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Shōyu: The Flavor of Japan

Norio Tanaka

Soy sauce, especially *shōyu*, or Japanese soy sauce, is truly an all-purpose seasoning, whether for boiled or broiled foods, for dipping, or for adding flavor to all conceivable types of dishes. Today, it is a familiar presence in many countries, having spread rapidly around the world together with Japanese cuisine.

Shōyu, the Essence of Japanese Cuisine The Japanese diet would not be what it is were it not for *shōyu*. Typical dishes like sushi, sashimi, tempura, sukiyaki, and so on could not be eaten without it, and in Japan it is even used to enhance the flavor of Western-style dishes. Italian food has become very popular in Japan lately, and pasta prepared with a dash of soy sauce is a favorite of many people.

Before World War II, the Japanese diet was based chiefly on rice, the fermented soybean paste known as *miso*, and *shōyu*. Japan being a rice-growing country, rice is the staple food. Whole rice is a nearly complete food, containing carbohydrate, oil, and protein; if it is eaten in sufficiently large quantities, there is little need for animal protein. Because of this, *shōyu* has been essential in Japan as a seasoning to stimulate the appetite for large amounts of rice.

In the early seventeenth century, as many Japanese journeyed to Southeast Asia to trade, Japanese settlements sprang up here and there in the region. Those Japanese needed their *shōyu*, which they obtained from Japan. Beginning around the middle of the nineteenth century, with the ending of Japan's self-imposed seclusion, numerous Japanese emigrated to the United States, Canada, Southeast Asian countries, China, and elsewhere; and they too imported *shōyu* from Japan in large quantities. As the saying goes, "Wherever there are Japanese, *shōyu* is sure to be found," and Japanese troops stationed in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5) even began producing their own *shōyu*, laying the foundation for production of *shōyu* there later. During World War II, Japanese troops in Southeast Asia produced *shōyu* and *miso* for the military throughout the region with the aid of Japanese *shōyu* manufacturers. And today, many of the millions of Japanese tourists who travel abroad make sure to take *shōyu*, instant *miso* soup, and *umeboshi* (pickled plums) with them wherever they go.

Let us examine the connection between rice and soy sauce from the perspective of the history of dietary culture. In the fifteenth century, prior to the Age of Discovery, the Eurasian land mass was divided into two dietary cultures: one in western Eurasia that was based on milled grain and involved livestock farming and one in eastern Eurasia

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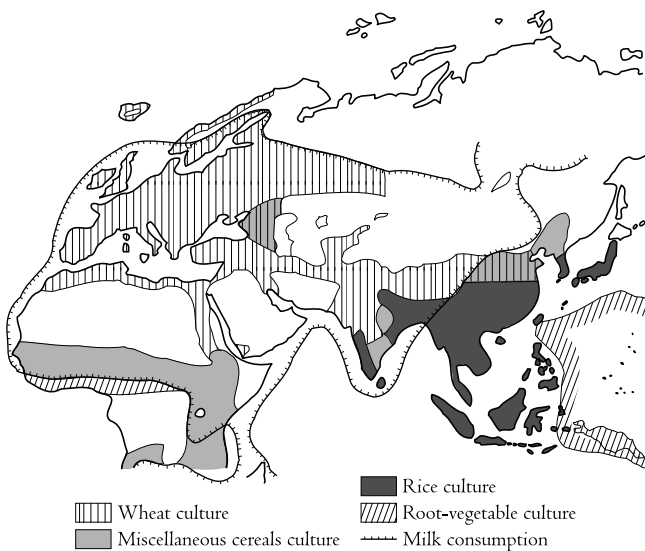


Figure 1. The distribution of staple foods and milk consumption in the Old World of the fifteenth century. Source: Naomichi Ishige, *Gyoshō to Nare-zushi no Kenkyū* [Research on Fish Condiments and Fermented Sushi] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990), 343.

(and Southeast Asia) that was based on whole rice and did not rely on livestock farming (fig. 1).

Since diets based on cereal grains like wheat require animal-based foods like dairy products and meat to supplement the staple food, a dietary culture dependent on livestock farming developed in regions where this dietary pattern is common. However, in rice-growing regions, where the staple food was rice, livestock farming did not develop. Even today, except in Japan, the consumption of meat, animal fats, and milk and other dairy products in rice-growing countries in Asia is lower than in the rest of the world, as was true of Japan before World War II.

In rice-growing areas of East and Southeast Asia, where the diet is primarily rice-based and only small amounts of animal protein are consumed, people use fish- or grain-based condiments as side dishes to help them consume large quantities of rice, since these condiments keep well and even in small quantities stimulate the appetite. Fermented fish- and grain-based condiments also add flavor and saltiness to otherwise bland vegetables that are served as side dishes. In Japan, grain-based condiments are fermented seasonings made from legumes and rice or cereals like wheat or barley, which are combined with salt and *kōji* yeast; *miso* is the paste form of this product, and *shōyu* is the liquid form.

As can be seen in figure 2, the fish- and grain-based condiment regions largely overlap the rice-growing areas. Living in a rice-grow-

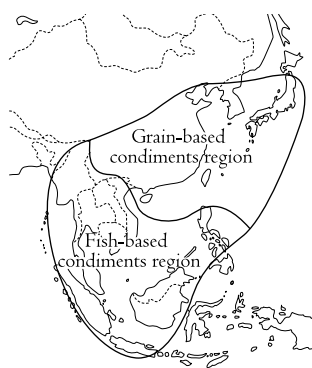


Figure 2. The umami culture zone. Source: Ishige, 355.

ing region and eating rice as their staple food, the Japanese developed a diet in which the grain-based condiments *miso* and *shōyu* were essential.

Examination of the history of the world's dietary cultures in terms of their use of seasonings and spices just before the impact of New World crops began to be felt throughout the Old World identifies eight broad seasoning and spice cultures (fig. 3). Europe can be described as a spice region; the Middle East as a *taubal* (pungent spices, such as pepper, cloves, and ginger) region; India as a *masala* (mixed spices) region; Southeast Asia as a fish-based condiment region; East Asia as a grain-based condiment region; the Pacific as a coconut region; the New World as a hot pepper region; and Africa as an oil-plant region.

In the Southeast Asian fish-based condiment region, such condiments are used in areas where rice has traditionally been grown in irrigated paddies. In general, these condiments are not found in areas like eastern Indonesia, where swidden agriculture was the traditional farming method. In areas on the fringe of the fish-based condiment region shown in figure 3, such as the Moluccas, spices were not usually used, even though these areas produced spices.

Southeast Asia was influenced by the Indian *masala* region over many centuries, and in more modern times East Asian grain-based condiments used by ethnic Chinese residents of East and Southeast Asia have also had a strong impact. India had a great influence on Indonesia, where spices in the form of dried seeds, fruits, and barks are commonly used. In Indochina, ground fresh herbs and aromatic vegetables are used instead of strong dried spices. Since these regions never developed livestock farming, they never produced clarified butter, or ghee, despite the impact of Indian culture in ancient times. The oils prominent in the traditional diets of these areas came from coconut milk and coconut oil.

Soy Sauce and Umami As we have seen, fermented foods constituted the principal flavor base in the East Asian grain-based condiment region and the Southeast Asian fish-based condiment region. While one condiment is plant based and the other is animal based, both are rich in the *umami* component associated with the amino acids found in grain- and fish-based condiments. This component defines the *umami* culture zone of East and Southeast Asia (fig. 2), which also corresponds to rice-growing areas where rice is the staple food. It is the *umami* resulting from fermentation that makes soy sauce one of the world's most versatile seasonings. And *shōyu*, Japanese soy sauce, stands out because it is richest in *umami*, thanks to Japan's advanced fermentation technology.

There are four generally recognized basic taste sensations: sweet, salty, sour, and bitter. (Other known taste

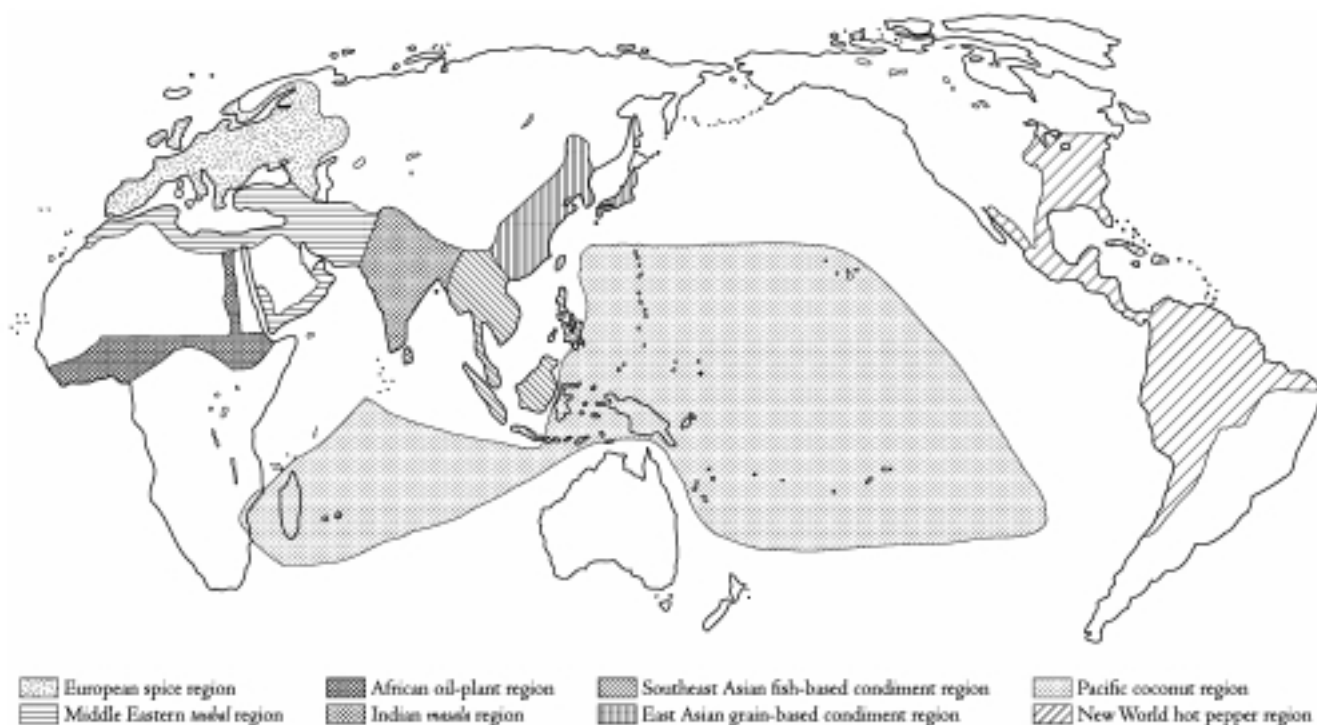


Figure 3. The world's seasoning and spice cultures. Source: Isbigé, 337.

sensations include tangy, hot, and tart.) Since the 1960s a fifth basic taste, *umami*, the Japanese word for “flavor,” has also been recognized internationally.

Umami, the fifth basic taste, was first identified by Kikunae Ikeda (1864–1936), a Japanese physical chemist. In 1908 he isolated the *umami* component of the seaweed *konbu* and determined that it was composed mainly of glutamic acid, one of the amino acids. Five years later, in 1913, one of his students, Shintarō Kodama (d. 1923), confirmed that inosinic acid was the main component of the *umami* of *katsuo-bushi* (dried bonito). In 1960 Akira Kuni-naka (b. 1928) confirmed that guanilic acid is responsible for the *umami* of brown *shiitake* mushrooms; other research has determined that saké and shellfish derive their *umami* from succinic acid. Although European scientists discovered glutamic acid and succinic acid before Japanese scientists did, the Europeans were unfamiliar with the *umami* taste, having been raised on the fat, salt, milk, meat broth, and other tastes of the spice culture zone. They found *umami* unpleasantly sour, and it did not occur to them to use it in seasonings.

Although people raised in the *umami* culture zone of East and Southeast Asia share the taste of soy sauce in common, people raised in the European spice culture zone found this taste completely alien. The Europeans who traveled to Japan in the Edo Period (1603–1868) reacted with distaste when they first encountered *shōyu*, but they eventually came to like it.

The *umami* taste of the grain-based condiments *miso* and *shōyu* results from the action of fungi—such as *kōji* (of the genus *Aspergillus*), *Rhizopus*, or *Mucor*—on a mixture of soybeans and either rice, wheat, or barley. The

soybean, the main ingredient of these seasonings, is a legume native to Asia that is rich in high-quality protein and oil; in Japan it has been called the “meat of the field.” However, raw legumes are difficult to digest; even when boiled, soybeans are only about 60 percent digestible. But fermentation of soybeans dramatically improves their digestibility; furthermore, glutamic acid is released when soybean protein is broken down, yielding foods with *umami*. Fermented foods include Indonesian tempeh and Japanese *nattō*, dishes made from soybeans fermented without salt. The grain-based condiment *miso* is a paste produced by fermenting soybeans with either rice, wheat, or barley and salt. Soy sauces are made by fermenting and aging a mixture of soybeans, wheat or barley, and salt water, which is finally pressed to extract the liquid.

The Origins and Development of Soy Sauce

The precursor of *shōyu* is thought to be the *jiang* of China. According to the classic *Zhou Li* [Rites of Zhou] of the Zhou dynasty (1122–221 B.C.), *jiang* was made by mixing the flesh of game, fowl, or fish together with *liang qu* (a fermenting agent made from foxtail millet) and salt; pickling this mixture in a flavorful liqueur; and putting the mixture in a jar and placing a very thick sealant on the surface of the mixture, after which it was left to mature for one hundred days. This process yielded the meat-based condiment *rou jiang*. The fermenting effect of fungi produced the *liang qu* that was used to make *rou jiang*. Continued fermentation of the sugar content of the *liang qu* acted on the meat base of the *rou jiang*, breaking down the meat protein and yielding *umami*.

Sometime after the Qin (221–207 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) dynasties, the meat-based condiment of the Zhou dynasty was replaced with a grain-based condiment made from soybeans. The first written reference to this new condiment is found in the fifth-century *Zhai Min Yao Shu* [A Study of Important Popular Technology], the world's oldest book on agricultural processing technology, which contains extensive commentary on *jiang* and *chi*, a completely grain-based condiment.

It is said that soy sauce evolved from the grain-based *jiang* that was originated when soybeans were substituted for the meats in the meat-based *jiang*. *Jiang you*, or Chinese-style soy sauce, is made by adding wheat flour to steamed soybeans to produce a *kōji* fermenting agent. Salt water is then added and the mixture is fermented and aged. *Shōyu*, on the other hand, is made by mixing roasted crushed wheat with steamed soybeans to make *kōji*, adding salt water, and then fermenting and aging the mixture.

In contrast to the *jiang*-type soy sauce, *chi* was made by adding mold directly to steamed soybeans to produce *kōji*, and then adding salt water and fermenting and aging the mixture; no wheat was used. Since *chi* was made from soybeans alone, the soybean protein was resolved more thoroughly, giving *chi* a higher glutamic acid content. It had a sharp taste that made it suitable as a condiment, but one shortcoming was that it was nearly black in color. The *chi* liquid was used as a seasoning much as present-day soy sauce is used. Although *chi*-based soy sauces, which were developed from *chi* liquid, are not the main varieties used in China today, they are still produced in various regions of the country. Outside China, *kecap* in Indonesia, *tamari shōyu* in Japan (often used in the Nagoya area), and *kanjang* on the Korean Peninsula all derive from *chi*.

It is not clear when the Japanese first learned how to make *jiang* and *chi*, but the Taihō Code of laws (701) mentions a *bishio*-making facility overseen by the Ministry of the Imperial Household that produced various types of *jiang* (including *bishio*, which was a food paste rather than a seasoning) made from soybeans. Other names mentioned in old records are *shi* (the Japanese term for *chi* at that time) and *mishō*. “*Mishō*” refers to the partially matured product, in other words, *miso*, which was probably transmitted to Japan from the Korean Peninsula.

The term *jiang you* first appeared in China in the Song (960–1279) dynasty, but only entered into common use during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). It appears that it was early in the Ming dynasty that both the name *jiang you* and the method for making the condiment became established and the product became widely used.

The Ming dynasty is roughly contemporaneous with the Muromachi period (1336–1568) in Japan. Because the name *shōyu*—which is written with the same ideograms as *jiang you*—first appeared in Japanese documents toward the end of this period, it can safely be assumed that the

name and method for making this product were transmitted to Japan in the course of trade with Ming China. By the beginning of the Muromachi period, however, Japan already possessed excellent methods of making both a Japanese version of *jiang* called *bishio* and *miso*. Japanese technology using *kōji* yeast was so advanced at that time that there were already merchants who specialized in making *kōji*.

Today Japan is a leader in fermentation technology; for example, Japanese saké is the only alcoholic beverage in the world that attains an alcohol content of 20 percent or more—that is, 40 proof or more—through fermentation alone, without distillation. This technology originated in China but was enhanced over many centuries in Japan. Japan's fermentation technology using mold microorganisms evolved because the country's warm and humid climate provides an environment conducive to the growth of molds; many different types of mold exist in Japan; the Japanese method of nurturing microorganisms and overseeing their growth is effective; and the traditional Japanese diet of cereals, vegetables, and fish, shellfish, and seaweed rather than meat stimulates demand for *kōji* yeast.

Because Muromachi-period Japanese fermentation technology was more advanced than the comparable Chinese technology, the liquid that accumulated in vats of *bishio* and *miso* was already being collected and used as a seasoning. Thus, when the Chinese method for making *jiang you* was transmitted from Ming China, Japanese combined it with their own technology to make a better seasoning.

The Japanese method differed from the original Chinese method in that it did not use wheat flour. The wheat was roasted and crushed, mixed with steamed soybeans and *kōji* yeast, and fermented, yielding *shōyu*, or Japanese-style *jiang you*. This method, developed toward the end of the Muromachi period, was well established by the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The Japanese method is notable because roasting denatures the wheat starch, making it receptive to the action of the enzymes of the microorganisms, or *kōji* yeast. Crushing the wheat also multiplies the surfaces on which the microorganisms can act. Finally, particles of the crushed wheat adhere to the surface of the steamed soybeans, helping to regulate the mixture's moisture content and inhibit the growth of undesirable bacteria.

Modern *shōyu*—not the liquid byproduct of *bishio* or *miso* fermentation—was born and its manufacturing method established during the time of cultural flowering between the late Muromachi and early Edo periods that saw the development of the Noh drama, the tea ceremony, the art of flower arranging, *shoin-zukuri* residential architecture, *kare sansui* (“dry mountain stream”) gardens, and haiku poetry, which are still representative of Japanese culture today. Under the influence of Zen Buddhism,

Muromachi culture embraced nature with Japanese aesthetic sensibilities and created beauty imbued with simplicity, *wabi* (tranquility), *sabi* (the patina of age), and *yūgen* (elegant simplicity).

In terms of dietary culture, the Muromachi period gave birth to *kaiseki ryōri*—simple, chiefly vegetarian meals with natural flavors inspired by Zen-temple fare—which differed from the usual banquet dishes; and this cuisine developed hand in hand with the tea ceremony. By this time, seasonings were in common use. A clear distinction was made between the food paste *hisbio* and *shōyu*, and the latter began to be used as a seasoning. This, then, is the cultural setting that saw the birth of *shōyu*, a sophisticated seasoning with an appealing color, taste, and aroma.

Shōyu had been developed in the Kansai region, that is, mainly in such urban centers as Kyoto, Osaka, and Sakai. Known as *kudari shōyu* (literally, *shōyu* sent from the capital, that is, Kyoto), this product also dominated the market in Edo, as Tokyo was then called. In the early Edo period, *shōyu* was an extremely expensive commodity generally available only to the moneyed class living in cities. Farmers, for example, used *miso* paste, which could be made in a relatively short time at home, for seasoning. This is why in dietary history the Edo period is called the era of *miso* flavoring. It was only in and after the nineteenth century, when farmers became more affluent, that they were able to afford *shōyu*.

Japan's *shōyu* industry, born in the Kansai region, was transmitted east to the Kantō region, centered on Edo. In the nineteenth century, *shōyu* made in Kantō dominated the market in Edo, which by then had a population of more than one million, and displaced the *kudari shōyu* sent from Kansai.

Shōyu making developed as a traditional industry, but after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, major manufacturers in the towns of Chōshi and Noda, in Chiba Prefecture, began modernizing the industry. Today, five major firms manufacture 50 percent of Japan's *shōyu*: Kikkoman Corporation (Noda), 30 percent; Yamasa Corporation (Chōshi), 10 percent; and Higeta Shoyu Company, Ltd. (Chōshi), Higashimaru Shoyu Co., Ltd. (Tatsuno, Hyōgo Prefecture), and Marukin Shoyu Company, Ltd. (Shōdoshima, Okayama Prefecture) together produce 10 percent. The remaining 50 percent is manufactured by approximately two thousand small and medium-sized enterprises.

Soy Sauces of the World As we have seen, soy sauce originated in China and spread from there to East and Southeast Asia. This region, which is simultaneously the *umami* culture zone and the soy sauce culture zone, enjoys a wide variety of soy sauces, exemplified by those of China, Indonesia, Japan, the Korean Peninsula, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand.

As the birthplace of soy sauce, China has countless regional varieties, but the three principal types are *lao chou*, *jiang you*, and *sheng chou*. *Lao chou*, which could be called the “king of soy sauces,” is quite similar to Japan's black *tamari shōyu*. *Jiang you* corresponds to Japan's dark *koikuchi shōyu*, and *sheng chou* is similar to Japan's light *usukuchi shōyu*.

Indonesia has two main varieties: a salty soy sauce called *kecap asin* and a sweet soy sauce called *kecap manis*. The chief ingredient of *kecap asin* is soybeans, to which small amounts of wheat flour and essential oils are added. It is most often used by ethnic Chinese Indonesians. *Kecap manis* is made mainly from soybeans, to which wheat or rice flour, brown sugar, and spices are added. It has a very sweet taste and is most often used by other Indonesians.

Today, Japan enjoys five types of *shōyu*—*koikuchi*, *usukuchi*, *tamari*, *sai-shikomi*, and *shiro*—which are distinguished according to their ingredients and production method.

The dark *koikuchi shōyu* is the type usually meant when *shōyu* is mentioned, and 82.5 percent of Japan's *shōyu* is of this type. It is made from roughly equal proportions of soybeans and roasted crushed wheat and has a well-balanced color, taste, and aroma.

The light *usukuchi shōyu* is used mainly in the Kansai region; it accounts for 14.5 percent of the *shōyu* consumed in Japan. *Usukuchi shōyu*, which is paler in color and less aromatic than *koikuchi shōyu*, is used to avoid overwhelming the flavors of the ingredients of the dishes it seasons. It has a 10 percent higher salt content than *koikuchi shōyu*.

Black *tamari shōyu* is popular in the Nagoya area, but it represents only 1.8 percent of the total market for *shōyu*. It is made principally from soybeans, with wheat added sparingly or not at all. *Tamari shōyu* is very flavorful but is black in color. It is often used for dipping sushi, sashimi, and so on.

Sai-shikomi shōyu is produced in the area from Kyushu to the San'in region of Honshu, centering on the town of Yanai, in Yamaguchi Prefecture. Its market share is just 0.7 percent. Unlike the usual method of making *shōyu*, in which salt water is added to the soybean-and-wheat mixture, unpasteurized *shōyu* is added instead, hence the name *sai-shikomi*, or second fermentation. *Sai-shikomi shōyu* has a strong flavor and a dark color and is used as a dipping sauce for sushi, sashimi and so on.

The pale *shiro shōyu*, originally produced mainly in the Nagoya region, is now produced in the Kantō region, as well. Its market share is 0.6 percent. Wheat is the main ingredient of *shiro shōyu*; soybeans are used only in small amounts, if at all. *Shiro shōyu* (literally, white *shōyu*) is even paler than the light *usukuchi shōyu*, has a mild flavor, and is very sweet. It is used in preparing or processing foods that should retain their natural colors.

The primary type of soy sauce used on the Korean Peninsula is *kanjang*, which is the same type as Japan's black *tamari shōyu*. But many Korean households still make their own soy sauce, just as *miso* was formerly made

at home in Japan. Japan's dark *koikuchi shōyu* is also used on the Korean Peninsula.

Malaysia's soy sauce, called *kicap kacang soya*, is made from soybeans and wheat flour, to which sweeteners like caramel are added.

In the Philippines we find *toyo*, which is made from soybeans, wheat flour, and brown sugar. As in Thailand, fish-based condiments also are commonly used.

Products used in Singapore are *jiang you* and soya sauce, made from soybeans and wheat flour.

In Thailand soy sauce, known as *sii iu* or *se iew*, is made from soybeans, corn, and rice flour. It is used mainly by Thais of Chinese descent. Other Thais used fish-based condiments for seasoning foods, as is common in Cambodia and Vietnam.

In general, the soy sauces of Southeast Asia are Chinese style and were sown throughout the region in recent times by ethnic Chinese who settled there. These soy sauces are produced in the same way as *jiang you*. Because of brief fermentation they have little *umami*.

In the late nineteenth century, Indonesian *kecap manis* was called *glycina soya* by Dutch settlers in Indonesia, to differentiate it from Japanese *shōyu*. It was given this name because it is sweeter and thicker than its Japanese counterpart.

Shōyu Travels Around the World The Portuguese Jesuit Luis Frois (1532–97), a missionary who arrived in Japan in 1563, commented: “We use various seasonings to flavor our food, but the Japanese use *miso*. *Miso* is a mixture of rice, rotten grain, and salt.” And a Japanese-Portuguese dictionary published in Nagasaki in 1603 included the following definitions:

xōyu: equivalent to vinegar, but a salty liquid. It is used in cooking and is also called *sutate*.

miso: a mixture of wheat or barley, rice, and salt, used to flavor Japanese soups.

As Frois's comment and these dictionary entries indicate, *miso* was still the principal seasoning around the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although the word *xōyu* was in use, the fact that this liquid seasoning was “also called *sutate*” makes it clear that this was not modern *shōyu* but *miso-damari*, the seasoning obtained by drawing off the liquid that accumulates in a woven bamboo dipper inserted into a vat of *miso*.

In the late seventeenth century, however, *shōyu* as we know it today appeared in the market place. At that time, the only foreigners allowed to reside in Japan were Chinese and Dutch traders. The Dutch, living on the artificial island of Dejima, in Nagasaki Harbor, discovered how tasty *shōyu* was and included it among their exports from Japan. According to the records of the overseers of the Dutch East India Company's trading post on Dejima, ten

28.8-liter barrels of *shōyu* were shipped to the company's trading post on Taiwan for the first time in 1647 and from there were sent to various places in Southeast Asia. This is the same year that Japanese Imari ware was first exported from Nagasaki aboard Dutch trading ships.

However, *shōyu* only began to be exported to the Netherlands by the Dutch East India Company as an official commodity in 1737, when seventy-five large barrels of *shōyu* were sent to Batavia (present-day Jakarta), and thirty-five barrels from that shipment were sent on to the Netherlands. This *shōyu* was shipped not in barrels but in Imari-ware flasks. From then until 1760, twenty to twenty-five barrels' worth of *shōyu* were exported to the Netherlands each year in similar Imari-ware flasks.

Until the end of the eighteenth century, several hundred barrels of *shōyu* were exported every year, carried by Dutch and Chinese ships from Nagasaki to Taiwan and all parts of Southeast Asia, as well as to India and Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka). This *shōyu* was not produced in Nagasaki; it was called *miyako shōyu* (literally, capital city *shōyu*) because it was made in Kyoto, then Japan's capital, as well as in Osaka and other parts of the Kansai region. The main customers for this *shōyu* were ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia.

Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716), a German physician and scholar who worked on Dejima from September 1690 to November 1692, took note of *shōyu*. In his voluminous *Amoenitates Exoticae*, published in 1712, he mentioned *miso* and *shōyu* in the entry for soybeans in the book's section on Japanese plants and even included a brief description of how *shōyu* is made. In his *History of Japan*, first published in 1727, he noted that *shōyu* was being exported to Europe by the Dutch.

In a book recording his travels in Japan, the Swedish physician and botanist Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828), who worked on Dejima from 1775 to 1776, wrote, in essence: “[The Japanese] make a very fine soy sauce, much better than Chinese soy sauce. Much soy sauce is carried to Batavia, India, and Europe. . . . The Dutch have discovered sure ways to keep heat from affecting soy sauce and to prevent spoilage. They boil the soy sauce in iron cauldrons, pour it into bottles, and seal the caps with bitumen. The soy sauce is thus well preserved and can be mixed into all kinds of sauces. . . . Soy sauce is imported by various European countries, and it is made from soybeans for soy sauce (*dolichos soya*), hulled barley or wheat, and salt.”

L'Encyclopédie, published between 1751 and 1780, chiefly under the editorship of Denis Diderot, in paraphrase describes *soui ou soi* as “a type of sauce made in Japan that came to France via Holland, and a small amount of which imparts a rich flavor to foods. The Japanese product is far better than the Chinese product, giving a deep, rich taste to foods.”

In the nineteenth century, *shōyu* was quite well known



A late-nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century konpura bottle for exported shōyu. Courtesy of Shin'ya Ishido.

in Europe, and it seems that exports had increased considerably. An 1866 customs tariff list includes an export tax for *shōyu*, so it is obvious that *shōyu* was one of Japan's principal exports at that time. It was exported in so-called *konpura* porcelain *shōyu* bottles, each containing 0.54 liter of *shōyu* and labeled "Japansch Zoya" in Dutch. Most of these bottles were produced in the town of Hazami, in Nagasaki Prefecture, and apparently 400,000 bottles a year were produced around 1860.

However, the great time and expense needed to import *shōyu* made it extremely costly; thus it was not something the ordinary person could afford to buy. Since Europeans blended soy sauce into their own sauces, it was not necessary to use costly *shōyu*, and *shōyu* could not compete with the cheaper Chinese *jiang you*. Thus *shōyu* gradually disappeared from the European market, and "soy sauce" eventually became synonymous with the Chinese product.

Even though *shōyu* became very popular in Europe, it remained very expensive, and as a result, interest in producing soy sauce in Europe soon developed. In 1870 Johan J. Hoffmann, a professor of Chinese and Japanese at Leiden University, in the Netherlands, contributed an article titled "Bereiding van de Japansche Soya. Naar het Japansch" [Production of Japanese Soy Sauce, Based on Japanese Documentary Sources] to volume 17 of *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Landen Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië* [Report on the Languages, Geography, and Peoples of the Dutch East Indies]. The production method he describes is based on information found in the *Wakan Sansai Zue*, an illustrated Japanese encyclopedia completed in 1712. But Europeans of that time who used a malt enzyme to ferment cereals failed to understand the requisite brewing method, using mold to ferment cereals. Because they still did not know about *kōji*, they were unable to make soy sauce.

In 1889 another Dutch scholar, I. L. Terneden, published "De Bereiding van Japansche Soja" [Production Methods for Japanese Soy Sauce] in volume 18, number 1, of *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Indië* [Journal of the Dutch East Indies]. In this article, he said, in short: "[*Shōyu*] is added to all types of dishes as a seasoning, not only to enhance flavor but also to add nutritional value and stimulate the appetite, and has long been known to us by the

product name of Japanese soy sauce. It is a dark liquid with a reddish amber tint and has a pleasantly stimulating saltiness and a nice aroma." He then described the method of producing soy sauce, in much greater detail than Hoffmann had, and fairly accurately depicted the method actually used in Japan. Regrettably, however, no one in Europe was able to produce soy sauce, because they still did not understand the use of mold enzymes for fermentation, the key to the entire process.

After the mid-nineteenth century, *shōyu* was no longer able to compete with the Chinese product; it disappeared from the European market, and exports of *shōyu* declined. In 1886 Saheiji Mogi, of the Kikkoman Corporation, dispatched an employee to Europe to conduct market research. He attempted to revive and expand exports of *shōyu* to that market but was unsuccessful.

But as increasing numbers of Japanese settled overseas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, demand for *shōyu* among Japanese living abroad began to grow. Records show that 5,760 kiloliters of *shōyu* were exported in 1913, mostly to the United States, Canada, the Russian Far East, and the Chinese province of Guangdong, destined for Japanese settlers and residents there. The volume exported to Germany, the Netherlands, and elsewhere in Europe was 63 kiloliters, less than a third of the volume of *shōyu* exports to Europe at their peak. In 1931 total exports had fallen to 2,322 kiloliters, less than half the 1913 figure.

Around this time, members of the Japanese *shōyu* industry believed that because the aroma of *shōyu* was ill-suited to European and North American tastes, exports to those markets would not thrive. As a result, they turned to China, the home of soy sauce and the largest market for it. They made studies of *jiang you* and of the market in China and attempted to export *shōyu* there, but the Japanese product could not compete on price; thus it was exported only for the market of Japanese living in China.

After the 1904–5 Russo-Japanese War, however, Japanese began to produce *shōyu* in Manchuria (entree to which had been ceded to Japan under the treaty ending the war), using locally produced soybeans, wheat, and salt. This time, *shōyu* proved price competitive with the Chinese product, and the market for it expanded not only among Japanese living there but among Chinese, too.

Yet in the modern era, despite government and private-sector efforts to boost *shōyu* exports, only a minuscule 2 percent of *shōyu* for commercial use was exported.

After World War II, *shōyu* rapidly became popular with Americans and Europeans because many of the troops stationed in Japan during the postwar occupation returned home with an acquired taste for *shōyu*. Its increased popularity was also due to the entrepreneurial and sales efforts of Japan's *shōyu* manufacturers who produced it locally for sale at low prices.

From the Japanese Press

(June 1–August 31, 1999)

AWARDS

Praemium Imperiale

The winners of the 11th Praemium Imperiale, given by the Japan Art Association for creative achievement in the fields of arts and culture, were announced on June 9. They are the German painter Anselm Kiefer, the American sculptor Louise Bourgeois, the Japanese architect Fumihiko Maki, the Canadian jazz pianist Oscar Peterson, and the German choreographer and director Pina Bausch.

(A, S: Jun. 10)

Fukuoka Asian Culture Prizes

Recipients of the 10th Fukuoka Asian Culture Prizes 1999, sponsored by the city of Fukuoka and others to recognize individuals' contributions to the advancement of Asian scholarship and culture, were announced on July 5. The grand prize was awarded to Hou Hsiao Hsien, a Taiwanese film director and winner of the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival. The academic prize was given to University of Tokyo professor emeritus Taryō Ōbayashi, an ethnographer and mythologist, and to the Thai historian Nidhi Eoseewong. Tang Da Wu, a contemporary artist and native of Singapore, was chosen to receive the arts and culture prize.

(Y: Jul. 6)

Naoki and Akutagawa Prizes

Winners of the 121st Naoki Prize for popular fiction were Ken'ichi Satō, for *Ōhi no Rikon* [The Queen's Divorce], published by Shueisha Inc., and Natsuo Kirino, for *Yawarakana Hobo* [Soft Cheeks], published by Kodansha Ltd. There was no winner for the Akutagawa Prize. Satō's *Ōhi no Rikon*, a historical novel set in late-fifteenth-century

France, recounts the proceedings of the annulment of Louis XII's marriage to Queen Jeanne. Kirino's *Yawarakana Hobo* is a suspense novel whose housewife protagonist is searching for her missing child. In a departure from the usual mystery story genre, this missing-person tale probes deep into the heart of a mother whose five-year-old child has disappeared.

(A, N, S, Y: Jul. 16)

HISTORY

Oldest Japanese Garden Discovered

The remains of a large garden pond dating from the Asuka period (552–646) were discovered in the village of Asuka, Nara Prefecture. Archaeologists say that this find is very likely the garden of Asuka Kiyomihara no Miya, the imperial residence of Emperor Tenmu (r. 673–86) in Asukakyō, Japan's earliest capital. The oldest imperial gardens discovered thus far date from the Nara period (646–794), and the newly discovered garden predates these by several decades. The bed of this garden's pond, which covers an area of several thousand square meters, was lined with stones. A stone fountain in the pond (still in working order) and the remains of a stage or viewing platform jutting out into the pond were also discovered.

(A, M: Jun. 15)

Original Score for "Kimigayo"

Comes to Light

An original score for "Kimigayo," dated 1880 and with a melody virtually identical to that played today, was discovered on August 9, the day that the law making this song Japan's official national anthem was enacted. The discovery was

made at the Defense Agency's National Institute for Defense Studies, in Tokyo. An earlier melody, written in 1870 by John William Fenton, a bandmaster with the British Legation in Japan, proved unpopular and a new work by a Japanese composer was selected for the November 3, 1880, Tenchōsetsu holiday commemorating Emperor Meiji's birthday. The newly discovered score was signed by its arranger, Franz von Eckert, a German music teacher hired by the Navy Ministry, and dated October 25, 1880.

(S, Y: Aug. 11)

Oldest Rosaries Found

The oldest rosaries in Japan have been excavated from the ruins of Takatsuki Castle, in Takatsuki, Osaka Prefecture. This castle was the seat of the Christian daimyo Takayama Ukon (1552–1615). Other rosaries found so far have dated from the Edo period (1603–1868), when the practice of Christianity was banned, but the latest finds are believed to date from before 1587, when the great warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi banned the religion.

(N, S, Y: Aug. 12)

MISCELLANEOUS

Von Siebold House to Open in Leiden

Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866) was a German physician who worked in Japan for two periods in the waning years of the Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1868). He schooled many Japanese in "Dutch learning," as Western knowledge was called at the time. The home he maintained in Leiden, the Netherlands, between his two stays in Japan has been renovated and will open in

Abbreviations used here: A: *Asahi Shimbun* M: *Mainichi Shimbun* N: *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* S: *Sankei Shimbun* Y: *Yomiuri Shimbun*

April 2000 as the Von Siebold House, with many of the artifacts he acquired in Japan on display. The roughly five thousand items in his collection are owned by the National Museum of Ethnology, in Leiden, and will be placed on rotating display in the Von Siebold House. (Y: Jul. 4)

Contemporary Art Exhibition to Tour the United States

The exhibition "Painting for Joy" features the works of nine young Japanese contemporary artists who achieved prominence in the 1990s. Many of their works, representative of the times they live in, incorporate Japanese animation or *manga* (comics) themes, which inspire them. The works in the show vary greatly in style, and—reflecting the fact that today it is increasingly difficult to say what is or is not a painting—the topics that hold the artists' attention cover a broad range. The exhibition, which will open in Washington, D.C., in the fall and tour other parts of the United States later, is the Japan Foundation's first attempt at presenting contemporary paintings in an exhibition traveling abroad. (Y: Jul. 7)

OBITUARIES

Jun Etō (born Atsuo Egashira), 66, literary critic, July 21. Etō first attracted attention as a promising newcomer while still a university student with *Natsume Sōseki*, a critique of that famous novelist's work, and firmly established himself as an eminent literary critic in the postwar years with *Kobayashi Hideo*, a study of that well-known literary critic. His numerous works of literary criticism and critical biography include *Sōseki to Sono Jidai* [Natsume Sōseki and His Times], which won both the Noma Literary Prize and the Kikuchi Kan Prize, and *Seijuku to Sōshitsu* [Maturity and Loss]. A note left in his home indicated that he took his own life, despairing over the death from cancer of his beloved wife, Keiko, in November 1998 and his own ill health. "Tsuma to Watashi" [My Wife and I], an account of the six

months he spent nursing his dying wife, had just been published in the May issue of the monthly *Bungei Shunjū*, and this confession of profound love between husband and wife generated a flood of responses. (A, M, N, S, Y: Jul. 22)

Eien Iwahashi (born Hidetō Iwahashi), 96, Japanese-style painter, July 12. He was known for his realistic style, rooted in deep contemplation of nature, and romantic touch. His best-known works include *Kōrin* [Rainbow Circle], *Saiun* [Colored Clouds], and *Dosanko Tsuioku no Maki* [Recollections of a Native Son], a twenty-nine-meter long scroll painting depicting the four seasons of his native Hokkaido. He was named a Person of Cultural Merit in 1989 and awarded the Order of Culture in 1994.

(A: Jul. 12)

Kazuo Miyagawa, 91, cinematographer, August 7. Miyagawa shot numerous masterpieces of Japanese cinema, including Akira Kurosawa's *Rashōmon* (1950) and Kenji Mizoguchi's *Ugetsu Monogatari* (1953, shown abroad as *Ugetsu*). He began work as an apprentice in the film development lab at Nikkatsu's Kyoto studio in 1926 and made his debut as a cameraman in *O-chiyo-gasa* [Miss Chiyo's Umbrella] (1935, directed by Jun Ozaki). Beginning with *Mubō Matsu no Isshō* (1943, shown abroad as *Rickshaw Man*, directed by Hiroshi Inagaki), he developed his distinctive style of tight compositions and atmospheric coloring making skillful use of light and shadow. His work made major contributions to bringing Japanese cinema to the attention of filmmakers throughout the world. (A, M, N, S, Y: Aug. 7)

Recently Published

Kyōkasho o Tsukurō: Basic Resources for Secondary-Level Japanese—Activities and Grammar Notes

The Japan Foundation Japanese-Language Institute has developed a set of resources, including audiocassette tapes, for use in the preparation of new Japanese-language teaching materials. Textbooks can be tailored to the individual teaching situation by freely combining these resources and providing translations, adding original material, or substituting vocabulary items as required. The resources are designed to support secondary-level Japanese language education under conditions that vary in different countries or regions (such as number of classroom hours, objectives, and environments). It is hoped that the *Kyōkasho o Tsukurō* will be used to develop new teaching materials all over the world.

The materials are available to schools and qualified institutions free of charge upon request. (Requests from individuals cannot be accepted.) Requests for an application form for these materials should be directed to:

Teaching Resources Division
The Japanese-Language Institute
5-6-36 Kita-Urawa
Urawa-shi
Saitama 336-0002, Japan

Tel: +81 (048) 834-1183
Fax: +81 (048) 831-7846

Further information, a comprehensive FAQ, and the application form are available in Japanese on the Institute's Web site at:

<<http://www.jpff.go.jp/j/urawa/Kyoukasho/menu.html>>

The Japanese City: Sustaining a Tradition

Jill Grant

I have always been fascinated by the living environments that people construct for themselves. First as an anthropologist and later as a community planner and educator, I have attempted to understand how people make decisions about constructing built environments that allow them to find satisfaction in their lives. For most of the past twenty years I did research in Canada, looking at issues related to housing, community participation, land-use disputes, and sustainable development. Throughout that time, I always found intriguing the immense differences between Canadian cities and those of East Asia. Canadian cities sprawl into the countryside at very low densities and seldom have adequate mass-transit systems; they consume vast quantities of energy and natural resources while they generate voluminous wastes. I hoped for an opportunity to study East Asian cities firsthand to understand their nature. Fortunately, from February through May 1999, as a Japan Foundation Research Fellow I was able to realize my dream and experience the vitality and energy of Japanese cities.

My research explored some of the ways in which Japanese cities employ strategies that planners and designers in the West often define as "sustainable." This includes compact urban planning, high-density housing, good mass-transit systems, low energy demand, and mixed use. I wanted to understand what planning and design factors may facilitate compact built form and mixed use in order to see whether some strategies employed in medium-sized Japanese cities

could be adapted for use in Canadian cities. Most of the research was conducted in cities in the Nagoya area of central Japan. The findings in this paper provide an overview of my results.

Planning and Design Strategies

Japanese cities exhibit diversity and energy born of centuries of tradition overlaid with a veneer of contemporary innovation. Quiet, old neighborhoods with winding footpaths and dark, wooden-shuttered houses contrast with vibrant modern districts of wide avenues glistening with concrete and glass towers and bright neon lights. Even in suburban pockets and rural areas, high-density dwelling patterns are normal. Mixed uses at a fine-grained scale characterize the older cities, with homes mingled in among shops and light industry. While Canadian cities tend to have separate districts for housing, it is common in Japan to find a variety of uses in any neighborhood.

The flexibility of pattern and form reflects the planning environment in Japan, where the role of government is to offer advice and guidance but property owners enjoy considerable latitude in developing their land. The rigid zoning regulations and demanding standards that apply in Canadian cities have no parallel in Japan. While Japanese cities use zoning in planning, the potential for mixed use remains strong in most zones. In many neighborhoods in Japan it is still possible to walk or cycle to work, store, or playground, or to take a subway, train, or bus for those purposes, whereas in Canada most people rely on the automobile.

Except in the commercial centers and along main traffic arteries, the streets in Japanese cities are narrow (often less than six meters, sometimes less than four meters), with no shoulders; in some dis-

tricts, open drainage channels line the edges of the roads. A minimal amount of land is taken up with providing urban infrastructure: for instance, the power poles and street signs are typically embedded in the street surface. Lots are small (one hundred to two hundred square meters) with homes only a meter or two apart. A new suburb in Japan is at least three times (and perhaps as much as ten times) as dense as its Canadian counterpart. A large proportion of the population lives in apartments, making the most urbanized areas very efficient. Even in areas of the highest density, however, the built form is generally diverse and the environment neat and clean.

Although one finds large homes in some of the new suburbs, the characteristic house in Japan is slightly smaller than its Canadian counterpart and has no basement. One-story homes were traditional, but two-story houses have become increasingly common, allowing efficient use of the lot and providing outdoor living space. The Japanese house benefits from "flexible" space: the use of futon and bedding that can be stored in closets during the day allows many rooms to fulfill more than one function (play during the day and sleeping at night, for instance). Compact building styles can meet family needs while conserving space; for instance, many rooms in the Japanese home are smaller than their Canadian counterparts but are well designed for use.

As many as five percent of the houses in some neighborhoods have solar panels for heating hot water, more than one normally sees in Canadian suburbs. The home builder in Japan also tries to ensure that there are large windows (and balconies) on the south side of the dwelling for passive solar gain in winter and ventilation in summer, but double glazing has only recently begun to catch on as

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Japanese cities show a mix of building types, heights, and uses that makes them diverse and interesting. As this Nagoya street indicates, space is used to its full potential, with no waste.

an energy-saving strategy. While Canadians can learn some important design lessons about solar energy from Japanese builders, we could also offer some tips on how to insulate homes from the elements, as our climate makes adequate insulation imperative.

An efficient and relatively inexpensive transportation system provides the arteries of the cities. Subway, rail, and bus systems cover most of the urbanized areas, and high-speed rail links connect major cities. The densest districts are located along transit lines where people can easily make their way between destinations. Growth follows the transit lines as they extend from the city, becoming corridors of urbanization. "Transit-oriented development" is the dominant pattern in the largest cities, with apartment buildings and shopping districts often located at the subway and rail stops. Commercial hubs located near train and subway stations provide dynamic employment nodes in the larger cities; smaller commercial districts surround the stations in small- and medium-sized cities. Extensive expressway systems (often "double-decked" over key routes) allow trucks and cars to travel relatively quickly between key destinations in the larger cities; automobile use is increasing even though transit use remains very high.

Cultural Practices

The planning and design strategies that allow Japanese cities to be efficient are supported by an underlying set of values and practices with deep roots in Japanese culture. Except for the districts of the nobility and the samurai in traditional Japan, residential quarters have always been densely populated. A shortage of arable land gave highest priority to farming. The people's response was to build homes close together on less desirable land. As towns grew, tightly packed residential districts formed, encouraged by policies in the Edo period (1603–1868) that assessed taxes by the amount of street frontage a property enjoyed. Practices to accommodate high-density dwelling became embedded in the culture.

The contemporary city reflects attitudes toward privacy. While in Canada people achieve privacy through distance, in Japan screening with vegetation, walls, fences, shutters, blinds, curtains, and frosted glass provides the visual privacy that people seek. The streetscape created in cities and suburban areas is visually enclosed and very private. In a context where paper walls separated rooms, the Japanese people developed a tradition of being able to close themselves off to exterior noise and activities, a skill that proves important in dense living environments.

With relatively short and mild winters, people find it easier to accommodate the cold than the heat. Japanese summers are long, hot, and humid. Homes are built for ventilation, with large windows and sliding doors. Residents like to dry their laundry in the sun and wind, taking advantage of natural energy; even on rainy days, clothing is hung to dry under eaves or carports. By pumping the family's bathing water into the washing machine, many households conserve water. Such family practices have the effect of saving energy and materials.

Traditional social practices are under pressure, and many are changing as the twenty-first century approaches. However, for the most part the family unit remains strong and people recognize a responsibility to care for their aged parents. Some homes and apartments are

designed to provide semiprivate accommodations for three-generation households. A commitment to literacy and to social equality underlies many social programs and economic policies, and results in less economic disparity than characterizes many other industrial nations.

Although planning in Japan has traditionally been highly centralized, top-down, and pro-development, governments increasingly see a need for citizen participation and environmental protection. Planners in several of the communities I visited were developing participation programs to encourage public involvement in shaping the urban environment. Programs to reduce pollution and protect natural habitats are beginning to have an effect. The public in Japan, as in many other nations, is increasingly concerned about environmental quality and its relationship to health.

Issues in the Contemporary City

While the Japanese city has much to offer as a model of sustainability, we must also acknowledge some of its limitations. Cities have less green open space per capita than is common in the West. Concrete walls have replaced natural river edges in urban waterways, and the water itself is contaminated with wastes. Air quality is poor in many areas, contributing to respiratory problems for many people. Car ownership rates are increasing with suburban growth. Some contemporary trends are clearly less sustainable than were traditional practices.

As residents in an affluent industrial society, the people of Japan are avid consumers. They generate a great volume of wastes that require disposal. Food packaging, for instance, seems excessive by Western standards, with individual portions wrapped in cellophane within layers of plastic wrap. A large percentage of sewage remains untreated. Industrial wastes pollute air and water. Recycling and composting programs are poorly developed. Finding ways to reduce the volume of waste and to dispose of wastes safely presents a significant problem for government.

Traffic congestion and commuting

times are increasing in major urban areas and becoming significant problems in medium-sized cities where mass transit may depend on one or two stations. Despite policies to encourage growth outside the major cities, small- and medium-sized cities continue to lose population to the largest cities. The urban megalopolis that stretches from Tokyo to Osaka and beyond shows no sign of diminishing in importance; instead, the influence of the great cities extends ever farther into the hinterland along transportation arteries. Traffic jams at rail stations dozens of kilometers away from the big cities reflect the search of commuters for affordable housing.

The biggest problem for the average household, and thus for the society as a whole, is the high cost of housing. Government policy and cultural tradition work to keep the value of land high and to reduce the supply coming on the market. The expense of owning a home forces many householders into lifetimes of indebtedness to achieve their aspirations. It encourages people to choose modest-sized units where finding storage space and meeting growing family needs can become a problem. To realize aspirations for a home with sufficient room, many households choose to move to distant suburbs, where they buy space along with greater reliance on the automobile. Business follows commuters to the suburbs. Supermarkets and stores are growing in popularity and putting pressure on small shops in old neighborhoods. Expensive urban housing contributes to suburban sprawl, which undermines the economic vitality of older commercial districts. The pattern that appeared in Western cities in the postwar period (driven by the search for more land and new homes rather than by high cost) is now beginning to be seen in Japan: older shopping areas are losing customers to the new malls.

Urban patterns that developed in a time when people walked or cycled between destinations cannot be sustained in a society where the car dominates. Increasing use of private automobiles contributes to traffic congestion, energy use, and air pollution, and goes hand in

hand with sprawl. Traffic accident rates in Japan are very high, and the risk to pedestrians and cyclists on narrow roads with no sidewalks is significant. The problems of "car-oriented" urban form are beginning to appear in many parts of Japan, just as they have in Canada. Fortunately, however, for the most part Japanese cities are still good for walking, cycling, and taking the bus or subway.

In the twentieth century, the housing stock has had a relatively short life expectancy. The *Asahi Shimbun* recently ran an advertisement that claimed that the average house in rural Japan lasted twenty-six years, while the average house in Britain lasted seventy-five years. Poor-quality building materials, changing building types, and cultural practices may all play a part in this problem. Given the high cost of building and the investment in materials, however, it would be wasteful to treat the housing stock as consumable.

Planning controls in Japanese cities are weak and unable to change the pattern of scattered growth that increasingly characterizes urban development. Property owners have considerable political power in Japan and operate with relatively few constraints on their options, given the mixed-use zoning commonly in use. Because they can develop parcels of land smaller than 0.1 hectare without services and with few permissions required, small areas of urban development regularly crop up in rural areas near centers of urban growth. Over time suburban areas gradually build up on the fringes, but a fragmented landscape has few municipal services. Adequate waste treatment, open space, and social services may be lacking in scattered suburban areas. After a period of economic decline and many years of high spending, local governments are facing financial woes that make it impossible for them to remedy problems of insufficient infrastructure. Power in the political system is concentrated on the one hand in the central government, which sets planning policy, and on the other hand in local landowners, whose interests in the land are almost inviolable. Local and regional planning authorities have limited au-

thority to raise the resources or implement the regulations that would allow them to make improvements.

As a function of local and regional government, planning is treated as essentially an administrative enterprise rather than a professional activity. Community planners in small- and medium-sized cities in Japan typically have no specialized education in planning, although technologists may be employed to prepare maps and documents. Usually hired as liberal-arts graduates to be general administrators, local-government employees are assigned to planning departments for periods that may be quite brief. While specialists may be hired by governments for some professional functions (e.g., engineers and lawyers), Japanese administrations characteristically look for employees who are good members of the "corporate team" and who through the course of their careers will gain knowledge about many government functions. This system has the benefit of limiting the regulatory zeal of planning staff and thus allowing a more diverse and mixed urban landscape, but it may leave local governments without the expertise to avoid land-use and traffic problems that professionals might have been able to anticipate.

Conclusion

Although the Japanese city is not without its problems, it offers a number of important lessons to Canadian planners eager to promote sustainable development. Countless examples of small and large cities prove that it is possible to have attractive and well-designed cities at high densities, with rapid transit connecting work and home. Strategies of lot and neighborhood layout and building patterns provide innovative high-density options for Canadian designers to consider. Fine-grained mixing of uses in hospitable circumstances shows that zoning is not always the only or the best urban strategy. While the average Japanese city still needs to address its significant environmental problems, it has a level of economic and social vitality that Canadians would envy. It is a valuable model to study and to emulate.

AIDS-Prevention Policy and Practice: Reporting of HIV/AIDS in Japan and the United States

Mitchell D. Feldman, M.D.

Japan appears to be at a crossroads in its fight against HIV/AIDS. Although it continues to report a relatively low incidence of HIV/AIDS when compared with the United States, Europe, and many other Asian countries, there are several indications that this could change in the near future. First, many sexually transmitted illnesses, such as *Chlamydia trachomatis*, are on the rise in Japan, an indication that although condoms are widely used for contraception, they may not be properly used by people engaged in more casual sexual activity. Second, casual sexual activity with multiple partners appears to be increasing in Japan, and the age of initiation of sexual activity is declining. Both of these trends are worrisome for the future HIV risk of Japanese youth (half of the forty thousand new HIV infections per year in the United States are in people less than twenty-five years old). Finally, oral contraceptives have recently been approved in Japan. Some experts worry that the widespread use of the birth-control pill in Japan could lead to an even greater rate of change in sexual behavior, especially among young people, putting them at increasing risk of acquiring HIV infection. As a result of these and many other changes taking place in Japan, there has never been more urgency for effective HIV prevention efforts.

It is against this backdrop of change that my research examined HIV/AIDS prevention in general in Japan and HIV/AIDS reporting in particular. As a physician, I was also interested in the role of

Japanese physicians in HIV prevention and in their understanding of and adherence to the AIDS Prevention Law. My work was implicitly comparative, since in both Japan and the United States issues of stigma, individual autonomy versus public health, and doctor-patient confidentiality are central to the debate surrounding reporting. In both countries, an examination of the issues surrounding reporting laws informs the broader question of how physicians fit into the overall AIDS-prevention policy framework.

I had originally proposed to examine the AIDS Prevention Law of 1989 that for the past ten years had stipulated who was to be reported and how the report was to be filed. There was speculation that there was underreporting of HIV and AIDS under this law, partly a result of stigma, lack of knowledge among physicians, and other barriers. However, on April 1, 1999, shortly after my arrival in Japan, the Diet passed into law a completely new system for the reporting of HIV/AIDS and all other infectious diseases. The Infectious Disease Reporting Law overturned the previous AIDS Prevention Law and set up a new framework for the reporting of HIV and AIDS in Japan. As a result, I set as a new objective of my research to investigate this new law; how it came about; how it is being disseminated to Japanese physicians; and, perhaps most important, whether it will help to accomplish the compelling goal of containing the HIV epidemic in Japan. These and many other questions were incorporated into my original research questions. Some of the findings of my research are presented below.

HIV/AIDS Increasing in Japan

Over the past few years, Japan has experienced a slow but steady increase in

people infected with HIV. As of the end of March 1998 (the most recent fiscal-year figures released by the Ministry of Health and Welfare), Japan reported 5,856 HIV-positive people and 2,587 people diagnosed with AIDS. Although people with hemophilia were not officially reported under the old AIDS-prevention act, it is known that these totals included 1,434 people with hemophilia diagnosed as HIV positive and 631 people with hemophilia diagnosed with AIDS. Although these figures are still quite small when compared to those of a high epidemic nation, such as the United States, many experts both in and outside the Ministry of Health and Welfare fear that the true numbers of HIV-infected people in Japan may be several times greater.

Shifting Epidemiology and Biology

The epidemiology of the HIV epidemic in Japan is shifting from what was previously primarily an epidemic of people with hemophilia to one that increasingly consists of people infected through sexual contact. Japanese men appear to be particularly vulnerable through both heterosexual and homosexual exposure.

A major risk factor for Japanese men infected through heterosexual exposure appears to be the commercial sex industry. The commercial sex industry is a much more significant risk for HIV in Japan than it is in the United States, for example, for two main reasons. First, the prevalence of HIV infection among non-Japanese commercial sex workers, many of whom come from high prevalence countries in Asia and increasingly from Eastern Europe, is significantly higher than it is among Japanese commercial sex workers. Second, Japanese men patronize commercial sex workers

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at rates much higher than those of their North American or European counterparts. In addition, some research suggests that some men do not consistently use condoms with commercial sex workers. More research is needed in this important aspect of HIV/AIDS prevention.

The risk of HIV in Japan also appears to be increasing among men who have sex with men (MSM). This is also due to a number of factors. First, the MSM "community" in Japan has remained largely hidden, with only a few groups, such as OCCUR (Japan Association for the Lesbian and Gay Movement), that have attempted to reach out to MSM and promote HIV prevention. These efforts have been mainly restricted to Tokyo and Osaka, leaving MSM in other cities largely without HIV-prevention education. The stigma associated with homosexuality in Japan and elsewhere is such that many gay groups and individual gay men would prefer not to be associated with HIV, which carries with it its own stigma. In addition, it seems that there are some MSM in Japan whose sexual preferences remain hidden from their colleagues and often from their families. These men do not identify with the MSM community and would not be reached by prevention messages targeted at gay men. Unsafe sexual activity seems to be taking place at gay saunas throughout Japan, and isolated cases of new HIV infection are being reported, but there has been insufficient recognition of this problem thus far.

Japanese women will likely be at increasing risk for HIV as the epidemic becomes more firmly established among at-risk Japanese men. HIV-prevention messages aimed at women, especially younger women, should focus on their right to refuse unwanted sexual advances and to insist on the use of condoms.

With this change in the epidemiology of HIV in Japan there has also been a change in the biology of the virus in Japan. The viral type now found commonly among MSM in Japan (type E) is the same as that found among MSM in North America, and the type found among Japanese men infected through

contact with commercial sex workers in Japan (type B) is the type found among commercial sex workers in Asia. This finding may indicate a "maturing" of the epidemic in Japan into established patterns found elsewhere in the world.

Voluntary Testing Declining

Many of the experts I interviewed expressed concern about the decline in testing for HIV in Japan over the past two years. This decline of about twenty percent may be a reflection of the general decline in interest in HIV in Japan. Public and media interest in HIV/AIDS has largely been reactive in Japan, driven by a series of "AIDS panics" that intermittently put HIV in the public eye. In the absence of such panics, it would seem that for most Japanese HIV is a distant enough threat so as to seem almost completely irrelevant to their daily lives. While this is in fact true for most, those at risk in Japan have not been adequately targeted by HIV-prevention efforts and are not coming forward for testing and counseling.

This point is illustrated by unpublished data shared with me by a prominent HIV/AIDS expert. He reports that in data collected from five hospitals in the Tokyo metropolitan area in the past year, of seventy-eight newly diagnosed people with HIV, sixty-eight percent of them had advanced HIV disease as revealed by a CD4 count of 200 or less upon their initial diagnosis with HIV infection. In other words, people at risk are not getting tested for HIV until very late in the course of their disease. This is a major failing of HIV prevention, since for many of these patients the progression of their disease could have been avoided or slowed with the use of highly active anti-retroviral therapy (HAART). Many experts pointed to the lack of accessible HIV testing facilities as one reason for the decline. For example, in the Tokyo metropolitan area, there is only one facility (the testing center in Shinjuku) that offers anonymous testing after 5:00 P.M. More accessible HIV testing facilities must be provided so that at-risk people do not put off testing.

New System for Reporting

The urgency to establish effective reporting systems for HIV/AIDS has never been greater in Japan and the United States. With widespread access to effective medications, such as HAART, in both countries, people with HIV and AIDS are living longer and being diagnosed with fewer opportunistic infections and other HIV-related illnesses. As a result, policymakers and others interested in HIV prevention can no longer rely as they have in the past on disease progression, opportunistic infections, and death rates as ways of tracking the spread of HIV. Instead, there is increasing need to follow new HIV infections as the only and best way to monitor the epidemic. This can be accomplished in two ways: by conducting surveillance among at-risk groups and/or establishing a reporting system for all new HIV infections.

In the United States, the controversy over HIV reporting continues to intensify. Although approximately two-thirds of the states in the United States have established some sort of mandatory reporting system for HIV, several states with the highest prevalence of HIV (notably California and New York) still have no mandatory reporting of HIV. In spite of the strong recommendation from the United States government's Centers for Disease Control that these states put a reporting system into place, legislation has been stalled over the issue of whether reporting should be by name (strongly opposed by many activists and experts concerned about the potential abuse of human rights and loss of confidentiality) or by "unique identifier." A unique identifier is a number that is unique to an individual but is completely confidential and cannot be traced back to that individual.

In Japan, as of April 1, 1999, a new system of reporting of all infectious diseases was put into place, replacing the old Infectious Disease Reporting Act and the AIDS Prevention Law of 1989. The new Infectious Disease Reporting Law groups all potentially reportable infectious diseases in Japan (except TB, which still has its own system) into one of four categories based on the extent

that the patient's freedom of movement will be restricted.

For diseases in categories one (e.g., Ebola virus) and two (e.g., cholera), the person can be forcibly admitted to the hospital and/or restricted to the hospital for a set period of time, subject to review every ten days. For category-three diseases (e.g., *Escherichia coli* O-157, a food-borne bacterial infection), there may be restriction of occupation (e.g., not being permitted to handle food). Category-four diseases make up the bulk of infectious diseases in the new reporting law and include HIV and AIDS. For these diseases, there is no restriction at all of the person's activity, but the presence of the disease is reported to the local health center, which then electronically transfers the information to the prefectural or municipal health department and the Infectious Disease Surveillance Center. There is no reporting by name of HIV nor is there a unique identifier, so there is no method to ensure that patients are not reported more than once or not at all. Even date of birth is not permitted under the new law (only a patient's age may be reported). In addition, although it is recommended that physicians report disease progression, there is no requirement that they do so.

It is questionable whether this new

reporting system for HIV and AIDS will accurately and effectively monitor the evolution of the HIV epidemic in Japan. Many of the experts I interviewed also expressed concern about this new system. The new law must be reviewed after five years and may be modified at that time. There are a number of reasons why the new reporting law may be inadequate: (1) It forbids reporting of information that is necessary to ensure accurate data (i.e., name or unique identifier). While the concerns about human rights and confidentiality are certainly appropriate, unfortunately in this instance these concerns overrode the collecting of basic epidemiological data necessary to formulate HIV-prevention policy. The validity and reliability of the information collected under this new law are questionable and cannot be used as the basis of AIDS-prevention policy. (2) Reporting is dependent on the cooperation of physicians, and there is no mechanism for enforcement of compliance with the reporting provisions of the law. (3) There is no clear mechanism with this system to track progression of disease from HIV to AIDS.

Physicians Underutilized

In the United States there has been an effort to educate physicians about HIV

prevention so that they in turn can form an essential part of HIV-prevention activities. Japanese physicians, too, should be better integrated into HIV-prevention activities. Basic facts about HIV/AIDS and HIV-prevention should be a required part of medical school curricula, which should also include increased emphasis on office-based counseling, such as how to conduct HIV-risk assessment and how to counsel patients about risk reduction. Although most office visits are quite brief, doctors see patients frequently and so can spread out these assessments over several visits. Physicians also can take leadership in implementing new ways of integrating HIV and other prevention and health-promotion activities into the outpatient clinic setting. Physicians are an underutilized resource in Japan's HIV/AIDS-prevention efforts.

In sum, although Japan is fortunately still a low epidemic nation, HIV/AIDS appears to be slowly establishing itself among several at-risk groups. Now is the time for policy makers, medical groups, nongovernmental organizations, and others to double their efforts so that Japan does not emulate the tragic history of the United States, where almost one million people are now infected with the virus that causes AIDS.

Versions of Self in the Writings of Tōson Shimazaki

Marvin Marcus

Tōson Shimazaki (1872–1943) is not much read these days. Then, again, few of those who rank among the “founding fathers” of modern Japanese literature have maintained their market share among the nation's readers. But together with Sōseki Na-

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tsume (1867–1916), Jun'ichirō Tanizaki (1886–1965), Ōgai Mori (1862–1922), and Shimei Futabatei (1864–1909), Tōson remains a fixture of the *kindai* (modern) literary canon and of *kokubungaku* (Japanese literature) scholarship. And the nation's exam takers are still expected to know something about his acknowledged masterpieces—such works as *Wakanashū* [Collection of Young Shoots; 1897], *Hakai* [The Broken Commandment; 1906], and *Yoake Mae* [Before the Dawn; 1929–35].

What is more, numerous tourists continue to make their way to the Shimazaki ancestral village of Magome, nestled in the hills of Nagano Prefecture, which has become something of a designated national *furusato* (hometown). Be that as it may, there is little indication that his writing attracts much more than token interest beyond a handful of specialists.

I include myself in that handful. Having read most of what this author wrote over a period of some fifty years, I can

appreciate the resistance that contemporary readers might feel with respect to Tōson. Simply put, this is an author who, with several important exceptions, demonstrated precious little gift for creative storytelling, nor did he display in his critical writings the intellectual sparkle of some of his *bundan* (literary world) compatriots. Rather, he became canonized as a literary patriarch, an icon of *kindai* culture. As for the writing itself—it has been praised by some for its engaging style of personal disclosure and condemned by others as unremittingly dull and lackluster. Why, then, would one choose a “name” writer of middling stature when there are other more promising horizons to explore?

A fair question, to be sure. My purpose here is not to argue for Tōson’s misunderstood greatness nor to lay to rest the criticism that has hovered over his life and work. But while I am by no means a Tōson “disciple,” I do remain intrigued by both the man and his writing—flaws and warts notwithstanding. Here, then, I will expand upon my recent research on an interesting body of work, revealing my own ambivalence toward the author and his place within the *kindai bundan*.

Autobiographical Fiction

It is widely known that Tōson’s writing is heavily autobiographical. Indeed, his collected works bear consideration as a vast tapestry of autobiographical narrative. What concerns me here, though, is a segment of the tapestry that has been obscured from view. Aside from his early romantic poetry, upon which a good deal of his reputation rests, and important prose works, such as *Hakai* and *Yoake Mae*, the bulk of Tōson’s writing consists of what can collectively be called “personal narratives”: the recounting of memorable incidents and experiences, accounts of those he knew, and thoughts and reflections on the passing scene. These are presented in different formats and styles for his diverse readerships.

Scholarly interest in Tōson has long centered on the novelizations of his youthful experiences, works that helped establish autobiographical fiction (*jiden shōsetsu*) as a major genre. The earliest

such work, *Haru* [Spring; 1908], is based on Tōson’s relationship with the group of literary youth (*bungaku seinen*) who together founded the *Bungakukai* coterie and literary journal in the 1890s. The thinly veiled portrayal of the group’s dominant figure, Tōkoku Kitamura (1868–94), has assumed particular significance as a source document.

Tōson’s next venture into autobiographical fiction, *Ie* [The Family; 1910–11], has long been regarded as a masterpiece of the naturalist movement. It details the decline of two extended families, the Koizumis (based on the Shimazaki family) and the Hashimotos (based on the Takase family, into which Tōson’s eldest sister, Sono, married). In so doing, the work affords a dramatized view of forces impinging upon traditional family structures, while revealing much about Tōson’s quite complex relationship with his extended family.

Sakura no Mi no Jukusuru Toki [When the Cherries Ripen; 1914–18] provides a fictionalized account of episodes that chronologically precede those related in *Haru*: the protagonist’s experiences as a student at the Christian college Meiji Gakuin and as an instructor at the girls’ high school Meiji Jogakkō, and his acquaintanceship with the fellow *bungaku seinen* who would establish the *Bungakukai* coterie. The work culminates in an abortive romance that leads to an extended period of wandering through Kansai, the Kyoto-Osaka region.

Yet another category of Tōson’s autobiographical fiction concerns events subsequent to his illicit affair with his niece, following the death of his first wife. The major work here is *Shinsei* [New Life; 1918–19], a long and often tedious novel that constitutes Tōson’s public confession of the affair. It features considerable expressions of angst on the part of its tormented protagonist, a sporadic account of his three-year self-imposed “exile” in France (1913–16), and details of the family entanglements and trauma that followed his return to Japan.¹

It is commonly understood that *the* Tōson masterwork, and the ultimate basis of his subsequent reputation, is *Yoake Mae*. This monumental work, which de-

fies easy categorization, traces events in the life of Tōson’s father (renamed Aoyama Hanzō) from 1853 until his descent into madness and death in 1886. Tōson’s meticulously researched record of the period of the Meiji Restoration (1868) as experienced in a small village in the mountains of Shinshū (present-day Nagano Prefecture) also stands as a moving account of a son’s quest for his father and his *furusato* transformed by the advent of the modern age.²

Autobiographical Nonfiction

The above works have come to define both the character and the reputation of their author, and they stand as literary monuments of *kindai* culture. Despite these facts (or perhaps on account of them), I have found myself more drawn to Tōson’s “lesser” works. My earlier research centered on a large body of literary essays and impressions (*kansō*)—journalistic writing that was collected together and issued in book form at roughly five-year intervals.³ The six volumes that resulted, spanning the years between 1909 and 1936, contain many hundreds of personal anecdotes, writer critiques, reminiscences, and musings of every sort—collectively, a literary miscellany par excellence. Of particular interest to me were Tōson’s accounts—more widely known in fictional form—of his early years as a student in Tokyo and as a fledgling writer.

It bears noting that Tōson was by no means alone in writing such reminiscences. Indeed, the journalistic milieu that characterized the *kindai bundan* witnessed an active solicitation of personal narratives from writers of note—a marketing scheme, one might say, fostered by major publishing houses in an attempt to sell their lines of magazines and books. In response to the strong demand thus created, *kindai* periodicals increasingly featured memoirs, interviews, and personalia of every description.⁴

In one sense, then, Tōson was merely more receptive to such solicitation than *bundan* confreres who resented intrusive journalists and the gossip mongering that was their stock in trade. He was an eager contributor to the *kindai* literary

periodicals, and his “trademark” style of artless disclosure, which detractors have pointed to as evidence of creative paralysis, has equally drawn praise for its compelling sincerity and authenticity.

It was my “discovery” of numerous literary reminiscences interspersed among Tōson’s *kansō* collections that provoked me to explore an equally extensive body of personal narratives written for a youthful readership. It is to this other neglected phase of the author’s career that I wish now to turn.

Writings for Children

As with his essays, Tōson did not open any new territory in embarking upon his writing for young people. Beginning in the late Meiji era (1868–1912), there was a growing interest among publishers in the youth readership and in promoting lively and interesting works for children that would replace the ponderous, didactic literature that had characterized earlier writing.⁵ The Taishō era (1912–26) witnessed a movement to create a bona fide genre of children’s literature (*dōwa bungaku*) that would rival the best literature being written for the adult audience. Such individuals as Miekichi Suzuki (1882–1936) and Mimei Ogawa (1882–1961) dedicated themselves to the establishment of such a literature, and before long a spate of *dōwa* journals and series appeared on the scene. In the 1920s, a number of *bundan* notables were busily creating new material for the youth readership.⁶ And here, once again, Tōson was quick to occupy this new niche in the literary marketplace. He published his first *dōwa* in 1913, just prior to departing for France. And he continued to write for children until his death, in 1943.

How, then, did Tōson Shimazaki go about recreating himself as a *dōwa* writer? In the first place, he pursued much the same autobiographical agenda as he had for his adult readers. The 1913 story *Megane* [Eyeglasses] was a fictionalization of his yearlong Kansai vagabondage of 1893. Tōson sought to win over his young readers by having the protagonist’s *eyeglasses* serve as narrator—a clever twist in what was otherwise a decidedly pedestrian (in both senses of the term)

travel account. The tale, with its touristy descriptions and adolescent exuberance, drew upon some of his earlier writing—for instance, reportage that the young Tōson had published in *Bungakukai* during the course of his journey and material taken from *Haru*. Tōson proved himself quite adept at literary recycling, and much of his subsequent *dōwa* writing would entail a recasting of earlier work for his younger readership.⁷

With *Osanaki Mono ni* [For Young People; 1917], written shortly after his return from overseas, Tōson sought to improve upon his flawed early experiment in *dōwa*. The first of four *dōwashū*—collections of short pieces for children—this small volume consists of nearly eighty episodes that recount his sojourn in France, including the ocean voyages there and back. Here Tōson establishes the model that he would use for three more *dōwashū*: a mix of personal reminiscence and didactic storytelling narrated by a gentle and affectionate “Tōsan” (Dad) to his children, whom he addresses personally in a tone of paternal intimacy.

Evidently indifferent to the goal of writing *from the child’s point of view*, which had become an article of faith among those who pioneered the *dōwa bungaku* movement, Tōson opted for a fatherly narrator who gathers the children around to tell of his past and of the valuable lessons he has learned. Here was an apt vehicle for purveying one’s accumulated wisdom and moral vision to the nation’s young people.

Tōson’s autobiographical project is quite evident in his next two *dōwa* collections, *Furusato* [Hometown; 1920] and *Osana Monogatari* [Youthful Tales; 1924]. The first is an episodic reminiscence of childhood in Magome; the second, of his early years as a student in Tokyo, where he was sent in 1881 as a nine-year-old. The *Furusato* narrator provides a rich tapestry of hometown life—family and friends, sights and sounds, and the natural landscape. But the paternal narrator appears preoccupied with extolling the virtues of *furusato* life. Intent upon conjuring up an idealized realm where goodness and beauty prevailed, he has

surprisingly little to say about *himself* as a boy in Magome in the 1870s.

The *Osana Monogatari* collection pursues the chronological account of the narrator’s departure from Magome and move to Tokyo. It traces six years in the life of the young man as he pursues his schooling and learns crucial lessons in life with the help of his foster family, the Yoshimuras. Concluding with an account of matriculation into Meiji Gakuin in 1887, the work employs the same narrative strategy and didactic agenda that had been established in the prior *dōwashū*.

Tōson would devote nearly a decade to the *Yoake Mae* project, which entailed long periods of research in Magome and a six-year serialization schedule (1929–35). But he returned to his children’s writing late in life, with the publication of his final *dōwa* collection, *Chikaramochi* [Ricecakes for Stamina; 1940], in his sixty-ninth year. This collection of eighty-five autobiographical episodes is subdivided into eight chronologically ordered chapters, which proceed from his Magome childhood to the period spent as a teacher in rural Komoro, Nagano Prefecture (1899–1905).⁸ The work incorporates moralizing fables of *furusato*, accounts of mentors and exemplars who have provided inspiration and guidance, representative travel episodes, anecdotes concerning various *bundan* colleagues, and even a section devoted to his sister Sono and her husband’s family.

Chikaramochi is Tōson’s most ambitious attempt at enriching the reading diet of Japanese youth with tales of homespun virtue, exemplary character, and the wisdom accumulated by one who has traveled life’s long road. And it stands as a recapitulation of nearly fifty years of autobiographical writing—the final retelling of what one is tempted to call the *Tōson Monogatari*.

Yet, once again the benevolent, wise “Tōsan” narrator discloses little about himself and even less regarding his parents. In fact, the second chapter of *Chikaramochi*, “*Haba o Omou*” [Thinking of My Mother], contains twelve minimalist narratives that have virtually nothing to

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Books in Other Languages

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Silk and Insight. Yukio Mishima. Trans. Hiroaki Sato. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998. xviii + 219 pp. ISBN 0-7656-0299-7.

Silk and Insight

When Yukio Mishima (1925–70) serialized in the journal *Gunzō* his new 1964 novel *Kinu to Meisatsu*, reviewed here as *Silk and Insight*, no one was particularly surprised that the successful author of *Kinkakuji* [The Temple of the Golden Pavilion; 1956] and *Utage no Ato* [After the Banquet; 1960] was again inspired by a real incident. On the other hand, that the large-scale 1954 labor strike by young textile workers at Ōmi Ken-shi, a Kansai-based silk-product manufacturer, should have turned into Mishima's new literary muse came as a natural cause for bemused curiosity. After all, there was no compelling evidence from his more immediate literary past—from *Gogo no Eikō* [The Sailor Who Fell from Grace with the Sea; 1963] and his short story “Ken” [The Sword; 1963]—that would anticipate Mishima's engagement with the complexities of labor issues or suggest his curiosity with the conditions of the working classes. No one, of course, expected Mishima's metamorphosis into some sort of postwar Kagai Kodama (1874–1943) or Wakizō Hosoi (1897–1925), who both had earlier in the century left memorable portraits of the female textile worker laboring under unforgiving working conditions. What prompted Mishima's reconstruction of the tumultuous labor showdown was, superficially, the confrontation between an authoritarian style of labor management and the “human rights” demands from a new generation of postwar factory workers. But surely a more compelling impetus came from an impulse to re-imagine the rich human drama emanating from the eccentricities, ambitions, and intrigues of the players in and behind the maelstrom of these labor agitations. Indeed, Mishima's novel can best be characterized as a stylized study of personalities.

The central figure in this spectacle is Zenjirō Komazawa, Komazawa Textiles's president and emperor, an old-styled patriarch whose oppressive paternalism and self-fulfilling hypocrisy have driven him single-mindedly to run his factory like a sort of monastic boot camp disguised as one big happy family. President Murakawa of Sakura Textiles, Komazawa's business rival and an ad-

herent of “American-style” management techniques, makes up for his lack of fatherly sentimentality toward his employees with a blend of urbane cynicism and a detached, calculated savoir-faire. From the shadow of their intrigues enters Okano, a shrewd political operative and skilled rabble-rouser who displays equal facility in exploiting Komazawa's weaknesses and in ruminating on Heidegger's (1889–1976) ideas of *Existenz* and *Ekstase* and citing Hölderlin's (1770–1843) poetry.

A rich array of supporting roles are thrown into the midst of these characters and their embroiling schemes. The most notable is the middle-aged former Shinbashi geisha Kikuno, who, as a new “dorm mother” to young female workers at Komazawa's Hikone factory, dutifully allows herself to function as a double spy and reports the workers' private activities to both Komazawa and Okano. Komazawa's wife, Fusaé, a tough-minded woman confined to a sanatorium for tuberculosis patients, calmly proclaims her predicament to be a self-sacrificial punishment for the same disease her husband's company has caused in countless female workers. Yet this dignified resignation to her “karma,” reinforced by secret reports she receives on Komazawa's extramarital digressions, camouflages a self-reassuring moral superiority and guarantees her in her sickbed an ironic sense of control and satisfaction in the midst of her existential despair.

There are various other memorable caricatures, such as the shadowy figure Masaki, a former member of the wartime “Holy War Philosophy Institute” who has reinvented himself as a Shinto fortuneteller and spiritual healer; Satomi, another “dorm mother,” whose idea of releasing her sexual passions for a young female worker is to swallow the ashes of the latter's love letter to her male lover before all curious eyes. And Akiyama, a pre-war aspirant to a Takiji Kobayashi-style (1903–33) proletarian martyrdom—thenceforth a right-wing radical, now reborn as a crude postwar trade-union strategist—is a clever, albeit thinly drawn, parody of the type of political chameleon that deftly traverses the more slippery slopes of the Shōwa era's (1926–89) social landscape.

Silk and Insight is reviewed by Chia-ning Chang, Associate Professor of Japanese Literature, University of California, Davis.

The story has sequences and images reminiscent of a more familiar Mishima aesthetics. In one scene, Okano and Masaki nostalgically recall their wartime debates over how they could apply “holy war” philosophy to Japan-occupied territory in the United States if they were allowed to massacre scores of white women chosen for their beauty. In another, Mishima evokes the poignant beauty of the perishing river of youth from Hölderlin’s poem “Heidelberg,” juxtaposing it with the image of the young male worker Ōtsuki bathed in the evening sun on the riverbank.

Elegantly written in imaginative, well-crafted, albeit capricious prose—and eloquently interpreted in English by Hiroaki Sato—Mishima’s novel appeals with eccentric flair combined with flashes of witty insight and keen observations. The image of the worldly-wise hippopotamus deftly enjoying its secret pleasures—now splashing its water of malice and now “submerging itself in the mud of self-sacrifice” (p. 78)—vividly puts the finishing touches on the impressively sketched portrait of Fusaé. And where else can one find such rhetorical gems as “Whatever is eaten turns into snot and semen. . . . Farts of falsity and burps of deception are let out [everywhere]” (p. 161)?

On the other hand, Mishima’s stylized representations are at times achieved at the expense of verisimilitude. Even allowing for his industrial-strength self-righteousness, Komazawa’s numbing insensitivity to the harsh effects of his arrogant paternalism on his workers strikes me as implausibly inflated for a not unintelligent or unfeeling man. Building the fundamental drama of the story on this premise appears to have been a precarious position. It also takes a considerable leap of faith to be convinced of Kikuno’s extraordi-

nary transformation from a largely emotionally unattached informant into a selflessly devoted mistress/caretaker of the patriarch toward the novel’s end. And the critic Hideo Odagiri (b. 1916) properly points to Mishima’s failure to further explore the internal dynamics between Okano’s musings on Heidegger and Hölderlin and his more worldly exploits, suggesting that Hölderlin would have turned in his grave to learn that he had a man like Okano as his devoted reader (“Sōsaku Gappyō,” *Gunzō* [November 1964]:227; see also his critical commentary on the novel in his *Bungakuteki Tachiba to Seijiteki Tachiba* [Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969], 238–49).

The reference to *meisatsu* in the novel’s title also remains something of a mystery. Shūgo Honda (b. 1908), Tōru Terada (1915–95), and Hideo Odagiri, not surprisingly no big fans of this Mishima novel, were all scratching their heads trying to figure out the meaning and implications of this enigmatic “perceptiveness” (see their “Sōsaku Gappyō,” *ibid*). More generous in their assessment of the novel were Fusao Hayashi (1903–75) and Tetsutarō Kawakami (1902–80); and Kōichi Isoda (1931–87) enthusiastically endorsed it as one of the superior works in contemporary Japanese fiction (*Gunzō* [December 1964, cited from an unpaginated advertisement]). Yet when compared with other novels that came out in the same year alone—Kōbō Abe’s (1924–93) *Tanin no Kao* [The Face of Another], Shō Shibata’s (b. 1935) *Saredo Warera ga Hibi . . .* [But Those Were Our Days . . .], and Kenzaburō Ōe’s (b. 1935) *Kojinteki na Taiken* [A Personal Matter]—one is not entirely convinced that *Silk and Insight* is an exceptionally stellar performance. One still expects more from the formidable talents of Mishima than what has been delivered here. C. C.

The Japan Foundation Awards and Special Prizes for 1999

Each year the Japan Foundation confers the Japan Foundation Awards and the Japan Foundation Special Prizes on individuals and organizations in recognition of their academic, artistic, or cultural activities that have made outstanding contributions to international cultural exchange by deepening understanding between Japan and other nations.

The Japan Foundation Awards were given to Frank B. Gibney, president of the Pacific Basin Institute at Pomona College, Claremont, California, and Wolfgang Sawallisch, music director of the Philadelphia Orchestra.

The Japan Foundation Special Prizes were awarded to Ahmet Mete Tuncoku, a professor at the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey; Tadashi Yamamoto, president of the Japan Center for International Exchange, Tokyo; and the Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California.

These recipients were selected from among 156 nominees worldwide. The presentation ceremony for the awards, held on October 7, 1999, at the ANA Hotel Tokyo, was attended by many prominent guests and well-wishers.

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say about the mother. In fact, the only sustained account concerns the mother's visit to Tokyo and the awkwardness of "reconnecting" with her two sons following long years of separation. The mother has become a stranger, vaguely remembered with an abstracted and somewhat forced affection.

What, then, are we to make of Tōson Shimazaki's puzzling project of didactic autobiography for Japan's youth? What of his vision of childhood? Of parenthood? Clearly, one's biases regarding autobiographical writing and the proper portrayal of "selves" further complicate things. To the extent that the notions of "depth" and "dimensionality" come into play, one is not tempted to give Tōson high marks, especially in the case of his childhood reminiscences. He is more convincingly "personal" when writing about his family from an adult perspective and for an adult readership. Of particular significance here is *Arashi* [The Storm; 1926], a collection of autobiographical fiction that touches upon the trials and tribulations of single parenthood, for instance, and the experience of dealing with a disturbed elder sister.⁹

Be that as it may, Tōson often spoke of his dedication to writing for young people, expressing the wish that of all his many accomplishments, his *dōwa* works would survive as his literary legacy.¹⁰ Nevertheless, we must keep in mind that evoking an "actual" childhood was not his chief aim. Rather, his Magome experiences were mined for their traditionalist "content"—images and episodes that were fashioned into an idealized *furusato*, a fictive realm of timeless beauty, harmony, and moral value. For the *bundan* patriarch whose stature had earned him a national audience, this would be an honorable undertaking—a contribution, perhaps, to the cultural and moral edification of a citizenry now engaged in war. On the other hand, one may choose to regard this writing as atonement for the scandalous conduct and sordid confessionality that had launched and sustained his career. The contrast between the *hanmon seinen* (anguished youth) persona of his early years and the moral-

izing father figure of his later years is striking, to say the least.

In conclusion, my own fascination with Tōson—whom some have essentially written off as a shameless hypocrite, or a genius of mediocrity—may bespeak a certain naiveté on my part, or perhaps a displaced quest for a father whom I myself never really knew. For reasons ultimately more emotional than intellectual, I've come to assign value and meaning to Tōson Shimazaki's quintessential *kindai* quests—for home, for peace of mind, for a secure place in an insecure world.

Notes

1. Tōson's France-related writings are of genuine interest. He published two volumes of reportage—*Heiwa no Pari* [Paris in Peacetime; 1915] and *Sensō to Pari* [Wartime Paris; 1915]—which contain "on-the-scene" accounts originally serialized in the *Asahi Shimbun*. *Umi e* [Off to Sea; 1917] recounts the ocean voyages that took him to and from France. And *Etoranzē* [The Foreigner; 1922] tells of the three years spent in France. Incidentally, the latter two draw heavily upon the earlier reportage.

2. In view of Tōson's deeply personal connection with this work, *Yoake Mae* clearly merits consideration as veiled autobiography. One is reminded in this regard of Ōgai Mori's great trilogy of historical biography written toward the end of his life.

3. The following remarks are based upon my essay "The Writer Speaks: Late-Meiji Reflections on Literature and Life," in *The Distant Isle: Studies and Translations of Japanese Literature in Honor of Robert H. Brower*, ed. Thomas Hare, Robert Borgen, and Sharalyn Orbaugh (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1996), 249–52.

4. For further information on Japanese literary journalism see "The Writer Speaks" and my *Paragons of the Ordinary: The Biographical Literature of Mori Ōgai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 30–58.

5. The pioneering figure in modern Japanese children's literature is Sazanami Iwaya (1870–1933), whose *Koganemaru* (1891) is routinely cited as the maiden work of *dōwa bungaku*. As children's literature editor and advisor for Hakubunkan, one of the dominant *kindai* publishing houses, Sazanami gained considerable influence and prestige. In a sense, Tōson could be said to have styled himself upon Sazanami's model of avuncular wisdom and moral probity.

6. The list of notable writers who turned to *dōwa bungaku* includes Ryūnosuke Akutagawa (1892–1927), Takeo Arishima (1878–1923), Yaeko Nogami (1885–1985), Kōji Uno (1891–1961), and Akiko Yosano (1878–1942).

7. One of the most noteworthy of Tōson's "seed narratives" concerns his chance encounter with one Raisuke Horii, a rusticated swordsmith he met near Lake Biwa during his Kansai journey. The account of this old man, originally published as part of the *Bungakukai* reportage of 1893, went through a number of subsequent retellings (for instance, in *Megane* and later in *Chikaramochi* [Ricecakes for Stamina; 1940]), each of which embroidered upon the original account to produce a tale of exemplary character and the evanescence of traditionalism in the modern age.

8. Tōson wrote movingly of his six years spent teaching in Komoro in an important essay collection, *Chikuma-gawa no Suketchi* [Chikuma River Sketches; 1911–12], originally serialized in the youth-oriented journal *Chūgaku Sekai* [Middle-School World].

9. The title story of the *Arashi* collection centers on the strained family situation that arose following the death of Tōson's first wife, Fuyu. It has been called a masterpiece of *shinkyō shōsetsu*—a category of introspective fiction.

10. Of significance in this regard is the veritable deluge of *dōwa* publications toward the end of Tōson's life. In fact, *Chikaramochi* came out as the first of a four-volume series, the *Tōson Dōwa Sōsho*. The remaining three volumes were reissues of the earlier *dōwa* collections.

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