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JAPAN

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libraries

In Japan today a full range of libraries and library activities exists, including public and private libraries, information centers sponsored by public and private bodies, central and local governmental libraries, children's and school libraries, and academic and special libraries. Library associations, educational and training programs, and cooperative exchanges among libraries enrich the profession and assist it in fulfilling its social objectives. Japan is also meeting the challenge of the ever-increasing amount of information available, which has necessitated sophisticated methods of storing and retrieving library records through electronic and mechanical devices. Development of nationwide networks of information sharing, particularly of scientific and technological data, is foremost among the country's current library concerns.

History — The history of Japanese libraries can be traced back to even before the Nara period (710–794). In early Japan strong clan chiefs and noblemen collected records that kept alive the memory of ancestors, local events, and important religious precepts and rituals. These materials later came to be housed in what were usually designated as *bunko* (libraries, or literary storehouses), repositories of religious, literary, and family documents, rigidly guarded and controlled for a fixed clientele. Materials used in religious study were gathered together in the Yumedono (Hall of Dreams), believed to be the earliest library in Japan, located on the grounds of the temple Hōryūji near Nara. After promulgation of the TAIHŌ CODE of 701, the court established the ZUSHORYŌ (Bureau of Books), the earliest known archival library, in which Buddhist scriptures, images, and books were stored.

From the earliest times the growth of *bunko* in the houses of wealthy families, such as the FUJIWARA FAMILY, was often tied to support of the schools founded by the aristocracy to educate their members. These libraries, known as *kuge bunko*, housed Buddhist scriptures, Chinese classics, family genealogies, local histories, and so forth, and were not unlike the libraries that were built in the West in ancient and medieval times. One such library, the UNTEI, built by ISONOKAMI NO YAKATSUGU (729–781), was open to scholars upon application. In subsequent generations the archetypical library became the *buke bunko* (warrior library), reflecting the dominance of the military in the affairs of the country. Some of these libraries were closely guarded, for they were in fact repositories of family secrets, histories, military stratagems, and scientific knowledge. The best known *buke bunko*, however, was open to scholars and priests. This was the KANAZAWA BUNKO, established in 1275 by Hōjō Sanetoki (1224–76) in what is now Kanagawa Prefecture. Here Chinese and Japanese books were collected, controlled, and made available to *samurai* qualified to use them. Today a portion of this *bunko* is maintained in the Kanagawa Prefectural Library. In 1432, another historically significant library, the Ashikaga Gakkō Bunko (Ashikaga School Library) was revived by UESUGI NORIZANE (1411–66). His collections are among the few dating from this period to survive and are today maintained at the school's site in the city of Ashikaga (see ASHIKAGA GAKKŌ ISEKI TOSHOKAN). The first Tokugawa shōgun, TOKUGAWA IYASU (1543–1616), built a strictly guarded library within the shogunal palace grounds in Edo (now Tōkyō), which was known first as the Fujimitei Bunko and later as the Momijiyama Bunko. After the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1867–68, members of the Tokugawa family assembled a collection of shogunate documents and books at Ieyasu's former retreat Sumpu (now the city of Shizuoka). This collection is now known as the AOI LIBRARY (Aoi Bunko) and is maintained by the Shizuoka Prefecture Central Library.

During the Edo period (1600–1868) the various *daimyō* built their own collections for the use of their educated retainers. Notable among them were the SONKEIKAKU LIBRARY built by the Maeda

family of the Kaga domain (now Ishikawa Prefecture); the first ASAKUSA BUNKO, built in Edo by Itazaka Bokusai; the Awa no Kur Bunko, in the Tokushima domain (now Tokushima Prefecture); and the Aoyagi Bunko in the Sendai domain (now Miyagi Prefecture). Although these collections were primarily intended for the use of the ruling classes, in principle some of them were open to the reading public. It was not until after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, however, that the concept that libraries should be open to all, regardless of social status, was fully realized.

During the Meiji period (1868–1912), prominent national figures such as FUKUZAWA YUKICHI (1835–1901) and TANAKA FUJIMARO (1845–1909) provided the stimulus for Japanese public library development based on their observations of library activities overseas. Their ideas quickly took hold and in 1872 the first modern public libraries, the Shojakukan in Tōkyō and the Shūshoin in Kyōto, were built. Laws were promulgated to establish the legal and economic bases for libraries, and many institutions began to appear throughout the country. The Japan Library Association was founded in 1892, and in 1907 the first library journal, *Toshokan zasshi*, was published.

Principal concerns of the growing profession of *shisho* (librarians) were the training of librarians, the development of techniques for processing of library materials, and the expansion of services to library users. The Library Law of 1950 established the legal standard for a full and meaningful library service to the entire nation. Fulfillment of the goals envisioned in this legislation will depend upon the economic support of government at all levels, and the political support of the people of Japan.

Roles and Functions of Modern Japanese Libraries — After 1868, when Japan came under strong Western influence, concepts of the value of libraries were introduced as part of the general "modernization" of Japanese society. Since the rationale for public libraries in Western countries has been the need for the electorate to understand political and social issues, with the library serving as a common source of community information, library development in Europe and America has been evolutionary. In Japan, on the other hand, libraries were introduced over the short period of a few decades by educators and politicians, and were not created by the will and interest of the people who were expected to use them. The highly structured social system, the educational framework, the emphasis on book ownership over book borrowing, and the peculiarities of the Japanese language all must be taken into account when studying the modern Japanese library and its social role.

Academic libraries serve the teaching and research needs of colleges and universities but are hampered by physical, organizational and economic problems. Specialized scientific and technological libraries have been notably forward-looking and innovative in response to the needs of government agencies, corporations, banks, factories, economic research institutes, and other institutions.

Types of Library — Libraries in Japan are classified both by the source of their major support, such as national, prefectural, or municipal, and by the nature of the clientele they are designed to serve such as public, school, special, academic, and children's.

National government funds support the largest library in Japan, the NATIONAL DIET LIBRARY, which together with its many branches forms the nation's single most important library system. Aside from directly operating libraries, the role of the government is also significant in that it provides the funding for national university libraries and shares in the expenses of operating other quasi-governmental institutions, such as the Japan Information Center for Science and Technology. About half of the 55 braille libraries in Japan are government sponsored, and libraries located in national hospitals, prisons, military establishments, and research institutes also benefit from national funding. The various executive, judicial and legislative arms of the government which maintain libraries, most of which are branches of the National Diet Library, are also

national libraries. Under the provisions of the Library Law of 1950, the national government lends some support to local public libraries.

All 47 prefectures in Japan sponsor public library services. Prefectural libraries are usually located in the chief city or prefectural capital and provide some form of outreach service, especially to inhabitants of rural areas. Bookmobiles, reading clubs, and interlibrary loans form the basis of these services. Within the average prefectural library, exhibits, lectures, films, and other cultural activities complement the core of reading-centered services. Many prefectures offer more than one facility and help pay for municipal library services as well.

Local public libraries in cities, towns, and villages receive support from all levels of government in Japan according to the provisions of the Zaisei Hō (General Finance Law). Despite the firm legal basis for public libraries and the detailed budgeting formulae which provide funding for them, the levels of service, staffing, and collection building have not kept pace with the growth of other social education institutions such as museums and citizens' public halls. As of 1976 about 73 percent of the 666 cities and 10 percent of the 2,613 towns and villages in Japan, including Okinawa, provided public library service. While the quality of service varies, outstanding examples of public libraries can be seen in the cities of Hino, which has a high rate of circulation of books, Nagoya, which has an extensive system of branches serving the metropolitan area, and Kōchi, which provides innovative services for the general public and the handicapped.

Libraries for children in the elementary, middle, and high schools are provided for by the School Library Law of 1953, which also seeks to establish levels of collections and size of staff. As of 1978 school libraries were close to 41,000 in number. Grade school libraries stock an average of 6 to 9 books per pupil, and secondary school libraries somewhat more. School libraries are partially funded by the national government in order to assure attainment of the minimum standards prescribed by law. Separate from school libraries are children's libraries, which are generally found either in public libraries or as independent operations maintained by individuals, who often set up small collections in their homes for use by neighborhood preschoolers.

Academic institutions as of 1976 reported about 780 libraries, over half of which were privately sponsored. The national government supports some 295 libraries in its 81 universities. Local governments, mostly prefectures, have libraries in about 50 universities. There are also over 300 junior colleges which maintain libraries. With no national law calling for uniformity of organization, library functions within academic institutions vary widely. Some colleges have strong centralized collections, but in most large universities library services are scattered among the academic departments, or faculties, and libraries on such campuses are subject to little central control. The largest national university library is the Tōkyō University Library, dating from 1877. The combined collections there exceed 3.5 million volumes, with annual increases in excess of 120,000 volumes. Important private university libraries include those of the International Christian University, noted for its service innovations, and Keiō University, noted for its range of specialized collections. The TENRI CENTRAL LIBRARY, in Tenri, Nara Prefecture, though not a university library, is noted for its treasures of early Japanese, Chinese, and Western literature.

Special libraries have assumed the role of innovators in the development of practical and effective library services suited to the needs of a country whose general priorities have been economic growth and political stability. Government and corporate special libraries have assumed the major burden of the informational needs of technological Japan. The Japan Special Libraries Association has helped coalesce an otherwise highly competitive group of enterprises into a model system of cooperation, information dissemination, and computerized applications in libraries, especially in the field of scientific information. Leading specialized information centers are the Japan Information Center for Science and Technology, the Ajia Keizai Kenkyūjo (Institute of Developing Economies), and the Nomura Sōgō Kenkyūjo (Nomura Research Institute of Technology and Economics). Various branches of government ministries and agencies, the national institutes of social and humanistic studies, medical libraries, and local chamber of commerce libraries have also served private enterprise in developing the best specialized library services possible, not only in Japan but throughout the world.

The Profession — A *shisho* (librarian) is anyone who works in a library who has met certain training, educational, or experience-level requirements prescribed by article 5 of the Library Law of 1950. Depending on the type of work performed or the type of library one works in, a professional librarian might also be referred to as an

archivist, documentalist, teacher librarian, or information scientist. There are also *shishoho* (assistant librarians), who perform nonprofessional tasks in libraries. The education of Japanese librarians has consistently relied on models of library development in the West, and the professional lexicon is filled with terms borrowed from Europe and America. Many colleges and universities offer courses in librarianship, and most institutions supporting libraries provide some training toward certification of librarians. Continuing education is provided by national and regional associations as well as by opportunities for international travel and participation in conferences and educational programs abroad. The principal professional associations include the Japan Library Association, the School Library Association, councils of private, public, and national university libraries, the Nippon Documentation Association, and the Japan Medical Library Association. The most widely read general professional journals are *Toshokan zasshi*, *Toshokan kenkyū*, and *Gendai no toshokan*.

Technical Processing — As in other countries where librarianship has developed as a profession, Japan has endeavored to meet the many challenges relating to the organization of library collections. The development of bibliographies, construction of classification schemes, rules for cataloging, and lists of subject headings have formed the traditional focuses of processing activity. During the past decade, great concern has been given to automated alternatives to manual processing. Japan has taken the lead in Asia and is equal to many of her Western counterparts in the application of computer technology in libraries.

In the area of classification Japan was influenced by Western approaches. Although some large libraries such as the National Diet Library and the Tōkyō University Library have developed their own classifications, most libraries today use the Nippon Jishin Bunruihō (Nippon Decimal Classification, NDC), a modified version of the Dewey Decimal Classification, altered to meet the different range of topics covered by Sino-Japanese publications. The NDC is now in its seventh edition and has served as the basis of the standard classification used by all school libraries, as well as most university and public libraries. Special libraries generally use the Universal Decimal Classification.

The development of a standardized approach to cataloging has involved problems of choice of entry, filing of cards, description of works, and separation of Western works from Chinese and Japanese publications. Unlike the traditional emphasis on authorship in the West, the Chinese-Japanese tendency has been to place importance on the title of a work. Whether to enter the record, be it a catalog card or a bibliography entry, under the name of the author or the title has been a controversial issue from the beginnings of modern cataloging development. Because of the prevailing interest in Western cataloging principles and the need for a unified approach, the first edition of the standard tool for cataloging, Nippon Mokuroku Kisoku (Nippon Cataloging Rules, NCR), published in 1943, emphasized the feasibility of author main entry for all works, both oriental and Western. The NCR in all its subsequent revisions, the latest of which was in 1965, has attempted to reconcile the problems inherent in cataloging both Western and Sino-Japanese books. Because Western books often form a major part of a Japanese library's holdings, collections have tended to be physically divided between foreign and domestic publications. This division has required separate catalogs for each, thus doubling the technical effort and multiplying the cataloging problems associated with maintaining separate classified, author, and title coverage for each division of the collections. Related to the rationale for maintaining separate cataloging files are the language-oriented principles underlying each: the Western alphabet does not lend itself to intermingling with Chinese characters and the Japanese syllabary, unless the latter are romanized. Romanization has worked only to a limited degree because of the nonstandardization of romanization schemes and because of difficulties in establishing a division system for Japanese words.

The assignment of subject headings is both the most difficult and least developed technical problem throughout the world of librarianship. In Japan, likewise, emphasis in the past upon classification has tended to draw effort away from assignment of subjects to the records of library holdings. This is due, in part, to the reliance in Japan upon classified catalogs and, in part, to the nature of the title-dominated interest in books. Titles of Sino-Japanese books tend to be very descriptive and to adequately indicate the subject coverage of their contents. Nevertheless, the development of subject headings lists has formed a part of the scholarly concern of the library profession since the 19th century. The standard work, compiled in 1930 by Katō Shūkō, is a table of subjects known as the *Nihon kemmei*

hyōmokuhyō (Japan Subject Headings), which, although not widely in use, is a substantial guide to those libraries which find this problem important enough to devote attention to it in their technical processing efforts.

Advances in the development of data bases, specialized bibliographies, and the retrieval of catalog information in a variety of ways have led the Japanese library world, headed by the National Diet Library and other leading research institutions, to develop new standards, services, and products in the field of documentation. This work centers on the capabilities of the computer to produce the growing accumulations of records generated by postindustrial societies. While these efforts have largely focused on scientific and technological information, the call for standardization, both nationally and internationally, is having great impact on the nature, staffing, and budgets of all libraries throughout the country. Thus these efforts, designed to result in a national scientific information network in Japan, will also affect libraries in the fields of humanities and social sciences in the years ahead.

Problems Peculiar to Libraries in Japan — Public libraries in Japan compete with several significant traditions of society in the struggle for their very existence. The high regard for private book ownership and the relatively low cost of books until recently have fostered the tendency of personal indifference toward public library collections. Bookstores far outnumber public libraries. Public libraries also compete with publicly supported *kōminkan* (community centers), many of which provide library collections and reading rooms. Their existence represents an overlap of function with the public library, thus increasing the duplication of effort and competition for the small-user base. Because public libraries have not kept up with the demands and needs of users, meaningful support for them is lacking. *Kashihon'ya* (book rental shops) outnumber libraries in some areas of the country by as much as five to one. Their appeal is directed mainly to the recreational reading habits of high school students and others who borrow books for a small fee.

Libraries for children are few in number and poorly supported. Their problems lie less in the provision of books and materials, which are numerically adequate in most cases, than in the provision of qualified library personnel who are able to organize and service their collections in ways which go beyond the present limitations of clerical support in response to the needs of the classroom.

Academic libraries suffer from a lack of organizational cooperation both within and among institutions of higher education. Chief librarians are generally faculty members who serve in the post for a few years on a rotating basis, and it is difficult for career librarians to reach the top post, thereby using to best advantage their years of experience in the profession.

The interlibrary loan of materials in Japan succeeds best between libraries which enjoy close affiliation, such as medical libraries of universities and research libraries which do not otherwise compete with each other in their search for new knowledge.

Given the advanced state of technological development in Japan, the problems surrounding the identification, storage, and retrieval of the ever-expanding stock of information differ little from those in other countries. Japan's unique challenge relates to the way information is recorded in both Western and oriental languages, especially to the way Chinese and Japanese characters are manipulated by machine. Problems of the latter kind are being confronted and solved through national leadership and through international exchange of technical ideas and standards. The Japanese are not only meeting the challenge but exhibit the potential of becoming a world leader in the computerized control of information.

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Theodore F. WELCH

Liefde

The first Dutch ship to reach Japan. The *Liefde*, belonging to a Rotterdam trading firm, was disabled and blown off course while

sailing across the Pacific and arrived in Usuki Bay in Bungo Provin (now Ōita Prefecture) on 19 April 1600 (Keichō 5.3.6). Of the original crew of 110, only 24 survived, including Captain Jacob Quaeckernaek, the English pilot William ADAMS, and Second Ma Lodenstijn JAN JOOSTEN. They were received at Ōsaka Castle by the future shōgun TOKUGAWA IEYASU and queried about Europe and trade conditions. Adams and Jan Joosten later became trusted advisers to Ieyasu, and through the efforts of Adams trade was initiated between Japan and the Netherlands. See also NETHERLANDS AND JAPAN.

life cycle

Society's schedule of stages for an individual's life. The life cycle generally thought to extend from birth to death, although the individual becomes a social entity before birth, and most religions posit the continued existence of the soul after death. Conception and acestorhood thus can be considered the beginning and culmination of life's cycle. The stages of growth of an individual mark his or her readiness to participate in social roles and institutions. As we progress through these stages, we gain and later may lose the qualities that entitle us to act as adult members of society—as "whole persons" (*ichinimae* in Japanese). Along the way, we pass through lesser arcs of socialization that teach us to conduct ourselves appropriately for each substage and position in the schedule. The schedule itself evolves over time, adjusting to historical changes in demography and in the patterning of society's institutions. During the centuries when Japan was an agrarian society the schedule altered gradually, but in the decades of concentrated industrial development in the 20th century, the schedule has been radically rearranged.

Age Reckoning and Life Stages — In Japan as elsewhere personal age is reckoned variously for social purposes. Relative age is most often set by order of birth—seniors, peers, juniors—though a person may be judged immature or precocious relative to normal conduct at his or her stage in life. Some observers claim that seniority rules are more pervasive in Japan than in other industrialized societies, but these claims may be the result of selective perception with one society stressing seniority in domains of behavior where another deems it irrelevant or unimportant.

Absolute age may be measured by biological events such as the eruption of permanent molars or the onset of menstruation, but the most important measure is that of years since birth. Premodern Japanese custom counted age by calendar years. That is, a child was one in the year of his or her birth, and on 1 January a year was added to every person's age. Technically, an infant born on the last day of December would be two years old the very next day. Since World War II, Japanese most often reckon age from the day of one's birth, and it is becoming common to celebrate birthday anniversaries.

Certain years of life have traditionally been considered favorable, others dangerous. The favorable years cluster in old age—60, 70, 77, and 88—and mark success in achieving longevity. The danger years (*yakudoshi*) come earlier, the most serious being 19 and 25 for women, 25 and 42 for men. Why these years should be considered risky remains a mystery. Folk etymologies explain them by word-play. For example, 42 can be pronounced *shini* (going to die) and 33 *sanzan* (painful childbirth). Scholars speculate that the traditional life path took a major turn at or near these ages; e.g., typically a man would have been about 42 when his eldest son married.

Though most Japanese today scorn the danger years as superstition, many continue to observe them. Some still obtain protective amulets or blessings from Shintō shrines to ward off the danger. Others avoid new ventures during the year. Parents may symbolically "abandon" a child born in its mother's 33rd year or its father's 42nd year in order to prevent it from being contaminated by the danger. Though this custom is no longer common, births are still avoided during these years.

The outline below depicts life stages as a typical individual might pass through them. Done for the sake of simplicity, this distorts a major social fact that must be kept in mind. We do not make the journey of our life cycle alone but in company. Our age mates enter each stage at about the same time we do. Our life cycle companion also include two or more generations of seniors and juniors, each moving through stages different from the one we are in. Their progress affects ours, and vice versa. The birth of a first child, for example, promotes a married couple into parenthood and may promote two other couples into grandparenthood. Seen in its full

form, the life cycle is a cluster of connected schedules for persons copresent in society at different levels of growth.

Infancy — It is common for Japanese mothers to present expectant daughters with an abdominal sash in the fifth month of pregnancy; this is the first overt recognition of the child by society. In some areas it is the custom for the expectant mother to return to her parental home during the final weeks of pregnancy. Prayers are offered to JIZŌ (Buddhist guardian deity of children) or to *ubugami* (infant deity). Prospective parents give much thought in advance to naming the newborn, and they may delegate this task to a senior relative as a mark of honor.

In premodern Japan a birth was generally not officially registered until the child had survived to a certain age. Age seven was the norm during the Edo period (1600–1868), and villages often had a separate cemetery for those who died before their seventh year. Today births tend to be registered promptly. However, because of the widespread belief that the year signs of the East Asian zodiac shape one's personality, registration of birth may be shifted to another year. The most striking example is that of girls born under the combined fire element and horse year, which comes every 60 years; they are said to be troublesome mates, or are even believed to be capable of killing their husbands. The number of recorded female births usually drops during this year, but increases during the years immediately before or after.

About a month after birth, infants are generally taken to the local Shintō shrine to become an *ujiko* (parishioner) of the community's guardian deity. This excursion, usually with the mother's mother in attendance and the infant elaborately clothed, marks the entrance of the infant into the community. In the first year, 3 March for girls (DOLL FESTIVAL) and 5 May for boys (CHILDREN'S DAY) are celebrated with relatives in attendance. Ages three, five, and seven are marked in November when children of these ages don fancy traditional clothes for excursions to Shintō shrines to receive blessings and lucky arrows (see SHICHIGOSAN).

Childhood (about 7–13 years) — Children over seven traditionally began to help their parents by acquiring skills such as weaving, sewing, weeding, or picking tea leaves. A child became a responsible participant in society as a member of the local children's group (*kodomogumi*) or as a student in school. The *kodomogumi* continue to operate in some communities, helping to pull carts or carry portable shrines (MIKOSHI) at local festivals. They also carry out minor public duties, such as driving away birds from the fields or warning people to be careful with fire on early winter evenings.

Six years of education were made compulsory in the Meiji period (1868–1912) and nine years, after World War II. The first day of elementary school is marked by the family with gifts and picture-taking. Becoming a student involves wearing a student uniform, acquiring a study desk at home, and reckoning one's life by years in school more than by years since birth. Participation in school ceremonies or sports days gives public evidence of one's progress toward maturity.

Children's groups are loosely organized and supervised, and they rarely hold rites for incoming or departing members. Modern schools, on the other hand, are large institutions with matriculation and graduation ceremonies, elaborate rules of conduct, and well-defined standards for promotion. Thus, in addition to knowledge, they impart the social skills that will be needed later in the vast institutions that now order most sectors of the society.

Confucian norms called for the separation of the sexes after age seven, but this has not been practiced rigorously in Japan. The children's groups include both girls and boys. Modern elementary schools have always been coeducational, as have most higher schools since 1945. At home it is quite common for children to sleep and bathe together or with parents well into the school years. See also CHILDHOOD AND CHILD REARING.

Youth (about 13–25 years) — Coming of age was celebrated in premodern Japan between the ages of 13 and 17. A *samurai* youth was presented with a particular kind of headgear, and a common youth might be given a loincloth. A girl was given an underskirt as an addition to her wardrobe, and in some parts of the country she started to color her teeth black; this practice was later observed only by married women (see COSMETICS). Often a sponsor bestowed coming-of-age gifts and in so doing acknowledged a lifelong obligation to look after the welfare of his "child." All of these rituals indicated the transition to a marriageable age.

Young people were considered full-fledged members of society. They were considered capable of performing a full day's work on communal projects. Youth groups had major functions in premod-

ern villages. Young men's groups were particularly well organized. Their most common task was to provide dances, dramas, and other services during local festivals, and they also taught literacy skills, protected community property, and fought fires. Some young men's groups owned and operated their own fields or other productive property.

There were dormitories for young men (*wakamono yado*) and women in villages in the southwest, particularly in coastal areas, and in cities for apprentices. Youth groups and dormitories were sex-segregated, but interaction was not severely restricted except among samurai. Today other institutions have taken over most of the functions of the youth groups, though in some communities the groups may still organize for festival services. Agricultural cooperatives, religious organizations, and various other groups have developed youth leagues of their own. See also YOUTH.

Over 90 percent of Japanese children continue in school for at least three years beyond the compulsory nine. Many middle-school students attend special tutoring academies (JUKU) after their regular classes, in preparation for high school entrance examinations. Students in high school and college may take part-time jobs; the modern word for this is *arubaito* (work, from German *Arbeit*). But they are expected to concentrate on their studies, and the keen competition for entry into prestigious high schools and universities helps enforce the norm. Pressures from the "examination hell" (*shiken jigoku*) drastically alter the daily lives not only of the students but also of their families and acquaintances. At prestigious colleges only a fraction of the entering class will come directly from high school. The rest will have taken the examinations at least twice before succeeding. See ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS.

Today legal maturity and the right to vote are attained at age 20, and most municipalities hold Coming-of-Age Day (Seijin no Hi) ceremonies for new citizens on 15 January, a national holiday. Until 1945, however, a term of compulsory military service for men starting at 20 had probably been a more significant mark of maturity.

Job placement has become formalized in the industrial age. Usually, before graduation from college or high school, a job will have been secured, often through recruitment at schools. Mate selection by contrast, is primarily a task for informal social networks, and usually happens after the potential husband is firmly established in a job. "Love marriage"—mutual self-selection—is the modern ideal, and about 6 couples in 10 say that theirs is a love marriage and not an arranged one. But parents, peers, teachers, and employers are widely consulted and asked for help in the process. In premodern Japan relationships were nurtured by the young men's and women's associations, and communal village activities such as those at New Year's, the BON FESTIVAL, local festivals, and rice-planting were times for courtship. Go-betweens (NAKŌDO) play an important role in urban industrial society, where young people lack the social networks of villages. Even when a go-between has not actually arranged the marriage interview (MIAI), at the marriage ceremony someone (often an important business or social contact of the parents) always acts as an honorary go-between and later may help the couple in difficulties.

The marrying age, as well as the age of full-fledged adulthood (*ichinimae*), has steadily risen in Japan. The increase in number of years of education has delayed the entrance of many into adult society, and the economic burden of maintaining a household separate from one's parents means that many young people work and save for years before getting married. The average marrying age is around 24 or 25 for women and 28 or 29 for men, with many marrying later.

Formerly, engagement required a ceremony and exchange of gifts, and WEDDINGS were religious ceremonies enacted in homes. After the elaborate Shintō wedding of the Emperor Taishō in 1900, Shintō ceremonies became popular. Nowadays there is a great diversity in wedding ceremonies, which are scheduled on auspicious days and require extravagance unsurpassed at any other time of life. No ceremony is required by law; a union becomes legal simply by being entered in the family registers. Honeymoons have become very popular. See also MARRIAGE.

Maturity (about 26–60 years) — Most Japanese move through the adult stages of the life cycle at about the same pace, establishing households, rearing children, and looking after aging parents. Schedules for occupational careers, however, are as diverse as is the industrial division of labor. A *sumō* wrestler may be "old" at 35, but a Diet member "young" at 45. Male and female schedules diverge more greatly during the mature years than in any other stage of the life cycle, and the gap between them appears to have widened in the

modern century. Before, a man could gradually yield craft tasks and household leadership to his eldest son, and a woman could train her son's wife in domestic duties and slowly shift to her the responsibility for them. Today men are expected to work full-time throughout their years of maturity, and for all but a fraction of men who have farms, crafts, or small shops, this means paid employment away from home. A man's pace of life and focus of ambition are caught up in promotions, raises, and occupational skills, and less in the family dynamics.

Most Japanese women obtain paid employment on leaving school, but few sustain full-time occupational careers throughout the adult years. A woman is expected to leave the labor force either when she gets married or when she becomes pregnant, and to devote her energies to housekeeping and childrearing at least until her children have entered school. In contrast to a century ago, however, today the typical woman gives birth to only two or three children, spaced closely together, so that she has completed the period of intensive child care within about a decade after marriage. Many women later take up paid employment, though they are at a disadvantage in the labor market. Lately the trend toward "lifelong learning" has expanded educational opportunities for adults, and women may become busy with many such activities outside the home.

In general, during the first decade of adulthood, one concentrates on proving competence at work and at home. After that one should enter a phase of the "flowering of working skills" (*hataraki-zakari*), and begin to show the full "dignity" (*kanroku*) of maturity. One is responsible, in these years of middlehood, for the life passage of aging seniors and growing juniors. Much of one's own life passage is marked by events in those other lives, such as the retirement of a parent or the school graduation of a daughter.

Old Age (61 and over) — The 60th year of life, when the signs of the East Asian zodiac complete one full cycle, was the traditional beginning of old age in Japan. In the Edo period samurai were usually retired from office at age 60, and commoners were freed from the obligation to perform a full day's work on collective village tasks. Today some Japanese privately celebrate 60 as the coming of seniority, but the year no longer has major social significance. Compulsory RETIREMENT from paid employment typically occurs at age 55 in most large enterprises and government bureaus, and retired employees often receive pensions in a lump sum at the time of retirement. Since government social-security benefits are not paid until age 60 or later, most men and some women must seek reemployment after retirement to maintain an income. Typically, they remain in the labor force for another 10 years.

The Japanese heritage includes norms of strong respect for seniors and elders. The Tokugawa domains often held annual ceremonies honoring the aged. This was revived in most municipalities in 1963 when Respect-for-the-Aged Day (*Keirō no Hi*) became a national holiday (15 September). The state annually designates a number of senior craftsmen and artists as Living National Treasures, and state decorations are usually only presented to persons over 70.

In recent years, the number of elderly in the population has increased so dramatically that old-age welfare has become a major national issue. Most elderly Japanese can rely upon offspring for support and care; 7 in 10 are living with a lineal descendant. But there is a rising demand that society at large assume a greater responsibility for caring for the increasing number of old people who are chronically ill, frail, indigent, or kinless. See also INKYO; OLD AGE AND RETIREMENT.

Postmortem — Social recognition continues well after death in Japan. Birth or death anniversaries of the famous may be widely celebrated, and every household continues to honor its departed family members for many years.

At death an individual is given a posthumous name by the priest of the family temple. This is inscribed on his or her tombstone and on a personal memorial tablet (*ihai*) kept in the home. The *ihai* receive frequent, if not daily, offerings and reports of family events. The deceased are welcomed home at the midsummer Bon Festival and on several other festivals during the year.

During the first year after a death, rites are held weekly and monthly for the comfort of the soul. Later, death-day anniversaries are honored for periods of upwards of 50 years—differing from sect to sect and family to family—or as long as anyone who can remember the departed personally remains alive. After that one's individuality dissolves into the collective otherness of the household ancestors.

Change and Conflict — Under the impact of modernization different parts of the life cycle schedule have changed in ways that may

often be contradictory. Legal maturity is granted at age 20, but popular opinion regards anyone as immature until married or embarked on a working career. Family versus work is a serious issue for many men and women. Retirement at 55 seems unduly early when life expectancy now exceeds 70 years.

Options have widened at some stages of the cycle and narrowed at others. There are now no legal barriers to the choice of spouse or occupation, but schooling and retirement have become compulsory at fixed times. Japanese social critics in the 1970s began calling for individuals and the state to build into all institutions and programs a life-cycle perspective relevant to the changes in modern society. See also FAMILY; LIFESTYLES.

■ — George A. DeVos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, "Status and Role Behavior in Changing Japan: Psychocultural Continuities," *Socialization for Achievement: Essays on the Cultural Psychology of the Japanese* (1973). Christie Kiefer, "The Life Cycle in Tradition: Japan and in America," in *Changing Cultures Changing Lives* (1975). Morioka Kiyoma, *Kazoku shūki ron* (1973). Murakami Yasuke et al., *Shōgai sekkei (raifu saikuru) keikaku* (1975). David W. PLATT

life insurance

(*seimei hoken*). The life insurance business in Japan started in 1876 with the establishment of the Meiji Mutual Life Insurance Company. Subsequently, numerous companies were established. Despite a disastrous blow suffered in World War II, the life insurance business recovered quickly after the war and expanded accordingly during the years of rapid economic growth. At the end of 1979, the value of life insurance policies held by private life insurance companies totaled ¥521 trillion (about \$2.37 trillion), second in the world after the United States. The ratio against national income was also a remarkable 293 percent, the highest in the world.

Two chief reasons for the expansion of life insurance in Japan are the utilization of some 300,000 canvassers, mostly women, and innovative types of insurance coverage. The kind of life insurance most popular in past years was regular endowment insurance, used to buffer expenses such as encountered in old age and for education. In general this type reflected the strong tendency of the Japanese to save. As defined in Japan, standard endowment insurance provides equal benefits upon term expiration to the insured, or to the beneficiary in case of death. In recent years, however, the most popular variety has become endowment insurance with prescribed terms; that is, the payment of benefits upon death. The increase in popularity of this type of life insurance is supposedly related to rising numbers of traffic accidents and changes in people's perception of life insurance. Among company employees group insurance with prescribed terms is popular. Sickness and annuity insurance is becoming increasingly common as a supplement to social security, reflecting the rising costs of medical treatment and growth in the number of the aged. There are 21 Japanese and 2 foreign life insurance companies in Japan today. In addition, there is postal insurance, begun in 1916 and operated by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications' Post Office Life Insurance Bureau, as well as life insurance under the various agricultural cooperative associations begun in Hokkaidō in 1948 and extended nationwide in 1951. See also INSURANCE SYSTEM.

MOCHIDA Min

lifelong learning

(*shōgai kyōiku*). An alternative term for adult education that gained wide currency in Japan since the concept was discussed by UNESCO in 1965. With increasing longevity, shorter work hours, and expanding leisure time, the idea of lifelong learning has become a subject of great interest, not only among the Japanese public but also within the government.

TAKAMURA Hi

lifestyles

In the past century the dominant lifestyle in Japan has changed from a rural, agrarian, village-centered way of life to an urban industrial lifestyle, in which social life is focused on the work place and nuclear family. Although perhaps 20 percent of the Japanese live in towns and cities even two centuries ago, urbanization was accelerated with the industrialization that began after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Not only do the majority of Japanese live in urban areas today, but by the mid-1970s nearly two-thirds of those Japanese who still farmed obtained more of their family income from nonfarm activities than from agriculture. However, most Japanese still have

many of the traditional values concerning family, groups, education, and work. This, combined with the survival of many traditional aspects of life, provides a strong thread of continuity, lending stability to Japanese society.

Housing — Today approximately half of the Japanese live in the urban corridor stretching from Tōkyō in the east to Nagoya, Kyōto, Ōsaka, and Kōbe in the west, and a large proportion of the rest of the population lives in towns and cities located in the few plains areas on this mountainous island nation. Space is at a premium, today even more than in the past; most of these city dwellers live in small units in high-rise apartment buildings or in tiny houses squeezed together along narrow streets. Since housing is expensive and hard to come by, people move infrequently, commuting long distances to school or to work. The suburbs surrounding Tōkyō are now spread over several prefectures, and the people living in them spend an average of over two hours every day commuting.

Houses in Japan are flimsy by Western standards. Traditionally they were built mostly of wood and paper without substantial foundations or basements. Because the climate is damp and the islands prone to earthquakes, this is actually the healthiest and safest type of construction. Houses usually face south to obtain maximum sunlight, and the sliding doors are opened in the daytime to air out the rooms. Verandas extend for several feet on the sunniest side of both homes and apartments, blurring the distinction between house and garden. The Japanese do distinguish between inside and outside, but, instead of designating walls to perform this function, they take off their shoes when entering a house.

Houses and apartments are also considered small by Western standards. By the mid-1970s the average family had just over four rooms for an average of three-and-one-half family members. Much of the increase in space per family member is due to the boom in housing construction in the past several decades, but part of it is due to the decrease in the average number of family members, which fluctuated around five from the 18th century through World War II, then dropped to the present three-and-one-half. However, because of the high cost of land, especially in the areas surrounding the major cities, most Japanese live in small apartments of from one to four rooms or in houses only slightly larger.

Small one-room apartments in modern ferroconcrete high-rises are built with the same lifestyle in mind as the traditional multiroom middle-class house. Since Japan has long been a crowded nation, architects have maximized the use of space by designing rooms with multiple functions. The traditional room has little furniture except for storage chests and a low table that can be removed at night to be replaced by the heavy quilts (*futon*) used for sleeping. The floors are not made of wood but rather of frames of woven rush matting (*tatami*), which, when spread with quilts or cushions, are comfortable for both sleeping and sitting. Thus a single room can serve as a living room, a dining room, and a bedroom.

Rooms are usually small, with the most common size a six-mat room (about 2.7 by 3.7 m or 9 by 12 ft), but the divisions between them are sliding paper doors. This enables the Japanese to create one large room from several small ones for a party or funeral. These paper partitions permit visual separation, but sounds easily penetrate, resulting in little privacy for family members. Japanese families spend their evenings together around the television set in the main room, and many families all sleep in one room when the children are small, even when there is sufficient space to provide separate bedrooms. Only when a child reaches the age that requires him to study long hours for entrance exams for high school or university do parents try to provide a separate room for study. See **HOUSING PROBLEMS**.

Use of Time and Space — The familiar Japanese reputation for neatness is perhaps a habit arising from necessity. A family with two small children living in a two- or three-room apartment must sleep, eat, play, relax, study, and carry out household chores in a very limited space. In most apartment dwellings, before dinner can be served the table must be cleared of school books, sewing projects, and the like. The kitchen is often only a corner of a small apartment, and laundry is done on the small balcony and hung out to dry on lines strung above the railings, on which the bedding is aired.

Because it is impossible to tuck away all the hundreds of gadgets and appliances gathered even in these small apartments, one's home is a very personal space. All but the most intimate guests are entertained outside the home in the hundreds of thousands of restaurants, bars, and coffee shops. Naturally, those who can afford larger homes have special rooms for entertaining guests. Before World War II these rooms, called *ōsetsuma*, were apt to be formal, West-

ern-style parlors, but as general living has gradually shifted more and more to Western-style rooms, the formal guest room in a high-income home is often now the only traditional, rush-matted, Japanese room in the house.

Living quarters are cramped, and only the mother with very small children and the elderly spend much time at home. Men who are white-collar workers spend most of their day at work and in the evening often entertain clients or relax with their colleagues at a bar. This is especially the case for those who are climbing the corporate or government ladder. Time spent with colleagues strengthens the company bonds among workers, many of whom stay in the same firm for the duration of their working life. For these salaried workers there is no real distinction between work and play. Added to the hours spent at work and with colleagues is often a long ride by train, bus, or combination of the two. Consequently, many children only see their fathers briefly in the morning and on Sundays and holidays.

Education — Children first attend nursery school at the age of three or four and then formally enter grade school at age six. The postwar school system is patterned after the American system, with six years of primary school, three of middle school, three of high school, and four of college. But here most of the resemblance ends. The career pattern and the degree of success are determined to a large extent by the university one attends. Thus there is tremendous competition to be admitted to the most prestigious university in the country, Tōkyō University, or to another of the top-ranking national or private schools.

In the early postwar period, the intense competition was concentrated at the level of university entrance exams. But gradually, performance on entrance exams for high school, junior high school, and even elementary school and kindergarten assumed more and more importance in determining a man's ultimate career and a woman's prospects for marriage. Now mothers spend months preparing their children for the entrance exams to the "right" kindergartens, which will ensure their entering a prestigious primary school that will start them up the ladder to the university that has the best record of placing its graduates in high government posts. Thus it is quite common for mothers to feel that their children are "failures" in life if they are not admitted to the best primary school in town. Children, too, feel great pressure to perform in school, and their young lives are dominated by this goal. By 1975, just over half of all sixth graders attended a special preparatory school (*juku*) on top of their regular school schedule to help them prepare for the entrance exams to junior high school. Since school is compulsory through the ninth grade, and since more than 92 percent of Japanese youth go to high school and 37 percent of these go to college, admission into a school is not the problem—it is getting into the "right" school that is the obsession.

The Life of Schoolchildren — In addition to long hours in school and the accompanying long hours of homework from the primary grades on, Japanese children study a variety of other subjects outside school hours: English conversation, the abacus, calligraphy, and so on. Many children study a different subject every day of the week and go to preparatory school to take practice exams on Sundays.

The life of the child thus centers around school and study. At home, children are usually studying or relaxing around the television set. Surveys show that very few children help around the house. They do not spend much time enjoying themselves outside or with friends of the opposite sex. The 12 years from first grade to high school graduation are full of hard work and stress, and this is reflected in the fact that the suicide rate among children, though still very low, has risen in recent years; most suicides seem to be related to failure in school. Release from academic pressures is found in school athletic events, large school outings, and trips by the graduating classes, plus the usual social events of shopping, movies, television, and time spent with friends, but altogether, students spend far more hours at their desk than in these pursuits. See also **CHILDHOOD AND CHILD REARING**.

Women — Just as their husbands spend most of their time at work and their children at school-related activities, wives, too, have a focus: the home and the welfare of their families. Except for the wealthy, very few women have outside help with the housework. Just as it is the husband's role to earn the family income and to represent the family in the world outside, it is the wife's duty to care for the family, manage the budget, and maintain social relationships with relatives and neighbors. Women take their household and child-rearing responsibilities very seriously. Most wives are ex-

pected not only to take full responsibility for running the house, including the handling of the family finances, but also to fix tea and snacks for individual family members at any hour of the day and to minister to the personal needs of their husbands and children. A wife customarily waits for her husband's return, no matter how late, and many men are so dependent on their wives that they do not know where their socks or underwear are kept, much less how to prepare a meal for themselves. The expectations of the wife's role are rigorous to a degree that many Western women would find unbearable.

Most Japanese women marry between the ages of 23 and 25, and usually have two children within three or four years. While their children are young, they stay at home and care for them with rarely any time off, since the only babysitters in Japan are grandparents. A common sight on Japanese intraurban trains is a woman with one child strapped to her back and a second, older child at her side. However, before the average mother is 35, her youngest child has entered primary school, and after a decade of being tied to the house, and with educational expenses looming ahead for their children, many mothers decide to go back to work.

Most women work between leaving school and getting married, many at dead-end office or sales jobs, and quit either at marriage or on the birth of their first child. Apart from women who have to work to make ends meet or the very few women with professional careers, few work while they have young children at home. But since so many return to work in their thirties and forties, women in these age groups now constitute 57 percent of the female work force. Many return to part-time jobs as clerks in supermarkets, tutors of English, or factory workers. Few are able to obtain positions that will give them prestige and high salaries, but they are able to supplement the family income.

The Elderly—Both men and women feel a pressure to work hard and save money because retirement comes early in Japan; in most companies it is at age 55 for men who do not become executives and even sooner for women, despite their life expectancy of over 75 years. Thus Japanese perceive old age as beginning when most Westerners consider themselves middle-aged, and a whole new style of life begins. Men often try to find second careers, and if they have good reputations, technicians and government officials can obtain positions with small companies, while teachers can join preparatory schools. Many fall back on the small amounts of farmland they have inherited and manage to cultivate enough rice and vegetables to feed the family. Grandmothers often care for grandchildren so that their daughters can work. Middle-aged and older women also make up a large part of the farm work force. Nearly three-quarters of the Japanese aged 65 and over live with their families or relatives, and they usually perform a useful function in the family. They must rely on their children for much of their support, since retirement pensions, though rising, are still inadequate. See also OLD AGE AND RETIREMENT.

The Standard of Living and Leisure Time—The change in work patterns in the postwar period from farm-dominated employment to jobs away from home for both men and women, combined with the long hours of school and lessons that children face, has radically altered the life of the small neighborhood communities, particularly in rural areas. Instead of the majority of residents staying within the village during the day, only the elderly and mothers with their very young children are at home. And instead of visiting with neighbors over a cup of tea for relaxation, Japanese now relax around the color television set.

Many Japanese regret the loss of community life that has accompanied the new way of life, but most of them think they are better off now. Whereas many were malnourished at the end of World War II and remained at a standard of living below that of the mid-1930s until the early 1950s, today the Japanese enjoy a standard of living higher than that of Italy and Great Britain, although still lower than that of West Germany and the United States. Housing is the major area in which Japan lags behind its Western counterparts, and the Japanese seem to make up for this lack by purchasing consumer goods and by investing in LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES, including travel. The number who travel abroad increases yearly, with Hawaii, Guam, Hong Kong, and Taiwan ranking as favorite vacation spots. Many companies sponsor special group or honeymoon trips, and this is one of the reasons for the international reputation the Japanese have for traveling in groups.

As the economy began to grow after the Korean War, the Japanese eagerly acquired consumer durables. From the late 1950s to the early 1960s, the "three sacred items of consumption" were the three

S's: *sempūki* (electric fan), *sentakuki* (washing machine), and *shōhanki* (electric rice cooker). Soon these became standard items every household, and in the 1960s the status symbols switched to the three C's: car, color television, and cooler (room air conditioner). In the 1970s everyone was racing for the three J's: jewels, "jetting" (overseas air travel), and *jūtaku* (a private house). Whereas during the mid-1950s, among the major consumer durables only sewing machines, bicycles, and Japanese-style chests were owned by more than 50 percent of the households, by the mid-1970s more than 90 percent owned sewing machines, color television sets, and vacuum cleaners; and over 95 percent owned refrigerators, electric fan washing machines, and Western-style wardrobes. Despite the high price of gasoline, crowded highways, and the great difficulties finding a place to park, 40 percent of families had private cars. See also CONSUMPTION AND SAVING BEHAVIOR.

Because the small living quarters can accommodate only so many goods, and because people find themselves in each other's way home on a Sunday or holiday, many families prefer to go out and spend their leisure time. Any Sunday will find the trains packed with families on outings, carrying picnic lunches and thermos bottles, all heading for a day of play or shopping. If the destination is a department store, some of the family will head for the roof, where there is generally a playground, amusement center, and, often, musical entertainment. Families with cars head for the country. In summer, most beaches and swimming pools are so packed that one can only get wet; there is no room to swim.

Japanese engage in their leisure-time activities with the same enthusiasm and professional approach they have toward work. Beginning tennis students will purchase complete outfits and the best rackets; those studying tea ceremony or calligraphy will buy the necessary materials, usually the best available. Men prefer such pastimes as SHŌGI (Japanese chess), MAH-JONGG, PACHINKO (pinball), betting on the races, or golf and fishing; while women, especially in the years before marriage, attend concerts, go to movies, study flower-arranging, tea ceremony, or cooking. The elderly prefer gardening and visiting hot springs. And, of course, everyone watches television, and most play card games, either Western or traditional Japanese.

Home Life—Because of the long hours spent away from home, Japanese think of it as a private place where they can completely relax rather than as a place where they can bring friends and business associates. When a man comes home from work, the first thing he does is to change into a casual *kimono* or another garment unsuitable for outside wear. He will then relax with beer or hot *sake* (Japanese rice wine) in front of the television, but usually his return is so late that he will not be in time to eat dinner with the family. He even has to see his youngest children before they go to bed. Women with jobs rarely work such long hours, but they will still have to rush home to shop, prepare dinner, and wash clothes. The most relaxing activity at home is the hot bath, which most Japanese take daily, washing first outside the tub and then soaking up to the neck in very hot water. Adult members of the family share the bath in turn or are accompanied by the youngest children.

Guests are usually family and relatives. A formal party for business associates is a major undertaking at which the wife will have to act as cook and maid with no chance to join the group until everyone has finished eating. Unexpected guests will be treated to *sushi* (various kinds of raw fish served on rice) and other dishes that have been ordered by phone and delivered to the house. A party for married couples is almost unheard-of. Unless the house is large and the family well-to-do, a man will prefer the comfort and convenience of entertaining business associates (and foreigners) at a good restaurant without having to worry about being bothered by children or forcing extra work on his wife. See also FOOD AND EATING.

Modern and Traditional Elements in Japanese Life—Japanese life today is a mixture of the traditional and modern. Virtually everybody owns at least one television set and reads at least one of the national daily newspapers, as well as weekly magazines and books, often on the commuter train. Despite the difficulty of the written language, the literacy rate is one of the highest in the world. Japanese enjoy reading, and even history books are occasionally best sellers. The constant exposure to the written word and to other mass media such as television and radio means that new ideas, fashions, and fads are communicated quickly across all social classes.

The mixture of old and new, East and West is sometimes manifested in ways that are surprising to the Western viewer. For example, one in four young women study *ikebana*, traditional Japanese flower arrangement; but equally popular for young children is the

study of a Western musical instrument: the organ, piano, or violin. Similarly, in any large city one can find traditional noodle shops side by side with McDonald's hamburgers and Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Movies, baseball, concerts, and coffeehouses outdraw the traditional *kabuki*, *Nō*, and puppet theater, but the traditional entertainments still survive. *sumō* (wrestling) is even more popular than it used to be, because it is now nationally televised, and avid fans can follow all the tournaments wherever they are held.

Language, too, provides many contrasts. English is taught as a second language in Japan, and is so widely used in advertisements and in conveying popular new ideas that it is virtually impossible to find a page in a weekly magazine that does not have at least one word borrowed from English. At the same time, traditional Japanese calligraphy, which is taught to all schoolchildren, is a favorite hobby of adults, particularly women, who have the time to study the traditional arts of Japan.

Just as traditional cultural and leisure activities remain alongside the modern, so it is true with the material aspects of Japanese life. Western dress now predominates, with the *kimono* having become a status symbol, partly because a handmade silk kimono is far more expensive than most of the exclusive Paris fashions. Inconvenient for street wear and difficult to put on by oneself, the kimono is reserved for very formal occasions, and its cotton counterparts such as the *yukata* serve as casual or sleep wear.

The traditional diet, maintained long after industrialization, has undergone rapid changes since World War II, particularly among young people, who prefer French pastry to sweets made of rice and beans, and coffee to green tea. However, despite the increased consumption of meat and dairy products, Japanese in the mid-1970s still consumed, on the average, only 20.7 kilograms (45.6 lb) of meat per capita, compared to the American average of 115.7 kilograms (255.1 lb), and more than five times as much fish as did Americans. Few people now eat rice three times a day, and many consume a "Western-style" breakfast of ham and eggs, toast, milk, coffee or tea, plus a green salad. For lunch they eat noodles or a sandwich, and in the evening, a Japanese-style dinner is served in which the main food is steamed white rice eaten with a variety of side dishes, which have as their main seasoning soy sauce or *miso* (soybean paste). While the wife may prepare broiled fish, *miso* soup, and several side dishes of vegetables for her husband when he returns home, earlier in the evening she is likely to have fed her children spaghetti, hamburgers, or pork cutlets, as the more Western-style foods are their preference. When she is in a hurry, there are numerous frozen foods to serve. Since beef is outrageously expensive, *sukiyaki*, the famous beef dish, is reserved for guests or special occasions.

Household furnishings also reflect the traditional and the modern. Most Japanese possess at least one or more items of Western furniture, including a child's study desk. *Tatami* rooms are gradually becoming fewer, as the rush matting has become exorbitantly expensive, but many people spread carpeting either on top of the mats or on wooden flooring, and proceed to use the room in traditional fashion, with everyone sitting on cushions on the floor around a low table. Although central heating is available in new homes, on the cold winter evenings many families gather cozily around the *kotatsu*, a low covered table with a built-in space heater, sharing a physical closeness that is often missing in Western culture. Today one would be hard put to find either an all-Western style or a completely traditional house in Japan.

The majority of Japanese are engaged neither in agriculture nor in the high-prestige, white-collar occupations—the segments of society that we have particularly focused on here—but work in factories, own small shops, engage in the transportation or service industries, or in traditional crafts, the mass media, or any one of hundreds of other occupations. Clearly, a Japanese family who owns a small shop lives a different kind of life from that of an office worker's family. A couple who run a dry-cleaning establishment will find themselves on call from mid-morning until 9:00 at night, and customers who call at the dinner hour will find the owner or his wife running out to the front of the shop from the kitchen-dining room at the rear, where they have been trying to grab a bite to eat.

Although the lifestyle of the individual will certainly vary according to occupation and to whether the family lives in a farmhouse, an apartment in a major city, or a tract home in the suburbs, there are more similarities than differences among the lifestyles of all of these groups. A remarkably homogeneous people, all Japanese use the same language, belong to the same racial group, share a common culture, read national newspapers, watch nationally televised programs, and follow similar school curricula. Japanese will

make much of the differences in dialect, customs, and climate in various parts of their country, but though a family born and bred in Tōkyō may feel uncomfortable moving to Nagoya, to the non-Japanese the similarities are far more striking than any differences that exist.

Class and status differences still persist, but they are comparable to those in the United States and far weaker than those in Great Britain. Although class boundaries were rigid in the pre-1868 period and determined not only a person's occupation but also where he lived, how he talked, what he wore, and how he spent his leisure time, this has changed considerably in the past century. The educational system has had a strong ameliorating effect on status and class, particularly in the period of upheaval immediately following World War II, when a bright boy could pass the entrance exam to a prestigious national university and go on to a career in an influential government ministry or a large corporation. One's ancestry and family economic position continue to be status symbols, but they count for little if the family heir is not successful in his own right.

With the importance of the after-hour cram schools, money and socioeconomic background have become more important for success in the school system; but the mass media, the complete diffusion of Western clothing, which makes it difficult to discern class differences, and the homogeneity of the population have all contributed to making nearly 90 percent of the people feel that they belong to the middle class.

Thus one's sex, family role, and stage in the life cycle are far more important determinants of one's lifestyle than class, occupation, or place of birth and upbringing. Statistically, a woman between the ages of 25 and 30 is almost certain to be married and caring for small children in the home, and this will determine how she will spend her time more than any other fact in her life at the moment. On the other hand, it is quite likely that she will go back to work once her children reach school age. Well over 50 percent of women between the ages of 30 and 60 work in Japan, a far higher proportion than in the United States, Sweden, or France. Family size, too, is highly predictable. Nearly all children are one of only two siblings; in 1972, 84 percent of all children born were either the first or second child in the family. Thus, when one speaks of "averages" in regard to the Japanese, one is apt to find more people who actually behave as the statistics suggest than in most other countries.

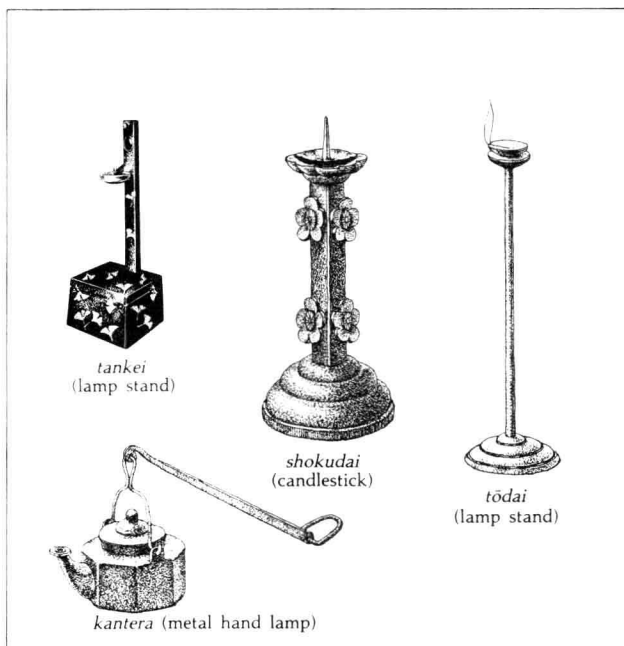
In conclusion, despite the conspicuous changes brought about in lifestyles through the industrialization prior to World War II and the rapid economic growth that followed it, one finds many aspects of Japanese life that can be traced back to the 18th and 19th centuries, if not further. First, Japanese life is remarkably oriented around the groups to which one belongs: originally the small farm community (and now the company or government bureau where one works) and the immediate neighborhood. Social life centers on school or on the place of work, and family members generally lead rather separate social lives compared to families in many Western countries. Home life retains many of the characteristics it has always had, in spite of the physical changes wrought by the introduction of a multitude of consumer goods. The Japanese continue to place the same value on education and on working for the good and honor of the family, and retain the same enthusiasm for such new pastimes as golf and travel that was previously shown in the community festivals celebrated seasonally. People in every society retain many of their distinctive values and attitudes even in the midst of rapid social change, but this tendency is particularly pronounced among the Japanese. It is this which has helped them to preserve their lifestyles and traditions in the midst of the modern transformation of the physical environment.

■——Robert E. Cole, *Japanese Blue Collar: The Changing Tradition* (1971). Ronald P. Dore, *City Life in Japan: A Study of a Tokyo Ward* (1967). David W. Plath, *The After-Hours: Modern Japan and the Search for Enjoyment* (1969). Edwin O. Reischauer, *The Japanese* (1977). Robert J. Smith, *Kurusu: The Price of Progress in a Japanese Village, 1951-1975* (1978). Ezra P. Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and His Family in a Tokyo Suburb* (1963).

Susan B. HANLEY

lighting equipment

The oldest traditional lighting sources in Japan were the hearth, the torch, and the bonfire. In addition to providing light and heat, fire had religious significance in its association with purification. When a death or other contamination occurred in a house, the fire was always made anew from an outside source. This respect for fire is



Lighting equipment

demonstrated today in certain local festivals and in the custom of KIRIBI, or striking sparks with flint and steel for good luck.

Fire was traditionally made by striking flintstone against metal, or by rotating a device with a long wooden stick in a hole bored into a flat wooden base (*hikiri*). The fire was transferred with strips of folded paper or wood that had been dipped in sulfur (*tsukegi*).

With the introduction of Buddhism to Japan in the 6th century, various kinds of oil lamps and candles came into use, at first for temples but later for homes and public buildings. The earliest lamps in Japan burned plant oil, generally derived from rapeseed, perilla, camellia, or cottonseed. The oil was placed in a saucer with a wick of hemp or cotton and was either used as is or placed in a lamp stand (*tōdai*). The simplest lamp stands were made of three poles tied together in tepee fashion, with the oil cup balanced in the crook. An early lamp stand known as *tankei* consisted of a single pole attached to a large base, often made of metal. To this was added a reflector, at first a round shield affixed behind the oil cup, later a movable piece allowing control over the direction of the light. These basic forms and their many variations have been in use since at least the Nara period (710–794). One popular type employed a large box with a drawer in it as the base and a square, wooden frame covered with white paper as the reflector. The famous *nezumi tankei* had a metal, rat-shaped vessel atop the pole, dripping oil from its mouth to keep the oil cup full.

The first Japanese candles (*rōsoku*) were made of hardened pine resin wrapped in bamboo leaves. Later, candles were made of the wax of a kind of sumac. Wicks were made of twisted paper, then cotton, and later rush. Candlestands and candlesticks (*shokudai*) were generally similar in shape to the oil-lamp stands and were much used in temples. Many candlestick designs employed Buddhist symbols. One well-known type consisted of an image of a tortoise with a crane standing on its back holding a lotus leaf, the candleholder, in its mouth. Other Buddhist candlestands had multiple candlesticks for worshipers to add their own candles. Candlestands for use in the home could be secured to the wall or stood on the floor.

Perhaps the best-known and most artistically developed traditional Japanese lighting devices are LANTERNS (*tōrō*). Standing lanterns for outdoor use, generally for temple grounds or for gardens, are made of stone or metal. Hanging lanterns are made of metal or paper. During the Edo period (1600–1868), the most widespread light source for the home was the *andon*, a small standing lantern.

With Western influences reaching Japan during the Edo period, a metal or ceramic lamp called *kantera* (a name derived from the Portuguese or the Dutch word for candle) became popular. *Kantera* had a thick wick and burned plant oil and later kerosene. At the end of the Edo period, kerosene lamps were imported and the English word "lamp" (*rampu*) came into use. Japan started manufacturing kero-

sene lamps in 1872. Gas lamps were used for a time during the Meiji period (1868–1912). The modern electric lamp is generally known as *denki sutando* ("electric stand"), while electric ceiling lights are variously known as *denki* or *akari*.

Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang) (1823–1901)

(J: Ri Kōshō). Chinese statesman and diplomat who dominated China's foreign relations in the last quarter of the 19th century. Having emerged into prominence during the suppression of the anti-Manchu anti-Western Taiping (T'ai-p'ing) Rebellion (1850–64), Hongzhang's period of greatest power was from 1870 to 1895, when he was governor-general of the capital district of Zhili (Chihli) and superintendent of trade for the north. Standing between the inert of conservatives at the Manchu court and the threat of foreign encroachment, Li promoted the development of economic enterprise and the adoption of Western technology. He also attempted to counter foreign pressures with diplomacy as China was forced to move its traditional tributary system toward a system of modern international relations.

In the late 1860s Li, who admired Japan's technological reform, suggested that the Chinese government try to keep Japan oriented toward China to prevent Japan's alignment with the West. The first modern treaty between the two countries was negotiated by Li with Date Munenari (1818–92) in 1871. It provided for the exchange of diplomatic representatives, though China failed to send a consul to Japan until after Japan's annexation of the Ryūkyū (Liuqiu or Liu-ch'iu) Islands (1874). In the treaty China refused to concede "most favored nation" status to Japan or to allow Japan's request for trade in the Chinese interior.

In the spring of 1885 Li met ITÔ HIROBUMI, the Japanese leader in Tianjin (Tientsin) to discuss disturbances in the tribute state of Korea, where Japan was pushing for modern commercial and diplomatic relations. The TIANJIN (TIANTSIN) CONVENTION of 1885 provided that China and Japan both abstain from stationing troops or advisers in Korea, give prior notice should it become necessary to send troops into Korea temporarily, and agree on military advice from a third power to train the Korean army. China, in effect, acknowledged equality with Japan in relation to Korea.

After China's defeat in the SINO-JAPANESE WAR of 1894–1895, war that had grown out of a domestic rebellion in Korea and that had opposed, Itō insisted that no one less than Li come to Shimonoseki to negotiate an armistice. He presented the Chinese statesman with terms so harsh that Li was forced to refuse them. On 24 March 1895 a Japanese fanatic shot and wounded Li, and amidst the public reaction, Itō granted an armistice on 30 March. Li's nephew and adopted son, Li Jingfang (Li Ching-fang; d. 1934) continued the negotiations. The terms of the Treaty of SHIMONOSEKI went far beyond what Japan had hoped to achieve in the two earlier agreements. The treaty also marked Japan's entry into the struggle for spheres of influence in China. Li died shortly after signing the protocol concluding the anti-foreign BOXER REBELLION (1900–1901). Despite being in disgrace since the Treaty of Shimonoseki, he was still the only man at that time capable of dealing with foreign powers.

lilies

(*yuri*). *Lilium* spp. In Japanese *yuri* is a general term for plants of the family Liliaceae, genus *Lilium*. Bulbous perennials which grow wild in mountain fields and on coastal cliffs, they are also cultivated as ornamentals. More than 100 species are found in the northern hemisphere, of which 15 are indigenous to Japan.

The *yamayuri* (*L. auratum*) grows to a height of 100–150 centimeters (39–59 in). Its funnel-shaped flowers, which measure 15–20 centimeters (6–8 in) in diameter, are white with purplish brown spots. It is known for its fragrance and also valued for its edible bulb.

The *sakuyuri* (*L. platyphyllum*) generally resembles the *yamayuri* but grows to a greater height with broader leaves and large yellow-spotted flowers.

The *teppōyuri* (*L. longiflorum*) has white or pale red trumpet-shaped flowers valued for their beauty and scent. There are many varieties, including the popular Easter lily.

The *himeyuri* (*L. concolor*) grows to a height of 30 to 50 centimeters (12–20 in), with soft leaves. The flower is 5 centimeters (2 in) in diameter and gracefully shaped, hence its name, "princess lily" (*himeyuri*) or "maiden lily" (*otomeyuri*).

The *oniyuri* (*L. lancifolium*). The petals of the flower, which measures about 10 centimeters (4 in) in diameter, curl backward toward the base of the flower. The stem is mottled with purplish brown spots and has white hairs. Blackish scaly bulbils form in the axils, and the blossoms are a deep red with blackish purple spots. The *oniyuri* is widely cultivated for its edible roots. A similar but smaller variety is called *kooniyuri*.

The *kanokoyuri* (*L. speciosum*) has oblong pale green leaves, somewhat rounder than those of other lily species. The flowers, measuring 10 centimeters (4 in), are white, blending into pink at the center, with red spots. The petals curl backward toward the base of the flower. Cultivated extensively as an ornamental with many varieties, it is exported abroad on a large scale.

The *sukashiyuri* (*L. elegans*). Flowers measure 10 centimeters (4 in) in diameter and grow erect, the petals narrowing at the base. Its alternate leaves grow densely. Many horticultural varieties have been developed.

The *kurumayuri* (*L. medeoloides*) is a small species with verticillate leaves. Its deep red flowers measure 5–6 centimeters (2–2.4 in).

Apart from these native species, lilies of foreign origin are also cultivated in Japan, including the *takeshimayuri* (*L. hansonii*) from Korea, with orange yellow flowers and dark red spots; the *kikanokoyuri* (*L. henryi*) from China, with yellow orange flowers; and the *takasagoyuri* (*L. formosanum*) from Taiwan, with flowers that are milky white on the inside and purplish brown on the outside. See also DAY LILIES.

■ — Asayama Eiichi et al, *Genshoku zufu engei shokubutsu* (1977). Shimizu Motoo, *Nihon no yuri* (1971). MATSUDA Osamu

limited liability company

(*yūgen kaisha*). A type of association incorporated for the purpose of profit making under the provisions of the Limited Liability Company Law (*Yūgen Kaisha Hō*) of 1938. The capital of a limited liability company consists of many equal contribution units, and all its members are obliged to contribute to the capital of the company. Individual members are not personally liable, however, for corporate obligations. Corresponding to the English private company and the closed corporation in the United States, the *yūgen kaisha* is a corporate form suitable for enterprises, especially small and medium ones, that are not in need of contributions of capital from the general public and wish to avoid many of the onerous requirements imposed on joint-stock companies (see JOINT-STOCK COMPANY).

Next to the joint-stock company, the limited liability corporation is the most common corporate form in Japan. In 1975 there were about 360,000 *yūgen kaisha*, which operated over 400,000 establishments, employed over 2.25 million people, and had a total capital of about ¥1.1 trillion (\$3.3 billion). The overwhelming majority of these companies have a capital fund of less than ¥14.8 million (\$49,865); only one has a capital fund in excess of ¥1.48 billion (\$5 million).

The articles of incorporation of a *yūgen kaisha* are to be prepared and executed by all those who will become members of the company. Only one corporate director need be appointed, and there is no functional distinction between the BOARD OF DIRECTORS and the representative director. OVERSEERS are not mandatory; one or more may be appointed as provided for in the articles of incorporation. The procedure for calling a members' general meeting is simplified, and a resolution may be carried on written consent of all members without a formal meeting.

Stressing mutual confidence of the members, the law limits the number of members of a *yūgen kaisha* to fewer than 50, restricts transfers of shares, and prohibits public offerings of shares and debentures. The principle of disclosure is also relaxed, and public notification of the company's FINANCIAL STATEMENTS is not required. To prevent any abuse of the limited liability privilege, however, the liability of members is intensified in one way. When a limited liability company is established or its capital increased, if there is an unreasonable disparity between actual market value and the valuation claimed for payment in kind for shares or property in a takeover contract to be delivered to the company, or if the members' contribution is unpaid, the members at the time of the formation of the company or the members who have agreed to the increase in capital are jointly and severally liable to pay the difference between the valuation and the market value or the as-yet-unpaid portion of the contribution. See also LIMITED PARTNERSHIP COMPANY; UNLIMITED PARTNERSHIP COMPANY.

NAGAHAMA Yōichi

limited partnership company

(*gōshi kaisha*). A type of company incorporated under the COMMERCIAL CODE that is composed of both limited and unlimited liability partners. It is similar to a limited partnership in Anglo-American law. Unlimited partners not only have a duty to contribute a specified amount of capital to the company but also jointly and severally bear direct and unlimited liability to the company's creditors in the event that its assets are insufficient to meet its obligations. Limited partners jointly and severally bear direct and limited liability to the company's creditors up to the specified amount of their contributions. Limited partners may only make contributions of cash or other property and are not allowed to contribute services or credit. Limited partners, being exposed to less liability than unlimited partners, do not, as a general principle, have the right to administer the affairs of the company or to represent it, although they do have certain rights of supervision. For this reason, a limited partner is not prohibited from engaging in business activities that compete with the partnership. Fundamental company matters such as amendment of the articles of incorporation, mergers, and dissolution of the company require the consent of all partners.

Articles of incorporation containing the purpose of the company, its trade name (which must expressly state that the company is a limited partnership), and other information must be prepared and registered with the appropriate registry office. In addition to court-ordered liquidation, voluntary liquidation is also permitted under certain conditions.

In 1978 there were more than 82,000 limited partnerships, making the limited partnership company the third most common of Japan's four corporate forms, the others being the JOINT-STOCK COMPANY, the LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY, and the UNLIMITED PARTNERSHIP COMPANY. See also PARTNERSHIP.

KITAZAWA Masahiro

Lion Corporation

Leading producer of toothpaste and detergent. Also manufactures and markets a diversified line of products, including household and personal care products, pharmaceuticals, food products, and industrial chemicals. The company was established by the merger in January 1980 of two sister companies, Lion Dentrifrice Co, Japan's largest manufacturer of toothpaste and toothbrushes, and Lion Fat & Oil Co, a leading manufacturer of household cleaning products. The companies were both founded by the entrepreneur Kobayashi Tomijirō in 1891 and 1919, respectively. Lion Corporation is engaged in joint ventures in Japan with such companies as Bristol-Meyers Co, McCormick & Co, and Cooper Laboratories, Inc, of the United States and Akzo Chemie b.v. of the Netherlands. It has subsidiaries and affiliated companies in Southeast Asia. It provides technical and manufacturing expertise about detergent and toothpaste to several leading companies in Europe and elsewhere, and exports finished or intermediate products and specialty chemicals to more than 40 countries. Total 1981 sales were ¥227 billion (US \$1 billion), distributed as follows: detergent 41 percent; toothpaste and toothbrushes 23 percent; cosmetics and toiletries 12 percent; other household products 12 percent; and foods, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, and others 12 percent. It was capitalized at ¥7.7 billion (US \$34.4 million) in 1981. Corporate headquarters are in Tōkyō.

Lions Club

Lions Club activities in Japan began in 1952 when the Tōkyō chapter was organized. The national headquarters was established in Tōkyō in 1958. The club, as in other countries, is an organization for businessmen and professionals devoted to providing community services and promoting international relations. The international conference of the Lions Club was held in Tōkyō in 1969. As of 1979, 2,331 chapters existed with a total membership of 134,409.

HOMMA Yasuhei

literacy rate

Japan achieved a relatively high rate of literacy during the premodern Edo period (1600–1868) through the proliferation of educational institutions such as the domain schools for the military class and TERAKOYA for commoners. By 1870, two years after the Meiji Restoration, 40 to 45 percent of boys and 15 percent of girls were found able to read and write Japanese and to solve simple mathematical

problems. A modern educational system was instituted under the EDUCATION ORDER OF 1872, and within 30 years the school attendance rate had reached 90 percent. In recent years, the attendance rate has been about 99.9 percent; the literacy rate is not currently measured in Japan, but it is assumed to closely parallel the school attendance rate.

HORIUCHI Mamoru

literary criticism, modern

In considering the history of modern Japanese literary criticism, we face a number of basic questions. Where should one draw the line to demarcate modern from premodern criticism? How did modern criticism originate? Who should be called the first modern Japanese literary critic? In political history the Meiji Restoration of 1868 is generally made the starting point of Japan's modernization. However, this is an arbitrary division for the sake of convenience; in recent years historians have been increasingly concerned with the true origin and process of Japan's modernization. They have pointed out that it was in fact in the Edo period (1600–1868), hitherto considered feudalistic and unmodern, that modernization began its course. Literary history is even more complicated than political history, and the basic concept of modernity and how it applies to literature is difficult to define clearly.

Since the Meiji Restoration a great number of critics have written on modernity and modernization; they have criticized old conventions and traditions, emphasized individualism, and expressed their fervent hopes for social reform alongside their attraction to the sensual delights of hedonism. During the middle of the 19th century, when Japan was exposed to the military and political pressure of the Western powers, the term "modernization" was, in fact, synonymous with "Westernization." The Japanese looked up to Western systems as models and set up the ideal of rebuilding their country by adopting them. Literary criticism became one of the areas in which Western impact was clearly and strongly felt. Naïve but serious attempts were made to learn the terms, framework, and standards of Western literary criticism and to apply them to Japanese literary works. However, works of literature cannot be made to order in accordance with the theories of critics, nor is it possible to overhaul the traditions of a country's literature. These attempts to criticize literary works in Japan by Western standards were not reasonable, because literary traditions in Japan were in many ways quite different from those in the West. As a result, the attempts at criticism of early literary critics in the modern period were frequently filled with empty slogans and generally ended up as procrustean beds, completely unrelated to the actual literary works and the psychology of their authors.

We must not conclude, however, that criticism was always a hasty imitation of that of the West, an unfruitful product born of an imperfectly learned alien theory. For centuries there had existed in Japan a wide stratum of readers who could appreciate literature and who formed an audience for good criticism closely connected with the actual work under consideration. In other words, the general standard of critical appreciation was already high in Japan. There were numerous examples of literary criticism in the early modern period that attested to a sensitive appreciation of literature. Much criticism, even in the early period, was outstanding in its delicacy, sharpness, and keen aesthetic sense, though its theoretical structures were borrowed from the West. With self-reflection and a reaction against hasty Westernization there appeared critics who began to place great emphasis on the reevaluation of Japan's own literary traditions. It became gradually clear that the fundamental problem of Japan's modern literature lay in the relationship between modernity and native traditions. Efforts were made to discover a point of contact between the literature of the West and Japan and to take a detached view of the merits and weaknesses of Japanese literature.

The First Modernists — As for the starting point of modern criticism, a majority of literary historians would no doubt agree that it was Tsubouchi Shōyō's (1859–1935) *Shōsetsu shinzui* (1885–86, *The Essence of the Novel*). This critical pamphlet, written in Tsubouchi's mid-twenties, not long after his graduation from Tōkyō University, had a great effect on the literary world of the time, perhaps much more than it deserved. Tsubouchi's literary scholarship was neither wide nor deep and his critical judgment was frequently shallow. However, his youthful passion and serious commitment to literature were genuine, and the goals which he set for himself were quite suited for the demands of the time. We may say that Tsubouchi's *The Essence of the Novel* was the first piece of Japanese criticism stressing the modernity of literature. Tsubouchi stated clearly

that the novel is the leading genre of modern literature, a prophetic assertion in terms of the subsequent development of Japanese literature. According to Tsubouchi, "Human nature is the nucleus of the novel, and social conditions and popular morals are the next important." He defined human nature as "human desire" and declared that the "duty of the writer" was to "dig deeply into human desire." He emphasized that the depiction of character should be based on psychological reasoning. Tsubouchi should be given credit for his sensitivity and quickness in recognizing modern realism as it was accepted in the West and for his championing of the novel as a new form at a time when theoretical criticism of the genre of novel was only developing even in the West.

Tsubouchi's basic standpoint was antitraditionalist, laying stress on the present, a standpoint typical of a young man. His criticism was directed especially at the celebrated writer of the Edo period, Iwano Bakin (1767–1848), whose works were full of Confucian didacticism. Since the young Tsubouchi was a great reader of the works of Bakin, his criticism was in a way an attempt to reform something himself under the strong impact of the West. There is a sentence in *The Essence of the Novel* that reads: "I would like to improve the immature novels and historical romances into perfect ones comparable to those of the West."

Another pioneering young "Westernizer" who first became active in the late 1880s was MORI Ōgai (1862–1922). He studied in Germany for four years as a medical student, and on his return to Japan expressed his views on numerous topics as one of the very few Japanese who had had personal contact with the West. When Tsubouchi praised Shakespeare for what he called the latter's "rejection of ideals" (*botsu risō*), Ōgai severely criticized his view and engaged him in a lively dispute. The term *botsu risō* is ambiguous; it would surely be a mistake to say there are no ideals in Shakespeare's plays. What Tsubouchi intended was to draw attention to Shakespeare's dramatic objectivity, but Ōgai misunderstood this and attempted to refute him from the standpoint of German idealist aesthetics. One might say that Ōgai attacked Tsubouchi's interpretation of English realism and empiricism from his own standpoint of German philosophical idealism, in other words, that this was merely a literary proxy war. In viewing the literary career of Ōgai after his controversy with Tsubouchi, it is difficult to say that he remained always an idealist. If one were to name the most idealistic literary critic of the period it would have to be KITAMURA Tōkoku (1868–94).

Kitamura, who killed himself in his mid-twenties, was a born romantic who moved young authors and readers of the day with his passionate eloquence. As a young man he participated in the FREEDOM AND PEOPLE'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT, which in those days was synonymous with political radicalism. He was also strongly attracted to the American transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson, whom he wrote an excellent critical biography. As a critic, Kitamura attacked the Edo-period idea of sensual love in favor of the Western ideal of romantic love. On the other hand, he was quick to criticize Western utilitarianism, which was coming into vogue in Japan at the time. Though his activity as a literary critic was very brief, Kitamura's influence on his friends and readers was considerable.

Advent of Traditionalists — The first major wave of Westernization in Japan, which began in the 1880s, lasted about 20 years. However, from the early 1890s, a nationalistic reaction had already begun to emerge in various fields. The most notable reactions appeared in the magazine *Nihonjin* and the newspaper *Nihon Shishigetaka* (1863–1927), the editor of *Nihonjin*, wrote an essay entitled "Nihon fūkei ron" (1894), in which he described the beauty of the Japanese landscape in a vigorous emotional style. This essay was welcomed by a wide range of readers. The study of traditional Japanese literature, which had for a time fallen into a decline, became more popular, and the reprinting of classical Japanese literature, such collections as *Nihon bungaku zenshū* and *Nihon kaga zenshū* was a great success. The popularity of Bakin, who had been so severely criticized by Tsubouchi, waned, but SAIKAKU (1642–c. 1700) and UEDA AKINARI (1734–1809) were rediscovered and reevaluated. The style of Saikaku influenced the novels of OZAKI Kō (1867–1903) and HIGUCHI Ichiyō (1872–96), both important novelists of the period.

There was also a revival of the traditional Japanese short-verbal forms HAICU and TANKA. The leading organizer and critic of the movement was MASAOKA SHIKI (1867–1902). Shiki, who had been a reporter during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, was afflicted with tuberculosis and spent a long period battling the disease. Even during these painful days, Shiki continued his activities as a poet-critic and exerted a strong influence. His contributions as a critic

were paradoxical in that he was both traditionalist and iconoclastic. He was a traditionalist in the sense that he revived short-verse forms such as haiku and *tanka*, but he was an iconoclast in the sense that he challenged conventional viewpoints by severely criticizing BASHŌ (1644–94), who had been admired for a long time as a “poet-saint” of haiku. Instead Shiki acclaimed the works of BUSON (1716–84), who had been largely ignored. Stimulated by the Western-style painters of his day, Shiki insisted on a realistic photographic element (*shasei*) in poetry, an important theme in the modern haiku and *tanka* movement.

TAKAYAMA CHOYŪ (1871–1902) was another traditionalist literary critic, though different in critical emphasis from Shiki. Takayama was also a victim of tuberculosis and died young. He lived a flamboyant life, and though he was simple and naive as a critic, he was by nature exceedingly sentimental and romantic and wrote in a flowery style, qualities that appealed particularly to young readers. Takayama attacked Tsubouchi's advocacy of a literature free from moralizing. He also attacked Tsubouchi's “realism” as “antination-alistic” and called for a nationalist literature and a nationalist criticism. He criticized the “pessimistic” Kitamura as “effeminate” and praised the poet DOI BANSUI (1871–1952) as masculine, saying that Doi was close to an ideal national poet. Takayama was later attracted to Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche; in 1901 he published the essay “Biteki seikatsu o ronzu” (Essay on the Aesthetic Life), in which he claimed that the objective of life was the fulfillment of the instincts, and he thus cannot be categorized as a simple-minded nationalist.

Another type of traditionalist literary critic was OKAKURA KAKUZŌ (1862–1913). His important books, originally written in English, are *The Ideals of the East* (1903) and *The Book of Tea* (1906), through which Okakura attempted to explain and clarify what he thought of as the superior characteristics of oriental arts and Japanese culture to readers in English-speaking countries. Okakura's aim was to demonstrate the hidden superiority of Asian cultures to the culture of the West, which in terms of economic and military might was so overwhelmingly superior to Japan and other Asian countries. He attempted particularly to clarify the significance of the cultural role Japan played in Asian history. Bold generalizations can be found in his writings, but his perspective was wide and his style of writing, with its striking paradoxes and skillful anecdotes, appealed greatly to his readers. Okakura was a traditionalist critic in that he never doubted the real value of Japanese traditions. However, he did try to carry on a dialogue with readers in the West and in that sense he was a cosmopolitan rather than a narrow-minded nationalist.

Second Wave of Westernization — Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05 resulted in another wave of Westernizing. The “national goal” of learning from the West and catching up with it was seen to have been realized, at least in military prowess. Foreign countries were astounded that this “great progress” had been achieved by Japan in only a generation. While the Japanese were exhilarated and self-satisfied over this victory, it took some time before this overconfidence became evident in literature. The achievement of the “national goal” resulted in creating feelings of relief and dispelling the tension brought forth by the Meiji Restoration of 1868. However, it is not easy to say what sort of influence this atmosphere had on literature and literary criticism. Japanese literature immediately following the Russo-Japanese War was characterized by the popularity of the novels of so-called Japanese NATURALISM and the appearance of socialist writers, both focusing on the dark and seamy side of society. But in parallel with this trend there appeared young writers and critics who leaned toward aestheticism and decadence.

There also appeared the so-called SHIRAKABA SCHOOL, whose members glorified the artistic geniuses of the West, acclaiming them as the representatives of mankind. Their motto was to imitate such geniuses and develop their own individuality to the utmost. The literary theories and practices of this school seem quite different from those of the other two groups, but, from a historical perspective, it can be seen that each of the three groups took as its point of departure new movements and vogues current in the West. This was, therefore, a second period of Westernization, when cosmopolitanism flourished. This second period is different from the first, the early part of the Meiji period (1868–1912), in that a wide range of interests from socialist ideology to aesthetics was observed. Undoubtedly, it was Japan's victory in the war with Russia that led the Japanese to believe that instead of merely learning from the West, they could now pursue Western thoughts and interests themselves.

Among the representative literary critics of this period were SHIMAMURA HŌGETSU (1871–1918), UEDA BIN (1874–1916), NATSUME SŌSEKI (1867–1916), and ISHIKAWA TAKUBOKU (1886–1912). Shimamura was originally a scholar and professor of Western aesthetics; his *Shin bijigaku* (1902) was a manual, rich in examples, concerning the rhetorics of Japan, China, and the West. Numerous editions of the book were published; however, one does not find keen critical insight in it. The year the book was published, Shimamura went to Europe and attended lectures in universities both in England and Germany for three years. He saw many plays in the two countries. It was due to these experiences that Shimamura, after his return to Japan, became an active literary critic with great influence. His experience of the theater in Europe inspired him to become a committed leader in establishing a new theater in Japan. Immediately after his return from Europe, Shimamura wrote an essay entitled “Toraware-taru bungei,” in which he showed a great interest in European symbolism and mysticism while discussing the relationship between Christianity and Western literature. Later, however, after reading SHIMAZAKI TŌSON's (1872–1943) *Hakai* (1906; tr *The Broken Commandment*, 1974) and TAYAMA KATAI's (1872–1930) *Futon* (1907), he came to appreciate the realism of the Japanese naturalists. In regard to Tayama's *Futon*, Shimamura wrote: “This is a bold confession of a man of the flesh (*niku no hito*), a confession of the naked self . . . One aspect of the naturalist school has fully matured in this book, that is, where the earlier naturalists depicted both the beautiful and the ugly, we now have concentration exclusively on something ugly.”

It is extremely doubtful whether “the man of the flesh” was fully described in *Futon* as Shimamura says, or whether the “ugly side” of human nature was fully exposed, but the combination of shock and enthusiasm aroused in readers and critics by Tayama's boldness in those days when Confucianism still imposed strong moral restraints can be easily imagined today. We can appreciate the excitement created by the advent of a novel which both authors and readers believed to be on the same level with contemporary Western literature in thought and techniques. At the same time it is interesting as an example of the dangers of oversubjectivity.

Ueda Bin was a voracious reader and sensitive appreciator of Western literature. He was also a brilliant translator of the works of such French symbolists as Baudelaire, Mallarmé, and Verlaine. He was such a skillful and refined writer of Japanese that his translations of modern Western poems gave a great stimulus to young poets in Japan. His stance was a “dilettantism” similar to that of Walter Pater. Ueda, who studied English literature under Lafcadio HEARN (1850–1904), was one of the first generation of Japanese who could truly appreciate Western literature.

Natsume Sōseki, also a member of that generation but different from Ueda, was a more systematic literary theoretician. His *Bungakuron* (1907, *Theory of Literature*) was the first systematic and comprehensive literary criticism in modern Japan and revealed a sharp analytical mind. It contains psychological interpretations that could be said to anticipate those of I. A. Richards. However, this work was too ambitious and schematic, and ended up resembling a colossal building with many unfinished rooms. Sōseki was more famous and important as a writer of novels than as a critic, but even his *Bungaku hyōron* (1909, *Lectures on English Literature*) showed his sharp intuition and observational power as a creative writer. In one of his occasional essays, entitled “Gendai Nihon no kaika” (1910, *The Enlightenment of Modern Japan*), he pointed out the shallowness of Japan's culture in the Meiji period and warned his countrymen not to become too impatient in catching up with the West. In another essay, “Watashi no kojīn shugi” (1915, *My Version of Individualism*), he wrote in retrospect about his intellectual growth, giving a vivid personal case history of the modern ego in Japan.

Ishikawa Takuboku was a brilliant poet who died young; his *tanka*, which utilized unconventional colloquialisms to the utmost, are still popular despite their sentimentalism and self-pity. His literary criticism was on the whole fragmentary; however, some of it, particularly his essays on the Japanese naturalist novelists of his time and his social criticism, contained sharp observations. Although Ishikawa recognized the importance of these so-called naturalists in Meiji intellectual history, he complained that their actual novels dealt with only their own private lives and failed to analyze and solve social problems. Of course, it must be pointed out that Ishikawa's own social philosophy was naive and ambiguous and that his incipient socialism has been overemphasized by later leftist literary critics.

Practical Critics — In Japan a long tradition of criticism by novelists and other creative writers became particularly important from about 1920 in the occasional criticism of such novelist-critics as MASAMUNE HAKUCHŌ (1879–1962), TANIZAKI JUN'ICHIRO (1886–1965), HIROTSU KAZUO (1891–1968), UNO KŌJI (1891–1961), and SATŌ HARUO (1892–1964). A little later there were KAWABATA YASUNARI (1899–1972) and NAKANO SHIGEHARU (1902–1979). Most of this criticism was impressionistic, and although it lacked theoretical consistency, its informal style was easy and enjoyable to read. The comments were full of irony and wit and even the personal biases of the writers were interesting to readers. Particularly perceptive is Masamune's *Bundan jimbutsu hyōron* (1932), a collection of appreciative essays on practically all major Japanese novelists since the Meiji period. It is a masterpiece of modern Japanese literary criticism, as is Masamune's *Shizen shugi seisuishi* (1948, Rise and Fall of Japanese Naturalism), a literary retrospect of his youth. Satō's *Taikutsu dokuhon* (1926) and *Kindai Nihon bungaku no tembō* (1950) are still readable and illuminating because of their historical perspective, based on the author's personal experiences and tastes, and their informal style. Tanizaki, a much more important novelist than Satō, wrote essays on traditional Japanese culture, most notably those on the contrasts between the cultures of Tōkyō and Ōsaka and those on *BUNRAKU*, the traditional puppet theater. Also important was his dispute on the novel with AKUTAGAWA RYŪNOSUKE (1892–1927). Kawabata, a winner of the Nobel Prize for literature, for many years wrote monthly criticism about the current literary scene. This has been reprinted in a four-volume set. Considering the fact that Kawabata was essentially a lyrical novelist, his wide range of appreciation, sharp critical intuition, and sensitivity are astounding. This type of appreciative criticism was not limited to the novel. KŌDA ROHAN (1867–1947), who had been a formidably well-read young writer in the 1890s, wrote an essay (1919–47) on verse of the Bashō school of haiku that was a masterpiece of literary scholarship and appreciation of this elusive genre. The brilliant *tanka* poet SAITŌ MOKICHI (1882–1953) wrote a study of the 7th century WAKA poet KAKINOMOTO NO HITOMARO (Kakinomoto no Hitomaro, 5 vols, 1934–40), which was quite impressive in its attention to detail and passionate erudition.

Professional Critics — The first professional critics in modern Japan were SAITŌ RYOKU (1867–1904) and UCHIDA ROAN (1868–1929). Saitō wrote light parody and satirical criticism with something like the flavor of Edo-period literature. Uchida was the first Japanese translator of Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* (his translation was based on an English version of the book). He was not only active in introducing foreign literature to Japanese readers but also wrote satirical novels himself. A brilliant writer of light essays and a bibliophile, he was especially good at presenting personal impressions of various writers in an attractive style. Other literary critics who were active during the late 1880s were ISHIBASHI NINGETSU (1865–1926), who was active only for a short period; YAMAJI AIZAN (1864–1917), who wrote impressive literary biographies; and HASEGAWA TENKEI (1876–1940), who was an active supporter of Japanese naturalism and also a pioneer in psychoanalytical criticism.

Criticism as an independent profession, however, did not really emerge in Japan until the field of professional journalism was firmly established by a corps of seriously committed critics who were well-read in Western literary criticism. It was in the late 1920s and early 1930s, when these conditions were met, that a group of particularly brilliant critical talents appeared on the literary scene. The most brilliant of all was KOBAYASHI HIDEO (1902–83), whose uncompromising courage, sharp critical eye, and provocative style of writing imparted a great stimulus and influence on the writers of his period. Kobayashi was attracted to French symbolist poets and read eagerly the criticism of Sainte-Beuve and Valéry. Although he did not possess an especially wide literary scholarship or a consistent theory of his own concerning Japanese literary history, Kobayashi has been the most influential and widely read modern Japanese literary critic. For Kobayashi, criticism became an individualistic, living medium for self-expression. His essays of the 1940s concerning the Japanese classics are short and fragmentary, but wonderfully evocative and poetic. His collected essays have been published and republished, a rare occurrence in the case of a critic. His most important works are *Kindai kaiga* (1958, Modern Painting) and *Motoori Norinaga* (1965–76).

Among the other critics of Kobayashi's time were KAWAKAMI TETSUTARŌ (1902–80) and KAMEI KATSUICHIRO (1907–66), as well as the leftist critic AONO SUEKICHI (1890–1961). Kawakami wrote a book of literary reminiscences, *Watashi no shi to shinjitsu* (1953),

and *Yoshida Shōin* (1966–68), a biography of YOSHIDA SHŌIN, which he expressed his sympathy toward Confucianist and *samurai* traditions. Kamei began his career as a leftist, but soon turned traditionalist, writing lyrical, evocative essays on ancient temples he had visited in Nara. His study of Buddhism culminated in the ambitious unfinished *Nihonjin no seishinshi kenkyū* (4 vols, 1959–66; Study in the Spiritual History of the Japanese).

The two men who were most influential in reevaluating Japanese literary traditions were the poet-scholar ŌRIKUCHI SHINŌI (1887–1953) and the folklorist YANAGITA KUNIO (1875–1960). Among the critics who also pursued this theme in regard to modern literature were YASUDA YOJŪRŌ (1910–81), Karaki Junzō (1904–80) and YAMAMOTO KENKICHI (b. 1907). Yasuda was a passionate romantic and an ultranationalist during World War II. His *Nihon bungakushi* (1972, History of Japanese Literature) appealed to readers because of its aesthetic intuition, sensitive style, and original perspective. Yamamoto wrote a detailed commentary on Bashō and discussions on modern haiku. He also threw new light on poetic traditions springing from the 8th-century poetry anthology *Manyōshū*.

Critics who made their appearance a little later than Kobayashi were NAKAMURA MITSUO (b. 1911) and HIRANO KEN (1907–70). Maintaining the attitude of an orthodox Westernizer and using the modern European novel as his criterion, Nakamura sharply criticized the weakness and distortion of Japan's modern novels, which made him frequently the center of controversy in literary disputes. Hirano was faithful to native elements; he studied the *I-NOVEL*, a peculiar Japanese genre, with strong sympathy. His most important work involves a sensitive analysis of the often intricate relationship between the works of modern Japanese writers and their private lives.

Among other critics who were noted for their unconventional point of view and flowery rhetoric were FUKUDA TSUNEARI (b. 1911) and HANADA KIYOTERU (1909–74). With the rapid economic growth period that began in the 1960s, the literary market in Japan expanded, and the demand for literary criticism increased considerably, at least in quantity. The number of critics active in the late 1970s far surpassed that of any previous period, and it would be impossible to name all of them here. The standards of criticism have been diversified and the tendency to look toward modern Western literature for models has weakened. Instead, there is a tendency to reevaluate the traditions of Japanese literature and discover new significance in them. There is also an interest in examining Japanese literature from the viewpoint of comparative literature. Modern Japanese criticism seems to have emerged finally from the awkward transition of the Meiji period, ready to enter a period of maturity.

■ — Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, *Nippon bungaku hyōron shi—Kinsaikinsei hen* (1936). Isoda Kōichi, *Sengo hihiyōka ron* (1969). Kikuchi Sei, *Nippon bungaku hyōron taikei*, 10 vols (Kadokawa Shoten, 1971–7). Shōwa hihiyō taikei, 10 vols (Banchō Shobō, 1968–78). Tanizaki Eiichi, *Taishōki no bungei hyōron* (1962). Yoshida Seiichi, *Kinsei bungaku hyōron shi—Meiji hen* (1976), *Taishō hen* (1980).

SAEKI Shōin

literary criticism, premodern

Literary criticism in premodern Japan comprises critical and the retical writings on WAKA, *haikai* (see Renga and Haikai), NŌ, and other literary forms that evolved over a span of more than 10 centuries. Major critics were in general not philosophers or rhetoricians but were themselves poets, playwrights, and novelists. Consequently their thoughts on literature tended to be unsystematic, yet provided advice of a practical nature to fellow artists. For ideas and terms they often resorted to Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shintōism, but in dealing with the peculiarities of their specific literary forms, they also cultivated a number of unique aesthetic concepts of their own. Some of these aesthetic ideals, like YŪGEN and *sabi*, permeated the arts and helped to establish the identity of Japanese culture. Insofar as literature occupied a high place in premodern Japanese society, literary criticism functioned as an important determinant of the cultural climate in each age.

Early Thoughts on Literature — The *Manyōshū* (mid-8th century), the earliest anthology of Japanese poetry, already includes indications that poets thought about their craft. The heading "Allegorical Poem" indicates the conscious use of the technique of allegory, while prefatory notes like "Pouring Forth My Emotions" and "Expressing My Thoughts by Allusion" suggest an underlying concept of poetry as emotional expression. Other notes refer to the purpose of verse writing; in one case the poet explains that he wrote