

みんなくりポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

Keynote Address : Alcoholic Beverages and Civilization

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 梅棹, 忠夫 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00002726

Keynote Address: Alcoholic Beverages and Civilization

Tadao UMESAO
National Museum of Ethnology

1. Introduction
2. Alcoholic Beverage Production in East Asia
3. Wine Production
4. Beer Production
5. The Advent of Distilled Alcohol
6. The Philosophy of Abstinence
7. Prohibition Movement
8. Alcohol-Naïve Regions
9. Drinking Places in Europe
10. Drinking Places in China and Japan
11. Taboos and Self-Control
12. Future Development

1. INTRODUCTION

The origins of alcoholic beverages are ancient, yet their ready availability is not very old, I believe. Indeed it may be quite new. For most of human history, alcoholic beverages were not consumed and not drinking alcohol could even be considered natural.

Consumption of alcoholic beverages comes only with the establishment of civilization, and then only in very limited regions. In the Mediterranean areas there was wine, in Western Europe there was beer, and in China and Japan alcoholic beverages were made by brewing rice. Wine and beer can replace water, and this perhaps explains the enormous amounts consumed. On the other hand, the alcoholic beverages of East Asia are stronger in alcohol content and their consumption in even small amounts leads to intoxication. Alcoholic beverages were also found in Africa, Latin America, and Central Asia. They had a low alcohol content and were usually considered to be a food or water substitute, yet they were not frequently consumed, until recently. It should be pointed out that no alcoholic beverages were consumed in North America and Oceania until the advent of the modern age.

Consumption of alcoholic beverages began within religious ceremonies. Later, as the business of brewing developed, alcoholic beverages began to be consumed in situations that were non-religious. Perhaps it is more correct to say that when consumption in situations other than religious ceremonies began, the business of brewing developed. It is only after alcoholic beverages became an industrial product that their mass consumption began. In this sense, alcoholic beverages may be considered a product of the modern age.

Diverse phenomena are associated with the consumption of alcoholic beverages in today's

world, and it seems that these are best understood as modern phenomena. These phenomena may also be best understood in relation to civilization rather than local culture.

2. ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE PRODUCTION IN EAST ASIA

First, let us consider the development of alcoholic beverage production as an industry. In Japan, this can be traced to the 15th century, during the Muromachi Period. With the advent of producers of alcoholic beverages for sale, a tax on *saké* was introduced by the Muromachi government. The appearance of a *saké* tax is thus associated with the rise of the *saké* industry.

Of course, *saké* was already produced during the Nara and Heian Periods. Called the “*Saké* of the Mikado (the Imperial Court),” it was produced by artisans in the court strictly for court use. Information on what type of *saké* and how much was being produced can be found in the Engi Shiki (regulations promulgated in the year 905). According to this source, 900 *koku* (1 *koku* = 180 liters) of rice were being used annually to produce *saké* for court ceremonies [YUNOKI 1987: 19].

During the Kamakura Period, the Buddhist temple became central in the production of *saké*. The temples possessed significant political authority through their close connections to the court, and began producing *saké* based on this authority. Gradually, merchants who enjoyed special relationships with the temples began to produce *saké*. Behind this development was the birth of a currency-based economy, following the importation of Song Dynasty coins. The resulting increase in commerce, particularly in the capital of Kyoto, invigorated the business of *saké* production considerably. In addition to temples in Kyoto, *saké* was produced at temples in Yamato (Nara), Kawachi (Osaka) and Omi (Shiga). However, the Kamakura Shogunate emphasized thrift and decorum in sumptuary laws and behavioral restrictions placed on the warrior class. *Saké* was looked upon as something that corrupted order and decorum, so the Shogunate employed a policy of strictly limiting the production of *saké*.

During the following Muromachi Period, restrictions on the production of *saké* were lifted and the new Shogunate’s policy shifted to taxation of *saké* production as a source of revenue. There was an enormous growth in the sake industry. The document entitled “*Sakaya Meibo*” (Directory of *Saké* Merchants), is a survey conducted in the 15th century inside and outside the capital, and according to this document, there were 342 registered producers of *saké* [YUNOKI 1987: 21-22]. The reason *saké* producers developed primarily in Kyoto can be attributed to three factors: (1) Traditionally, consumption was high in this area. (2) Rice, the raw material for producing *saké*, was concentrated there; high-ranking courtiers lived in the city, and when they received rental income from their provincial manors, it poured into Kyoto from all regions of the country in the form of rice. (3) Producers of *Koji*, an important ingredient in the production of *saké*, were concentrated in the vicinity of Kitano Shrine in Kyoto; in fact, production of *Koji* was virtually monopolized by adherents of this shrine.

During the Edo Period, *saké* production came under the control of feudal lords, who received land taxes in the form of rice. Rice was fundamental to the economy, and *saké* production, being an industry based on rice, became important for the financial status of feudal clans. This led to the establishment of a system of *saké* production shares. *Saké* production shares were business licenses that determined who could produce *saké* and how much. The

system involved mandatory contributions from recipients when the license was issued and a subsequent business tax based on the volume of *saké* produced. The volume of *saké* produced was controlled by means of this dual system of licensing and taxing. In reality, however, the volume of *saké* produced during the Edo Period fluctuated up and down in response to the repeated promulgation of ordinances restricting or liberalizing production. Naturally, it was in the periods of liberalization that the *saké* business flourished. The sudden rise of the latecomer breweries of Nada (Kobe) began in 1754 during a liberalized period. Further dramatic growth in Nada followed the liberalizing legislation of 1806 (YUNOKI 1987: 70-72).

Here, we need to point out an important feature of alcoholic beverage production in Japan. Growth of an industry depended on technical innovation. Although brewing technology cannot be ignored, what was most important was innovation in the containers used. Most revolutionary was the invention of the wooden vat for producing *saké* and the cask for transporting *saké*. This happened in the Edo Period, and once vats replaced the earthen pots used in the Muromachi Period, the production of *saké* in large volumes was made possible. The invention of the cask then made it possible to transport *saké* to far off places. By transporting *saké* on the so-called "*taru kaisen*" (cask ships) from Kansai (the region surrounding Kyoto) to the huge consumption center of Edo (present-day Tokyo), *saké* producers in Kansai achieved enormous wealth. The *saké* businesses of Itami, Ikeda, Nishinomiya, and Nada flourished as coastal suppliers of the so-called "*kudari-zaké*" (*saké* sent to Edo from Kyoto, the capital).

This history is in sharp contrast with the history of alcoholic beverages in China. There, vats and casks were not used in alcoholic beverage production or distribution. Without casks, transport to far off locations was difficult. The pots were heavy and liable to break. For this reason, alcoholic beverages were never transported to distant destinations in China. Consumption was close to the places of production. (Earthen pots are still used in China for traditional alcoholic beverages.) Thus, alcoholic beverage production in China lacked the conditions required for developing a large industry. The same can be said of Korea. Here again, neither vats nor casks were used, so the production of alcoholic beverages did not become an industry.

3. WINE PRODUCTION

Turning to the West, wine from the Mediterranean needs to be considered first. The history of wine goes back as far as 6,000 years. Wine was already being made in an organized manner in the ancient civilization of Sumer. The wine was produced for religious ceremonies but later became divorced from religion and was consumed by the upper classes. However, it is easy to imagine that the custom of drinking wine did not become pervasive among ordinary people.

Production of wine gradually increased and was commercially handled by Phoenician merchants. This was around the year 1,500 BC. Wine was transported in the amphora, a small earthenware container with a tapered base. Amphorae were used as containers for making wine, and also proved to be convenient for its transport. Wine was introduced into Greece by the Phoenicians and from there to Rome.

It is in the Roman age that containers changed from earthenware or porcelain pots to barrels. This was through the influence of the Celts of Gaul. The Celts preserved beer in barrels

and the Romans adapted this for use with wine [KOGA 1975: 96-98]. The expansion of the Roman Empire was itself characterized by the dissemination of wine. Wine became pervasive in Europe in the centuries shortly before and after Christ. By the 3rd century, wine production had reached almost all parts of Western Europe.

In the 4th century, however, a huge migration of Germanic peoples took place and, with the fall of the Roman Empire, wine production decreased dramatically. This was largely because vineyards were destroyed and turned into farmland for growing grain. Moreover, in the 6th century a new religion, Islam, appeared that prohibited the consumption of intoxicating beverages. The followers of Islam spread rapidly from the Middle East to northern shores of Africa, and also to India, thus expanding the territory. Wine production regions within this territory disappeared completely under Islamic control. In the 8th century, Islamic forces reached Spain and became a threat to the wine producing regions in France across the Pyrenees. With the migration of the Normans, unending civil warfare, invasion by the Mongols, and the plagues, medieval Europe entered its Dark Ages.

During this period, wine continued to be produced in small quantities only by Christian monasteries. Almost all of the later wine producers of Europe have their roots in these monasteries. In Christianity, wine is a special beverage. In the ceremony of the Eucharist, wine is believed to be transformed into the blood of Christ through transubstantiation and is thus indispensable in the ritual. For this reason, monasteries kept vineyards and continued the production of wine in the Dark Ages.

Bottling wine in a glass bottle sealed with a cork is a modern practice that has been handed down since the end of the 17th century. Through this innovation, it became possible to provide consumers with bottled wine. The innovation was thus highly convenient for distribution purposes, and the consumption of wine increased exponentially.

However, when viewed as an industry, the production of wine does not allow for much expansion of scale. This is because the harvesting period is concentrated within a short period, after which immediate preparations for wine production must be made. Furthermore, since the wine is stored in barrels, expanding the scale of production is a hopeless venture. Thus, wine production has taken the form of the coexistence of numerous small wineries.

4. BEER PRODUCTION

Organized production of beer also began with the Sumerians. This was taken to Egypt where production became very active. The beverage was consumed in copious amounts particularly in the hot summer months and its character was more a liquid supplement than alcoholic beverage. The Egyptians instituted a licensing system for the production of beer and mandated beer taxes.

Beer was not introduced into Greece but was introduced into Europe via the Balkan Peninsula. The Greeks considered beer to be a lowly beverage and wine to be more suitable for them.

In contrast to this, beer drinking became pervasive among the Germanic peoples. These people originally drank mead and this was replaced by beer. Numerous banquets were held during festival days and beer was consumed in copious amounts.

In Northern Europe, Christianity arrived after the introduction of beer. Although Christian doctrines were forced upon the people, festivities were considered a necessary social custom and festival dates were transposed into the Christian calendar and the banquets were maintained. The winter festival became Christmas and the summer festival Easter, so beer that was previously offered to the gods of the Germans was now offered to the God and saints of Christianity [HARUYAMA 1990a: 64].

Christianity and beer came to coexist in this manner and beer drinking became more active than ever. However, beer in those days was, for the most part, home brewed.

Commercial beer production began in Germany around the 8th century. When Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the Western Roman Empire with the help of the Catholic Church, he granted monasteries the right to produce and market beer. The production of beer by monasteries led to the eventual establishment of beer companies.

However, around the 10th century, citadels were built and people began to live within the castle walls. This was the beginning of the medieval city. As cities developed, beer production in the cities also developed as an industry. Cities were granted rights to produce beer separate from the beer production rights held by monasteries [HARUYAMA 1990a: 82-83].

In Britain, records of festivities from the first century BC indicate that both mead and apple cider were consumed. Beer was introduced into Britain in the first century AD, but until the 5th century mead was more in demand than beer.

After the Anglo-Saxons migrated to Britain in the mid-5th century, beer became dominant. As in Northern Europe, beer was consumed in copious amounts at banquets. Christianity also did not abolish drinking in Britain and monks actively participated in banquets.

While the use of hops began around the 14th century in Germany, this did not take hold in Britain until much later. Wheat liquor made without hops is called ale, and the British despised beer with hops as a contaminated drink, and became the only people to continue producing ale.

From around the 14th century, as medieval cities grew, production of ale increased and alehouses conducted a profitable business in the streets. Ale guilds were formed and production expanded. At the same time, drunkards appeared in growing numbers.

By the mid-16th century, there were 26 producers of ale and beer in London, and by 100 years later in 1684, the number had increased to 199 [HARUYAMA 1990b: 43]. In other words, production of ale had increased significantly. However, in those days, the norm was to sell the ale only through one's own establishment, so that the volume made by each producer was not large.

With the coming of the 18th century, the scale of breweries began to enlarge. Development of overland transport reduced the cost of transportation that had until then relied on waterways. Another reason for the enlargement of breweries was that consumers' purchasing power increased during the industrial revolution, and the demand for ale accelerated.

Moreover, at the beginning of the 18th century, a new beer called porter was created and gained popularity. In order to produce porter, it was necessary to age the beer in a barrel (cask) for nine months. This meant that larger capital was required, thus leading to larger-scale breweries. The production volume per brewery became ten times the level compared to that at the end of the 17th century [HARUYAMA 1990b: 90]. Here again, the cask and the vat played

important roles. Casks and vats became larger and this supported increased production.

With respect to receptacles, the use of bottles was a significant change. Bottling began in the 17th century for wine, and in the late 18th century for beer. Large scale bottling of beer came after the invention of the crown cap in the United States at the end of the 19th century and mechanization in the 20th century. However, in Britain the custom of drinking draft beer from barrels continued and bottling did not develop as it did in other countries.

Although porter is not widely known today, the Japanese certainly recognize lager beer. "Lager" is derived from an old German word meaning "store (noun)," and thus lager beer is beer that has been aged over a long period to raise the alcohol content. Lager beer is made in winter at its coldest, stored in a cellar to allow for fermentation and aging, and sold during the summer. While in storage, the yeast settles to the bottom of the fermenting vessel and beer is produced through the so-called "bottom fermenting" method. This type of beer was originally produced in Bavaria. All other types of beer were produced using top-fermenting yeast. Originally, lager beer could only be produced in the cold winter months, but with the invention of refrigeration in the late 19th century, production was extended to any time of the year.

As has been seen, modern brewing industries developed in the Eastern and Western extremes of the Eurasian continent, that is to say in East Asia and Europe. The use of barrels and vats in the modern age was extremely important with respect to determining the volume of alcoholic beverages that could be brewed and readily transported. In this sense, it can be said that China was left behind. The technical innovation of bottling, as exemplified in relatively recent times by the invention of the crown cap, became another important factor in the transport of alcoholic beverages.

5. THE ADVENT OF DISTILLED ALCOHOL

In addition to brewed alcoholic beverages, there are various kinds of distilled alcohol. The advent of distilled alcoholic beverages changed the manner in which alcohol was consumed and exerted significant social impact. That is to say, consumption of alcohol as the main ingredient in alcoholic beverages increased exponentially because of the introduction of distilled alcoholic beverages. Around the 13th century, "Eau de Vie" was produced by distilling wine. In the 14th century, new distilling techniques were developed in Germany and France and the production of "Gebranntwein (burnt wine)" began. However, the method involved was crude and labor intensive with poor yield, so the product was extremely expensive [HARUYAMA 1990b: 108].

Around the 16th century, Holland was the center of the wine trade. Wine was being purchased in large volumes regardless of quality, then different stocks were blended at random before adding sugar, fragrance and alcohol for subsequent sale to countries on the North Sea and Baltic Sea coasts. With the advent of distilled alcoholic beverages, they immediately became a new item for trade. Distilled alcohol does not degrade as easily as wine and the original source is not so apparent to consumers. The first such product was gin. The content of gin was not specified. Anything could be used as raw material, so that potatoes, buckwheat, rye, or whatever was available regardless of quality could be used to produce distilled alcohol. Juniper berries were soaked in this alcohol to add flavor and the resulting product was sold as

gin. In the Dutch language, the product is called “Genever” and in English, gin. This inexpensive distilled spirit was introduced throughout Europe and spread quickly to the colonies [HARUYAMA 1990b: 103].

The Dutch were also involved in the development of brandy, purchasing cheap wine to produce it. For the Dutch merchants, once it was distilled, the quality of the wine did not matter. The Dutch called this product “brandewijn,” a direct translation of the German term “Gebranntwein.” They sold it throughout Europe. This is how the term “brandy” came into common use. Spurred by its popularity, areas in France that could only produce inferior wine began distilling their wines themselves, thus producing brandies of higher quality, the now famous Cognac and Armagnac.

The technique for producing distilled alcohol spread to various regions, with each region producing its own variety. Some examples of distilled alcohol by region are whisky in Scotland, Aquavit (made from raw material such as potato and flavored with caraway) in Sweden, Branntwein and Schnaps in Germany, vodka in Russia, slivovitz (from plum wine) in the Balkans, rum made from sugar beets of the West Indian islands, as well as Calvados (made from apples) and Kirschwasser (made from cherries). Distilled alcohol was less expensive and was quickly intoxicating, so it became widely popular in a very short time.

In North America, immigrants who arrived in New England in the 17th century originally brewed beer at home, but they soon began producing applejack (a distilled alcohol made from apples) and a distilled alcohol made from rye. In 1700, molasses made from sugar cane was imported from the Caribbean islands and a factory for making rum using the molasses was constructed. This inexpensive alcohol spread rapidly throughout America. Although the upper classes consumed brandy imported from Europe (the Puritans especially were fond of plum or apple brandy), the lower classes consumed rum.

Meanwhile, immigrants from Scotland who had settled in Kentucky began making whisky. This was a unique alcohol made from germinated corn, and became known as bourbon whisky. By the end of the 18th century, it is said that there were more than 5,000 distillers in the West [OTSUKA 1984: 139]. The United States had become a country of spirits. Distilled alcohol then began making inroads among the Native Americans. It was commonly said that “missionaries and alcohol producers sold spirits to the Native Americans.”

Distilling had been introduced into China during the 13th century Yuan Dynasty. Brewers there began producing a distilled alcohol with unique fragrance and flavor through fermentation in pits dug in the ground. In Chinese, the word for distilled alcohol is *baijiu*. Particularly in the northern part of China, the introduction of *baijiu* was welcomed and it replaced the traditional brewed alcoholic beverage *huangjiu* to become the beverage of choice. The situation continues to this day and in 1990 consumption of *baijiu* was 5,150,000 tons or 16 times the consumption of *huangjiu* in terms of pure alcohol volume [HANAI 1992: 146]. China is also a country of distilled alcohol.

As has been seen, whenever distilled alcohol appeared, in most instances there was a major shift from brewed alcohol to distilled forms. In other words, consumption shifted to the inexpensive and more readily intoxicating beverages. However, these shifts led to the appearance of numerous problem drinkers. Japan, in this regard, is an exception to the rule. Consumption of shochu, a distilled alcoholic beverage, did not become pervasive with the

exception of Kyushu and Okinawa or during certain post-war periods.

The invention of distilled alcohol and its dissemination is highly important in explaining the role alcoholic beverages play in the modern age. Through this invention, even ordinary people could drink to the point of intoxication on an everyday basis. Progress in the supply of alcohol thus led to overdrinking and alcoholism.

6. THE PHILOSOPHY OF ABSTINENCE

From the very start, alcoholic beverages have been characterized by a contradiction. Intoxication brings comfort and enjoyment to people, making them more sociable, and yet excessive drinking invites deviation from social order. Although alcoholic beverages were initially linked to religious ceremonies, when drinking began in other contexts, drunkenness often ensued. Inevitably, there were people who looked upon such drunkenness negatively. This can be seen clearly within religion.

For example, Islam is a religion of abstinence. In Islam, each individual enters into a contract with God. This contract is faith. In other words, the God of Islam represents extremely high morality and the contract with God is equivalent to a promise to uphold such morality. Human beings in their original form are regarded as having no morality. To become intoxicated is to forget this contract. Thus, drinking is prohibited.

Christianity is not a religion of abstinence. In fact, as has been seen thus far, even the clergy actively consumed alcoholic beverages. More than that, they were producers of alcoholic beverages.

However, the Protestants were somewhat different. Protestants believed that they were linked directly to God, without any need for intervention by the church or clergy. They were required to practice morality individually in the face of God. Labor rather than idleness, and abstinence from alcoholic beverages because they degrade the human being, were encouraged as paths that must be personally chosen. This concept is extremely similar to that of Islam.

Abstinence among the Hindus is of a slightly different nature. It is said that alcoholic beverages were consumed in India in the past and that there was drunkenness. With the development of the caste system, the Brahmans, who were an occupational clergy, created precepts for themselves that prohibited the killing of animals and the consumption of meat and alcoholic beverages. In this way they could set themselves apart from other castes - the prohibitions did not apply to lower castes or social outcasts. In other words, Hinduism rested on the juxtaposition of the pure and aesthetic Brahmans with the foul blooded and avaricious lower classes [TANI 1983: 66-67]. Abstinence was considered desirable and common in numerous castes, but not in the lower castes or among outcasts.

In Japan, there are very few examples of religious abstinence. Although Buddhist monks were enjoined to avoid drinking, the ban was not applied to ordinary Buddhist followers. Over time, as Buddhism took on features particular to Japan, the taboo against alcohol became weaker, and drinking among monks became more common.

Prohibition in the modern day is closely linked to the Protestant movement mentioned earlier, but other factors appear to be involved.

7. PROHIBITION MOVEMENT

The prohibition movement began in Britain and the United States in the period from the beginning of the 19th century to the early 20th century. The movements in both countries were driven by the spread of distilled alcoholic beverages.

In Britain, the popularity of distilled alcohol combined with urban poverty in the early stages of the industrial revolution to give rise to the prohibition movement. Inexpensive gin was readily available to the working classes, and their fondness for it meant that drunkards filled the streets. In response to this crisis, from around the 18th century, successive regulatory laws targeting gin in particular were promulgated. The method employed was to levy taxes on the sale and production of gin. However, the desired reduction in public drunkenness was not forthcoming.

In 1831, the British and Foreign Temperance Society was formed in London. However, people who thought temperance to be a half measure tried to extend this to a teetotal movement. The Quakers were behind this movement and it obtained the support of the urban middle class. A prohibition group was established and the prohibition movement became more active. A law *mandating abstinence for youths under the age of 18 was promulgated, education in abstinence* introduced into the schools, and textbooks advocating abstinence were produced. The issue of abstinence became a political one with the Liberal party in favor of regulation, and the Conservative party supporting brewers by opposing it. Eventually, limitations placed on pub business hours and a significant increase in alcohol taxes led to decreased consumption. Thereafter, the conflict faded as a political issue [KAIICHI 1984: 586].

The abstinent Protestants were closely linked to the prohibition movement in Britain, but they were not the only supporters of the movement. Philanthropists were also involved through their attempts to better the conditions of the working class, whose poverty was attributed to drinking. The idea that drinking alcohol was the root cause of poverty had spread. The warning of physicians that drinking was harmful to health also contributed to the movement. There was also the undercurrent of a social situation that demanded a healthy labor force.

The prohibition movement in the United States was more forceful than in Britain. Here again, the movement was spurred by the popularity of distilled alcohol and was started by the Quakers and Methodists. In 1826, the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was formed in Boston. Eventually, this movement transformed into a political one. In 1836, the American Temperance Federation was formed. However, these movements in their early stages called only for abstinence from distilled alcoholic beverages. Brewed alcohol was not targeted. Only later would all alcoholic beverages be targeted.

Through this abstinence movement, prohibition laws were passed at state levels. By 1856, thirteen states had passed such laws. However, in reality, prohibiting alcohol was difficult, and by 1906, all but three states had repealed their prohibition laws. This had the reverse effect of raising awareness of the need to promulgate a national prohibition law by amending the federal constitution.

After the First World War, in a context of heightened moral awareness, a Prohibition law was promulgated as federal law. However, this resulted in widespread smuggling by gangsters such as Al Capone, and in 1933 the law was repealed [SHINKAWA 1984: 587].

Analysis of the prohibition movement in the United States is possible from a variety of perspectives. Perhaps most important is the fact that Puritanism has been extremely strong in American history. The current anti-smoking movement also reflects features of this Puritanism. The difference between the prohibition movement and the anti-smoking movement is that whereas the former was based in religion, the latter is based in science. Science is an easy replacement for religion.

Large volumes of alcoholic beverages are consumed in France. Here also, the issue of temperance surfaced. However the temperance movement in France had more to do with medicine than religion. The idea was to liberate people from the physical misery of dependence on alcohol, while also alleviating the misery of urban life. In both these goals, the concept of sanitation can be seen. Doctors first created the concept of alcoholism [NOURRISSON 1996(1990): 169-187], then tried to eradicate the affliction. A movement for preventing alcoholism began among the elite and in particular among doctors. Later, the working class joined this movement and it progressed in various ways. This led to a system for preventing alcoholism through laws and regulations but, in reality, it was unsuccessful in distancing people from alcohol.

The prohibition movement was also seen in Japan. In 1886, Kazutaka Ito of the Sapporo Agricultural School formed the Sapporo Abstinence League. In the same year, the Tokyo Women's Moral Reform Society was established with Yuko Yajima as chairman. In addition to campaigning for abstinence from alcohol, this society was concerned with various issues including officially-sanctioned prostitution. In 1890, the Japan Abstinence League was formed to promote the abstinence movement.

These movements began under the influence of Christianity, but later, in the context of Japan's emerging militarism, advocating abstinence became part of the trend toward strict moral and social discipline. However, the alcoholic beverage tax was an important source of financing for the military, and thus wide-scale abstinence would have meant cutting off this income source. Moreover, since consumption of distilled alcohol was not prevalent in Japan, drunkenness from such alcohol was not particularly rampant and this, coupled with the general public's tolerance of drunkenness, resulted in the abstinence movement making little significant progress. Still, the promulgation in 1922 of a law prohibiting alcohol consumption by minors was one result of this movement [KON 1984: 587].

8. ALCOHOL-NAÏVE REGIONS

Abstinence and temperance are phenomena produced by the emergence of distilled alcoholic beverages in modern civilization. When alcoholic beverages were introduced into regions where they were previously not consumed, a terrible phenomenon emerged. For example, among the native peoples of North America and Oceania, drunkenness increased dramatically. Intoxication from morning to night, drinking all income away, and the inevitable drunken brawls followed the arrival of alcohol.

In Papua New Guinea, alcoholic beverages are limited almost completely to small bottles of beer, but once drinking begins empty bottles are lined up on the table. This is to show off how much the person has drunk. What happens next is called "spark" in pidgin - in other words, an explosion occurs. In some cases the explosion leads to bloody fighting.

As a weekly wage system prevails in Papua New Guinea, bottle shops are closed beginning Friday, which is payday, to the following Tuesday. The idea is to encourage people to buy necessities rather than beer. Without this system, there is the possibility that the entire wage will be spent on beer. Recently, the closure period has been extended from Tuesday to Wednesday. Bottle shops are thus only open on Thursdays. There are shops that serve beer, though again the days on which these shops are open are regulated. These are called beer parlors. In the center is a counter for selling beer with seats and benches scattered in the open air, and the premises are surrounded by wire fencing. Policemen guard the entrance and drunks are not allowed to leave.

Elsewhere, I have proposed the existence of regions that are religion-naïve [UMESAO 1989: 310-316]. In the religious history of civilization, two types of regions can be identified. One is a region in which a vast civilization existed from ancient times and where the spiritual aspects of human beings were deeply cultivated and indigenous religions became highly structured. The other is a region on the frontiers of such vast civilizations without deep cultivation or institutionalization of human religious or spiritual life. I named the former “religion-sophisticated” and the latter “religion-naïve.” Religion-naïve regions are immediately overwhelmed and engulfed when a strong and structured religion emerges through heresy within a formerly naïve region, and the inhabitants become believers of such a strong religion. In the same way, there are regions that are naïve with respect to alcoholic beverages, and when alcohol is introduced into such areas, the people are overwhelmed by its effects. The Native Americans of North America and the inhabitants of Oceania went through this experience. We will touch on this argument again at the end of this essay.

9. DRINKING PLACES IN EUROPE

The Roman historian Tacitus writes about the way the Germanic people drank. There is some possibility his writing is exaggerated since Tacitus considered the Germans to be savages, but in any event he writes that the Germans drank beer like fish. When important issues such as peaceful settlement of a quarrel or approval of a new chief were to be discussed, banquets were held and with unbridled revelry, the mind was to be denuded, scheming and lies eradicated, and matters decided after the honest self could be shown [HARUYAMA 1990a: 48-50]. This was drinking in order to heighten unity.

This form of drinking is passed on to the banquets of Northern European guilds in later times. In guild meetings, beer was poured into cups made from horn and passed from one person to another. Since the cups were made from horn, they could not be put down until empty. This passing of the cup was not limited to guilds but was also a practice during celebrations of births and marriages or during funerals [HARUYAMA 1990a: 78-80]. In Northern Europe, banquets included dining and drinking. This is essentially the same as in Greece and Rome. First a meal was served, next alcohol was offered to the gods in a ceremony, and then the drinking began.

In Britain, three types of establishments provided alcohol: inns, taverns, and alehouses. An inn was a place where meals and alcoholic beverages were provided; with modernization, inns have entered the category of hotels. An alehouse originally was an establishment that provided home brewed ale and later beer; they have been transformed into pubs [HARUYAMA

1990a: 212-213]. A tavern was originally a lodge, and eventually changed into an establishment serving wine and food.

As the brewery business flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries, drinking at alehouses and taverns became more active. Following the advent of distilled alcoholic beverages, drunkenness in these establishments increased steadily.

In France, farmers who produced wine most often drank their own product. Although there are differences by region, cider made from apples was widely produced. In farming villages in Normandy, barrels of cider and wine were opened for festivals and marriages with feasting and drinking continuing for days at a time [NOURRISSON 1996(1990): 58-59].

In the 19th century, periodic markets appeared in agricultural villages and the villagers would come to the market to drink. Drunks were looked on more favorably than not. During festivals, sufficient alcoholic beverages for people to become intoxicated were provided and the number of those getting drunk was a measure of the success of the festival. Alcoholic beverages were also consumed in large volumes in urban areas. The working class drank because of their poverty and the bourgeoisie drank because of their affluence.

In 16th century France, alcoholic beverages were provided at three types of establishment: the cabaret, auberge and taverne. In addition, there were shops where alcoholic beverages were sold.

The auberge provided accommodation and corresponds to the inn in Britain. The taverne provided meals and alcoholic beverages and corresponds to the British tavern. The cabaret was an establishment that served only alcoholic beverages. While alehouses served only beer, cabarets served wine as well.

Starting as a sort of bar, some cabarets began providing opportunities for dancing towards the end of the 17th century and later evolved into establishments for enjoying dance, song, and other entertainments. Moreover, some cabarets began serving soup, chicken, and boiled eggs to revive the energies of their customers. Ultimately, restaurants that specialized in serving food began to evolve. The word "restaurant" comes from the word "restaurer" which means to "restore energy" [HARUYAMA 1990b: 187-188].

In the 18th century, a new type of drinking establishment appeared called the *guinguette*. This functioned as a place of rest for craftsmen and workers of Paris with drinking, dancing and song. Other establishments such as the beer hall, cafe, and dance hall also served alcoholic beverages. The number of these establishments increased rapidly.

When distilled alcoholic beverages began to be produced in France, they spread throughout the land. Although initially wine and cider were distilled, by the beginning of the 20th century most distilled beverages were made from sugar beet [NOURRISSON 1996(1990): 83]. With the addition of absinthe containing mugwort, and other liqueurs, alcohol consumption increased steadily.

10. DRINKING PLACES IN CHINA AND JAPAN

In the past in China, there existed establishments that provided only alcoholic beverages. However in modern times, such shops are hardly ever found. Alcoholic beverages are served as an accompaniment in establishments that exist primarily to serve food. During banquets,

successions of toasts are raised. Although these toasts are with *baijiu*, which has a high alcohol content, drunkenness is uncommon.

In the past in Japan, alcoholic beverages were consumed by groups during religious ceremonies. For this reason, it is believed that occasions for drinking were few. Drinking involved deciding on a date, producing the alcohol for that date, and consuming it all on one day. With the coming of that day, people would drink in huge amounts and fall over drunk. In addition to allowing gods and humans to drink together, this style of drinking helped to strengthen unity within the group.

In later years, alcoholic beverages became indispensable for feasts held during various rites of passage. In these situations a large cup was used and passed from one person to another. For those who really wanted to drink, the custom did not allow complete satisfaction, while for those unable to hold alcohol, it was a strain. For this reason the system of “individual cups” was invented, and consumption increased. The meaning of communal consciousness that comes from drinking together from one cup became diminished.

The *izakaya* (literally “sitting down *saké* shop”) was a place where people such as servants, who would not have the opportunity to attend banquets for years on end, could purchase *saké* and drink on the spot [YANAGIDA 1962(1939): 106-107]. The city of Edo had become huge by attracting people from rural villages in the vicinity, and for this reason numerous single people lived as emigrant workers. These people drank in the *izakaya*. The *saké* that they drank was “*kudari-zaké* (*saké* brought down from Kansai).” This was transported in “*tarukaisen* (the cask ships).” In order to keep out the *kudari-zaké*, the Shogunate promoted *saké* production in Kanto. To encourage *saké* production, the Shogunate provided rice and issued “*Kan Hasshu Haishaku Kabu* (Loan Stock of the Eight Provinces of Kanto).” However, in terms of flavor the product was no match for *kudari-zaké*, so that much of the *saké* consumed in Edo continued to come from Kansai [YUNOKI 1987: 57-58].

Of course, *saké* was not only consumed in the *izakaya*. In Edo, there were many small restaurants where alcoholic beverages and meals were served together. Ordinary townspeople drank in these establishments, and members of the samurai class were also clients. Banquets sponsored by merchant-class purveyors with official patronage were conducted to entertain the samurai they served. This common form of entertaining government officials is still seen today.

Even in modern times, people are prone to drink excessively and become intoxicated. As Kunio Yanagida has said, there exists the idea that unless one drinks until complete intoxication a true meeting of the spirit with another is not possible. This idea is probably a remnant of drinking customs of the past [YANAGIDA 1962(1939): 108]. However, drunks are not often seen today. I think this means that such old customs are dying and people have learned how to enjoy drinking in solitude.

Modern-style establishments that provide alcoholic beverages can be said to have developed more in Europe and Japan, in parallel with the growth of alcohol production. In China, in establishments that served alcohol, food was more central than drinking. The fact that China produces more distilled alcohol than brewed beverages and yet has relatively few drunkards is related to this phenomenon. Moreover, in France, wine is consumed in combination with meals and this may have helped keep down the number of drunkards.

11. TABOOS AND SELF-CONTROL

An outstanding feature of modern alcohol consumption has been the weakenings of social taboos related to alcoholic consumption. In particular, gender discrimination has weakened considerably. In the past, the consumption of alcohol by women in public was strictly regulated. "Chastity, moderation, kindness, and modesty" were traits expected of women. Men, and in particular upper class men, believed that when women drank, they lost their modesty, becoming crude and sexually loose. This attitude among men distanced women from alcoholic beverages.

Obviously, some women did drink in the home. In Kyoto, women aged forty or above were free to drink as they pleased. Moreover, there were drinking parties that were limited to women. The "women's drinking party" of Kyushu is a well-known example. In France there were drinking establishments designed specifically for women where women could gather together. In rural areas, while men went to the market to drink to excess, women would gather in a private home to drink. It is important that men were not present to observe the goings on. However, in the private drinking situation, loudness was frowned upon and, in most cases, the ambiance was that of modesty [NOURRISSON 1996(1990): 149].

However, today women freely drink where men may see them. Women students in Korea reportedly drink more openly recently, suggesting that liberation from gender discrimination with respect to alcohol is not limited to Japan. Though drunkenness is still rare, drinking by women is definitely moving towards liberalization.

Drinking in the daytime is also becoming more acceptable. In the past, work and drink were considered at opposite poles, and drinking during working hours was frowned upon as highly imprudent behavior. However, in France and the United States, drinking during lunch is quite common. There is still a great deal of resistance to this in Japan, but a trend towards drinking during lunch is perhaps inevitable.

One reason why the taboos concerning drinking have weakened lies in the way people drink in these modern times. Self-control with regard to drinking has been attained. This implies less intoxication and continued enjoyment. It is this self-control that has progressively made drinking an everyday occurrence, drinking by women acceptable, and drinking during lunch a custom. Everywhere in the world consumption of beer has increased faster than consumption of other alcoholic beverages. While this reflects the successful transformation of the beer industry into a modern technology-based industry, it is also related to the attainment of self-control.

Would it then be possible to hold meetings of the United Nations while drinking? At the present time, probably not. This is because self-control is not pervasive around the world. We have talked about alcohol-naïve regions of the world, and there are many people who still live in such regions. In meetings that include such people, I think it would be difficult to carry on debate while drinking.

12. FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

Is Japan also an alcohol-naïve region? I feel that Japan has only recently divested itself of such naiveté. Not many years ago, drunks were common on the streets. Japan has at last left

behind the culture of drunkenness that dictated unrestrained drinking and revelry after religious ceremonies involving alcohol.

Europe and the United States have also recently become more sophisticated about alcohol. Through temperance and abstinence movements self-control was attained. Until then, Europe and the United States were also regions of drunkenness. Northern Europe and Russia are still regions of drunkenness. Although the circumstances are different, there are no essential differences from the situation in Oceania and these regions can all be characterized as alcohol-naïve.

India and the Middle East became regions of abstinence due to religion. This may be termed an extreme form of self-control.

How about China? I believe the Chinese to be extreme realists. The Chinese are aware that intoxication leads to loss. This is why they are careful not to become inebriated. This is indeed sophisticated self-control.

Seen in this way, regions that possessed civilization from ancient times have developed self-control. At the periphery of massive civilizations, self-control is only now being attained, while at the even more remote periphery, people continue to react naively to alcohol.

However, I believe that we have not yet seen all possible phenomena in the relationship between alcoholic beverages and civilization. I cannot forecast what exact developments will come, but believe that the humanity has only just begun to deal with alcoholic beverages in an organized manner. Will religious controls in India and the Islamic world continue far into the future?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

HANAI, Shiro (花井四郎)

- 1992 『黄土に生まれた酒—中国酒, その技術と歴史』(東方書選) 東京: 東方書店
(Alcoholic Beverage Born in the Yellow Soil. Tokyo: Toho Shoten.)

HARUYAMA, Yukio (春山行夫)

- 1990a 『ビールの文化史 1』 東京: 平凡社. (*Cultural History of Beer I*. Tokyo: Heibonsha.)
1990b 『ビールの文化史 2』 東京: 平凡社. (*Cultural History of Beer II*. Tokyo: Heibonsha.)

KAIICHI, Masatoshi (貝市雅俊)

- 1984 「禁酒運動・イギリス」『世界百事典 第4巻』 p. 586, 東京: 平凡社. (Abstinence Movement: England. *World Encyclopedia* Vol. 4, p. 586. Tokyo: Heibonsha.)

KOGA, Mamoru (古賀守)

- 1975 『ワインの世界史』(中央新書) 東京: 中央公論社. (*World History of Wine*. Tokyo: Chuokoronsha.)

KON, Sakihito (今防人)

- 1984 「禁酒運動・日本」『世界百事典 第4巻』 p. 587, 東京: 平凡社. (Abstinence Movement: Japan. *World Encyclopedia* Vol. 4, p. 587. Tokyo: Heibonsha.)

NOURRISSON, Didier (ディディエ・ヌリッソン)

- 1996 『酒飲みの社会史—19世紀フランスにおけるアル中とアル中防止運動』 柴田道子・田川光照・田中正人訳, 名古屋: ユニテ. (*Social History of the Drinker: Alcoholism and Its Prevention of 19th Century France*. translated. by M. Shibata, M.

Tagawa and M. Tanaka. Nagoya: Unite [Didier Nourrisson, 1990, *Le Buveur du XIXe Siecle*.]

OTSUKA, Kenichi (大塚謙一)

1984 「ウイスキー」『世界百事典 第2巻』 pp.138-139, 東京：平凡社. (Whisky. *World Encyclopedia* Vol. 2, pp. 138-139. Tokyo: Heibonsha.)

SHINKAWA, Kenzaburo (新川健三郎)

1984 「禁酒運動・アメリカ」『世界百事典 第4巻』 pp. 586-587, 東京：平凡社. (Abstinence Movement: United States. *World Encyclopedia* Vol. 4, pp. 586-587. Tokyo: Heibonsha.)

TANI, Yasushi (谷泰一)

1983 「禁酒の文化」『週刊朝日百科 世界の食べもの133—飲酒の文化』 pp. 66-67, 東京：朝日新聞社. (The Culture of Abstinence. *Shukan Asahi Encyclopedia: Food of the World 133—Drinking Culture*, pp. 66-67. Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha.)

UMESAO, Tadao (梅棹忠夫)

1989 「諸文明における宗教の層序学」『梅棹忠夫著作集 第5巻—比較文明学研究』 pp. 271-318, 東京：中央公論社. (Stratigraphy of Religion in Various Civilizations. *Comparative Study of Civilization* [Collected Works of Tadao Umesao Vol. 5], pp. 271-318. Tokyo: Chuokoronsha.)

YANAGIDA, Kunio (柳田国男)

1962(1939) 「酒の飲みやうの変遷」『定本 柳田国男集 第14巻』 pp. 101-109, 東京：筑摩書房. (Changes in Ways of Drinking. *Collected Works of Kunio Yanagida* Vol. 14, pp. 101-109. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo.)

YUNOKI, Manabu (柚木学)

1987 『酒造りの歴史』東京：雄山閣出版. (*History of Alcoholic Beverage Production*. Tokyo: Yuzankaku Shuppan.)