SELF-PERCEPTION AND SELF-PROJECTION: JAPAN IN OKAKURA KAKUZŌ'S *THE BOOK OF TEA* AND ITS TRANSLATIONS

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Abstract: *This paper focuses on the omissions, adaptations, misquotations, etc, hereby referred to as cultural translation tricks, that Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin) employed when writing "The Book of Tea" for a foreign audience. It then compares the translations in the Japanese language, on the one hand pointing out their connection to the historical background, and on the other hand identifying some of the difficulties the translators of "The Book of Tea" encountered in their attempt to re-transplant Okakura's Teaism in its original cultural context. While the first translations seem to be relating Teaism to the century-old tradition of cha-no-yu, the bilingual books in circulation nowadays advertise "The Book of Tea" as the perfect English teaching material, and as a way "the heart of Japan" could be communicated to the West. At the same time, the combination between books and tea is becoming part of the European mainstream reading experience, and Okakura's ideas about Teaism as the locus of a conversation between East and West seems to be finally taking shape.*

Keywords: *Okakura Kakuzō, translation, bushidō, teaism, imperialism, democracy, English.*

All students specializing in the Japanese language and culture, as well as most people interested in Asian cultures, will, at some point, hear about the some of the paths or ways (*tō* or *dō*) towards self-awareness, self-fulfillment, and artistic achievement: the way of the Gods or *Shintō*, the way of the samurai, also known as *Bushidō*, the martial arts of *Judō*, calligraphy, which is *Shodō* in Japanese, or the tea ceremony, referred to as *Sadō/Chadō*. *The Book of Tea*, by Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin), will probably appear on many a list of bibliographical materials for a course in Japanese culture, together, perhaps, with other classics such as Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, Takeo Doi's *The Anatomy of Dependence*, or maybe Katō Shuichi's *A History of Japanese Literature*. Apart from the above-mentioned books' relevance on the subject of Japan and the Japanese culture, there is always the issue of availability to take into consideration when designing a course, or listing up materials to be consulted, and whether the book has been translated into Romanian (or English, French, etc) becomes of utmost importance. Needless to say, the language that acts as communication medium will determine who will have access to certain information and, on a

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different level, will also influence what parts of that piece of information will be highlighted, or left out as irrelevant.

Okakura's *Book of Tea* was written in English and published in 1906, in New York[1]. It is based on several speeches that Okakura gave in front of his circle of American friends interested in Japanese art and culture; it was republished several times after that, both in the U.S. and in the U.K., and it was also translated in numerous European languages[2]. Only 20 years after its first edition did it travel back, to see the light of the printing press in Japanese for the first time in 1929[3]. In other words, it can be said that a piece of Japanese culture travelled first to the U.S., then took a trip around Europe, and finally went back to its country of origin. That is why the way Okakura perceived his own country and presented it for people outside Japan, as well as how and when his book was rendered into Japanese, seemed to be the most appropriate topic to present at a conference that had as its subtitle: A Return Journey from the East to the West. Learning in, about and from Japan[4].

But first, let us look at the first encounters between East and West.

Japan had been present in the European imagination since as early as the 1850s, when mainly *ukiyo-e* prints, but also pottery and other artifacts, were widely circulated and collected. Mass-produced woodblock prints became a symbol of the democratization of art, and played an important role in the development of artistic movements such as Art Nouveau, the arts and crafts movement, industrial art, etc[5]. Another proof of the popularity of Japanese art at the end of the 19th century is the magazine *Le Japon Artistique*, published between 1888 and 1891 and edited by the art collector Siegfried Bing. Apart from being a distant country whose exotic art was eagerly collected and constituted a source of inspiration for modern European painters and artisans, Japan was also the *hic sint leones* land of Melville's "Moby Dick", a distant, unknown and unfriendly place at the edge of the world map.

A change in the way Japan was perceived occurred after the Meiji Restoration, which had spelt the beginning of the modernization and westernization of Japan and, at the same time, a break with the Edo arts and mores, coupled with a yearning for the pre-Shogunate Japan. In this period, the main consumer of things Japanese became the newly independent United States. In their search of new artistic, moral and spiritual horizons that would differentiate them from the Edo ideals, on the one hand, and the Old Land, on the other, the Japanese and American aspirations met; in the years following the Restoration, American scholars were invited to Japan to educate future Japanese specialists, while growing numbers of tourists were also visiting the country,

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[1] Fox, Duffield& Co (publishers).

[2] For example, it was translated into German in 1922 (Insel Verlag Publishers, Leipzig), in Romanian in 1925 (Fundatia Culturala Principele Carol, Bucharest), and in French, in 1927.

[3] Translated by Muraoka Hiroshi, from Iwanami Bunko.

[4] The "Japan: Pre-modern, Modern and Contemporary" conference, held at the "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, 30-31 August 2011 (organized with the support of Osaka University).

[5] More details about *japonisme* and *orientalisme*, in Ives Colta's *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints* (Metropolitan Museum of Arts, N.Y., 1974).

discovering its beauty and searching for pre-Edo treasures together with their Japanese guides[6].

To promote the image of Japan abroad, the Japanese government was sending envoys to the main European countries (e.g., Suematsu Kenchō) and the U.S. (e.g., Kaneko Kentarō); meanwhile, Japanese exhibits at international fairs were being received with growing interest, and various thinkers and men of letters, such as Uchimura Kanzō (author of *Japan and Japanese,* 1894, republished in 1908 as *Representative Men of Japan)*, Inazō Nitobe (author of *Bushidō, the Soul of Japan. An Exposition of Japanese Thought,* 1899*)* and others, wrote books and articles about Japan and the Japanese, in English.[7]

Okakura Kakuzō (or Tenshin, as he is known in Japan) was one of the Japanese who contributed the most to making Japan known abroad, by publishing three of his major works, *The Ideals of the East*, *The Awakening of Japan* and *The Book of Tea* in English. Okakura had acquired a fluency in English since his early childhood days; after graduating from university, he started assisting Ernest Fenollosa (professor of philosophy and political economy at Tokyo Imperial University, as well as an enthusiastic Orientalist) in his research about Japanese art, accompanying him and his friends on trips around Japan, and helping him with translating Taoist texts from Japanese into English.

Even before his writing, Okakura's attire itself and the changes it underwent along the years was an indication of how he was perceiving and projecting himself and his "Japanese-ness" or "Asian-ness"[8]. In the photographs taken during his trips (1886-1887) with professor Fenollosa, historian Henry Adams and painter John LaFarge around Japan hunting for old artifacts and glimpses of a lost pre-civilized world, he can be seen wearing the fine Western suit and well-tended moustache that were the norm for many young Meiji intellectuals; a couple of years and a journey to Europe and the U.S. later, he has already become the eccentric dean of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, attending his official business on horseback, dressed in a school uniform he himself had modeled after the Nara period clothing for civil servants. A few more years later, during his trip to India in 1902-03, Okakura is photographed in a self-fashioned Taoist cape complete with hood, while during his stays in the US he was famous for stealing the hearts of American women with his kimono-clad, dignified figure.

The cosmopolitan and eccentric Okakura had, over the years, become a frequenter of Boston's literary and artistic salons: he was very popular with the well-to-do Japan fanatics and Asian art collectors, and, as a connoisseur of all things Japanese, his opinion was highly valued. It must be noted though, that his interest in Japanese and Asian art had been aroused and cultivated in close

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[6] More details about the foreign tourists and government employees discovering Japan at the beginning of the Meiji era, in Cristopher Benfey's *The Great Wave: Gilded Age Misfits, Japanese Eccentrics and the Opening of Old Japan* (Random House, N.Y., 2003).

[7] More details about the diplomatic and economic, etc, relationships between Japan and the world, as well as about Japanese propaganda abroad, in Sydney Giffard's *Japan Among the Powers, 1890-1990* (Yale University Press, New Haven& London, 1994) and W.G. Beasley's *Japanese Imperialism, 1894-1945* (Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1987).

[8] Christine M.E. Guth, *Charles Longfellow and Okakura Kakuzo: Cultural Cross-Dressing in the Colonial Context*, in *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* no.8, 2000.

proximity with Western scholars of Japan such as Fenollosa, or foreigners passionate about Japan, such as Bigelow, LaFarge, etc. Having been forced to see Japan through the eyes of his foreign friends and "translate" its culture– written texts, as well as customs, etc—had laid the foundations of Okakura's self-perception and self-projection, as will become obvious in his later works.

Okakura is said to have given frequent talks about Japanese art to his American friends, and to have actually started writing *The Book of Tea* at their request. When it was first published, the book received universal acclaim in the U.S., and some fragments even made their way into school textbooks. As I mentioned before, numerous editions were published over the years, but, despite its success abroad, *The Book of Tea* first appeared in Japan in 1922, in English, included in *The Complete Works of Okakura Tenshin,* a commemorative edition published by the Japanese School of Fine Arts, that did not go on sale. It was first translated into Japanese in 1929, which is after it had been translated into German, French, and even Romanian.

It must be added that *The Book of Tea* came after Okakura's more pan-Asiatic works, *The Ideals of the East*[9] and *The Awakening of Japan*[10], in the wake of the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905). After having defeated China in 1895, Japan was this time victorious in the confrontation with a European power, coming to the attention of the world as a belligerent nation with imperialistic ambitions, the so-called "Yellow Peril". In this context, it is relevant to mention that published in 1900, just years before *The Book of Tea* and also in English, was Inazo Nitobe's *Bushidō: the Soul of Japan*[11]. Just like Okakura's book, it was widely acclaimed in the U.S.; reviews in the American newspapers of the time recommended it to all students of Japan, and it is said that even president Roosevelt read it, urged by W.S. Bigelow, the same man who had asked Okakura to come and work at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Bigelow, a great admirer of Japan, was trying to ingratiate Japan with the American president, by introducing to him the country's culture.

To Okakura, though, *bushidō* was "the art of death", which had brought about the carnage of the Russo-Japanese war, and to which he was now trying to oppose the image of a peace-loving Japan, by introducing to the foreign audience Teaism, "the art of life":

> *Much comment has been given lately to the Code of the Samurai— the Art of Death which makes our soldiers exult in self-sacrifice; but scarcely any attention has been drawn to Teaism, which represents so much of our Art of Life. Fain would we remain barbarians, if our claim to civilization were to be based on the gruesome glory of war. (p.3)*[12]

In his writing, Okakura purposefully fails to enlarge upon the connection

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[9] John Murray Publishers, London, 1903.

[10] Century, N.Y., 1904.

[11] Leeds& Biddle, Philadelphia, 1900.

[12] All quotations from *The Book of Tea* are from the Dreamsmyth edition (William Adams, U.S., 2001), the eBook version of the 1906 Fox, Duffield& Co edition.

between the tea ceremony and the samurai, re-enforcing instead the feminine image that had been superimposed on the former with the help of some foreign and Japanese photographers/ painters in search of the Asian exotic after the Meiji Restoration[13]. On the other hand, though, there are a few fragments in *The Book of Tea* that remind the reader that tea was a favourite pass-time of the warrior class, and hint at the value attached to ideas such as self-sacrifice and honour, which are also pointing back to the samurai and their ethic, such as the following:

> *In such instances we see the full significance of the Flower Sacrifice (…) Some flowers glory in death— certainly the Japanese cherry blossoms do, as they freely surrender to the winds. (p.63)*

> *He who has lived with the beautiful can die beautifully (…) One privilege alone was granted to the condemned— the honour of dying by his own hand. (p.68)*

The notion of democracy, i.e., the power of the people, is also ambiguously treated and used in *The Book of Tea*. The Japanese prints and artifacts– mass-produced, and consumed by the masses— brought to Europe in the second half of the 19th century had lead to the appearance and development of the arts and crafts and Art nouveau movements, and were hailed as paragons of the democratization of art. On the one hand, Okakura puts forth the idea that Teaism has laid the foundations for an equal participation of the noble and the humble in artistic endeavours:

> *It (the Philosophy of Tea) represents the true spirit of Eastern democracy by making all its votaries aristocrats in taste (…) Our home and habits, costume and cuisine, porcelain, lacquer, painting—our very literature— all have been subject to its influence (…) It has permeated the elegance of noble boudoirs, and entered the abode of the humble. Our peasants have learned to arrange flowers, our meanest labourer to offer salutation to the rocks and waters. (p.1)*

On the other hand, though, he bemoans the advent of "this democratic age of ours" in which the masses have access to copies of real art in "illustrated periodicals", showing that his understanding of the democratization of art is different from that underlying the Art nouveau, industrial art, and arts and crafts movements, which were all in favour of opening up art for mass-production and consumption, thus educating and empowering the masses.

> *Perhaps we are now passing through an age of democratisation in art, while awaiting the rise of some princely master who shall establish a new dynasty. (p.41)*

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[13] One of the most famous such photographers is Felice Beato, whose pictures often immortalize frightful samurai in full armour, seppuku practices or decapitations, as well as delicate women in beautiful kimonos, busy serving tea, arranging flowers or playing the shamisen.

> *In this democratic age of ours men clamour for what is popularly considered the best, regardless of their feelings (...) To the masses, contemplation of illustrated periodicals, the worthy product of their own industrialism, would give more digestible food for artistic enjoyment than the early Italians or the Ashikaga masters, whom they pretend to admire. (p.51)*

While Okakura does make ambiguous all references to the historical connection between the *cha-no-yu* and the ruling classes, in the end his democracy is one only the "civilized" elites of Japan and the world can enjoy.

One other contradiction in *The Book of Tea* is that, at the height of worldwide imperialism and during a period marred by wars waged for expansion and domination, Okakura blames the bloodshed of the Russo-Japanese battlefields on "European imperialism", while completely "forgetting" the fact that the conflicts that had started with the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, continued all through the next four decades and finally developed into the Second Sino-Japanese War are backed by the same logic:

> *The beginning of the twentieth century would have been spared the spectacle of sanguinary warfare if Russia had condescended to know Japan better. What dire consequences to humanity lie in the contemptuous ignoring of Eastern problems! European imperialism, which does not disdain to raise the absurd cry of the Yellow Peril, fails to realize that Asia may also awaken to the cruel sense of the White Disaster. (p.5)*

He finds the European territorial claims unfair, but does not clinch in front of Japan's, because, as he often hints in his writing, Japan is the best part of Asia, the place where various Asian arts, such as the tea ceremony, have been brought to perfection, and thus the rightful leader of all Asian countries:

> *It is in the Japanese tea ceremony that we see the culmination of tea-ideals. Our successful resistance of the Mongol invasion in 1281 had enabled us to carry on the Sung movement (...) Tea with us became more than an idealization of the form of drinking; it is a religion of the art of life. (p.19)*

As mentioned above, Okakura's *Book of Tea* had to wait for more than twenty years for its first translation in the Japanese language. Part of this was likely due to the author's eccentric personality and lifestyle, which had endeared him with his foreigner friends, but estranged him from his Japanese supporters. Moreover, the plea for peace explicit in the book was in sharp contrast with the ambitions of a Japan that had just emerged victorious from the conflict with one of the European powers, and was attempting to expand its borders to include parts of Asia such as Manchuria and Korea.

On the other hand, Inazō Nitobe's *Bushidō: the Soul of Japan*, appeared to be

much more in tune with (or much easier to attune to) Japan's foreign policies and self-projected outer image. Shortly after being published in 1900 in the U.S., it appeared in English from a Japanese publishing house too, and new editions kept coming almost every year[14]. The first translation saw the light of day in 1908[15]; by the late 1930s, it had already been revised once in 1918, and joined by two new translations in 1935[16] and 1938[17]. Just like *The Book of Tea*, it cannot be a coincidence that publications and translations are grouped around the late 1930s, in preparation, as it were, for the celebration of 2600 years since the enthronement of Jinmu; as it is no wonder that, unlike *The Book of Tea*, new editions of *Bushido* stopped appearing after the Second World War, to re-surface only in the 1970s.

All of the early translators of *The Book of Tea* invoke Okakura's very insightful words about translation:

> *Translation is always a treason, and as a Ming author observes, can at its best be only the reverse side of a brocade,— all the threads are there, but not the subtlety of colour or design. (p.22)*

This applies all the more to *The Book of Tea*, since it is, in a way, a patchwork of Japanese and Asian culture, translated into English, and then re-translated into Japanese, on whose reverse millions of threads are tangled and intertwined.

First of all, a challenge Okakura himself had to face was translating into English classical Japanese or Chinese texts, or concepts. Rendering different types of discourse, from classical Japanese to *kanbun*, from poetry to daily conversations, into the same English of the beginning of the 20th century does take away some of "the subtlety of colour and design", in exchange for accessibility, but after all this was Okakura's purpose: to make parts of the Japanese culture accessible to foreigners, and to this end he used all methods at hand, even coining new words such as "Teaism" or "White Peril".

The tricks Okakura used to make Japanese/ Asian culture comprehensible to the West later became issues on which his translators into Japanese must have pondered and disagreed. While not directly connected to political agendas, the way each of them chose to tackle these difficulties is an indication of the changes in the way "translation" was perceived, and of the position the reader came to occupy through the ages.

Let us now take a look at some of what I would like to call "cultural translation tricks" which carry and alter meaning while traveling back and forth between Japanese and English.

First of all, there is "Teaism", the word coined by Okakura to refer to the main topic of his book. As previous studies have indicated, the term was meant to join

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[14] First published in 1901 from the Shokabō Publishing House, then in 1904 from The Student Company, and afterwards in numerous editions from Teibi Publishing House (1905, 1907, 1908, 1911, 1912, etc).

[15] Translated by Sakurai Ōson, for Teibi Publishing House.

[16] Translated by Harusato Kondō& Ishii Kikujirō for Keibundō.

[17] Translated by Tadao Yanagihara for Iwanami Bunko.

the plethora of "isms" used to describe western art, literature and culture[18]; what Okakura talks about in his essays is a universal philosophy of life and art that can be explained and understood in a language different from that of the culture which gave birth to it; a school of thought perfectly fit for the modern world, outside Japan. As a matter of fact, very few Japanese words are used in explaining Teaism, and the terms *cha-no-yu* or *sado* never once appear. On the other hand, Inazō Nitobe's book has a Japanese word in its title, *bushidō*, which it served to popularize further, along with *samurai*, another term frequently used in the text. In *The Book of Tea*, Teaism is contrasted with *bushidō*, the way of the samurai with the philosophy of tea, not only at the "signified" level, i.e., the contents, but also at a "signifier" level, i.e., the word used to refer to those contents. In doing so, Okakura is attempting to introduce tea as a potentially modern and universal art form, while *bushidō* is left anchored in Japan's feudal past. Unfortunately, none of the translations that I have chosen to analyze and discuss in my presentation have succeeded in preserving this nuance; they all use *sadō*, and occasionally *cha-no-yu* to render Okakura's Teaism in Japanese, thus robbing it of its modern and westernized ambitions, and taking one important dimension out of the Bushido-Teaism antinomy.

Another noteworthy feature of the "cultural translation" pervading *The Book of Tea* is that Okakura not only quotes, but sometimes, under the guise of translation, even twists, approximates and simplifies, without quotation marks, numerous episodes, anecdotes and poems from Chinese or classical Japanese. On the other hand, his translators too go beyond mere translation, and are adding to the "texture" threads that Okakura had deemed unnecessary for his American audience. Thus, Confucius's words, or the quotations from Luwuh's *Chaking*, or the poem Sen-no-Rikyū wrote just before his death, inserted in plain English in Okakura's text, appear in both Muraoka Hiroshi's[19] and Watanabe Masatomo's[20] translations in the original *kanbun* style, meaning that the translators went back to the sources of Okakura's text and quoted it in the original, regardless of the fact that the said original had been altered to suit a different purpose in the English version. Thus, in *The Book of Tea*, the conversation between the Taoist Chuang-tse and his disciple is in simple, easy to understand English; in Muraoka's 1929 translation, the episode appears in classical Chinese, without any explanations, while the 1938 revised translation [21] includes an explanatory footnote from the translator. Watanabe's 1936 translation included in Okakura's *Complete Works* also uses only the *kanbun* version. In the same translation by Watanabe, another conversation, between the Zen patriarch Yeno and two monks is rendered in modern Japanese, but with the *kanbun* text in brackets; a few more variations are present in the above-mentioned Japanese versions.

In a nutshell, Okakura's wise men of the old days are made to converse in a vernacular understood by modern men all over the world— and which was

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[18] Naoko Fuwa Thornton, *Translation as a Counter-Colonial Tool,* in *Japan Women's University Studies in English and American Literature*, no.40, 2005.

[19] Iwanami Bunko (publishing house), 1929.

[20] Seibunkaku (publishing house), 1936.

[21] Iwanami Bunko (publishing house).

subsequently easily and promptly translated, no complicated cross-reference strings attached, into other idioms of the western world. Nevertheless, for the Japanese translators, Okakura's work was far from a neutral translating experience, as they could not ignore the strings that tied *The Book of Tea* to Japanese culture. Just as when they had translated Teaism as *sadō*, by introducing *kanbun* into their versions of Okakura's work, they stifled some of the universality and modernity the book was meant to convey. As compared to the first edition in 1929, the new translation of 1936 and the revised one of 1938 do contain more notes and explanations, thus being open to a wider readership. On the other hand, in Asano Akira's 1956 translation, for the first time, Okakura's English text is rendered exclusively into modern Japanese, while the quoted or otherwise referred to sources are mentioned only in the endnotes.

The changes in the way "translating" was approached in the course of time mark the changes in the target readership of *The Book of Tea*. While the 1929 readers were expected to understand *kanbun*, the 1936-38 readers already needed help with it, while in 1956 modern Japanese had become the only choice for the translation. At the same time, the features that these three translations share point to a common attempt to bring out the Japanese-ness of the tea ceremony, and to connect it to an Asian/ Japanese tradition that Okakura had tried to blur out, by coining an "ism" term to refer to it, and by hiding on the back of the brocade most of the threads connecting it to the above-mentioned tradition. Okakura's Teaism is a cosmopolitan art, to be enjoyed in the salons of the well-to-do collectors all over the world, while the translated *Book of Tea* is more anchored into an old Japan, which makes it the perfect book to publish and read around the celebrations of 2600 years from the enthronement of Japan's first emperor, Jinmu (1940), or in the years after the second World War.

Just a few words, at the end, about the Romanian translations. The first one appeared in 1925, and belongs to Emanoil Bucuta[22]. An interesting thing to note is that the translator mentions in the *Foreword* that he had initially used *The Book of Tea* in order to brush up his English skills. My own translation appeared in 2008 from the Nemira Publishing House. Its commercial success was backed by the association between books and tea that is lately being made in Romania, where it has become fashionable for bookstores to have an attached teahouse where the customers can consecrate themselves to the "queen of the Camellias, and revel in the warm stream of sympathy that flows from her altar"[23], while going through the pages of some book or other. This tendency is doubled by an ongoing interest for the tea ceremony: *cha-no-yu* demonstrations are held regularly and never fail to attract an audience of Japan enthusiasts. While we can say that the Japanese tea, along with hundreds of other teas from all over the world, sipped by the young cosmopolitan in chic teahouses while going through the pages of a book or chatting with friends, is closer to Okakura's idea of East and West reconciling in a cup of amber liquid, I think it is still the underlying exotic that attracts. The success of *The Book of Tea* abroad, now and then, is clearly due to the fact that it

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[22] From Fundatia Culturala Principele Carol, Bucharest.
[23] *The Book of Tea*, above-mentioned edition, p.2.

presents a simplified image, an essence of Japanese-ness as Okakura saw it fit for foreign eyes—the same type of vision that he had adopted when discovering his own country in the company of foreign guests, perceiving it through their eyes, or, later, when he attempted to project himself as an embodiment of Japan to his American audience.

For the Japanese public, on the other hand, when *The Book of Tea* was first translated, it must have appeared to lack substance, and supplementary information was necessary to make the "brocade" complete; a wealth of sources about the tea ceremony was available, and most of them connected it to century-old traditions, which many readers were aware of. Thus, it was difficult for Okakura's newly coined "ism" to find its place as a modernizing concept, inside Japanese culture. Nevertheless, recently *The Book of Tea* has been revived in a bilingual collection from Kōdansha Publishing House[24], containing books which the Japanese are encouraged to read in order to improve their English, so as to be able to discuss their country's culture, politics, economy, etc, with foreigners. A Japanese native's accomplishments in the English language are given as an example to the thousands of Japanese who are struggling today with the complex of not being able to master the foreign idiom— just as, on the other side of the globe, it had served as a self-teaching material to the Romanian translator Emanoil Bucuta.

And thus, over one hundred years after publication, in the newly discovered passion for tea and books of the young cosmopolitan, and in the Japanese attempts at English self-expression, Okakura's aims and aspirations live on, and Teaism is re-conquering the world and Japan.

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[24] Published first in 1998. 2010 edition consulted. Other titles include, for example, Nitobe's *Bushidō,* or *Eigo de Nihon Ryōri [Japanese Cuisine in English]*, *Eigo de Hanasu Nihon Bunka [Japanese Culture Explained in English]*, *Eigo de yomu Nihon-shi [Reading Japanese History in Japanese]*, *Eigo de Hanasu Nihon no keizai [Japanese Economy in English],* etc.

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