

IMAGES OF JAPANESE SAKÉ: SNAKES IN THE GLASS

by

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IMAGES OF JAPANESE SAKÉ: SNAKES IN THE GLASS

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The saké marketing media selects iconography from Japanese history, literature, and religious observances to retain and reinforce qualities held as uniquely Japanese. Images for labeling and marketing have deep historical roots. Poets regarded saké as a wellspring for self-reflection and social conviviality, but potentially debilitating, while didactic literature examined the role of the saké merchants and evaluated the merits of drinking. Saké has a singular role in Shintō observances, in Imperial appeasement rites, and in the daily life of the saké producers. Even as Japanese struggled to define themselves throughout the Meiji period and subsequent militarization, Western technology provided the marketing means to reinforce selective Japanese qualities, primarily through the ephemeral saké label and lately in websites and other media. I analyze the responses of several contemporary saké producers, from corporate giants to local traditionalists, and their use of media to attract buyers and open new markets. As saké makers remain in the home market, export abroad, or produce outside of Japan, can the marketed images remain quintessentially Japanese, or will they become only a caricature?

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CHAPTER I. Production



桶洗い唄¹

酒屋男とヨー うぐいすの鳥は ヤレナー ヤレナー
寒さこらえて 寒を待つ ヤーイ 先生ご上手だヨー
その様でござるよ 寒さこらえて 寒を待つ

Oke Arai Uta

sakéya to yō uguisu* no tori wa yarenā yarenā
samusakoraete kan† o matsu yāi sensei gojōzu da yō
sono yō de gozaruyo samusakoraete kan o matsu

Bucket Washing Song

We are the men of the saké place, up with the nightingales.
We endure the cold and wait for the coldest depths of January.
Our leader is a master of the craft.
This seems to be our little way--enduring the cold and waiting
for even colder days.

**uguisu*. The nightingale perfects its difficult song through the winter, and symbolizes those who endure to perfect their craft.

†*kan*. January's deepest cold and the best time to brew saké

Figure 1. Kanji for *saké* from a store sign.²

Saké brewing is above all a craft. For centuries, groups of men worked day and night throughout the winter to convert rice, water, and molds into saké. The left radical in the kanji above changes one stroke into an old-fashioned saké bottle.

Preamble

My *saké* 酒 education truly began one warm summer night in Tokyo in 1998. A friend in Tokyo, Diane Zingale, invited me to share an evening of *aikido* in a Meiji Koen dojo, followed by dinner at her favorite Yoyogi “saké and saké” restaurant. Slabs of salmon (*saké* 鮭) baked themselves on hot, black rocks before our eyes, and the steamy promise of tender fish seemed to call for cold beer rather than the small cups of somewhat harsh, hot saké I anticipated. I was both right and wrong. There would be no cold beer, but something cool was indeed on its way. As our salmon reached poached perfection, our waiter laid out a small plate, placed a square wood “cup” on it, and poured saké from a rather large

¹ Yoshie Sakata, 日本の酒造り唄 [Nihon no Saké Tsukuri Uta-Songs for Making Japanese Saké] (Tokyo: Yūhan Chōmei 1999) 86 (#1).

² Kanji for saké from a sakéya store logo in Yamagata-shi, Japan, personal photography by author, digitally enhanced, 28 December 2003.

bottle...and kept pouring until saké overflowed into the plate. “Well, this was a different presentation,” I thought. The saké proved to be a new experience—delightfully cool, light in flavor, almost gentle, and a perfect complement to the saké. I was a bit abashed to have been so naïve. Clearly, there was much more to saké than I had imagined.

Premise

Saké is quintessentially Japanese, yet inroads from introduced wine and spirits have reduced saké in many minds to an “old man’s drink” in Japan while largely exported saké enjoys an increasingly wide audience outside of Japan. There is no question that the labels on saké are one of its attractions. I argue that the iconography chosen for labels and other media provides a vital link retain and reinforce uniquely held Japanese qualities while saké drinking remains a contested subject. The switch from personal saké bottle emblazoned only with the name of the sake shop to mass-produced glass bottles with ephemeral labels signaled the influx of modern western influences that seemed poised to overwhelm and devalue centuries of Japanese imagery. The constant reproduction of those images in the popular market is one lifeline that continues the ongoing dialogue of what constitutes a Japanese sense of self. I will analyze a selection of these representations for their content, and their contested context.

Methodology

While it was a daunting discovery that saké a new field of academic research, the methodology took shape with the assistance of several pioneers before me, the resources of the University of Colorado, the internet, and a month of field research in Japan.

While I wanted to write extensively about the connection between saké and locality, I knew from living in Japan for several years that the pretty website photos and labels would only show a desired picture. I needed to see for myself what was outside the frame of the approved presentations. What was the physical context of the saké brewery? Dr. Joyce Lebra generously lent me field notes from her saké research over the 1980s, and I arranged to visit several of her contact *shuzō* (also



Figure 2. *Nada street utilities cover.*³

Dedicated to the “100 choices of Nada in the Saké Village along the Saké seller’s street.” With a background of cherry trees in full blossom, the saké men work together making saké in large cedar vats. A fanciful, nostalgic scene.

sakazukuri; sakezukuri) 酒造, or “saké breweries,” in Japan. The map of cities visited and chronological list follows. My own field research confirmed that saké, the breweries, and wealth of images would be a dynamic field of research. This thesis presents a thimbleful of images and discoveries.

The following map of Japan shows where I went during the month of field research and the saké sites I visited. Appendix 2 provides contact information and photographs.

³ Street utilities steel cover, Nada (Kobe), Japan, personal photograph of author, 8 January 2004.

Figure 3. Map of cities visited in Japan, 12 December 2003-11 January 2004.



Table 1. Chronology of saké sites visited.

| | Where | Site |
|----|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | California 14-16 Dec. 2003 | |
| 1 | Berkeley | Takara Sake USA. |
| 2 | Napa | Hakusan Sake Gardens |
| | Japan 19 Dec. 2003-11 Jan. 2004 | |
| 3 | Saiwa (Tokyo) | Saiwanoi Shuzō |
| 4 | Aizu-Wakamatsucho (Yamagata-ken) | Suehiro Shuzō |
| 5 | Aizu-Wakamatsucho (Yamagata-ken) | Hakubustukan Sake Museum |
| 6 | Yamagata (Yamagata-ken) | Otoko-yama Shuzō |
| 7 | Tendo (Yamagata-ken) | Dewazakura Shuzō |
| 8 | Fushimi (Kyoto) | Kizakura Shuzō |
| 9 | Hyōgo (Kobe) | Sumiyoshi Jingu |
| 10 | Hyōgo (Kobe) | Kikumasamune Shuzō and Saké Museum |
| 11 | Hyōgo (Kobe) | Sawa no Tsuru Shuzō and Saké Museum |
| 12 | Hyōgo (Kobe) | Shushinkan Shuzō |
| 13 | Fushimi (Kyoto) | Gekkeikan Shuzō |
| 14 | Fushimi (Kyoto) | Fujioka Shuzō |
| 15 | Nishinomiya, Hyogo (Kobe) | Nihon Sakari Shuzō |
| 16 | Nada Hyogo (Kobe) | Taki no Koi Shuzō |
| 17 | Tokyo | Sake Plaza (Nihonshu Senta) |

What is Saké?

Saké is an alcoholic drink made from rice and water with yeast and mold added. The process involves a unique combination of fermentation processes that breaks down starch from the middle of the rice grain into sugar, and then converts the sugar into alcohol. The process takes place in one large container and is a distinguishing feature of saké brewing. The newly made saké can be pressed to separate the mash, or “saké lees.” Additional steps, each producing a certain quality of saké, includes filtering, pasteurization, and blending. The final product is bottled, labeled, and shipped into distribution channels. The pre-modern methods involved the coordinated group work that continues to be a source of inspiration for artists and writers. While modern factories produce large amounts of saké with few workers amongst the machines, smaller, handcrafted producers distinguish themselves and their saké, often by using certain pre-modern techniques and equipment. Around 2,000 sites throughout Japan still produce saké, and an increasing percentage is exported through distributors as well as sold online through the internet. Saké made outside of Japan since the 1980s enjoys varying degrees of success.

Scope

In this chapter, I present my thesis statement that saké marketing media selects images from Japanese history, literature, and religious observances to retain and reinforce uniquely held Japanese qualities while avoiding the contested context of those images. I base my conclusions on materials and experiences from my field research in Japan, a review of saké development historically, the perception of saké in literature and the unique role of saké in religious rites of Shintō. I selected images from an extensive survey of saké labels, websites, and marketing materials.

Chapter 2 gives an analysis of the historical roots of the development of saké and associated images used later in labeling and marketing.

Chapter 3 examines a sampling of poetry and didactic literature about the pleasantries and aggravations of saké. Poets regarded saké as a wellspring for self-reflection and social conviviality, but potentially disruptive. Didactic literature examined the role of the saké merchant and evaluated the merits of drinking.

Chapter 4 describes the role of saké in Shintō observances in Imperial rites and the daily life of the saké producers.

Chapter 5 illustrates the preceding chapters with images produced by media and marketing. Even as the saké industry struggled to define themselves throughout Meiji period and subsequent militarization, western technology provided the means to reinforce selective Japanese qualities, primarily through the ephemeral saké label.

Chapter 6 analyzes the response of several contemporary saké producers, from corporate giants to local traditionalists, and their use of various media to attract buyers and open new markets.

I conclude with chapter seven and an analysis of the imagery of saké in the home market, exported abroad, or produced outside of Japan. What new images will they chose to portray themselves? Will the wealth of images available in Japan, to Japanese, successfully promote saké outside of Japan at the risk of becoming mere parodies of the past?

An inclusive bibliography follows. The appendices include a glossary, and a brief recap of my month of field research in Japan with contact information for the saké sites visited from mid-December, 2003 to mid-January, 2004.

CHAPTER II. Historical Development of *Saké*



二番櫂の歌⁴

ヤレ コイツモセー ショソガエー アヤノヨー
 かんぺいさんノヨー 蓑着て 笠着て 鉄砲かついで
 しし撃ちや ごしょうばいじゃ 三十が ヤーレ 寿命じやよ
 ハアー おかるヨ ア 可哀想じゃのヨ ヤレ
 可哀想じゃのヨ 若後家で ヤレ コイツモセー ショソガエー

Ni-ban Kai no Uta

Yare! koitsumosē shongaé ayanōyō.
 Kanpei-san *noyō* mino kite kasa kite teppō* katsuitde
 shishiucha goshō baijya sanjyū-ga *yāre* jyumyōjya† *yo*
haā Okaru‡ *yo a* kawaiōjya no *yo yare*
kawaiōjya noyo wakagoke-de yare koitsumosei shoso ga ē

Second Round Rowing Song

Kanpei-san wears a straw raincoat, a bamboo hat, and carries his shotgun.

Hunting wild boar, one can only expect to live to 30.

It is pitiful, Okaru* will be a young widow.

**mino, kasa, teppō*. The straw raincoat and bamboo hat were common daily wear of country people, while the shotgun is a introduction from the first contacts with European manufactured goods, in the 1500's.

†*Okaru*. Name of the boar hunter's wife.

‡The life of even a skilled wild boar hunter could be short.

Figure 4. Kanji for saké from abandoned Meiji period storefront.⁵

Meiji-Taisho period of signage above the entrance to a now-defunct sakaya storefront in Hyōgo, Japan. It is directly across the street from Nihonsakari's huge saké factory complex. The rowing refers to the long oar-like poles used to stir the moromi mix for many hours. The *teppō* shotgun was a modern introduction for the professional wild boar hunter. Modern technology introduced transformative change to the saké making profession a few centuries later.

Historical overview of saké and labels.

Saké is made from rice, and the fortunes of both are historically significant. Wet-rice agricultural techniques from Korea arrived in Japan around 300 B.C.⁶ Primitive saké making developed into a vigorous industry converting immense amounts of rice into saké.

⁴ Sakata 118 (#1).

⁵ Kanji for saké from a sakéya store logo in Hyōgo, Japan, personal photograph by author, digitally enhanced, 4 January 2004.

⁶ Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities Through Time* (Princeton: Princeton UP 1993) 30.

Prosperous farmers and landlords gathered the rice into large *kura* 倉, or “warehouses.” As rice was a medium of economic exchange, the owners of the rice borrowed money using rice as collateral. The saké brewers became moneylenders and bankers. Since earliest times, saké was dispensed from large *taru* 樽, or “casks” into *tokkuri* 徳利, ceramic bottles usually carrying the name of the saké store brushed on in slip. Later tokkuri might have the phone number or address of the store. The grueling hand labor of large groups using hand tools and wooden caskets were abruptly supplanted with increasing industrial advances over the 20th century even as competition for the drinking cups of Japan destroyed saké’s monopoly over the drinker’s choices. Today, the largest contemporary saké companies sell worldwide while traditional, smaller saké companies either sell within Japan or contemplate the risk of exporting.

Developments in saké production and marketing followed the growth in trade, and gradual unification of individual regions into one nation. Saké was not identified as an undifferentiated Japanese produce until the Meiji period. Until then, saké exclusively identified itself by where it was produced in Japan. This practice continues as identification with place or elements of Japanese proved endlessly useful for branding as each year new saké batches required new labels.

Nara period 712-793

Sophisticated brewing techniques arrived from China and Korea around the seventh century. The Japanese, however, drank saké even before their first contact with China. Local histories written during the Nara period (710-94) suggest that the first saké in Japan was called *kuchikami no saké*, or "chewing-in-the mouth saké." As its unsavory name suggests, the method required that groups of people chew rice, chestnuts, or millet and spit the wad into a large wooden tub, where it fermented for several days. We know today that



Figure 5. Nara period saké holder.⁷

About 1.5 meters tall, this early vessel resembles the character for saké 酒.

enzymes contained in saliva will convert starch into glucose, which will in turn be converted into alcohol as airborne yeast grow on the mash. Until recent times, the practice continued in Ainu villages in Hokkaido and rural areas of Okinawa. Considered mediums of the gods, the proto-saké resulting from munching young virgins is termed *bijinshu* 美人酒 or "beautiful woman saké." While the brand name persists, and labels sometimes display *bijin* in ukiyo-e style, the original method does not, and *kōji* molds take the place of human generated enzymes.

⁷ Vessel, Sawa no Tsuru saké museum, Hyōgo, Japan, personal photograph by author, 8 January 2004.

Heian 794-1186

The court established their saké brewery guild during the Nara period, which continued to develop the saké making process.

During the Heian, the guild developed the three-step-fermentation process still in use today.

The courtly behavior recorded in writings of the time “shaped saké culture, adding to the purely native celebrant strain a layer of careful, cultivated, mannered enjoyment.”⁹ The depiction of the court remains an enduring favorite image today. Figure 6 shows an early Heian figure. The unspoken aesthetic though is not only from costume, but also from a certain aesthetic developed from this time onward.



Figure 6. Courtly Figure.⁸
Kiku no Jyō, “Chrysanthemum Castle” label.

FŪRYŪ: AESTHETICS OF CONNOISSEURSHIP

Fūryū 風流, or “the flow of the wind,” refers to a sense of elegance and refinement; to live a poetical, idyllic life; and connoisseurship. Saké took on the quality of *fūryū* as part of the leisure time activities of the elevated court lifestyle. During the Gempei War (1180-1185), the military bakufu removed themselves far from the Kyoto capital to Kamakura, and took this practice with them as well as master saké makers. *Fūryū* continued as an aesthetic practice among the shogunate, although the Kyoto court continued to influence the warrior

⁸ Chrysanthemum Castle label, Saké Plaza, Tokyo, personal photograph by of the author, 9 January 2004.

⁹ Hiroshi Kondō, Sake: A Drinker's Guide (Kodansha America, Inc. 1992) 16-17.

family's standards of taste and entertainment. Appreciation for saké and fūryū *outside* of the aristocracy and military elite continued with merchants in Kyoto, Sakai on the Inland Sea, and Kanazawa on the western coast. While it may be difficult to find a label directly dedicated to fūryū, the aesthetics continues to influence general tastes, including *shodō* 書道, or calligraphy of Chinese characters found on nearly all saké and shōchū labels.

In spite of wars and famine, saké brewing firmly established itself outside of Kyoto during this time. Independent brewers and guilds formed from descendents of families who had brewed for the Kyoto court. Shintō shrines had extensive rice fields and well-organized monks to work them and to brew saké. Large markets at the shrine gates ensured regular customers for nearby drinking establishments. The regent Hōjō Tokiyori in the mid-Kamakura period (1185-1333) bemoaned “the fact that there were more than 37,000 jars of saké in the city.”¹⁰

Muromachi Period 1392-1573

The Muromachi period (1392-1573) brought advances to the saké industry. The Ashikaga developed their own culture of fūryū. Influential trade continued with Sung China and Korea, while trade with competing European nations remained relatively minor. Japanese continued to drink distilled sōchū or saké without competition from European whiskeys or brews. Saké brewers moved into the role of moneychangers as they controlled the warehouses retaining the wealth of rice gathered from the farmers. The practice of lending and borrowing against stored rice was extremely lucrative and led to advances in accounting and early commercial practices. Established trade centers attracted numerous

¹⁰ Kondō 19.

brewers, and “by the end of the 14th century, there were 342 brewers in Kyoto alone.”¹² Nara’s Shōrekiji temple priests developed “a technique of brewing with a yeast starter mash.” Kyoto guilds associated with the Kitano Shrine discovered how to dry and preserve *kōji* spores, and established a “*kōji* monopoly” that lasted until the Meiji era. Various *kōji* strains are used in fermenting saké, miso, and soy sauce. The tea aesthetic



Figure 7. *Ochokko* saké cup.¹¹
Porcelain. Kikumasamune Museum collection, Hyōgo.

Sen no Rikyū (1520-1591) developed the saké cup and utensils into priceless works of art.

Tokugawa Period 1603-1868

Much of what we considered “traditional” comes from developments of the Tokugawa Period. Saké protocol was highly stratified, with special cups and containers made for everyday use, religious rites, courtly gatherings, and festivals. The *ochokko*, or “saké cup,” foreshadows the use of images on ephemeral paper labels, as their subjects are the same. Cherry blossoms found permanent capture. Fleeting styles of dress, famous actors, military regiments, mythical gods and famous spots all found a sort of immortality in the *chokko*. The mid-seventeenth century Jesuit monk and prolific observer of Japanese society, Joã Rodrigues, noted “the ordinary [saké] cups are painted with a very delicate lacquer, adorned

¹¹ Cherry blossom saké cup, Kikumasamune Saké Museum, Hyōgo (Kobe), Japan, personal photograph by author, 8 January 2004.

¹² Kondō 19-20.

with wonderfully and richly gilded flowers” while the festival or formal ones are merely made of baked glass.”¹³

The Tempō Era (1830-1844) saw growth in the money supply and other long-term social and economic forces. Tensions developed between rural peasants and saké brewers as edicts to grow rice instead of eating their share during times of starvation. Tax payment and saké production demanded large proportions of the harvest. In one recorded instance, the rural peasant village of Nishijō, in Honshu’s Mino 美濃国 province (the southwestern area of Gifu-ken 岐阜県) dedicated 100 koku of rice a year, nearly one-third of their production, to the local saké brewery. The local elites brewed as bootleggers until they were officially licensed in 1835.



Figure 8. Tokkuri saké bottles.¹⁴

Porcelain and ceramic styles. Kikumasamune Museum collection, Hyōgo.

By 1837, the hereditary headmen were part of a rural network of

creditors, and relied upon interbank wholesale credit to finance their local retail lending.

Suffice to say rural networks were crucial for local peasants and mutual-aid societies to

weather the difficulties of the Tempō Era. For instance, Gombei, the head of the Nishimatsu

西松 family, joined in the business of saké, and by 1844, saké revenues formed 72% of his

annual income. However, he did not use the revenue only in the banking business, but was

¹³ João Rodrigues, This Island of Japon: João Rodrigues’ Account of 16th-Century Japan Trans and ed. Michael Cooper. e. 1600’s (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1973) 215.

¹⁴ Museum tokkuri, Kikumasamune Saké Museum, Hyōgo (Kobe), Japan, personal photograph by author, 8 January 2004.

part of their diversified income from moneylenders, bankers, landlords, textile operations, and general rural entrepreneur by the 1870s. Clearly, “saké brewing was part of the patterns of early financial banking and financial systems.”¹⁵ While civil strife is not an image that saké producers use, the brewer had to weather difficult times,

Saké merchants did not always attract admiration for their success. They were also examples of greed, corruption, and profiteering. Hosoi Heishū 細井平洲 (1728-1801), a popular peasant Confucian scholar, railed against saké merchants in Nagoya in 1783. His didactic tale concerned unnamed *saké* brewers during a time of food shortages. They continued to brew in private for profit, even against a Tokugawa injunction to cease brewing and share the rice stores with the unfortunate peasants. “They had no *makoto* in their hearts.”¹⁶ Punishment by the government was for show only, as the “manufacture of *saké* was one of the most profitable commercial ventures in pre-modern Japan; brewers were often usurers as well and their loans were essential to financing domain government.”¹⁷

Smith notes the intertwined roles of the saké maker and recruiting local labor. Their own land tenants not only grew the rice, but also supplied the labor for making saké. If the harvest was poor, it was not in the saké maker’s interest to reduce the tenant’s rent as this money he would later use to pay them to make saké.¹⁸

As firmly entrenched as they were, the entire system would be redrawn. The herald of this event, the arrival of Commodore Perry’s Black Ships in 1833, was the precursor to an

¹⁵ Ronald Toby, “Both a Borrower and a Lender Be: From Village Moneylender to Rural Banker in the Tempō Era,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, 46.4 (Winter 1991) : 483-512.

¹⁶ Michiko Aoki and Margaret Dardess, “The Popularization of Samurai Values. A Sermon by Hosoi Heishu,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, 34.4 (Winter 1976) : 397.

¹⁷ Aoki 413.

¹⁸ Thomas Smith, *The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford UP 1959) 149.

entirely new frame of reference for saké manufactures, brewers, and drinkers alike. New laws brought to a head conflicts between increasingly impoverish peasants, increasingly wealthy merchants. The Chichibu Uprisings of 1866 saw peasants openly attack and destroy property of the landlords and wealthy merchants, and often the saké merchant was the most prosperous in town. For instance, in the village of Niregi, the richest peasant by far was Buzaemon, a saké merchant. The government assessed his assets at little under half the total worth of the entire village.

Meiji Period 1868-1912

For saké brewers, the tokkuri and ochokko do not vanish, but the advent of glass bottles and the first labels in signaled a shift to mechanization that would become the standard much later. For centuries, saké was dispensed by the *saké-ya* 酒屋 (saké seller) into ceramic or porcelain tokkuri bottles was unadorned or bore the ink-brushed owners' name and perhaps the name of the. A larger tokkuri could be hand carried to the local *saké-ya* to buy from a even "larger, 72 liter *taru* 樽 (wooden cask), itself perhaps branded with the name of the *saké-ya* local Shintō shrine brewer."¹⁹ Large white porcelain casks emblazoned with blue-inked calligraphy of ownership still survive. Saké containers were branded or brushed with nomenclature, but paper labels are a modern phenomenon.

Shōwa Period 1926-1989

The Great Pacific War (1937-1945) left the saké industry in ruins. Rice was not available, and the infrastructure of Japan collapsed. Men needed to brew were unavailable. The early days of recovery saw saké produced by desperate means, and ethyl alcohol added

¹⁹ John Gauntner, "Yamahai Sake; Glass Bottles," *Sake World*, ed. Sake e-Newsletter Issue #53 November 10, 2004 <http://www.sake-world.com/html/sw-2004_2.html>.

to extend the volume. Saké brewing changed irrevocably, and after World War II, the tokkuri was replaced by glass bottles and paper labels. . Glass, labels, and changes in the technology for making saké starting in the Meiji and but came firmly into practice at this time.

Heisei Period 1989 -

Thirty years ago, there were some 3,500 kura. As of 2004, figures range from 1,600 to 2,000 licensed *sakazukuri*. Market share of saké drinking declined as other selections such as beer, wine, and whisky became available as Japan opened its economic doors. Within Japan, the total liters of alcohol consumed decreased from 108.9% to 97.7 liters/year.²⁰ This is an ongoing dilemma for the saké industry in general.

²⁰ National Tax Agency Japan. Shuzeikazei Jokyo no Gaiyo(Alcoholic Beverages Tax and Related Statistics). Liquor Tax and Industry Division, Taxation Department. Jul., 2002. Nov. 10, 2004 <National Tax Agency <http://www.nta.go.jp/category/english/index.htm>>.

CHAPTER III. Literary *Saké*



朝鮮 歌²¹

ヤーレ お前百まで ヨイシヨ ヨイシヨ わしや九十九まで
 ヨイトシヨ ヤーレモ ソーレ
 とともに白髪が生えるまで
 ヨイヤサノ ソーレ カノーエ

Chōsen Uta

*yāre omae** hyaku made *yoisho yoisho* *washa** ku jyū ku made
yōtoshō yāremo sōre
 tomo ni shiraga no haeru made
yoiyaseno sōre kanōe

Korean Song

Until one hundred and up to ninety-nine,
 white hairs will spring up on our friends.
 **omae* and *washa*. Familiar terms for *you* and *me* used by men.
 The men could be referring to each other as well as their
 wives.

Figure 9. Kanji for *saké* from side of ceramic *saké* bottle.²²

A restaurant *tokkuri saké* bottle featuring the *kappa* and *tokkuri* motif. c. 1980's.

Introduction

Poetry and didactic literature examined the pleasantries and aggravations of *saké*. The *saké* merchant did not escape examination as either an enviable success, or an immoral and insincere burden on society. Poets regarded *saké* as a wellspring for self-reflection and social conviviality, but potentially disruptive. Literature of libation moves from the gods in poetry, mythical creatures and peasants in folk tales and the all too human condition in drinking songs.

Early Classical 645-1186

Saké appears in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, the earliest records of oral tradition and native literature of Japan.

²¹ Sakata 100 (#3).

²² Kanji for *saké* from Saito Hitohiro's *Yamabiko* restaurant, Iwama, Japan, c. 1980's, personal photograph by author, digitally enhanced, 4 May 2004.

KOJIKI

Saké is a memorable player in the first song of the *Kojiki* 古事記 (712), I, xviii. This foundational myth illustrates the early recognition of the uses and abuses of saké.



Figure 10. Oni-goroshi.²³

Left: Namahage, a new year's festival celebrating the return of the kami from abroad, or from Sado-jima.

Right: Onigoroshi, or "Demon Killer." Originally, the term referred to saké that was so bad it would slay a demon. With modern controls over saké making that a less frequent calamity, the term now denotes saké so *good* it would kill a demon...with happiness and joy.

Susano-o-no-mikoto 須佐之男命, brother of the sun goddess Amaterasu 天照大御神, volunteered to rid the hills of Izumo of a giant serpent menacing an old couple and their remaining daughter. In exchange, her parents agree to give him their daughter in marriage. The Great Serpent of Yamata Lake is a dragon with eight heads and eight tails. Susano-o-no-mikoto set the old couple to make eight large barrels of sake. He constructed a *yaegaki*, or "fence with eight gates," each with eight platforms attached containing a huge vat holding special refined liquor. The eight-headed serpent came down from the mountain. Each head

²³ Left: [Namahage label](#). Amu, Boulder, Colorado, photograph by the author, February 2005.

Right: [Onigoroshi label](#), Saké Center, Tokyo, photograph by the author, January 2004.

consumed the contents of the eight *saka-bune* and this proved his undoing. The dragon fell into a drunken stupor, whereupon Susano-o-no-mikoto slew him with a magic sword.²⁴

Today's labels often use references to heaven, the eight-fold gate, dragons and demons, and other mythological figures. Figure 10 shows the *namahage* and a typical *oni*, or demon. *Yaegaki* is a contemporary example inspired by the *Kojiki*. They took the name of the *yaegaki*, or eight-fold fence used to capture the Great Serpent of the *Kojiki*. Figure 11



Figure 11. *Hanko*.²⁵

ヤエガキ酒造米國 法人え印
or “Yaegaki saké brewery USA
corporation stamp.”

shows their company name as an old-fashioned seal, or *hanko*. Headquartered in Hyōgo prefecture, they have established a brewery in southern California.

[K.1]26

Yakukno tatsu

Izumo yaegaki

Tsumagomi ni

Yaegaki tsukuru

Sono aegaki o

In eight-cloud-rising

Izumo an eightfold fence

To enclose my wife

An eightfold fence I build,

And, oh, that eightfold fence!

(Cranston)

Kojiki 39-40 concerns ceremonial saké. These are poems of the gods, unsullied by crass human drunkenness or immorality. Cranston tells us the singer usually vouched for the

²⁴ Herbert 314.

²⁵ ヤエガキ *Yaegaki hanko*, traditional signature stamp, “The “Shrine of the Eight-fold Fence” from the *Kojiki*. photograph by the author, February 2005
<<http://www.yaegakiusa.com/jpn/index.htm>>.

²⁶ Cranston 7.

quality of the saké as coming from a deity."²⁷ Throughout the Kojiki, the gods are offering each other "great wine cups" and McCullough notes the tone for these ceremonial songs as auspicious and performed at banquets

One drinking song of the Kojiki describes the efficacious magical protection quality of the "waiting saké." The Emperor and Empress greet the returning young prince with "fine liquor" imbued with overtones of magic and immortality, a connection still felt by mortals.

KK 40, NS 32

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| Kono miki wa | This fine liquor |
| Wa ga miki narazu | Is not my fine liquor. |
| Kushi no kami | The potion-master |
| Tokoyo ni imasu | Who dwells in Everworld |
| Iwa tatsu | The rock-standing |
| Sukuna mikami no | Deity Sukuna, |
| Kamuhoki | With godly blessing |
| Hokikuruoshi | Blessing in frenzy |
| Toyojoki | With abundant blessing, |
| Hokimotōshi | Blessing around and around, |
| Matsurikoshi | Came and offered |
| Miki zo | This fine liquor: |
| Asazu ose | Drink unsparingly, |
| Sa sa | <i>Sa! Sa!</i> |

²⁷ Cranston 38.

HARIMA FUDOKI

The “Harima- no-kuni Fudoki,” one of several early eighth century commissioned topographies, records the first known Japanese saké in the locale of the present Hyōgo Prefecture, and mentions the *kuchikami no saké* process.²⁸

MAN’YŌSHŪ

The first Imperially commissioned anthology of poetry, the Man’yōshū 万葉集 (ca. 750) mentions saké frequently in the context of poetry, plum-blossom viewing, and drinking parties, and as a palliative to a seemingly miserable solitary existence. Okura Yamanoe (660-773?), a contemporary of Ōtomo Tabito, composed MYS 5. 892, a long “Dialogue on Poverty.” expresses images of suffering, including having to drink the dregs, or saké lees, that only impoverished drinkers could afford. Even the dregs are good enough for a moment of contentment.

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| ...Sube mo naku | ...I have no better comfort |
| Samuku shi area | In the onslaught of the numbing cold |
| Katashio o | Than to sit and nibble |
| Toritsuzushiroi | On this poor lump of blackened salt |
| Kasuyuzake | And sip from time to time |
| Uchisusuroite | Upon this wretched brew of saké lees. ²⁹ |
| | (Miner) |

ŌTOMO TABITO: SAKÉ CELEBRANT OF THE MAN’YŌSHŪ

Ōtomo Tabito 大伴旅人 (665-731) was a highly placed military man in the Nara court aristocracy, and influential poet of his day. Two groups of his poetry relating to saké appear in the Man’yōshū . Cranston suggests poems 592-604, composed around 730, were written in

²⁸ Kondō 13.

²⁹ Miner 121-122.

response to the death of his wife, and the “drunken tears” refers to his grieving process. These were not merely cheerful drinking songs, although they appear so superficially.³⁰ His poems display images and connections already firmly established drinking saké. Ōtomo espoused drinking for its elevating effects and as a social medium of congenial recreation. Nara period drinking and poetry parties may suffer as a consequence of the interaction, Murasaki Shikibu slyly notes later, but officials would gather from throughout Japan to be hosted by Ōtomo. A “society of esthetically-minded poets with fashionable literary tastes”³¹ still read thirteen hundred years later is a long-lasting distinction, and saké was a facilitating medium then as now. Who knows what of today’s literature and poetry will be of interest in A.D.3300? Three of Ōtomo’s poems indicate the range of cultural threads wrapped around saké.

592 [341 / 338]

Nigoreru saké 濁れる酒, or “unfiltered saké,” may have been more common than clear saké, as it was not filtered or pasteurized.

値なき物を思はずは一坏(ひとつき)の濁れる酒を飲むべくあるらし

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| shirushi naki | Things of no value |
| mono omowazu wa | Better not waste your thoughts on them! |
| hitotsuki no | But to take a cup |
| nigoreru saké o | Brimming with the cloudy wine... |
| nomubeku aru rashi | --Yes, and drain it to the lees! ³² |
| | (Cranston) |

³⁰ Edwin Cranston, *A Waka Anthology: The Gem-Glistening Cup*, (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998) 333.

³¹ Miner 90.

³² Cranston 336.

597 [344 / 343]

The image of a human becoming a saké container may be the impetus to the Ōtomo Tabito label of daiginjō 大吟醸 saké from Miyashita Saké Brewery, Okayama. Ōtomo continues to be quoted in Japanese books celebrating saké, in part, because he is so cheerful. The self-pitying side of sorrowful drinking is only implied, and gently at that.

中々に人とあらずは酒壺になりてしかも酒に染(し)みなむ

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| nakanaka ni | Not this middling life, |
| hito to arazu wa | Neither sober nor yet drunk, |
| sakatsuho ni | That we humans live: |
| nariniteshi kamo | I'll be a winepot, and I'll soak, |
| saké ni shiminamu | I'll soak all day in wine! ³³ |
| | (Cranston) |

602 [351 / 348]

While this appears to be a “enjoy today for tomorrow is unknown” sentiment, there is an underlying assertion against the Buddhist tenants of living properly in this lifetime to gain merit in the next. Why not return as a happy little insect or bird and enjoy this life?

この世にし楽しくあらば来む世には 虫虫に鳥にも我はなりなむ

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| kono yo ni shi | In this life at least |
| tanoshiku araba | Let me just enjoy myself, |
| komu yo ni wa | And in lives to come |
| mushi ni tori ni mo | I'll be perfectly content |
| ware wa narinamu ---- | To be a bug, a bird. ³⁴ |
| | (Cranston) |

³³ Cranston 335.

³⁴ Cranston 336.

FŪRYŪ: DEBAUCHERY AND GENJI MONOGATARI

Elegant saké drinking of the Heian aristocracy combined highly nostalgic notes with a wistful sensibility to life expressed in *fūryū* 風流. The archetypal Japanese courtly figures in the Heian classic novel, *Genji Monogatari* established an image still popular of a certain type of refined drinker. Miner defines *fūryū* as “stylishness; style or conduct of an admired, artistic kind. During the Heian period, the term meant something like *miyabi* (courtly beauty, elegance), with overtones of *kokoro aru* (sensibility), and *imamekashi* (up-to-date).³⁶



Figure 12. Genji and the reed curtains. Genji, feigning drunkenness, lifts the blinds to the Princess's quarters.³⁵

Saké appears from time to time throughout the *Genji Monogatari*, but in a subdued role with a well-developed sense of *fūryū*. Today we think of behavior from this period as exquisitely refined. However, the author Murasaki Shikibu “complains in her diary of the debauchery that often accompanied these private banquets.”³⁷ Drinking plays a background role in *Genji*, but it still provides the perfect excuse for behavior that crosses the usual social

³⁵ Genji Monogatari no Sekai: Saihen Shūhan 源氏物語の世界 再編集版 February 22, 2005. “第三段 賀茂祭の当日、紫の君と見物” Chapter 8 花宴 “Eiri Genji Monogatari” (1650 1st edition) <<http://genji.nce.buttohi.net/?target=combined04.1.1.html%3Aline1.1.26>>.

³⁶ Miner, Princeton Companion 274.

³⁷ Kondō 15.

restraints. Chapter 8, *Hana no En* 花宴 “The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms” provides one such example. Late in the evening of a party, Genji pretends to be drunk and asks the women to hide him. “I was not feeling well in the first place, and they plied me with drink. I know I shouldn’t, but might I ask you to hide me?”³⁸

A late Heian *setsuwa* collection of stories, *Konjakushū* 今昔集 (ca. 1100) includes didactic tales about the shameful things people do, such as misappropriating temple property. They may enjoy themselves briefly in this life, but this is an illusion. Death and dreams reveal the destructiveness of their actions. Story 21 “in which a monk who makes *saké* from rice donated to his temple sees snakes in the *saké* container rather than liquid even though those innocent of his sins see *saké* inside the pots.”³⁹ *Saké* can be a mirror to one’s soul, and literally so in this case. Absolutely do not steal rice from the temple to make your own *saké*.

THE ‘MALT JIZŌ’ OF KANUKI

As Buddhism moved out of the Heian aristocracy and into popular movements, the complexities of Buddhism found agreeable recasting as didactic legends and folk tales. Especially popular in T’ang China, the *Jizō* 地藏 cult promised salvation for women as well as men, and spread throughout Japan along with the Buddhist Amidism popular sect. *Jizō* stone statues of small, benevolent bodhisattvas still exist in abundance throughout the Japanese countryside and in protective urban nooks and crannies. The Malt *Jizō* is just one form of this popular deity, and is associated with Kanuki in Suruga.⁴⁰ In this legend, *saké* brewing is

³⁸ Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Edward Seidensticker (NY: Alfred Knopf 2001) 156.

³⁹ Michael Kelsey, *Konjaku Monogatari-shū* (Boston: Twayne P 1982) 154.

⁴⁰ Yoshiko 197-200.

portrayed as an honorable profession for a poor peasant, a means for filial devotion, and a healing substance handed down from the deities.

The folktale concerns a poor woman living there, who decided to make and sell saké for her mother's memorial services. She prayed regularly to her house statue of Jizō and promised to donate any profits to help others. She becomes a successful small saké brewer, and one day visits a sick friend. A rainstorm and subsequent floods prevent her from returning home for several days. Saké needs constant attention during brewing, and she was sure all was lost. However, upon her return, the saké was gone and a collection of money left for payment. Neighbors said that a noble looking person in a blue hat sold her saké and cured a bedridden individual with the saké. When she opened the doors housing her personal Jizō, he was holding malt spores in his hands. The story spread of how the Malt Jizō had helped her. Many customers came to buy her saké and pray to the statue. The "Malt Jizō" of Kanuki statue is still in Suruga, attracting travelers who petition favors of this most beneficent bodhisattva.

Mid-Late Classical 1187-1603

As the Kamakura period concluded, Kenkō (ca. 1283-ca. 1352) wrote the *Tsurezuregusa* or "Essays in Idleness" around 1300. His observations of the perils and pleasures of saké remain relevant, and picturesque. His observations of the ills to society caused by excessive drinking give ample warning cast in the characters of the times. Story 87 admonishes one not to give saké to menials, as the consequences could be disastrous and deadly to peasant and official alike. Story 125 includes his wry observations and a rather bloody metaphor of drunken behavior and braggadocio:

Again, I heard it remarked that if, when offering saké to someone, you first drink some yourself and then try to force it on the other man, it is like trying to kill a man

with a double-edged word; since the blade cuts both ways. You are likely in lifting it to cut your own throat before you can cut the other man's. If you are the first to fall into a drunken stupor, no one else is likely to drink. I wonder if the man who made these remarks had ever tried to kill anyone with a double-edged sword. It was really amusing.⁴¹

Story 175 characterizes the boorish behaviors of drunks. The disheveled courtly robes and disgraceful sight of drunken men and women of both courtly and lower classes are judged without benefit "either in this world or the next." Exasperation with others sets in with:

I cannot imagine why people find it so enjoyable to press liquor on you the first thing, on every occasion, and force you to drink it...As a result, even dignified men suddenly turn into lunatics and behave idiotically...⁴²

We find that he is an appreciative saké drinker when he next lists some twelve occasions much enhanced by a little or a lot of saké. What marks these occasions is their decorum, and relaxed sense of dignity. Moonlit nights and morning snowfalls brought out the saké. A bit of saké enhanced his time spent with new and old friends, travel, and even boredom. His is a kind eye cast to good drinking, and appalled by rowdy overindulgences and lapses in good taste. The images of saké today picture the saké drinking preferred by Kenkō.

Tokugawa Period 1600-1868

Literature of the Tokugawa remained heavily influenced by the centuries of strife and warfare preceding it. The relative stability created fertile grounds for literature, printing, fashion, and much of what we now consider as "traditional Japanese." Saké was a popular subject in all of it.

⁴¹ Donald Keene, trans. Essays in Idleness: The Tsurezuregusa of Kenkō (NY: Columbia UP, 1967) 106.

⁴² Keene 150.

ARAKIDA HISAOYU

Arikida Hisaoyu 荒木田久油老 (1746-1804), a poet, hereditary Shintō official, and scholar, wrote extensively of his life as a hereditary shrine priest of Ise, including the mandatory and voluntary drinking of saké. Saké was part of the entwined realms of officialdom. He continued his father's role with the Ise Outer Shrine as a priest without regular duties, but with inherited contracts to visit provincial *danka* 檀家, or "sponsors" in his role of *onshin* 御師, or "pilgrimage master." The exchange of poems between onshin and *danka* reaffirmed their contract, as well as the exchange of saké cups. In one village, he noted, "This village is particularly pious, and even the women attended the exchange of saké cups."⁴³ In an observation familiar to any diplomat, politician or traveling business person, proscribed reaffirmation of contracts between supporter and provider of services had its ups and down. "Three times *kusamochi*, very annoying (*hanahada meiwaku nari*).... Exchanging saké cups with *danka* is getting tedious (*taikutsu*); very annoying."⁴⁴

Poetry composition eased the road tedium, and he continued his personal and written relationship with Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801). His studies of the *Man'yōshū* and "fanciful etymology" led to rather speculative discoveries of saké references throughout the *Man'yōshū*. The disagreements over suitable scholarship and adherents to established rules became acrimonious. Hisaoyu's willingness to speculate and experiment with words conflicted with Mooringa's more conservative, academic approach.

⁴³ Teeuwen 309.

⁴⁴ ---, 314.

Meiji Period 1868-1912

The influence of foreigners, largely European and American, could no longer be kept at a comfortable distance. The recasting of everything Japanese as seen in the eyes of others continues to this day. One of the first to complain about the lack of appreciation of foreigners in Japan was Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 (1867-1902), a haiku poet. On March 12, 1902, he composed "Ten Causes for Complaint," including the barb: "Westerners do not appreciate the taste of Japanese *saké*."⁴⁵

Meiji literature holds one of the great stereotypes of the happy, literate drinker, Taneda Santōka 種田山頭火 (1882-1940), from Bōfu, Yamaguchi-ken. A confirmed alcoholic, Taneda, is described by James Abrams as one of the last of the "raucous itinerant monk[s]"⁴⁶ who produced as much haiku as he drank saké-which is to say, abundantly. His was a lifestyle that "despite their inevitable mental and physical hardship has an alluring sense of romanticism and nostalgia for the majority of people burdened with the responsibilities of family and job." Although he Taneda sometimes described his wanderings less optimistically, he has become a romantic figure of the happy wandering monk, unburdened by life or monetary cares. One of his famous poems expresses "the pure delight of drinking." *Horohoro* is the mellowed happy-go-lucky drunken state, and describes the drifting fall of leaves in autumn.

ほろほろ酔うて
木の葉散る

Horohoro yoppaute
ki no ha chiru.

⁴⁵ Janine Beichman-Yamamoto, "Masaka Shiki's *A Drop of Ink*," Monumenta Nipponica 30.3 (Autumn 1975): 307.

⁴⁶ James Abrams, "Hail in the Begging Bowl: The Odyssey and Poetry of Santōka," Monumenta Nipponica 32.3 (Autumn, 1977): 269-302.

A soft whirling drunk
 a scattering of leaves.⁴⁷
 (Abrams)

Folktales

Japanese folktales include saké as part of life of both fanciful creatures and temporal life. Animals, birds, demons, and spirits partake. *Shitakiri Suzume*, “The “Tongue-Cut Sparrow”⁴⁸ has families of magical, kimono-clad sparrows imbibing and inviting humans who are kind to them to sit and drink congenially with them. The magical creatures are not always pleasant. They may be roguish, drink and brawl amongst themselves, and behave badly towards society. *Momotaro*, “The Peach Boy,”⁴⁹ grows up to challenge ill-behaved demons that are drinking loudly and rudely. *Oni*, or “demons” and other folkloric creatures are very popular on saké labels. However, the kappa has a special association with saké.

KAPPA-HAVE A KAPPA SAKÉ

A uniquely Japanese mythological creation, the *kappa* 河童 or “water sprite,” figure is both feared and loved. Mothers threatened their children from dangerous water with the warning that kappa would pull them under and drown them. Bush describes the kappa as:

a mythical goblin [with] the body of a tortoise, the limbs of a frog, and the head of a monkey, with a hollow at the top of the skull containing the fluid which gives it strength. This goblin attacks people and devours them; but it is said that if one bows low and is very polite when meeting it, it becomes very civil and in returning your bows spills the fluid from its head, which after a while so weakens it that it can hardly stand.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Abrams 296.

⁴⁸ Yuri Yasunda, *Old Tales of Japan* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1947, 1956) 28

⁴⁹ Yasunda 175.

⁵⁰ Bush *Japanalia* 130.

From this ferocious creature, the Fushimi-based Kizakura shuzō adapted a benign version of the little tokkuri-touting goblin. The kappa with saké is a popular figure even today. Kizakura developed the theme quite thoroughly. The founder of Kizakura was an ardent swimmer, as is the river-inhabiting kappa. He hired famous watercolorists to produce a series showing the Kappa family throughout the year engaging in Japanese traditional holidays and seasonal events.



Figure 13. Kappa and tokkuri: mythical and marketed.⁵¹

Left: Mythical Kappa figure on restaurant saké tokkuri bottle.

Right: Marketing version of more adorable Kappa figure for Kizakura motifs. Both Kappa retain their portable saké bottle slung over the shoulder.

Their Fushimi museum and gift shop features their version of the kappa family on calendars, noren, cups, playing cards, and fifty years of Kizakura commercials. Other saké makers will have kappa in publications and advertisements. The kappa is an approachable symbol, once cutified, and is part of the current strategies to bring in younger generation drinkers. Perhaps because they are mythical creatures of nature, their lack of clothing is inoffensive. The women usually have a westernized figure, with a longer torso. The hair may

⁵¹ Left: [Restaurant Kappa and tokkuri](#), from Saito Hitohiro's Iwama restaurant *Yamabiko*, courtesy of Susy Ramos and Hal Taylor, personal photographs by author, 1 October 2004.

Right: [Gift store kappa saké cups](#), Kizakura Shuzō, Fushimi, Japan, personal photographs by author, 2 January 2004.

be black, but the watercolor series depicts the mother with an almost Irish appearance, and long reddish-blond hair.



Figure 14. *Kizakura's Kappa noren*.⁵²

The Kappa family in non-aggressive form, although retaining the turtle-like back shell. Here the couple enjoys saké. She is delighted to pour and sits formally. He is dopyly appreciative and sits in a more relaxed fashion. Little *sakana* of sardines are on the plate for snacks. They are in an idyllic natural setting.

Saké Songs

Aural images convey information about saké through their dialect, rhythm, and emotional content. Unlike visual media, each singer or listener brings their own imagination into the experience. Popular *minyō* 民謡 folk ballads throughout Japan frequently mention saké, and range from bawdy to austere. Some songs appear as folksongs, in Noh and kabuki versions. A saké work song from the Noto Peninsula, in Toyama, describes the enviously wealthy saké brewer.

Sakaya otoko wa

The brewer of *saké*

Daimyo no kurashi

Prosperes like a lord,

⁵² Kizakura Kappa noren, Fushimi (Kyoto), Japan, personal photograph of author, 2 January 2004.

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Kura ni roku shaku | His storehouse filled |
| Tachi narabu | With vats all six feet tall. |

“*Aizu Bandai San*” is a famous folk-song from Fukushima, long a center of saké.

Mount Bandai is the central mountain. This song disparages the luxurious habits and wasteful habits of one of its sons.

| | |
|--|--|
| Aizu Bandai-san wa takara no yama yo, | Mount Bandai in Aizu is a mountain of treasures; |
| Sasa ni kogane ga narisagaru; | Gold even hangs upon the bamboo grass. |
| Ohara Shosuke-san nande shinsho shimata? | Why has Shosuke of Ohara lost his fortune? |
| Asane, asazake, asayu ga daisukide, | Too fond of late rising, morning <i>Saké</i> , |
| Sorede shinsho shimatta! | and the morning bath! |

I begin each chapter of this thesis with songs sung by saké makers from the four cd set of saké brewing songs, “Songs of the Japanese Saké Brewers (Nihon no Saké-zukiri Ba 日本の酒造り唄). As *chonin*, or “townspeople” songs, they refer to themes, places, and people throughout Japan, factual, fanciful, and sometimes farcical. Saké brewers came together to sing, record and talk about the old ways of making saké of their youth.

CHAPTER IV. Ritual

大神神謡⁵³

目出度え一え一の一えそれ若枝茂栄える
 の一え葉も茂える
 八曇立つ山は鶴山亀山のあいを流るる吉野川
 素鷲川の流れのその水を神酒に造りし諸白を
 神酒に俵げたてまつりそれを人々載けば
 歳い延ばすためしかや お祝い

Daishin-shinyō

Medeto ē ē nō e sore wakaeda shige sakaeru
 nōe ha mo shigeru,
 yakumo tatsu yama* a wa tsuru yama kame[†] yama no ai wo
 nagaruru Yoshino gawa,
 soga gawa no nagare no sono mizu o
miki ni tsukurishi *morohaku*[‡]
omiki[§] ni sasagetate matsuri sore o hitobito itadakeba
 yowai nobasu tameshika ya. Oiwai.

Popular Song of the Great Jinja Shrine

How fortuitous-these luxuriously flourishing young branches
 with leaves growing so lushly.
 The Yoshino River flowing alongside Crane Mountain and Turtle
 Mountain in the high mountain ranges.[†]
 We use water flowing from Big Goose River to make sacred saké.
 We reverently present sacred saké to the deities and then the
 people can partake.
 Your life will be long and lucky if you drink this.
 Let us celebrate living.

*八曇立. Literally “Eight clouds standing” is a *makura kotoba*
 signifying any range of tall mountains. “Eight” refers to anything
 in large amount.

[†]*tsuru* and *kame*. Cranes and turtles are metaphors for longevity.

[‡]*morohaku*. “Superior saké.”

[§]*miki*. Sacred saké used in Shintō rituals.

Figure 15. Kanji for saké from a sakéya sign, Fushimi, Japan.⁵⁴

This saké workman’s song celebrates the connection between saké and the deities. Saké made from a stream flowing alongside propitiously named mountains is offered to the deities, and then shared with regular people. The saké takes on desirable properties from the deities.

⁵³ Sakata 122 (#3).

⁵⁴ Kanji for *saké* from a sakéya sign in Fushimi, Japan, 4 January 2004.

Introduction

The Japanese have their Water-god and their Sea-god, to whom they throw cloth, and rice, and bottles of rum, just as the Greek sacrificed a bull to Poseidon, and the Roman to Neptune before a voyage.⁵⁵

The ritualized use of sacramental saké in ritual sacred ceremonies distinguishes saké from other traditions and alcohols. Saké is not just an alcohol, but also a medium for communal sharing with the kami, and the spirits of the ancestors. Although Shintō incorporated saké into fundamental rites validating the Emperor's right to rule, and commemorating the annual harvests, most Shintō rites with saké concern the daily affairs of common people.

Ōnamesai: Imperial Harvest Rites

Since the 7th century, documented with relentless meticulousness in the *Engi Shiki* the Emperor offers sacred food and the first fruits and rice of the harvest to the Shintō kami in the *shinjōsai* 新嘗祭, or "new food festival."⁵⁶

[The *ōnamesai* is the] annual festival celebrating the rice harvest and fruits of the harvest. The emperor follows a complex, proscribed performance offering specially grown rice and saké to the divine ancestor and other deities. The first *ōnamesai* of a new emperor's reign is the *daijōsai* ⁵⁷

The timing of the festivals in the eleventh month allows time for growing and harvesting sacred rice in certain fields. The first fire for preparing saké has the "Brewer-

⁵⁵ Marian Roalfe Cox, *An Introduction to Folklore* (London: Singing Tree P 1904, 1968) 145. The bottles of "rum" are most likely saké. Appeasing the water deities with large amounts of saké by fishermen is still practiced.

⁵⁶ Felicia Bock, "The Great Feast of the Enthronement," *Monumenta Nipponica* 45.1 (Spring 1990) 30.

⁵⁷ Felicia Bock, "The Enthronement Rites: The Text of Engi Shiki, 927," *Monumenta Nipponica* 45.1 (Spring 1990) : 30.

maiden" turning the fire drill and the Rice-fruit-lord continues the work.⁵⁸ The Mikado sprinkles rice with saké to present to the kami in one of the high points of the very long Ohonihe ceremony.⁵⁹ Norito 27 mentions the role of the Mikado in his speech before the kami, and includes his role of "dwelling in pure retirement by the celestial saké-jars."⁶⁰ The emperor will offer the rice and saké, and then partake, symbolizing his dual role as celebrant and celebrated as descendent of the heaven-descendent of Amaterasu. This is the main point of the daijōsai enthronement ceremony as the Emperor drinks the proscribed saké and asks for the kami to assist in his reign. Anyone can declare themselves ruler of Japan, but only the Kami bestow the authority given since Jimmu to rule Japan with their help. Taking the kami into the new emperor's body through drinking saké seals the pact.⁶¹ The daijōsai was discontinued in 1501 and resumed in the Tokugawa period.

Sacramental Saké

Shintō shrines have their own coded structures reflecting the origins of Shintō as a worshiping of fertility of crops and encouraging the multiple *kami* 神 (localized spirits, energies, or "gods"). The kami do not have a corporeal body. Some of them will appear briefly in certain guises, enticed into temporality by ritual and saké, but they must return to their world. Saké is a welcome and a departure gift for inviting the kami in, and escorting them back.

Prolonged habitation in this world by a *kami* threaten its vitality with a gradual depletion of energy...and the community knows that the prolonged presence of *kami*

⁵⁸ W. G. Aston, *A History of Japanese Literature. Collected Works of William George Aston* 5 (UK: Ganesha Pub. Ltd.; Tokyo: Oxford UP, 1889, 1997). 273.

⁵⁹ Aston 273.

⁶⁰ ---, 274.

⁶¹ Nelson 183-185.

would create other problems, not the least of which would be having to manage, entertain, propitiate, and control a powerful and inherently unstable other.⁶²

Throughout the year, Shintō rituals incorporate saké to commemorate place through rituals of appeasement and lustration such as groundbreaking ceremonies and rafter-raising commemoration ceremonies of new construction. New Year celebrations reaffirm the community ties to the kami. Every one of these rituals includes offering *omiki*, “sacred saké” to the kami.

Shintō rituals end with *saké*. These rituals are numerous and spread throughout the year. Nelson lists some 60 scheduled ceremonies held at Suwa Jinja in Nagasaki alone.⁶³ Additionally, rites accompany unscheduled daily life. All end with saké in either small or voluminous amounts.

SHINTŌ CEREMONIAL STRUCTURE

Shintō ceremonies have a four-part structure consisting of purification, presentation, petition, and participation.⁶⁴ As individuals and as a group, any of the prolific *purification* rituals open the door to the invisible world of the *kami*. Mutual kinship and mutual dependency through *presenting* food and saké and sharing a meal with the deities reinforces a sense of mutual obligation as mortals and *kami* provide for each other. *Petitioning* the *kami* in the form of *norito* 祝詞, or “words spoken to the *kami*” has a slow rhythm or strict formality.

Participation comes with the entrance and circular dance of the miko, the young female shrine attendants. The dance reenacts the mythological retreat of Amaterasu into a cave. She is lured back out to the world with music and dance. Audience members then rise

⁶² Nelson 54.

⁶³ Nelson, *A Year in the Life of a Shinto Shrine* 40-215.

⁶⁴ John K. Nelson, *Enduring Identities: The Guise of Shinto in Contemporary Japan* (Honolulu: U Hawai'i P 2000) 178.

and may clap hands, and offer *tamagushi* 玉串 (“sakaki”, a camellia specie) twigs to the kami. Norito and tamagushi offerings link human souls to the kami. At the conclusion, the kami return to their world, and the temple is set up to share the now sanctified food and saké.

The *post-participation* naorai shared eating and drinking rituals govern the “transition from intense meditation to more relaxed and secular states.” The “eating and drinking are also thought to be efficacious means of incorporating the *kami* (which has permeated these offerings with its essence) into the communal and individual mind and body.” Or as Plutschow states,

One can propose various reasons why the ritual begins with food and drink. I interpret it as a symbolic attempt to reinvigorate and heal a deteriorating deity that symbolizes the weakening human order. People try to soothe the deity, to commune with it, to reinvigorate it and hence revive the community.⁶⁵

The *omiki* pour *saké* into everyone’s cups. While the shrine appears to provide the usually excellent *saké* and food, everyone knows that they are community subsidized. Again, interdependency is reinforced and rewarded without being overtly stated.⁶⁶ Finally, when the participants--be they farmers, urbanites, or visitors--return home, the connection will remain reinforced in memory. This is the community ritual involving saké and Shintō. The sakazukuri has its own rituals to observe based upon these rituals.

⁶⁵ Herbert Plutschow, Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature, Brill’s Japanese Studies Library, v1. (Leiden: E.J. Brill 1990) 59.

⁶⁶ Nelson 178-182.

Daily Life Rituals with Shintō and Saké

The innumerable rituals woven throughout daily life is the key to the longevity of Shintō and saké in Japan. Even if one is not a practitioner or drinker, the New Year's visit to the local Shintō shrine and the occasion of one's marriage will most likely involve both. From the installation of a new emperor before the loftiest Shintō kami, to the opening of every business, Shintō protocol and the serving of *ōmiki* to appease and petition the kami of various ranks are inherent to the ceremony. In daily life, the Shintō priest



Figure 16. *Koma-inu*, Kyoto shrine.⁶⁷

Koma-inu, the pair of stone dogs located at the gates to Shintō shrines guarding the New Year *taru* casks of donated saké.

is very busy, as much saké makes the rounds between kami and humans. Groundbreaking ceremonies are one of the most common rituals. A good deal of saké must be splashed onto the grounds to appease the local *kami* disturbed by the construction.

Local sakazukuri donate untold amounts of saké to the local jinja. Figure 17 shows the typical stack of *taru* found before many Shintō shrine entrances. Taru are wrapped in rice straw and ink-brushed labels name the donator.

⁶⁷ Koma-inu, shinto shrine, Kyoto, Japan, personal photograph of author, 2 January 2004.

Every sakazukuri has a kamidana 神棚, or “shelf for the deities,” to house and display their *sakegami* 酒神, or “deities of saké.” Fujioka, for instance, uses the kamidana from his father’s original sakagura, and it houses the Matsuo kami. Each sakegami is associated with certain Shintō shrines found throughout Japan.

The three most prominent are Ōyamatsumi no kami, Konohanasakuyahime, and Sukunahikona no mikoto. The Shintō shrines that house them include the Ōmiwa Shrine in Nara, and Kyoto’s Matsuo shrine and Umemiya shrine.⁶⁸

Matsuo Shingu Jinja seems to be the major shrine and kami dedicated to saké.

Sake brewers and the local Shintō shrine play intertwined roles, and this is never more clearly visible than during the turn of the

New Year. Special stands with local fruit and produce sit alongside large bottles of specially wrapped saké. Throughout the year, though, the Shintō shrine receives donations from the brewers, businesses, organizations, and individuals. The connection between alcohol and religious rites is a necessity to keeping the balance of nature in check and the local kamisama appeased human activities constantly disturb them.



Figure 17. New Year saké and food for the kami.⁶⁹

Large saké bottle donated to the neighborhood Kyoto shinto shrine.

⁶⁸ Kondō 14.

⁶⁹ Sacred food and saké, neighborhood shinto shrine, Kyoto, Japan, personal photograph of author, 2 January 2004.

POLLUTION

Much of Shintō ritual is concerned with purity, and Japanese have adapted formal rituals to fit their everyday lives, such as using salt as a cleanser and washing or rinsing hands before entering a shrine or after doing anything that might be classified as “polluting.”⁷⁰

Shintō concepts of *kegare* 汚れ or “pollution” and cleanliness are well established, and in saké making this frame of mind is crucial to success. Molds and bacteria grow abundantly in Japan’s climate, and the threat of contamination from bacterial invasion is a constant in the saké making process. Modern methods and stainless steel tanks have largely eliminated this threat, but the Shintō shrines remain in saké making sites.

The practice of banishing women from the sakazukuri may be more for the sake of form. Lebra points out that women were allowed in sakazukuri of Aizu-wakatsucho if they bore a certain amulet. Women took on many positions of administration and took part in the crucial decisions of running a successful sakazukuri business.⁷²



Figure 18. Saké Sen Shin Jinja. Saiwanoi.⁷¹

Sake Sen Shin 酒泉神 (Sake Springs Shrine). Small shrine dedicated to the pure Tamagawa spring waters used for their saké. A tall bottle of Sawanoi saké for the local kami rests within the shrine.

⁷⁰ Susan B. Hanley, Everyday Things in Premodern Japan: The Hidden Legacy of Material Culture (Berkeley: U California P 1997) 125.

⁷¹ Saké Spring jinja, Saiwanoi, Ozawa Shūzo, Saiwa, Japan. Jinja dedicated to the spring waters made into the Saiwanoi saké. Personal photograph by author, 19 December 2003.

⁷² Joyce Lebra, “Women in an All-Male Industry: The Case of Sake Brewer Tatsu’um Kiyo,” Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945, ed. Bernstein, Gail (Berkeley: U California P 1991).

CHAPTER V. Image and Media



元摺り歌⁷³

ハー 春が来たなら 妻子を連れて アラヨーイセ ヨイセ
行こうか伏見の 桃山へ

Moto Tsuru Uta

*hā haru ga kitanara tsumako tsurete arayoise yoise
yukōka Fushimi no Momoyama* e*

Starter Mix Grinding Song

When the Spring comes, bring along the wife and kid.
Let us go over to Momoyama in Fushimi.

**Momoyama*. Part of the Fushimi district in south Kyoto and
long a center of saké brewing.

Figure 19. Kanji for saké from signboard for Fujioka shuzō. ⁷⁴

Introduction

In the not-too-distant past, saké arrived at its destination, a tiny cup, through a series of ceramic containers that were unadorned or perhaps bore the ink-brushed name of the saké seller. This changed dramatically with the arrival of westerners and their technology. The consequential reevaluation of elements comprising a sense of what is Japanese is an ongoing discussion. The imagery produced to promote saké across all forms of media is a remarkable collection that illustrates the debate as Japanese strive to keep their past alive while admitting in the western.

The arrival of Commander Perry's Black Ships foreshadowed the imminent arrival of others--not Asians, but truly foreign people with potentially overwhelming abilities. By the mid-20th century, new products such as beer and wine competed for market share with saké. Today, Japan's saké merchants consistently comprise only ten percent of the Japanese market for alcohol purchased. Whiskey and other distilled products compete with shōchū, the other

⁷³ Sakata 66 (#1).

⁷⁴ Kanji for saké from signboard for *Fujioka shuzō*, Fushimi, Japan, personal photograph by author, digitally enhanced, 4 January 2004.

alcoholic drink distilled throughout Japan for centuries. Saké makers had to re-evaluate their ways, and with the new technology of paper, glass bottles, and mechanization, the saké label became the marketing tool to capture the Japanese drinking yen. The saké label is the primary marketing tool, and the message it carries is a largely traditional appearing appeal to other Japanese.

What are the assumptions about “the Japanese” and tradition? An underlying assumption is that of *Nihonjinron*, or “theories about being Japanese.” Yanigata searched for the roots of Japanese identity and proposed an unseen, underlying commonality, a “unity of belief and sentiment in a plurality of ritual forms.”⁷⁶ His imagined concept of the somehow pure



Figure 20. Rice and good fortune label.⁷⁵

Fūkucho 富久長, or “abundant, long lasting good fortune.” Imada shuzō is famous not only for its saké, but because President Imada’s daughter Miho is “helping” him as the tōji’s assistant in Hiroshima ken, Japan.

“abiding people, who lived both everywhere and nowhere, beyond the reach of modern times, and therefore invisible. ‘The folk’ in Hokkaido shared a strata of consciousness with ‘the folk’ in KyushuHis imagination of the folk transcended description and became a prescription for an authentic Japanese identity.”⁷⁷

⁷⁵ “Fukuchō,” *Imada Shuzō*, <http://www.esaké.com/Brewers/ImadaB/imadab.html>.

⁷⁶ Stephen Nussbaum, “The Evolution of Japanese Festival: From *Matsuri* to *Sairei*,” ed., J. Victor Koschmann, *International Perspectives on Yanagita Kunio and Japanese Folklore Studies* Cornell U East Asia Papers, 37 (Ithaca: Cornell U 1985) 168.

⁷⁷ Jane Marie Law, *Puppets of Nostalgia: The Life, Death, and Rebirth of the Japanese Awaji Ningyō Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton UP 1997) 13-14.

The underlying assumption of the “strata of consciousness” shared by all Japanese implies commonalities that are specifically Japanese. Saké images consistently reproduce these commonalities, although the list changes over time.

As the rest of this chapter will demonstrate, certain themes consistently occur for consumption as part of “tradition.” As Japan has had to restructure its own sense of self, traditions are hybridized concepts reproduced by successive generations. Vlastos points out the dual meaning of tradition is either the time before the current modern age, and standing in contrast or opposition to modernity, or individual practices repeating themselves into the present, with the normative intention to “reproduce patterns of culture.”⁷⁸ Is tradition, then, merely a subterfuge between authenticity and invention? Yet, as Chakrabarty concludes, the questions of traditional or modern, and actual or invented traditions are perhaps false dichotomies.

If even invented traditions need genealogies for their own effectiveness, no such genealogy can ever consist of an inventory of ideas alone. Ideas acquire materiality through the history of bodily practices...the past is embodied through a long process of training the senses, and it is this deep history of the subject of Japanese modernity.⁷⁹

Sake imagery is an embodiment of the inventory of elements held up for the world to view. An in-depth look over the images shows the influx of nontraditional depictions such as manga-like characters, computer-generated kanji and kana strokes, photographs of up-to-date Japanese. As Chakrabarty proposes, “Why not celebrate the hybridities of our modern time?”⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Steven Vlastos, “Tradition: Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History,” Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan (Berkeley: U California P 1998) 2.

⁷⁹ Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Afterword” Vastos 294-295.

⁸⁰ Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Afterword” Vastos 291.

In face of hybridity, what is the continued value of tradition? Is it only to maintain a connection with the elusive past? Gluck sites the Edo period as a source of memory for the elements of those times. The saké warehouse and museum is a physical storehouse of culture and commodities supposedly missing in modern times. As Edo-in-tradition, the “modern Japanese negotiated their path to the future by way of the past.”⁸¹ Edo, with its feudalism and lack of present technologies, can be imagined as completely different from modern times, and recognized as tightly integrated into contemporary social, economic, cultural patterns. “It is both gone and not gone.”⁸²

Kimochi: a certain something

The saké experience soaks in the emotions of *kimochi* 気持, “a feeling, a sensation, a mood.”⁸³ Every sakazukuri espouses it, and ever label seeks it. Kimochi is a Japanese way of identifying with the source of something Japanese. Certain elements come together that bind the participants to a wider sense of self and group. The result is a strengthening of shared *kimochi*, and perhaps lessening of the disoriented unrootedness that is part of urban life. Passi describes Raymond Williams’ *structure of feeling*, as “the sense of the quality of life felt at a particular time and place.”⁸⁴ “ Kimochi is found upon entering the sakazukuri, and the first sip of a fine saké that transports the sipper emotionally back to the source of the saké. The saké matsuri brings people together in an imagined space and time. Kimochi is an underlying theme for promotion and tourism campaigns.

⁸¹ Carol Gluck, “The Invention of Edo,” Vastos 263.

⁸² Gluck, Vastos 284.

⁸³ Senkichi Katsumata, ed. Kenkyusha’s New Japanese-English Dictionary. (Tokyo: Kenkyusha 1935) 823.

⁸⁴ Passi 249.



Figure 21. Three “structures of feeling” of Fuji-san labels.⁸⁵

Three distinctive representations of the mountain. Each is structure to produce a certain feeling.

Left: Fujisan protectively shelters the land below. Saké barrels often display the broad, rough kanji style. Abstracted rice fields and cherry trees bloom. Subdued colors give a restful feeling.

Middle: Energetic red and free-flowing kanji. Fujisan retains its natural dimensions, while enclosed within a medallion outline reminiscent of a sword guard.

Right: Again, the medallion outline encloses Fujisan, but the mountain surreally extends skyward. The stately bronze and red colors are perhaps a bit militaristic.

Representation of the Sakazukuri and Saké

Thus far, we have evaluated saké and the sakazukuri as a historical development, literary element, and Shintō actor. Next, I will unravel the relationship between the sakazukuri and spatial representations. This serves as a method to articulate the relationships and underlying assumptions such as how saké is made, the labels on the sakazukuri bottle, and tourist brochures about the sakazukuri.

⁸⁵ Three Fuji-san saké labels. All labels from personal collection, photographs by author.

Left: Kin-Mei [Golden Light], from 静岡県 地酒マップ Shizuoka Ken Jizake Map. 2004, 12 February 2005.

Middle: Chiyonome [Thousand-Generation Summits], from 静岡県 地酒マップ 2004. Shizuoka Ken Jizake Map, 12 February 2005.

Right: “Kamotsuru Tokusei Gold,” Kamotsuru Shuzō, Hiroshima. 15 May 2005.



Figure 22. Fuji-san as “lived-conceived-perceived” space.

Left: Fuji-san as lived space. Photograph of Fuji-san from the Shinkansen. As lived space, this is the real item. Spatial practice of an entire mountain abounds with people living and working on and around the mountain.

Right: Fuji-san as a conceived space on a saké label from Shizuoka prefecture.⁸⁶

Not shown: Fuji-san as perceived space becomes iconic, and appears with no label or explanation inside many a saké cup and in countless tourist brochures.

Henri Lefebvre separates space according to use into three categories: as a “lived-conceived-perceived”⁸⁷ triad interacting with human activity. They are useful for recognizing and organizing the myriad aspects of saké making and the images about saké. In brief, they are:

1. Spatial practice.
2. Representations of space.
3. Representational space.

⁸⁶ Left: Fuji-san viewed from the Shinkansen bullet train, personal photographs by author, 7 January, 2004.

Right: Shima no Ka (Fragrant Island) saké label. Saké Plaza, personal photographs by author, 21 December 2003.

⁸⁷ Henri Lefebvre, Donald Nicholson-Smith, tr., The Production of Space (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991) 8. *passim* 38-40.

1. Spatial Practice is lived space created by everyday routines and practices. For instance, the saké maker creates their space to work in by working *in that space*. The sakazukuri by its very existence creates a connection to the past in the surrounding neighborhood. “A spatial practice must have a certain cohesiveness”⁸⁹ about it that is not necessarily coherent or logical. For example, Saiwainoi Shuzō makes saké in the same buildings since the early Meiji days.

Spatial practices of the body are the experience lived bodily. The *sakébito* (person of the saké brewery) physically work together. The old, traditional ways of making saké were intensively physical. Men (most of the time) had to move in synchronicity to wash, steam, knead, pound, mix, stir, mash, strain and bottle rice, water, yeast and mold into saké.

2. Representations of Space are conceived space.

These are the physical reinterpretation of spatial practices. One step removed from the real space, this is



Figure 23. Saiwainoi Shuzō.⁸⁸

Saiwainoi is in the mountains of western Tokyo-ku, near Sawai Station on JR Ome line. The *sugi-dama* 杉玉, or *sakabayashi*, a round bundle of aging cryptomeria needles, hangs over the entrance to the sakazukuri on the left. The sugi tree is associated with the Miwa Shrine in Nara prefecture, where a saké ceremony is held every autumn.

⁸⁸ Saiwainoi Shuzō entrance, Saiwa, Japan, personal photograph by author, 19 December 2003.

⁸⁹ Lefebvre 38.

space made to *do* something, as in the Marxist “modes of production.” The saké produced is a representation of the sakazukuri spatial practices. Labels, bottles, and wrapping go out into the world as representative of the activity that produced them. They are symbolic and produce meaning. The plans and codes that build the sakazukuri, gift store, associated restaurants, and museums are conceptions of the spatial practices that take place within them. For example, Saiwanoi has a gift shop selling their saké, all beautifully labeled, as well as calendars, books, and other gifts.

Representations of the body are scientific conceptualizations. This is the explanation and concepts of how the body assimilates the nuances of saké and how the natural ingredients of water, rice, yeast, and koji mold affect the body.

3. Representational Space is perceived by *others* through their imagination into symbolic use of the physical objects. Symbolic meanings overlay the physical space. Artists, photographers and website designers use their particular representational spaces to produce an *abstract space* that represents their concept of the space. Icons such as Kizakura’s Kappa family, Hakutsuru’s white crane or Hanaharu’s cheerful cherry blossom are all imagined representational spaces. Tourist brochures and magazines abound with images of friendly, pleasantly and safely traditional saké makers awaiting their various imagined pleasures. For example: Saiwanoi Shuzō has a website, and here we learn the sakazukuri is part of a larger company.

Bodily representational space is the societal uses of the body. An artist designs the labels through imagination and then creates them with hands or mouse. Photographers use their cameras to capture the imagined image of the original sakazukuri that now hangs in proud display on the sakazukuri office wall and nonverbally reinforces their claim to “tradition” and longevity.

Media representations of sake reinforce a highly selective relationship with the past. The kabuki theatre, the tea ceremony, and Zen Buddhism, among others, are established Japanese traditions, but hardly controversial as potential threats to the individual, or family, social or economic structure if overindulged.

Saké labels: looking and longing

As of 2004, according to Gauntner, about 2000 *sakazukuri* have licenses to brew saké in Japan, each with rights to some five brand names.⁹¹ The result is an annual production of around 10,000 meigara 銘柄 or “brand names.”⁹² Each meigara, or label, maps a territory of identity. Elements embedded deeply within Japanese identity surface and provide an inventory of symbols and significance to place and perceptions of belonging.

First, we have to ask, “Where do labels come from?”



Figure 24. Takikoi waterfall & carp.⁹⁰

Taki no koi (waterfall & carp) label. The admirable vigor of the carp as they swim upstream to spawn is a metaphor for struggling against all odds. Similar metaphor to our “salmon jumping and swimming upstream” for virtues of endurance and focus.

⁹⁰ [Koi label](#), Take no Koi shuzō, Hyogo, (Kobe), Japan, photograph by the author, 8 January 2004.

⁹¹ John Gauntner, "The History of Sake 'Meigara'," [Saké-World](#), 52. (February 4, 2004) February 14, 2004 <http://www.sake-world.com/html/sw-2004_1.html>.

⁹² National Tax Agency Japan. [Shuzeitazei Iokyo no Gaiyo](#) (Alcoholic Beverages Tax and Related Statistics), Liquor Tax and Industry Division, Taxation Department. Jul. 2002. Nov. 10, 2004 National Tax Agency <<http://www.nta.go.jp/category/english/index.htm>>.

As late as 1940, 60% of all saké was still getting to the consumer through wooden taru and personal ceramic bottles carried to the saké shop. Only 40% of all saké was finding its way into 1.8 liter glass bottles. The first glass bottle of saké appeared on the market in 1879.⁹³ After WWII, the tokkuri and taru days were essentially finished.

The advent of disposable labels and rapidly modernizing transportation brought the saké label into new artistic territory. No longer carrying only practical information, the labels give a sense of individuality to the product, and where it came from. The imagery of traditional calligraphy, Japanese elements, and informative short stories on the back label bring the reader reinforce a larger sense of belonging.

In 1975, the Japan Saké Brewers Association finally established self-governing rules for the industry. While still very different from the French Appellation Controllee system, the labeling standards enforced under the Association system provide a much better idea than before of where the saké comes from, what is in it, and how it was brewed.⁹⁴

Saké labels reinforce other traditions through their imaginative use on the labels. For instance, paper for the labels can be authentic or reproduced *washi*, the handmade paper from mulberry leaves and silkworms. *Shodō*, the art of ink brush calligraphy, is abundantly in evidence.

The saké label has a distinctive look, and an important function beyond the mere conveyance of information. Every label is an image, with layers of culturally assigned meaning and emotional significance. Each image, drawn from the rich resources of Japanese history, literature, and religious practices keeps that image alive in the public mind for a little longer. Japanese live in the modern world, and there is always the question of what remains

⁹³ John Gauntner, "Yamahai Saké; Glass Bottles," *Saké-World*, 53 (March 1, 2004) March 14, 2004 <http://www.saké-world.com/html/sw-2004_2.html>.

⁹⁴ Kondō 33.

of the traditions. Even as Japanese saké makers struggled to define themselves throughout the Meiji period and subsequent militarization, western technology provided the means to reinforce selective Japanese qualities, primarily through the ephemeral saké label.

Saké and Tourism Campaigns

The number of saké producers has greatly diminished under the pressure of a collapsed economy and more competition from other sources for the drinking yen of the Japanese consumer. How have the saké producers addressed this? Some have elected to remain exactly as they are, with a few technological improvements. Others move into increased competition with each other. Some, such as Shushinkan in Hyōgo, and Kizakura in Fushimi have embraced a strategy of promotion to new markets in Japan, and aggressively opening new markets outside of Japan. The images chosen for promotion power these campaigns.

Tourism is a conceptual escape for the urban dweller to an idealized and safely nostalgic recent past. From the urban scale, a retreat into an imagined, more naturalized scale such as the furusato 故里, or “one’s birthplace, or home town.” The Meiji era urbanization of the general populace moved the abandoned country home into a nostalgically reconstructed, idealized reservoir of held traditions, available for self-renewal and contextualization. Saké brewers are incorporated into an idealized setting for place-specific food, crafts and history. Promotion of place and locality has changed dramatically through extensive use of the internet. Saké museums and restaurants present new strategies to transform the somewhat staid image of saké.

“OUR SAKÉ IS SPECIAL BECAUSE...”

The mainstay of self-promotion for the sakazukuri is why the particular brewery and every labeled product are unique, special, and worthy. Rodrigues observed this tendency in the early 16c:

They always try to produce the best and most celebrated wine at their banquets and entertainments, and send for wine beforehand from remote places which are famous for their produce; to show greater hospitality they are wont to entertain their guests with wines from various famous places which everyone rates highly.⁹⁵

Brewery names and saké products espouse their uniqueness, and often select something especially Japanese. The selection may be as common as rice, but often it is rather obscure. For instance, Juhachizakari Brewery, in Kojima, and established in 1787 means 'lively eighteen' and refers to an old Japanese proverb, 'All women blossom when they turn eighteen'. Juhachizakari fully incorporate the bodily sensations that Chakrabarty maintains creates the “history of bodily practices” so necessary for traditions to develop and continue. Their website proclaims:

When we first developed this name, it was like sipping that first mouthful of a top-class, sweet, warm cup of Saké. Like the warm weather of the Inland Sea, and the wonderful flavor of traditional Japanese cuisine, we have attempted to compliment the traditional heart of Japan by creating an excellent product.⁹⁶

SAKÉ DAY

October 1st is “Nihonshū no Hi,” or “Sake no Hi” 酒の日, or “Sake Day.” The original kanji for saké 酉 is the same as for the Chinese zodiacal *tori*, or rooster, which also represents the tenth year, month, day, and hour in the Chinese zodiac. October 1st was until recently the

⁹⁵ Rodrigues 233.

⁹⁶ “Message,” [Juhachizakari Shuzō](http://www.optic.or.jp/com/juhachi/juhachi_e.html), 25 May 2005. <http://www.optic.or.jp/com/juhachi/juhachi_e.html>.

traditional start of the saké brewing fiscal New Year before modern methods gave greater control on the brewing process and July 1 became standard.⁹⁷

Saké Day means saké festivals abound in October, such as one in Higashi-Hiroshima. The local saké area opens their doors to visitors and events, providing a first hand experience of lived space. Bottles, souvenirs, and trinkets dispense large quantities of representations of saké. Representational space in the form of the festival site at Sakagura Dori, or “Sake Storehouse Street,” holds recreations of the omikoshi parade, Saké Park, and other events recreating the past. This produces a self-replicating abstract space as it is held annually and has a brand icon to promote the temporal re-enactment. Ten local breweries organize events and display their ranked goods in Saké Square. The entire festival exists in representational web space.



Figure 25. Saké Matsuri iconic drunken *tanuki*.⁹⁸

A representational bodily space of the *Tanuki*, or “dog-raccoon,” native to Japan. Similar to the *kappa*, its folklore image carries a *tokkuri* of saké and conveys an accepted image of inebriation.

Representations of Saké in Print

KANJI

Retaining the visual effect of brush strokes across the old tokkuri bottles, kanji creates the feeling of the label and gives an indication of the saké within. Kanji is by far the largest general image category, with styles ranging from the elegant “running grass,” to dramatic sumo-style. A bold, modern saké may have large, smooth strokes. A delicate,

⁹⁷ John Gauntner, “Sake Day,” [Sake-world.com](http://www.sake-world.com/html/sw-2004_9.html), 60, October 1, 2004 <http://www.sake-world.com/html/sw-2004_9.html>.

⁹⁸ [Matsuri tanuki icon](http://www.sakematsuri.com/2004/index_e.html), Higashi-Hiroshima’s Sake Matsuri, 20 June 2005 <http://www.sakematsuri.com/2004/index_e.html>.

spidery stroke indicates a subtle, complex flavor. The most common stroke is a brisk, energetic line showing the lift of the brush at the end of the stroke.



Figure 26. Kanji variations⁹⁹

Left: Very strong and thick. Nearly unreadable. *Kuro-Obi Yuyu* or “Black Belt Leisurely.”

Middle: Readable, flowing, almost font-like. *Kaori* is “fragrance, aroma.”

Right: Running Grass style. Nearly unreadable. Often alluded to in early literature from the Heian onward. *Amu*, Boulder, Colorado.

The kanji creates the feeling of the label. Raymond Williams coined the concept “*structure of feeling*...the sense of the quality of life felt at a particular place and time.”¹⁰⁰ Each label is its own epistemology, with its own message to convey. As a written system and as art, kanji also conveys a structure of feeling.

KANJI AND ENGLISH

English complements kanji on the label, not merely for informational purposes, but with a sense of artistry and *savoir-faire*. Exported bottles display legal descriptions across the

⁹⁹ [Kanji in labels](#), photograph by the author.

¹⁰⁰ Raymond Williams, [The Long Revolution](#) (NY: Columbia UP, 1961) #.

back label in place of the eccentric, short stories abounding on Japanese labels. The front label uses English in four configurations.



Figure 27. English integrated in four layouts.

- (1) English is the dominant text-no kanji. “Ozeki Saké DRY”¹⁰¹ is straightforward description.
- (2) English is a meaningful subtext. “Draft Saké”¹⁰² gets the point across.
- (3) English is a minor text, or translation, and subsidiary to the main kanji. Rihaku¹⁰³ is for a special audience that would recognize the Chinese poet Li Po (701-762).
- (4) English is a graphic element, or provides further explanation. “Pure”¹⁰⁴ alludes to Shintō cleanliness. “A full, rich body with the natural flavor of rice.” has the British spelling of “flavor,” for a more gentele approach.

POETRY AND LITERATURE

Images from popular waka, renga, and haiku abound. Literary figures in period costume provide reaffirmation to a distinctive Japanese style of dress. Miyashita shuzō evokes the Man’yōshū poet Ōtomo Tabito for their highest-grade saké. Their website explains:

The name given to our Saké - Kiwamihijiri - was inspired by a song written by the ancient Manyō singer/songwriter Tabito Otomo. The flavor enjoyed when sampling

¹⁰¹ “Ozeki Saké Dry,” [Ozeki](http://www.ozekisake.com/index04_11.html) <http://www.ozekisake.com/index04_11.html>.

¹⁰² “Hakutsuru Draft Saké,” [Hakutsuru](http://www.dreyfusashby.com/Japan-HAK.htm) <<http://www.dreyfusashby.com/Japan-HAK.htm>>.

¹⁰³ “Rihaku,” [Rihaku Shuzō](http://www.rihaku.co.jp/), Fukuoka, Ninohe-shi, Iwate, Japan. Rihaku was “Li Po,” a famous Chinese poet <<http://www.rihaku.co.jp/>>.

¹⁰⁴ Kizakura (“Yellow Cherry Blossom”), [Kizakura Shuzō](http://www.kizakura.co.jp/html/pure2000.htm) <<http://www.kizakura.co.jp/html/pure2000.htm>>.

Kiwamihijiri can be compared to the wonderful lyrical tones of Tabito's song.
We brew Saké, beer and Shochu.¹⁰⁵

UKIYO-E

By the Tokugawa Era, printmaking was a main conveyance of fashion and commonly held elements. People visiting the centers of artistry would return to their home provinces with ukiyo-e prints to update their provincial comrades. Hokusai and Hiroshige produced many that are still in vogue. Figure 22 portrays a women saké seller. Her fan indicates she is selling nigori, or “white saké” 酒白 in the two wood vats, which bear the name of the



Figure 28. *Saké seller*, by Hiroshige.¹⁰⁶

saké maker. Her *tenugui* head cloth is bound in a *chonin* townspeople fashion. The landscape behind features pine trees and green fields beside the thatch roofed homes of the populace.

¹⁰⁵ “Miyashita Sake Brewery Co. Ltd.” Miyashita, <http://www.optic.or.jp/com/miyashitashuzou/miyashitashuzou_e.html>.

¹⁰⁶ “Saké Seller,” by Hiroshige, *Colour Prints of Hiroshige*, Edward F. Strange, 25may2005 updated <http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/tokaido_two-brushes/images/14_hara.jpg>.

Fuji-san towers majestically above the clouds. This is representational space and body, finely presented.

MANGA: “NATSUKO NO SAKÉ”

“Natsuko no Saké” by Oze Akira (1947-) is a popular mid-1980s manga and mid-90s television series describing the life of a community of saké makers for Kiyozumi kura in Niigata. A young daughter of a saké maker in Niigata takes on a leading role in this twelve-volume manga set. The advertised description of the series:

Career women manga. Natsuko takes over the family business of saké brewing. She is the smart daughter of a saké brewing family in Niigata. After finishing school, she starts working in the advertising business. When she has to create adds for a saké brewer of which she knows that he makes a bad product, she gets guilt feelings and decides to quit the job, return home and take over the business. Did not get initially the attention it deserves. Only after the apparition of a live television series became the series popular.¹⁰⁷

The story structure took the reader through an entire year of making saké the old-fashioned way, step-by-step, from rice plant to final juried product. Natsuko no Saké was so popular that frames from the manga are still used in recent informative books meant to educate the younger generations of new saké drinkers. NHK made an eleven-episode telecast of Natsuko no Saké that aired in 1994. The show synopsis:

Natsuko who was a copywriter starts to cultivate rice called Tatsunishiki which is a phantom kind and it is very difficult to grow. She does it to make her dead brother's dream come true. His dream was to make the best saké in Japan. There occur many difficulties to Natsuko. Finally, she succeeds in the dream.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Oze Akira, fan website <<http://users.skynet.be/mangaguide/au1524.html>>.

¹⁰⁸ Jdorama, fan website <<http://www.jdorama.com/drama.276.htm>>.

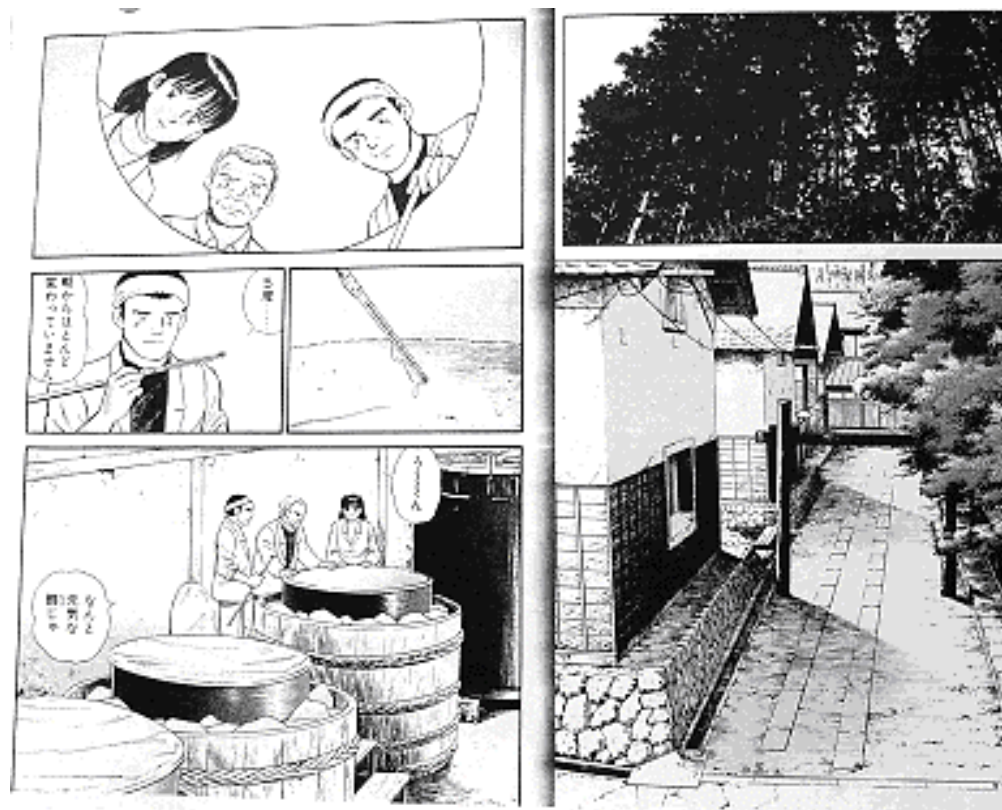


Figure 29. *Natsuko no Saké*.¹⁰⁹

The manga series introduced the old ways of making saké throughout a year in a Niigata village.

The manga *Natsuko no Saké* conveys the “structure of feeling” of the sakazukuri, firmly situated in the rural village. Natsuko, the tōji, and a sakebito worker peer into the vat of fermenting moromi. The sakazukuri used only traditional wood vats. Modern technology such as stainless steel tanks has yet to arrive. Yet, the care and attention to detail is strongly implied to carry over into today’s brewing. *Natsuko no Saké* panels are still used in industry-produced magazines to convey the basics of saké in an easily understood form.

¹⁰⁹ Looking into the moromi vats, *Natsuko no Saké*, 12.122, page 23-24, personal photograph by author, 13 June 2005.

Visual Representations of Saké

This is an extensive field. Here I present a few examples of the major categories.

TELEVISION

While television depicts saké drinking and carries advertising, only two series portrayed the life of the saké brewing family in depth. One is “Natsuko no Saké,” just mentioned, and the other I viewed years ago but still cannot find the series name.



Figure 30. Television scenes of nostalgic saké. ¹¹⁰

1) A typical scene from an NHK television show. This one was about a saké brewing family in the Meiji period.

2) The tradition continues with a New Year’s Japanese television drama. Kyoto, Japan. ¹¹¹

INTERNET

Japan abounds with internet promotion for Japanese to visit. The “Discover Japan” campaign encouraged Japanese people to use the Japan Railroad system to visit and take part in small countryside experiences. Promotions typically feature various attractions in the village and surrounding area, especially if there is a saké brewery. The current nostalgia

¹¹⁰ 1) Shuzō owner relaxing, unknown television drama (“Oshin”?) 1980’s, NHK. 13 June 2004.

2) Period drama saké drinker, unknown television drama, from a ryokan television screen, Kyoto, Japan, photograph by the author, 31 December 2003.

¹¹¹ Saké drinker on television, unknown show, photograph by the author, 31 December 2003.

boom and the government/business campaign for people to “Yokoso! Japan” continues with the theme “Welcome to Our Home.”

One typical example is Aizu-Wakamatsucho’s “Japan Brand Support Project” for “Aizuhongo-Yaki Pottery and Healthy Country Food.” The website features local attractions including *jizake*, mountain vegetables and dishes, soba, miso, local pottery and the local Tsurugao castle, among others.¹¹² Their motto is “Yo no Bi,” or “The Beauty in Everyday Life” and their mission statement is “To Transform Aizuhongo-Yaki Pottery into a Global Brand.” The “Aizu Wakamatsu City” web page is less dogmatic and more practical. Sightseeing is paramount and a cheerful “Have a Good Traveling!” tops a list of links to clearly labeled sites and easily leads to the “Aizu Shuzō Hahubutsukan,” with its Kano family museum of 300 years of saké-brewing. This is the cheerful, modern face of the internet promoting tourism within Japan and to attract foreigners to visit certain areas.

Many sakazukuri have their own website. They may be fully in Japanese, or have an English web page ranging from awkward to complete translations. Some do not have a separate English web page, but instead incorporate the English translation following immediately after the Japanese. Common business features include what sakéya sell their meigara labels, online ordering, company history, and the latest offerings. Restaurants, museums, and local tourism packages and contact information are included. This is a rich source and increasing.

¹¹² Selected by the small and medium enterprise agency for the “Japan Brand Support Project, 2004, Aizu-Hongo CCI < <http://www.neo-smily.com/hongo/en/index.html>>.

Gendered Identity

WOMEN AND MEN

Women are shown in range of feminine or masculine roles on labels that strike different notes of androgyny. As feminine models in advertising, women portray a mixture of idealized tradition and contemporary congeniality. Common roles are the ubiquitous geisha of ukiyo-e, field workers, and mothers. If they really want to capture more of the women's market, I suggest they expand this, and emphasize the role of women within the sakazukuri. While women have been part of saké from earliest mythology, women are now sought-after gateway purchasers and consumers.

Men also have a range of portraiture: from archers and hunters of deer and enemies to Mr. Nice Tokyo Guy. Kanji reflects this with bold, heavy brush strokes. A new version of the cheerful Tokyo guy—in Tokugawa hairstyle. Saké remains a matter of the heart. The emotional portrayal tends to be of an uncomplicated happiness accessible to the broad middle class. Mr. "GreenPack" represents the Every Man of Japan—a large, jolly, sumo-appearing modern Japanese man. Green is also environmentally friendly.



Figure 31. Mr. GreenPack.¹¹³

Mr. Nice Tokyo Guy. A new appeal to modern saké drinkers.

¹¹³ "Green Pack Campaign," *Nihonsakari Shuzōū*, Kobe, Japan <<http://www.nihonsakari.co.jp/greenpack/index.html>>.

CHILDREN AND FAMILY

Labels rarely portray children and family *per se*. They appear more frequently on sakazukuri websites in family portraits from the past. For instance, the family portrait below from Rihaku, Iwata prefecture.



Figure 32. Rihaku family portrait.¹¹⁴

Geographic Sake

My contention is the thematic

content of saké labels changes dynamically between local, exported, and globally produced saké.

The perceived need to move saké beyond the borders of Japan is a resisted need. Japan is indeed a “small island nation.” “The *sakoku*, or “secluded nation” mentality constitutes the core of Japan’s barriers to internationalized. That combination of natural and voluntary isolation created a uniquely homogeneous culture and parochial mentality.”¹¹⁵

Three geographic scales position the relationship between the source of label production and the viewer:

- (1) Locally produced within Japan to be viewed by Japanese
- (2) Locally produced within Japan to be exported and viewed by others.
- (3) Produced *outside* of Japan to be viewed by others also *outside* of Japan.

¹¹⁴ “Family Portrait,” Rihaku shuzō <<http://www.rihaku.co.jp/kuramoto.html>>.

¹¹⁵ Mayumi Itoh, Globalization of Japan: Japanese Sakoku Mentality and U.S. Efforts to Open Japan (NY: St. Martin’s P 1998) 13.

LOCAL SAKÉ

The local scale of saké is brewed and sold within Japan. The saké available is the indigenous product. Every bottle label will proclaim exactly where it is from, and will often provide a story that inherently hails the glory of being, well, Japanese. On the local scale, the label is created only for the gaze of the Japanese viewer. Both are securely within the home country. Certain emotions and associations are expected to be absorbed at a glance. The viewer will be attracted to the emotive iconography of the label, evaluating it for a match on whatever internal dialogue is in progress. A feeling of connection with home, family, and country ensues as the viewer moves emotionally closer to the locality of the saké.

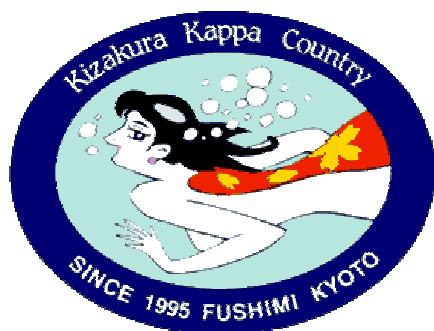


Figure 33. Local label “Kizakura Kappa Country.”¹¹⁶

swimmers and drinkers. They show an idealized family. All activities include saké, such as the wife pouring saké for the young son, and general family merry drinking. The Kappa wife figure is a lighthearted allusion to the Meiji era “good wife and wise mother,” or *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母 role. These images are particular to Japan and not comfortably exportable outside of the context of Japan’s shared history and folklore.

An example is the Kizakura Kappa Country theme. Kizakura Shuzō 酒造 (Kizakura saké brewery), located in Fushimi, Kyoto, promotes their saké with the theme of the yellow cherry blossom (Kizakura 黄桜) and the Japanese mythical water sprite Kappa 河童” theme.

The Kappa families are all excellent

¹¹⁶ “Kappa trademark,” Kizakura Kappa Country, Information page (Japanese), Dec. 2, 2004, Nov.14, 2004 <<http://www.kizakura.co.jp/index.htm>>.

EXPORTED SAKÉ

The saké is brewed within Japan and exported. The viewer is *not* located within Japan. The producer is no longer selling only within Japan. The status of Japan changes from



Figure 34. “Himegoto,” Yamagata-ken.¹¹⁷

Himegoto from Yamagata a. Painting by Satō Kiminori 佐藤公紀. Fujiya saké brewers, Akumigun Matsuyama-machi, Aramachi, Yamagata. Sexual ambiguity fitting many stereotypes and perhaps is deliberately chosen as *inoffensive*.

a surrounding entity into the status of the nation-state separate from the producer. Most local Japanese saké *shuzô* sell everything they make within Japan. The producer must decide how much English if any, to add to the label. The images must convey a Japanese theme, but understanding that theme is not required. The label is now exoticized, as is the saké within. The viewer is a mixed group. They may be native Japanese, just not in Japan, or of Japanese ancestry who have never been there. They may be non-Japanese with

varying amounts of direct experience of Japan. Nostalgia is a major element, and a wish to reaffirm an emotional tie. Others will have no connection and the product is truly exotic and foreign.

The role of the foreigner as they perceive Japan has to be taken into account.

Foreigners have written about Japan starting with the early Chinese historians of Hui in the 2nd century. Westerners such as the Portuguese Jesuit monk João Rodrigues wrote volumes of

¹¹⁷ “Himegoto” label. [A secret love affair] Yamagata ken, Saké Plaza, Tokyo, personal photograph by the author, 9 January 2004.

detailed observations. Later European and American travelers attempted colorful descriptions of people and events in the “brave but gentlemanly world traveler” mode. One such devoted a chapter to “Cherry Blossoms and *Saké*,”

An ancient proverb says, “Without liquor one cannot see cherry blossoms.” Therefore, the crowds go prepared. Many a man carries a two-quart bottle of *saké* slung over his shoulder.” They decide to leave the increasingly boisterous crowds, and find the returning boat nearly empty. The policeman at the dock was quite surprised to see them go, “Why return so early? The fun is just beginning!”¹¹⁸

Japan, as the rather plaintive saying goes, is a “small island nation, very crowded, and lacking natural resources.” As an island nation, there is a sort of cultural pressure of surrounding “others” observing them.

GLOBALSAKÉ

Global saké is brewed and sold outside of Japan. The global, non-Japan sourced saké label is viewed by non-Japanese predominantly. The viewer may have little or no identification with the producer or Japan as a nation-state, and may therefore not be aware of the distinct differences of place within Japan. At the global level, the nation-state of Japan separates from the producer. The viewer may have little to no sense of identification with the producer or Japan as a nation-state or perceived entity. This is a much smaller category than the local and global and it is growing. The first brewery outside of Japan was in Hawaii, and produced saké for the large population of Japanese field workers who had recently immigrated from a disastrous Japanese economy. There are six saké breweries in the USA, and one in Penrith, Australia. There were once breweries in Golden, Colorado, and Hawaii.

Japanese elements do not necessarily carry over to the transnational scale. From the original Hawaiian saké brewery, the label in Figure 36 is a complex example. Aside from the

¹¹⁸ Douglas Haring, *The Land of Gods and Earthquakes* (NY: Columbia UP 1929) 50-53.

bold red kanji and subtle *hanko*, overt Japanese elements are absent but the underlying structure of iconography remains.

- Fuji-san has become Waikiki Diamond Head.
- The gardenia replaces the cherry blossom.
- The feminine dancer as geisha is now the hula dancer.
- The bronzed slanting rays of the tropics replace the hinomaru sunburst.
- Kanji is “Takara Musume,” or “Treasured Daughters”



Figure 35. Global label: replacing Fuji with Waikiki.¹¹⁹

Cultural Coding: Fish Full of Saké

Some images are culturally bound, and rich with coded, unexplained associations.

Two examples below show the use of particular fish. As an export, the “fatal” reputation of

¹¹⁹ Takara Musume label, Honolulu Saké Brewery Co., Ltd., personal collection of the author.

Purchased from Hawaiian collectors <http://www.ukulele.com>.

fugu 河豚, or “blowfish,” would produce more hesitation than sales. The blue fish bottle, by contrast, is not specific or even evocative of Japan. As a global product, it has shed its connection to Japan as the source.



Figure 36. Fish as containers for saké.¹²⁰

Left: The joyful *tai* fish bottle. The *tai* is associated with boys and Boy’s Day. Sold only in Japan.

Middle: Fugu saké. Made with a touch of the dangerous fugu fish. Perhaps only in Japan could this saké find an audience.

Right: Napa-saki, by SakéOne, Forest Grove, Oregon. The fish is not a defined species or associated with any holiday, and the bottle won several prizes for product packaging. Made and sold outside of Japan

Banishment of the Dark Side

Images may not reflect the controversy of drinking, but by that absence, the images become an implicit counterpoint. By only reinforcing a positive, embraceable Japanese self-portraiture, the controversial symbols are laid aside.

¹²⁰ Saké bottles as fish:

- 1) Novelty fish bottles <http://kimura.bizlabo.co.jp/order/order_01.asp>
- 2) Novelty fish bottle <http://www.sakeone.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=itemdetail&item_id_int=6032>.
- 2) “Fugu saké,” Kizakura, Hyōgo, Japan <<http://www.kizakura.co.jp/htm/2004wn.htm>>.

Is it true that Western (and perhaps Asian) consumers seek a “race-less and culture-less, virtual version of “Japan,” as Iwabuchi puts forth?¹²² Festivals and folklore celebrate saké with heroes and historical figures—not memorials to somber events. Spectacular calligraphy does not portray a military march as it has in the past. Distraught landscapes are not portrayed. Instead, the brush conveys the loveliness of the season, flowers with sweet nostalgic emotional resonance. Animals are gloriously portrayed, and the gods smile upon the land. Yet, sometimes one wonders at the power of the hidden to reconstitute them.

HIDDEN HINOMARU

The *hinomaru* 日の丸 (the rising-sun motif of the nationalist flag of Japan used during colonial endeavors) resides festively on Asahi beer labels, not in the territory of saké labels. Yet it has not vanished from sight. It may be found rather discretely as either a yellow or red sun, or a red “*hanko*.” The contemporary “red dot” of the current Japanese flag could be a sort of shorthand for the hinomaru. The hinomaru flag, which flew during colonial conquest throughout Asia and the Great Pacific War, remains a contested symbol.

Our own American confederate flag evokes similar enmity and debate on a smaller scale.



Figure 37. Sun over Fuji.¹²¹

Symbol of longevity. The first of the year’s auspicious saké, to be drunk to celebrate the New Year. 初亀 [First Turtle of the New Year].

¹²¹ Hinomaru label, Hatsu-kame 初亀, [First Turtle], “Shizuoka Jizaké Mappo,” personal photograph by author, March 2004.

¹²² Koichi Iwabuchi, Recentering Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism (Durham: Duke UP 2002).

With such a rich source of ink, images, and icons to draw upon for national identification, perhaps refraining from overt promotion of the nation-state is perhaps deemed wisest. In this way, the “cultural odor” of saké avoids bearing the potential stench among former enemies and unforgettable colonies of the not-long-ago past. The exuberant subjects portrayed moves Japan, as Iwabuchi says into the more fragrant side of “cultural odor,” which is a...way of life ...associated *positively* with a particular product in the consumption process.

Saké label images reinforce a sense of community and “we” as Japanese. Exported outside the borders of Japan, label images become the ambassadors of culture and a reflexive representation of Japanese self-portrayal. Produced outside of Japan, the label conveys selectivity is safer, but definitely loses some of Japan’s uniquely held iconography. As a reinforcing medium drawing upon deep wells of history, literature, and imagined spaces, it seems endless in creative combinations of elements within its fixed spatial territory. . Whether obvious or concealed, the label iconography has kept the gaze of both producer and viewer in safe territory of happy nostalgia in a form of “internal monologue towards the past. As Yano says, “We long for our past Japanese selves.”¹²³

¹²³ Christine R. Yano, Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2002) 178.

CHAPTER VI. Conclusions



元摺り歌 (1-3)¹²⁴

- 一 始まる月はお正月
- 二 ニッコリ笑った娘の子
- 三 山島やまどりや尾が長い

Moto Tsuru Uta

- ichi hajimaru tsuki wa oshōgatsu
- ni nikkori warata musume no ko
- san santō yamadoriya o ga nagai.

Starter Mix Counting Game Song

- One It starts off with the New Year's month.
- Two A young daughter greets you with a smile.
- Three The tails of the Santo Golden Pheasant* of are long indeed.

**Santo*. Santo may be a certain type of Golden Pheasant.

Figure 38. Kanji for saké from a handlettered sign.¹²⁵

From a hand painted advertisement for a tasting of new saké in a local Kamakura hotel

A recurrent question saké makers ask themselves is “Can Japanese saké survive?” A linguistic expression gives a short answer:

The word *hitorizake* (drinking alone) is an expression for loneliness—nothing is lonelier than having to pour one’s own saké.¹²⁶

When I started my research, I was dismayed by the severe decline in the number of sakazukuri in Japan...from some 30,000 down to less than 2,000 registered breweries. Market share had plummeted from nearly 100% to less than 10%. On the surface, things looked bleak. Saké will never regain complete control of the market in Japan, but it can move out into the rest of the world. Over the past decade, saké brewers have made some interesting choices. The large, factory produced saké makers such as Ozeki and Gekkeikan have either reinstated or purchased smaller, handcrafted breweries and used their marketing power to

¹²⁴ Sakata 106.

¹²⁵ Kanji for ‘saké,’ Kamakura, Japan, photograph by the author, digitally enhanced, 9 January 2004.

¹²⁶ Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self* 97.

promote highly pure and well-made saké. Increasingly, small and mid-sized saké brewers have chosen to go online with increasingly sophisticated websites. A typical website will first and foremost give a feeling for their company, and what makes their saké special. Usually, the website gives their history, introduces the staff, lists every sakaya that sells their product, and cross references to other breweries, or points of interest. Many are quite amusing, and feature adorable logos, as well as animation that range from stunningly beautiful to comically approachable. Sound is mercifully absent but a few have links to saké theme music. They may be part of a tourist website promoting their city, or region. Sites may have information only in Japanese. My guess is about 30 percent include English in various amounts.

The choices before a saké brewer today are unlike any other time, and they are similar. Different in that the promotional tools are new, and the industry less isolated. The connection between where the saké is made and where it is sold is no longer bounded by proximity. Yet, the choices of the saké brewer are always the same: how to remain in business and produce a different saké. The economic situation has rarely been tranquil, and Japan is still recovering from the disastrous last decade. Today, though, the saké industry is changing in hopeful ways. Standardization of equipment, mold, and yeast give more control. Mechanization and advances in biological sciences give the brewer unprecedented control over the final product, whether made in clusters of five-story tanks such as Gekkeikan and Nihonsakari, or a few modest tanks in the back room such as Fujioka Shuzō. Nuances and delicacies unattainable in the past are now widespread. Saké drinking can be the domain of the connoisseur.

Some sakagura do not want to expand as they can sell all they produce right now. Many others, though, are pressured to sell more in a shrinking domestic market. What may happen next is for the remaining handcrafted sakagura to unite and market in groups over

the internet instead of trying to draw attention individually. A little less competition and more cooperation may save many of them in a market that continues to be precarious. I am looking for signs of this to happen among smaller brewers within Japan. Since 1999, English language *esaké.com* has marketed handcrafted saké online within Japan and increasingly to markets outside of Japan. Japan can only sell so much saké to itself.

Another hopeful sign is that younger workers are returning to the saké workplace. Women increasingly have access to higher levels of responsibility beyond the cashier in front, or the factory bottle labeler. Sons return to work with their fathers, or take up their father's saké business after a period of working in the offices of Tokyo or Osaka. They return with the skills of the modern workplace, a higher degree of comfort with English and doing business with foreigners, and familiarity with computers and other modern business practices.

The small number of saké brewers outside of Japan face interesting choices. So far, they have largely elected to retain overt Japanese themes. SakeOne in Forest Grove, Oregon, and Hakusan in Napa, California, have dropped Japanese themes. My theory is that they wish to avoid the "foreignness" of Japan to their domestic market. It is a valid marketing tactic. I wonder if later they will market certain lines that reinstate the Japanese images.

Saké shows no sign of disappearing. Yet, the images portrayed on labels, and websites, largely continue to allude to the familiar. The changes and challenges to the industry remain in the background, unspoken. Saké images continue to provide a resting point from modernity, and this seems appropriate to recreational drinking. Modern appearing labels have upbeat, cheerful colors and themes. The developing export market will need labels that attract people uninformed of the deeper levels of cultural information. The images produced continue to draw upon the long heritage of Japan, from the earliest mythical beings, to poetic images wrought by historical figures, and a need for proof of identity. Part of the answer to the eternal question,



Figure 39. Fujioka interior.¹²⁷

New space incorporates elements from his father's sakazukuri.

“What does it mean to be Japanese?” is found through the rich and endless imagery on labels, and the concepts from the deep history of saké that are part of the Japanese psyche.

Masaoka Fujioka rebuilt the sakazukuri on this site, where he grew up in his father's saké business. Using pieces of the original sakazukuri, he has recreated a congenial gathering place for local people. The interior space echoes a refined small restaurant or room near the

¹²⁷ Fujioka Shuzō customer serving area. Hanging scroll in tokonoma, hanging iron pot and sunken fireplace from original sakazukuri. The brewing area is viewable through the window behind the bar. Fujioka Shuzō. Fushimi, Japan, personal photograph by author, 5 January 2004.

Kamo River where Japanese have traditionally spent many a hot and humid Kyoto evening. He sells his handmade saké locally and to a selection of specialized dealers throughout Japan. The saké is commodified into Italian 500ml bottles of an unusual shape. His neighborhood is the heart of Fushimi's saké tradition. Literally a block away, the giant towers of Takara Shuzō crowd the streets and the fragrant odor of saké permeates the air. A few blocks to the north, the largest brewery in Japan and the world displays the Gekkeikan saké museum and entire rooms of the founders. Yet, Fujioka remains committed to handcrafting saké for the local people and a few selected specialty saké sellers throughout Japan. He is not alone in selecting to keep small and relatively uncommercialized.



Figure 40. Dewazakura (Tendo Yuki) Shuzō.¹²⁸

A photo from Taishō 3 (1929) of the sakazukuri hangs in the public meeting room along with other memorabilia.

The local sakazukuri has a special esteem in the neighborhood, and each bottle carries with it the history, hopes, and aspirations of the producer. Modern Japan is changing,

¹²⁸ personal photograph by author, 29 December 2003.

as always, and part of the question finds answers in the hard yet rooted life of the sakazukuri. Modern saké is exploring new grounds such as saké bars, pink champagne-like light saké, and the *sakatini*. Saké bars are a reenactment of the personal sakaya endemic to Japan. The atmosphere is highly personal and the selection from the owner's own tastes. Outside of Japan, sake bars are the latest rage, but I am not sure the selection is well informed. Boulder's *Amu* 有無 ("quality of nothingness") saké bar is a successful reenactment though.

When contemporary Japanese identify themselves as either saké drinkers or non-saké drinkers, they do so with a sense of resistance to identifying themselves as traditional Japanese or modern and Westernized. Saké drinkers present themselves as less modern and more in tune with traditional ways. The joy of Japan, though, is how quickly such a bifurcation convolutes itself. Just as "Japanese rice" has not always been the same item, so saké has changed dramatically from its early forms. With the advent of saké bars in Japan, and the repackaging of saké to appeal to younger drinkers more accustomed to beer and wine, drinking saké may be a new fashion that incorporates both views.

I met several individuals during my field trip to Japan who have left the standard corporate lifestyle and returned to the traditional family business of saké. Fujioka Masaaki of Fujioka Shuzō revived his father's profession after a ten-year absence. He had to destroy the old sakazukuri to recreate his own in the same space, incorporating irregular cedar beams into the ceiling, the stones, a stained glass window in the entrance, and artwork. This is a specific example of abstract space recreating itself in a new context. Fujioka Shuzō continues the tradition as the local sakazukuri and reclaims the past with *tatami*, *tokonoma*, *irori* and the business decision to remain small. Yoshitaka Yasuku returned from his Tokyo *sarariman* サラリマン work in Tokyo to work alongside his father, the vice-president of Shushinkan

Kobezaké. Shushinkan Kobezaké continues to expand the notion of “tradition” with their restaurants, museum, cultural center, and the economic decision to expand aggressively into new markets. Oiso Yukari abandoned the usual office role for women in a Japanese corporation. As a former O.L or “Office Lady,” she is now in charge of Shushinkan Kobezaké extensive cultural center.

Visits to the sakazukuri as tourist or local resident offer reassuring reinforcement for perceived uniqueness of something nostalgic, entwining, uniting, and comforting. Even the largest saké corporations have had to reopen their past to attract new customers in the new “post-bubble” economy.

Japanese identity and the traditional sakazukuri are an evolving concept. Saké is a common element throughout an extraordinary range of subjects essential to defining a vital component of what it means to be “Japanese.” The imagery produced indicates the depth and richness that saké still conveys in exuberant abundance.

Bibliography



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四 島田に甲笄奴に堤燈
 五 ごそずく鹿の子の長いまき
 六 六助起きて山へ行け未だ眼がさめぬと大欠伸
 七 七面鳥は唐の庭鳥

Moto Tsuru Uta

shi shimada mage no wi ni kōgai yakko ni chōchin
 go gozozuku kanoko* no nagai maki.
 roku Rokusuke[†] okite yama e ike mada me ga samenu to ōakubi.
 shichi shichimenchō wa kara no niwatori

Starter Mix Counting Game Song

Four The *shimada* hairstyle is held with a hairpin and the delivery boy carries a paper lantern.
 Five A long roll of material has the *gozozuku kanoko* pattern.
 Six “Ryotsuke, get up and go to the mountain.” Roused from sleep, he responds with a tremendous yawn.
 Seven The turkey is a Chinese chicken.

**gozozuku kanoko*. Tradition pattern used in material for kimono. An intricate tie-dye technique results in a pattern resembling the spots on a fawn’s coat.

[†]*Ryotsuke*. Common name for non-samurai men.

Figure 41. Kanji for saké from the old sakazukuri signboard.¹³⁰

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¹²⁹ Sakata 106.

¹³⁰ Kanji for 'saké' from the historical display in the Tendo Yuki saké office, Yamagata, Japan, digitally enhanced, personal photograph by author, 29 December 2003.

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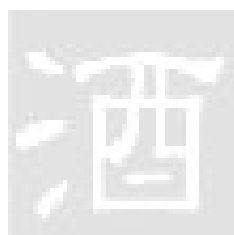
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Appendices



元摺り歌 (8-10)¹³¹

- 八 八高大師は釈迦の曹孫
 九 燻りかえった今朝のこしき番
 十 重源寺のどた坊主お経が大経が嫌いで女好き

Moto Tsuru Uta

hachi hakko Daishi wa Shaka no himago
 kyu kusuburi kaetta kesa no koshikiban
 jyū jyū Gen Dera no dota bōzu, ō kyō ga kirai de onna suki

Starter Mix Counting Game Song

Eight Yokō Daishi* is the great grandson of the Shakamuni†
 Buddha.

Nine Completely smoke† saturated; this morning it is our turn.

Ten That idiot monk of Jyūgen Temple doesn't like the sutras—
 but he loves women.

**Yokō Daishi* is a Buddhist name for a “great teacher.”

†*Shakamuni* is a great Buddha associated with the Nichiren Amida sect and the Lotus Sutra. ‡*Kusuburi*. The night crew is covered in smoke from the fire tended under the rice steamer.

Figure 42. Kanji for saké from a metal street sign.¹³²

The glossary serves as a concise reference for the many Japanese terms used. The Saké Tour appendix provides photographs of my hosts and contact information of the saké sites I visited.

1. Glossary

Amaterasu Omikami 天照大御神 Sun Goddess of Japanese early mythos.

amazaké 甘酒 sweet drink made from fermented rice.

bakufu 幕府 shogunate government.

bijinshu 美人酒 beautiful woman saké.

chōkai 町会 neighborhood association.

daiginjō 大吟醸 highly milled saké.

¹³¹ Sakata 106.

¹³² Kanji for saké from a metal street sign for the local Shushinkan shuzō, Hyōgo, Japan. Personal photography by author. Digitally enhanced. 4 January, 2004.

danka 檀家, sponsors, adherent of a Buddhist temple.
urusato 故里 homeland, one's spiritual home.
fūryū 風流 "The flow of the wind," connoisseurship; a sense of refined elegance.
hakama 袴 pleated long pants for formal wear.
haori 羽織 short coat worn over formal kimono.
hitorizake 一人酒 drinking alone.
horohoro ほろほろ pleasant, melodious, drunken state.
hyō 俵 one bale, a bag.
iwai 祝い special blessing song.
jinja 神社 Shintō shrine.
jizaké 地酒 naturally made, hand-crafted saké. Implies "traditional, local" saké.
jizō 地藏 bodhisattva, savior of the helpless; stone image of Jizō.
jun mae shū 順前集 saké with no additives and no extra alcohol. Natural saké.
kagura 神楽 music, song and dancing to please the Shintō gods.
kaiseki 会席 elaborate Japanese meal originally served with the tea ceremony.
kami 神 deities, god, gods.
kamidana 神棚 household Shintō altar.
kanji 漢字 Chinese character, or ideograph, used in Japanese writing.
kappa 河童 mythical water sprite.
kegare 汚れ pollution; intrusions into the temporal world.
kimochi 気持 a feeling, a sensation, a mood.
kōbo 酵母 yeast.
kōji 麹 mold.
roku 石 180 liters, or ten cubic feet.
koma-inu 狛犬 stone dog located at the gates to Shintō shrines. Always in pairs.
kome 米 rice.
kuchikami no saké 口噛みの酒) or "chewing-in-the-mouth sake," chewed in the mouth.
kura 倉 storehouse.
kura 蔵 saké brewery. Originally interchangeable with 倉. Also, "sakagura."
kurabito 蔵人 brewery worker.
kuroki 黒き 'black or dark saké.
lao shou Chinese-type saké.
makoto 真 sincerity.

- meigara* 銘柄 brand names.
- minyō* 民謡 a folk song; popular song; ballad.
- mizu* 水 water.
- mon* 文 equals 1/1000th *kan* 貫, or 3.75 kilograms.
- moromi* 酒粕 final mash.
- moto* 元 starter mash.
- nama* 生 fresh, unpasteurized.
- nihonshu* 日本 saké, as opposed to all other alcoholic beverages. While heavily implied, does not inherently mean saké made in Japan.
- nigorizaké* 濁り酒 cloudy, unfiltered, unrefined saké.
- norito* 祝詞 invocatoin of the gods participating in Shintō rites.
- o-miki* 御神酒 sacred saké used in Shintō rites.
- omikoshi* お御輿 portable shrine housing the local *kami*.
- onshin* 御師 pilgrimage master; low Shintō priest who makes housecalls along the pilgrimage.
- oseibo* お歳暮 year-end present.
- oyakata-nago* 親方一名護 boss-hired help?
- sakaki* 榊 species of camellia. Branches are used in Shintō rites.
- sakaya*; *sakéya* 酒, saké store, saké seller.
- sakazuki* 杯 sake cup.
- sakazukuri* 酒造 saké brewery; *sakezukuri*; *shuzō*.
- saké* 酒 alcoholic brewed and fermented beverage made from rice, water, yeast and mold in a triple-fermented process.
- sake* 鮭 salmon.
- sakagura* 酒蔵 saké warehouse.
- sakebitari* 酒浸り abandon oneself to drinking, sodden with drinking.
- sakébito* 酒人 saké brewery worker.
- sakebune* 酒船 “saké boat” container that squeezed the saké from the lees.
- sakegami* 酒神 gods of saké.
- setsuwa* 説話 collection of stories; novel in narrative form.
- shamoji* 杓文字 rice spatula, symbole of communsality and woman who rules the kitchen.
- shinzen* 神前 before the alter. Wedding ceremony according to Shintō rites.
- shintai* 神体 god-body.
- Shintō* 浸透 Shintoism; the Shintō religion; a Shintōist.

shiroki 白き ‘white’ or pure saké.

shō 升 equals 1,588 quart or 0.48 standard gallon. The standard 1.8-liter bottle for saké or soy sauce.

shōchū 焼酎 distilled spirit from potatoes, barley, millet or other grains; in Okinawa, from sugar cane.

shodō 書道 calligraphy using inkbrush for kanji.

shuzō 酒造 saké brewery.

Susano-o-no-mikoto 示唆能の尊 or 須佐之男命 Brother of Amateresu and “God of Prowess.”

tabi 足袋 split-toed cloth socks. Homonym for 旅, or “travel.”

taru 樽 casks of saké; a keg.

to 斗 3.9 gallons. The standard volume of rice for one person to live on for one year.

tōji 杜氏 chief brewer in the saké brewery.

tokkuri 徳利 pottery containers, pottery saké bottle.

ton’ya saké merchant.

uchikowashi 家壊し house breaking, smashing.

yaegaki 八重垣 the eightfold fence of Izumo, from the Kojiki.

yamabiko 山彦 mountain echo, answering echo.






yamabushi 山伏 ascetic mountain priest.

2. Saké Field Research, Winter Break 2003






Tour Saké was a journey of discovery and affirmation. Those I contacted from Dr. Joyce Lebra's twenty-year old meishi/business cards were more than a little surprised and then very generous with their support. The bundles of information, tours of every nook and cranny, and personal attention they provided a curious stranger demonstrates the attention and care that keeps the saké brewers going from generation to generation. From the smallest, one-man neighborhood brewery to the largest, international conglomerate, I was made most welcome.



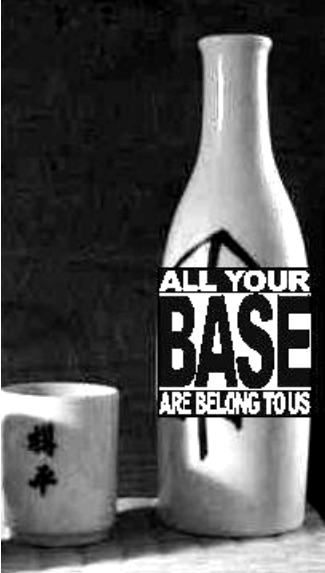
Table 2: Saké sites visited during December 2003-January 2004.

| Date | Contact Information | Site & url | Host |
|-------------------|---|--|--|
| 2003 | | | |
| California | | | |
| 14 Dec. | Takara Sake USA 708 Addison Street, Berkeley, CA 94710 (510) 540-8250 info@takarasake.com | Takara Sake USA http://www.takarasake.com/contact/contact.htm | Tasting Room and Museum. Highly recommended. |
| 16 Dec. | Hakusan Sake Gardens (707) 258-6160 1 Executive Way Napa, CA 94558 (707) 258-6160 1 (800) KOHNAN1 sake@hakusan.com | Hakusan Sake Gardens http://www.hakusan.com | Tasting Room. Museum only viewable from outside. |
| Japan | | | |
| 19 Dec. | Tokyo 〒198-0172 東京都青梅市沢井 2-770 小澤酒造株式会社 tel. 0428-78-8215 tokyo@sawanoi-sake.com - Sawainoi Ozawa Shuzō Co., Ltd. 2-770 Sawai Ome City, Tokyo 〒198-0064 | Saiwa Shuzō http://www.sawanoi-sake.com/ |  <p>Mr. Oka</p> |

| Date | Contact Information | Site & url | Host |
|------------|--|---|--|
| 27 Dec. | Aizu-Wakamatsucho 福島県会津若松市日新町 12-38 tel: 0242-27-4545 info@sake-suehiro.jp | Suehiro http://www.sake-suehiro.jp/ |  <p data-bbox="1084 464 1421 499">Mr. Shinjo Motoyuki</p> |
| 27 Dec. | Aizu-Wakamatsucho 〒965-0804 福島県会津若松市花春町 5 番 1 号 tel. 0242-26-3000 hanaharu@hanaharu.co.jp | Hanaharu http://www.hanaharu.co.jp/home.htm |  <p data-bbox="1084 890 1421 953">Mr. Takano Miyamori Hanaharu</p> |
| 27 Dec. | 8-1, 1-chome, Zaimoku-machi, Aizu-Wakamatsu City 〒965-0872 tel. 0242-26-0031 | Hakubustukan Sake Museum. http://www.city.aizuwakamatsu.fukushima.jp/e/kanko/w_b/w_b020.htm |  <p data-bbox="1084 1199 1421 1236">Mr. & Mrs. Yasuhiro Miyamori</p> |
| 28 Dec. | 〒990-0037 山形県山形市八日町 2 丁目 4-13 tel. 023-641-0141 koten@otokoyama.co.jp - Otokoyama 男山 Shuzō Kabushika Gaisha Yamagata-shi 990-22 0236-41-0141 | Otoko-yama http://www.otokoyama.co.jp/ . |  |
| 29 Dec. | 1-4-6 Hitoichimachi Tendo City Yamagata Japan 〒994-0044 | Dewazakura (Tendo-yuki) http://www.dewazakura.co.jp/sake.htm |  |

| Date | Contact Information | Site & url | Host |
|--------|---|---|--|
| 2004 | | | |
| 2 Jan. |  Kizakura 黄桜 Shuzō Kabushika Gaisha Nahoko Ushihara tel. 075-611-4101 kzpost@kizakura.co.jp | Kizakura http://www.kizakura.co.jp/index.htm amazing ad: http://www.kizakura.co.jp/htm/cm_6.htm |  |
| 3 Jan. | Sumiyoshi Jingu Kamikamo-gawa Sumiyoshi Shrine, Hyogo Bus stop:Sumiyoshi-Jinja tel: 0795-42-3301 | Sumiyoshi Jingu No webpage. Shintō Shrine of many saké makers. |  |
| 8 Jan. | Kobe 菊正宗酒造記念館 〒658-0026 神戸市東灘区魚崎西町 1-9-1 tel. 078-854-1029 | Kikumasamune Saké Museum http://www.kikumasamune.co.jp/kinenkan/index.html |  |
| 8 Jan. | Kobe 神戸市灘区大石南町 1 丁目 29-1 tel.078-391-4755 | Sawa no Tsuru Shuzō and Saké Museum http://www.sawanotsuru.co.jp/ |  |
| 4 Jan. | Kobe 〒658-0044 神戸市東灘区御影塚町 1-8-17 tel. 078-821-2911 info@shushinkan.co.jp - Shushinkan Shuzō 1-8-17 Mikagetsuka-machi, Higashi nada-ku, Kobe 658-0044 tel. 078 841 1121 oisoy@shushinkan.co.jp | Shushinkan http://www.shushinkan.co.jp/ |  Mr. Yoshitaka Yasufuku and Yukio Yasufuku-son and father. |

| Date | Contact Information | Site & url | Host |
|--------|--|--|---|
| 6 Jan. | Gekkeikan Sake Co., Ltd, 247 Minami-hama-cho Fushimi, Kyoto Museum tel.: 075 623 2056 | Gekkeikan http://www.gekkeikan.co.jp/index.html |  <p data-bbox="1089 485 1429 583">Mr. Kazuro Fukuda, tour guide.</p> |
| 5 Jan. | Kyoto-Fushimi Fujioka 藤岡 Shuzō Kabushika Gaisha 〒611-4341 sookuu-kyoto@ybb.ne.jp | Fujioka 藤岡 No web page. |  <p data-bbox="1089 995 1429 1026">Mr. Fujioka</p> |
| 9 Jan. | Hirai, Yamanashi | Sakura Izakaiya No web page. |  <p data-bbox="1089 1272 1429 1308">Mr. Timothy Takemoto</p> |
| 7 Jan. | Kobe 〒662-8521 兵庫県西宮市用海町4番57号 tel: 0798-32-2590 kohoka@nihonsakari.co.jp - 4-57, Yogai-cho Nishinomiya, Hyogo 662-8521 kazuyo.irie@nihonsakari.co.jp | Nihon Sakari http://www.nihonsakari.co.jp/ |  <p data-bbox="1089 1560 1429 1633">Ms.Kazuyo Irie</p> |
| 8 Jan. | Kobe | Taki no Koi No web page. |  |

| Date | Contact Information | Site & url | Host |
|---------------|--|---|---|
| 9 Jan. | Sake Plaza 〒105-0003 東京都港区西新橋 1-1-21 日本酒造会館 1F・4F tel. 03-3519-2091 info-sake@japansake.or.jp - 1-21-1 Nishi-Shinbashi, | Sake Plaza, aka: Saké Center; Nihonshu Senta http://www.japansake.or.jp/sake/information/ |  Wall to wall saké and labels. |
| 10 Jan. | Kamakura Numerous little saké jinjas and sakéya. | Zushi coast |  Zushi local shrine with saké and rice. |
| 15 Jul 2005 ☉ | For questions and information about further sakazukuri adventures: patricia.yarrow@colorado.edu /or/ pyarrow@well.com | This thesis is posted to my webpage about saké: http://www.well.com/~pyarrow/tokyo/sake.htm |  |