BODIES RE-PRESENTING THE PAST:
Japanese Women and the Tea Ceremony
after World War II

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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Bodies Re-Presenting the Past: Japanese Women and the Tea Ceremony after World War II

Doctor of Philosophy, 2001

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This thesis examines the meaning of the tea ceremony for women, who constitute the majority of tea ceremony practitioners in Japan after World War II. It focuses on temae, that is, minute rules of body movement that every tea ceremony practitioner must learn. It asks specifically: What message women practitioners want to send to society and to themselves by presenting formalized body movement of a particular kind. I hypothesize that temae for contemporary female tea ceremony practitioners is a means of obtaining symbolic-cultural capital that matches their husbands’ cultural (educational) and economic capital. Participant observation and interviews with five different groups of women tea ceremony practitioners in the Tokyo area and historical research led me to two major findings. First, the tea ceremony, since its birth in the sixteenth century, has always been a means for nondominant social groups to obtain symbolic-cultural capital. Because temae enabled nondominant groups to acquire a type of self-discipline normally associated with socially superordinate groups. Moreover, commoners in various historical times legitimated their activity by creating myths of the ceremony's origins in prominent historical figures and in religious and philosophical theories. Through the myths, performers of temae came to be associated with these glorious "ancestors" of the tea ceremony as well as with profound metaphysics. Second, in
the postwar period, the "nondominant social group" was women. In this period preoccupied with the economy and education, most women were pushed into the status of urban housewives, and expected to support their husbands' and (male) children's success in these domains rather than to pursue their own. A lot of women who had fulfilled these family duties return to the tea ceremony, in search for the meaning of life. Although performing *temae* in their younger days was a part of bridal training and was a means of subjecting them to the male-dominant society, *temae* in later stages of their lives could have just the opposite function. Now it could be a means of matching cultural (-educational) capitals unequally distributed to the men who had power over them.
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A NOTE ON LOCAL TERMS AND TRANSCRIBITIONS

1. Italics are used to transcribe Japanese words (e.g. the *iemoto*) except for proper
   nouns such as people’s names, place names or institutions’ names, or for words
   well-accepted among English speakers (e.g. Shogun).

2. People’s names appear as the family name first, followed by the given name, as is
   the Japanese custom (e.g. Ashikaga Yoshimasa).

2. Â, è, i, ò, ù in Japanese words indicate long vowels (e.g. *shachù* should be
   pronounced as [shachuː]). The ^ is used only in cases where the words would not
   make sense, or be difficult to understand, for native Japanese speakers if the vowels
   were pronounced short (e.g. *sadô* means the tea ceremony: *sado* is the name of a
   Japanese island. Therefore I put ^ on the letter "ô" to refer to the tea ceremony).

3. A glossary appears at the end of the thesis.
PART I

INTRODUCTION
AND METHODOLOGY
CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

The Japanese tea ceremony, or chadō/sadō, is an act of making and drinking tea in a specific, formalized manner. Established in the mid-sixteenth century, it today represents one of several "traditional" Japanese arts/cultural activities, among them flower arrangement (ikebana).

This thesis focuses on the people who practice the tea ceremony. Rather than searching for some timeless, spiritual, religious or philosophical meanings of the tea ceremony as determined by tea ceremony teachers or by past and present scholars, I researched the meaning of the tea ceremony for lay practitioners today through participating in and observing their activities, as well as through conversing with them. (I will critically review preceding discussions on the tea ceremony's metaphysical connotations in Chapter 4.)

A more traditional anthropological approach might focus on the structure of the tea ceremony itself; I myself have twice conducted structuralist research on this topic (Kato 1993, 1994). This thesis, however, goes beyond structure. It explains people's practice of the cultural activity within the play of powers in the specific social and historical contexts within which the practitioners live. Today, approximately 90 percent of tea ceremony practitioners in Japan are women, of whom at least half are in their late 40s or older, and most of whom are married. Because they have lived most or all of their lives after World War II, I will first categorize them as "Japanese women in the postwar period", then specify the social and historical conditions in which they live.
1.1 Theoretical framework

My approach is semiotic. By "semiotic" I mean the consideration of the cultural element in question as a sign or signifier, and of research as searching for what it signifies. Yet I searched not merely for a stable relationship between the signifier and the signified, but for the processes of the creation and development of both the signifier and the signified and of the relationship between them, as they are (re-)created through their interactions with historical and social forces. The "signifier" is the tea ceremony; to be more exact, it is the bodily movements of the temae. Temae refers to minute rules of body movement in making tea, which every practitioner has had to master since the birth of the tea ceremony, albeit temae themselves or their pedagogy have changed in the course of time. Therefore, to further specify my question: What is the meaning of temae for Japanese women in the postwar period? Given the society surrounding them, that question can be rephrased: What message do these women want to send to society and to themselves by presenting formalized body movements of a particular kind? The thesis is "semiotic" because it interpret not only what the participants say, but also what they imply, as well as to their non-linguistic practices, such as what they wear, and when and where they gather.

Though discussing a contemporary issue, this thesis must pay substantial attention to history. There are three reasons: the historical nature of the tea ceremony itself, the necessity of historically contextualizing the practitioners' discourses, and the necessity of historically explaining their social conditions.

First, in order to explain the discursive and physical practices of this 400-year-old cultural activity to non-tea ceremony practitioners, I will first have to present
the history of the tea ceremony, including the history of temae. Especially, considering the postwar popular recognition of the tea ceremony as a "traditional" art/cultural activity, I mainly discuss how Japanese women after the war associate themselves with the past through their mastery of temae. Hence, explanations of relevant historical figures and anecdotes are essential. Yet, my purpose for discussing history is not to join the historical controversies myself, but to point out how the controversies raised by mainstream historians are irrelevant for tea ceremony practitioners who practice the tea ceremony. In other words, my purpose is to point out that the psychological construction of the past by tea ceremony practitioners belongs to a different dimension from that of historians.

Second, in order to prove that the popular explanation of, and attitudes to, temae among my participants are historical-specific to the postwar period, I must examine the history of discourse of the tea ceremony during and before the war. Although I try to use primary materials as much as possible, I inevitably depend on secondary sources for many documents that I could not access. The tea ceremony is maintained by different schools or denominations run by specific families for generations. Many important documents are stored in the archives of particular families' schools and accessible only to historians personally acquainted with the iemoto (headmasters) of these.

Last, I need historical references in order to place contemporary female tea ceremony practitioners in the larger picture of the history of tea ceremony practitioners. By comparing the social conditions of contemporary female tea ceremony practitioners with those of groups which favored the tea ceremony in preceding times, I explore the historical reasons for current practices.
My major claim is as follows. *Temae* for women in the postwar period is a means of obtaining symbolic-cultural capital that matches their husbands' economic and cultural (to be exact, educational) capital. I, of course, owe the concepts of economic, cultural and symbolic capital to Pierre Bourdieu (e.g., Bourdieu 1990, 112-134). Although Bourdieu discusses other types of capital as well, these three, to which the other types he mentions seem to be more or less reducible, have been especially influential in framing a broad range of academic discussions.

Bourdieu's "economic capital" refers to material wealth, including money in capitalist society as well as "land, livestock and labour force" (Bourdieu 1990, 122) in pre-capitalist society. "Symbolic capital" is "the capital of honour and prestige" (Bourdieu 1990, 118), "accruing from successful use of the other kinds of capital" (Bourdieu 1990, 122). Art in capitalist society falls into this category (e.g., Bourdieu 1993, 75). "Cultural capital" is a form of knowledge that equips the agent with empathy towards, appreciation for, or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artifacts: it is the code only in which, for example, a work of art has meaning (Bourdieu 1984, 2). Cultural capital is transmitted mainly by the family and the educational system (Bourdieu 1991, 62). Cultural capital can be converted into economic capital: for example, educational qualifications can be converted through offering them in exchange for the wages of high-qualification jobs (cf. Bourdieu and Boltanski 1977, 61-69).

On the criteria above, the practice of the tea ceremony comprises both cultural and symbolic capital: cultural capital because the tea ceremony entails knowledge, skills and technical qualifications, like education; symbolic capital because it entails the capital of honour and prestige. For example, a tea ceremony practitioner buys a
five-dollar ticket for a cup of tea served at local cultural festivals or at an exhibition of ceramics in a department store. This purchase shows not so much their economic capital as their understanding of "cultural relations and cultural artifacts" (Bourdieu 1984, 2); in other words, to manifest in public space that they are involved in high culture.

I can support my claims by two major lines of argument. First, the tea ceremony, or rather its *temae*, has always been a means for nondominant groups to obtain symbolic-cultural capital, because *temae* enabled relatively disadvantaged but ambitious groups to acquire a type of self-discipline (Foucault 1995) usually associated with socially superordinate groups. By learning highly formalized body movement that allegedly led to the development of mental control, the nondominant groups were able to raise their social status. In addition, in various historical times the nondominant social groups legitimated their activity by creating myths of the ceremony’s originating with prominent historical figures (political powers and authorities) and in religious and philosophical theories. Through the myths, performers of *temae* came to be associated with these glorious "ancestors" of the tea ceremony as well as with profound metaphysics. Such association increases performers’ status by allowing them to obtain symbolic-cultural capital. The tea ceremony acquired additional symbolic value as a part of "tradition" in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, especially after World War II.

Second, in the postwar period, the "nondominant social group" was women. In this period, preoccupied with economy and education, most women were pushed into the status of urban housewives and were expected to support their husbands’ and (male) children’s professional or business success, rather than to pursue their own.
This status led a lot of women who had fulfilled their family duties back to their premarital activity, the tea ceremony, in a search for the meaning of their lives. Although the tea ceremony in their younger days was a part of bridal training (based on the discourse established in the late nineteenth century) and was a means of subjecting them to the male-dominant society, the tea ceremony in their later stages of life could have just the opposite function. Now it could be a means of matching, and resisting, the economic and cultural (-educational) capitals unequally distributed to the men who had power over them.

Contemporary women's matching their husbands in this form was made possible especially by a postwar-born discourse: the notion that the tea ceremony is sōgō-bunka, (cultural synthesis), a cultural activity that comprehends "every" traditional Japanese cultural domain. The sōgō-bunka discourse encourages middle-aged female tea ceremony practitioners to study (benkyō-suru) various other tea-ceremony-related domains, such as ceramics, calligraphy or Zen Buddhism. This study empowers women in a twofold way. First, studying equilibrates women with their male family members who have educational power. Second, through studying about the metaphysics and mythical ancestors of the tea ceremony behind every item related to the tea ceremony, and by putting the knowledge into practice through bodily performance, women vicariously both represent the tradition and obtain the authority with which the tradition provides them. Thus, they can match their male family members, who have economic and educational powers but do not have the same authority as the wives obtain from their performance of the tea ceremony.

Noteworthy in this empowering process is that it takes place first and foremost among women. Women's acquisition of more advanced temae or of more
knowledge is first exposed to other women. And women gradually empower themselves in the gaze and respect from other women, while rendering gaze and respect to other women. Thus, women create a unique space for each other's empowerment, so that eventually they present themselves as re-presenters of traditional authority in society at large.

The activities described above can be considered as a form of resistance by women to the male-dominant society, for they establish alternative values to those maintaining that society. At the same time, they circumvent direct conflicts between female tea ceremony practitioners and their husbands, for the capital that the former obtain is different from the one that the latter possesses. Especially, as long as women perform temae and the nineteenth-century-born discourse that associates temae with women's propriety exists, performing temae keeps women in the accepted framework of "femininity": thus, it does not in any way conflict with or negate the married lives they have accomplished.

1.2 Literature

In this section I discuss how this thesis relates to the preceding studies of the tea ceremony, both in the European/American context and in the Japanese context.

1.2.1 Literature in Europe and America

Although first reported to Europe by Juan Rodriguez and other Jesuit missionaries to Japan in the mid-sixteenth century, the tea ceremony did not draw the special attention of Europeans and Americans until the late nineteenth century. At the time, international exhibitions and expositions flourished in Europe and America,
fostered by the rise of European colonialism. In addition, in 1867, Japan ended its feudal social system, starting its metamorphosis into a modern nation-state by emulating those in Europe and America. In this milieu, material and personal exchanges between Europe-America and Japan rapidly increased. Not a few Europeans and Americans, who attended exhibitions or expositions and who visited Japan for business, became interested in the tea ceremony, often through their interest in Japanese ceramics and crafts. The Book of Tea written in 1905 by Okakura Kakuzō (see the following discussion) accelerated the fashion. This trend gave birth to some of the earliest modern writings on the tea ceremony by Europeans and Americans in modern times. The writings on this topic by European and American authors since then, however, seem to have been motivated by exoticism, by which I mean one’s expectation that other cultures should be different and intriguing. Exoticism often romanticizes and over-evaluates a culture’s metaphysics, and respects the natives only as representing an ideal existence while avoiding encountering them as complex human beings. Therefore, exoticism often resorts to observation without conversation.

Orientalism, a concept best known from the work of Edward Said, who focuses on the Anglo-French-American experience of the Arabs and Islam (Said 1978, 17), is a

1 "Although Japanese crafts had been included in the London Exhibition of 1862 and in the Paris International Exposition of 1867, the Vienna International Exposition of 1873 was the new [Japanese] government’s first effort to promote the sale of crafts abroad. The Japanese display was so successful that it was followed by still larger ones at the Philadelphia and Paris expositions of 1876 and 1878" (Guth 1993, 35).
2 Some of the examples are: a paper written by a person named Dixon in 1882 (Kobayashi 1960); O Culto do Chá by a Portuguese consul in Japan (W. D. Moraes) in 1905; Cha-no-yu. Japanernas Teceremoni by a Swedish woman in 1911. All the above are mentioned by Kumakura (1980: 356-359).
type of exoticism. Said's experience as an Arab Palestinian in America, which motivated him to write the book, eloquently showed that people treated him with what I call exoticism: "There exists here [sic] an almost unanimous consensus that politically he [an Arab Palestinian] does not exist, and when it is allowed that he does, it is either as a nuisance or as an Oriental" (Said 1978, 27). For him, Orientalism is "[t]he nexus of knowledge and power creating 'the Oriental' and in a sense obliterating him as a human being" (Said 1978, 27).

MacKenzie (1995) criticizes Said for his essentialism and neglect of "the deep well of sympathy and respect which [Western] artists of all sorts felt for the East in the nineteenth century" (MacKenzie 1995, xviii). However, MacKenzie fails to refute Said's argument on Europeans' obliteration of "the Orientals" as human beings. Including the Far East in the scope of "the Orient", MacKenzie cites, for example, a writing by a nineteenth-century European artist. According to MacKenzie, the artist, who visited Japan to experience its arts and crafts at first hand, was impressed by "the simplicity of techniques, the absence of advanced technology and by the status of the craftsman" (MacKenzie 1995, 126). The artist exclaims: "Who shall say that the Japanese are imperfectly civilized...? ...I cannot help thinking that the Japanese are right in regarding the man who can make a beautiful pot, a lovely cabinet, a charming fabric, or perfect netsuki as a being superior to the mere buyer and seller of goods" (MacKenzie 1995, 126-127).

MacKenzie and the nineteenth-century artist he cites are first and foremost interested in arts and crafts, and both men evaluate the Japanese people because of the people's achievement in the products and the imagined homogeneity of the people's artistic interest. The two Europeans cannot think that the majority of Japanese are
not especially interested in "beautiful" "lovely" "charming" or "perfect" pots or cabinets. This indirect interest in a people as an ideal entity seen through their cultural products is a popular expression of exoticism. This attitude differs not much from another popular exoticist attitude, in which one has a direct interest in a people for their "strange" customs (often stereotypes). Both attitudes disregard the real complexity of the people and culture in question.

Interestingly, some "Oriental" people themselves stimulated exoticism or Orientalism in Europe and America for their own purposes. One of them was Okakura Kakuzo, an internationally acclaimed Japanese art critic who worked at the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art in the Boston Museum from 1906 to 1913. His 1903 English book, *The Ideals of the East*, begins with a famous phrase "Asia is one". Okakura first praises Indian and Chinese culture and civilization; his discussion then slides to "the great privilege" of Japan as "the real repository of the trust of Asiatic thought and culture" due to its "unbroken sovereignty, the proud self-reliance of an unconquered race, and the insular isolation which protected ancestral ideas and instincts at the cost of expansion" (Okakura 1970, 5). In short, "Japan is a museum of Asiatic civilization" (Okakura 1970, 7). Considering that around that time Europe was casting "the discipline of the European gaze" (Mitchell 1991, 12) on non-European parts of the world, as typified by exhibitions, museums, zoos and other spectacles on "Oriental" motifs in European cities, one can argue that Okakura deliberately made use of the Euro-centric "world-as-exhibition" view (Mitchell 1991, 13) in order to champion the autonomy of his country with an image of cultural
sanctuary.  

Exoticism has prevailed among Europeans and Americans, among whom academics are no exceptions. Some structuralist and idealist writings on the tea ceremony, by the nature of their approaches, give an impression of exoticism. Sadler's 1933 book, whose manuscripts were "read through" by Radcliffe-Brown (according to the Introduction; it is not clear if Sadler himself was an self-identified anthropologist), illustrates rules of architecture, utensils and *temae* and presents anecdotes of ancestors of the tea ceremony, but ignores contemporary Japanese involved in the activity. Except for the photograph of the *iemoto* of Urasenke School at the beginning of the volume, with the author's note of gratitude to him "for his kindness in allowing me to see his Tea room and to reproduce his portrait" (Sadler 1962: xxi), the author has no concern with this tea ceremony master. Seeing not one quotation from the tea master tempts me to argue that structuralist anthropology itself results from exoticism. Similarly, Hammitzsch (1958), a professor of Japanese studies and a translator of *The Book of Tea* to German, gives idealistic and timeless explanations on the tea ceremony that it is a part of Zen Buddhism. He too, however, shows no interest in whether real Japanese do or do not actually practice the theory he discusses.

The same criticism holds true for two relatively recent structuralist papers on the tea ceremony published in *Man*, which are the first overtly "anthropological" works

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3 To be exact, Mitchell's "the world-as-exhibition" includes not only the ordered display of non-European matters but also of any European matters, such as commodities at stores, in European cities. According to Mitchell, both after all are parts of the construction of "the world conceived and grasped as though it were an exhibition" (Mitchell 1991, 13).
on this topic. Both Kondo (1985) and Anderson (1987), despite their claims of several years' participant observation in Japan, in fact held no dialogue with their participants, ending up with monological reports on the ceremony's ideal practice and explanations on its metaphysical meanings. Moreover, their data depend largely on literature, especially those sources written or translated into English. Anderson's 1991 book, which insists that "Tea is a special area of the culture set aside as sacred and precious" (Anderson 1991, 220), has been rightly criticized on the grounds that "Not only was tea never located within its social coordinates (despite the author's stated purpose of the work), it was divorced from them" (Creighton 1994, 991). Anderson's works also raise questions of whether anthropologists can avoid becoming "overseas divisions" of a certain cultural sect after becoming so committed to its authority ("I hope this book contributes in a small way to his [the iemoto of Urasenke's] efforts to share a friendly bowl of tea with the world" (Anderson 1991, xi)) as to declare oneself "not an unbiased observer" (Anderson 1987, 496).

Barbara Lynne Rowland Mori wrote the first anthropological works by an European or American researcher that include conversations with native Japanese tea ceremony practitioners. In her papers (1991, 1996) Mori draws a lot of data from her interviews with contemporary tea ceremony practitioners. Also, unlike earlier non-native researchers, who analyzed exclusively the most formal and official form of the tea ceremony (chajî, see Chapter 3), she makes good observations about the practitioners in their regular training (keiko). In addition, unlike previous researchers, who treated the tea ceremony as an abstract, gender-free activity, Mori puts an explicit focus on women's issues with basically the same research objective as mine: to elucidate "the interests of women in the practice of chadō and the way it fits
into and helps define their lives" (Mori 1996, 119). Moreover, finding that most female tea ceremony practitioners are wives and mothers without full-time professions, she puts her specific interest, just as I do, into the interrelationship between these women's subordinate social status and their practice of the tea ceremony.

Mori's conclusions, however, are questionable. I attribute this to two factors: limitations which Mori faced in part because she was a non-native researcher, and her practical approaches.

First, Mori concludes that female tea ceremony practitioners' attitudes to their lives and their society are basically conformist. As Mori puts it:

Most of my informants are women who do not question the values of the society in which they live. They accept their society's hierarchical order and the idea that there is a proper place for everyone and everything. These women seek to fulfill as best they can the roles assigned to them in Japanese society, while finding personal enjoyment and meaning within those roles. (Mori 1996, 119)

She attributes this conclusion to the words from her interviewees, almost all of whom are self-affirmative and have no complaints about their current situations. This finding seems to derive from the limitations of her position as a guest of the iemoto of Urasenke School. While learning the tea ceremony at a post-secondary tea-ceremony school run by the iemoto in Kyoto, she observed and interviewed teachers and other

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1 She, like I, is aware of the novelty of her approach to the tea ceremony, which "differs from much existing scholarship on the topic in that it focuses on the people involved in the art rather than on its history, philosophy, or artistic development" (Mori 1996, 119).

2 More specifically, finding that her interviewees "preferred chado and other spiritual and cultural pursuits to working alongside their husbands at company jobs they identified as oppressive and not particularly rewarding", she argues that "[t]heir views reflected acceptance of the limitations placed on them by Japanese society and rationalizations for the pursuit of activities that are peripheral to rather than part of the core of the economic and political life of Japan" (Mori 1991, 95).
students there, as well as those outside the school whom she contacted by expanding her original personal network around the *iemoto* (Mori 1996, 132). In this situation, her claim that one of the criteria on which she chose the settings for observation and interviewing was distance from the *iemoto* family's direct observation and control (Mori 1996, 131) is hardly persuasive. As I read the information on interviewees by setting, site and gender in Mori's paper (Mori 1991, 90), four settings out of eight, and 46 women out of 70 she interviewed at least are under the strong influence of the *iemoto*. It is not hard to imagine that interviewees in such settings would give more positive remarks than negative ones about their lives, families and practice of the tea ceremony.

Another limitation Mori had also stems primarily from her status as a non-native researcher. It seems that her interviewees attempted to be "official" informants about a "traditional" cultural activity. Tea ceremony practitioners' self-perception as "representatives" of the Japanese, and their feeling of responsibility to show their people's best side, is strong in any occasion, but would be especially so in front of overseas researchers. Even I, a native Japanese researcher, but from a Canadian university, sometimes observed such an attitude on the part of my interviewees.

Second, according to Mori, her interviewees showed no interest in the history of the tea ceremony:

> The women who study and teach *chadô* are not longing for a mystical past;

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6 For example, the two teachers in Tokyo whose students she interviewed are both highest-ranked ones. One of them is a sister of the *iemoto*, as Mori herself knows. She also conducted interviews at Tokyo dôjô (the training site), where *gyôtei* (former apprentices-in-residence and now assistants of the *iemoto*) were teaching.
they are rarely interested in the philosophical and semihistorical stories of the practice of *chadô* by past masters. The women are more interested in how *chadô* relates to their own lives and interests. (Mori 1996, 122)

To support this argument, she refers to her observation that "conversation in the tea room concerns the present: what they are doing, the meaning of symbolic objects, or the way to execute a particular movement or to place flowers" (Mori 1996, 122). It seems unlikely that any tea ceremony practitioner could do without conversation about historical anecdotes behind each utensil, calligraphy or *temae*, which is so essential in the tea ceremony (see Chapter 7). Teaching on these things must be indispensable, especially at the technical school of the tea ceremony run directly by the *iemoto*.

These problems may also arise from Mori's approach (1991, 1996). She limits her objects of analyses to what was actually said by her interviewees. However, their interest in history, for example, probably cannot be judged solely from what they said or did not say. Their gathering at temples, shrines, other historic sites or typical Japanese-style buildings, their atavistic act of boiling water in a hearth with charcoal, their wearing of the *kimono*, and especially their practice of this "traditional" ceremonial manifest their interest in history.

### 1.2.2 Literature in Japan

The long tradition of *chadô/sadô kenkyû* (studies of the tea ceremony) in Japan covers almost any topic related to the tea ceremony, whether studied by academics or non-academics. *Chadô kenkyû* as a distinctive field, however, supposedly emerged around 1935, when 15 volumes of *Chadô zenshû* (Complete collection of historical documents and essays related to the tea ceremony) were published. Today *chadô/sadô kenkyûsha* (scholars of the tea ceremony) include historians, philosophers, and
scholars of literature, art and architectures; non-academic tea ceremony teachers, especially the *iemoto* of each school, also conduct reflective studies on their own activity (Kumakura 1980, 3).

Generally speaking, studies of the tea ceremony in Japan are historical. The problem some historians may face, however, is that significant historical documents are often owned by particular schools of the tea ceremony; gaining permission for access may mean academics' sacrificing any radical or critical revisions of the school's established discourses. In addition, some academics have been personally involved in the tea ceremony as practitioners (see Chapter 5).

As a new trend, scholars in social sciences and humanities started adopting European and American theories and methodologies for studies of the tea ceremony: Tanaka (1991) with Baudrillard, Yamamura (1996) with Parsons, and Ōya (1999) with Bourdieu. Kataoka (1996) has also conducted Bourdieurian research on Japanese cultural activities in general. I have twice conducted structuralist semiotic research on the tea ceremony (Kato 1993, 1994). Suzuki's (1984, 1988) structuralist studies on the tea ceremony apparently represent the only works by a self-identified "anthropologist" in Japan. The scarcity of anthropological studies of the tea ceremony may be largely because the Japanese university system does not have a distinct program of socio-cultural anthropology but, like that of continental Europe, incorporates folklore, linguistics, archaeology or physical anthropology into disparate programs that are not titled "anthropology". Also, scholars in Japan who have trained

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*Kumakura (1980, 3) mentions another type of studies of the tea ceremony, that is, one conducted by people outside the tea ceremony in order to criticize and reform it. As Kumakura mentions only one scholar who conducted this type of study, I will omit the discussion here.*
in European and American anthropological (or folkloristic) methodology usually orient their studies to peripheral regions in Japan or overseas, but not to the contemporary urban society-culture in which they live.  

The predominantly male scholars' pejorative views of women's practice of the tea ceremony—especially when the participants are "middle-aged housewives"—further prevent them from detached investigation of this social phenomenon. When I presented my research in Japan to a gathering of (relatively) young male scholars of the tea ceremony, an art historian in his 40s responded by saying, "I would write a twenty-page magazine article, not a dissertation, titled 'Structure of Old Tea Ceremony Hags (cha-baba, a word coined by the speaker) on the same topic". Some other attendants overtly showed their aversion to this topic (and to a female researcher?).

If they do not ignore it or joke about it, scholars discuss the modern women's tea ceremony in a lamenting or condemning tone. The medieval historian Nishiyama (1997) says in the last two, out of 230, lines of his essay on the history of the tea ceremony in Tokyo (formerly Edo): "And after the war, especially after the 1950s, with the diffusion of TV, the tea ceremony has turned into a women's culture-society (sadó wa josei-bunka-shakai ni kawatte shimatta)." The Japanese auxiliary here in past tense "-shimatta", which is equivalent to English past perfect, often implies modality of "to the speaker's regret". Yamamura (1998) criticizes the contemporary women's tea

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8 On the other hand, several overseas-based, but Japanese-raised, anthropologists have worked on contemporary Japanese topics, including Takie Sugiyama Lebra, Mariko Asano Tamanoi, Yuko Ogasawara, Ikuya Sato and Hiroshi Aoyagi.

9 I asked Nishiyama on the phone what he meant about the relationship between the diffusion of TV and the tea ceremony's "turning into a women's culture-society". His answer was that he wrote this without pondering a lot, because he, in his 80s, was in bed at hospital when writing the article.
ceremony, which values "floweriness, loveliness, showiness or luxury", concluding that "disappearance of Zen spirit was a necessary consequence of feminization of the tea ceremony" (1998, 266, 268). In a more ridiculing tone, the art critic Akasegawa (1990) criticizes female tea ceremony practitioners' lack of creativity, comparing them with Sen Rikyu, a mythical establisher of the tea ceremony in the sixteenth century. Depicting long queues of women in *kimono* at the tea ceremony gatherings today, he mocks middle-aged women's locution, saying, "We are just happy with imitating ready-made forms (so leave us alone)" (Akasegawa 1990, 227).10 Behind all these male discussants' implicitly and explicitly negative attitudes towards female tea ceremony practitioners lurks a proposition that the tea ceremony was originally and essentially men's culture (not inaccurate itself: see Chapter 4), and that women in modern times have degraded "the original". The intellectual elite's lamentation on this "degradation" started around 1900, when a growing number of women came to practice this cultural activity (see Chapter 4). Although the majority of lay male practitioners in history must have been luxurious, superficial or uncreative, these deficits are always associated with women, or women are always associated with these deficits. This parallels what Talbot finds in the history of studies of language and gender: "One fairly consistent feature has been that, whatever women's contribution to language change is purported to be, it has not been viewed positively" (1998, 36).

Interestingly, the very few female scholars who study the tea ceremony avoid

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10 On a theoretical level, Akasegawa claims that the tea ceremony is intrinsically avant-garde, and criticizes the postwar "democratization of avant-garde" (Akasegawa 1990, 225) in general. However, his logic is to compare today's women to Rikyu. According to Akasegawa, Rikyu was an "avant gardist", in whose time "the tea ceremony was men's" (1990, 212).
direct discussions of the contemporary women's tea ceremony as if it were a taboo topic. Ōya's (1999) statistical research makes no special mention of "women" or "men" but only of "practitioners", "college students" and so forth, as if the tea ceremony were gender-neutral. Kataoka (1996) points out women's general respect for high culture regardless of which direction they move into social hierarchy on marriage, but, due to the broad scope of her research, she does not specifically probe the reason for the respect, let alone women's relationship with any particular activity of high culture. Kagotani, a historian and author of Josei to cha-no-yu (Women and the tea ceremony) (1985) discusses only politically and socially prominent women tea ceremony practitioners in history, who male scholars already respected, but has no interest in contemporary, lay women practitioners. In this respect, her work does not radically revise the history of the tea ceremony as written by male scholars.

Academics also disregard contemporary women's practice of the tea ceremony because it is perceived as emphasizing "bodiliness". In fact temae, a set of rules of body movement, has been an integral part of the tea ceremony throughout history. However, researchers have not yet conducted extensive research on the history and theory of temae, despite the availability of historical documents (Tanihata 1987, 261; Tanaka 1996), because of academics' hesitation to deal with such a "non-articulated", "subjective" issue as one's bodily performance (Tanaka Hidetaka 1999, 168). Consequently, most tea ceremony historians' interests concentrate on any topic but temae: thus they tend to depict past, predominantly male, tea ceremony practitioners as more metaphysical (spiritual or rational) than physical (bodily and performance-oriented). Meanwhile, the modern women's tea ceremony has always been associated with the body, due to the well-known fact that temae was officially introduced to
women's education in the late nineteenth century as one means of acquiring the physical, personal and social graces considered desirable for future brides. Since then, women have been regarded as practicing the tea ceremony first and foremost to market themselves to men, and hence as having a great interest in physical training but minimum interest in mental training. Thus, they have been placed in a position where academics can "justifiably" lament their practice's superficiality and vanity.

1.3 Argument

This thesis counterattacks the established pejorative views on both women and the body in the tea ceremony by retrieving its significance in three ways.

First, I will argue that the body has always been a central concern of tea ceremony practitioners, regardless of gender and historical time, and that modern women's interest in bodily performance is by no means a deviation from or degradation of the tea ceremony.

Second, I will reevaluate contemporary tea ceremony practitioners' body use, which is no less significant from social scientific viewpoint than that of any other social groups "as a signifier... as a site of intervention or inscriptive surface 'on which laws, morality, values, power, are inscribed'" (Canning 1999, 500, discussing Grosz 1995, 33). This view has been especially popular in feminist studies, which have often considered women's bodies as a locus of interaction between repressive social forces and women's subjective reactions to those forces (e.g., Bordo's discussion on anorexia, 1993). Canning (1999), emphasizing women's active making of their bodies in social space, prefers the notion of "embodiment" to "body", stating that "[s]ubjects thus produced [through embodiment] are not simply the imposed results of alien, coercive forces; the
body is internally lived, experienced and acted upon by the subject and the social collectivity" (Canning 1999, 505-506, discussing Grosz 1995, 64-65). I argue that Japanese, middle-aged housewives' acquisition of temae, and their occasional presentation of their bodies in special clothing and special settings, are embodiment, or active making of their own bodies in social space. The analysis of their bodily practice of the tea ceremony, therefore, will reveal the dynamic interaction they have with society.

Last, I argue that temae for contemporary female practitioners is an introduction to changing their minds through acquiring new knowledge. The birth of the post-war discourse that the tea ceremony comprehends every domain of Japanese traditional culture is important especially for women, because the discourse enables them to study these domains at the same time as learning bodily performance. In addition, many iemotos' frequent explanations in the postwar period of temae as spiritual training permits women to regard their activities as at once bodily and spiritual.

The female tea ceremony practitioners' mentioning intellectual and spiritual aspects of their activity parallels American romance readers' emphasis on the intellectual effects of the reading (Radway 1984a; 1984b). Worried, and sometimes angry, about the general public's scorn for their activity, romance readers, who are mostly housewives, challenge the stereotypes imposed on them by maintaining that they read romances to learn; to acquire "factual information about geography, culture, and history from these books" (Radway 1984b, 59). Although the tea ceremony is high culture and romance reading is popular culture, the two types of women's culture have a commonality. They are, in the women's own perception, acts "to better one's self and
thus, indirectly, one's social position" (Radway 1984a, 108). Despite the public's pejorative views, the women, who hold the "middle-class belief that education is closely connected with success and status" (Radway 1984a, 108), are using these activities as means of reaching success and status \textit{in their own ways}. This observation conforms to Gal's (1989) revision on women's linguistic practices as "forms of resistance" rather than results of oppression and silencing, the forms which are "ambiguous, often contradictory" (Gal 1989, 4). In this view, even silence can be considered as a type of women's active construction of linguistic strategies in response to gender inequality (Gal 1989, 26). Although Gal's discussion sometimes too far erases the difference between women's deliberate silence and forced silence, it at least points out that practices which are popularly associated with femininity \textit{and} triviality can be strategies for women of acquiring unique place in society to match the oppressors. With this view, the tea ceremony can be regarded as a strategy for women to manifest their unique existence in society, by partly adopting the mainstream ideology which values education, and partly presenting an alternative form and content of studies.

1.4 Summary

European and American literature on the tea ceremony generally lacks dialogues with native Japanese practitioners; also, Mori's dialogic works (1991, 1996) overlook the complexity of the meaning of the tea ceremony for women due to her non-native status in the field and her practical approach. In Japan, the tradition of historical approach and scholars' pejorative view on women have ignored the contemporary female practitioners. This thesis hopes to be the first anthropological work on present-day women tea ceremony practitioners to focus on their empowerment
through this cultural activity.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

After the methodology is discussed in Chapter 2, the thesis falls into three analytical parts. As a preliminary, Part Two analyzes the tea ceremony, especially temae, theoretically and historically. Part Three, a liaison between Parts Two and Four, discusses the specific social conditions of both women and the tea ceremony in the postwar period. Part Four depicts contemporary women's physical and discursive practice of the tea ceremony, on the basis of my participant observations, then analyzes the meaning of the practice in their lives drawing on my interview data.

Part Two consists of two chapters, Chapters 3 and 4. The foremost objective of Chapter 3 is to identify temae, the part and parcel of the tea ceremony, as a means for "discipline" in Foucault's sense—that is, refinement of one's body movement so as to control one's mind. This chapter illustrates how the discipline acquired through temae is central to any practice of the tea ceremony and to the ceremony's pedagogical institutions. Chapter 4 examines how tea ceremony practitioners throughout history, the majority of whom are from nondominant social groups, have legitimated their self-disciplinary practice through creating origin myths of the tea ceremony rooted in glorious historical figures and in profound metaphysics, while developing and institutionalizing temae. Here temae, or the body disciplined through temae, is argued to be a "signifier" which reifies the myths.

Part Three has one chapter, Chapter 5. Here I will discuss two postwar phenomena, the creation and popularization of sōgō-bunka discourse and the (almost) complete feminization of the tea ceremony. The second phenomenon I explain in
terms of the "postwar family system" established during the period of the great economic growth. The chapter discusses how the tea ceremony enabled women to match their male family members' economic and cultural capital with the tea ceremony's symbolic-cultural capital. I also discuss the significance for contemporary women of the association between temae and femininity.

The chapters in Part Four examine all the discussions above in terms of actual physical and discursive practices of the tea ceremony by contemporary female practitioners. Chapter 6 examines the functions of the minimal units of tea ceremony practitioners as sites where women with similar social and economic backgrounds gather and as determiners of their attitudes towards temae. Chapter 7 illustrates how the implicit motifs of glorious ancestors and of profound metaphysics embedded in the settings of the tea ceremony relate women to them through their performing temae. The final chapter, Chapter 8, puts all the practices depicted above into the context of women's own lives. Through presenting their personal narratives, I will argue that the tea ceremony for women in the postwar period is a means of giving consistency and meaning to their lives, which would otherwise seem fragmented and subservient to a male-dominant society.
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1 Background

Although I will discuss many topics of this section in more detail in Chapter 6, in and after which I illustrate and analyze the practices of contemporary practitioners on the basis of my participant observation and interviews, I will briefly survey them insofar as they relate to my methodology.

The exact number of tea ceremony practitioners in Japan is difficult to estimate. Because no one has surveyed all Japanese citizens about their hobbies, various agencies whose methodologies differ have recorded different numbers of tea ceremony practitioners. The Statistics Bureau survey of 1996, which records 2,626,000 self-reported tea ceremony practitioners, is helpful at least about their general characteristics (Figure 1).

As these data show, approximately 90% of tea ceremony practitioners are women. Women of two age groups are most likely to (re-)start the tea ceremony: those in their late 20s and in their late 40s. The data also show that each of the three age groups between 50 to 64 have almost as many tea ceremony practitioners as the late-40s age group. The graph approximately forms an M-shaped curve, corresponding to the Japanese female labor force rate according to age groups, which gradually developed throughout the postwar period. The M's "bottom" part is usually

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1 The relatively big number in the age group from 15 to 19 is supposedly due to club activities at junior and senior high school. Considering their ages, however, their motives are not directly related to marriage. Rather, they are mostly related to other things such as curiosity about tradition, as can be read in their essays in Urasenke (1995, 1996). Still, it is an interesting fact that more female students join the tea ceremony clubs than male
Figure 1: Tea ceremony practitioners in Japan in 1996, by gender and age groups
(The number of total respondents = 2,626,000)
Source: Statistics Bureau of Management and Coordination Agency
explained in terms of women's retreat from full-time work to domestic work.²

Most practitioners today practice the tea ceremony as a hobby. The majority of teachers teach it as semi-professionals; that is, they do not live solely by teaching it. Professional teachers consist predominantly of men, while semi-professionals and those who do the tea ceremony as a hobby are predominantly women. Statuses largely correspond to teachers' ranks in the hierarchical institution of each school (see Chapter 3). Most people who practice the tea ceremony as a hobby learn it either at private teachers' houses or at public institutions such as community centers or "culture centers" (karuchăr sentâ, institutions for adults' self-cultivation, usually sponsored by newspaper companies, broadcasting companies or department stores; see Chapter 5. Both professional and semi-professional teachers teach at private and public sites.

2.2 Participants

I conducted my research in Japan for seven successive months from June 1998 to January 1999, with two subsequent one-month trips in March and October 1999. As a Japanese native who learned the tea ceremony at a private teacher's house from 1991 to 1995. I located my participants, all of whom were lay practitioners, through my own personal network with my former tea ceremony teacher, friends and family members (see Chapter 6). I located three groups of practitioners gathering at private teachers' houses, in residential areas of different prestige, in three different cities in metropolitan Tokyo. I also located two community centers in different residential areas near my own home in a suburban city of Tokyo. I joined regular training, and

² "Female labor force rate according to age groups" indicates the percentages of employees among the whole female population of different age groups (Ochiai 1999, 13).
Conducted participant observation and interviews with these five groups, three of which belonged to Urasenke, the biggest tea-ceremony school, one to Omotesenke, the second biggest school, and one to Omotesenke Fuhaku-ryû, a half-autonomous branch of Omotesenke.

The 96 people I met at these five sites, aged from 19 to 77, are all women. I also interviewed two headmasters and five high-ranking teachers, all of them men, from two schools other than those mentioned above. I will not reveal the school names of these high-ranking teachers, so that their personal views will not be confused with their schools' official views. I also conducted interviews with three male and four female tea ceremony practitioners of various ages ranging from 27 to 82, who were of various social positions or status as tea ceremony practitioners. All participants' names used in this thesis are pseudonyms, and their ages are as of 1998.

2.3 Participant observation

The main task of my field research was participant observation of regular training at three private teachers' houses and two community centers. Among 96 participants, I was in especially close contact with approximately 30 people at three different places (see Chapter 6). Besides regular training, I participated in many activities as a tea ceremony practitioner, including a cultural festival at a community center, one-day trips to attend formal tea ceremony gatherings, performance of formal tea ceremony gatherings, or eating snacks with other participants after training and special events. Besides, I individually visited exhibitions and events related to the tea ceremony, attended seminars given by high-ranked teachers, and attended a two-day thematic trip organized by a newspaper company to a city historically related to the tea ceremony, in order to observe and converse with anonymous women tea
ceremony practitioners.

2.4 Interviews

The modes of the interviews varied from casual conversation during classes, chat-like group interviews without tape recording or note taking, interviews on the phone or by electric mail, to formal, tape-recorded interviews with individuals or groups, which lasted up to two and a half hours. Most of the 30 people with whom I was in regular contact were group-interviewed, either casually or formally. I also conducted two formal group interviews with people with whom I had occasional contact, and casual conversational interviews at least once in all classes of all three private teachers. I interviewed each of the three private teachers in depth at the end of the research period.

Intimacy between interviewees and myself varied, from people I regularly joined, through those to whom I was introduced by my friends, family members or acquaintances for one-time meetings, to those whom I happened to meet at formal tea ceremony gatherings. Generally speaking, the three private teachers were the most frank and willing interviewees, followed by their pupils.

2.5 Historical research

My historical research on the discourses of the tea ceremony and of related topics from the late nineteenth century to the postwar period included the scrutiny of books, newspapers and Urasenke's journals, as well as textbooks used at girls' high schools around 1900. Because I have not trained in the special skills of calligraphy and Old Japanese necessary for reading original documents written in the feudal era, I read them in reprint, or checked the details with historians who specialized in the
classics in question.

2.6 Personal narratives

As discussed earlier, modern women tea-ceremony practitioners are those most trivialized in Japanese academia because of their gender. Moreover, they are trivialized in Japanese, male-dominant society itself for their age and for being housewives. Their age devalues them in Japanese society, which values women's youth (to be more exact, childishness). Their being housewives further devalues them in Japanese society, which values economic productivity. One cannot ignore the derogative connotations in the Japanese words *obasan* (middle-aged woman) and *shufu* (housewife): waned beauty in the former, and laziness in the latter.¹

This thesis is, therefore, an attempt to give a voice to a belittled social group. In this attempt, I consider personal narratives, that is, letting people talk about themselves, to be the best method, as many feminist researchers have already found. As the Personal Narratives Group (1989, 7) puts it:

Personal narratives of nondominant social groups (women in general, racially or ethnically oppressed people, lower-class, lesbians) are often particularly effective sources of counterhegemonic insight because they expose the viewpoint embedded in dominant ideology as particularist rather than universal, and because they reveal the reality of life that defies or contradicts the rules. Women's personal narratives can thus often reveal the rules of male domination even as they record rebellion.

Davies (1992, 15) further points out the superiority of the spontaneity of personal narratives, or of "oral life story" in her term, to the fixity of autobiography:

Oral life story clearly exists in... liminal space between the public and the

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¹ The word *obasan* is not derogative when it means (1) one's aunt and (2) a middle-aged woman who is so close to oneself as if she was an aunt.
private, between oral and written discourses. In its intertextuality, its open-ended, dialogic form, then, the oral life story form functions explicitly to facilitate empowerment for women who historically have been silenced, whose words are not accepted as having legitimacy in the realm of accepted public discourse where formal autobiography resides.¹

Making use of my own gender, I encouraged my participants to talk about their particular experiences as women, that is, as wives, mothers or caregivers to the elderly. With at least 20 years age difference between them and myself, along with different marital status (most of them were married while I was single), we were often in senior-junior relationships rather than in friendships. Consciously or unconsciously, my attitude was to ask about their experiences and views on life as "mentors of life" (jinsei no senpai, literally "seniors of life", an honorific term for one's seniors), as if asking for useful suggestions for my own life. This was almost the only strategy which I, the junior (kôhai), could take, in order to let the seniors talk about their private matters without offending them, given the golden rule of age hierarchy in Japanese society. Some of the women, especially private teachers, actively took the roles of mentors of life in their narratives, as exemplified by such words as "The first ten years of married life (for both the husband and the wife) is guessing of each other's mind, even after childbirth," or "At my age (60 years old), it is hard to live (because of the empty-nest syndrome)".² In the female tea ceremony practitioners' narratives collected this way were scattered matters which had been "privatized" and "depoliticized" by "central, hegemonic discursive areas—the academy... and media"

¹ Although some anthropologists use the term "autobiography" to refer to oral narratives of one's own life as well as written, Crapanzano (1977, 6) defines "autobiography" as written but "life history" as oral. For a recent, thorough literature review on (personal) narratives, see Ochs and Capps (1996).

² As Lebra (1984, 60) discusses, mentoring young women-pupils with life suggestions has been a part of female tea ceremony teachers' function.
(Nancy Fraser (1988); cited in Davis 1992, 15). This was exactly the domain in which I expected to locate "the meaning of the tea ceremony for them".

I am, however, aware that personal narratives are never free from "central, hegemonic" discourses. Female tea ceremony practitioners' discourses, even if they are talking about their views on the tea ceremony and its meaning in their lives, are highly adoptive to the discourses created and maintained by academics, the iemoto and the media. The question here is, therefore, not how women's personal narratives are divorced from and rebelling against hegemonic discourses, but how they incorporate the hegemonic discourses for their own purpose—that is, their empowerment. This idea constitutes the backbone of the whole thesis; I will specifically discuss the dynamics of creation and popularization of the postwar hegemonic discourse between the ideologues (academics, the iemoto and media) and the populace (women) in Chapter 5.

2.7 A constraint in the field

One constraint I faced in the field derives from the nature of the tea ceremony, Japanese custom and the personal narrative method: It was impossible to observe any of the participants at home with their family members.

This constraint comes firstly from the tea ceremony's institutional nature. Tea ceremony practitioners are engaged in training once a week or less, at designated sites such as private teachers' houses or public buildings. Just like aerobics centers or any other urban people's hobby groups, the sites attract people from every part of a city, sometimes from outside it. Community centers attract a relatively high rate of people from the same neighborhood, but this does not mean tight relationships among them (though some may happen to know others through PTA or other activities). They are
congenial during the meeting, but hardly mingle with each other outside training or other tea ceremony-related settings, except if they have been friends since before practicing the tea ceremony together. In this situation, there is little possibility for a researcher to be invited to other practitioners' houses, be introduced to their family members and mingle with the whole family.

Second, Japanese custom itself contributes to this constraint. In Japan, radically unlike North America, home is generally not the place to invite others. Lebra's (1984) elaborate ethnography of women in a Japanese city, for which she made use of any possible opportunities for observing them, from joining a chat on the street or craft classes to formal interviews, lacks scenes of her being invited to their dinners or other family gatherings. Such invitation, despite the relatively small age difference between the researcher and these women, simply did not happen during her one-year stay there, nor during subsequent short trips. Once a North American journalist (whose article I read in a high school English textbook in Japan around 1990) lamented on the "exclusivity" of the Japanese, who never invited him to their home but always organized meetings at nice restaurants. He guessed that this was because the Japanese were "ashamed of their 'rabbit hutches'" (derogatory foreign term for Japanese small houses), and concluded that the Japanese would not experience true international friendship unless they overcome that feeling of shame and let others into their houses. This journalist obviously lacks any sensitivity to different concepts of home (as well as of hospitality) between Japanese and foreigners. For instance, one can argue that the Japanese home, regardless of its size, is the place to counterbalance the elaborated (even excessive) formality in public space: people hence do not let non-family members "trespass" on the only territories where they can
make a comfortable mess.  

Imbalance of age and marital status between the women and me further made their inviting and introducing me to their family members difficult (and for me, the junior, to suggest that I wanted to be invited would be extremely rude). The only situation in which I might have been invited would be if I were their age, were married and had children of the same ages as theirs, and if I had first invited their family to my home to make them feel obligated to return. This type of socializing is called *kazoku-gurumi* or "family-level involvement". *Kazoku-gurumi* reciprocal invitation, however, usually presupposes other reasons than visiting to learn more about others. The relationship presupposes, for example, that at least one family feels obligated to invite/visit the other to return a past favor received.

The final factor which made observation of my participants in their family settings difficult is incompatibility between family-inclusive and "women only" relationships. The women talked about their lives, including criticisms of their spouses, on the presupposition that I was interested in them as women-human beings, that their narratives are not to be judged as those of wives or mothers (and this is exactly what I tried to make them believe). My suggesting that I wanted to see them with their family members (a suggestion itself extremely rude, as mentioned above)

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6 In relatively big Japanese houses, there is one room called *ōsetsuma*, which literally means "hospitality room". Guests are usually welcomed exclusively in that room. It is not considered polite for them to show interest in other parts of the house, unless the host encourages them to do so. Even tea ceremony teachers do not usually show their pupils other parts of their houses than the rooms used for training.

7 For example, my own family has one family with which we are in quasi-*kazoku-gurumi* relationship. We invite the family to our house once every year or two around New Year's. My parents were witnesses (*nakōdo*) of the couple's marriage decades ago, and my father, especially, feels responsible for (re-)confirming the happiness of their married life. On the other hand, the family visits my house to show that they are fine and that the couple are still thankful to my parents. My family, however, has never been invited to their house.
would totally change their views of me, and would make the former relationship unrecoverable.

Here, the nature of the topic, the customs of the participants' country and the nature of my method inevitably sacrificed any opportunities for contextualizing the women in the closest society in which they live; that is, their families. Observation of their family members', especially spouses', attitudes to them would have offered a new angle to my analysis. To compensate for this, I present as many opinions from non-tea ceremony practitioners about practitioners as I was able to gather (see Chapter 8 and Conclusion).
PART II

THE TEA CEREMONY
AS BODILY DISCIPLINE
CHAPTER 3:
THE TEA CEREMONY AS BODILY DISCIPLINE

3.0 Introduction

"The tea ceremony is bodily discipline": This is the premise of all the discussions in the thesis. This chapter gives an explanation of "in what sense" it is. The word “discipline” here means "to control one's body movement so as to control one's mind." This definition partly stems from Foucault (1975/1995); I will clarify the difference between my usage here and Foucault.

3.1 Temae, the center of the tea ceremony

What is the Japanese tea ceremony? "A highly structured method of preparing powdered green tea in the company of guests". Such a descriptive definition leads to the more crucial question: Why does a "highly structured method" exist to prepare tea? Typically, without answering this ultimate question, more abstract explanations follow, for example, "The tea ceremony incorporates the preparation of and service of food as well as the study and utilization of architecture, gardening, ceramics, calligraphy, history, and religion..." Here, what the tea ceremony is for is no more in question.

Most discourses on the tea ceremony in the past and the present have attempted to paraphrase the tea ceremony in many different abstract ways without actually articulating its raison d'être. Some examples are "aesthetics of hospitality" (Sen Sôshitsu 1991, 2), a "synthetic cultural system" (Hisamatsu 1947/1983, 53).

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1 Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia 1993. s.v. "tea ceremony."
“performing art of body movement” (Tanikawa 1976, 12), or “a cult founded on the adoration of the beautiful” (Okakura 1906/1956, 3). Going back to the famous poem allegedly made by the sixteenth-century establisher of the tea ceremony only leads us to a Zen-Buddhist-like riddle: “The tea ceremony is just to boil water and drink tea.”

The absence of any definite explanation about why the tea ceremony exists can be attributed to both the activity’s nature as an invented aristocratic culture and to various myths that have evolved around it, which I will examine in Chapter 4. For now, my task is to extract the necessary and sufficient conditions for one’s activity to be called “the tea ceremony”.

As far as I can observe, formalization and control of body movement is what every tea ceremony practitioner currently does. In reverse, one cannot identify oneself as a tea ceremony practitioner unless one has learned the specific body movements required for making tea. Therefore, examining the nature of such specific body movements should shed light to one of the most crucial aspects of the ceremony’s raison d’être.

In the tea ceremony, vocabulary for body movements abounds. The major four terms are temae, shosa, tachi-i-furumai and i-zumai. Each has a slightly different semantic domain.¹ Temae, or o-temae with a prefix indicating politeness, refers either to (1) the rules of body movement necessary to make tea, often in a specific performance, as in the expression “I am learning a temae which uses a Chinese tea powder container” (karamono no temae wo naratteimasu), or (2) one’s body movement to make tea governed by rules, as in “Your temae is beautiful” (anata no o-

² Ibid.
³ From Rikyu hyaku-shu (one hundred poems of Rikyu) allegedly written in 1580.
¹ The semantic domain of each word explained here is based on my knowledge of the
temae wa kirei desune), or (3) tea made, as in “I will drink your temae” (o-temae chôdai itashimasu). Shosa also refers to rules or rule-governed body movements, but unlike temae refers to those not only of making tea but also of drinking tea and other movement in the tearoom. Tachi-i-furumai, which literally means “behavior of standing and sitting”, is almost synonymous to shosa, but its referent is expanded to stillness (of sitting) as well as movement. The word also refers to movement and stillness not necessarily related to making or drinking tea, such as standing, sitting, walking, or opening the sliding door. I-zumai refers to the overall posture of sitting, and therefore has more connotations of stillness than of movement.

The usage of the words shosa, tachi-i-furumai and i-zumai is not limited to the sphere of the tea ceremony. Temae, however, is a technical term which is used exclusively in the tea ceremony. And it is temae, the rules of body movement to make tea, or body movement governed by such rules, on which all the other elements of the tea ceremony are based.

3.2 The characteristics of temae: A comparative examination

3.2.0 Introduction

Before exploring the centrality of temae in the tea ceremony today, let us clarify the characteristics of temae in comparison to its closest Western counterparts. good manners, dance and discipline, as well as to the Japanese concept sahô, which is

language as a native Japanese speaker and a tea ceremony practitioner.

3 “Temae” also refers to the rules of one other performance than making tea; that is, putting charcoal aesthetically in the sunken hearth before boiling water (sumi-demae). Although different Chinese letters are applied to the two "temae" in written forms, the etymological relationship between the two words is obvious.
close to the Western concept of good manners but has a more mental connotation. I claim that *temae* mostly approximates discipline, although it greatly entails good manners and *sahô*, and partly resembles dance.

### 3.2.1 Good manners

The Western concept of "manners", or "polite ways of social behavior" as a dictionary puts it, seems to be best defined in comparison to "discipline": the former, unlike the latter, does not necessarily imply the inner virtue but can refer to certain outer behavior. Arditi (1998), who uses the term "manners" as a superordinate category for "courtoisie", "courtesy", "civility" and "etiquette", marks the advent of the fourth type of manners, "etiquette", in eighteenth century England as "a disconnection of propriety from ethics" (Arditi 1998, 4), while discussing preceding manners as embedded in ethics. He means that ethics are optional in manners. Asad (1993) goes even further, defining "manners" in terms of the lack of ethical connotation; "formal manners" in the Renaissance court or among gentlemen, he argues, distinguished itself from the preexisting monastic program of "discipline" when the display of "proper" behavior was disconnected from formation of a virtuous self and acquired the status of a tactic (Asad 1993, 65-67).

As a comparison between Christian virtue and the ideals of the tea ceremony is not the issue of this thesis, let us simplify the above discussion as a question of the relationship between "control of body movement" and "control of mind". Is *temae* all

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6 "Ritual" (or "ceremony") is another popular Western concept analogous to the tea "ceremony". This concept, which refers to more than body movement, will be discussed in Chapter 4.
7 *Webster’s New World College Dictionary*, s.v. "manners".
8 "Mind" here is a translation of two Japanese words *seishin* and *kokoro*. *Seishin* might be
about control of body movement but not about that of mind, like "good manners" in the Western concept?

Obviously, the dominant discourse on *temae* emphasizes not disconnection but connection between body movement and mind. In a textbook for a TV program, the headmaster of a school of the tea ceremony says, "Some people only see *temae*'s aspect as manners (sahó; see the later discussion) and give the superficial criticism that it is too stiff. But such a remark comes from their ignorance of the true meaning of the tea ceremony" (Sen Sôshitsu 1998, 4). He continues:

The way of communication, and movement of hands, feet, or overall body posture regulated by *temae*—all these are in accordance with five Confucian virtues to which every human being should conform: loyalty [jín], righteousness [gr], politeness [ref], wisdom [chî] and trust [shin]. And it [*temae*] naturally leads one to the practice of morals that every human being should conform to. Then it [*temae*] eventually constitutes daily habits and mental attitudes [*kokoro-gamae*] which prevent one from careless mistakes. Thus it [*temae*] constitutes the motive force in human life. (Sen 1998, 4)

The headmaster's reference to "virtues" and "mental attitudes" indicates that *temae* is supposed to be a means of what Asad calls "formation of virtuous self" (Asad 1993. 65-67). Such a mental explanation of *temae* seems to have originated in the late nineteenth century (see Chapter 4) and became especially popular after World War II (see Chapter 5).

Whatever the initial motivation is, a practitioner can soon recognize, through discourses from teachers or in books, that the tea ceremony holds something about the

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better translated into "spirit" to convey its ascetic connotation, and *kokoro* into "heart" to convey its connotation of warmth or sincerity. Yet I will use the English word "mind" for *seishin* in order to avoid unnecessary mysticism, and for *kokoro* for the simplicity of discussions. I will use the word "spirit" in translating Japanese writings or remarks on *seishin* when the word seems to better convey the writer's or speaker's intention than "mind" does.
mind. One of my participants said that she started the tea ceremony probably out of a feeling of shame (for her ignorance of good manners) and of vanity, but that she now thought she was practicing it to cultivate her "concentration and mental force".

Another characteristic that separates *temae* from good manners is its far greater elaboration of body movement than that expected in "good manners". The formality and precision of body movement required in the tea ceremony extend far beyond the expression of social politeness.

### 3.2.2 Dance

The overwhelming control of body movement may make *temae* resemble dance. Western anthropologists of dance seem hesitant to offer not only a universal definition of "dance" but also definitions of "Western dance". Also, definitions in dictionaries such as "rhythmic movement of the body and feet, ordinarily to music" seem too naïve when so many modern dances which can be danced without rhythms, foot movement or music. Yet, one could still at least ambiguously circumscribe "Western dance" as including certain body movements associated with such concepts as "aesthetics", "art" or "performance".

*Temae* could be viewed in this framework. Somebody's practicing *temae* in the gaze of others may well give an observer the idea that it is a kind of performance. One plausible argument even claims that the word *temae* derives from *te* (hand) and

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9 For example, Kaeppler claims that "I do not take for granted that there is such a concept as 'dance'" (1996, 16). She nor other contributors to the volume (European dance ethnologists working within their own culture) "have no prior imperative to make manifest the underlying definition of dance within their society" (Buckland 1996: 5).

10 *Webster's*, s.v. "dance."
maι (dance) (Horiuchi 1944, 160). A book of the tea ceremony for general readers not only explains tempae as something “mentally profound”, but also argues that “one should elaborate tempae to the artistic (geijutsu-teki) level” (Tankô-sha 1991, 42). This aesthetic or artistic element was especially emphasized after World War II (see Chapter 5).

The relationship between body movement and mind in the tea ceremony, however, distinguishes itself from dance. Whereas dance can be viewed as “a means of expressing confined emotions”, the movement in the tea ceremony is never explained in terms of “emotions” or their “expression”. Instead, it is explained in terms of “mind” (seishin or kokoro), which does not necessarily imply emotions. Moreover, the body movement of the tea ceremony is explained as a means of affecting mind “inwardly”. As Sen Sôsa (1991, 2) puts it, “The form [of the tea ceremony] was born from mind. Training is a means of proceeding the other way round.” Another book on the tea ceremony argues that “not being bound by the law [of tempae] but by using it as a clue” every tea ceremony practitioner is expected to step into the “profound” world of mind (Tankô-sha 1991, 42). Such control of mind may not necessarily be dancers’ primary objective in dancing.

3.2.3 Sahô

One should pay special attention to the Japanese concept of sahô. Sahô (also gyôgi-sahô, reigi-sahô, often interchangeable with reihô) is usually translated into English “manners” or “etiquette” in Japanese-English dictionaries. Actually, sahô

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11 Mai, which originally means “spinning”, is one of the two Japanese words corresponding to the Western “dance”; the other word, odori, originally means vertical movement such as hopping.
primarily concerns techniques that the Western concept of "manners" or "etiquette" covers, including the posture of standing, sitting and walking, how to bow, how to eat formal dishes, or how to dress oneself or behave properly in formal occasions (Ogasawara 1975, the table of contents, 3-8).

Sahô, however, seems to be more explicitly embedded in morals than "manners" or "etiquette" is. Symbolically enough, sahô was taught to schoolgirls as a part of moral training (shūshin) from the late nineteenth century to the end of World War II. Girls' moral textbooks often discussed the importance of disciplined body movement (as an expression of mind), while sahô textbooks discussed the importance of mind. A 1925 moral textbook, for example, argued:

As an old country, Japan has developed reigi-sahô very well. Moreover, not a few people [in history] have learned the tea ceremony or flower arrangement to calm their minds and cultivate themselves, or have had keiko of dance [shiami, butō] to learn elegant body movement [tachi-i-monogoshi]. It is expected for young women today to succeed such humble spirit of past people. "Do not lean back, nor bend, but be straight. Walking too fast looks vulgar; walking too slowly looks affectcd. Do not take too big or small steps. Feel the lower half of your body [when walking]." [as] Sakuma Shôzan [wrote]. (Shimoda 1925/1989)\(^\text{13}\)

Meanwhile, one of the early sahô textbooks stated that "tidiness in hair styles, clothing and body naturally makes the inside of your mind (kokoro no naka) tidy. and keeps evil ideas away. This is because sahô does not simply correct outer forms, but thereby influences the inside of your mind..." (Kiuchi and Tanikawa 1892, 4); regarding the teaching of docility to women through sahô in the period of nationalism and militarism, see Chapter 4.

\(^{12}\) Bunka jinrui-gaku jiten (Encyclopedia of cultural anthropology). s.v. "odori (dance)".  
\(^{13}\) Sakuma Shôzan (1811-64) is a progressive warrior intellectual of the late Edo period (1600-1868). He is known for his motto "Japanese spirit, Western technique" (wakon-
Temae has often been associated with sahô. Actually, some girls' schools in the prewar period introduced the tea ceremony into their curriculums as a substitute for sahô classes (see Chapter 4). This event must have both typified and intensified the association between the two. Also, it is often pointed out that one of the reasons the tea ceremony flourished after the war is that women, with the disappearance of sahô classes at school due to curriculum reform, have no other occasion to learn it but through the tea ceremony (see Chapter 5). Certainly, temae should entail sahô.

Temae, however, is not identical to sahô, but goes beyond it. Unlike sahô (and manners/etiquette), temae does not exist primarily as an expression of propriety necessary to maintain society, even if it could be partly used for that purpose. The formal body movements required in temae often exceed those necessity for propriety. Moreover, the discourses of temae emphasize mental training much more than those of sahô do, as witness the headmaster's criticism on the "superficiality" of those who "only see temae's aspect as sahô" (Sen Sôshitsu 1998, 4). In short, with more emphasis on both physical and mental control, temae differs from manners, etiquette and sahô.

3.2.4 Discipline

No other modern works seem to have attempted more original and thorough discussions on the question of discipline in the West than that of Foucault (1975/1995). Therefore I will make Foucault's discussion of discipline the criterion against which I examine my claim that temae is a method of discipline—first of body and thereby of mind.

Foucault argues that discipline by each individual upon oneself replaced

yôsai, Chapter 4). Cf. Japan, s.v. "Sakuma Shôzan."
punishment by the sovereign authority and has been maintaining modern states. In this sense, what Foucault calls "discipline" is "self discipline" by definition.

In his discussion of "control of activity", one of his four techniques of (self-)discipline, Foucault reduces the way human activities are controlled into five elements: (1) the time-table, (2) the temporal elaboration of the act, (3) the correlation of the gesture and the overall position of the body, (4) the body-object articulation, and (5) exhaustive use of time (Foucault 1975/1995, 149-156). Although all of them hold true to temae in one way or another, (2), (3), (4) are especially relevant to the current discussion for they are almost identical to the characteristics of temae.

Despite its practical aim of making tea, one of many daily activities, temae is a cluster of minute rules that govern every single movement, every single finger. Thus, temae elaborates numerous actions originally seen in daily life. For example, to dry a rinsed cup, a tea ceremony practitioner must turn the cup three times and a half while a cotton cloth, folded in a specific way, is touched to the rim. Walking has to be a silent, sliding movement of the feet, with their toes slightly raised occasionally, while avoiding stepping on the edges of the tatami mats (straw mats laid in the room). These are, in short, 'another degree of precision in the breakdown of gestures and movements, another way of adjusting the body to temporal imperatives,' which Foucault saw in the mid-eighteenth century military marching (Foucault 1975/1995, 151).

It is also a noticeable characteristic of the control of body movement by temae that every act requires a "proper" posture of the overall body, just as Foucault saw in

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14 Other techniques Foucault describes are: effective distribution of individuals in space, control of duration, and composing forces. I omit discussions on them, for they are not relevant here.
pupils' training in “good handwriting” (Foucault 1975/1995, 152). Opening the sliding door, bowing, whisking tea powder with hot water—all these acts are not simply acts of the hands or the head but also acts of the properly straightened back, the elbows stuck out, or the fingers neatly put together.

The most unique characteristic of temae as a method of discipline, however, lies in its articulation in the manipulation of tea utensils, or “the instrumental coding of the body”; Foucault saw it in the management of the rifle, which the eighteenth century military theoreticians called “manoeuvre” (Foucault 1975/1995, 153). The “manoeuvre” of temae is twofold: one is the precise placement of tea utensils in the right places in the tearoom. When the host brings a cup and a tea powder container into the room, for example, these utensils must be placed in front of the fresh water container, which is already set in the right place in the room, so that the three constitute an equilateral triangle. When a tea scoop (a bamboo spoon) is offered to the guests after the ceremony for admiration, it must be placed so that the end of its tail is apart from the edge of one of the tatami mats by three stitches of the braids of the straws (that is, two or three centimeters). The other aspect of “manoeuvre” of temae is the precise management of tea utensils. When the host holds a tea scoop, for example, the fingers should not be closer to the top than the middle of the stalk. The way the host holds and rests the ladle differs according to whether it scoops up hot water from the kettle or cold water from the fresh water container.

All such body movements require a great deal of training to reach perfection—and it is impossible to reach perfection. However, it is this very impossibility of perfection of body movement that makes the tea ceremony a mental discipline as well. One is told to always be modest and docile, attributing one's imperfection of body movement not only to the lack of enough practice but also to imperfection of mind.
One is told to consider, for example, that one cannot precisely put a tea scoop at a certain spot on *tatami* mat because one has not developed enough concentration; besides, no clear boundaries separate concentration from such "virtues" or "morals" called discretion, diligence or sincerity. Thus, the endlessness of bodily discipline is merged with endlessness of mental discipline.

The original Japanese words for the tea ceremony, *sadō* or *chadō*, may help the imagery of "endlessness" in the practitioner's mind; *sa-* or *cha-* means "tea", and *dō* means "way" or "path". The latter's etymology has been discussed in multiple ways, for example in terms of Buddhism, Zen Buddhism, Confucianism or Taoism, either singly or in combination. The use of the word *sadō* or *chadō* for the tea ceremony is supposed to have originated in the seventeenth century, but some claim that its popular use started from after the 1868 Meiji Revolution. The older name of the tea ceremony was *cha-no-yu* ("hot water of tea").

Foucault's concept of discipline is thus useful in analyzing the tea ceremony. However, what he focuses on by using the term differs from my focus here. While Foucault's "discipline" focuses on the state's constrains on individuals, "discipline" through the tea ceremony comes from social norms. In other words, his "discipline" means individuals' acceptance of state-oriented power through the bodily discipline of prison, school or reformatory, but the bodily discipline of the tea ceremony has no necessary relationship with the state (even though it was involved in a certain state policy around 1900; see Chapter 4). Rather, individuals choose to practice the tea.

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15 A similar change took place in martial arts around 1900, as seen in *jūdō* (formerly *jū-jutsu*, or "soft art") or *kendō* (formerly *ken-jutsu* or "sword art"), as well as the word for "martial arts" itself as *budō* (formerly *bu-jutsu*) (Nakamura 1985. 18). The name change in traditional arts to the ones with more ascetic and spiritual connotations probably reflects the rise of nationalism and militarism.
ceremony due to the public's general respect for tradition, as well as to the public's expectation that groups of a certain age, gender or economic status will have an association with such traditional values (see Chapter 4).

3.3 Three Forms of Present-day Practice of the Tea Ceremony

3.3.0 Discipline and display

As discussed above, temae is bodily discipline. It is, however, display at the same time, because temae is always performed in front of others for whom the tea is made. In this section I will illustrate three forms of practice to which “the tea ceremony” today refers—keiko (training), chakai (big formal gatherings) and chaji (small formal gatherings)—to discuss how discipline and display are integral to each form. Although the emphasis is more on discipline in keiko and on display in chakai and chaji, the two elements are inseparable: discipline is almost every practitioner's objective in practicing the tea ceremony, while display is more a result.

3.3.1 Keiko

Keiko, or training, is what every tea ceremony practitioner does. Most self-identified tea ceremony practitioners, even after becoming teachers, have somebody who teaches them and continue their keiko for life. The very beginners usually start keiko either at private teacher's houses, or at public institutions such as community centers or cultural centers in department stores. Some start it as a club activity at junior or senior high schools, colleges, universities or companies.

Keiko is usually practiced weekly, three times a month on average. The higher level one reaches, the less frequent keiko one may have, due to the lesser availability of higher-level teachers and to increased emphasis on self-training.
Photograph 1: A scene from *keiko* at a community center
Beginners are first advised to buy minimum personal belongings including *fukusa* (a small square silk cloth to wipe or "purify" utensils with), *sensu* (a folding fan), *kashikiri* (a pick to eat sweets with), *kaishi* (a bundle of tissue papers to put sweets on) and a cloth case to put all these things in. While *fukusa* is needed to make tea, other items are needed as a guest.

Pupils practice temae using their teachers' or public institutions' utensils including cups, tea powder containers, tea scoops, tea whisks, fresh water containers, containers to discard used water, kettles, ladles and ladle rests. Teachers' houses and public institutions must be equipped with a *tatami*-laid room which at least has a sunken hearth (or its modern substitute a portable hearth) and an alcove. Such rooms are loosely called *chashitsu* or "tearoom", although in a strict sense *chashitsu* should have one of several specific sizes and specific layouts of *tatami*, the hearth and the alcove, which not many buildings today have. Also, in old times, *chashitsu* was often built in a hut, that would rather be translated as "teahouse", which is not often seen today. Next to the tearoom, there must be a small kitchenette that includes a faucet and a wooden cupboard. The kitchenette is called *mizuya*, where practitioners store, prepare and clean utensils.

Teachers usually give *keiko* to from one to 20-some pupils at the same time. When the pupils' number approaches 10, the teacher often divides them into smaller groups; in this case the teacher sometimes asks experienced pupils for teaching assistance. Pupils practice temae in turn in front of the teacher and the other pupils in the group. Pupils other than the one practicing temae practice the body movements of guests—how to bow to each other, how to pass sweets around, how to take sweets and tea, how to admire utensils, and so on. The pupil performing temae and the pupil sitting closest to her/him also practice the formal dialogue between
teishu (the host) and shôkyaku (the main guest) about tea, sweets and utensils (see Chapter 7).

One keiko usually takes from 90 minutes to two hours, with from 15 to 30 minutes' training to each student on average. The following describes a typical sequence of actions of one pupil practicing either making thin tea or thick tea. The description is necessarily "abbreviated": one could describe the actions in almost limitless details. The pupil may repeat this sequence twice or more in keiko depending on the time permitted:

[A fresh water container is placed in the room. The water in the kettle is boiled on the hearth. The sweets are in the room.]

1 The "host" enters the room with a cup (with a tea scoop, a tea whisk and a cotton cloth in it) and a tea powder container in hands. After placing them in the room, the "host" leaves.

2 The "host" re-enters the room with a container to discard used water, a ladle and a ladle rest; sits in front of the hearth.

3 The "host" wipes a tea scoop and a tea powder container with a silk cloth; rinses the cup and the tea whisk with hot water from the kettle. Meanwhile, the sweets are passed around among the "guests".

4 The "host" makes tea and serves it to the "main guest". In the case of thick tea, the "main guest" asks about tea and sweets; the "host" answers.

5 The "host" rinses the used cup and the tea whisk with cold water from the fresh water container; wipes the tea scoop and the tea powder container with a silk cloth and offers them to the "guests" for closer view; the "host" leaves the room with the other utensils. Meanwhile, "the guests" pass around and admire the scoop and the container.

6 The "host" re-enters the room. "The main guest" asks about the scoop and

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16 Both thick tea and thin tea are made from tea powder (steamed, dried and then ground tealeaves) and hot water. The difference between them lies in (1) the portion of tea powder (more for thick tea, less for thin), (2) the way of mixing the powder with water (gently muddled for thick tea, quickly whisked for thin tea), and sometimes (3) the quality and taste of tea (usually better and sweeter tea is used for thick tea). Beginners first practice how to make thin tea, then thick tea.

17 Shown here is the sequence of usucha hirademae, or "the basic temae of thin tea".
the container. The "host" answers, then leaves the room with the scoop and the container.

At private teachers' places, each pupil usually practices different *temae* according to her/his own level, while at public institutions all the pupils in the same class practice the same *temae*. In any case, each group usually consists of pupils of similar levels and often of similar ages.

Although *keiko* is first and foremost an occasion for disciplining one's body movement, there already is an element of display. As Foucault points outs, "[i]n discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen" (Foucault 1975/1995: 185). The teacher's and other pupils' gaze focused on one's practicing *temae* is certainly an indispensable part of the discipline. At the same moment, the gaze turns the discipline to display. Especially if one believes in an "artistic" element of *temae*, the gaze can be interpreted as that of the audience of a "performing art"; in other words, for a trainee, the teacher and the other pupils in *keiko* are the first audience of the pupil's "performance".

Thus, *keiko* is not only an occasion for discipline, but also for display, even in the most passive sense. And as one trains enough to perform in *chakai* and *chaji*, one's chances to display body movement increase.

### 3.3.2 Chakai

*Keiko* is considered as partial and preparatory training for the more official and formal gatherings: *chakai* and *chaji*. *Chakai* refers to big, formal tea ceremony gatherings, in which only parts of the most formal gatherings, *chaji*, are performed. In both *chakai* and *chaji*, wearing *kimono* is mandatory among hosts and preferred among guests. This unwritten rule indicates the formality of these gatherings
Photograph 2 (top): A scene from *chakai.* Women guests watching *temae*
Photograph 3 (bottom): A scene from *chaji*
Photograph 4: Women guests admiring utensils after *chakai*
compared to *keiko*, in which practitioners more often than not wear western clothes.

*Chakai* usually take place at temples and shrines, hosted by one or several teachers and their pupils. The gatherings sometimes attract several hundred participants, who know directly or indirectly of the host groups. Having bought a ticket, the guest is led to a room which accommodates up to around 20 guests. Then a host, who is usually a pupil of the host group, appears in the room and performs *temae* to make one or two cups of tea. While the tea made is served to the first and second main guests, other pupils carry more cups of tea made in the back room to the rest of the guests. Sometimes the teacher, who supervises the whole sequence, attends to explain to the guests about the utensils or the decoration on the alcove. This sequence, called *chaseki*, takes from 20 to 30 minutes, and the host group repeats the same sequence four or five times a day. One group's *chaseki* serves either thick tea or thin tea all day; it does not serve both nor change from one to the other. When several groups perform *chaseki* in different rooms, a guest can visit one room after another.

Most *chakai* are annual or seasonal events of local branches of certain tea ceremony schools. Yet, enthusiastic teachers, various groups of tea ceremony practitioners, tea utensil dealers or museums also organize *chakai*. Organizers

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18 The ticket fee varies from several dollars to several hundred dollars, but usually is around 20 dollars, depending on the prestige of the gatherings, number of cups of tea included, lunch included or not, and so on.

19 In *chakai*, the "first main guest" (*shôkyaku*) and the "second main guest" (*jîkyaku*) are decided on site, according to their relative status as tea ceremony practitioners among the people gathered. The host, or people gathered, usually asks the oldest, and seemingly most experienced and highest-ranking, practitioners to sit at the places of the first and the second main guests. In the more formal and smaller gathering called *chaji*, the host usually previously designates certain people to be the first and second main guests.
usually ask certain local teachers and their pupils to host. For pupils, and also for teachers who teach them, *chakai* is a chance to test the fruit of their *keiko* in the gaze of others; in other words, a chance to test their disciplined body movement in the gaze of anonymous and critical others. If not as hosts, practitioners can still test their mastery of body movement as guests.

*Chakai*, however, is not the experience of every tea ceremony practitioner. Pupils learning at public institutions, or those whose teachers are not active in the politics of local branches of their schools, are unlikely to host one. Still, many such pupils continue their regular *keiko*. Some are not interested in attending *chakai* even as a guest. Thus, although discipline is the objective of every practitioner's practicing the tea ceremony, display is not. A pupil may have a chance to display *temae* in *chakai*, but it is contingent, or attendant. Many practitioners are content with disciplining their body movement and displaying it only to a minimum audience—their teacher and colleagues in *keiko*.

### 3.3.3 Chaji

The other chance for one to actively display disciplined body movement is *chaji*, or gatherings of a host and a small number of guests (usually no more than five). Despite its status as the most formal form of the tea ceremony, and as the most popular subject of books, TV programs or research papers on the tea ceremony at home or abroad, *chaji* is in fact a far less usual experience for lay practitioners than *chakai* is.

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20 One woman learning the tea ceremony at a community center answered when I asked if she often went to *chakai*, "No, no. Everybody (in this class) just wants to learn *temae*.” Her remark at least shows that she does not think it wrong to be interested only in *keiko*. I myself was not at all interested in displaying myself in *chakai* when I was learning the tea ceremony before this research.
As generally explained, the basic pattern of *chaji* consists of two sessions and four subsections. The first session is considered a preliminary of the second. The whole sequence of *chaji* takes four hours. One can see that *chakai*, discussed in the previous section, involves the performance of only 3 or 4 of the following agenda of *chaji*:

*Shoza* (the first session)
1. *Sumi-demae* (arrangement of charcoals and ashes in the hearth)
2. *Kaiseki* (a meal)  
*Nakadachi* (intermission)
*Goza* (the second session)
3. *Koicha* (thick tea)
4. *Usucha* (thin tea)

The unpopularity of *chaji* today is largely due to the excessive time and effort needed, and to the decreasing availability of buildings and gardens with the special architecture it requires. Still, some enthusiastic teachers organize it on special occasions such as New Year’s or the commemoration of the dead. Some hold it among themselves and their pupils alone, while others invite their colleague teachers, friends or relatives who are familiar with the tea ceremony. *Chaji* can take place at the organizers’ own houses, teahouses in public parks, Japanese restaurants with tearooms, and so forth. In *chaji*, as in *chakai*, usually pupils actually perform *temae.*

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21 Described is the pattern of *chaji* which starts at noon from November to April, which is considered as standard. All the other patterns of *chaji* are variations of this.

22 *Chaji*, unlike *chakai*, requires a specially designed “teahouse” that includes a tearoom and a waiting room for guests, and a garden that includes specially designed paths, a basin for guests to wash hands, and a small hut for guests to sit down before the event and
while teachers supervise their performance. Therefore *chaji*, like *chakai*, is an occasion for pupils to display themselves to others, be it to their own colleagues or to somebody from outside.\(^{23}\)

3.3.4 Other forms of practice

Besides the occasions described above, in which the audience consists of other tea ceremony practitioners, there are various cases in which practitioners demonstrate *temae* to anonymous non-practitioners. In cultural events organized by local governments, for example, local teachers and their pupils are often asked to serve tea for anonymous passers-by. In cultural festivals at community centers, pupils of the tea ceremony courses serve tea for visitors, following the form of *chakai*. Exhibitions and on-site sales of ceramics (usually at department stores) are often accompanied by *soe-gama*, the tea service for shoppers by local teachers and their pupils (see Chapter 5).

Although considered peripheral, less formal activities, the cases above are rare opportunities for lay practitioners to display themselves directly to the gaze of the general public. In this light, these occasions are no less important for practitioners than *keiko*, *chakai* or *chaji*, in which practitioners can manifest their exclusive status as tea ceremony practitioners to society only in indirect ways.

during the intermission.

\(^{23}\) Today *chaji* does not always have a clear boundary from *keiko* because (1) it is often held among the teacher and pupils alone as a kind of *keiko*, and (2) invited guests are often too close to be critical, and usually know that the *chaji* they are attending is a kind of *keiko*. 
3.4 Institutionalizing Bodily Discipline: Schools and Drills

3.4.0 Introduction

Temae is central to any form of the tea ceremony. Temae, however, would never be preserved and transmitted without being institutionalized.

According to Bourdieu, "institutionalization" sets up "strictly established, legally guaranteed relations between recognized positions, defined by their rank in relatively autonomous space, ... themselves defined by entitlements which, like titles of nobility, property titles or educational qualifications (titre), authorize them to occupy these positions" (Bourdieu 1990, 131).

Around temae, there are sets of relations of practitioners' positions. From the macro viewpoint, such specific relations of positions are maintained by each school or denomination (ryūha). In the micro viewpoint, the relations of positions are maintained by specific drills that each school uses to rank practitioners. I will discuss both ryūha and drills as institutions that sustain temae.

3.4.1 Schools (ryūha)

As far as I could confirm, there are at least 14 active schools or denominations (ryūha) of the tea ceremony today. The exact number is unknown, because numerous branches of each school obscure the definition of ryūha. One rumor even puts the total number of ryūha, including sub-schools, at 46. Each school differs in its period of foundation, though most were founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and originally prevailed in different feudal social classes; today some schools, for example, claim they practice the "warriors" tea ceremony, while others claim the "commoners" tea ceremony. Yet most, or probably all, of the schools share two characteristics. First, each school has a system to hereditarily maintain its authority,
the "iemoto system". Second, each school maintains its purported tie with Sen (no) Rikyu, a sixteenth-century merchant who is believed to have established the tea ceremony in today's sense.

The first characteristic, the iemoto system (literally ie means "house" or "family": moto means "root" or "origin"), has enabled certain families to monopolize for generations the rights to license learners and teachers. The word iemoto refers to both the families and their headmasters. With this system, the office of iemoto descends from the male headmaster of a family to his male heir, typically the first son. Because one cannot officially learn or teach the tea ceremony without kyojō from certain schools, all tea ceremony practitioners, both teachers and pupils, are inevitably parts of the iemoto system. The second characteristic, the purported tie with Rikyu, attributes the authority of the iemoto ultimately to the sixteenth-century tea master and defines each school as his successor. All iemoto today claim a relationship with Rikyu, either genealogically, philosophically or because their own ancestors had been Rikyu's pupils or colleagues, or even pupils of his pupils or colleagues. I will examine both the iemoto system and the exaltation of Rikyu in historical terms in Chapter 4.

These two characteristics give a natural advantage to the Sen family, the actual direct descendants of Sen Rikyu (through either men or women). Although they have risen and fallen like other schools over the course of time, today the "three schools of the Sen family" (san-Sen-ke), especially Urasenke school and then Omotesenke school, are the most popular ones.²⁴ Most beginners do not have any

²⁴ The third one of Sen family schools is Mushanokōjiyaenke school. Statistical data are "unavailable" for any school (the offices say they are simply "unavailable" or "were lost in the wartime". Such secrecy is common in the world of traditional Japanese culture). Popular rumor says that 60% of all the practitioners today belong to Urasenke, 20% to Omotesenke, and other 20% to the other schools. The prominence of Urasenke is largely
preference for particular schools, and their encounter with a school is highly accidental. Therefore, the popular schools, which deploy teachers in many residential areas as well as in many community centers, culture centers and clubs at school or companies, are apt to be hit by beginners and thus maintain their popularity.

3.4.2 Drills and "permission" systems

Each school has its own drill to teach temae. The drills regulate the contents and order of temae for pupils to learn. As temae and other body movements considered "proper" differ according to each school, a trained pupil cannot easily transfer from one school to another. To mention only a few examples, the host must enter the room with the right foot in Urasenke school, with the left foot in Omotesenke school and with whichever foot is closer to the wall in Mushanokōjisenke school. Urasenke school turns the teacup clockwise before drinking tea from it, while Omotesenke school turns it counterclockwise. There are three ways of bowing in Urasenke school, according to the degree of formality, while there is only one in Omotesenke Fuhaku-ryu school.

Officially speaking, every time pupils ascend to the next stage in the drill, they must ask for a new kyojō ("permission" or "charter") from the iemoto of the school. In the case of Urasenke school, kyojō loosely covers "permission" of three different kinds: permission to learn certain temae, permission to identify oneself as a certain rank of teacher, and permission to wear certain emblems of honor. One can ask for "permission" of the latter two kinds only after obtaining high-ranking "permissions" of

due to its advertising strategies, especially after World War II (see Chapter 5). Some numerical data on Urasenke school appear in Mori (1996, 130).
the first kind, which means, after learning substantial numbers of *temae*. Only the second kind of "permission" is equivalent to "teacher's licenses".

A pupil can apply for "permission" only through her/his local teacher: to be exact, the teacher advises the pupil to apply for it, judging from the pupil's progress. The "permission", in a form of folded paper signed and stamped by the *iemoto*, is sent from the school's headquarters to the local teacher's house from several months to a year after the application. In the case of "permission" for learning certain *temae*, the teacher first demonstrates the new *temae* to the pupil and then hands the paper "permission" from the *iemoto* to him/her: only then does the pupil start learning the *temae*, by imitating the teacher's performance.

Table 1 shows a list of *temae*, teacher's ranks and other honorable emblems that need "permission" in Urasenke school as of 1998. (Although I owe the table to the explanations by two Urasenke "associate professors" or *jun-kyōju*, different teachers explain the rank system differently. Also, there was a slight alteration in the system in April 2000.) Most beginners apply for the permission of "Entrance" (Step 1) and "Sixteen small practices" (Step 2) at the same time. *Temae* in Step 3 and after are called "secret transmissions" (*hiden* or *sōden-mono*), which cannot be taught in any written form—neither in textbooks nor in personal memos—but must be transmitted only physically and orally. Such rule may make the tea ceremony parallel with... non-literate society where inherited knowledge can only survive in the

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25 Dai Nihon Chadō Gakkai (Japan Association of Tea Ceremony) is exceptional, in that it does not issue permission to learn each *temae*, but issues certificates after pupils' acquisition of each *temae*.

26 This official rule is partly undermined today. Urasenke and Edosenke (a branch of Omotesenke), for example, have published textbooks on *satsūbako* (see Table 1) respectively. Yet, it is still true that other *temae* of "secret transmission" are not published.
### Step 1
- **Nyūmon** ("Entrance"): basic movements and basic *temae*

### Step 2
- **Konarai jūrokkaid** ("Sixteen small practices"): 16 variations of basic *temae*

### Step 3
- **Shikaden** ("Four transmissions"): four *temae* using precious utensils
  - *Satsūbaka* (Temae with a small paulownia wood box for utensils)
  - *Karamon* (Temae with a Chinese tea powder container)
  - *Daitenmoku* (Temae with a Chinese teacup)
  - *Bonten* (Temae with a precious tea powder container on a small tray)
  - + **Wakindate** (Temae with cloth): **Chabaka** (Temae for outdoors)

### Step 4
- **Okuhi** ("Great secrets"): four *temae* using the most precious utensils
  - *Gō-no-gyō-daisu* (Temae with a bare wooden shelf)
  - *Shin-no-gyō-daisu* (Temae with a lacquered shelf)

### Table 1. "Permission" system in Urasenke school as of 1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>temae</strong></th>
<th><strong>Teacher's Ranks</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Hikitsugi</strong> (Lowest teachers' rank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sei-hikitsugi</strong> (Official teachers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Chamei</strong> (Receipt of professional name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Monkyo</strong> (Permission to wear Sen family’s emblem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Jun-kyō</strong> “Associate professor”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Kyō</strong> “Professor”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sei-kyō</strong> “Official professor”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Meiyo-shihan</strong> “Honorary teacher”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- ● indicates *temae*  ★ indicates teacher’s ranks:
- ★ indicates other honorable emblems
incorporated state. It is never detached from the body that bears it and can be reconstituted only by means of a kind of gymnastics designed to evoke it, a mimesis which implies total investment and deep emotional identification... and this knowledge never has the objectivity it derives from objectification in writing and the consequent freedom with respect to the body. (Bourdieu 1990, 73)

Kawada, discussing the drum language in predominantly non-literate Mosi society in West Africa, argues that in linguistic communication through drums, messages are sent "through corporal rhythms—rhythmical movements of hands which are half corporal memories" (Kawada 1992, 40).

It seems that the "corporal memories" Kawada discusses are essential in the pedagogy of the tea ceremony. According to Ikuta, the pedagogy of waza (crafts) of traditional Japanese arts, including dancing, martial arts and the tea ceremony, are characterized by imitation and repetition (Ikuta 1987, 18) and "understanding by one's whole body" (Ikuta 1987, 131). A statement by the heir of a school of the tea ceremony may support this argument. When I asked how he knew the "correct" answers to pupils' questions on minute movement or posture in temae, such as the position of a finger against a ladle, he said, "I do the movement or posture myself, and answer. When it's written somewhere, I (also) say, 'As is written'. In any case, the basis is my own sense of body (shintai kankaku)."

Regarding the linguistic support for this body-oriented pedagogy, Ikuta points out that the transmission of waza uses a simple and unique language rich in metaphor, which differs from descriptive or scientific language. For example, dance teachers say "Store it (tamete)" instead of "Continue it for three seconds" to teach pupils to take time for one movement or posture (Ikuta 1987 93-94). In other words, teachers' language is highly context-dependent and based on their own sense of body, namely, the sense of body learnt from their teachers. In the tea ceremony, teachers' language
during *keiko* seems iconic to the rhythms or sounds one should feel or hear. "Forward the container, correct your posture, and one breath (*kensui susumete, i-zumai tashihite, hitokokyū*"") stated in a chant-like rhythm, or various onomatopoeia such as *"sarasaara, koto* to depict a certain rhythm and the sound of rinsing the tea whisk and rest it in the teacup, probably make no sense to pupils unless they are actually engaged in these actions. Thus, linguistic teaching during *keiko* is not so much for pupils to understand what they should do as for them to understand how they should feel: in this sense it is secondary to pupils' understanding "by their whole bodies".

Such body-centricism mystifies both the "higher level" temae and those people who have more bodily training. Officially speaking, pupils who do not have "permission" to learn the "secret" temae must be dismissed when "permitted" pupils learn them. As the "secret" temae are considered "heavy" (*omoi*, an adjective which here means "important" or "serious"), pupils are told to pay enough respect to each and take years to graduate from one step to the next. Beyond *daien-no-shin* are some temae which are transmitted only from the *iemoto* to heir in the *iemoto* families.

Application for teacher's ranks is possible in the very last stages of learning the "secret" temae. One can apply for "permission" to learn each of the last two temae and each of the first two teacher's ranks at the same time. Because there is no new temae to learn after *daien-no-shin*, only the repetition and combination of already learned temae, qualification for higher teacher's ranks is judged on one's career, such as how many pupils one has taught or how active one is in local events. Another

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27 In actuality, such "dismissal" rarely takes place in *keiko* today.
28 According to a rumor, the combination of temae makes 200 temae in total in Urasenke.
practitioner, who must be ranked higher, does this assessment. The necessity for this assessment is one reason most practitioners have teachers for life.

Besides the teachers' ranks, there are two honorable emblems: \textit{chamei} ("tea name") and \textit{monkyo} ("family emblem permission"). The former is a professional name authorized by the \textit{iemoto}. The name usually consists of two Chinese characters: The first one is the same as the first character of the \textit{iemoto}'s Buddhist name, and the second one is any character from one's given name. In the case of the three Sen schools, the first letter of the \textit{iemoto}'s Buddhist name is the same as that of Rikyu's Buddhist name. Therefore, Sen lay practitioners evoke their relationship with both the \textit{iemoto} and Rikyu whenever they use their professional names. The second emblem is the permission for practitioners to wear on their \textit{kimonos} the \textit{iemoto} family emblem. Thus, the two emblems would permit a Sen practitioner to bear the Sen family's authority acoustically and visually.

Most important, the major means of ascending the steps and assuming the authority of the \textit{iemoto} and Rikyu is discipline of body movement. All the \textit{temae} in the drill are about discipline of body movement and manipulation of utensils. Higher-level \textit{temae} use utensils of different kinds, shapes, sizes or values from those in lower-level \textit{temae}. The utensils are used according to increasingly complex rules of coordination and manipulation. In Urasenke's \textit{daitenmoku} in Step 3, for example, one puts the cup on a lacquered stand, and uses an ivory tea scoop and a cypress-wood fresh water container. The tea scoop is wiped in a different way from in lower \textit{temae}. In the highest \textit{temae} in Step 4, \textit{daien-no-shin}, one wipes utensils with a different, smaller silk cloth than in lower \textit{temae}, and wipes the tray differently from the next-lower \textit{temae}. Not only how to make tea but also surrounding manners must change according to each level. For example, beyond Step 2, one must put one hand on the
floor when opening the sliding door, and put two hands on the floor after offering utensils to the guests for closer view, to show increased politeness. In the highest temae, one walks three steps back when starting to carry out utensils after the performance; lower temae do not require this.

Thus, "higher-level" training means accumulation of different and more complex combinations of body movements. This is challenging, especially when pupils must learn temae only by "corporal memories", which inevitably entails a repetition by trial and error. Therefore, practitioners not uncommonly take decades to accomplish the drills. Such bodily discipline leads to mental control, for it requires repetitive practice which cannot be pursued without mental attitudes that can be phrased as "modesty", "perseverance" or, finally, "self-discipline".

To summarize, the tea ceremony, with temae in its very center, is a means of bodily discipline. Through bodily discipline, the tea ceremony at the same time encourages practitioners to achieve discipline of mind. The practitioners' reasons for learning temae first of all lie in the acquisition of this body-mind control. This can be followed by the display of disciplined body movement in settings more public than in front of one's teacher and colleague pupils. And, most importantly, all such activities are valued within the "permission" system of a certain school, which ranks practitioners according to their progress in the drill and their proximity to the iemoto's authority.
4.0 Introduction

Where there is discipline, there are discourses that legitimate it. The discourses and disciplined body-mind are in a reciprocal relationship: At the same time that the discourses authorize the disciplined body-mind, the body-mind reifies them. Thus, the body, a visible entity, constitutes an "embodiment" of the discourses.

In this chapter, I will discuss the discourses that legitimate temae and are embodied by practitioners performing temae. I will first examine how and why an act of making tea was developed into temae and thus became discipline. Then, I will elucidate what discourses were created to legitimate temae. First, I argue that temae was created and developed by nondominant social groups, who were eager to obtain cultural capital by learning a type of body-mind control that was associated with dominant groups. Second, I argue that in order to legitimate temae, the nondominant social groups created a set of myths that relate the tea ceremony to prominent historical figures and various metaphysics. All these figures and metaphysics constituted social and cultural authority, and therefore symbolic capital. Thus, through both a particular type of body-mind control and the myths that legitimate it, nondominant social groups could obtain cultural and symbolic capital.

Towards the end of the chapter, I will focus on the special relationship between women and temae, which came to be socially enforced in the late nineteenth century. In this relationship, women were encouraged to acquire body-mind control only so as to contribute to nationalism in the domestic sphere. In this milieu, women's practice of
temae was only minimally associated with metaphysics, and not with the tea ceremony's glorious ancestors. Yet, their status as practitioners of temae later qualified them as successors of all the tea ceremony's legacies.

4.1 The development of temae as discipline

4.1.1 The germ of temae in the mid-sixteenth century

General opinion considers that the tea ceremony in today's sense was created by wealthy merchants from the late fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century. At that time, privileged classes included the imperial family, aristocrats, aristocratic warriors and Shoguns (the office of head of warriors, which was initiated in the early twelfth century but had lost power by the late fifteenth century), while less privileged groups included lay warriors, merchants, artisans and peasants. These non-privileged classes were not hereditary, nor was there strict hierarchy among them, for the chaotic Warring States period (1467-1568) caused great social mobility.

The tea ceremony in today's sense was preceded by several kinds of tea drinking practices. Zen Buddhist priests and monks, who had been drinking tea for medical purposes since the thirteenth century, had collective manners of drinking tea as a part of their ascetic behavioral codes (shingi), introduced from China. Some aristocrats and wealthy warriors were enjoying tea in their luxurious banquets. The Shoguns had servants who served tea at their palaces. Commoners were able to get a cup of tea from tea vendors in town.\(^1\) Besides all these practices, however, a group of wealthy merchants in Kyoto or the prosperous port city Sakai (south of Osaka)

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\(^1\) For a thorough overview of the history of the tea ceremony, see Murai (1979) and Tanimata (1995).
developed a unique way of having tea. Out of love of somberness, they held gatherings for making and drinking tea in the settings called shichū no sankyo, or "mountainside residences in the city" (reported by a Jesuit missionary: Murai 1979, 139-142). The term referred to artificial humble huts built in their gardens amid the cities' bustle; Baudrillard (1990) would call these gardens a "simulacrum" of nature. Sen (no) Rikyu (1522-1591), the alleged establisher of today's tea ceremony, was one such merchant in Sakai.

The relationship between the merchants' and preceding tea-drinking practices is tangled: the former has both continuity and discontinuity with each of the latter. Yet, at least historians today consent that what we call the tea ceremony marked its advent in the merchants' gatherings. The criterion is the host's making tea in the presence of the guests. This condition, historically confirmed only for the merchants' gatherings, is crucial for the birth of temae. It is considered that the close gaze of an "audience" of guests on the host in a small space led to the gradual elaboration of the procedure of making tea into temae (Kumakura 1990, 222; Tanaka 1976, 186).

The newly established merchants' tea ceremony rapidly spread among warriors, especially due to the influence of two warriors. Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598), who respectively ruled the country one after the other in the late sixteenth century, replacing the powerless Shogun and thus putting an end to the Warring States period. Nobunaga was the son of a vassal warrior in a rural area; Hideyoshi was the son of peasants and a self-made warrior. Born relatively non-privileged and later obtaining power, both of them hired several wealthy merchants of Sakai, including Rikyu, as their tea ceremony instructors, in order to use the tea ceremony as a part of their political strategies. According to popular anecdotes, Nobunaga ordered landlord warriors nationwide to practice the tea
ceremony only under his permission. He also hunted out precious utensils from his vassals and then gave these utensils, instead of land, as rewards to high-achieving vassals. Hideyoshi, a former vassal of Nobunaga, performed temae to serve tea for the Emperor, and held large-scale chakai at Kitano Shrine in Kyoto, inviting people of all ranks; both acts manifested his dignity to the world.

Due to these two rulers, the tea ceremony became a cultural emblem of the warrior class in this period. In addition, Hideyoshi’s favoring Rikyu authorized Rikyu’s style and inventions as "standard". Some of the warriors who learned the tea ceremony from Rikyu established their own styles, which later developed into ryûha (schools) that have endured to this day.²

The tea ceremony was thus invented by people of new economic power and adopted by people of new political power, neither category being aristocrats. In one aspect, the tea ceremony for these new powers was a means of improving their sahô (manners or etiquette; see Chapter 3), paralleling the case of English gentlemen and the other Western bourgeoisie. Arditi points out that cravings to improve manners are strongest in the social groups “immediately below the dominant class” (Arditi 1998, 15). According to him, “[e]tiquette books are not written for the dominant classes, for whom knowledge of the infrastructure comes naturally... in... that they learn it from birth and that it indeed coincides with their daily experiences,” but they are written “by and for people who aspire to belong to and succeed among the dominant class” (Arditi 1998, 15).

² Such schools active today include Oribe school, Sansai-Ichio school and Uraku school.
4.1.2 "Mental control through bodily control" as an emblem of the dominant classes

The tea ceremony, however, is not only etiquette but also discipline (see Chapter 3). The myth relating the tea ceremony to Zen Buddhism, and thereby emphasizing mental control, already existed when Rikyu and other wealthy merchants created at least the germ of temae. In other words, people's wish to learn not only bodily but also mental control gave birth to the tea ceremony.

This wish may stem first from the Japanese way of thinking in general, which tends to identify body with mind more than the Western way of thinking does, and therefore to identify bodily control with mental control, as typified by the concept of sahō. The other possible reason these nondominant people wished to learn bodily and mental control is that this type of discipline was associated with the dominant classes, namely, aristocrats, (aristocratic) warriors and priests.

First, as Lebra puts it, "[g]enerally, aristocrats are distinguished from commoners by the maintenance of a wider gap between cultural control and natural proclivities. Aristocrats, for example, are supposed to be well regulated by cultural rules of decorum, inoculated against the unpredictable outbreak of natural drives" (Lebra 1993, 16). She illustrates, in her ethnography of contemporary descendants of former aristocratic families in Japan, how they as children learned to suppress emotions, even their affection to parents, at the same time as learning proper etiquette and speech (Lebra 1993, 243-256).

Such emphasis on mental control among aristocrats is not limited to Japanese examples. Mirabeau, a landed nobleman in late eighteenth-century France, being sarcastic about an increasing number of the middle-classes legitimating their imitation of the courtly-aristocrats' manners by invoking virtue (according to Mirabeau, "the mask of virtue"), says, "[C]ivilization does nothing for society if it does not give it both
the form and the substance of virtue" (Elias 1978, 38). Elias argues that Mirabeau "links the concept of civilization to the specific characteristics of the courtly aristocracy, with reason". Elias also points out that words civilisé, cultivé, poli or policé were "often used almost as synonyms, by which courtly people wished to designate... the specific quality of their own behavior, and by which they contrasted the refinement of their own social manners, their 'standard,' to the manners of simpler and socially inferior people" (Elias 1978, 38-39). In other words, the new middle-classes elaborated the concepts of "(formal) manners" or "etiquette" with the emphasis on form but not necessarily on virtues (see Chapter 3), while aristocrats maintained the difference between themselves and their mockers by emphasizing their ability of mental control.

Warriors in Japan also valued etiquette and mental control, amalgamated with the martial arts. Such an aristocratic characteristic probably stems from the aristocratic origin of the dominant warrior families. For example, the Minamoto (Genji) family, of imperial pedigree, created the Shogun's office in 1192 and thus heralded the warriors' era. The ranking of warrior families according to their aristocratic pedigree was a social norm thereafter: therefore, both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, who lacked such pedigree, were desperate to lay claim to aristocratic or imperial descent (Lebra 1993, 37-43).

It seems that normalization of body-mind control, that is, a kind of aristocratization, among warriors was a result of efforts made by Shoguns in various historical times. Ogasawara, one of the families that claimed Minamoto descent, played a major role in this process. Excelling in archery and riding, this family first taught them to the first Shogun. In the fourteenth century, when the Shogunate was under Ashikaga family (which also claimed Minamoto descent), Ogasawara
established warriors' behavioral codes, first as a part of the teaching of archery, under the Shogun's order. A contemporary descendant of the Ogasawara family, partly citing a novelist Shiba Ryōtarō, claims that the Shogun wished to establish such codes "in order to tame rough warriors", who had "neither the cultivation of aristocrats nor the asceticism of Zen priests" (Ogasawara 1972, 37). This statement suggests that the majority of warriors in the fourteenth century lacked the aristocratic ideal of body-mind control. In the seventeenth century, when the Shogunate was under Tokugawa family (which, again, claimed Minamoto descent), the Shogun legitimated Ogasawara's behavioral codes, and prohibited their being taught to commoners (Ogasawara 1967, 1972, 1975, 1999).

Today, the Ogasawara family calls its behavioral code reihō (the law of politeness), claiming that it consists of reigi and sahō: internalized behavioral norms and their external expressions, respectively (Ogasawara 1975, 2). The family also laments the popular misunderstanding of reigi-sahō as "something stiff, fixed and meaningless", due to, as the family argues, Edo townsmen's learning, abusing and remaking Ogasawara's reihō among themselves, despite the Shogun's prohibition (Ogasawara 1967, 14; 1999). Ogasawara's discourse, like Mirabeau's, emphasizes one's internal virtue or mind, which, the family claims, distinguishes its real teaching from commoners' mockery.

Last, mental control through bodily control is associated with the priesthood, as typified by shingi, (daily behavioral codes) in Zen Buddhist temples. The priesthood constituted an elite class in the feudal era, in both its non-worldly and worldly aspects. As a non-worldly class, it was a religious and scholarly authority, due to its frequent contact with China, the source of tremendous cultural influence on Japan, especially in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, when characters.
Confucianism and Buddhism were introduced from China to Japan. At the same time, using their non-worldly authority which bypassed worldly ranks, priests mingled with such dominant people as the Emperors, aristocrats, aristocratic warriors and the Shoguns as well as with nondominant classes. Through such relationship, priests accumulated not only intellectual and sacred but also material and secular wealth. No wonder, therefore, that nondominant classes wished to imitate the priesthood by acquiring mental control through bodily control in an attempt to raise their social reputations.

4.1.3 Institutionalization of temae in the mid-eighteenth century

The most drastic change in the history of temae as discipline took place in the mid-eighteenth century, when it was institutionalized in response to the demand from the rising urban middle class. It was the middle of the Edo period (1603-1867), a 264 years' rule by the Tokugawa Shogunate. The long, peaceful era not only aristocratized a great number of warriors but also inflated the number of wealthy middle-class townsmen. Both classes greatly increased the number of tea ceremony practitioners. A lot of schools diverged from the preexisting ones and developed their own styles, as identified today according to the era's rank system: "warriors' tea ceremony" (buke-chadō) or "commoners' tea ceremony" (chônin-chadō). The former refers to schools established by landlord warriors, which pervaded among warriors, including the Shogun.¹ The latter refers to schools established by sons and pupils of

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¹ The major two warriors' tea schools of this era were initiated by Enshū, who taught the third Shogun in the early 17th century, and Sekishū, who served the fifth Shogun in the late 17th century as a utensil advisor. Both schools claim their ultimate origin in Rikyu. Both schools still exist today.
Rikyu's grandson, which pervaded among wealthy townsmen, although these teachers often taught warriors too.¹

Unlike the preceding era, it was a time when plebeians were bound to a government-sanctioned rank system with warriors on top, merchants at the bottom, and peasants and artisans in the middle. As no mobility between classes was permitted, the ranks became "hereditary" in several generations. This social restriction made a great number of people from nondominant classes, especially merchants, rush into cultural activities such as the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, calligraphy or music. In these activities people could bypass their worldly ranks by having a pseudonym, being admired, or even being ranked higher than people of socially higher ranks, according to personal achievement (Nishiyama 1959, 135, 141, 468, 519).

This trend, along with the culminating nostalgia for Rikyu in the late seventeenth century, spotlighted the Sen family, the direct descendants of Rikyu, which by then had split into three schools teaching both commoners and warriors. Nishiyama argues that desire for authenticity and adoration of the Sen family were especially noticeable among merchants who often made a business trip to Kyoto, where the Sen family resided (Nishiyama 1959, 395-405).

As their popularity grew, the Sen family initiated a new administrative system called the iemoto system today.⁵ Prior to this system, tea ceremony teachers passed down not only licenses but also the rights to issue them to their pupils. This

¹ Examples of such schools which exist today are: the three Sen schools, Yôken-ryu school, Sôhen-ryu school, Matsuo school and Hisada school.

⁵ The word iemoto is seen in a 1718 document written by Yabunouchi school, which "personally" declares that the Sen family and Yabunouchi are the iemoto (Nishiyama 1959, 423, 507).
custom permitted numerous teachers to claim their status as founders of their own schools. The *iemoto* system prohibited it. Under this system, the Sen family monopolized the rights, and thus could maintain its authority. Thereafter, all the teachers around the country who were licensed by the Sen family became intermediaries between the Sen family and the lay pupils. In other words, the *iemoto* system allowed "expansive reproduction" of particular families' styles (Nishiyama 1959, 25-26, 119-150). Other tea ceremony schools, and families teaching other cultural activities, also adopted this system.

According to Nishiyama, the Sen family also established pedagogical methods around the same time as establishing the *iemoto* system. He argues that the family established the rules on which *temae* should be taught in what order, the prototype of today's drills (Nishiyama 1959: 429-32). Also, with the help of Fuhaku, head of Omotesenke's newly established Edo (later Tokyo) branch, the family invented seven game-style *temae* (*shichiji-shiki*) to teach a large number of pupils at one time. The new *temae* radically contrasted with traditional *temae*, which presupposed a small number of participants in a small space.

To summarize, the tea ceremony was institutionalized as a discipline for the masses in the mid-eighteenth century in response to the demand of new middle class. These people, who were relatively well-off but socially subordinate, wanted such discipline in order to associate themselves with the dominant classes, not only by improving their manners but also by learning mental control. Thus, the tea ceremony, born out of the same demand by the sixteenth-century commoners, developed greatly in the following centuries.
4.1.4 Completion of institutionalization of temae in the late nineteenth century

*Temae* was further institutionalized in the late nineteenth century, when the Tokugawa Shogunate was under both national and international pressures to end its rule. At that time, Gengensai, the *iemoto* of Urasenke School, collated the *temae* of his school and revised the drill to its present form. In 1858, he listed one thousand variations of *temae* and picked out 32, ordering them from the basic to the advanced (Kumakura 1980. 114-115). In addition, he created several new *temae*, including *wakin-date* (performance with Japanese cloth), as a token of his dedication of tea to the Emperor in 1866, a year before the end of the feudal era (Kumakura 1980. 112-114).

Such institutionalization of *temae* must have been a part of the *iemoto's* preparation for the coming era. By that time, the three Sen family's schools were each salaried by particular *daimyo*, or landlord warriors, at the same time as teaching commoners. This fixed patronage by warriors entitled the Sen family to warrior rank (*shizoku*), and increased its authority. In the new era, however, warriors' authority would no more be reliable, and the school would have to emphasize its own utility and authority to the public. For this purpose, further institutionalization of *temae* as discipline must have been necessary. Another strategy for the *iemoto's* survival in the new era consisted of borrowing authority from other traditional authorities.

4.2. The creation of myths

4.2.1 The body embodying myths

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, body-mind discipline and discourses that legitimate it are in a reciprocal relationship. While the discourses legitimate discipline, the disciplined body-mind reifies the discourses; body especially, a visible entity, provides the first material needed to reify the discourses.
Bourdieu (1990) pointed out the body's significance for such discourses in his discussion on how the socio-political power is exerted first and foremost upon the body, so that the naturalness of the power's dominance becomes belief in people's minds. According to Bourdieu, "[p]ractical belief is not a 'state of mind'... but rather a state of the body" (Bourdieu 1990, 68), and "[b]odily hexis is political mythology realized. embodied, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, and thereby of feeling and thinking" (1990, 69). Bourdieu uses the term "mythology" as interchangeable with "belief", and by the two words he means discourses necessary for certain social groups to dominate the others. Examples of bodily imperatives which Bourdieu argues embody certain political mythology are: "Sit up straight", "Don't hold your knife in your left hand", and that Kabyle men walk straight and move upwards and outwards, while the women walk with a slight stoop and move downwards and inwards (Bourdieu 1990, 69-71). He argues that the Kabyle example manifests the belief in the superiority of men over women. Although he does not clarify what mythology the first two examples embody, they can manifest the belief in the superiority of the upper middle class over lower classes.

Whether where there is discipline there are certain discourses, or what Bourdieu calls belief or mythology, one may well wonder: What discourses/beliefs/mythology legitimate *temae*? This question means at the same time: What discourses/beliefs/mythology are reified, or manifested, through bodies performing *temae*?

One possible answer is that *temae* reifies the morals and virtues of certain

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6 Although discussing the same topic as Foucault, Bourdieu seems more explicit than Foucault in delineating power as some external agent controlling people.
philosophical schools or religions, like the body movement of "rituals", by which I mean "religions rites". As it is extremely difficult to categorize Asian metaphysics by Western concepts of "religion" and "philosophy", my use of the word "rituals" here includes "rites of philosophy" as well.\footnote{For example, Confucianism is more a philosophy (or ethics) than a religion, although to some it is a religion, while Taoism is a religion which was once a philosophy (or ethics). Buddhism is generally considered as a religion and Zen Buddhism as its sect. However, a Japanese anthropologist argues that at least in Japan Buddhism was not considered as "religion" until the late nineteenth century, when Western concepts of religion prevailed: before that time the popular name of Buddhism was "the law of Buddha" (buppo) (Suzuki Masatata 1998, personal communication). In this thesis, however, I will consider Buddhism as a religion, for simplicity of discussion.} Discourses that support this assumption abound, though their scopes are not limited to temae but often "the tea ceremony" as a whole. According to the iemoto cited in Chapter 3, the training of body through temae leads to Confucian virtues. The historian Nagashima claims that the -dō ("way") syllable of the Japanese word for the tea ceremony, sadō/chedō (literally "way of tea"), indicates an asceticism derived from Confucianism and Zen Buddhism (Nagashima 1980, 99, 116). Okakura (1980, 35-52), on the other hand, locates the theoretical ground of the tea ceremony in Taoism and Zen Buddhism, which he claims are opposed to Confucianism and orthodox Buddhism respectively. During my field research, a teacher explained to me how the practice of the tea ceremony taught the teaching of Buddha, and two teachers showed their special inclination to Zen Buddhism, while no one explained the ceremony in terms of Confucianism or Taoism.

In general, today's least-challenged discourse states that the tea ceremony embodies certain elements of Zen Buddhism. The strongest variant of this discourse claims that practice of the tea ceremony is identical with the practice of Zen Buddhism (e.g. Sen Sōshitsu 1979, 61). Weaker versions argue that the tea ceremony was
affected by, or has been seeking its spiritual ground in, Zen Buddhism (e.g. Kumakura 1997, 365-367).

Such discourses easily prevailed among Europeans and Americans, including anthropologists, who, struck and puzzled by the ceremony's extreme formality and apparent solemnity, apparently equivalent to those of Western/Christian rituals, have interpreted the tea ceremony with such concepts as "tea ritual", "tea cult" or "tea ceremony". An anthropological work by Kondo (1985), for example, begins with the passage: "The tea ceremony presents a unique challenge to the anthropologist, for the essence of tea and of Zen is said to elude logical, discursive analysis" (Kondo 1985, 286): in this work, she unquestioningly juxtaposes the tea ceremony and Zen Buddhism, repeatedly using the term "ritual". Such views treat the tea ceremony as a ritual of Zen Buddhism, where temae exist in order to reify or embody the teaching of the Buddhist denomination. Temae thus form a counterpart of the body movement of Catholic priests, who raise their arms holding a goblet to commemorate the movement of the religion's founder, and thereby to reify his teaching.9

I argue, however, that the tea ceremony is not a ritual of Zen Buddhism, or of any religion or philosophy. One cannot see it as a ritual except in an analogical sense, 

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8 Some of the earliest examples of the use of the terms by Western writers are: "tea ceremony" in 1882 (Dickson); "tea cult" in 1933 (W. de Moraes "O Culto do Cha") (Kumakura 1980, 356-357). These translations, however, do not psychologically fit the native Japanese speakers-tea ceremony practitioners' view of their practice. When I told two pupils that the popular English translation of sadō was "tea ceremony", both showed their surprise, saying unanimously, "I have never thought that o-cha ("tea", a colloquial expression for sadō) was a ceremony". I myself was surprised to first find this translation. 9 Kaeppler (1999) points out that "[r]itual has been of special interest to many anthropologists, but the movement element of ritual has seldom been the focus of interest" (22). Zuesse (1975) and Grimes (1975) cited in Doty (1986, 119-120) are significant works in pointing out the indispensability, or even superiority, of ritual gestures to myth (or, of bodily experience to talk).
for three reasons. First, it was created by merchants and developed by lay people aside from existing Zen temples. Historians have often claimed that these lay people were Zen Buddhists; even so, this does not mean that they created the tea ceremony in order to manifest Zen Buddhist belief. They could have fully manifested their piety through their activities at temples, without necessarily creating the tea ceremony. Indeed, not a single person I met during my field research said s/he practiced the tea ceremony because s/he was a (Zen) Buddhist, or a Confucian or Taoist.

Second, what European and American researchers examine and name the “tea ritual” (or “tea cult” or “tea ceremony”) is almost always chaji, which, as discussed in Chapter 3, plays a small role in most tea ceremony practitioners’ life today. The researchers completely ignore the reality that a great number of present-day practitioners have no chances or desire to attend chaji, while still having a strong commitment to disciplining their body movement in keiko. Keiko, much less structured than chaji, hardly gives the impression of a “religious rite”. Besides, keiko can take place in the secular spacio-temporal contexts, for instance at community centers or culture centers, as one of the choices among such activities as aerobics, karaoke, baking or patchwork.

Third, there are many, mutually contradictory arguments on what belief the supposed "ritual" is for. An “anthropological” work by Anderson (1987) titled “Japanese Tea Ritual: Religion in Practice” not only erases the theoretical contradictions between Shintoism, Taoism, Confucianism and Zen Buddhism, which she claims are all practiced through the tea ceremony, but also fails to

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10 While being aware of other forms of practice such as chakai and keiko, both Kondo (1985) and Anderson (1987) purposefully choose chaji for their structuralist analyses.
anthropologically, that is, critically, examine such blurry statement by a *iemoto* as “Tea is the practice or realization of religious faith, *no matter what you believe in*” (Anderson 1987, 495; emphasis added).

To specify what religion(s) the tea ceremony is actually for is not the purpose of this thesis. Instead, I claim that practitioners' bodies performing *temae* reify a set of myths that relate the tea ceremony to various prominent historical figures and to metaphysics. Here "myths" means generally accepted beliefs on which true-false judgement does not make sense. This use of the term shares the core point with Barthes' "myth" or "mythical speech" (1957/1990), meaning a type of speech or a value that is "neither a lie nor a confession" and which turns the historical and intentional to nature (Barthes 1957/1990. 124. 129). Bourdieu's "belief" or "mythology" seems to have the same connotation.

What I call "myths" here are certain historical propositions that repeatedly appear in tea ceremony practitioners' discourses, for example, "Shogun Yoshimasa practiced the tea ceremony" or "Merchants who founded the tea ceremony were Zen Buddhists". All of them can be rephrased in a single formula, "The tea ceremony is historically related to X". And for X, one can substitute various historical figures with political, economic, religious or cultural powers and authorities, and various metaphysics, be they Buddhism, Shintoism, Taoism or Confucianism. All these figures and metaphysics are considered to have "traditional authority" in

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11 To be exact, Barthes' "myth" refers to a certain *system* which produces beliefs, rather than beliefs themselves; "Myth... *is a second-order semiological system*" (Barthes 1957/1990, 114). The beliefs produced, which are in Bourdieu's term "mythology", are called "mythical speech" by Barthes (1957/1990, 115). Yet, when Barthes says "Myth is a type of speech" (1957/1990, 109) or "Myth is a value, truth is not guaranteed for it" (1957/1990, 123), "myth" seems interchangeable with "mythical speech".
contemporary society. In "traditional authority", the past and the present join. The continuum becomes especially visible when descendants of some historical figures or some religious institutions are still alive or active, for example the imperial family, the descendants of former aristocrat families, the Tokugawa family, the Sen family, or historic temples and shrines.

I call certain crucial historical propositions that legitimate temae "myths" for three reasons. First, historical studies of the tea ceremony in modern times owe much to the writings of tea ceremony practitioners in previous historical periods, whose intention was to transmit the teaching of preceding tea masters rather than to file historical facts. These writings can contain distortion, exaggeration or fiction. Yet, not only practitioners but also historians of the tea ceremony have used them writings as historical data.\footnote{The long-neglected question on the difference between the interest of tea ceremony practitioners and that of researchers in history was illuminated only recently by Tanaka Hidetaka (1993).} In this situation, the historians' works are not attempts to reconstruct the past—the best possible accurate rebuilding of the past events—but representation of the past. According to Hutcheon, "representation is always alteration, be it in language or in images, and it always has its politics" (Hutcheon 1989, 92). She maintains that representation-alteration is unavoidable in our acquisition of historical knowledge (1989, 54), and accentuates the parallelism between history-writing and fiction-writing (1989, 75).\footnote{To argue like Hutcheon that all historical writings are representation or alteration is, however, not in the scope of this thesis. Nor is it in its scope to claim that all the propositions on the history of the tea ceremony are alteration. My discussion focuses on certain crucial propositions the tea ceremony's past which legitimate people's physical and discursive practice of the tea ceremony today.} Therefore, it is meaningless to discuss what part of such "alteration" is to what extent "true" or "false".
Hutcheon's stance seems especially useful in discussing the historical discourses of the tea ceremony.

Second, historians' new findings that contradict established discourses do not actually challenge them, even if modify them. Regardless of academic findings, the iemoto incessantly reproduce and popularize among lay practitioners certain discourses that would maintain the institution. In other words, "popular beliefs" are reproduced by the iemoto at different level from that of academics, because, after all, historians and tea ceremony practitioners have different interests in the past of the tea ceremony. Sometimes this dichotomy itself becomes nonsense in a unique Japanese academic-cultural milieu, where historians of the tea ceremony work more often than not for the iemoto in return for the access to school-owned archives. Sometimes researchers are tea ceremony practitioners themselves. In this situation, it is almost impossible to judge whose discourses are more objective or closer to the "truth".

Third, the propositions in question are endlessly ambiguous. In other words, their truthfulness depends on the redefinition of endless details. For instance, to the proposition "Merchants who founded the tea ceremony were Zen Buddhists", what are the criteria of being a Zen Buddhist? Making frequent contact with temples? But how can one prove that their act was out of "pure" piety? And what is "pure" piety?

After all, the propositions are "myths" because, despite their never-guaranteed truth, they legitimate, give meanings to, or guarantee the values of, bodily discipline through temae and surrounding activities. The following sections sketch how the various myths legitimating temae have been created and accumulated in the course of time. I give special attention to what Barthes calls "historical" and "intentional", that is, what intentions of which social groups in specific historical periods were behind the development of myths, and why.
4.2.2. The birth of the myths in the late sixteenth century

The first tea ceremony myth was created in the late sixteenth century, when Rikyu was still alive. Sōji, a merchant from Sakai and pupil of Rikyu, maintained in his book (allegedly written in 1588) the relationship of the tea ceremony with a fifteenth-century Shogun and with Zen Buddhism.14

Besides praising his teacher Rikyu as “master” (meijin), Sōji spotlights a townsman in the preceding century named Shukō. Sōji claims that Shukō founded the tea ceremony, and that he taught the tea ceremony to Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436-1490). Sōji also maintains that Shukō, as well as Rikyu’s teacher Jōwō and Rikyu, all fall in the same aesthetic lineage in love of somberness and small space. Another major argument of Sōji is that the tea ceremony came from Zen Buddhism, and that Shukō, Jōwō and Rikyu were all Zen Buddhists.

Today, most historians doubt such achievements by Shukō. As a mainstream encyclopedia of the tea ceremony puts it, “most of Shukō’s believed career does not have documentary evidence, and one must say almost nothing is certain (about him) at this moment”.15 Even if one admits the existence of a merchant named Shukō, for example, Shukō’s relationship with Shogun Yoshimasa is still questionable. The year that Shukō was purportedly introduced to the Shogun contradicts other historical documents, which indicate that Nōami, a servant of the Shogun who Sōji alleges to have introduced Shukō to the Shogun, was already dead by then (Nagashima 1980, 57). One can also point out the unlikelihood of Shukō’s relationship with Jōwō. Rikyu's

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14 Of course one could suspect that this “1588 book” was itself forged in a much later period, as Tanaka (1993, 48) suggests.
15 Kadokawa, s.v. “Shukō.”
teacher, because Jôwô was born in the presumed year of Shukô's death.

Moreover, one can question the relationship of Shukô, Jôwô, Rikyu and other townsmen with Zen Buddhism. Historical documents contain evidence that a person named Shukô undertook Zen Buddhist training, and that he could have had a relationship with Daitokuji, a Zen Buddhist temple in Kyoto which later attracted wealthy merchants, including Rikyu and his teacher. Yet "having some relationship" with Zen Buddhist temples from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries does not necessarily indicate more piety than wish for social status, much less that the tea ceremony came from Zen Buddhism. Tanaka Hiromi (1999), for example, examines a reciprocal relationship between Daitokuji Temple (and its Sakai branch) and wealthy townsmen in Sakai. The temple, which was facing financial difficulties due to political struggles with other, higher-ranking Zen temples, gave seminars and "enlightened" lay townsmen for money, while the townsmen appreciated the dignity the temple gave them (Tanaka Hiromi 1999, 277-279). As Tanaka Hiromi puts it, "it is no wonder for people who have become affluent to aspire to ascend (social) ladders": Daitokuji provided such ambitious merchants with an ideal means of fulfilling their aspirations, unlike other higher-ranking, exclusive Zen temples that were patronized by the Shogun (Tanaka Hiromi 1999, 279).

I do not argue that these townsmen were simply vain, money-oriented people. Tanaka Hiromi reads a serious and ascetic attitude among those Zen-oriented townsmen-tea ceremony practitioners from the diary of one of them (1999, 290). Yet, such an ascetic attitude does not necessarily mean that the townsmen created the germ of temae primarily to manifest their piety. Rather, one could suspect that their invention of the tea ceremony and attending enlightenment seminars both derived from the same motive: their wish for the acquisition of body-mind control, and thereby
social status. Therefore, Sōji's mythmaking intended to combine the merchants' tea ceremony with the authority of the Shogun and of Zen Buddhism—secular and sacred authorities at the same time.

Despite their groundlessness, the discourses about Shukō, Shogun Yoshimasa and Zen Buddhism are indispensable to the discourses of tea ceremony practitioners today (for example, Sen Sōshitsu 1979, 1998). In academia, too, "it seems impossible to write history of the tea ceremony without citing or mentioning 'Yamanoue-no-Sōji ki' (Sōji's book) in one way or another" (Tanaka Hidetaka 1993, 36).

4.2.3 Towards the myths of Rikyu in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

Many of the seeds scattered by Sōji bloomed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Once the Tokugawa family reestablished the Shogunate in 1603 and initiated the centralized and hierarchical rule, warriors' and townsmen's adoration of Shogun culminated. Accordingly, seventeenth-century textbooks of the tea ceremony inflamed the myths of the fifteenth-century Shogun Yoshimasa's engagement in the tea ceremony (although Yoshimasa was not from the Tokugawa but the Ashikaga family). They wrote, for instance, "The tea ceremony originated in the Ashikaga family"16; "One should decorate one's teacher-priest's calligraphy on the alcove, as Shogun Yoshimasa decided."17 In the middle of the seventeenth century, due to the discovery of an "old document" on how Yoshimasa decorated his tearoom, Yoshimasa's small study room in his palace became claimed as the oldest tearoom,

16 From Senrin, allegedly published in 1614, but presumably in the late seventeenth century (Nagashima 1980, 93).
17 From Sōjinboku, the first wood-printed textbook of the tea ceremony published in 1626 (Nagashima 1980, 111).
although today some researchers consider the document a forgery.18 In short, the wish of a great number of new aristocratized warriors and middle-class townsmen to relate themselves to the Shogun through their practice of the tea ceremony, but fearing to transgress the politeness by associating themselves directly to the current Shogun, elaborated the myth of the past Shogun.

Another myth inflated in the seventeenth century was that the tea ceremony is related to Confucianism. Reflecting the ethical fashion promoted by the hierarchical warrior government, a textbook of the tea ceremony emphasized Confucian ethics while ignoring Zen Buddhism (Nagashima 1980, 96).

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, however, nostalgia for Rikyu replaced that for Shogun Yoshimasa. In 1690, the year of the hundredth anniversary of Rikyu’s death, Jitsuzan, a vassal of a landlord warrior, edited seven volumes of allegedly secret teachings by Rikyu. Jitsuzan claimed that these volumes, titled Nanbôroku, were the dictation of Rikyu’s words by a Zen-Buddhist priest who was Rikyu’s pupil. He maintained that these volumes had lain unknown to the world but were discovered just in time for this anniversary “by chance”. The existence of the Zen priest lacks evidence, and the descriptions contain contradictions to other historical findings, as in the case of Sôji’s book. Yet, Nanbôroku played a crucial role in further legitimating the tea ceremony with metaphysics.

First, Nanbôroku explained the structure of tearooms in an extremely

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18 This document, Okazari-sho (The manual of decoration), which appeared in 1660, is alleged to have been written in 1523 by an art and tea advisor of Shogun Yoshimasa (Nagashima 1980, 61). Another manual of decoration prevailed in the Edo period, Kundaikan sóchôki, is also alleged to have been written by art and tea advisors of Shogun Yoshimasa and his family. However, the manual’s original version has not been found, but there only exist its transcriptions or revised versions (Kadokawa, s.v. “Kundaikan sóchôki”).
complicated way, with yin-yang and Chinese *gogyō* (the theory of the five elements of universe). In addition, the book not only depicted Rikyu as a teacher-superior to a Zen priest, but also read as if Rikyu asserted his own transcendence, as seen in the following "Rikyu's words":

I am grieving over the tea ceremony's future, for pupils today are already forgetting about the profound aesthetics of somberness I established.... But perhaps I am grieving too much, for even the teachings of Buddha and the saints usually suffer rise and fall. I will definitely be a guardian god of the tea ceremony, with the help of Buddha. (Tachibana 1690/1981, 235-237)

Rediscovered and reevaluated around the turn of the twentieth century, *Nanbōroku* is now classic. Even after severe criticism as "fiction" in the 1950s, the volumes are still most cited references along with Sōji's writing, in advocating the religiousness of the tea ceremony (for example, Sen Sōshitsu 1988).

Nostalgia for Rikyu in the Edo period also brought *Rikyu-dō* (Rikyu's mausoleum) into shape. In 1690, the year of the hundredth anniversary of Rikyu's death, Sensō, the great-grandson of Rikyu and the founder of Urasenke school, built a shrine with a statue of Rikyu carved by a Buddhist statue carver. In Omotesenke, Nyoshinsai, the Sen descendant known for establishing the *iemoto* system and the prototype of drills of *temae* (see 4.1.3), built Rikyu's mausoleum in the mid-eighteenth century. After loss by fire, both shrine and mausoleum were rebuilt and joined by the mausoleum of Mushanokōjisenke. These constructions have facilitated tea ceremony practitioners' perception of Rikyu as "the one and only great tea master", which was reemphasized after World War II (see Chapter 5).
4.2.4 More myths: Defending the tea ceremony as “tradition” after 1868

The tea ceremony gained more myths of its relationship with traditional authority in early modern times. After the Meiji Restoration ended the Shogunate, the new government (1868-1912) promoted the modernization and Westernization of Japan. The Meiji Restoration was a time of drastic social change, during which political power passed from the Shogun back to the Emperor, the feudal rank system was banned, and the new government sought to create a nation-state to compete with the West. The Meiji government introduced political, judicial, economic, and educational systems from the West under the slogan of wakon-yōsai, or “Japanese spirit, Western technique”. Consequently, traditional Japanese culture, including the tea ceremony, came to be despised as obsolete and useless, and suffered a great loss of practitioners.

In 1872, Gengensai, the iemoto of Urasenke, submitted a written protest to the local government of Kyoto, which attempted to brand all the iemoto of traditional cultural activities as “money makers out of amusement” (yuigei kaseginin) and to levy a tax on them. In the protest, the headmaster championed the tea ceremony as a means of nurturing numerous virtues valued at that time: Confucian morals, thrift, conformity to one’s position, diligence in family business, gratitude to the Emperor for his peaceful ruling, and so on (Kumakura 1980, 116).

The Sen family also made great efforts to re-dignify the tea ceremony by emphasizing its relationship with the Emperor and religious institutions. First, towards the late Edo period, in addition to strengthening his family’s tie with aristocratic families, Gengensai dedicated tea to the Emperor at the palace. He had requested from the imperial palace the permission to perform this event many times in advance, mentioning the examples of his ancestors’ dedication of tea to emperors.
When the event was realized, he created special *temae* using the cloth given by the Emperor in the occasion (see 4.1.4). Gengensai, however, claimed that this *temae* was Rikyu's creation and that he just "revived" it (Kumakura 1980, 113-114).

Second, the Sen family initiated and popularized the spectacle called "dedication of tea" (*kencha* or *kucha*) at Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples after the Meiji Restoration. Right after the Meiji Restoration, shrines were under special protection and control by the government while temples were destroyed, due to the governmental policy to remake Shintoism as the state religion that enforced Imperialism. The destructive movements against Buddhism declined, however, around 1871.19

"The dedication of tea" is supposed to have been initiated by the *iemoto* of Omotesenke school in 1880 at Kitano Shrine in Kyoto, which is famous for the sixteenth-century warrior Hideyoshi's *chakai*. In the next decades, it was followed by numerous similar spectacles at shrines and temples. Although tea had been dedicated to the sacred in religious sites privately in the preceding eras, "dedication of tea" in an open space where an audience could watch the *iemoto's* performance of *temae* was unprecedented (Kumakura 1980, 164-5).20 In that the *iemoto* developed an unprecedented way to manifest its relationship with century-old authorities, the spectacle is what Hobsbawm would call "invention of tradition" (1983, 4). Yet, "re-invention" seems more exact word here, since the dedication of tea itself was not totally new.

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19 *Japan*, s.v. "haibutsu kishaku."
20 Some assume that serving tea to the people who gathered for spectacles eventually turned into *chakai* today, while others consider the large tea ceremony gatherings of modern industrialists led to it.
The efforts the iemoto made were rewarded at the turn of the twentieth century, when Japan's successive victories in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) enshrined nationalism. This trend led the general public to reevaluate "traditional" culture, and the tea ceremony came to be valued as a part of it. In 1923, Komiya Toyotaka, a scholar of Japanese literature, called the tea ceremony “traditional art” (dentô-geijutsu) along with flower arrangement, wood printing, old music, kabuki, nó, palace music, and haiku (Tanaka Hidetaka 1999, 151). Reflecting the public nostalgia for the past, Tanaka Sensho, a nationalistic tea master who founded his own tea ceremony school Dai Nihon Chadô Gakkai in 1898, rediscovered the late seventeenth-century volumes of Nanbôroku and championed their crucial values to the tea ceremony. He also maintained the identicality of the tea ceremony and Zen Buddhism.

The emergence of modern industrialists was also appropriately timely. In the process of modernization, a group of industrialists established corporations in diverse businesses, including trading, banking, insurance, heavy industry, forestry, brewery, railway or newspaper. Some of them established industrial and financial combines called zaibatsu.21 In the years following the Meiji Restoration, when traditional Japanese culture had fallen out of fashion, these businessmen had collected antiques, including tea utensils. To them, many of whom were from relatively poor families, tea utensils symbolized the wealth of the feudal regime and were emblems of their new social standing in the modern era (Kumakura 1980, 164, 193, 247), as was the tea ceremony for commoners in the preceding eras.

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21 Although zaibatsu were deconstructed in the reformation after World War II, former zaibatsu companies such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi or Sumitomo still remain as amalgamated business organizations.
One of the best examples of such business people is Masuda Don’ô (Takashi). Born as a son of a local official in the late Edo period, he became a leader of Mitsui zaibatsu. He was known as an enthusiastic antique collector and organizer of huge gatherings of members of the elite for the tea ceremony to exhibit his collection. This socially exclusive chakai of well-off people named Daishi-kai still continues today (see Chapter 8).

The industrialists' interest was mostly in utensils and in holding chakai for exhibiting their collections, and they virtually defied the iemoto's authority. According to Toda (1985, 144), these business people were inclined to consult utensil dealers rather than the iemoto about utensil coordination or temae. Toda (1999, 4) also describes a businessman who learned temae from the iemoto of Omotesenke, then switched to Urasenke. Because of their minimal respect for the iemoto system and temae, such business people are today not counted as proper tea ceremony practitioners. Therefore, instead of being called "tea ceremony practitioners" (chajin), they are put into a special category called "tea ceremony lovers" (sukisha).

These wealthy business people, however, made a great contribution in adding myths to the tea ceremony. First, their use of antiques, which were once possessions of various powers and authorities in various historical times in the past, in their chakai created indexicality between the tea ceremony and powers that were not necessarily related to the tea ceremony. For example, calligraphy by a tenth-century aristocrat and poet, Fujiwara no Kintô, was divided among industrialists and reformed into hanging scrolls in 1929 (Tankô-sha 1997, 75). Decorating the alcove with such scrolls during chakai creates indexicality between the tea ceremony and the old aristocrat, who had no actual relationship with the tea ceremony. Second, the industrialists themselves created a new myth—that the tea ceremony is related to...
great economic power in early modern times—which was to attract a lot of people, both men and women, to the tea ceremony after World War II.

4.3 Feminization of the tea ceremony

4.3.0 Introduction

As we have seen so far, institutionalization of *temae* and legitimization of *temae* by myths are two wheels that have driven the tea ceremony. In this final section, I will focus on *temae*’s special relationship with women that started in early modern times. Around the turn of the twentieth century, body-mind control through *temae* was feminized. Teaching *temae* to women, however, did not refer to most myths of glorious historical figures. The myths, meanwhile, were preserved in utensils and antiques owned by men. Although discipline detached from myths constituted initially a means of subjecting women to male-dominant, nationalistic-militaristic society, women themselves gradually turned it to a means of empowering themselves in their own way.

4.3.1 Rediscovery of *temae* as *sahō* for young women

The greatest factor that revived the tea ceremony in modern times was its prevalence among women. Unlike the industrialists, who paid minimum respect to learning *temae* and to the *iemoto*, women after 1868 constituted, first and foremost, learners of *temae*, and therefore supporters of the *iemoto* system.

Historians have attributed this “feminization of the tea ceremony” to the rediscovery of *temae* as *sahō* for young women before marriage. As it was all about body-mind control and nothing more, *temae* for women around this time usually did not refer to the myths of the Shogun, Rikyu, Nobunaga or Hideyoshi, and there was
minimum reference to Confucianism or Zen Buddhism, only enough to encourage women's docility. In this sense, it was a different type of discipline from that for the commoners in the preceding eras.

The context in which temae as sahó was introduced to girls' education will eloquently tell the discipline's objective. In the Meiji period, the course of shūshin, or Confucian moral training, was introduced to both boys' and girls' school curriculums. Yet, sahó was introduced as a part of the moral training only in the girls' school curriculum. And temae was introduced at some girls' schools as a part of, or a substitute for, sahó courses. This context indicates that temae as sahó was a socio-political imposition of discipline on women's bodies, that is, more social surveillance of women's bodies, including their movement, and more social expectation of women's docility than of men's, which some feminists have discussed (e.g. Bartky 1988).

It was mainly women educators who detached temae from myths and introduced the former to the girls' school curriculum. Despite taking place out of the era's socio-political demand, the detachment led to educated male criticism of the women's tea ceremony for its "superficiality". One of the earliest examples of such criticism is a 1929 writing by the academic Takahashi Tatsuo, who chagrined that the tea ceremony "has now become an amusement for unoccupied people or for women [to my regret]" (cited in Tanaka Hidetaka 1999, 146). (I have already introduced contemporary successors of this criticism in Chapter 1.) Yet, survival of the iemoto system would not have been possible without preservation and transmission of temae through innumerable women's bodies. Moreover, re-amalgamation of temae and myths after World War II was possible only because temae had been preserved among women.

The history of the tea ceremony for women is quite different from that for men.
In the feudal era, opportunities for women to participate in the tea ceremony were severely limited. The scarcity of archival findings on tea ceremony practice by women before 1868 suggests, along with the marginality of the topic in studies of the tea ceremony, that women did not officially participate in the tea ceremony.

According to Yabunouchi school records, for example, only 25 out of the school's 1,578 recruits between 1802 and 1879 were women; in the Edo period (that is, before 1868), the number of female recruits was only 15 out of 1,384 (Nishiyama 1971, 353). In the mid-eighteenth century Fuhaku, the head of the Tokyo branch of Omotesenke School, forbade women from attending the tea ceremony as one of his five prohibitions (Nishiyama 1959, 400-401). Some aristocratic women, female servants of high-ranking warriors, and tayû (professional entertainers for high-class men) were among those few women who are supposed to have practiced the tea ceremony in the middle of the Edo period (Nishiyama 1998, personal communication; Kagotani 1985). This is not surprising given that a warrior society had been dominant since the early twentieth century; even if non-warriors shared in certain aspects of the culture, it was difficult for women to break into what was clearly male territory.

In the late Edo period, however, some upper-middle-class young women studied the tea ceremony at temples, many of which served as schools for commoners, or with private tutors (Kagotani 1985, 176, 209; Shirane 1999, 410). Often taught by female teachers, the tea ceremony by and for women began to develop its own genre. Although women's tea ceremony did not have official discourses (no texts survive), one can assume that it was opened to young women to teach them the manners associated with femininity and domesticity, in line with a woman's role as a compliant wife and daughter-in-law for her husband and his parents.

Such ideals of femininity and domesticity are clearly depicted in Onna-
daigaku (Great Lessons for women), the most famous women's moral textbook with a Confucian standpoint, published in 1716 and used to educate young women in warrior families and affluent commoner families at home or at temple-schools (Koyama 1991, 14-15). In part it reads, "Sew, and prepare meals for your parents-in-law. Fold clothes, sweep the floor, raise children and clean yourself for your husband. Stay at home. You shall not go out casually" (Hirahara 1943, 26).

After the 1868 Meiji Restoration, the government-directed modernization and Westernization devalued traditional Japanese culture, including the tea ceremony. The women’s tea ceremony, however, was introduced into official sahó courses in some girls’ schools established after the 1872 Education Law. Before the 1868 Meiji Restoration, education varied greatly according to class and gender. The 1872 Education Law declared the necessity of education regardless of gender or former feudal rank. Yet girls' education continued to emphasize domestic training, as it had in the feudal era.

The founders of the girls’ schools were often female educators, as were the teachers of the tea ceremony at the schools. It is true that women’s education did not actually take hold for the first three decades of the post-feudal period. In 1892, 20 years after the enactment of the Education Law, only 37% of girls, in contrast to 72% of boys, attended elementary schools. It was after 1899 that women's education (as future wives and mothers) was promoted on the state level (Koyama 1991, 41-42). It is also true that in the majority of the girls’ schools, sahó courses referred to the Ogasawara family’s manners legitimated by Shoguns in the preceding era, which did not include study of the tea ceremony.  

Yet what happened at some schools

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22 The Ogasawara family itself, however, argues that many of such sahó taught at girls’
indicates that *temae* gained official status as etiquette, especially for women, in the new institutions of the Meiji era.

Symbolically enough, in Kyoto prefecture in 1872, the year the local government tried unsuccessfully to brand the Sen family "money makers out of amusement", the tea ceremony was introduced to the curriculum of a newly founded girls' school, which later became a public school run by the prefecture (Kumakura 1980, 116; 1997, 104; Tsutsui 1997, 104). The principal of the school was a woman educator, Nijima Yaeko, and the teacher of the tea ceremony course was Shinjōin, the mother of the *iemon* of Urasenke (Tsutsui 1997, 104). Thus, to compensate for the great loss of (male) pupils after the Meiji Restoration, the Sen family had opened its doors to women.

More than a few girls' schools followed this pattern over the next decades. In some cases the tea ceremony was a substitute for a *sahō* course, while in other cases it was included in the *sahō* course. Atomi-Gakuen Girls' School in Tokyo, for example, introduced the tea ceremony as a substitute for the *sahō* course. Meanwhile, at Kazoku Jogakkō in Tokyo, the tea ceremony was juxtaposed with *ryūrei* (propriety sitting on Western chairs), *zarei* (propriety sitting on *tatami* mats), and flower arrangement, under the general course title of "learning propriety" (*shūrei*) (Kumakura 1980, 298-304). The association of the tea ceremony with domesticity in general is symbolized by the curriculum of Kyōritsu Joshi Shokugyō Gakkō in Tokyo, which included the tea ceremony with cooking and sewing under the name "domestic training program" (Kumakura 1980, 298-304).

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schools under the name of Ogasawara were in fact the invention of Edo townsman (Ogasawara 1999).
How the educators valued the tea ceremony as *sahô* is clearly presented in the following statement by Atomi Kakei, the woman who founded Atomi-Gakuen Girls' School in 1875: “These days girls' schools teach *sahô*, which pupils do not seem to utilize in their daily life. I think the tea ceremony is better than *sahô*.” She attributes this idea to her belief that tea ceremony practitioners know where in the room to sit as a guest, how to sit, and how to manage utensils properly (Kumakura 1980, 299-300). Okuda Shozo, a male educator and the principal of Seikei Girls' High School in Tokyo around 1920, realized his long-time wish “to educate young women with Zen Buddhism and the tea ceremony.” In his book *Chami* (Tea taste), he claimed that the tea ceremony should refine the mind “through learning the correct way of hosting guests and of conducting harmonious conversation” (Kumakura 1980, 303). It seems that his ultimate objective of educating young women in the tea ceremony was to teach them to be proper hostesses, and that Zen Buddhism was advisable only in so far as to legitimate the hostess training.

4.3.2 “Art for men” and “*sahô* for women”: Two discourses of the tea ceremony

The intellectual elite proposed another popular discourse on the tea ceremony proposed by the intellectual elite around the turn of the twentieth century. The new nationalism that followed Japan's victories in the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War led to the championing of traditional culture as art, equal in stature to Western art. In one of the earliest examples of this argument, the internationally acclaimed educator Nitobe Inazo referred to the tea ceremony as “fine art” (Nitobe 1905, 57) in his 1899 English book on *bushido*, or the code of moral principle of
Nitobe's discussion was followed by more specific discussion on the tea ceremony by Okakura Kakuzo, an art critic and curator at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. In *The Book of Tea* (published in English in 1906), Okakura not only defined the tea ceremony as "a religion of aestheticism" and "a cult founded on the adoration of the beautiful" (Okakura 1956, 3), but also devoted a chapter to "Art Appreciation," mentioning the tea ceremony as one example.

At that time, "art" (*geijutsu*) itself was a newly imported concept from the West. The earlier meaning of the word *geijutsu* included "studies" (*gakugai*) and "skills in aesthetic activities or entertainment" (*gijutsu*). In the Meiji era, *geijutsu* came to be used as the translation for "art" in the Western sense, that is, creative work or its principles (Kitazawa 1989, 146-147; Tanaka Hidetaka 1999, 151).

In Japan *The Book of Tea* had a great influence on the intellectual elite, fostering the perception of the tea ceremony as art, especially of tea utensils as works of art (Tanaka Hidetaka 1992). In 1929, the year the Japanese translation of *The Book of Tea* appeared, Takahashi Tatsuo defined the tea ceremony as a "synthetic art of utensils (*dōgu no sógō geijutsu*)" (Tanaka Hidetaka, 1999, 148); he meant that tea utensils were "works of fine art" (*bijutsuteki sakuhin*), and that the tea ceremony, which coordinated and used these works of fine art, was therefore art. Although the discourse of "the tea ceremony as art" and/or "utensils as works of art" met unchallenges at that time, it seems to have been broadly accepted in the 1930s (Tanaka Hidetaka 1999, 145-149).

Many of the new industrialists supported the idea that tea utensils are works

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23 Nitobe's reference to the tea ceremony as "art", often overlooked in the shadow of Okakura's book published seven years later, is pointed out by Tanaka Hidetaka (1992, 200; 1999, 139-140, 142).
of art. In response to growing public criticism of their extravagant lifestyle, some industrialists defended their antique collecting as a way to protect Japanese "art" from Western collectors (Guth 1993, 161-162; Tanaka Hidetaka 1999, 142-143).

This discourse on the tea ceremony as art was maintained among men but not among women. In the same way, the discourse on the tea ceremony as sahō was maintained among women but was not adopted by men. There were three reasons for this gender-based, dichotomous acceptance of the two discourses.

First, suppose that the tea ceremony is art "because tea utensils are works of art"; men had the economic power to afford these works of art, while women continued to be socially and economically subservient to men. According to the 1898 Meiji Civil Law, which established a patriarchal state based on husband-centered households, the wife had no rights over her own property. As Minpō seigi, a commentary on the Civil Law's first draft, put it: "The husband's rights are to rule the whole economy of the household. The wife's property affects her husband, her children, and the household's rise and fall. Therefore the wife's property is to be managed [by the husband]" (Hayakawa 1998, 157).

In addition, the government slogan of "good wife and wise mother" (ryōsai kenbo) encouraged women to marry and fulfill this ideal. The Ministry of Education officially advocated "good wife and wise mother" in 1899 (Koyama 1991, 49). The slogan's objective was to promote the education of women as future wives and mothers, who would contribute to the state by supporting their husbands and raising future citizens (Koyama 1991, 45-47). The slogan was both a product and a promotion of nationalism. Thus, subject to both the husband-centered law and the discourse emphasizing marriage and motherhood as a way of fulfilling feminine ideals, women in the Meiji period usually did not have the economic power necessary to purchase and
appreciate works of art.\textsuperscript{21} The second reason can be sought in the gender-based dichotomy that developed in this period between the “public/Western/masculine” and the “domestic/Japanese/feminine” on two levels. On the national level, when Westernization took place, the public space was the first domain to be Westernized, while domestic space is the last. A textbook of school used at a girls' high school in 1937, seven decades after the Meiji Restoration, still presents a picture of a woman in kimono, sitting on tatami, slightly bending, handing gloves to a man in a Western suit standing in the doorway. The picture delivers a clear message: public space, where the man is about to step, is Western space; inside the house, where the woman remains in kimono sitting on tatami, is Japanese space. And as men became promoters of Westernization, that which was designated as “public” and “Western” became associated with masculinity. “Art,” a concept newly imported from the West, was considered part of this masculine realm. Meanwhile, that which was considered “domestic” and “Japanese” was associated with the feminine realm.

Furthermore, with the rise of nationalism, men were urged to “publicly” champion Japanese culture on the international level, using Western concepts as intellectual weapons. This may be analogous to non-Western countries' using Western armament in international wars. Meanwhile, women were expected to guard the nation's culture “domestically” in two senses: “within the homeland” as well as “within the household.” As repeatedly maintained in moral (shūshin) textbooks of girls' high schools from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, society's expectation was "Men's place is out (soto), women's place is in (uchū)." One textbook

\textsuperscript{21} The Meiji Civil Law was replaced by new democratic laws only in 1947.
published in 1907 expanded this discussion to the international level. Discussing the importance of international relationships, the book claims: "For women's duty is to manage uchi, those who are not the master of the household should rarely go out to interact with others, let alone with foreigners" (Inoue 1907, 67; emphasis added). In the same textbook, discussing the necessity of fighting against foreign countries "in emergency", the author claims: "Although women cannot join the war like men... they can fulfill their duty by managing the household... removing all the worries on domestic matters from their husbands' mind..." (Inoue 1907, 18).

Clearly, the gender-based dichotomous acceptance of the discourses on the tea ceremony was dictated by the social roles of men and women on both the national and the international levels. The tea ceremony for men was defined as "art" in competition with the West, whereas the tea ceremony for women was associated with domesticity and daily activities.

The third reason for the development of these two separate discourses can be attributed to the dichotomy between "mind," associated with men, and "body," associated with women, which Bordo traces in Western intellectual history as well (Bordo 1993, 2-5). Although the Meiji government educated women, the purpose was to make them good housekeepers. Therefore school curricula for girls contained manual, domestic training, while those for boys not only lacked such training but instead had more hours of abstract studies, such as math or natural science, than those for girls.25

Moreover, before the Meiji Restoration, there was a long period of teaching

25 See the comparison between the 1901 national regulations for girls' and boys' secondary schools in Koyama (1991, 50-51).
women about their intellectual inferiority to men as well as about their role as offspring bearers. *Onna-daigaku,* for example, argues, "For women are more stupid than men, they do not know how to manage things in front of their eyes" (Hirahara 1943, 29); "Women who do not bear children should leave their husbands. This is because marriage should bring offspring who succeed [the family]" (Hirahara 1943, 12). In this milieu, it is not unnatural that the majority of the male and female intellectual elite at the turn of the twentieth century, as well as female students themselves, believed that women could not, need not, or should not rationally or metaphysically understand the tea ceremony, because reason was a male domain. Rather, for women, the improvement of social grace and practical domestic skills, and of mental control in order to conduct compliantly their duties, were much more beneficial to their future role in the home. Women's relatively homogeneous acceptance of *temae* as bodily training before World War II is evidenced by contemporary female practitioners' narratives. Contemporary women over 45 often complain that their prewar-born teachers did not teach them anything but *temae* (see Chapter 6).

### 4.3.3 Women's active engagement in "temae as sahō"

As outlined above, the discourse on the tea ceremony as a means for women to acquire manners developed in response to Westernization and nationalism in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japan. Women's engagement in the tea ceremony, however, was not merely a case of passive acceptance. In fact, the active aspect of their involvement from the Meiji era to the present is demonstrated by their growing dominance of the teaching profession over this period.

According to the records of Urasenke School, women made up a third of the participants in the summer seminar it held in 1913; in 1920, the ratio increased to half.
The decision by the Sen family in 1914 that the seminar should award the teacher’s license at girls’ schools must have increased the numbers of female participants (Kumakura 1980, 303). These numbers may also have increased because teaching the tea ceremony became socially accepted as a women’s occupation around this time, especially for war widows (Nishiyama 1959, 146). In any case, the number of female tea ceremony practitioners apparently surpassed that of male practitioners in the early twentieth century. By mid-twentieth century, the number of women, both as pupils and teachers, overwhelmed male tea ceremony practitioners. According to the son of a high-ranking tea ceremony teacher in Tokyo, whom I interviewed in 1998, 29 out of the 30 pupils his father taught right before World War II, who were all teachers themselves, were women.

The transmission of sahó from woman to woman suggests a certain empowerment of women. As Jorge Arditi comments on women’s etiquette literature in the United States, which came to be written by women themselves in the late nineteenth century, “the group defined as ‘other’ [gave] expression to its own, however constructed, specificities within the newly opened space” (Arditi 1996, 431). Embedded in this male-female, public-domestic, (economically) dominant-subservient, and mind-body dichotomy, the reproduction of set movements gives women the power to control, and possess to some degree, their own bodies. In addition, as a teacher, a woman can enjoy authority over other women and economic power from the income generated through tuition fees.

The “temae as sahó” discourse continued, and still continues, to attract women. Even after World War II, many women discursively and physically practiced it. More importantly, however, after the war, temae became to a new means for women to empower themselves. With the birth of sógō-bunka discourse, which claimed that the
tea ceremony comprehended every domain of Japanese traditional culture and that *temae* was a part of this synthesis, the myths of glorious ancestors and metaphysics, which had never been associated with women's practice of *temae*. became accessible for women. And actually women, not men, embodied these myths when the new discourse was born. In the next chapter, I will examine the discourses of the tea ceremony, along with women's social conditions, in the postwar period.
PART III

TWO POSTWAR PHENOMENA
IN THE TEA CEREMONY
CHAPTER 5:
THE BIRTH OF SÔGÔ-BUNKA DISCOURSE
AND FEMINIZATION OF THE TEA CEREMONY AFTER WORLD WAR II

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed temae as legitimated by a set of myths; that is, historical propositions altering or re-presenting the past. Then, around the turn of the twentieth century, emerged gender-based, dichotomous discourses, that the tea ceremony was "art for men" and "sahô for women", which impelled women to acquire body-mind control through temae without associating themselves with the myths of the tea ceremony's glorious ancestors.

The rest of this thesis aims to answer the question, "What, then, is temae for tea ceremony practitioners today?" Considering that contemporary tea ceremony practitioners are predominantly women (Chapter 2), the question should be rephrased as: "What is temae for female tea ceremony practitioners today?" To answer this question, I will present the discursive and physical practices by contemporary female practitioners in Chapter 6, 7 and 8. Before that, I will examine two tea ceremony-related phenomena of the postwar period, which will help the reader best understand the analysis of my participant observations and interviews in the following chapters.

The first phenomenon is the birth of a discourse that the tea ceremony is sôgô-bunka; that is, it comprehends every domain of traditional Japanese culture. The second is the completion of the feminization of the tea ceremony. The co-occurrence of these two phenomena significantly contributes to the empowerment of Japanese women in the postwar period. The first phenomena enabled tea ceremony practitioners to again became bearers of the authority of all the mythical ancestors and metaphysics: the
second made more women bearers of the "traditional authority" than in the prewar period.

In this chapter, I will examine in which specific postwar social conditions these two phenomena were rooted. I will argue that the birth of the new discourse stems from the remarks of a cultural nationalist immediately after the war, and that the further feminization of the tea ceremony was facilitated by the increase in number of urban housewives from mid-1950s to the early 1970s. I will also argue that it was the iemoto of Urasenke school who, searching for a raison d'être and a new eye-catching "slogan" for the tea ceremony, adopted the discourse created by the cultural nationalist and popularized among urban housewives.

5.1 Cultural nationalism after 1945

The new discourse of the tea ceremony was born out of postwar cultural nationalism. Cultural nationalism "aims to regenerate the national community by creating, preserving or strengthening a people's cultural identity when it is felt to be lacking, inadequate or threatened", through emphasizing the uniqueness of the culture (Yoshino 1992, 1). The Japanese thinking elite's quest for the uniqueness of their people's nature and culture has a long history, and especially flourished when combined with political nationalism after the turn of the twentieth century.¹ Political nationalism was thoroughly demolished (at least, officially) right after World War II, but cultural nationalism survived the postwar period in pacifistic guises.

Japan's loss of World War II in 1945 marked the moment of the most drastic

¹ This quest goes back at least to around the turn of the eighteenth century, when kokugaku (national learning) was initiated (Yoshino 1992, 46). Shintoism, rediscovered as a pure, old Japanese religion in this period, "was later used for the creation of greater
change in the country's modern history, a change analogous to the Meiji Restoration. Militarism and nationalism, promoted since the turn of the twentieth century, had failed the nation. Under the directions of the Allied Occupation (by U.S. troops), the Emperor renounced his deity while a new, democratic constitution was promulgated. Reformation took place in every domain: in politics, economics or education. At the same time, American products, from food to entertainment, flooded into the country.

In the late 1940s and 1950s the Japanese actively criticized the prewar and wartime nationalist ideologies. Some condemned particular circles of their contemporaries for indirect cooperation with the prewar military government: the "Kyoto school" of philosophy—a circle of philosophers and historians around Nishida Kitarō (1870-1945), a philosopher at Kyoto University—was one of the most popular targets. This circle, with many of its members influenced by Zen Buddhism (Heisig & Maraldo 1994, vii), sought for an alternative to Western philosophy. Tosaka Jun, a prewar materialist, first introduced the name of the school in 1931 "as a way of branding what he perceived as a rightist tendency in the circle" (Heisig & Maraldo 1994, vii).

After the war, a French-literature critic, Kato Shuichi, accused the Kyoto school philosophers of mesmerizing the educated young during the war by their skillful use of logic, leading youth to affirm the war (Kato 1959, 340-341, 345). Takeuchi Yoshimi criticized the Kyoto School, especially for their symposium, as "the biggest contributor" to the rationalization of war slogans (Takeuchi 1959, 261). The three-session symposium Sekai-shi-tekita-chiba to nihon (The world-historical standpoint and Japan) was held in November 1941, and March and November 1942. The

national unity around the divine emperor" by the Meiji government (Yoshino 1992, 49).
proceedings were published in a journal *Chûôkôron* in the following months respectively. In the symposium, the speakers, four scholars from Kyoto school, discussed Japan’s responsibility in the war from the viewpoint of world history. After the war, the talk came to be denounced as a justification of war (cf. Takeuchi 1959).²

Authorities of traditional culture, including that of the tea ceremony, were not spared similar accusations. The French-literature critic Kuwabara Takeo, who famously criticized *haiku* as “second-class art” (*daini-geijutsu*) and condemned *haiku* poets for their obedience to the wartime government, further said “And this holds true in the high art or Japanese art in general. Suppose [how conformable the authority of] the tea ceremony [was] during the war” (1946/1947, 81). Later, in his more direct criticism of the *iemoto* system, he pointed out:

...how skillfully our ethnic culture survived the wartime when the West-born modern culture in Japan was oppressed...! How skillfully, for example, the *iemoto* of the tea ceremony approached cultural powers and benefited from them...and, after the war, how skillfully it is approaching powerful foreigners and is deploying! Its vitality is phenomenal. (1953/1980, 521)

On the other hand, the educated elite was not totally free from the idea that traditional Japanese culture was in crisis amid Americanization, and that it must be protected from extinction or derogation. This idea continued even after the withdrawal of the Allied Occupation in 1952. It survived through the subsequent period of great economic growth, when rapid industrialization further diminished the old Japanese culture.

Postwar cultural nationalists usually emphasized the uniqueness of Japanese culture or of its specific elements, often positing a simplistic dichotomy between

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² For a different interpretation of the symposium, as one with a hidden peace-seeking agenda, see Horio (1995).
"Japan/the East" and "America/the West", as typified in the "discussions on Japanese traits" (nihonjio-ron) that flourished especially in the 1970s (Yoshino 1995, 36-37). Some further made pacifistic claims that Japan must contribute to world peace (or to what was achieved by "the West") with its unique culture. The postwar Zen Buddhist missionary D. T. Suzuki, whose stand Sharf calls "Zen nationalism" (Sharf 1994, 46), typifies this attitude. Either view, in so far as it aims "to regenerate the national community by creating, preserving or strengthening a people's cultural identity", falls into the category of cultural nationalism.

5.2 Preservation of the past through the tea ceremony

5.2.1 The birth of sógō-bunka discourse

Among elite, postwar cultural nationalists was Hisamatsu Shin'ichi, a professor of Buddhist philosophy from the Kyoto school. He was a Zen practitioner himself and also a tea ceremony practitioner of Urasenke school. To begin his lecture at a conference of the International Association of Tea Ceremony Culture (kokusai sadō-bunka kyōkai), apparently held in 1947 (Fujiyoshi 1987, 268), Hisamatsu argues:

The tea ceremony culture is one of those which scholars and cultivated people in the West who are to study Japanese culture look at. The tea ceremony culture is considered by the Westerners as a culture that is different, hard to fully understand, but profound and high. Then what is this unique, Japanese, tea ceremony culture? What are the characteristics of the tea ceremony-culture, which are different from those of the Western culture? (Hisamatsu 1987, 52)

The unexplained, ambiguous term "tea ceremony culture" seems to mean "a certain kind of culture realized by the tea ceremony". Also, it seems to synonymously refer to "Japanese culture" in a simplistic contrast with "Western culture". Hisamatsu continues:
The tea ceremony culture, in short, is a synthetic cultural system [sōgō-bunka taikei] which was created at the moment of drinking tea. The tea ceremony culture has comprehensiveness [hōkatsusei] in that it is both synthetic [sōgō-teki] and integrated [tōitsu-sareta]. Nō dance, for example, is another typical example of Japanese culture, but it does not have a form of a synthetic cultural system [sōgō-teki na bunka taikei]... The tea ceremony is synthetic [sōgō-teki] more than anything else is. It includes not only art, morality or philosophy, but also religion. The tea ceremony has established one cultural system [bunka-taikei] by absorbing everything, every aspect of culture. (Hisamatsu 1987, 52-53)3

Following this extremely redundant passage, he explains each element of the "synthesis" (sōgō-sei) of the tea ceremony. Discussing in what way the tea ceremony is "art" (geijutsu), he claims:

For its artistic elements, [the tea ceremony has] the tearoom as architecture, roji as gardening, various utensils and works of arts that are used... in the tea ceremony. In addition, beauty of movement is also very important. although sahō of the tea ceremony implies morality. One must say that there exists art in sophisticated movement of the human body. In the tea ceremony, all these artistic elements have one certain form that is never seen in anything else. (Hisamatsu 1987, 53)

Here two things are noteworthy: Firstly, Hisamatsu presents the tea ceremony not as a monolithic entity, such as "sahō" or "art". Instead, by the word sōgō-bunka, he presents many different domains, including "sahō" and "art", as a cluster, and the tea ceremony as a comprehension of traditional Japanese culture. Here one may see his efforts to assimilate as many traditional cultural domains as possible into the tea ceremony. Secondly, he elevates temae into the category of "art", juxtaposing it with utensils and works of fine art. Here the Meiji-born dichotomy between "sahō " and "art (of utensils)" is resolved.

Hisamatsu's cluster model and the elevation of temae into "art" had some

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3 Another possible English translation of sōgō-bunka taikei is "cultural synthesis". as in Sen Sōshitsu (1983).
predecessors. First, Tanaka Senshô wrote in 1931, "There is no mistake in saying that this body movement [of making tea] is art" (Tanaka Hidetaka 1996, 71), without presenting a cluster model. Then in 1941, Suzuki Hancha, a writer and a tea ceremony practitioner, said Rikyu's achievement was that he "synthesized every essence of art, be it fine art, craft, architecture, gardening, cuisine or others" (Suzuki 1941, 5; for detailed discussion, see 5.2.2 below). This statement, although presenting a cluster model, lacked direct reference to *temae*.

Tanikawa Tetsuzô, an aesthetician from the Kyoto School "in a very broad sense" (Piovesana 1997, 162), presented a more thorough discussion on *temae* as "art" based on a cluster model. In 1945, two months after Japan's loss of the war, he published a 32 page book, *Cha no bigaku* (The aesthetics of tea), developed from the manuscript of his lecture the previous year. At the beginning of the book, at the same time as emphasizing the uniqueness of the tea ceremony as "art" that did not fit the Western concept of art, he defined the tea ceremony as "a performing art whose medium is body movement" (Tanikawa 1945, 2). Then he resolved the tea ceremony into four "factors" (*fakuta*)—the social, the disciplinary, the artistic and the ceremonial—analogizing them with the four points of a tetrahedron (Tanikawa 1945: 10). Furthermore, he advocated the "artistry" in the garden, the tearoom, utensils and *temae*, claiming that in *temae* "we can see the beauty which is analogous to dance: in its manners of walking, sitting, moving hands, or even in the posture of being still" (Tanikawa 1945: 21).

Although Hisamatsu did not acknowledge Tanikawa, the latter's influence on

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1 Piovesana identifies Tanikawa as a Kyoto school philosopher "in a very broad sense" for his German-type philosophy, which other members associated with the school did not develop, and for his journalistic style (Piovesana 1997: 162).
the former is obvious. The two discourses, that *temae* is "performing art" and that the tea ceremony "comprehends every domain of Japanese traditional culture", advocated by Tanikawa and Hisamatsu, constituted milestones in the discourses of the tea ceremony in the postwar period. A revised edition of Tanikawa's work appeared as a chapter in a series of encyclopedic volumes on the tea ceremony in 1963. The chapter was eventually published separately as a book in 1976. Today, few scholars or tea ceremony practitioners fail to acknowledge Tanikawa's classic work when discussing the tea ceremony (e.g., Sen Sôshitsu 1988, 1; Yamamura 1996, 7-35).

Hisamatsu's discourse is not so much associated with his name as Tanikawa's work with Tanikawa's name today, because the former was incorporated by Urasenke school. It is not clear exactly what year the school began to officially adopt *sôgô-bunka* discourse. Yet, Sen Sôshitsu XV, the current *iemoto* of the school, apparently did it. In 1949, the young Sen named Sôkô at that time, the heir of the then *iemoto*, published in the school's journal *Tankô* an article which virtually reported Hisamatsu's lecture. At the beginning of the article, in a deeply impressed tone, Sôkô (Sen) wrote, "Finding Dr. [Hisamatsu]'s lecture talk related to what I was always thinking about the characteristics of the tea ceremony culture, I would like to discuss it here borrowing his talk" (Sen 1949, 2).

Sôkô's adoption of Hisamatsu's discourse was gradual. In a newspaper article in 1961 to advertise an exhibition about Rikyu at a department store (see 5.2.3, below), he claims, without acknowledging Hisamatsu, that the tea ceremony "has *sôgô-bunka-taikei*" which integrates "such aspects as art, religion, moral or philosophy" (Sen Sôkô 1961). Yet, in *Tankô* for November 1964, which announced his father's death and his inauguration as the fifteenth *iemoto* of Urasenke, Sôkô, now Sen Sôshitsu XV, did not present any particular discourse on how he, as the new *iemoto*,
saw the tea ceremony. Meanwhile, both Hisamatsu and Tanikawa contributed to this issue of Tankô. Hisamatsu wrote an article, not to advocate his discourse, but to lament on the late iemoto: "He, at the front of the great crisis of Japanese affairs due to the loss of World War II, not only protected the tea ceremony well but also led it into unprecedented prosperity" (Hisamatsu in Tankô 1964, 35). Tanikawa appeared as a panelist in a roundtable "What we expect for the tea ceremony of the new generation." There he presented his old tetrahedron model, using the word "synthetic" (sôgô-teki), though he emphasized the "artistic" aspect, as he had before (Tankô 1964, 87). Interestingly, another panelist, the historian Nagashima Fukutaro, argued that the tea ceremony was a "synthetic art" (sôgô-geijutsu); Tankô 1964, 85. Here one can see Tankawa and his colleague incorporating Hisamatsu's terminology of "sôgô" into their discussion.

In 1969, Sen Sôshitsu XV came to explicitly advocate sôgô-bunka discourse. In his book Cha no seishin (Spirit of tea), Sen, along with the concepts of "spirituality" (seishin-sei) and "tradition", strongly maintains the comprehensive (sôgô-teki) characteristic of the tea ceremony:

Since old times it has been said that the tea ceremony is a unique Japanese sôgô-bunka system, which includes not only drinking tea and eating meals but also the creation of beauty in such areas as gardening and architecture. It also includes the appreciation of works of art and even spiritual training. (Sen Sôshitsu 1969, 60)

Sen here describes the discourse Hisamatsu created after the wa as what has been said "since old times". He also repeatedly uses the word sôgô-bunka taikei (synthetic

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5 Actually, Sen's ambiguous writing in Japanese allows two interpretations on this sentence. First, "since old times" seems to modify "It has been said", as I translated here. Second, the same phrase seems to modify "drinking tea and eating meals", which has been practiced "since old times". I adopted the first interpretation, for several times' careful
cultural system), sometimes more than once in the same page (Sen Sôshitsu 1969. 60, 170, 172, 182). He also uses the word in variations such as just sôgô-bunka (cultural synthesis; Sen Sôshitsu 1969. 23) and bunka-taikei (cultural system; Sen Sôshitsu 1969, 73, 170, 172, 183).

Sen's sôgô-bunka discourse, however, differs slightly from Hisamatsu's in that Sen elevated the status of temae, not for its artistry but for its "spirituality". Like Tanikawa or Hisamatsu, Sen emphasizes the beauty of body movement. Unlike the former two, however, Sen argues that the beauty of body movement is "representation of mind (kokoro), and that the beauty of temae results only from the accumulation of shôjin (ascetic training)" (Sen Sôshitsu 1969. 208). Especially referring to Rikyu's inclination to Zen Buddhism, Sen maintains:

For body movement is ultimately the expression of spirit [seishin], refinement of mind [kokoro] leads to the extremely ascetic [kokô] and highly tasteful [kakuchô-no takai] body movement. Thus one's temae reveals all about one's personality. (Sen Sôshitsu 1969. 209)

Sen's explicit spiritualism and his explanation of temae in this framework, however, does not contradict the "temae as art" discourse that Tanikawa and Hisamatsu created. As Sen's 1983 article (published in English) puts it:

When serving a bowl of tea in conformity with Tea etiquette, a cultural synthesis of wide scope and high ideals involving aspects of religion, morality, aesthetics, philosophy, discipline and social relations is brought into play. (Sen Sôshitsu 1983. 388; emphasis added)\(^6\)

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\(^6\) The word "discipline" here is a translation of a Japanese word shûdô. The word shûdô (literally, shû means "practice" or "accomplish"; dô means "way") has a strongly religious and ascetic connotation, often used to describe the activities of Buddhist monks. Sen apparently chose this word because, in order to impress readers with the religious image of the tea ceremony, the word conveniently had -dô, the "way", which overlapped the image of
The word "aesthetics" here apparently translates a Japanese word Sen frequently used. *geijutsu-sei* (Sen Sōshitsu 1988, 1), which means "artistry". Because Sen does not explain in what way the tea ceremony is "artistic". readers can freely associate the beauty of body movement with "artistry" as well as with "spirituality". *Sōgō-bunka* discourse allows such flexibility.

In 1979 and 1980, Urasenke's adoption of *sōgō-bunka* discourse took concrete form in the 16 volumes of *Urasenke chadō kyōka* (Urasenke's tea ceremony seminars). These volumes, written for the general public and affordably priced, discussed respectively *roji* (the garden designed especially for the tea ceremony), tearooms, utensils, Zen priests, historical tea masters' letters, sweets, *kaiseki*, biographies of historical tea masters, history of the tea ceremony, cloth (used to cover utensils or for hanging scrolls), hanging scrolls, flowers (for the alcove), classics of Zen Buddhism, classics of the tea ceremony, records of historical *chakai*, and a historical chronology of the tea ceremony. The publication of these volumes was just at the time that the first-generation housewives who lived in the period of great economic growth finished child rearing and returned to their hobbies, particularly the tea ceremony (see 5.3.1 and 8.5.2).

*Sōgō-bunka* discourse is such a staple in Urasenke school's discourse today that it is found in the guidebook (which I obtained in 1997) of the technical school of the tea ceremony it runs. Sen Sōshitsu XV's motive in adopting *sōgō-bunka* discourse is worth analyzing, because this discourse forms a substantial part of Urasenke's strategy to promote its popularity in the postwar period. According to several of my participants, the popular schools in the prewar period were Omotesenke and Dai

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*chadō*, the Japanese word for the tea ceremony.
Nihon Chadô Gakkai, while Urasenke rose only after the war. Now rumor has it that 60% of tea ceremony practitioners belong to Urasenke. Although its discourse is not the only factor that makes a school popular, attractive discourses will at least facilitate a school's popularity.

It is assumed that Sen Sôshitsu XV adopted Hisamatsu's sôgô-bunka discourse because he thought it would appeal to a populace experiencing drastic detachment from "traditional" and "Japanese" things. In 1969, when Sen wrote Cha no seishin, Japanese society was in the middle of the great economic growth that continued between 1955 and 1973. (Although there are many ways to circumscribe this period of growth, I owe this segmentation to Allinson 1997, xi-xii). As Allinson puts it, "Growth overshadowed everything. It also consumed everyone's energies and attention. And its consequence reached into every nook and cranny of Japanese society" (Allinson 1997, 83). Moreover, five years before the publication of Sen's book came the Tokyo Olympics (1964), which accelerated the country's development in infrastructure. Also, 10 years before the publication the Crown Prince married a commoner, a marriage hitherto unprecedented in the imperial family's history. Thus, unlike the Allied Occupation from 1945 to 1952, during which drastic social reformation took place under the direction of the United States, the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s were a period during which many Japanese voluntarily abandoned "traditional" and "Japanese" things for the sake of economic success, internationalization, industrial development and democracy.

Given this trend, no wonder that schools of traditional cultural activities sought for a new raison d'être for themselves. The tea ceremony needed distinct discourse, just like "art" or "sahô" in the Meiji period, to adapt to the rapid social changes. Also, the discourse had to be appealing enough to recruit practitioners. For
Sen Sôshitsu XV, the head of Urasenke, the discourse created by Hisamatsu, one of the notable practitioners in his school, seemed to give the answer. Hisamatsu, out of a feeling of crisis in Japanese culture (cf. the tribute issue of Tankô for the late Sen Sôshitsu XIV, November 1964), conveniently assimilated anything "traditional" and "Japanese", be it ceramics, architecture, gardening or Zen Buddhism, into the tea ceremony, to make the ceremony a cultural sanctuary. In other words, Hisamatsu assigned the tea ceremony a distinct role as the last bastion for all things "traditional" and "Japanese", which seemed to him to be in crisis.

During the great economic growth, sôgô-bunka discourse must have had a special appeal as an antithesis to accelerated Western-style economic activities and industrialization. In his 1969 newspaper article, after maintaining that the tea ceremony was a "sôgô-bunka system", Sen Sôshitsu XV (then Sôkô) continued: "People [not only in Japan but also] overseas feel oppressed by mechanical and materialistic civilization today. It is no wonder if we feel like reflecting on ourselves beside a quietly steaming kettle" (Sen Sôshitsu 1961). This passage harbors three messages. First, Western people are unhappy because of the inhumane civilization they created. Second, Japanese people are becoming unhappy because they are adopting this Western-style civilization. Third, Japanese people are however fortunate to have their unique culture summarized in the tea ceremony, which can put them back on the right track to human happiness (and probably enable them to save unhappy Western people too, by teaching the unique Japanese culture/tea ceremony). The same type of simplistic contrast between Japan and the West, and the former's pacifistic contribution to the latter, occurred in "Zen nationalism", discussed above. The difference is that Sôkô replaced Zen Buddhism with the tea ceremony as an amalgamation of anything "traditional" and "Japanese", of which Zen Buddhism was
only a part.

The most significant effect of sógō-bunka discourse, however, was to revitalize all the myths legitimating the values of all the cultural domains that Hisamatsu and Sen maintained the tea ceremony to be. In addition, now that the tea ceremony "comprehended" all these cultural domains, making them inseparable from each other, one could compensate for the unverifiability of a myth in any one domain by referring to its "proofs" in any other domains.

When emphasizing the tea ceremony's "religious" aspect, for example, it is inevitable to refer to the myth that "the sixteenth-century merchants who founded the tea ceremony were Zen Buddhists", especially that "Rikyu was a pious Zen Buddhist". Next one can point at the calligraphy written by a contemporary high-ranking priest of Daitokuji Temple, which decorates the alcove as a work of "art", and say that the temple had "a deep relationship" with Rikyu and other merchants of Sakai. Then one may add that the tea ceremony's high respect for Zen Buddhists' calligraphy as a decoration for the alcove attests to the "deep relationship" between the tea ceremony and Zen Buddhism "since old times". One can also emphasize the Buddhist, monastery-like sacredness of the time-space of the tea ceremony. To do so, one should just point at the special design of the garden, saying that the paths, the bench, and the basin to wash hands and mouths are laid out in order to lead guests to the teahouse/tearoom, gradually detaching them from the secular world. Here, one does not have to go into historical true/false discussions to teach, learn and practice the tea ceremony. One has only to be referential, that is, to explain by pointing to as many related items in as many domains as possible, to believe and advocate a myth.

Sōgō-bunka discourse with its cluster model has become so popular that it is now adopted by practitioners from other schools than Urasenke. Two of the non-
Urasenke teachers I interviewed in 1998, both however from branches of Sen family schools, presented their view on the tea ceremony by using the cluster model. One used the exact terms of sōgō-bunka, elaborating his own view that the tea ceremony has "10 elements" such as "calligraphy, flower arrangement, scent, clothes, cuisine, architecture, religion such as Zen Buddhism or Christianity, literature, fine art and performance".

5.2.2 The rebirth of Sen Rikyu as chaisei (the Tea Saint)

Paired with sōgō-bunka discourse, in the postwar period two historians, in the cultural nationalistic school, reestablished Sen Rikyu as the highest authority of the tea ceremony and Japanese culture in general, by giving him the title chaisei (cha means "tea", sei means "saint" or "sage"). This terminology was later adopted by all three branches of the Sen family.

The significance of Rikyu's recrudescence in the postwar period must be estimated from its contribution to sōgō-bunka discourse. Tanikawa's and Hisamatsu's discourses on the tea ceremony are analytic and do not contain special sentiments about anybody in the past. "The Tea Saint Rikyu", on the other hand, put a human face to the "synthesis" by exalting a historical figure as its one and only benefactor.

One could argue that Rikyu had always been worshipped, either since his own time or since around the late seventeenth century, when Jitsuzan wrote Nanbōroku to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Rikyu's death; or since around the mid-eighteenth century, when the Sen family initiated the iemoto system in response to commoners' adoration of the family. However, these historical moments would not draw tea ceremony practitioners' or researchers' attention today unless Rikyu had a
salient meaning in their minds. And Rikyu was not always an interest in modern times. From the turn of the twentieth century up to World War II, industrialists almost ignored the economically-waning *iemoto*; young women learning *temae as sahô* were not given chances to relate themselves to Rikyu (Chapter 4). The *iemoto*’s authority was fully resumed only after World War II, when the early modern industrialists had passed away or lost their privileged status due to the social restructuring, their collections of utensils found their way in private museums named after collectors, and schools of the tea ceremony became foundations (Toda 1985. 144). This resumption of the authority, which started “the *iemoto* era” (Toda 1999. 7), would not have occurred without re-elevation of their “ancestor” Rikyu.

The word *chasei* itself had existed since before the war, the postwar phenomenon is its synonymous use for Rikyu alone. One of the earliest previous uses of this word in modern times, for example, is in Tanaka Sensho’s inaugural address of his new school Dai Nihon Chadô Gakkai in 1898. By *chasei* he refers not to Rikyu but to Rikyu’s grandson Sôtan (Tanaka Hidetaka, personal communication, 1998). In 1936, Takahashi Sôan, an early modern industrialist, used the words “Tea Ancestral Saint [chaso-chasei]” in reference to “Shukô or Rikyu” (Takahashi 1936. 7).

One of the earliest uses of *chasei* exclusively for Rikyu appears in 1941. This was the year of the commencement of the Pacific War, as well as of so-called “two thousand six hundredth year of the imperial history” (*kôki nisen-roppyaku-nen*). The year also coincided with the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyu’s death. In 1941, commemorating the anniversaries of both the imperial family and Rikyu, Suzuki Hancha edited a collection of historical documents supposedly written by Rikyu. The editor, in an excited tone, writes in the preface that he wanted to celebrate “as a cultivated person” this special year of the imperial history by publishing a volume on
"the Tea Saint Rikyu-koji, a benefactor [on-jin] to whom we owe early-modern Japanese culture" (Suzuki 1941, 5). He argues, along with one of the earliest forms of sōgō-bunka discourse, that "no cultivated person in early modern times should spare obligation [on-taku] to Rikyu. Rikyu synthesized every essence of art, be it fine art, craft, architecture, gardening, cuisine or else... It is not too much to say that it was Rikyu who rendered modest and somber taste to early modern Japanese culture" (Suzuki 1941, 5).

Suzuki's work, relatively neglected today (probably due to its explicit nationalistic tone), transmitted its essence to two historians in the postwar period. One of them was Kuwata Tadachika, a professor of Japanese history at Kokugakuin University in Tokyo. Kuwata wrote two books under the same title, Sen Rikyu, in 1942 and 1952; that is, during and after the war respectively. Interestingly, his detached tone in the first edition drastically changes in the second, revised edition. In 1942 he wrote that he had always wished to research "the hidden constructor of Japanese culture Sen Rikyu" (Kuwata 1942, 1). Yet, overall his discussion simply juxtaposes his archival findings without a dramatic narrative. On the contrary, the new edition, published 10 years later begins with the author's thorough self-criticism that the previous version was "just a writing by a person who studied the tea ceremony but did not practice it."

So I devoted myself to practice the tea ceremony during and several years after the war... Once the war ended, I started more intensive training, making tea in sweat in summer or in winter, among young ladies before marriage... I dare to call this current volume a "new edition" because it is totally new... I especially wish my readers to see my new intention in this work. This book

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7 "Koji" is a title for a lay Zen Buddhist who has achieved enlightenment. When Rikyu came to be called by this title needs further examination, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.
has elucidated the essence of this nationalistic art and its history, its tradition, by examining Rikyu's achievement. (Kuwata 1952, Preface; emphasis added)\(^8\)

Besides the dramatic tone in the overall discussion, there are two major differences between the 1952 edition and the 1942 edition.

First, in 1952 the author calls Rikyu *chasei*: "[Utensils which are called] Rikyu's favorite or Rikyu's style represent very aesthetics of *chasei* Rikyu" (1952, 199). This word is not found in the 1942 edition. Second, the author argues in length that Rikyu adored Shukò, a mythical fifteenth-century figure who is alleged to have established the basis of tea ceremony (Chapter 4). Also, citing Sôji's fifteenth-century book, Kuwata depicts Shukò in a Buddhist image, calling him "*kaizan*" (Kuwata 1952, 17), the title for those who have founded their own temples. In the 1942 edition, Shukò's name is mentioned only briefly.

Kuwata closes his discussions with his gratitude to Rikyu:

Even after several hundreds years, tea is Rikyu. [Still now] Rikyu is blessing Japanese people's daily life with his silent grace [*on-kei*]. We may say that all the thoughtful and tasteful inventions are from Rikyu's favorite, that all the convenient commodities are from Rikyu's style. Rikyu-koji is the great benefactor [*dai-on-jin*], who has improved the daily life of us Japanese for correctness, cleanliness, elegance and the greatest convenience. (Kuwata 1952, 208)


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\(^8\) "Nationalistic" in the citation here is the translation of a Japanese word *kokusui*, which is usually used as the translation of English word "ultra-nationalistic". It is noteworthy that such an explicitly wartime-bound term revived publicly at the same time as, or barely before, the withdrawal of the Allied Occupation in the same year, 1952.
that I encountered a copy of Kuwata's 1985 book through a female practitioner in one of the groups of my participant observation. Having heard me asking to the teacher, Mrs. Nakano (see Chapter 6), about the word *chasei*, one of Mrs. Nakano's pupils, a teacher of Japanese literature at a university, later lent me her copy of Kuwata's book. Mrs. Nakano's circle comprised practitioners who loved studies of history, ceramics, calligraphy and many other domains related to the tea ceremony; it is interesting that the more one studies, the more deeply one is enmeshed in postwar-born discourses re-enforcing the old myths of glorious ancestors.

Besides Kuwata, another advocate of Rikyu as *chasei* was Nakamura Naokatsu, a professor of Japanese history at the University of Kyoto. In the first of three tea ceremony-related books he published between 1968 and 1969, Nakamura analogized "Rikyu-koji" with Buddha, Confucius and Christ in his advocacy for *Nanbôroku* as the "Canon/Holy Script [seiten]" (Nakamura 1968, 199-120). In 1969, he wrote a book titled *Chasei Sen Rikyu*, which claimed:

> The world of the tea ceremony is the highest terrestrial world... The tea ceremony is by no means an aristocratic culture... It was a culture of the populace. A culturally ignorant populace needs strict training in order to be elevated to such a height. Someone must set up the difficult way of the strict training. In this respect, Rikyu [who set up the way] ought to be praised as *chasei*. [Rikyu was] an ordinary but unordinary, secular but sacred man. (Nakamura 1969, 1-3)

Here, in a tone similar to Kuwata's, Nakamura claims that the entire Japanese populace owes its cultural sophistication to Rikyu. Both scholars thus presented Rikyu as the one and only benefactor of Japanese culture as well as the savior of "culturally ignorant" or vulgar Japanese populace, urging readers to give the same thanks to Rikyu as the authors themselves had. I cannot help finding that the logic in Kuwata's, Nakamura's, and Suzuki's writings on Rikyu parallels that of the wartime
discourse that the entire Japanese populace owes on (obligation) to the Emperor. The prewar education that Kuwata and Nakamura received must have molded their way of seeing and writing about Rikyu (for a famous discussion on the Japanese concept on, see Benedict 1946).

5.2.3 Chasei in department stores

The popularization of Rikyu as chasei and the notion's adoption by the Sen family seem to have taken place in the 1960s, between publication of Kuwata's 1952 book and of Nakamura's 1969 book. Interestingly, the emergence of chasei Rikyu in public and commercial space preceded the Sen family's adoption of the word.

In 1961 Shirokiya (later Tôkyû), one of the major department stores in Japan, held a six-day exhibition, titled "Chasei Sen Rikyu", in its headquarters in Nihonbashi, the central district of Tokyo. According to my interviewee Mr. Koyama, 73, who was the head event-organizer in the advertisement section of Shirokiya in 1961, exhibitions at department stores in Japan had existed since before the war but became especially popular in the 1960s. Major Japanese department stores still occasionally hold thematic exhibitions about specific artists, historical figures or historical events, displaying precious materials borrowed from museums or private collections. The exhibitions bring multiple benefits to the stores. First, the stores economically benefit from the "shower effect"; after seeing the exhibitions, which usually take place on the top floor, visitors shop and eat on the lower floors. Second, exhibitions give the stores a classy image. Third, the exhibitions constitute advertisements of their sponsors, usually newspaper companies, lending them the image of cultural benefactors.

According to Mr. Koyama, the 1961 exhibition about Rikyu was planned by
Mainichi Newspaper. It took place in Shirokiya because the store was looking for a special event to celebrate its three hundredth anniversary that year, and liked the project. As Mr. Koyama recalls, there was a trend around that time of reflecting on history. Warriors of the Warring States period, such as Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, were attracting new interest as model leaders who could suggest contemporary business strategies. Rikyu, a contemporary of these warriors, was also in fashion, as indicated by O-gin-sama, a novel on Rikyu's daughter published in 1956 (which, as Mr. Koyama recalls, was TV-dramatized). The ultimate basis of this trend was economic affluence, which enabled many people to ponder on the past and to afford things satisfying their nostalgia for it.

Mr. Koyama recalled that he contacted Kuwata, who was then a mass-media celebrity, to ask for suggestions for the exhibition. Mr. Koyama was not sure, however, who suggested the word chasei be included in the title of the exhibition. His assumption was that somebody from Mainichi Newspaper, but not Kuwata, suggested it, because people in the mass media always sought for such eye-catching expressions, while scholars were more discreet in their words. I personally do not agree, especially in this case.

I contacted the retired vice-president of the Tokyo National Museum, who cooperated with this exhibition, to ask about the word chasei in the exhibition title: his reply was "I personally don't like the word chasei. I guess somebody from Mainichi Newspaper put it in." When I contacted the retired Mainichi Newspaper editor responsible for this exhibition, he replied "I don't remember the word chasei, although

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9 O-gin-sama was first published as a series in Urasenke's monthly journal Tankó. Another popular novel on Rikyu around this time was Nogami Yaeko's Hideyoshi to Rikyu (Hideyoshi and Rikyu) first published in the journal Chūōkōron in 1962-1963.
I remember the exhibition." It looks as if the title had been created by nobody but by the "collective unconscious" of the time. Yet, considering that Kuwata had already published the word nearly ten years before and had been active in the mass media, I argue that he is responsible for the exhibition title, at least by creating the milieu in which it was approved.

As the title suggested, the exhibition's focus was on Rikyu as a person, not on the tea ceremony in general. A portrait of Rikyu, Rikyu's handwritings, tea utensils that Rikyu made, owned, favored or stamped, and artifacts of Rikyu's contemporary warriors and merchants who were also tea ceremony practitioners, were collected from temples, the Tokyo National Museum, and museums established by modern industrialists, as well as from the three Sen schools. The organizers had to gather exhibits diplomatically from all the three Sen branches, so that none of them would be more favored than the others. (Although, as Mr. Koyama recalls, Omotesenke had far more possessions than the other two then.)

The range of the visitors to the exhibition indicates that in 1961 the tea ceremony was still somewhat associated with high-class men (and their wives), while an increasing number of ordinary women were entering into it. To my question, "Did you have special expectations that the exhibition would attract women?" Mr. Koyama replied "No, not quite yet then." To the question, "What kind of people did you anticipate as visitors?" he said, "The educated people, or so-called upper-middle class people" or "business people" (virtually all men); according to him, the tea ceremony was associated with Hideyoshi and other warriors, or the men's world. He added: "And wives [of these upper-middle class men]. The wife of the president of Tokyo Hydro offered several [utensils] for the exhibition. These utensil owners were a completely different group of people from ordinary learners of temae."
Yet when I further asked, " Didn't you expect that the exhibition would attract ordinary housewives?" he answered:

I did, at the same time. Before this exhibition, people could see Rikyu's utensils, or teacups he stamped, or so forth, only if they were invited to [that level of] chakai. And without knowledge [of tea utensils], manners [mana] were meaningless. And women have started entering that [utensil-oriented tea ceremony] world. The exhibition displayed what they [ordinary women] would have never encountered for life. So quite a few [women] came. The exhibition made a big hit. It was the first to exhibit to the general public what Urasenke or Omotesenke owned, which ordinary teachers on street corners had never seen.

Mr. Koyama's discourse depicts two distinct groups: economically powerful (and as a consequence, cultivated) men and their wives on the one hand, and ordinary women "on street corners" who were teachers or learners of temae as sahó on the other hand. Also, his impression was that in 1961 the latter group had started entering the world that had been monopolized by the former.

Regarding the integration between the "rich" and the "ordinary". I should point out the special role that department stores played in this trend in the 1960s. The exhibition of precious tea utensils in a department store itself stands at a crossroad of two trends: popularization of department stores and popularization of traditional (which usually means "high") culture. Department stores promoted the traditional/high culture by commercializing it.

According to Mr. Koyama, department stores in the prewar period were patronized only by a limited number of celebrities, such as executives of major companies. Tea utensils were sold in the stores, but the staff knew who would come to buy them. In the postwar period, however, along with the (official) liquidation of zaibatsu and the increased economic growth, the difference between the "rich" and the "ordinary" became blurred. Ordinary people could afford to shop at department stores,
while department stores deployed new strategies to appeal to those who were other than "the executives and their wives". For example, a department store advertised "ladies' office wear" in Mainichi Newspaper around the time of the Rikyu's exhibition.

Selling high culture at affordable prices was one strategy to attract the "ordinary" customer. Traditional culture, including the tea ceremony, was a part of the high culture now on sale at department stores. It was presumably in the 1960s and 1970s that many major department stores built tearooms on one of their sales floors. Today, for instance, there is a tearoom on the sixth floor at Keio department store in Shinjuku, Tokyo, along with sales sections for kimonos, ceramics and other relatively costly Japanese commodities, as well as an art gallery, jewelry, clocks and watches, and luxurious bath-toiletry, such as brand-name towels (see floor plan in Figure 2, and Photograph 5).

To borrow Baudrillard's words, here the tea ceremony is sold as a "category"; it is "no longer referred to in relation to a specific utility, but as a collection of objects in their total meaning" (Baudrillard 1988, 31). Like washing machines, refrigerators and dishwashers sold under their superordinate categorical name of "appliances", the tea ceremony is now sold under the superordinate name "classy household". The floor plan indicates that the tearoom is categorized first as a part of "domestic" merchandise along with other items; among them, it is placed in the "high" end of the scale as opposed to "daily". Now, a cup of tea, which one drinks for five dollars in special

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10 Some of the earliest tearooms in department stores do not seem to have worked, though. The president of Shirokiya in 1964, whose father was the founder of the store and sukishia (tea ceremony lover), says, "My dad made a tearoom in the store. It was there until recently, but nobody touched it, as if it were go-shintai (symbolic objects of God in shrines). I removed it because everybody was perplexed with it" (Tanê 1964, 88). Probably it took time for tearooms to be diffused in commercial settings. Not a few of these tearooms were closed recently due to the economic depression.
Figure 2: Floor plan of the sixth floor, Keio department store, Shinjuku, Tokyo
Photograph 5: The tearoom in Keiō department store, Shinjuku, Tokyo
(The clock and watch sales section is on the left rear)
events at a department store, is a piece of merchandise along with a painting, a jewel or a luxurious clock, all of which were once monopolized by a limited number of the "rich" but are now available to the "ordinary".

In department stores, "traditional Japanese culture" including the tearoom, *kimono*, small accessories to the *kimono* such as Japanese-style bags and fans, and Japanese ceramics, are usually sold on the higher floors and the same floor as the most costly, imported Western items such as Royal Copenhagen ceramics or Swiss clocks. Considering that Western-style (even if Japan-made) objects overwhelmingly dominate department stores, preserving a territory for "traditional Japanese culture" as something relatively "high" has become one of department stores' major roles, along with importing and domesticating "things foreign" (cf. Creighton 1991).

The success of the 1961 exhibition in Tokyo was followed by another exhibition, under the same title and also sponsored by Mainichi Newspaper, at Daimaru, another major department store, in Osaka in 1962 (according to Mr. Koyama, department stores in Tokyo and Osaka often adopted each other's successful exhibitions). Probably due to the city's closeness to Rikyu's hometown Sakai, the Osaka exhibition annotated the exhibits with more a humane and dramatic narrative of Rikyu's life and death, judging by its brochure.

The Osaka exhibition seems to have facilitated adoption of the word *chasei* by Urasenke school, based in Kyoto, a city only half an hour's ride from Osaka. In contrast to the short article on the Tokyo exhibition in the school's journal *Tankō* a year before, the Osaka exhibition prompted a headlining, photographic article in the journal's May 1962 edition. In the same issue, another article also used the word *chasei*, that article, titled "Commemorating chasei" described the school's annual *chakai* commemorating Rikyu's death. Seven years later, in his 1969 book, which
strongly champions sôgô-bunka discourse (see the previous discussions), Sen Sôshitsu XV, although he does not explicitly use the word chasei. emphasized his blood as a descendant of Rikyu and his shamanistic mission, as distinct from a scholarly one:

A number of papers have been written by historians of the tea ceremony, but they seem superficial... To be honest, these scholars lack blood and training in the Way... I am not a historian nor philologist. But as the iemoto I am responsible for succeeding the tradition of the tea ceremony. So when I scrutinize classics or oral teachings by the late masters, everything directly relates to me, surpassing the temporal or spatial gap between us. Lu Yu, Eisai, Jukô or Jôwô directly talks to me, me as a writer today, me as a successor of the tradition of the tea ceremony. (Sen Sôshitsu 1969. 24-26; emphasis added)\(^1\)

Mentioning "blood" in claiming one's family's prestige, and authenticity of its practice of certain art, is familiar aristocratic behavior. Especially considering the Japanese milieu, in which many aristocratic houses "are associated with certain arts, crafts, and areas of scholarship as their house specialties" (Lebra 1990. 87), for example, the aristocratic-warrior Ogasawara family, Sen's statement convincingly gives him an aristocratic image.\(^2\) In the postwar time of increasing democracy, Sen's reference to blood, of which Rikyu's exalted status is a premise, must have stimulated a number of people's nostalgia for the feudal aristocracy.

Omotesenke and Mushanokôjisenke were on the same track in elevating Rikyu. In his 1966 book, Sen Sôsa, the iemoto of Omotesenke, wrote, "Since old times.

\(^{11}\) Lu Yu (733-803) is the author of The Classics of Tea. In his country China, he has been admired as "the sage of tea", "Doctor Tea" or "Tea God". Eisai (1141-1215) is a Japanese Buddhist who brought Zen Buddhism and tea from China in the late 12th century, and also is the author of Kissa yôjôki (Drinking tea for health). Sen does not mention Rikyu's name here probably because the book's objective is to explore the origin of spirituality of the tea ceremony before Rikyu.

\(^{12}\) Japanese aristocratic families' specialties include "poetry, calligraphy, Chinese classics, Confucianism, court music, court dance, biwa lute, flute, flower arrangement, incense art, court kickball sport, sumo wrestling, court-costume dressing, sewing, culinary art" (Lebra
Rikyu has been called *chasei*, and has been the summit and the ideal of all tea ceremony practitioners" (Sen Sōsa 1966, 217). The Mushanokōji-SENKE brochure from 1998 reads, "[The headmaster of this school] has been succeeding *chasei* Rikyu-koji’s *dō* (Way) and blood for 350 years incessantly and surely". The adoption of *chasei* by three branches of Sen family makes sense, considering the advantage this word gives them over other schools.

The (re-)emergence of the word *chasei* and its popularization in the 1960s attest to the (re-)establishment of Rikyu’s authority in modern times. Even if the word itself is not always used today, the idea of Rikyu as the one and only ideal tea ceremony practitioner has persisted ever since. In addition, as in Kuwata’s and Nakamura’s discussions, Rikyu as *chasei* in the 1960s was not only a guardian saint of the tea ceremony but also of Japanese culture in general. The latter point was significant especially for Urasenke, which explicitly adopted *sōgō-bunka* discourse to maintain that all “traditional” and “Japanese” domains were preserved in the tea ceremony.

5.2.4 "Sahō for women" discourse after 1945: Books by Shiotsuki

Due to the socio-economic changes in the postwar period, “ordinary” women who were teaching and learning *temae* as *sahō* became able to afford utensils, calligraphy or other “artistic” objects. More important, they obtained access to the knowledge behind these objects as well, including anecdotes of historical figures and events, which were necessary for the proper use of the objects. Now women were qualified to abandon the “women’s” tea ceremony and step into the tea ceremony filled

1993, 86).
with myths of glorious ancestors, formerly monopolized by men's.

The practice of the tea ceremony as "sahō for women", however, did not disappear after the war. On the contrary, it seems to have prevailed on a larger scale and in more modernized settings. For example, many middle-aged women practitioners that I met said that they had practiced the tea ceremony in clubs at their offices, where they worked until marriage. Another informant said she first learned it in a club of the women's dormitory at her secondary school. Both these women had learned the tea ceremony as a premarital activity, as women in the prewar period did. Apparently, opportunities for women to learn temae as a part of bridal training expanded to new settings, such as offices or women's dorms, as women's opportunities for work and studies expanded.

Such physical practice by women in the postwar period was discursively reinforced by, again, Urasenke: specifically, by Shiotsuki Yaeko, a sister of Sen Sōshitsu XV. A tea ceremony teacher, and a writer of numerous books on the tea ceremony and on kaiseki (formal cuisine), Shiotsuki is known to Japanese men and women over 50 years old today more as "Miss Manners". Her name is especially associated with the four-volume *Introduction to the manners in rites of passage* (*kankon-sōsai nyūmon*) published in 1970 and 1971, which sold, according to the author, seven million copies (Shiotsuki 1996, 1).

Interesting is that Shiotsuki's pedigree in the Sen family qualifies her as an advisor of traditional Japanese sahō in general. Considering her brother's strong

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13 Shiotsuki is known for her uninhibited, often scandalous life-style that contradicted the Sen family's official image, and which eventually led to her disownment from the family. Yet, her behavior only added to the populace's, especially women's, interest in the Sen family, like the case of Princess Diana and the Royal family. And the Sen family itself did not totally cut her off. Her books' "About the Author" pages without fail mention her
advocacy of the sôgō-bunka discourse since 1969, publication of her sahô books, starting in 1970, conforms to the family's campaign that the tea ceremony preserves everything traditional and Japanese. Moreover, Shiotsuki plays a special role in the family as a teacher of the traditional sahô specifically for women.

In 1957, Shiotsuki presented herself not only as a tea ceremony teacher but also as a teacher of women's sahô, by commencing a series of articles titled Tea and daily manners (O-cha to nichijô no sahô) in Urasenke's monthly journal Tankô. One 1958 articles shows pictures of Shiotsuki in kimono in front of a TV camera, talking about women's sahô in kimono. She writes "for those who missed the show":

> These days, in Tokyo and elsewhere, I am more often asked to teach daily body movement in modern life based on the knowledge of the tea ceremony, rather than sahô of the tea ceremony itself... First of all. [sahô for] women in kimono definitely comes from the tea ceremony.... We know that our famous Kamikaze Taxis in Tokyo are necessities of our modern life. But watch how [women in kimono] get into the taxi through that small door. Many are showing awful manners. (Shiotsuki 1958, 94)

She then argues that one could apply the tea ceremony sahô for women to crawl into the small tearoom to the taxi situation (Shiotsuki 1958, 96). She further maintains:

> Although women's life in the feudal era must have been really colorless, I do wish to transmit the wisdom of life they accumulated throughout 300 years to modern women. Yet today, there remains nothing but the tea ceremony that can do this task. (Shiotsuki 1958, 97: emphasis added)

Her claim that the tea ceremony is the only sanctuary for women's traditional sahô resonates with her brother's advocacy that the tea ceremony as sôgō-bunka is the last bastion of anything traditional and Japanese.

After establishing her name as a sahô teacher for "all the Japanese nation" in pedigree, impossible if the Sen family prohibited it.
1970 and 1971, Shiotsuki continues to write etiquette books especially for women. Some of her books on the tea ceremony virtually fall into this category. Her 1973 book *Wakai-hito no tame no sadô no hon* (The book of the tea ceremony for young people), for example, shows abundant pictures of young women in *kimono* and none of young men, despite its gender-free title. In the introduction, "Sahô of the tea ceremony in daily life" (*Nichijô seikatsu ni ikiru chanoyu no sahô*), she writes:

> When you visit somebody's home...you may sometimes notice the serenity...and elegance of movement of the hostess... Am I favoring my position too much if I conclude that such an attitude reflects, without exception, her mastery of the tea ceremony? (Shiotsuki 1973, 2)

Although she published only one book in the 1950s and one in the 1960s, Shiotsuki's productivity jumped up in 1970s, when she produced 18 books. After publishing 23 books in the 1980s and 19 books between 1990 and 1997, her energy has not waned, even in the late 1990s. (During my field trip from 1998 to 1999, she published at least one book.)

Although not all of these books are about women's *sahô* based on the knowledge of the tea ceremony, Shiotsuki clearly is the leading postwar figure to reproduce the Meiji-born discourse that the tea ceremony is a means for women to acquire *sahô*.

5.3. **Popularization of the tea ceremony among women after 1945**

5.3.1. "The postwar family system": Increase of urban housewives

Be it the new discourse of *sôgô-bunka* or the familiar discourse of "sahô for

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14 These data are based on searching the catalogue of the National Diet Library of Japan.
15 Besides the tea ceremony and/or women's *sahô*, Shiotsuki writes on such tangential topics as Kyoto-style cuisine, ceramics, *kimono* coordination, jewelry coordination, happy arranged date, happy marriage, how women should live in their 20s, 30s, 40s, 50s, 60s, and later (she is now over 80 years old herself).
women". discursive products by the thinking elite or by the Sen family would have soon died away, like seeds scattered on rocky ground, without a substantial number of people to appreciated these discourses. In particular, generations of women nurtured these discourses through their practice of the tea ceremony.

Conforming to the statistical data (Chapter 2), more than half of the tea ceremony practitioners I met in the field were women between their late 40s and their early 70s (as of 1998). Two characteristics of women of their generation are relevant to this study. First, demographically, these women belong to a cohort born between 1925 and 1950, which, in transition from "high birthrate, high death rate" to "low birthrate, low death rate", constituted generations of "high birth rate, low death rate". Consequently, this cohort has a larger population than the cohorts of the 25-year spans before and after it (Ochiai 1997, 86-88). The 1960 Income Doubling Plan, which was designed to bring about the doubling of the real national income during the decade from 1961 to 1970, and actually accelerated economic growth, was, in the mind of Prime Minister of the time, a necessity for preventing this large number of nation from starving (Ito Tatsuya (1989); cited in Ochiai 1994, 88). Second, sociologically, women of this cohort constituted an unprecedented number of urban housewives. This phenomenon was an integral part of the Income Doubling Plan and great economic growth, which produced an unprecedented number of urban (male) employees. Under these two conditions, the number of tea ceremony practitioners greatly inflated in the postwar era.

According to Ochiai, the increase of urban housewives took place in Japan only after World War II. Certainly, wives who exclusively did housekeeping had existed

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16 Japan, s.v. "Income-Doubling Plan."
among government officials' or high-ranking company workers' households in the Meiji period. Such wives came to constitute a visible social group after World War I, when accelerated industrialization produced a number of urban paid workers. These workers constituted the "new middle class" (in contrast to the "old middle class", which comprised of old merchant families), resided in suburbs and commuted to inner cities. This very separation between workplace and home made wives "housewives", who managed the home in their husbands' absence (Ochiai 1997, 43-45).

The normalization of the housewife role after World War II, however, was unprecedented. Female labor force participation rate in Japan was 56.7% in 1955, when the great economic growth started. In the following two decades, the rate kept declining: 54.5% in 1960, 50.6% in 1965, 49.9% in 1970, hitting the bottom in 1975 at 45.7%. Although the rate began to rise slightly thereafter, it only reached 48.7% (still short of 50%) in 1985. Seeing that from 65% to 70% of the population not in the labor force was engaged in "housekeeping" from 1955 to 1975, one can conclude that it was during the period of the great economic growth that married life for the majority of women came to mean exclusive engagement in housekeeping. In other words, unlike the prewar period, when housewives were one of the social groups along with wives in farming, in self-employed businesses or with professions, housewives in the postwar period constituted such an overwhelming majority as to allow a social norm

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17 Female labor force participation rate = (Labor force ÷ Female population 15 years old and over) × 100.
18 All the statistics above are from Japan Statistical Association (1987, 375). The second major reason for 15-year-old and older women not to be in labor force is "attending school". The number of women in this category constantly increased throughout the postwar period. Yet, women's continuing schools after 15 years old does not necessarily conflict women's becoming housewives later. Rather, as I observe, this trend has been increasing the number of higher educated housewives.
that "non-housewives are non-women" (Ochiai 1997, 47-48).

This trend is of course due to the further increase of urban male paid workers, or so-called sarari-man (salaried men). Ochiai terms this split of gender roles among the majority of Japanese men and women, along with its incidentals such as dominance of the nuclear family and a tendency to have two children per family, the "postwar family system" (Ochiai 1997, especially Chapter 5).

Table 2 juxtaposes the major postwar economic and social incidents and the approximate life patterns of women born in 1925, 1938 and 1950 (73, 60, and 48 years old as of 1998) respectively. These patterns are extracted from my interview data of women who were approximately at each respective age (for their own, more detailed narratives, see Chapter 8). The "postwar family system" was established during the period of great economic growth (1955-1973); the marriage lives of these women born between 1925 and 1950 largely overlap this period of growth. In other words, the marriage lives of these women and their husbands were the embodiment of the "postwar family system".

The majority of women under the norm of the "postwar family system" were regulated to subordinate educational and economic status to men. Although post-secondary education was opened to more women after the war, it took decades for it to become popular. For instance, according to the records in the 1997 alumnae book of Tsuda Women's College, established in 1900 and entitled as a "college" in 1948, the number of graduates constantly increases after the war: 169 in 1951, 222 in 1961 and 282 in 1971. Yet it leaps to 428 in 1973, due to the college's establishment of a new department. These figures reflect the public demand for women's post-secondary education, which probably began to increase in the 1970s.

Most female tea ceremony practitioners over 50 I met are high school
Table 2. Three typical life patterns of women under the "poorer family system"

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<tr>
<td><strong>Husband's retirement</strong></td>
<td>66+ Children marry parents die</td>
<td>66+ Children reach adulthood</td>
<td>66+ Children marry parents die</td>
<td>66+ Children reach adulthood</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Start T.C.</strong></td>
<td>20+ Bear second child</td>
<td>20+ Get married</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Start Working</strong></td>
<td>22+ Graduate college</td>
<td>26+ Graduate junior college</td>
<td>22+ Graduate high school</td>
<td>22+ Graduate high school</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Household chores</strong></td>
<td>22+</td>
<td>26+</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Start T.C.</strong></td>
<td>20+ Bear first child</td>
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<td><strong>Start Working</strong></td>
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<td>26+ Graduate junior college</td>
<td>22+ Graduate high school</td>
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Women born in 1980

Women born in 1985

Women born in 1990

Women born in 1995

V= very, M= male, F= female, C= case, T= Time, P= parents, X= year, Y= year, D= death.
graduates, while their husbands usually have white-collar jobs requiring university diplomas, such as company worker, civil servant, schoolteacher, doctor or researcher. The women did not receive post-secondary education either for external reasons, such as parents' opposition, financial deficit or social pressure, or for internal ones, such as their own hesitation or reluctance. In a clear example of the latter, a 57-year-old tea ceremony teacher said that she had rejected her parents' advice that she go to university around 1959 because she "badly wanted to marry". The persistent reluctance among women and/or their parents to have women receive post-secondary education further appears in the statement of a 60-year-old non-tea ceremony practitioner, who is a college graduate and now a manager of a private English school. According to her, at "the best girls' high school" in the prefecture she graduated from, only one-third of graduates pursued the higher education around 1956.

Some younger women in this cohort are graduates of junior college; that is, two-year college mostly for women. The majority have worked in offices such as banks or electric companies, until marriage. Some of these younger women in this cohort start part-time jobs after the busiest period of child rearing. Part-time women's labor, although the exact year of its initiation is not certain, apparently began in the early 1960s at a few major corporations in Japan and was adopted by other companies within a decade. It became popular among married women in the 1970s: in 1985 part-time workers made up 22.0% of entire female employees in Japan (Ueno 1990. 210). Women's return to the workplace is often explained in a twofold way: by financial demands to complement the family budget, and by psychological demands to

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19 The social norm that women work "until marriage (but not after that)" was established in industrialized countries after World War I, when increased demand for labor force due to the economic growth came to be juxtaposed with the persisting patriarchal family system.
relate themselves to society. Obviously, however, part-time workers are subordinate to full-time workers in wages or job security. This economically and socially unequal relationship holds true at home between husbands and wives, as well as in workplaces between male and female workers.

In terms of their major domestic duty, child rearing, women in the 1960s inspired the media to produce the idiom kyōiku-mama (education mama), which often attracts oversea-based researchers' attention (for example Lebra 1984, 195-208; Allison 1996, 136; Allinson 1997, 115). Kyōiku-mama refers to "the domestic counterpart of sararii-man", encompassing a major responsibility "to rear children, especially the males, to successfully pass the competitive tests needed to enter high school and college" (Allinson 1997, 115). According to statistics by the Ministry of Education, the advancement rate to universities and junior colleges in 1955, the year the economic growth started, was 10.1% (male 15.0%, female 5.0%). The rate doubled to 21.4% (male 26.2%, female 16.1%) in 1969, and tripled to 32.2% (male 37.5%, female 26.2%) in 1973.\(^\text{30}\) In a society preoccupied with the economy, a higher diploma from a better school was considered the certificate for "better", more prestigious and higher-paying, jobs; parents' good wishes for their children often made them enthusiastic supporters of the children's studies.

However, there was no such idiom as "education papa"; it was "mamas" who became a social phenomenon. Perhaps "papas" were too busy under the notorious working conditions during the economic growth, which added the Japanese word karōshi (death by overwork) to the international vocabulary. In Ministry of Labor statistics from 1950 to 1985, most industries report from an average of 175 to 200

\(^\text{30}\) (Ueno 1990, 187-189).
working hours a month, and the longest working hours (a little over 200 hours) in some year between 1955 and 1961. Such figures represent only a part of reality; although the Ministry claims that overtime hours are included, popular anecdotes relate that workers in the period of economic growth did not necessarily report their extra labor to the companies.

Yet, one could also argue that "papas" were enjoying their freedom from domestic concerns, in the guise of hard work, too much to cooperate with "mamas", in the guise of hard work, which I could not help but suspect from the women's narratives I collected (Chapter 8). In any case, Allinson must be right in saying that "[a]lthough kyoiku-mama was something of a stereotype, many women during the sixties found themselves forced into just such a role by both husbandly demands and societal expectations" (Allinson 1997, 115).

Another common life experience among women in this cohort is caring for elderly parents (-in-law) at home. Due to the prolonged life span after the war, these women constituted the first generations to give long-term care to the elderly. In addition, surviving pre-war Confucian virtues about the duty of daughters, or of daughters-in-law if their husbands are the first sons, make them take full responsibility for caring for sick and elderly parents (-in-law). I met during my research at least five women who "finished" giving care for their parents (-in-law) at home, three who were caregivers right then, and one who quit the tea ceremony to care for her mother (-in-law). If I include the stories I heard indirectly, the number of such women-caregivers in this cohort, whether tea ceremony practitioners or non-practitioners, is countless.

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To summarize, women in this cohort share similar experiences with urban housewives. They are wives of full-time white-collar urban workers with an average of two children. They have been temporary workers before marriage and are sometimes part-time workers after child rearing. The first 10 or 20 years of their marriage are fully devoted to raising children. Their husbands are more salary deliverers than cooperators in domestic matters. The women take it as their major responsibility to raise educationally successful children, especially sons. They also take it as their major responsibility to give care to aged parents (in-law), when necessary. Interestingly, the two edges of the cohort, those born in 1925 and in 1950, despite a one-generation gap, have more similarities than differences in their life patterns. Women born after 1950 also more or less follow this same track, living the same norm of "women are housewives" established by the 1925-1950 cohort.

5.3.2 Popularization of the tea ceremony among women under the "postwar family system"

The "postwar family system" facilitated the popularization of the tea ceremony in two ways. First, under the norm that women ought to be housewives, women, first of all, must marry. For this purpose, they must undertake appropriate training before "marketing" themselves. Here, the Meiji-born norm of sahó as women's bridal training still applies. A 74-year-old tea ceremony teacher, who married a few years after the war, said, "Around that time, a woman who could not write in her CV (for arranged date/marriage) flower arrangement, the tea ceremony, sewing, cooking and knitting (as her hobbies/specialties) was out of the question". Interestingly, a younger

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tea ceremony teacher, despite being 16 years younger the former, had held this same belief in 1960, when she started the tea ceremony as a 19-year-old woman eager to marry.

Yet, contrary to the general belief, popularization of the tea ceremony as an essential part of bridal training is not a Meiji-born but a postwar-born phenomenon. For instance, out of four active and non-active women tea ceremony practitioners about 80 years old I met, two said that they did not practice it before marriage but started it only when their children were relatively grown up. At the same time, both women recalled that they learned sahô at jogakkô, or girls' high school, before the war. Their narratives suggest that older women who received official sahô education at school in the prewar period learned the tea ceremony not as necessary bridal training, but rather as a "preferable" hobby.

On the other hand, women who received postwar secondary education, which no longer had sahô courses in the curriculum, had to find a means of learning sahô outside the school. Thus, both residual pressure on young women to learn sahô as bridal training, and the lack of such opportunities in school education, led a number of women in the postwar period to the tea ceremony at club activities or at private schools. Campaigns by tea ceremony schools, best exemplified by Shiotsuki's discourses, which both reproduced such pressure on young women and presented the tea ceremony as the only opportunity for them to learn sahô, certainly facilitated this trend.

22 Girls' high schools from 1899 (when Ministry of Education of Meiji government issued regulations on girls' secondary education) to 1946 are called (kôto) jogakkô, while those from 1947 on are called joshi kôto gakkô. The former differed from the latter in that the curriculums fostered "good wives and wise mothers" (ryôsai kenbo), who would practice the nationalistic-militaristic governmental policy in domestic space (see Chapter 4). The curricula of jogakkô included classes of sahô and emphases on domestic training, not seen in their counterpart in the postwar period. Unlike high school after the war, jogakkô was
Second, the "postwar family system", in which women had only two children on average, brought women a long post-child-rearing period. No wonder that these women seek for works or hobbies to do for the decades remaining of their lives. According to Ochiai, women born between 1936 and 1940 tend to consider that their children "have grown up" when they finish senior high school (the women themselves would be in their 40s), and start cultural activities, while those born 10 years later, between 1946 and 1950, tend to think that their children "have grown up" when they enter junior high school (the women themselves would be in their 30s), and start part-time jobs or activities in local communities (Ochiai 1997, 161-162).

Here, the former generation's life pattern, along with the relative affluence brought by economic growth, greatly contributed to the establishment of many institutions of adult cultural education. Typical are "culture centers" (karuchā sentā) established in the late 1970s, which became available for women of later generations as well.\(^{23}\) In addition, housewives of later generations, while having part-time jobs, are not indifferent to cultural activities. Rather, they join cultural activities feeling less guilty about the extra expense, with income from their own jobs. (I met two women having part-time jobs in the tea ceremony course at a community center.) In this situation, no wonder many of them return to hobbies they are already familiar with, to brush up or improve them. Thus, the tea ceremony, a popular premarital training for women of certain generations, regains some of its lapsed, former

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affordable only for a limited population of young women.

\(^{23}\) "Culture centers" refer to adult-education centers offering courses on a wide variety of subjects for a fee. Many are operated by newspaper companies, department stores and broadcasting companies. They offer courses including such subjects as languages, art, traditional Japanese accomplishments, sports, musical instruments, personal computers, and word processing (Japan, c.v. "culture centers"). For an ethnography of a trip to visit historic sites of the tea ceremony organized by one of the largest chain of such centers, see
practitioners after a few decades.

The popularization of the tea ceremony in the postwar era, often described as "unprecedented", could not have happened without these women, who were both demographically large in numbers and urban housewives. Although no statistical data indicate how the population of tea ceremony practitioners changed before and after World War II (due to the typical sectarianism of institutions of Japanese traditional cultural activities), one interview datum I obtained in 1998 may be suggestive.

A 60-some high-ranking tea ceremony teacher of Urasenke school in Tokyo said that his father, who was also a high-ranking tea ceremony teacher of the school, had 30 pupils, one man and 29 women, immediately before the war. Today he teaches about 300 pupils, about 15 of whom are men while about 285 are women. This suggests that the ratio between man and women practitioners, in this family's case 1 to 29, has not drastically changed since immediately before the war: and that male practitioners, contrary to the general belief, probably increased after the war, due to the affluence brought by economic growth. However, the increase in women practitioners far surpassed that in men, maintaining the predominance of women. Thus, popularization of the tea ceremony after the war is synonymous with popularization of the tea ceremony among women.

Symbolically, in Mainichi Newspaper in 1961, a series of articles of Rikyu and the tea ceremony written by three iemoto of the Sen family, as well as by scholars and museum specialists, to advertise Shirokiya's exhibition about Rikyu, appeared on "Housekeeping" (katei) pages from April 17 to 21. On the same pages appeared
another series of articles, titled "A diary from danchi" (danchi niki).

*Danchi* were large-scale, high-density residences promoted since the 1960s in order to "house the waves of families moving into the peripheries of Tokyo and other large cities" (Allinson 1997, 148-149). They characteristically comprised a sequence of similar, massive apartment buildings standing close to each other and sharing the same facilities, such as yards or nearby schools. Most of the residents were young nuclear families. Wives, who were housewives, and their young children had to spend most of their time in this enclosed community space, together with other young mothers and children from similar backgrounds. The "Diary" depicts psychological tensions and stresses born out of the relationships among those wives: for example, problems with looking into each other's balconies and gossiping, or questions of how far one should be involved in club activities of the *danchi* community. Contrary to the view of Mr. Koyama of Shirokiya, who regarded the tea ceremony first of all as men's domain and expected male visitors to the exhibition, Mainichi Newspaper had already grasped the new trend—the tea ceremony was appealing more to women than to men—and juxtaposed Rikyu and the tea ceremony with urban or suburban housewives' concerns.

Once the tea ceremony became fashionable, some women, unsatisfied with cultural centers' basic teaching, headed to the authentic teachings of the *iemoto*, especially of the Sen family, as had merchants in the middle of the Edo period (Chapter 4). With ambitions of higher achievement and its certification by authority ("permissions"), some headed to private teachers, who mediated between them and the *iemoto*. Having reached relatively advanced levels, especially teachers' licenses, some wanted to be directly taught by the *iemoto* or somebody near him. Reflecting this trend, Urasenke established in 1956 its Tokyo *dōjō* (training site), where *gyōtei*
(second-highest teachers) from Kyoto taught. Today the training site, which teaches about 600 practitioners, who are all teachers above jun-kyōju or "associate professor" level, is so crowded that one has to wait from seven to 10 years from application to admission, according to the staff. Urasenke also founded a teaching institution in Kyoto in 1962, which was legitimised as a post-secondary school by the Ministry of Education in 1976. The school now holds about 70 students, all of whom live in its dormitory. In 1965 Mushakōjisenke also built a training site in Tokyo.

In order to restore the halo that had been outshone by the glitter of modern industrialists in the prewar period (Chapter 4), the iemoto had to revitalise the pyramid system, the system based on drills of temae and permissions, in which they stood at the top. For this purpose, they had to obtain a mass "following" who would constitute the bottom and middle of the pyramid. Nobody seemed more ready to undertake these positions than women under the "postwar family system".
PART IV

WOMEN'S
PHYSICAL AND DISCURSIVE PRACTICES
OF THE TEA CEREMONY TODAY
CHAPTER 6:
SHACHU AND THE NETWORK
OF TEA CEREMONY PRACTITIONERS

6.0 Introduction

Both the development of temae as body-mind discipline and the accumulation of myths have been integral parts of the tea ceremony since its birth. In addition, temae, at one time detached from myths of glorious ancestors and imposed specifically on women as sahô, became exalted to "art" and conflated with every domain of "traditional" "Japanese" culture through the post-war sōgo-bunka discourse.

The next three chapters (6, 7 and 8) illustrate and analyze how contemporary women tea ceremony practitioners now practice the pedagogy of temae and the discourses elaborated throughout history. Based on my participant observation and interviews, these chapters argue that temae today forms a means for married women without professions to match their male family members' educational and economic capital, rather than a means for unmarried women to discipline their body/mind as a part of bridal training, as it did previously. At a more abstract level, temae today motivates a means for married women to challenge male-dominant society, and less of a means for unmarried women to subject themselves to it.

I owe this resistance paradigm to Nishiyama (1959), who attributed the increase of housewives-tea ceremony practitioners after the war to their subordinate status in society, which parallels that of the eighteenth-century Edo townsmen:

[In early modern times,] Japanese women, after the long, inhumane practice of the ethics represented by Onna-daigaku ["Women’s great lessons": see Chapter 4] in the Edo period, did not even have the mindset to long for a compensatory world for their lack of freedom as citizens... Only in this period
[after World War II], women were given freedom to act on their own will. Yet, of course, Japan was not completely renewed. Housewives were surrounded by double and triple difficulties in realizing that theoretical or legal freedom. Their situation is extremely close to that of common men in the Edo period, who established themselves, were ready to get freedom, but could not get it and compensated for their lack of freedom in the world of amusement (yüge). (Nishiyama 1959, 146-147)

As he points out, Edo townsmen, townsmen in the preceding era, and women-housewives in the postwar period all resemble each other in having relative affluence but comprising nondominant groups. Therefore, no wonder women-housewives look for some form of solution for their unfulfilled lives in the tea ceremony, as commoners in the feudal era did. For this purpose, women tea ceremony practitioners in the postwar period have two choices. First, as women in prewar times did, they may practice temae without especially relating it to myths, and transmit it among themselves to maintain a unique social space for each other (see Chapter 4). Second, as uniquely in the postwar period with sógō-bunka discourse, women may not only practice temae but also study other related areas, and actively incorporate myths in their keiko, chakai and chaji. Both strategies can be seen among women practitioners today.

This chapter illustrates shachū, the minimal unit of practitioners, and its surrounding social network, in which all tea ceremony practitioners are enmeshed. These shachū, which tend to be formed on the basis of practitioners' economic backgrounds, also function as a device for practitioners to choose their discourse, either "temae as sahō" or sógō-bunka. Chapter 7 illuminates explicit and implicit motifs in the discourses and practices of the tea ceremony today, arguing that the myths of glorious ancestors and metaphysics lurk under the explicit motifs of "seasonal feelings". Chapter 8 presents personal narratives of married, middle-aged and older women tea
ceremony practitioners, in comparison to those of single/widowed women practitioners, male practitioners, and younger women practitioners, in order to elucidate the meaning of the tea ceremony in married women's lives.

6.1 Women's tea ceremony social networks

How I myself became engaged in the tea ceremony eight years ago, and how I located the five groups for the current research, will elucidate the female-biased, personal social network in which most female tea ceremony practitioners are enmeshed.

In 1991, while a master's student in my mid-20s, I started learning the tea ceremony of Urasenke school, wishing to make the non-linguistic communication in the ceremony a part of my thesis topic. My teacher, Mrs. Hasegawa, was jun-kyōju (associate professor) in Urasenke school. A 50-year-old sales clerk, she was married to a junior high school teacher. She was then a mother of a grade nine student whom I was teaching at a private English school run by my own mother. Her and my families lived within five minutes' biking distance in a middle-class residential area in Urawa, a suburban bedroom community north of Tokyo.

I first heard that Mrs. Hasegawa was teaching the tea ceremony from my mother, who said, "Mrs. Hasegawa was saying she would welcome if any of you girls (I have two younger sisters) wanted to learn the tea ceremony." Besides my academic interest, the fact that both of my sisters had learned it in clubs at school inclined me to do the same activity. My intention was "Let's get the materials for my thesis and learn good manners at the same time." I joined keiko with two housewives around the same age as Mrs. Hasegawa, who seemed to have known her through PTA activities. I went to Mrs. Hasegawa's house three times a month on Saturdays, until I
moved to Toronto to start my Ph.D. program in 1995.

When I paid a short visit to Japan in 1997, to locate groups for participant observation that I was to conduct the following year, Mrs. Hasegawa was teaching just one woman, a middle-aged elementary school teacher whom she met at a local class of kaiseki culinary art. I asked Mrs. Hasegawa to introduce me to someone who taught 20 to 30 pupils, as I needed to observe a certain number of people in a group. I also wished to participate in and observe a group of young women, both to facilitate my research as a young woman myself and because I then held the hypothesis that the tea ceremony today was still first and foremost for women before marriage. Hearing these conditions, Mrs. Hasegawa introduced me to Mrs. Nakano.

**Mrs. Nakano**, 74, was another jun-kyōju in Urasenke school. She was the wife of a retired economist and *ane-deshi* ("big sister pupil"—one's senior who has been a pupil of the same teacher) to Mrs. Hasegawa. Mrs. Nakano and Mrs. Hasegawa had been learning the tea ceremony from the same older woman for about 30 years, although neither of them went to the teacher very often recently. Mrs. Nakano lived in B ward, an upper-middle class residential area in Yokohama, an industrial city southwest of Tokyo. She was teaching approximately 50 pupils, almost all of whom were women and only about 10 of whom were young, unmarried women. Mrs. Hasegawa respected her *ane-deshi* Mrs. Nakano so much for her enthusiasm in studying many domains related to the tea ceremony, that she started *keiko* at Mrs. Nakano's house at the same time as I started my participant observation at Mrs. Nakano in June 1998. Because the train ride from our city to Yokohama took two hours, Mrs. Hasegawa, a weekday worker and a housewife, could not continue the *keiko*. Because it was difficult for me too to pay a regularly visit a place that far, and because young women's classes met only irregularly, I could not help but randomly
I conduct my participant observation twice a month with several different age groups.

I met another teacher Miss Hamabe, a single, 57-year-old full-time office clerk, through an old woman friend who once learned the tea ceremony but quit it on marriage. I first asked the friend to introduce me to her own former teacher, a 78-year-old woman in Omotesenke Fuhaku-ryu school (an offshoot of Omotesenke), expecting to meet a group of young unmarried women there. Unfortunately, my friend said, all the young women who once learned the tea ceremony with her quit it recently, also on marriage. Her former teacher, however, introduced me instead to Miss Hamabe, who was also in Omotesenke Fuhaku-ryu school and lived in my city. Miss Hamabe was a jikimon (person who is directly taught by the iemoto: the highest rank that amateurs can achieve in her school) teaching the tea ceremony to about 10 women, of whom only two were single young women. Working in flextime and being single, she exhibited a noteworthy devotion to the tea ceremony. Due to both her friendliness and the nearness of her home, I was most deeply involved in the activities of Miss Hamabe and her pupils during my field trip.

My own mother, 60, played a crucial role in my locating another two groups through her social network. First, she introduced me to Mrs. Takeuchi, 60, a jun-kyōju in Urasenke school and the wife of a doctor. She was a sister of my mother's former classmate, who was now a calligrapher and taught recently my mother calligraphy. Mrs. Takeuchi was teaching the tea ceremony to about 10 women. Five of them were young women in their 20s and early 30s, only one of whom was single. Mrs. Takeuchi lived in A ward, a prestigious residential area in Tokyo; her monthly lesson charge was relatively high. Due to budgetary limit, I joined keiko at her place only twice a month (I could have joined up to four times) in the class of the five young women. Because the young women and I became relatively close, I joined
some special activities with them, such as dinner at a restaurant or a monthly gathering of Urasenke's youth division (seinan-kai) in the district. Together with them, I also acted as an assistant in the New Year's chaji held by Mrs. Takeuchi.

My mother also informed me of tea ceremony courses at a municipal community center (H Community Center) in the neighboring ward in Urawa, where she was taking an aerobics course. The center offered two tea ceremony courses, daytime and evening, Urasenke- and Omotesenke-style respectively, three times a month each. I chose the daytime, Urasenke course for regular participation. It consisted of 20 women, from their late 30s to early 70s, most of them in their 50s. The class took place in every Tuesday afternoon; obviously, most of the participants were wives without full-time professions, while some were either part-timers or full-time workers in flextime. The teacher was a married woman in her early 60s and had her professional name (chamei). She was herself learning calligraphy at another community center.

Besides these four most-intensely observed groups—three with private teachers and one at a community center—I attended a tea ceremony course at M Community Center, in another neighboring ward in Urawa, for two months. My intention was to compare two community centers in different neighborhoods. Although H Community Center is in a new residential area whose residents are mainly urban commuters and their families, M Community Center is in an area where many of the residents farm their inherited lands as a primary or secondary occupation. M Community Center had one daytime, Omotesenke-style tea ceremony course twice a month, for which 13 women gathered. They seemed to be between their 40s and 70s, the majority from late 40s to 50s. I could tell most of them did some farming, seeing their sun-tanned, rugged "farmers' hands". Unlike the suburban housewives in H
Community Center, who were all dressed in skirts and were conscious of their manners and language even if casual, farmers' wives in M Community Center were mostly in pants and more open to each other in manners and language.

Table 3 presents a list of the five groups with which I conducted participant observation. They are ordered according with the relative prestige of the locations. The prices under the name of each residential area, which are official land prices published by each municipal government as of 2000, and monthly lesson fees are shown as indicators of relative differences among the average group income. Classes at private teachers are divided according to age groups of pupils.

The table raises two points. First, the total numbers of pupils are always "approximate" even for teachers, because some pupils attend keiko irregularly. Their commitment to the tea ceremony is contingent on other domains of their lives, such as jobs or family care.

Second, the participants fall into two major age groups: women in their 20s and women in their late 40s and up, especially in their 50s and 60s. Contrary to my first assumption as well as to general belief, the first group did not predominate among the practitioners I observed; the second group did. Among approximately 70 pupils at three private teachers, only 13 (19%) were unmarried women in their 20s. If I include the women I met at community centers, all of whom were married, middle-aged or older women, single women in their 20s form only 12.6% of the total 103 women I met. My sample roughly resembles the 1996 statistics (Chapter 2), which reported 421,000 women in their 20s (18%) out of 2,365,000 female tea ceremony practitioners, while women over 45 numbered 1,250,000 (53%). The remaining 29% were between 30s and 45 or else in their teens; these groups were not significantly large and/or fell outside the analysis here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Teacher /Institution</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Monthly Fee</th>
<th>Total Number of Pupils</th>
<th>Weekly Classes and Age Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Takeuchi</td>
<td>&quot;A&quot; Ward (prestigious residential area: ¥468,000/m²), Tokyo</td>
<td>¥6,000/1 lesson, ¥8,000/2 lessons, ¥10,000/3 lessons, ¥1,2000/4 lessons</td>
<td>Approx. 10</td>
<td>M: 20s ~ 30s (5) W: 60s (4) + a few private lessons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakano</td>
<td>&quot;B&quot; Ward (upper-middle class residential area: ¥322,000/ m²), Yokohama</td>
<td>¥3,000/1 lesson, ¥6,000/2 lessons, ¥7,000/3 lessons</td>
<td>Approx. 50</td>
<td>W: 60s ~ 70s (7) R: 40s (20+) F: 40s ~ 60s (8) W/F/S: 20s (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamabe</td>
<td>&quot;C&quot; Ward (middle class residential area: ¥240,000/m²), Urawa</td>
<td>¥3,000/1 lesson, ¥5,000/2 lessons, ¥7,000/3 lessons</td>
<td>Approx. 10</td>
<td>R: 50s (5) S: 50s ~ 60s (2) + a few private lessons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H Community Center</td>
<td>&quot;H&quot; Ward (new residential area; ¥240,000/m²), Urawa</td>
<td>¥2,000/3 lessons</td>
<td>Approx. 20</td>
<td>T: 30s ~ 70s (majority: 50s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Community Center</td>
<td>&quot;M&quot; Ward (partly farming area; ¥200,000/m²), Urawa</td>
<td>¥1,500/2 lessons</td>
<td>Approx. 13</td>
<td>R: 40s ~ 70s (majority: 50s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¥100 = about $1. M, T, W, R, F, S stand for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday respectively. "20s" stands for pupils in their 20s. The numbers in parentheses indicate the numbers of pupils in each age group. Underlined are the classes I was involved in most regularly and intensively throughout my field research period.

Table 3: The groups of participants by location
Of course, the older group has more members because it covers a broader range of ages compared to the younger group. However, not a few women restart or start the tea ceremony in their late 40s, and more often than not they then continue it for the rest of their lives. Unlike young unmarried women, who tend to quit the tea ceremony on marriage or childbirth, middle-aged and older women compose a more stable and long-lasting population of tea ceremony practitioners today.

Younger women's motives for practicing the tea ceremony vary: many young women do not articulate them. Some say they started it to acquire femininity, while others say they practice it as preparation for living abroad, where they wish to introduce Japanese culture. For some, the traditional norm of the tea ceremony as bridal training seems relevant. although none of the young women today I met explicitly said so (see Chapter 8). In any case, young women tend to quit the tea ceremony when their objectives are fulfilled, be these moving abroad or marriage. In comparison, the older women often explain their motives for practicing the tea ceremony, or hobbies in general, in terms of their wish to be occupied and productive in some sense after finishing the busiest period of child rearing. Because for them it comprises not a means of fulfilling some other objectives but an objective in itself, they tend to continue the tea ceremony for the rest of their lives (see Chapter 8).

The dominance of older women over younger women in number, and the younger women's varying accounts of their practice, indicate that the idea of the tea ceremony as "one of the arts a woman learns as part of preparation for marriage" (Mori 1991, 86) has become much less popular today than it must have been decades ago. Therefore, one can no longer say that the tea ceremony is primarily for young, unmarried women. Rather, it is for middle-aged or older, mostly married, women.
6.2 Shachû, a minimal social unit

A person who starts learning the tea ceremony gets inevitably involved in at least one social unit called shachû. Shachû consists of a teacher (sensei) and pupils (deshi or seito), and constitutes the unit on which almost all of one's practice of the tea ceremony is based. Its members have regular keiko, attend or host chakai or chaji, or have some extra activities together (see Chapter 7). Each of the five groups mentioned in the previous section constitutes a shachû.

Each shachû has functions on two levels: micro and macro. In its micro level, a shachû attracts people with similar social, economic and often educational backgrounds, and assures its members of a group-defined social identity. This function is important especially to married women without full-time professions, for they usually have fewer chances to recognize their identity in social and economic terms, except by assuming those of their spouses, compared to men and women with full-time jobs. Such congeniality and comfort among members is probably the prerequisite for each shachû to make a unique, welcoming social space for its members.

On the macro level, shachû opens the gate for both teachers and pupils to relate themselves to the iemoto. The teachers' "licenses" (kyojô; also, a "permission") assure pupils of the teachers' authenticity: when I visited my teacher Mrs. Hasegawa for my first keiko in 1991, she showed me kyojô stamped by the iemoto, and explained to me the Chinese characters of her professional name or chamei (3.4.2). At the same time, teachers mediate pupils' getting "permissions" issued by the iemoto. Moreover, teachers transmit to their pupils the latest teaching by the iemoto, which they regularly learn at exclusive seminars for teachers (see Chapter 7). In short, pupils can assume the iemoto's authority only through their teachers, and teachers can assume the iemoto's authority only when they transmit it to their pupils; either case
requires the existence of *shachū*. This transmission of authority through *shachū* again, especially attracts married women without full-time jobs, for it enables them to assume the authority of the *iemoto*. This authority belongs to a different dimension from, but can match, the economy- and education-based power relationships in society between full-time and part-time workers, between salaried and unsalaried domestic workers, or between university and secondary-school graduates. Most of these relationships are synonymous with those between men and women.

### 6.3 The formation of *shachū*

*Shachū* is more strongly recognized among private teachers' classes than at community centers or other "mass-production" teaching institutions. The private teachers I attended used the word *shachū* (or *o-shachū*, *o*-indicating politeness and femininity) casually to describe their own groups or others. On the other hand, at H Community Center, embarrassed laughter arose when the teacher described the group as *shachū*, so she had to reaffirm by saying, "Oh yes, we are *shachū* too!" The laughter probably arose because the term connotes strong peer identity, distinctiveness and even snobbery, which the group at the community center lacked.

If strong peer identity is the key to the group's self-identification as *shachū*, private teachers and their pupils have every reason to define themselves as such. The intimacy among the members is attributed not only to their small classes—usually less than 10 pupils, while in community centers a class usually has 10 to 20 pupils—but also to the family or social relationships they have aside from their practice of the tea ceremony. Members, including teachers, are often mother-and-daughter, sisters, relatives, old friends, or friends from school, work or other cultural activities. Most private teachers' pupils refer to somebody else in the same *shachū* as having
introduced them to that particular shachū or even to the tea ceremony itself. This
tendency contrasts with the tendency at community centers, where all the
practitioners I talked to said, “I joined this class because I saw the ad”. They hardly
ever mentioned anyone else in the same class as introducers, even if they happened to
live in the same neighborhood or may have known each other through PTA activities.

A person who joins a particular shachū often meets, or intends to meet, a
congenial group of people, both in social relations and in economic and social status.
Such congeniality is important for each member to assure of her identity determined
by others, as already stated. Community centers, which are usually ward-run,
usually attract people from particular neighborhoods, and thus tend to get people with
similar economic and social backgrounds together. On the other hand, in the case of
private teachers' shachū, the personal network plays as much role as the geographic
vicinity of pupils' residences for the similarities in shachū members' backgrounds.
Some pupils live in the same neighborhood as their teachers, while others also come to
the teachers from different wards or cities, although the travel time does not usually
exceed one hour.

I will compare two shachū, Takeuchi's and Hamabe's, in terms of each group's
atmosphere, the members' social backgrounds, and how they came to constitute their
current shachū. None of the pupils below live in the same neighborhood as their
teachers; one of them lives two hours' train ride from the teacher's house, and all the
others in from 15 minutes' to one hour's distance by car or by train. I will illustrate
the importance of each member's social web for the formation of shachū, and the
similarity of the economic and social (and educational) backgrounds among members
within each shachū which, at the same time, contrasts the two shachū.
6.3.1 Takeuchi shachū

Mrs. Takeuchi, 60, is a wife of a doctor living in A ward, one of the most prestigious residential areas in Tokyo. Dressed in *kimono* in every *keiko*, not always the case for private teachers, she is an elegant, sincere and modest woman. Sometimes talking over black tea and chocolate with her pupils in the Western-style living room before or after *keiko*, she makes her *shachū* a kind of salon. She started teaching the tea ceremony at her home some seven years ago, urged by two women now in her *shachū*: her young niece and her old friend.

Ryoko, a Ph.D. in her late 30s and a full-time literature teacher at a high school and a junior college, is a daughter of Mrs. Takeuchi's sister. Ryoko asked her aunt to teach the tea ceremony to her and her colleagues in the same literature Ph.D. program seven years ago, when she was a student. Women of the original members had already left the class due to marriage or childbirth.

Mayu, in her early 30s, and Naomi, in her late 20s, were two of those invited by Ryoko. Mayu, a part-time literature teacher at a junior college, is a daughter of an executive of a major company, and is married to an heir of another company. Naomi is a single Ph.D. student from a northeastern region, who often speaks of her wish to become a full-time housewife.

Yuriko, a housewife in her early 30s, is married to an heir of a prestigious hotel in Tokyo. She was invited to Takeuchi *shachū* three years ago by Mayu, whom she met at a private teacher's of another hobby of theirs, ceramics painting.

Miyako, a lawyer's wife in her late 20s, joined Takeuchi *shachū* three years ago. Miyako's elder sister and Takeuchi's daughter had known each other through parents' activities at their children's nursery school. Miyako started learning the tea ceremony at Mrs. Takeuchi, on the advice of her mother.
I attended the class of these five young women regularly. Some topics they chatted about before and after keiko were of kinds not heard in any other shachū. One day, for example, Mayu brought a photo book illustrating imported furniture that daughters of economically prominent people, of whom she was one, had bought as their dowries. The book was edited by a former pupil of the shachū. Admiring and giving comments on rococo or art nouveau furniture with completely European-style interior coordination in the houses of those recently married bourgeois ladies, no one in the shachū looked uncomfortable, nor did Mayu look boastful. Mayu's behavior would immediately meet a cold reaction in any other shachū I know.

Along with these young women, Takeuchi shachū includes a group of women in their 60s, which formed around two key women.

Mrs. Hanamori, 60, has been a close friend of Takeuchi since their childhood. They started learning the tea ceremony together in their hometown, Urawa, when they both were 18. They kept in touch while married life separated them geographically. Some 20 years ago Mrs. Hanamori, who settled in Tokyo due to her husband's job, restarted visiting her old friend Mrs. Takeuchi for socializing and learning French and other culinary arts from her. Six years ago, when Mrs. Takeuchi had already been teaching her niece and other young women for a year, Mrs. Hanamori asked Mrs. Takeuchi to teach the tea ceremony to her too.

Five years later, Mrs. Nakagawa, an old friend of Mrs. Takeuchi and Mrs. Hanamori since childhood, brought to Mrs. Takeuchi her own daughter who wanted to learn the tea ceremony before going abroad. After the daughter left for overseas, Mrs. Nakagawa herself started the tea ceremony with her old friends. Mrs. Nakagawa brought her cousin and friend to the class along with herself. Mrs. Hanamori, Mrs. Nakagawa and Mrs. Takeuchi say they are happy that the tea ceremony added a new
teacher-pupil tie to their old friendship. The fact that the three are alumnæ of a prestigious prefecture-run junior high school in their hometown may reinforce a part of their peer identity.

The three middle-aged women mentioned above, as well as two others at around the same age, are all housewives who have finished child rearing. Some of them are now caring for their elderly parent(s) (-in-law), while Mrs. Takeuchi had finished that task. They are so congenial that Mrs. Nakagawa comes to *keiko* at Mrs. Takeuchi’s house despite nearly two hours’ train ride.

6.3.2 Hamabe *shachū*

Miss Hamabe, 57, is a full-time office clerk specialized in accounting. Being single all her life, she lives in a modest-size house that she built for herself in a decent middle-class residential area in Urawa at the age of 35. Energetic, diligent and frank, she treats her pupils like colleagues or friends. She started holding her own *shachū* 12 years ago, soon after assisting her own teacher’s tea ceremony course at a community center (or *komi-sen*, in the jargon of pupils there).

At the tea ceremony course, Miss Hamabe met five housewives in their 40s, who knew each other only superficially through PTA activities. The five soon became enthusiastic practitioners, and started *keiko* together at the house of Miss Hamabe’s teacher. Still unsatisfied, they secretly started *keiko* at Miss Hamabe’s house as well. To this day, the five women, now in their late 50s, are enthusiastic pupils of Miss Hamabe, whom Miss Hamabe humorously calls “the Group of Five” (*gonin-gumi*).

Miss Hamabe met another two future *shachū* members of hers when she started teaching at a tea ceremony club in a courier company seven years ago as a substitute for her old and frail teacher. Mrs. Furuta is a 59-year-old full time office
clerk at the company. Although she had been learning the tea ceremony for decades from the same teacher as Miss Hamabe, Mrs. Furuta started private keiko at Miss Hamabe’s house six years ago together with her office colleague Mrs. Onda, 40-some years old, who was then a beginner. Unlike "the Group of Five" housewives, who have keiko in the daytime on Thursdays, Mrs. Furuta and Mrs. Onda are full-time workers and can attend keiko only on weekends. Therefore they have keiko with two young working women.

Masami, a single, 26-year-old municipal servant, is a daughter of one of "the Group of Five" housewives. Influenced by her mother, she started keiko with Miss Hamabe when she was a high school student.

Miwa, a single, 27-year-old office clerk at an electronic company, started the tea ceremony some four years ago. Miwa’s mother advised her daughter to go to Miss Hamabe, about whom she heard from Masami’s mother. The two mothers first met when Miwa’s mother ordered the hand-painted patterns of her kimono at the workshop run by Masami’s father.

Despite the age difference, the four women and the teacher in the Saturday class, all of whom are office clerks, are congenial. During keiko they sometimes talk about how (badly) their jobs are going, or how weird their bosses or colleagues are, laughing and joking. Also, they often talk about where they can buy good sweets, such as this maker’s cake in this department store near that station—a typical conversation topic of (especially single) female office workers, who have relative freedom in mobility, time and money compared to housewives. In addition, the older women, including Miss Hamabe, sometimes tease the two young women about their delay in marrying, although nobody is actually hurting or being hurt by that. Any of these members in Hamabe shachů, even if cheerful and friendly, would be at a loss of
conversation topics if she was placed in Takeuchi shachū.

6.3.3 Student-teacher relations

As shachū is such a congenial unit, it is not unnatural that pupils are often personally involved with their teachers. At all the private teachers' shachū I attended, I heard pupils express their personal attachment to their teachers such as: "It's not that anybody can learn from anybody (but chemistry is important)" (Miyako, Takeuchi shachū); "I couldn't have continued the tea ceremony if it was not with this teacher" (One of the "Group of Five", Hamabe shachū; Yuriko, Takeuchi shachū); "Our teacher is different from other teachers" (a woman in her sixties, Nakano shachū). A schoolteacher in her mid-50s in Nakano shachū states:

I have heard that pupils of the tea ceremony have deeper ties with their teachers than pupils of other disciplines, like, say, ... painting. The pupils of the tea ceremony back-up their teachers in o-chaji and so on, and come to know the teachers' way of thinking.... In reverse, I think it is very scary to be a tea ceremony teacher because one has to expose all about oneself, including family life, to pupils.... In this sense, I adore Mrs. Nakano, her entire being, including her personality. You can learn just temae from many other teachers [but Mrs. Nakano teaches you much more].

Even at H Community Center, when the teacher wondered why almost all of the class kept coming, which did not usually happen at community centers, a pupil said, "Because our teacher is good".

6.4 Shachū as a device for choosing discourses

Yet, however congenial it may be, shachū is ostensibly not a gathering for socialization alone. The first and foremost stated purpose for its members to get together is to practice the tea ceremony. Therefore, congeniality among members
based not only on their social and economic backgrounds but also on their attitudes towards this activity is important.

Throughout my field research, I repeatedly encountered a discourse on the ideal of the tea ceremony articulated by both teachers and pupils at different places. That was "The tea ceremony is not only about temae, but is sógō-bunka (a comprehension of various domains of traditional Japanese culture)" or "sógō-geijutsu (a comprehension of various artistic domains)" (see Chapter 5). Not a few used these exact words, while others hinted at them. This discourse presupposes, and is antithetical to, another discourse that "the tea ceremony is all about temae." Let us first examine in what forms these two discourses appear in people's statements about their ideals, and then how these discourses are relevant to the maintenance of shachû.

"The tea ceremony contains everything, such as cuisine, paintings, or ceramics. Temae is just a part of it;" "They say the tea ceremony appeared last of all the arts;" "The tea ceremony is sógō-geijutsu (all by Mrs. Takeuchi). "If the tea ceremony is sógō-geijutsu of all the cultural domains, I think I am short of time to learn the whole" (a schoolteacher in her mid-50s in Nakano shachû). At Mrs. Nakano's house, a woman in her 70s, seeing me taking notes during keiko, said, "The tea ceremony is difficult because it's sógō-bunka, isn't it?"

The term sógō-bunka (or -geijutsu) also appeared frequently in the answers to my questions, "What about the tea ceremony enchants you?" or "What makes you continue the tea ceremony?" I asked these questions instead of "Why do you practice the tea ceremony?" because to Japanese the latter could sound abrupt and somewhat offensive in conversation. The answers often accompanied another popular discourse, "endlessness of learning".

The following is an excerpt from my conversational interview during keiko
with Mrs. Nakano and four housewives in their 50s. It demonstrates that several different answers to my question gradually converge at sōgō-bunka and "endlessness of learning" discourses which are, probably in the speakers' thought, more likely to stimulate agreement:

**Kato:** What makes you continue the tea ceremony?

**A:** It [the tea ceremony] is a great change from my busy daily life. It's an entirely different world.

**B:** I like this atmosphere. [Kato: To say in a word?] Tranquility, officially speaking [laughter].

**Mrs. Nakano:** Some say they like temae.

**C:** You can say it [the tea ceremony] is sōgō-bunka. I like history, and I like Japanese culture. We are fortunate to be Japanese, aren't we [in a tone asking for agreement from the others]? [The others agree]

**D:** The tea ceremony is endless. You can't say here is the end [of learning]. If you are a tea ceremony practitioner, you will see works of art in galleries, hanging scrolls, or gardens in different ways [from non-tea ceremony practitioners].

(The tea ceremony as "an entirely different world" as A puts it will be discussed as a form of evasion in Chapter 8.) Interestingly, I heard a similar answer from a different interviewee at a different place at a different time. The following is an excerpt from another conversational interview during keiko with a woman in her late 40s at H Community Center:

**Kato:** What about the tea ceremony enchants you?

**E:** I like this atmosphere. It's profound. One must know not only temae but also flower arrangement or calligraphy. I think tea ceremony teachers are great because they know about all these things.

As another example, I overheard a conversation of three women, one (F) in her 50s and the others (G, H) in their 70s, in a waiting room at one chakai. G is a pupil of Ms. Hamabe:
H: I just left temae for young ladies today. I am a graduate [of temae].

G: I am a drop-out, for the tea ceremony is endless...

F, G & H [complementing each other's fragmentary statements]:

...for we have to know calligraphy, flowers and hanging scrolls. Even if I can tell the kinds of ceramics, it's hard to go beyond that. [Studying about] utensils alone is hard enough.

H: But we cannot practice just temae.

Whether they use the exact words sōgō-bunka (or -geijutsu) or not, all these speakers mean that the tea ceremony contains endless things to learn because it consists of several different cultural domains, of which temae is just a part.

The discourse, "Temae is just a part of the tea ceremony" presupposes and counters another discourse, "Temae is all of the tea ceremony". Actually, the latter discourse still exists, if not explicitly uttered as ideals but at least in physical practices, among not a few tea ceremony practitioners, including teachers. Such practices are circumscribed and criticized, as in the following statements:

"I learned the tea ceremony before I got married. But I was opposed to my teacher because she only crammed me with temae" (a woman in her late 40s teaching the tea ceremony at school, Nakano shachû). "I was always unsatisfied with my own teacher, who only taught temae." "Although it might be good in its own way to practice how to lift up and put down chashaku (a tea scoop) for 40 years. I think it's tasteless" (Mrs. Nakano). When a woman in her 50s in Nakano shachû spoke of her traumatic experience as a young practitioner, "My Omotesenke teacher scolded me in front of my colleagues because I couldn't make a proper sound when folding fukusa (a
Mrs. Nakano sarcastically said, "That's how teachers dignified themselves decades ago." Mrs. Takeuchi once commented on her late teacher's niece, who inherited all the teacher's tea utensils and authority: "If she was not just interested in *temae*, she would make better use of the utensils she inherited."

Those practitioners criticized, most of whom must by now be in their 80s or dead, are probably practitioners of the Meiji-born discourse that "*temae as sahó is all about women's tea ceremony*. Their *temae*-oriented practice is not accepted by women who were born 10 years or more later and were exposed to the postwar *sôgô-bunka* discourse in one way or another.

Pupils who disagree with the "*temae*-is-all" attitude have to find new teachers who can teach them alternative attitudes. It seems that the most respected teachers are those who hold to *sôgô-bunka* discourse/ideals/attitude. A woman in Nakano *shachû* says, "I found the tea ceremony interesting only after I started learning from Mrs. Nakano...If I teach in the future, I will read and get a lot of knowledge myself. I want to be a teacher like Mrs. Nakano, who gives knowledge to pupils."

Practitioners who are already teachers themselves are no exception from looking for higher-ranking teachers who hold to *sôgô-bunka* discourse. Once stepping out of one's old *shachû*, one's relationship of subordination to that former teacher's authority is no longer necessarily valid; one can even learn from former colleague-pupils (*dômon*), as Mrs. Hasegawa did with her *ane-deshi* Mrs. Nakano. Mrs. Nakano herself is learning about *temae*, *chaji*, tea utensils and other domains from several different teachers (including *gyôtei*) and in seminars at museums.

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1 *Fukusa* is a cloth to wipe utensils during *temae* (Chapter 3). In Omotesenke school, one is supposed to make a sound by quickly stretching the cloth with both hands at one stage of folding it.
Miss Hamabe, who complains that “95% of women are only interested in what to hold in the right hand and what in the left”, is also respected by her colleagues of the same rank. She is now learning directly from the iemoto of her Omotesenke Fuhaku-ryu school, as she is jikimon, the highest rank that semi- or non-pros in her school can achieve. She often invites three friends jikimon to her chaji and other activities. The three women try to join with Miss Hamabe as much as possible, both because, as they say, they learn a lot from her and because their own teacher is ill. One of them once expressed her admiration of Miss Hamabe's frequently holding chaji (even though half as keiko): "I myself feel it's tough just to practice ordinary things (keiko), let alone chaji." Miss Hamabe also occasionally teaches another teacher who once learned from the same teacher as she did.

Practitioners encode the activity of learning other things than temae in one word: benkyō, a noun meaning "studies" (benkyō-surū is the verb). Benkyō is the most common word for studies or studying at school. For example, one woman in Nakano shachū, who did not remember my name but knew I was joining keiko for my dissertation, once reported my arrival to her teacher, "O-benkyō no kata [the person who is studying [has come]]". Another popular term for extra-temae studies is kenkyū (in verb form, kenkyū-surū), which usually means research. The word is most popularly used among tea ceremony practitioners in the form kenkyū-kai (-kai means "meetings"). This word, which usually refers to seminars at universities or gatherings/associations of researchers, means among tea ceremony practitioners any gathering to learn any domain related to the tea ceremony. This word can refer to, for example, official seminars given by a certain school, such as Urasenke's monthly kenkyū-kai (see Chapter 7), or voluntary study groups for reading classics, which one of Miss Hamabe's Group of Five is attending (see the following discussion). To refer to
voluntary study groups, *benkyō-kai* is used as often as *kenkyū-kai*.

Women practitioners' love of the tea ceremony rather than of any other hobby largely stems from the abundant use of the words *benkyō* and *kenkyū* in the tea ceremony field. These words give them a certain pride in a society preoccupied with education, the same kind of pride that Radway (1984) found among romance readers. Radway cites a woman romance reader who, while arguing the innocuousness of her hobby compared to other ways of escape such as pills or drinks, says that "[a]nd reading is something they (romance readers—mothers) would like to generate in their children also". Radway then argues that these women romance readers "want their children to see them reading, evidently because the activity itself is considered valuable", and thus "associate themselves with the long-standing, middle-class belief that education is closely connected with success and status" (Radway 1984, 108). The readers' belief that romance writers conduct "extensive research", and the fact that they try to do the same when writing a romance themselves, sometimes asking their husbands' cooperation (Radway 1984, 110-111), also attest to their craving for associating themselves with educational activities and occupying certain place in society.

Similarly, tea ceremony practitioners articulate their pride as intelligent individuals who can match their family members, who may have higher education. As Mrs. Takeuchi says:

So far I haven't heard about anybody whose husband opposed to her practice of the tea ceremony. Husbands say, "If it's the tea ceremony, you may do it". I think this is because the tea ceremony is not a pure amusement but is related to *benkyō*. And [if you have learned history related to the tea ceremony] you can help your grandchildren's *benkyō* of history.

The word *kyōju* ("professor"), along with its derived word *jun-kyōju* ("associate
professor"), which refer to the third and forth highest ranks for non-professional teachers in Urasenke, also have a strong association with studies. Not only that the term kyōju usually means university professors, tea ceremony teachers with kyōju title are, according to Mrs. Hasegawa, qualified to teach the tea ceremony to university students in their club activities. Thus, tea ceremony teachers can actually be involved in "university education" in a broad sense.

Of course, the competing two ideals, "sōgō-bunka" and "temae-is-all", intersect and overlap each other. For both, the bodily discipline, or acquisition of temae, is the basis, so practitioners are primarily engaged in the training in temae. The question is if one wants to learn other things than temae as well, and to what extent. Which ideal is adopted to what degree depends on each shachū, based on (spoken or unspoken) agreement or negotiation between teacher and pupils, and corresponds more or less to the social and economic background of the shachū members.

Among the groups I observed, there seemed to be two general categories or tendencies: (a) women who are in their late 40s and older, and in most cases married, live in more prestigious residential areas, learn the tea ceremony from private teachers, are more benkyō-oriented and articulate sōgō-bunka discourse: (b) young women before or in the early stages of marriage (regardless of other conditions), and women who live in less prestigious residential areas, learn the tea ceremony at community centers, are less benkyō-oriented and tend to present "temae-is-all" attitudes.

Mrs. Nakano, Mrs. Takeuchi and Miss Hamabe, and their middle-aged pupils exemplify the former group, most especially the women who gather at Mrs. Nakano’s house on Fridays. These seven to eight women, who are between their 40s and 60s and the majority in their 50s, include a university lecturer of Japanese literature, a private teacher of Japanese language for foreign business people and embassy staff.
and a tea ceremony teacher at a technical high school. During *keiko* they hardly talk about their families or jobs, but about such "cultural" topics as *chaji* or *chakai* they recently attended, exhibitions at museums or galleries they recently saw, books related to the tea ceremony or Japanese history or culture they recently read, or trips they recently made and the historical implication of the places they went. They, incessantly and as if competing, ask Mrs. Nakano about the significance and historical background of each utensil and ornament used in *keiko*. Once Mrs. Nakano said, "Because my pupils are highly educated, I though they wouldn't follow me if I only teach *teamae*." This statement indicates that pupils' demands can push teachers to choose more *benkyō*-oriented ideals than they originally had.

I observed more or less similar behavior and attitudes among middle-aged women at other private teachers', though their manners showed less tension. Mrs. Hanamori and Mrs. Nakagawa of Takeuchi *shachū* told me about their recently-developed special interest in flowers and ceramics. Mrs. Hanamori gave me a copy of Okakura Kakuzo's 1906 classic *The Book of Tea*, which she had just read.

Miss Hamabe has both intensely *benkyō*-oriented middle-aged pupils (the Group of Five) and not very *benkyō*-oriented ones (the working women in the Saturday class); the teacher humorously calls the former group "abnormal" for their enthusiasm. One of the Group of Five graduated from the University of the Air, and is now reading sixteenth-century classics of the tea ceremony in a voluntary study group (*kenkyū-kai*), composed of former listeners of a University of the Air course given by a tea ceremony historian.

On the other hand, young groups in their 20s and early 30s in each *shachū*, and pupils at community centers, do not seem enthusiastic about *sōgō-bunka* ideals, but predominantly concentrate on learning *temae*. Young pupils rarely ask questions
of their teachers about utensils or ornaments as middle-aged pupils do, nor do they talk about history or other cultural domains during keiko. They usually try to follow every direction from their teachers on temae, and that is all they do during the training. This does not necessarily mean, however, that their interest in the tea ceremony is superficial. Yuriko in Takeuchi shachū, 33 and married, said:

I think I come to keiko because it develops my concentration and spirituality. There is no other occasion in my daily life in which I use them this much. I guess training of the tea ceremony helps me to overcome daily bothers and troubles with a peaceful mind.

Yet, unmarried women in their 20s in any shachū made no such remarks on "spiritual discipline", at least not overtly. In general, young women wanted to touch some profoundness in the tea ceremony, but predominantly through disciplining their body movement.

The middle-aged pupils at community centers did not seem very enthusiastic about sógō-bunka ideals either. Perhaps the limitations of facilities in these public institutions make it impossible for teachers and pupils there to emphasize and practice these ideals. With a limited variety of utensils and ornaments that belong to the centers, and also with the big classes of 10 to 20 pupils with only one teacher and maybe one assistant, pupils have less chances and materials to develop or express their interest in other aspects than temae. It also seems, however, that community center courses sufficiently satisfy those whose interest is largely in "temae as sahō". Answering to my question, "Have you been to chakai?" a woman in her 50s at H Community Center said, "No. no. People who come here just want to learn temae." The members' relative indifference to sógō-bunka discourse suggests that their means of empowerment is first and foremost acquisition, display or transmission of temae, like that of women in the prewar period.
Still, at H Community Center, the teacher and some pupils seemed to know at least that it is "appropriate" to show interest in other things than temae, even if they are not keen about them. They brought their own ornaments and utensils to make a change on some occasions. Pupils also brought seasonal flowers from their yards and arranged them for each class in turn. Not a few commented on the sweets of the day. Yet, neither the teacher taught nor pupils asked about the historical anecdotes of any element of the tea ceremony during keiko. This tendency contrasted with the shachû of the three private teachers.

The inclination to sógô-bunka ideal seemed almost absent at M Community Center. Pupils there, all middle-aged, seemed to be predominantly engaged in learning "proper" body movement and socializing almost with the same amount of enthusiasm. They were occupied with learning temae, often by manipulating empty utensils without actually making tea, and other more general manners, such as how to open the sliding door, how to walk on the tatami mats or how to bow. In addition, they were spending almost the same time as in keiko in chatting after the class over pickles and sweets they brought. The teacher and her assistant there were in agreement with the pupils that their objective was, as the teacher said to me, "Eat, drink and be healthy". Although the teacher was modestly trying to motivate the pupils to have interest in further levels of activities, suggesting, for example, that they should perform a simplified chaji every month to invite their friends, she basically agreed with the pupils' lack of demand for studies.

M Community Center pupil's greater interest in learning "proper" body movement and socializing, and far less interest in sógô-bunka discourse than H Community Center pupils', seemed to stem in part from a less antagonistic relationship on average with their spouses. (See Chapter 8.) At the same time,
instead of matching their husbands, the farmer women seemed to be trying both to match and join women in higher social backgrounds than themselves by acquiring *temae* and other formalized body movement as *sahô*.²

In general, one can observe different degrees of adoption of *sógô-bunka* ideal among middle-aged and older women in different *shachû*. It differs, of course, according to personality but also, to some extent, to one's social and economic background. The ideal is most clearly articulated by three private teachers in relatively prestigious middle-class residential areas, and by many of their middle-aged and older pupils, if not all. On the other hand, pupils at community centers in a less prestigious, new residential area (H) and a partly farming area (M) are more satisfied with the "*temae*‐is‐all" attitude; they also show less interest in historical studies of the tea ceremony than those at private teachers.

To summarize, *shachû* is a device for both teachers and pupils to choose the ideals of the tea ceremony based on agreement or negotiation among members; these ideals are more or less influenced by members' social and economic background. Yet, with the vast range within the "middle-class" stratum today, there is no absolute social or economic discrepancy between different *shachû*. Rather, there is a broad range of *shachû*, both public and private, many of whose members may have overlapping social ties. So a practitioner can shift from one *shachû* to another seeking for more satisfying ideals, as in the case of Miss Hamabe's Group of Five, who shifted from *temae*‐oriented classes at a community center to *benkyō*‐oriented ones with private teachers.

² I owe the above discussion on the significance of learning *temae* and other body movement for farmer women to useful comments from Bonnie McElhinny.
CHAPTER 7:
THE PAST RE-PRESENTED THROUGH THE ACTIVITIES
OF TEA CEREMONY PRACTITIONERS

7.0 Introduction

In whatever form a shachū practices the tea ceremony, the activity has a motif. The motifs legitimate the physical and discursive practices of tea ceremony practitioners in keiko, chakai, chaji and other activities, such as attending seminars, watching spectacles of the dedication of tea, or making a trip to historic sites pertinent to the tea ceremony.

This chapter discusses two kinds of motifs, explicit and implicit. Although students of the tea ceremony today generally explain the motifs explicitly as "seasonal feelings" (kisetsu-kan) and "joy and sorrow in the life cycle" (keichō or keiji-butsuji), another, implicit motif lurks behind these: traditional authority that derives from prominent historical figures and metaphysics.

I will discuss how the explicit and implicit motifs legitimate the practices and discourses of each shachū introduced in the previous chapter. I will first illustrate how the explicit motifs permeate the physical and discursive practices of tea ceremony practitioners. Then, I will argue how the implicit motifs lurk under the explicit motifs and empower women practitioners. This empowerment usually takes place largely within communities of practitioners but sometimes in society in general. Most important, the more one is interested in domains other than temae, the more access one has to the motifs of prominent historical figures and metaphysics, both in one's self-perception and in the eyes of one's colleagues, and sometimes of the general public. Thus, individuals or shachū who hold to
sōgō-bunka discourse assume more traditional authority than holders of the "temae-is-all" ideal do.

7.1 Explicit motifs: "Seasonal feelings" and "joy and sorrow in life cycle"

7.1.1 "Calendrical rites" and "life crisis rites"

The two major motifs of the tea ceremony, "seasonal feelings" and "joy and sorrow in the life cycle", basically correspond to Turner's (1969) dichotomy between "calendrical rites" and "life crisis rites". He explains "calendrical rites" as almost always collective rites performed "at well-delineated points in the annual productive cycle" (Turner 1969, 169). Meanwhile, he borrows the idea of "life crisis" from Lloyd Warner, to mean "a number of critical moments of transition which all societies ritualize and publicly mark with suitable observances to impress the significance of the individual and the group on living member of the community"; Such moments include "birth, puberty, marriage and death" (Turner 1969, 168; citing Warner 1959, 303): the "life crisis rites" signify and punctuate such moments. Turner also includes here "the rites that concern entry into a higher achieved status" (Turner 1969, 168).

Actually, these two types of rites have no clear dividing line. Van Gennep (1960) points out that "man's life resembles nature, from which neither the individual nor the society stands independent", and even suggests that "[w]e should therefore include among ceremonies of human passage those rites occasioned by celestial changes, such as the changeover from month to month... from season to season... and from year to year" (Van Gennep 1960, 3-4).

However, whether the transitional moment is "human" or "natural", rites are carried out to artificially mark boundaries on a continuum; these marker
ceremonies themselves are usually considered "abnormal, timeless, ambiguous, at
the edge, sacred" (Leach, 1976, 34-35).

Tea masters advise performing the tea ceremony, especially chaji, at what
Turner would call both "calendrical rites" and "life crisis rites (or in the more
popular term, rites of passage)". Actually, the tea ceremony is not performed in
the transitional occasions because it is sacred; rather, the tea ceremony looks
sacred because tea masters encourages its performance in these occasions. Yet,
the populace accepts the tea ceremony as both types of rites for two reasons.
First, their performance of the activity in these perceived sacred occasions in
return adds the myths of sacredness to their activity. Second, performing the
same ceremonial activity at transitional periods in both nature and human life
facilitates practitioners' identification with nature, which constitutes a part of
"traditional" Japanese aesthetics, and thus gives them more "traditional"
authority.

7.1.2 "Seasonal feelings"

"Seasonal feelings" (kisetsu-kan) is the most popular motif with which
pupils of any level in any shachū are familiar. The design of each weekly keiko is
appropriate for its place in the larger scheme of the cycle of seasons. Utensils
differ according to seasons, and so do many temae.

The tea ceremony has its own calendar. A beginner first learns that the
calendar of the tea ceremony has two seasons: the season of the sunken hearth (ro)
from November to April, and that of the portable hearth (furō) from May to
October. Although a sunken hearth is considered more standard or formal, the
portable hearth is used from early summer to fall to avoid too much heat in the
During the *furo* season, the sunken hearth remains covered with a piece of *tatami* mat.

Because the more formal season starts in November, "the New Year" of the tea ceremony starts that month. In November, unsealing the pot of tealeaves for the year (*kuchi-kiri*) takes place around the same time as opening the sunken hearth. Based on this most general distinction between *ro* and *furo* seasons, there are a number of ways to express more delicate "seasonal feelings" in the passage of time.

*Keiko* at H Community Center, where fewer utensils are available compared to private lessons, makes a good example of the minimum expression of "seasonal feelings". In July, the class practiced *temae* using a portable hearth, with a butterbur leaf as a cover for the fresh water container. This is a special summer *temae* called *habuta* (leaf cover), in which the green leaf evokes the feeling of coolness. *Habuta* was practiced in Mrs. Nakano's *keiko* too.

In September and October, the class at H Community Center practiced another special *temae* named *chabako* (tea ceremony box), a *temae* using a small portable box containing the minimum, small-sized tea utensils. *Temae* of *chabako*, with six variations, is meant to be performed outdoors. This *temae* is conventionally practiced in *keiko* during picnic seasons, such as fall and spring, although practitioners rarely actually go on a picnic with the box today. After two months' training, the class of H Community Center demonstrated *chabako* performance in the center's annual cultural festival in late October. *Chabako* was practiced in Mrs. Takeuchi's and Mrs. Nakano's *keiko* too.

At other times, the class at H Community Center only practiced the most basic *temae*, but they put different "seasonal feelings" into each *keiko* in three
ways: first, by arranging seasonal flowers; second, by choosing sweets whose shapes and colors are indexes (in Peirce's sense) of the season, for example, chestnut-shaped sweets in November; and third, by giving seasonal "names" (mei) to the tea scoops used.

The third practice comes from the idea that keiko is a simulation of chaji or chakai. In chaji or chakai, the host is expected to select and combine the most appropriate utensils for the motif of the gathering, which is, in most cases today, "seasonal feelings". The appropriateness relates not only to the utensils' function (thin, flat teacups for summer so that the tea loses heat faster, and so forth) or appearance (red pottery teacups for winter to evoke visual warmthness, and so forth), but also to their unique "names" given to each by their makers, such as the tea scoop named "snow on the pine tree" (matsu no yuki) for the New Year, the teacup named "misty cherry blossoms" (hana-gasumi) for April, and so forth. The "names" are, not necessarily but often, seasonal words (kigo) used in traditional poetry. After temae, the host is supposed to have a formal dialogue with the first guest, who serves as a representative of all the guests, on the utensils the host has chosen.

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1 Some historians argue that "seasonal feelings" were not necessarily motifs in Rikyu's tea ceremony. One can assume that they became popular motifs in later times.
2 I have discussed elsewhere (Kato 1994), based on Peirce's trichotomy of index, icon and symbol, how utensils in the tea ceremony can deliver messages.
3 Supposedly, "names" began to be given to utensils around the fourteenth century. Initially, "names" of tea utensils were taken from manufacturers' names, (former) owners' names, phrases from poetry, anecdotes pertinent to the utensils' histories, words associated with the utensils' appearances, and so forth. During the Edo period (1603-1867), the "names" related to poetry became popular (Kadokawa sadō dai-jiten, s.v. "mei"). The idea of "seasonal words" is originally from renga, a preceding genre of haiku, in the Muromachi period (1333-1568; Japan, s.v. "kigo").
In *keiko* at H Community Center, as well as at other places, pupils who perform the role of the host give "names" to a nameless tea scoop when practicing the dialogue at the end of *temae* (for the overall structure of basic *temae*, see Chapter 3). I observed the following example in *keiko* in November. As it is only an exercise, all parts but the "name" are fixed and do not need alteration each time:

**Main guest:** [After admiring the tea powder container and the tea scoop] I saw these utensils with great interest. What is the shape of the container?

**Host:** Rikyu's favorite middle-sized tea powder container.

**Main guest:** Who lacquered it?

**Host:** [Nakamura] Sôtetsu.

**Main guest:** Who made the tea scoop?

**Host:** Hōun-sai Sôshô.

**Main guest:** If it has a name [could you tell me]?

**Host:** "The brocade on the treetop" [*kozue no nishiki*, a literary phrase for fall-colored leaves].

Pupils can create "names" spontaneously during *keiko* according to their own seasonal experiences. At H Community Center, however, the teacher handed each pupil a list of possible "names" for each month so that the pupil could choose one beforehand and use it in the exercise dialogue.

In private teachers' *keiko*, the expression of "seasonal feelings" takes more complex or *sôgô-teki* (comprehensive) forms due to the variety of utensils and knowledge the teachers own. Mrs. Nakano's *shachû* also practiced *habuta* in July, when, in addition to the leaf cover for the water container, the teacher added the feeling of coolness to *keiko* by using a boat-shaped vase filled with summer flowers, which was hung by a chain from the ceiling of the alcove. Her historical
knowledge, which her pupils always admired, also allowed her to put the most appropriate hanging scroll on the alcove for each *keiko*, usually one of old poems. For one *keiko* in November, for example, she hung a poem describing a deer roaming in the fall-colored mountain forests from *Man'yōshū*, the eighth-century classic collection of poetry. For another *keiko* in the next month, she put a poem describing a plover on a stream in the northeastern countryside ("deer" and "plover" are seasonal words for November and December respectively).

*Chakai*, a simplified version of the tea ceremony for a large number of anonymous guests, punctuates the yearly activities of almost every *shachū*. At the three major occasions for *chakai*, New Year's, fall and spring, many *shachū* have chances to participate in certain kinds of *chakai* either as hosts or guests, mostly on the basis of the teacher's social network.

Miss Hamabe, the most enthusiastic *chakai*-goer among the three private teachers, took her *shachū* to three different types of *chakai* during my research period: the first in September, the second in October and the third in March.

The first *chakai* was attached to the "spectacle of the dedication of tea" (*kencha-shiki*) performed by the *iemoto* of Omotesenke school at Hikawa Shrine in Ōmiya, a neighboring city to Urawa. The shrine also hosts the same kind of spectacle in March, performed by the *iemoto* of Urasenke school. The admission fee of 4000 yen (40 dollars) a person covered the charge for watching the spectacle in the courtyard and attending *chakai* as a guest in three different buildings of the shrine. Approximately 600 people, more than 90% of them women, of whom 80% were middle-aged or older and 75% were in *kimono*, gathered as early as eight o'clock in the morning on the Buddhist holiday (*higan*). They formed long queues to assure their seats for the spectacle or to enter one of the shrine
buildings to be served tea.

To be precise, shrines, places of worship in Shintoism, should have nothing to do with Buddhist holidays. Therefore, there should be no Buddhist implication in this spectacle, even though it took place on a Buddhist holiday. For many of the participants, however, the images of the two religions/customs must have merged as "something traditional and religious" through the spectacle, raising no serious question in their minds. Actually, nobody in Hamabe shachû questioned Miss Hamabe on this point; Miss Hamabe alone mentioned the theoretical contradiction between the two religions. Besides the mild weather of an autumn day, one could enjoy the "seasonal feelings" delivered by utensils, seasonal flowers and chrysanthemum-shaped sweets in chakai. Such chakai are hosted in turn by local shachû of the related school (see Chapter 3).

At chakai, guests are usually informed of the names or manufacturers of tea, sweets and utensils by the formal dialogue between the main guest and the host during the ceremony and/or by "the written record" (kaiki) describing all such information. Kaiki, either a broadsheet that is passed around, or brochures that are distributed at the site. The latter may be kept as souvenirs.

One Sunday in October, Miss Hamabe took us to an annual joint chakai of three different schools, including her own, in Nikko, a city two hours' train ride from Urawa. Each school's chakai was held at a historic site—Tôshôgû Shrine, Futarasan Shrine and Rinnôji Temple respectively, which were in walking distance from each other on the woody mountainside. Paying 2000 yen (20 dollars) each, 2000 tea ceremony practitioners, the majority of whom were, again, middle-aged or older women in kimono, appreciated the "seasonal feelings" delivered by the tea named "bush clover flowers' white" (hagi no shiro) or sweets in
the shape of gingko leaves and nuts, for instance.

The third chakai in which Miss Hamabe and her shachû participated was the annual gathering hosted by a circle of tea ceremony lovers, consisting of Miss Hamabe herself and two of her teacher friends. These three teachers hold joint chakai on a Sunday in late March every year, renting the buildings and garden of a Japanese restaurant near Urawa. Because Miss Hamabe was one of the hosts this time, her shachû members, Mrs. Furuta, Mrs. Onda, Masami and Miwa, assisted their teacher by making tea in front of the guests, preparing tea and sweets for 20-some people at a time in the kitchen, or washing up, in rotation. Miss Hamabe, meanwhile, was always with her guests, socializing and explaining the utensils, tea and sweets she chose.

As it was the spring chakai, one of the hosts decorated the alcove of her tearoom with a large sake cup filled with water and petals of cherry blossoms. She also served cherry blossom-shaped sweet crackers. Her kettle was hung from the ceiling over the sunken hearth by a chain, so that the slight movement of the kettle would evoke the drowsiness of a spring day, she explained.

Chaji, a longer, smaller-sized and more formal tea ceremony that includes a formal meal (kaiseki), also punctuates the yearly activities of tea ceremony practitioners, although it is less popular than chakai, and has no clear boundary from keiko if it takes place in a shachû (see Chapter 3). Yet, a present-day guidebook of utensil coordination lists 15 official “seasonal” chaji in the tea ceremony calendar: the "opening of tea pot" (kuchikiri) and the "opening of the sunken hearth" in November; "the yearend" (seibo) in December; "the big fortune tea/the New Year’s family chaji" (ō-bukucha) and "the first official use of the kettle" (hatsugama) in January; "night tale" (yobanashi), "snow viewing" (yukimi)
and the *Setsubun* festival in February, "cherry blossom viewing" (*hanami*) and the "closing of the sunken hearth" (*ro-fusagi*) in April; "the first use of the portable hearth" (*sho-buro*) in May; "the morning tea" (*asacha*) and "coolness" (*nōryō*) in midsummer; "moon viewing" (*tsukimi*) and "farewell" (*nagori*) in October. In addition, the book mentions "the dawn tea" (*akatsuki no chā*) in midwinter, which is no longer commonly practiced (*Chadōgu no toriawase* [Coordination of tea utensils; 1986, 13]).

In January, Takeuchi *shachū* held *chaji* of "the first official use of the kettle" inviting three older teachers as the main guests. Mrs. Takeuchi said at the beginning of *kaiseki*: "Now we would like to serve you a simple meal, partly as *keiko* of the 'noon chaji with a sunken hearth' (*ro shōgo no chaji,*)." Five of her pupils including myself worked either as performers of *temae* or assistants during the four-hours' sequence of placing charcoal in the hearth and then preparing a meal, thick tea and thin tea, while other *shachū* members sat with the three guests. Mrs. Takeuchi remained sitting at the corner of the room, talking to the main guest, explaining utensils, and supervising her pupils all the time. To express the "seasonal feelings", she decorated the alcove with willow twigs, a symbol of early spring. The utensils she chose for the day included: a pair of tea bowls, one with gold and the other with silver gilt, as gold and silver symbolize long-lasting prosperity; the tea scoop named "a friend for thousand generations" (*chiyo no tomo*); and the scent named "the scent of plum blossoms" (*ume ga ka*), plum blossoms being a symbol of early spring and longevity.

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4 *Setsubun* in February is a traditional ceremony to dispel demons by scattering beans towards the outside of house. There is no single English translation for this term.
7.1.3 "Joy and sorrow in the life cycle"

Besides "seasonal feelings", "joy and sorrow in the life cycle" (keichô or keiji-butsuji) is another explicit, if less popular, motif, especially in chaji. As occasions for "joyous" chaji, a guidebook of utensil coordination lists eight occasions for celebrating individuals' longevity and six occasions for announcing individuals' (usually one's own) "entry into a higher achieved status", to borrow Turner's words (Turner 1969, 168). The first type of "joyous" chaji celebrates one's reaching 50, 61, 70, 77, 80, 88, 90 and 99 years old, as general Japanese custom does. The second type of "joyous" chaji includes announcing the opening of one's new tearoom, one's receiving a professional name (or the iemoto's name, if one is the heir), one's wedding, or silver or gold anniversaries, and so forth. For the "sorrowful" or "Buddhist" chaji, the guidebook of utensil coordination lists the commemoration of past tea masters such as Rikyu or the past iemoto of one's own school, and of one's deceased teachers, friends or family members.⁵

Miss Hamabe, enthusiastic not only chakai-goer but also chaji organizer, held six chaji with her own shachû during my fieldwork period. One celebrated a pupil in her shachû reaching 77 years old, the age called kiju ("joyous longevity") and customarily celebrated due to its replicated lucky number seven. For a celebration of someone's longevity, it is popular to coordinate, for example, utensils, tea or sweets whose names or appearances refer to cranes or turtles, which in old folk belief live for 1,000 years and 10,000 years respectively. Pine, bamboo and plum trees are other old symbols of perpetual prosperity, due to their having green

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⁵ In the old calendar New Year's Day was considered the beginning of spring.
leaves or even blossoms in winter.

Miss Hamabe and her shachû also held chaji in October to commemorate Fuhaku's death in October 1807, and another chaji in March to commemorate Rikyu's death in March 1591. To the chaji commemorating Rikyu's death, 11 women, Miss Hamabe's shachû and her colleagues, wore subdued-colored kimono with black, gray or white sashes and sash bands, as in real Buddhist memorial services. Miss Hamabe decorated the alcove with a portrait of Rikyu and mitsugusoku, a set of vase, incense case and candle stand used in Buddhist temples. Miwa made chatô, or a cup of hot water into which tea powder was poured without whisking, and one of Miss Hamabe's colleagues carried it to the alcove. Along with utensils with Buddhist motifs, such as a ladle rest shaped like a lotus fruit, Miss Hamabe abundantly used utensils reminiscent of Rikyu, such as a tea scoop made from old lumber formerly used for a building in Daitokuji Temple, or a cup she bought at Daitokuji's branch temple in Sakai in 1990, the four-hundredth anniversary of Rikyu's death.

Mrs. Takeuchi held the third memorial chaji for her late teacher with her former dômon friends and some of their own pupils: I did not attend because of the high fee, 10000 yen (100 dollars). In such memorial chaji for people one knows, custom recommends coordinating utensils not only with Buddhist motifs, but also with such names as "a dream" (yume), to mean that the life is just a dream, "a teardrop" (namida) or "a remaining image" (omokage).⑦

Even though practitioners do not often perform chaji or chakai on the occasions of their "joy and sorrow", the iemoto of each school presents an

⑥ From Chadógu no toriawase (1986, 14-15).
exhibition about his own in public, so that lay practitioners can share his experience. For instance, the fourteenth iemoto of Omotesenke school held an exhibition to announce his own sixtieth birthday at Takashimaya department store in March 1999. The exhibition, which especially featured utensils with motifs such as "green pine" (aomatsu), started with the panels depicting Omotesenke's family tree and listing Japanese traditional rites of passage. Then, utensils made or commissioned, given or received by generations of the iemoto of the school for rites of passage (their own or others) were exhibited according to the order of the rites, from "the birth" to the seventy-seventh birthday (kiju). The exhibition was crowded with visitors, 90% of whom were women, most in their 50s and up, some in kimono. Men, who constituted only 10% of the visitors, were mostly in their 60s or 70s, although I saw a few young men, apparently university students or utensil dealers. In any case, walking through the exhibition, a visitor was able to first assimilate themselves with the Sen family, then vicariously experience "their" rites of passage.

7.2 Implicit motifs: Traditional authority

"Seasonal feelings" and "joy and sorrow in the life cycle", however, would not enchant enough per se to attract millions of women for many years in modern times. They succeed because they are inseparable from, and legitimated by, other implicit motifs: prominent historical figures and profound metaphysics. I call these motifs "implicit", for the legitimatization through them is so essential and pervasive that practitioners would rarely mention them as motifs.

7 These examples are from Chadōgu no toriawase (1986, 80-84).
"Historical figures" here do not merely mean people with political or economic power and authority who lived in the past; they also include contemporary people who inherited their authority from their ancestors. The former include Shoguns, aristocrats, warriors, and merchants in the feudal era, and early modern industrialists. The latter include the imperial family, the Tokugawa family and the iemoto families, whose descendants are alive, active and still specially respected by the populace for their pedigree. In today's society, they, like the past glorious historical figures, have "traditional authority": that is, authority derived from tradition rather than from political or economic power. Centuries-old religious institutions, such as temples and shrines, still have "traditional authority" in contemporary society in the same way that the descendants of prominent historical figures have.

This traditional authority ultimately legitimates all the discourses and practices of tea ceremony practitioners today. At the same time, practitioners raise their status, mainly within the community of practitioners but sometimes in society in general, by assimilating themselves to the traditional authority.

7.2.1. Rikyu and the iemoto

The most essential, vital implicit motifs are Sen (no) Rikyu and the iemoto. All iemoto today claim a relationship with Rikyu; and one cannot officially learn or teach the tea ceremony without kyojō ("permissions") issued by certain iemoto (Chapter 3). Therefore, all tea ceremony practitioners, both teachers and pupils, are inevitably parts of the iemoto system, and thus ultimately legitimated by Rikyu.

In accordance with the iemoto system, teachers have two major tasks as
junctions between the *iemoto* and their pupils. Teachers are mediators for pupils to get *kyojô* issued by the *iemoto*, and transmitters of the latest teaching by the *iemoto*. Here the *iemoto*, teachers and lay pupils stand in the reciprocal relationship in raising each other's authority. The *iemoto* exerts his authority through teachers; pupils assume the *iemoto*'s authority through teachers; and teachers assume the *iemoto*'s authority by transmitting it to pupils (see Chapter 6).

In reality, many pupils, especially those at public institutions such as community centers, are learning the tea ceremony with no interest in *kyojô*. They are, however, still involved in the *iemoto* system, in that their teachers are licensed to teach by particular schools, and that no pupils do not know what school their *shachû* belongs to. Therefore, the motifs of the *iemoto* as families or headmasters, and Rikyu, who ultimately legitimates the *iemoto*, pervade in any physical and discursive practices among practitioners at any level. For example, in exercise dialogues between the "host" and the "guest", pupils automatically mention the names of Rikyu and past or present *iemoto* of their teachers' schools. Let us return to the fixed exercise dialogue from H Community Center (see 7.1.2), to see how it reflects the authority of Rikyu and the *iemoto*. (I myself had to repeatedly practice this same standard dialogue at Mrs. Hasegawa's house when I first joined her *keiko* as a beginner.)

**Main guest:** [After admiring the tea powder container and the tea scoop] I saw these utensils with great interest. What is the shape of the container?

**Host:** Rikyu's favorite [*Rikyu-gonomi*] middle-sized tea powder container.

**Main guest:** Who lacquered it?

**Host:** [Nakamura] Sôtetsu.
Main guest: Who made the tea scoop?
Host: Hōunsai Sōshō.
Main guest: If it has a name [could you tell me]?
Host: “The brocade on the treetop.”

Note the host’s first, second and third answers. First, Rikyu, mentioned in the first answer, allegedly established standard sizes, shapes, and aesthetic tastes for almost everything related to the tea ceremony that have supposedly endured to this day. Therefore, there are many “Rikyu’s favorite” (Rikyu-gonomi) and “Rikyu style” (Rikyu-gata) utensils. Although it is difficult to clarify the difference between the two ambiguous terms of “favorite” and “style”, “Rikyu style” seems to have a stricter connotation than “Rikyu’s favorite”. Although the former tends to mean specific “sizes and shapes” of utensils Rikyu supposedly standardized, the latter tends to mean more of certain “tastes” which Rikyu (would have) liked (Rikyu dai-jiten, 729-731). In any case, “Rikyu’s favorite middle-sized tea powder container” is probably the most popular utensil, being the one most used in beginners’ keiko, due to its “basic” size and shape.

Nakamura Sōtetsu, mentioned in the host’s second answer, is one of the Nakamura family lacquerers who have been hereditarily serving Sen families for 12 generations since the mid-seventeenth century. “Hōunsai sōshō” in the host’s third answer refers to Sen Sōshitsu XV, the current headmaster of Urasenke school. “Hōunsai” is his Buddhist name; “Sōshō”, which originally meant “teacher in the highest rank”. is used in this school as a synonym with the iemoto.

At Mrs. Takeuchi’s house, each pupil picked up in each keiko any one of the replicas of tea scoops made by Urasenke’s 15 headmasters in the past and present, and practiced the dialogue using the Buddhist name of the one whose work she
chose that day. Even at M Community Center, where the pupils seemed to be least interested in kyojô, the teachers encouraged the class to use the Buddhist names of the 14 past and present headmasters of their own school, Omotesenke, in the same exercise dialogue.

One can also express motifs of the iemoto through other objects than tea scoops. At H Community Center, the teacher once decorated the alcove with a fan with a photocopy of the iemoto's calligraphy of an old Chinese proverb, "The person who has never met any big misfortune is an honorable person" (buji kore kinin). She said the iemoto sent it to her for her sixtieth birthday.

At private teachers' houses, the motifs of Rikyu and the iemoto are expressed in more complex, multifold ways than at public institutions. Miss Hamabe, who often used tea scoops she herself made, still showed her respect to Rikyu, Fuhaku and past and present headmasters of her school, Omotesenke Fuhaku-ryu, in various ways. In keiko she used a replica of a ladle rest made by Fuhaku. She decorated the alcove with the image of Fuhaku on a hanging scroll, which was a replica of the one possessed by the current headmaster of her school. Also, as mentioned above, she and her shachû held chaji to commemorate Fuhaku's and Rikyu's deaths.

The motifs of the iemoto and Rikyu are most clearly manifested at exclusive meetings of practitioners above certain levels. In Urasenke school, for example, teachers who are at the gyô-daisu level and up (see Table 1) qualify for membership of the school's national organization Tankô-kai and attend its monthly seminars (kenkyû-kai). At these seminars, which usually take place at local convention halls, elected local shachû and one gyôtei (second-highest ranking teacher) sent by the iemoto are on the stage, where a simplified tearoom set is put
up. The gyôtei occasionally gives directions to the shachû as it performs seasonal temae, so the audience can learn the iemoto’s latest teaching delivered by the gyôtei. One seminar I attended in Urawa (accompanying Mrs. Hasegawa) gathered 500 to 600 people, more than half of whom were in kimono despite the rain, with only 10 men or so among them.

Such a meeting starts with the declaration of the school’s motto in unison, which in part says:

For the iemoto is a parent, colleagues [dômon] are brothers and sisters, and we are all one body; let us not forget the spirit of putting hands together in prayer to each other.”

The declaration is followed by the imperative voice of a representative woman of the local branch of Urasenke: “Let’s offer a silent prayer for Rikyu-koji.” Then a moment of silence follows.

Not only do the iemoto and Rikyu reinforce their own authority through these activities of local practitioners, but also the practitioners assume the authority of the iemoto and Rikyu vicariously through these activities. Teachers assume the authority when they transmit the iemoto’s teaching they learned at seminars to their pupils. The teacher at H Community Center once said modestly but proudly during keiko, “I went to the seminar just this morning and heard that...” while the pupils enthusiastically listened. Her words indicate her exclusive access to the iemoto. Then pupils, by listening to the words and practicing according to the words, can then assume the authority of the iemoto.

At the same time, these seminars also reinforce uneven distribution of this authority on the basis of the relative positions among teachers. First, uneven
distribution of authority between gyôtei and women teachers/performers is theatrically manifested on the stage. While the gyôtei talks like a schoolteacher to grade one children in directing their temae, these women/teachers do not talk back or ask questions, but docilely say "Yes" to every word. Second, the words of a representative woman to impel hundreds of women to close their eyes and bow their heads for Rikyu give this woman more authority over the others. Those who have less authority can assume the authority of the iemoto and Rikyu only by following every word of those who already have more authority.

The seminars are also occasions that reconfirm, under the authority of the iemoto, not only proper temae but also sôgô-bunka discourse. On stage at the seminar, the gyôtei asked to the "host" during her performance what the words of calligraphy on the hanging scroll said. The "host", a woman in her 50s in kimono, could not answer while continuing faultless temae:

_Gyôtei:_ What's written on the hanging scroll?

_Performer:_ [Embarrassed] I can't read it.

_Gyôtei:_ You can't see it?

_Performer:_ I can't read it.

_Gyôtei:_ [Gasping] You should at least check the content of the hanging scroll a day before. Don't do temae only.

While the performer was humiliated, the audience kept hissing in agreement with the gyôtei rather than showing sympathy with her.

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8 The same motto is found in the Tanka-kai members' certificate issued in 1976.
Women tea ceremony practitioners sometimes have chances to show their relationship with the *iemoto* towards society at large. At the department store exhibition of the Omotesenke *iemoto*’s sixtieth birthday, for example, there was a loosely fenced space with 10 long benches, on which one could drink tea and eat a sweet for 1000 yen (10 dollars). Despite the relatively high price, women with tickets in hand formed a queue outside the fences. Inside the fences, women in *kimono* of a local *shachū* of the school were serving tea and sweets. Here, both those who serve and who are served tea are exhibiting their relationship with the *iemoto*, or with the tea ceremony, in public space. Making or drinking tea in this space that is fenced but visible from outside, is necessary both to exhibit oneself as a practitioner and to distinguish oneself from other exhibition visitors who are non-practitioners.

To what extent one subjects oneself to the *iemoto* differs for each practitioner. Miss Hamabe criticized *chakai* of her school in Nikko, where the host used tea scoops made by the *iemoto*, a sweets container painted by the *iemoto*, the “*iemoto*'s favorite” tea powder container and tea cup and so on. by saying, “She (the host) fawned on the *iemoto.*” In *keiko* she does not necessarily transmit what she learned from the *iemoto* but says, “The *iemoto* said like that, but I think it’s strange. So why don’t we do like this?” Mrs. Nakano and Mrs. Takeuchi criticized the teaching of a member of the *iemoto* family on a TV program of the tea ceremony for beginners, saying, “It’s too deformed,” or “He doesn’t explain anything.” One of Mrs. Nakano’s pupils, a high school teacher in her 50s, even described the *iemoto* system as a “necessary evil.” Thus, tea ceremony practitioners are not uncritical of the *iemoto* either as headmasters, families or a system.
However, every tea ceremony practitioner today certainly accepts the discourse that Rikyu is the greatest tea master in history, the founder of the tea ceremony, and the one and only imperishable ideal of tea ceremony practitioners. As long as this discourse prevails, one cannot deny the Sen family's privilege, and the iemoto system, introduced by the family in order to reproduce their privilege, will not lose its meaning.9

7.2.2 Temples and Shrines

Temples and shrines, places of Buddhist and Shinto worship respectively, are both indispensable motifs for the tea ceremony today. Embedded in practitioners' physical and discursive practices, these religious institutions convince the practitioners of the spirituality and historicity of their activities.

First of all, for most tea ceremony practitioners, temples and shrines provide sites where they participate in chakai either as hosts or guests. The annual chakai of local branches, sometimes joint efforts of several different schools, are the most typical occasions.

By becoming parts of these gatherings in religious settings, participants vicariously assume the authority of the religious institutions. The joint chakai of three schools at a temple and shrines in Nikko mentioned above, for example, was sponsored by the city of Nikko. At one of the gatherings, the assistant host (hanto) said to the main guest, as well as to all the other 40-some guests in the

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9 Dai Nihon Chadô Gakkai, established in 1898, is a tea ceremony school originally set up as a reformation movement against (Sen family-centered) sectarianism and the iemoto system. It, however, did not surpass the three Sen family's schools in number of pupils. Also, it adopted the iemoto system itself after a few generations.
room indirectly, modestly but proudly, "The chief of our local branch is excused right now, to greet the mayor and the head priest of this temple." The chief of the branch, probably a middle-aged or older woman, would not have had a chance to see the mayor or the head priest of the temple in her life if not in this setting: the tea ceremony at a historic temple. Here she assumes vicariously the authority of the *iemoto* to stand face to face with two socially powerful men, one from a political organization and the other from a religious institution. But she also assumes the authority of the temple to greet the mayor, standing on the same side as the priest, embedded as a *kimono*-dressed tea ceremony practitioner in this historical site that the city is proud of. The assistant host, another middle-aged woman, by mentioning in public her chief's greeting of these important men, assumes the same authority as her chief, standing in the same position. Then the main guest, and also the other guests listening to the conversation, by being told of the chief's meeting with the important men, assume the same authority, associating themselves with the chief as the same tea ceremony practitioners.

Second, at temples and shrines people can watch the "spectacles of dedication of tea" by the *iemoto* (their only appearance for the "general public"), or sometimes by their heirs. The spectacles take place on stages either indoors or outdoors, with enough surrounding space to accommodate several hundred viewers. The *iemoto*, accompanied by his assistants and the clergy of the institution, steps on the stage, makes two bowls of tea, usually thick and thin, and dedicates them to the "Ark", or the most holy place (see Photographs 6 and 7).  

10 The "general public", including non-practitioners, could see outdoor spectacles without paying fee. In the *kencha-shiki* at Hikawa Shrine, for example, several people who were obviously non-practitioners but just taking a walk, occasionally
Photograph 6 (top): The *iemoto* performing in *kencha-shiki* at a shrine

Photograph 7 (bottom): The audience in *kencha-shiki*
Officially speaking, spectacles held at temples should be called *kucha-shiki* while those at shrines *kencha-shiki*. This terminological distinction, however, does not always hold today: some schools, for example, call any spectacle it holds at temples or shrines "*kencha-shiki". Therefore, spectacles held in the same place by different schools can be called by different names. At temples tea is dedicated, theoretically, to Buddha, while at shrines it is dedicated to particular mythological gods or historical figures, such as the Shogun or aristocrats, enshrined there. Tôshögû Shrine in Nikko, for example, enshrines Tokugawa Ieyasu, the first Shogun of the Edo period.

"To whom" the tea is dedicated, however, seems of the secondary importance to the audience. For the most of tea ceremony practitioners, the spectacles are rare chances to see *temae* by the *iemoto*, to whom they do not have a direct access otherwise. In addition, the spectacles are accompanied by *chakai* in smaller rooms in the same sites, where the audience of the spectacles confirm their ties with the *iemoto* by being involved in the same activity (see 3.3). By making and drinking tea close to the *iemoto* in both time and space, the audience, after passively assuming the authority of the *iemoto* by watching his *temae*, actively assume it, either as hosts or as guests.

At the same time, Buddhist or Shintoist theories have provided sources of the authority for the *iemoto* and practitioners since the feudal era (see Chapter 4). For the *iemoto*, reproduction of the mythical relationship of the tea ceremony with Buddhism or Shintoism has been crucial. For instance, "since Rikyu-koji's time to this day, it has been a custom for the *iemoto* of Sen family to undergo the initiation rite to Buddhism (*tokudo*) at Daitokuji Temple and accumulate Zen training" (Sen Sôshu 1991, 40) before succeeding their fathers. The rite, however,
is not the one for the "renunciation of the world" (shukke) that priests do, but a Buddhist initiation "in the midst of the secular world" (zaike). Therefore the iemoto assume the minimum sacredness from Zen Buddhism.

The ambiguous social status and self-identity, between sacred and secular worlds, that this rite renders to the iemoto surfaces in some anecdotes. One iemoto in modern times struggled against others' advice that he shave his head before the rite, while another iemoto, who wanted to shave his head, was opposed by his Zen teachers-priests because he was becoming only "half-priest, half-secular" (Sen Sōshū 1991. 103-104). This psychological conflict that the iemoto face, however, may not be a big problem in lay practitioners' minds, as long as the iemoto keep discursively emphasizing the tea ceremony's relationship with (Zen) Buddhism and physically appearing in (Zen) Buddhist settings.

Besides attending chakai or spectacles at temples and shrines, introducing Buddhist or Shinto motifs in their keiko, chakai or chaji is another means for lay practitioners to associate themselves with the metaphysical. In a guidebook of utensil coordination, "sorrow in the life cycle" is coded as butsu-ji, or "Buddhist events". In these "Buddhist" events, use of utensils with Buddhist motifs is advised. Accordingly, Miss Hamabe's chaji commemorating the deaths of Fuhaku and Rikyu were full of Buddhist motifs (see the discussion in 7.1.3 on her chaji for Rikyu).

7.2.3 Feudal ruling classes: Imperial household, aristocrats, Shogun and warriors

The ruling classes in the feudal era, such as the Imperial household, aristocrats, Shogun and warriors, are popular motifs in the tea ceremony. Although researchers have yet to determine to what extent the imperial family
and aristocrats actually practiced the tea ceremony in the feudal era (one of the most through attempt in this domain is Tanihata 1988), they are at least favored motifs, especially of utensils. In an October keiko, Mrs. Nakano decorated the alcove with a hanging scroll with a classical illustration of the emperor and aristocrats admiring colored maple leaves in the palace garden. It was a replica of a scene from Genji Monogatari Emaki, the twentieth-century illustrated scrolls portraying scenes from the eleventh-century novel “The Tale of Genji”, a story of a prince.

One day in November, before starting keiko, Mrs. Nakano showed her pupils a hanging scroll with a poem depicting a crying deer deep in mountain covered with colored maple leaves. The poem itself was from Man’yōshū, a thirteenth-century anthology of one hundred poems written by noble or non-worldly people including emperors, aristocrats and Buddhist clergy. The calligraphy on the scroll was, according to Mrs. Nakano, the actual writing of the sixteenth-century Emperor Goyôzei, a contemporary of Rikyu. Following that, Mrs. Nakano showed another antique calligraphic scroll that was, according to her, Buddhist Script written and dedicated to a temple by scholastic monks by order of the Empress about 1000 A.D.. Seeing the lines of golden Chinese letters inscribed on the long, dark rectangular background (in traditional Chinese writing, the lines are vertical), Mrs. Nakano said. “Each line will make a good hanging scroll. I will cut off each and share it with my pupils. Everybody in the Friday class (the most benkyô-oriented pupils; see Chapter 6) will definitely rush to it.” Pupils that day admiringly gazed at each scroll, listening its background story, which Mrs. Nakano eloquently related.

The easiest way for a tea ceremony practitioner to assimilate the
authority of the Imperial household is to buy utensils with motifs of the o-chokudai, the theme of the New Year's poetry-making party at the Imperial palace. Every year, each member of the Imperial family composes 31-syllable poem to recite at a special party at New Year's. The themes, such as "way" (1998), "blue" (1999) or "time" (2000), are made public by the Ministry of the Imperial Household before that yearend, so that any Japanese individual can send her/his poem to the Ministry. The authors of the best ones are invited to the Imperial New Year's party.

Every yearend, tea utensil dealers distribute catalogues filled with utensils with o-chokudai motifs, along with those having motifs of the symbolic animal of the Chinese Animal Year for the coming year. A seasonal sight in every shachū in November and December is pupils putting their heads together over their teacher's catalogues to choose o-chokudai utensils, along with Animal Year utensils.

Besides utensils, certain temae also relate a tea ceremony practitioner to aristocrats. In Urasenke school, learning kinin-date, a special temae to host aristocrats, and kinin-kiyotsugu, a temae to host their accompanying servants, are requisite parts of the drill. Despite the fact that there has been no chance for practitioners to host aristocrat families after the 1947 repeal of kazokurei, and that most practitioners have not even distant ties with aristocratic families' descendants, the acquisition of the performances hypothetically entitles one to receive aristocrats' visits.¹¹

Today, kinin-date can be performed in chaji or chakai in which the main

¹¹ Kazokurei is the 1884 law instituting the privileges to the families of feudal
guest is "an honorable person" in a broad sense, for example, one's former teacher. Hamabe shachù performed it even to treat one of the pupils on her seventy-seventh birthday. In contemporary democratic society, one cannot help extending the meaning of kinin, "an honorable person". This may seem a degradation of tempae; however, one could also consider it an enhancement of the populace, in that every contemporary practitioner has a chance to be treated the way aristocrats supposedly have been.

More essentially, one may argue that appreciating the "seasonal feelings" (see 7.1.2) in ceremonial ways, especially using a lot of crafts for each season, itself replicates aristocratic behavior. As a booklet about the 1997 exhibition of the treasures of Reizei, a former aristocratic family, puts it:

> It is known that Japanese culture has developed through its identification with nature. Especially aristocratic culture manifests this characteristic, presenting its deep relationship with nature in details of life. ...Its calendrical events, whose centers are crafts arranged for each event, show that aristocratic culture is in accordance with changing seasons, with nature... Yet, for instance, such a sensitive behavior as changing one’s clothes according to seasons, which originates in aristocratic culture...and diffused in Japanese life in general, has changed or been lost by now. It is a shame that unique Japanese tradition is being forgotten. (Kirihata, in Reizei-ke no shihô-ten. 1997)

Although it is unintelligible why the writer claims that Japanese today do not change their clothes according to seasons, his point is that it is not only traditional but also aristocratic to be sensitive to seasonal changes. He also claims that it is especially aristocratic when one appreciates seasons through calendrical events using special crafts delivering seasonal feelings.

The same booklet describes the Reizei family's traditional calendrical landlord warriors and aristocrats.
events, which have been developed around the family's specialty art, composing poetry. Although the holidays are mostly the same as commoners', the family celebrates each with its own ceremonial ways, using special instruments, based on the old, lunar calendar. For example, the family celebrates the Star Festival using the lunar calendar, in autumn, by setting up a special alter to which are dedicated food, five-colored cloth, five-colored thread, seven autumn herbs, nine candle stands, a leaf, water, traditional music instruments and so forth. The Reizei also play court-style kick-ball, play court music, and hold a poetry-making gathering on that day. Other people celebrate this festival in summer now, in different manners. Although these non-aristocrats have many different ways to celebrate the Star Festival, they are either less ceremonial, such as individually binding paper strips on which one's wishes are written to bamboo branches, or more carnivalesque, such as decorating streets with gigantic and loud-colored ornaments.

The parallelism between aristocratic custom and the tea ceremony is clear. Performing seasonal *temae* with seasonal utensils based on their own calendar, tea ceremony practitioners can join aristocrats in appreciating more subtle seasonal changes through using more crafts in more ceremonial ways than "commoners" do. In addition, they can even join aristocrats in lamenting on the "Japanese people's loss of seasonal feelings" (despite various popular ways for appreciating seasons) and in identifying themselves as representatives of "traditional Japanese" aesthetics.

Warriors, including the Shogun, are also popular motifs. Historians have well explored the warrior class's involvement in the tea ceremony. Due to Rikyu's commitment to the warrior class in the sixteenth century and to the subsequent
prevalence of the tea ceremony among the warrior class since up to the late nineteenth century, the tea ceremony today has a variety of anecdotes, utensils and performances related to warriors. Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, the ruler-warriors whom Rikyu served (see 4.2), not only inspired numerous anecdotes about their relationships with Rikyu, but also added premium to numerous tea utensils by having owned them. Also, Oribe, a style of popular ceramics today, was originated by a landlord warrior of the same name who was a renowned pupil of Rikyu. Today's Enshû and Sekishû schools were initiated by landlord warriors of the same names, who established their own "warriors' tea ceremony" (buke-sado) while serving their contemporary Shoguns in the Edo period.

Three of Rikyu's great-grandsons started serving different landlord warriors as tea ceremony instructors in the seventeenth century, and founded the three different Sen schools as we see today. Even if one is not familiar with all these or other details, everybody knows something of warriors' commitment to the tea ceremony in the past.

Among warriors, the Shogun was probably the closest to an aristocrat. Shogun, the office of the head of warriors established in the early twentieth century, passed through three different families intermittently in three different periods, until it was banned in the late nineteenth century (see Chapter 4). Two Shoguns from different families and different periods are especially relevant to today's popular discourses on the tea ceremony: Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436-1490) in the Muromachi period and Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651) in the Edo period.

Shogun Yoshimasa, despite controversy among historians, still stands in popular discourses as the earliest ruler-patron of the tea ceremony. More
influential on today's practice of the tea ceremony, however, was Shogun Iemitsu, who supposedly initiated the "grand parade of tea pots" ([o]-chatsubo dōchū). This was the annual round trip between the capital Edo, now Tokyo, and Uji, a region in Kyoto famous for tea production, for the Shogun's vassals to carry pots of new tealeaves to Edo. At its peak in the early eighteenth century, the trip is supposed to have formed a spectacular parade with 135 pots accompanied by 400 to 500 vassals. This custom was maintained by generations of Tokugawa Shoguns until the end of the Edo period.

For each of Takeuchi, Nakano and Hamabe shachū, commemoration of the Shogun's parade is a seasonal event in early November. It is a time for a teacher to "unseal the pot" (kochi-kiri), that is, to commence using new tea leaves which have been sealed in pots for better taste for six months since the harvest in May. Despite the fact that people before the Tokugawa Shoguns' era, or people other than Tokugawa Shoguns, also "unsealed the pot", each teacher's explanation of this event focused especially on the Tokugawa Shogun's grand parade. Pupils could, therefore, naturally associate themselves with the Shogun by unsealing the pot.

For this occasion, all three teachers ordered a pot of tealeaves from a 500-year-old tea manufactory in Uji which the Tokugawa Shoguns had patronized. Mrs. Takeuchi decorated the alcove with the pot, which was itself respectfully decorated: sealed with a paper strip, topped with a thick brocade cover, and

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12 All the description above on the parade is from Kadokawa sado dai-jiten, s.v. "chatsuboodōchū".
13 It is said that in old times the tea leaves were ground into powder little by little each time one performed the tea ceremony. Today, practitioners purchase already-ground tea.
wrapped with braided vermilion ropes. She did not actually unseal the pot during her keiko, though. Meanwhile, Mrs. Nakano gave keiko for her pupils to practice how to braid the ropes (see Photograph 8); she also taught how to unseal the pot, take out the new leaves, and seal the pot again, with a set of tools including a knife, a tray and tissue paper.

Miss Hamabe and her shachû held special chaji beginning with the unsealing of the pot (kuchikiri no chaji). Interestingly, this chaji also commemorated Fuhaku, the founder of Miss Hamabe’s school, who died in this season 200 years ago. This eighteenth-century tea master’s image stood in the alcove, just beside the “Shogun’s pot”. Furthermore, above these two ornaments was a hanging scroll: the calligraphy on it was a poem which a high-ranking Zen Buddhist priest composed to praise Rikyu, associating him with a chrysanthemum. Miss Hamabe said that she chose this scroll because of the seasonal word for autumn, “chrysanthemum”. In the alcove, the two tea masters harmoniously coexisted with the authority of the Shogun, as well as of the Zen priest, under the explicit motif of “seasonal feelings” (see Photograph 9).

7.2.4 Early modern industrialists

One economically most powerful group in modern times, the early modern industrialists, also deserve analysis as an implicit motif. These industrialists were primarily antique collectors (see Chapter 4). They often organized chakai in order to create occasions for displaying their collections. Although their excessive adherence to utensils does not qualify them today as tea ceremony practitioners in a strict sense, they have admittedly left an enormous footprint in the modern path of the tea ceremony.
Photograph 8: Women in *keiko* practicing how to decorate the "Shogun's pot"
Photograph 9: The alcove decorated for a *cha*ī commemorating Fuhaku's death
(The calligraphy of a poem praising Rikyu on the top; the
"Shogun's pot" on the left; Fuhaku's portrait on the right)
Today's tea ceremony practitioners know these industrialists, first of all, as "museums". Many of the industrialists founded museums bearing their names, some in the prewar but most in the postwar period, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. Just in the Tokyo area, one sees museums that hold the collections of Nezu (founder of an insurance company and railway-subway companies), Iwasaki (father and son who ran Mitsubishi zaibatsu), Gotô (founder of a railway company and later president of Shirokiya department store), and Hatakeyama (founder of a machinery company). Tea ceremony practitioners relate themselves to these legendary businessmen by visiting the museums, attending seminars in the museums and, above all, attending chakai organized by the museums.

Mrs. Nakano is a member of three museums: Nezu, Hatakeyama and Tokugawa.14 The annual membership fee, which is usually between 20,000 and 50,000 yen (200 to 500 dollars), usually covers a one-year admission to the museum as well as access to seminars and chakai that the museum organizes. The museums offer monthly (Nezu), biannual, or annual (Hatakeyama) chakai, in which their members are allowed to use utensils from the collections. In addition, Nezu offers summer seminars specifically on the tea ceremony, along with year-round seminars on broader topics, both of which are open to non-members too. Hatakeyama's membership allows its members to attend exclusive monthly seminars on archives reading, though these are not necessarily related to the tea ceremony. Due to her membership, Mrs. Nakano's shachû even used a historic building, now a prestigious Japanese restaurant, in the garden of the Hatakeyama Museum to hold their chakai.

14 The Tokugawa Museum was founded by Tokugawa's descendants in Nagoya in
The allure of the industrialists' museums lies in their owning antiques possessed by prominent historical figures and religious institutions in all different historical periods and exhibiting them all in one place for the most ordinary people to see, with the additional premium that the antiques were last owned by prominent economic figures. This especially enchants the millions of lay tea ceremony practitioners, who know more or less about the history of the tea ceremony, know how to handle utensils, but cannot afford historically precious ones. In addition, the sites of the museums are sometimes former residential sites of the feudal ruling classes, which industrialists bought from them in modern times. For example, the Hatakeyama Museum was constructed on the former residential site of a landlord warrior, bought by a count in the Meiji period, then by Hatakeyama around 1930 (according to the museum's leaflet).

Now that those industrialists are dead, and the museums are personified only legally, the utensils are possessed by nobody, but by everybody who sees them, has knowledge on them and uses them. Thus, either as places for benkyō (studies) or for chakai, the industrialists' museums are meeting places between past prominent figures, including the late industrialists themselves, and the most ordinary tea ceremony practitioners, many of whom are women.

7.3 Women's quest for traditional authority: Cultural "pilgrimages"

7.3.1 Thematic trips

Contrary to the general custom that married women do not go on trips except with their families, "thematic" trips are not uncommon among women tea
ceremony practitioners. They, only women, alone or in a group, make one day or overnight or even several-days visits to places pertinent to the tea ceremony. To attend *chakai* is the most popular purpose. For example, Mrs. Takeuchi made a trip by herself to Daitokuji Temple, Kyoto in 1990, in order to attend a special *chakai* for the four-hundredth commemoration of Rikyu's death. She met, she said, a lot of female tea ceremony practitioners traveling alone from all over the country. She said she saw not only middle-aged or older women but also young women, who said that they joined this event "because their teachers advised them to do so".

This story suggests that the middle-aged women practitioners make a tea ceremony-related trip voluntarily and actively, while young women's attitude to the same activity seems more passive. Apparently, for middle-aged women practitioners, thematic trips have a special meaning as opportunities to empower themselves by freeing themselves from daily life. In other words, by making a thematic trip, a middle-aged woman tea ceremony practitioner physically goes beyond the threshold of her house and "enriches the social space she inhabits", which Radway argues romance readers do through their "simulated travel" (Radway 1984, 113).

Female tea ceremony practitioners even make a "pilgrimage" to the *iemoto*'s residences. Mrs. Nakano and her middle-aged and older *shachū* members arranged a few days' trip to the Urasenke *iemoto*'s residence in Kyoto, where the family had lived for more than three hundred years. Only members of *Tankō-kai*, the school's nationwide organization, qualify for the visit; they must make an appointment a couple of months in advance. In the case of Nakano *shachū*'s pilgrimage, Mrs. Nakano, who was the member of the organization,
arranged the trip as a mediator between the *iemoto* and her *shachū* members. Such a trip not only lets lay practitioners confirm their ties with the very top, traditional authority of their schools, but also reinforces the authority of the *iemoto* and of the teachers as mediators.

### 7.3.2 A trip to Kanazawa

As a summary example, I will relate an overnight trip filled with implicit motifs of traditional authority. In the first weekend of November 1998, I went on a trip sponsored by a major newspaper company. The company runs a cultural center in Tokyo, which offers not only a variety of self-cultivating courses from photography to Italian language but also occasional thematic trips like this one, "A visit to historic sites of the tea ceremony in Kanazawa". Whether a student of their regular courses or not, one can register for these trips by phone or fax and pay through one's bank.

Kanazawa, like Kyoto, has special significance in the history of the tea ceremony. A former castle city one hour's flight northwest of Tokyo, this is the place where Kyoto-like high culture bloomed under the hereditary rule by the Maeda, a powerful warrior family, from the late sixteenth century to the late seventeenth. The third lord of the Maeda family in the mid-seventeenth century especially favored the tea ceremony, and hired Sensō, a great-grandson of Rikyu, as his tea ceremony advisor. Sensō is considered today as the founder of Urasenke school.

The trip gathered 19 participants from around the Tokyo area including myself, all of us women. All were between their 50s and 70s, except for myself, and another single woman who seemed in her late 30s. Except for me and her, all
were in groups of two to five, of *shachū* or of close friends through the tea ceremony. They all seemed to belong to the Urasenke school, not surprising considering the nature of the trip.

Because the trip was relatively costly (120,000 yen, that is about 1,200 dollars), the participants apparently considered it as a special “treat” for their life so far. For a 76-year-old woman I talked with in the airport before departure, who joined the trip with another woman of her age, “only the tea ceremony is my consolation.” She had been practicing the tea ceremony “simply for long” (modestly implying that she did not mean she did it very well) but had to quit several times due to “caring for my parents(-in-law) or to death of family members”. She had been catering to senior citizens for 20 years (“although I’m a senior myself now”) as a district welfare commissioner, and had volunteered to teach flower arrangement and the tea ceremony to seniors (“I am always a volunteer”). She wished to hold *chakai* at a hotel to celebrate her own seventy-seventh birthday. A 59-year-old woman I talked with in the airplane on our way back said the trip was “a treat for myself”, as she would soon turn 60, the age of retirement. As a single, full-time worker, she had been learning the tea ceremony without a break since she was young. She seemed to have a special sentiment for her teacher, the tour leader, who had encouraged her, however exhausted from her work, to continue the tea ceremony through these decades.

Prior to the trip, the participants attended a lecture on the background of the historical sites. The lecturer, an established historian and *gyōtei*-rank tea ceremony teacher, was to be our tour leader. Participants earnestly listened to his lecture and took notes. Some even read old calligraphy on the photocopied handouts, which required special skills and knowledge.
In the airplane on our way, I talked with two women in their 70s, who were from different shachū but were friends at a certain kenkyū-kai (study group). When I said I was from Urawa, one of them immediately said that she had attended Urasenke's big district meeting that the school's branch in my prefecture hosted in 1998 in Ōmiya, a neighboring city to Urawa. She recalled that one of the chaseki gatherings was hosted by men alone, and told me how ririshiku (handsomely) these men in kimono and hakama (Japanese-style trousers) performed temae. She also said that the utensils used there were all antiques that had belonged to a former aristocratic warrior family, the Matsudaira, a branch of the Tokugawa family. She said the current head of the family, a castle owner in my prefecture, was the chief of Urasenke's district branch. Excitedly, she reported in detail how she had seen the utensils decorated with mallows, the family emblem of the Tokugawa and its relatives. She also vividly recalled that the hanging scroll in the alcove was a letter written by the Empress of the Meiji period, and that one of the utensils had come from the Empress's dowry. This chaseki was especially memorable to her not only because it was performed by men only, rare these days, but also because the utensils used were real possessions of the feudal ruling class, which lay people rarely had chances to see. (For how one of the men in this chaseki perceived it, see Chapter 8).

On the first day, immediately after arriving in Kanazawa, the group visited the former residential site of Sensō. The place, once a part of Maeda lord's castle yards, is now a municipal park. On the site, we were welcomed by

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15 The Japanese adverb ririshiku (in the adjective form ririshii) usually modifies admirable male action, when it is done bravely or briskly with concentration, as typified by a quick movement in a martial art.
municipal staff and invited into the house, which had an attached tearoom/teahouse called "Sensô's house". Although I, and probably others too, vaguely thought it must be a reconstruction of Sensô's seventeenth-century house, the story was not that straightforward. It was, according to the flyer for tourists, "the modern version of Sensô's taste" designed by the current iemoto of Urasenke, which he dedicated to the city in 1996 to commemorate the three-hundredth anniversary of Sensô's death. In other words, the house was not what Sensô lived in or liked, but what the current iemoto believed Sensô would have liked. Despite this complexity, people in our tour did not seem bothered, and were earnestly asking the municipal guide about the details of the material of the teahouse: "What is this post made from?" "What soil is used for this part of the wall?" Before leaving, one exclaimed, "How happy people of this city are to have such a nice place to perform the tea ceremony!" with which the others unanimously agreed.

Next we visited the former residence of a vassal of the Maedas. The story was not straightforward here either: Although we were told that the building was authentic "architecture of a warrior's house" (buke-shoin), it was, according to the flyer, built in the late Meiji period, decades after the end of the feudal era. In addition, a modern industrialist later bought the house. Although it was hard to collate details, a tourist could roughly understand that the building was transferred from a feudal hereditary power to a modern economic power. Here the group enjoyed hearty lunch that the hostess of the house prepared.

After lunch, we were served tea, squeezed a few at a time, into a small teahouse in the garden, which was, according to the flyer, once owned by an ex-landlord warrior family other than the Maeda. This was also complicated, but nobody seemed to mind. While the host of the house was explaining the tearoom
architecture, young women brought cups of tea for us from the back kitchen. As a matter of course, everyone in our group knew the manners for drinking tea. One of us invited a young female travel attendant (who accompanied us from Tokyo) into the tearoom. When the attendant insisted she could not because she did not know the manners, the older woman said confidently, “You only have to drink!” which the young attendant did not believe.

From there we went on foot to a lacquer-work studio of an acclaimed craftsman patronized by the Sen family. The exhibition hall in the studio showed that this studio had received a visit from the Imperial family, and that the present craftsman’s works were dedicated to the current Emperor, the Empress, and even to Pope John Paul II.

Another visiting spot of the day was a shrine designed by Enshū. Enshū, a seventeenth-century landlord warrior and tea master, and was known for introducing Sensō to his friend, the lord Maeda. After that, we visited the former residence of a wealthy trade ship owner of the late nineteenth century, to whom even the Maeda lord had paid a visit of respect.

After the day’s itinerary, we had high-class, local cuisine dinner at a prestigious restaurant. After being served tea in chakai style in a big waiting room, we were served traditional dishes that the landlords were supposed to have enjoyed for generations. One of the main dishes was famous jubuni, a chunky soup made thick with potato starch. The waitress told us an anecdote about the origin of this soup: that it was made thick so that it would not lose heat while servants carried it to the lord along the long hallways in the castle.

The tour recommenced the next day with a visit to a ceramics museum. The ceramics craftsman’s ancestor, who had accompanied Sensō’s moving from
Kyoto to Kanazawa, was descended from the Raku, a craftsman's family which had served the Sen family in Kyoto since Rikyu's time. After admiring the gallery display of ceramic works by generations of the craftsmen of this family, everybody saying "How I wish I had this!" many times, we were led into a room in the back of the museum. While craftsman's wife was talking with us, her daughter and a young female employee who had graduated from Urasenke's technical school of the tea ceremony served us tea, which the wife's daughter-in-law made in the back kitchen. The tea cups and the sweet containers were works by the craftsman. The group members praised both young women's elegance and the ceramic works, and thanked our hostesses for their generous hospitality.

We were served tea again when we visited a garden complex, which a vassal family of the Maeda had constructed. The gardens had a teahouse built under the supervision of Sensô, who made it an exact replica of the one Urasenke had in Kyoto. Again, the background history of the gardens and the teahouse was not straightforward, for the construction actually had taken several generations. After we crawled in and admired the teahouse, young female employees in *kimono* served us tea in a space attached to the tearoom. Some people bought sweets sold in the room, the same kind as the sweets served to us.

Our next stop, the Kenrokuen Garden, a gigantic garden constructed by generations of the Maeda family, was a major tourist spot. We were left free to walk around for some time, it being suggested that we should see several teahouses scattered in the garden. Some of them seemed to be historic buildings while the others seemed new. In either case, they were commercial teahouses: One could go in and purchase a cup of tea.

In the afternoon, we visited another former residential site of Sensô (now
occupied), and a temple with a tearoom and Sensō's grave. In front of the grave in the temple's backyard, each one of us offered a moment of prayer. On the post of the tearoom was a poem inscribed probably by a past priest/tea ceremony practitioner, which I did not understand grammatically or semantically, despite the explanation by the priest of the temple. On leaving the temple, one of us was repeating the poem to herself as if impressed, saying, "People in old times condense their thoughts in short words." When I said to her that I did not understand the poem at all and asked her to explain, she said, "You don't have to understand everything." Then, after relaxing in an old entertainment place, we flew back to Tokyo.

Throughout the trip, the past seemed tangled with numerous other past moments or with the present. One reason for this tangling is that the relationship between Sensō, or the tea ceremony, and the historical figures pertinent to each visiting spot was often tangential, that is, distant synchronically and diachronically. The other reason is that the historical sites included numerous simulacra, or "models of a real without origin" (Baudrillard 1983, 2), as in the cases of "Sensō's house" in the municipal park and the new teahouses in the Kenrokuen Garden.

However, one could still perceive the trip's overall message: that various politically, economically or culturally prominent figures in the past, or in the present, were related to the tea ceremony, and that we especially deserved to appreciate the legacies they left and assimilate ourselves to them, because we were tea ceremony practitioners. Our itinerary, which was punctuated by drinking tea, symbolized this message. All the participants knew how to sit, bow and greet to each other, handle a cup, drink tea from it and pass it to the next
person. We were served tea even in the historic teahouses. The simple knowledge of body movement qualified us to be a part of historic sites. At the same time, drinking tea made historic sites a part of us; whatever we saw, and however complicated its background history was, the simple and familiar act of drinking tea instantly enabled us to swallow and internalize the site.

Our special relationship with the past during the trip seemed to incite some participants to reflect on their own relationships with traditional authority. When walking to the bus after seeing “Sensō’s house”, a woman in her 70s abruptly told me about her family’s affinal relationship with a former aristocratic warrior’s family, as well as her friendship with a supposed descendant of aristocrats. Her talk reminded me of Mrs. Furuta of Hamabe shachū, who told me on our way to chakai in Nikko that she was a descendant of a Tokugawa family’s vassal.

A person without pedigree could still relate herself to traditional authority simply by identifying herself as a tea ceremony practitioner. After seeing a shrine designed by Enshū, I asked a woman in her 50s if women practiced the tea ceremony in the Edo period. She said, “Women started it after the Meiji Restoration. Before that only landlord warriors did it. I wouldn’t have qualified for the tea ceremony (if born in the feudal era, for the chances of being born into a landlord family was slight)”. Her neglect of the townsmen's tea ceremony in the Edo period and her shortcut association between feudal landlords and modern women indicate her perception of modern female tea ceremony practitioners, including herself, as successors of the cultural heritage from the past ruling class.

Thus, for the participants, the trip was a chance to re-discover their relationship with traditional authority. They joined the trip because they knew
that the trip would remind them of their relationship with this authority. For those who have pedigree, or have kinship or friendship with pedigreed people, but do not have chances to articulate it in daily life, a tea ceremony-related trip that shows a package of heritages from pedigreed people recalls their relationship with such people, and in itself flatters them. As to those who have no pedigree, the trip still flatters them, because the simple knowledge of specific body movements qualifies them to assimilate themselves with past people who left the heritages. In short, the trip in a condensed, "microcosmic" way exhibited one role that the tea ceremony plays in these women's lives generally.
CHAPTER 8:
PERSONAL NARRATIVES:
THE MEANING OF THE TEA CEREMONY
IN WOMEN'S LIVES

8.0 Introduction

Any practice of tea ceremony practitioners, physical or discursive, is legitimated by traditional authority. Also, assuming traditional authority to raise one's status within the practitioners' community, and sometimes in society in general, especially attracts predominantly middle-class, middle-aged and older women, who constitute more than half of today's tea ceremony practitioners.

I will now elucidate what assuming traditional authority through the tea ceremony means in married, middle-aged or older women practitioners' lives. For this purpose, I will introduce their personal narratives of their own lives. I will compare their narratives to the narratives of tea ceremony practitioners of different gender, age groups and marital status, that is, (1) single or widowed women practitioners over 45, (2) men practitioners and (3) women practitioners in their 20s and early 30s. Women in their late 30s and early 40s, who constitute the minority age group among practitioners, will be discussed if they are in a shachú with other age groups.

I specifically ask what factors in their personal lives increase their zest for benkyō (studies). Each shachú demonstrates a different degree to which the members collectively practice sógō-bunka discourse (see Chapter 6); this seems to correspond to some extent to the teachers' and pupils' social and economic status as indicated by the relative prestige of each residential area. However, economic affluence only means
that a practitioner could afford to purchase utensils, or attend seminars at museums; it does not mean that she actually does so. As Mrs. Takeuchi said, some women who have inherited utensils do not necessarily study to use them effectively. On the other hand, the Group of Five housewives shifted from low-cost classes at a community center to a benkyō-oriented practice with a private teacher, without changing their social or economic status. Although higher social and economic backgrounds facilitate one's zest for benkyō, they are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions. We should look for other facilitators for benkyō that traverse relative differences among women's social and economic backgrounds.

Here I will focus on the married women's relationship with their husbands as they talk. My argument is that the distant and unequal relationship between urban male employees and housewives normalized under the "postwar family system" encourages the women to attempt to match their husbands by assuming traditional authority.

Generally, when asked about their husbands' attitudes towards their practice of the tea ceremony, my participants, despite their preference for the word "cooperative", actually depicted their husbands' attitudes as indifferent, pejorative or restrictive. Their talk also indicated that their married lives in general pushed them into the position of supporters of (male) family members' economic and educational success and caregivers for the elderly; and that performing such roles fragmented their own lives.

In this situation, many women presented the tea ceremony as a means of demarcating their world from their husbands'. Also, most women practitioners, especially those who have been caregivers, depicted the tea ceremony as a change from daily life. Though most of the women practiced the tea ceremony before marriage,
many explained their practice of it today as a means of benkyō and different from that in their younger days, whose motivation they attributed to outer factors such as mothers or female relatives, but not inner zest. Such talk indicates that the tea ceremony for them as young women was a device to subject them to the male-dominant society, using the Meiji-born social norms of temae as women's sahō. Meanwhile, the same activity for them in the later stages of their lives provides a means for them to increase both knowledge and traditional authority, and thus match their husbands' and male children' economic and educational capital. Moreover, returning to this premarital activity itself gives consistency to their fragmented lives.

This attempt partly conforms to the idea that married women constitute a "women class" beyond class differences among themselves (Ueno 1990. 66-67. discussing Delphy 1984). However, I adopt this idea only in part, for two seemingly paradoxical reasons. First, in capitalist society after World War II, in which the majority of people identify themselves as middle-class, the idea of class as a reason for behavior is not totally valid. Therefore, the idea of "beyond class differences" makes no clear sense. Second, if not "class differences", there are potentially infinite, relative differences among women in what I have been calling "social and economic backgrounds", and one can see a certain "tendencies" according to these "relative" differences. Therefore, I will attempt to analyze both the common experiences of married women practitioners in the postwar period and the relative differences among them.

The married women practitioners' narratives clearly contrast with those from other subgroups of practitioners and accentuate the characteristics of postwar housewives-practitioners' lives and their engagement in the tea ceremony. Single or widowed women, for example, talked about the tea ceremony as something central to
their lives, or as something potentially central as a profession. They also attributed their starting or continuing it to their own will and to their love of it, which have not changed since their younger days.

Narratives of male practitioners, who are usually either tea ceremony teachers or men in business, mainly concern with the relationship between the tea ceremony and economic activities. For teachers, their practice of the tea ceremony qualifies them as critics of an economically-biased society. For men in business, the tea ceremony is a reward or a complement to their daily economic activities. Both groups presented their stands as something different from those of female tea ceremony practitioners, though they were not necessarily pejorative towards the women.

Last, young women's explanations of their practice generally resembled older women's explanations of their practice in their younger days, in lacking any narrative of a love of *benkyō*, and of antagonistic relationships with men around themselves or male-dominant society in general. Their major interest seemed to be in bodily discipline and its presentation. Yet they can follow the same track as the older women by becoming *benkyō*-oriented practitioners in their later lives.

8.1 Married women over 45

The life patterns of married female tea ceremony practitioners over 45 are relatively similar to each other: a few years' working after graduating from high school or junior college, quitting work on marriage, and raising approximately two children. Some give care to old parents (-in-law) at home. This life pattern of urban housewives became established under the "postwar family system" (see Chapter 5).

Mrs. Nakano, born in 1924, belongs to the first generation of the 1925-1950
cohort, which is supposed to have established the prototype of the above life pattern. Therefore, I will first present her personal narrative. It will be followed by narratives by two women from Nakano shachû. I will next present the personal narrative of Mrs. Takeuchi, born 1938 and 60 years old, as an example of women born in the middle of the 1925-1950 cohort. It will be followed by narratives from her shachû members who are around her age. In order to get a broader view, I will also introduce narratives from married women in Miss Hamabe’s shachû and at two community centers.

8.1.1 Mrs. Nakano (b.1924)

Not only an example of the first generation which lived in, or rather constructed, the "postwar family system". Mrs. Nakano’s life story is also significant as a successful example of women’s self-empowerment through their practice of the tea ceremony. Her accumulation of temae for four decades from the age of 17, often interrupted by her o-yakume (duties) as a wife, a mother and a daughter-in-law, finally qualified her to assume traditional authority in the later stages of her life, when she started to "study" (benkyō). A high school graduate married to a scholar/government servant, she related a narrative showing her simultaneously conforming to and competing with her husband, who showed hardly any interest in family matters or in her practice of the tea ceremony. As one of the most articulate practitioners of sōgō-bunka discourse, she now attracts respect not only from her pupils and the local community, but also from her retired husband.

A daughter of a family running a kimono retail store in Tokyo, Mrs. Nakano specialized in commerce at jogakkô, or a girls’ high school.¹ Graduating from high

¹ For the difference between curriculums of jogakkô, or girls' high schools in the prewar
school at 17 in 1941, she started working at an electric appliance company in Tokyo as an accountant. At the same time, she started the tea ceremony "as a part of bridal training". She continued keiko during her two years’ evacuation from air raids in the countryside during the war. At the end of the war, at the age of 21, she came back to Tokyo to have an arranged marriage. The man, six years older than her, was a graduate of one of the most prestigious national universities. He, like many of graduates from his school, had a strong wish to work for governmental organizations. His parents' families were local celebrities in the countryside: His father's family members included an executive of a local bank; his mother's family ran a big sugar wholesale store. They married right after the war, and the husband started working as an economist at a think tank supervised by a governmental ministry.

When she recalls earlier years of their married life, Mrs. Nakano only remembers the back of her husband working at his desk. "I cooked, I called him, he ate, then he returned to desk," she caricatured their life. She also assisted her husband' research with her skill on the abacus. "He did not calculate at all himself. He just showed some figures and asked me to calculate. When I told him the result, he said, 'Ah, that's exactly what I expected!'" She continued learning temae once a month "without rush" (botshubotsu), though her teacher often called her and urged her to come more often and get higher kyojō (permissions). At the same time, she learned culinary art and occasionally visited museums, about which she now explains, "In my retrospect, everything was leading towards the tea ceremony." When the couple lived on one of the southern islands for four years, however, she did not have a chance to practice the tea ceremony at all.

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period, and of girls' high schools in the postwar period, see the footnote 22 of 5.3.2.
As if it was a lesson to young pupils, Mrs. Nakano once said, "The first 10 years of marriage life are guessing and detection of each other's mind (hara-no-saguria), even after having kids." She gave birth to two boys, each of whom later graduated from one of the two most prestigious private universities. She, however, showed her regret that both of them failed to enter their father's university and "ended up with those universities." Her explicit regret in front of me surprised me, because she knew I was a graduate of one of those private universities. Probably her husband's presence at the time of our talk led her to that remark.

Mrs. Nakano's keiko "without rush" eventually led her to acquire chamei, or a professional name, in 1964 at the age of 40. That year she started teaching the tea ceremony to five or six women at her kōmui-jūtaku (apartment for public servants).

The Nakano family finally had their own house in a newly developing residential area in the suburbs of Yokohama in 1968. They could afford it because of the husband's large income from his earlier book. The book, which warned that excessive demographic flow from villages to cities would ruin Japan's agriculture, made the husband a mass media celebrity. I myself ran into a newspaper article written in 1961 by Mrs. Nakano's husband when I was looking for articles about the department store exhibition about Rikyu.

The new house had a sunken hearth in one of the rooms, as Mrs. Nakano had requested her husband. In the room she held chakai in 1968 to announce her newly obtained qualification as jun-kyōju (associate professor) of the tea ceremony. The hearth, however, was hardly used before her husband's parents moved in the following year. The hearth was covered with a piece of tatami mat, as it usually is when not in use, because Mrs. Nakano thought her parents-in-law would be offended if they saw their yome ("bride" or "daughter-in-law") engaged in a hobby that would take her away
from housework. The room became the bedroom for the old couple. She cared for them for eight years, in the last three of which both of them were ill, until they passed away.

Mrs. Nakano was a good yome also as hostess of the husband's family's annual reunion at the house for eight years. She shopped and cooked for 20 people every year all by herself. "And this experience now helps me in organizing any kind of tea ceremony gatherings," she now says.

Around 1980, when Mrs. Nakano was in her late 50s, she began to invite the chef of kaiseki cuisine to her home so that she and some of her neighbors could learn this culinary art. When she passed 60 years old, she thought she had fulfilled all her "duties" (o-yakume): her parents-in-law were dead, her boys were grown up and her husband retired. She thought she "was now allowed to do the tea ceremony", and started teaching it to five or six pupils. In 1986, at the age of 62, she was asked to teach at a Japanese-style house/community center in her neighborhood. After her class was introduced in a local TV program, the number of her pupils jumped. Some who were not satisfied with the big class at the community center headed to her home for private lessons.

Mrs. Nakano started benkyō (studies) on things other than temae because she thought "pupils won't follow me if I was teaching only temae." Besides learning temae from two teachers, she now attends monthly seminars on chaji given by gyōtei, and monthly seminars on utensils given by a utensil collector. She is also a member of Nezu, Hatakeyama and Tokugawa Museums. As a member of each museum, she attends their seminars as well as their monthly or annual chakai.

Mrs. Nakano asserts that the common sense she acquired through child rearing and other experiences in her life is now all being brought to life in her practice
of the tea ceremony. She even says, "I am teaching the tea ceremony so that my pupils won't mislead their lives. If she [one of them] has somebody to give care to at home, I say, 'Give priority to it [rather than to the tea ceremony]'".

I based Mrs. Nakano's life story on her narratives told in her casual conversation and in a two-and-a-half-hour personal interview. During the long interview, her 80-year-old retired husband was beside her. It took me some time to shift the focus of my interview from him, who was eager to talk about his knowledge of society and about his university's alumni network, to his wife's life. Yet, once the focus shifted to the wife, he was attentive, especially when she was talking about her care-giving for his parents and family. He sometimes added comments from his own position, or complemented her narratives with some information. He even described her inner world as if he were her, for example, "[passing 60 years old, she] started studying as if a dam which was repressing everything had broken".

Mrs. Nakano and her husband unanimously said that her husband had had no tatchi ("no touch," which means "no concern, no involvement") in her practice of the tea ceremony. However, the husband's educational and social status had clearly influenced Mrs. Nakano's tea ceremony in at least two ways.

First, through her husband's alumni network, Mrs. Nakano was introduced to a group of wives of leaders in politics, the economy and academia. These women, many of them graduates of one of the most prestigious women's universities, taught Mrs. Nakano "what the female intelligentsia think" and "influenced me a lot". The women were also tea ceremony practitioners. "Because I was empty [that is, she had no post-secondary education], I was able to accept anything people kindly taught me." It seems that Mrs. Nakano learned a benkyō-oriented approach to the tea ceremony partly from this group.
Second, Mrs. Nakano said she was "greatly influenced" by her husband. He was the kind of man who, as Mrs. Nakano put it, would criticize his wife's lack of self-identity if she explained her behavior in such a way as "I will do this because the iemoto or other people do so". "I myself wanted to practice the tea ceremony in the way I could explain to my husband," said Mrs. Nakano. Now her husband says, "If I was her pupil, I would recognize that she is effectively using my tuition for her utensils and benkyō."

Today, for 12 hours a day, three days a week, their house is dominated by the wife's pupils, who surge in one after another, sometimes coming back forth more than once on the same day. The husband sometimes peeps into the tearoom, sits for a moment to have a cup of tea a pupil made, and leaves, saying, "Please stay as much as you like" (go-yukkuri). At lunchtime and dinnertime, he often prepares snacks for pupils. "Such hospitality is a tradition of his family", says Mrs. Nakano, with no tone of feeling guilty about bothering him. When Mrs. Nakano is away teaching at a community center, for chakai or for a trip, the husband looks after the house. In the couple's official 1999 New Year's card, the husband wrote, "It is good for a husband to be fit and look after home" (teishu genki-de rusan-ga yoi), parroding the humorous chant of a housewife in a TV commercial, "It is good for a husband to be fit and away from home" (teishu genki-de rusu-ga yoi). In the last stage of their lives, the couple's power relationship, in terms of liveliness and reputation in the local community, seems to have been reversed.

8.1.2 The pupils in Nakano shachū

Each pupil of Mrs. Nakano's shachū more or less shares the life experiences that their teacher underwent. Some met Mrs. Nakano through the community of
wives of public servants, as there are several public servants' residences in B Ward in the suburbs of Yokohama. Some had experienced moving several times for their husbands' jobs, as Mrs. Nakano did.

In general, their husbands had "elite" jobs, such as in a government-run monopoly, a government-run trade promotion association, or university research. Including the wife of a worker at an insurance company, some had lived overseas for their husbands' jobs. Some women were "teachers" of one kind or another, such as a teacher of Japanese language for foreign residents in Japan, of the tea ceremony at a technical high school, or a teacher at a high school for the deaf.

Along with such relatively privileged backgrounds, their husbands' indifference to family matters and the women's full responsibility for child rearing and elderly care arose noticeably in their talk. The husbands' attitudes towards the wives' practice of the tea ceremony were pejorative, restrictive, or indifferent, as that of Mrs. Nakano's husband had until recently been.

**Mrs. Uehara**, 70, belongs to the same generation as Mrs. Nakano. In 1943, at the age of 14, she started learning the tea ceremony from her aunt, who had evacuated from air raids in the city to her home in countryside. Her participation in the aunt's *keiko* became more formal at 16, when she was in the second grade of *jogakkô*. At 19, she married while she was still in the additional two-year program of *jogakkô*. She quit the tea ceremony then and did not recommence it until after two decades.

Her husband, like Mrs. Nakano's, was a public servant. Her family was one of those labelled "transfer tribe" (*tenkin-zoku*); that is, families who moved every few years according to the husband's employer's orders. In 1970, at 40, Mrs. Uehara and her family moved to the residence for public servants where she now lives. Her three children were at university and high schools respectively. She met Mrs. Nakano at a
course of centerpiece making. (I was surprised to hear that Mrs. Nakano had ever had such a "Western" hobby.) Five years later, when Mrs. Nakano started teaching the tea ceremony on finishing her "duties" with her mother-in-law, Mrs. Uehara, who herself was caring for her mother-in-law at home, started learning the tea ceremony from Mrs. Nakano. Mrs. Uehara's mother-in-law, who "tacitly permitted me to go to *keiko*", passed away after six years. At 58, Mrs. Uehara, with several other women including another public servant's wife whom she met in the centerpiece-making course, started assisting in Mrs. Nakano's tea ceremony class at the community center. Mrs. Uehara obtained a professional name in 1992, at 62.

When I asked her how she had managed both housework and the tea ceremony, Mrs. Uehara answered, "I have done what I had to do. I was always back home in time to prepare dinner". Asked about her husband's attitude to her practice of the tea ceremony, she replied, "Until he retired, his attitude was 'It's just women's play' (*taka-ga onna-no asobi*). But he has been cooperative (*kyôryoku-teki*) in the past five or six years after his retirement. As I am teaching at the community center, he knows I am not playing. And he knows that the tea ceremony has a positive effect on me."

Interestingly, both Mrs. Nakano's and Mrs. Uehara's husbands turned their indifferent or pejorative attitudes towards their wives' extra-domestic activity into more "cooperative" ones after retirement. This is probably due to the husbands' loss of clear self-images as breadwinners—that is, economic-social superiors to their wives—after their retirement. Rather, the husbands now face the possibility of being ignored or despised by their wives if they fail to show their usefulness at home. Yet, the word "cooperative", which many of my interviewees used, seems to mean a broad range of attitudes, from the active one of Mrs. Nakano's husband to indifference.
Mrs. Ogino, born in 1946 and 53 years old, belongs to the first postwar-born generation. However, her life story shows more similarity than difference to the lives of Mrs. Nakano and Mrs. Uehara, who are 20 years older than her. Mrs. Ogino also used "cooperative" in fact to mean her husband's attitude, quickly adding, "Though he is now working far away and lives alone over there". She used the word to mean her husband's indifference to her cultural activity today, compared to his restrictive attitudes before. In describing his past attitudes, Mrs. Ogino said, imitating her husband's voice, "You should have something else to do," and "You can do it as far as it does not affect your housework." (The latter is a cliché when husbands of her generation allow wives' working outside the home.) She did not say whether he actually ever spoke these words, though. So, she said, she always practiced the tea ceremony only on days when her husband would come home late.

Mrs. Ogino started keiko at age seven with her own mother who was a tea ceremony teacher. She continued keiko "intermittently until marriage". Graduating from a two-year women's college in Tokyo, she worked at a government-run monopoly company. Once she had married a man from the same office and quit the job, she joined the "transfer tribe". In the early 1970s, when the family happened to be transferred to her hometown, she recommenced keiko and advanced to relatively high-leveled "permissions". After this period, however, she was away from the tea ceremony for 15 years. On top of raising three children, she was responsible for caring for her mother-in-law, who always lived with the family.

In 1991, when she was 45, the family built the house they now live in. Mrs. Ogino joined Mrs. Nakano's keiko at the community center, and later her private keiko, by "nature's decision" (en) and "unexpectedly" (zuruzuru).

Mrs. Ogino's word choice condenses the coding which Japanese, especially
middle-aged or older women, favor. "En" is a Buddhist term for nature's decisions and arrangements on human matters, which are beyond human consideration or control. Zuruzuru, originally an onomatopoeia to describe something being dragged or slid, also metaphorically means "one step of commitment slipping to another step", implying both "natural unfolding" of things and "a sense of inability to stop or steer the process" (Lebra 1984, 232). By adopting such a vocabulary, Mrs. Ogino probably tried to avoid social or inner criticism that she selfishly pursued her amusement. Immediately after these remarks, however, she honestly admitted that "in one aspect, I wanted to escape from giving care for my mother-in-law. And I became absorbed into the tea ceremony once she passed away." With the past eight years' keiko with Mrs. Nakano, she advanced to obtaining her professional name.

The lives of other women of Nakano shachū have something in common with the lives of Mrs. Nakano, Mrs. Uehara and Mrs. Ogino. Mrs. Watanabe, in her late 50s with two grown-up children, said she started joining keiko at the community center 10 years before, when she was giving care for her mother (-in-law). She said, "Whenever I came here I got peace of mind, and I went back home filled with new energy", which I frequently heard from female practitioners who were also care givers.

Like Mrs. Ogino, Mrs. Watanabe is "doing the tea ceremony while my husband is not home, so he cannot say I should not do it." At the same time, Mrs. Watanabe seemed to be actively using the tea ceremony as a means of drawing boundaries between her own world and her husband's. When I asked whether her practice of the tea ceremony, such as her duty at chakai on weekends, conflicted with her housework, she replied: "It happens only once a year or so. And my husband has his own hobby.

2 Lebra (1984: 232, 295) observes that, out of this psychology, Japanese women she
I am trying not to have the same hobby as his."

No wonder the women mentioned above, who are more or less similar to each other in their life patterns, in their ways of engaging in the tea ceremony and in their husbands' attitudes towards their activity, constitute a congenial group. Each of them knows what the others' lives' priorities have been and knows they are the same as hers. Around five o'clock in the evening, when a fish vendor in a van stops just in front of Mrs. Nakano's house (he knows here is a big group of customers), Mrs. Nakano and her pupils, as if it was part of the routine, quit keiko, grab their purses and rush out to buy today's main dish for supper.

8.1.3 Mrs. Takeuchi (b. 1938)

Unlike Mrs. Nakano's shachû, Mrs. Takeuchi and her middle-aged shachû members did not meet through the tea ceremony, but had known each other since childhood. Therefore, they share not only general life experiences of women under the "postwar family system", but also peer identity from the same neighborhood, from the same prestigious junior high school, and so forth. The unique background of this shachû gives their keiko an aspect of "reunion".

Mrs. Takeuchi, the wife of a doctor, had the most "elite" premarital and marital family background among my participants, in terms of economy, education, and art appreciation. For instance, her Meiji-born father, a worker at an insurance company, was an enthusiastic amateur painter and collector of Japanese paintings. Mrs. Takeuchi's sister became a professional calligrapher. Her uncle was a graduate of medicine from a prestigious national university, a master of Japanese archery and a

interviewed tend to adopt the word zuruzuru when orally presenting their life stories.
mentor of the Emperor. As Bourdieu puts it, cultural capital is transmitted not only by the educational system but also by the family (Bourdieu 1991, 62), and can be converted into economic capital such as the wages of high-qualification jobs (Bourdieu & Boltanski 1977, 61-69), that in return afford more cultural capital, including paintings. Thus, Mrs. Takeuchi's family embodies the general tendency of certain families' monopolization and reproduction of cultural (educational and artistic) and economic capital, which Bourdieu suggests.

At the same time, among my participants Mrs. Takeuchi most clearly articulated the "repressed" position of herself and women in general in relation to men. Also, she talked about the tea ceremony most lucidly as a means of demarcating her own world from her husband's and of equilibrating herself to him.

Recalling her childhood, Mrs. Takeuchi assumes, "Nostalgia for my childhood memories may attract me to the tea ceremony". As a six-year-old girl, she evacuated from the city's air raids to the countryside, where her father's father, a landowner, resided. The grandparents' house was as big as a temple; she still remembers hanging scrolls of calligraphy on the wall and the serenity of the house. She also recalls that her Edo-born grandmother "imprinted" her with teachings of Onna-daigaku ("Great learning for women"), a Confucian textbook written in the Edo period that taught women's subordination to their husbands and parents-in-law (see Chapter 4).

After returning to Urawa at the end of the war, she spent all her school days there. She went to the best public schools in the prefecture from elementary level to high school. After graduating from high school, Mrs. Takeuchi started bridal training, including the tea ceremony, following her mother's advice and with her old friend Hanamori. Mrs. Takeuchi later obtained teachers' licenses in two disciplines of such
bridal training, the tea ceremony and flower arrangement (ikebana). At first, her engagement in the tea ceremony was not too serious. She remembers she was always “giggling” in keiko, finding the serious atmosphere of the tea ceremony funny. She also wondered if the tea ceremony was “a proper thing for a young person to spend time on”.

Soon she was introduced to a young doctor, who was eight years older than her. The man had understanding in high culture, for his father, also a doctor, was a collector of antiques and Western paintings. Mrs. Takeuchi sometimes took him to chakai, which he enjoyed, though he was not familiar with the specific manners required. She and he married around 1960. The husband's father was happy about Mrs. Takeuchi’s mastery of the tea ceremony, and sometimes presented her some of his antique collections.

Mrs. Takeuchi continued keiko for the first five years of their marriage, during which her husband was working at a hospital. The following five years, however, were extremely hectic, for the husband opened his own clinic. Until he arranged all the necessary staff, Mrs. Takeuchi had to assist her husband with any odds and ends. Meanwhile she gave birth to two children. She had to quit keiko.

The husband's clinic went well for a few years. However, Mrs. Takeuchi was totally shocked when he suddenly decided to move the clinic to another place for better profit without consulting her. “By then he had already had all the necessary staff and it moved entirely to the new place, so I didn’t have to assist him this time. But I felt as if everything I helped him with, everything I had accumulated, went for nothing, and I was no use.”

“I thought this man would make my life a mess, and I recommenced the tea ceremony,” said Mrs. Takeuchi emphatically, with glowing eyes, while neatly putting
one hand on the other on her lap as she was always doing during *keiko*. Fortunately, her children were 10 and six; the busiest period of her child rearing had passed. In the early 1970s, she found a new teacher through another young mother she met at her daughter's nursery school. Since then, she and the *shachū* friends she made at that time have been meeting as a study group (*kenkyû-kai*) for 26 years.

Mrs. Takeuchi obtained permission from her husband to make a sunken hearth in one of their apartment rooms, and started teaching the tea ceremony. When the family built their present house in the late 1980s, "we made a room with a sunken hearth as if it was something natural to be there." However, her sick parents soon moved in, and the room turned into their bedroom, as was the case for Mrs. Nakano. Though unable to teach, Mrs. Takeuchi kept going to *keiko*. "My mother encouraged me to keep learning the tea ceremony even though she was lying sick." As she recalls, *keiko* at her teacher's house gave her a real joy and momentary rest. She also started teaching French and other culinary arts to her old friends, who later became pupils of the tea ceremony. Within four years, her parents passed away one after another.

Around the same time as her parents' death, Mrs. Takeuchi's children left home. Her son, who graduated from the same prestigious national university as his father, became a doctor. Her daughter got married and left for an Asian country for her husband's business.

In 1991, Mrs. Takeuchi's niece Ryoko and her colleagues at graduate school asked her to teach the tea ceremony. Soon after she started teaching the young women, her old friend Mrs. Hanamori, who had been learning culinary art from her, asked her for the same thing. In three years, Mrs. Takeuchi and Mrs. Hanamori were joined by three other old friends from their hometown.

As of my research period, Mr. and Mrs. Takeuchi were sharing their three-
storied house with her son, his working wife and the couple's young children. The house had an elevator, which meant that Mrs. Takeuchi and her husband were preparing for aging.

Mrs. Takeuchi, contrary to her modest manners, was always the most honest and critical speaker among my participants, both in a personal interview and in two group interviews I conducted with her and her middle-aged shachū members. Besides these occasions, many fragments of time before and after keiko provided good opportunities for me to hear her views on life.

One day, when another two young pupils and I were almost finishing our keiko, Mrs. Takeuchi rather abruptly began: "Around my age, it becomes tough to live." Then she told us about a friend of hers suffering from a serious empty-nest syndrome. "And her husband is always hanging out with his colleagues from his new workplace he got after retirement. He is away for a trip with them this weekend. My friend is saying only she is left behind."

As Mrs. Takeuchi seemed hesitant to conclude, I said, "Tea ceremony practitioners wouldn't have that problem, would they?" She continued, humorously, "The tea ceremony is the only place where aged women are respected." And she repeated what she was often saying: "But you have to start it young to receive joy from it in later life. And the longer you practice it, the more it gives you spiritual training." She seemed to appreciate her good fortune in having the tea ceremony; she once said, "How much I appreciated the tea ceremony when my children went to university or got married!" Yet, it seemed she did not want to finish her talk there.

Later in this same chat, she asked, probably to me as an anthropology major, rather abruptly again: "When did men begin to repress women?" Although I was unable to answer both because the question was too broad and because I was
devastated, she continued for herself: "It's so all around the world, isn't it? I think men force women down because they know they can never match women, seeing how strong women are when they give birth."

Mrs. Takeuchi, who lived a life pattern not too different from that of Mrs. Nakano—assisting her husband's career without being appreciated, caring for children and elderly parents by herself—coded her experience explicitly as "repression", raising a question on unequal social status between gender, while Mrs. Nakano did not. Probably Mrs. Nakano, who belonged to the last generation that received the prewar secondary education of "good wife and wise mother", was more imprinted with the Meiji-born feminine ideal. Meanwhile Mrs. Takeuchi, who had a postwar secondary education championing democracy, must have felt more sharply the contradiction between ideals of gender equality and persistent chauvinistic reality.

According to Mrs. Takeuchi, her husband "agrees with" her practicing the tea ceremony—"or rather, he does not oppose it." She used the word "cooperative" (kyōryoku-teki) referring to this passive tolerance by her husband. Yet it seemed to me that he was sometimes more positively "cooperative", for example, by buying sweets for her keiko from his workplace trip.

For Mrs. Takeuchi, the tea ceremony "helps you establishing your individuality (ko)". The "individuality" here seems to mean psychological independence from anybody, including her husband. Once I told Mrs. Takeuchi and a young pupil about my observation that North American women tended to involve their male partners in their activities more than Japanese women did, and that praise and understanding from their partners were an important part of their enjoyment. I said, "When a wife performs on the stage, for example, her husband is supposed to be there. If he fails to attend and praise, it could lead to breaking up." Mrs. Takeuchi
responded, "Western women are dependent (amae-te-iru)," which was unexpected
coding to me. For her, a woman's request for affirmation from her partner probably
does not mean her request for attention as an equal individual, but rather immature
emotional attachment. For her, independence or "individuality" must be achieved by
emotional detachment from the partner and by serene self-containment.

Probably, "individuality" for her means having one's own world which cannot
be violated by anybody, which gives one self-esteem and confidence to face others, even
if one is in a weaker position. She said in one of the group interviews that because her
husband was much older than her, "he is much bigger than me. I must have my own
castle. In his mind there isn't a big space spared for me, although I am thinking in
the bottom of my heart that I am equal to him."

And the tea ceremony is, in Mrs. Takeuchi's view, a world to which any
husband has to give way. As she puts it, "I have never heard about a woman whose
husband opposes her practicing the tea ceremony. Husbands say, 'If it's the tea
ceremony, you may do it.' This is probably because the tea ceremony is not mere play
but is related to benkyō (studies)." Considering not all the husbands are that
approving (remember Mrs. Uehara's husband's remark, "It's just women's play"). Mrs.
Takeuchi's words reveal mostly what she wants to believe. Yet, her belief partly hits a
truth: that wives' practicing the tea ceremony is relatively difficult for their husbands
to oppose, compared for example to their playing tennis or mahjong. And she was
probably right in pointing out many husbands' awareness, if not awe, of the relative
"profoundness" of this activity compared to other hobbies.
8.1.4 Pupils in Takeuchi shachū

Middle-aged pupils in the Takeuchi shachū, who are old friends of the teacher, usually have a chat over black tea after each keiko. I conducted group interviews with them and Mrs. Takeuchi by twice joining this occasion. Mrs. Takeuchi assisted me during these group interviews by mentioning my mother, her old schoolmate, by her maiden name and talking about their school days, so that the others, who knew my mother at school, would relax.

Among the pupils, Mrs. Hanamori seemed to be the most like-minded to Mrs. Takeuchi in her serious and critical attitude towards her life so far. She learned the tea ceremony together with her best friend Takeuchi after graduating from high school. Unlike Mrs. Takeuchi, she worked for six years, until her marriage in 1962. Her husband, a worker at a TV station, was among the "transfer tribe", and during more than 10 years' unsettled life Mrs. Hanamori "never ever thought about doing the tea ceremony." Her husband always came home late. According to Mrs. Hanamori, he "always hung around with his peers for a drink, saying, 'It's my work.'" "I was always talking with my children that this was like a single mother's family. It was a situation which would lead couples today to divorce". When Mrs. Hanamori made this remark with a slight smile but emphatically, other interviewees said one after another, "In our time, we followed husbands." "And we, kind of, could not say no". Meanwhile, she continued her hobby of knitting with other wives living in the apartment complex for the company's workers.

In 1977, at 39, she settled in Tokyo. This settlement enabled her to meet her old friend Mrs. Takeuchi frequently. In the late 1980s, she started learning culinary

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3 Mrs. Nakagawa's narrative is not available here because she was absent from the second
arts from Mrs. Takeuchi, and after a few years the tea ceremony. She now especially appreciates chances to meet people outside her home because of the tea ceremony, saying, "I will never think about shutting myself in the house again," which indicates that she was once doing so. Her husband, who has retired (as I infer from her talk) is affirmative of her activity now, saying every Wednesday, "It's the day of your tea ceremony, isn't it?" She has even taken him to an exhibition of lacquered works with her.

Reticent and contemplative, Mrs. Hanamori did not talk about her life dramatically. But she murmured, as if to herself, "As you live longer, you have to suffer from your own karma (gō)." Although I did not know exactly what she meant, she was clearly regretting something about her younger days, probably not doing what she should have done rather than what she has done.

**Mrs. Inaga**, the wife of a factory owner, had practiced the tea ceremony in her younger days as a part of bridal training. Once she married, helping her husband kept her too busy to recommence the activity. Yet, she started meeting her old friends Mrs. Takeuchi and Mrs. Hanamori 20 years ago, when she was about 40. She started learning the tea ceremony from Mrs. Takeuchi a few years ago.

**Mrs. Nogi**, the wife of a worker at a construction company, said she did not have any chance to practice the tea ceremony until two years ago, although she was once "permitted [by her husband?] to learn culinary art once a week."

Despite the difference in their husbands' occupations, women friends around 60 in the Takeuchi shachu, including Mrs. Takeuchi herself, seemed to have a common task: reflection on life so far and the search for the meaning of the rest of life. Mrs. interview, in which I asked about the participants' relationship with their husbands.
Hanamori especially emphasized during the interviews that she wanted to continue the tea ceremony even when she reaches 70 or 80 years old, saying to Mrs. Takeuchi, “Please do me a favor for life” (isshō yoroshiku onegai shimasu).

Also, returning to the old friendship and neighborhood identity at the same time as to a premarital cultural activity facilitates each woman’s (re)discovery of self-identity; as Mrs. Nakagawa once said, “We are not peers who met through the tea ceremony. We already know each other well... I am happy because the teacher is my friend. That’s why I come here despite nearly two hours’ train ride.”

8.1.5 The Group of Five

Similarly to the women discussed above, Group of Five, housewives who shifted from a community center to private keiko with Miss Hamabe, have had responsibilities for child rearing and elder care, and presented the tea ceremony as a means of leading themselves to a "different" world. Here again, their husbands’ "cooperation" with their activities, despite one of them using this word, was not recognizable in their narratives. Although their teacher Miss Hamabe, a single full-time worker, and the Group do not share many life experiences, the Group’s zest for benkyō adheres them to this teacher (for Miss Hamabe’s life, see 8.2.1).

The two interviews I conducted with the Group took place in the brief interval between the group’s finishing keiko and going home to prepare supper. Yet their narratives revealed some important factors which drove them from casual learning of temae at a public institution to benkyō-oriented practice with a private teacher.

All the members of the Group of Five were in their mid-50s. Mrs. Higashino’s

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1 Karma is a Buddhist term which means "cause and effect".
story typifies the rest of the group members' history. She had practiced the tea ceremony for four or five years before marriage. When she was in her mid-40s, she recommenced it at a local community center "because my children were grown up and I thought I should start something". There she met four housewives whom she knew superficially through PTA activities. The teacher was Mrs. Bandô, Miss Hamabe's teacher, whom Miss Hamabe sometimes assisted. The four housewives became closer as they became more enthusiastic about the tea ceremony. While continuing the class at the community center, they started private keiko with Mrs. Bandô. Unsatisfied with these lessons, they started additional keiko with Miss Hamabe. Now Mrs. Higashino says, "The tea ceremony leads me to a different world from my daily life."

For Mrs. Nishi, caregiver at home for her mother with senile dementia, the tea ceremony is a real change from her daily life, as she says. She sometimes comes to additional keiko without telling the rest of the Group about it. She said she was thinking herself too busy to deeply feel the feelings of seasons before starting the tea ceremony.

Mrs. Miyake seems to be the leader of the Group. Her detailed description of her benkyô career often silenced other members. She said both of her two children, one of them a son who had just graduated from university, married recently. Some 10 years ago, she took a course. "Life and Art", taught through the University of the Air by a historian of the tea ceremony. The course inspired some listeners to establish a voluntary study group (kenkyû-kai). Now Mrs. Miyake is reading sixteenth-century classics, such as the writings of a Jesuit missionary to Japan who reported the tea ceremony to Europe, or the book of Sôji (see Chapter 4) in the group's monthly
meeting. Her first joyous discovery from her benkyō was that "the tea ceremony have written records from such old times". She is one of those who love "the endlessness" of the tea ceremony, saying, "Now it's fun to go to museums."

Other two members were reticent in talking about their own life during the two group interviews. Yet they revealed their views on the tea ceremony fragmentarily, as shown in the following discussions.

On the day of my second interview, the Group was practicing one temae in the highest level in their school. On the following day, they were supposed to have a ceremonial meeting with the iemoto to obtain the kyojō "permission" for that temae. After getting the kyojō and seeing the iemoto's performance, they were supposed to perform it themselves in front of him, which made them excited and nervous.

After several hours' keiko, we finally sat down in a circle for a moment. My question. "What about the community center or Mrs. Bandō did you find unsatisfactory?" aroused a lot of answers on utensils. "Miss Hamabe brought a variety of utensils to the community center, which were eye-opening." "They delivered so much seasonal feelings." "She gives us knowledge of utensils one after another. Mrs. Bandō taught us about utensils only when we asked." "I couldn't have continued the tea ceremony if it was not with Miss Hamabe and with this group." I asked, "But, other teachers can also teach you the names of utensils. What about Miss Hamabe's teaching especially attracts you?" To this, Mrs. Nishi answered, "Histories and origins of the utensils."

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5 I attended one of the meetings of the study group in November 1999. The group was meeting at a historic Japanese-style house with a large garden in Tokyo, which was now used for public activities (I had been there for chakai before). I met about 20 people, most of whom were women above 50, and including two men in their 60s and 70s respectively. In the morning the group usually listens to a lecturer by an invited specialist in studies of
When I asked, however, "What do your husbands think about your practicing the tea ceremony?" the Group fell into a dead silence for a second. The tense moment made me regret asking this probably impertinent question. Then Mrs. Miyake, the leader, said emphatically: "Cooperative" (kyōryoku-teki). The others flatly agreed with her, and the topic faded out.

When we all were going home, Miss Hamabe, feeling sorry that she did not give much time for my interview, asked me if I had asked all the questions I wanted to. I purposefully returned to the most futile part of the interview, saying, "Mrs. Miyake said just one word, 'Cooperative.' That was impressive enough." to see if people had additional comments. Then another woman said in a teasing tone, "Because Mrs. Miyake is so devoted (tsukushite-irassharu) to her husband in daily life [her husband is cooperative with her in return]." Then again, nobody carried on the topic.

The women's reticence in talking about husbands' "cooperation" gave me an impression that they had almost nothing to say. It seemed that their husbands were almost totally out of the picture of their practice of the tea ceremony. In addition, Mrs. Miyake's benkyō can be considered as a form of rivalry to her children, who were probably at junior or senior high school when she started listening to the University of the Air. Thus, the group's enthusiastic, benkyō-oriented practice of the tea ceremony presented an autonomous world rivaling those of their husbands and children.

8.1.6 Women at H Community Center

Compared to the women above, housewives at two community centers and working women in Hamabe shachū are less benkyō-oriented. They made fewer
critical remarks on their lives or their relationship with their husbands, perhaps partly because my conversation with them took place during *keiko* or in any other spare moment, but not in formal interviews. Personal contact with members at community centers was difficult, given the public nature of the institution. Two working women in Hamabe *shachû* went to work immediately after their Saturday morning *keiko*.

Still, housewives at H Community Center presented their practice of the tea ceremony similarly to that of the Group of Five and other women at private teachers: that is, as a demarcator of their own world. Meanwhile, farmer women at M Community Center and a working woman in Hamabe *shachû* did not describe tension between their practice of the tea ceremony and daily life.

The tea ceremony history of many pupils at H Community Center fits the most common one I heard elsewhere. Regardless of the range of their age, from 40s to 70s, more than half of the women I talked to said they had practiced the tea ceremony in clubs at companies or with private teachers, quit on marriage, and returned to it after a couple of decades. One woman in her early 40s, who described her tea ceremony history as above, was perplexed when asked what about the tea ceremony was so attractive as to bring her back after 10 years. She said, struggling to find words, "Because I didn't have to take time for my children any more, and I wanted to do something for myself—and I chose the tea ceremony because I had an experience of it."

For women at H Community Center, marriage seemed to mean child-rearing more than partnership with husbands. Lebra points out this "feliocentric identity" as a general tendency of Japanese women with children (Lebra 1984, 161-166). When I was chatting with a couple of women and the teacher while cleaning up after *keiko*, one of the women asked my marital status. I said I was single, and asked if I should
marry. The woman said, "Oh no, it's nice to do something you like. But marriage is also nice, isn't it [asking for agreement from the teacher. The teacher nodded]?

When I asked what about marriage was nice, the woman immediately answered, "Kids. They are so cute that you could almost eat them!" I tried to lead the conversation to the topic of husband-wife relationships, but the shift in topic seemed too abrupt. In the face of their ongoing conversation about children, my attempts were futile.

Here also, husbands seemed to have no involvement in wives' activities of the tea ceremony. When we were practicing *temae* for H community center's cultural festival, I asked a woman sitting next to me whether her husband was coming to the festival. She and another few women, hearing my words, burst into laughter. The woman said, laughing, "Shall we put name tags [on each husband, if any comes, to identify who is whose]?

They completely took my words as a joke. This incident reminded me of a similar incident at Mrs. Nakano's class at the community center. There, an assistant teacher told me of her husband's words that the tea ceremony was a "let's-play-mother" game. In response, I asked in front of five or six women pupils, "Why do men not practice the tea ceremony?" which only led the listeners to burst into laughter. The women did not seem to expect that their husbands, or men in general, would understand their activities at all.

On the day of the festival of H Community Center, I asked another woman if her "family members" were coming, circumventing the word "husband" to avoid more laughter. She said, in a resigned tone, "No. Each one of my family members has something to do." During the festival, only one of the husbands came to attend *chakai*. When members praised the sweetness of the husband, the wife said that he came to the festival because he was in H Community Center's painting club and wanted to see his own work exhibited. With no tone of blaming or complaining about their family
members' indifference to their activities, women at H Community Center seemed to use the situation as a chance of creating their own world, turning their resignation into joy.

8.1.7 Working women: Women at M Community Center and Mrs. Furuta

Among all the tea ceremony practitioners I met, the women at M Community Center, in a partly agricultural area, were least concerned with sōgō-bunka discourse (see Chapter 6). Their relative indifference to benkyō may be partly due to their family backgrounds in farming, which may not especially encourage them to obtain "unpractical" knowledge. Still, the area is close to the area of H Community Center, and children of the farm women mingle with children of urban white-collar workers at school. In other words, these women also exist in the context of urbanization, and must be affected by the social norms that urge their children to get higher education and better-paid, white-collar jobs.⁶

These women, however, largely differ from the wives of urban white-collar workers in that they are self-employed and have their life-long occupation of farming. As Ueno puts it, farm wives "do not have freedom to be preoccupied with household chores and child rearing" (Ueno 1990. 204), so family care does not affect their constant involvement in farming. They do not experience transfer either, even if the family has a second job or business, such as a retail store or a travel agency, it is usually grounded in the local community. Also, farming on the same land may keep wives and husbands in a more "cooperative" relationship than that between male urban

⁶ I myself have taught children of farmers together with children of white-collar workers at my mother's private English school located between H Community Center and M Community Center. The two local districts have a junior high school respectively, and
employees and their (house)wives. Besides, the farm husbands probably have not too
different an educational background from their wives. In this environment, there
would be less reason for these women to attempt to match their husbands. The tea
ceremony for them, therefore, is more a means of socialization and relaxation amid
their daily work, and of vicariously joining women with higher social backgrounds than
themselves by acquisition of sahō and wearing kimono. This attitude is similar to
that of Mrs. Furuta, a full-time office clerk in Hamabe shachū.

Mrs. Furuta, 59, started the tea ceremony at her company's tea ceremony club
at 26, out of the idea that "it would be a shame if I didn't know how to drink tea when
invited." Since then, she has been practicing the tea ceremony for more than two
decades. Six years ago, she met Miss Hamabe, who came to her club as a substitute
for the old teacher. Mrs. Furuta started private keiko with Miss Hamabe because her
office colleague Mrs. Onda wanted her company in going to Miss Hamabe's keiko.

Mrs. Furuta's narrative did not indicate her quest for identity or meaning of
life through the tea ceremony. She obtained the highest-ranking kyojō seven years
ago because "my teacher first asked me, 'Why don't you [get high-ranking
permissions]?' and I couldn't reject it. Since then I have been getting higher and
higher permissions unexpectedly (zuruzuru)." She said she was finding joy more in
the happy gathering of people and in wearing kimono than in the strict rules of temae.
After accomplishing her first objective, acquisition of sahō, and having a full-time job
since her younger days, she probably does not have to seek another means of
demarcating her own world from her husband's.

both of the two schools have children of both family backgrounds.
8.2 Single and widowed women over 45

In order to emphasize that the points discussed above are unique to married women under the "postwar family system", I will discuss the effects of the same activity for single or widowed women practitioners in the same generation and in a slightly older generation.

Compared to married women, single or widowed women who have lived the same postwar period have a more variety of life patterns. In addition, unlike married tea ceremony practitioners, who often describe their devotion to the tea ceremony as something gradual and unexpected, single and widowed women tend to describe themselves as willing devotees to this activity from the beginning. I will first illustrate Miss Hamabe's life, and then the lives of single and widowed women in their 80s.

8.2.1 Miss Hamabe (b. 1941)

Only Miss Hamabe among my participants explicitly said that she started the tea ceremony of her own will out of a wish for marriage. In the same vigorous tone as she talked about her younger days' wish for marriage, she talked about her zest for the tea ceremony since her younger days. In 1959, when she graduated from high school, her parents advised her to go to university, predicting women's increasing opportunities. She rejected the advice "because I desperately wanted to marry. I thought going to university would make my marriage impossible."

On starting work at a major bank in 1960, she started learning flower arrangement and the tea ceremony at the clubs of her office. "In my time, most major
companies had the tea ceremony and flower arrangement clubs." She remembers that at the tea ceremony club, members were taught basic temae by senior members for six months, which she found "boring". However, Miss Hamabe was "stuck" (hamatta) in the tea ceremony when a senior female worker took her to a private teacher's keiko. Miss Hamabe soon quit the club at her workplace, and started keiko with the teacher, who turned out to be her lifetime teacher, Mrs. Bandô.

In her 20s, Mrs. Hamabe was busy learning culinary art, sewing and koto (Japanese harp). At 25, she started teaching the tea ceremony to junior workers from her office, all of whom soon got married. Miss Hamabe herself, however, never succeeded in marrying, despite her preparations. "My days in my 20s were a turmoil. I did arranged dating(s) and it (they) broke up." One day, deeply distressed, she took a day off from her work to visit a museum. The visit filled her mind with peace. When she stepped out of the building, the big, blue skies struck her. That moment she was convinced that "I will be fine without marrying".

She soon started assisting her friend's new business as an accountant. In the following years, she assisted several businesses one after another, while working at a fishery company. The period of the great economic growth brought her enough income to build her own house in Urawa in 1977, at the age of 35.

She recommenced teaching the tea ceremony in 1986, when her teacher asked

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7 A former worker at a trading company (b. 1936) also recalls that his workplace had a tea ceremony club in the years of the economic growth. He heard a female worker asking her boss to be excused at five o'clock "because of the tea ceremony club": the boss permitted her to leave, while male workers continued working for another several hours. In his understanding, female workers at his office were considered as potential spouses of male workers, therefore their giving priority to the tea ceremony over work was totally acceptable.

8 Koto was another recommendable hobby for women before marriage, especially before the war. Although women hardly played it once married, the harp often decorated the
her for assistance at a community center. In six years, she was asked by the teacher to teach as her substitute at a tea ceremony club at a courier company. Meanwhile, she continued keiko and obtained kyojō one after another, finally reaching jikimon, the highest rank amateurs could obtain in her Omotesenke Fuhaku-ryū School, in 1990 at 48.

Now Miss Hamabe does not regret not marrying. "If I had married, I would not be doing the tea ceremony, and would not like it this much." As a single working woman in the time of the "postwar family system", however, she experienced the dilemma that she was neither a working man nor a housewife. She says that she was once obsessed by the idea that as a woman she should do better than men if she worked. At the same time, she was obsessed by the idea that she should benefit her local community, as married women do through PTA. The first obsession disappeared when she found the answer, "Most men are no better than other men. So why do only women have to be exceptionally good?" She solved the second obsession by joining an international association of businesswomen, though she soon quit, disagreeing with the club's excessive expenditure on self-serving activities.

Now Miss Hamabe describes her life "soaked in tea" (o-cha zanmai): "My life itself is becoming the tea ceremony; food, architecture [of my house] or whatever." A full-time accountant at a company, she works in flextime "to give priority to my hobby". saying, "I could make more money if I worked in a different way, but I never regret." When asked if she had ever lived solely on teaching the tea ceremony or thought about doing so, she said, "No. You cannot make a living that way." (This is not the case for men or for a few women in older generations.) Today, she teaches the tea ceremony guestroom to impress guests, according to a man and a woman in their 60s.
and flower arrangement and is learning Japanese-style singing (kouta) and kaiseki (culinary art), participating in a study group or archaic calligraphy, and sometimes making ceramics of her own design. A benkyō-oriented woman, Miss Hamabe is much admired by her pupils and colleagues. Although she will reach 60 in four years, she will probably never get lost in the search for the meaning of life.

8.2.2 Single and widowed women in the older generation

During my field research, I met four women tea ceremony practitioners around 80. Two were housewives whose life patterns were similar to that of the women under the "postwar family system": one was a single professional tea ceremony teacher; and the other was a widowed working woman for most of her life. Although one must avoid excessive generalization, the variety of life patterns among this small group within five years' age range may suggest that women born before the 1925-1950 cohort had more variety in their life patterns and of engagement in the tea ceremony than women in following generations. Whether they reached marriage age before, during, or after World War II must have been a major factor in the divergence in the rest of their lives; women who reached marriageable age before or during the war had a bigger risk of becoming a widow or a single breadwinner.

Miss Konishi, 80, is meiyo-shihan (honored teacher), the highest-ranking teacher in Urasenke school that can be obtained without apprenticeship. I interviewed her during her keika; she often stopped talking about herself and urged her pupils to be my interviewees. Hence, her personal narrative was minimal and strictly about her engagement in the tea ceremony.

Born in downtown Tokyo in 1918, she started the tea ceremony at a temple where her uncle was a priest. As a 24-year-old woman, she did not like it and quit it.
But she soon restarted *keiko* with a private teacher "for some reason, I don't know."

In 1946, when she was 28, she had a chance to attend a 15-day seminar given by the Urasenke *iemoto* in Kyoto. His daily homily made her decide to be his pupil. "I wanted to learn from him, beginning with how to make charcoal and ashes. We didn't have a technical school (of Urasenke) at that time." "I said I wanted to be *gyōtei*, but they (Urasenke) said I couldn't because I was a woman." Yet my enthusiasm moved the *iemoto*, and he started giving me *keiko* in person." She started travelling back and forth between Tokyo and Kyoto. In the following year, Miss Konishi obtained a professional name and simultaneously all the allowable *kyojō* from the *iemoto*, and started teaching.¹⁰

She became an honored teacher in 1993 at 75. This total devotee to the *iemoto* says, "He is different in everything, even in the way of folding a cotton cloth." She also attributes her ultimate attraction to the tea ceremony to Zen Buddhism. (For my critical analysis of the tea ceremony's "relationship" with Zen, see Chapter 3.) In the criteria of any time, she has achieved almost the most a woman tea ceremony practitioner could.

Unlike Miss Konishi, Mrs. Okuno, 82, did not become a tea ceremony teacher, despite obtaining the *kyojō* for the highest-ranking *temae* when only 22. Instead, she became a full-time worker in a governmental ministry. Born in a doctor's family, Mrs. Okuno was educated in piano as a child, and became interested in calligraphy and flower arrangement as a high school student. According to her, she started the tea

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³ There has been only one female *gyōtei*, Hamamoto Sōshun, in Urasenke's history. She was approved as *gyōtei* during World War II, when the school was short of male pupils.
¹⁰ Although this is what she said, I do not think such a quick arrangement plausible. I assume that Miss Konishi, after suffering from stroke (according to her nephew), has difficulties in remembering years.
ceremony for a change when her father's sudden death shocked her so much that she failed in her entrance examination for music college. After four years, in 1938, she obtained the kyojō of the highest rank of temae. She also obtained the license to teach flower arrangement, and started teaching it at clubs in girls' high schools. The war that broke out in the following year, however, killed her fiancé and her brother. Without male family members, and without the intention of marrying another man, she had to make a living for her mother and herself.

In 1947, when she was 31, she found a job editing music textbooks in the Ministry of Education under the direction of GHQ. She worked there for "22 years and 11 months" as a single woman. "I enjoyed the job so much, too much, that I could never quit and marry. I knew that this was my calling." Meanwhile, she kept teaching flower arrangement on Saturdays. Her exhausting schedule made her resign from keiko of the tea ceremony "with a real regret". To my asking whether she would have become a tea ceremony teacher without her job at the Ministry of Education and teaching flower arrangement, her answer was, "Yes! Certainly!"

Despite her love of the job, Mrs. Okuno quit in 1969, when she got married at 53 to a doctor who had outlived his wife. During 12 years of marriage, her husband did not allow her to attend a study group of flower arrangement. Mrs. Okuno also cared for her old mother until her death. Once her husband passed away, she not only recommenced flower arrangement, but also newly started the leaf-tea ceremony (senchadō)\(^\text{11}\) and calligraphy.

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\(^{11}\) A ceremonial way of brewing tea leaves, supposedly brought from China to Japan by a Buddhist priest in early to mid-seventeenth century, was first favored by priests and aristocrats, and later by townsmen. In the early nineteenth century, a wine manufacturer in Osaka and a doctor in Kyoto became two of the first iemoto of this activity (Ogawa 1997: 24-25, 47-48).
Miss Konishi's and Mrs. Okuno's cases indicate that it was not uncommon among women born before the 1925-1950 cohort to be single and have professions. Both women developed their professions not out of their diplomas but out of their cultural activities as young women. This suggests that the tea ceremony was a potential means of livelihood for women born before 1925. According to a high-ranking male tea ceremony teacher in Kyoto, whose family has been teaching the tea ceremony for three generations, "Women tea ceremony teachers who have been coming to keiko at my house since my grandfather's time are single women or war widows. Not a few of them passed away recently, though." The idea that women cannot live on teaching the tea ceremony, which Miss Hamabe claimed, therefore, appears to be a postwar attitude, along with the idea that women ought to be housewives.

8.3 Men practitioners

To elucidate the tea ceremony's meaning for women living the "postwar family system", it helps to analyze its meaning for male practitioners in the same generation.

Male tea ceremony practitioners constitute only one-tenth of the number of tea ceremony practitioners today (see Figure 1). This datum seems fairly accurate, reflecting the rarity of my own encounters with male practitioners during my field research. If I met or heard about any, they were high-ranking professional teachers, including the iemoto, or self-employed people, people in managerial positions, doctors, retired people, university students, and those who had the tea ceremony-related occupations, such as artisans, tea utensil dealers, gardeners of formal Japanese gardens, or chefs of kaiseki cuisine. Unlike among the women, there was no outstanding age group among male tea ceremony practitioners I met or heard of.

Given the popularized association between the tea ceremony and women in
the postwar period, one wonders what meaning the tea ceremony can have in men's lives, or whether the practice would threaten their male identity. I will explore these issues in narratives from two groups of men that I encountered relatively frequently: tea ceremony teachers and managers of middle- or small-sized businesses. Generally speaking, both groups' narratives concerned the relationship between the tea ceremony and economic activities, though teachers explained the relationship with a more antagonistic scheme than business people did.

8.3.1 Male tea ceremony teachers

Male tea ceremony teachers usually live solely by teaching the tea ceremony. My interviews with them took place in Kyoto and Osaka, two major cities in the western region, and in Tokyo. All seven male teachers I met were ranked highest (the iemoto) or second highest (those who apprented and are now assistants of the iemoto). Among them, five were born in or adopted to families that hereditarily teach the tea ceremony; two came from families which had nothing to do with the tea ceremony and became apprentices of their own will.\(^\text{12}\) Asked about his self-perception as a born traditional authority, one iemoto said he had no time to feel anything special about his birth; another hereditary teacher explicitly said that he at first did not love the tea ceremony and had once worked in another business.

Mr. Yasuda consistently talked about the contrast between presentation of the tea ceremony and economic activities. Mr. Yasuda, in his 40s, is an adopted son to a hereditary tea ceremony teachers' family in Kyoto. His adoptive grandfather, who was first a teacher of flower arrangement, made himself an apprentice of the iemoto of

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\(^{12}\) As patriarchy still rules the tea ceremony and other traditional Japanese cultural
a tea ceremony school around 1920 and became a tea ceremony teacher. Following this track, both Mr. Yasuda's stepfather and Mr. Yasuda became apprentices of the iemoto of the same school after from graduating university.

Asked why he thought men became distant from the tea ceremony after the war, Mr. Yasuda replied, "Because the economy is ruling this world. Men are brought up with the principles of the economy." According to him, the early modern industrialists were "the last generation of those who believed that good business people must also be good at hobbies. Today, [only] women who failed to be soldiers of the economic wars are practicing the tea ceremony".

He interpreted the reasons some of his male pupils, self-employed men in their late 40s and 50s, started the tea ceremony as follows: "They have worked so hard, their children have grown up, and they are questioning their work-filled life so far." When asked whether these men did not go to university and were seeking for a means of self-education in the tea ceremony, he said that they were all university graduates. "To learn the tea ceremony is to learn things which are economically meaningless. Like things you learn at university, especially in humanities. After graduating from university, these men worked for a while, then came to the tea ceremony, wishing to come back to 'that world' [of learning]". He said he wanted to proclaim through teaching the tea ceremony that "dōraku (amusement) is the primary purpose of life. One should work to amuse oneself. The truth is that the economy is not trustworthy. You will be happy once you realize that the economy is not everything."

The iemoto of a school also criticized men's absorption in company life in the postwar period:

activities, adoption of male children is a common practice to this day in these domains.
"Because men are busy [they cannot do anything other than work]" seems to be an explanation born after the war, and to be a trick.

In fact, the busier a man is, the more he plays.

Like founders of zaibatsu.

And warriors in the Warring States period. They must have needed the world [of the tea ceremony] to counterbalance the [brutal] reality. It seems to me that men today are enjoying the religion named "company". Companies are a kind of religious community with high welfare... They pay for your drink, for your golfing, and find girlfriends [hostesses at bars?] for you. Your company satisfies you in everything. For those who say "I am busy", the company is the religion.

Isn't that a postwar phenomenon?

Of course, it started during the great economic growth, the period when everybody started going to schools in cities and getting a job there.

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You can make an excuse for golfing that it is a part of your work, but the tea ceremony looks just like playing.

Before the war, men were allowed to play; rather, playing was *otoko no kaisho* [a proof of men's ability]. After the war, a strange rationalism is prohibiting men from playing, making men feel guilty to play. I think this trend is making men small.

Despite belonging to postwar generations, both teachers accentuate the specificity of the postwar period and criticize its epoch and the men in it in comparison to preceding eras as if they themselves had lived in those eras. This probably results from the sense of timelessness coming from their hereditary profession as teachers of a traditional cultural activity.

The narrative of Mr. Adachi in his late 40s, who was once a company employee, more concretely contrasts the tea ceremony with economic activities. Graduating from an engineering high school, he started working at an automobile company as a repairman. When he was shifted to the front desk, he started the tea ceremony "in
order to learn how to receive *o-kyaku-san* [customers]. "Also, *furontoman* [a man at the front desk] has to deliver a car to the customer's house. Then you have to know at least how to behave in other people's houses. The tea ceremony has quite strict rules in this respect."

After two years' working at the front desk, Mr. Adachi left the company. As he recalls.

I had a strong feeling that I don't like to live my whole life as a *sarariman* [salaried man] at an automobile company. You know, in today's capitalist society, everything is, say, "Profit! Profit!" Especially between 1975 and 1985, right before the high time of the great economic growth. Everything was related to profit. "This month's aimed profit." "Norm". I was sick and tired of it. When you see your customer's face, you only think about how much profit you can make out of the person. Day after day someone in the back [your boss] asks you how much you have sold. I was sick of such life, such a company.

On the contrary, he found that "the tea ceremony gives pleasure to people, and teaching it is has a virtuous element". He became a full-time, and the only male, student of a technical school of the tea ceremony, thinking that he could teach it as a semiprofessional after graduation. Yet, in his second year at the school, the *iemoto* eyed him and said, "If you do the tea ceremony as a man, why don't you become a professional?" Mr. Adachi then started apprenticeship at the *iemoto*’s house. After four years' training, he became a professional.

Mr. Adachi's narrative shows that the tea ceremony for him represents an alternative to economic activities. He could only practice the tea ceremony after

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13 In the Japanese language, customers, guests, visitors, as well as passengers, are all coded in one word, *o-kyaku (-san)*. This coding may influence the relatively polite behavior of Japanese-speaking workers in various industries towards customers.

14 As discussed in Chapter 5, this thesis considers that the great economic growth stopped with the 1973 oil crisis. Mr. Adachi's remarks, however, indicate that contemporary
rejecting life as a company employee.

Besides presenting oneself as a critic, one's image as a protector of culture against Westernization also helps reduce the tension between a male practitioner's identity as male and as a practitioner of a supposed "feminine" activity. **Mr. Sagawa**, 55, the fourth generation teacher in his family, defended male tea ceremony practitioners against my attempts to associate the tea ceremony and *kimono* with femininity from vicarious Western point of view:

**Kato:** It seems that for people abroad, the tea ceremony is inevitably associated with women in *kimono*...

**Sagawa:** Well, *kimono* is something basic in Japanese culture... I don't want to do *temae* without wearing *kimono*... *Kimono* is a symbol of being Japanese. Some parliament members wear *kimono* when inviting foreign guests [to their parties].

**Kato:** They have a good sense, but at parties overseas, [Japanese] diplomats wear Western suits, and only their wives wear *kimono*.

**Sagawa:** Any ethnic dress, Indonesian or Indian, symbolizes the people. The Japanese are forgetting about being Japanese and are westernized that far... If not only women but also men wear *kimono*, and do *temae* handsomely [*ririshiku*], that will make others [the Westerners?] stand to attention. I want to protect the very base of the Japanese by wearing *kimono*.

Not only relating *kimono* to Japanese people in general, he attempts to actively associate *kimono* with men, by mentioning parliament members and men's performing *temae* in *kimono* "handsomely" in international settings. He also presents himself as a critic of "too far" Westernized Japanese society.

Asked about contemporary women practitioners, male teachers generally pointed out women's limitations. Most teachers attributed these to women's married lives, and some even sympathized with them. When asked if they thought lay female people's perceptions can differ from official figures.
practitioners' *keiko*-oriented practice at community centers, which did not lead to *chaji*, was wrong, both Mr. Sagawa and his colleague Mr. Kishi, 55, said "No", because there could be many kinds of "entrances" to the tea ceremony. Mr. Kishi attributed married female teachers' *keiko*-oriented practice to their economic constraints as housewives. Mr. Sagawa attributed the decreasing number of young women who wished to teach the tea ceremony to "social reality" that women had difficulty finding supportive husbands.

Yet, when I asked why there was no unmarried female apprentice who would be a future professional, these male teachers' various answers combined vagueness and stereotyping: "Sorry to say that, but they [women] just cannot endure. Even a hard-working female quits due to marriage." "In apprenticeship, nobody teaches you but yourself [and females do not teach themselves?)." "It's hard even for males physically and mentally. You have to carry heavy things too." "Because apprentices have to travel around, and women cannot travel as light as men do."

Male teachers usually describe apprenticeship as something too hard for women (sometimes for men too); they do not attribute the absence of women apprentices to male apprentices' reluctance to work with women. When asked whether women's lack of motivation, not problems of chilly atmosphere or bullying, was the reason women could not endure apprenticeship, one teacher answered, "I guess so, and this may be the epitome of Japanese society." Another said, "Apprentices must do everything invisible, like cleaning every part of the house and warming the room before others wake up. I wonder if women can endure this for five years." Only when I said, "Housewives endure such things. Why can not women make these jobs into a profession [by becoming apprentices]," he replied, "Well... maybe because the *iemoto* cannot take full responsibility for a young lady if something
happens to her while boarding." Only one teacher said, "Male apprentices would get offended when scolded by female senior apprentices. There would be sexual harassment too."

To summarize, male teachers criticize Japanese society, in which they claim men are too much absorbed in economic activities. However, they at the same time adopt hierarchical segregation between men and women, the same ideology that governs society at workplaces and at home. Although discussing women tea ceremony practitioners' limitations as economic dependants and homemakers in society, male teachers do not discuss the limitations they themselves impose on women in their field. In these terms, the iemoto system constitutes not an alternative to society but rather an extension of it. (For the discussion that the tea ceremony is also one of businesses, see 8.3.2.)

8.3.2 Businessmen

Although "businessmen" in a broad sense may refer to any man in business, I use the term here to mean owners or executives of businesses (for the broader meaning, I use the term "men in business"). I met three businessmen during my research period, all of them from small or middle-sized enterprises.

Despite my expectation, owners or executives of big businesses did not seem especially predominant among male tea ceremony practitioners. True, the legacies of early modern industrialists are still alive, as typified by Taishi-kai and Kôetsu-kai, the two most prestigious annual chakai, initiated around 1900 by the founder of Mitsui zaibatsu and an antique dealer respectively. To these chakai, only economically prominent people are invited to this day. Yet, according to an antique dealer from Kyoto, both chakai are now dominated by women. He says that not only female
family members of prominent men but "also the very ordinary female tea ceremony practitioners somehow get an invitation to these chakai." One can assume that owners or executives of big businesses are still on the invitation lists but not active tea ceremony practitioners today.

The tea ceremony seems to have constituted a status symbol for owners or executives of businesses at least until 1953, the year in which Kuwabara Takeo wrote.

These days most capitalists in Osaka do the tea ceremony. A president of a company told me that he did not like it at all. But [he said that] some men who regained power after the war... identify themselves as tea ceremony practitioners... and the tea ceremony is the most effective means [for ambitious business people] of toadyng to them. (Kuwabara 1953, 521-522; emphasis in the original)

One reason the tea ceremony ceased to be popular among economically successful men after the war may be that they found new ways of socialization, including golfing. Mr. Koyama, formerly of Shiyokiya department store, recalls that around 1961, when the store held the exhibition about Rikyu (see Chapter 5), it also held an exhibition on a Japanese golfer who had won a championship in the United States. The store sent invitations to company executives, which brought many visitors to this exhibition.

Yet, successful men did not totally abandon traditional cultural activities as a means of manifesting their status. According to a 62-year-old retired company executive, yōkyoku or utai, that is, singing a portion of nō musical plays in a group in unison, remained popular among executives in various industries until around the 1990 economic depression. Unlike golfing, which became popular among men of any rank, yōkyoku remained a status symbol, providing executives in different companies with chances of socialization as the tea ceremony once did. Meanwhile, the tea ceremony was incorporated in many companies as a club activity, but attracted only
female workers (see Chapter 5). Presumably, men in business left the tea ceremony after the war not because they abandoned traditional Japanese culture, but because the association between the tea ceremony and women overwhelmed and discouraged men's interest in it.

In this environment, the businessman Mr. Kaji, 58, still holds the traditional view on the tea ceremony as a status symbol. Yet, unlike early modern industrialists who almost ignored the iemoto, Mr. Kaji's enjoyment of this activity lies in his privileged relationship with the iemoto.

The owner of a middle/small-sized construction company in Urawa, Mr. Kaji participates in numerous organizations serving the local community, such as a sports promotion committee for youth. He encountered the tea ceremony 25 years ago as a member of an international association of business people. Because the iemoto of Urasenke was an executive of this organization at the national and international levels, the organization's local branch, to which Mr. Kaji belonged, had been engaged in the tea ceremony since the late 1950s. (The iemoto's presence in this organization suggests that the tea ceremony is not necessarily an alternative or antithesis to the business world as male tea ceremony teachers argue; rather, the tea ceremony itself is a business.)

Mr. Kaji talked more about the iemoto's exceptional treatment of him and his colleagues than about his personal enthusiasm for the tea ceremony, frequently using such words as "in the special framework" (tokubetsu-waku de) or "with [the iemoto's] special consideration" (bekkaku ni). Although Mr. Kaji himself is now "too busy to attend it", he recalls that once 15 to 20 men of his branch were learning temae from a "higher-than-the-top" female teacher sent by the iemoto.

Mr. Kaji was one of the performers in the male-only performance at the
Urasenke school's big district meeting near his city in 1998, which an old lady I met on the cultural trip to Kanazawa talked about in the airplane (see 7.3.2). For this event, he and his colleagues quickly brushed up their half-forgotten temae within a few months. Unlike the old lady, who excitedly described the authority-related antique utensils used in the performance, Mr. Kaji told me mainly about how the iemoto's family treated him personally and importantly at the event.

The interview clearly illustrated that Mr. Kaji's interest in his and other businessmen's exceptional relationship with traditional authority rather than in his personal training through temae.

**Kato:** What about the tea ceremony enchants you?

**Kaji:** I am involved in various businesses, but when I am doing the tea ceremony, I can stare at myself in tranquility. And I appreciate that we are spoiled by special deliberation [of the iemoto]. We can enjoy socializing, eating and drinking after New Year's chakai [normally not officially allowed after formal chakai].

**Kato:** But, before that, you have to be trained with temae.

**Kaji:** Certainly, if you don't know the flow of chakai, you are not even qualified to be spoiled... [But we businessmen] can enjoy socializing in the horizontal relationship by surpassing the vertical relationship.

**Kato:** Do you mean that you can mingle with the iemoto's family directly and equally by surpassing the vertical order?

**Kaji:** Yes.

**Kato:** That sounds different from the way women at culture centers and residential areas enjoy the tea ceremony. They are enjoying it more personally.

**Kaji:** They must be enjoying learning sahō. [And I also] appreciate that learning temae leads me to more tranquil, profound personality... [But] the iemoto is saying that not only [learning] formalities but enjoying yourself is important.

Mr. Kaji does not derogate lay female practitioners, but emphasizes that business
people differ from them. As he sees it, "management of the tea ceremony school at the local level is similar to the management of the association of business people"; he says that that is why the iemoto relies on the local business people.

**Mr. Arakawa**, a 32-year-old manager of his own small real estate and import businesses in Tokyo, explicitly associates the tea ceremony with warriors. He thinks all modern men in business belong philosophically to the same lineage of warriors, so that they deserve to inherit "warrior" culture, including the tea ceremony.

Mr. Arakawa started learning the tea ceremony from an elderly female teacher in his neighborhood when he was in his late 20s, interested in "traditional Japanese culture" and in "the mystery of the endlessness of dō (the Way)". Due to the distance between his residence and mine, I twice conducted in-depth e-mail interviews with him. To my question, "Doesn't it require a big decision or energy for a man, especially a young man, to do the tea ceremony in contemporary Japanese society, in which associations between the tea ceremony and women are so prevalent?" Mr. Arakawa answers:

It sometimes requires energy for me to do the tea ceremony. My male colleagues often say such sad things as that the tea ceremony is feminine, that it's like a dowry. But all these remarks come from their presupposition and lack of knowledge...

His male colleagues lack the knowledge, according to Mr. Arakawa, that the tea ceremony was a masculine activity by nature:

In its early times, the tea ceremony was a "must" for warriors, and was a part of "warrior" culture... But today, the tea ceremony seems to have an aspect of status play among "zamam obasan" [pretentious middle-aged women], or at least has such a stereotype. Every aspect of Japanese culture that has an international appeal has derived from "warrior" culture, but in this peaceful era it is possessed by women. Warriors, who risked their lives to expand their land; soldiers, who lost their lives for land, or for raw
Mr. Arakawa's perception of the tea ceremony as warrior culture, and his identification of all Japanese men with warriors, actively combine his identity as a male and as a tea ceremony practitioner. He also explains the tea ceremony as something at once contrastive and beneficial to his economic activities: "I personally think that I should devote myself to a static world [of the tea ceremony] because Japanese society is dynamically changing...; and I hear that warriors in old times elaborated their war strategies in the tearoom." Here he uses the analogy between medieval wars and contemporary economic activities.

Mr. Arakawa's view of women tea ceremony practitioners is neither affirmative nor derogative: he argues that the tea ceremony as "pretentious middle-aged women's status play" could be either a reality or a mere stereotype, or both. His relatively discreet attitude to women practitioners probably stems from the fact that his teacher is a woman, as are most of his shachū colleagues are. Yet his constant association of the tea ceremony with warriors and masculinity virtually circumscribes men as official heirs of this cultural legacy, excluding women.

Unlike Mr. Kaji and Mr. Arakawa, one young businessman I met did not actively associate the tea ceremony with his business, but with utensils and Zen Buddhism, as encouraged by sógō-bunka discourse. In return for this stance, his wife regarded him as "unmanly", probably one of the situations most feared by all male tea ceremony practitioners today.

This Mr. Ōnishi, in his mid-30s, is the manager of a brunch of juku, or preparatory school for entrance examinations for high school or college, run by an
agency. This status puts him on the borderline between a businessman and an employee. He first became interested in fine art and Zen Buddhism while at high school. Around that time, at his father's funeral, he saw a female tea ceremony practitioner who was one of the visitors. He was attracted by the lady, who "never compromised once she stated her opinion." Untypically for a high school boy, his encounter with the woman motivated him to start learning the tea ceremony.

When I met Mr. Ônishi at chakai one Sunday, he was playing the roles of the main guest (shôkyaku) and the second main guest (jikeyaku) in turn with another older male practitioner in several different chasuki. From his conversation with one of women hosts that day, it was clear that he knew her personally and the artisans whose utensils were used in the performance.

I talked to him at lunchtime and heard about his history. He, however, smiled wryly when I asked whether his wife also practiced the tea ceremony. "She doesn't do the tea ceremony," he replied. "She thinks that my practicing the tea ceremony is playing. She wants me to work. Today, when I was leaving home, she said to our two-year-old daughter, 'Your daddy is going to play' [laughter]."

Even though Mr. Ônishi has a respectable job and a substantial knowledge of utensils, his wife looks down on his activity other than work, even on Sunday. This partly resembles husbands' contempt for their wives' practicing the tea ceremony because of the activity's unproductiveness, as typified by the expression "just women's

15 In chakai, male participants are often asked to be the main guest or the second main guest. This happens not only because male practitioners are rare and therefore treated importantly, but because male practitioners can be (a) men of important social and economic status (executives of companies, owners of businesses), and/or (b) close friends of the host, and/or (c) knowledgeable about utensils. I am not certain whether the third point is actually a general tendency or a stereotype held by female practitioners. If the man is younger than other participants, however, he is not necessarily asked to take these
play. Yet it partly differs, because Mr. Onishi's not only transgresses the social norm of productivity, but thereby also the norm of "masculinity", often associated with productivity; it is his wife who believes more in the association between masculinity and economic productivity.

To summarize, most men practitioners' narratives present the tea ceremony in relation to economic activities, whether one criticizes them or conforms to them. This tendency contrasts with that in women practitioners' narratives, which mainly focus on self-improvement through benkyō in the way encouraged by sōgō-bunka discourse. The difference in these narrative patterns seems to indicate differences in actual practice between the two genders. Unless he is a teacher, a man's doing benkyō without actively relating it to his economic activities, like Mr. Onishi, will threaten his identity as male. In postwar Japanese society, which tends to value men's knowledge only for its convertibility to economic capital, lay men must find it difficult to act as presenters of traditional authority, which evades this evaluation in terms of economic productivity.

8.4 Young women

Last, I discuss the meaning of the tea ceremony in contemporary young women's lives. Women in their late 20s constitute an age group almost as conspicuous as the biggest age groups, that is (women from 45 to 64) among women practitioners (see Figure 1). Although neither the idea of the tea ceremony as bridal training nor bridal training itself is as popular today as it was until the end of the period of great economic growth, the prominence of young women in the tea ceremony still merits roles.
attention. The following narratives come from women in their 20s and early 30s. As a general tendency, these young practitioners resemble their seniors in their younger days, in that they concern themselves more with discipline than with benkyō.

8.4.1 Young women and traditional values

Young women practitioners, just as their seniors explain for their own younger days, tend to attribute starting the tea ceremony to external factors, such as advice or pressure from women family members or women friends. Also, this younger generation seems to hold more or less the same traditional values of femininity, and probably of marriage, as older generations did in their younger days, although the younger generations rarely articulates them.

Sayoko showed the strongest influence from her mother in her practice of the tea ceremony. A 24-year-old part-time receptionist at a school, she is the daughter of one of two mother-daughter pairs in Nakano shachū. Her mother, already a pupil of Mrs. Nakano, took Sayoko as a young child to keiko so that the girl would not be home alone. Sayoko gradually became interested in the tea ceremony, and started learning it herself at nine, among women of her mother's age. As she recalls, she was happy when young women of her age came to join her in keiko around the time she entered university.

Sayoko's narrative typifies both the intimacy between Sayoko and her mother and her mother's influence on her: "I am [always] talking with my mother. 'Let's not work so much as to hinder keiko.'" Her blurring of the agent of the speech, reporting the speech as if it were in unison, and the words "Let's not", probably uttered by her mother to virtually impose certain behavior on her daughter, indicate the mother's identification with her daughter and the daughter's harmonious acceptance of it.
Sayoko recently obtained the *kyojō* for the highest-ranking *temae*, and will receive *chamei* (a professional name) in a couple of years, rare for a practitioner so young. When asked whether she wanted to teach in the future, however, she said embarrassedly and briskly, "No way!" She got engaged during my research period. Apparently she intended to be a full-time homemaker, although she might incidentally teach the tea ceremony as a semi-professional in the future.

Fumie, in her early 20s, said she started the tea ceremony at Mrs. Nakano's place "because my elder sister was coming here". The elder sister had married and then quit *keiko*. Nakano *shachū* had one more pair of sisters, who attended the same class together.

Colleagues or friends are another factor young women often mention when explaining their reasons for starting the tea ceremony. Fumie's office colleague, Michiko, also in her early 20s, started *keiko* recently "because I heard that Fumie was doing the tea ceremony, and thought I'd like to do it too." I had heard a similar explanation from the young women in Mrs. Takeuchi's *shachū*, who were either colleagues at school or friends in another cultural activity (see 6.3.1).

Giving the names of others, however, may explain how a young woman found her current *shachū* but does not explain why she took the opportunity. Most young women did not actually tell me what about the tea ceremony attracted them. Probably they have never been asked about, or coded, reasons for their practicing the tea ceremony, for to them the tea ceremony too obviously brings positive social values.

Meanwhile, some articulated their wish to become "feminine" as their motivation. One 19-year-old university student in Nakano *shachū* was a good competitive skier at high school. She said, "I am naturally active. I thought I would be a little more shitoyaka [elegant and feminine] if I did the tea ceremony." Her
mother, who did not practice the tea ceremony herself, happily took her daughter to Mrs. Nakano "before my daughter changes her mind". **Masami** in Hamabe shachū, 26 and a volleyball player at high school, wanted to do "something feminine" when she was in grade 12. She chose the tea ceremony because she was familiar with it as her mother's hobby. **Miwa** in Hamabe shachū, 27, did not mention femininity, but said, "I was always thinking I must do keiko of some kind, not necessarily of the tea ceremony." Her mother practiced the tea ceremony in her younger days, and often told the daughter to practice it too. In each case, the mother played the role of mediator between the daughter and the tea ceremony (teacher); obviously, the mothers play a substantial role in nurturing and encouraging the daughters' wish to be feminine in the traditional senses.

No young woman I met, however, explicitly mentioned marriage as her reason for starting the tea ceremony. When I asked Masami and Miwa whether the tea ceremony was a part of their bridal training, they seemed slightly offended, and tried not to affirm the idea:

**Kato:** Is the tea ceremony your bridal training?
**Masami:** It's dōraku [amusement].
**Miwa:** I'm ready to do it for life.
**Masami:** I've already been stuck in it.

... ...
**Kato:** Most practitioners today over 45 years old have practiced the tea

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16 It is not certain what other kinds of keiko than of the tea ceremony Miwa had in mind. The word keiko is predominantly used to mean training in traditional Japanese cultural activities such as the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, Japanese harp or dance as well as martial arts, though it could be used for training in non-Japanese activities, especially piano. Considering her gender and age, keiko here implies training in traditional activities which have associations with domesticity today, most typically flower arrangement.
ceremony before, haven't they?

Miss Hamabe: Everybody did it as a bridal training decades ago.

Miwa: Up to my parents' generation.

Here one can see the two young women's wish not to be stereotyped as dreaming of marriage, probably because they fear being considered as obsolete among their contemporary peers, who see marriage as becoming less obligatory for women.

Still, that the tea ceremony still serves as a means for young, unmarried women to obtain self-confidence as valuable wives-to-be in traditional senses cannot be totally denied. Sayoko recalls that until a few years ago, Nakano shachū had seven or eight women in their 20s. When the shachū held chakai, every one of them brought her fiancé or boyfriend with her. Sayoko especially remembers that one of these women ordered to her fiancé, "You carry Mrs. Nakano's bag!" If she had not been confident in herself, she could not have ordered her man around. According to Sayoko, all of these young women quitte keiko on marriage.

That women's practicing the tea ceremony actually appeals to men is questionable; a 34-year-old doctor, whose fiancée has been practicing the tea ceremony since childhood, says, "I don't feel bad about her practicing it. though I don't especially value her because of it. There are many other things for which a woman can be valuable." Yet, at least to young women, the tea ceremony could serve as one means of improving their self-image, especially as desirable wives; after all, many women still start the tea ceremony around 20 and quit on marriage to this day.

In short, one can neither prove nor refute the idea that the tea ceremony still has aspects of bridal training for young women today. One thing at least I observed, however: Young women practitioners do not present antagonistic relationships with men or male-dominant society in their narratives; they do not make statements like "I
practice the tea ceremony because I need my own world separated from my boyfriend's/fiancé's" or "There should be more female professional tea ceremony teachers, and I hope to be one." In these terms, they generally try not so much to match as to conform to the men around them or to men in general, unlike their seniors.

**8.4.2 Young women as cultural ambassadors**

Although traditional values of femininity still encourage young women to practice the tea ceremony, many young women mention performing it overseas as their reason for starting it. **Yasuko**, in her 30s, started learning the tea ceremony from her mother Mrs. Takeuchi after marrying a man in international trade, because she thought she should know it "in order to mingle with foreigners". She also said that her home-stay experience overseas as a student, during which she was asked a lot about Japanese culture, might have been another motive. **Ryoko**, Mrs. Takeuchi's niece in her 30s, asked her aunt to teach her the tea ceremony because she might have to move to New York for her husband's business, and had heard that alumnae of her college living in New York held tea ceremony gatherings there. Mrs. Nakano told me about several young women who once learned the tea ceremony from her and now lived overseas. One day during my research, a young woman, a former pupil of Mrs. Nakano, brought her male friend from overseas to **keiko** to show him how it looked.

Besides the cases above, I heard of numerous young women who rushed into a few months' tea ceremony training, buying **kimono** or **yukata** (summer casual **kimono**) or utensils, before going abroad for studies or for their husbands' business. Some women in older generations also mention foreign contacts as the reason for restarting the tea ceremony. A woman in her 40s in Nakano shachū said that she recommenced the tea ceremony, her premarital activity, because she realized how little she knew
about Japanese culture when asked about it by a local male Japanophile during her
stay in England for her husband's business. Also, Japanese wives and mothers who
temporarily stay abroad often perform the tea ceremony on the "cultural day" of their
children's schools. (But I have never heard of a Japanese man practicing the tea
ceremony in the same situations.)

Young women have more chances to contact people abroad than women in the
older generations. They probably feel more often than the latter the necessity of
learning the tea ceremony to perform for foreign people. Such a feeling must derive
from expectations on the part of both Japanese and foreign societies that Japanese
women will be guardians and presenters of tradition, expectations that must have been
nurtured since the Meiji Restoration.¹⁷ These expectations probably make non-
Japanese people ask Japanese women about Japanese traditional culture more
Japanese women than Japanese men, and make Japanese women feel that they ought
to be knowledgeable about it. Also, many Japanese women themselves may tend to
think that this knowledge and skill will empower them in foreign countries, where
they might otherwise be put in a weak position both as foreigners and as women.

8.4.3 *Temae* as the major interest of young women

Whether the purpose is to acquire femininity or to perform the tea ceremony
overseas, young women practitioners' interest seems to lie first and foremost in *temae.*

¹⁷ I myself not too willingly bought *kimono* before coming to Canada, for I was asked by an
academic conference I attended in the United States a few weeks before starting my Ph.D.
program here, to demonstrate the tea ceremony on top of my academic presentation on the
topic. Such a request in academic settings, I argue, is not unrelated to exoticism (see
Chapter One) and probably sexism. Yet this incident at least shows what high
expectation (male) non-Japanese people have for Japanese females as presenters of their
traditional culture.
Almost no young woman said that the tea ceremony was sógo-bunka, or that she was interested in calligraphy, ceramics, architecture, history or Zen Buddhism. Certainly, Yuriko, in her early 30s, says that the tea ceremony develops her concentration and spirituality (Chapter 3). Still, young women can derive such "spiritual" effects from learning temae, not necessarily from studying other related cultural domains. In this sense, young women practitioners differ from older ones today, but resemble the latter in their younger days.

The one-day annual gathering of one branch of a tea ceremony school's youth division, which I attended in December 1998, seems to typify young women practitioners. The branch had 26 members, of whom 22 were women. All of the participants that day were women. The day's agenda had three parts: a visit to a museum of the collection of an early modern industrialist in the morning; the general meeting at lunchtime; and the experiential lecture on manā (manner. or etiquette) of eating kaiseki cuisine in the afternoon.

The visit to the museum had four young women besides myself. The young women viewed the exhibits individually, without exchanging knowledge or opinions before, during or after the visit. Their quietness contrasted with the active exchange of comments by groups of older female practitioners, which one could hardly miss at any museum or exhibition.

At lunch, two more young women joined us. The six students reviewed that year's activities, and discussed plans for the coming year. They told me that in past years the group experienced making incense and Japanese sweets, along with performing at several chakai. The coming year's plan included a visit to a museum, experiencing meditation and making ceramics. When the leader asked for any more
suggestions, one member stated her wish to learn *kitsuке*, or how to wear *kimono*. The members were almost unanimously consenting, when the oldest one, a woman in her late 30s who majored in Japanese literature at university, sharply said, "*Kitsuке* is fine. But you can study [*benkyо*] only while you are young." Why don't we read Sōji's book, *Namboroku* or *Usoshū?*" This remark silenced the others. As I recall, she was the only young woman I met who spoke of *benkyо*.

The afternoon lecture on the etiquette of *kaiseki* attracted three more members, which made the total participants nine. In a tearoom specially set up in a prestigious restaurant, we were served the full course of *kaiseki*, while an etiquette teacher hired by the restaurant, a middle-aged woman in *kimono*, sat in front of us, directing our movements from how to open the cover of the soup bowl to how to place chopsticks after eating. Although the teacher said we could ask questions anytime, I was the only one who did so.

Noticeably, the young practitioners at this event tangentially practice *sógo-bunka* discourse, but more experientially than theoretically, and more in fun-seeking than in knowledge-seeking. In addition, their general preference of etiquette over early modern industrialists' collections, or of techniques of wearing *kimono* over reading medieval classics, indicates that their foremost concern lies in discipline and presentation of their bodies but not as much in anything beyond that.

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18 In modern times, when *kimono* is no longer mandatory for almost any occasion, the opportunities to learn *kitsuке* are rare. Most young women ask for help from their mothers or from professional hairdressers in wearing *kimono*. At the same time, schools of *kitsuке* have become a business. One could even obtain a certificate from such schools as a professional of *kitsuке*, who gets income by helping others' wearing *kimono*.

19 "You can study only while you are young" (*benkyо wa wakai toki nishika dekinai*) is a popular Japanese expression to encourage young people to study, with a preposition that the human brain, especially memory, works better in youth than in later stages of life. Such expression does not make sense in North America, where continuing studies are
8.5 Discussions

8.5.1 Husband-wife relationships: Poll evidence

The discussions so far differentiate the tea ceremony's meaning in the lives of married, middle-aged women practitioners from that in the lives of unmarried women practitioners or men practitioners. The discussions also elucidate today's young, unmarried women practitioners' resemblance to married, middle-aged women practitioners in their younger days. Let us now survey the lives of married, middle-aged or older women practitioners and the meaning of the tea ceremony for them, with special reference to their partial resemblance, young, unmarried women practitioners today.

The results of my interviews with women practitioners of different age groups presented in 8.1 and 8.4 conform to the results of a poll conducted by a cosmetic company in 1987, described by Ochiai (1997). According to the poll, which surveyed women's opinions about the ideal husband-wife relationship, the most popular answer by women born between 1946 and 1950 was "The wife should not always follow the husband, but should value her own life by devoting herself to hobbies or work." This contrasts with the most popular answer by women in older generations: "The wife should considerately support her husband, so that he can maintain dignity as a master of the household."

The most popular answer by the first age group, however, also contrasts with that by women 10 years younger. Those women, born between 1956 and 1960, predominantly chose the answer, "The wife and the husband should share housework common."
and child rearing, and support each other's work and other activities" (Ochiai 1997, 164-165). Ochiai uses the word "matching" to describe the attitudes of women born between 1946 and 1950, and argues that such attitudes were replaced by the "cooperative attitudes" of younger women (Ochiai 1997, 165). Paradoxically, Ochiai describes women of the former generation, who favor the word "cooperative" according to my interview data, as "matching" their husbands, while describing women of the younger generation, often considered "self-centered" in pursuing their own lives, as "cooperative" with their husbands. Another analyst of the poll said that the third answer "must represent the real equal husband-wife relationship. In this relationship, the wife's valuing her own life is too much a matter of course to articulate" (Ochiai 1997, 165).

Women who are most likely to choose the "matching" attitudes towards their husbands, that is, those born between 1946 and 1950, should have been between 48 and 52 years old as of the year of my research, 1998. Yet, it is unlikely that a certain ideal is held only by people within five years' age difference. As I illustrated, not only women in their early 50s (for example, Mrs. Ogino) but also women from their mid- to late 50s (Group of Five and Mrs. Watanabe) and women around 60 (Mrs. Takeuchi and her friends) presented themselves as individuals with their own interests, and the tea ceremony as their own world that excludes their husbands.

Meanwhile, women around 70 years old (Mrs. Nakano and Mrs. Uehara), despite their similar life patterns to those of women in their 50s and 60s, have less antagonistic tones in talking about their subservient relationship with their husbands. In other words, they are the "women in older generations" mentioned in the poll. Their conforming attitude to male-dominant society is probably a fruit of the prewar secondary education that emphasized "good wife and wise mother" (see 8.1.2 and 8.1.3
on the difference between Mrs. Nakano and Mrs. Takeuchi).

8.5.2 From *temae* to *benkyō*: Life-stage changes in women's tea ceremony practices

Whatever age group they belong to, most married women practitioners who have lived in the "postwar family system" have practiced the tea ceremony twice in their lives: before marriage and after fulfilling their family duties. This return to the tea ceremony has two positive effects in women's lives.

First, returning to their premarital activity helps them find consistency in their lives. As illustrated, the lives of most of the married women above 45 are fragmented by their family members' needs. Their family members take it for granted that these women-housewives are available any time for help. In this situation, returning to their premarital activity assures them and their friends that their lives were not totally at the mercy of their husbands, husbands' employers, children and parents (-in-law), but had their own themes or pursuits.

Narratives from some women indicate this effect. Although I often heard remarks such as "I didn't imagine when I was young that I would love the tea ceremony this much", some still dared to find the germ of their enthusiasm in their younger days. Mrs. Nakano said, "In retrospect, everything was leading towards the tea ceremony" when she told about visiting museums and learning culinary art in her younger married days. In our first interview, Mrs. Takeuchi said that she was always giggling during *keiko* as a young woman. When asked how that giggling girl became such an enthusiastic practitioner, she managed to recall her serious aspect—that she took notes about utensils, decorations and sweets at a prestigious *chakai* that she attended as a young woman. In our second interview, she smoothly said, "Since I was young, I had been taking notes about utensils at *chakai". Probably, through our
frequent conversations about her past, Mrs. Takeuchi gradually slid to the more desirable view of her past, which was more consistent with the present.

Second, returning to the tea ceremony empowers women by raising their self-esteem in their relationship with husbands and sometimes (male) children. Benkyô is integral to the empowerment in a twofold way. First, the act of studying, accumulating knowledge, itself helps women's attempt to match their husbands and (male) children, who have higher education. Second, the contents of the knowledge, traditional authority, let the women embody the same authority through their physical and discursive practices of the tea ceremony.

This act of studying owes itself to sôgô-bunka discourse. Accounting for starting the tea ceremony in their younger days, most married women do not mention their inner zest but give environmental reasons, such as female family members' advice or the availability of tea ceremony clubs at their workplaces. This indicates that before marriage, most women were conforming to the Meiji-born social norm that encouraged them to practice the tea ceremony as a part of bridal training. The tea ceremony in this norm is virtually a device to subject young women to male-dominant society. On the other hand, when they returned to the tea ceremony in their 40s—around 1980, for the first generation of the 1925-1950 cohort—the sôgô-bunka discourse, promoted since the 1960s, was already well established. For these returning women, the tea ceremony was now a means of self-education (coincidentally, the 16 volumes of Urasenke chadô kyôka were published in 1979 and 1980; see Chapter 5).

Of course, not every woman was impressed by sôgô-bunka discourse. Many of those imprinted with prewar education would find it difficult to consider the tea ceremony as something other than temae and bodily discipline. However, for many
women who had postwar education championing gender equality, the tea ceremony with sogō-bunka discourse appealed as a means of empowering themselves. The sogō-bunka discourse provided them with opportunities to study (benkyō-suru) history, Zen Buddhism, ceramics, architecture and so on, thus enabling them to match their educated husbands and (male) children by educating themselves.

Such inclination to benkyō appears especially among women whose husbands had diplomas from higher-than-average universities. Similarly, women whose (male) children have university education, for example Mrs. Miyake, seem to favor benkyō. Both types probably do so in order to match the male-centered, educational and economic hierarchy that gradually comes to dominate the family. Two women explicitly said they recommenced the tea ceremony when their children were studying to enter higher schools. One of them, a teacher at a school for the deaf who is married to a university researcher, said, despite having a full-time job and a university education, "I thought I should not be involved in my kid's studies too much, and restarted the tea ceremony to counterbalance it". At the same time, considering the general tendency among urban middle-aged or older couples for husbands to have relatively higher diplomas or certificates than their wives', and the postwar "social norm" that young males ought to have university degrees, wives in many urban families consequently have relatively less privileged educational status than their husbands and sons. In this situation, many urban housewives have a motive to attempt to match their male family members by self-education.

Moreover, the "halo" of Shogun, Emperor, aristocrats, landlord warriors, wealthy merchants, priests, early modern industrialists and other glorious historical figures and their descendants gives women authority. The more knowledge they obtain through their benkyō, the more they can assume these predecessors' authority
in their choice of utensils, in their visits to historical places, in their talk in *keiko*, *chakai* or *chaji*, or in their self-presentation before non-tea ceremony practitioners in public space.

Women practitioners' *benkyō* should be called "evasion" rather than "resistance" towards the structure of dominance, although the two "are interrelated, and neither is possible without the other" (Fiske 1989, 2). Although attempting to empower themselves, the women circumvent direct conflict or competition with their male family members. As a *gyōtei*-rank male teacher puts it, *benkyō* in the tea ceremony is what "you cannot learn even at universities". Therefore, women's learning about ceramics or Zen Buddhism does not challenge the value of the university diplomas that their male family members have. Also, the traditional authority the women assume through *benkyō* does not constitute a direct threat to husbands, for the authority belongs to the past, not to the same dimension as the educational and economic capital husbands hold in contemporary society. Thus, a (seemingly) harmonious relationship between husbands and wives is maintained.

Mrs. Ogino's narrative eloquently tells how she shifted from the Meiji-born discourse to the postwar-born discourse according to different stages of her life, and how she feels she is empowered now. As she recalls, "as a young woman, I only tried to memorize *temae*. I was thinking that was the tea ceremony." When Sen Sōshitsu published a book strongly advocating *sōgō-bunks* discourse in 1969, Mrs. Ogino was 24. Asked whether she knew the word *sōgō-bunka* used by the *iemoto*, she answered, considering, "I had read the word in *Tankō* or elsewhere, and knew it as a word, but didn't know it as experience." When I further asked if she felt any contradiction between her *temae*-centered *keiko* and the word, her answer was, "No, not at that time. I hadn't reached that level then. I came to understand the word only after reaching
this age." Under the influence of her teacher Mrs. Nakano, Mrs. Ogino now says:

I feel Japanese history and culture through the tea ceremony. This utensil is from the Momoyama period, that one is from the Heian period, and so on. I am now able to read Man'yōshū, Kokin-wakashū or The Tale of Genji with a different viewpoint from before—or I have to be able to. It doesn’t matter if I understand them or not. I want to coordinate utensils referring to these classics... I want to understand because I don’t understand. I have just taken a glance at the profoundness of the tea ceremony, and started benkyō. I now see at museums what I couldn’t see before. But to feel this, it takes years. There ought to be a stage in which you only learn temae.

Mrs. Ogino affirmed her temae-centered practice in younger days as a necessary step for understanding the "profoundness" of the tea ceremony, and thus presented her life as a meaningful and consistent whole. She even affirmed her aging as a necessary progress to this goal.

Like Mrs. Ogino, many women I met said that they now saw things "differently" because of the tea ceremony. Several women said they were now more attentive to kimono, ceramics and tea utensils in department stores "whether I buy them or not". Some said they saw ceramics or calligraphy at exhibitions and museums differently. Others said they now saw flowers in different ways from before. A woman said now bookstores were different places for her; "Before, when I went to bookstores with my kids, they quickly found the books they wanted to read. But I was wondering, 'What book shall I buy?' Once I started the tea ceremony, I am never short of books I want to read." Not only differentiating themselves from non-tea

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20 The Momoyama period (around 1582 - 1600) refers to the period reigned by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, a warrior and employer of Rikyu. The Heian period (794 - 1185) refers to the period when aristocratic culture bloomed around Kyoto. Man'yōshū is an anthology of the eighth-century poems. Kokin-wakashū is the first Imperial anthology of poetry, completed in 905. The Tale of Genji, or Genji monogatari, is a long novel on the life of a Don Juan-like prince and the aristocracy around him, written around the turn of the eleventh century. Regarding how Mrs. Nakano, Mrs. Ogino's teacher, is referring to these
ceremony practitioners, these women feel they are different from their past selves. Their curiosity for various cultural domains could not have existed without sōgō-bunka discourse.

Yet, the practice of sōgō-bunka discourse varies, not only discursively but also physically. An ex-listener of the University of the Air, now a member of the voluntary study group, said, "My teacher was always saying that the tea ceremony was sōgō-bunka. But I didn't know what the words meant until after three decades, when I started benkyō myself." This remark shows that some practitioners parrot the word without changing their "temae is all" attitude in practice. Similarly, practitioners at H Community Center knew that the tea ceremony was a comprehension of several different cultural domains, though they still seemed content with the temae-centered class.

Benkyō-oriented women practitioners tend to criticize temae-oriented women practitioners (see Chapter 6). Such criticism by women of women, which parallels men's criticism of the women's tea ceremony in general as "improper", "degraded" or "deviated", can be considered a form of "recursivity", which involves "the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level. For example, intra-group oppositions might be projected outward onto intergroup relations, or vice versa" (Irvine & Gal 2000, 38). By partly adopting male discourse and contrasting themselves with temae-oriented women, who are often from different generations, come from different social and economic backgrounds, or have different relationship with their spouses, benkyō-oriented women are probably attempting to empower themselves. Yet, benkyō-oriented practitioners and temae-oriented classics in coordinating utensils, see Chapter 7.
practitioners benefit from each other at the same time. Due to practitioners of sōgō-bunka discourse, temae-oriented practitioners are perceived to be more or less "profound", both by themselves and others, today. On the other hand, due to those temae-focused discursive or physical guardians of the Meiji-born discourse, even the most benkyō-oriented practitioners are spared their husbands' condemnation for their contravention of femininity.

Young female practitioners today lack interest in benkyō (see 8.4.3) for two possible reasons. First, women in younger generations, who have more opportunities than the older generations to study or work in the same environments as men, have more means of matching men. Therefore, the tea ceremony for them does not have to be such a means, but can rather be a means of relaxation that counterbalances their stressful daily activities of studying or working. Actually, some young women practitioners explain their love of keiko that it releases them from daily stress. However, considering that women who intend to work or study in competitive environments with men for life are relatively few among young female tea ceremony practitioners (or among women in Japan in general), this reason may not explain the general tendency.

Second, like the older women in their younger days, the young female practitioners do not need to match male-dominant society yet. Rather, they, as women before marriage, are in the stage of subjecting themselves to it. Interestingly, the only young woman who mentioned her love of spirituality in the tea ceremony was in her early 30s, and the only young woman who mentioned benkyō was in her late 30s. Probably, as years pass and women experience more of married life, especially as wives and mothers without professions, they may need to find meanings for their time spent on others, fragmented by others. They may then shift, as the older generations did.
from *temae*-oriented practice to *benkyō*-oriented practice in the later stages of their lives.
Chapter 9: Conclusion: Women's Mutual Empowerment Through Body-Mind Discipline

During her keiko with Miss Konishi, when I asked what about the tea ceremony enchanted her, a woman in her 50s in kimono, with her hair combed straight back and done up in a bun, held her breath a moment and made a contemplative face. The next moment she replied: "Encounters with people. People I meet in keiko are more important than my family members".

"How about your husband?" I asked.

"Once you and your husband get used to each other, you two will stop improving each other. But my tea ceremony friends and I can keep doing so forever."

A historian wonders: "The mystery of the tea ceremony is what about it enchants women this much. Talking with [female] tea teachers, I am often overwhelmed by their passion for the tea ceremony. Truly, the tea ceremony is their raison d'être" (Kumakura 1991, 48).

Explanations for this "mysterious" phenomenon are not lacking; rather, they are too normalized and impoverished. Scholars and the general populace mention in unison the "time" and "affluence" that women, especially housewives, came to enjoy after the war. As a non-practitioner woman in her 50s puts it. "They [women practitioners] are unoccupied people." Scholars generally do not value these "unoccupied" housewives' practice, and pathologize it (see Chapter 1). Meanwhile, many non-practitioners I talked with said that these women must be "more affluent than average", which may not offend the women. Yet in either case, women
practitioners' learning, be it temae or benkyō, is thus reduced to a function of their abundant time and money; few people further wonder what their inner motives are, much less dare to listen to the women's own voices, like the one above.

I have attempted throughout this thesis to elucidate the meaning of the tea ceremony in its women practitioner's lives in the postwar period. After discussing the centrality of temae in the tea ceremony (Chapter 3), I placed contemporary married women in their historical context (Chapters 4, 5), exploring the social conditions that motivate them to acquire these specific rules of body movement.

Behind these women tea ceremony practitioners, first lies a historically consistent condition that motivated certain social groups to acquire temae: their nondominant status. These nondominant people throughout history simultaneously developed temae and legitimated it by creating myths that related the tea ceremony to prominent historical figures and profound metaphysics. Then, a historically specific condition drove the majority of women in the postwar period to nondominant status: the "postwar family system" that increased the number of urban housewives. Postwar cultural nationalism elevated the tea ceremony as sógō-bunka, or a comprehension of every domain of Japanese traditional culture, and diffused this view of the tea ceremony.

I followed these historical discussions with observations of contemporary women's discursive and physical practices of the tea ceremony (Chapters 6, 7). Women can hold either to postwar-born sógō-bunka discourse or to the Meiji-born temae-oriented discourse; the former, which encourages women to "study" (benkyō-suru) things beyond temae, is more respected among their colleagues than the latter. Various motifs of traditional authority, that is, motifs of glorious historical figures and
metaphysics, lurk under any practice of the tea ceremony; the more one "studies", the more one has access to this authority.

Last, I explored the meaning of the tea ceremony in lives of married women under the "postwar family system" by examining their personal narratives, in comparison to the narratives of other subgroups of practitioners (young single women, men, etc; Chapter 8). Although most older women had held to temae-oriented discourse in their younger days, many of them shifted to sōgō-bunka discourse when returning to the tea ceremony in later stages of their lives. The narratives of other subgroups did not show this diachronic change and emphasis on benkyō. Sōgō-bunka discourse for the married women was a means of matching the educational and economic capital of their male family members, while at the same time evading direct conflict with it.

The analyses as a whole suggest that most contemporary, women tea ceremony practitioners are women who have social acknowledgement only as domestic supporters (i.e. "housewives"), and wish to have acknowledgement beyond that limited role. They obtain such social acknowledgement, first of all, from gaining attention and respect from other women. By giving each other the chance to present their body movement and knowledge, these women create a unique social space for each other. They together expand their space in society for further acknowledgement. The very basis of such mutual empowerment is empathy and understanding for each other as women under the "postwar family system".

In their daily lives, these women have obtained respectable social statuses as wives, mothers and sometimes daughters (-in-law). If they are married to economically and educationally successful men, and/or are mothers of successful sons, they have indirect access to economic and educational capital, exemplified by Mrs.
Nakano's access to men and women in high society through her husband's alumni network, and by her judgmental views on other-than-"top" universities despite her lack of post-secondary education. These women are also considered admirable as supporters of their family members' success. Such an access to capital and respect from society are, however, available to the women only through (male) family members, and in this sense they are not as much the women's own achievement as their husbands' and son's. Moreover, the lack of husbands' (and probably children's too) acknowledgement of the women's support for them deprives the women of the feeling of achievement.

A woman's achievement as a caregiver to the elderly is harder to estimate in terms of capital, for most elderly people are no longer actively involved in production or reproduction of capital, and do not bring socially visible capital to their voluntary caregivers. Therefore women's achievement in this domain is evaluated mainly in terms of appreciation or respect from people close to them, such as husbands, other immediate family members, relatives, and friends, as well as from their own feeling of achievement. Hearing many women mentioning their experience as caregivers, yet suggesting distant relationships with their husbands even after that, one can assume that wives' care giving does not drastically increase their husbands' acknowledgement of them. Instead, women receive more respect from (especially female) relatives, female friends and perhaps themselves; for example, Mrs. Takeuchi's sister still greatly admires Mrs. Takeuchi for her past devotion to their sick parents. Such respect is, however, not too satisfactory to women, in that it rarely leads to acknowledgement from society in a broader sense.

The most visible limitation for the majority of married women-practitioners is the lack of a life-long economic or educational pursuit; that is, a professions or study
that they have cumulatively pursued since their youth, not in response to unequal married life but in an active attempt to create a unique social space for themselves. This limitation differentiates them not only from most men but also from women with professions. Not that all who lack life-long economic or educational pursuits are unhappy; most married women tea ceremony practitioners probably did not consciously seek such pursuits and were still content in their younger days. Yet, after years of marriage, it must be difficult for them not to notice, through their husbands' indifferent or pejorative attitudes towards them, that their unpaid role gives them only subordinate status in capitalist society, and that home is only a small part of such society.

In this situation, even the most devoted wife, mother and caregiver would notice, after fulfilling her "duties", that her life lacks something equivalent to the economic and educational achievements which her (male) family members obtained. The women's cravings for such visible tokens of self-achievement are typified by the story told by Mrs. Nakano. According to her, an increasing number of women practitioners in their 50s and 60s are applying for kyojō ("permissions") through her, saying, "I want to have some kind of qualification because I don't have any," or "because I have nothing but a driver's license".

The tea ceremony drastically changes these married, middle-aged and older women's lives. Through this cultural activity, women can first accumulate the cultural capital of technique, called sahō (etiquette), and of knowledge. Integral parts of this cultural capital are kyojō to learn and teach temae, to have a professional name, and to wear the iemoto's family emblem.

These kyojō are themselves symbolic capital, in that the possessors are evaluated on their proximity to the honor and prestige of the iemoto. Also, the honor
and prestige of mythical ancestors of the tea ceremony, one of them the ancestor of the *iemoto*, as well as of religious institutions, lie behind every object or event of the tea ceremony. These kinds of honor and prestige also constitute symbolic capital.

Among *kyoujo*, licenses to teach the tea ceremony are in addition economic capital, for their potential to lead to income. Utensils and *kimono* purchased constitute both symbolic capital as a kind of works of art, and economic capital as a part of the buyer's wealth. Lay female practitioners are not necessarily keen about teachers' *kyoujo* or precious utensils, however; generally, their interest lies more in accumulating cultural and symbolic capital than in accumulating economic capital.

Both kinds of capital the women gain do not conflict with the kinds of capital their husbands and (male) children have. The capital the women obtain comes from "traditional authority", not "contemporary power" that could upset the power relationships among their family members. Thus, women can gain additional social respect without having to destroy the first domain in which they have fulfillment.

Equally important, all these forms of women's empowerment take place in the view and respect of other women. Her women colleagues in her *shachu* can see and respect a woman's disciplined body movement and accumulated in regular *keiko*, and other female practitioners can do so in *chakai* and *chaji*. In addition, the women practitioners can be seen at and respected by non-practitioners, most of them also women, in local cultural events, including festivals at community centers and department store exhibitions, where they are asked to serve tea for anonymous visitors.

Furthermore, the women are sometimes viewed by the more general public including men, at exhibitions, museums or historic sites, or at shops for utensils, antiques or *kimono*. Through repeating these experiences, the women come to be
categorized as "tea ceremony practitioners", the guardians and (re-)presenters of tradition, by society at large which includes local officials who sponsor cultural events, clergy at temples and shrines, artisans, staff at department stores, tourist agencies, *kimono* or utensil dealers, and people in other related industries. Sometimes these women are international (re-)presenters of Japanese traditional authority as demonstrators of the tea ceremony overseas. Although some of the women's (male) family members might acknowledge them as social beings in this stage, such respect is incidental for the women.

True, few married women tea ceremony practitioners in the postwar period obtained upper-ranking teachers' jobs and none achieved apprentice rank. Yet, even the *iemoto* system's conformity to patriarchal society positively affects women's empowerment in a way. Although it must discourage ambitious female practitioners, the *iemoto* system's patriarchy can be desirable for those who do not wish to destroy social norms, in which they already have achievement as respectable family support, but wish to empower themselves within those norms. As Mr. Yasuda, a high-ranking teacher, puts it:

Because the *iemoto* is a man, the apprentices assume his authority more easily if they have male physiques. Most of our pupils are women practicing the tea ceremony for decades, much longer than apprentices do. Let's imagine that an apprentice, after five year's training, comes to them, saying, 'I am representing the *iemoto*. If the person is physically male, it would be better. But if it is a woman, pupils would not feel like following her.

I do not totally agree with this statement, having seen female practitioners' great respect for the only female *győtei* in history, Hamamoto Sôshun, or pupils' respect to their "honored teacher" Miss Konishi, who is almost equivalent to *győtei* (see Chapter 8). Yet, as long as almost all the traditional authority of the tea ceremony stems from
the myths of male predecessors, married women practitioners owe their empowerment to the vicarious practice of this "(traditionally) male activity". If assuming the authority of men forms an integral part of married female practitioners' strategy to match their husbands, having male figures at the symbolic apex is not a bad idea. Rather, women's dominance of the top ranks, if it happened, might only reinforce their husbands' pejorative view that the tea ceremony is "just women's play".

Thus, women practitioners constitute the bottom and the middle of the hierarchy, the very top being men. Between the "bottom" and the "middle", between the women pupils and women teachers who constitute each shachū, exists not only a vertical, superordinate-subordinate relationship, but also at the same time a horizontal relationship or communitas, sustained by their empathy and understanding of each other's fulfillment and limitations as wives, mothers and caregivers under the "postwar family system". Here, a woman can even convert her fulfillment as domestic supporter into respect from other women, and thus obtain extra symbolic capital, symbolic capital "among women".

In this communitas, each woman knows that the others, like herself, have their bodies as almost the only objects they own to occupy a certain space in society, and as the only loci they own on which they can freely inscribe anything they like. Women in each shachū, therefore, start from their own bodies. They transmit and inscribe sabō and myths from the past on their bodies, present them in turn in historic settings, and thus create and expand each other's space in society. As Mrs. Hanamori in Takeuchi shachū puts it, "Because I practice the tea ceremony, I have a tie with society. Sometimes I practice it by myself, but mostly I do it with other people. I will never think about shutting myself in the house again."

This situation invalidates the sociologist Yamamura's claim that in order to:
revive the tea ceremony as an exalted spiritual cultural activity... first of all, women have to liberate themselves. When women stop being subjected to men and become equal to men, women will be freed from being passive objects of men's gaze, and they will be subjects. Their tea will stop being something served for men... (Yamamura 1996, 272)

Actually, women do practice the tea ceremony to avoid being subjected to men; the tea they make is not for men but for themselves. The gaze they expect to view on their bodies in performance is not especially men's, but female colleagues' and society's. In addition, the tea ceremony for women is already as much "an exalted spiritual cultural activity" as for men. Yamamura continues, "[only] by living in society independently and autonomously from men, will women newly face the Zen spirit as human beings rather than moving away from it" (Yamamura 1996, 273; emphasis in the original). Clearly, what needs to be changed is not women tea ceremony practitioners, but men who constantly deny that women are already independent, autonomous and spiritual human beings.
Glossary

Ane-deshi (姉弟子) One’s senior who has been a pupil of the same teacher. *Ane* literally means “big sister”; *deshi* means “pupil”.

Benkyō (勉強) Studies. Among contemporary tea ceremony practitioners, the word means studies about things other than *temae*. *Benkyō-kai* refers to voluntary study groups of practitioners.

Chaji (茶事) Big formal gatherings of the tea ceremony.

Chakai (茶会) Small, the most formal gatherings of the tea ceremony.

Chaseki (茶会) A sequence of activities of making and drinking tea at *chaji* or *chakai*.

Chashitsu (茶室) Tearooms, or rooms with specific sizes and layouts built especially for the tea ceremony. *Chashitsu* can be a room in a building or a separate hut in the garden.


Dōmon (同門) Pupils who are learning or once learned from the same teacher.

Furo (風炉) The portable hearth used in the tea ceremony from May to October, to substitute the sunken hearth. Cf. *ro*.

Gyōtei (業転) The second top-ranking teacher following the *iemoto* in Urasenke school. One becomes *gyōtei* after several years of apprenticeship-in-residence at the *iemoto*’s house. *Gyōtei* is
equivalent to genkan in Omotesenke school and mizuya in Mushakōjisenke school.

*Iemoto* (家元) (1) Particular families which monopolize for generations the rights to issue permission (*kyōjō*) both to learn and teach the tea ceremony; (2) headmasters of such families. The hereditary system that sustains this custom is called the *iemoto* system (*iemoto seido*).

*Jun-kyōju* (准教授) Associate professor. The fourth highest teacher's rank that non- or semi-professional tea ceremony teachers can obtain in Urasenke school.

*Kaiseki* (懐石) The formal Japanese cuisine developed from meals in Zen Buddhist temples. *Kaiseki* is a part of the most formal tea ceremony gatherings. *chaji*.

*Keiko* (稽古) Regular training in the tea ceremony and other traditional Japanese cultural activities.

*Kencha-shiki* (献茶式) Spectacles of the dedication of tea, performed by the *iemoto* or their heirs. In a strict sense, *kencha-shiki* refers to the dedication of tea to God(s) in the shrine, and *kūcha-shiki* to Buddha in the temple. Some tea ceremony schools use the term *kencha-shiki* to mean both.

*Kenkyū-kai* (研究会) Seminars. In the tea ceremony, the word usually refers to official seminars offered under the name of the *iemoto*. Some use the term for their own voluntary study groups.
For the second meaning, *benkyō-kai* is also used. Cf. *benkyō*.

*Kōhai* (後輩) One's junior. Cf. *senpai*.

*Kyōjō* (許状) Permissions issued by the *iemoto* for pupils to learn or teach the tea ceremony.

*Mushanokōji-senke* (武者小路千家) *Musha-no-kōji-sen-ke*. One of the three schools of the tea ceremony run by *sen-ke* (the Sen family). Musha-no-kōji is the name of the road on which its *iemoto* resides.

*Omotesenke* (表千家) *Omote-sen-ke*. One of the three schools of the tea ceremony run by *sen-ke* (the Sen family). *Omote* literally means "the front" as opposed to *ura* or "the back". One explanation relates that Omotesenke and Urasenke came to be called "the front" and "the back" respectively due to their relative locations as viewed from the Imperial Palace in Kyoto. Omotesenke Fuhaku-ryū, initiated by Kawakami Fuhaku, is a branch of Omotesenke. Cf. *Urasenke*. *Mushanokōji-senke*.

*Ro* (炉) The sunken hearth in the tearoom used from November to April. The performances using *ro* is considered more official than those using *furo*. Cf. *furo*.

*Ryūha* (流派) Schools or denominations.

*Sahō* (作法) Etiquette or good manners, with emphasis on mind.
Seinen-kai (青年会) Youth division of a tea ceremony school.

Seito (生徒) Students or pupils. Cf. deshi, sensei.

Sen Rikyu (千利休) A sixteenth-century merchant in Sakai near Osaka and a supposed establisher of the tea ceremony in today's sense.

Sensei (先生) Teachers. Cf. deshi, seito.

Senpai (先輩) One's senior. Cf. kôhai.

Shachû (社中) A unit of a teacher and her/his pupils. Cf. dômôn.

Sōgô-bunka /-geijutsu (総合文化 /-芸術) Sōgô-bunka means "cultural synthesis", or a comprehension of every traditional Japanese cultural domain. Sōgô-geijutsu means "synthetic art", or an activity that comprehends various artistic domains. Both terms were popularized as explanations of the tea ceremony in the postwar period.

Tatami (畳) Straw mats laid in Japanese-style rooms.

Temae (点前) (1) Rules of body movement to make tea; (2) body movement governed by such rules; (3) tea made as a result of such body movement.

Urasenke (裏千家) Ura-sen-ke. One of the three schools of the tea ceremony run by sen-ke (the Sen family). Ura literally means "the back" as opposed to omote ("the front"). Cf. Omotesenke, Mushanokôjisenke.
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