくれたアラン・テイラーに礼を述べる); William W. Hagen, *Ordinary Prussians: Brandenburg, Junkers and Villagers, 1500–1840* (Cambridge, 2002), 479; W. R. Jones, "'Hill-Diggers' and 'Hell-Raisers': Treasure Hunting and the Supernatural in Old and New England," in Peter Benes, ed., *Wonders of the Invisible World: 1600–1900* (Boston, 1995), 97–106. See also Benjamin Franklin, *Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (New York, 1987), 113–115.
32. PA, Jan. 3, 1786; Rose, ed., *Slavery*, 460; Malcolm Letts, "Johannes Butzbach, a Wandering Scholar of the Fifteenth Century," *English Historical Review* 32 (1917), 31; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 506–523 キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局); H. C. Erik Midelfort, "Were There Really Witches," in Robert M. Kingdon, ed., *Transition and Revolution: Problems and Issues of European Renaissance and Reformation History* (Minneapolis, 1974), 198–199; David Thomas Konig, *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629–1692* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 145–179 及び諸所に。
33. Karlson, *Shape of a Woman*, 140; SWP, II, 413; NHTR, II, 130–131.
34. Pinkerton, *Travels*, III, 316; *Carmina Medii Aevi* (Torino, 1961), 35; Jutte, *Poverty*, 152–153. さらに *Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal...* London, 1788), II, 113 を参照。
35. June 2, 1663, Pepys, *Diary*, IV, 171 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社); Beattie, *Crime*, 173–175. さらに Best, *Books*, 35 を参照。
36. *Domestic Management, or the Art of Conducting a Family; with Instructions to Servants in General* (London, 1740), 59; Pinkerton, *Travels*, III, 316; Mar. 22, 1770, Carter, *Diary*, I, 372; John Greaves Nall, ed., *Etymological and Comparative Glossary of the Dialect of East Anglia* (London, 1866), 521; William Hector, ed., *Selections from the Judicial Records of Renfrewshire...* (Paisley, Scot., 1876), 203–204.
37. Newton D. Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies, 1690–1783* (New York, 1916), 592, 606–607; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, D.C., 1939), XXXII, 264; Richard Parkinson, *The Experienced Farmer's Tour in America* (London, 1805), 446–447; James M. Rosenheim, ed., *The Notebook of Robert Doughty, 1662–1665* (Norfolk, 1989), 39; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint* 諸所に。
38. Manning, *Village Revolts*, 296, 284–305 及び諸所に; Rachel N. Klein, "Ordering the Backcountry: The South Carolina Regulation," *WMQ*, 3rd Ser., 38 (1981), 671–672.
39. Robert Bell, *Early Ballads...* (London, 1889), 436–437; David Davies, *The Case of Labourers in Husbandry...* (Dublin, 1796), 77; Spike Mays, *Reuben's Corner* (London, 1969), 197; Frank McLynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1989), 172–197. さらに *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, April 1792, 296 を参照。
40. LEP, Oct. 5, 1738; Arthur Walter Slater, ed., *Autobiographical Memoir of Joseph Jewell, 1763–1846* (London, 1964), 134; Cal Winslow, "Sussex Smugglers," in Douglas Hay et al., eds., *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1975), 119–166; Hufton, *Poor of Eighteenth-Century France*, 284–305.
41. Defoe, *Tour*, I, 123; *OED*, s.v. "owler"; McLynn, *Crime and Punishment*, 177; Burton E. Stevenson, *The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (New York, 1948), 1623; Eric Partridge, ed., *A Dictionary of the Underworld...* (New York, 1950), 449; Dec. 13, 1794, Woodforde, *Diary*, IV, 160 及び諸所に; Slater, ed., *Jewell Memoir*, 135; "Extract of a Letter from Orford," *LC*, March 23, 1782; John Kelso Hunter, *The Retrospect of an Artist's Life: Memorials of West Countrymen and Manners of the Past Half Century* (Kilmarnock, Scot., 1912), 42.
42. T.J.A. Le Goff and D.M.G. Sutherland, "The Revolution and the Rural Community in Eighteenth-Century Brittany," *PP* 62 (1974), 100; Jutte, *Poverty*, 153–156. 密輸とは対照的に、沿岸の住民が難破船を略奪する「レッキング」と呼ばれる行為は、夜間にのみ行われた犯罪ではない。わざと船を座礁させるために偽の明かりをつけておびき寄せるとの告発もあったが、はっきりした証拠はない。そうだけでなく、略奪者は船が難破すればいつでもであろうと、できる限りすばやく略奪した。「難破船から物資を盗んだり留め置いたりする者に対する法を施行する旨の布告 (An act for Enforcing the Laws Against Persons Who Shall Steal or Detain Shipwrecked Goods...)」を参照。26 George II c.19; W. H. Porter, *A Fenman's Story* (London, 1965), 129; John G. Rule, "Wrecking and Coastal Plunder," in Hay et al., eds., *Albion's Fatal Tree*, 180–181.
43. Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy* (Oxford, 1979), 215; Cannon, *Diary*, 183; *OBP*, Sept. 18, 1752, 244; Richard Jefferson, Oct. 16, 1734, Assi 45/20/1/9; D. R. Hainsworth, *Stewards, Lords, and People: The Estate Steward and His World in Later Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1992), 208–209; Jim Bullock, *Bowers Row: Recollections of a Mining Village* (Wakefield, Eng., 1976), 163; Douglas Hay, "Poaching and the Game Laws on Canock Chase," in Hay et al., eds., *Albion's Fatal Tree*, 201–202; Manning, *Village Revolts*, 293; Douglas Hay "War, Dearth and Theft in the Eighteenth Century: The Record of the English Courts," *PP* 95 (1982), 117–160. E・P・トンブソンが述べるように、「屋には大地主にべこべこして——恭順の意を示す例として歴史に残る——その人間が、夜になれば主人の羊を殺したり、キジを罠で捕らえたり、あるいは犬に毒を盛ったりする」。(Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture [New York, 1991], 66).

44. Robert M. Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New York, 1986), 208; Roger Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears: A Study of Pornographic, Obscene and Bawdy Works Written or Published in England in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century* (Totowa, N.J., 1979), 59; Alexander Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948), 46; "T.S.C.P.," *PA*, Nov. 13, 1767; Kathryn Norberg, "Prostitutes," in *HWW* III, 459-474.
45. Helen Langdon, *Caravaggio: A Life* (New York, 1999), 144; Ferrante Pallavicino, *The Whores Rhetorick...* (London, 1683), 144; *OBP* 諸所に; Norberg, "Prostitutes," 462, 472-474.
46. *OBP*, Dec. 7-12, 1743, 13, Dec. 9-11, 1747, 15; J. M. Beattie, "The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth-Century England," *JSH* 8 (1975), 90.
47. Koslofsky, "Court Culture," 759; Frederique Pitou, "Jeunesse et Desordre Social: Les'Coureurs de Nuit' à Laval au XVIIIe Siècle," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 47 (2000), 69; Ferdinando Bottarelli, *The New Italian, English and French Pocket-Dictionary...* (London, 1795), I; S.A.H. Burne, ed., *The Staffordshire Quarter Sessions Rolls, 1581-[1606]* (Kendall, Eng., 1940), V, 238; *PA*, July 30, 1762; Davenant, *Works; The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1881), III, 647; Daniel Fabre, "Families: Privacy versus Custom," in *HPL* III, 546-561.
48. Schindler, *Rebellion*, 210; Matthiessen, *Natten* 137; Rudolf Braun, *Industrialization and Everyday Life*, trans. Sarah Hanbury Tension (Cambridge, 1990), 84; *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of Philadelphia, 1704-1776* (Philadelphia, 1847), 405; J. R. Ward, "A Planter and His Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica," in T. C. Smout, ed., *The Search for Wealth and Stability: Essays in Economic and Social History Presented to M. W. Flinn* (London, 1979), 19.
49. *HM-M and GA*, Mar. 10, 1752; Koslofsky, "Court Culture," 760; Pitou, "Coureurs de Nuit," 72, 82-84; Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, "Potere Politico e Spazio Sociale," in Mario Sbriccoli, ed., *La Notte: Ordine, Sicurezza e Disciplinamento in Età Moderna* (Florence, 1991), 61; Maurice Andrieux, *Daily Life in Venice in the Time of Casanova*, trans. Mary Fitton (London, 1972), 29; Elizabeth S. Cohen, "Honor and Gender in the Streets of Early Rome," *JH* 22 (1992), 597-625; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 129; Schindler, "Youthful Culture," 258-260; Auguste Philippe Herlaut, "L'Éclairage des Rues à Paris à la Fin du XVIIe Siècle et au XVIIIe Siècles," *Mémoire de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 43 (1916), 221-222, 226.
50. Iona Opie and Moira Tatem, eds., *A Dictionary of Superstitions* (Oxford, 1989), 142; Washington Irving, *History, Tales and Sketches*, ed. James W. Tuttleton (New York, 1983), 1071-1072; Darryl Ogier, "Night Revels and Werewolfery in Calvinist Guernsey," *Folklore* 109 (1998), 56-57; Lavater, *Spirites*, 21-22; A.Voisin, "Notes sur la Vie Urbaine au XV. Siècle: Dijon la Nuit," *Annales de Bourgogne* 9 (1937), 271.
51. D. M. Ogier, *Reformation and Society in Guernsey* (Rochester, N.Y., 1996), 137; Apr. 30, 1673, Isham, *Diary*, 207; Pavan, "Nuit Venitienne," 345; Muchembled, *Violence*, 124.
52. Schindler, "Youthful Culture," 275; Evelyn, *Diary*, II, 472; Mar. 25, 1668, Pepys, *Diary*, IX, 133 サミュエル・ビーブス『サミュエル・ビーブスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)。
53. Moryson, *Itinerary*, IV, 373; Hannah Miurk[?], Feb. 28, 1677, Suffolk Court Files #1549, Suffolk County Court House, Boston; Janekovick-Romer, "Dubrovniks," 103; Koslofsky, "Court Culture," 755; Jacques Rossiaud, "Prostitution, Youth, and Society," in Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, eds., *Deviants and the Abandoned in French Society: Selections from the Annales Economies, Societes, Civilisations*, trans. Elborg Forster and Patricia Ranum (Baltimore, 1978), 12-13; Aug. 16, 1624, Beck, *Diary*, 152; T. Platter, *Journal*, 249 トマス・ブラッター『放浪学生ブラッターの手記』(阿部謹也訳、平凡社); George Huppert, *After the Black Death: A Social History of Early Modern Europe* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 38. ジョージ・ハッパート『西洋近代をつくった男と女』(赤阪俊一訳、朝日選書)
54. Fabre, "Families," 547; Schindler, "Youthful Culture," 261; Dec. 26, 1718, Lewis, *Diary*; James R. Farr, *Hands of Honor: Artisans and Their World in Dijon, 1550-1650* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 211; Muchembled, *Violence*, 124; Pitou, "Coureurs de Nuit," 73-74. さらに Nov. 20, 1680, Heywood, *Diary*, I, 276 を参照。
55. Eli Faber, "The Evil That Men Do: Crime and Transgression in Colonial Massachusetts" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ., 1974), 168; VG, Aug. 28, 1752; *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 8, 1754; Sept. 6, 1774, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell* (New York, 1924), 35; NYWJ, May 22, 1738; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 394-398.
56. James C. Scott, "Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance," in James C. Scott and Benedict J. Kerkvliet, eds., *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance in South-east Asia* (London, 1986), 6. とはいえ、カーニヴァルで、時々、ことに夜間に予期せぬ騒動が起こらなかったわけではない。Davis, *Society and Culture*, 103-104, 117-119, 122-123 を参照; Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswoldky (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).
57. M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the XVIIIth Century* (London, 1925), 280; Joe Thompson, *The Life and Adventures...* (London, 1788), I, 93; "Advice to Apprentices," *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* (1791), 151; Awnsham Churchill, comp., *A Collection of Voyages and Travels...* (London, 1746), VI, 542; Philip D. Morgan, "Black Life in Eighteenth-Century Charleston," *Perspectives in American History*, New Ser., 1 (1984), 324-325; Fabre, "Families," 550, 548.
58. Pitou, "Coureurs de Nuit," 88; *A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, Containing the Selectmen's Minutes from 1764 to 1768* (Boston, 1889), 100; *OED*, s.v. "scour"; Burne, ed., *Staffordshire Quarter Sessions*, V, 238. さらに Matthiessen, *Natten*, 137-139; "John Blunt," *G and NDA*, Oct. 31, 1765 を参照。
59. George, *London Life*, 400 n. 101; *OBP*, Sept. 7, 1737, 187, 190.
60. Defoe, *Tour*, I, 123; Robert Semple, *Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples ...* (London, 1807), II, 218.
61. F. G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Disorder* (Chelmsford, Eng., 1970), 245; Ann Kusmaul, ed., *The Autobiography of Joseph Mayett of Quainton* (1783-1839) (London, 1979), 14-15.
62. V. S. Naipaul, *The Loss of El Dorado: A History* (London, 1969), 251-257; Davis, *Society and Culture*, 97-123; Bernard Capp, "English Youth Groups and 'The Pinder of Wakefield,'" *PP* 76 (1977), 128-129; Giffiths, *Youth*, 169-175; Janekovick-Romer, "Dubrovniks," 110; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven, 1994), 176-177. 部分的に重

- なり合うサブカルチャー (overlapping sub-culture) については Bob Scribner, "Is a History of Popular Culture Possible?," *History of European Ideas* 10 (1989), 184-185 を参照; David Underdown, "Regional Cultures? Local Variations in Popular Culture during the Early Modern Period," in Tim Harris, ed., *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500-1800* (New York, 1995), 29.
63. Jutte, *Poverty* 180-185; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 275; *The Honour of London Apprentices: Exemplified, in a Brief Historicall Narration* (London, 1647); Richard Mowery Andrews, *Law, Magistracy, and Crime in Old Regime Paris, 1735-1789* (Cambridge, 1994), 521-535; "A Constant Correspondent," *PA*, Apr. 22, 1763; Dekker, *Writings*, 187-191; Schindler, "Youthful Culture," 248-249; A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640* (London, 1985), 125-126.
64. Torriano, *Proverbi Italiani*, 34; Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1973), 75.
65. Marston, *The Malcontent*, ed. M. L. Wine (Lincoln, Neb., 1964), 64.
66. Griffiths, *Youth*, 151-152; Davis, *Society and Culture*, 104-123; Fabre, "Families," 533-556 及び 諸所に; Thompson, *Customs in Common*, 467-533; Burke, *Popular Culture* 199-201. ピーター・パーク『ヨーロッパの民衆文化』(中村賢二郎・谷泰訳、人文書院)
67. Fabre, "Families," 555-566; *The Libertine's Choice...* (London, 1704), 14-15; F. Platter, *Journal*, 172 トマス・ブラッター『放浪学生ブラッターの手記』(阿部謹也訳、平凡社); Schindler, "Youthful Culture," 252-253; Griffiths, *Youth*, 397.
68. *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), Oct. 21, 1736; John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge, 1976), 186-188; Stanley H. Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland, 1780-1850* (Cambridge, 1988), 129-130.
69. Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th-18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York, 1990), 128; Muchembled, *Violence*, 241; Malcolmson, *Recreations*, 60-61, 75-76, 81-84; Burke, *Popular Culture* 190, 201-203. ピーター・パーク『ヨーロッパの民衆文化』(中村賢二郎・谷泰訳、人文書院)
70. Bourne, *Antiquitates Vulgares*, 229-230; Henry Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers and Related Writings*, ed. Malvin R. Zirker (Middletown, Ct., 1988), 81; Stephen Duck, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1736), 27.
71. Parkinson, *Farmer's Tour*, 440; *G and NDA*, Sept. 15, 1767; Paul S. Seaver, "Declining Status in an Aspiring Age: The Problem of the Gentle Apprentice in Seventeenth-Century London," in Bonnelyn Young Kunze and Dwight D. Brautigam, eds., *Court, Country and Culture: Essays on Early Modern British History in Honor of Perez Zagorin* (Rochester, N.Y., 1992), 139-140; Dekker, *Writings*, 173.
72. Oct. 13, 1703, May 20, 21, 1704, Jan. 27, 1707, Cowper, *Diary*; Oct. 15, 1780, Nov. 25, 1782, Woodforde, *Diary*, I, 293, II, 45; Carter, *Diary*, I, 359; Henry Wakefield, Aug. 4, 1729, *Assi* 45/18/7/1; Eric Robinson, ed., *John Clare's Autobiographical Writings* (Oxford, 1983), 62.
73. Robinson, ed., *Clare's Autobiographical Writings*, 167; *OBP*, Oct. 16, 1723, 7; May 24, 1711, Cowper, *Diary*; Marybeth Carlson, "Domestic Service in a Changing City Economy: Rotterdam, 1680-1780" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1993), 132; Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies*, 209; Patricia S. Seleski, "The Women of the Laboring Poor: Love, Work and Poverty in London, 1750-1820" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford Univ., 1989), 89.
74. Jan., 24, 1770, Carter, *Diary*, I, 348; Fitzpatrick, ed., *Washington Writings*, XXXII, 246, XXXIII, 369, 444; Gladys-Marie Fry, *Night Riders in Black Folk History* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1975), 60-73; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 524-526.
75. Griffiths, *Youth*, 78; Manning, *Village Revolts*, 72-73, 97, 197, 207; Mihoko Suzuki, "The London Apprentice Riots of the 1590s and the Fiction of Thomas Deloney," *Criticism* 38(1996), 181-182; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 139; Thomas Willard Robisheaux, *Rural Society and the Search for Order in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1989), 119; Koslofsky, "Court Culture," 759; Martina Orosova, "Bratislavski Zbraci V 18. Storoci," *Slovenska Archivistika* 34 (1999), 95; Faber, "Evil That Men Do," 169-171; William M. Wiecek, "The Statutory Law of Slavery and Race in the Thirteen Mainland Colonies of British America," *WMQ*, 3rd Ser., 34 (1977), 272; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742* (Oxford, 1971), 219.
76. WJ, Apr. 20, 1723; *Life of Michael Martin, Who Was Executed for Highway Robbery, December 20, 1821* (Boston, 1821), 6-7; Keith Lindley, *Fenland Riots and the English Revolution* (London, 1982) 諸所に; Manning, *Village Revolts*, 217-218; *G and NDA*, Aug. 24, Sept. 9, 13, 1769; J. R. Dinwiddy, "The 'Black Lamp' in Yorkshire, 1801-1802," *PP* 64 (1974), 118-119; *Assi* 45/25/2/30; *Whitehall Evening-Post* (London), Aug. 3, 1749; Andrew Barrett and Christopher Harrison, eds., *Crime and Punishment in England: A Sourcebook* (London, 1999), 169-170.
77. E. P. Thompson, "The Crime of Anonymity," in Hay et al., eds., *Albion's Fatal Tree*, 278; Thomas D. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619-1860* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), 330-332; Bob Scribner, "The Mordbrenner Fear," in Richard J. Evans, ed., *The German Underworld: Deviants and Outcasts in German History* (London, 1988), 29-56; Penny Roberts, "Arson, Conspiracy and Rumor in Early Modern Europe," *Continuity and Change* 12 (1997), 9-29; Andre Abbiatucci, "Arsonists in Eighteenth-Century France: An Essay in the Typology of Crime," in Forster and Ranum, eds., *Deviants and the Abandoned*, trans. Forster and Ranum, 157-179; Bernard Capp, "Arson, Threats of Arson, and Incivility in Early Modern England," in Peter Burke et al., eds., *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford, 2000), 199-200. バーナード・キャップ「放火、放火の脅威、そして初期近代イングランドの無作法」～『市民と礼儀：初期近代イギリス社会史：サー・キース・トマス・オックスフォード大学退官記念謹呈エッセイ集』所収 (ピーター・パーク、ブライアン・ハリソン、ポール・スラック編、木郎和彦訳、牧歌舎)
78. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 309; Kenneth Scott, "The Slave Insurrection in New York," *New York Historical Quarterly* 45(1961), 43-74; Rose, ed., *Slavery*, 99-101, 104, 109-113; Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982) 諸所に; Wood, *Black Majority*, 308-326; James Sidbury, *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion, and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia, 1730-1810* (New York, 1997); David Barry Gaspar, *Bondmen & Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua* (Baltimore, 1985), 222; Elsa V. Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Westport, Ct., 1980), 184; Beckles, *Black Rebellion* 諸所に; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial*

Louisiana: *The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 354–355.

79. Lindley, Fenland Riots, 179; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1964), 559, 565; Gaspar, *Bondmen & Rebels*, 246–247; Craton, *Testing the Chains*, 122–123; Scott, “Slave Insurrection in New York,” 47; James S. Donnelly Jr., “The Whiteboy Movement, 1761–5,” *Irish Historical Studies* 21 (1978), 23; Peter Sahlins, *Forest Rites: The War of the Demoiselles in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 42–47.

第IV部 私的な世界

●序

1. Geoffrey Keynes, ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne* (London, 1931), III, 230.
2. Alastair Fowler, ed., *The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse* (Oxford, 1991), 416; Stanley Coren, *Sleep Thieves: An Eye-Opening Exploration into the Science and Mysteries of Sleep* (New York, 1996), 9 スタンレー・コレン『睡眠不足は危険がいっぱい』(木村博江訳、文芸春秋) ; “Why Did the Caveman Sleep? (Not Just Because He Was Tired),” *Psychology Today* 16 (March 1982), 30; Burton E. Stevenson, ed., *The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (New York, 1948), 1685; Carol M. Worthman and Melissa K. Melby, “Toward a Comparative Ecology of Human Sleep,” in Mary A. Carskadon, ed., *Adolescent Sleep Patterns: Biological, Social and Psychological Influences* (Cambridge, 2002), 102–103.
3. Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London, 1588), 233; [Joseph Hall], *The Discovery of a New World* (Amsterdam, 1969), 219–244.
4. *The Adventurer*, Mar. 20, 1753, 229; Craig Tomlinson, “G. C. Lichtenberg: Dreams, Jokes, and the Unconscious in Eighteenth-Century Germany,” *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 40 (1992), 781. 睡眠史を計画したフランシス・ベーコン以外で、歴史的研究の重要性を最も熱心に説いたのは、ジョージ・スタイナーであった。スタイナーは、睡眠の研究は「衣服や飲食、育児、精神的肉体的脆弱性の歴史と同じくらい、歴史的慣習や感性の進化を把握するために必要不可欠なものであり、ようやく社会史家や精神史家によってもたらされつつある」と述べている。No Passion Spent: *Essays 1978–1996* [London, 1996], 211–212. 最近になって、Daniel Roche が、「眠りの社会史を夢見よう」(*Consumption*, 182) で力説している。夢についての歴史的記述には Peter Burke の “L’Histoire Sociale des Rêves,” *Annales Economiques, Societes, Civilisations* 28 (1973), 329–342 ほか、以下がある。Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia’s Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990); Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1992); Carole Susan Fungaroli, “Landscapes of Life: Dreams in Eighteenth-Century British Fiction and Contemporary Dream Theory” (Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Virginia., 1994); S.R.F. Price, “The Future of Dreams: From Freud to Artemidorous,” *PP* 113 (1986), 3–37; Manfred Weidhorn, *Dreams in Seventeenth-Century English Literature* (The Hague, 1970); David Schulman and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds., *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming* (New York, 1999); Mechal Sobel, *Teach Me Dreams: The Search for Self in the Revolutionary Era* (Princeton, N.J., 2000). 古代から 20 世紀までの眠りに対する姿勢については、Jaume Rossello Mir et al., “Una Aproximacion Historica al Estudio Cientifico de Sueno: El Periodo Intuitivo el Pre-Cientifico,” *Revista de Historia de la Psicologia* 12 (1991), 133–142 に年代順に記述されている。中世の眠りについての概説は、Verdon, *Night*, 203–217 ジャン・ヴェ

ルドン『図説 夜の中世』(吉田晴美訳、原書房)を参照。また、近世の眠りに触れている主要な医学書の調査結果については、Karl H. Dannenfeldt, “Sleep: Theory and Practice in the Late Renaissance,” *Journal of the History of Medicine* 41 (1986), 415–441 を参照。最近では、Phillipe Martin が 18 世紀のカトリックの著者達による睡眠についての姿勢を分析している。“Corps en Repos ou Corps en Danger? Le Sommeil dans les Livres de Piété (Seconde Moitié du XVIIIe Siècle),” *Revue d’Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 80 (2000), 255.

5. Wodrow, *Analecta: or, Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences...*, ed. Matthew Leishman (Edinburgh, 1843), III, 496; James Miller, *The Universal Passion* (London, 1737), 46.

●第 10 章 寝室でのしきたり

1. *WR or UJ*, Sept. 22, 1738
2. Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London, 1588), 232–233; Karl H. Dannenfeldt, “Sleep: Theory and Practice in the Late Renaissance,” *Journal of the History of Medicine* 41 (1986), 422–424.
3. Vaughan, *Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health ...* (London, 1607), 53; Henry Davidoff, ed., *World Treasury of Proverbs...* (New York, 1946), 25; Dannenfeldt, “Renaissance Sleep,” 7–12.
4. John Trusler, *An Easy Way to Prolong Life...* (London, 1775), 11; F.K. Robinson, comp., *A Glossary of Words Used in the Neighbourhood of Whitby* (London, 1876), 55; Tilley, *Proverbs in England*, 36.
5. Wilson, *English Proverbs*, 389.
6. *The Whole Duty of Man...* (London, 1691), 188–189; Stephen Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England* (New York, 1995), 124; *The Schoole of Vertue, and Booke of Good Nourture...* (London, 1557); *An Essay on Particular Advice to the Young Gentry...* (London, 1711), 170; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), 160–161.
7. Andrew Boorde, *A Compendyous Regyment or a Dyetary of Health...* (London, 1547); Levinus Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions...*, trans. T. Newton (London, 1576), 57.
8. Robert Macnish, *The Philosophy of Sleep*, ed. Daniel N. Robinson (Washington, D.C., 1977), 279; Boorde, *Compendyous Regyment*; Lawrence Wright, *Warm and Snug: The History of the Bed* (London, 1962), 195 ローレンス・ライト『ベッドの文化史』(別宮貞徳・片柳佐智子・三宅真砂子ほか訳、八坂書店)。
9. William Bullein, *A Newe Boke of Phisicke Called y Government of Health ...* (London, 1559), 91; Boorde, *Compendyous Regyment*; Tobias Venner, *Via Recta ad Vitam Longam...* (London, 1637), 279–280; *Directions and Observations Relative to Food, Exercise and Sleep* (London, 1772), 22; Dannenfeldt, “Renaissance Sleep,” 430.
10. Wilson, *English Proverbs*, 738; Torriano, *Proverbi*, 76; Wright, *Warm and Snug*, 194 ローレンス・ライト『ベッドの文化史：寝室・寝具の歴史から眠れぬ夜の過ごし方まで』(別宮貞徳・片柳佐智子・三宅真砂子ほか訳、八坂書店) ; Gratarolus, *A Direction for the Health of Magistrates and Studentes* (London, 1574); Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helthe* (New York, 1937), iii; Dannenfeldt, “Renaissance Sleep,” *JHM* 420.
11. Jan. 29, 1624, Beck, *Diary*, 39.
12. John Wilson, *The Projectors* (London, 1665), 45.
13. Nov. 27, 1705, Cowper, *Diary*; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 216; Lean, *Collectanea*,

- I, 503; Wright, *Warm and Snug*, 117 ローレンス・ライト『ベッドの文化史：寝室・寝具の歴史から眠れぬ夜の過ごし方まで』（別宮貞徳・片柳佐智子・三宅真砂子ほか訳、八坂書店）；Matthiessen, *Natten*, 8-9.
14. Eric Sloane, *The Seasons of America Past* (New York, 1958), 26; Feb. 8, 1756, Dec. 26, 1763, Turner, *Diary*, 26-27, 283; Carol M. Worthman and Melissa K. Melby, "Toward a Comparative Developmental Ecology of Human Sleep, in Mary A. Carskadon, ed., *Adolescent Sleep Patterns: Biological, Social, and Psychological Influences* (Cambridge, 2002), 79.
15. W. F., *The Schoole of Good Manners* (London, 1609).
16. "Letter of M. Brady," *LC*, July 31, 1764; Arthur Friedman, ed., *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith* (Oxford, 1966), II, 214-218; James Boswell, *The Hypochondriack*, ed. Margery Bailey (Stanford, Calif., 1928), II, 110; George Steiner, *No Passion Spent: Essays, 1978-1996* (London, 1996), 211-212; Simon B. Chandler, "Shakespeare and Sleep," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 29 (1955), 255-260.
17. Torriano, *Proverbi*, 77; "Wits Private Wealth," in Breton, *Works*, II, 9; *Another Collection of Philosophical Conferences of the French Virtuosi...*, trans. G. Havers and J. Davies (London, 1665), 419; Richard Oliver Heslop, comp., *Northumberland Words...* (1892; rpt. edn., Vaduz, Liecht., 1965), I, 248, II, 659; Alexander Hislop, comp., *The Proverbs of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1870), 346.
18. William Rowley, *All's Lost By Lust* (London, 1633); Thomas Shadwell, *The Amorous Bigotte* (London, 1690), 43; *The Dramatic Works of Sir William D'Avenant* New York, 1964), 146; Boswell, *Hypochondriack*, ed. Bailey, II, 112; Erik Eckholm, "Exploring the Forces of Sleep," *New York Times Magazine*, Apr. 17, 1988, 32.
19. James Hervey, *Meditations and Contemplations...* (London, 1752), II, 42; Boswell, *Hypochondriack* ed. Bailey, II, 110; N. Caussin, *The Christian Diary* (London, 1652), 35; June 2, 1706, Cowper, *Diary*; Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching*, trans. G.R. Evans (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981), 135. 多大な影響を及ぼしたフロイトの睡眠に関係する「神経症儀式行為」説については、彼の「Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices, in James Strachey, ed., *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (London, 1975), IX, 117-118を参照。Barry Schwartz, "Notes on the Sociology of Sleep," *Sociological Quarterly* 11 (1970), 494-495.
20. *Herbert's Devotions...* (London, 1657), 237; Walter L. Straus, ed., *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1550-1600: A Pictorial Catalogue* (New York, 1975), II, 739; Stephen Bateman, *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation ...* (London, 1569).
21. Eugen Weber, *My France: Politics, Culture, Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 85; Thomas Moffett, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents...* (London, 1658), II, 956-957; July 16, 1678, John Lough, ed., *Locke's Travels in France, 1675-1679* (Cambridge, 1953), 207; John Southall, *A Treatise of Buggs ...* (London, 1730); J.F.D. Shrewsbury, *The Plague of the Philistines and Other Medical-Historical Essays* (London, 1964), 146-161.
22. July 16, 1784, Torrington, *Diaries*, I, 174; James P. Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994), 318-319. 旅から帰宅する前日、サイラス・ネヴィルは、自分のベッドの「寝心地をよくする」ために、その夜、女中と娘に自分のベッドで寝るようにとの手紙を急いで書き送った。(Basil Cozens-Hardy, ed., *The Diary of Syllas Neville, 1767-1788* [London, 1950], 162).
23. Carolyn Pouncy, ed., *The "Domostroi": Rules for Russian Households in the Time of Ivan the Terrible* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 170; Anna Brzozowska-Krajka, *Polish Traditional Folklore: The Magic of Time* (Boulder, Colo, 1998), 119; PA, Mar. 20, 1764.
24. Steven Bradwell, *A Watch-man for the Pest...* (London, 1625), 39; Oct. 20, 1763, Frederick A. Pottle, ed., *Boswell in Holland 1763-1764* (New York, 1952), 49-50; Venner, *Via Recta*, 275; Israel Spach, *Theses Medicae de Somno et Vigilia...* (Strasburg, 1597).
25. Jon Cowans, ed., *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia, 2003), 121; Alan Macfarlane, *The Justice and the Mare's Ale: Law and Disorder in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1981), 56; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington...* (Washington, D.C., 1931), I, 17. 寝間着についての情報は乏しいが、以下を参照。C. Willett and Phillis Cunningham, *The History of Underclothes* (London, 1951), 41-43, 52, 61; Almut Junker, *Zur Geschichte der Unterwasche 1700-1960: eine Ausstellung des Historischen Museums Frankfurt, 28 April bis 28 August 1988* (Frankfurt, 1988), 10-78; Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The Development of Manners...* trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York, 1978), I, 164-165. 就寝時に衣服をまとわぬ点については以下を参照。Edmond Cottinet, "La Nudité au Lit Selon Cathos et l'Histoire," *Le Moliériste* (April 1883), 20-25 (June 1883) 86-89; Dannednfeldt, "Renaissance Sleep," 426.
26. Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionaire of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611); Laurence Sterne, *The Life & Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* New York, 1950), 568; Sept. 22, 1660, Pepy, *Diary*, I, 251; Alison Weir, *Henry VIII: The King and His Court* (New York 2001), 84.
27. *The Queens Closet Opened...* (London, 1661), 60-61, 101-102; Aug. 11, 1678, Michael Hunter and Annabel Gregory, eds., *An Astrological Diary of the Seventeenth Century: Samuel Jeake of Rye, 1652-1699* (Oxford, 1988), 140; Christof Wirsung, *Praxis Medicinae Universalis; or a Generall Practise of Phisicke...* (London, 1598), 618.
28. Moryson, *Itinerary*, IV, 44; "T.C.," PL, Dec. 5, 1765. *Celestina: A Novel in Dialogue* (104) by Fernando de Rojas, trans. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley, Calif., 1971) ロハスの小説『セレスティナ』の中で、主人公はワインについて、「冬の夜、床に入る時にこんなふうに小さなコップに三杯ほどワインを飲む以上にはいいウォーミングupan (床温め器) はない。おかげで一晩中寒さを感じない」と言っている。
29. Bradwell, *Watch-man*, 38; "W.," *LC* Oct. 9, 1763; Henry G. Bohn, *A Hand-book of Proverbs...* (London, 1855), 28; May 25, 1767, Cozens-Hardy, ed., *Neville Diary*, 8; Feb. 29, 1756, Turner, *Diary*, 32.
30. Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helthe* (London, 1539), fo. 46; Gouvenal, *In this Tretyse that Is Cleped Governayle of Helthe* (New York, 1969); Bullein, *Gouvenal, Government of Health*, 90.
31. Sept. 29, 1661, Pepys, *Diary*, II, 186 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；*East Anglian Diaries*, 51; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 113-128 キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)；Francois Lebrun, "The Two Reformations: Communal Devotion and Personal Piety," in *HPL* III, 96-97. 夜の「心の戸締まり (lock)」についての記述は以下に見られる。Owen Feltham, *Resolves* (London, 1628), 406; Oct. 2. 1704, Cowper, *Diary*; Andrew Hebderson, ed, *Scottish Proverbs* (Edinburgh, 1832), 48.

32. John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations...*, ed. Emily Morison Beck et al. (Boston, 1980), 320; *Whole Duty of Man*, 388; Thomas Becon, *The Early Works ...*, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge, 1843), 403.
33. *Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderful Deliverances...* (n.p., 1628). Cowper の日記、1709 年 7 月 18 日も参照。古いコーンウォールの祈り「悪鬼や亡霊、脚の長い獣、夜中に聞こえる奇怪な物音から、我らを救い給え！」(Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*, ed. Beck et al., 921) がよく知られている。
34. Martine Segalen, *Love and Power in the Peasant Family: Rural France in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago, 1983), 124–125; Phillipe Martin, “Corps en Repos ou Corps en Danger? Le Sommeil dans les Livres de Piété (Second Moitié du XVIIIe Siècle),” *Revue d’Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 80 (2000), 253.
35. Gwyn Jones, comp., *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse in English* (Oxford, 1977), 78; July 15, 1705, Cowper, *Diary*; Gervase Markham, *Country Contentments ...* (London, 1615), 31; William Lilly, *A Groatworth of Wit for a Penny; or, the Interpretation of Dreams* (London, [1750?]), 18.
36. Cogan, *Haven of Health*, 235.
37. Harrison, *Description*, 200–201; Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500–1800*, trans. Allan Cameron (New Haven, 2002), 120; John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities & Design in Early Modern Britain & Early America* (Baltimore, 2001), 73–76; Anne Fillon, “Comme on Fait son Lit, on se Couche 300 Ans d’Histoire du Lit Villageois,” in *Populations et Cultures...Etudes Reunies en l’Honneur de Francois Lebrun*(Rennes, 1989), 153–161.
38. Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans* (New York, 1993), 66; Carole Shammas, “The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America,” *JSH* 14 (1990), 169, 158; Dannenfeldt, “Renaissance Sleep,” 426 n. 31; Crowley, *Comfort* 諸所に ; F. G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Home, Work & Land*(Chelmsford, Eng., 1976), 12–15; Roche, *Consumption* 182–185.
39. Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*, ed. Beck et al., 290; Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, trans. Newton, 73; Cogan, *Haven of Health* 235; Bradwell, *Watch-man*, 39.
40. Alan Everitt, “Farm Labourers,” in Joan Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500–1640* (London, 1967), 449; Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 310–311, 324–325.
41. A. Browning, ed., *English Historical Documents, 1660–1714* (New York, 1953), 729; [Ward], *A Trip to Ireland...* (n.p., 1699), 5.
42. Harrison, *Description*, 201; *OBP*, Sept. 9–16, 1767, 259; Feb. 19, 1665, *Pepys, Diary*, VI, 39 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全 10 巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; Cissie Fairchild, *Domestic Enemies: Servants & Their Masters in Old Regime France* (Baltimore, 1984), 39; Steven L. Kaplan, *The Bakers of Paris and the Bread Question, 1700–1775* (Durham, N.C., 1996), 259. 植民地メリーランドの召使いは「俺たちは寝ると言っても、毛布にくるまって床に横になるだけだ」と不満を述べている。(Elizabeth Sprigs to John Sprigs, Sept. 22, 1756, in Merrill Jensen, ed., *English Historical Documents: American Colonial Documents to 1776* [New York, 1955], 489)、それはまた初期アメリカのほとんどの奴隷の運命でもあった。「板張りベッド」を備えているところもあったが、それよりも奴隷は藁やぼろ布、あるいは、運が良ければ、粗末な毛布にくるまって、床に寝るほうが多かった (Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 114)。

43. *OED*, “bulkers” の項を参照。John Heron Lepper, *The Testaments of Francois Villon* (New York, 1926), 12; Order of Nov. 28, 1732, London Court of Common Council, BL; Menna Prestwich, *Cranfield: Politics and Profits Under the Early Stuarts* (Oxford, 1966), 529; *Paroimiographia* (French), 18; H. S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor: A Study of Peasant Conditions, 1150–1400* (Cambridge, 1967), 233; Richard Parkinson, ed., *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom* (Manchester, 1854), I, Part 2, 407.
44. *RB*, VI, 220; Torriano, *Proverbi*, 127.
45. Alain Collomp, “Families: Habitations and Cohabitations,” in *HPL* III, 507; Flandrin, *Families*, trans. Southern, 98–99; Flaherty, *Privacy*, 76–79.
46. Constantia Maxwell, *Country and Town in Ireland under the Georges*(London, 1940), 123; Menetra, *Journal*, 137 ジャック＝ルイ・メネトラ『わが人生の記：十八世紀ガラス職人の自伝』(喜安朗訳、白水社) ; Flandrin, *Families*, trans. Southern, 100. “to pig,” については *OED* を参照。 *Journal of Twisden Bradbourn*, 1693–1694, 1698, 19, *Miscellaneous English Manuscripts* c. 206, Bodl.; Edward Peacock, comp., *A Glossary of Words Used in the Wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire* (Vaduz, Liecht., 1965), 191.
47. John Dunton, *Teague Land, or a Merry Ramble to the Wild Irish: Letters from Ireland, 1698*, ed. Edward MacLysaght (Blackrock, Ire., 1982), 21; Howard William Troyer, *Five Travel Scripts Commonly Attributed to Edward Ward* (New York, 1933), 5, 6; Maxwell, *Ireland*, 125; Patricia James, ed., *The Travel Diaries of Thomas Robert Malthus* (London, 1966), 188 トマス・ロバート・マルサス『マルサス北欧旅行日記』(小林時三郎・西沢保訳、未来社) ; Pinkerton, *Travels*, III, 667.
48. James E. Savage, ed., *The Conceited Newes* of Sir Thomas Overbury and His Friends (Gainesville, Fla., 1968), 260.
49. Elias, *Civilizing Process*, trans. Jephcott, I, 160–163; Abel Boyer, *The Compleat French-Master...* (London, 1699), 6; Elborg Forster, ed. and trans., *A Woman’s Life in the Court of the Sun King: Letters of Liselotte von der Pfalz, 1652–1722* (Baltimore, 1984), 149.
50. John Greaves Nall, ed., *An Etymological and Comparative Glossary of the Dialect and Provincialism of East Anglia* (London, 1866), 512; Elias, *Civilizing Process*, trans. Jephcott, I, 166–168.
51. May 4, 1763, Frederick A. Pottle, ed., *Boswell’s London Journal, 1762–1763* (New York, 1950), 253 ジェームズ・ボズウェル『ジェームズ・ボズウェルのロンドン日誌』(秋山平吾訳、千城) ; June 14, 1765, Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle, eds., *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France, 1765–1766* (New York, 1955), 253; Isaac Heller, *The Life and Confession of Isaac Heller...* (Liberty, Ind., 1836). さらに Mary Nicholson, Feb. 28, 1768, Assi 45/29/1/169; Mar. 23, 1669, *Pepys, Diary*, IX, 495 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全 10 巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) を参照。
52. Milly Harrison and O. M. Royston, comps., *How They Lived* (Oxford, 1965), II, 235; *OBP*, Sept. 13–16, 1758, 291.
53. Thomas Newcomb, *The Manners of the Age...* (London, 1733), 454; June 22, 1799, *Drinker, Diary*, II, 1180; Thomas A. Wehr, “The Impact of Changes in Nightlength (Scotoperiod) on Human Sleep,” in F. W. Turek and P. C. Zee, eds., *Neurobiology of Sleep and Circadian Rhythms* (New York, 1999), 263–285.
54. *LDA*, June 10, 1751; Sidney Oldall Addy, comp., *A Supplement to the Sheffield Glossary* (Vaduz, Liecht., 1965), 19; Kenneth J. Gergen et al.,

- “Deviance in the Dark,” *Psychology Today* 7 (October 1973), 130.
55. Richard Bovet, *Pandaemonium* (Totowa, N.J., 1975), 118; James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *The Autobiography and Personal Diary of Dr. Simon Forman ...* (London, 1849), 8–9; *The Princess Cloria: or, the Royal Romance* (London, 1661), 530; Dec. 15, 1710, Cowper, *Diary*.
 56. Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600* (Chicago, 2003), 77–78; OBP, Sept. 10–16, 1755, 309; G. R. Quaife, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1979), 73; Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1996), 156.
 57. *The English Rogue...* (London, 1671), Part III, 31; David P. French, comp., *Minor English Poets, 1660–1780* (New York, 1967), III, 318; Elias, *Civilizing Process*, trans. Jephcott, I, 161; Maza, *Servants and Masters*, 184.
 58. J. C. Ghosh, ed., *The Works of Thomas Otway: Plays, Poems, and Love-Letters* (Oxford, 1968), II, 340; Joanna Brooker, Nov. 21, 1754, *Suffolk Court Files #129733b*, Suffolk County Court House, Boston.
 59. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* (Avon, Ct., 1974), 440–441 ジョフリー・チョーサー『カンタベリー物語』(笹本長敬訳、英宝社)；George Morison Paul, ed., *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston* (Edinburgh, 1911), 56; Jan. 1, 1663, Pepys, *Diary*, IV, 2 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；Nov. 29, 1776, Charles McC. Weiss and Frederick A. Pottle, eds., *Boswell in Extremes, 1776–1778* (New York, 1970), 62; Dec. 28, 1780, Joseph W. Reed and Frederick A. Pottle, eds., *Boswell: Laird of Auchinleck, 1778–1782* (New York, 1977), 281.
 60. Joshua Swetman, *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward [sic], and Unconstant Women...* (London, 1702), 43–44; May 11, 1731, Clegg, *Diary*, I, 118; Rudolph M. Bell, *How to Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians* (Chicago, 1999), 232; *The Fifteen Joys of Marriage*, trans. Elisabeth Abbott (London, 1959), 22–24, 72–84.
 61. Edward Jerningham, *The Welch Heiress* (London, 1795), 70; *Diary of John Eliot, 1768*, 3 及び 諸所に, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford; July 21, 1700, *Diary of John Richards*, Dorsetshire Record Office, Dorchester. さらに *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk...* (Edinburgh, 1860), 545 を参照。
 62. P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women in England, c. 1275–1525: Documentary Sources* (Manchester, 1995), 142; Ulinka Rublack, *The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 1999), 227 ; *Boston Post-Boy*, Aug. 17, 1752; NYWJ, Dec. 12, 1737.
- 第11章 心の糸のもつれ
1. C. E. Roybet, ed., *Les Serees de Guillaume Bouchet Sieur de Brocourt* (Paris, 1874), III, 154.
 2. William C. Dement, *The Promise of Sleep* (New York, 1999), 101. ウィリアム・C・デメント『ヒトはなぜ人生の3分の1も眠るのか?：脳と体がよみがえる!「睡眠学」のABC』(藤井留美訳、講談社)
 3. *Adventurer* 39, Mar. 20, 1753, 228; Christof Wirsung, *Praxis Medicinae Universalis; or a Generall Practise of Physicke ...* (London, 1598), 618.
 4. T. D. Gent, *Collin's Walk through London and Westminster...* (London, 1690), 43; Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, II, 2, 35 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『マクベス』(福田恒存訳、新潮社)；William Mountfort, *The Injur'd Lovers ...* (London, 1688), 49.
 5. Sylvain Matton, “Le Rêve Dans les <<Secretes Sciences>>: Spirituels, Kabbalistes Chrétiens et Alchimistes,” *Revue des Sciences Humaines* 83 (1988), 160; *Adventurer* 39, Mar. 20, 1753, 229. もちろん、ギリシア神話では「眠り(hypnos)」と「死(Thanatos)」は、「夜」の双子の息子とされていた。
 6. J.C. Smith and E. De Selincourt, eds., *Spenser: Poetical Works* (London, 1969), 606; Burton E. Stevenson, ed., *The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (New York, 1948), 2134; Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella...* (London, 1591) フィリップ・シドニー『アストロフェルとステラ』(大塚定徳訳、篠崎書林)；Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Adventures of Don Quixote*, trans. J. M. Cohen (Baltimore, 1965), 906. セルバンテス『(新訳) ドン・キホーテ』(岩根園和訳、彩流社)
 7. Joshua Sylvester, trans., *Du Bartas: His Divine Weekes and Workes* (London, 1621), 465; Shakespeare, *King Henry V*, , IV, 1, 264–267 ウィリアム・シェイクスピア『ヘンリー五世』(小田島雄志訳、白水Uブックスほか)；Verdon, *Night*, 203–206 ジャン・ヴェルドン『図説 夜の中世史』(吉田晴美訳、原書房)。「労働者の眠りは甘美なものだ」という考え方は *Ecclesiastes*『旧約聖書 コヘレトの言葉』(新共同訳、日本聖書協会) 第5章12節にも見られる。
 8. George Laurence Gomme, ed., *The Gentleman's Magazine Library: Being a Classified Collection of the Chief Contents of the Gentleman's Magazine from 1731 to 1868: Popular Superstitions* (London, 1884), 122; July 22, Feb. 13, 1712, Cowper, *Diary*; Oct. 4, 1776, Charles McC. Weiss and Frederick A. Pottle, eds., *Boswell in Extremes, 1776–1778* (New York, 1970), 39.
 9. Jean-Francois Senault, *Man Become Guilty, or the Corruption of Nature by Sinne*, trans. Henry Earle of Monmouth (London, 1650), 243; Philip D. Morgan, “British Encounters with Africans and African Americans, circa 1600–1780,” in Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), 206; Nov. 16, 1664, Oct. 6, 1663, Pepys, *Diary*, V, 322, IV, 325. サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)
 10. Nashe, *Works*, I, 355; July 22, 1712, Oct. 12, 1703, Cowper, *Diary*; Dement, *Promise of Sleep*, 17.
 11. Spenser, *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (1595; rpt. edn., Amsterdam, 1969).
 12. *Herbert's Devotions...* (London, 1657), I; Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Francis Quarles* (New York, 1967), II, 206; Apr. 4, 1782, *Journal of Peter Oliver*, Egerton Manuscripts, BL; Benjamin Mifflin, “Journal of a Journey from Philadelphia to the Cedar Swamps & Back, 1764,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 52 (1928), 130–131.
 13. Kenneth Jon Rose, *The Body in Time* (New York, 1989), 87–88 K・J・ローズ『からだの時間学』(青木清監訳、HBJ 出版局)；Jane Wegscheider Hyman, *The Light Book: How Natural and Artificial Light Affect Our Health, Mood and Behavior* (Los Angeles, 1990), 140–141; Gay Gaer Luce, *Body Time* (London, 1973), 151, 178. G. G. ルース『生理時計』(岡まりな訳、思索社)
 14. November 21, 1662, Pepys, *Diary*, III, 262 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；May 25, 1709, Cowper, *Diary*; *OED*, S.V. “spitting”; SAS, XI, 124–125; Jan. 1, Feb. 21, 1706, Raymond A. Anselment, ed., *The Remembrances of Elizabeth Freke, 1671–1714* (Cambridge, 2001), 84; Hyman, *Light Book*, 140–141; Mary J. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England* (Cambridge,

- 1997), 242, 252–253; Carol M. Worthman and Melissa K. Melby, “Toward a Comparative Developmental Ecology of Human Sleep,” in Mary A. Carskadon, ed., *Adolescent Sleep Patterns: Biological, Social, and Psychological Influences* (Cambridge, 2002), 74.
15. Charles Severn, ed., *Diary of the Rev. John Ward...* (London, 1839), 199; Sept. 24, 1703, Oct. 18, 1715, Cowper, *Diary*; Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness* (Oxford, 1995), 5 スーエレン・ホイ『清潔文化の誕生』(椎名美智訳、紀伊國屋書店); Henry Vaughan, *Welsh Proverbs with English Translations* (Felinfach, Wales, 1889), 85; Legg, *Low-Life*, 9.
16. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (New York, 1938), 597 ロバート・パートン『恋愛解剖学』(斎藤美洲訳、桃源社); Bräker, *Life*, 82 ウルリヒ・ブレーカー『スイス傭兵ブレーカーの自伝』(阪口修平・鈴木直志訳、刀水歴史全書 49); Nov. 28, 1759, James Balfour Paul, ed., *Diary of George Ridpath...1755–1761* (Edinburgh, 1922), 288; Oct. 1, 1703, Cowper, *Diary*; Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1981), 245.
17. Piero Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. David Gentilcore (Chicago, 1989), 64; John Wilson, *The Projectors* (London, 1665), 18; Lydia Dotto, *Losing Sleep: How Your Sleep Habits Affect Your Life* (New York, 1990), 157.
18. M. Andreas Laurentius, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight...*, trans. Richard Surphlet (London, 1938), 104, 96; Dagobert D. Runes, ed., *The Selected Writings of Benjamin Rush* (New York, 1974), 200; Hyman, *Light Book*, 87, 96–97 及び諸所に。
19. Thomas Overbury, *The “Conceited Newes” of Sir Thomas Overbury and His Friends*, ed. James E. Savage (1616; rpt. edn., Gainesville, Fla., 1968), 262; Henry Nevil Payne, *The Siege of Constantinople* (London, 1675), 51; Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Aphorisms*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (London, 1990), 83–84; Luce, *Body Time*, 204–210. G. G. ルース『生理時計』(岡まりな訳、思索社)
20. Stevenson, ed., *Proverbs*, 2132; Henry Bachelin, *Le Serviteur* (Paris, 1918), 216; Nov. 6, 1715, William Matthews, ed., *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715–1716* (London, 1939), 105; May 20, 1624, Beck, *Diary*, 99. Jan. 30, 1665, Pepys, *Diary*, VI, 25 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全 10 巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) も参照。
21. Heaton, “Experiences or Spiritual Exercises” (typescript), 4, North Haven Historical Society, North Haven, Ct.; Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 465 ロバート・パートン『恋愛解剖学』(斎藤美洲訳、桃源社); Barbara E. Lacey, “The World of Hannah Heaton: The Autobiography of an Eighteenth-Century Connecticut Farm Woman,” *WMQ*, 3rd Ser., 45 (1988), 284–285.
22. M. A. Courtney and Thomas Q. Couch, eds., *Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall* (London, 1880), 39; *OED*, s.v. “nightmare”; Edward Phillips, *The Chamber-Maid...* (London, 1730), 57; *The Works of Benjamin Jonson* (London, 1616), 951.
23. Joseph Angus and J. C. Ryle, eds., *The Works of Thomas Adams...* (Edinburgh, 1861), II, 29.
24. Charles P. Pollak, “The Effects of Noise on Sleep,” in Thomas H. Fay, ed., *Noise and Health* (New York, 1991), 41–60.
25. Wilson, *English Proverbs*, 169; R. Murray Schafer, *The Tuning of the World* (Philadelphia, 1977), 59 R・マリー・シェーフアー『世界の調律：サウンドスケープとはなにか』(鳥越けい子・小川博司・庄野泰子ほか訳、平凡社); Luce, *Body Time*,

- 141, G. G. ルース『生理時計』(岡まりな訳、思索社)
26. Thomas Shadwell, *Epsom-Wells* (London, 1672), 83; *The Works of Monsieur Boileau* (London, 1712), I, 193–194, 200–201; *The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown in Prose and Verse...* (London, 1708), III, 15; Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago, 1999), 52–71. もちろん、近世に存在した雑音の中には、フランシス・ベーコンが述べたように、水が滴る音や静かな歌声など、眠りを促すものもあった。James Spedding et al., eds., *The Works of Francis Bacon* (London, 1859), II, 579–580.
27. Joseph Leech, *Rural Rides of the Bristol Churchgoer*, ed. Alan Sutton (Gloucester, Eng., 1982), 70; Mar. 16, 1706, Cowper, *Diary*.
28. Oct. 24, 1794, Oct. 19, 1796, Drinker, *Diary*, II, 610, 853.
29. William Beckford, *Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents*, ed. Robert J. Gemmett (Rutherford, N.J., 1972), 165; Robert Forby, comp., *The Vocabulary of East Anglia* (Newton Abbot, Eng., 1970), I, 43; June, 15, 1800, Jack Ayres, ed., *Paupers and Pig Killers: The Diary of William Holland, a Somerset Parson* (Gloucester, Eng., 1984), 38.
30. P. Hume Brown, ed., *Tours in Scotland, 1677 & 1681...* (Edinburgh, 1892), 33; Donald Gibson, ed., *A Parson in the Vale of White Horse: George Woodward's Letters from East Hendred, 1753–1761* (Gloucester, Eng., 1982), 37; Nov. 26, 1703, Doreen Slatter, ed., *The Diary of Thomas Naish* (Devizes, Eng., 1965), 51; Pounds, *Culture*, 364–365; Smith, *Acoustic World*, 71–82.
31. Alice Morse Earle, *Customs and Fashions in Old New England* (1893; rpt edn., Detroit, 1968), 128; LEP, Jan. 12, 1767; Dec. 19, 1799, Woodforde, *Diary*, V, 230; Brian Fagan, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History, 1300–1850* (New York, 2000), 113–147 ブライアン・フェイガン『歴史を変えた気候大変動』(東郷えりか・桃井緑美子訳、河出書房新社); Stanley Coren, *Sleep Thieves: An Eye-Opening Exploration into the Science and Mysteries of Sleep* (New York, 1996), 164. スタンレー・コレン『睡眠不足は危険がいっぱい』(木村博江訳、文藝春秋)
32. Legg, *Low-Life*, 4; John Ashton, comp., *Modern Street Ballads* (New York, 1968), 51; Stevenson, ed., *Proverbs*, 280; Lynne Lamberg, *Bodyrhythms: Chronobiology and Peak Performance* (New York, 1994), 111–112 リン・ランバーク『ボディリズム：潜在能力を最大に引き出す体内時計の秘密』(住友進訳、日本能率協会マネジメントセンター); Remarks 1717, 193–194; Aug. 3, 1774, Edward Miles Riley, ed., *The Journal of John Harrower: An Indentured Servant in the Colony of Virginia, 1773–1776* (Williamsburg, 1963), 52.
33. Torrington, *Diaries*, III, 317; Evelyn, *Diary*, II, 507; Robert Southey, *Journal of a Tour in Scotland* (1929; rpt edn. Edinburgh, 1972), 91–92.
34. John Locke, *The Works...* (London, 1963), IX, 23 ジョン・ロック『ジョン・ロック「子どもの教育」』(北本正章訳、原書房); Coren, *Sleep Thieves*, 160–161. スタンレー・コレン『睡眠不足は危険がいっぱい』(木村博江訳、文藝春秋)
35. Apr. 4, 1624, Beck, *Diary*, 71; Lawrence Wright, *Warm and Snug: The History of the Bed* (London, 1962), 199–200 ローレンス・ライト『ベッドの文化史：寝室・寝具の歴史から眠れぬ夜の過ごし方まで』(別宮貞徳・片柳佐智子・三宅真砂子ほか訳、八坂書店); Oct. 22, 1660, Pepys, *Diary*, I, 271 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全 10 巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社); Carl Bridenbaugh, ed., *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948), 195; F.P. Pankhurst and J. A. Horne, “The Influence of Bed Partners on Movement during Sleep,” *Sleep* 17 (1994), 308–315.

36. A. Aspinall, ed., *Lady Bessborough and Her Family Circle* (London, 1940), 111–112; John S. Farmer, ed., *Merry Songs and Ballads Prior to the Year A.D. 1800* (New York, 1964), I, 202–203; Lawrence Wright, *Clean and Decent: The Fascinating History of the Bathroom & the Water Closet...* (New York, 1960), 78 ローレンス・ライト『風呂トイレ讃歌』(高島平吾訳、晶文社) ; Pounds, *Culture*, 366–367.
37. 一例として Thomas Brewer, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (London, 1631)44 『エドモントンの陽気な悪魔』(小野正和訳、早稲田大学出版部)を参照。 ; OED, s.v. “urinal”; Mar. 27, 1706, Sewall, *Diary*, I, 543; Jonathan Swift, *Directions to Servants ...* (Oxford, 1959), 61 ジョナサン・スウィフト『奴婢訓』(深町弘三訳、岩波書店) ; Burt, *Letters*, II, 47.
38. James T. Henke, *Gutter Life and Language in the Early “Street” Literature of England: A Glossary of Terms and Topics Chiefly of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (West Cornwall, Ct., 1988), 51; Sept. 28, 1665, Pepys, *Diary*, VI, 244 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(臼田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; John Greenwood, Mar. 9, 1771, Assi 45/30/1/70; *Paroimigraphia* (Italian), 16.
39. Cibber and Vanbrugh, *The Provok'd Husband; or a Journey to London* (London, 1728), 76.
40. Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400–1600* (New York, 1991), 248, 249–251, and *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland* (New Haven, 1978), 324–326, 328.
41. Boileau Works, I, 201.
42. Benjamin Franklin, *Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (New York, 1987), 1121–1122; Feb. 16, 17, 1668, Pepys, *Diary*, IX, 73, 75 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記(全10巻)』(臼田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社) ; Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, ed., *Quebec to Carolina in 1785–1786: Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter Jr...* (San Marino, Calif., 1943), 278–279; Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500–1800*, trans. Allan Cameron (New Haven, 2002), 122.
43. July 9, 1774, Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion*, ed. Hunter Dickinson Farish (Williamsburg, 1943), 178.
44. Nicholas James, *Poems on Several Occasions* (Truro, Eng., 1742), 13; Herbert's Devotions, 223; Sarah C. Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), 183 n. 61. 労働階級の著述家、ジョン・ヤンガー(1785–1860)は「お上品な小説を書く甘ったれの間抜け作家たち」は「農民の実情など知りもせず、いびきを掻いて寝ているようなのんきで無知蒙昧な貧農を描く」とあざけった。(Autobiography of John Younger, Shoemaker, St. Boswells ... [Edinburgh, 1881], 133).
45. Pollak, “Effects of Noise,” 43.
46. Apr. 13, 1719, William Byrd, *The London Diary (1717–1721) and Other Writings*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Oxford, 1958), 256; Oct. 9, 1647, *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Durham, Eng., 1875), I, 67; Coren, *Sleep Thieves*, 72–74, 286. スタンレー・コレン『睡眠不足は危険がいっぱい』(木村博江訳、文藝春秋)。近世の下層階級の人々の中で、伝説の国コケインが人気を博していたが、それも不思議ではない。この夢のような逸楽の国にはさまざまな楽しみがあった上に、男も女も「絹のベッド」で休み、「よく眠る者ほどたくさん稼げる」のだ。(Piero Camporesi, *The Land of Hunger*, trans. Tania Croft-Murray [Cambridge, Mass., 1996],

160–164).

47. Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 24; James Scholefield, ed., *The Works of James Pilkington, B. D., Lord Bishop of Durham* (New York, 1968), 446; E. P. Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism,” PP 38 (1967), 56–97.
48. Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams*, 68–69; Coren, *Sleep Thieves* 諸所に。スタンレー・コレン『睡眠不足は危険がいっぱい』(木村博江訳、文藝春秋)

●第12章 私たちが失った眠り

1. Philip Wheelwright, *Heraclitus* (Princeton, N.J., 1959), 20.
2. Herbert's Devotions... (London, 1657), 236; Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Cevennes Journal: Notes on a Journey through the French Highlands*, ed. Gordon Golding (Edinburgh, 1978), 79–82.
3. “first sleep” (第一の眠り) という言葉に対して、1300年から1800年までの間の合計72の異なる資料に83件の言及が見つかった。その例については本文を参照のこと。“first nap”(一眠り)、“dead sleep”(深い眠り)への言及についてはA. Roger Ekirch, “Sleep We Have Lost; Pre-industrial Slumber in the British Isles,” AHR 106 (2001), 364を参照。古い時代の北米の資料には分割睡眠への言及が少ないことから、この睡眠パターンは北米にも存在していたものの、ヨーロッパほど広く普及していなかったと推測される。それには、ヨーロッパと北米では昼と夜の時間の比率が異なることや、植民地ではヨーロッパよりも人工照明が幅広く利用できたことなど、さまざまな理由があった。2つの資料——Benjamin Franklin, “Letters of the Drum,” PG, Apr. 23, 1730, と Hudson Muse to Thomas Muse, Apr. 19, 1771, in “Original letters,” WMQ 2 (1894), 240——に“first nap”という表現が見られる。Ekirch, “Sleep We Have Lost,” 364も参照。
4. 17世紀から18世紀の計19種類の資料に、この用語への言及が21件あった。(Ekirch, “Sleep We Have Lost,” 364).
5. “primo sonno”と“primo sono”については、ItalNet コンソーシアムが構築した古い時代のイタリア語文献のデータベース Opera del Vocabolario Italiano Database (www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/)によると、14世紀だけで合計32の文献に57件の言及があった。
6. “primo somno”または少し語形が変化した“primus somnus”あるいは“primi somni”については、16の文献で19件の言及が見つかった。“primi somni”は半分が13世紀以前のものだった。例についてはEkirch, “Sleep We Have Lost,” 364–365を参照。“concupia nocte”についてはD. P. Simpson, *Cassell's Latin Dictionary* (London, 1982), 128を参照。
7. *Mid-Night Thoughts, Writ, as Some Think, by a London-Whigg, or a Westminster Tory...* (London, 1682), A 2, 17; William Keatinge Clay, ed., *Private Prayers, Put Forth by Authority during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1968), 440–441; OED, s.v. “watching.”
8. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (Avon, Ct., 1974), 403 チョーサー『カントベリー物語：完訳(下)』(榎井迪夫訳、岩波書店) ; William Baldwin, *Beware the Cat*, ed. William Ringler, Jr., and Michael Flachmann (San Marino, Calif., 1988), 5.
9. George Wither, *Ivvenila* (London, 1633), 239; Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1690), 589. ジョン・ロック『人間知性論(4)』(大槻春彦訳、岩波書店)。Francis Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa ...* (London, 1732), II, 33も参照。動物の“第一の眠り(first sleep)”への言及については、たとえば、James Shirley, *The Constant Maid* (London, 1640)を参照。 ; Samuel Jackson

- Pratt, *Harvest-Home ...* (London, 1805), II, 457.
10. Raimundus Lullus, *Liber de Regionibus Sanitatis et Infortitatis* (n.p., 1995), 107; Harrison, *Description*, 382. Crusius, *Nocte*, ch. 3.11 も参照。
 11. *The Dramatic Works of Sir William D'Avenant* (New York, 1964), III, 75; J. Irvine Smith, ed, *Selected Justiciary Cases, 1624-1650* (Edinburgh, 1974), III, 642; Taillepied, *Ghosts*, 97-98; Richard Hurst, trans., *Endimion: An Excellent Fancy First Composed in French by Mounsieur Gombauld* (London, 1639), 74; Shirley Strum Kenny, ed., *The Works of George Farquhar* (Oxford, 1988), I, 100.
 12. Gouveneur, *In this Tretyse that Is Cleped Governayle of Helthe* (New York, 1969); William Bullein, *A Newe Boke of Phisicke Called y Goveriment of Health...* (London, 1559), 90; Andrew Boorde, *A Compendyous Regyment or a Dyetary of Health...* (London, 1547); Andre Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight...*, ed. Sanford V. Larkey, trans. Richard Surfleet ([London], 1938), 190.
 13. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York, 1978), 277, 227 エマニュエル・ル・ロワ・ラデュリ『モンタイユ：ピレネーの村 1294～1324』(井上幸治ほか訳、刀水書房)；Nicolas Rémy, *La Démonolâtrie*, ed. Jean Boës (1595; rpt. edn., Lyons, n.d.), 125. Jean Duvernoy, ed., *Le Régistre d'Inquisition de Jacques Fournier, Evêque de Pamiers (1318-1325)* (Toulouse, 1965), I, 243 も参照。
 14. Anthony C. Meisel and M. L. del Mastro, trans., *The Rule of St. Benedict* (Garden City, N.Y., 1975), 66; Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching*, trans. Gillian R. Evans (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981), 136; Richard Baxter, *Practical Works ...* (London, 1838), I, 339; *Mid-Night Thoughts*, 158-159; Abbot Gasquet, *English Monastic Life* (London, 1905), 111-112; C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London, 1984), 28-30; John M. Staudenmaier, S. J., "What Ever Happened to the Holy Dark in the West? The Enlightenment Ideal & the European Mystical Tradition," in Leo Marx and Bruce Mazlish, eds., *Progress: Fact or Illusion?* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996), 184.
 15. *Livy with an English Translation in Fourteen Volumes*, trans. F. G. Moore (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), VI, 372-373 リウィウス『ローマ建国以来の歴史』(岩谷智ほか訳、京都大学学術出版会)；Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. Robert Fitzgerald (New York, 1992), 43 ヴェルギリウス『アエネーイス』(杉本正俊訳、新評論)；Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. W.H.S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod (Cambridge, 1966), II, 311 パウサニ阿斯『ギリシア案内記』(馬場恵二訳、岩波書店)；Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, trans. John Dryden (New York, 1979), 630, 1208 プルタルコス『プルタルコス英雄伝』(村川堅太郎訳、筑摩書房)；Allardyce Nicoll, ed., *Chapman's Homer: The Iliad, The Odyssey and the Lesser Homerica* (Princeton, N.J., 1967), II, 73. ホメーロス『オデュッセイアー』(呉茂一訳、一穂社)
 16. Paul Bohannon, "Concepts of Time among the Tiv of Nigeria," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* (1953), 253; Paul and Laura Bohannon, *Three Source Notebooks in Tiv Ethnography* (New Haven, 1958), 357; Bruno Gutmann, *The Tribal Teachings of the Chagga* (New Haven, 1932); George B. Silberbauer, *Hunter and Habitat in the Central Kalahari Desert* (Cambridge, 1981), 111.
 17. Thomas A. Wehr, "A 'Clock for All Seasons' in the Human Brain," in R. M. Buijs et al., eds., *Hypothalamic Integration of Circadian Rhythms* (Amsterdam, 1996), 319-340; Thomas A. Wehr, "The Impact of Changes in Nightlength (Scotoperiod) on Human Sleep," in F. W. Turek and P. C. Zee, eds., *Neurobiology of Sleep and Circadian Rhythms* (New York, 1999), 263-285; Natalie Angier, "Modern Life Suppresses Ancient Body Rhythm," *New York Times*, Mar. 14, 1995; Thomas Wehr からの私信, Dec. 23, 31, 1996.
 18. Warren E. Leary, "Feeling Tired and Run Down? It Could be the Lights," *NYT*, Feb. 8, 1996; Charles A. Czeisler, "The Effect of Light on the Human Circadian Pacemaker," in Derek J. Chadwick and Kate Ackrill, eds., *Circadian Clocks and Their Adjustment* (Chichester, Eng., 1995), 254-302; William C. Dement, *The Promise of Sleep* (New York, 1999), 98-101. ウィリアム・C・デメント『ヒトはなぜ人生の3分の1も眠るのか? : 脳と体がよみがえる! 「睡眠学」のABC』(藤井留美訳、講談社)。ベアー自身は、自分の実験で、暗闇以外の条件——被験者が退屈したり、休息を強いられしたりしたことによって——分割睡眠のパターンが導かれた可能性もあると考えている。「私たちが観察した被験者の睡眠の違いを決定するのは」「暗闇そのもののなか、暗闇に関わる別の要素なのか、そしてそれはどの程度影響しているものなのか、それを判定するには」「さらなる研究が必要である」と書いている。(Thomas A. Wehr et al., "Conservation of Photoperiod-responsive Mechanisms in Humans," *American Journal of Physiology* 265 [1993], R855.) しかし、ふつうに考えれば、このような要素には産業革命以前に記録された第一の眠りや第二の眠りを示唆する言及の多さをしのぐほどの説得力がないのは明らかである。それらの〔第一の眠りや第二の眠りに言及している〕例では、休息が自発的に行われていなかったわけでもなければ、単調な環境の結果起きたわけでもない。
 19. Dec. 14, 1710, George Aitken, ed., *The Tatler* (1899; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), IV, 337, 339; Apr. 9, 1664, Pepys, *Diary*, V, 118 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社)；Mar. 19, 1776, Charles Ryskamp and Frederick A. Pottle, eds., *Boswell: The Ominous Years, 1774-1776* (New York, 1963), 276.
 20. Edward MacCurdy, ed., *The Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci* (New York, 1938), II, 256-257.
 21. Boorde, *Compendyous Regyment*, viii; John Dunton, *Teague Land, or A Merry Ramble to the Wild Irish: Letters from Ireland, 1698*, ed. Edward MacLysaght (Blackrock, Ire., 1982), 25.
 22. Thomas Jubb, Nov. 17, 1740, Assi 45/22/1/102; Nov. 12, 1729, Nov. 30, 1726, Jan. 4, 1728, Robert Sanderson, *Diary*, St. John's College, Cambridge; Francis James Child, ed., *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (New York, 1965), II, 241 『チャイルド・バラッド 全訳』(バラッド研究会編訳、音羽書房鶴見書店)；Robert Boyle, *Works...* (London, 1772), V, 341; Richard Wiseman, *Eight Chirurgical Treatises ...* (London, 1705), 505; Lyne Walter, *An Essay towards a ...Cure in the Small Pox* (London, 1714), 37.
 23. Tobias Venner, *Via Recta ad Vitam Longam ...* (London, 1637), 272; Walter Pope, *The Life of the Right Reverend Father in God Seth, Lord Bishop of Salisbury...* (London, 1697), 145; Best, *Books*, 124; Vosgien, *An Historical and Biographical Dictionary ...*, trans. Catharine Collignon, (Cambridge, 1801), IV.
 24. Jane Allison, Mar. 15, 1741, Assi 45/22/2/64B; Stephen Duck, *The Thresher's Labour* (Los Angeles, 1985), 16; A. R. Myers, ed., *English Historical Documents, 1327-1485* (London, 1969), 1190.
 25. *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Ser., 5, no. 115 (Mar. 13, 1858), 207; Tobias Smollett, *Peregrine Pickle* (New York, 1967), II, 244.
 26. Franklin, *Writings*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (New York, 1987), 835.
 27. JRAI, II, 376; Thomas Nicholson, June 2, 1727, Assi 45/18/4/39-40;

- Herbert's Devotions, 237; Anthony Horneck, *The Happy Ascetick, or, the Best Exercise* ([London], 1680), 414; Mary Atkinson, Mar. 9, 1771, Assi 45/30/1/3; Jane Rowth, Apr. 11, 1697, Assi 45/17/2/93.
28. Nicolas Rémy, *Demonolatry*, ed. Montague Summers and trans. E. A. Ashwin (Secaucus, N.J., 1974), 43–46; Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*, ed. Montague Summers and trans. E. A. Ashwin (Secaucus, N.J., 1974), 33–48.
29. Horneck, *Happy Ascetick*, 415; M. Lopes de Almeida, *Diálogos de D. Frei Amador Arrais* (Porto, 1974), 19; *The Whole Duty of Prayer* (London, 1657), 13; Richard and John Day, *A Booke of Christian Praiers...* (London, 1578), 440–441; R. Sherlock, *The Practical Christian: or, the Devout Penitent...* (London, 1699), 322–323; Frederick James Furnivall, ed., *Phillip Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespere's Youth, A.D. 1583* (London, 1877), 221.
30. Cowper, *The Works* (London, 1836), IX, 45–50; Danielle Régner-Bohler, “Imagining the Self,” in HPL II, 357; *Mid-Night Thoughts*.
31. Dorothy Rhodes, Mar. 18, 1650, *York Depositions*, 28. Geoffroy de La Tour-Landry, *Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry* (London, 1906), fo. 3b も参照; Jan. 4, 1728, Sanderson, *Diary*.
32. *The Deceyte of Women ...* (n.p., 1568); Helen Simpson, ed. and trans., *The Waiting City: Paris, 1782–88. Being an Abridgement of Louis-Sebastian Mercier's “Le Tableau de Paris”* (Philadelphia, 1933), 76 メルシエ『十八世紀パリ生活話: タブロー・ド・パリ』(原宏訳、岩波書店); Aviel Orenstein, ed., *Mishnah Berurah: Laws Concerning Miscellaneous Blessings, the Minchah Service, the Ma'ariv Service and Evening Conduct ...* (Jerusalem, 1989), 435.
33. Laurent Joubert, *Popular Errors*, trans. Gregory David de Rocher (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1989), 112–113; Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London, 1588), 252. Boorde, *Compendyous Regyment* も参照; Orenstein, ed., *Mishnah Berurah*, 441.
34. Cardano, *The Book of My Life* (New York, 1962), 82 ジェローラモ・カルダーノ『カルダーノ自伝: ルネサンス万能人の生涯』(清瀬卓・沢井繁訳、平凡社); Thomas Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York, 1984), 1417; Francis Quarles, *Enchiridion ...* (London, 1644), ch. 54.
35. *Everie Woman in Her Humor* (London, 1609); Wilson, *English Proverbs*, 566. July 12, 1702, Cowper, *Diary* も参照; May 24, 1595, Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward, *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, ed. Marshall Mason Knappen (Gloucester, Mass., 1966), 105.
36. Oliver Lawson Dick, ed., *Aubrey's Brief Lives* (London, 1950), 131 オーブリー『名士小伝』(橋口稔・小池銈訳、富山房); Crusius, *Nocte*, ch. 1.5; GM 18 (1748), 108; G and NDA, Feb. 11, 1769; Rita Shenton, *Christopher Pinchbeck and His Family* (Ashford, Eng., 1976), 29.
37. Régner-Bohler, “Imagining the Self,” 390; Edmund Spenser, *The Works ...*, ed. Edwin Greenlaw (Baltimore, 1947), II, 249; Richard Brome, *The Northern Lasse* (London, 1632); William Davenant, *The Platonick Lovers* (London, 1636); Cowper, *Works*, IX, 45.
38. Roy Harvey Pearce, ed., *Nathaniel Hawthorne: Tales and Sketches ...* (New York, 1982), 200–201 ナサニエル・ホーソーン『トワイヌ・トールド・テールズ』(井坂義雄ほか訳、桐原書店); John Wade, *Redemption of Time...* (London, 1692), 187. 別のあるモラリストはマスターベーションが行われることを危惧して、「第一の眠りから覚めたら、すぐに起きることを習慣づける」よう戒めている。(S.A.D. Tissot, *Onanism: Or a Treatise upon the Disorders Produced by Masturbation...* [London, 1767], 122). サミュエル＝オーギュスト・ティソ『性: 抑圧された領域』(阿尾安泰訳、国書刊行会)
39. Mercier, *The Night Cap* (Philadelphia, 1788), 4.
40. Tertullian, *Apologetical Works*, trans. Rudolph Arbesmann et al. (New York, 1950), 288; Sidney J. H. Herrtage, ed., *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (London, 1879), 207; Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 403–404; Mar. 11, 1676, Jane Lead, *A Fountain of Gardens ...* (London, 1697), 121; Jan. 6, 1677, Heywood, *Diaries*, I, 340; Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge, eds., *Ram Alley* (Nottingham, 1981), 56.
41. Hubert, *Egypt's Favourite. The History of Joseph ...* (London, 1631). 例としては William Vaughan, *Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health ...* (London, 1607), 55 を参照。
42. *Looker-On*, May 22, 1792, 234; Geoffrey Keynes, ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne* (London, 1931), V, 185; Nashe, *Works*, I, 355.
43. Thomas Tryon, *A Treatise of Dreams & Visions ...* (London, 1689), 9; WR or UJ, Dec. 30, 1732; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 128–130. キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)
44. Keynes, ed., *Browne Works*, V, 185; James K. Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal: “History of New England,” 1630–1649* (New York, 1908), I, 121.
45. “Somniifer,” PA, Oct. 24, 1767; S.R.F. Price, “The Future of Dreams: From Freud to Artemidorous,” PP 113 (1986), 31–32; Thomas Hill, *The Most Pleasaunt Arte of the Interpretation of Dremes...* (London, [1571]); *Nocturnal Revels: or, a General History of Dreams...*, 2 vols. (1706–1707).
46. Thomas Johnson, trans., *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgeon Ambrose Parey* (London, 1649), 27; Ripa, *Nocturno Tempore*, ch. 9.27; Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions...*, trans. T. Newton (London, 1576), 113–114.
47. Feltham, *Resolves* (London, 1628), 18, 163; Thomas Tryon, *Wisdom's Dictates: or, Aphorisms & Rules...* (London, 1691), 68.
48. Sept. 12, 1644, Josselin, *Diary*, 20; Mar. 8, 1626, *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud...* (Oxford, 1853), III, 201; July 31, 1675, Sewall, *Diary*, I, 12.
49. Lemnius, *Touchstone*, trans. Newton, 114; Phillipe Martin, “Corps en Repos ou Corps en Danger? Le Sommeil dans les Livres de Piété (Seconde Moitié du XVIIIe Siècle),” *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 80 (2000), 255; Aug. 15, 1665, Feb. 7, 1669, Pepys, *Diary*, VI, 191, IX, 439 サミュエル・ピープス『サミュエル・ピープスの日記 (全10巻)』(白田昭・岡照雄・海保真夫訳、国文社); Cannon, *Diary*, 344. ペニスは夢を見ている間にその内容には関係なく、機械的に勃起する。実際には、平均的な男性は「一晩のうち(眠っている間)に4回から5回、1回に5分から10分持続する勃起を経験する」。(Kenneth Jon Rose, *The Body in Time* [New York, 1989], 54, 95. K・J・ローズ『からだの時間学』青木清監訳、HBJ出版局)
50. Charles Carlton, “The Dream Life of Archbishop Laud,” *History Today* 36 (1986), 9–14; Alan Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a Seventeenth-Century Clergyman* (Cambridge, 1970), 183–187.
51. Cardano, *Book of My Life*, 156, 161; July 24, 1751 ジェローラモ・カルダーノ『カルダーノ自伝: ルネサンス万能人の生涯』(清瀬卓・沢井繁訳、平凡社), James MacSparran, *A Letter Book and Abstract of Out Services, Written during the Years 1743–1751*, ed. Daniel Goodwin (Boston, 1899), 45; James Strachey, ed., *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*

- (London, 1975), XXI, 203. ジークムント・フロイト『幻想の未来／文化への不満』(中山元訳、光文社)
52. Torrington, *Diaries*, I, 165; Aug. 2, 1589, Aug. 6, 1597, J. O. Halliwell, ed., *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee* (London, 1842), 31, 59.
53. Jan. 2, 1686, Sewall, *Diary*, I, 91; Henry Fishwick, ed., *The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly, A.D. 1671–1693* (Manchester, 1894), 100; Jean Bousquet, *Les Thèmes du Rêve dans la Littérature Romantique* (Paris, 1964).
54. Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, *Orations of Divers Sorts ...* (London, 1662), 300.
55. Apr. 4, 1706, Aug. 22, 1716, Sewall, *Diary*, I, 544, II, 829.
56. Sept. 4, 1625, *Laud Works*, III, 173; Oct. 17, 1588, Halliwell, ed., *Dee Diary*, 29; Mar. 20, 1701, Robert Wodrow, *Analecta: or, Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences ...*, ed. Matthew Leishman (Edinburgh, 1842), I, 6; Feb. 17, 1802, Woodforde, *Diary*, V, 369.
57. Nov. 20, 1798, Drinker, *Diary*, II, 112. その例として Cardano, *Book of My Life*, 89 ジェローラモ・カルダーノ『カルダーノ自伝:ルネサンス万能人の生涯』(清瀬卓・沢井繁訳、平凡社)を参照。; Wodrow, *Analecta*, II, 315, III, 339; July 15, 1738, Benjamin Hanbury, *An Enlarged Series of Extracts from the Diary, Meditations and Letters of Mr. Joseph Williams* (London, 1815), 131.
58. Jan. 7, 1648, C.H. Josten, ed., *Elias Ashmole (1617–1692)...* (Oxford, 1967), II, 467; Jan. 6, 1784, Irma Lustig and Frederick Albert Pottle, eds., Boswell, *The Applause of the Jury, 1782–1785* (New York, 1981), 175.
59. Feb. 10, 1799, William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1782–1840: The Methodists...* (Chicago, 1946), IV, 217–218.
60. June 30, 1654, Feb. 15, 1658, Josselin, *Diary*, 325, 419; June 16, 1689, Mar. 18, 1694, Feb. 13, 1705, Sewall, *Diary*, I, 219, 328, 518; May 28, 1789, Woodforde, *Diary*, III, 108; Dec. 2, 1720, William Byrd, *The London Diary (1717–1721) and Other Writings*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Oxford, 1958), 481; Oct. 12, 1582, Halliwell, ed., *Dee Diary*, 17; Jan. 29, 1708, J. E. Foster, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Newton* (Cambridge, 1890), 118; Aug. 27, Oct. 14, 1773, Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett, eds., *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D., 1773* (New York, 1961), 87–88, 303–304 ジェイムズ・ボズウェル『ヘブリディーズ諸島旅日記』(諏訪部仁・市川泰男・江藤秀一ほか訳、中央大学出版部); Feb. 3, 15, 1776, Ryskamp and Pottle, eds., *Ominous Years*, 230, 235.
61. May 30, 1695, Foster, ed., *Newton Diary*, 109; Dec. 21, 1626, *Laud Works*, III, 197; Carlton, “Dream Life of Laud,” 13.
62. *Mid-Night Thoughts*, 34; Mark R. Cohen, ed. and trans., *The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi: Leon Modena's Life of Judah* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 94, 99; James J. Cartwright, *The Wentworth Papers, 1705–1739* (London, 1883), 148; Wolfgang Behringer, *Shaman of Oberstorf: Chonrad Stoeckhlin and the Phantoms of the Night*, trans. H. C. Erik Midelfort (Charlottesville, Va., 1998); Boyereau Brinch, *The Blind African Slave...* (St. Albans, Vt., 1810), 149–150; Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 250.
63. *Another Collection of Philosophical Conferences of the French Virtuosi ...*, trans. G. Havers and J. Davies (London, 1665), 3; Jean de La Fontaine, *Selected Fables*, ed. Maya Slater and trans. Christopher Wood (Oxford, 1995), 283; Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1988), 234 ジャック・ルゴフ『中世の夢』(池上俊一訳、名古屋大学出版部)。
- Torriano, *Proverbi*, 261 も参照。
64. David P. French, comp., *Minor English Poets, 1660–1780: A Selection from Alexander Chalmers' The English Poets* (New York, 1967), II, 259; “Meditations on a Bed,” *US and WJ*, Feb. 5, 1737; Enid Porter, *The Folklore of East Anglia* (Totowa, N.J., 1974), 126–127; David Simpson, *A Discourse on Dreams and Night Visions; with Numerous Examples Ancient and Modern* (Macclesfield, Eng., 1791), 61.
65. だからこそ、ナチスのロベルト・ライの「ドイツで今もブライバシーのある生活をしているのは眠っている者だけだ」という放言も生まれた。(George Steiner, *No Passion Spent: Essays 1978–1996* [London, 1996], 211); Augustine FitzGerald, ed., *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene...* (London, 1930), 345; Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft & Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (London, 1983). カルロ・ギンズブルグ『夜の合戦: 16-17 世紀の魔術と農耕信仰』(上村忠男訳、みすず書房)
66. RB, VII, 11–12; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 148 キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局); Mercier, *Night Cap*, I, 4; Robert L. Van De Castle, *Our Dreaming Mind* (New York, 1994), 333–334.
67. 「睡眠行動障害」については Jonathan Woolfson による H-Albion への 1997 年 10 月 30 日付の書き込みを参照。; D. M. Moir, ed., *The Life of Mansie Wauch: Tailor in Dalkeith* (Edinburgh, 1828), 273–274; Dement, *Promise of Sleep*, 208–211.
68. Erika Bourguignon, “Dreams and Altered States of Consciousness in Anthropological Research,” in Francis L. K. Hsu, ed., *Psychological Anthropology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 403–434; Vilhelm Aubert and Harrison White, “Sleep: A Sociological Interpretation. I,” *Acta Sociologica* 4 (1959), 48–49; Beryl Larry Bellman, *Village of Curers and Assassins: On the Production of Fala Kpelle Cosmological Categories* (The Hague, 1975), 165–178; Cora Du Bois, *The People of Alor: A Social-Psychological Study of an East Indian Island* (New York, 1961), I, 45–46.
69. John Ashton, ed., *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1966), 85; Franklin, *Writings*, ed. Lemay, 118–122. Jan. 5, 1679, Josselin, *Diary*, 617 も参照。
70. Sept. 16, 1745, Parkman, *Diary*, 124; “On Dreams,” *Pennsylvania Magazine, or American Monthly Museum*, 1776, 119–122; July 2, 1804, Drinker, *Diary*, III, 1753. Simpson, *Discourse on Dreams*, 59 も参照。; John Robert Shaw, *An Autobiography of Thirty Years, 1777–1807*, ed. Oressa M. Teagarden and Jeanne L. Crabtree (Columbus, Ohio, 1992), 131.
71. Patricia Crawford, “Women's Dreams in Early Modern England,” *History Workshop Journal* 49 (2000), 140; “Titus Trophonius,” Oct. 4, 1712, Donald F. Bond, ed., *The Spectator* (Oxford, 1965), V, 293–294; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000), 128–129; Cartwright, ed., *Wentworth Papers*, 538; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 130. キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局)
72. Lacey, “Hannah Heaton,” 286; Aug. 20, 1737, Kay, *Diary*, 12, 39; Mechal Sobel, “The Revolution in Selves: Black and White Inner Aliens,” in Ronald Hoffman et al., eds., *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997), 180–200; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), 519.

73. William Philips, *The Revengeful Queen* (London, 1698), 39; Jan. 1723, Wodrow, *Analecta*, ed. Leishman, III, 374; SWA or LJ, Sept. 3, 1770; OBP, June 4, 1783, 590.
74. John Whaley, *A Collection of Original Poems and Translations* (London, 1745), 257; John Dryden and Nathaniel Lee, *Oedipus* (London, 1679), 14.
75. Marcel Foucault, *Le Rêve: Études et Observations* (Paris, 1906), 169–170; Jan. 16, 1780, Joseph W. Reed and Frederick A. Pottle, eds., *Boswell: Laird of Auchinleck, 1778–1782* (New York, 1977), 169; *The New Art of Thriving; or, the Way to Get and Keep Money...* (Edinburgh, 1706); Van De Castle, *Dreaming Mind*, 466.
76. Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *The Physiology of Taste, or, Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy*, trans. M.F.K. Fisher (New York, 1949), 222 ブリア・サヴァラン『美味礼賛』(関根秀雄訳、白水社) ; Wehr, “Clock for All Seasons,” 338; Wehr, “Changes in Nightlength,” 269–273; Wehrからの私信, Dec. 23, 31, 1996.
77. Carter A. Daniel, ed., *The Plays of John Lyly* (Lewisburg, Pa., 1988), 123; Breton, Works, II, 12; Barbara E. Lacey, ed., *The World of Hannah Heaton: The Diary of an Eighteenth-Century New England Farm Woman* (DeKalb, Ill., 2003), 83; Aug. 20, 1737, Kay, *Diary*, 12, 39. あまり思い返されることがなく、内面化されにくかったが、夢を見るという営みはもちろん、「朝の眠り (morning sleep) 」や「第二の眠り (second sleep) 」の間にも起きていた (Ekirch, “Sleep We Have Lost,” 382) .

●夜明け

1. GM 25 (1755), 57.
2. M. De Valois d’Orville, *Les Nouvelles Lanternes* (Paris, 1746), 4; May 10, 1797, Drinker, *Diary*, II, 916; R.L.W., *Journal of a Tour from London to Elgin Made About 1790...*(Edinburgh,1897), 74; Hans-Joachim Voth, *Time and Work in England, 1750–1830* (Oxford,2000), 67–69.
3. Elkan Nathan Adler, ed., *Jewish Travellers: A Treasury of Travelogues from 9 Centuries* (New York, 1966), 350; Robert Semple, *Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples...* (London, 1808), II, 83; Humphrey Jennings, *Pandaemonium, 1660–1886: The Coming of the Machine as Seen by Contemporary Observers* (New York, 1985), 115; *Boston Newsletter*, Feb. 27, 1772; Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America ...* (London, 1799), II, 380.
4. PA, July 15, 1762; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 650–655 キース・ヴィヴィアン・トマス『宗教と魔術の衰退』(荒木正純訳、法政大学出版局) ; James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England, 1550–1750* (New York, 1996), 229–230, 257–275, 290–293; Alan Macfarlane, *The Culture of Capitalism* (Oxford, 1987), 79–82, 100–101.
5. *DUR*, Sept. 4, 1788; SAS, XII, 244; “Your Constant Reader,” and “A Bristol Conjuror,” BC, Feb. 17, 1762; “Crito,” *LEP*, Mar. 15, 1762; Jonathan Barry, “Piety and the Patient: Medicine and Religion in Eighteenth Century Bristol,” in Roy Porter, ed., *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society* (Cambridge, 1985),160–161.
6. *Diary of James Robson, 1787*, Add. Mss. 38837, fo. 9, BL; Winslow C. Watson, ed., *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, Including Journals of Travels* (New York, 1856), 96; Bryan Edwards, “Description of a Nocturnal Sky, as Surveyed Nearly Beneath the Line,”

- Massachusetts Magazine* 7 (1795), 370; “Valverdi,”*Literary Magazine* 7 (1807), 449; Macfarlane, *Culture of Capitalism* 80–81, 102–103. 望遠鏡の人気については、たとえば、Nov. 12, 1720, *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley, M.D...* (London, 1882), I, 75; Sept. 30, 1756, J. B. Paul, ed., *Diary of George Ridpath (Edinburgh, 1910)*, 92; June 22, 1806, Drinker, *Diary*, III, 1940 を参照。
7. M. D’Archenholz, *A Picture of England...*(London, 1789), I, 136; Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin, *Letters of a Russian Traveler, 1789–1790...* (New York, 1957), 181, 268; Mr. Pratt, *Gleanings through Wales, Holland, and Westphalia* (London, 1798), 167; Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1989), 22, 34.
8. Torrington, *Diaries*, II, 195, 196, I, 20; John Henry Manners, *Journal of a Tour through North and South Wales* (London, 1805), 64; Gary Cross, *A Social History of Leisure since 1600* (State College, Pa., 1990), 59.
9. James Essex, *Journal of a Tour through Part of Flanders and France in August 1773*, ed. W. M. Fawcett (Cambridge, 1888), 2.
10. Pierre Goubert, *The Ancien Regime: French Society, 1600–1750*, trans. Steve Cox (London, 1973), 223; William Edward Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1972), 222, 359; Christopher Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450–1750* (London, 1995), 25.
11. *Midnight the Signal: In Sixteen Letters to a Lady of Quality* (London, 1779), I, 147 及び諸所に ; Koslofsky, “Court Culture,” 744; Barbara DeWolfe Howe, *Discoveries of America: Personal Accounts of British Emigrants to North America during the Revolutionary Era* (Cambridge, 1997), 217; Pinkerton, *Travels*, II, 790.
12. *US and WJ*, Oct. 13, 1733; *A Humorous Description of the Manners and Fashions of Dublin* (Dublin, 1734), 5; *The Memoirs of Charles-Lewis, Baron de Pollnitz...*(London, 1739), I, 411; Robert Anderson, *The Works of John Moore, M.D....* (Edinburgh, 1820), 171; Roy Porter,*The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment* (New York, 2000), 435–436; Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000).
13. *British Journal*, Sept. 12, 1730.
14. Henry Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers and Related Writings*, ed. Malvin R. Zirker (Middletown, Ct., 1988), 231; LC, Sept. 9, 1758, Mar. 19, 1785; J. Hanway, *Letter to Mr. John Spranger ...*(London, 1754), 34; Frederique Pitou “Jeunesse et Desordre Social: Les ‘Coureurs de Nuit’a Laval au XVIIIe Siècle,” *Revue d’Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 47 (2000), 70; G & NDA, Nov. 27, 1767; Horace Walpole, *Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann*, ed. W. S. Lewis et al. (New Haven, 1967), VIII, 47; Bruce Lenman and Geoffrey Parker, “The State, the Community and the Criminal Law in Early Modern Europe,” in V.A.C. Gatrell et al., eds., *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* (London, 1980), 38; J. Paul De Castro, *The Gordon Riots* (London, 1926); Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776* (Oxford, 1971), 300–303.
15. *DUR*, Nov. 30, 1785; Borsay, *Urban Renaissance* 諸所に ; Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History* (London, 1983), 256–259.
16. 9 George II. c.20; “Mémoire sur Necessité d’Éclairer la Ville, Présenté par Quelques Citoyens au Conseil,” Jan. 26, 1775, Archives Geneve, Geneva; J. M. Beattie, *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660–1750: Urban Crime*

- and the Limits of Terror (Oxford, 2001), 221–223; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Angela Davies (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), 9–14. ヴォルフガング・シヴェルブシュ『闇をひらく光』（小川さくえ訳、法政大学出版局）
17. *Times*, May 14, 1807; “F. W.,” *LM*, Jan. 6, 1815; Jane Austen, *Sandition* (Boston, 1975), 221; O’Dea, *Lighting*, 98; Pounds, *Home*, 388; Brian T. Robson, *Urban Growth: An Approach* (London, 1973), 178–183; John A. Jakle, *City Lights: Illuminating the American Night* (Baltimore, 2001), 26–37.
 18. *LC* Jan. 17, 1758; “Case of the Petitioners against the Bill, for Establishing a Nightly-Watch within the City of Bristol,” 1755, *BL*; *PA*, July 15, 1785; Alan Williams, *The Police of Paris, 1718–1789* (Baton Rouge, 1979), 71; Ruff, *Violence*, 88–91.
 19. *BC*, Aug. 11, 1762; David Philips and Robert D. Storch, *Policing Provincial England, 1829–1856: The Politics of Reform* (London, 1999), 63; Beattie, *Crime*, 67–72; Elaine A. Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies: The Night Watch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London, 1720–1830* (Stanford, Calif., 1998); Stanley H. Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland, 1780–1850* (Cambridge, 1988) 諸所に; David Philips, “A New Engine of Power and Authority”: The Institutionalization of Law-Enforcement in England 1780–1830,” in Gatrell et al., eds., *Crime and the Law*, 155–189; James F. Richardson, *Urban Police in the United States* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1974), 19–28.
 20. “Night Hawk,” *Mechanics Free Press* (Philadelphia), Nov. 7, 1829; Louis Bader, “Gas Illumination in New York City, 1823–1863” (Ph.D. diss., New York Univ., 1970), 334; Mary Lee Mann, ed., *A Yankee Jeffersonian: Selections from the Diary and Letters of William Lee of Massachusetts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 37; Pounds, *Home* 388; Johan Goudsblom, *Fire and Civilization* (London, 1992), 150, 176–178. ヨハン・ハウッブロム『火と文明化』（大平章訳、法政大学出版局）。一般的に、街灯が犯罪に有益な影響を及ぼした点については、Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York, 1961), 41–42; Kate Painter, “Designing Out Crime—Lighting, Safety and the Urban Realm,” in Andrew Lovatt et al., eds., *The 24-Hour City ...* (Manchester, 1994), 133–138 を参照。
 21. Maurice Rollinat, *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1972), II, 282. Allan Silver, “The Demand for Order in Civil Society: A Review of Some Themes in the History of Urban Crime, Police and Riot,” in D. Bordua, ed., *The Police: Six Sociological Essays* (New York, 1967), 1–24; Anna Clark, *Women’s Silence, Men’s Violence: Sexual Assault in England, 1770–1845* (New York, 1987), 118.
 22. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Essays & Lectures*, ed. Joel Porte (New York, 1983), 1067; Joachim Schlör, *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London 1840–1930*, trans. Pierre Gottfried Imhof and Dafydd Rees Roberts (London, 1998), 287 ヨアヒム・シュレーア『大都会の夜：パリ、ロンドン、ベルリン：夜の文化史』（平田達治・我田広之・近藤直美訳、鳥影社・ロゴス企画部）；Mark J. Bouman, “The ‘Good Lamp Is the Best Police’ Metaphor and Ideologies of the Nineteenth-Century Urban Landscape,” *American Studies* 32 (1991), 66.
 23. The Journeyman Engineer, *The Great Unwashed* (London, 1869), 199; A. H. Bullen, ed., *The Works of Thomas Middleton* (1885; rpt. edn., New York, 1964), VIII, 14; A. Roger Ekirch, “Sleep We Have Lost: Pre-industrial Slumber in the British Isles,” *AHR* 106 (2001), 383–385; Thomas A. Wehr, “A ‘Clock for All Seasons’ in the Human Brain,” in R. M. Buijs et al., eds., *Hypothalamic Integration of Circadian Rhythms* (Amsterdam, 1996), 319–340; Thomas A. Wehr, “The Impact of Changes in Nightlength (Scotoperiod) on Human Sleep,” in F.W. Turek and P.C. Zee, eds., *Neurobiology of Sleep and Circadian Rhythms* (New York, 1999), 263–285; P. Lippmann, “Dreams and Psychoanalysis: A Love-Hate Story,” *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 17 (2000), 627–650. 夢について、ロジャー・バスティードは以下のように記している。「わが西欧文明において……日中と夜間という人間が過ごす時間の半分ずつに架かる橋は、切断されている。もちろん、夢についての本を調べ、あるいは少なくとも自分が見た夢を検討してそれらを暮らしに役立てようとする人々は、下層階級のみならず、世間一般に広く見いだすことができる。しかし、そうした夢の重要な機能は個人的なものにとどまり、制度化されるには至っていない。反対に、行動様式として系統化されるどころか、異常だと考えられている。“迷信”ともされている。時には夢に意味や方向性を見いだそうとする人などまったくいないと言われたりもする」(“The Sociology of the Dream,” in Gustave Von Grunebaum, *The Dream and Human Societies* [Berkeley, Calif., 1966], 200–201).
 24. R. W. Flint, ed., *Marinetti: Selected Writings*, trans. R. W. Flint and Arthur A. Coppotelli (New York, 1979), 56.
 25. Frederic J. Baumgartner, *A History of Papal Elections* (New York, 2003), 191; 8 Rev. Dr. Render, *A Tour through Germany...* (London, 1801), II, 37. 年代が1816年と誤表記されているが、*Zeitung* 紙の記事「照明に反対する意見」はM. Luckiesh, *Artificial Light: Its Influence upon Civilization* (New York, 1920), 157–158 に訳出されている。
 26. Schlör, *Nights in the Big City*, trans. Imhof and Roberts, 66; Christian Augustus Gottlieb Goede, *A Foreigner’s Opinion of England...*, trans. Thomas Horne (Boston, 1822), 47; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992), 365; Garnert, *Lampan*, 126; Schindler, *Rebellion*, 221; Eugen Weber, *France Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 54.
 27. Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, trans. Isabel F. Hapgood (New York, 1887), II, Pt. 1, 313–316 ヴィクトル・ユゴー『レ・ミゼラブル(上下)』（永山篤一訳、角川書店）；Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night*, 105, 97–114 及び諸所に。ヴォルフガング・シヴェルブシュ『闇をひらく光』（小川さくえ訳、法政大学出版局）；Wolfgang Schivelbusch, “The Policing of Street Lighting,” *Yale French Studies* 73 (1987), 73, 61–74 及び諸所に；Eugène Defrance, *Histoire de l’Éclairage des Rues de Paris* (Paris, 1904), 104–106; Garnert, *Lampan*, 123–129.
 28. Joseph Lawson, *Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey during the Last Sixty Years* (Stanningley, Eng., 1887), 33; [Charles Shaw], *When I Was a Child* (1903; rpt. edn., Firlé, Eng., 1977), 37; Silvia Mantini, “Notte in Città, Notte in Campagna tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna,” in Mario Sbriccoli, ed., *La Notte: Ordine, Sicurezza e Disciplina in Età Moderna* (Florence, 1991), 42; Pounds, *Culture*, 420–423; James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825–1875* (Oxford, 1976) 諸所に；Judith Develin, *The Superstitious Mind: French Peasants and the Supernatural in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 1987).
 29. George Sturt, *Change in the Village* (1912; rpt. edn., Harmondsworth, Eng., 1984), 121, 8.
 30. Dagobert D. Runes, *The Diary and Sundry Observations of Thomas Alva Edison* (New York, 1948), 232; Ekirch, “Sleep We have Lost,” 383–385; Patricia Edmonds, “In Jampacked Days, Sleep Time is the First to Go,” *USA Today*, April 10, 1995; Andree Brooks, “For Teen-Agers, Too Much to Do, Too

Little Time for Sleep,” *New York Times*, Oct. 31, 1996; Amanda Onion, “The No-Doze Soldier: Military Seeking Radical Ways of Stumping Need for Sleep,” Dec. 18, 2002, Web: www.abcNEWS.com. 近代の暮らしにおける夜間についての探求は、Murray Melbin, *Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World after Dark* (New York, 1987); Kevin Coyne, *A Day in the Night of America* (New York, 1992); A. Alvarez, *Night: Night Life, Night Language, Sleep, and Dreams* (New York, 1995) A・アルヴァレス『夜：心理・生理・行動』（工藤政司訳、法政大学出版局）；Christopher Dewdney, *Acquainted with the Night: Excursions through the World after Dark* (New York, 2004) を参照。

31. Montague Summers, ed., *Dryden: The Dramatic Works* (1932; rpt. edn., New York, 1968), VI, 159; Arthur R. Upgren, “Night Blindness,” *Amicus Journal* 17 (1996), 22–25; David L. Crawford, “Light Pollution—Theft of the Night,” in Derek McNally, ed., *The Vanishing Universe: Adverse Environmental Impacts on Astronomy* (Cambridge, 1994), 27–33.
32. Warren E. Leary, “Russia’s Space Mirror Bends Light of Sun into the Dark,” *NYT, Times*, Feb. 5, 1993; “Russian Space Mirror Reflector Prototype Fails,” *Boston Globe*, Feb.5, 1999.