Making Tea, Making Japan: Cultural Nationalism in Practice. By Kristin Surak. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2013. Pp. xx+252. $24.95 (paper).

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Japan's imperial legacy continues to reverberate into the present. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's visit to Yasukuni Shrine, which honors Japan's war dead—including convicted war criminals—has stirred international controversy, as has the deletion of some material in school textbooks on wartime atrocities. That Abe is considered by many to be a right-wing nationalist suggests that nationalism will continue to be a topic of concern to international observers.

Iris Chang's work on the 1937 Japanese invasion of Nanjing raised the question of how a nation known for politeness and manners could be capable of such atrocities. In her book *Making Tea, Making Japan: Cultural Nationalism in Practice*, Kristin Surak similarly juxtaposes seemingly different domains by examining the linkages between tea and nationalism.

The most basic connection between nationalism and tea comes from its moral value, which derives from its long history as a distinctly Japanese form of sociability. Practitioners and tea organizations emphasize that "tea is thinking about others" (p. 150), which they consider to be a distinctly Japanese trait. Similarly, turn-of-the-century intellectuals wrote about tea as "a way of refining character" (p. 85) and "the basis of a national morality" (p. 80). Tea ceremony, then, allows practitioners to connect with their Japanese heritage and serves as a bulwark against the threat of rampant individualism.

The author gives a wealth of detail on the tea ceremony itself, the family businesses that have maintained centuries-long authority over the proper way to do tea, these business' contemporary monopoly over tea utensils and other Japanese arts (and their vested interest in promoting the linkage between tea and nationalism), and the history of the tea ceremony. Throughout the book the author makes the case that tea permeates Japanese society from popular culture to the education system, and this penetration of Japanese culture extends back through history. Even when a target of derision, the tea ceremony continues to be a reference point for Japanese today; unlike with contemporary famous art forms such as manga, Japanese feel the need to *apologize* if they can't explain the tea ceremony to foreigners.

A major theme of the book is how on one hand the tea ceremony evolved into a key component of national self-definition, while on the other, tea culture was continually a resource used to draw distinctions with others *within* the nation. Indeed, it is tea's role in reinforcing power hierarchies that makes it so important for national self-identity, and Surak raises the interesting point that of the many forms of Japanese culture used to form horizontal

alliances in Eiko Ikegami's work (*Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* [Cambridge University Press, 2005]), tea is not one of them.

As an example, in common with many other states, Japanese nationalism is gendered, and part of this process of gendering happens through tea. Whereas Ikegami's analysis highlights women's participation in literary endeavors, Surak emphasizes the gender distinctions in tea culture. Male intellectuals sought to reclaim tea as a means of cultivating national virtue from the view that tea was a pastime for women. In this way, while girls and women practiced tea in domestic space, male intellectuals provided the ideology for making such practice a key part of national identity. As Surak observes (p. 89), "If women doing tea had a responsibility for sustaining the national culture, men doing tea were alone equipped to identify and certify what the national culture was."

This gendered division of national labor continues into the contemporary teaching of tea ceremony at schools. The author describes separate tea demonstrations for boys and girls in which boys are chastised for rowdiness and bad manners, which go against the Japanese spirit and make them bad members of the nation (p. 152). By contrast, the emphasis for girls is on bodily discipline—and winning the approval of boys. Girls are given extensive details on bodily comportment (such as how to bow and how to walk in a kimono), while the boys are given none; the girls are told that if they wear a kimono and walk in small, controlled steps, "boys will think you're really cute" (p. 152).

Yet the most significant boundary drawn by tea is that with the West. Tea captures the essence of Japaneseness as well as the virtue of the East Asian mentality. Surak writes in a compelling way about how Japanese intellectuals used tea to emblemize Japan's role as the last repository of East Asian culture, which was at risk of falling prey to the "White Disaster." Here are the cultural raw materials for a justification of imperialism. As Surak writes (p. 90),"The tea ceremony had become a potent emblem of the nation, in a time of virulent expansionist nationalism."

The author seems to have internalized the Japanese appreciation for indirectness, and the reader sometimes wishes that connections to the larger theme of nationalism were more explicit. The first chapter describes each step of a tea ceremony in exhaustive detail with very little analysis of the relevance of these details for nationalism, and the book ends with a 10-page digression on gymnastics in Europe that has at best a tenuous connection to the Japanese case. However, the connection is most missed in the relative absence of the voices of tea participants themselves. While a chapter provides many details on the cultlike following of tea ceremony, the practitioners' feelings about nationalism are rarely discussed. The most direct testimony comes from essay competition entries (from tea ceremony club participants at high schools and colleges), which the author acknowledges are guided by the sponsoring organization's promotion of Japanese culture through the tea ceremony (p. 154).

That less emphasis is given to participants' more spontaneous understandings of the tea ceremony seems especially unfortunate given that the basis of this work is the author's ethnographic experience. (It's curious that most of the ethnographic details, such as exchanges with participants, are shunted off to the footnotes.) In the end, the reader is somewhat uncertain about how tea ceremony fits into contemporary nationalism, even for the fairly delimited population who is most likely to participate (women in their fifties and sixties). Overall, however, the book offers a useful account of how tea culture permeates Japanese history and contemporary society.

The Nation Made Real: Art and National Identity in Western Europe, 1600–1850. By Anthony D. Smith. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. xiv+213. $55.00.

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Anthony Smith's bottomless knowledge of national and prenational histories will come as no surprise. Who else but the author of *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* and dozens of other books on nationalism could roll out a sentence like "other tribal confederations included the Nabataean Arabs and the Hurrians" and have the reader nodding her head, confident that this is absolutely accurate without having the slightest idea who the Nabataean Arabs or Hurrians actually were? This, dear reader, is intellectual authority, and Smith has it in spades. What might be more of a surprise is the depth of his knowledge of art history, although such expertise is certainly in keeping with his approach to nationalism. Throughout his career Smith has maintained that modern nationalism has its premodern roots in culturally supported ethnic communities; he has steadily asserted this approach, called "ethnosymbolism," against more modernist and materialist approaches (including that of his teacher, Ernest Gellner; in the famous Warwick Debate of 1995, which occurred less than a month before Gellner's death, Smith and Gellner succinctly contrasted their approaches). So for him to scrutinize the visual arts of what we might call Europe's *late* early modern period is to lay another brick in the wall.

The argument is elegant. Smith is identifying and explicating painted and sculpted images of national identity, by which he means "images and symbols that are widely perceived to embody ideas of the nation and kindle national sentiments, whatever the original motivation of the artist" (p. 2). Such imagery is part and parcel of his definition of a nation—"a named and self-defined human community whose members cultivate shared myths, memories, symbols, values, and traditions, reside in and identify with an historic homeland, create and disseminate a distinctive public culture, and observe shared customs and common laws" (p. 7). It works by being explic-