

通信

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Reischauer Institute Reports

From the Director: Beyond the "Crossroads"— Talking about Change in Japanese Studies

Professor Andrew Gordon,
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The eminent historian of modern Japan, Professor Nakamura Masanori (to be a visiting scholar at the Harvard-Yenching Institute beginning in April) delights in telling the following, perhaps apocryphal, story. A team of French archaeologists found some ancient Egyptian artifacts. They deciphered the hieroglyphs inscribed upon them, which lamented that "the younger generation is just impossible." This may be the inspiration for the saying "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose" (the more things change, the more they stay the same).

In the study of Japan, there are several related old chestnuts. Most *Tsūshin* readers have surely run across them: Japan, we are told, is at a crossroads. The patterns or practices of the past are about to change completely. In my own field of labor-management relations, observers have been predicting the disappearance of the institutions that mark life in Japanese workplaces for decades. I remember vividly a visit to a Sony TV assembly plant during my first trip to Japan as a high school student in 1969. Our tour guide proudly told of the all-encompassing benefits bestowed on employees by the company, such as dormitories and after-work schooling for the young female operatives. He boasted of the company loyalty of all workers, men as well as women. He then concluded "but this is all changing. The student movement is so strong. Younger workers are more individualistic. They want their own cars. The old loyalty is disappearing."

When high growth ended in 1974, the engine of transformation was no longer said to be changing values among employees. Pundits rather stressed changing attitudes of managers who were proclaiming "permanent employment" and "seniority wages" to be expensive luxuries doomed to extinction.

The booming 1980s then brought with it a return to the logic of the late 1960s. Labor shortages and abundance had produced an "alien" species of individualist, pleasure-seeking youth who were going to transform the system by rejecting secure careers with major companies. After the bubble burst and the 1990s "ice-age" of hiring freezes and downsizing set in, the reasoning of the 1970s returned. Managers were once again the crusaders for change. The British magazine, *Economist*, in 1993 gleefully reported a decision by Pioneer, the large audio-equipment maker, to force 35 veteran employees to retire



early. "Capitalism in Japan is becoming harder to confuse with socialism...[The Pioneer decision] is seen as a signal that the post-1945 tradition of lifetime employment in big companies is creaking under pressure from economic slowdown."

All these over-eager predictions are part of a cyclical logic of talking about Japan that parallels the business cycle precisely. In good times, labor shortages and affluence will lead employees to reject the status quo. In bad times, the pressures of the bottom line will lead bosses to "finally" move to a proper market-based system of employment. In any case, basic change is around the corner. This change is often linked to youth in a manner reminiscent of Professor Nakamura's French archaeologists. Although less ancient than the pyramids, one document I have seen from the early 1800s laments that masters no longer treat apprentices with care, and that apprentices no longer reciprocate with loyalty; they run away as soon as they can, seeking a better deal somewhere else. This is probably one of the earliest predictions that Japanese-style labor relations are in a state of decline.

Analysts of other matters, whether the banking system, keiretsu and cross-shareholding, the role of politicians in policy-formation, or the role of women in the family, the workplace, or society at large, can surely compile their own lists of over-eager predictions that basic change is coming tomorrow, if it is not already upon us.

Certainly there have been many profound changes in Japan's modern history, and before. One should not deny that changes take place. Rather, we need to move away from a way of thinking that begins by assuming that a fully formed and integrated "Japanese system" indeed exists, and then prognosticates its transformation. Such thinking has led to repeated and misleading predictions of change or collapse for 50 or 150 years. We need better ways to discuss structure and fluidity, continuity and change, in the past and the present. In the study of labor management relations, for example, the problem begins not with the answer or the analysis, but with the way the question is posed in the first instance: is permanent employment ending? Are seniority wages fi-

nally going to give way to merit pay? Such questions assume the existence of a system that in fact never existed. There has always been tension in Japan between principles of merit and seniority in wage calculations. There have always been diverse mechanisms (involving gender, age, firm size and more) to adjust workplace size, change jobs, ease out unwanted or unneeded employees. What is happening today, in a context of some new and some familiar pressures, is an important adjustment of principles and mechanisms that have never been static and that remain familiar.

To put the matter in general terms (and this may be no more than the righteous pose of a historian), the only way to speak intelligently about the present is to take a careful look at the past. We must unpack our understanding of the past and, by extension, the present. We must see it as dynamic, and as always marked by tensions and slippages. This achieved, it should be possible to understand ongoing changes not in simplistic terms of decline or sudden transformation tomorrow, but as complex processes of adjustment and reworking.

I would be interested in readers' thoughts on this matter (in Japanese or in English). We will post them on our website where other comments on past columns have been posted (www.fas.harvard.edu/~rijs/responses2.html)



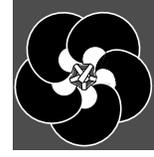
Japanese Studies in the West: Russian Japanology and Perspectives on Japan

Dr. Peter Berton
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Westerners (including Russians) who have studied Japan have come not only as scholars, but with a variety of different shapes, forms and backgrounds. Thus the broad spectrum of "Japanologists" has included political journalists, businessmen, military officers, scientists, artists, missionaries, diplomats, or other government officials. Some of the best books on Japan were written not by professional scholars, but by amateurs in the best sense of the word, people who loved what they were doing. One of most renowned historians of Japan, Sir George Sansom, the author of the seminal *Japan: A Short Cultural History* and other works, was not a professional scholar but an English diplomat. People today wonder how he found the time to study the Japanese language, history, and culture. The answer is that he arrived in Japan just before the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 and, as an attaché assigned to cover economic matters, had to write a weekly report on Japan's trade with Great Britain and on economic trends in general. The problem was that the ship to pick up his reports docked in Yokohama only once a month, so that he could write in his third or fourth weekly report: "as I had predicted in my previous reports...." He put his free time to excellent use.

The Russian presence has been notable among this wide range of "Japanologists" who have engaged Japan in modern times. An early famous example was Captain Vassily Golovnin, who was captured by the Japanese and spent three years in captivity. The account of his life in Japan, published also in English in 1818, is an invaluable source of information about Japan and the Japanese at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

As it did in the other major Western states, the notion of Japan as a poten-



tial enemy later stimulated the study of that country in Russia. Tsarist intelligence seriously targeted Japan since the period before the Russo-Japanese war, and the Tsarist intelligence services were successful in breaking the Japanese diplomatic code decades before the United States Navy's spectacular success in World War II. Despite these elements of an early and strong beginning, however, Soviet Japanology lagged in the 20th century. In pre-World War II days, the ruling Marxist-Leninist ideology had a crippling effect on the study of Japan, as it did on the study of other "bourgeois" societies. Topics to be studied were confined to the politically correct ones, such as peasant uprisings, labor strikes, and other "contradictions" in the Japanese society. Nonetheless, Soviet scholars made significant contributions in translating many important Japanese historical and literary works.

The Cold War had its own negative consequences for the development of Japanese studies in the Soviet Union. In the post-World War II period, much attention was paid to insignificant issues such as the threatening "rearmament" of Japan or Japanese "monopoly capital." Of course, there were Soviet scholars who saw the difference between Japanese reality and the politically-inspired picture of Japan in the Soviet press. But they did not seem to have any influence on Soviet policy toward Japan, which was largely determined by hard-line ideologues. As Japan emerged as an economic superpower, however, attention gradually shifted to the study of Japanese management and the "secrets" of the Japanese economic miracle (somewhat like in the United States) and Russian intelligence invested more assets in Japan and in the study of Japan.

The relationship of one's native country with Japan (whether amicable, neutral, or antagonistic) naturally affects perceptions of Japan. Even at the turn of the twentieth century marked differences in reporting were apparent in Western countries: favorable in the case of England which was allied with Japan, and unfavorable in the case of Russia which was on the verge of a showdown with Japan. In addition, the simple historical timing of the arrival of a Japanologist on

Japanese shores had an impact on his or her perception of Japan. In other words, the relative position of Japan: whether Japan was poor or rich, powerful or powerless, stable or in turmoil, open to the world or in seclusion, had an effect on analysis and prognostication. Thus, the attitudes of a foreign visitor/Japanologist to Japan depended on whether he arrived at the time of strict enforcement of seclusion laws, vs. the time of transition during the late Tokugawa and early Meiji period, vs. the more self-assertive Japan after its victory over China, Russia, and Germany, vs. the relatively democratic country during the 1920s, vs. the militaristic and chauvinistic Japan of the 1930s and early 1940s.

In the case of American Japanologists there are at least four categories of this kind: (1) Prewar arrivers, 1930-1941 (2) Allied Occupation and reconstruction period arrivers, 1945-late 1950s (3) Social Unrest-period arrivers, 1960-early 1970s, who witnessed the demonstrations and riots that accompanied the revision of the U.S.-Japan security treaty and student unrest; and (4) Affluent Japan-period arrivers, mid-1970s to the present, who saw Japan become the second largest economy in the world. The first group saw Japan first at its imperialistic and militaristic worst. In this group, people who wrote about both China and Japan would in most instances be sympathetic toward China and highly critical of Japan. The second group, including many who began their study of Japan in U.S. Army or U.S. Navy Japanese-language schools during World War II, saw Japan at its weakest: cities in ruins, industry at a standstill, the Japanese people hungry and obsequious. But the fourth group had no personal memory of either militaristic Japan, the country in ruins, or social instability.

I imagine that there is a similar diversity in the attitudes of Soviet/Russian Japanologists, whether they first arrived with the Soviet Mission in Occupied Japan, or during early economic reconstruction, or during the period when Japan's economy overtook that of the Soviet Union. There is undoubtedly a difference in the perception of Japan among Soviet/Russian scholars who resided in Japan and saw the country first

hand compared to those who had no opportunity to visit Japan and had to rely on the Soviet press's distortion of Japanese reality.

Against this background of ever-changing interpretive perspectives, the extraordinary careers of two Russian émigré Japanologists can be described with particular interest.

One of these was Aleksandr Alekseyevich Vannovsky (1874-1967). Although the son of an officer in the Russian imperial army, his political views were formed under the influence of his older brother Victor, who became a professional revolutionary. Like V.I. Lenin's brother he similarly fell into deep trouble with the Tsarist authorities. Vannovsky became one of the founders of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (later Communist Party of the Soviet Union) at the first congress in 1898 and the leader of the unsuccessful uprisings in Kiev and Moscow of 1905. After a period of exile, at the outbreak of World War I Vannovsky joined the army and was later sent to a communications school in Petrograd and appointed head of a radio station in Khabarovsk, where he witnessed the revolution and civil war and finally had a nervous breakdown. Via an acquaintance with Shimano Saburō, the future founder of the Japanese research center on Russia and the Soviet Union of the South Manchuria Railway Company, who was at the time a Japanese student in Russia, Vannovsky was able to emigrate, settle in Japan and pursue a successful career as a professor of Russian literature at Waseda University. Vannovsky became the author of a highly original monograph on the Japanese classic *Kojiki* entitled *Volcanoes and the Sun: A New Concept of the Mythology of the Kojiki*. Although not a Japanese linguist, he had access to Japanese primary sources through a Russian friend, M. P. Grigoryev, who had an excellent command of classical Japanese.

However, probably the most prominent of these émigré Japanologists was Sergei Elisseff (1889-1975). Born in St. Petersburg to a very wealthy and cultured merchant family, he began to study Chinese and Japanese in his teens at the University



of Berlin, and at age 19 was the first Western student admitted to Tokyo Imperial University. Escaping from the Russian Revolution, he became a teacher at the Sorbonne. Eventually Elisseeff taught at Harvard from 1932 to 1957. Elisseeff can probably be seen as the first intentionally professional (as distinct from amateur or inadvertent) Japanologist in the world.

In his career Elisseeff did not produce a magnum opus. Perhaps it was because of heavy administrative and teaching duties, plus an indomitable joy of life, what the French call "joie de vivre." Yet Elisseeff developed an extraordinary reputation at Harvard. He was regarded as a profound and meticulous scholar, a stimulating and exacting teacher, an inspiring leader, a loyal friend, and an unsurpassed master of the art of gracious living. His breadth of interests was legendary. Famed for his pleasure in teaching, he gave generously of his time for individual reading courses, and lectured regularly on the history or literature of Japan from 11 a.m. until 12:30 p.m. on Tuesdays and Thursdays, "often carrying on with characteristic wit and warmth, and with unflagging zest, until reminded of lunch by the tolling of the 1 o'clock bell." He could also be easily distracted: a former student of his recalled that when he came unprepared in a classical Japanese language class, he would ask an abstruse question, such as "How do the Japanese nuns tie their obis?" The Professor would embark on a long discourse, and the difficult passage was forgotten. Elisseeff spoke Russian, French (a language used at home so that the servants would not understand), German, English, Greek and Latin, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Manchu. He lectured in Russian, French, and English, and he used to say that he thought in French, except that when he became tired he began thinking in Russian. Elisseeff also had a wonderful sense of humor. As an honor student he was placed in the front row of graduates at Tokyo Imperial University. The 1912 commencement exercises marked the last public appearance of Emperor Meiji before his death, and Elisseeff humorously suggested that the shock of seeing a Western face in the group hastened the Emperor's demise.

Elisseeff accumulated many honors recognizing his contributions to schol-

arship. The French Government made him a Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur in 1946. In the United States, he was elected President of the American Oriental Society for the year 1954-1955, and on the occasion of his retirement from Harvard in 1957, a special issue of the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* which Professor Elisseeff had founded was dedicated to him. In Japan, Professor Elisseeff was awarded the Order of the Sacred Treasure in 1968, and, in 1973, the first Japan Foundation Award in the category of "Foreign Individuals who have helped to explain Japan and the Japanese culture to their own nations."

At the same time, however, his pedagogical contributions occurred only in France and the United States. In the words of Professor Emeritus Howard Hibbett of Harvard, one of Professor Elisseeff's former students: "Ironically, Serge Elisseeff's work was to benefit Europe and America more than his native Russia." Only recently have his contributions at last been recognized and appreciated in his homeland, as witnessed by the convening of a conference in Moscow in July 1999.

This article is excerpted from a paper presented by Dr. Berton at the conference in Moscow on July 2, 1999 which was devoted to the work of Sergei Elisseeff. The full paper, which is scheduled to be published in the proceedings of the conference in Russian, is available on request by e-mail (berton@usc.edu). Dr. Berton gratefully acknowledges the valuable personal recollections of Professor Elisseeff provided by his former students at Harvard, with whom telephone interviews were conducted: Professors Howard Hibbett (Harvard), Marius Jansen (Princeton), Henry Rosovsky (Harvard) and Donald Shively (Berkeley). In the Meiji-Taisho spirit, "Taihen o sewa sama ni narimashite, kokoro kara kansha itasu tokoro de gozaimasu."

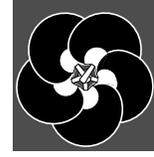


Japanese Studies in the West: History of the European Association for Japanese Studies (EAJS)

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The first official conference of EAJS was held on the campus of the University of Zurich in September 1976. It should not, however, be assumed that European Japanologists had not been meeting and exchanging views earlier. They had taken part in large numbers in the Japan section of the International Orientalists Congress held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor in August 1967 and in the International Conference on Japanese Studies sponsored by the Japan PEN Club in Kyoto in November 1972. On the latter occasion some 47 scholars from 15 European countries were gathered in a hall in the Miyako Hotel when the idea was planted that a Europe-wide association should be established. As a result a preliminary conference was held in Britain, initially at St. Antony's College, Oxford and subsequently at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in April 1973. The conference heard academic papers covering language, literature and history and (as the London component) sociology and economics. This is a structure which has been substantially retained at EAJS conferences to this day. (These papers were published in a volume edited by Professor W.G. Beasley entitled *Modern Japan: Aspects of History, Literature and Society* (1975).) On the administrative side it was resolved that a European Association for Japanese Studies should forthwith be created. Thus, this conference can be regarded as the inaugural meeting of EAJS.

Much of the work of the Association has taken place at the triennial conferences which have been held in various centers where Japanese studies is strong. These have been stimulating occasions to catch up with research being carried on throughout Europe and have provided informal opportu-



nities to get to know new entrants to the field. It has in most cases been possible to publish the papers presented at these conferences in spite of the spiralling costs of publication. These have been open conferences where members have been joined by many experts from Japan, the United States and elsewhere. Disciplinary groupings such as the Japan Anthropology Workshop (JAWS) and the European Association of Japanese Resources Specialists (EAJRS), which had meanwhile been formed independently, in the beginning held their meetings in conjunction with the EAJS triennial conference. However, EAJRS has nowadays abandoned this arrangement and organizes its annual meeting at other places than EAJS.

The triennial conferences are held in conjunction with the General Meetings of the Association, when the inauguration of the new Council elected in a postal vote takes place and matters of the association can be discussed. The office-bearers, who hold office for three years, are the president, treasurer and secretary. These, together with the immediate past-president and certain elected members, form the Council which administers the Association's affairs between General Meetings.

Those who have served as president are shown below (together with the conferences for which they have been responsible):

president 1973-74: Professor Patrick O'Neill (conference at St. Antony's and London, 1973)

1975-79: Professor Joseph Kreiner (University of Zurich, 1976; University of Florence, 1979)

1979-82: Professor Charles Dunn (Congresgebouw, The Hague, 1982)

1982-85: Professor Olof Lidin (Sorbonne, Paris, 1985)

1985-88: Professor Ian Nish (Durham Castle, University of Durham, 1988)

1988-91: Professor Sepp Linhart (Japanisch-Deutsches Zentrum,

Berlin, 1991)

1991-94: Professor Adriana Boscaro (Copenhagen University, 1994)

1994-97: Professor Irmela Hijjiya-Kirschner (College of Foreign Trade, Budapest, 1997)

It will be seen that the activities of EAJS have rotated round the countries and universities of Europe. These conferences have been marked by steadily increasing attendances, the Copenhagen conference in 1994 having been attended by 400 scholars. The range of research considered has also grown significantly. Conference arrangements are left in the hands of local committees and, in some cases, the national associations for Japanese studies.

The administration of the Association has depended on the dedication of those who accepted office at a time when universities were demanding more and more exertions from their staffs. Although it has been funded by membership fees, it is also indebted to the goodwill, encouragement and financial support of the Japan Foundation. In 1975-76 the EAJS received one of the Foundation's institutional grants which helped to expand EAJS activities. In arranging its conferences, it has also benefitted from the support which the Foundation has given to Japanese scholars attending its conferences and assistance for publication of its papers. In 1994, EAJS received a five years' grant in order to set up an office. It has also been greatly assisted by local representatives of the Foundation throughout Europe and by Japanese embassies there.

EAJS as a trans-national organization has endeavored to maintain a balance among countries when electing its office-bearers and council. Since Japanese studies is many-sided, EAJS has also endeavored to ensure fair representation among the various academic disciplines as a glance at the list of presidents will show. The only

honor which the EAJS can bestow is that of Honorary Membership and the distinguished members who have received this were:

Charles Haguenauer, France, 1896-1976

Frank J. Daniels, UK, 1900-1983

Martin Ramming, Germany, 1899-1988

Alexander Slawik, Austria

Charles Dunn, UK, 1915-1995

Wieslaw Kotanski, Poland

Fritz Vos, The Netherlands

Fosco Maraini, Italy

Louis Allen, UK, 1922-1991

Olof Lidin, Denmark

It will be seen that recognition has been given to scholarship in most of the fields of study related to Japan.

At this point EAJS has developed into an association with members in 42 countries (not all of them in Europe). Presently the association has about 650 personal members and 35 institutional members. It is open to the full range of the profession, from established scholars through junior scholars to post-graduate students. Its activities tend to be grouped under the following disciplines: linguistics and language teaching; literature; religion and the history of ideas; history, politics and international relations; economics, economic and social history; anthropology and sociology; urban and environmental studies; visual and performing arts. One of EAJS's aspirations has been to coordinate the efforts of local associations which have sprung up in most European countries and to act as an information service, especially through its *Bulletin*, which has been issued half-yearly until 1996, and three times a year starting in 1997.



Japanese Studies in Asia: Applying Visual Images and New Technologies to Japanese Studies—Research Trends at Nichibunken

Dr. Masako Watanabe
Associate Professor,
Nichibunken

The International Research Center for Japanese Studies (usually referred to by its Japanese abbreviation Nichibunken) was established in 1987 by the Ministry of Education (Monbushō) as a special institution for inter-university cooperation. Its chief task is to promote interdisciplinary and comparative research within Japan itself, but it also assists researchers from abroad who are doing Japanese studies. In order to encourage a new kind of integrated research on Japan, collaborative research is done by a core faculty from a diversity of specialized fields including natural sciences, social sciences and humanities. At present 15 team projects, each of two or three years' duration, are underway. In addition to the 29 regular full time faculty, Nichibunken maintains 15 positions open to visiting scholars from all over the world, and sponsors seminars, international conferences, symposia and lecture events.

Nichibunken's special characteristic is a multifaceted study of Japanese culture. As one phase of this work, the problem of how visual images can be incorporated into cultural studies has recently been taken up, especially by younger scholars. Methods and

theories are not firmly established for visual images, nor are systems routinized for searching in data bases. Until now academic research has shown a tendency to regard visual information as merely supplementary or to minimize its importance as primary data. However, in the case of the study of "culture," it is often difficult to achieve full communication in words but possible to obtain full understanding from a single picture or photograph.

For example, Prof. Yozaburo Shirohata, in working on how images of Japan have been created and altered by non-Japanese, is making use of drawings and early, Japanese-produced Meiji-period photographs which appeared in books intended to introduce Japan. Such drawings and photographs have been loaded into a digital database, and a search system is being tested which would allow the material to be accessed by people from diverse fields of study.

Similarly, Associate Prof. Shigehisa Kuriyama, starting from within a research tradition where medical historians have relied on textual primary sources only, is getting a grasp on pictures of medical dissection from ancient Greece, China, medieval Europe and Japan. Kuriyama's collaborative research, labeled "a cultural history of the body as told through visual sources" (English title *The Cultural History of the Body, Pictorial Perspectives*), discusses the perception of visual primary sources and how to secure these sources methodologically. One of the major themes of the discussion is how to incorporate into research results not only rationalistic consciousness about images but also emotive or affective consciousness.

Associate Prof. Shigemi Inaga, a specialist in art history, is examining the connection of word and image. He is reviewing the Western history of picture interpretation in traditions of rhetoric, and also the grammar and categories of modern art, especially based on reanalyses from East Asian and Japanese perspectives of Western artists' paintings which depict Asia.

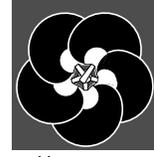
Another trend in visual research, which relies on recent technology, is quantitative research on culture. Associate Prof. Shoji Yamada, an ex-

pert in applied information science, is comparing a large number of ukiyoe by digitizing the images. This research can quantify differences and similarities among individual artists. Recently similarities in bodies of handwriting that survive in historical document collections have also been evaluated quantitatively. A book will be published in the near future called "Primary sources on culture and use of visual data techniques" which will attempt to make use of engineering methodologies for the human sciences and to present research conclusions by using methods of reporting from engineering.

Confirming the importance of such projects, a dedicated Office for Virtual Resources has been established earlier this year within Nichibunken. Its purpose is to create a new kind of research environment: it digitizes various kinds of source material in cultural studies, especially visual materials, for loading into databases; it manages the search system for locating the material; it collects news about scholars' activities; and it builds bridges between researchers and technical personnel.

Associate Prof. Hirohisa Mori, who leads the planning section, is building maps of geographical transformation which emphasize multiple layering, beginning with the oldest maps of a locality and moving up to modern surveys. He is constructing and making available a new type of visual database which includes information about cultural history. This will enable simultaneous searching among research projects that were originally unconnected, or among diverse geographical regions, or among various bodies of information that exist about a single region. A global map of geographical transformations, with the aim of including historical cultural information, is being prepared beginning with Kyoto.

One of the projects being planned by the Office for Virtual Resources is a reconstruction, via a three dimensional model, of the data in the famous historical source *Rakuchū rakugaizu*. (This source is a pair of six-panel folding screens which provide a detailed bird's-eye view of Kyoto in the early 17th century.) By creating a fictive reality, it will allow "visitors" to freely walk around the old city. The



project leader is Prof. Takeru Akasawa, a cultural anthropologist. The work is taking place in cooperation with the private sector, especially with the technical assistance of Toppan Printing Company. In the *Rakuchū rakugai* project will be depicted not only the 17th-century architecture and the atmosphere of old Kyoto, but also Buddhist clerics, tradespeople, aristocrats, barbers, performers, and government officials (at this point as many as 2,728 individual persons will be illustrated). Indeed, at the same time that it is a first class work of art, the *Rakuchū rakugaizu* is also a record of politics, culture, economics and local customs. In order to turn two dimensional images into three dimensional ones, the researchers at Nichibunken—specialists in fields ranging from architecture, history, art history, cultural anthropology, sociology and information science—through a collective effort are trying to make it possible to re-experience the old 17th-century capital, revealing what was actually heard in the streets of 17th-century Kyoto, how the people walked, how goods were arranged for sale, and so on. Although this project is still in the planning stages, inquiries have already been coming in from North American universities about its use as a preliminary introduction to Japan in surveys of Japan and in art courses. Nichibunken is looking forward to getting fully into the project.

The work on visual images is only one aspect of the many activities of Nichibunken, but through it may be appreciated the cutting edge of research on culture in Japan today.

You can access some of the Nichibunken visual image database through our homepage: <http://www.nichibun.ac.jp/>



Documentation Center on Contemporary Japan (Reischauer Institute, Sponsor): Japanese News Sources, Print and Online Randall Short Staff Assistant

From its inception in 1988 the Documentation Center on Contemporary Japan (DCJ) began watching the Japanese media, among our other activities. To date, we have clipped and filed thousands of articles in over 130 topical categories. We will continue to use scissors and glue for Japanese news resources largely inaccessible electronically, and we invite you to take advantage of these resources. Meanwhile, at the same time, we would like to direct your attention to a number of excellent print and electronic news services available at DCJ and over the Internet.

E&P Media Want to catch up on local news in the *Okinawa Times* or national news in the *Yomiuri Shimbun*? Editor & Publisher's Interactive MediaInfo Links database is the website to visit for basic information and links to Japanese (and other) media with a Web presence. As of January 1, E&P Media lists for Japan alone 54 newspapers, 23 magazines, 10 radio stations, and 12 television stations. E&P Media's online address is <http://emedial.mediainfo.com/emedial/>.

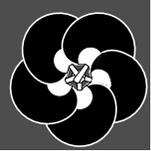
Japan Digest The *Japan Digest* is an excellent resource for keeping abreast of headline news on political, business, trade, technology and social issues reported in Japanese dailies, weeklies and monthlies. Every business morning, 5 pages of news summaries are faxed directly to DCJ and other subscribers (the daily edition is also available via email and online, and a weekly edition by mail). DCJ's holdings go back to October 1995. Unfortunately, the \$1,295 annual rate for the daily edition is an obstacle to many individuals and small institutions. Also, lack of source references may slightly frustrate the efforts of those who wish to verify particular stories. For starters, we recommend that Japan Watchers visit the

Japan Digest's website (<http://www.japandigest.com>), and subscribe to their FREE daily email of headlines. This is the quickest and easiest way to be aware, at least, of top stories every day. Those who wish to follow up on particular issues might visit the DCJ in person, search Japanese media websites, or simply download individual summaries from *Japan Digest's* website for a fee (\$1 per summary, or \$7.50 per issue).

JEI Report The Japan Economic Institute of America, supported by Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, publishes articles on the Japanese economy, politics, foreign policy and U.S.-Japan relations in its weekly *JEI Report*. DCJ patrons may use our terminal to access the *JEI Report* online, or they may view our printed holdings, which go back to 1979. Users might wish to first visit JEI's website (<http://www.jei.org>), which includes a chronological index of reports and helpful summaries of each issue's contents. The website also includes subscription information, with prices varying in accordance with the subscriber's status and subscription format (for example, full-time students receive a 50 percent discount, and an academic bulk rate is available to teachers). JEI also publishes the *Japan-U.S. Business Report* monthly.

Press Guide Read the Japanese news before it happens in *PRESS GUIDE*, a bilingual monthly newsletter published by the Foreign Press Center in Japan covering various fields including politics, economy, finance, society and culture. This newsletter features news previews of upcoming events, background information and data on selected stories, brief articles on current Japanese keywords, and news from the Foreign Press Center. DCJ's holdings go back to 1990. *PRESSGUIDE* is also available online at <http://www.nttts.co.jp/fpc>.

Nikkei Telecom News & Retrieval At DCJ patrons may access Nikkei Telecom's News & Retrieval service, Japan's oldest and most comprehensive commercial database service. Nikkei Telecom allows full-text searches of various English language newspapers in Japan and other parts of Asia, as well as access to numerous business and economy-related databases.



Reischauer Institute News Notes

Study Groups Sponsored by the Reischauer Institute

A new activity of the Reischauer Institute since the past year has been the funding of independent study groups of faculty and students at Harvard and in the Boston area. Such groups bring together an especially wide range of participants and allow the exploration of the latest intellectual topics in a relatively informal environment. Four groups are active at the moment.

The Reading Practices Group was established in 1998, and this year it continued its original mandate to dig into texts and discuss the poetics and politics of reading. It has had a lively and diverse group of leaders. In October, graduate student Karen Thornber led a discussion of Tamura Ryūichi's poetry focusing closely on the famous poem "kotoba no nai sekai" (world without words). Jay Rubin arrived at the seminar room in November with the manuscript of his prizewinning translation of Murakami Haruki's *The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle* and the group spent a lively two hours questioning him on the creative processes of the translator. In December, Dr. Chris Hill walked the participants through an analysis of an early political novel (*Setchūbai*, 1867) and showed how narrative framing illuminates discourses of modernity. (Report by Prof. Eve Zimmerman, Wellesley College)

The Contemporary Japanese Politics Study Group was established in July 1999. It is sponsored by Profs. Susan Pharr (Harvard), William Grimes (Boston University), and Sheila Smith (Boston University), and is being coordinated by William Grimes. The fall semester's presenters included Grimes, Robin Radin, Akira Iriye (Harvard), and Robin LeBlanc (Washington and Lee). The study group brings together faculty members, post-doctoral fellows, graduate students, and members of the larger community and complements existing

scholarly and policy-oriented seminar programs. In addition to sponsoring specialist discussions in the area of civil society, it seeks to promote informed discussion and knowledge of current political events in Japan that are too recent or idiosyncratic to be the subject of more scholarly lectures. Each session begins with a brief presentation, but the focus is on discussion among participants. (Report by Prof. William Grimes)

The Social Science Study Group was established in September 1998. It was led in its first year by Profs. Merry White (Boston University) and Andrew Gordon (Harvard) and focused on the theme of work in Japanese society. This year's continuation has focused on globalization and culture and has been led by Profs. White and Ted Bestor (Cornell University). The fall semester's sub-theme has been material culture and the media in Japan, with the object to treat the roles of cultural contexts in understanding the term "globalization" which has become a global buzzword. The once-a-month sessions are based on readings, and participants include anthropologists, historians, scholars of literature, journalists and political scientists. In the spring semester the group will pursue the sub-theme of Japanese urbanism. (Report by Prof. Merry White)

The Asian Cultural Studies Workshop was established in the mid-1990s. The concept of the workshop is to apply transdisciplinary approaches in order to question specific and general aspects of East Asian cultures. This year in the fall semester—with the theme of "Asian Identity—Essence or Performance?"—in connection with the Japan Forum the workshop invited Harry Harootunian (New York University) and Lawrence Marceau (University of Delaware); and under the umbrella of the Humanities Center the speakers included Gayatri Spivak and Atsuko Sakaki. The workshop has tried to invite speakers who could speak of more than one national culture (Marceau, Sakaki) or address issues

which are relevant to Asia in general (Spivak, Harootunian) in order to transcend boundaries, especially between China and Japan, which in the past have persisted for each specialist and have limited the range of the audiences. The context of discussion is broadened by mingling Japanologists and non-Japanologists, and all the talks so far have attracted groups which do not necessarily share areas of specialization, which is considered a success. (Report by Prof. Atsuko Sakaki, Harvard)

Research and Publication in the Harvard Japanese Studies Community

Studies on Japan forthcoming from the Harvard University Asia Center Publications Office include:

Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson, eds., *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Shin is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of California; Robinson is Associate Professor of Korean History at Indiana University)

Nam-lin Hur, *Prayer and Play in Late Tokugawa Japan: Asakusa Sensōji and Edo Society* (Assistant Professor of Japanese History at the University of British Columbia)

Brian D. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan* (Assistant Professor of Japanese Religions at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

The images on the previous pages are from Hur, *Prayer and Play*

The *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* publishes articles and book reviews on a wide range of topics concerning the humanities in East Asia. Issue 60.1 (2000) will include the following articles on Japan:



“Meiji Japan’s Y23 Crisis and the Discovery of the Future: Suehiro Tetchō’s *Nijūsan-nen mirai-ki*” by Kyoko Kurita

“Ambiguous Boundaries: Redefining Royal Authority in the Kingdom of Ryukyu” by Gregory Smits

“Samurai and Merchant in Mid-Tokugawa Japan: Tani Tannai’s *Record of Daily Necessities*” by Constantine N. Vaporis

Annual subscription rates (two issues) are \$30 for individuals and \$45 for institutions. Send inquiries to *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA. FAX: (617) 495-7798

Special Events

UPCOMING SPECIAL EVENTS
Harvard Graduate Conference for Japanese Studies: The Society for Japanese Studies at Harvard, in conjunction with the Reischauer Institute, is now soliciting papers for the 2000 (fourth annual) Harvard Graduate Conference for Japanese Studies, to be held on Saturday, April 8, 2000. Graduate students are invited to present their research at this multi-disciplinary conference. Last year, 29 graduate students from 14 universities presented papers on a wide range of topics.

If you are interested in presenting a paper, please send us a one-page abstract. Individual papers and full panels are welcome. Please include contact information and institutional affiliation. Presentations will be limited to 20 minutes. **DEADLINE FOR ABSTRACTS: 7 February 2000**

Please send abstracts and inquiries to:
 Harvard Graduate Student Conference for Japanese Studies
 Reischauer Institute, Room 319
 Coolidge Hall
 Harvard University
 Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
 FAX (617) 496-8083 (Attn: Graduate Student Conf.)
 E-mail: boogert@fas.harvard.edu (Marjan Boogert) or maruko@fas.harvard.edu (Eiko Maruko)
 website <http://hcs.harvard.edu/~sjsh>

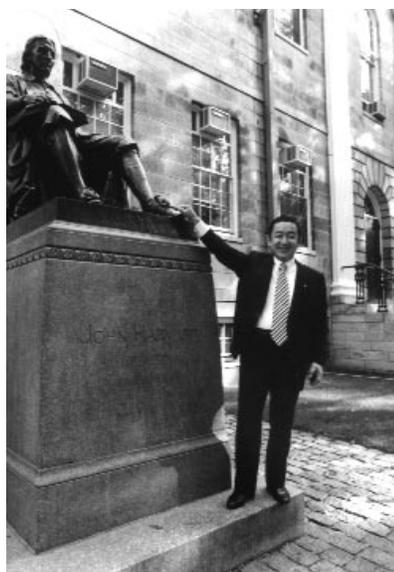
RECENT SPECIAL EVENTS On October 12, 1999 Former Prime Minister of Japan Ryūtarō Hashimoto paid a special visit to Harvard. In the early afternoon, he attended a luncheon hosted by Prof. Joseph Nye, Dean of the Kennedy School of Government, which was followed by a meeting and exchange of gifts with Harvard’s President Neil Rudenstine. Later in the afternoon he delivered a lecture on “Making Sense of Japan in the 1990s” to an overflow audience of hundreds in the Science Center. The lecture was followed in

the evening by a formal dinner at the Charles Hotel. The following day (October 13) in the Reischauer Institute the former Prime Minister met for lunch and an informal question-and-answer session in Japanese with a number of graduate and undergraduate students at Harvard. Finally, the former Prime Minister, who is a Fifth Dan in kendo, finished his energetic visit by participating in practice in the afternoon with students from the Harvard-Radcliffe Kendo Club under the direction of Mr. Junji Himeno.

On October 22, 1999, the Edwin O. Reischauer/Kodansha Commemorative Symposium took place at the Reischauer/Kodansha House in Belmont, Massachusetts. After opening remarks by Mr. **Shinji Kondo** of Kodansha, **John Dower**, Professor of History at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, presented a lecture entitled “Imagining ‘Japan,’” which drew upon his recent book *Embracing Defeat* (1999). Afterwards, Mr. Kondo presented the Noma-Reischauer Prizes for best student essays to this year’s winners, **S. Eiko Maruko** (graduate student) and **Amy Stanley** (undergraduate). Other guests from Kodansha included Mr. **Jiro Onoda** and Ms. **Motoko Oinuma**. The Noma-Reischauer awards were established by Kodansha in October 1995 to honor the memory of the late Prof. Reischauer, who began to teach at Harvard in 1938.

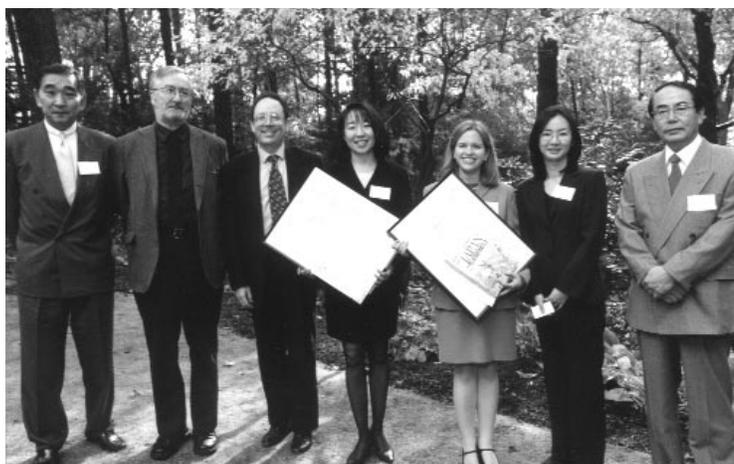


Former Prime Minister Hashimoto’s speech at Harvard; on right, the Former Prime Minister with the John Harvard statue





Kodansha awards ceremony for 1999



Professor John Dower speaking at the Kodansha awards ceremony



From the Editor

JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITIES: BEGINNING AN ONLINE BIBLIOGRAPHY

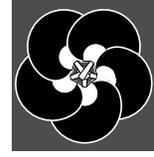
Modern Japan has a huge education industry but not all of it is equally noticed outside Japan. The most active foreign attention has been given to primary education up through high school. The motivation for this pattern has been a foreign conviction—at least for the couple of decades before the collapse of the Japanese financial bubble—that basic education was a major key to Japanese economic success (and possibly “culture”) and thus understanding it was necessary to restore foreign competitiveness with Japan.

But higher education and the university system in Japan have never been given the same level of respect. An informal poll in the Harvard hallway outside the Reischauer Institute of Studies suggests, for example, that Americans in humanities studies who go through graduate school in some aspect of Japanese studies in the United States almost never (unless they are in the field of education itself) have occasion to read anything systematically about everyday higher education in Japan. While they always encounter famous studies of primary or secondary education (by authors such as Merry White, Thomas Rohlen and others), and while much study has been devoted to exceptional political episodes like the student unrest of the 1960s, there is no equivalent exposure

to the normal, routine life of the universities. Not only is foreign language description relatively limited, but also most of it is to be found only in more or less obscure academic publications associated with professional research on comparative education.

But researchers in the field of education are not the only persons who need to know. From an international perspective on academic Japanese studies, the current level of knowledge is inadequate for at least two reasons.

First, the imbalance in knowledge is paradoxical in pragmatic terms: foreign scholars doing research on Japan are much more likely to have special professional relationships with counterparts from the Japanese university



world than they are likely to have such relationships with kindergarten or junior high school students! They would benefit from knowing more of that world and of the experiences of their colleagues in Japanese academic culture.

Second, many scholars today have a sophisticated grasp of how methodologies, such as a disciplinary approach compared to an area studies approach, can affect fields of study. At the same time, however, despite the increasing internationalization of academic communication, scholars often have a comparatively weak grasp of an equally important factor: the effect of the institutional structures embedded in different university systems or even individual schools. For example, the discipline of anthropology is not well rooted in Japan. This is not because Japanese are incapable of understanding the ideas of anthropology, but rather because the institutional space is usually already occupied by something else, namely folklore studies (*minzokugaku*). For better or worse, such concrete conditions have great influence. In the real world, almost all labor in higher education—whether in teaching, or in research, or in administration, or in at-

tending international conferences, or in striving for academic job security—is driven not by abstract, theoretical standards, but rather to meet immediate, and sometimes overwhelming, performance demands created by some very specific local or national environment within some very specific university or university system. Whether the scholar is Chinese at University A, Japanese at College B, Canadian at School C, or German at Institute D, each scholar is controlled by what she or he is required to do, and then permitted to do, by each local job respectively. At the moment, then, more progress is still needed in achieving international communication—and sympathy—regarding such institutional dimensions of intellectual life.

Many, perhaps the majority, of foreign scholars of Japan learn what they need to know about Japanese higher education to a sufficient extent “on the ground,” by direct encounter with Japanese universities as students or faculty or researchers, without any special background knowledge. Still, however, it seems that a better preparatory picture of the nature of work in academic life in Japan, and the establishment of a convenient

reading list about it, might be helpful on the non-Japanese side. Indeed, such might be of special interest at the current historical moment when the Japanese system is (again) undergoing rapid change.

In the coming year, the Reischauer Institute will gradually develop an annotated bibliography, to be posted on the Reischauer website (www.fas.harvard.edu/~rijs), concerned with foreign-language writing about Japanese higher education. This bibliography will cover the material available regarding a variety of issues: basic descriptions of the system (its history, teachers, students, governance, and so on); the flavor of everyday academic culture; political critiques; reform policies; and international comparative perspectives.

As this project develops, we will look forward to as much advice, assistance and feedback as possible from the readers of *Tsūshin*, many of whom will have extensive personal experience with these questions.

—Galen Amstutz



Mr. Junji Himeno, Prof. Susan Pharr, Former Prime Minister Hashimoto, Prof. Andrew Gordon

Address ideas and correspondence about *Tsūshin* to Dr. Galen Amstutz, Institute Coordinator, at the Reischauer Institute address, or via e-mail to gamstutz@fas.harvard.edu. Most of the content of *Tsūshin* is available on the Reischauer Institute's Internet website: <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~rijs>.

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The Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies

Japan Forum/Events: Spring 2000

- February 4 CHRISTOPHER HILL
Harvard University
"Mori Ōgai's Resentful Narrator: National History and National Allegory in 'Maihime'"
- February 11 YASUTAKA YABUTA
Kansai University
"Rediscovering Women in Tokugawa Japan"
- February 18 MILLIE CREIGHTON
University of British Columbia
"The Legislation of Kimigayo and Hinomaru as State Symbols: Igniting Memories of War and Peace, Minority Issues in Japan, and Nikkei Identity Outside Japan"
- February 25 CATHERINE LEWIS
Mills College / Women's Leadership Institute
"A Case of Successful Educational Change: How Japanese Educators Shifted from 'Teaching as Telling' to 'Teaching for Understanding' in Elementary Science"
- March 3 THOMAS RIMER (held in Barker Center, Room 113)
University of Pittsburgh (co-sponsored with the Asian Cultural Studies Workshop)
"From Berlin to Tokyo: Yamada Kōsaku and Western Music in Taishō Japan"
- March 6 (Monday) KIYOMI KUSUMOTO (held in Coolidge Hall, Seminar Room 4)
Harvard University
"Temporal Interpretation of Relative Clauses"
- March 17 MAKOTO ŌOKA (held in Barker Center, Room 110)
Independent Poet (co-sponsored with the Asian Cultural Studies Workshop)
"Sitting in a Circle: Reflections on Japanese Group Mentality"
- March 24 SUMIE JONES
Indiana University
"Narrating Crime and Violence in Late Edo Arts"
- April 7 LAURA MCGUINNESS
Harvard University
"Disciplining the Body in a Japanese Fitness Club"
- April 14 EDWARD KAMENS
Yale University
"Miracles at Kiyomizudera"
- April 21 KAREN SMYERS
Wesleyan University
"Sacred Generation: Fertility Rituals in Contemporary Japan"
- April 28 LOUISE YOUNG
New York University
"Discourse on the Social: Municipalities, Social Policy, and the Idea of Modern Society"
- May 5 LUKE ROBERTS
University of California at Santa Barbara
"Open Secrets: Ritual Politics in Tosa and Edo"

Excluding any exceptions noted, events are part of the JAPAN FORUM series of the Reischauer Institute. Except as noted events are held on Fridays, from 4:00 to 5:30 p.m., Seminar Room 3, Coolidge Hall, 1737 Cambridge Street, Cambridge