

# Japanese Harmony as Nationalism: Grand Master Tea for War and Peace

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The goal to manipulate foreign media focused on 'guiding world opinion concerning Japan,' 'splitting world opinion regarding Japan and the China Incident,' and 'breaking the front of unified anti-Japanese opinion.'<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

The theme of tea as medium for nationalistic expression is examined in five sections. The first section outlines the 1937 proposal of an official belief in Japaneseness as a divine entity characterized by a sacred martial spirit. Attention is drawn to the internal contradiction of endorsing this sacred martial spirit as an essential Japanese trait when the harmonious administration of Japan is also praised.<sup>2</sup> The second section takes this domestic tension between conflicting sets of idealized values and examines propaganda aimed at deceiving foreign governments. Tea is one element of the state-sponsored campaign to use international tourism to systematically negate worldwide criticism of December 1937 atrocities committed by

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Japanese in Nanjing.

These first two sections assume that tea operates as cultural nationalism inside the discourse of state nationalism. Cultural nationalism can be a merely descriptive term that outlines how leisure practices operate as a type of chauvinism within state borders. For example, a belief in the superiority of the performance of cultural activities by Japanese people inside Japan can be a form of cultural nationalism. However, our interest is in the more normative forms of cultural nationalism that use leisure activities as a means of bringing citizens into networks of support for the Pacific War effort. When the ideal of a distinctive national culture appeals to the Japanese state as the central and definitive authority, that political entity functions as both the source of legitimizing power and the destination of desired authenticity. Once cultural practices are defined by and located within this cycle of national authority, cultural nationalism becomes state nationalism.

The third section surveys the role of tea in times of war and peace. The popular role of tea as an image that built support for a warring Japanese state is contrasted with the postwar place of tea in a global market for tea culture. The relationship between the Imperial House and the Houses of Sen is outlined in terms of the political location of tea.

Within the fourth section, several subsections document how the three hundred and fiftieth commemoration of the death of Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591) functioned as state nationalism. As part of the national radio broadcast of the Rikyū memorial service, the grand master of Mushanokōjisenke school of tea, Sen Sōshu, concluded that Rikyū was an example of how to live and die well.<sup>3</sup> It is important to note grand master

fluency with the nationalistic rhetoric at this celebration of the life of Rikyū. The fourteenth Urasenke grand master Sen Sōshitsu uses the *hakkō ichiu* imperialist slogan, 'the whole world under one roof,' that was explicitly outlawed by the December 15 1945 Directive for the Disestablishment of State Shintō.<sup>4</sup> As one event associated with the celebration of Rikyū, the April 23 1940 evening of lectures featured grand master appreciation of commitment to the holy war by Japanese soldiers. The cultural nationalism of tea becomes state nationalism once the grand masters of tea invoke and endorse the sacred martial spirit of Japan.

The fifth section addresses the postwar role of tea in re-introducing the mythology of Japan as the land of harmony by extending the analysis of the first section.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Kokutai no hongii: tea as cultural nationalism***

Davis's demonstration that '[b]etween 1936 and 1941, there were strenuous efforts made to express, and define, what makes Japanese people and life so Japanese'<sup>6</sup> highlights how the experience of identifying with a national entity was socially constructed by government and private sector initiatives. The following survey of certain domestic and international components of this project to create modern Japanese citizens locates tea in a set of practices designed to strengthen patriotic modes of identification. After outlining here the role performed by tea as normative cultural nationalism, a later section will identify how tea operated as a mode of state nationalism by supporting the war effort.

Official government publications sought to define the Japanese national essence. The cardinal principles of the national entity of Japan are

presented in *Kokutai no hongii*, published in March 1937. According to official statistics of the Ministry of Education, the initial print run was 300,000 copies. Primary, secondary and tertiary educators from the public and private school systems were encouraged to participate in the timely dispersal of this treasured knowledge: 'This book has been compiled in view of the pressing need of the hour to clarify our national entity and to cultivate and awaken national sentiment and consciousness.'<sup>7</sup> The goal of this distribution strategy was to saturate the nation with an official discourse of Japaneseness. Once this definition of what made Japan Japanese became a matter of public knowledge, less than compliant Japanese individuals could be officially and informally denounced as being less-than-ideal citizens, *hi kokumin-teki*.

The publication details of the various versions of *Kokutai no hongii* convey the intensity of this policy to use educational structures to disseminate an orthodox understanding of Japaneseness. However, it is also important to note the co-operation of the private sector in this government initiative to distribute an official definition of what constitutes authentic Japanese identity:

The Cabinet Printing Bureau brought out and marketed successive editions and up to March 1943, the last date for which publication figures on this book are obtainable, had sold approximately 1,900,000. In that same period 28,300 reprints by private presses had been sold and approximately 51,200 reproductions of the *Kokutai no hongii* had appeared in other books.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the wholesale reproduction of *Kokutai no hongii*, selected extracts were included in secondary and lower tertiary textbooks and

reading materials. All university presidents, principals of higher secondary schools, and prefectural governors received a directive from the Vice-Minister of Education, telling them to participate in the propagation of this national ideology. In 1937 the Ministry of Education was responsible for overseeing thought control activities: 'both punitive action against persons with thoughts considered officially undesirable, and the creation and dissemination of propaganda for the control of student thought. The *Kokutai no hongî* is a product of the Bureau of Educational Reform, which was charged with thought control.<sup>9</sup>

*Kokutai no hongî* presents an overview of the national entity of Japan and how that national entity manifests itself in history. The founding of the nation is framed by references to the earliest legends recorded in the *Kojiki* (a written compilation from the oral tradition, ca. 712) and *Nihon-shoki* (compiled in 720), thereby reinforcing a Japanese belief in their unbroken imperial line. The sacred virtues of the Emperor unite religious rites, administration, and education.

*Kokutai no hongî* informs citizens that the nation is administered by an imperial love for the people. The 'Way of the Subjects' is defined as loyalty, patriotism, and filial piety: 'loyalty and filial piety as one is the flower of our national entity.'<sup>10</sup> *Kokutai no hongî* uses this natural metaphor of transience to argue that loyalty to the Emperor and respect for one's parents are one and the same thing, the highest expression of Japaneseness. Harmony between god and man, harmony between man and nature, and mutual harmony among Japanese citizens are the foundation of a relationship between harmony and truth. The martial spirit is an integral part of this Japanese harmony, and the sovereign and his subjects

are united in one somewhat vaguely defined truth.

The unbroken Japanese spirit that runs through history is an imperial story of emperors in the Land of the Gods. Tales of imperial reverence for earthly and heavenly divinities, and the reforms and restorations of various eras precede an account of popular worship of the imperial throne during the Edo period (1603-1868) and the relevant details of the Meiji Restoration.

Reading this 'Japaneseness textbook' more closely identifies the one truth that united the sovereign and his subjects. Given the rhetorical importance attributed to harmony in the tearoom, it is interesting to note the presence of the martial spirit and *bushidō*, the way of the warrior, in passages that speak of Japan as a unique nation built on the harmony of all things. Underpinning these assertions of war as an agent of peace is the conviction that the Japanese national identity is a sacrament:

But this martial spirit is not [a thing that exists] for the sake of itself but for the sake of peace, and is what may be called a sacred martial spirit. Our martial spirit does not have for its objective the killing of men, but the giving of life to men. ... War, in this sense, is not by any means intended for the destruction, overpowering, or subjugation of others; and it should be a thing for the bringing about of great harmony, that is, peace, doing the work of creation by following the Way.<sup>11</sup>

According to *Kokutai no hongī*, the history of this sacred martial spirit includes the exercise of imperial power that, in the third century, ordered the dispatch of an expedition to the Korean peninsular, as well as the conquest of the indigenous people of Kyūshū, the Kumaso, that commenced

in the eighth century. More recently, the Sino-Japanese War (1894), the Russo-Japanese War (1904), the Japanese colonization of Korea by Japan, and the establishment of the puppet government of Manchukuo are 'expressions of the great august Will ... [engaged] in the promoting of the peace of the country and the advancement of the great task of love for the people, thus radiating the grace of the Imperial Throne.'<sup>12</sup> Uniting this Land of Peace is the tradition of warfare overseen by imperial edicts: '*Bushidō* ... became the Way of loyalty and patriotism, and has evolved before us as the spirit of the Imperial Forces.'<sup>13</sup> This sacred martial spirit was sustained by the national morality. At the core of those moral convictions is one constantly patriotic value: 'According to our history, the spirit of loyalty always runs through the hearts of the people.'<sup>14</sup>

The 1937 lesson taught to Japanese citizens by this Japaneseness textbook is part of a wartime agenda: 'The only reason for his existence is that he may play the role of an unimportant part in the all-important whole of Japanese national existence.'<sup>15</sup> The inevitability of national identity is a claim advanced by *Kokutai no hongī*, implying that there is no escape from the sacred logic that unites nation and nature with the imperial duties of Japanese citizens: 'In the way we are born, from the time we are born, ... we by nature serve the Emperor and walk the Way of the Empire.'<sup>16</sup>

Representations of nature and idealized presentations of self are elements of this creation of the existential harmony of Japanese national identity. Japan has a documented history of earthquakes, floods, and famines, and *Kokutai no hongī* records how the Emperor 'poured out his great august heart in giving relief in times of natural calamities.'<sup>17</sup>

However, the ideology of Japanese concord apparently demands that Japanese citizens forget their powerlessness in the face of furious natural forces: 'Clashes with nature such as are found in Western mythologies do not appear in our legends ... It is not by mere chance that Yamato [a synonym for Japan] has been written in Chinese characters, "Great Harmony."'<sup>18</sup>

Harmony can be a coercive logic, a demand that citizens forgo the luxuries of daily comforts. These denials of individual desire then become an austere worship of the spirit of the nation. Individual citizens should be grateful for the opportunity of these collective performances offered in the name of the national good. The desire to associate the national essence of a warring nation with harmony is evident in the *Kokutai no hongî* suggestion that warriors should 'in ordinary times ... should ... strive to be sensitive to the frailty of Nature.'<sup>19</sup> In the context of this survey of the martial history of Japan in the section entitled 'Bushidō', *Kokutai no hongî* does not define what constitutes 'ordinary' routines. However, invoking a delicate appreciation of natural rhythms contains a faint echo of our earlier discussion of Genji as a sensitive aesthete who was used to unite citizens of an increasingly militant Japanese state around the turn of the twentieth century. Harmony, like transience, can be an oppressive force that crushes individuals.

Against this background of concerns with the sacred martial spirit of Japan as Urayasu no Kuni (Land of Peace), Yamato (Great Harmony), and Yasukuni (Peaceful Land),<sup>20</sup> culture and tea are discussed. Attention to the Way of Tea is preceded by numerous references throughout *Kokutai no hongî* to paraphrasing 'our nation's great Way': 'the great Way based



on this national entity', 'the great Way of the deities', 'the Way of harmony', 'our fundamental Way as subjects', and 'the Way of loyalty and patriotism'.<sup>21</sup>

The rhetoric of these various national Ways is sustained by a logic that demands personal submission to the tradition, regardless of whether that tradition is the current political formation, the institution of education, or a set of aesthetic conventions: 'artistic pursuits should be materialized along one's personality only after one has personally found the Way by casting aside one's untoward desires and by first following the norms in keeping with tradition.'<sup>22</sup> Assertions of this kind that demand individual denial of one's self become the foundation for more normative forms of cultural nationalism.

The category of the Way (*dō* or *michi*) has a history with religious and literary phases. Kūkai (779-835), associated with the establishment of Shingon Buddhism, advocated the frictionless transmission of spiritual insights from master to student. Kūkai also imposed a hierarchy onto this model of direct experience across lines of status, establishing the conventional use of the metaphor of progress along the Way as an orthodox but external measure of being one's authentic self. The literary application of the Way was implemented by Fujiwara Kintō (966-1041). *Waka* poetry was evaluated using the notion of *dō*.<sup>23</sup>

Following the Way involved three steps:

In the first stage (*shu*), the new practitioner astutely copies the established forms. The next stage (*ha*) involves the internalisation of these models. Finally after perhaps a lifetime of practice, in the third stage (*ri*) the practitioner is able to manifest the essence of the forms

as a projection of their own self.<sup>24</sup>

It is important to note how transmission practices based on an idea of the Way contributed to the early twentieth century conviction of national identity as sacrament. This acceptance of the authority of the tradition provides the adept student with an opportunity to approach the divine: 'As the notion of *michi* (*dō*) develops in the medieval age, artists are increasingly constrained by convention and orthodoxy, yet at the same time artistic accomplishment implicitly has soteriological value.<sup>25</sup> Following the Way and becoming a proficient performer of that tradition promised aesthetic salvation. Once the distinctive culture of Japan had been nationalized by the fervour of government and private sector activities between 1936 and 1941, the deeper values of cultural practices, by association, gave national identity a sacred glow.

This 1937 logic of individually accepting externally defined norms remains a central element of early twenty-first century tea practice. The *Kokutai no hongī* demand that the self be initially denied brings leisure activities, including tea, into the sphere of political control and coercion. The pleasures of embodying a particular cultural tradition align students with a national ideology that values the whole more highly than the individual parts comprising the officially defined spirit of the nation.

Our national Way stands out markedly in the arts that have come down to us from of old. Poetry, music, calligraphy, painting, the incense cult, the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, architecture, sculpture, industrial arts, and dramas, all culminate in the Way, and find their source there in. ... In a word, our culture is in its essence a manifestation of the great spirit of the founding of the Empire; and

scholastic pursuits, education, artistic pursuits, etc., all spring from one and the same source. ... One of the basic characteristics of our artistic pursuits is the adoption of modes based on the spirit of disinterestedness and the existence of an attitude to conform still further with nature. ... The high place given to chaste refinement [*wabi*], too, is a result of a demand that through this means the Way be conformed to by forgetting oneself. The object is to enjoy squatting face to face in a narrow tearoom as if to meet for once in one's lifetime, and to enter into the flavor of a merging of personalities among master and guests, and so to arrive at a state of concord in a gathering of all classes of people with self set aside and with no idea of discrimination.<sup>26</sup>

According to *Kokutai no hongī*, the *wabi* aesthetic of Rikyū is an expression of the imperial project. It is interesting that the final sentence of this *Kokutai no hongī* extract recalls the 1872 Gengensai 'Chadō no gen ii' (Fundamental Principles of the Way of Tea) petition and its call for social equality across lines of economic wealth. Given our concern with how tea operates as cultural *and* state nationalism, what is more intriguing is the extent to which the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education resembles Gengensai's petition submitted eighteen years earlier to Kyōtō officials. Gengensai's petition outlined the original intent of the Way of Tea, offering tea as a moral technology that would unite the citizenry. The short term goal of tax avoidance by the three Houses of Sen laid a foundation for tea values becoming part of the modern project of inventing the Japanese nation.

Both documents invoke the values of loyalty and filial piety.<sup>27</sup> The

Gengensai petition argues that the 'original intent of the Way of Tea is to instill loyalty, filial piety and the Five Constant Virtues (benevolence, sincerity, righteousness, wisdom and trust)'. The Imperial Rescript on Education proclaims that 'Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof.' The attention given to the values of loyalty and filial piety by the Gengensai petition and the Imperial Rescript are reinforced by *Kokutai no Hongi*: 'Without loyalty there is no patriotism, and without patriotism there is no loyalty. All patriotism is always impregnated with the highest sentiments of loyalty, and all loyalty is always attended with the zeal of patriotism.'<sup>28</sup>

According to Gengensai, the Way of Tea encourages 'the unflagging fulfilment of one's allocated role in family affairs', but the Imperial Rescript is more specific: 'be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious'. The Way of Tea asks that citizens 'uphold modesty, propriety and frugality' and the Imperial Rescript implores its subjects to 'bear yourselves in modesty and moderation'. The Way of Tea promotes 'service toward the peace and well-being of the realm' but the Imperial Rescript is more expansive: 'advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.' *Kokutai no Hongi* supplies the understanding necessary to apply patriotic zeal in the form of military service in the name of peace: 'offering our lives for the sake of the Emperor does not mean so-called self-sacrifice, but the casting aside

of our little selves to live under his august grace and the enhancing of the genuine life of the people of a State.<sup>129</sup>

The Way of Tea wants 'to have people treat another with no distinctions of closeness or distance, wealth or poverty' and the Imperial Rescript more concisely commands subjects to 'extend your benevolence to all'. The Way of Tea looks to a belief in the blessings of the emperor-worship tradition for the sake of the future when it asks citizens to 'revere divine providence for the sake of the health and longevity of generations to come.' The Imperial Rescript expects subjects to 'pursue learning and cultivate arts, thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore ... render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.' This imperial endorsement of the moral aspects of leisure activities supports an argument for the inherently political forces that underpinned cultural traditions in early modern Japan.

The Way of Tea was an integral part of the project of creating patriotic citizens between 1936 and 1941. The rhetoric that continues to support tearoom harmony drew on Pacific War patterns of speaking patriotically about the warring nation. Modes of tea instruction and attitudes to the authority of the tradition had political implications that operated to define authentic Japaneseness during wartime.

The 1872 Gengensai petition anticipated moral values that would later be of central importance in defining an officially-acceptable notion of Japaneseness. The Gengensai appeal to loyalty, filial piety, self-restraint, and service to family, community and the nation were then ratified in the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education. These imperial sentiments were then the subject of bureaucratic clarification and distribution by the Bureau of

Educational Reform of the Ministry of Education in 1937. In the Land of Peace, the Way of Tea was a pleasantly coercive form of patriotism.

### **Marketing militant harmony: tourism and tea**

While the Japanese national essence was being defined for domestic audiences by official government publications including *Kokutai no hongî*, government tourism initiatives were attempting to moderate international perceptions of Japan. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs oversaw the procedural responsibilities of foreign visitors, and the Ministry of Railways directed tourist campaigns that were then handled by the Japan Tourism Bureau. Following the international criticism of Japanese conduct in China from 1937 onwards, tourism became an important form of government-sponsored propaganda.

The extent to which this tourism-as-propaganda model was embraced by the tourism industry should be conveyed by this extract from a 1939 contest announcement: 'the great task of international tourism, as one wing of this holy war, is to propagate both abroad and domestically the true image of our youthful Japan with an old history.'<sup>30</sup> A founding member of the Society for the Study of Media Technology shared this belief in the sacred martial spirit of Japanese identity. Arai Seiichirō wrote in the October 1941 issue of *Japanese Propaganda Culture Association* that 'professional advertisers wished to help the government promote the aims of the war and at the same time "cleanse themselves," after having been steeped on the lowly work of commercial advertising. ... [They] wished to repackage their material in ways that would *specifically* assist in the government's project of mobilizing society for war.'<sup>31</sup>

The Office of International Tourism was overseen by the Ministry of Railways. Their publication of *Kokusai Kankō* from 1933 until 1939 was one forum that linked tourism, the war effort, and international propaganda. The January 1938 issue featured an English language poster published by the Board of Tourist Industry, affiliated with Japanese Government Railways. An illustration of cherry blossoms in full bloom and a five tier temple accompanied the slogan 'Changing and unchangeable Japan.' This image of seasonal transience and the immutable stability of Japanese architecture and other traditions was part of a book-and-film campaign to market Japan as an international tourist destination. Official films capturing the charms of Japanese scenery and an example of what could be done in Japan on a three week vacation were complemented by English language publications entitled *Visit Japan* and *Japan Pictorial*. The lead article of the January 1938 issue examined how the tourist industry operates as cultural policy. The research section of the January 1938 issue included a discussion of the implications of war for international tourism.

Images of Axis leaders were one *Kokusai Kankō* contribution to the war effort. The April 1938 issue featured two photographs of visiting Italian Fascists. Under the capitalized headline 'BENVENUTO!', a Shintō priest is leading a delegation of uniformed Italians as they exit an unnamed shrine, passing beneath the shrine gateway. The Japanese text notes the impression made on the Italian delegation by Japanese politics, society, industries, culture, and military assets. The brief text concludes by speculating that the Italian-Japanese alliance opens up a world-class destiny that should continue forever, enriching national development.

The October 1938 and the January 1939 issues both featured

photographs of arm-banded members of the Nazi Party. Adolf Hitler, his Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda from 1933 to 1945 Joseph Goebbels, and Hermann Esser, the author of *The Jewish World Plague* (1939) appeared in *Kokusai Kankō*.

The spectacle of international travel was conducted against this background of increasingly military alliances. The harmony of Japanese culture operated in this world view as evidence of the status of Japan as a world class country, and as a pleasing distraction from exaggerated reports of Japanese atrocities that were distastefully worrying, both at home and abroad. Cultural tourism was accorded a strategic importance as propaganda by the government and tourism industry businesses and professionals.

The tea industry and tearoom culture were both part of the print-and-film campaign mentioned in the July 1938 issue. The column entitled *Kokusai Kankō Office News* reported that leaflets (including 'Guide to Japan', a Manchuria guide 'Visit Far East', and 'Japanese Winter') had been published in various languages. In addition to these English, Italian, and Dutch leaflets, guide booklets for Tōkyō and Nara, posters, Christmas cards, 1939 calendars, rail timetables and maps were distributed. In the immediate future, more attention should be paid to attracting tourists from South America, particularly Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

In anticipation of the two thousand six hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Japanese imperial line in 1940, English, Italian, and Dutch versions of *Japan in 1940* were being published. The film *Tōkyō in 1940* was being prepared. An updated edition of the 710 page *Guide to Japan* would include more information about Korea. A three-reel film highlighting



Korean and Chinese scenic attractions had been made to encourage European tourists to visit countries colonized by Japan. In 1938, a series of films that introduced the Japanese industries of silk, tea and woven fabric were also in the planning stage.

Titles under preparation in the Tourist Library series included *Japanese Nationality*, *Bushidō*, and *Mount Fuji*. As part of the national euphoria leading up to the 1940 Tōkyō Olympics, books dealing with Japanese martial arts of the Way of the Sword (*kendō*), the Way of the Bow (*kyūdō*), and sumo wrestling were anticipated.

As further evidence of the efforts of the magazine *Kokusai Kankō* to reinforce government policies aimed at unifying the citizenry, the back cover of the four 1938 issues of *Kokusai Kankō* carried the slogan '*kokumin seishin sōdō*.' This national unification of the sacred spirit of Japaneseness was a policy implemented by a prime ministerial decree on September 9 1937.<sup>32</sup>

This mobilization of the national spirit was addressed in the January 1939 issue and the category of culture was accorded great importance. One article addressed the relationship between five thousand years of Asian culture and Japanese administration, asserting the inherent cultural superiority of Japan. This article is attributed to the Special Mayor of Beijing and the rhetoric intensifies at the conclusion: Japan is prepared to offer an unlimited quantity of casualties, but it is true that this is a sacred war waged on behalf of the Asian tribe. The following article discussed the cultural uniqueness of Japan, using numerous appeals to the Japanese spirit that recalls the tone of *Kokutai no hongī*: Japanese culture is the routine of the Yamato tribe.

It is in this context of nationalized culture that *Kokusai Kankō* introduces a range of sponsored English language books that explain Japanese culture to foreign audiences. The synopsis of *Tea Cult of Japan* by Fukukita Yasunosuke informs Japanese readers that the English book is a simple introduction to thin and thick tea, and the seated style of serving that suits the new age. As an example of a descriptive form of cultural nationalism, the Fukukita book begins with the history of tea, and 66 pages of text explain how to learn tea. The book is recommended as a gentle introduction for novices and cost 50 sen. In the context of the mission of *Kokusai Kankō* to fragment anti-Japanese opinion, tea operates as cultural propaganda when the Japanese state is determined to conceal from its citizens and other nations the less-than-harmonious reality of Japanese military actions against Chinese civilians in 1937. The final entry on this catalogue page is a translated English slogan, highlighted in bold: **Tourism is the key that unlocks industry.**

Issues of *Kokusai Kankō* regularly featured accounts by foreign visitors that emphasized the international appeal of Japan as a tourist destination. These translated articles were a useful counterpoint to Japanese reports of how to enjoy travel outside Japan. In an October 1938 article entitled 'Japan is a tourist paradise', Leonard J. Lucas records the spectacle of departing troops, noting that shouts of 'Banzai' were the only part of the proceedings that were comprehensible to foreign ears. The second last sentence of the article says 'Japan is peaceful' and a repetition of the article title concludes the piece.

These reports of tourist correspondents were instructive for Japanese tourism operators wishing to learn how to best cater to overseas visitors.

However, foreign assertions of the peaceful harmony of Japanese life are not innocent expressions of the grace of the Imperial Throne:

in an effort to secure positive American opinion for its growing Asian empire, Japanese government agencies invited prominent American editors from well-known magazines such as *Harper's Bazaar*, *Traveler*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Time*, *Fortune*, and others to visit Japan, Korea, and Manchuria for two months, all expenses paid.<sup>33</sup>

At a September 1938 meeting of government representatives, tourist industry leaders, and the media, International Tourist Bureau head Den Makoto identified the urgency of educating Japanese citizens about the best ways to maximize the propaganda benefits of satisfied international guests.<sup>34</sup> The cultural aspects of Japanese life were at the frontline of national propaganda.

Further evidence of attempts to create more favourable impressions of Japan following the December 1937 atrocities at Nanjing include top-secret Japanese documents and American legal records. Domestic and international secrecy became a primary concern as the government sought to be the dominant opinion maker at home and abroad: 'In contrast to the Cabinet Board of Information, the two agencies most concerned with public opinion – the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Railroad Ministry – went to great lengths to conceal their hand in propaganda campaigns.'<sup>35</sup>

One element of the secretive strategy to contain hostile international reactions was *Behind the News in China*, written in 1938 by an American journalist Frederick Vincent Williams. These reports were recycled domestically when the *Osaka Mainichi* newspaper translated extracts from

the Williams book, endorsing the conduct of Japanese soldiers in China as exemplary. Williams was convicted of conspiracy and found guilty on nine charges of violating the Foreign Agents Act in 1942: Williams had been banking funds received from 'a secret Japanese propaganda organization, the Jikyoku Inkaï, the Committee for the Current State of Affairs, also known as the Japanese Committee on Trade and Information'.<sup>36</sup>

Knowing that the government continued to secretly operate in the early twentieth century, and examining the activities of Japanese citizens catches some of the complexities of the so-called democratic fascism of the interwar years. The history of Ienaga Saburō documents the extent to which political elites legislated to constrict civil liberties in early modern Japan: publishing restrictions (1869), newspaper ordinances (1873, revised 1883), limits on assembly (1880, revised 1882) and a total ban on revealing the contents of petitions to the government and the throne (1884).<sup>37</sup> Typically, the popular response to official control is framed in terms of resisting those legal attempts to limit certain freedoms. Barak Kushner, however, argues that from the 1880s to the 1930s the 'moral suasion' of Japanese propaganda was effective because Japanese citizens were part of the systematic process to improve the efficiency of 'the Japanese bureaucracy's effort to get Japanese to identify as citizens of a national entity'.<sup>38</sup>

The argument that the Japanese propaganda structure included elements that were populist, existing outside of government, has two major ramifications. First, the analysis of Kushner demonstrates one flawed American wartime conviction. Docile Japanese were not simply manipulated by propaganda that had become more effective as the colonial activities of Japan expanded: 'The agencies that actually drafted, produced,

and distributed Japanese wartime propaganda consisted of well-intentioned intellectuals, rural women, stage performers, police officers, and other average Japanese eagerly participating in a society that wanted to support the war.<sup>39</sup> Second, despite the fact that Japanese citizens were active players in the creation of propaganda, the International Military Tribunal of the Far East (more commonly known as the Tōkyō War Crimes Trials) and Japanese peacetime education helped erase this responsibility:

Postwar scholarship incorrectly labelled the wartime Japanese propaganda campaigns as artifacts of the military and government and not as products of collusion between the civilian society and its leaders. ... The Tokyo Trial clearly helped establish a Japanese historical amnesia that make it possible to deny the existence of a collusive populace. Postwar education also taught that the military led the population astray; few texts mentioned mass participation in voluntary propaganda activities.<sup>40</sup>

Postwar appeals made by Japanese political and cultural elites to the idea of Japan as the country of harmony continue to be an act of self-representation that conceals the need to examine what has been forgotten about Japanese life during wartime.

The leisure of wartime tea is implicated in this question of the voluntary participation of a collusive population versus the coercive power of state legislation buttressed by more informal sanctions at the regional and local levels. As a social practice during the interwar years, tea functioned as an effective form of a distinctively Japanese cultural nationalism.

## **Tearoom harmony: war and peace**

Autobiographical comments of the fifteenth generation Urasenke Grand Master create an impression that the 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign was the result of his considerable reflection on the nature of wartime experience.<sup>41</sup> It is important to acknowledge the emotional complexities of his playing a twentieth century role equivalent to the pre-battle serving of tea by Rikyū: Sen served tea to other *tokkōtai* squad members and then waited to hear their final radio signals. Rather than merely privilege the individual subjectivity of one grand master and his fortunate escape, his comments about war can be framed by examining tea's 1930s role in creating a sense of Japanese identity and solidarity. Grand Master XV tends not to address the institutional positioning of tea as a wartime national sacrament by Sen grand masters of his father's generation. What is important here is the nostalgic invoking of a supposedly authentic past as a means of bringing cultural practices, including tea, into a form that can be interpreted as supporting the war effort.

Despite the 1872 efforts of Gengensai to partner Senke tea instruction with a belief in the nation, the obsession with Western technology made the Meiji era (1868-1912) a difficult time for *iemoto*, grand master, families. Family businesses that transmitted distinctive cultural practices struggled financially as the category of tradition fell from favour amongst progressive elites. However tea was rehabilitated when Japan's successive victories in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) enshrined nationalism.<sup>42</sup> Although tea generally benefited from its categorical status as tradition, the authority of the *iemoto* system was not regarded as absolute by the economically dominant practitioners of *sukisha*

*cha*.<sup>43</sup> The *sukisha* tea men were directing the financial, trading and technological services that were driving Japan's modernization. These industry leaders preferred to trust their own eyes and sense of tea style, rather than be told what was acceptable tea taste, as they amassed extensive utensil collections and held impressively scaled tea gatherings in the early twenty first century.

Kumakura plots the re-emergence of the *iemoto* system with two large public gatherings which were held during the period when the cashed-up industrialists who were the major practitioners of *sukisha cha* all died: the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu (October 8th - 12th 1936) commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the 1587 Kitano Ōchanoyu; and the Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai (April 21st - 23rd 1940) commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyū's death in 1591.<sup>44</sup>

While it is convenient to assert that the original Kitano Ōchanoyu was the national convention of *wabi cha*,<sup>45</sup> it is important to remember the extent to which that sixteenth century event was redolent with the exercise of power by Hideyoshi. Sixteenth century participants were treated to an exhibition of masterpieces with provenances associated with the Ashikaga shogun and historically significant tea practitioners. The 1587 Kitano gathering was ostensibly a display of cultural authority but the array of wares also included pieces confiscated or 'donated' as Hideyoshi had unified the provinces by using tea as a persuasive supplement to naked military might. Representing the event as egalitarian requires reading Hideyoshi's order as an invitation, and reproduces tea's image of itself as a purely aesthetic practice devoid of political and commercial concerns: 'All serious Japanese practitioners of *chanoyu* — warriors, attendants, townspeople,

farmers, and men of lower classes — as well as people on the continent were invited to attend and participate.<sup>46</sup> Hideyoshi's coercive use of tea included compulsory attendance for all tea practitioners and bans on the private preparation of tea by those who failed to attend.

The discourse of the nation was the dominant frame that positioned the three hundred and fiftieth anniversaries of the Kitano Ōchanoyu in 1936 and Rikyū's death in 1940. Regardless of the private sentiments of individual participants, reports of the gathering of four thousand people in the 1936 event which took the name of the Shōwa Emperor were received in the dominant tone of the day. Mass media texts were officially manipulated to express the sacramental Japanese identity: 'By the late 1930s news and advertising represented national ideology and patriotic rationale. Information could not exist on a neutral plane but had to project an image that the state wanted transmitted to the people'.<sup>47</sup>

Given the scale of 'the large public chaseki Tenshōsha, [in which] more than twelve thousand sweets were served',<sup>48</sup> it is extremely unlikely that the event could have been ideologically separated from the Shōwa mood of jingoistic celebration. Honouring the national convention of *wabi cha* became part of an ultranational didactic trope that was concerned with the transmission of *bushidō* values to all Japanese men, women and children.

The existence of historical practices such as *seppuku* was a useful precedent that could justify the naval and air force special attack squads, of which the fifteenth Urasenke Grand Master was a member. Preliminary reports of the gathering of 5,000 people in three days may construct the 1940 event as no more than the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyū's death. However, in the same way that the 1930s



popularity of Okakura's argument for Asian unity 'within an art historical context ... when Japan began to move towards the "Great East-Asian Co-Prosperity" <sup>149</sup> assumed a political dimension, the wartime commemoration of Rikyū's *seppuku* gave militarists an ideological text that could be appropriated to justify the divine right of Japan to unify East Asia. The Japanese state had the authority to demand the ultimate sacrifice from its citizens.

Rikyū was no longer merely a historical man of tea conjured in anecdotes, a legendary embodiment of tea values, and a set of aesthetic preferences present in Meiji era tearooms, Taishō era *sukisha* displays, and Shōwa era grand tea gatherings. Outside tearooms, Rikyū had an early modern mission. The legacy of Rikyū tea values was to be subsumed into the larger narrative of the nation. Three hundred and fifty years after his death, this transitive Rikyū-ness helped shape Japanese self-fashioning.

The mechanics of an aesthetic death in the name of the nation suggests a similarity between Rikyū's resoluteness toward his own death and the sacrifice demanded of wartime Japanese citizens. Through legislation of daily life, the imperial Japanese state attempted to restructure individual will in such a way as to present personal annihilation as the means of being incorporated into the eternity of the Japanese nation:

There is no doubt that, during the fifteen-year war (1931-45), "dissolving into the whole" immediately suggested the physical erasure of the self or *kyoshi*, which could mean one's own death. The slogan *ichioku gyokusai* or "the total suicidal death of one hundred million," another version of "the final solution," was propagated all over Japanese territories toward the end of the Second World War,

and, in view of the manner in which Watsuji conceptualized authenticity in his ethics, it was no coincidence that the final moment of the total suicidal death was imagined as the aesthetic experience of ultimate communion. Death was appropriated into an experience in which one dissolved and got integrated into the body of the nation: death was transformed into the imagined experience of togetherness and camaraderie; the resoluteness toward one's own death was translated into the resoluteness toward identification with the totality. Death was consequently aestheticized so that it could mediate and assimilate one's personal identity into national identity. Finally, the nation was turned into the community of destiny (*unmei kyōdōtai*) toward death. To use Watsuji's vocabulary, absolute negativity equals absolute totality and was internalized into the finite totality of the nation-state. In this sense, the absolute totality lost its transcendence and infinity and became "expressible." Watsuji's ethics of *nakayoshi* (being on good terms) transformed itself into the ethics of *ichioku gyokusai* (the total suicidal death of one hundred million).<sup>50</sup>

Sakai's reading of the collapse of Watsuji's ethics of good companionship into a nationalised aesthetic death of *ichioku gyokusai* implies that the current 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' global campaign repositions the sorts of coercive discourses of the nation that reigned during the early Shōwa period. Tea room camaraderie, with its vicarious participation in questions surrounding Rikyū's death, points towards the dangers of embracing the nation's lethal caress.

Tea's cherishing of the wartime instant became indistinguishable from

Tōjō's military regulations that demanded individual sacrifice in the name of the nation. Kumakura is not silent on the question of whether patriotic sentiment fuelled tea's popularity around the time of the two great tea gatherings.<sup>51</sup> The Senke schools of tea had been courting political forms of national authority since Gengensai presented tea as the moral custodian of traditional Japanese values. An additional achievement of Gengensai was to ensure tea's ongoing presence in the cultural life of the nation by positioning tea as a sacrament, a performance guided by a divine grammar.

Converting the Sen family business of tea marketing into a sacrament had two elements. First, Senke tea schools benefited from a more intimate relationship with the divinity of the imperial household. Serving tea to the Emperor and marrying into the Imperial Family have assisted the Houses of Sen as they advanced the status of tea as the embodiment of a national spirit. Second, the public performance of tea dedicated to the gods of Shintō shrines and the spirits of Buddhist temples increased the public understanding that tea itself was a sacrosanct performance of Japaneseness.

When Gengensai served the Emperor tea in 1866, he commemorated that honour by performing a new serving procedure. This insistent mapping of tea onto an imperial narrative had not been achieved since the time of Rikyū.

Decades of the repetition of those performances where *kencha* tea was dedicated to shrine deities aligned tea with a theological nationalism. It was the legacy of Gengensai that by the time of the two great tea gatherings, the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu Kinen Ōchakai (October 8th - 12th 1936) and the Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai (April 21st - 23rd 1940), tea was a divine practice, justified by a patriotic fervour. Both of these events featured the

performance of sacramental tea, *kencha*.<sup>52</sup> During the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu Kinen Ōchakai, Sen Sōsa offered *kencha* tea to an altar of Kitano Shrine. For the Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai, at Daitokuji Temple the *kucha* tea ceremony featured the three Senke grand masters offering incense (Sen Sōshu), preparing thick tea (Sen Sōsa) and thin tea (Sen Sōshitsu), and performing the charcoal procedure (Sen Sōshu).

Given the number of participants at these two great tea gatherings, magnified by newspaper and thematically related radio coverage, and considering the government regulation of the cultural sphere through Dai-Nippon Bungaku Hōkokukai (Japanese Literature Patriotic Association) and the Dai-Nippon Genron Hōkokukai (Japanese Journalism Patriotic Association),<sup>53</sup> it can be argued that tea had become a significant player in the 'exploration, formulation and emphasis of a nation's identity [and the] creation, maintenance and enhancement of solidarity among members of a nation.'<sup>54</sup> This popular consumption of the ultranationalist sacrament of tea and the reporting practices of the newspapers of the day helped consolidate the connection between a distinctive national culture and war as an inevitable expression of those values.

On page two of the 8 October 1936 edition of the *Kyōto Shinbun* a report of the ceremony commemorating military deaths is placed immediately above an account of the forthcoming Shōwa Kitano Ōkenchakai (Figure 11). The thematic connection of the invocation of the spirits of fallen soldiers and this celebration of tea as patriotic culture is textually and visually reinforced. Both articles border a photograph, powerfully composed to feature two Japanese flags. The thematic and visual unity of this page is an example of news 'informing the people about the national

will.<sup>155</sup>

Tea's seasonal discourse provides a reference to those who died in the Manchurian invasion. The first two lines of the headline reads 'As autumn deepens at Okazaki Gentō: Services offered to the Glorious Spirits', and the third line refers to the presence at the gathering of a member of the imperial household. This headline confirms that tea was sustained by the joy of appreciating seasonal change, and buttressed by two forms of authority that assumed the divinity of Japanese identity. An accepting understanding that military demands on families were legitimate in a time of colonial expansion was compounded by a distant respect for the emperor-god.

The visual dominance of the photograph of the cavalry parade with crossed flags points to the omnipresence of patriotic sentiments in Shōwa daily life. The thematic power of this visual element underlines the problematic nature of conceptualising a retreat into the nostalgic innocence of culture. The resistance of the intelligentsia to the oppressive shaping of daily life by nationalist policies became just another leaf, tossed by the fury of a kamikaze gale.

The central dilemma posed to these resistant acts of withdrawing from the atmosphere of jingoistic pride was how to maintain the integrity of culture as a neutral territory when individual autonomy was increasingly subject to state intervention. 'Once created, this imaginary space, increasingly absorbed by the interests of the state, might be filled with any aesthetic, ethical, or spiritual values implied by the term "culture".<sup>156</sup> Traditional leisure activities held out the promise of a retreat from state intervention but there was little chance to escape from the jingoistic joys

and excesses of imperial Japan.

### **Rikyū in 1940: tea as state nationalism**

Reading the volume published in 1940 to commemorate the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Sen no Rikyū's death by his own hand conveys the depth of conviction and material capital the three Senke schools invested in this historic event.<sup>57</sup> Removing the book from its light brown cardboard slipcase reveals the cover design. Against a dark blue background, the lightness of the *ume* plum design associated with Rikyū contrasts with the actual weight of the book.<sup>58</sup> The first 221 pages of the book largely feature the masterpiece utensils used in the nine Daitokuji tea venues from April 22-24 1940. These photographs record evidence of high tea taste, validated by the grand master ciphers written on individual pieces of tea ware and the *iemoto* inscriptions on the utensil boxes. These images are accompanied by typeset *kaiki*, those formulaic records of the *toriwase* combination of utensils in each tearoom.

Nine pages of contents are preceded by six images. Each full-page photograph is preceded by a page of transparent paper. The first plate is the well-known portrait of Rikyū from the Omotesenke collection, and the second photograph features the stone monument celebrating Rikyū at Jūkōin Temple. The third image is the calligraphy of a Daitokuji Temple senior priest, commemorating the occasion of the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyū's death. A simplified replica of this calligraphy is also partially visible in several photographs that follow the contents section. Unlike the following three examples of *iemoto* calligraphy that present one single character and the respective cipher, the priest has

written a central passage of 28 characters that are then authenticated by his formal stamp. The fourth plate features the calligraphy of Sen Sōsa and the single character for power appears to sinuously float above the cipher of the Omotesenke grand master. The fifth plate presents the calligraphy of the Urasenke Grand Master, and features the single character for embrace, drawn by the Sen Sōshitsu. Hope is the single character that is accompanied by the cipher of Mushanokōjisenke grand master, Sen Sōshu, in the sixth plate. These three examples of *iemoto* calligraphy reiterate the final three characters of the passage written by the Daitokuji Temple senior priest Ōda; these three characters appear in Rikyū's death poem.<sup>59</sup>

Following the contents are eight pages of photographs. In contrast to the first set of images, these photograph pages are not preceded by pages of transparent paper. The first and largest image is of the altar dedicated to Rikyū. The staging of the altar draws attention to the hanging scroll image of Rikyū, and a simplified replica of the calligraphy of the Daitokuji Temple senior priest is partially obscured by a floral arrangement on the right hand side of the photograph. The second plate shows the formal black *daisu* tea stand, ready for the commemorative *kucha* tea service to begin. The perspective is the aspect that would be seen by someone serving tea, although the camera is further away from the *daisu* tea stand. Two matching bowls with wooden lids are placed on wooden *tenmoku dai* serving trays, and two plain black lacquer *natsume* tea containers are placed on the top shelf of the *daisu* tea stand. These *natsume* tea containers are not in their silk *shifuku* covers. The bottom shelf features the typical set of bronze utensils used to serve tea with the *daisu* tea stand. In contrast to the plain black lacquer of the top *daisu* shelf, the bottom shelf and the

four legs have a colourful surface treatment. A plain wooden board that runs the width of the *daisu* stand is placed flush against the bottom shelf.

The camera has moved to the left for the third plate. The Omotesenke grand master, Sen Sōsa, is performing the thick tea serving procedure using the darker bowl that was on the right hand side of the *daisu* tea stand. The *kan* lugs of the brazier are in the up position, and Sen Sōsa is handling the silk *fukusa* purifying cloth in the formal 'four-directions' manner. Placed on the top shelf is a silk *shifuku* cover typically used for thick tea containers.

For the fourth and fifth images, the camera is in a position similar to that of the third plate. The Urasenke grand master Sen Sōshitsu is performing the thin tea serving procedure using the lighter bowl that was on the left hand side of the *daisu* tea stand. The *kan* lugs of the brazier are in the up position. Two silk *shifuku* covers are placed on the top shelf of the *daisu* tea stand.

The fifth image shows the Mushanokōjisenke grand master, Sen Sōshu, performing the charcoal procedure. Both bowls have been returned to their original position on the top shelf of the *daisu* tea stand. The *kan* lugs of the brazier are in the down position.

The sixth image shows the three Grand Masters sitting one mat length away from the *daisu* tea stand as the memorial service proceeds.

In contrast to the first six images that were presented one to a page, the final two images occupy one page. Rikyū and his grand master representatives are accorded the honour of one image per page. The seventh photograph is a crowd shot taken from behind the three grand masters during the memorial service. The eighth image shows rows of office-bearers



sitting in the formal seating position. Tea practitioners are more than ten rows deep, with several rows of people standing behind them. Both of these images convey the disciplined attention of tea practitioners.

The materiality of this 1940 book is important evidence of the power of the Sen schools. Even during wartime, the figure of Sen no Rikyū retains enough symbolic capital to rally economic, political and cultural capital necessary to fund the lush production of this slip-cased book. This volume showcases the best of authentic Senke tea taste and the layout of the photographs reflects the hierarchy of authority overseen by the three Senke schools. The production values of this book that went on sale on December 25 1940 are also a statement of the strategic importance of the cultural sphere in unifying a mobilized national pride. Tea practitioners and researchers are grateful that copies of this book survived the war.

The book is also important because it records the details of commemorative lectures that were held on the evening of April 23 1940 and the national radio broadcast of a portion of the Rikyū memorial service on April 21 1940. The tale of Rikyū is conventionally associated with tradition and aesthetic provenance. However this 1940 publication documents how these timeworn categories of pleasure were co-opted into the narrative of nation, empire and technological advances. In contrast to the role of tea as cultural nationalism in *Kokutai no hongī* and the deployment of tea in the tourism-as-propaganda mode of international public relations after the Nanjing massacre, the three Senke tea schools function as state nationalism as they commemorate the *seppuku* death of Rikyū. Despite the book containing short essays written by the Senke *iemoto* in which they acknowledge imperial and military forms of authority, tea writings in

English have given little attention to this historically significant volume.

The first half of the book is an encyclopedic cataloguing of the tea utensils used in the nine Daitokuji Temple tearooms. With this publication, the collection of tea utensils curated by the Senke schools of tea for the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Rikyū have been used to write the three Senke into the grammar of tea history.

Matsudaira Fumai established the category of famous objects with his 1787 publication *Kokon meibutsu ruijū* (Various Collected Famous Object from All Ages). The Matsudaira taxonomy included utensils ranked as *ōmeibutsu* (great famous objects), *meibutsu*, and *chūkō meibutsu* (seventeenth century famous objects, often associated with Kobori Enshū).<sup>60</sup> This 1940 publication includes utensils associated with Matsudaira Fumai. The p. 97 ash receptacle called 'Hagi' made by Chōjirō has the lid authenticated by Fumai. Examples from the Matsudaira taxonomy of *ōmeibutsu* (pp. 39, 43, 177), *meibutsu* (pp. 41, 47, 173, 181, 191), and *chūkō meibutsu* (pp. 91, 151, 159, 185) were used in the eight Daitokuji tearooms to commemorate Rikyū. However, there is one notable addition to the hierarchy of Matsudaira: Senke *meibutsu* (pp. 27, 61, 159). The invention of the category of Senke *meibutsu* by the Houses of Sen is an interesting example of their self-promotion and legitimization. Senke *meibutsu* are not mentioned by either the 1931 writing of Takahashi Tatsuo, *Chadō Meibutsu* (Considering Famous Pieces) or the 1944 reference book compiled by Sue Sōkō, *Sadō Jiten* (Way of Tea Dictionary).<sup>61</sup> Although the nineteen forties publication of the Senke *meibutsu* category apparently did not give the term a national standing outside the world of tea, by the mid-eighties Urasenke teachers out in the provinces qualified the Senke *meibutsu* term as appropriate for

use inside the three Senke schools.

### **Tea spirit and state nationalism**

The transition from cultural nationalism to state nationalism commences with the material associated with the commemorative lecture in the second half of the book. Five photographs on three pages record the three speakers and the audience inside the two-floor auditorium. The Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto* wore kimono, Dr. Fujiken wore a suit, and Dr. Nimura wore kimono. Mr. Yoshikawa wore a suit and his photograph was taken further away and at a lower angle from the auditorium floor. In the full-page photograph of the audience, the contrast between men in darker toned kimono and lighter toned suits is apparent. Regardless of whether they were wearing kimono or suits, some men held hats.

A brief review of the life and death of Rikyū mentions how he prepared tea on sixteenth century battlefields.<sup>62</sup> The distinction between Rikyū's measured preparation of tea alongside the carnage of war and the patriotic leisure of wartime practitioners of *iemoto* tea becomes less clear as subjects are obliged to walk the Way of the Empire, as authorized by *Kokutai no hongī*. Early twentieth century appeals to the calm rigor of Rikyū and the resulting expectation that patriotic citizens offer themselves to the great august will of the Emperor undermine the difference between cultural and state nationalism. As a technology of the national self, the Way of Tea advocated by Urasenke, Omotesenke, and Mushanokōjisenke brings the war home: 'Japan's wartime propaganda centered on one major goal: unifying the battlefield with the home front. ... War propaganda cannot be separated from imperial propaganda.'<sup>63</sup> As the following overview of grand

master activities during this anniversary of the death of Rikyū will document, walking the Way of Tea exposed citizens to the *iemoto* endorsement of tea as state nationalism. The wartime tea of Rikyū and his sixteenth century death becomes a moral lesson for tea practitioners on the home front.

Writing after the occasion of the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Rikyū, Omotesenke *iemoto* Sen Sōsa expressed his delight at being able to attend the memorial ceremony performed once every fifty years at Daitokuji Temple in the Murasakino district of Kyōto. As the following adapted summary suggests, Sen Sōsa considered it was no accidental coincidence that the two thousand and six hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the imperial line falls in the same year as the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Rikyū.<sup>64</sup>

As one of the followers of the Way of Tea, blessed with the good fortune to receive the radiant national administration, Sen Sōsa expected that year to be characterised by one big expansive heart. *Wabi* is the one spirit that has united human hearts. Now in this autumn of 1940, our country and all national citizens should practice the sincerity of polishing ourselves down and offering more to the public good. We followers of the Way of Tea attribute the benefits we have gained to the inevitable results of the will of our imperial country.

The Way of Tea cannot not separated from daily life; the Way of Tea and daily life cannot be divided. The Way of Tea uses tea as a spiritual discipline. What is necessary is the Japanese spirit that has created the Way of Tea. The Way of Tea is the path. After partaking of one bowl of tea, there is a step towards the unlimited; it is must be acknowledged that the

source of the spirit should be devoted to the imperial country. If that is not done, everything becomes improper.

Rikyū devised the Way of Tea and died by his own sword three hundred and fifty years ago. Even if Rikyū is dead, that heart continues to live today. After Rikyū and continuing through me, resembling warrior resolve and corresponding to the faith of the Way of Tea, that spirit continues until the present day. This warrior resolve resembles the solemn and sacred will of *bushidō*, and that is something contained in the Way of Tea of Rikyū.<sup>65</sup>

The comments of Sen Sōsa are followed by a short essay written by the Urasenke *iemoto* Sen Sōshitsu. He begins by thanking those whose co-operation made the three Senke commemoration of the death of Rikyū an event that was completed without any unnecessary delays. Sen Sōshitsu then intensifies the linking by Sen Sōsa of the Way of Tea of Rikyū with the Way of the Warrior. The beginning of his second paragraph uses the memorial service for Rikyū as an occasion to acknowledge the spirits of war dead. By making connections between Rikyū, the Way of Tea, and the *bushidō* spirit of the Imperial Forces, the Senke *iemoto* have positioned 1940 tea culture as state nationalism.

We Japanese now, in the midst of the uncertainty of ongoing events, this morning welcomed many glorious spirits, farewelling those courageous warriors on their travels. We national citizens must harden without being absorbed while society is in the condition of being utterly strained.

As people of the Way, blessed by the legacy of Rikyū's customs which benefit us today, and receiving the honour of being born in this sacred age, must express thanks to the Great Sovereign deep imperial grace. Now,

under the blessing of the Great Emperor, the Way of our founder has expanded with the passing of years and eras. As those who transmit the Way of our founder, from the past age of Rikyū, with that shared will for the sake of improving social ethics, in our current circumstances we must exert the sincere will of our endeavours.

This year is the two thousand and six hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the imperial line. One hundred million fellow countrymen, united in auspicious delight as one, thinking as the great spirit. To achieve the one great thought of the eight corners of the world being united under one Japanese roof, this expansive advance requires the persistence of a steadfast endurance.

The lifetime of Rikyū proclaimed the spirit of harmony (*wa*), reverence (*kei*), purity (*sei*), and tranquility (*jaku*) and the direction pointed by these values has not diminished.<sup>66</sup>

The short essay of Sen Sōshitsu is followed by a longer article that surveys the Way of Tea of Rikyū. Sen Sōshu returns to the sphere of merely cultural expressions of Japaneseness by writing about the tea history of Rikyū, the art of Rikyū's Way of Tea, and the tea gatherings of Rikyū.<sup>67</sup> The section following the Sen Sōshu essay records the Way of Tea commemorative lecture programme, and contains essays that presumably reflect the content of the various lectures.

### **Tea as state nationalism: Grand Master lectures**

On April 23 1940, the Asahi Kaikan auditorium started filling up from 5:30 p.m., and the all seats on the first and second floor were taken. The audience contained less tea people than might have been anticipated, but

more than half of the audience were students and people who appeared to be company workers. It is delightful that the interest in tea held by people from these portions of society has been recorded.

The lecture was advertised in the three Senke magazines and posters were displayed in Kyōtō trams. Despite anxieties about whether a programme featuring specialist scholars might result in embarrassment for the organizing committee because of a poor turnout, looking at the capacity audience proved these fears groundless.

Seated in the front row of the auditorium first floor were the Urasenke and Omotesenke grand masters, wearing the red rose that marked their status as being central to the evening's programme. Other members of the three Senke families were present too. At 6:30 p.m. the bell rang and the curtain went up. A plain gold folding screen had been placed in front of the black backdrop. The eldest of the grand masters, Sen Sōshu, representing the three Senke, commenced the programme with his greetings: 'From today Yasukuni Shrine is holding an extraordinary festival. I think we too should all stand and offer a moment of silence to the glorious spirits of our protective country.' The audience stands, offering a moment of silence.<sup>68</sup>

The previous paragraphs are a translated extract from an introductory summary that runs for three pages. This translation in the previous paragraph maintains the distinction between the direct quotation of Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto* and the reported summary of April 23 1940 events that exists in the original publication. The following paragraph contains a translated extract of the speech given by the Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto*. Presumably this is the same speech that contains the quotation given in the previous paragraph. It does appear that the introductory

summary has paraphrased the speech of the Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto* and still presented that paraphrase as a quotation. It is the fact of this repetition of patriotic sentiments, rather than the more semantic questions of journalism conventions, that should be examined here. Given our interest in how the 1940 book records how grand master tea acted as an agent of state nationalism, it is important to note how the structural arrangement of the book allows for a repetition of an appeal to the sacred martial spirit of Japan.

Before introducing the first speaker, Sen Sōsa expressed his appreciation for the Imperial Forces. Sen Sōsa informed the audience that the lecture will begin shortly. If we consider what makes it possible for us today to hold this magnificent tea gathering and the Rikyū memorial service, it is the advancing path of our spirit. In the case of these extreme current affairs, the act of being able to hold events such as this lecture is entirely dependent on the Imperial Forces. Even if one bomb falls, the various dangers would at least prohibit us from gathering here. Thinking of this, our great feeling of appreciation must be dedicated to the Imperial warriors. Especially in the case of those courageous fighters who died in warfare, I have no idea of what words to offer. Given that from today the invited gods festival will be held, as a man of tea I would like to express the form of my gratitude. I would like to stand and offer sincere silence and appreciation to the spirit of the Imperial fighters. After the audience stands and the moment of silence is observed, Sen Sōsa invites Dr Fujikake Shizuya to the stage.<sup>69</sup>

A lecture outlining the relationship of the Muramachi era and tea was then delivered by Dr Fujikake Shizuya, Professor of Kyōto Imperial



University. Although he addressed tea history from a specialist perspective, he also showed that imperial sentiments were not confined to the grand masters representing the Houses of Sen. During his lecture, Dr Fujikake made reference to members of the audience who had travelled from Manshū to attend the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyū's death.<sup>70</sup> This comment brings the colonial aspect of modern Japanese history into the realm of Rikyū.

Dr Fujikake continued, expressing his desire to revive the tea of Rikyū's age in the Japan of the early nineteen forties. There is an extremely close resemblance between the age of Rikyū and our current times. Moving from the warring states turmoil of the Sengoku era to the Muroyama period was a time when the Japanese race developed hugely. Japan of the early nineteen forties was poised to make a huge leap forward.

The next lecture was delivered by Dr Niimura Izuru, Emeritus Professor of Kyōto Imperial University, and dealt with the questions surrounding the death of Rikyū.

The final lecture was given by Yoshikawa Eiji, author of the 1937 *Miyamoto Musashi*. Speaking subjectively, Mr Yoshikawa outlined his tea experiences while highly praising the Way of Tea. His talk included an account of being invited aboard the battleship Mikuma. The question of where to place the *kamidana* god altar on a battleship was addressed, along with an account of how naval seamen would never fail to pray before the altar morning and evening as they thought about their hometowns. Mr Yoshikawa admitted to being incapable of comprehending the depth, height and scale of Rikyū. He then drew laughter from the audience with his self-deprecating comments about tossing a tea scoop away, once he realized

that he would have to study much more to be able to write and speak about Rikyū.

Iguchi Kaisen declared the evening programme to be finished. The time was 10 p.m. and the three Senke *iemoto*, from the second floor of the hall, saw off the exiting crowd. This speedy scene, as one element of the memorial service for Rikyū, was a beautiful picture.

### **Tea for peace**

To return to the question of the shift from tea for war to tea for peace, this vision of tea's postwar utility is more than the private insight of one individual grand master. This apparent reversal of position, from tea as a jingoistic instrument of the militarist state, to tea as the beverage of choice among pacifist internationalists, is consistent with the strategy adopted by Gengensai in his 1872 government petition: position tea as the expression of the nation.

Shimizu Ikutarō observed in 1950 that prewar patriotism was unconnected to democracy, and argued that 'the world-historical transformation that occurred after the war, caused by the advent of nuclear weapons, called urgently for the "completion of democracy." Therefore, "peace" and "democracy" had to be intimately connected to any rebirth of patriotism that might occur in postwar Japan.'<sup>71</sup> While tea profited from its representation as the embodiment of Japanese material culture during the early Shōwa period, Shimizu's analysis suggests that the postwar shift from a nationalist rhetoric to the possibility of a global market for tea knowledge, utensils, and practices was something approaching a political necessity.

The 1973 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign was an act of

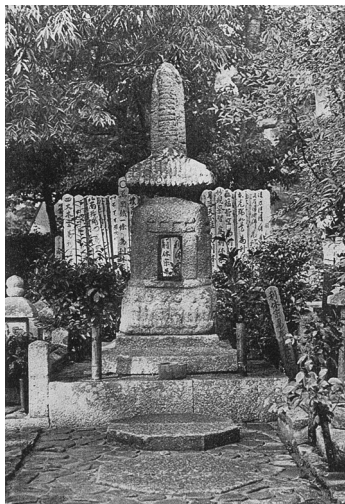
cultural nationalism that acted as a salve for the national postwar psyche of rapid Japanese economic growth.<sup>72</sup> Having tea present Japaneseness as cultural was a politically useful retort to the milder forms of Japan bashing that called Japanese *economic* animals. As the friction over Japan-US trade policies intensified from the eighties, the iconic presence of tea became an asset that could be internationally deployed in the ongoing public relations skirmish. Political investments in the presentation of tea as *cultural* were considerable and these accounts explain the insistence at weekly tea practice that is not political or economic. The realm of tea was argued to be cultural and spiritual.

By developing a global presence for Senke tea culture, Urasenke Grand Master XV made it possible for tea students across a number of continents to receive instruction from professional tea teachers. One long term effect of this global act of cultural democracy was to reveal that national identity is a performance. The pre-war assumption that tearoom competency was a sacrament existing at the intersection of Japanese ethnicity, language and culture was being challenged by the steady progress of non-Japanese through the system of graded licenses that permitted the study of increasingly advanced tea procedures.

This positioning of tea by the Urasenke Grand Master XV as the epitome of the reconstructed Japan involved erasing tea's complicity in bringing the aesthetic response of individuals into the militarist arsenal. This is consistent with how the optimistic fervour of the introduction to a book of *ukiyo*e prints assigned the cultural sphere to the position of an *outcome*, and not a domestic *means* of achieving that goal: 'On that glorious day when we have triumphed in the Greater East Asia War, when America

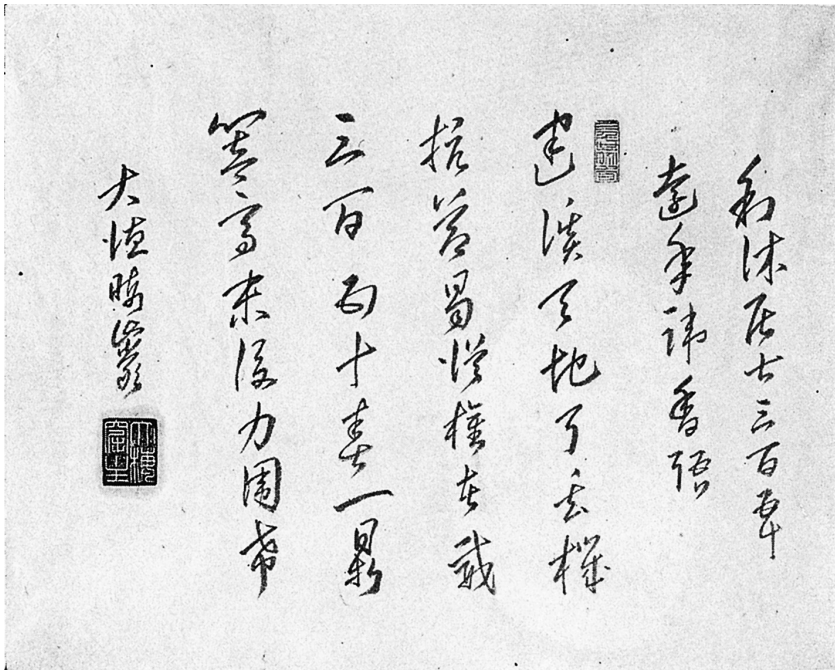
and England have been conquered, and the radiant splendour of Japanese culture shines throughout the world, Japanese arts will illuminate the universe.<sup>173</sup> The postwar coupling of tea and peace recalls Sassa Seisetsu's 1911 representation of early modern Japanese agents of colonial expansion as refined Heian aesthetes. Culture as nationalism assumed a pose of being a neutral and inevitable part of the landscape while actually positioning itself in the foreground of a Japanese national identity that was increasingly militaristic and aestheticised in the early twenty first century.

Moving the focus away from the tea practices of Kyōto which have generally been positioned as the centre of the tea universe in English tea scholarship reveals an explicitly military application of tea. Anecdotal evidence suggests that between 1941 and 1945 in Fukuoka's Hakozaki Hachimangu, tea ceremonies were held that sought divine assistance for victory. Fukuoka University Professor Hirana has generously provided a scroll that his grandfather, a practitioner of Omotesenke tea, displayed at Hakozaki Hachimangu during wartime tea ceremonies. The characters for the scroll are 敵国降伏, *tekkoku kōjō*: Enemy country, surrender! Some of these ceremonies, *senshō kigan kenchā*, were prayers for victory in the Pacific War. These offertory tea practices performed inside a shrine that is one destination for those who run in Hakata's



院光聚 墓士居易宗休利

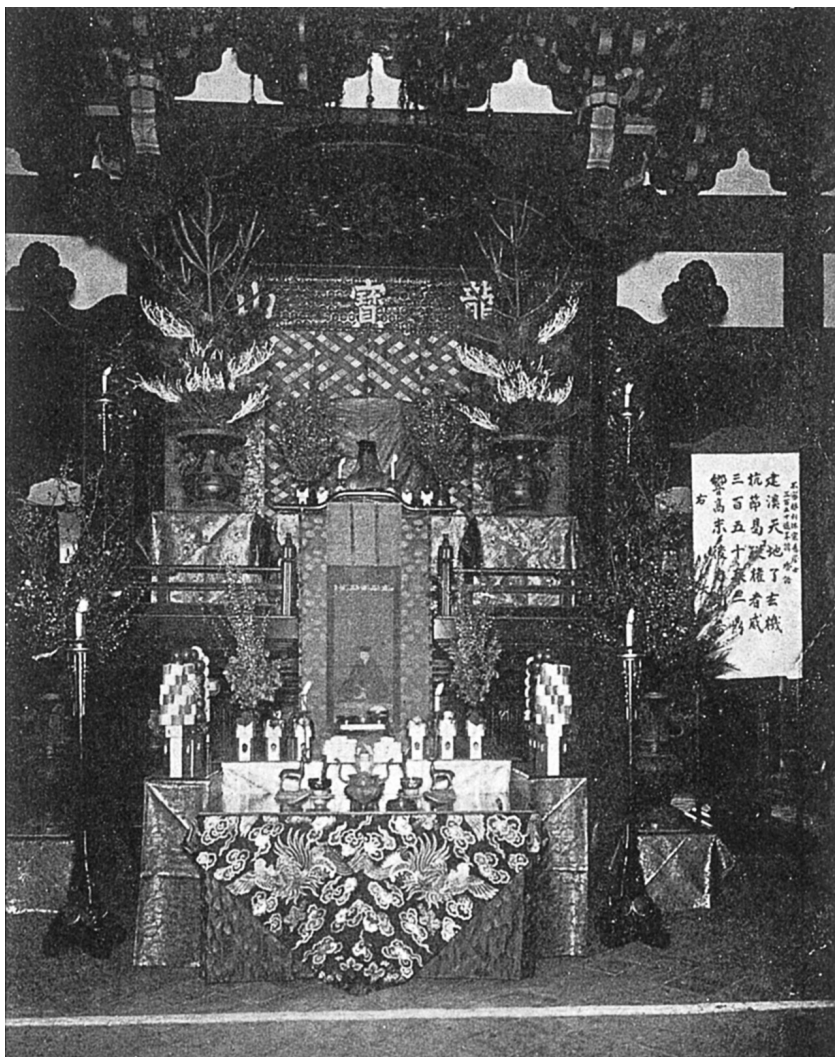
**Figure 1** Memorial for Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591), Shukōin  
Source: *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojū Nenki*



利休宗居士三百五十年忌香語  
 太田大德寺管長筆

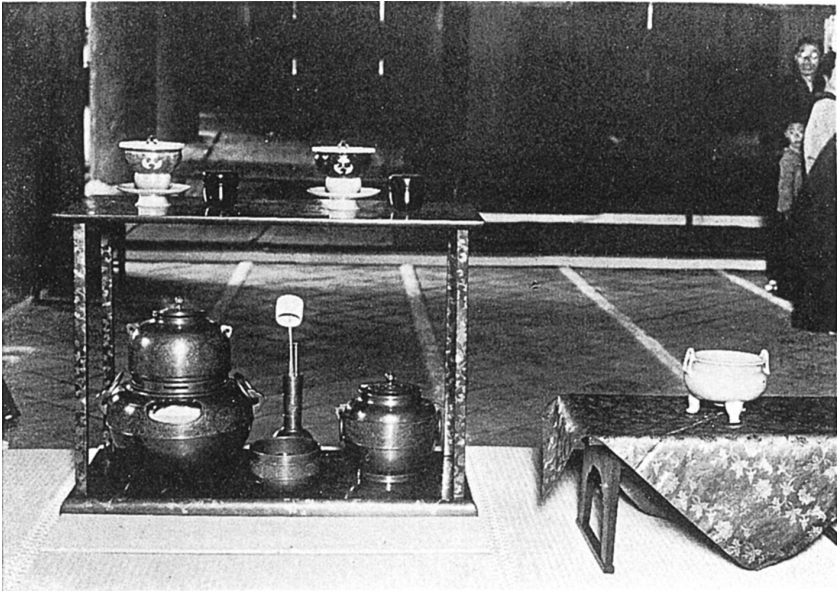
利休居士三百五十  
 遠年諱香語  
 建溪天地了玄機  
 抗節曷從權者威  
 三百五十春一鼎  
 響高末後力圍希  
 大德晦巖

**Figure 2** Verse offered to the memory of Sen no Rikyū by  
 Daitokuji Priest, April 21 1940  
 Source: *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki*



壇 祭 要 法

**Figure 3** Daitokuji altar for commemorative service dedicated to Sen no Rikyū, April 21 1940  
(A larger version of Figure 2 calligraphy is visible on the right hand side of the altar.)  
Source: *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki*



献茶飾付

**Figure 4** Sacramental *kencha* for the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Sen no Rikyū: *daisu* tea stand and utensils inside Daitokuji, April 21 1940  
Source: *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojū Nenki*

Yamakasa festival are not connected to Sen offertory practices commemorating Rikyū and his descendants, but their existence as military sacraments supports an argument that accounts for tea's politicised position in the Japanese cultural landscape.<sup>74</sup>

More recent evidence of the alignment of tea with the more right-wing elements of the conservative LDP government can be found at Yasukuni Shrine, a central institution of state Shintō that commemorates Japanese war dead. The annual offering of Sen tea by Urasenke Grand Master XV to the spirits of the war dead at Yasukuni Shrine could be interpreted along



茶献匠宗齋中即

**Figure 5** Sen Sōsa (1901-1979), Sokuchūsai, the thirteenth Omotesenke *iemoto*, prepares to purify the Rikyū-style *natsume* tea container inside Daitokuji, April 21 1940  
Source: *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki*

the lines of the justification offered by Prime Minister Koizumi Junichirō: all such visits are prayers offered in the hope of never entering war again.

## Conclusion

In the late eighties, after two years of being in Kitakyūshū tearooms, two tenets of tea commonsense became obvious: tea is purely cultural; and the sixteenth century tea master Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591) was merely an aesthete, innocent of political and commercial activities. What has been presented here in this historic account of how tea was implicated in the





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**Figure 6** Sen Sōshitsu (1893-1964), Tantansai, the fourteenth Urasenke *iemoto*, prepares to purify the *tenmoku* tea bowl and its wooden stand inside Daitokuji, April 21 1940  
 Source: *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojū Nenki*

formation of wartime Japanese subjectivity contradicts that tearoom talk and its ideological proposition that the cultural sphere is innocent of political concerns.

In those desperate times 'when the outer veneer of civilization was being stripped away'<sup>75</sup> Rikyū had a patriotic application. The sacraments of tea served as warrants to wartime claims that Japanese identity itself was something holy that demanded unlimited gratitude from those blessed with its privileges. Tea precepts such as purity, harmony and a respectful appreciation of social stability were coercive forces that became keywords



炭お匠宗齋好愈

**Figure 7** Sen Sōshu (1889-1953), Yukōsai, the twelfth Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto*, performing the *sumi* charcoal procedure inside Daitokuji, April 21 1940  
Source: *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki*

in the official definition of wartime Japanese identity, a sacrament that demanded the ultimate sacrifice.

The grand master representation of Sen no Rikyū in 1940 constructed tea as more than a sacramental celebration of social and natural transience. Tea operated as state nationalism when tradition embraced technology: on April 21 1940, a portion of the Sen no Rikyū memorial service was featured on a national radio broadcast. Grand master tea was one of a number of forces that employed transitive Rikyū-ness as an element of wider strategies that led Japanese citizens and children to total warfare.



匠宗齋好愈

**Figure 8** Sen Sōshū, April 23 1940, the Asahi Kaikan commemorative lecture: 'From today Yasukuni Shrine is holding an extraordinary festival. I think we too should all stand and offer a moment of silence to the glorious spirits of our protective country.'

Source: *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojū Nenki*

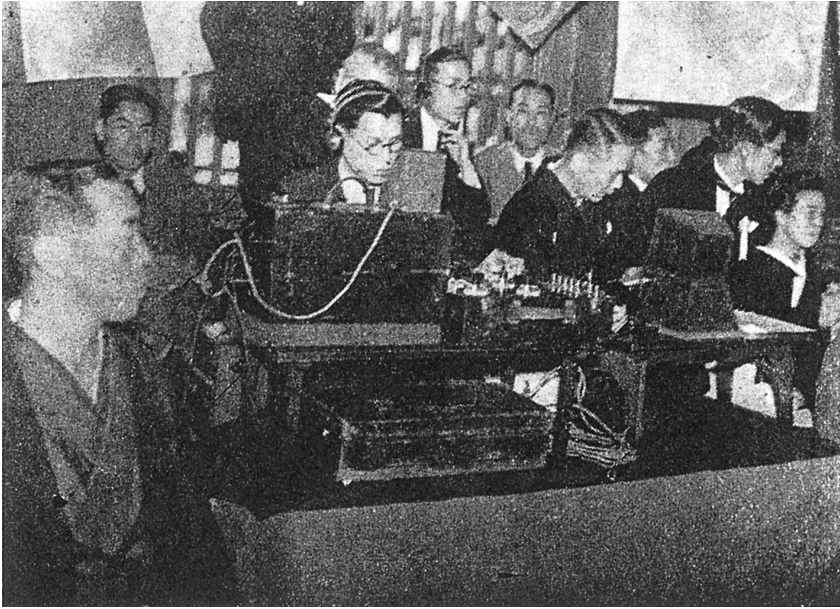
## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Ms. Watanabe at *Kyōto Shimbun* for her tenacious persistence of in locating wartime resources, and acknowledge *Kyōto Shimbun* as the source for Figure 11. I would also like to thank Takiguchi Sōhō for his Munakata Taisha photograph. Locating wartime tea resources would not have been possible without the advice and assistance of staff of the libraries of Fukuoka University and Kyūshū University.



衆聽の會演講

**Figure 9** Full house at the Asahi Kaikan commemorative lecture, April 23 1940  
Source: *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojū Nenki*



(氏郎三大村中が人の付紋) 送放況實

**Figure 10** Rikyū goes national: live broadcast from Daitokuiji of sacramental *kencha* service for the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Sen no Rikyū  
 Source: *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojū Nenki*

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Barak Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank Herbert Plutschow for his generous suggestion to survey the discursive role of harmony in self-representations of Japan.

<sup>3</sup> Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojū Nenki Hōan Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojū Nenki* [Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Three Hundred and Fiftieth Commemorative Service], (Kyōto: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojū Nenki Hōan Kyōsankai: 1940), p. 333.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Lucken, 'Remodelling Public Space: the Fate of War Monuments, 1945-1987', in Sven Saaler and Wolfgang Schwentker (eds.), *The Power of Memory*





**Figure 12** Nambō Kai director Takiguchi Sōhō pauses before starting *kencha shiki* at Munakata Taisha, October 3 2008. Photograph courtesy of Takiguchi Sōhō

in *Modern Japan* (Folkstone: Global Oriental 2008), p. 148. I later render this 'eight bounds, one roof' slogan as 'the eight corners of the world being united under one Japanese roof' to reinforce the imperial sentiment implied by this phrase.

<sup>5</sup> Tim Cross, 'Rikyū has left the tea room: cinema interrogates the anecdotal legend', in Morgan Pitelka (ed.), *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 151-183.

<sup>6</sup> Darrell W. Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness: Monumental Style, National Identity, Japanese Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> John Owen Gauntlett (trans.), *Kokutai no Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Robert King Hall, 'Editor's Introduction', in John Owen Gauntlett (trans.), *Kokutai no Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36. For a concise overview of how the *kokutai* mythology resulted in restrictions on academic freedom, see Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, 'In name only: imperial sovereignty in early modern Japan', in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol.

17, no. 1 (1991), pp. 25-57.

<sup>10</sup> Gauntlett (trans.), *Kokutai no Hongi*, p. 91.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, pp. 94-95. The square brackets are part of the original translation.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 75.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 146.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 82.

<sup>15</sup> Hall, 'Editor's Introduction', p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Gauntlett (trans.), *Kokutai no Hongi*, p. 79.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 78.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 129.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 145. For an earlier discussion of nature as political, see Tim Cross, 'Communicating transience: politicized Japanese culture othering the self', *Fukuoka University Review of Literature and Humanities*, vol. 30, no.3 (2000), pp. 1721-1746.

Tim Cross, 'Othering the National Self: "Japan the Beautiful" as Lethal Aesthetic', <http://www.mcc.murdoch.edu.au/ReadingRoom/asiancs/othering.htm>

<sup>20</sup> These synonyms for Japan and their renditions into English comes from the second of seven appendixes. Ibid, p. 189.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, pp. 79, 53, 70, 97, 83, 146.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. 157.

<sup>23</sup> Arthur Thornhill, *Six Circles, One Dewdrop: The Religio-Aesthetic World of Komparu Zenchiku* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> Rupert A. Cox, *The Zen Arts: An Anthropological Study of the Culture of Aesthetic Form in Japan* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 62.

<sup>25</sup> Thornhill, *Six Circles, One Dewdrop*, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> Gauntlett (trans.), *Kokutai no Hongi*, pp. 157-159.

<sup>27</sup> The Imperial Rescript extracts are from the official translation, reprinted as Appendix IV in: Gauntlett (trans.), *Kokutai no Hongi*, p. 192. The Gengensai petition translation is from: Barbara Lynne Rowland Mori, *Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of the Tea Ceremony: The Internationalizing of a Traditional Art* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992), p. 13.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p. 83.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p. 80.

<sup>30</sup> Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 35.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, pp. 70-71 [emphasis in original].

<sup>32</sup> Tōjō Fuminori, *Toshōkan no kindai: Watashiron—Toshōkan ha kōshite okikunatta*, [The Modern of the Library: A Private Theory—How the Library became Big], (Tōkyō: Potto, 1999), p. 243.



- <sup>33</sup> Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 40. In what can be read as an additional indictment of Japan as the Land of Peace, Kushner outlines the historical precedent for this conduct: 'In what became standard operating procedure later on, the Japanese government during the Sino-Japanese war paid Reuters bribes to print articles that portrayed the Japanese in a positive light. ... The Japanese government took these measures in response to negative international press after the massacre of Chinese troops and civilians at Port Arthur in late November 1894.' Ibid, p. 14.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid, p. 43.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid, p. 40.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid, p. 41. For details of U. S. journalists on the Japanese payroll, see pp. 40-43.
- <sup>37</sup> Ienaga Saburō, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II*, trans. Frank Baldwin (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978 [1968]), pp. 13-14. Noam Chomsky was one of the people responsible for the 1999 and 2001 nomination of Ienaga for the Nobel Peace Prize.
- <sup>38</sup> Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 22.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid, p. 14.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid, p. 24.
- <sup>41</sup> Serialised in *Nihon Keizei Shimbum* (1986-7), *Chanoyu Quarterly* from volume 71 (1992) to 87 (1997), and published by *Asahi Shinbum* on August 15th 1980 to commemorate the end of the Second World War. 'The phrase "*ichiwan kara pūisufurrunesu o*" was composed by Sen Sōshitsu XV as the theme or motto for the Third National Chadō Urasenke Tankōkai Seinenbu (Youth Division) Convention, held in Kyōtō in July, 1973. Ever since then it has been the *iemoto's* and Urasenke's common motto. Often it is rendered into English as "Peacefulness from a Bowl of Tea," but "Peacefulness through a Bowl of Tea" is the preferred rendition.' Personal correspondence, Gretchen Mittwer, International Division, Chadō Urasenke Tankōkai, Inc., 16 August 2001. See also Herbert Plutschow, *The Grand Tea Master: A Biography of Hounsai Soshitsu Sen XV* (Trumbull: Weatherhill, 2001).
- <sup>42</sup> Etsuko Katō, *Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan: Bodies Re-Presenting the Past* (London: Routledge-Curzon, 2004), p. 59.
- <sup>43</sup> Christine C. Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). For the role of Matsunaga Jian as the successor to Masuda Donnō and Hara Sankei, see the essay by Ozaki Naoto in Fukuoka Municipal Art Museum, *Matsunaga Jian Collection* (Fukuoka: Fukuoka Municipal Art Museum, 2001).
- <sup>44</sup> Kumakura Isao, 'The history of *chanoyu* in early-modern Japan', trans. Zane Ferry, in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 75 (1994), pp. 18-20.

- <sup>45</sup> Hisamatsu Shinichi, 'The Way of Tea and Buddhism', in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 74 (1993), p. 23.
- <sup>46</sup> This extract from Hideyoshi's edict comes from Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry*, p. 69.
- <sup>47</sup> Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 71.
- <sup>48</sup> Kumakura, 'The history of *chanoyu* in early-modern Japan', p. 19.
- <sup>49</sup> Karatani Kojin, 'Uses of aesthetics: after Orientalism', trans. Sabu Kohso, in *boundary 2*, vol. 25, no. 2 (1998), pp. 155, 156.
- <sup>50</sup> Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On 'Japan' and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis and London, University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 101-102.
- <sup>51</sup> Kumakura Isao, *Kindai sadōshi no kenkyū* [Research into Modern Tea History], (Tōkyō: Nippon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai: 1980), pp. 112-114.
- <sup>52</sup> Tanaka Hidetaka uses the *kencha* term for tea offered in Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines. Tanaka Hidetaka, *Kindai Chadō no Rekishi shakai gaku*, [Historical Sociology of Modern *Chadō*] (Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2007), pp. 90-118. However, in the case of the Nambō Ryū school of tea located in Hakata, *kencha* is offered to the *kami* of the altar of the Shintō Kushida Shrine on July 12 as part of a series of actions designed to protect the runners of the Hakata Gion Yamakasa festival. On October 3 2008, I had the honour of sitting on the *honden* stage of the main altar of Munakata Taisha as Nambō Kai Director Takiguchi Sōhō performed the annual *kencha shiki* procedure. On the other hand, *kucha* is offered to the *hotoke* of Nambō Sōkei, Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655-1708) and deceased directors of Nambō Kai at the Buddhist Tōrinji Temple in November. As Nambō Ryū is governed by Nambō Kai, there is no *iemoto*. Graduates of the Nambō Ryū school who have attained the teaching qualification are eligible to perform these public *kencha* and *kucha* tea rites.  
Photograph courtesy of Takiguchi Sōhō.
- <sup>53</sup> Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, p. 123.
- <sup>54</sup> Kosaku Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Enquiry* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 215.
- <sup>55</sup> Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 71.
- <sup>56</sup> Leslie Pincus, *Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan: Kuki Shūzō and the Rise of National Aesthetics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 221.
- <sup>57</sup> Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki Hōan Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki* [Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Three Hundred and Fiftieth Commemorative Service], (Kyōto: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki Hōan Kyōsankai: 1940). Although the Senke *iemoto* refer to their revered ancestor in various ways, for the sake of clarity here he is simply Rikyū. The rich complexity of grand master names has also simplified. Tantansai, the fourteenth Urasenke

*iemoto* is referred to as Sen Sōshitsu (1893-1964). Sokuchūsai, the thirteenth Omotesenke *iemoto* is referred to as Sen Sōsa (1901-1979). Yukōsai, the twelfth Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto* is referred to as Sen Sōshu (1889-1953). When I refer to the nine Daitokuji tea venues, this means eight tearooms plus the serving of *kucha* in front of the Rikyū memorial altar. Tanaka Hidetaka (b. 1958) confines his discussion to the eight tearooms in *Kindai Chadō no Rekishi shakai gaku* [Historical Sociology of Modern *Chadō*] (Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2007).

<sup>58</sup> A slightly enlarged version of this graphic design is featured on the cover of Yabe Yoshiaki, *Rikyū no Soi: hie, shimi, sabi, kare kara no hiyaku* [The Ingenuity of Rikyū: The Leap from Hie, Shimi, Sabi and Kare], (Tōkyō: Kakugawa Shoten, 1995).

<sup>59</sup> On page 209 these three characters then appear as the name of a Rikyū-style tea scoop, and the bamboo tube cover for that tea scoop and its wooden box lid also feature the *iemoto* calligraphy of those three characters. These three characters make a cameo appearance as Rikyū exits in the final section of this book.

<sup>60</sup> Morgan Pitelka, *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons, and Tea Practitioners in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 135, 202.

<sup>61</sup> Takahashi Tatsuo, *Chadō Meibutsu* [Considering Famous Utensils], (Tōkyō: Daiokayama Shoten, 1931). Sue Sōkō, *Sadō Jiten* [Way of Tea Dictionary], (Tōkyō: Kōbunsha, 1944).

<sup>62</sup> Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, p. 224.

<sup>63</sup> Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 6.

<sup>64</sup> This translated summary is partial because of space restrictions. Most attention is giving to those passages which document *iemoto* tea functioning as state nationalism. Current work in progress includes a more thorough investigation of the material summarised here and the pleasures of wartime tea.

<sup>65</sup> Sen Sōsa, 'Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki ni saishite' [On the occasion of three hundred and fiftieth memorial service for Rikyū Kōji], in Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, pp. 226-228.

<sup>66</sup> Sen Sōshitsu, 'Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nen Enki Kinenchō' [A note on the three hundred and fiftieth memorial service for Rikyū Kōji], in Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, pp. 229-234.

<sup>67</sup> Sen Sōshu, 'Rikyū Kōji no Sadō' [The Way of Tea of Rikyū Kōji], in Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, pp. 235-254. The details of the April 23 1940 lecture event at the Asahi Kaikan run from pp. 255-315.

<sup>68</sup> Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, pp. 256.

<sup>69</sup> Sen Sōsa, 'Aisatsu' [Greetings], in Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, p. 261.

- <sup>70</sup> Fujikake Shizuya, 'Ando-Muramachi Jidai no Geijitsu to Sadō' [Art and the Way of Tea in the Ando-Muramachi Era], in Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, p. 277.
- <sup>71</sup> J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 219.
- <sup>72</sup> For an example of the conviction that peace can be realized through the sharing of tea, see the retired Urasenke Grand Master XV preparing tea in Berlin on 10 May 2000. <http://www.chanoyu.com/SenSoshitsuXVBerlinWall.html> For a recent overview on Rikyū history, see Herbert Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2003). For an examination of the Rikyū trope as 'a history of making, breaking, and remembering' in the intersecting contexts of temple and tea culture, see Gregory P. A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).
- <sup>73</sup> Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, p. 123. For Sassa Seisetsu, see Cross, 'Rikyū has left the tea room', p.173.
- <sup>74</sup> The Omotesenke school currently performs *kencha* tea in Hakozaki Shrine once every two years.
- <sup>75</sup> Sato Tadao, trans. Gregory Barrett, *Currents in Japanese Cinema* (Tōkyō and London: Kodansha, 1982), p. 44.