

The 90-year Evolution of Japan's Academic Interest in Iran

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I. Introduction

1929 marked the beginning of official diplomatic relations between Japan and Iran. The countries signed a “Japan-Persia Temporary Trade Agreement” that year, and Japan opened a diplomatic office in Tehran that August. A Persian diplomatic office was later opened in Tokyo in July 1930. Diplomatic contacts between two countries, however, actually started as early as 1878, when Japan’s special envoy to Russia Takeaki Enomoto met with Persian monarch Nāṣer al-Dīn Shāh in Saint Petersburg. Two years later, Japan sent its first official delegation to Tehran, headed by Masaharu Yoshida.¹ Yoshida was granted an audience with Nāṣer al-Dīn Shāh in 1880, and brought an official communiqué back to Japan from the Persian Empire. Although both countries were interested in advancing diplomatic relations, the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and Iran’s transition from the Qajar dynasty to the Pahlavi in 1925 prevented the establishment of official relations until 1929.

In 1932, the countries signed a “Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and Persia” in Tehran. A few years later, Reżā Shāh Pahlavī asked the international community to refer to his country as “Iran” (meaning “land of the Aryans”) rather than “Persia”, the term commonly used by Western countries. Japan agreed and began using “Iran” on 19 March 1935. In 1938, another treaty, a “Japan-Iran Treaty of Amity” was signed. Although both countries desired further trade, especially in railway and aircraft technologies, diplomatic relations ceased when World

War II broke out. Despite Iran’s declared neutrality, Britain and the Soviet Union jointly invaded Iran in 1941, believing Reżā Shāh to have closer ties to the Axis powers, particularly Germany. Iran remained under Anglo-Soviet control until 1946.

Under the Anglo-Soviet Occupation, Iran broke off relations with Japan in April 1942, and in 1945 declared war against the Axis powers, including Japan. After the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into effect in 1952, diplomatic ties between the countries were reestablished in November 1953 and have continued uninterrupted since then.²

Iran’s oil boom in 1973 accelerated economic interactions with Japan. Nonetheless, personal contact between Japanese and Iranian citizens was mostly limited to diplomacy and business interactions, with the exception of a sudden influx of Iranian laborers to Japan in the early 1990s.

Nearly a century of official relations has seen significant growth in Japan’s academic interest in Iran. This interest is recorded in great detail in the “Bibliographic Database of Islamic and Middle East Studies in Japan 1868-2015” (hereinafter, “the database”), which is maintained at the Documentation Center for Islamic Area Studies, a division of the Toyo Bunko, Japan’s largest Asian studies library.³ The database is a catalog of published books and research papers. This includes academic volumes, peer-reviewed and non-peer reviewed papers, trend analyses, essays, commentaries, and translations appearing in books and journals.⁴ This excludes, however, newspaper and magazine articles, and short explanations found in

dictionaries.

Academic interest doesn't always reflect the diplomatic and economic relations between countries. Japan's interest in Persian history, literature, and culture developed quite independently from diplomatic and economic ties between Japan and Iran, although nothing unfolded in a vacuum.

This paper explores the extent and nature of correlations between Japan's academic interest in Iran and changes in Japan-Iran diplomatic and economic relations since official ties were established, by seeking answers to three questions: (1) How have the number of Iran/Persia-related documents in the database and the topics covered therein changed in correlation to Iran-Japan diplomatic and economic relations? (2) Which factors appear to have affected the changing amount of documents on Iran and their subject matter? (3) What are the notable characteristics of Japanese academic publications on Iran? To answer these questions, I analyzed the results produced by searching the database by all the various categories and sub-categories for all the documents on Iran/Persia in the date range 1929 to 2015. A number of important analyses of Japanese studies on Iran have previously been published by scholars including Hisae Nakanishi (1987)⁵, Nobuaki Kondo (2002)⁶, Morio Fujii (2002)⁷, and Kenji Kuroda (2017).⁸ This work differentiates itself from those studies by correlating the fluctuating amount and subject matter of Japanese publications on Iran/Persia with the actual diplomatic and economic relations between Iran and Japan in the corresponding time frames.

II. About the Database

The database is an online catalog of Japanese research documents published from 1868 until now. Although it provides both Japanese and English language versions of the search interface, the Japanese interface is more comprehensively indexed and produces more search results than the English

interface. The Japanese interface was used for this paper.

The search interface for the database is divided into 9 input fields for specifying search criteria: 6 text box fields (KEYWORD, DOCUMENT TITLE, AUTHOR, YEAR OF PUBLICATION, PUBLISHER, and ISBN/ISSN) and 3 check box fields (SUBJECT matter, GEOGRAPHIC REGION discussed, and publication LANGUAGE). The SUBJECT check box field is further divided into 13 categories, detailed below.

The check box fields for the subject categories provide the user with anywhere from 1 to 15 individually selectable check boxes with which to filter their search. Returned results can be sorted alphabetically by author or chronologically by year of publication, with ascending or descending options for both.

Every document in the database is classified into exactly one SUBJECT, GEOGRAPHIC REGION, and LANGUAGE each, in other words, one check box from each check box field. So, for example, searching by GEOGRAPHIC REGION with both the ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST and EGYPT/SUDAN check boxes selected will produce documents dealing with Egypt/Sudan, and documents dealing with the entire Middle East, with no overlap between them.

The GEOGRAPHIC REGION section offers 15 separate check boxes for the main geographic area of study of a document: including ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST, ARAB WORLD, MAGHREB/ANDALUS, EGYPT/SUDAN, SYRIA/JORDAN/LEBANON, IRAQ, ARABIAN PENINSULA, IRAN/PERSIA, AFGHANISTAN, TURKEY/CYPRUS, BALKANS, PALESTINE/ISRAEL, THE GULF WAR (REGION), CAUCASUS/TATARS, and WEST TURKISTAN. Searching by IRAN/PERSIA produces about 10 percent of all the documents in the database.

The LANGUAGE section offers 15 separate check boxes for the language in which a document was written. More than 95 percent of the documents in the

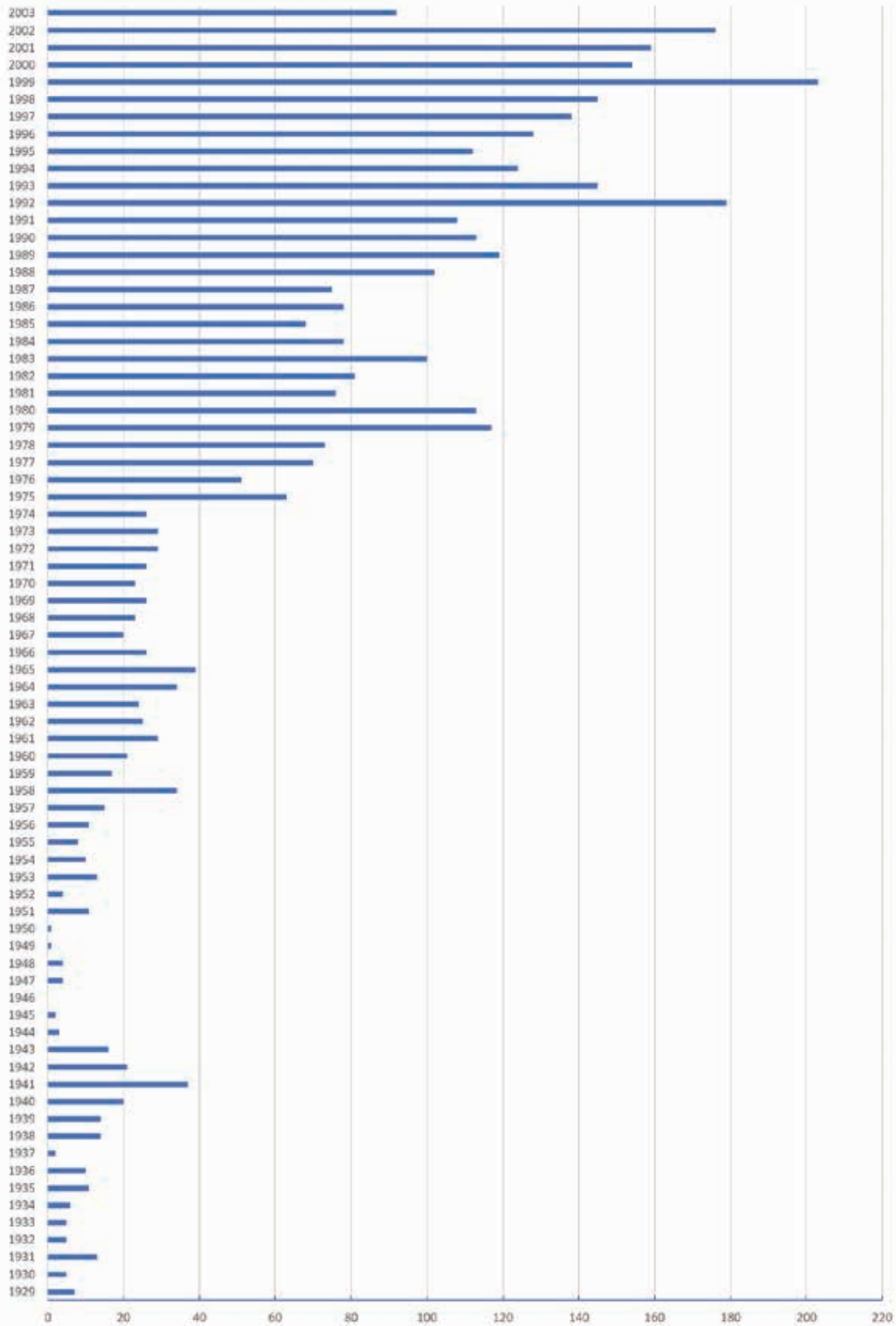


Figure 1. Number of Documents on IRAN/PERSIA by Year of Publication 1929-2003
 Source: Bibliographical Database of Islamic and Middle East Studies in Japan 1868-2015
 日本における中東・イスラーム研究文献DB <http://search.tbias.jp/>

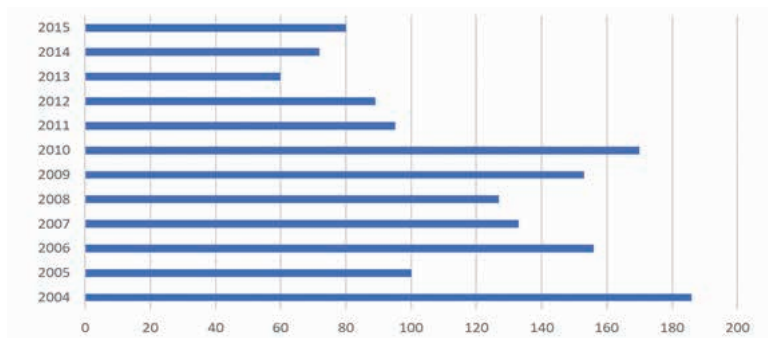


Figure 2. Number of Documents on IRAN/PERSIA by Year of Publication 2004-2015

Source: Bibliographical Database of Islamic and Middle East Studies in Japan 1868-2015.

日本における中東・イスラーム研究文献DB <http://search.tbias.jp/>

database are in JAPANESE, but you can also search for documents in ENGLISH, GERMAN, FRENCH, RUSSIAN, ARABIC, PERSIAN, TURKISH, ITALIAN, UZBEK, CHAGATAI TURKISH, KOREAN, GEORGIAN, INDONESIAN, and AZERBAIJANI.

The SUBJECT section is divided into 13 categories for the subject matter a document covers. These are REFERENCE & GENERAL, RELIGION & PHILOSOPHY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY (incl. Archeology), LAW, POLITICS, ECONOMICS, SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY, LINGUISTICS, LITERATURE, ARTS & CULTURE, SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY, and INTERACTIONS WITH JAPAN. Most of these categories offer multiple sub-category check boxes for further refining searches. The exceptions are categories offering just one check box each, namely the general category itself.

As this database is continuously updated, the search results sometimes change, typically increasing. The numbers of documents used for this paper are based on searches conducted from June to August 2018, and should thereafter be considered approximate. Of the total of over 53,000 documents published between 1929 and 2015, POLITICS was the most common subject classification (26%); followed by HISTORY (incl. Archeology) (14%); ECONOMICS (11%); SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY, INTERACTIONS WITH JAPAN (10% each);

RELIGION & PHILOSOPHY, REFERENCE & GENERAL (7% each); ARTS & CULTURE (4%); LITERATURE (3%); GEOGRAPHY, LAW, LINGUISTICS (2% each); and SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY (1%).

Narrowing the 1929 to 2015 search from all documents to those dealing with IRAN/PERSIA produced POLITICS (19%); HISTORY (incl. Archeology) (16%); ECONOMICS (11%); SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY, INTERACTIONS WITH JAPAN, LITERATURE, ARTS & CULTURE (9% each); REFERENCE & GENERAL, RELIGION & PHILOSOPHY (4% each); GEOGRAPHY, LINGUISTICS (3% each); LAW, and SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY (1% each).

Although this database is the most comprehensive catalog of documents on Islam and the Middle East by the scholars based in Japan, it has a shortcoming that should be noted. Until it closed in March 2003, the database was maintained by the Toyo Bunko's UNESCO East Asia Cultural Research Center. Since then, the database has been continuously updated, but the reduced funding has limited human resource capacity for data entry.⁹ Hence, the data for documents published per year from 2004 onward are incomplete and unsuitable for direct comparison with those before 2004. These numbers are therefore presented in separate graphs. (Figures 1 and 2)

III. Development of Research and Educational Institutions

The database shows a clear increase in the number of documents on Muslim areas published from the mid-1930s. This reflects Japan's wartime policy of military expansion into predominantly Muslim areas in Southeast Asia, as well as into Manchuria, Northern China, and Inner Mongolia. In 1938, two institutions dedicated to the study of Islam and Muslim majority regions were established, Japan Islamic Association (1938-1945)¹⁰, and Islamic Areas Research Institute (1938-1945).¹¹ The database shows more than 100 documents published by Japan Islamic Association between 1938 and 1945, 7 percent of them dealt with Iran/Persia. In the same time period, about 100 documents were published by the Islamic Areas Research Institute, 13 percent of which dealt with Iran/Persia. Likewise, the East-Asiatic Commercial Intelligence Institute in Tokyo (established in 1908) also conducted research on Islamic regions, most notably under the leadership of the Shumei Okawa, from 1921 to 1938.¹² However, a few documents published by this institution are found in the database, none of them directly related to Iran/Persia. This indicates that Iran/Persia was not a priority interest of Japan's foreign policy in the 1930s and 1940s. These three institutions were disbanded in the aftermath of the World War II. No comparable institutions were established during the subsequent Allied occupation (1945-1952).

Japan's post-war research activities resumed upon the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1952. The most significant development was the introduction of national university departments and courses of study specialized in the Persian language and the history of West Asia including Iran.¹³ Although Persian language had been taught since 1925 at the Osaka School of Foreign Studies¹⁴, the establishment of a Persian Language Department in 1961 at its successor, the Osaka University of Foreign Studies, was epoch-making. In 2007, the university

merged with Osaka University, becoming its School of Foreign Studies, offering majors in 25 languages, including Persian.¹⁵ Another important step in the advancement of Iran/Persia studies was the creation of a Research Institute for Languages and Culture of Asia and Africa at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 1961. Since its establishment in 1941, the University of Tokyo's Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia has been a leader in Japanese research on Asia. In 1968, it added a Department of West Asian Studies.¹⁶ Kyoto University similarly introduced Western and Southern Asiatic Studies courses in 1969.¹⁷ All of these contributed to the flourishing education of future specialists in the language, literature, and history of Iran, which notably increased the amount of publishing on Iran and Persia in the 1950s and 1960s.

In addition to the educational institutions mentioned above, we must not overlook the institutions such as the Middle East Institute of Japan founded in 1956 and Japan's Institute of Developing Economies (IDE) established in 1958. IDE became Japan's largest institute for social sciences, providing support for the type of inter-disciplinary "Area Studies" that emerged in the post-war era.

The establishment of academic associations such as the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan (1954), the Association for Islamic Studies in Japan (1963), and the Japan Association for Middle Eastern Studies (JAMES, 1985) also played an important role in advancing studies on the Middle East.

The 1973 Oil Crisis caused a surge in published research about Iran that peaked with Iran's 1979 Islamic Revolution. The database includes over 100 documents on Iran published in 1979 alone. In 1980, the year after the revolution, the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies opened a Department of Persian Studies, though it had been teaching the language since the 1920s. So far, it and Osaka University have been the only universities offering a major in Persian, with both producing numerous experts in Iranian Studies.

As the field of “Area Studies” has grown, more and more universities have offered courses on it and international relations. The University of Tokyo’s Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Kyoto University’s Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, and other national and private universities have fostered a new generation of experts on Iranian and Persian Studies, which is reflected by an increase in Japanese literature on Iran from the 1990s onward.

IV. Documents on Iranian/Persian Politics

The subject matter of documents classified as POLITICS in the IRAN/PERSIA region corresponds closely to political changes within Iran and in Iran’s relations with Japan. The database’s POLITICS category has five sub-categories: “General”, “International Relations”, “Ethnic Issues”, “Terrorism”, and “Military Affairs”. Of the more than 990 documents under POLITICS, the majority (58%) mainly deal with domestic Iranian political issues and fall under the “General” sub-category, followed by “International Relations” (39%), “Ethnic Issues” (2%), “Military Affairs” (1%), and “Terrorism” (0.2%). This distribution is assumed to reflect Japanese academic interest in Iranian politics.

From 1929 to the end of World War II, I found no documents on IRAN/PERSIA with the category POLITICS. This does not, however, mean that no documents on Iran/Persia’s politics exist in the database for this time period. In fact, I found over 60 documents under the INTERACTIONS WITH JAPAN sub-category “Overseas Reports before 1945”. They dealt with Iran/Persia’s domestic and international politics, economics, trade, and energy issues. Even after World War II, POLITICS documents are less than 7 percent of IRAN/PERSIA documents until 1978. Amid this tepid Japanese academic interest in Iranian politics until 1978, two events stand out.

First was the nationalization of the Iranian oil industry. The Iranian parliament, under the leadership of newly elected Prime Minister Moṣṣadeq, enacted legislation nationalizing the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in May 1951. But a British-led embargo prevented Iran from selling oil, creating an economic crisis in Iran. During this crisis, the “Nissho Maru Incident” occurred, in which Idemitsu Kosan, a Japanese oil company, secretly negotiated with the National Iranian Oil Company to purchase oil at a reduced price, despite the embargo. Upon conclusion of the agreement, Idemitsu sent a tanker, the Nissho Maru, to Iran. The Nissho Maru’s return to Japan in May 1953, laden with oil, was greeted with the immense enthusiasm of a Japanese populace that had just gained independence from American-led Allied Occupation forces in April 1952. This reaction suggests that the Japanese looked favorably upon the nationalization of Iran’s oil industry. In November 1953, the countries agreed to resume diplomatic relations. These factors prompted Japanese scholars to study and write about Iran’s newly nationalized oil industry. Also, in October 1955, the countries exchanged official documents reinstating the pre-war Japan-Iran Treaty of Amity.¹⁸ It is worth noting that this nationalization of the oil industry is a topic constantly revisited by Japanese scholars until today.

Second was a series of reforms called the “White Revolution” (also known as the “Shah and People Revolution”) initiated by Moḥammad Reżā Shāh Pahlavī in 1963. These included land ownership reforms intended to accelerate modernization from the top down. An official visit to Japan in May 1958 by Moḥammad Reżā Shāh Pahlavī and a visit to Iran in November 1960 by the Japanese Crown Prince and Princess are notable as reciprocal visits between anti-communist monarchies during the Cold War. But the documentary records indicate these failed to capture the attention of Japanese scholars, or at least to generate any publishing of note.

Relations between Japan and Iran entered a new stage with the 1973 oil boom. This period saw a rapid

increase in the number of Japanese companies either incorporated or with local offices in Iran, as well as the number of Japanese nationals doing business while residing in Iran with their families in tow. As shown in Figure 3, the number of Japanese non-permanent, long term residents in Iran surged from 992 in 1973 to 5,839 in 1978. Majority of them are members of Japanese private companies and their families.

This is also reflected by the establishment of a Japanese school in Tehran. Affiliated with the Japanese embassy, it opened in 1968, providing a general curriculum in Japanese language for 19 students. The number of students grew from 87 in 1973 to 281 in

1978.¹⁹ Nevertheless, Japanese scholars' interest in contemporary Iranian politics remained modest until the Pahlavi regime was overthrown in the revolution led by Khomeynī in 1979.

Although the Japanese businesses community shared a mostly pessimistic outlook on the future of Iran's economy under the newly created Islamic Republic, as of 1980, there were still around 120 Japanese-owned companies doing business in Iran, including some incorporated in Iran. More than twenty other Japanese-Iranian joint ventures continued to operate, as well.²⁰ Iran's political unrest was, therefore, a matter of great concern to

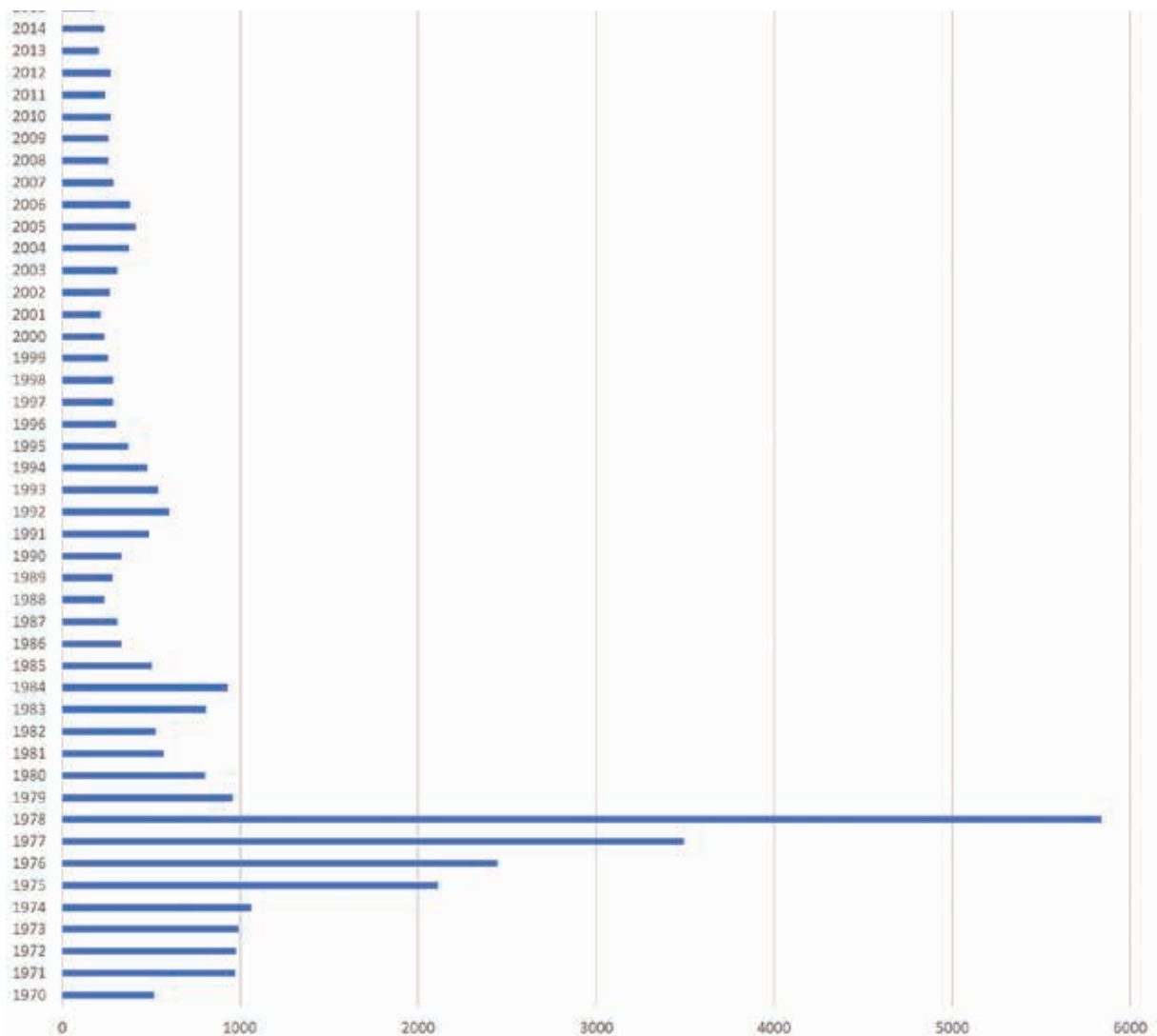


Figure 3. Japanese Nationals Residing in Iran (non-permanent/long term stayers)

Source: Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Consular Affairs Bureau, Consular Policy Division, Annual Report of Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas, 1979-2016. 外務省領事局政策課「海外在留邦人数調査統計」昭和54年-平成28年.

Japanese businesses. Given this context, the number of published documents on Iranian domestic and international politics associated with the revolution increased markedly. About 50 documents under the category POLITICS were published in 1979 alone, 94 percent of which dealt with the revolution and related issues.

Iran's Islamic Revolution and foreign relations continued to draw the attention of Japanese scholars into the following year with two world-shaking events; the siege of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in November 1979 and the outbreak of the 8-year Iran-Iraq War in September 1980.

Iran-related topics frequently discussed in the 1980s included: the Islamic Revolution, Khomeyni, the Islamic Republic of Iran, its constitution, domestic power struggles, ethnic minorities, the seizing of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, the Iran-Iraq war, and Iran's foreign policy.

Iranian politics maintained its appeal into the 1990s, but the topics of discussion changed as Iran entered the post-war reconstruction period. Iran's parliamentary elections in 1992 and 1996, presidential elections in 1993 and 1997, and local council elections in 1999 were discussed extensively. The victory of Moḥammad Khātāmī in the 1997 presidential election and the rise of the "reformist wing" changed the political landscape of Iran. Many documents discussed Iran's domestic politics with special focus on Khātāmī's political agendas: "rule of law", "civil society" and "dialogue among civilizations and cultures". Internationally focused documents frequently discussed Iran-US relations, Iran-Israeli relations, and Iran's regional politics.

In the 2000s, the presidential elections of 2005 and 2009, both won by Maḥmūd Aḥmadīnezḥād, were the subject of notable academic attention, as were the parliamentary elections of 2000, 2004, and 2008.

The events of September 11, 2001 dramatically changed the international political landscape. Although Iran supported the United States in overthrowing the Taliban regime that sheltered Usāma

bin Lādin, U.S. President George W. Bush included Iran in his so-called "axis of evil" in 2002, which strained Iran-US relations again. Moreover, relations between Iran and Western countries grew tense as an International Atomic Energy Agency report in 2003 cited Iran for failing to comply with the obligations of an international treaty. In response, the number of Japanese publications discussing Iran's nuclear ambitions increased. This event notably also raised the question of whether Japan can or should pursue direct diplomacy with Iran, independent of US influence. Some of the publications addressed this issue.

The early 2010s saw a series of anti-government protests and uprisings known as the Arab Spring spread across the Middle East and North Africa. The outbreak of the Syrian civil war and the rise of the so-called "Islamic State" in Iraq and Syria prompted Iran to become more involved Iraqi and Syrian affairs. These are among the major topics discussed in Japanese documents published in the 2010s. Another is the 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), the result of a series of negotiations between Iran and the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council plus Germany (the P5+1). Japanese academics were interested in the impact of the JCPOA on Iran's economy and relations with the US and other Western countries. Iranian domestic political issues of academic interest in the 2010s included the parliamentary elections of 2012 and 2016, and the presidential election of 2013, won by Ḥasan Rowḥānī.

Although most of the documents classified as POLITICS deal with the major political events of the time, there are also a good number of documents analyzing long-term changes in Iranian politics, as well as in-depth studies of specific time periods, particular aspects of political regimes, and the relationship between religion and politics.

V. Japanese Interest in Iran's Economy

The subject of ECONOMICS is broken down into seven sub-categories: "General", "Finance", "Agriculture and Land Use", "Trade and International Economics", "Petroleum and Energy", "Mining and Manufacturing", and "Transportation".

Japan carried out efforts to expand business relations with Iran in the 1930s. In 1933, for instance, the Mitsubishi Corporation became the first Japanese trading company to do business with Iran.²¹ Japan first imported crude oil from the Anglo Iranian Oil Company in the late 1930s.²² As mentioned above, over 60 documents on INTERACTIONS WITH JAPAN published between 1929 and 1945 are sub-categorized as "Overseas Reports before 1945". About one third of them focus on economic issues, such as trade, oil, finance, taxes, and transportation.

After World War II, Japanese interest in Iran's economy gradually grew as the countries became trading partners with the signing of an Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement in 1958.

But Japanese scholars at that time seem to have been more interested in agriculture than trade. From 1946 until 1978, more than 50 percent of the documents on ECONOMICS were sub-categorized as "Agriculture and Land Use". Documents sub-categorized as "Petroleum and Energy", meanwhile, make up only 11 percent. This is despite the fact that Iran was Japan's largest supplier of crude oil from 1966 to 1974.²³

Why were Japanese scholars so interested in agriculture? Presumably because Iran implemented land reform under pressure from the United States that brought about fundamental changes in social structures. Similarly, Japan underwent agricultural land reform during the US occupation, which might well have motivated Japanese scholars to assess the outcome of the land reform in Iran.

Two distinguished Japanese scholars made outstanding contributions to the study of rural Iran during this period: Professor Morio Ono (1925-

2001)²⁴ and Professor Shoko Okazaki (1935-).²⁵ Both conducted long-term field research in several villages across Iran, analyzing the impact of land reform on landowners and peasants, Iran's Qanāt irrigation system, agricultural enterprises, and other aspects. Iran's agriculture continued to attract academic interest, reflected by documents in the database authored by a new generation of scholars. It should be noted, however, that in addition to those sub-categorized as "Agriculture and Land Use", a considerable number of agriculture-related documents are found under other categories, such as SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY, or HISTORY (incl. Archeology). This also indicates that Iran's rural and agricultural lifestyles have attracted a great deal of attention from Japanese scholars.

The OPEC oil embargo against countries supporting Israel during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War and a surge in the price of crude oil hammered at the Japanese economy, which was heavily dependent on oil from OPEC countries, including Iran. At the time of the oil crisis, Middle Eastern oil accounted for about 78 percent of Japan's crude oil imports. Iran in particular was Japan's biggest Middle Eastern oil supplier.

On the other hand, a steep rise in crude oil prices made Iran an attractive target for investors. Foreign private investment in Iran rapidly increased from 1973, with Japan's share, the largest of any country, surging from 16.5 percent in 1972 to 39.4 percent in 1977.²⁶ This increase was partly due to a Japanese project to build a large petrochemical complex in Bandar-e Shāhpūr (Bandar-e Khomeynī) in the Persian Gulf and establish an Iran-Japan Petrochemical Company (IJPC). Iran and Japan had reached a basic agreement on the project in 1971, and construction began in 1976.

In the 1970s, with Japan's newly enhanced economic ties to Iran, ECONOMICS publishing overtook POLITICS publishing. This trend, however, was reversed by the Islamic Revolution of 1979 and the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980, which

prompted Japanese companies, including IJPC, to withdraw from Iran.²⁷ With Iranian oil facilities near the Iraqi border severely damaged by the Iran-Iraq war, Japan's oil imports from Iran fell to a new low in the 1980s. As Iran's economic prospects improved after a cease-fire with Iraq, Japanese academic interest in Iran shifted back from POLITICS toward ECONOMICS.

Of a total of 169 documents from the 1990s on ECONOMICS, thirty percent were sub-categorized as "Petroleum and Energy", discussing topics such as Iran's oil and gas policies, oil development, oil prices, and energy industry. Thus, Iran's natural resource exports were a preeminent factor in Iranian economics.

In 2000, President Khātāmī visited Japan and signed a Joint Statement on Cooperation in the Energy Sectors of both countries. It includes an agreement between the National Iranian Oil Company and Japanese companies to begin negotiations on developing the Azadegan oil field, one of the world's largest crude oil reserves.²⁸ Concerned about energy security, Japan sought to strengthen economic ties with Iran. In 2004, Japanese petroleum company INPEX was granted a concession to develop the Azadegan oil field. The volume and share of crude oil imports from Iran increased through the 2000s. However, facing growing pressure from the US, who suspected Iran of developing nuclear weapons, Japan's commitment to develop the Azadegan oil field collapsed in 2006.

Economic ties between Japan and Iran deteriorated under UN Security Council resolutions starting in 2006 that imposed sanctions against Iran. In 2010, despite reduced imports, Japan was still the second biggest importer of Iranian crude oil after China²⁹, and Iran was the fourth biggest supplier of crude oil to Japan, after Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Qatar.³⁰ But, facing mounting pressure from the US, Japan pledged to take "concrete steps"³¹ to reduce Iranian oil imports in 2012. As a result, the share of crude oil imports from Iran dropped from 7.9 percent in 2011 to 4.4 percent in 2012, where they remained until international economic sanctions against Iran

were lifted in 2016.³² As Japan-Iran economic relations dropped sharply mid-decade, so too did the number of ECONOMICS publications in the database. For instance, only three ECONOMICS documents were recorded in the database in 2013 and only two in 2014. But when the UN Security Council passed Resolution #2231 endorsing the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) on Iran's nuclear program in July 2015, publishing increased, especially documents on prospects for Iran's post-sanctions economy.

Since Japan has historically been one of the world's largest importers of Middle Eastern crude oil, Iran's economic situation is never out of the sight of Japanese economists. Yet, they tend to submit few papers to the books and journals covered by this database. In such cases, the number of ECONOMICS publications in the database may under-represent the actual level of Japanese academic interest.

VI. Why History?

Why are historians over-represented among Japanese scholars studying Islam and the Middle East? This has to do with the evolution of departments of History at Japanese universities.

Professor Masashi Haneda, a noted historian specializing in the Pre-modern History of Iran, explains that in 19th century Europe, Oriental Studies developed as separate and distinct field from History, which primarily focused on Western societies. The primary objective of Oriental Studies was to provide a deeper understanding of the Orient. Accordingly, Oriental languages were taught alongside Humanities subjects including Linguistics, Religion, Philosophy, History, and Literature. Professor Edward Said argued that the portrayal of the Orient as "others" was used by Western academics to define the features of the West.

In the mid-20th century, "Area Studies" emerged in the United States a new interdisciplinary approach to research and scholarship on particular geographical and cultural regions. Area Studies soon grew in

popularity in both in the US and Europe, producing a great number of scholars, including experts on the Islamic world and the Middle East. In contrast to Oriental Studies, which generally fall under the umbrella of Humanities, Islamic and Middle Eastern Area Studies are more readily associated with the Social Sciences.

Long before the founding of its modern universities, Japan had its own distinct tradition of History education, one that focused on Japanese History and Chinese History. When modern universities were established during the Meiji period, scholars invited from Europe taught Western History alongside Japanese scholars teaching Japanese and Chinese History. As a result, the History departments of major universities tended to be divided into three sections: Japanese, Chinese, and Western History. Interestingly, Chinese History gradually expanded to include territory beyond China and was accordingly renamed Oriental History.

Departments of Oriental History debuted at Kyoto University in 1907 and the University of Tokyo in 1910. They taught Chinese, Asian, and Middle Eastern History under the rubric of Oriental History. Thus, despite the introduction of interdisciplinary Area Studies approaches in the 1980s, most Japanese specialists in the Middle East and Islam are in fact the product of Japan's tradition of Oriental History departments. And the over-representation of historians among Islamic and Middle Eastern academics in Japan can be considered a result of these traditional divisions in Japanese university departments.³³

According to a survey of Middle East Studies in Japan conducted by Professor Toru Miura between 2002-2003³⁴, out of 648 members (including 140 student members), 33.6 percent of its members specialized in History, followed by International Relations (9.4%), Area Studies (9.0%), Cultural Anthropology (7.4%), Language (5.7%), Political Science (5.5%), Economics (4.8%), Literature (4.8%), and Philosophy/Thought (3.1%). Hence, the over-representation of historians continues to this day.

The database category HISTORY (incl. Archeology) is divided into three sub-categories: "General", "Pre-Modern", and "Modern". Of the nearly 880 HISTORY documents published between 1929 and 2015, 54 percent fall into the sub-category "Pre-Modern", while 37 percent are "Modern", and the rest are "General". It is worth noting that 83 percent of documents categorized as HISTORY (incl. Archeology) were published after 1970. The most studied Islamic eras in documents sub-categorized as "Pre-Modern", are the Ilkhanid (ca.1260-ca.1335), the Timurid (1370-1507), and the Safavid (1501-1736) eras. The popularity of the Ilkhanid and Timurid eras is attributable to the foundations of Japanese study of Iranian history.

According to professor Nobuaki Kondo, an Iranian history specialist, "Turko-Mongolian elements have been prominent in the study of Iranian history, especially in Japan."³⁵ This is because "Japanese scholars, who were good at reading Chinese classical sources, started studying on the political and institutional history of the Mongol Empire, based on the sources."³⁶ They later extended their study to the history of the Mongol and Turkic peoples of China, Central Asia, and Iran by reading Persian source materials. In the 1960s, having already started to explore the Ilkhanid and Timurid eras, researchers turned to the Safavid period, which gradually grew to be a quite popular period to study.

Post-war Japanese academics are understood to have had strong Marxist and anti-imperialist leanings, affecting those who studied Modern Iranian History, too. Professor Kondo asserted that Japanese scholars were quite taken with "Iranian nationalism and nationalist movements, such as the Tobacco Protest, the Constitutional Revolution, Mosaddeq, etc."³⁷ The Tobacco Protest and the Constitutional Revolution, having occurred in the late Qajar period, are documented under HISTORY (incl. Archeology). Documents on events occurring during the Pahlavi and the Islamic Republic periods are variously categorized as POLITICS, ECONOMICS, or

SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY.

VII. Sociology & Anthropology

More than 90 percent of the documents classified as SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY were published after 1980, which indicates these fields are relatively new approaches for Japanese studies on Iran.

SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY is divided into ten sub-categories: "General", "Urban Studies and Population", "Labor and Migration Issues", "Education and Family", "Women and Gender Studies", "Media and Mass Media", "Sports and Recreation", "Religion", "Nomads and Rural Studies", and "Lifestyles".

Documents classified as "General" account for 15 percent of all SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY documents. They deal with a wide range of topics, including charitable work, young people, folk legends, magic, naming conventions, Iranian personalities, jokes, *nowrūz* (the first day of the Persian year), morality, folklore, proverbs, heroes, evil eyes, the Twelve Imams of Shi'ite Islam, Shi'ite mourning ceremonies, the national flag, *ta'arof* (Persian compliments), minorities, and so on.

"Lifestyles" (13%) is the second most common sub-category, followed by "Women and Gender Studies" (12%), "Religion" (11%), "Education and Family" (10%), "Urban Studies and Population" (8%), "Labor and Migration Issues" (7%), "Nomads and Rural Studies" (6%), "Media and Mass Media" (5%), and "Sports and Recreation" (4%).

Documents sub-categorized under "Lifestyles" discuss such topics as hospitality, meals, cuisine, spices, breads, home cooking, dining out, snacks, veil use, fashion, teas, seasons, calendars, shopping, bathing customs, leisure activities, folk costumes, life styles, and so on. Most of these documents are short essays or reports rather than rigorous academic papers.

Women's Studies was first adopted as a subject in Japan in the 1960s, with more and more universities

offering courses through the 1970s. In the 1980s, Women's Studies grew into a popular subject for both education and research, leading to notably animated discussions.

As these trends continued, Women's and Gender Studies found increasing appeal among a new generation of scholars. SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY documents sub-categorized as "Feminism and Gender Studies" for Iran are first seen in the 1980s, and increase in number into the 1990s and 2000s. They discuss issues such as veil use, women's status, women's roles in society, women's political participation, Islam and gender, female education, and family protection laws.

Documents sub-categorized as "Education and Family" deal with topics such as the education system, education policy, education reform, pedagogy, curricula, entrance examinations, social changes and education, Islamic seminaries, school textbooks, marriage, and divorce. Documents on female education fall under the sub-category "Feminism and Gender Studies" rather than "Education and Family". There are plenty of other documents dealing with subject matter that straddles more than a single category, making them difficult to classify. Topics covered in documents located under "SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY: Religion", rather than RELIGION & PHILOSOPHY, are more focused on religious practices and popular beliefs, such as *emāmzāde* (the shrine of the Shi'ite Imams and their descendants), pilgrimages, *āshūrā* rituals commemorating the martyrdom of Ḥusayn, the third Shi'ite Imam, graves, festivals, charities, and evil eyes.

VIII. Iranian Interactions with Japan

The category INTERACTIONS WITH JAPAN is divided into four sub-categories: "Cultural Exchange", "Essays", "Overseas Reports before 1945", and "International Aid & Cooperation".

The documents falling under the sub-categories

“Essays” (72%) and “Cultural Exchange” (12%) closely follow changes in Japan-Iran relations over time. They explore Japanese observations on Persia, and Persian observations on Japan, as read in travelogues, memoirs, and other historical documents.

The documents on more contemporary interactions also explore two perspectives. One being Japanese perspectives on Iranian society, people's lives, culture, ways of thinking, and attitudes, mainly by Japanese authors who have lived in Iran. This includes noteworthy memoirs by Japanese citizens living through the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

The other being Japanese perspectives on Iranians who came to Japan seeking employment in the early 1990s. The number of Iranians visiting Japan began increasing in the mid-1980s and peaked in 1991 at 47,976 entrants.³⁸ However, many documents discussing Iranian immigrants fall outside the purview of this research, because they are categorized under the ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST region rather than IRAN/PERSIA. Nevertheless, we cannot overlook the importance of this period, since for many people it was the first actual contact between ordinary Japanese and Iranian citizens.

What accounted for this sudden influx of Iranian nationals to Japan? With the end of Iran-Iraq War in 1988, a large number of Iranians returned from the battlefield seeking work. Iran's domestic industries, however, having been decimated by the prolonged war, were unable to meet the returning soldiers' needs for employment. At that time, Japan was the only economically developed country maintaining a visa exemption policy for Iranians. This allowed Iranians to visit Japan as a tourist, without a visa, for up to three months.

In the late 1980s, Japan's economy was booming and small factories and businesses were facing serious labor shortages, so much so that they were illegally employing foreigners who had entered Japan on tourist visas. Pakistanis and Bangladeshis coming to Japan in the late 1980s as tourists had been able to find employment without much difficulty. The

subsequent inflow of large numbers of Iranians, however, coincided with the onset of a significant downturn in Japan's economic conditions. Many of the newly-arriving Iranians were unfortunately unable to find employment. And even those lucky enough to find a job were soon forced to leave Japan, when the government later tightened restrictions against those illegally overstaying the three month limit. The number of Iranian overstayers peaked in 1992 at 32,994. Only those who married Japanese nationals were allowed to change their visa status to stay and work.

The number of Iranians holding official resident status in Japan (excluding short-term visitors) gradually grew and reached 3,309 in 2000, with 66 percent of them holding one of the following types of visa: Permanent Resident, Spouse or Child of a Japanese National, Spouse or Child of a Permanent Resident, Long Term Resident, or Special Permanent Resident. The number of official residents (excluding short term visitors) increased to 4,037 by December 2017, with 80 percent of them holding one of the types of visas mentioned above.³⁹ This indicates that more than three thousand Iranians have settled in Japan, many of them creating families with Japanese spouses.⁴⁰

In comparison, there were 513 Japanese residing in Iran in 2000, 255 of whom were permanent residents.⁴¹ This number rose to 678 in 2016, 439 of whom were permanent residents.⁴² Although still quite few in number, intermarriages between Japanese and Iranians has been on the rise, providing more opportunities for Japanese and Iranian nationals to interact on a daily basis.

IX. Literature & Linguistics

Persian literature specialist professor Morio Fujii, who has studied the evolution of Japanese scholarship on Persian literature and linguistics from the 1920s to the 1980s, identifies three distinctive

approaches: (1) taking a linguistics approach to Modern Persian (New Persian) and its literature, (2) first encountering Persian Culture through the translation of Persian classical texts, and (3) understanding Iranian society through the study of modern Iranian literature.

The three oldest documents on LINGUISTICS were published in the late 1930s. The oldest one deals with the *Huihuiguan zazi*, a New Persian glossary compiled in Ming China. The other two deal with Persian grammar and Turkish-origin terms used in Persian language. The number of documents on LINGUISTICS increased from the 1960s, focusing mostly on modern Persian, including vocabulary, terminology, loan-words, the Persian alphabet, grammar, pronunciation, sentence patterns, dialects, language reform, language policy, composition, colloquial Persian, conversation, onomatopoeia, proverbs, socio-linguistics, historical linguistics, dictionaries, and transcriptions.⁴³ The compilation of Persian-Japanese/Japanese-Persian dictionaries and publication of leveled Persian language textbooks were important contributions to the development of Iranian studies.

The oldest of all the IRAN/PERSIA documents in the database are a translation of ‘Omar Khayyām’s *Rubaiyāt* and an article about Persian poetry, both published in 1908. Japanese academic interest in Persian literature continued thereafter, but didn’t see a significant increase in publishing output until the mid-1970s. The types of Persian literature covered by these documents ranged from classical to contemporary, and from prose to poetry. Some dealt with oral traditions and folk literature. Topics covered include translation, commentaries, critiques, reviews, compendiums, and comparative studies.

In Japan, Persian Studies are firmly rooted in Japanese translations of classical works by major Persian authors such as Rūdakī (d.940), Ferdowsī (940-1020), Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī (11th century), Nāṣer Khosrow (1004-1088), ‘Omar Khayyām (1048-1131), Nezāmī Ganjavī (1141-1209), Farīd al-Dīn

‘Aṭṭār (1142?-1220), Jalāl ad-Dīn Moḥammad Rūmī (1207-1273), Sa’dī (1213-1291), and Ḥāfez (1315-1390). Although classical literature maintains a following, younger Japanese scholars have shown a preference for more contemporary Persian prose and poetry, including works by Mīrzā Fath-‘Alī Ākhondzāde (1812-1878), Moḥammad ‘Alī Jamālzāde (1892-1997), Šādeq Hedāyat (1903-1951), Bozorg ‘Alavī (1904-1997), Parvīn E’teshāmī (1907-1941), Šādeq Chūbak (1916-1998), Sīmīn Dāneshvar(1921-2012), Aḥmad Shāmlū (1925-2000), Sohrāb Sepehrī (1928-1980), Nāder Nāderpūr (1929-2000), Forūgh Farrokhzād (1934-1967), and Jalāl Āl-e Aḥmad (1923-1969).

Compared to the database’s documents on POLITICS and ECONOMICS, those on LITERATURE and LINGUISTICS seem relatively uninfluenced by contemporaneous socio-political events in Iran.

It is worth noting that many of the scholars who contributed to the Japanese study of Persian Literature and Linguistics are academics affiliated with Osaka University and the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, two major national universities offering courses in the Persian language.

X. Arts & Culture

The category ARTS & CULTURE provides five sub-categories: “General”, “Architecture”, “Fine Arts”, “Music & Dance”, “Film & Theatre”. Of a total of about 500 ARTS & CULTURE documents from between 1929 and 2015, “Fine Arts” account for 49 percent, “Film & Theatre” 22 percent, “Music & Dance” 16 percent, “Architecture” 10 percent, and “General” 0.3 percent.

The 9 documents from between 1929 and 1945 deal with arts in general, gardening, painting, architecture, and rugs. There were few publications on Persian art until 1957. But that changed dramatically in 1958, when Japan hosted its first-ever exhibition of

Persian Art at the Tokyo National Museum⁴⁴, showing excavated artifacts, gold and silver containers from the court of Persepolis, glassware from the Sasanian period, and various other works of art. The exhibition gained attention and caused a jump in academic publishing on Persian Art. It was an also important year for cultural exchange between Japan and Iran, because a Japan-Iran Cultural Agreement, signed in April of the previous year, took effect in November 1958.

Despite the increase in Japanese academic publishing on Iranian ARTS & CULTURE in 1958, broader interest remained tepid until the 1980s. With the end of Iran-Iraq war, Japanese scholars found a new interest in Persian Art, particularly film and music. Documents sub-categorized as “Film & Theatre” and “Music & Dance” represent 33 percent of all ARTS & CULTURE documents published in the 1990s. This share increased to 70 percent in the 2000s. Persian films came to be shown in Japan in the late 1980s, playing a vital role in presenting a rich and nuanced portrayal of Iran to the Japanese people. Films popular both in cinemas and on home video included works by directors such as Bahrām Beyza’i (1938-) ‘Abbās Kiyārostamī (1940-2016), Moḥsen Maḥmalbāf (1957-), Ja’far Panāhī (1960-), Majīd Majīdī (1959-) and Bahman Qobādi (1969-). These films provided ample source material for Japanese scholars eager to better understand the nuances Iranian society, ways of thinking, interpersonal relations, beliefs, and customs.

XI. Other Subjects

Compared with the categories above, there are relatively few documents under the categories REFERENCE & GENERAL, RELIGION & PHILOSOPHY, GEOGRAPHY, LAW, and SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY. REFERENCE & GENERAL has five sub-categories: “Academic Trends”, “Dictionaries & Encyclopedias”,

“Bibliographies”, “Reference Works, Current Affairs, & Collective Works”, and “Information Science”. Of the REFERENCE & GENERAL documents, 42 percent are sub-categorized as “Academic Trends”, and 34 percent fall under “Reference Works, Current Affairs, & Collective Works”.

Although Religion and Philosophy have long been major subjects of Japanese research on Islam and the Middle East, relatively few RELIGION & PHILOSOPHY documents are found classified under IRAN/PERSIA, as the majority are found under the geographic classification ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST. RELIGION & PHILOSOPHY has eight sub-categories: “General”, “Islam”, “Philosophy, Theology, Sufism”, “Shi’ites & other Sects”, “Political, Economic & Modern Thought”, “Zoroastrianism”, “Christianity, Judaism”, “Buddhism”. Documents sub-categorized as “Shi’ites & other Sects” account for 34 percent, followed by “Philosophy, Theology, Sufism” and “Zoroastrianism” at 21 percent each.

70 percent of GEOGRAPHY documents fall under the “General” sub-category, followed by 23 percent under “Geography Books, Travel Journals”. The remainder fall under “Environmental Problems”.

The LAW category is divided into three sub-categories: “General”, “Islamic” and “Modern”. Most of these documents fall into the “Modern” sub-category and deal with topics such as constitutions, legal and judicial systems, labor law, commercial law, trade law, family law, shop-lease contracts, and international law.

There aren’t many documents in the SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY category, but the topics discussed are diverse, reflecting a broadening of Japanese academic interest in Iran/Persia. A good number of these focus on medical sciences, dealing with topics from the ideas put forth by ‘Omar Khayyām and Ibn Sīnā, to folk medicines and remedies, to contemporary topics such as reproductive medicine, medical transplants, rights of the disabled, nursing, and medical ethics. Other topics include traditional techniques for using limited water resources in arid areas, Iranian calendars, weights and measures, and earthquakes.

XII. Notable Characteristics of Japanese Academic Interest in Iran

From the end of World War II to 2003, the total number of documents published per year rose steadily in all categories with occasional fluctuations. Similarly, the number of documents published per year on IRAN/PERSIA during the same period grew steadily with occasional fluctuations, peaking in 1999 (Figure 1). Despite the *absolute* increase in the annual number of IRAN/PERSIA documents published, there was a *relative* decline in IRAN/PERSIA documents as a fraction of all published documents in the database, from a peak share of around 15 percent in the 1950s and again in the 1980s, to 9 percent in the 2000s, and 7 percent from 2010 to 2015.

Strictly speaking, there are shortcomings with observations based on these quantitative trends, since the database makes no distinction between short essays and single-author books, which are categorically incomparable in quality. Nevertheless, the emerging trends are clear.

In the period from 2004 to 2015, IRAN/PERSIA documents per year declined, both in the absolute number of publications, and as a relative share of published documents in the database. This decline in share might be partly attributable to a decline in researchers specialized in Iranian/Persian studies. According to a Survey conducted by Professor Toru Miura between 2002-2003⁴⁵, 15.6 percent of the Japan Association for Middle East Studies's regular members and 8.0 percent of its student members identified Iran as the primary country of their research. In comparison, the regular and student members researching Egypt were 20.4 and 19.3 percent respectively, while those studying Turkey were 7.4 and 15.9 percent. These survey results suggest a decreasing number of younger researchers specializing in Iran could be a factor contributing to the decrease in the number of publications on Iran/Persia.

Another survey, conducted by myself and others, targeting participants in Japan's ten-year joint research

program for Islamic Area Studies (2006-2015), reflects the current state of Japanese post-graduate studies on Islam and Islamic regions.⁴⁶ The questionnaires were distributed to scholars teaching post-graduate level courses. Of the 101 respondents, the far majority were specialists in Arab regions, outnumbering Iran/Persia specialists five to one. This survey also examined the language courses available at major universities in Japan. Predictably, Arabic is the most widely taught language from the Islamic world, followed by Persian, and Turkish. Nevertheless, the gap between the number of Arabic and Persian language classes is considerable. These findings suggest an eroding foundation of Iran/Persia studies in Japan, which might also be reflected in the emerging paucity of Iran/Persia documents in the database.

Quantitative trends aside, analysis of the database revealed noteworthy characteristics of Japanese academic interest in Iran. As we have seen, the topics of study have diversified. There is growing Japanese interest in contemporary Iran, but ongoing significant interest in Iranian historical studies also. This indicates that the History departments at Japanese universities have remained important places for producing researchers specializing in Iran and Persia.

It is interesting to note that, of all the IRAN/PERSIA documents published between 1929 and 2015, only two fell under the "Terrorism" sub-category. One is about the Mojāhedīn-e Khalq organization, and the other focuses on the Ṭalebān. Although the Islamic Republic of Iran has been accused of supporting terrorism and labeled by the US as a "state sponsor of terrorism", Japanese scholars have shown little interest in conducting research from this perspective.

Similarly, in contrast to the mass media's general tendency to focus on Iran's domestic and international politics, Japanese scholars have consistently shown more interest in the socio-cultural aspects of historical and contemporary Iran, which has contributed a more fully-formed public image of Iran.

NOTES

- 1 Masaharu Yoshida has published a travelogue titled *Kaikyō Tanken Perusha no Tabi* 回疆探險波斯之旅 [Exploring the Muslim World: Travels in Persia] in 1894.
- 2 The website for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/iran/data.html>. “Tokubetsu Tenji - Nippon to Perusha: Iran ni tsuite” 特別展示－日本とペルシャ・イランについて [Special Exhibition: About Japan and Persia]. *Gaikō Shiryō Kan Pō* 外交史料館報29 (March, 2016):50-106.
- 3 To use the online database, please visit, <http://search.tbias.jp/>. An English language interface exists at <http://search.tbias.jp/en/books>, but indexes only a fraction of the total database records. For details about the history of the database, please refer to Toru Miura. “Survey of Middle East Studies in Japan: Historical Development, Present State, and Prospectus”. *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies* 19-2 (2004):176-177.
- 4 The database includes documents authored by foreign scholars affiliated with Japanese institutions. It also includes documents published outside Japan but authored or edited by Japanese scholars.
- 5 Hisae Nakanishi. “Iranian Studies in Japan”. *Iranian Studies* 20, no.2-4 (1987):131-159.
- 6 Nobuaki Kondo. “IRANIAN HISTORY: Reaching a New Stage”. *Orient* 37 (2002):49-64.
- 7 Morio Fujii. “Persian Linguistics and Literature: Academic Contributions of Japanese Scholars from 1920’s up to 1980’s”. *Orient* 37 (2002):77-83.
- 8 Kenji Kuroda. “Pioneering Iranian Studies in Meiji Japan: Between Modern Academia and International Strategy”. *Iranian Studies* 50, no. 5 (2017): 651-670.
- 9 Based on the author’s direct email communications with the persons in charge in June and July 2018.
- 10 Daisuke Shimada. “Shōwa senzenki ni okeru kaikyōseisaku ni kansuru kōsatsu: Dai Nippon Kaikyō Kyōkai o chūshin ni” 昭和戦前期における回教政策に関する考察—大日本回教協会を中心に [Consideration of Islamic Policy in Wartime Japan: Focus on the Dai Nippon Kaikyō Kyōkai]. *Isshinkyō Kenkyū* 一神教研究6 (2015):64-86. <https://doors.doshisha.ac.jp/duar/repository/ir/22616/050000060005.pdf>.
- 11 Koji Osawa. “Shōwa senzenki ni okeru isulam kenkyū - Kaikyōken Kenkyūjyo to Ōkubo Kōji” 昭和前期におけるイスラーム研究—回教圏研究所と大久保幸次 [Islamic Studies in the Early Showa Period: Kaikyōken-Kenkyūjo (Institute of Islamic Area) and Ōkubo Kōji]. *Shūkyō Kenkyū* 宗教研究78, no.2, (2004):493-516.
- 12 Okawa served as head of the institution from 1921 to 1938, promoting the study of South East Asia and Western South Asia.
- 13 Until 2009, it was called The Institute of Oriental Culture, the University of Tokyo.
- 14 The Osaka School of Foreign Language was established in 1921. For details, please refer to <http://www.sfs.osaka-u.ac.jp/user/persian/enkaku.html>.
- 15 For details, please visit the website of Osaka University at <http://www.sfs.osaka-u.ac.jp/en/outlines/history.html>.
- 16 For details, please visit the website of the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, University of Tokyo at <http://www.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/intro/history.html>.
- 17 For details, please visit the website of the Graduate School of Letters, Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University at https://www.bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/west_asian_history/wah-about/.
- 18 “Tokubetsu Tenji-Nippon to Perusha: Iran ni tsuite”. op.cit.,:99.
- 19 The website of the Japanese School in Tehran. The number of students dropped dramatically to 33 in 1980. <http://www.tehranschool.com/company.html>.
- 20 Toshio Miki. “Nippon to no kankei” 日本との関係 [Relations with Japan]. Negishi Tomijiro, Okazaki Shoko, eds., *Iran: sono kokudo to shijō* イラン—その国土と市場— [Iran: its land and Market]. The Science News Press (1981): 455.
- 21 “Tokubetsu Tenji-Nippon to Perusha: Iran ni tsuite”. op.cit., :97.
- 22 Abdoly Keivan. “Energy and Japan-Iran Relations in the 1950s: Reassessing the Idemitsu Oil Deal with Iran”. *Middle East Review IDE-JETRO* 5 (2018):3. http://www.ide.go.jp/library/Japanese/Publish/Periodicals/Me_review/pdf/201711_01.pdf.
- 23 The website for the Research Organization for Information Science and Technology, <http://www.rist.or.jp/atomica/data/pict/01/01020201/05.gif>.
- 24 Professor Ono started field research in the 1960s. Based on his long-term relations with villagers and meticulous records of village transformations, he authored many books and monographs. One of his books, *Iran nōmin nijūgonen no dorama* イラン農民25年のドラマ [The Twenty-Five Year Drama of Iranian Farmers] was translated into Persian by Hāshem Rajabzāde and

- published under the title *Kheyrābād-nāme* in 1997. Ali Ferdowsi “Ono, Morio”. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ono-morio>.
- 25 Professor Okazaki is an author of many books on a variety of topics, including Persian language, Iran’s agriculture, and Qanāt.
- 26 Institute of Developing Economies, *Nenji Keizai Hōkoku-Iran* 年次経済報告—イラン [Annual Economic Report-Iran]. (1978):157-158.
- 27 Hitoshi Suzuki. “IJPC project o saikō suru” IJPCプロジェクトを再考する [Reconsidering IJPC Project]. *Ajiken wārudo torendo* アジ研ワールド・トレンド211(2013): 32.
- 28 The Website of the Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle_e/iran/pv0010/summary.html.
- 29 Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (IEEJ) Oil Group, Oil and Gas Unit. “Recent Trends in Oil Supply from Iran” (2012):7. <https://eneken.ieej.or.jp/data/4363.pdf>.
- 30 “Nippon no Gensoyu Yunyū Aitekoku Jyōi 10 ka koku no Suii” 日本の原粗油輸入相手国上位10カ国の推移 [Changes in the Top 10 Countries Exporting Crude Oil to Japan] http://www.customs.go.jp/toukei/suii/html/data/fy8_2.pdf.
- 31 “Japan ‘to reduce Iran oil imports’”. BBC News (12 January 2012). <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-16523422>.
- 32 “Iran nuclear deal: International sanctions lifted”. BBC News (16 January 2016). <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35335078>.
- 33 Masashi Haneda. “Rekishigaku·Tōyōgaku to Islam Chiiki Kenkyū” 歴史学・東洋学とイスラーム地域研究 [History, Oriental Studies and Islamic Area Studies]. Tsugitaka Sato, ed. *Isulam Chiiki Kenkyū no Kanōsei* イスラーム地域研究の可能性 [Possibilities of Islamic Area Studies] University of Tokyo Press (2003):21-22, 28-32.
- 34 Toru Miura, op.cit., :174, 185.
- 35 Nobuaki Kondo, op.cit., :50.
- 36 Ibid., :49.
- 37 Ibid., :55.
- 38 Keiko Sakurai. “Muslims in Contemporary Japan”. *Asian Policy* 5 (2008):74-75.
- 39 *Hōmushō Zairyū Gaikokujin Tōkei 2017 nen 12 gatsu* 法務省在留外国人統計2017年12月 [Ministry of Justice-Statistics on Foreign Residents December 2017]. <https://www.e-stat.go.jp/stat-search/files?page=1&layout=datalist&toukei=00250012&ctstat=000001018034&cycle=1&year=20170&month=24101212&ctclass1=000001060399>.
- 40 For details, please refer to Keiko Sakurai, op.cit.
- 41 The Website of Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs. http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/toko/tokei/hojin/00/2_8.html.
- 42 Gaimushō. *Kaigai Zairyū Hōjinsū Cyōsa Tōkei 2016 nen 10 gatsu 1 tachi* 海外在留邦人数調査統計2016年10月1日 [Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Annual Statistics Report on Japanese Nationals Overseas, 1 October, 2016]. (2016):96. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/000260884.pdf>.
- 43 Morio Fujii, op.cit., :77-83.
- 44 According to the website of the Tokyo National Museum, a Persian exhibition was held from 21 May to 22 June, 1958. http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=1470#1950.
- 45 Toru Miura, op.cit., :187.
- 46 Keiko Sakurai, et al. “Nippon ni okeru Isulam chiiki ni kakawaru Daigakuin Kyōiku no Jittai chōsa kekka (gaiyō)” 日本におけるイスラーム地域に関わる大学院教育の実態調査結果(概要) [Key Findings of a Survey on Graduate-level Studies on Islamic Areas in Japan]. *Journal of Islamic Area Studies* イスラーム地域研究ジャーナル7 (2015) :104-106.