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Vigilant Pleasure as Autoethnography: The Life of the Tea Mind as Critical History

submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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VIGILANT PLEASURE AS
AUTOETHNOGRAPHY:
THE LIFE OF THE TEA MIND AS CRITICAL
HISTORY

by

Tim Cross
M.Ed., Dip.Ed. B.A. (Hons)

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Deakin University
March 2004
I certify that the thesis entitled

Vigilant Pleasure as Autoethnography:
The Life of the Tea Mind as Critical History

submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

is the result of my own work and that where reference is made to the work of others, due acknowledgment is given.

I also certify that any material in the thesis which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by any other university or institution is identified in the text.

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Date .................................................................................. 5th October 2004
Acknowledgements

I take responsibility for any mistakes in this document however a number of people attempted to protect me from myself during candidature.

The colloquium chaired by Prof. Noel Gough helped me address earlier shortcomings of the project. At Deakin University, thanks to Barry Tucker for on-line searches, Angela Bloomer for last minute formatting assistance and the Off Campus Library staff for their consistent and timely supply of the requisite titles. The hospitality and supportive encouragement of my Principal Supervisor, Dr Jennifer Angwin, and the close readings of my Associate Supervisor, Dr Rod McLean were most instructive. Polite reminders to re-enrol from Jan Wapling were necessary to keep me on track for submission. Fragments of several chapters were improved by the constructive criticism of David Griffiths, Jeff Isaacs, Tom Looser, Dominic Marini, Jefferson Peters, Dale Slusser, and Stephen Timson.

Deepest bows on the domestic front are reserved for Satomi, Yogi and Ron for coping with my sense of humour.

Dedicated to the memories of Joyce, Tomoko and Hiroko.
Abstract

I examine tea as cultural practice by exploring how it is implicated in the formation of individual subjectivities and national identity. While using the experience of learning and consuming tea lore as a foreigner as my explicit point of entry, I analyse how tea transmission practices are represented in Japanese films. My readings of these films are supported by a survey of the historical applications of tea as part of a project of national invention. Against tea’s self-representation as purely cultural, I draw attention to this ideological silencing of its economic and political effects by claiming that institutionalised tea pedagogy has been a major player in a nationally distinctive discourse of transience.

My thesis argues that autoethnography can be used to bring into view the ideological foundations of various social practices organised around tea sites and texts. Once ideology is visible autoethnography may mediate the effects of dominant discourses by making a modest form of private resistance possible. As a performance of critical and effective history, I explore the limits of consciously resisting institutionalised power by reflecting on how discourses of tea and social theory intersect in my autoethnographic account of tea experiences.

I begin by locating my subjectivity in tea. After outlining how tea is useful to me in psychological, domestic and professional contexts, I survey autoethnographic writing and critical forms of textual analysis. Given that traditions of textual analysis set limits to what can be comprehended, I note that considerations of the role of subjectivity are sometimes absent from several modes of textual analysis. I contend that more delicate forms of textual analysis are possible when multiple forms of subjectivity are explicitly addressed. Subjectivity is emphasised as I move between performances of being a cultural insider of tea subculture and an ethnic and linguistic outsider of daily life in Japan when I examine the connections linking tea anecdotes, film narratives, individual tales and national myths.
From the position of tea culture insider and consumer of social theory I examine the relationship between national culture and individual subjectivity. I identify internal contradictions in tea transmission practices and consider how tea pedagogy and its cult of personality are addressed in tea films. The thesis concludes by considering the utility of identities in a global economy and comment on recent theories addressing the ethical self and social practices. It is on this basis that I claim the readings advanced in the earlier chapters map the pleasures and limits of employing autoethnography as a form of private resistance against the dominant discourses of tea, nation, and leisure.
Glossary

Japanese names are given in Japanese order with surname first.

ANPO demonstrations were a decade of protests against the establishment and renewal of a treaty between Japan and the U.S.A. that effectively extended the American military presence in Japan.

benkyo kai 勉強会 a range of tea activities centred on the preparation and performance of public tea servings and study.

chajin 茶人 originally a man of tea, now gender neutral.

chanoyu seido 茶の湯政道 sixteenth century practices of using tearoom spaces and activities as an extension of political and military discourses.

fukatsu soden Grand Master’s power of incomplete transmission of tea practices. Higher level instruction is impossible without the permission of the Grand Master.

gaijin 外人 generic term for (white?) foreigners. See also henna gaijin.

hakogaki 箱書き the Grand Master’s lucrative hakogaki practice (literally box writing. The signature of the Grand Master identifies on the lid of a tea ware box designates that piece as an authentic item of merit) which is the principal mechanism for maintaining and increasing the value of tea utensils.

henna gaijin 変な外人 literally strange foreigner, usually an obsessive type who knows more about a narrow area of obscure Japanese cultural practices than the mythical average Japanese person.

ichiza-一座 literally one sitting.

Iemoto 家元 Grand Master, hereditary head of a school of cultural practice e.g. noh, tea, flower arranging, etc.

Imai Sokyu 今井宗久, 1520-1593 Successful tea master-merchant affiliated with Oda Nobunaga, who was eclipsed by Sen no Rikyu who rose to national prominence based on his connection with Toyotomi Hideyoshi.
jidai geki 時代劇 history drama.

karada de oboeru 体で覚える to remember with the body. An essential element of tea pedagogy.

o keiko お稽古 regular lessons of a ‘traditional’ cultural practice, e.g. noh, tea.

*Kissa Nampo Roku* 喫茶南方録 A series of documents discovered by Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655-1708) in 1686 that were purportedly written by Nambo Soeki (dates unknown) while Sen no Rikyu was still alive. These documents addressed various aspects of tea practice, recorded some of Rikyu’s tea activities, and gave advice about the use of tea shelves and how to display tea utensils.

Konnichian 今日庵 headquarters of the Urasenke school in Kyoto.

* macha 抹茶 finely powdered tea which is whisked (thin tea) or kneaded (thick tea) before serving.

Mushanokojisenke 武者小路千家 Kyoto-based tea school. One of the Houses of Sen. When compared with Omotesenke and Urasenke, Mushanokojisenke is often regarded as protecting the tradition of warrior tea.

Nanbo Ryu School 南坊流 based in Fukuoka legitimates itself by referring to the *Kissa Nampo Roku*. Their Board of Directors is an alternative model to the conventional grand master system of tea transmission.

nihonjinron 日本人論 According to Dale 1991, an incoherent mass of literature asserting the impenetrable cultural distinctiveness of the category of Japanese. Omotesenke 表千家 school based in Kyoto with a policy of not teaching tea to foreigners. One of the Houses of Sen.

Rikyu 350 Nenki Ochakai 利休350年忌大茶会, (April 21st - 23rd 1940) a tea service commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyu’s death.

Rusu 留守 title of the person responsible for a castle while the lord is absent.
SDF (Self-Defence Forces) the military organisation possible under Japan's pacifist constitution.

senpai-kohai 先辈後輩 Vertical relationships between senior and junior (tea) students, and by extension vertical relationships between teachers and students.

Sen no Rikyu 千利休, 1522-1591 Popularly regarded as the patriarch of the whipped tea tradition transmitted by the Houses of Sen: Urasenke, Omotesenke, and Mushanokojisenke.

sencha 煎茶 coarse steeped tea. Contrasts with the whisked tea of the macha tradition.

senshou kigan kencha 戦勝祈願献茶 sacramental tea practices invoking divine support for military victory.

sensoga 戦争画 a genre of patriotic oil paintings designed to sustain support for the Pacific War.

seppuku 切腹 death by ritual suicide: cutting one's stomach open in a prescribed manner. More commonly known in English by the relatively coarse expression, hara kiri.

Showa Kitano Ochanoyu Kinen Okenchakai, 昭和北野大茶湯記念大茶会, (October 8th - 12th 1936) commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Kitano Ochanoyu,

Tenka gosado 天下御茶道, the position held by Sen no Rikyu as Designated First Tea Master.

tokkotai 特攻隊 special attack units of the Japanese Imperial Air Force and Navy, known in the West as kamikaze. The fifteenth generation Urasenke Grand Master was a tokkotai member.

Urasenke 裏千家 tea school based in Kyoto with active representatives around the world.

wabi cha a version of tea practice centred on misshaped and imperfect utensils.

A rejection of the gaudy tea practices of feudal lords centred on imported

zainichi 在日 usually refers to Koreans and Chinese residents of Japan (在日韓国人、在日中国人), a significant proportion of the first generation of this population were victims of Japanese colonisation. That is to say forcibly brought to Japan.
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CHAPTER 1

AUTOETHNOGRAPHY SITUATED: PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL INTERSECTIONS

Locating tea and me: self as othered selves

This narrative is a story about moving from complete ignorance to partial knowledge. It is partial because of the situated nature of my experience here in Kitakyushu (six years) and Fukuoka (seven years) as a tertiary teaching professional, student of Japanese language and culture, and family member. Against the simplistic reduction of my ‘self’ as outsider, there are complicating discrepancies. If I will continue to be designated as a gaijin, literally ‘out’ + ‘person’, or following the recent government proclamation for the more politically correct, gaikokujin, literally ‘out’ + ‘country’ + ‘person’, for the term of my natural life here in Japan, how is it my repertoire includes adequate performances of certain embodied practices of high cultural forms like tea and noh, and more immediate necessities of daily cultural literacy, like the different ways of folding formal gift envelopes for funerals and weddings? Reading the work of Anderson (1991) and reflecting on my experience to date suggests that culture is something to be lived. At my current levels of low intermediate competency, even nationally distinctive cultural practices are immune to the detrimental effects of the absence of Japanese genes, citizenship and the status of Japanese as first language. Should I continue to become more literate in the specific linguistic literacies associated with tea and noh (being able to read handwritten inscriptions on scrolls and utensil boxes and knowing the appropriate intertextual references between tea and noh used to create tea’s seasonal discourse), I anticipate the glass ceiling that supposedly privileges those with a particular birthright will become even more porous.

Tea has been a crucial element in my Japanese experience, and the depth and breadth of its institutionalised complexity make its pursuit a life long study.
Although I was away from the front line of tea study for four years after a job based move from Kitakyushu to Fukuoka in 1996, the birth of a son, building a house, and three deaths in our families, during that time I continued to research ideological applications of tea’s historical and pedagogical contexts and how they are represented in film (Cross 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 2000a, 2000b). My pleasures of tea range from the cerebral to the corporeal via the social, and the prospect of the loss of the tea experience, its practices and relationships is one major subjective constraint to leaving Japan. My rejection of the subtropical comforts of life back in the old country largely stem from the gap between where I am as a consumer of tea knowledge now and the configuration of desire and lack that point towards what I may become in the future as a tea professional inside the academy.

Against the background of contradictory compulsions to accept any group’s welcome while also wanting to be suspicious of the cost of belonging, this thesis is concerned with the sorts of cultural flows around the intersecting construction of an aestheticised national identity (Yanagi 1990, Humes 1993, Parkes 1993) and authority (Pathak et al. 1991, Iwabuchi 1994). I want to present an example of situated criticism of tea practices and texts as autoethnographic writing. While exploring the place of lived experience in the reception of tea films, I want to interpret my readings of popular culture texts and practices as attempts to write a history of the present (Dean 1994, Neubauer 1999, Kendall & Wickham 1999). I expect to use the relationship between national culture and individual subjectivity as a context for commenting on recent theories addressing the self and ethical practices. These comments will be followed by an outline of the implications of subjectivity for textual analysis. The thesis concludes by considering the utility of identities in a globalised economy.
Locating personal/professional subjectivities in tea: tea's contemporary strategic applications

My personal interest in tea-related matters has been strategically useful in the domestic and professional spheres. Future in-laws initially wary of the prospect of a foreigner marrying into the main household responsible for ancestor worship were apparently placated by my obsession with traditional Japanese ceramics that later expanded into the role of earthenware in tea history. I have been told by Japanese colleagues that a specific interest in one of Japan's major cultural icons added a certain credibility to my applications for university employment, perhaps because it suggests a certain degree of socialisation into Japanese life and an acceptance of hierarchical learning styles and social relationships.¹ And now the pursuit of tea studies has become a focus of my participant-based research. Using the field of communication studies and its concerns with how subjectivities are shaped by discourses of popular culture, my project is to analyse how orthodox tea values are communicated through institutionalised tea pedagogy, and how those transmission practices are represented in popular media. Analysis of these discursive practices requires attention to larger frames of knowledge that include domestic and international cultural commodification, and the formation, play and display of individual, national and international identities. When I meet Japanese people in tearooms, my status as a university employee generally makes a favourable impression, as we share a moment of imagined class bonding. The class implications of leisure activities are an important subtext for nationalised versions of contemporary lifestyle fashioning. Assuming a national identity is an important

¹ More recently however, this issue of my border crossing was employed as a major salvo in an anonymous character assassination letter sent to the Dean a few months before my three year contract was due for renewal. Although that experience of getting the rough end of authority sharpened my awareness of the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate uses of discretionary power, that issue will remain a digression for another time and a separate publication. My reason for including this somewhat inappropriate comment here is to provide an additional context for my theoretical interest in the legitimacy of power and authority. This comment is intended to resonate with the reflective dialogue preceding the conclusion of Chapter 2. The issue of my relationship to institutional authority is one subtext to my reading of the English tea scholarship for the influence of the Grand Master in Chapter 7.
technology of the self and this performance interpenetrates discourses of commodification.

Having been in Japan for ten years now, I have developed a curiosity for how narratives about the Japanese nation supply a vocabulary that shapes the creation of individual identities. I find popular representations of these self-forming stories about tea particularly intriguing because of the tension between what is hidden and what is displayed. Their textual coherence depends on some ideologically systematic suppression of an alternative view of tea's history. When I engage these intersections between nationalist discourse and an ideology that sets limits who can speak about what topics, I feel a deeper frisson that comes from knowing I am encountering a discourse of authenticity that performs a gatekeeping role. Proponents of a stronger version of nationalism that is posited on a unity of language, culture and ethnicity may blanch as I perform elite cultural practices and surreptitiously cross these borders and the high jump of class. Perhaps this network of partitions has been designed to keep people like me at a more comfortable distance. Outside?

After years of being mildly irritated by the reductive simplicity of gaijin as denoting myself as Other, I came to understand henna gaijin as back handed compliment of sorts. This category acknowledges that my performance of tea and noh knowledge amounts to an attempt as passing for Japanese while nonetheless maintaining the emic/etic distinction in a way that privileges insider understandings ahead of outsider insights. The henna gaijin category operates as a buffer zone that maintains this binary division of the world into 'Japanese' and 'non-Japanese'. My attempts to transgress this discursive territory paradoxically reaffirm the very forms of authority I wish to reject. The frisson generated by culturally passing as Japanese is a partial release of the tension between becoming and being: a subject identifies with their story (Rosenwald 1992). The subject's potential is identical with their identity and desire is momentarily satiated. Competent performance of tea rites is one of my pleasures in the tea moment: the experience of actualising my potential.
I was reading critical social theory for a Master of Education degree at Deakin University around the time I first managed to perform a satisfactory rendition of the Urasenke thin tea serving procedure. When I attended a special tea study meeting held on a Saturday and featuring a guest lecturer from a Kyoto university I realised the extent to which the complexity of Sen no Rikyu's identity and the preferred meaning of his life were summarily reduced to his activities in and around tea rooms. This simplification results in the invention of Rikyu as a pure aesthete, and supports a selective view of tea history that privileges his considerable innovations ahead of the efforts of his predecessors and colleagues. As I came closer to completing the degree by working through concerns of institutionalised gaps between values in use (what is done) and values espoused (what is said) in my own teaching practices, this construction of an interpretation of tea history pointed to a more compelling issue: the self presentation of tea by its current managers as a cultural practice innocent of commercial or political concerns. Initially I regarded this perception of the aesthetic sphere of tea as an ideologically structured silence designed to conceal how the codification and commodification of tea practices required significant articulations of discourses of gender and the nation. My first viewing of Teshigahara's 1989 film Rikyu confirmed this insight into the inherently political nature of this leisure: the expository titles in the film's opening moments locate tea at the centre of sixteenth century political power, and I felt validated by the concurrence between my intuitive insight and this major work of art by a significant holder of national cultural capital. This moment of pleasure is an example of being legitimated by the competing discourses of tea and social theory.

This depoliticization of the role of Rikyu assumes a sonorous resonance in the postwar analysis of the military involvement of the Showa Emperor. It is this implicit devaluing of the contributions of other versions of tea culture that is

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2 For example, the sencha tradition surveyed in Graham's 1998 argument for sencha's ability to suspend eighteenth and nineteenth century distinctions of Japanese class. Acknowledging the diversity of Japanese tea practices is why I prefer to replace the definitive article in Sen's 1979 title, Chado: The Japanese Way of Tea. The singularity of the Japanese tea ceremony makes other versions of tea culture invisible.
necessary for the Houses of Sen to position themselves as the self appointed representatives of national material culture. A similar silencing of dissonant interpretations occurs in postwar narratives of the nation that deny Japanese imperial army atrocities in China while emphasising Japan’s status as a predominantly cultural nation which became a victim (Ienaga 1978). The salient supposition is the binary status of military and cultural as categorical opposites. Institutional tea pedagogy presents tea texts as primarily cultural and English language tea scholarship tend to be silent on the real world consequences of these interpretations made by vested interests.

Films about Rikyu, then, are important sites for reflection on what tea means to me as a member of the tea community and as a reader of social theory. My examination of these tea films is an exploration of how this attribution of tea culture membership implicates me in discourses of cultural nationalism. As well as being attentive to how films about tea construct their own authority, I am interested in the tension between the way these films can be read as a critique of tea power and knowledge and their inevitable reinforcing of tea’s status as an international cultural icon. My publications about how tea is represented in Japanese cinema were a significant element in my first promotion here (Cross 2000a, 2001). I am therefore, for these reasons, like the films themselves, implicated in discourses of authority I ostensibly attempt to critique. How my positioning in discourses of power and authority configures this account is addressed in Chapter 7.

While this section maps out the intersection of tea and social theory discourses in life here, the previous paragraphs may convey the impression that I have employed tea in an instrumental fashion. However when I consider the utility of tea as a knowledge and performance, it has given a profound focus to and enriched my experience of life in Japan. In a culture where the benefits of social membership often flow along lines of group affiliation, tea has furnished me with a discursive framework and a network within which I was able to

5 The papers were counted not read.
structure 'deep' friendships bonded by sharing the tea moment. It has initiated me into specific ways of handling, valuing and categorising ceramic utensils. In addition to understanding the grammar of traditional regional styles of pottery and developing a sense of tea's ceramic canon, I have moved through a range of ways of locating a utensil according to its use in specific tea serving procedures. As I progressed through the basic elements of tea practice, I came to learn the role of different utensils in suggesting a seasonally appropriate variation. At the same time, I was developing a very elementary sense of the relationship between the tea room space, the tea serving procedure, the utensils, the appropriate level of formality and the construction of tea’s highly conventionalised version of 'nature'. This amounted to me being given a cursory introduction to Sen tea orthodoxy, and I am now contrasting that with the teachings of the Nanbo Ryu School. In short, the provision of social networks and the shaping of aesthetic preferences are some of the ways tea discourse can colonise aspects of subjectivity.⁴

These changes in what I know were accompanied by changes in what I do. The body and changes in diet provide a subtext to this narrative of identity. When I arrived in Japan I was left handed, a vegetarian who avoided sugar and caffeine.⁵ However, the reality of Japanese urban life explains the necessity of tea's symbolic value for the nation. Tea's integrating caress of nature and the social is not part of the daily experience of most Japanese. It primarily exists as an iconic reservoir of idealised images and phrases that can be cut and pasted into whatever context is deemed appropriate. It is testimony to my teacher's patience that she accommodated the disruptions caused by a student who initially refused to eat the sweets which function as seasonal markers. As for the left handed preparation of tea, my teacher encouraged me to accept the conventional form of privileging the right and endured my poorly whisked tea until I was finally able to prepare an acceptably frothy brew.

⁴ The role of discursive formations in shaping individual aesthetic preferences is explored in Chapter 7.
Since an undergraduate course in drama, I retain an interest in the formation of conventions and the development of particular relationships between tea performers and their audiences. With a background in democratic research methods such as action research (McTaggart 1993), I felt frustrated by "a practice designed to protect the iemoto's control of its tradition" (Anderson 1991, p.234) which placed limits on how much of tea's procedural variety I was able to see. Action research recognises that there are limits to what teachers can understand of a learner's needs, interests and internal learning strategies, and that institutionalised education involves contradictions between the educational ideals rhetorically espoused and the actual transmission procedures. Applying this perspective to my tea fieldwork highlights how the tradition valorises a certain learning style, karada de oboeru, literally, to learn by/with the body. In equipping students with the means to embody the tradition, tea pedagogy does not encourage students to become autonomous tea practitioners who can decide which parts of tea's tradition we would like to share with our guests. My experience as a provincial consumer of tea knowledge suggests that the ideal is privileged over the real: in the weekly practice sessions called o keiko, the repetition of textbook perfect forms was presented by my teacher as a sufficient end in itself. At my low intermediate level of tea practice, rarely was there an orientation to dealing with the spontaneous happenings of an actual tea gathering.

While the notion of the unified self has been thoroughly critiqued by those in the vanguard of postcolonial theory (Ewing 1997, Ashcroft et al. 1998, Rice 1999, McLaren 2002), in my partial account of tea life here in Fukuoka I intend to highlight how the tendency of discourses to colonise the lifeworld supplies an illusory sense of the unity of self. Hopefully the previous paragraphs suggest something of the extent to which tea has given a degree of unity to my life experience here in Japan. This is not to deny that reading social theory allows me to experience different aspects of tea moments from quite

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5 A willing victim of macrobiotic propaganda, I imagined Japan to be brown rice heaven.
6 This point is explored in Chapter 2.
contradictory positions, but merely to remark that even in the conscious wake of this theoretical splintering of the self I still feel a lived perception of unity that links the domestic, social and professional. In the same way that tea has been historically useful in the narrative of the Japanese nation, I have found that it has given a coherence to my life here by providing a seasonal schedule and a more long term frame within which to structure friendships, activities and objectives. I am here, out in the provinces, consuming tea knowledge and structuring a life for myself in a transcendental rhetoric. My experience of natural rhythms is consciously framed by a recognition of how discursive and sociocultural practices integrate knowledge of contemporary developments with vestiges from a nostalgically imagined past. I am giving an account of the pleasures of being in the tea moment, celebrating a heightening of that seasonal instant that extends to embrace wider cycles of life and death. This is what it means for me to be colonised by tea discourse.

Defining autoethnography: beyond in and out

At this point I would like to briefly define autoethnography to highlight how the autobiographical and ethnographic elements will assume a certain prominence later in this study. This brief paraphrase draws on the concise outline by Reed-Danahay (1997) and places autoethnography at the intersection of postmodernist, postcolonial and feminist efforts to delineate the advantages of using narratives to explore how we are culturally constituted. The dissatisfaction of postmodern ethnographers with realist conventions and the positivist myth of the objective observer (Clifford & Marcus 1986, Carr & Kemmis 1983), the questioning by postmodern autobiographers of the notion of an individual self characterised by internal coherence (Gilmore 2001, Campbell & Harbord 2002), and feminist concerns about voice, authenticity and the politics of representation (Olson & Hirsh 1995) are the central impulses driving this advance.

My project spans these three types of ethnography: native ethnography, ethnic autobiography, and autobiographical ethnography (Reed-Danahay 1997, p.2).
Native ethnographies reverse the conventional relationship between those natives who speak and those who obtain tenure on the basis of their authority to textually represent those native others in high-status written genres usually incomprehensible to their speaking subjects (Hayano 1979). Those who were in the past written about by usually white experts defining their career trajectory in the academy are now cutting out the middle man: they are writing about themselves for internal and external audiences. Ethnic autobiographies are written by members of minority ethnic groups (Motzafi-Haller 1997). Autobiographical ethnographies are outsider accounts of subcultures that foreground the subjective perspectives of the authors as an integral element of textual production (Okely & Gallaway 1992, van Maanen 1995). In this attention to the conditions of ethnographic production, autobiographical ethnographies resemble the fictocriticism of Australian feminists (Kerr & Nettelbeck 1998).

**Thesis overview: problem, thesis, argument**

This document explores the problem of textual relations of power and authority. I advance the thesis that autoethnography can be employed as a form of private resistance against dominant discourses. However this contention is subject to the two provisions. First, as a writer of autoethnography I need to acknowledge how my work sustains and advances a career trajectory and operates to my advantage in other spheres of interest. Second, my subjectivity as the writer and subject of this thesis must be explicitly addressed by critical forms of textual analysis.

This thesis falls into three sections addressing three themes: subjectivity and identity, textual analysis, and nationally distinctive social practices. My interest with tea is how it operates as a forum for the construction of individual subjectivity and national identity. The first two chapters locate the discursive space of this project by dealing with issues of identity, autoethnography and tea practices. The second section consists of Chapters 3 and 4. These two chapters
historically survey the emergence of the analytical traditions which made my interrogation of textual power and tea authority possible. The third section consists of chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. These chapters employ some of the literature outlined in Chapters 3 and 4 and read a range of tea texts in terms of how they operate as technologies of individual and national selves. The final chapter comments on the relationship between identity, autoethnography and textual analysis by drawing the three sections together.

While what I have written here is largely composed of fragments published for promotion, it is also the record of an autobiographical exploration of how my lived experience in and around tea rooms here is intelligible in terms of this range of questions introduced in Chapter 2: Do we need others to be ourselves? Does our culture make us what we are? Do we live stories or just tell them? (Fay 1996). One dominant reading of this document is as an exploratory attempt at a cultural history that is sensitive to questions of textual production and reception and the tendency of discourses to shape and define experience, attitudes and knowledge. Given that one fundamental assumption has been that “the personal and the cultural, or subjectivity and history, reflect and shape one another” (Elias 2001, p.182), I map out how the textual production of analysis and tea consumption both operate as ethical practices of self-fashioning in my tea life.

The first half of this thesis positions textual analysis as a technology of the intellectual self by charting the emergence of analytical traditions, which makes the textual interrogation of power and authority possible. The second half of the thesis performs the sorts of analysis reviewed in the first half of this thesis on tea related texts from a specific social and embodied position. In terms of the axes proposed by Rose (1996), the mentalities introduced in the first five chapters are used to interrogate corporealities shaped by tea culture. These two realms of subjectivity, the intellectual and the corporeal, are disciplining regimes of identity and subjectivity formation. I use a range of reflexive writing strategies to bring these flows of subjectification into view.
principally the dialogue form and pronoun shifts between the first and third person, to emphasise the positionality of the accounts being offered. This analysis entailed consideration of the relationships between institutionalised tea pedagogy, tea as self-fashioning and the representation of tea in national cinema. While the explicit intent of this mapping of how power shapes tea pleasures is to make a considered intervention in English language tea scholarship, in the final section of the thesis I address how this loosely layered narrative operates as a process of knowing that simultaneously constructs me as knower of selves and selves which are known.

Speaking as a knower of selves and self as known, I comment on what it means to have a tea identity as part of one’s individualising repertoire. The attention to theories of subjectivity and identity in Chapter 2 emphasises multiple selves which construct personal and national identities. My strategy throughout this thesis is to argue that tea functions as a technology of individual and national selves, and that critical discourse analysis (hereafter CDA), film studies and cultural studies, like institutionalised tea pedagogy, also tend to structure certain proclivities along the lines of the particular truth claims of their respective discourse communities. As part of a reflexive move to address how tea and other discourses have spoken me into processes of becoming I would like to address the following two questions introduced in Chapter 2. What does it mean to have identities? Who and what are they useful for? The conclusion of this thesis addresses a set of more reflexive questions: How does being a true believer of CDA and cultural studies inform my perceptions and accounts of the tea experience? How are those theoretical fingerprints visible on the constructed nature of my accounts of orthodox tea practices? What are the limits of utility of an awareness of discursive self-construction, and how do these boundaries respond to the theoretical promises of CDA, cultural studies and postcolonial studies?

My tentative answers to these questions constitutes an answer to a third question: “Where does one culture begin and another end when they are housed
in the same person?” (Sahgal 1992, p.30). The resulting account highlights the
degree of interpenetration of these two discourses. The autoethnographic
impulse interrogates my endeavour to represent myself as a discursively literate
member of these two disparate communities. I proceed by marking out the
limits of utility of attempting to be aware of discursive self-construction.

I must advance cautiously, mapping out the implications of this false life story.
Suturing excesses of contradictory desires and demands into the appearance of
a coherent tale of the self, there are impulses to flee closure and other restraints
of narrativization. Theory tempts with offers of an escape from the
conventional confines of conclusions into spaces beyond the analytical
framework already established. At the same time a liberal subjectivity asserting
its individuality confidently resists reduction by asserting that it will remain
beyond being inscribed by theory, precisely where the text is not. This slippery
terrain of self-representation is inevitable. The process of living fables of self-
understanding while attempting to tell these tales is at least partly constructed
within a fantasmatic realm (Hall 1996). Examining the use value of an
awareness of discursive self-construction entails a consideration of the role of
the reflexivity/ideology dialectic in identity formation.7 This leads to a
moderate qualification of the rationalist claim that “people are generally more
aware of their practices, and their practices are pervasively and deeply open to
knowledge based transformation” (Chouliarakis & Fairclough 1999, p.93).

As I assume the persona of being a true believer of CDA and cultural studies as
one way of positioning myself outside tea orthodoxy, it informs my perceptions
and accounts of the tea experience in certain ways. These theoretical
fingerprints are most apparent in my recognition of several moments of mutual
constitution between cultural practice and subjectivity.

7 The conclusion comment on how social theory constructs ideas about and experiences of
identity by referring to a series of dialectics: reflexivity and ideology; colonisation and
appropriation; and identity and difference (Fairclough & Chouliarakis 1999).
Before embarking on the venture of outlining the boundaries of reflexivity, a qualification that addresses one problem inherent in framing a genealogy of subjectivity and identity in cultures of the global and the cosmopolitan needs to be made. This comment reiterates the status of subjectivity and identity as texts accessible to analysis, amenable to close readings, high theory, and intimate integrations of these disparate scales of attention. In Chapter 5 an argument is made for studying cultural texts in terms of the ideological work that they do, rather than examining them to see how transparently they reflect the ideological work always happening elsewhere (Storey 1996, p.3). Sociological accounts of the cultural and social changes of late modernity as triggers for hybrid forms of subjectivity and identity have been criticised for certain assumptions which result in this same sense of elsewhere-ness criticised by Storey:

These kinds of analyses regard changes in the ways in which humans [sic] beings understand and act upon themselves as the outcome of ‘more fundamental’ historical events located elsewhere—in production regimes, in technological change, in alterations in demography or family forms, in ‘culture’. ... Changing relations of subjectification ... cannot be established by derivation or interpretation of other cultural or social forms. To assume explicitly or implicitly that they can is to presume the continuity of human beings as the subjects of history, essentially equipped the capacity for endowing meaning (cf. Dean 1994). But the ways in which humans ‘give meaning to experience’ have their own history. ... And the history of subjectification is more practical, more technical, and less unified than sociological accounts allow (Rose 1996, pp.24–5).

My account of how the life of the tea mind is shaped by reflexive versions of social theory explains how tea functions as a human technology that is implicated in the formation of transitive subjectivities and identities (Davis 1996).
10 chapters at a glance

Given my reflexive interest in making explicit my investments in the critical intent of this project, I locate my subjectivity in tea by outlining tea’s contemporary strategic applications in psychological, domestic and professional contexts. I introduce key issues from autoethnography in Chapter 1 and argue for reflexive textual analysis as a generative way of reporting autoethnography. As I later explicitly move between performances of being a cultural insider of tea subculture and an ethnic and linguistic outsider of daily life in Japan, the stability of the distinctions between native ethnography, ethnic autobiography and autobiographical ethnography proposed in Chapter 2 is problematicised.

Chapter 2 locates my tea interests as an arena shaped by my consumption of critical social theory and several traditions of textual analysis. My intention is to briefly lay out a framework that allows connections to be made between my strategic applications of tea in Chapter 1 and tea anecdotes, film narratives, individual tales and national myths in Chapters 5–9.

In Chapter 3 I commence an examination of several traditions of textual analysis that is sustained in Chapter 4 and employed in Chapters 5–9. My intention is to highlight the absence of subjectivity from pre-critical models of textual production, reception, and analysis. My interest in the critical media literacy scrutiny of multimodal texts from mass culture reappears in Chapters 8 and 9 where I explore how texts advanced their seductive claims for authentic self-fashioning.

In Chapter 4 I refer to three dominant modes of interrogating culture, and argue for the benefits of combining the strengths of CDA with cultural studies and film studies as one way to represent how I experience various aspects of the tea moment. Implicit in this argument is the conviction that while subjectivity is implicated in processes of textual production, reception, and analysis, it is inadequately theorised in CDA literature. In anticipation of an account of my
readings of a set of tea film texts in Chapters 8 and 9, I make an autoethnographic move. I unpack my socially located and embodied responses to tea texts as examples of how sociocultural practices commodify individual subjectivity and national identity. It is on this basis that I claim my readings of tea texts in Chapters 5–9 constitute a critical and effective history.

In Chapter 5 I argue that the aestheticizing of ‘Japan the beautiful’ was an early modern strategy for nation building. In the course of performing a cultural history which builds on the foundation of Chapter 4, I examine Meiji era literature and Showa period painting for their ideological construction of national self and foreign other. My claim here is that this nationalised ideology of nature communicates the transience of human life by insisting on the primacy of state over individual. The role of tea practices in sustaining this politicisation of nature is explored in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

I make an explicitly reflective move in Chapter 6 by critiquing one of my earlier tea-related publications. I deconstruct the communicative aspects of the tearoom interaction with its social and aesthetic pleasures, drawing on critical media literacy theory reviewed in Chapter 4 and the subjectivity literature outlined in chapter 2. After my description of a tea gathering is deconstructed, I use the device of a dialogue form to split authorial subjectivity in a manner which problematicises conventional assumptions of unified subjectivity.

In Chapter 7, my interest is in identifying how the institutionalisation of tea practice partially violates espoused tea values. By drawing on elements of the analytical traditions outlined in Chapters 3 and 4 I perform a poststructural re-reading of a central text of English language tea scholarship. My argument is that the professionalisation of tea discourse marginalises the experience of tea students, and this situation is a consequence of a systematic insistence on the primacy of the tea teaching system over individual learners.
In Chapter 8 I extend the politicisation of Japanese culture carried out in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7. In terms of the current self presentation of institutionalised tea practices as merely cultural, my firsthand knowledge of tea practices and values is used to pry resistant readings from Teshigahara Hiroshi’s 1989 film *Rikyu*, which locates tea at the nexus of economic activities, military responsibilities, and aesthetic discernment.

In Chapter 9 I execute a close reading of Kumai Kei’s 1989 film *Sen no Rikyu: Honkakubo Ibun* that integrates the Chapter 5 genealogy of the lethal discourse of transience with the concerns with cultural studies and film studies outlined in Chapter 4. Whereas the modernist Teshigahara film *Rikyu* deals with Rikyu’s mortal fall from grace, the postmodernist Kumai film deals with Rikyu as a legend, and as a set of anecdotes used for self-fashioning by tea people. To conclude this critical and effective history of tea’s present, I note that the power of traditions to define narrow notions of what constitutes authenticity continues to be both a central strategy for commodifying the nation and a problematic element of Japanese public life.

Finally in Chapter 10 I comment upon how traditions of textual analysis operate as technologies of authorial selves. The thesis concludes by considering the utility of identities in a globalised economy. It is on this basis that I claim the readings advanced in the earlier chapters map the pleasures and limits of employing autoethnography as a form of private resistance against dominant discourses.
CHAPTER 2

REFLEXIVITY IN DISCURSIVE SPACES:

SUBJECTIVITY, TEXTUAL ANALYSIS AND TEA

For me, reflexivity implies a making visible of the suppressed
culture of research activity as opposed to the making visible of only
its formal public face. By ‘suppressed culture’ I mean the backstage
reality of research life – the struggles over project selection and
formulation, difficulties with access to the field, problems of
methodology and analysis, change of direction, ethical dilemmas,
constraints upon writing-up and publishing and, perhaps most
difficult of all to be honest about, ‘the critical intent of the wider
research project’. Reflexivity implies a process of critical self-
reflection upon the natural history of the research project in its
conception, execution and dissemination (Grace 1998, p.204).

Though they seem to invoke an origin in a historical past with
which they continue to correspond, actually identities are about
questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in
the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or
‘where we come from’, so much as what we might become, how
we have been represented and how that bears on how we might
represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not
outside, representation. They are related to the invention of
tradition as much as to the tradition itself, which they oblige us to
read not as an endless reiteration but as ‘the changing same’
(Gilroy 1994): not the so-called return to roots but a coming-to-
terms-with our ‘routes’ (Hall 1996, p.4).
ACT I

A country road. A tree.

Evening.

Estragon, sitting on a low mound, is trying to take off his boot. He pulls at it with both hands, panting. He gives up, exhausted, rests, tries again.

As before.

Enter Vladimir.

ESTRAGON: (giving up again). Nothing to be done.

VLADIMIR: (advancing with short, stiff, strides, legs wide apart).

I'm beginning to come round to that opinion.

All my life I've tried to put it from me, saying Vladimir, be reasonable, you haven't yet tried everything. And I resumed the struggle. (He broods, musing on the struggle.) (Beckett 1954, p.7).

Introduction

This chapter advances my argument that autoethnography can be employed as a form of private resistance against dominant discourses. I proceed by surveying the sorts of reflexive devices that have been employed by those writers of critical histories who want to interrogate the textual consequences of their subjectivity. In the context of the whole argument, this chapter introduces the importance of reflexivity in this thesis by positioning social practices and their subsequent interrogation in textual analysis as technologies of the self. I begin by establishing the basis for my claim that I am combining several versions of textual analysis to write an autoethnography of the life of the tea mind. My concern with reflexivity in the three forms of ethnography surveyed in the previous chapter is how it reconfigures hard science notions of what constitutes reliability, validity and generalisability.
Project overview: linking subjectivity, textual analysis and tea

I begin by establishing the claim that textual analysis and social practices are technologies of the self. I perform an autoethnography of the life of the tea mind: my situated readings of tea texts and practices through the concerns of Japanese history and hermeneutics are both accounted for and deconstructed by reference to the overlapping literatures of textual analysis (CDA, film studies, cultural studies), subjectivity (the power and discourse corner of cultural studies, identity politics, the place of narrative in autoethnography, cosmopolitanism as a defining frame for individual identity in the global age), and reflective research (action research, critical ethnography). Against a background of the multiple subjectivities of my migrant life here in Fukuoka, I locate these examples of situated criticism as self-representation and read them as examples of autoethnographic writing.

I argue that tea functions as a technology of individual and national selves, and that CDA, film studies and cultural studies, like institutionalised tea pedagogy, also tend to structure certain proclivities along the lines of the particular truth claims of their respective discourse communities. While exploring the place of lived experience in the reception of tea films and literature, I want to interpret my readings of popular culture texts and practices as attempts to write a history of the present. I account for the positionality of these readings by referring to recent debates about subjectivity. These discussions include the tension between the notion of the self being discursively constructed and the idea of the self as having some pre-existing irreducible essence.

I deconstruct the privileges of being a white male employed in a Japanese university, leisurely engaged in the noble yet for me upwardly mobile pursuit of versions of Japanese high culture idealised and commodified for mass consumption domestically and internationally. This perspective allows me to

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A “history of the present” is a term derived from Foucault which Dean (1994) subdivides into a “critical and effective history”. The specifics of Dean’s definition are addressed in Chapter 5.
locate tea in the ongoing blurring of the boundaries between cultural and state nationalism. The relationship between national culture and individual subjectivity is one context for commenting on recent theories addressing the self and ethical practices like cultural tourism in a world increasingly “home away”. I examine identities in the light of postcolonial concerns with cosmopolitanisms (Pollock et al. 2000) and global culture (Brenner 1997, Smith 1997).

Having given a broad sketch of the principal concerns I intend to examine, the remainder of this chapter will be concerned with three sets of questions. The first set of questions is organised around issues relating to psychological and discursive formation of subjectivity. The second set of questions is organised around issues relating to role of tea in the formation of national identity and individual subjectivity, and includes critical readings of tea literature. The third set of questions is organised around issues of the sort of autoethnography made possible by the performance of reflexivity and textual analysis. This includes a brief mention of the relationship between autoethnographic theory and practice, the textual strategies and devices which have been employed by autoethnographers, and problems of how to assess accounts of the specificity of lived textuality.

**Fictive unities: identifying with the othered selves**

This section gives a brief introduction to the underlying questions shaping identities and identification theory, and outlines the theoretical basis for postcolonial claims for the collapse of the unified self by acknowledging the psychological contradictions riddling the unconscious. Drawing on the literature emerging from the work of Freud (1963) and more recently Lacan (Henrikles1 et al. 1984), psychoanalytical versions of subjectivity theory aspire to locate the ‘truth’ of the subject by attributing to the status of a fixed structure who knows and speaks. In contrast to essentialist positions that assume some immanent existence for the category of self, and based on a foundation laid by Nietzsche (1968), the anti-subjectivist literature emerging from the work of
Foucault (1987) and more recently in feminist circles, Haraway (1991), claims that the experience of the subject is an effect produced by a combination of power, culture, science and technology. One important principle driving this literature is the conviction that 'truth', like subjectivity itself, is best put under erasure and utilised in specific localities (Hall 1996). In this section I have no intention of attempting to resolve the tension between these antagonist conceptions of subjectivity, primarily because both the psychoanalytical and discursive positions are necessary to answer these questions: Do I need others to make my selves? Do my cultures make me the people I am? (Fay 1996).

Given that my project is concerned with the relationship between identity, textual analysis and nationally distinctive cultural practices, outlining the synergies that have structured the field of identity politics provides a sense of the possibilities offered by analysis of film discourses and practices as the performance of an inward reflective stroke. Included in this set of possibilities are debates about the social negotiation of identities (Evans 1992, Hall & du Gay 1996, Fensham 2000), identities as (self) fabrications (Hoskins 1998, Kanpol 1998, Lemke 1995), and the extent and limits of agency as mediated by the net of desire (Stacey 1994, Butler 1997, Usher 1998). The intention here is to highlight two complementary moves: oscillations between self and other in the invention of national identities (Chapter 6) and the closer attention to the textures and practices which constitute individual experiences of the tea moment (Chapter 8). My interest in the role of desire in subjectivity and identity formation (Chapter 8) requires a psychoanalytical element.

The question of identity — how it is constituted and maintained — is, therefore, the central issue through which psychoanalysis enters the political field. This is one reason why Lacanian psychoanalysis came into English intellectual life, via Althusser's concept of ideology, through the two paths of feminism and the analysis of film (a fact often used to discredit all three). Feminism because the issue of how individuals recognise themselves as male or female,
the demand that they do so, seems to stand in such fundamental relation to the forms of inequality and subordination which it is feminism's objective to change. Film because its power as an ideological apparatus rests on the mechanisms of identification and sexual fantasy which we all seem to participate in, but which—outside the cinema—are, for the most part, only ever admitted on the couch. If ideology is effective, it is because it works at the most rudimentary levels of psychic identity and the drives (Rose 1986, p.5).

Rose's account of the connection between identity politics and psychoanalysis is relevant to my project for two reasons. First, at a broad level my concern with national identity is shaped by a subtext of gender. In Chapters 6 and 9 I map out a gendered shift in discourses, practices and positions by exploring how natural symbols were part of a semiotic artillery that demanded a generation of young Japanese males sacrifice themselves for the sake of the national polity. The intersection of politics and commerce in sixteenth century tea practices meant this field of cultural production was a male domain (Watsky 1995, Slusser 2003). Against the background of a gendered national narrative, the rigour of pre-modern warrior tea practices (Tanimura 2003) continues to be valorised as one embodiment of the otherworldliness of Japanese identities. During the economic reconstruction and prosperity of postwar Japan, discourses of leisure were increasingly feminised as the company became the institution demanding the ultimate sacrifice from male breadwinners. Nationally distinctive cultural practices like tea continued to be administered by male grand masters while, numerically, female practitioners dominated the ranks. As tea came to associated as a field for women, tea embraced the postwar self-presentation of Japan as the democratic land of
peaceful harmony (remember the Anpo demonstrations?)⁹ and tea custodians implemented a global peacefulness through a bowl of tea campaign. Tea is therefore implicated in gendered discourses of othering the national body, in both its warring and pacifist manifestations (Cross 2001).

Second, while Rose argues that film operates as a social mechanism structuring and inflaming sexual fantasy, my interest in later chapters is a different type of union. Rather than the petit mal of physical consummation, my reading of tea films draws attention to the desire to be incorporated into the national body, a community of unnatural death. While queer theory and masculinist literature (Thomas 1999, Coad 2002) might be a useful point of entry for prying out homoerotic subtexts in the tearoom and how these desires may be sublimated as a ritualised death wish, my interest is more in the discursive formation of the national body, rather than the specificities of individual sexual orientation. My project is an examination of the seductive power of symbolic violence, and how in early modern Japan it structured a psychic drive for communal identification at the expense of individual existence. In contrast to how Rose attributes to the film mechanism the status of gendered ideological apparatus by linking it to libidinal drives, my strategy is to acknowledge the influence of film, not by privileging psychoanalysis but by admitting to the omnipresence of the film effect. The sphere of influence of film, like other cultural practices including tea, is not limited to the merely psychological, but inflicts contradictory assaults on the emotional self (Lupton 1998) and the body (Davis 1997). Embodied spectators are subject to the sensual influence of sounds and visions targetting the unconscious, but film narratives also intersect with personal biographies, and offer a series of practices centred on modes of pre- and post-viewing interactions (Cherry 2001, Stokes & Maltby 1999,

⁹ A series of Tokyo demonstrations protesting the inequality and renewal of the so-called Peace Treaty, Anpo Treaty, which effectively extended the occupation of Japan by American forces. These demonstrations unified the New Japanese Left coalition of student activists, unionists and Communist Party members: “Although espousing an ethos of relative passivity throughout the protests of 1960, the confrontational tactics employed by anti-Anpo demonstrators nevertheless push the limits of what could be regarded as non-violent protest” (Gregory 2003, p.5). During a 1968 protest one female student demonstrator was killed by security forces.
Farmer 2000). This includes the formation of communities based on expressive modes of organisation (Hetherington 1998). Given that the effects of film span topologies structured by emotions, bodies and selves and a matrix of relationships between emotions, things and spaces, the ideology of film is effective because it works at all levels, not merely the most rudimentary levels of psyche.

The points of departure between Rose’s work and my own help locate my project in terms of how I read tea practices and how they are represented in film and other sites. While the aspect of gender is an important component of identities and identification, considerations of class, ethnicity and questions of the performativity of identities (Lamphere et al. 1997) are also integral concerns as I unpack the ideologies supporting tea practices, its constellations of aesthetic preferences, and tea persona. Within the particular confines of my tea study and practices, and mediated by my conscious recognition of the kinds of normativity and subjectivity that intersect in tea spaces, my intention is to “investigate how individuals were led to practice, on themselves and on others, a hermeneutics of desire” (Foucault 1987, p.5). This will include the process of taste formation, and questions of why tea practitioners come to see what they have been taught to see, rather than the actual objects in front of them. My approach will attempt to reconfigure aesthetic preferences, conventionally assumed to be a solipsistic realm of private response, by acknowledging their implications for identity formation:

In the domain of taste ... judgements of aesthetic value emerge from a complex interaction of desires for emulation, distinction and solidarity. This is not to say that people simply choose to find certain things beautiful or ugly depending on what contemporaries and ancestors have judged. Rather people come to find certain aesthetic forms desirable for very good reasons. They are not necessarily aware of those reasons, nor do they find their judgements changeable at will (Auslander 1996, p.2).
Recognising the social components of taste judgements means giving aesthetic evaluation the status of a technique for self-fashioning (Bourdieu 1993). Individual tea practitioners internalise a particular aesthetic system of codification, and having embodied that aspect of their tradition they are spoken into existence as legitimate subjects of that discourse. These practices organised around aesthetic evaluation, constitute and maintain practitioner identities while sustaining and transmitting the brand name of that tradition.¹⁰

These comments about the relationship between identification and tradition should not be taken to imply that I am exclusively privileging the discursive construction of self while discounting the role of the psychic in sustaining the fictive unity of self (Souter 1995). Encouraging tensions between these two positions generates useful insights in Chapters 7, 8, and 9. Discursive models of self-construction explain how particular configurations of subjectivity are cobbled together in hybrid combinations from culturally and historically accessible resources. On the other hand, Lacanian notions of lack, desire and demand (Lacan 1977) offer one account of the investments tea practitioners make in their pursuit of orthodox ways of experiencing the tea moment.

The mastery of increasingly complex serving procedures, the purchase of officially validated utensils, and an initiation into the symbolic exchanges that constitute the display of aesthetic literacy are conventional modes of tea practice. While the imperative to learn with the body implies that practitioners may come to embody the tradition, the deification of Rikyu and his grand master successors reveals the illusory nature of this promise. The highest ranking procedures can only be performed by the Grand Master.¹¹ Officially validated utensils are one device for aligning the aesthetic sensibilities of practitioners with either the Grand Master’s preferences or systems of utensil production associated with the Houses of Sen. While the skill of creating

¹⁰ The relationship between power/knowledge and the internalisation of authentic taste is explored more fully in Chapter 7.

¹¹ In the Nambo Ryu school here in Fukuoka, students who have been awarded the teaching license can perform these high status serving procedures at temples and shrines.
networks of association with utensil combinations has been praised as an advanced and exciting aspect of tea practice (Anderson 1992, Holland 2003), this practice has also been criticised as collapsing into an ossified discourse that merely legitimates institutionalised custodians of Rikyu’s legacy (Kramer 1985, Cross 2003).

The point I wish to emphasise is that combining the discursive and psychoanalytical models can bring into view how institutionalised tea pedagogy sustains itself. Tea discourses of authenticity structure desire by invoking the spectre of Rikyu as the ideal to be aspired towards but never achieved. It can never be achieved because Rikyu lived in an age of national consolidation, in a moral universe foreign to most contemporary practitioners of tea, and few individuals have the economic and cultural capital required to practice tea on the representative scale of Rikyu as Designated First Whisker. The fact that even the Grand Master cannot exceed the rhetorical status of Rikyu underlines how tea transmission practices structure incessant cycles of desire and lack. It is precisely this mechanism of a narrow definition of what constitutes an authentic tea practitioner that is explored in Chapter 9. As additional support for this embrace of the generative possibilities of discourse and the psyche I would like to introduce the distinction between subjectivity, identities and identification theory.

Identification theory is an important cognitive tool because it keeps in play “both the necessity and ‘impossibility’ of identities, and the suturing of the psychic and the discursive in their constitution” (Hall 1996, p.16). Rather than an either/or choice between discourse and psychoanalysis as the primary generators of the self, identification theory emphasises the specific locatedness and strategic nature of these conceptualisations of the self as constructed in history and performed by psyches riddled by contradictory impulses desperately seeking some sense of unity, however illusory. The process of

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12 I acknowledge that drawing notions of the nation across four centuries is to invite allegations of anachronous misunderstanding.
identity formation is one of life's inevitabilities but for the reasons that follow, a stable and coherent identity is one destination where passengers never touch down. These travellers are condemned to an asymptotic trek nearer and nearer to a given sense of self which they can not meet within the finite distance of a life span. One question that will be addressed in the final chapter is how does one act, knowing that social theory can provide metaphors for movements which are little more than attempts to clutch at dissonant psychic drives?

While identification theory embraces the discursive and psychoanalytical construction of subjectivity, I would to explore one theoretical context for Lacan's extension of Freud's insights into the unconscious.¹³ The legacy of Saussure includes the notion of language as a system structured by arbitrary relationships between signs and what they signify. Taking this linguistic relationship between the signifier and that which is signified into the realm of psychoanalysis brings into view "Freud's essential insight: the relationship between the subject and signification" (Mansfield 2000). Lacan's genuflection at the robe of "the truth of Freud" is not an innocent discovery: a 1975 work by Derrida charts Freud's ideological phallocentrism (Spivak 1997). Although Lacan's work has been the subject of extensive feminist critique (Urwin 1984, Mitchell 1985, Butler 1997, Holland 1997a, Buhle 1998), feminist analysts of the gaze in film have aligned his Real, Symbolic and Imaginary with three forms of identification: "(a) privation (demand directed to a lost object); (b) frustration (demand which cannot be given its object); (c) castration (demand for which there is no object)" (Rose 1986, p.182). Despite the often negative assessment of Lacan's body of work, feminist explorations of desire, representation, and imagination have reworked his central concepts (Penley 1988, Cowie 1990), applying them to questions of identity (Butler 1990, hooks 1996, Kaplan 1997, Willis 1997, Holland 1997b).

Sidestepping into the absurdist world of Waiting for Godot (Beckett 1954) offers a useful metaphor for Lacanian notions about our incessant demands to

¹³ This sections anticipates the survey of Saussarian linguistics in the following chapter.
experience some semblance of unity. Having pronounced that there is nothing to do, two tragi-comic clowns proceed to fill the void of their waiting by doing things and recalling past desires. Like a sustained experience of a deeply integrated life, Godot never comes. In the face of this inevitable disappointment Vladimir and Estragon, like students on the tea circuit, never cease to act because if they stop their identity will collapse.

Consumers of social theories of the self who studiously chronicle how they are wallowing in the imaginary might recognise aspects of their situations in the two figures on stage. These tragi-comic clowns appear to know the futility of their actions, and realise that their desire to be validated by the presence of Godot will never be satisfied. Although they know there is no exit from their prison of lack, desire, and demand, they, like a certain would-be player on the publish-and-perish circuit, are compelled to search for integrity.

Similarly, students of tea recognise this search for integrity as a pedagogical version of Gilroy’s changing same, cited at the beginning of this chapter. Endless reiteration of cycles of learning tea procedures: once the highest levels of instruction have been mastered, students return to relearn the whole repertoire again (Anderson 1992). Students exist to legitimate this incessant drive to internalise the universe of tea practices, values and knowledge. However, because of tea’s status as a synthesis of material culture, what Hisamatsu Shinichi called the “synthetic cultural system” discourse” (Kato 2002), there is only one man who can approach the performance of this mastery. Up against the measure of Rikyu, or his current Grand Master representative, mere consumers of tea knowledge are condemned to compulsively act, knowing they will never graduate from the official standards. As long as they accept the legitimacy of these orthodox measures, tea students, like Beckett’s tragi-comic clowns, are compelled by a systematically generated sense of lack to pursue their insatiable demands for a unified sense of tea identity.

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14 This point is developed in Chapter 7.
Lacanian definitions of this existential territory mapped by Beckett centre on the mechanisms of desire and demand as antidotes for lack:

Each separate thing we pursue is called a demand. None of them will satisfy desire, which is by definition insatiable. Each demand offers momentarily the possibility that it will satisfy desire. ... We feel desire only because the imaginary has escaped us, because we are lost in the symbolic. In other words, the very fact that we feel desire means that we are in part of the order in which desire cannot be satisfied. All the demands we pursue arise only in the symbolic. They are doomed to inevitable frustration, because we cannot fulfil what desire seeks from us: to return from the symbolic to the imaginary we have always already lost (Mansfield 2000, p.46).

Questions relating to Lacanian notions of lack, desire, and demand are important in Chapters 5, 8, and 9. Chapter 5 surveys the convolutions of the self/other distinction in the formation of early modern Japanese identity. As is typical of countries plagued by the invention of national identity, the othering of the national self appears to be driven by demand and lack. The nationalist desire to be a modern nation-state was a rejection of the sense of self as pre-modern. Against this subtext of lack was the demand to be a member of the global community, an aspiration to be conscious of exteriority.

Chapters 8 and 9 address how tea films reproduce and critique notions of what constitutes the authentic, how narrow definitions of tea's authentic are systematic constructions designed to extend practitioner lack, and how aesthetic practices are implicated in discourses of national invention. In Chapter 9 the postmodern attention to the telling of the tale of the Rikyu legend is driven by lack and the demand to be an authentic tea person. By sixteenth century standards, death by ritual suicide is the practice signifying an authentic tea person. The film warns against the power of discursive systems to define lethal standards that are inflicted upon followers stricken with lack.
Before entering the territory of the self as other, addressing one criticism of Lacanian theorists explains why I employ the discursive and psychoanalytical notions of identification theories in later chapters. While advocates of the psychoanalytical tradition have advanced a number of significant claims about the construction of subjectivity through language (Henriques et al. 1984), some critics have argued that the account of multiple and contradictory identities is inadequate (Hall 1996). One general thrust of the objections made by advocates of the discursive construction of subjectivity is that it is the process of becoming a particular configuration of arbitrary identities is lost. As the following quotation shows, some of these criticisms are by their nature partial and reductive readings.

Some of the difficulties, at least, seemed to arise from accepting too much at face value, and without qualification, Lacan’s somewhat sensationalist proposition that everything constitutive of the subject not only happens through this mechanism of the resolution of the Oedipal crisis, but happens in the same moment. The ‘resolution’ of the Oedipal crisis, in the over-condensed language of the Lacanian hot-gospellers, was identical with, and occurred through the equivalent mechanism as, the submission to the Law of the Father, the consolidation of sexual difference, the entry into language, the formation of the unconscious as well—after Althusser—as the recruitment into the patriarchal ideologies of late capitalist western societies! The more complex notion of a subject-in-process is lost in these polemical condensations and hypothetically aligned equivalences. (Is the subject racialized, nationalized and constituted as a late-liberal entrepreneurial subject in this moment too?) (Hall 1996, p.8).

Readings of this sort are prone to overlooking the importance Lacan has attached to distinctions between the various stages of psychological development. For example, the emergence of the mirror stage as a necessary
foundation for the later imprisonment by the Law of the Father. While Hall is critical of the lack of attention directed towards the process of subjectivity formation, his own reading of Lacan appears to flatten the developmental curve that results in Lacanian distinctions between the real, imaginary and the symbolic. The following metaphor of physicality contradicts Hall’s assertion that Lacanian theory argues that the totality of identity is spontaneously formed at the moment of resolving Oedipal conflicts.

Drawing on Freud, once can briefly summarise the Real as the infant’s experience of the world as an impossible remainder of a lost past; the Imaginary as the preliminary, pre-Oedipal sense he attempts to make of the real; and the Symbolic the linguistic realm into which the Imaginary is retranslated as a result of castration anxiety. Thus, hunger would be Real, the loss of the breast would be an Imaginary abandonment by the all-powerful pre-Oedipal mother, and weaning a Symbolic necessity imposed by the all-powerful Oedipal Father’s desire for exclusive access to the woman’s body (Holland 1997b, p.13).

It is important to emphasise that this criticism by Hall is not a wholesale rejection of the mirror stage, configurations of the real, the imaginary and the symbolic, and the Law of the Father. Hall’s comment is a moderating qualification, designed to open a space for identification theory to emphasise how discourses and social practices construct identity. It is important for my project to mention here how I accommodate criticisms of Lacan. While questions relating to Lacanian notions are investigated in Chapters 5, 8, and 9, analysis in these chapters advances by outlining how ideological and political processes of individual subjectivity and national identity formation configure lack, desire, and demand.
Discursive selves as false: relentless inscription and restless desire

Having earlier stated that I intended to employ both the psychoanalytical and discursive models of identity formation, and given that I have outlined both the salient features of the psychological processes that produce selfhood and critical assessments of the Lacanian psyche, allow me to turn my attention to how identity has been represented as socially determined.

Given my interest in autoethnography, the idea of the self as a fabrication is of central importance. The reflexive component of this version is that the self is a self-fabrication, spoken into becoming as part of an asymptotic lunge at being. Narratives, like the various genres of historiography which include critical and effective histories, are attempts to control the present and shape the future by determining the significance of the past. Narratives about self operate as frames of retrospective understanding which aspire to generate a prospective version of the future, all for consumption in the present.

What makes for identity does not quell the restlessness of desire. For identity, as it us usually discussed, is itself a compromise with conventions. It can now be seen that it is the difference between subjectivity and its obsolescent narrative manifestations that moves life forward in a search for new more satisfying identities: the life story is always false; it contains both more and less than the subject’s potential. This falseness is neither accidental nor a liability, as some critics imply; it is essential. The endeavor to extinguish the falseness—the subject’s longing to become identical with its story—is the impetus to development. Although subjectivity defeats our efforts to predict the course of its tellings and livings, we may glimpse the scope of its secrets whenever we attend closely to its untiring pursuit of a ceaseless, arduous self-creation (Rosenwald 1992, p.286).
This perpetual motion of inscribing versions of the self demands a reflexive reading to highlight how illusions of stable identity are constructed and maintained, and that strategy of self-awareness must necessarily include aspects of both the psychoanalytical and discursive notions of identification. For example, the writerly drone of a disembodied academic voice mumbling from its explicitly stated position can be counterpointed by more informal textual fragments which point towards contradictory psychological needs: the desire for social acceptance that is manifested in the urge to belong to particular groups, counterpointed by the impulse to criticise the fundamental tenets structuring those group organisations. In the case of the discursive construction of subjectivity, a fine-grained reading of how material culture and social practices operate as modes of self creation while being constrained by conventions of respective discourses is one way to reflexively proceed in later chapters.

**Tea: national identity and individual subjectivity**

This section is written around a set of questions relating to role of tea in the formation of national identity and individual subjectivity. Reference is made to the value of critical readings of tea literature which are sensitive to how the vested interests of institutionalised tea pedagogy have created an invented tradition that sutures tea into the edifice of the nation. The existence of a distinctive national culture shapes desire and offers legitimate modes of citizenship that can be commodified for domestic and foreign audiences. At this point tea is referred to in rather broad sweeps. Readers wanting a more detailed introduction could skip forward to the “Why Tea?” section of Chapter Five which presents an insider’s account of the experience of a tea gathering.15

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15 (A paratetic disclaimer. These dialogue sections have voices significantly different from the bulk of this thesis, and I have not followed the conventions of referencing in these two sections because it would render the illusion those portions of the text seek to create illegible. The sources appropriated are however all listed at the end of their respective sections.)
If I may proceed by sidestepping into autobiography, Alten’s 1997 work on gender and the body as a colonised territory gave me a point of entry into my project of mapping the ideology of tea while willingly embracing its discursive charms. What was most compelling for me was the contradictory positioning of her research between two modes of knowing. It is evident from her writing that she positions herself as an insider, a consumer of ballet who is literate in the conventions of that high culture form. And yet, as a gender theorist using biographies, autobiographies and life stories, Alten is also aware of the discursive persistence of nineteenth century ideals of what constitutes the feminine and how the exercise of agency results in female dancers literally suffering to embody the orthodox forms of ballet’s perfection. One interest I share with Alten is a fascination with the coercive power of discourses to shape desire by seducing consumers with normative models of authenticity, even to the point of self immolation in the name of the nation (Cross 2000b, 2001a).

Reading critical social theory brought into view two tenets of orthodox tea belief: the image of Rikyu as a pure aesthete, solely responsible for our glorious tradition of tea;16 and the perception of the aesthetic sphere of tea as an area innocent of commercial or political concerns. In my first moment of critical theory “naruhodo, I got it!” I regarded this configuration as an ideologically structured silence. My current conviction is that the backgrounding of tea’s other than aesthetic applications obscures how the Houses of Sen have used the iemoto system to codify and commodify the hospitality impulse in a manner that advances their own position as the guardians of the authentic tea tradition. It is this implicit devaluing of the contributions of other versions of tea culture (for example, sen cha practices adapted in Japan from Chinese literati tea) that is necessary for the Houses of

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16 While the use of a personal pronoun in the first person plural may appear that I am afflicted with delusions of regal grandeur, “our tradition of tea” is intended to convey the collective sense of responsibility for transmitting tea values and practices to the next generation felt by some tea students and teachers. A slightly more subversive reading would include the nuance that the tradition is not a monopoly belonging to the institutionalised custodians in metropolitan Kyoto but more localised versions of authority may also stake their ownership claims, legitimated by the extent to which tea practices are an integral element of social routines.
Sen to position themselves as the self appointed representatives of national material culture.

There is always a father: Sen no Rikyu, patriarch

Sen no Rikyu 千利休 (1522–1591) is popularly regarded as the tea practitioner who synthesised diverse elements to establish tea discourse (Ludwig 1981, Sen 1979 & 1998, Haga 1989, Kumakura 1989, Hickman 1996). Sixteen generations later, in the Houses of Sen world of tea his representation as the founder of chanoyu valorises the aesthetic aspects of his life at the expense of his commercial connections and military responsibilities (Kramer 1985). This silencing is accompanied by a discounting of the contribution of other contemporaneous tea practitioners like Imai Sokyu 今井宗久 (1520–1593) (Watsky 1995). This partial editing of history is a key strategy of Urasenke, Omotesenke, and Mushanokojisenke: genealogical reference by the three Houses of Sen to their patriarch Rikyu as the ideal Person of Tea is a fundamental technique for creating their authority to commodify this cultural practice and benefit economically from the dissemination of their particular brand of tea culture. This denial of the military and economic aspects of tea life opens a space that permits a rhetorical shift from tea’s employment during the Meiji period as a seductively coercive instrument of national interests to the current “Peacefulness through a Bowl of Tea” campaign that is being used to spread Urasenke tea culture across the world (Cross 2000b).17

Rikyu-centric readings of anecdotes are central to the invention of this tradition and are an effective means of transmitting behaviour, beliefs, and ways of valuing tea utensils and practices (Tsutsui 1981). An examination of the cinematic representations of tea anecdotes as legitimate sources for Rikyu’s role in tea history (Cross 1998a, 2000b, 2001) reveals the contradictions and dissonances between the use of the oral tradition within the Houses of Sen

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17 Chapter 6 addresses both the use of institutionalised tea pedagogy as a technology of citizen formation during the Meiji period and the “Peacefulness through a Bowl of Tea” campaign.
discourse to naturalise tea as a status neutral activity, and the complexity of tea history and its political applications as objectively demonstrated by the historical record (Bodart 1977). My reading of the role of Rikyu anecdotes in the modernist film of Teshigahara Hiroshi (Chapter 8) and the postmodern film of Kurnai Kei (Chapter 9) reveals the Sen attempt to depoliticise, codify, and commodify the aesthetic sphere.

Disputes about the parameters of Japanese identity are a continuing feature of Japanese public life, and tend to focus on issues of historical interpretation and semantics. The aesthetic sphere deserves closer attention because of the way these texts seductively naturalise what are seen to be politically problematic issues. Notions like the four seasons (Ackermann 1997) and the transience of human life have been important elements in aestheticising the modern Japanese identity for domestic and international consumption (Moeran & Skov 1997).18 An aestheticised cult of death was a significant presence in the Showa era formation of ‘the authentic’ Japan. Cherry blossoms were employed by political elites to advocate the death of a generation of male youth in the name of the Japanese nation (Abe 1992, Ohnuki-Tierney 1995). The ideological application of literary and visual texts also implicates cultural practices like tea in the creation of patriotic fervour. Rikyu’s death by seppuku in 1591, and his existence as a historical man of tea, a legendary embodiment of tea values, and a set of aesthetic preferences present in the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Kitano Ochanoyu (1936) and Rikyu’s death (1940) all locate tea in the blurring of the distinction between cultural and state nationalism. This distinction collapses in the use of sacramental tea as a prayer for military victory in the practices of Fukuoka’s Hakozaki Hachimangu: sen shou kiogan kencho戦勝祈願獻茶(Cross 2000b).

18 Repetition of the response of surprised disappointment when Japanese receive an affirmative answer to this typical question directed to foreign residents of Japan confirms the extent to which nature is nationalised: “Does your country have four seasons?” Political applications of nature as an ideological tool are explored more fully in Chapters 5 and 9.
The figure of Rikyu is implicated in the manner in which Jennifer L. Anderson presents her 1991 claim that tea is not a cult. I critically examine her claim by reading within her text, reading the text against itself to demonstrate how the text has been shaped by history and power. Practitioners of CDA and cultural studies have drawn on poststructural textual theories which construct texts as symbols of power and offer readers a range of critical tools for interrogating texts. The 1985 taxonomy of textual strategies proposed by Scholes (reading: text within text; interpreting: text upon text; criticising: text against text) is adapted to answer questions fundamental to critical pedagogy: Who speaks? On whose behalf? Who is textually silenced? The purpose of this textual interrogation is to identify through the application of Scholes’ three strategies the sorts of authority Anderson invokes to sanctify and protect the subject of the text, and make explicit what it is that externally endorses her text with additional authority. Scrutiny of the texts Anderson criticises is used to denaturalise her description of the iemoto system, to identify how the institutionalisation of tea practice partially violates espoused tea values, and to argue that the professionalisation of tea discourse (Gunnarsson, Linell & Nordberg 1997) marginalises the experience of tea students.10

Films about Rikyu that represent social and material culture such as Japanese tea practices are implicated in nationalist discourses of power and authenticity (Davis 1996), and tend to invoke their own authority as they collapse the distinctions between public and private, and information and entertainment. Critical discourse analysis contends that texts are the result of ideational (representations, recontextualisations), interpersonal (relations, identities) and textual choices (Fairclough 1995) and that media texts can be read for both the presence and absence of the discourses and genres that produce their textual coherence (Lemke 1995, Baker 2000, Lee 2000). Teshigahara Hiroshi situates tea in Rikyu at the nexus of economic activities, military responsibilities, and aesthetic discernment. His selective use of the scholarly version of sixteenth century Japanese history and the more anecdotal accounts that currently

10 This point is developed in Chapter 7.
circulate in sites associated with tea pedagogy are analysed in terms of the representations, identities and relations the film proposes for its viewers.

The representation of tea practices in Rikyu films is an example of how popular culture networks of communication practices constitute the postmodern nation. The nation is invented and sustained by the creation of idealised role models in literature (Rowley 1997) that are then appropriated to serve interests of formal education. Tea films function as national cinema and comment on the political relationship between representative culture, social institutions and groups (Bell 1999). Film director Kumai accommodated a request from the Houses of Sen to refrain from a realistic depiction of Sen no Rikyu’s ritual suicide (Hara 1989). Kumai’s use of cherry blossoms as a visual substitute for Rikyu’s death locates tea practices in the nationalist discourses that were configured to justify the Pacific War special attack units. Dominant readings of Kumai’s 1989 film are sensitive to this use of seasonal scenery as one representation of Japan as the nation of unnatural death (Sakai 1997). The persistence of this slippage between the natural and the social in nationalist discourses is evident in a range of pop culture texts, including calendar images and advertisements, and continues to be both a central strategy for commodifying the nation and a problematic element of public life.

In the first instance my intention is to map the mutual constitution of pleasure and power in tea texts and practices which legitimate Rikyu’s status as the patriarch of tea. Behind this attention to pedagogy and transmission in the ‘manufacture’ of tea’s ‘wonder’ (Herold 1995) is the critical intent of the wider research project. Critical attention to desire and pleasure should be part of more dispersed debates about the relationship between individuals and the state. As we are increasingly governed, especially while imbibing the class specific pleasures of leisure discourses (Magee 1996, p.135), by an internalised panopticon, more critical attention should be given to how interdiscursive formations facilitate this self policing of the self. As these technologies of the
are mediated by commodity discourses, identity itself is destabilised. New forms of identity are configured in commodified bodies (Iida 2002), often along the lines of fluid relationships between gender, generation and class, in a manner that resonates with conceptions of identity as both semiotic and material (Law 1994).

My thesis is an autoethnography of tea as a technology of the self, and I would like to theorise my tea experience in terms of how it links subject formation and national identity. This entails extending the range of critical discourse analysis by integrating its concerns with film studies and cultural studies. The reflexive part of this project will include addressing the issue of how this loosely layered narrative simultaneously constructs me as knower and known. My thesis is therefore also an autoethnography of social theory as a technology of the self.

Reflexivity and textual analysis as autoethnography

Having outlined how tea operates in the formation of national identity and individual subjectivity, it is important to clarify the term autoethnography. This brief definition is intended to highlight how autobiographical and ethnographic elements will assume a certain prominence later in this study. This brief paraphrase draws on the concise outline drawn by Reed-Danahay (1997) and maps how postmodernist, postcolonial and feminist projects have made significant contributions to the practice and understanding of autoethnography.

Postmodern autobiographers have critiqued the doctrine of a coherent individual self (Gagnon 1992). Interest in the role of narratives in cultural constitution (Evans 1992, Behar 1994, Ellis 1997, Biddle 2000) intersect with the postcolonial politics of representation (Rajan 1997) and other explorations

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20 In the same manner that Foucault's "history of the present" was subdivided into a "critical and effective history", Foucault's "technologies of the self" is refined by Rose's emphasis on the social as a retreat from a reliance on techniques. The notion of human technologies (Rose 1996) and the specifics of Dean's definition are addressed in Chapter 5.
of textual authority (Wellman 1994). Positivist fallacies of politically neutral, objective observers have been discredited from a variety of critical (van Manen 1990, Griffiths 1995) and feminist positions (Stanley 1993, Sommer 1998, Bullough & Pinnegar 2001). Explicit expressions of vulnerability that argue for politically engaged scholarship (Behar 1996) emphasise the irrelevancy of positivist concerns to those who seek to write evocatively of their lives.

Against this backdrop of postmodernist, postcolonial and feminist literature, my project spans the three types of ethnography outlined by Reed-Danahay (1997, p.2): native ethnography, ethnic autobiography, and autobiographical ethnography. It is my interest in social theory as a means of self-representation that demands a movement across the taxonomy of Reed-Danahay. Critical reflexivity is a significant point of entry to the main themes I address here and this is an important issue for other theoretically driven practices, including critical anthropology (Gupta & Ferguson 1997) and critical educational and social research (Shacklock & Smyth 1998). Configurations of autoethnography vary according to the weight given to selves (auto), social and cultural frames (ethno) and how selves and culture intersect in the written account (graphy). Autoethnography demands attention to how subjectivity is located, and how the cultural politics of self-understanding are incorporated into the research (Reed-Danahay 1997). Although this move to situated knowledges raises the possibility of autoethnography being a resistant strategy to employ against discursive hegemonies (Kideckel 1997), this emancipatory rhetoric often conceals a particular self interest organised around a career trajectory: "Where we derive satisfaction from believing that we are making the world a better place, we ignore the better place we make for ourselves in it. ... It's just a bit awkward having to own up to being our own beneficiaries" (Wolcott 1995, p.140). I outline the range of my investments in my project and this higher degree and gave a brief overview of how I came to select and formulate this venture into self-inscription.
Given the extent to which the writing practices of autoethnography and critical anthropology both verify and problematise social theory, it is interesting that accounts which embrace the intimacy of insiders in preference to the objective perspective of a disembodied observer have resulted in the perception that autoethnographic writing is less weighed down by theory. The reflexivity of these holistic and descriptive accounts tends to be realised through "(i) personal confessional; (ii) multiple, conflicting representations of cultural others; and (iii) epistemological ruminations" (Foley 1998, p.117). Confessions can be a group effort in co-authored work: "Confession both admits to having a partial perspective and claims an identity beyond this partiality. Confession redeems the writer at the same time that it makes the writer vulnerable" (Carspecken & MacGillivray 1998, p.175) [emphasis in original marks reflective voices of the authors talking to each other that contrasts with their direct address of “Hello readers, Laurie and Phil again.”]). The quandary for autoethnographers is this: it is in this acknowledgement of partiality that the space to be reflexive opens and with it emerges the possibility that the contingency of claims being made cannot be convincingly defended.

While theory may appear to be absent from the surface of these first person accounts from multiple positions, theoretical frameworks are an implicit influence that shapes the selection of tales that appear in the first two categories proposed by Foley; theoretical concerns are foregrounded in the final reflexive device of epistemological ruminations. One aspiration of the construction of reflexivity is a dialectical relationship between theory and data that overturns the practice of reinterpreting the world in terms of the propositions favoured by one privileged model: pre-existing frameworks should be examined in light of the reality check supplied from positions outside the omniscient panopticon of high theory, and those aspects of theoretical understandings which appear less than satisfactory to the situated knowledges deserve to be re-examined (Lather 1986). If we are to aspire to a reflexive understanding of the processes of social research, one option is to “treat data,
theory and method as all going together in some self-testing, self-exploring, but suitably modest form of inquiry” (Law 1994, p.97).

I reflexively apply the literatures of CDA and cultural studies against my readings of various types of tea texts and my participation in social practices organised around tea sites. In a later section I will explicitly define my status as a low intermediate student of tea and noh. At this point I would like to use my insider position as a consumer of these nationally distinctive high culture discourses and fold that end user ranking back against essentialist arguments for the sacramental unity of Japanese ethnicity, culture and language (Davis 1996). My attempts to problematise the idealised national identity imagined into being by the existence of culturally distinctive practices like tea and noh and deconstruct the consequent range of subject positions emerging from these discourses of culture and nation is at best partial and limited to specific contexts.

While being conscious of the text/culture distinction proposed in an account of ordering modernity (Law 1994), I take on board the idea that our subjectivity renders us along a continuum ranging from the material to the semiotic. The socially constructed category of our bodies and our experiences of them, like popular culture texts, are both discursive and material sites. Early conceptions of agency posit it as an essentially human trait which produces the structure that supplies the resources necessary for the reproduction of agency (Giddens 1986). This humanist notion would argue that the exercise of agency is what distinguishes the lived textuality of experience from mass media texts. However, the work of actor-network theorists has bracketed the binary categories of nature and culture by giving non-human actors the status of network builders. Agency is seen to be a relational effect that is not unified as it performs a range of attempts to order social life (Law & Hassard 1999). Attributing agency to texts is more than a personifying metaphor because it brings into view the partiality of corporeal perspectives.
The concerns of cultural studies with the relationship between embodied practices and the formation of national identities and individual subjectivity addresses the intersection of the material and the semiotic. Applying the close reading strategies affiliated with CDA’s scrutiny of tea texts brings the opposing ends of this material/semiotic gradient together. Reading tea tales and films for their ideology reveals how they structure feelings and images of what constitutes the authentic. These internalised perceptions modify my performance of tea literacies. One of the pleasures of using these technologies is self-fashioning oneself along and against the lines of dominant tea discourse. My perception in the tea moment has been colonised by the vested interests of institutionalised tea pedagogy; it is in the reflective space afforded by social theory that this becomes apparent. These forms of analysis, the closer readings of textuality by CDA practitioners and the broader strokes employed by theorists exploring cultural practices, come together in my interrogation of the relationship between cultural forms, their representations in mass culture, and subject formation.

Reflexivity in autoethnography: reconfiguring reliability, validity and generalisability

Reflexivity in autoethnography presents several challenges for practitioners seeking to write evocatively of their positionality. These challenges include issues that emerge from disciplinarity, the uncertain ‘truth’ of autoethnography, and the retreat from the mythic stability of categorical knowledge in favour of a movement towards the convoluted and contradictory territory of first person narratives (Ellis & Bochner 1992). Critiques of autoethnography from outside the field tend to raise questions relating to reliability, validity and generalisability (Taylor 2001). This positivist bias for verifiable proof has been answered by proponents of autoethnography (Reed-Danahay 1997), and these responses have resulted in new demands being made upon the readers of these accounts as writing conventions blur generic distinctions between evocative fiction and those writing descriptive forms traditionally valorised by the academy. One common tack is to emphasise the consequences of a move away
from a disembodied objective description written by “no-one nowhere” to an embrace of the much-touted literary turn which accompanied explicitly positioned accounts. This movement requires that these yardsticks of harder social science be redefined and that writing and reading conventions be also adapted accordingly.

Reliability is similarly constructed as not existing in the careful replication reproduction of the work of colleagues in distant laboratories or the application of surveys to demographically similar groups. Instead reliability is a social construction spoken into being by the consensus and dissonances of voices expressed through a promiscuous range of devices including dialogues (Read 1997), employing interior monologues and asides (Cross 1998a), elegy (Moss 1997), film treatment (Teaiwa 1998), and poetry (Richardson 1992, Figiel 1995). In contrast to the solitary certainty of survey replication, in this flurry of polyphonic crosschecking, this textually mediated representation of reality is above all else revealed to be a social act. This reconfiguring of reliability has an additional importance for authoethnographic texts: “Backgrounding theory and foregrounding personal experiences also helps convey the complex, constructed nature of the authorial self” (Foley 1998, p.114). Powerful autoethnographic writing is sensitive to this myth of a singular authorial voice (Ronai 1992). The self-conscious presentation of autoethnography as the product of a hybrid writing subject objectifies the conflicting authorial persona that produced the final text. The effect of this foregrounding of the creators of the text is to display the contingency of the claims proposed.

The question of internal and external validity is dissolved in favour of the test of emotional verisimilitude: does the writing in question convey to the reader the complexity of being embodied, emotional and rational at the intersection of determination and agency? The critical response to this move often involves counter-assertions that this reliance on the subjective response of individual readers is nothing more than a coercive collapse into the private subjectivity of
the author fuelled by an unnecessary confusion between literary and academic genres of writing.

The thick description advocated by Geertz has been argued to be one possible rebuttal to questions of validity (Lincoln & Guba 1985). However the case for thick description as a means of credibly performing a written representation of lived experience that can be comprehended outside its context is more convincing (Goodman 1998). It is this possibility of an account being comprehensible to an external audience that redefines generalisability.

Autoethnography offers a qualification as a response to positivist concerns arising from the notion of generalisability as a guarantee of context free knowledge that can be instrumentally applied across contextual boundaries. Autoethnography answers these often masculinist demands for knowledge untainted by the subjectivity of researchers or situation of its production by acknowledging that while the situated nature of individual experience gives it a characteristic singularity, the distinctive elements of a life trajectory are also socially determined. This recognition is the basis of naturalistic generalisation (Stake 1994), the sharing of experience from a parallel world in terms comprehensible to readers removed from the particularities of the textually represented sites. Writers employing naturalistic generalisation make certain demands upon their readers. Instead of identifying a set of points clearly delineated in the introduction and reiterated in the conclusion, readers are provided with "an opportunity to envision the lives of informants and then apply what they vicariously observe to their own unique situations" (Goodman 1998, p.57). Readers of the sort of reflexive writing employed in the pursuit of passionate ethnography (Henry 1963) should expect some account of how autoethnographers accommodate the gap between the action-orientated rhetoric of their research and the intended sites of social change: "for all its democratising intentions, critical ethnography still invariably involves a relationship between an academic researcher and non-academic research participants" (May 1998, p.166). While autoethnography acknowledges that
the self is constructed through interactions with significant others, the sorts of imbalances often assumed to be inherent in relationships between myself as an aspiring academic researcher and differently knowledged research participants who are initiating me into deeper levels of tea consciousness deserve closer attention. My status as a migrant tea novice conducting research in my second language complicates the conventional notion of the inevitable dominance of academic discourses operating through the linguistic imperialism of English (Pennycook 1999). In a later section in this chapter I address the problematic flows of authority resulting from being a foreign student of tea who also lectures Japanese students about tea.

Significant tension exists between the relative certainty of a more directly representational social science which describes observable aspects of lived experience and an evocative social science which acknowledges the provisional complexity of polyphonic narrative accounts. My tentative accommodation of this debate about what constitutes a legitimate object and method of research is to acknowledge the relative strengths of each approach. Questions of the discursive formation of Japan as the community of unnatural death (Sakai 1997) are best addressed by a descriptive framework that outlines the intertextual links between various aesthetic practices. The minutiae of the tendency of tea discourse to colonise the life world of wide-eyed foreign practitioners are best captured by a series of critical incidents (Tripp 1998) which account for the intersection of desire, the body and the creation of the synergy of the authentic tea moment, tea person, and tea utensil. I recognise that the tension between how these two approaches construct their legitimate objects and methods of research can be employed to avoid the illusory certainty of a neat theoretical closure. In addition, the nature of autoethnography implies the need to reflect on the consequences of my narrative across subjectivity, social practices and textual analysis. My reflection will hopefully keep in play the scepticism of narrative constructivism, the belief that narrators impose certain structures on shapelessly disconnected events, while in the interests of comprehensibility, employing a degree of continuity associated with the
narrative realist position which follows Aristotle’s assumption that a beginning, middle and end structure is implicit in real world events (Fay 1996).

**Locating this thesis as autoethnography**

This section identifies how my project spans these three types of ethnography: native ethnography, ethnic autobiography, and autobiographical ethnography (Reed-Danahay 1997, p.2). I locate my work by referring to English language tea scholarship, and acknowledge two points: the partiality of my account; and the contingent nature of the claims I advance in readings of various tea texts.

When I am positioning my writing as a native ethnography, I am performing an insider account of the tea world. This includes attention to how I understand, interrogate and incorporate the various codes and practices that coalesce in and enact tea ideologies and the implications of that understanding for subjectivity formation and my tea practices. What distinguishes my work from earlier explanations of the life of the tea mind (Anderson 1991, Mori 1992,) is an attempt to address tea’s role in the micropolitics of identity formation. Although Anderson and Mori both write from explicitly stated positions with an intention to explain the system of tea, my work attempts to account for the ideological work tea performs by positioning it as a technology of my self. This is closer to Kato’s gendered reading of tea culture, discourse and history (Kato 2002).

While writing out of an anthropological field with the intention of transforming tea from something to be respectfully admired from a polite distance to a comprehensible social practice that is an integral part of lived routines and rhythms, Anderson holds a higher level qualification from the Urasenke School. Her subjectivity is visible to the extent that it merges with that of the grand master: “As an initiate of the advanced level (okuden) of the Urasenke tea school (those of the ‘secret’ or orally transmitted tea procedures) and an assistant tea instructor, I have accepted an obligation to adhere to the orthodox

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exegeses of Tea philosophy” (Anderson 1991, p.2). By placing tea in a cultural context that includes its manipulation as a modern symbol of national identity to be exploited by politicians on election day for the benefit of the media, Anderson addresses the typical criticisms of tea. Tea insiders and other critics identify the gap between values espoused (what is said) and values in use (what is done). Other criticisms include the tendency of tea to reinforce insider/outsider boundaries, an analytical form of sexual prejudice that links the popular rise of tea as postwar recreation for married women with the decline of the spirit of tea, and abuses of tea as a normative system. Rather than engage the depth of contradictions between tea’s discourse of international hospitality and the competitive displays of orthodoxy that clearly mark the authentic insider at official tea performances, Anderson reinforces the status quo. The strategy is to attribute these shortcomings to individual practitioners or while regarding them as endemic to the transmission of religious beliefs: “Blessed with a remarkable series of far-seeing leaders (epitomised by Urasenke’s current grand master, Sen Soshitsu), modern practitioners are being offered a unique opportunity to emulate Rikyu’s egalitarian tea ritual in a refreshingly cosmopolitan atmosphere” (Anderson 1991, p.225). By aligning herself with the fifteenth generation grand master and speaking to the uninitiated from the position of True Believer, Anderson protects the tradition and its transmission practices from a substantive critique. Perhaps I am pursuing this line of reading beyond what is tenable because I have heard too much tearoom gossip. However when Anderson links sexual prejudice with another school of tea set up as a possible alternative to the Houses of Sen grand master system, it does appear to be an attempt to legitimate her current affiliation by discrediting the opposition.

21 One surprising aspect of identifying with one particular tea school was the personal investments some practitioners made in the legitimacy of their school’s lore and practices. This slavish insistence on brand loyalty, “my school, right or wrong”, surfaces most often in anecdotes that disparage practitioners from other schools or the precepts cherished by these fellow travellers on the way of tea.
On the issue of the structural responsibility of the grand master system in perpetuating some of these distortions, including questions about the extent to which current tea practices contradict claims for the egalitarian nature of tea, my own position is closer to that of Mori. Drawing on her experience in Midori Kai from 1983 to 1985 and the network of Hawaii’s Japanese-American community, Mori examines the transmission mechanisms of the Urasenke grand master system and identifies vertical teacher-student and student-student relationships based on seniority, the sempai-kohai pattern, as significant obstacles to the international expansion of the Kyoto-based Sen family business. For first generation Japanese-Americans, and to a lesser extent, second and third generation Japanese-Americans, resistance to these relationships structured on the foregrounding of status should not hinder their adoption of tea practices. Mori’s work can be profitably read as a graduating student’s action research report to the head of the Urasenke Foundation and as an ethnic autobiography.

In positioning my work as an ethnic autobiography, I am foregrounding my intercultural position as a white tea boy. What complicates this strategic assumption of both insider and outsider status is the question of authority in several contexts: How does a partial understanding of tea practices limit my claim for insider status? Unlike Anderson, Cadwallader (1997) and other graduates of the Midori Kai, Urasenke’s accelerated program for foreigners addressed by Mori (1992), I am not professing to explain the finer points of esoteric nuances of different combinations of tea utensils. Against the accredited status of Anderson and Cadwallader as my seniors in the hierarchical world of tea, my claim to authentic tea knowledge rests on the mode of my acquisition of tea knowledge, out in the provinces. This is typical of how most Japanese learn tea: in the house of their teacher or at a local community hall or cultural centre. My status as an ethnic and linguistic outsider has not resulted in my being privileged by access to the grand master and his higher level instructors. My low intermediate status as a tea student.
positions me as a consumer of the material and symbolic orthodoxies manufactured to support the Kyoto metropole.

In the context of my teaching this notion of authority deconstructs conventional assumptions about the unity of Japanese ethnicity, language and culture. I teach tea and noh related courses in the Japan in Today’s World program at Kyushu University to international exchange students (North, Central and South Americas, European and Asian countries) and local Japanese students. While these courses are generally reading based, I do make modest efforts to embody the tradition as I give students guidance on basic procedures and postures: students are assessed on their performance of set pieces.

Identity then is more complex than essentialist arguments of nihonjinron (Dale 1991) would have us believe. The salient point here is a relational one. Relative to all international exchange students and most of the local Japanese students who enrol in these courses, to the extent that I can perform a satisfactory rendition of the embodied tradition, I am “passing” as an inside member of the tea and noh subcultures. However some of my seniors in these spheres, while being conscious of the indelible fact of my migrant status, at some times would merely recognise me as a competent acquirer of the basic literacies, making steady progress through the system. At different times, myself and others (un?)like me may prefer to see my performance of tea knowledge as something approaching caricature, perhaps even approaching the obsessive or parodic. This reading of my reinvention of self is possible, even without a critical vocabulary informed by the Lacan versus Deleuze exchange on desire and lack (Buchanan 2000).

It is my exploration of how tea practices are represented in films that the autobiographical ethnography component of this project is most apparent. By taking advantage of the CDA and cultural studies literature and the various modes of textual analysis they advocate, I am able to critically reflect on how I have positioned my work across the continuum of native ethnography, ethnic
autobiography, and autobiographical ethnography. By referring to the partiality of my account and the contingent nature of the claims I advance, it also opens a space to comment on how certain versions of native ethnography and ethnic autobiography may tend to selectively reify aspects of identity (Reed-Danahay 1997). The following section will introduce the methods of reflexive self-representation I intend to employ as a way of moderating any reification of identity.

**Reflexive method: subject as written, subject as writer**

This section identifies the mutually constitutive relationship between the self as represented (the subject as written, the knower as known) and the self as representing (the subject as writer, the knower as knowing). The use of reflexive dialogues as a device for linking the range of investments foregrounded in the self-representational passages and what is examined in the critical vocabulary of cultural studies, film studies, and CDA is presented as one method for clarifying this mutually constitutive relationship.

Subjectivity is not a factor in Grace's explicitly personal definition of reflexivity as an outing of the suppressed culture of research activity which requires critical self-reflection on the conception, execution and dissemination of the research project (Grace 1998). For me, the backstage reality of research life is primarily experienced as an emotional terrain whose folds are intensified by swings between setbacks, incremental progress and substantial breakthroughs in the cycle mapped by Grace. These emotional features of candidacy assume certain meanings in the psychological landscape of desire, lack, and excess. One preliminary condition for marking the distinction between the knower as known and the knower as knowing is using self-representational discourse to outline my competing and contradictory investments in this project.
Reflexivity in autoethnography, like identity formation, is constituted within representation. A broad distinction between self-representational discourse and the analytical discourse is a useful point of entry into the question of to interrogate my own self-representation. The passages of self-representational discourse tend to be concentrated in several sections in Chapters 1 and 2, although similar passages also fragment longer blocks of textual analysis in later chapters.

These explicitly self-representational passages attempt to reveal my investments in this project: psychological; social, in the sense of being a member of family and various community groups; professional, both in the sense of having the authority to lecture about tea to Japanese and foreign students and needing the credentials of a higher degree for the trek to tenure; and financial. Although this listing may imply that these sets of investments are separate and can be readily retrieved from the passages of self-representational discourse, they do interpenetrate each other. For example, the issue of being legitimated by the award of a higher degree has psychological, social, and professional ramifications that mediate my performance of a masculine identity. In social contexts this would include my appearance as spouse, father, son, brother, neighbour, and community committee member, and in the professional arena performing as a lecturer teaching about tea and noh, as a lecturer learning about tea and noh, and as a junior foreign colleague applying for promotion. The impossibility of retrieving neatly isolated examples of these multiple roles from self-representational passages (Ronai 1992) points to an ironic collapse into the apparently unified subjectivity of the author. Given my interest in identifying the mutually constitutive relationship between the

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21 The attention given to male beauty work in Japan (Miller 2003) substantiates examinations of the role of aesthetics as nationalism in the rethinking of identity in contemporary Japan (Iida 2002). Miller marks a shift from the received tradition of authentic masculinity, the three highs of high salary, high educational qualifications and tall stature, to the trinity of comfortable, communicative and co-operative. Miller speculatively notes that this shift from the male as a carrier of desirable external attributes characteristic of the corporate alpha male to a subject endowed with user-friendly interactive features may intensify with a trajectory continuing towards an integration of these two sets of traits: elegant, egalitarian, and erotic.
self as represented and the self as representing, stalling in the dead end of
authorial subjectivity appears to be an obstacle to making any clear
identification of a coherent methodology.

This broad distinction between self-representational discourse and the
analytical discourse proposed earlier collapses with the realisation that
performances of being a critical analyst in Chapters 6-10 are acts of becoming.
These written testimonies to my desire to improve are motivated by a gendered
series of learned behaviours culminating in the desire to be validated
(competitiveness, diligence, and perseverance), and undercut by the usual
anxieties and lack of confidence about academic standards which afflict class
traitors.

This argument for the status of the latter half of the thesis as an act of
becoming is not intended to deny that the plurality of social roles referred to
previously are also driven by compulsions to meet, exceed and/or escape
normative community standards. What is different is ways of being in these
social roles tend to be more stable, and even when subject to dramatic external
events and mortality issues, performances of these roles can proceed along the
lines of a selection from available possibilities. The fact that they are shaped by
social support and sanctions marks a strong contrast with the solitary privilege
of chipping away at 80,000 words. This sense of isolation is a typical
component of higher degree by distance candidacy, and I am grateful for
domestic and employment circumstances that allow me to lock myself in my
office and practice touch-typing. At this point, the experience of learning to be
a father, for example, appears to have a shallower learning curve than the
process of making significant advances in understanding the need to be vigilant
when mapping the play of power.²³

This section is ostensibly concerned with identifying the mechanisms I will
employ throughout the thesis to reflexively address issues of textual self-

²³ I reserve the right to reverse this assessment once my son enters puberty.
representation. Thus far, I have given attention to the sorts of masculinist investments underpinning this project and it should now be obvious that this psychological territory is one of the contexts of this document’s production. I will now introduce how reflexive dialogues function as a device for linking the range of investments foregrounded in the self-representational passages and what is examined in the critical vocabulary of cultural studies, film studies, and CDA.

Reflexive dialogues can be used to clarify the mutually constitutive relationship between the self as writer and the self as self-written. Reading between the self-representational discourse, these dialogues, and the performances of analysis opens a space for establishing a distinction between the knower as a knowing subject and the knower as an object to be known. Reading between these three sets of texts is intended to make the thematic concerns of the project comprehensible in terms of my psychological, social, and professional investments in this project. It is in this intertextual reading that the return of the repressed is anticipated.

Chapter 5 maps the discourse of transience. This performance of cultural history interrogates the phenomenon of nationalist glorification of death. What is not foregrounded in this chapter is how my experience of family grief here in Fukuoka is one subtext for designating that theme as worthy of attention. These obsessive and analytical concerns with mortality as aesthetics are consolidated in Chapter 9 where I instrumentally project these themes onto the surface of Kumai’s film and read them off a range of related pop culture texts. In contrast to the explicit positioning of self in the analysis of Chapters 6, 7 and 8, authorial subjectivities are largely submerged in Chapters 5 and 9.

In direct contrast to these two chapters, Chapter 6 describes and deconstructs the social and corporeal pleasures of taking tea before using a reflexive dialogue to fracture the unity of authorial subjectivity. In Chapter 7 I locate myself in the critique in two ways: by drawing attention to the circumstances
of the production of that description of the pleasures of tea, a connection between research and teaching, I expose my professional activities to public gaze; and by emphasising the relative seniority of Anderson, a certified tea instructor, to my low intermediate student of tea status, I position the chapter as an action research report written by a student to a system of power/knowledge. This assumption of the position of tea insider continues in Chapter 8. I analyse Teshigahara’s film from the positions of both orthodox and heterodox tea consumer, privilege those features of the film amenable to static analysis. To summarise, my subjectivity is explicitly foregrounded in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, while in Chapters 5 and 9 that anxiety about the legitimacy of tea authority is suppressed by a thematic interest in the power of authority to consume its consumers.

The following section will argue that the dialogue is an appropriate form for a reflexive suspension of the relationship between data, theory and method, along the lines proposed by Law (1994). It will also suggest that the combination of exploratory forms of writing with more conventional versions of academic writing is one avenue for expressing how subjectivity spans the material and the semiotic. In short, the following section attempts to justify dialogue as an autoethnographic device in the terms outlined in the earlier survey of autoethnographic devices and reconfigurations of hard social science tenets.

**Reflexive dialogue as autoethnography: getting to here**

This section introduces a device that is deployed occasionally throughout the thesis. Given current debates around the question of identity as a discursive effect mediated by language, the dialogue form may be useful in bringing into view different aspects of subjectivity. Arguing that this first person/third person division between Cross and Tim is putting the unified self under erasure seems to be too grand a claim for the modest contents of what follows immediately below. However the collective effect of these dialogues throughout the thesis can hopefully strengthen the links between the major themes addressed across
the chapters. Within the frame of asking where is subjectivity in textual analysis, and positioning this reflection as a performance of autoethnography, these dialogues are an exploratory supplement to the more conventional interrogation of concepts of subjectivity with discourses of critical discourse analysis sustained throughout the thesis.

These dialogues are an oblique approach to the cultural politics of self-understanding (Rosenwald & Ochberg 1992a). Rather than pen a seamless narrative, a form naturalised by the teleological certainty of the modernist novel which may conventionally invite a willing suspension of the impulse to scepticism, the contrived form of the dialogue emphasises its own textuality. This drawing of attention to the mediating function of textual devices is important because it raises the question why the text was designed in its final configuration. Incidentally, this emphasis on self-conscious textuality is taken up in a later chapter, addressing the postmodernist structure of Kumai Kei’s 1989 film narrative.

Studies of culture across disciplinary lines confirm that the dialogue is one of several alternatives to the empty certainty of a textual monologue (van Maanen 1988). These alternatives can be justified by the evocative power they add to the disembodied certainty of prose, provided the reader performs a theological reading. Narratives with feminine and masculine voices outline tensions around the reification of gendered positions on abortion ideologies (Ellis & Bochner 1992). If performed as a script to be voiced, “nuances of feeling, expression, and interpretation can be communicated more clearly, and emotional responses and identification can be evoked” (Ellis & Flaherty 1992, p.8). Presenting a series of reflective passages emphasises the contradictory complexities of the life world. One challenge of autoethnography is finding appropriate textual and emotional metaphors for the interpenetrating components of researcher as reflective writer, researcher as fieldworker who incorporates those written reflections into fluctuating experiences and altered practices, and spouse as researcher (Ronai 1992).
In addition to autoethnography delivering a reading which can evoke a stronger sense of what it means to experience the world from a particular set of positions, the subjectivity of the author is rendered in a finer grain through the use of forms such as dialogues. Advocates of these more exploratory forms of writing suggests that the mechanics of that representation are more visible because of the reflexive attention given to the situated and contingent nature of its claims (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates 2001). This retreat from theory everywhere is one way to interrogate the relationship between data, theory and method (Law 1994). This embrace of the local is an impulse that can take us beyond merely backgrounding theory and foregrounding experience (Foley 1998). As a localised inquiry which tests and explores its methodologies and outcomes (Law 1994, p.97), autoethnography can examine two related issues: how theory shapes experience; and how certain experiences structure a predilection for a particular theoretical orientation. It is in this reflective turn that the material and semiotic aspects of subjectivity can be explored. While not erasing the unified self, the Cross-Tim division may open a space that encourages the return of the repressed.

Implicit in my dialogues is the presentation of self as performer of certain orthodoxies. These range from those analytical and reflective acts that can be directly assessed on the basis of the textual and conceptual coherence of their accounts. The question of the extent to which the text demonstrates a legitimate performance of more embodied literacies depends partly on the nature of the particular extract. When the dialogues address possible modes of experiencing tea related experiences and material culture, the issue of assessing the competence of the writing becomes more complex. There may be an impulse to evaluate the dialogues in an almost literary manner, interrogating them in terms of their success to credibly evoke some close substitute for first hand experience. The purpose of these comments is not to limit through anticipation the sorts of readings that might be possible. Such an act would be futile. My intention is simply to flag these issues now as part of the conscious business of
representing experience in text. This is one way of allowing readers to later evaluate how successfully the thesis has linked analysis and subjectivity.

Reflexivity: project selection and formulation

The following dialogue is one response to Grace’s 1998 criteria for reflexivity, a quick peek backstage at the changes of direction that shaped project selection and formulation. In addressing the conception of this project, it refers to three contexts: work, play, and play as work. In outlining how this thesis is located in a career trajectory, this dialogue points towards certain constraints and dilemmas, upon writing-up. The critical intent of the wider research project is addressed in a later chapter.

Cross: Why tea?
Tim: Originally it was going to be a participant-based account of curricular change in an English department at a junior college for women, extending my Master’s work on action research.
Cross: Rudely interrupted by an illegal dismissal, four years of litigation. So rather than invest your project formulation eggs in the same territory as your employment, you chose to diversify. Perhaps even trying to escape the ESL ghetto by repositioning yourself closer to cultural studies and Japanese studies? Tim: A strategy which may complicate my efforts to gain tenure in a university English Department where the dominant definition of the field of Speech and Communication is all rats and stats, very pre-critical.
Cross: This explains why your internally published papers open with the formulaic appearance of communicating one thing or another. Anyway being unemployed gave you two essentials for this project: increased access to the tea classroom and a reason to be suspicious of institutional forms of power and authority. It might be generative to explore how the experience of being illegally dismissed created a subtext for your tea room presence.
Tim: One ethical dilemma centred on how I would represent this tension between appreciation and gratitude to one’s teacher for an initiation into higher levels of tea knowledge while keeping in play the awareness that an ideology
of a nationally distinctive culture was one important frisson structuring my tea room pleasures.

Cross: Rather than an exclusive focus on your experience of various modes of authority as tea pedagogy in Japanese as a Second Language, you partly sidestep that conflict by incorporating your analysis of tea transmission practices into how tea was represented in cinema.

Tim: It was one option that addressed the location I was speaking from, taking into account and the contingent nature of the claims I wanted to advance and how my disciplinary predilections have been shaped by an institutionalised programme of study spanning drama, textual analysis and culture. While avoiding a dead end collapse into my subjectivity I wanted to explore what it means to be a consumer of images and practices which constitute their own configuration of the authentic. At this point the best I can offer is a series of interpretative claims, warranted by my tea room experience and shaped by reading critical social literature.

Cross: Should examiners then assume that your teaching is one site for reflecting on the execution your project and its dissemination?

Tim: The research activities associated with teaching would be one conventional form of dissemination, but my ongoing presence in tea rooms could also be regarded as a more localised version of that process. And there is my teaching of university courses about tea in English to foreign exchange students and local students: a national university has invested me with the authority to explain a nationally distinctive cultural practice to Japanese students. Considering this anomaly of how someone who is certified as a low level consumer of a particular system of knowledge production, a configuration that cultural nativists would regard as the exclusive domain of those blessed with a certain genetic, cultural and linguistic pedigree, I am regarded as an expert in a specific teaching situation. More than the certainty of printed dissemination, teaching about tea, like the honour of being able to learn advanced forms of regionally distinctive tea practices, would be a site of ongoing contestation.
Conclusion

This chapter outlines the importance of reflexivity in this thesis by positioning textual analysis and social practices as technologies of the self. By showing how reliability, validity and generalisability are reconfigured in autoethnographic practices, I review the role of tea in constructing a national identity for domestic and global consumption and the formation of individual subjectivity. With these methodological and thematic foundations in place, the following two chapters survey discourse analysis practices, including the emergence of CDA and poststructuralist reading strategies. My intention in this historical survey of analytical traditions is to chart the emergence of critical tools that make my textual analysis of power and authority in chapters 6-9 possible.
CHAPTER 3

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS AS AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

Finding the field: textual analysis as autoethnography

CDA should be open its analysis to different theoretical discourses which construct the problem in focus in different ways. ... The items are as follows: colonisation/appropriation; globalisation/localisation; reflexivity/ideology; identity/difference. There are two pervasive concerns within this agenda which cut across items and are therefore best not included themselves as items: power and hybridity. Given the orientation to problems, power and struggle over power are constant concerns for CDA (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999, p.93).

But the work of Jakobson, like that of Saussure himself, wanders like a ghost in the machine of poststructuralism, constantly informing and being challenged by a tradition that is deeply philosophical and not linguistic at all. It is from this emergent paradigm of work in Paris in the 1960s and 1970s that the categories now so familiar as poststructuralist—subjectivity, conscious/unconscious, gender, race, embodiment, intertextuality, myth, narrative, discourse, writing/reading/re-writing, deconstruction, iterativity, performativity—emerge as a new metalanguage (a language/theory for talking about language) for the human sciences. In this process almost no element of the earlier Saussurean/structuralist model of communication remained intact (Threadgold 2000, p.41 [emphasis in original]).
Introduction

This chapter advances my argument that textual self-representation can be a means of resisting the systematic structuring of desire by institutions. My intention in this chapter is to survey various forms of critical textual analysis which are relevant to my general concern with power and authority in institutionalised tea pedagogy in later chapters, and more specifically in Chapter 8. This chapter maps out a foundation which allows me to later argue the benefits of combining the close reading strategies of critical discourse analysis (CDA) with the wider concerns of textual production and reception of cultural studies and film studies in Chapter 4. Chapter 3 explains how I use CDA to integrate three modes of cultural studies (production-based studies; text-based studies; and studies of lived culture) as one way to interrogate my embodied readings of a set of tea film texts. Deploying these three approaches to culture and the resulting readings of tea texts is my attempt to diagnose tea’s place in a history of the present.

One central assumption is that modes of the subject are necessarily implicated in doing and conceptualising cultural history. However considerations of subjectivity are sometimes absent from early CDA versions of textual analysis. In this chapter I refer to later chapters containing examples of situated criticism of tea practices and texts to demonstrate the analytical benefits of emphasising the intertextual links between lived experience and the particular range of interpretation made possible by various discursive positionings of my selves.

My thesis contributes to debates about the implications of various concepts of subjectivity for textual analysis, and demonstrates the benefits of using critical discourse analysis (CDA) to integrate the concerns of cultural studies and film studies. Using the more differentiated sense of self referred to in Chapter 2 to generate a wider conception of textual reception is an attempt to make more delicate readings of texts. As the interests of CDA merge with wider social issues in cultural studies, analysis oscillates between the linguistic to the social. Although subjectivity is often left unexplored as a possible point of entry to
textual analysis in these swings from the local to the global, it is my contention that subjectivity is important for textual reception practices. I will also explore the problems of positioning textual analysis as self-representation in Chapter 7.

**Reflection: how else could this chapter have been designed?**

The justification for including this digression comes from definitions of reflexivity that call for more honest (less seamless) accounts of the bumpy detours of the conception and execution of the research project (Grace 1998). By invoking this definition of reflexivity my intention is to anticipate certain objections and refute them. Certain elements of the literature survey performed here in Chapter 3, while being a generic component of the higher degree thesis, may be accused of being irrelevant to my project of teasing out the implications of globalised tea practices for processes of subjectivity and identity formation. If this configuration of reflexivity is deemed to be insufficient to justify the presence of this digression there are other alternatives to which I can appeal. For example, Fairclough’s 1995 question, how else could it have been designed?, could be invoked to account for a less than linear thesis design. Whether this anticipation of certain objections amounts to a satisfactory deflection of criticisms of thematic incoherence remains to be seen.

Let me start by taking on board the definition of reflexivity advanced by Grace (1998) at the beginning of Chapter 2 that calls for an account of project formulation. One example of changes of direction that resulted from problems of methodology and analysis centre on my aspiration to perform a modified version of conversation analysis (CA) which located meanings of texts in their internal features and external contexts of interpretation.

It was my intention to contextualise developments in CA by historical reviewing how various levels of the textual analysis of authority became possible (Habermas 1979, Pennycook 1999, Pether & Threadgold 2000). Following Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (1996) and Poynton (2000), the foundation of this genealogy from formal linguistics to CDA is the distinction
between conceptions of language as an abstract system (Saussure 1974 [1916]) with a biological basis (Chomsky 1965)\textsuperscript{24} and alternative understandings of language as a social and evolving process implicated in sociocultural practices, such as the construction of identity along lines of power and authority (Halliday 1985, Poynton 1985, Kress 1985, Fairclough 1992, Wodak \textit{et al.} 1999).

Debates emerging from notions of language as an abstract system include criticisms of the one-pointed focus on grammar in Chomsky’s model of competence and the absence of the expressive aspect of social life (Hymes 1972). Ambiguities inherent in an unqualified notion of ideal, notably the drift between an abstract perfection and a normative definition of something to be emulated, were argued to prevent the advance of any linguistic analysis employing this pair of idealisations (Harris 1990). The argument of Hymes for the analytical benefits of including communication were in turn subject to critical scrutiny which engaged Hymes in terms of his redefinition of appropriateness (Atkinson, Dilby & Roca 1988).

Unpacking this distinction between language as an abstract system and language in actual use (Brown & Yule 1983, Carter & Simpson 1989) clarifies movements in the levels of analysis, from below and above the sentence level (Tsui 1992), and beyond (Willis, D. 1992). Discourse addresses situations of power inequalities (Coulthard 1992c), including classrooms (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975, Willis, J. 1992), and therapy (Labov & Fanshel 1977). Significant work examines the relationship between sound and meaning systems (Brazil 1992, Coulthard 1992a, Coulthard 1992b, Hewings 1992), logic in conversation (Grice 1975), and lexis and discourse (McCarthy 1992).

\textsuperscript{24} While Chomsky’s formal linguistics are not central concerns of this project, his habit of interrogating authority as a form of manufactured consent has been inspiring for my more modest efforts in Chapters 6-10 to map the ideologies surrounding tea practices. On a more practical level, I was a member of the organising committee of a local film festival which featured Jan Junkerman, the director of \textit{Chomsky 9/11: Power and Terror}. Noko Island has a population of around 600, and on 9/13/2003, 120 people attended the screenings and discussion session.
The categories of behaviour and non-verbal components of communication are important evidence in the analysis of linguistic realisation (Coulthard & Brazil 1992).

Against the background of this survey of the context of CA, I intended to explore tensions between the notion that the meaning of the text resided primarily inside the text (Sinclair 1992) and more critical attempts to link meaning production and consumption with wider issues of social injustice (Ribeiro 2000). This demand for concrete evidence from the text to justify its codified analysis contrasts with poststructuralist denials of the limits of interpretation, including assertion of the inherent porosity of texts (Derrida 1976), and notions of reading texts for the traces of power and history (Lee & Poyton 2000b): reading within a text for understanding; reading upon a text to interpret it through another text; reading against a text to criticise its ideological underpinnings (Scholes 1985). This connecting of the text and its external context entailed paying attention to how gender, race, class and discourses of the body contributed towards the allocation of specific reading positions along lines of social inequality (Wright 2000).

Early in the project I aspired to writing a series of dialogues in English which would have fictionalised the Japanese interactions in tearooms. While I realised that the limits of CA as merely interpretative were a major shortcoming that I needed to explicitly acknowledge, I wanted to identify how hosts and guests verbally construct themselves as authoritative and legitimate tea subjects in tea room exchanges. The aspiration was to extend work on turn-taking rules (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974) by generating insights into how the initiate, response, feedback (IRF) pattern operates in dialogues between senior tea practitioners (professional tea teachers) and their junior charges. In an analytical frame that accounts for the dominance of teacher talk in EFL classrooms, the subdivision of the Independent category into Pseudo and Free (Willis, J. 1992) initially appeared to offer a powerful parallel to my tea field work quest for the authentic: the distinction between tea that is a competitive
display of orthodoxy for the initiated (authentic form) and the practice of tea that embodies its rhetorical promise of hospitality (authentic spirit). My intuition was that contrasting CA studies of how speakers frame conversations by managing openings, topic allocation, and closings with recent CDA work in the asymmetries between institutional and personal framing (Ribeiro 2000) might be useful in highlighting how tea discourse shapes a particular sense of self. However, given the time constraints of candidature, I was not confident that I could adequately address questions about the constructed nature of the fictionalised dialogues. Anticipating objections that I was using and abusing fiction (Helsinger 1994) while massaging the evidence (Rothfield 1994) could have been countered to some extent by invoking the evidence of experience (Scott 1994). Alternatively, I could have extended the Chapter 2 concerns with how reflexivity in autoethnography reconfigures social scientific notions of reliability, validity and generalisability (Bruner 1995, Foley 1998, Zuss 1999, Zussman 2000). My decision however was to employ the evidence of experience as a means of supplementing the analytical traditions of CDA, film studies and cultural studies while concentrating on film text analysis, and to reserve my right to return to the territory of the fictionalised dialogues as autoethnography at a later date.

By taking this position, I acknowledge the inevitability of criticisms which remind me that a survey of non-critical traditions of textual analysis is not integral to a critical history aspiring to map the life of the tea mind. However this movement from being concerned with the internal mechanics of the construction of textual meaning to a wider awareness of how the limits of textual production and consumption are shaped by circular discourses of power parallels a significant development in my tea life. The private significance of tea for me was no longer confined to the experience of spatially being in tea texts. I began to see my tea experiences as being structured by the intersection of tea discourse and the concerns of cultural studies with the formation of legitimate subjects. The incremental steps towards being able to analyse the mutual constitution of communal and individual identities through the play and
display of power and authority were accompanied by an emerging sense of how the tea tradition was speaking me into a particular subject position on the margin of the discourses of the cultural nativists. One justification for the forms of textual analysis surveyed in this chapter is their status as the foundation of my later expedition into concerns with text production and interpretation, and social analysis of discourse events. Close attention to the surface textual features described here in Chapter 3, when integrated with the wider concerns of social and cultural theory outlined in Chapter 4, can generate evocative accounts of the ideological work performed by tea texts. This is the aspiration for Chapters 5-9.

Poststructuralist analysis

The following sections map out a foundation which argues for the benefits of combining the close reading strategies of critical discourse analysis (CDA) with the wider concerns of textual production and reception of cultural and film studies. Taken collectively, these surveys explain how I will later use CDA to integrate three modes of cultural studies (production-based studies; text-based studies; and studies of lived culture) as one way to interrogate my embodied readings of a set of tea film texts in Chapters 9 and 10. My deployment of these three approaches and the resulting readings is my attempt to diagnose tea’s place in my history of the present. One central assumption is that modes of the subject are necessarily implicated in doing and conceptualising cultural history; considerations of subjectivity are often absent from CDA versions of textual analysis. I here refer to later chapters containing examples of situated criticism of tea practices and texts to demonstrate the analytical benefits of emphasising the intertextual links between lived experience and the particular range of interpretation made possible by various discursive positionings of my selves. The intention of this section is to address the role of the subject in issues of textual reception and production, as one way to extend the survey of autoethnography in a previous chapter.
Linguistic representations of reality: subjectivity, metafunctions

With the collapse of the unified self (Goffman 1956) and other related Cartesian notions like objectivity (Kuhn 1970), poststructuralists conceptualise the self as being constructed through ideology (Althusser 1984), discourse (Foucault 1987) and language (Lacan 1977). The subject is referred to as a context sensitive site, and stronger versions of this position deny the stable existence of an essential identity implied by 'I' (Derrida 1976). As theories of subjectivity and identity formation emphasise the self as both process and product (Mansfield 2000), textual theories have moved beyond the constraints of the dominant readings versus resistant readings framework into questions of the role of discourse and sociocultural practices in defining the limits of interpretation (Lee & Poynton 2000a). These cultural studies based arguments for multiple readings of various cultural forms tend not to address the role of context-specific multiple subjectivities. I would like to explore how attention to the multiple identities of textual consumers might address certain theoretical issues arising from how film studies and cultural studies frame their respective objects of study in Chapter 4.

I would now like to address the move to more critical forms of textual interrogation which are performed at the intersection of philosophical and linguistic traditions. In contrast to the largely non-critical examples surveyed in the previous section, the critical tradition of discourse analysis goes beyond merely describing discursive practices. There is a wider concern with the relationship between texts and their institutional contexts made visible through a three dimensional model, the primary text analysis, the secondary analysis of the processes of text production and interpretation, and the third level of the social analysis of discourse events (Fairclough 1992). The systemic linguistic framework developed by Halliday (1985) in Australia is widely acknowledged as a significant component of an ongoing project to integrate close linguistic analysis of spoken and written texts with more expansive concerns with ideologies. Significant aspects of social theory that have often been employed in the effort to link close analysis with ideologies include Foucault's
genealogical approach (1972), Bourdieu’s concepts of field and habitus (1993), cultural imperialism (Said 1993) and the notion of the socially situated self as gendered (Benhabib 1992). This literature review anticipates a deconstructing of the corporeal and social pleasures of the tea moment in Chapter 6.

Halliday’s proposal that language could be studied in terms of three metafunctions, textual, relational and ideational, brings into view a set of analytical possibilities significantly different to those accessed by the transformational-generative grammar models. This required moving away from the idea that the meaning was best analysed at the word or clause level to demonstrate that the text as a whole could be considered the basic semantic unit. The existence of mutually constitutive processes was essential to Halliday’s functional grammar. The clause was argued to be constituted by grammatical systems (transitivity, mood, and the given and new of theme/rheme) corresponding to the three metafunctions, and these metafunctions and the grammatical structures which realised them both were shaped and influenced by their context. The assertion that “language constitutes context as well as simultaneously being constituted by it” (Poynton 2000, p.31) was incorporated in reader practices of intertextuality (Kristeva 1986) and interdiscursivity (Pêcheux 1982), all justified by “There is no outside to this text” (Derrida 1976, p.158). While Halliday may have been soft-peddling when he emphasised that paying attention to the totality of language posed no challenge to the formalist paradigm (Halliday 1978, p.36), his distinctive conception of a grammar as a “meaning potential” (‘what can be said’) rather than a set of rules (‘what must be said’) (van Leeuwen 1996, p.32) created a space for later theorists to explore how ideologies set limits for the sorts of choices which shape texts. This attention to the ideological inflection of textual production and reception in turn allows texts to be examined in terms of how they are implicated in the three constructive effects

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25 “Its [systemic-functional linguistics] particular heresies were its view of text (not word or clause) as the basic semantic unit and its understanding of text and context as profoundly, and constitutively, interrelated” (Poynton 2000, p.30).
of discourse: the identity function carries the formation of what are variously referred to as social identities, subject positions, or social subjects; the relational function carries the formation of social relationships between these social subjects; and the ideational carries the formation of knowledge systems which provide a degree of social coherence between and among groups.

As the second half of this thesis demonstrates, if the linguistic analysis of texts deals with Fairclough’s second dimension concerns of text production, interpretation and distribution and third level attention to discourse events, then the effects of competing ideologies and their bounded areas of power-knowledge on individual subjectivity and group identities and attitudes become subject to analytical scrutiny.

Significant precursors in the implementation of these three levels of analysis include the work of Pêcheux and critical linguistics work on the role of transitivity processes in the representation of reality. While Pêcheux addressed language as being a material form of ideology, his linguistic analysis obscured the organisational features of texts by breaking them into clauses and pursuing a semantic focus on key words at the sentence level. In terms of Halliday’s three metafunctions, he addressed the ideational aspect but the interpersonal functions of identity and relations were more fully explored by examining how the process of articulation facilitates the linguistic construction of subjectivity. In making these criticisms, Fairclough (1992) also noted a set of shortcomings shared with Fowler and his colleagues at the University of East Anglia working in critical linguistics (Fowler et al. 1979). Analysis tended to proceed on the basis of an assumption about the top-down nature of power, and because meaning was reified, discourse was seen to be static and not a site of ongoing contestation. For these reasons, Fairclough calls for more attention to the contexts of textual production and interpretation. Like Fowler in his later work (1996) Fairclough recognises a need for a more incisive methodology which clarifies the relationship between ideology and language. This was a necessary step in the movement away from the simplistic rendering of attributing
particular ideological effects to certain textual features. The problem which needed to be addressed was the tendency of ideologies to naturalise certain attitudes and ways of experiencing the world, and the possible consequence that textual consumers may become oblivious to discursively shaped assumptions. Fairclough notes that agency (Giddens 1986), and its limitations in textual interpretation, were not addressed. What needed clarification here were two issues, both are which are relevant to my later performances of autoethnography as textual analysis: the issue of the interpreter as agent, and the reflexive issue of how this writing subject represented as "knower as known" is implicated in the process of interpretation.

Having outlined some of the analytical possibilities of using the three metafunctions to interrogate the linguistic representation of reality, I would now like to consider Foucault's contribution to debates on the discursive formation of agency. Foucault's work on the constitution of the social through institutionalised language reveal how the social world is constituted. Foucault's shift from his earlier archaeological concern with how discursive formations generate rules that constitute legitimate areas of knowledge (1972) through his genealogical studies on power-knowledge (1979) to his exploration of his ethical self as the subject of moral actions (1987) resulted in discourse being marginalised. Despite Foucault's problematic relationship with disciplinarity as a consequence of its institutional location, his archaeological notion of discourse tended to loosely correspond with the fault lines of the academy's disciplines, subject to complex interdiscursive and intertextual relationships which sustained relational, rather than absolute, distinctions between for example the discourse of history and the discourse of economics.

Readings of Foucault that advance "beyond the linguistically reflected power exchanges between persons and groups to an analysis of the structures within which they are deployed" (Shapiro 1981, p.162) may lose the sense that it is possible to learn how to change social practices linguistically (Cross 1996). The cautiously optimistic among critical social scientists occupy this territory
where language is one considered point of entry into countering the daily experience of injustice, subject to the limitations of being embodied and enmeshed in contradictory sets of supportive and coercive social relationships (Fay 1987). Less utopian commentators were more sceptical of a privileging of language: “It is difficult to see, however, how an exclusively linguistic agenda might be used proactively to imagine effectively, much less bring about radical social change. This is in spite of the sophistication of the understanding of discourse practices and discursive formations that it has become possible to bring to bear retrospectively on the present.” (Poynton 2000, p.37) It is around these wider questions of the relationship between language and the social that practitioners of CDA sought to integrate the theoretical insights of social science with close textual analysis of the linguistic structure of injustices in the creation and transformation of economic, cultural and symbolic capital (Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard 1996).

Against a background of raising dissatisfaction across a range of disciplines with the behaviourist paradigm, including feminist critiques of the myth of objectivity leading to arguments for an epistemology based in feminist viewpoints (Hartsock 1983, Harding 1986), and the reduction of science’s self representation as the means of discovering truth to the normative ideology of a closed community (Kuhn 1970), educational theorists were attempting to implement a double dialect of theory and practice (Carr & Kemmis 1983). The impulse was to move beyond the impositions of dehumanising tendencies of positivist research and the failure of interpretative social science to reconfigure the theory-practice relationship in a manner that did more than merely offer a conservative argument that silenced discontent with social injustice. This development became the foundation of critical social science and part of a pedagogy of liberation (Freire 1971, Horton & Freire 1991). As the notion of false consciousness became problematic (Fay 1987), in part because it was seen to be reintroducing an objectionable element of positivist social science, the privileged status of the external expert, there was a quiet retreat from this grandiose rhetoric of liberation as the panacea of ideologically distorted self
understandings. Power was no longer being seen as something possessed; in Foucault’s productive model, power circulated and was more dialectical or in stronger versions, circular, as notions of agency and structure were also seen to be constituted by power (Dyrberg 1997).

Critical pedagogy and critical media literacy

The body of literature associated with critical pedagogy is relevant to my concern with the contrasts between linguistic and poststructuralist versions of discourse analysis because it began the task of integrating dense social theory with accounts of social inequity as the basis for praxis, considered social intervention. It drew on developments in conversational analysis (CA) that were emerging in ethnomethodology as portable tape recording technology helped blur the distinction between talk and text. Once spoken text was transcribed into the fixity of written text, this written representation of speech, which tended to elide both the expressive “grain of the voice” (Barthes 1977) and the embodied participation of the speakers, could be analysed in a number of ways. This includes positioning transcriptions of speech as both a specific example of language in use and as a model of how an abstract language system developed regional adaptations, and other sociolinguistic concerns; for example, how power and gender are affecting turn-taking and control of the floor (Tannen 1993). Concerns with the reflective improvement of teaching practices and the quest for a closer relationship between values espoused (what is said) and values in use (what is done) in educational sites (Kemmis & McTaggart 1981) fuelled demand for entry level methodology handbooks introducing the basic concepts and goals of classroom based research (Hook 1981). These activities drew on and extended the reflective practitioner tradition (Deakin University 1988, van Manen 1990). In turn, textual analysis practices centred on classroom discourse and their institutional context made issues of curriculum content topics of public debate and anticipated the emergence of literacy as a critical notion that should be taught to primary, secondary and tertiary students. Taking the assumption of texts as being constructed by a range of choices that tend to suggest a certain limited range of
reading positions (Kress 1985, Hodge & Kress 1993, Kress & van Leeuwen 1996), students were shown how to explore the ways in which factual writing and other genres transform representations of ‘truth’ and at best partially reproduce as they construct an ideologically shaped version of reality (Mellor, Patterson and O’Neill 1991).

In terms of making this three dimensional model comprehensible to secondary and tertiary students of critical media literacy, Fairclough offers this instructive set of questions designed to address multimodal texts:

[I]t ought to be an objective of media and language education to ensure that students can answer four questions about any media text:

1. How is the text designed, why is it designed this way, and how else could it have been designed?

2. How are texts of this sort produced, and in what ways are they likely to be interpreted and used?

3. What does this text indicate about the media order of discourse?

4. What wider sociocultural processes is this text a part of, what are its wider social conditions, and what are its likely effects? ... We might add to the four questions so far a fifth question suggested in Luke et al. (1994):

5. What can be done about this text? (Fairclough 1995, p.202, p 205 [emphasis in original])

While proponents of film studies and cultural studies may be inclined to criticise strategies of this kind for their programmatic nature, both fields would benefit from the impulse to finely read practices of textual consumption, production and distribution in terms of their historical specificity. The inclusion of the final question from Luke et al. makes the activist agenda obvious. In terms of my own work on how tea practices and texts are implicated in the
aesthetic strategies of imperialist agendas, these questions provided a useful foundation from which to engage the literatures of subjectivity, autoethnography and cultural studies. These literatures have been framed by poststructuralist concerns with overlapping questions organised around the themes of identity (the instability of the performed categories of sexuality, gender, ethnicity), and textuality (readerly versus writerly texts, corporeography, situated knowledges). Arguments for the impossibility of poststructuralist versions of discourse analysis refer to the ongoing deep engagements of practitioners with Husserl, Nietzsche, Hegel and Kant which predate the patriarchal status of Saussure for practitioners of linguistic discourse analysis. These contentious remain conscious of an unavoidable paradox: “when we practice poststructuralist discourse analysis we inevitably need to do some of the same things that older structuralist and linguistic methodologies also do, albeit with a different understanding of why we do them” (Threadgold 2000, p.40). I will proceed by summarising Threadgold’s outline of the points at which significant understandings exist as one way of framing the later account of how discourse analysis is reconfigured in social research and cultural studies.

The most concise paraphrasing of Threadgold’s reconfiguration of poststructuralism’s philosophical genealogy as an archaeological search unconcerned with a beginning is a list of the conventional binaries that have been destabilised and reversed by social theorists including Derrida (1976), Foucault (1987), Kristeva (1986), Butler (1990) and Spivak (2000): “subjectivity, conscious/unconscious, gender, race, embodiment, intertextuality, myth, narrative, discourse, writing/reading/re-writing, deconstruction, iterativity, performativity” (Threadgold 2000, p.41 [emphasis in original]). This coupling of theorists and themes is not a definitive inventory and could conceivably contain the previously cited research agenda for CDA: “globalisation/ localisation; reflexivity/ ideology; identity/ difference” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999, p.93). Working from a linguistic perspective Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) mine the territory of late modernity by
principally referring to Harvey, Giddens and Habermas before engaging the services of postmodern and feminist theorists.

Threadgold’s strategy of putting Saussure under erasure is a deft deployment of Derrida that compliments Poynont’s contrasting construction of Saussure as having established the text versus talk opposition. Against the “specific hierarchy of values in which speech is seen as innocent and primary and writings as violent and secondary” (Threadgold 2000, p.43) implied by the certainty of the *languelparole* distinction, Derrida’s conception of polysemy rejects any attempt to fix absolute meanings to signs. By attributing an arbitrary flow to the relational system of language, hegemony’s gambit for closure, “the attempt to impose logic (sameness) on difference (otherness)” (Salemohammed 1999, p.120), is denied because of the inherently slippery and potentially subversive excess of discursive meaning.

It is the privileging of language by Saussure (1974) and Jakobson (1971) over other expressive systems of communication that Derrida takes issue with when introducing his grammaology as that which “*inscribes* and *delimits* science … it *marks* and at the same time *loosens* the limit which closes classical scientificty” (Derrida 1996, p.223 [emphasis in original]). This wider concern with other channels of communication anticipates the multimodal semiotic analysis pursued in CDA (Kress & van Leeuwen 1985) and cultural studies (Morris 1999): “we say ‘writing’ for all that gives rise to an inscription in general, whether it is literal or not and even if what it distributes in space is alien to the order of the voice: cinematography, choreography, of course, but also pictorial, musical, sculptural ‘writing’” (Derrida 1976, p.10). He problematizes the speech/writing binary to the extent that it collapses: “Speech is a form of what he is calling writing” (Threadgold 2000, p.44), and glosses this new concept of writing as “*gram* or *differance*” (Derrida 1996, p.216 [emphasis in original]). This concern with writing as “an instituted *trace*, the *arche-trace*, and *arche-writing*” (Threadgold 2000, p.44 [emphasis in original]) becomes a powerful tool to analyse texts in terms of absences which
may be ideologically, historically or institutionally structured. The invisible other can be foregrounded analytically.

Although this account of the emergence and proliferation of CDA lacks Poynton's sweep through an intellectual history of life in Europe from the eighteenth century onwards as an erudite explanation for specific developments in analytical traditions (Poynton 2000), and makes little use of either a sustained survey of grand, middle and local versions of late modernity (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999) or the application of discourse analysis as a social psychological method (Potter and Wetherell 1987), it has shown that the incremental steps taken towards a critical analysis of discourse were accompanied by a resurgence of the reflective practitioner movement. It should also be noted that despite this incidental association with reflexive understanding, little attention was given to the analyst as a specifically located avant-garde of contingent claims. This reference to the relative absence of the subjectivity of the analyst in CDA is important for later chapters because it highlights the need to integrate CDA with the eclectic sorts of analysis performed under the cultural studies umbrella.

Conclusion

A central concern of this chapter has been to mark out at the philosophical and linguistic developments that made attempts to unify the linguistic and the social in textual analysis possible. While the integration of social theories and systemic linguistics by critical linguists gives linguistic research a more social orientation, the role of subjectivity in textual production, reception and analysis remains undertheorised. The following chapter addresses this lacuna by arguing an integration of concerns with the textual, the social and the subject constitutes a critical and effective history. The concerns of Chapters 2 and 3 with reflexivity and analysis advance my argument that autoethnographically textualising private resistance against dominant discourses opens a space for a more vigilant mode of deflection of the caress of power.
CHAPTER 4

CDA, CULTURAL STUDIES, AND FILM STUDIES:
SUBJECTIVITY AND CRITICAL AND EFFECTIVE
HISTORY

Critical discourse analysis, through its use of the Hallidayan technology for dealing with the clause-level constitution of representations (transitivity analysis), goes some way to attempting a more Foucauldian task—exploring the nexus of power and knowledge—as it investigates how persons engage with various ways of knowing as they participate in the social relations appropriate to their specific institutions. This exploration understands persons and their relations with one another as both constituted in language, not pre-given or outside language, and understands those persons and relations as necessarily constituted in relation to knowledge. It is in their relation to the knowledges of institutions that the representations deployed by language users are of significance (Poynton 2000, p.33).

Cultural Studies must open up from the [sic] inside the colonialism of European national-language based Comparative Literature and the Cold War format of Area Studies, and infect History and Anthropology with the ‘other’ as producer of knowledge. But from the inside, acknowledging complicity. No accusations. No excuses. Only, learning the protocol of those disciplines, turn them around, laboriously. This is the new politics of reading Derrida outlined in The Ear of the Other (Derrida, 1985) (Spivak 2000, p.30).

So, whereas in my earlier life, I would have thought the margin was a very bad place to start from, I now think it’s not a bad place to
begin. It's quite a good place to start from. And so finally I would say that I think one of the skills that this requires, and I would be interested to know what you have to say about this, because you are one of us in this sense, is the doubleness of knowing enough about the center, not to be taken surprise by it. You have to be familiar enough with it to know how to move in it. But you have to be sufficiently outside it so that you can examine it and critically interrogate it. And it's this double move or, what I think one writer after another have called, the double consciousness of the exile, of the migrant, of the stranger who moves to another place, who had this double way of seeing it, from the inside and the outside (Hall in Hall & Sakai, 1998, pp.363–4).

What matters is not the finished and edited film but the social processes of meaning production within which the film's presence is inscribed (Talens & Zunzunegui 1997, p.33).

**Introduction**

This chapter advances my authoethnographic concerns by expanding the analytical traditions that I employ. While gesturing back towards the previous textual representations of my subjectivities in the first two chapters, this chapter situates my position of critique for later reflective analysis. I outline my intention to use tea life experience as a point of entry to a sustained textual analysis of two tea films in Chapters 9 and 10. These concerns with the specificity of experience advance my argument that these autoethnographic readings of film texts are attempts to write a critical and effective history.

This chapter argues for the incorporation of CDA into a cultural studies toolkit as a more explicit method of textual analysis. Two approaches to film analysis are contrasted: film studies and cultural studies. In the context of a survey of film studies, a distinction between film as a technology of the self and film as a
human technology is outlined. As an example of film as a human technology, reference is also made to national cinema as a network of practices conjuring the nation, an idea which is explored more fully in Chapter 9. The intention here is to anticipate a more detailed examination in Chapter 6 of the consequences of politicising the aesthetic sphere.

**Why are close readings opposed by some film theorists?**

I would like to start by addressing one of the internal debates conducted between those who align themselves with the critical end of film studies. Later in this chapter I will argue that the project of cultural studies can be strengthened by closer attention to the textual features of the objects of analysis and therefore would like to engage opponents of this advance of close reading. In the course of advocating a more intimate integration of the high theory of cultural studies and the close reading strategies of CDA as a basis for a more grounded analysis, I will address some of the distinctions between CDA and cultural studies and the necessity of multiple subjectivities as analytical points of entry to texts.

One of the paradoxes of film scholarship is the vitality of criticism that ignores the fact that cinema is experienced as a series of mostly moving images accompanied by a soundtrack. This is not to deny or devalue work that offers detailed examinations of how mechanisms like the point of view shot (Branigan 1984, Carroll 1993, Wilson 1986) and narration in the fiction film (Bordwell 1985) act on the emotions of spectators (Tan 1996). While this attention to cinematic devices often extends semiotic approaches to film study (Metz 1974, Bettetini 1973), psychological approaches to cinema include attempts to establish a transformational-generative cinema grammar (Carrol 1980), and sustained psychoanalysis of the film script, the film textual system and the cinema-signifier (Metz 1982). Drawing on cultural theory and addressing questions of political responsibility (McGee 1997) and gender (Erens 1990, Shrage 1993) often result in little attention being given to the
cinematic means of achieving meaning effects which are ideologically inflected. Against this background, I would now like to examine the strengths and limitations of this endeavour to read the meaning effects of films as ideological constructs that reify existing norms and thereby suppress alternative possibilities.

Formalist poststructuralist theory has been particularly productive in providing insights into the workings of filmic discourse. In its most recent configurations, this form of critical theory has brought together psychoanalytical and semiotic investigations with more established forms of narratological inquiry, and the result has been brilliant analyses of the processes of signification in the filmic text. This line of inquiry, even when it deals with (immanent) politics, however, is unable in the end to address the question of the effectivity of film as a cultural act of exchange and communication that provides the viewer with a grid of understanding on which the real of social practices is located. It is ultimately descriptive (rhetorical) and not explanatory (political) (Zavarzadeh 1991, p.10).

Early versions of postmodern film theory occasionally exercise their disciplinary autonomy by rejecting the tendency of mainstream film theory to valorise the object of analysis. Similarly the auteur model of criticism which tends to privilege the creative genius of the director and thereby erase the relationship between textual production and reception is another target of postmodern film theorists (Zavarzadeh 1991). Beyond turf wars, this strategy of not privileging the category of film and its artefacts has a substantial goal: de-aestheticize film to erase its ideological protection. This is a worthy destination at which I aspire to arrive. However one consequence of this line of analysis is that films tend to be scrutinised in terms of the extent to which they reflect the ideological work occurring outside their own textual boundaries (Storey 1996). Another resulting limitation is a flattening of the tension
between the category of film, its constitutive genres and specific films. What is analytically lost then is a view of the tendency to structure films using hybrid reconfigurations of existing genres (Grodal 1997).

Zavarzadeh, for example, sternly informs readers that "I do not respect the uniqueness of the film text, either on the individual textual level (which renders each individual film a unique aesthetic act) or on a collective level (which constructs films as a particular class of cultural artifacts distinct from any other artifact)" (Zavarzadeh 1991, p.3). This strangely ascetic warning, coupled with his accompanying disdain for neo-formalist works (Bordwell et al. 1985, Thompson 1981) which do take account of the typical and hybrid features of film texts, explains why his concern with the politics of film rarely explores the playful display of the political in the poetics of film. It is therefore not surprising that his writing rarely gives a sense that the subject of his treatise is the flow of images across a screen because he wants to interrogate the values supported by the film act.26

Following Foucault's analysis (1972, 1977, 1987), film exists for Zavarzadeh as a technology of the self (Zavarzadeh 1991), and not as Rose later argues as a human technology (Rose 1996). The distinction between technologies of the self and human technologies clarifies the role of film in subjectivity and identity formation. The contrast between technologies of the self as tending to be practical advice directed at ethical self-fashioning and human technologies as being semiotic and material manifestations of the means by which techniques are reflexively employed points to the following differences. When film is conceptualised as a technology of the self, viewing the screen spectacle

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26 While I am revealing a preference for an aesthetic unity between text and its representation in analysis, a comment like this also points towards one tendency shared with postcolonial analysis of canonical literature. This inclination to avoid a close grained reading of how devices employed in a range of texts attempt to suture readers into a prescribed range of positions is flagged here for mention in a later section.
as a role model to be aspired to, envied or despised suggests certain psychological needs implicated in the formation of particular forms of subjectivity. When film is conceptualised as a human technology, cinema can be seen as device which constrains and empowers a type of identity formation which exists within specific fields of power.

Technologies of the self take the form of the elaboration of certain techniques for the conduct of one’s relation with oneself, for example, requiring one to relate to oneself epistemologically (know yourself), despotically (master yourself), or in other ways (care for yourself). They are embodied in particular technical practices (confession, diary writing, group discussion, the twelve-step program of Alcoholics Anonymous). And they are always practiced under the actual or imagined authority of some system of truth and of some authoritative individual, whether this be theological and priestly, psychological and therapeutic, or disciplinary and tutelary (Rose 1996, p.29).

This concern with technical practices being employed as ethical self-fashioning in the context of power/knowledge contrasts with Rose’s notion of human technologies. Human technologies refer to the deployment of semiotic and material resources directed at forming a particular configuration of identity that is free to be governed.

Technology, here, refers to any assembly structured by a practical rationality governed by a more or less conscious goal. Human technologies are hybrid assemblages of knowledges, instruments, persons, systems of judgement, buildings and spaces, underpinned at the programmatic level by certain presuppositions and objectives about human beings. … Human technologies produce and enframe humans as certain kinds of beings whose existence is
simultaneously capacitated and governed by their organization within a technological field (Rose 1996, pp.26-7).

When operating as a human technology, film is one of the "modes of cultural exchange that form (desired) social subjectivities" (Zavarzadeh 1991, p.5). As an aesthetic and political space that is an arena for struggles between the existing (what is) and the possible (what could be), Zavarzadeh argues that film has no inherent identity or stable meaning. More of a hermeneutic construct, film situates the spectator by relying on conceptual and emotional frames supplied by the dominant ideology. The notion of the political economy of spectatorship (the production, distribution and consumption of the pleasures delivered by cinematic discourses) is used by Zavarzadeh to de-aestheticize the film experience effect: "it is a 'knowledge' lesson through which the subject is 'taught' how to be what Pêcheux calls 'a good subject' and is placed in its position in social relations (class)" (Zavarzadeh 1991, p.16).

In performing a range of autoethnographic acts centred around tea films, my intention is to take Zavarzadeh's concern with how film audience members are interpellated by a range of ideologies. Taken collectively, Chapters 6-10 attempt to use social theory as a means of commencing the process of disidentification (Pêcheux 1982). This process of disidentification entails moving beyond the rebellious poses of bad subjects that paradoxically affirm the power that is nominally being rejected. Disidentification requires modifications in power relations, acting on the specific knowledge of how individuals are discursively and institutionally shaped and determined. Changing discursive practices is one way that the process of disidentification can begin:

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27 Given that I have established a distinction between subjectivities and identities in terms of the function of film as a technology of the self and human technology, a small clarification is necessary here. When Zavarzadeh speaks of "(desired) social subjectivities", I read that as a close substitute for capacitated and governed identities.
Discursive practices are the ways of producing discourse and practices [and] are thus embodied in technical processes of production, in institutions of governance, in the perceived patterns of general behaviour, in the forms of transmission and diffusion of discourse and finally in the pedagogical forms which impose and maintain these practices (Valdes 1998, p.106).

This range of discursive practices identifies the span of this project, including the formation and transmission of tea values and how these sites are represented in national cinema. By using the tools of social theory to assume a certain critical distance, it may also follow that I will be branded as an illegitimate subject by institutionalised tea discourses. Integrating the analytical traditions of film studies, cultural studies and CDA opens a space for me to reflexively account for a life lived as a discursive other and a sometimes competent performer of the role of tea insider. This flow from inside to illegitimate is integral to my project: "We must remain open to the scrutiny of the improper. Perhaps this is the last lesson of deconstruction for the investigation of culture" (Spivak 2000, p.36).

I employ the critical tools of film studies, cultural studies and CDA to embark on my scrutiny of tea's improper; this is my first step towards commencing Pêcheux's disidentification. However it would be a mistake to infer that Zavarzadeh's primacy of class in the earlier quotation may constrain his argument. This would be a misreading because elsewhere he makes reference to other defining components of identity like gender and ethnicity. The strengths of Zavarzadeh's analysis are powerful critiques of certain poststructuralist shortcomings that expose the ideological play of the politics of intelligibility in and around film. In his Preface he does warn that the predominance of jargon in the first three chapters is contradictory in a text that "claims to approach theory as a critique of dominant intelligibilities and seeks to be an ally of the reader in the production of oppositional intelligibilities" (Zavarzadeh 1991, p.x). Although Zavarzadeh invokes Barthes's image of
jargon as a mask that points to itself and justifies this disruption of common sense and language because it demonstrates the historical contingency of social constructs like common sense, it is occasionally an obstacle to those outside the field. This minor reservation could be dismissed as Zavazrdeh's mere personal predilection, and yet it points to the deeper shortcoming of not integrating an analysis of the politics and poetics of film. I recognise that the alternatively theoretically dense framework and the strange sense of 'elsewhereness' that pervades his analysis of the global effects of film texts constitute an obvious attempt to present a theoretically justified critical practice. However, closer attention to the technical devices that sustain the meaning effects of films would allow readers to make more informed assessments of his analysis, and would remove analytical insights from the insulating protection of the black box of high theory. Readers would be given the tools to generalise from Zavazrdeh's readings of particular films and social practices to the specifics of their local consumption.

Zavazrdeh's concern is not with the 'story' nor the 'telling' because these merely address rhetorical issues inside the formalist tradition of how one tale is constructed as having its particular meaning. This explains his twofold dissatisfaction with the combination of narratological, psychoanalytical, and semiotic interests popular with French poststructuralist critics: it remains within the realm of the descriptive, and concern with the mercurial tropes of textual-rhetorical difference is an inadequate tool for addressing cultural intelligibility.

He argues that the inscription of ideological possibilities in the filmic space is better scrutinised by the explicitly political question of "WHY it means what it is taken to mean" (Zavazrdeh 1991, p.8, [emphasis in original]). Answers to this explanatory enquiry rely on two elements devised from certain post-textual reading practices that have conceptualised the text as the social product of a struggle in language (and for Zavazrdeh, in labour relations). These two devices are what he calls the 'tale', and the re-narrating of that tale to decentre
what ideology has naturalised. Re-narration of this kind is an obvious example of the experimental history advocated by Muecke (1996), and Chapters 9 and 10 aspire to move towards this destination of film analysis as a critical and effective history. As examples of disidentification, these chapters do more than ape the rebellious moves of illegitimate subjects. They offer an account of the pleasures of narrating the space of inside and out.

The tale differs from those stalwarts of postmodern narrative theory, story (the action) and discourse (how the reader learns of that action), which were largely inherited from the Russian formalists like Tomashevsky and "based on a distinction between the events of a film and the manner in which these events are represented in its text" (Zavarzadeh 1991, p.9). For Zavarzadeh, the tale is the way that a film offers a narrative—and proposes that narrative to be a paradigm of intelligibility—not simply through its immanent formal devices but also by relying on historically dominant and contradictory assumptions about reality. The film exerts its greatest cultural impact through its tale. By means of its tale the film naturalises the limits of ideology, and then, by appealing to the commonsensical 'obviousness' it has produced, the film instructs the audience on how to make sense of the global reality to compose a coherent model of relations and coherence through which an all-encompassing picture of the real emerges. Within the frame of that picture, the viewer situates herself in the world her culture allows her to inhabit (Zavarzadeh 1991, p.8).

Central to Zavarzadeh's proposal of the tale as the global effects of cinematic text is a rejection of the humanist notion that film represents some external reality. While critical of postmodern theory's inability to do little more than substitute "one kind of empiricism (an empiricism of the senses and prediscursive reality) with another kind (an empiricism of discourse)" (Zavarzadeh 1991, p.22), he embraces the postmodern position that what
passes for the world in films is a construction mediated by ideological, economic and political imperatives. The global meaning effect of film is to render both the text and its consumer historically intelligible to each other by providing a rationalisation for existing social practices that critical theorists may regard as irrational or unjust.

Re-narrating is the first step in returning the aesthetic sphere to the discursal realm of ideological transmission and cultural reproduction. Interrogating the narrative logic of a film to expose power relations and patterns of discrimination leads to an implosion of the "separate aesthetic space and interrogative immunities the dominant ideology offers works of art" (Zavahradeh 1991, p.24). Zavahradeh argues that this radical theory engages the suppression of oppositional tales within the overt tale of the film by demonstrating that the historical contingency of the existing tale "is traversed with the otherness of the possible" (Zavahradeh 1991, p.23, [emphasis in original]). Contestation and intervention can proceed once the ideologically hidden tales are foregrounded. Chapter 5 reveals something of the ideologies structuring tea’s subterranean topology and this cartography is used in Chapter 9 to address the relationship between authenticity and subjectivity.

Competing discourses: film studies and cultural studies

This section compares two approaches to film analysis: film studies and cultural studies. They are contrasted in terms of how they constitute their objects of investigation. A disciplinary agenda for cultural studies is introduced, as are three modes of cultural studies. The intention is to establish a broad set of distinctions here that allow the following section to argue the benefits of incorporating elements of CDA into the practice of cultural studies.

While film studies tends to be concerned with spectatorship positioning, textual analysis, and meaning as production-led, cultural studies tends to be concerned with audience readings, ethnographic methods, and meaning as consumption-
led (Stacey 1994, p. 24). In mainstream film studies there is often an assumption of an idealised viewer, and demographic concerns are a dominant mode for the audience readings of cultural studies. Both of these positions appear inadequate to post structuralist versions of the subject as being constructed through ideology (Althusser 1984), discourse (Foucault 1972) and language (Lacan 1977); these assumptions and idealisations of audiences give insufficient attention to the impact on textual reception of the question of how the specificity of lived experience is shaped and constrained by history, power and authority (Davis 1997, Lamphere et al. 1997, McClintock et al. 1997). Similarly, CDA’s scrutiny of the production/consumption debate between film and cultural studies and the reliance on ethnographic methods in cultural studies and textual analysis in film studies reveals relatively narrow spans of attention that could do more to systematically address issues of production and reception. CDA’s notion of preferred readings and its concern with how ideologies work through texts to position readers seems to compliment the close readings of film studies and the wider concerns with sociocultural practices pursued by cultural studies.

If “[c]ultural studies, as a cultural and political re-articulation of common sense, knowledge and community practices, aims at opening up new cultural space for criticisms, reflections and action” (Shun-hing 2002, p.704), it is my conviction that research-orientated action would be improved by the closer readings of texts advocated by CDA practitioners. This assertion is not to deny that the drive to continuously improve the delicacy of analysis is a closeted aspiration to the readily generalised probabilities of scientific objectivity (Johnson 1996) or what has been called “linguistic positivism” (Lee & Poyton 2000b, p.9). Readings which are sensitive to the mechanics of how textual devices conceal their ideological heritage and effects are more likely to generate convincing accounts of how power circulates in our daily lives. The validity of these types of accounts rests on their potential for showing the ideological nature of the pleasures of social texts, and allows for a more reflective interrogation of our daily social practices. The observation I am
making here is intended to draw attention to the tendency of more ethereal versions of cultural studies to implode into densely theoretical universes without offering any account of how to advance. At its most obtuse, this is cultural studies as “the production of a moralising genre of ‘theory’—socially groundless, history-free, weighed down by a mass of references to a ‘world’ composed of other theoretical writings—that cannot engage with the cultural differences it endlessly invokes” (Morris & Muecke 1995, p.2). This is confined to the high theory end of the spectrum and is the cultural studies version of the limitations of pre-critical discourse analysis surveyed in Chapter 3: using discourse analysis to merely describe texts tends not to account for how culturally and historically specific forms of power had shaped that class of texts. In the cultural studies version of this dilemma, problems are explained in terms of how culturally and historically specific forms of power have sustained social inequalities. The language of the explanation however renders it unintelligible to some of those who might wish to appropriate and test the insights of theory, and there is often no engagement with the world outside theory.

In a postcolonial context of a globalised economy of metropolitan ideas, this integration of close readings and broader social theories implies a possible agenda for cultural studies. It is interesting to note the emphasis on positionality and the need to reflexively address the problem of being implicated in the discursive formations being criticised.

Cultural Studies must open up from the [sic] inside the colonialism of European national-language based Comparative Literature and the Cold War format of Area Studies, and infect History and Anthropology with the ‘other’ as producer of knowledge. But from the inside, acknowledging complicity. No accusations. No excuses. Only, learning the protocol of those disciplines, turn them around, laboriously. This is the new politics of reading Derrida outlined in The Ear of the Other (Derrida, 1985) (Spivak 2000, p.30).
While I will argue for the benefits of combining CDA with cultural and film studies in the following section, I intend to employ CDA to implement three modes of cultural studies in Chapters 6-10. I adopt the three main models of cultural studies outlined by Johnson (1996) to the task of representing how I experience various aspects of the tea moment and the implications of these socially located and embodied responses to my readings of a set of tea film texts: production-based studies; text-based studies; and studies of lived culture. Production-based studies tend to be concerned with dominant means of cultural production and the possibilities for control and transformation. Text-based studies tend to be sensitive to the forms of cultural products and the opportunities for transformative cultural practices. Studies of lived culture engage questions of the politics of representation by drawing attention to who is speaking, who is addressed, and on whose behalf.

**Why integrate CDA with film studies and cultural studies?**

At this point I would like to introduce the benefits of integrating techniques of textual analysis with approaches associated with film studies and cultural studies. This will require expressing a degree of dissatisfaction with certain aspects of those versions of textual analysis.

CDA approaches, unlike cultural studies, have an explicitly defined interest in textual analysis: the improvement of analytical methodologies which identify how ideologies are linguistically realised in social practices is seen as an important step towards addressing power inequalities (Fairclough 1992). In cultural studies, one tendency is to use text extracts as evidence that corroborates a historical analysis of power relations. While this largely implicit approach is effective for foregrounding the role of the novel in the creation of empires and bringing attention to slippages between the sites of first world production and reception in the colonies (Said 1993), the scale of that enterprise works against a more refined notion of subjectivity that acknowledges the self as multiple sites from which to read contradictory interpretations. Works of this scale in the cultural studies tradition imply an
almost disembodied subjectivity that is primarily defined by often masculinist mastery of an extensive body of theory.

The global range of projects which address issues of national identity also tend to rely on plot summaries which are occasionally supplemented with a mere listing of the techniques supporting the plot as the primary means of advancing their argument (Dissanayake 1996b). What happens in the construction of narrative is one of the pleasures of textual consumption and deserves critical scrutiny (Easthope 1999) but more attention could be given to the literary, cinematic and other devices employed in a range of texts that attempt to suture readers into a prescribed range of positions (Toolan 1997). Too little mention is given to how the moment by moment consumption of texts implicates readers and viewers in the seductive power ploys of particular institutions whose sphere of influence spans across control of textual production (Nasta 2002). A close reading of the hybrid devices employed by texts would be one way of denaturalising the ideological work done by the pleasures of textual consumption (Storey 1996).

Subjectivity is often absent from genealogical accounts of discourse formations written inside cultural studies (Thomas 1996). When attempts are made to theorise the relationship between subjectivity and textual reception within the cross-disciplinary territory inhabited by cultural studies, the unified authorial self of a professional often appears to be a dominant mode of expression (Goodall 1996). Where subjectivity is foregrounded, it has sometimes been placed in a historical survey of representing otherness and this monolithic representation of the self paradoxically has the effect of reifying identity (Jaireth 1998). Given this project's integration of production-based studies, text-based studies and studies of lived culture as a strategy for critical and effective history of my tea's present, the formation of multiple subjectivities is an important context for "the social processes of meaning production within which the film's presence is inscribed" (Talens & Zunzunegui 1997, p.33). By linking the transmission practices of tea with how these two films examine

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questions of authority and authenticity, I will explore how cinematic presence inscribes itself into and is appropriated by subjectivity. The close reading of textual devices needs to supplemented by equal scrutiny of subjectivity.\textsuperscript{28}

My intention is to argue for criticism as an embodied and situated practice. By employing close readings of tea texts and practices in the context of the ‘everday’ of ‘my’ social theory and tea lives, I will outline the mutual constitution of textual reception and production for subjectivity. Drawing on the earlier survey of identification theory in Chapter 2 which insists on the necessity of both discursal processes and psychological drives for theorising subjectivity, I advance a model for textual analysis which positions multiple subjectivities as constructed by local configurations of specific discourses and historically determined drives. It is in this context that I chart the pleasures of consuming visuality as a coded system sustaining narrowly defined images of the authentic: “The costs of visuality cannot be calculated in the abstract, but only in specific local and historical constructs” (Kano 1999, p.54). The formation of subjectivities is a central aspect of the ideological work texts facilitate, and the close readings of the typical and hybrid features of texts advocated by CDA would strengthen the projects of film studies and cultural studies (Toolan 1997).

**Addressing the limitations of CDA**

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), cultural theory and film studies are all concerned with identifying the effects of ideologies as texts and how textual interpretations circulate. What distinguishes these related endeavours is the scope of analysis and the extent to which an explicit theory of subjectivity is an integral part of the analytical framework. As the previous sections have demonstrated, these two characteristics constitute their modes of analysis and

\textsuperscript{28} One strategy for interrogating the mutual constitution of knower as textual analyst and knower as known is a deconstructive reading of my representation of tea’s pleasures. Chapter 7 proceeds on this basis before using a dialogue between Tim and Cross to fracture the illusion of a unitary self.
point to possible areas of symbiotic benefit. I would now like to briefly explain the absence of film texts from the CDA tradition. My intention is to point out certain limitations with the CDA versions of textual analysis.

Critical discourse analysis identifies how power works through texts and practitioners tend to employ close readings of particular textual features. While recent collections of approaches to media discourse tend to focus on the press, television and radio (Bell & Garrett 1998), it is my contention that extending that range to include film texts will yield significant results. Taking the close reading techniques of film studies and systematically addressing issues of reception and production will result in readings that identify links textual features and wider relations of power.

The absence of film texts from critical discourse analysis may be caused by several factors, including the practical problem of incorporating moving images into static publications, a narrow conception of copyright that prevents dealing fairly with film images as a researcher’s right, and the analytical complexity of addressing the interaction of the sound and image systems (Lemke 13 Feb 2001, personal correspondence). Online journals are making incremental progress in addressing the first problem, but this continues to be mediated by copyright concerns. The third issue is receiving some attention in an emergent body of literature addressing multimodal semiotics (Baldry, Taylor, & Thibault 2001, Lemke & Thibault 2001).

While I have been arguing for the addition of the close reading analysis of CDA to the versions of textual analysis practised in cultural studies and film studies, this should not imply that this flow of advantage is one way. Recent developments in CDA proceed in the direction of blurring a clear distinction between CDA and cultural studies, in part because of shared reference to a common philosophical base (Chouliaaraki & Fairclough 1999, Lee & Poyton 2000b). Given the aspiration of earlier forms of CDA for the status of a soft version of scientific objectivity, the CDA project would benefit from
appropriating the elements of cultural studies that address subjectivity. Debates internal to cultural studies can be read obliquely to identify certain limitations with the CDA versions of textual analysis:

There is no question of abandoning existing forms of textual analysis, but these have to be adapted to, rather than superseding, the study of actual readerships. There seem to be two main requirements here. First, the formal reading of a text has to be as open as possible, identifying preferred positions or frameworks certainly, but also alternative readings and subordinated frameworks, even if these can only be discerned as fragments, or as contradictions in the dominant forms. Second, analysts need to abandon once and for all, both of the two main models of the critical reader: the primarily evaluative reading (is this a good/bad text?) and the aspiration to text-analysis as an 'objective science'. The problem with both models is that by de-relativising our acts of reading they remove from self-conscious consideration (but not as an active presence) our common sense knowledge of the larger cultural contexts and possible readings (Johnson 1996, pp.108–9).

Our common sense knowledge of the larger cultural contexts is invariably mediated by the relationship between specific local and historical constructs and our multiple subjectivities. Media texts, like the tea films addressed later, are significant shapers of consuming selves which reflexively use media texts as sources for self-fashioning. What we see, read and hear often shape our proclivities to accept, reject or appropriate the legitimacy of certain types of self-construction. Versions of CDA which argue for a more intimate integration of analysis and social theory (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999) are pointing the way towards a clearer understanding of the relationships between larger cultural contexts and and the sorts of readings that are possible. For the purpose of exploring the role of national cinema in shaping individual subjectivities I shall analyse a set of films about tea ceremony.
Positioning autoethnography as a critical and effective history

An earlier section explained how the three main models of cultural studies outlined by Johnson (1996) would be adapted in later chapters. I would now like to return to the territory of cultural studies to explicitly link the critical and autoethnographic impulses driving this project. This section defines Dean’s term, a critical and effective history, extends Foucault’s genealogy of the self, before outlining how this thesis is recognisable as a modest form of critical and effective history.

A significant body of transdisciplinary literature has emerged from the Foucault’s oeuvre (Dean 1994, Neubauer 1999, Kendall & Wickham 1999), attempting to explore cultural histories of the triangular relationship between truth, power, and the self (Flynn 1988). In the course of charting how reason, domination and ethics coalesce in the ideological constitution of apparently inevitable and natural forms of discourse, practices and organisation, one question has been asked by this body of literature: “how do actions of human subjects constitute a social world that in turn constitutes the conditions of possibility of the actions of those subjects?” (Dean 1994, p.9). One element of my autoethnographic reflection on my tea life is the intention to position an answer to this question as a critical and effective history of my tea present, because the “final trait of effective history is its affirmation of knowledge as perspective” (Foucault 1977, p.156). In the autoethnographic attention given to how I am writing from within a specific configuration of ethnic, linguistic, class, gender, and professional discourses, characterised by partial understandings, one intention is to highlight how culture-as-government discourses seduce and sanction subjectivity into various forms of identification. My account of the pleasures in tea’s power constitutes an important part of an autoethnographic account driven by an awareness of the genealogy of subjectification:

To master one’s will in the service of character through the inculcation of habits and rituals of self-denial, prudence, and
foresight, for example, is different from mastering one's desires through bringing its roots to awareness through a reflexive hermeneutics in order to free oneself from the self-destructive consequences of repression, projection, and identification (Rose 1996, p.32).

I will now be define the term 'a critical and effective history' before briefly outlining how my work is recognisable as a modest form of that project. At this point I would like to qualify Rose's emancipatory rhetoric. In contrast to Rose, efforts and achievements are more modest than an escape from the panopticon of authenticated desire. At best, this project draws attention to the mechanisms that result in various forms of identification being internalised.

Foucault's critical history forsakes the critique of the past in terms of the truth of the present but not the critical use of the history of reason to diagnose the practical issues, necessities, and limits, of the present. Let us call history 'effective' to the extent that it upsets the colonisation of historical knowledge by the schemas of a transcendental and synthetic philosophy of history, and 'critical' in proportion to its capacity to engage in the tireless interrogation of what is held to be given, necessary, natural, or neutral (Dean 1994, p.20).

In presenting this autoethnography as a critical and effective history of my tea present, I am offering a tentative map of the mentalities and corporeal aspects of the particular regimes of the tea person. Attention to the human technologies (Rose 1996) of tea will address how subjectivity and authority intersect in the formation of tea systems of aesthetic evaluation and other means of institutionalising and transmitting tea values. Given that the "ideal student is born to the world of Tea with only a willingness to learn and an unquestioning respect for the authority of the teacher" (Anderson 1987, p.476), I am seeking
to disturb the self-presentation by tea’s institutional custodians of their tradition as a seamless inevitability.

One element of this project to denaturalise the transcendental authority of the self-appointed custodians of tea is to draw attention to the techniques for inventing the tea community. Chapter 7 interrogates the claim that the authority of tea pedagogy is neutral. This entails showing how transmission practices establish limits on what can be and is seen, said and done by practitioners aspiring to the mantle of authentic person of tea. Chapter 5 is a cultural history outlining the politicisation of nature that warranted claims that individual sacrifice was a necessary duty of early modern Japanese citizens. Chapters 8 and 9 analyse a set of films about tea ceremony as a way of exploring tea’s ideological shaping of national identity and individual subjectivities. These films, dealing with the life and death of Sen no Rikyu 千利休, 1522-1591, comment on how discourses of tea and the nation have mutually constituted each other. In terms of interrogating why tea’s status as a self-elected representative of nationally distinctive material culture is held to be a given fact of modern Japanese life, I shall attempt to render the films comprehensible against the background of the historical period they represent. I argue that these films show how popular culture texts collapse the distinction between the oral tradition of anecdotes and the written scholarly histories. Underlying their integration of elements from the oral and written registers is a discourse of authenticity that informs how the films are received and implicated in sociocultural practices of commodifying national identity. The intention is to disrupt the presentation of the desire to identify with the nation as a natural and inevitable necessity of modern Japanese life by pointing to the patina of pleasure on the tea scoop of power. My account of the tea present may be regarded as a critical and effective history if the interventions of Chapters 8 and 9 are successful in exposing the contingent nature of institutionalised tea’s mythology of self-legitimation.
How does this thesis combine CDA, Film and Cultural Studies?

Having shown how this thesis is recognisable as a modest form of a critical and effective history in the previous section, this section draws together the earlier surveys of questions related to film studies and cultural studies. I explain how I will unpack the ideologies surrounding tea practices and texts by employing the three cultural studies approaches mentioned earlier (production-based studies, text-based studies, and studies of lived culture), before acknowledging some of the limitations to my configuration of CDA, film studies, and cultural studies. The intention of this section is to mark the transition from the theoretical concerns of the previous chapters to a thematic focus of tea in Chapters 5-9. The conclusion follows this section.

The emphasis of production-based studies on the establishment of dominant culture is an approach well suited to examining the social construction of an aestheticised Japanese national identity. In the latter half of this thesis I explore a variety of substantive questions, including the relationship between institutionalised tea pedagogy, individual subjectivity and national identity. By surveying recent scholarship addressing the early modern role of literature, painting and tea in the formation of the imagined community of the Japanese nation, in Chapter 5 I outline how a distinctive aesthetic supported a discourse of sacramentalised nationality. I employ a postmodern conception of intertextuality (Kraidy 1998, p.56) and read between the cited texts to draw the commonalities of these cultural practices together in Chapter 9. This enables me to argue that this notion of nationality as a sacrament (Davis 1996) made the formation during the Pacific War of suicidal special attack units, whose members included the fifteenth generation Grand Master of the Urasenke School of Tea, possible. Institutionalised tea’s silencing fetish of the death by ritual suicide of Sen no Rikyu supports this tenet of embracing the moment, and tea’s discourse of cherishing the four seasons helps maintain Japan’s status as the national community of “unnatural death” (Sakai 1997, p.99). This thanatological issue becomes a central concern in my Chapter 9 analysis of
Kumai Kei’s 1989 film *Sen no Rikyu: Honkakubo Ibun.* In Chapter 9 the distinction between production-based studies and text-based studies is deliberately collapsed to provide a reading that reconfigures received notions of generalisability, reliability and validity outlined in Chapter 2.

The text-based component of my study will analyse a set of films about tea ceremony as a way of exploring tea’s ideological shaping of national identity and individual subjectivities. Chapters 8 and 9 read the ideology of the films in terms of how they address the ideology of tea. I propose that these films dealing with the life and death of Sen no Rikyu comment on the mutual constitution of tea’s tradition and tea’s role in the formation of national identity. I will demonstrate how films addressing a major cultural icon like tea belong to national cinema and act as “a mobilizer of the nation’s myths and of the myth of the nation” (Bell 1999, p.200) in Chapter 8. Chapter 6 presents a prose representation of the pleasures of tea and deconstructs that tale by employing a range of questions associated with critical media literacy.

My readings of these films are shaped by a range of encounters with more conventional forms of Japanese educational authority in its legitimate and illegitimate permutations, including my experience of having settled out of a four year court case for unlawful dismissal against a previous university employer and my ongoing work as a tenure track migrant employed at Fukuoka University. Against the joys and frustrations of having used action research in my EFL classrooms (Cross 1994, Cross 1996, Cross & Yukitoki 1993), I identify gaps between what is rhetorically said and pedagogically done in the two tea schools I have studied. This awareness of the compromises in core values that occurs when language, activities and social relationships are institutionalised as discourse, practices and forms of organisation (Kemmis & McTaggart 1981) is a common thread linking my experience as a university

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29 The English language release of the film used the title *Death of a Tea Master*; which emphasises the central paradox of the film: the dead Rikyu continues to be resurrected by the anecdotes of his followers. James T. Araki in his translation of the first chapter of Inoue Yasushi’s novel from which the film is adapted uses the title *Memoirs of Monk Honkaku.*
teacher of English as a Foreign Language and recipient of tea and noh instruction in my second language. Consideration of the contrast between being privileged in the tearoom because of my gender and ethnicity and getting the rough end of the pineapple in the workplace because of political machinations might reveal something of how my attitude to authority has shaped the focus of this project.

My readings of these film texts are interpenetrated by two other types of knowledge: the experience of studying tea in two separate schools (one with a global range of activities centred in Kyoto and organised along the lines of the grand master model of transmission, the other being distinctively regional and administered by a board of directors here in Fukuoka); and readings of tea history. Because of the porous boundaries of these knowledges, I am reluctant to impose some hierarchical relationship on them that implies that one is somehow more 'authentic' than another, despite the payoff of analytical simplicity that would come as a result of embracing the demands of disciplinarity. Rather than deny the degree of mutual constitution between these two ways of representing the world of tea by designating primacy to one of these knowledge sets, I have framed this study in terms of the implications of subjectivity for textual analysis of various cultural forms. This is an analytical framework that should not read as valorising the experience of recognising the provenance of a tea utensil as epistemologically more valid than performing a situated reading of a particular tea film.

My readings of the films collapse Johnson’s 1996 distinction between text-based studies and studies of lived culture. I advance readings of those film texts from my explicitly intercultural positions, and reflect on the literature’s relative silence on the role of multiple subjectivities in framing interpretations of various cultural forms like those practices associated with tea discourses. There is a high degree of intertextuality between my review of tea history literature, my readings of film texts, and my tea life. This intertextuality is sustained by tension between colonisation and appropriation. The interpenetration of my
review of tea history literature, my readings of film texts, and my tea life is determined by the extent to which discourses of social theory mediate my experiences of tea pedagogy and transmission.

It is at this point that I would like to stress that I regard my readings of film texts and my reflections on one way of living the tea life constitute an autoethnography. That is to say I am positioning my writings on tea as the account of a critical insider of the tea community: a lower intermediate level end user is commentating on a discursive system with a four hundred-year history. While this examination of production from the perspective of consumption is an attempt to perform a critical and effective history that keeps aesthetics and notions of agency and autonomy in play, there are several theoretical issues which must be addressed in more detail later but I will briefly raise two now.

The most problematic issue is the attribution of insider status to myself. Given the complexity of the cultural literacies that tea inscribes in competent practitioners, how can someone with only a partial mastery of the wider literacies of community life justify their assumption of in-group membership? One short answer to this objection is one imperative of tea pedagogy: remember with the body. This mode of learning is preferred by the grand master system and this corporeal emphasis makes little distinction about the finer points of citizenship or nationality. Competent performance of advanced tea serving procedures can be one criterion to determine the extent to which one can assume the mantle of insider, and officially this is how tea teaching systems proceed. This is not to deny the probability of either more favourable (less rigorous) assessment or the existence of a glass ceiling.

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This stance is similar to the position taken by Mori in her identification of the major organizational problems seen by her to be limiting the possibly global transmission of tea practices.
The second point is related to the issue of my being implicated in the discourses that I apparently intend to critique. One response to this problem can be framed in terms of reflexivity. Hall valorises the double consciousness of the migrant and Spivak calls for the acknowledged complicity of the insider to be foregrounded as necessary conditions for the authentic practice of cultural studies: “Can the ‘native informant’ ever become the subject of a ‘Cultural Study’ that does not resemble the metropolitan language-based work?” (Spivak 2000, p.30) The concern here is one of being conscious of the extent to which one is being colonised by the discourses of tea and social theory.

Given that my interest as a tea insider is in using social theory to highlight the play and display of power in tea pleasures, I have something slightly different from Hall’s yardstick of double consciousness: “the doubleness of knowing enough about the center, not to be taken surprise by it. You have to be familiar enough with it to know how to move in it. But you have to be sufficiently outside it so that you can examine it and critically interrogate it.” (Hall, in Hall & Sakai, 1998, pp.363–364) One of the delights of tea life is being surprised by manipulations of tea codes while recognising that those conventions are the border posts of orthodoxy. Social theory does provide a space to withdraw into and theorise why I have been seduced by the high culture codes of tea. However that interrogation does not necessarily take place in real time. If this were possible, my colonisation by social theory discourse would be near complete and I would be obliged to announce the failure of agency by having “Theory Victim” stencilled on my forehead.31

While combining versions of these three approaches (production-based studies, text-based studies, and studies of lived culture) does not supply a comprehensive methodology impervious to criticisms of my contradictory investments in the following accounts, it does allow me to address the

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31 This theory victim comment refers to an example of reflexivity as conspicuous consumption. In Sydney’s Pitt Street I had the mid-eighties experience of seeing a Jean Paul Gaultier leather belt embellished with metal letters spelling out “FASHION VICTIM”. The belt cost slightly more than half of one month’s salary.
relationship between the social and the individual in specific moments of the production, distribution and consumption of tea culture. This entails distinctions between the use value of tea (Why has tea become a doctrine to live by? How do tea practitioners like me inhabit this territory? Who embraces this tradition? How was tea’s ideology inscribed into the edifice of the nation?) and the outcomes of cultural flows around tea (How does tea pedagogy shape and limit institutional demands and my desires to embody, deconstruct and parody ‘Japaneseeness’ in its transitive forms?).\(^{32}\) As tea culture is produced, distributed and consumed, there are tensions between individual agency (aspiring to own tea) versus institutionalised tea pedagogy’s insistence on the validity of orthodoxy. Tea anecdotes, written scholarly histories and tea films are sites of resistance and incorporation, and I intend to outline the specifics of how tea life is produced, distributed and consumed in these written and oral contexts.

Along with this emphasis on the positionality of my readings of tea practices and other tea-related texts comes the acknowledgment that my readings are not definitive accounts of a central meaning intended by the collaborative will of directors and their production teams. Inasmuch as my readings are produced by a process of consuming social theory which mediates the collage of my migrant experience here, they are emphatically mine. However rather than embrace an untheorised collapse into an unreflective subjectivity, I will integrate elements from the CDA, film studies and cultural studies traditions as warrants for my claims that an autoethnography of the tea mind can be read as a critical history of the present. The aspiration is to offer a credible interpretation of how I have reconfigured those texts that addresses the production and consumption of tea knowledge: Chapter 7 maps out the territory of the formation of tea orthodoxy and this foundation is extended in Chapters 8 and 9 which address filmic acknowledgment of the tension between oral and written histories. My intention is to combine close readings of the formal elements of film (the use of voice over device to open a space for critique is explored in Chapter 8) with a

\(^{32}\) The notion of transitive Japaneseeness comes from Davis (1996).
wider analysis of sociocultural processes (Chapter 9 offers nuanced readings of how the symbols of national identity surveyed in Chapter 5 are reinscribed in narratives that warn of the power of ideals to consume their believers). This composite analysis will show how these cinematic representations of the nation's myths both support and subvert the myth of the nation while inviting viewers to identify with this visually seductive logic.

Conclusion

This chapter advances my argument for the autoethnographic possibility of resisting the seduction of institutionally transmitted definitions of what constitutes 'the authentic'. I claim that a critical and effective history can be written by combining elements from the CDA, film studies and cultural studies traditions. CDA encourages attention to both the production and consumption of various forms of textualised experience, and cultural studies deals adequately with expansive questions of how networks of social practices invent the nation. Given the autoethnographic focus of this document, it is important to note that analytical traditions of CDA, film studies and cultural studies can address questions of subject formation. The following chapter uses theoretical vocabulary of the cultural studies tradition examine in this chapter to apply it to the question of the co-option of the aesthetic sphere by dominant political interests intent on exercising some influence over the project of citizen formation in early modern Japan. The cultural history of Chapter 5 warrants the claims advanced in Chapter 9.
CHAPTER 5
COMMUNICATING TRANSIENCE: POLITICISED JAPANESE CULTURE OTHERING THE SELF

... begin by posing the problem of national identity itself, to ask how it might be analyzed and what importance communication practices might have in its constitution (Schlesinger 1987, p.234).

Cultural texts do not simply reflect history, they make history and are part of its processes and practices and should, therefore, be studied for the (ideological) work that they do, rather than the (ideological) work (always happening elsewhere) that they reflect (Storey 1996, p.3).

Imperialism seems to increasingly work through play; such play therefore needs to be taken very seriously (Magee 1996, p.135).

Introduction

This chapter moves from surveying earlier theoretical concerns and I build on the earlier literature review of cultural studies in general, and critical and effective history specifically, by actually performing a cultural history of an ideologically structured silence. This cultural history seeks to disturb the politicisation of nature that warranted claims that individual sacrifice was a necessary duty of early modern Japanese citizens. This interrogation of the natural as neutral lays a foundation for the examination of power in two later chapters.

In this chapter I combine autoethnography with cultural studies to make the influence of power and authority on English tea language scholarship apparent. By assuming the position of being an insider of cultural studies and tea, my
The lethal aesthetic of ‘Japan the beautiful’

In the field of communication studies, collapsing the contradictory complexity of Japanese identities and cultures into a neater but false unity appears to be an inevitable analytical evil (Mouer & Sugimoto 1995). The reality of lived textuality confirms the inaccuracy of reducing diversity to a single ‘Japanese’ identity or culture. Despite efforts to invest the status quo with the legitimacy of an unbroken tradition, there is a long record of struggle between vested interests with competing versions of how life should be experienced and history understood. This chapter is primarily concerned with the aestheticizing of ‘Japan the beautiful’ as a strategy for nation building and outlines the dizzy

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53 Disputes about the parameters of Japanese identity are a continuing feature of Japanese public life, and tend to focus on issues of historical interpretation and semantics. The aesthetic sphere deserves closer attention because of the way these texts seductively naturalise what are seen to be politically problematic issues. Notions like the four seasons and the transience of human life have been important elements in aestheticising the modern Japanese identity for domestic and international consumption. An aestheticised cult of death was a significant presence in the Showa formation of ‘the authentic’ Japan. Cherry blossoms were employed by political elites to advocate a death in the name of the Japanese nation. The ideological application of literary and visual texts also implicates cultural practices like tea in the creation of patriotic fervour. Sen no Rikyu’s seppuku, and his existence as a historical man of tea, a legendary embodiment of tea values, and a set of aesthetic preferences present in the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Kitano Ochanoyu (1936) and Rikyu’s death (1940) all locate tea in the blurring of the distinction between cultural and state nationalism. This distinction collapses in the use of sacramental tea as a prayer for military victory in the practices of Fukuoka’s Hakozaki Hachimangu: sen shou kio gan kencha戦勝祈願献茶.
oscillations between national self and foreign other evident in Meiji literature and Showa painting. Once the inherent contradictions of inventing the national are outlined, the chapter argues that behind platitudes like “Japan has four seasons” is a coercive slippage between the natural and the social. Tea practices centring on Sen no Rikyu are elements of a politicised Japanese culture whose ideology communicates the lethal transience of human life by insisting on the primacy of state over individual.

**Nation building: politicised culture othering the self**

Since the Meiji Restoration, construction of Japanese national identities for domestic and international consumption has been intensely contested. Before the top-down promulgation of the Meiji Constitution on February 11 1889, intellectual freedom was curtailed by internal security legislation that included publishing restrictions (1869), newspaper ordinances (1873, revised 1883), limits on assembly (1880, revised 1882) and a total ban on revealing the contents of petitions to the government and the throne (1884) (Ienaga 1978, pp.13–4). In addition to these restrictions on civil liberties, the cultural sphere was pressed into the political service of ‘Japan the beautiful’ (Raeside 1997, p.195). These aestheticised identities were the product of both competitive attempts to present certain social practices and texts as the embodiment of this cultural exceptionalism “to capture the symbol’s definition and its legitimating effects” (Verdery 1993, p.39), and inevitable resistance to the constrictions of government supervision. With varying degrees of success, the domestic identity was often shaped by the changing external needs of Japanese foreign policy, and this contradiction highlights the tenuous nature of the nihonjinron claim to cultural uniqueness. This tension between self and other was most apparent in the convoluted distinctions that justified developments in literature and painting.

The following section briefly surveys the early modern foundation of discourses of the nation to demonstrate the specific costs of accepting certain tenets of the national narrative. In the same way that an emerging body of
literature has documented how domestic and international political requirements have favourably assisted the production and reception of Shakespeare’s texts as the achievements of ‘the world’s greatest dramatist’, my discussion of the work of Rowley (1997) and Winther-Tamaki (1997) shows how reproduction, transformation and transmission of literary and visual artefacts have been zones of contestation and tools for co-option and resistance in the construction of the narrative of the Japanese nation.

**Lethal transience in Meiji literature: beauty and death as citizenship**

After two hundred years of being regarded as a text for scholars, *The Tale of Genji* was repositioned for the mass market by the appearance of five new editions between 1890 and 1913. This resurrection was supported by two separate institutional programmes of action. The Institute for the Study of Imperial Classics was established by politicians anxious to contain the People Rights movement and popular demands for a constitution, and the other was led by conservative scholars of ‘national’ literature at Tokyo University. From 1882 the Institute for the Study of Imperial Classics and the Classics Training Course in the Faculty of Letters gave considerable attention to “establishing institutions to train a new generation of custodians of the canon; articulating the principles of their project; and attempting, through translation, to transform Genji into an instrument for the edification of the new mass readership of the ‘new Japan’” (Rowley 1997, p.2).

While this institutionally created surge of interest arrested the decline of national literature by insisting that *The Tale of Genji* was something for all Japanese citizens to read, this construction of the authentic Japanese identity relied on a contradictory irony. The establishment of authenticity required an othering of the self. In serving the political demands of the day, early modern citizens of all social stations were asked to collectively identify with the
idealised linguistic, historic and social other of Genji. Identification with the genteel figure of the aesthete Genji was one mechanism for incorporating citizens into an increasingly militarised national body, and this process of using literature to shape desire demanded textual spin doctoring at the level of the written script.

The primary task of these Japanese literature scholars who considered themselves to be the "custodians of a tradition of scholarship, a body of texts, and 'Japaneseness'" (Brownstein 1987, p.438) was to translate the text into the recently popular genbun ichi style and replace native but anachronistic yamato kotoba with Chinese compounds. After being translated into comprehensible Japanese, the cultured gallant represented in this text was instrumental in creating the nation, palatable for international consumption. The presence of Genji is apparent in the following paraphrase which identifies how the 1911 writings of Sassa Seisetsu sought to placate 'yellow peril' anxieties about military success in the 1904-5 Russo-Japanese War by deliberately othering the national self: "The true Japanese is a lover of beauty, a person of gentility and feeling, in other words, a latter-day Heian courtier." (Rowley 1997, p.9)

According to Sassa's essentializing of Japanese identity, citizens were being presented with this Genji role model of an upper class aesthete who spoke an unintelligible language at the very time when warfare was an arena for the performance of loyalty to the nation and the military codes were being revised.

The frontline diligence of Japanese Christian soldiers during the 1894-1895 Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War lead to government recognition of "Christianity as one of the 'Three Religions' of Japan ... by the end of the

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34 A concise introduction to The Tale of Genji is available at http://www.taleofmurasaki.com/taleofgenjipage.htm

35 Japanese has a huge number of loan words (in Japanese, gairai go) from Chinese, and many pseudo-Chinese words invented in Japan using Chinese elements. Yamato kotoba means Japanese words which are not Chinese, pseudo-Chinese, or other loan words. Yamato is an ancient name for Japan and yamato kotoba implies the ancient Japanese language without any loan words.


Genbun ichi refers to the modern unification of the written and the spoken language.
Meiji Era in 1912." (Reischauer 1957, p.364) The delicate sensibilities of early twentieth century Heian courtiers were subject to appeals to "‘the attack spirit,’ ‘confidence in certain victory,’ ‘loyalty to the emperor,’ ‘love of country,’ ‘absolute sincerity,’ and ‘sacrifice one’s life to the country, absolute obedience to superiors’” by the Infantry Manual of 1909, the Army Education Regulation of 1913 and the Field Regulations of 1916 (Ienaga 1978, pp.47–8).

I would argue that this use of literary texts as propaganda is a domestic extension of the official Japanese diplomatic strategy, documented by Valliant (1974), to manipulate Western opinion during the Russo-Japanese War and to endeavour to ‘enlighten’ the United States until 1919.

Sassa invoked the endorsement of Ichijo Kaneyoshi (1402-81) to argue that The Tale of Genji exceeded the literary achievements of Greece and Rome. His presentation of Japanese tradition as the international avant-garde demonstrates Japanese “superiority in terms of the literary vocabulary of the West: Genji must also be ‘modern’, the world’s first exemplar of true ‘realism’” (Rowley 1997, p.9). According to Iriye (1997, p.20), Sassa’s manoeuvre is typical of countries wrestling with the nationalist desire to be a modern nation-state while also aspiring to the internationalist status of being a member of the global community.

Subsequent history of Japanese expansionist ambition suggests that a central element of the ideological work performed by Genji is the notion of an aestheticised death. “Aileen Gatten suggests that this link of death with beauty may originate with Murasaki ... Superior beauty is tightly bound to brevity of existence. That which is exceptionally beautiful is short-lived” (Wallace 1997, p.185). While the formation of the modern citizen was an ongoing process, this linking of death and beauty gave political elites a powerful vocabulary that collapsed the distinction between the natural and the social.

Honda’s remark that “in Japan, the aesthetics of emotion have been colored from earliest times by the brevity of the life of a flower” (1989, p.28) is an
example of this discursive use of natural metaphor. This construction of
Japanese nature required that Japanese subjectivity be natural-ised. This
conjunction of the natural and the social has been useful in accounting for,
shaping and justifying what now appear to be oppressive social relationships. A
corollary of this emerging national discourse that integrated inevitable cycles
of life, death and rebirth with political demands for sacrifice was the
personification of nature. This is apparent in the following poem of Jiyen the
Monk (1115-1255) which attributes agency to the powerless.

Let us not blame the wind, indiscriminately,
That scatters the flowers so ruthlessly;
I think it is their own desire to pass away before their time has
come (Suzuki 1997, p. 390).

Naturalised Japanese agency embraces oblivion.

Aestheticising the inevitability of death made Greater East Asian War demands
for absolute loyalty to the state possible, and this rhetoric was tempered by the
implied promise of vernal rebirth in the eternal edifice of the nation. Cherry
blossoms, used as a symbol of peace and war (Ohnuki-Tierney 1995), advocate
the inevitability of individual obliteration as nation building. The private retreat
of Kobayashi Hideo (Mujo to in Koto, ‘Transience’ 1946) into Japan’s glorious
past of medieval poetry and prose may have been a well intentioned action for
a scholar who “did not sympathize with the aggressive acts of the militarists”
(Keene 1978, p.93), but ironically, escape attempts of this sort brought more
attention to the necessity of natural and human transience and were neatly
appropriated to reinforce the grand narrative of Greater East Asia: “By
stressing the mutability of all things, he made young, intelligent men accept
death and destruction of the battlefield” (Sato 1982, p.224).

It is important to note the existence of Jiyen’s poem more than 600 years
before provisions of the 1908 Military Criminal Code that awarded the death
penalty to any “commander who allows his unit to surrender to the enemy without fighting to the last man or who concedes a strategic area to the enemy” (Ienaga 1978, p.49), and to contrast this mercenary image of the national spirit with Sassa’s 1911 idealised, almost pacificist aesthetics. Successive governments have created the imaginary community of Japan by weaving aesthetic elements together into a series of intertextual relationships that endorse the exercise of explicit state power against the interests of individuals. The sphere of culture became the frontline of conflict as political elites used their power to instrumentally define a nationalised cultural canon and control education to indoctrinate the population. Kishida Kunio argued in his 1943 Chikara toshite Bunka, ‘Culture as Strength’, “that ‘Anglo-American’ culture will be swept from our country and East Asia ... If for some reason one must absolutely read an American or English book, it should be with feelings of hostility, putting to one’s own use the contents of the book as if it were some item of war booty” (Keene 1978, p.92).

The righteousness of the mission to unilaterally impose the Japanese way throughout Asia was created despite a “conscious, organized attempt to invert the relationship between education and nationalism ... [by] viewing one’s countrymen through the eyes of humanity, instead of viewing humanity through the eyes of one’s countrymen” (Lincicome 1999, pp.339, 350). Increasingly ultranationalist interpretations of the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education from 1910 onwards (Wray 1973) erased from popular memory the fact that Japanese soldiers were captured in the 1904-5 Russo-Japanese War. Instead of anticipating Tojo Hideki’s 1941 imperative in the Field Service Code, “Do not be taken prisoner alive” (Ienaga 1978, p.49), Japanese officers demanded respect for their rank and better treatment from their captors: permission to ice skate and the right to drink vodka (Keene 1994, p.38). It is with the image of tipsy officers on ice that I would like to conclude this survey of the ideological work of literary texts like Genji and move on to the realm of the visual.
Show a painting: the textual drift of self and other

Equally dizzy gyrations in search of authentic Japanese identity were visible in the field of painting, given the basic distinction between Japanese nihonga 日本画 and Western yoga 洋画. The government’s introduction of yoga in early Meiji asserted the representational superiority of Western painting while also fuelling interest in nihonga during the latter half of the 1880s (Winther-Tamaki 1997, p.155). The realist accuracy of Western oil painting had great propaganda value and the war painting genre known as sensoga 戦争画 was another representation of Japanese ideals during the Sino-Japanese War 1894-95, the Russo-Japanese War 1904-5, and “the late 1930s and early 1940s when as many as three-hundred artists served in the military” (Winther-Tamaki 1997, p.146).

Fujita Tsuguji’s ecstatic proclamation in 1944 echoes Sassa’s positioning of Genji as global aesthetic pioneer: “The Greater East Asian War has called forth a great unprecedented revolution in Japanese painting. ... Today’s sensoga is the pride of Japan, an art that I believe has no parallel in any other country. ... Our paintings contribute to stimulating martial spirit in wartime and will be preserved for posterity. Thus there can be none so happy as we Japanese painters today” (Winther-Tamaki 1997, p.176). Implicit in this creation of a highly politicised genre which prophesied a jubilant national future, in dire contrast to the individual miseries of everyday life during the terminal throes of war, is the propaganda value of textual reception and reproduction. These images were presented as authentic records of actual conflicts in exhibitions like the Great East Asia War Art Exhibition, Daito Senso Bijutsuten 大東亜戦争美術展 from 1937 (Ienaga 1978, p.123) and others sponsored by the Patriotic Society of Japanese Art, Nihon Bijitsu Hokoku Kai 日本美術報国会.

The deployment of official war artists, jyugun gaka 從軍画家, to the front line might imply a certain historical accuracy. However propaganda requirements
sometimes results in visions which do not tally with the fatality figures documented by military historians. Winther-Tamaki extends Tanaka Jo's 1988 analysis of the echoing in Fujita Tsuguji's 1941 "Battle on the Bank of the Halubha, Nomonhan" of the horizontal format of a thirteen century emaki commemorating the military success of Takezaki Suenaga 竹崎季長. "Fujita resorted to Japanese art history to simulate victory ... In an ironic sleight of hand, Fujita disguised the failure of the Japanese invasion of Soviet-controlled Outer Mongolia in 1939 by evoking the glorious specter of the successful defense against the Mongolian invasion in the thirteenth century" (Winther-Tamaki 1997, p.176). The aesthetic sphere here functions as a vocabulary resource where intertextuality transmutes a failed attack, the death of 9,000 Soviet soldiers costing 50,000 Japanese lives, into a decisive repulse.36

In addition to the slippery movement of visual language across Japanese historical periods, the nationalist imperative was also served by the appropriation of more recent symbols from across the national borders of European opponents to Japanese 'liberation' of Asia. The 1944 admiration of Uemura Takachiyo for the way Delacroix's 1830 'Liberty Leading the People' "not only represented historical fact but also went beyond documentary to symbolize the spirit of liberty" (Winther-Tamaki 1997, p.154) produces a universalised reading of Miyamoto Saburo's 1941 'Attack on Nanyuan.' There is an inevitable tension between self and other in the way these visual texts serving state-centred nationalism express what Karatani Kojin describes as the "mutually supporting ... desire for universality and the erasure of the consciousness of exteriority" (Lippit 1999, p.42).

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36 Yamamoto Satsuo directed the feature film Senso to ningen (Nikkatsu, 1970-73), which consists of three parts and is more than nine hours long. Based on the novel by Gomikawa Junpei it is set in 1920s-1930s Manchuria and is centred on the fictional zaibatsu family Godai. It also pays attention to the Chinese anti-Japanese resistance. In the final episode a Japanese soldier even joins the Chinese resistance. The film is packed with personal drama and mass scenes, of which the most notable probably is the reenactment of the Nomonhan Incident with the cooperation of the Soviet Army (Dick Stegweens, H-Japan post). Novelist Murakami Haruki also addresses the meaning of the Japanese military experience in Mongolia in his 1997 Wind-up Bird Chronicle.
This chapter has so far given an overview of the ideological applications of Meiji literature and Showa painting, in particular, how national ideologies employ national myths as convenient tools in the creation of identity. It has outlined something of the complicated manoeuvres necessary to stabilise Japanese identities for domestic and international consumption. This didactic use of literary and visual culture is consistent with the Theatre Reform Movement Inagaki Kairi 演劇改良 of the Meiji period. While attempts were being made by Ichikawa Danjiro IX to revitalise the kabuki tradition by making it more realistic, the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kybosho), established April 21 1872, “placed actors and entertainers under its wings, and enrolled them as ‘teachers’ to educate the masses” (Tschudin 1999, p.83). On November 25 1872 the Ministry of Religious Affairs was amalgamated with the Ministry of Education, (Coville 1948, p.5) and entertainment’s contribution to citizen formation was indoctrination.

Meiji tea: the aesthetic seduction of an ideological tool of state

It is in this context of the intersection of discourses of government-approved popular culture and emerging nationalism that I would like to review arguments for the centrality of tea in the national life made by Gengensai (1810-1877), eleventh grand master, in his 1872 petition to the Meiji government. In contrast to Kishida’s argument for the imposition of government control of cultural capital to support the creation of the Greater East Asia cultural sphere, Gengensai’s “Chado no Gen li” (Fundamental Principles of the Way of Tea) was a voluntary attempt to legitimate institutionalised tea pedagogy as the embodiment of ‘Japanese values’, an aesthetic crystallisation of “values of co-operation and self-restraint, as [later] expressed in the Imperial Rescript on Education” (Nolte 1983, p.283).

The petition was an argument “from a position of impotence … [for] the timeless nature of values espoused in the tea cult. Those statements clearly contradict 200 years of historical evidence … Tactical maneuvers are here disguised as strategic, time-stopping statements” (Kramer 1985, p.183). With
this emphasising of the ethical components of tea and a silencing of the aesthetic elements, tea insinuated itself into the edifice of national mass culture. This image of tea as the one unchanging constant of cultural life facilitated later co-option of texts like Genji into the symbolic vocabulary that constituted the myth of national unity. Tea’s continuity gave credibility to the efforts of Meiji political elites to convince Japanese of their citizenship. The Houses of Sen became producers in “an exploitive culture, projected and disseminated by business interests, political interests, ideological or religious interests, and dominant class interests. It is a powerful mechanism, serving to disempower people from maintaining and cultivating their own culture” (Jamrozik, Boland & Urquhart 1995, p.27 [emphasis in original]).

In presenting the legacy of Sen no Rikyu as an instrument of state ideology, Gengensai offered the state an act of mutual constitution in return for official recognition that tea was more than a vestige of samurai and court play. As a narrowly held family businesses, Sen tea received the legitimating benefits of the state by emphasising the conservative values deemed to be desirable for welding individual will into the life of the nation. The following translation of Gengensai’s petition from Sen Soshitsu’s 1988 Chanoyu: The Art of Taking Tea shows an ideological range spanning the individual, family and nation:

[The] original intent of the Way of Tea is to instill loyalty, filial piety and the Five Constant Virtues (benevolence, sincerity, righteousness, wisdom and trust); to uphold modesty, propriety and frugality; [to encourage] the unflagging fulfillment of one’s allocated role in family affairs; [to promote] service toward the peace and well-being of the realm; to have people treat another with no distinctions of closeness or distance, wealth or poverty; and to revere divine providence for the sake of the health and longevity of generations to come” (Mori 1992, p.13).
As tea positioned itself as the sacrament of the state, “attempts to escape from the feudalistic oppression by such devices as the No dance, the art of tea, literature, and other social and artistic entertainments” (Suzuki 1997, p.308) were reduced to receiving an aesthetic caress of state power. Governmental control defined the parameters of popular culture, and cultural practices were codified, commodified and nationalised as authentic modes of citizenship. The power of the state was affirmed in the intersection of discourses of consumption and play, and authentic Japanese identity itself became the commodity underlying these ‘traditional’ leisure activities.

Tea for War, Tea for Peace

Autobiographical comments of the fifteenth generation Urasenke Grand Master create an impression that the “Peacefulness through a Bowl of Tea” campaign was the result of his considerable reflection on the nature of wartime experience in general, and more specifically, serving tea to other tokkotai squad members and then hearing their final radio signals. Rather than merely privilege the individual subjectivity of one grand master, I would like to historicise his comments about war by examining tea’s 1930s role in creating a sense of Japanese identity and solidarity. The institutional positioning of tea as a wartime national sacrament is one silence reverberating behind the Grand Master’s remarks. What is important here is the nostalgic invoking of a supposedly authentic past as a means of militarising cultural practices like tea and the analysis presented here supports claims advanced in Chapter 9.

Kumakura plots the reemergence of the iemoto system with two large public gatherings which were held during the period when the major practitioners of sukiya cha all died: the Showa Kitano Ochanoyu Kinren Okenchakai,昭和北野大茶湯紀念大会茶会, (October 8th - 12th 1936) commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the 1587 Kitano Ochanoyu; and

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37 Serialised in *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* 1986-87 and *Chanoyu Quarterly*, and published by *Asahi Shimbun* on August 15th 1980 to commemorate the end of WWII.
the Rikyu 350 Nenki Ochakai 利休350年忌大茶会, (April 21st - 23rd 1940) commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyu’s death in 1591 (Kumakura 1994, pp.18–20).

While it is convenient to assert that the original Kitano Ochanoyu was the national convention of wabi cha (Hisamatsu 1993, p.23), it is important to remember the extent to which that sixteenth century event was redolent with the exercise of power. What was ostensibly a display of cultural authority, masterpieces with provenances associated with the Ashikaga shogun or historically significant tea practitioners, also included tea ware confiscated or ‘donated’ as Hideyoshi used tea as a persuasive supplement to naked military might to unify the nation. Representing the event as egalitarian requires reading Hideyoshi’s order as an invitation, and reproduces tea’s image of itself as a purely aesthetic practice devoid of political and commercial concerns: “All serious Japanese practitioners of chanoyu—warriors, attendants, townspeople, farmers, and men of lower classes—as well as people on the continent were invited to attend and participate” (Guth 1993, p.69). Hideyoshi’s coercive use of tea included compulsory attendance for all tea practitioners and bans on the private preparation by those who failed to attend.

Davis’s demonstration that “Between 1936 and 1941, there were strenuous efforts made to express, and define, what makes Japanese people and life so Japanese” (Davis 1996, p.2) suggests that the discourse of the nation was the dominant frame that positioned the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Kitano Ochanoyu and Rikyu’s death. Regardless of the private sentiments of individual participants, reports of the gathering of four thousand people in the 1936 event which took the name of the Showa Emperor were received in the dominant tone of the day. The production and reception of prescriptive mass media texts were officially manipulated to express the sacramental Japanese identity (Ienaga 1978, Davis 1996). Given the scale of “the large public chashiki Tenshōsha, [in which] more than twelve thousand sweets were served” (Kumakura 1994, p.19) it is extremely unlikely that the event could
have ideologically separated from the Showa mood of jingoistic celebration. Honouring the national convention of wabi cha became part of an ultranational didactic trope that was concerned with the transmission of bushido values to all Japanese men, women and children.

Given that the historical existence of practices like seppuku was used to justify the naval and air force special attack squads of which the fifteenth Urasenke Grand Master was a member, preliminary reports of the gathering of 5,000 people in three days may construct the event as no more than the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyu's death. However, in the same way that the 1930s popularity of Okakura's argument for Asian unity "within an art historical context ... when Japan began to move towards the 'Great East-Asian Co-Prosperity'" (Karatan 1998, pp.155, 156) assumed a political dimension, the wartime commemoration of Rikyu's seppuku gave militarists an ideological text that could be appropriated to justify the divine right of Japan to unify East Asia. Rikyu was no longer merely a historical man of tea conjured in anecdotes, a legendary embodiment of tea values, and a set of aesthetic preferences present in the tea rooms of Meiji and Taisho suikisha and Showa grand tea gatherings; his legacy of tea values was to be subsumed into the larger narrative of the nation.

The mechanics of an aesthetic death in the name of the nation suggests a similarity between Rikyu's resoluteness toward his own death and the sacrifice demanded of wartime Japanese citizens. Through legislation of daily life, the state retains the power to restructure individual will in such a way as to present personal annihilation as an incorporation with the nation.

There is no doubt that, during the fifteen-year war (1931-45), "dissolving into the whole" immediately suggested the physical erasure of the self or kyoishi, which could mean one's own death. The slogan ichioku gyokusai or "the total suicidal death of one hundred million," another version of "the final solution," was
propagated all over Japanese territories toward the end of the Second World War, and, in view of the manner in which Watsuji conceptualized authenticity in his ethics, it was no coincidence that the final moment of the total suicidal death was imagined as the aesthetic experience of ultimate communion. Death was appropriated into an experience in which one dissolved and got integrated into the body of the nation: death was transformed into the imagined experience of togetherness and camaraderie; the resoluteness toward one's own death was translated into the resoluteness toward identification with the totality. Death was consequently aestheticized so that it could mediate and assimilate one's personal identity into national identity. Finally, the nation was turned into the community of destiny (unmei kyodotai) toward death. To use Watsuji's vocabulary, absolute negativity equals absolute totality and was internalized into the finite totality of the nation-state. In this sense, the absolute totality lost its transcendence and infinity and became "expressible." Watsuji's ethics of nakayoshi (being on good terms) transformed itself into the ethics of ichioku gyokusai (the total suicidal death of one hundred million) (Sakai 1997, pp.101-102).

Sakai's reading of the collapse of Watsuji's ethics of good companionship into a nationalised aesthetic death implies that the current "Peacefulness through a bowl of tea" global campaign repositions the sorts of coercive discourses of the nation that reigned during the early Showa period. Tea room camaraderie, with its vicarious participation in questions surrounding Rikyu's annihilation, reads as a metaphor for embracing the nation's lethal caress.

While Kumakura is silent on the question of whether patriotic sentiment fuelled tea's popularity, I would argue that the tea's cherishing of the instant became indistinguishable from Tojo's military regulations that demanded individual sacrifice in the name of the nation.
Given the number of participants, magnified by newspaper and thematically related radio coverage, and considering the government regulation of the cultural sphere through "Dai-Nippon Bungaku Hokokukai (Japanese Literature Patriotic Association) and the Dai-Nippon Genron Hokokukai (Japanese Journalism Patriotic Association)" (Ienaga 1978, p.123), it can be argued that tea was a significant player in the "exploration, formulation and emphasis of a nation's identity [and the] creation, maintenance and enhancement of solidarity among members of a nation" (Yoshino 1992, p.215). This popular consumption of the ultranationalist sacrament of tea and the reporting practices of the newspapers of the day helped consolidate the connection between a distinctive national culture and war as an expression of those values of patriotic transience.

On page 2 of the October 8th 1936 edition of the Kyoto Shinbun a report of the ceremony commemorating military deaths is placed immediately above an account of the forthcoming Kitanoo Okenchakai. The thematic connection of these two items is textually and visually reinforced. Tea's seasonal discourse provides a reference to those who died in the Manchurian invasion (the headline reads "As autumn deepens") and the visual dominance of the photograph of the cavalry parade with crossed flags points to the omnipresence of patriotic sentiments in Showa daily life. The thematic power of this visual element underlines the problematic nature of conceptualising a retreat into the nostalgic innocence of culture as intelligentsia's resistance to the oppressive shaping of daily life by nationalist policies.

The central dilemma posed to these resistant acts was how to maintain the integrity of culture as a neutral territory when individual autonomy was increasingly subject to state intervention. "Once created, this imaginary space, increasingly absorbed by the interests of the state, might be filled with any aesthetic, ethical, or spiritual values implied by the term 'culture'" (Pincus 1996, p.221).
To return to the question of the shift from tea for war to tea for peace, this vision of tea’s postwar utility is more than the private insight of one individual grand master. This apparent reversal of position, from tea as a jingoistic instrument of the militarist state, to tea as the beverage of choice among pacifist internationalists, is consistent with the strategy adopted by Gengensai in his 1872 government petition: position tea as the expression of the nation. Shimizu Ikutaro observed in 1950 that prewar patriotism was unconnected to democracy, and argued that “the world-historical transformation that occurred after the war, caused by the advent of nuclear weapons, called urgently for the ‘completion of democracy.’ Therefore, ‘peace’ and ‘democracy’ had to be intimately connected to any rebirth of patriotism that might occur in postwar Japan” (Koschmann 1996, p.219). While tea profited from its representation as the embodiment of Japanese material culture during the early Showa period, Shimizu’s analysis suggests that the postwar shift from a nationalist rhetoric to the possibility of a global market for tea knowledge, utensils, and practices was almost inevitable. This positioning of tea as the epitome of the reconstructed Japan involved erasing tea’s complicity in stitching the aesthetic response of individuals into the militarist arsenal. This is consistent with how the optimistic fervour of the introduction to a book of ukiyoe prints assigns the cultural to the position of an outcome, and not a domestic means of achieving that goal: “On that glorious day when we have triumphed in the Greater East Asia War, when America and England have been conquered, and the radiant splendor of Japanese culture shines throughout the world, Japanese arts will illuminate the universe” (Ienaga 1978, p.123). The postwar coupling of tea and peace recalls Sassa’s 1911 representation of early modern Japanese agents of expansion as refined Heian aesthetes. Culture as nationalism asserts its neutral inevitability while structuring its position in the foreground of the national identity.

Moving the focus away from the tea practices of Kyoto which have generally been the positioned as the metropole in English tea scholarship (Anderson 1991, Mori 1992) reveals an explicitly military application of tea. Between 1941 and 1945 in Fukuoka’s Hakozaiki Hachimangu, tea ceremonies were held
that sought divine assistance for victory. These ceremonies, senshou kigan kencha 戦勝祈願献茶, were prayers for victory in the Pacific War. These offertory tea practices are not connected to Sen offertory practices commemorating Rikyu and his descendants, but their existence as military sacraments supports an argument that accounts for tea's politicised position in the Japanese cultural landscape.36

This chapter argues that the aesthetic responses and experiences of literate Japanese were a zone of contestation in the formation of early modern Japanese citizenry. Literature and painting operated as technologies of the national self that supported the militarisation of the national population. As part of an analysis of how film subverts the nationalist sentiments of cultural nativists, Chapter 10 argues that the colonisation of aesthetic practices by nationalist discourses continue to be a sonorous part of public life today.

Four films representing Rikyu unsettle these attempts to construct a monolithic Japanese identity. Two versions of Oginsama, Tanaka Kinuyo in 1962 and Kumai Kei in 1978, regender the nation by focussing on the choices made by Rikyu's adopted daughter in her love for one of Rikyu's followers, Christian daimyo Takayama Ukon. Kumai Kei's 1989 Sen no Rikyu: Honkakubo ibun and Teshigahara Hiroshi's 1989 Rikyu address the tension between anecdotal accounts of Rikyu's aesthetic life and the written historical record that documents his activities as a bullet merchant. While these four films reconfigure national identity, they imply a continuity between the values legitimating seppuku and the tea tenet of cherishing the instant. As the review of Meiji literature and Showa painting demonstrates, this common territory was historically significant when Japanese colonialism demanded citizens internalise a reified version of bushido values.

36 During the postwar period, regular Sen offertory practices at Yasukuni Shrine, a central institution in the commemoration of Japanese war dead referred to in Chapter 9, are another example of tea's politicised position in the Japanese cultural landscape.
Conclusion

By offering a concrete example of the modes of analysis introduced in Chapter 4, this chapter advances my thesis that autoethnography can be employed as a form of private resistance against dominant discourses. As a critical and effective history it interrogates a central tenet of Japanese ideology which underpins tea’s status as self-appointed representative of Japanese material culture: the metaphor of the cultural as natural. This cultural history exposes the ideological strategy of presenting nature as neutral, and this lays a foundation for an interrogation of power in two later chapters. In Chapter 7 I denaturalise the authority of the grand master system and I execute a close reading of a range of multimodal texts in Chapter 10 to demonstrate the persistence of this state centred ideology.
CHAPTER 6
DESCRIPTION AND DECONSTRUCTION: TEA AND SUBJECTIVITY

Self presentation: tea as therapy (insomnia)

Cross: So in an earlier session you said that tea had some therapeutic value.

Tim: I find the routine of imagining tea history unfolding rather relaxing so I like to end the day by lying down and thinking about eighth century Chinese scholar Lu Yu (ca. 733-803) and his *The Classic of Tea*. His Taoist quest for tea as an elixir of life left us with gems like “boiling water for black tea should be like the eyes of fish.” Little wonder he was venerated by later generations of Chinese as his reclusive tea style integrated literature with an idea of tea as medicine and a spiritual transport to a different realm.

Cross: History is then some nostalgic fantasy that you self administer after a hard day of taxing toil, allowing you to cross class boundaries as you slip back in time and across to China.

Tim: In doing so I am indulging in luxurious delusions of taste and discrimination. Tea arrived in Japan during the Heian period (794-1185) but was reintroduced in the thirteenth century here in Fukuoka. The monk Eisai emphasised the medical value of tea, going beyond the idea of tea as respite from the indignities of daily life by linking it with Zen practices and values. At the same time that tea was a disciplined part of self fashioning in temples, the display of discerning taste in tea contests was an integral part of court culture up to the fifteenth century.

Cross: Relentless upward mobility from the boy from Ballina appears to be the recurrent theme here. Eighth century Chinese tea was ranked with the best grade being exclusively reserved for imperial consumption and in fifteenth century Japanese court culture an obsession with mimicking Chinese culture reduced tea refinement to crassness.

Tim: But there is also the issue of conspicuous consumption and production of insider knowledge as an index of the need to belong and be officially validated.
These courtiers, like the wine tossers of today, leveraged their social capital by the ability to distinguish between the real tea grown in Taganoo and Uji and the so-called “non-tea” that was grown elsewhere.

Cross: Would you agree that you have demonstrated an interesting tension between the need for romantic solipsism in the reclusive impulse of Lu Yu and the competitive mastery of embodied orthodoxy as a demonstration of group membership?

Tim: Given the nature of institutional tea transmission, a nostalgic masquerade of class distinction being rendered bureaucratic for a mass culture which fashions leisure as the opiate of middle class, this contradiction is almost inevitable.

Cross: That may be of interest to cultural theorists and area studies specialists but my reason for exploring the issue of group membership is to raise the question of how an ethnic and linguistic outsider strategically positions himself as a tea culture insider.

Tim: Several possible strategies here for slipping past these arguments for an authentic identity that must be defined by reference to some imagined purity of ethnic and linguistic definitions. One is to privilege the body by simply asking “Can he perform the procedures in a technically competent and aesthetically pleasing way, and does the whole experience become recognisable as a tea moment?” Another manoeuvre is to invoke the spirit of authentic transmission: “Has he learnt tea in the manner that Japanese do or was he safely cordoned off in some privileged confines for foreigners?” Let me declare my vested interests here. This invoking of a narrowly defined version of what constitutes authentic transmission is not a purely innocent move because it calls offside that generation of foreigners who have studied in the Midori Kai, an intensive program for foreigners offered by the Urasenke school in Kyoto. Alternatively, you could consider the biographical element here: while tea has been an element that has been appropriated into discourses of family, career, leisure and the nation, my tea experience has not been constrained by the convention that one study in one school for the term of my natural life.

Introduction

The previous five chapters advance my argument that autoethnography can be employed as a form of private resistance which mediates how dominant discourses are experienced. In contrast to the historical concerns in Chapter 5 with early modern Japanese attempts to shape subjectivity by legitimating narrow definitions of what constitutes the nationally authentic, in this chapter I align myself with those writers of critical histories who interrogate the textual consequences of their subjectivity. In the context of the whole argument, my representation of how I am implicated in these national discourses of the natural expands my concern with subjectivity introduced in Chapter 2. It builds on the Chapter 4 review of questions of textual analysis in cultural studies by exploring the reflexive problems of using textual representations of life experience as possible points of entry to textual analysis.36

Shameless pleasure: why tea?

When Tim Cross left his native Australia for Fukuoka, Japan, he had no intention of making tea a way of life. However, once he discovered the transcendental experience of the ceremony, he was hooked. For the past seven years, he has been taking rigorous instruction in the regional Nambo Ryu style of tea. His current teacher and mentor is Tokushige Sensei, a woman whose mastery is esteemed throughout Japan.

36 The first section of this chapter is a fictionalised account of a tea gathering. It was written in Japan and Canada in the five months prior to 9/11. published in New York in September/October 2001 for an audience with no first hand experience of Japan. This semiotic description of one possible version of the tea experience foregrounds the communicative aspects of the tearoom interaction. This includes modulated shifts between verbal, nonverbal and conventionalised aesthetic codes that structures movements along a continuum of formality and shared social intimacy. The second section of this chapter engages the mediating effects of language on textualised representation of experience while drawing on critical media literacy theory. I make an attempt to consciously shift the voice of this section away from a disembodied trope writing from a specific location. The device of a dialogue form is used to split authorial subjectivity in a manner which problematises conventional assumptions of unified subjectivity. This dialogue is an exploratory performance of the sorts of theoretical gestures introduced in the section of Chapter 2 that addressed subjectivity.
This past winter, Tokushige Sensei hosted an early morning tea gathering for Tim and his old friend, Kate, an art historian specialising in Asian ceramics, by inviting her to act as first guest. In this role, Kate would be expected to carry the main responsibilities of conversing with their host. As a second guest, Tim would be called upon to smooth any wrinkles in the flow of the ceremony—an important role, since Kate had no formal training in the arts of tea.

Just before dawn on a chilly winter morning, a lone figure crouches, meticulously wiping each leaf of a low tree in her irregular garden. Satisfied with the sense of welcome conveyed by the freshly cleaned leaves, scrubbed paving stones and scattered pine needles in the outer garden, our host places a sekimori ishi—a stone wrapped with black string—in the centre of the path leading away from the tea room. The stone is meant to block the path, thus preventing guests from losing their way. But more than mere consideration, this stone implies that the host intends to guide her guests to an experience of shared enlightenment.

Sensei stands, pausing to note that even in the darkness every element in the garden evokes a crisp morning in a mountain valley. The outer garden has its own verdant logic. The inner garden is sparse. Sensei considers the contrast between them, knowing that this first subtle distinction will initiate her guests’ transition toward a heightened state. Pleased, she returns to the preparation room, which adjoins the tearoom in the centre of the inner garden. Here she makes a careful final inspection of the utensils she has chosen, all of which have been placed close to the sliding rice paper door which she will use throughout the ceremony. The tea room has two entrances: the host’s entrance is full height, allowing Sensei to come and go while carrying utensils as the serving procedure demands; the second entrance, which Kate and I will crawl through later, is only about knee high.

Assured that everything in the preparation room is in order, Sensei enters the tearoom. It has an alcove where a hanging scroll is displayed, illuminated by
candlelight. The alcove's irregular timber structure contrasts with the geometric rigour of the paper-screen windows in the tearoom, as well as the black-bordered tatami mats on the floor. Tatami are an essential component of any tearoom because they provide the clear demarcation of space that is required for the proper movements of utensils and participants in the ceremony. Convention precludes the host from leaving the serving area to enter the space allocated to the guests, and guests have no business intruding into the transit and serving zones of the host once the serving procedure has started.

While Sensei was making final preparations, Kate and I have arrived and seated ourselves in the outer garden's waiting arbor. Although Sensei has not been visible to us, we are soon alerted to Sensei's presence when we hear her splashing water around the final approach to the tearoom as she fills the stone basin where we will rinse our hands and mouths. As I prepare to exchange silent greetings with our host at the middle gate, I adjust my dark blue kimono and my Kokura belt woven by Tsuki Noriko. On this cold morning I have been keeping my hands warm by sliding them inside my hakama, those large and pleated trousers worn for tea and noh. When Kate removes her overcoat, I notice her handwoven kimono is a very understated grey, highlighted by a pale blue obi that features a white plum motif.

Finally, it is the moment to greet our host. As usual, I feel a tense anticipation during the choreographed bowing in unison. Our unspoken acknowledgment contrasts with the everyday custom of using speech to communicate. The silence suggests we are about to embark on something powerfully sacramental.

In the stillness, our host retreats to the preparation room while Kate and I finish the ritual purification of our hands and mouths. We are grateful for the consideration of our host when we discover the water has been warmed. With this thoughtfulness fresh in our minds, we file past a sunken waste pit, containing a small pile of garden refuse, where the last of our worldly concerns should be symbolically discarded.
The low, garden-side entrance to the tearoom is barely two feet high. It must be entered on one's hands and knees. The mild discomfort of crawling while wearing kimono is a deliberate attempt to intensify the division of space that started with our transition from the outer to the inner gardens. It encourages us once more to leave all social status and worries outside. Kate enters first, kneels in front of the alcove, and bows behind her fan before regarding the scroll. She then stands and crosses the tearoom diagonally before making an acute right-hand turn. Entering the host's serving zone, Kate kneels to view the sunken hearth located between the positions of the host and first guest. Kate inspects its weathered wooden frame and cast iron kettle with an expression that suggests she is reminded of the greatness that can be found in the inconspicuous details of the irregular and the ordinary.

At this point, it is my role as last guest to coordinate our interaction will unfold in the tearoom. I enter, audibly closing the sliding door as a signal to our host that we are almost ready. I am aware that my kneeling inspection of the scroll, followed by my diagonal approach and acute turn towards the hearth, must allow Kate to walk by me in that confined space. I take the hypotenuse while she performs a right-angle turn to the left that would not be judged ungraceful, even on the nob stage. A neat triangle is momentarily inscribed on the rectangular tatami mats by our pristine white split-toed socks. The rigour of our movements brings to mind the walking of monks between meditations.

Eyes wide, Kate sits in her designated place ahead of me in the candlelit room. Once we are comfortably kneeling in our positions, with the principal guest sitting closest to the hanging scroll, Sensei slowly slides the large screen open. Host and kneeling guests all bow deeply in unison. The candlelight contrasts the sheen of Sensei's dark green kimono with the heavily textured obi that once belonged to her mother. Sensei apologises for her serving only tea and no kaiseki—meaning a light meal—and thanks us for taking the time to meet. In turn, Kate and I both express our delight at being offered this unique gift of hospitality.
Sensei stands and enters the tearoom, carrying a striking bamboo basket containing the necessary implements for preparing the charcoal. She leaves the room briefly, returns with a dish containing ash, and commences the formal charcoal preparation. Sensei methodically places the metal chopsticks, two metal rings, a brush made of osprey feathers, and the incense container in their positions on the tatami. Neatly sliding the metal rings into the kettle's shell-shaped lugs, she smoothly lifts the full kettle off the fire in a manner that belies just how heavy the vessel must be. She places it to one side. Sensei uses the feather brush to purify the hearth in a set of strokes that have a steady measured quality, adds the new charcoal, and brushes the hearth for a second time in a noticeably brisker manner. Using the metal chopsticks, she adds incense to the fire, and a heavenly fragrance fills the room, a most palpable gift from the host that confirms that the charcoal will boil the water. Kate and I inch forward and almost gasp at the simple beauty of the charcoal. Its red glow lends the ash a monumental quality that brings to mind the snow-covered mountains outside.

After a few moments, I notice that Kate seems to be mesmerised by the combination of this scent and Sensei's economic handling of the utensils. I wonder if Kate will miss her cue for the first guest to address the host. As she remains silent while our host closes the lid of the incense container, I speak somewhat out of turn, gently suggest to Sensei that Kate might like to inspect this prized object. After turning it to face Kate and placing it in front of her, Sensei returns the other tools to their specific positions in the dark bamboo basket, and leaves the room.

While our host is outside the room, I silently invite Kate to retrieve the incense container. She moves out and back on her knees. Once Sensei hears that Kate has returned to her position of honour, our host reenters with a larger feather brush and sweeps away any dust from the serving area while sliding backwards on her knees, facing the guests. After she passes through the doorway, she bows and closes the sliding door. When Kate makes the formulaic apology to
me for inspecting the incense container first, I bow. She admires the hand-painted plum blossoms on its exterior, rendered in sparse several powerful strokes. As she passes it on to me, she whispers "Kenzan, right? Ogata Kenzan!", visibly excited at handling a piece by this important eighteenth-century artist. I carefully inspect both sides of the lid, as well as the unglazed section of the base, before returning it to Kate. She turns incense container to face our host and places the incense container in the position that will be easiest for Sensei to handle. Once Sensei has heard Kate glide back to her position, Sensei opens the sliding door and re-enters the room.

Although it is conventional for guests to repair to the outdoor waiting arbor while the kettle boils, the absence of a meal allows Sensei to hold an impromptu zazen meditation. We respectfully face the scroll and recite its contents: "Short Pledge to the Way of Tea: To truly conduct oneself, now, with Harmony, Respect, Purity, and Tranquillity; to have tea with body and mind solitary and clear; and, with hope, to perpetually adhere to the Secret and diligently realize the state of existence which conforms with the Ultimate Reality." We perform our meditation, kneeling in the formal seiza position. Sensei announces the end of the zazen session by soundlessly opening the tea room's skylight. At this moment when the candlelight is eclipsed by the first rays of morning sun, I recall the sekimori ishi on the stepping stone outside—a symbol of our host's promise that our experience together will open the doors of perception. Everything seems so vitally fresh.

As my eyes adjust, I notice the pledge scroll has been replaced by a bamboo vase holding a single white camellia laden with morning dew. Both the fresh water container and the container for thick tea—in its decorative silk bag—have been placed in their specific positions. I realise I have lost my sense of time.

Now Sensei slides open the door, and the black raku tea bowl placed on the floor in front of her fills my vision. It contains the folded and damp linen cloth
used to purify the tea bowl, the tea whisk, and the tea scoop. Kate recognises
the bowl. It is named "Kamiyaguro," named after Kamiya Sotan (1551-1635), a
noted sixteenth century tea master and merchant of Hakata. Because this bowl
was made by Chojiro, a sixteenth century artisan who worked under the
direction of Sen no Rikyu, it is nationally revered. But for members of
Fukuoka's Nambo Ryu school of tea, this tea bowl is more like an heirloom
from an honoured ancestor.

Sensei carries the bowl as if it contains the destiny of all present. She kneels
and places it in its spot before standing and returning with the wastewater
container, the lid rest, and the water scoop. Sensei commences the relatively
formal procedure for serving thick tea. She removes the tall-shouldered tea
container from its woven silk storage bag. Kate and I catch a glimpse of the
patina that the elegant bag has acquired over the generations. We notice the
subdued detail of its chequered design of flower motifs.

Sensei's movements are deft, decisive, and delicate. While she solemnly
examines the four directions of the almost-square silk cloth used to purify other
utensils, I recall Kate telling me that this gesture refers to the pre-war
imperative to respect the emperor, one's parents, one's teachers, and one's
friends. Ever the art historian, she had also pointed out that after an American
constitution was imposed upon Japan, the emperor was no considered longer
divine, so the nation itself became the object of veneration. As Sensei softly
concludes, I also see tea's ability to combine practices from four schools of
thought: Shinto, Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucian.

Sensei reverently purifies the thick tea container with her precisely folded
orange silk square. She caresses its mouth in three fluid strokes, then rotates it
slowly and deliberating against her silk square. When purifying the carved
bamboo tea scoop, which I recognize as being named, "The Fragrance of
Dawn's Moss," Sensei handles it as if she were polishing a weighty sword.
Kate is visibly impressed by this demonstration of the principle of reversal:
treat light objects as if they are heavy. Sensei handles the ladle as if it were a mirror. As Sensei's gazes into the ladle to steady her own awareness, Kate's breathing to become slower and deeper.

Now Sensei begins to prepare thick tea, which both guests will drink from the same bowl. She then bows slightly as she slowly picks up the tea container, removes the ivory lid lined with gold leaf and places it on the right-hand side of the tea bowl. Three heaped scoops of brilliant green tea are taken from the tea container and added to the tea bowl before Sensei rests the scoop, curved side up, on the right hand rim of the bowl. While holding the container close to the bowl's left-hand rim, she rhythmically rotates the container. The remainder of the precisely measured tea cascades into the bowl. When no tea remains, Sensei wipes the rim to remove any powder which might discolor the gold leaf. The lid is replaced and the tea container returns to its position. She then uses the tea scoop to draw three lines in the tea, and the tea scoop is placed on the tea container.

By now a spiral of steam is swirling out of the tea kettle, suggesting a distant sound of wind blowing through pines. I focus on the murmuring boil for a moment but soon my attention returns to Sensei. She ladles cool water out of the fresh water container in a smooth, shallow stroke and pours it into the steaming kettle. As the cold water trickles in, the hot water momentarily goes off the boil. When Sensei deeply ladles water out of the kettle and slowly pours it back in, the silence makes the pouring water sound even more like a waterfall. Her reverent handling of the water suggests she is dealing with the life force itself.

Unlike thin tea, which is whisked into a frothy head, thick tea initially uses less water to knead the tea powder into a thick paste. Steadying the tea bowl with her left hand, Sensei carefully ladles in a minimum of water. We hear the whisk's tempo gradually increase as her right hand starts to move faster backwards and forwards above the bowl. Once she has prepared a thick paste,
she takes the ladle in her left hand and pours just enough water over the tines of the dark bamboo whisk to create a sumptuous viscosity. Finally, she draws an almost circular character with the whisk. Its spiral form suggests continuance.

Sensei sets the bowl down in front of her guests with its front facing Kate. Sliding on her knees, Kate retrieves the bowl and turns it clockwise to avoid the arrogance of drinking from its face. After Kate’s first sip, which finishes with a deliberately audible slurp, Sensei turns her head slightly and bows as she inquires about the condition of the tea. Kate expresses her pleasure before continuing with the tea, and Sensei turns slightly to face her guests. Once Kate has consumed her designated amount she wipes the rim where her lips have touched the bowl and turns it clockwise to return the bowl’s face to the front, as preparation for handing the bowl to me. When I take my first sip, Kate bows to Sensei and thanks her, then asks the name of the tea. It is Kankou no Yorokobi, "the delight of peerless fragrance."

When I make my final slurp, Sensei turns back towards the hearth adding one ladle of cold water from the fresh water container to the kettle. As principal guest, it is Kate’s responsibility to return the bowl to Sensei once I have finished. After she moves across the room on her knees, I move out towards the serving area and hand the bowl to her. I slide backwards to my position as Kate places the bowl just outside the serving area. After Kate retreats, we silently savour the lingering taste of the tea as Sensei enters the closing section of the thick tea serving procedure. Kate commences the host-first guest dialogue by requesting to view the utensils, and Sensei places the thick tea container, its woven bag, and the tea scoop—with its curved end facing up and towards her guests—out for our inspection. We coordinate our quiet inspection of these utensils with Sensei’s removal of the remaining utensils back to the preparation room.

Sensei returns to the tearoom and settles herself one last time, moving with the grace and precision that years of devotion to tea have brought her. She explains
the provenance of the utensils we have been honoured to handle. Both Kate and I realise that this is the dialogue that concludes the thick tea serving. Though we do not speak to each other, I sense that Kate is experiencing the same sensation of peaceful regret that I always feel when the tea ritual has come to an end. Sensei gathers the utensils and glides gracefully through the host’s door. She places each object, one by one, beside her on the floor. We all bow, and the door closes. (Sen 1979, Anderson 1991, Chanoyu Quarterly 1993)

**Vigilant pleasure: author(ity) and analysis**

The difficulties that arise are illustrated and discussed in referring to the allegorical ‘beetle in the box’. How do I speak about a beetle in someone else’s box, if I can’t look into it myself? The dialogue tries to surmount this impossibility by way of a paradoxical dialogue with one’s self. Can dialogue render the box *linguistically* transparent? (Weihe 1998, p.128)

The following dialogue draws on the preceding review of CDA and poststructuralist literature in Chapters 3 and 4 by critiquing the “Why tea?” article. This dialogue attempts to enact certain elements of textual analysis introduced in Chapters 4 and 5. Fairclough’s interest in how textual production and interpretation can be framed by the social analysis of discourse events is evident in two features of the following dialogue: the account of negotiations between the editor and author around the form and content of the article; and the close reading of the article’s contents in the context of the magazine’s perceived mission and intended audience.

If I may be permitted to recontextualise Weihe’s appropriation of Wittgenstein’s *Philosophical Investigations* and *Philosophy of Psychology*, allow me to align subjectivity with the allegorical beetle in the box. Weihe’s concern is with the problems associated with communicating private inner states and invisible physical sensations through publicly shared language. In my dialogue the two boxed beetles are textualised representations of
subjectivity, Cross and Tim. In Weihe’s quotation there is an implicit assumption that the contents of the box, unlike experiences of an inner world, are visible. My recontextualisation of the source text assumes that external scrutiny of one’s subjectivity may be possible with certain textual devices. The box may be the linguistic system itself or the genre of dialogue. The reflective aspiration of wanting to render the language of a dialogue linguistically transparent may be a futile endeavour. However it may reveal something of the politics of identity construction in textual reception and analysis.

The dialogic enunciations emerge from using life experience as a component in the reflective suspension of the relationship between data, theories and methods of textual analysis (Law 1994). The experience of tea practice is seen to furnish a particular form of evidence that can be useful reading texts against their grain. Reading the text as a tea insider taking advantage of Fairclough’s three levels of analysis enables certain connections to be made between the content of the article and its context in the magazine. One theme linking the text, discourse practices and sociocultural practices is the repetition inside the text and throughout the magazine of the distinction between those knowers who act and those consumers who follow. Incorporating experience as an element of the analytical process brings attention to an intertextuality which is conscious of the gap between first-hand experience and a textualised representation of that experience for relative outsiders. Regardless of whether one’s interest is in first-hand experience, the gap that precedes inscription, or the final text, these three area are all subject to the mediating effects of language.

Tim: Allow me to start by addressing Fairclough’s questions about how texts are designed, the reasons they are designed in particular ways, and what other forms and elements may have been incorporated in those texts. The piece reads like a performance of reader-response criticism. We are slowly taken through a linear narrative account of a tea event. Narrational presence is most evident in the reliance on description. The metaphor organising the original text is that the
tea moment is an experience that requires the informative explanation of a competent insider. This assumption of the otherworldliness of tea could be criticised as a persistent echo of the discourses that construct the social practices of non-European cultures as an Oriental other.

With the choice of characters, tea is positioned as play of the aesthetically literate. Along with Kate’s status as professional aesthete and taste maker, the discourse of hospitality known as tea is shown to be accessible to non-specialists but nonetheless requiring the guiding hand of experience. The text is organised around the impulse to decode the tea experience and its symbols, and the author has a position of authority. Spatially there is a movement from outside spaces to experiences of boundlessness within the confines of the tearoom. The underlying logic is a combination of description and explanation which charts how the everyday is reconfigured as signposts along the sacred-profane continuum.

Cross: Deep reading of the structure is one way of warranting the claim that an Orientalist strategy was a basis for textual organisation. The textual features that support this argument would be the tendency for the text to try to perform the movement between the everyday and the sacramental that it describes. This includes concrete description of sensory details, like the visual characteristics of tatami, that are sequentially linked to an outline of the rules, behaviours and experiences these material forms make possible. It is obvious to a student of tea that semantically this textual organisation is sustained by several related fields of meaning. Tea is presented as a social form of spiritual practice (“shared enlightenment”, “her guests’ transition to a heightened state”, “we respectfully face the scroll”) that demands a certain discipline (“rigorous instruction”, “no formal training”, “the clear demarcation of space”, “tense anticipation”, “choreographed bowing in unison”, “ritual purification”). The mechanics of this rigorous ritual relies on an elevation of the everyday (“symbolically discarded”, “our pristine white split-toed socks”, the repetition of “brings to mind”, “as if it contains the destiny of all present”, “treat light objects as if they are heavy”, “the silence makes the pouring water sound even more like a waterfall”, “she is dealing with the life force itself”). The combination of the semantic fields of spirit, rigour, and symbolic reversals sustains and
sacramentalises tea’s movement from the everyday to its otherworldliness.

However if we pursue this analysis of the Orientalist mechanisms of the text, however, one irony comes into view. While the article purports to explain an authentic way to experience tea to an audience identifying with an idea of New York as a nexus of significant cultural flows, the interpreter is neither Japanese nor American, and the spectacle of other looms larger than the “native Australia” of the first line of “Why tea?”

Tim: Alternatively this representation of tea could be considered in terms of the circumstances of its production and reception by acknowledging that practices of production and reception are interrelated. Critical readers are conscious of editorial devices which blur the boundaries between information (advertisements) and entertainment (articles), and editors make decisions by referring to their knowledge of intended audiences. In answering questions about how texts of this genre are produced, interpreted and used, it may be useful to consider the contexts of the article’s publication. These contexts would include the magazine’s self-presentation as an authoritative knower, the article’s role in the whole issue and its final position in the Real Life series featuring the diversity of Japanese life: “Tokyo Diary”, “Three Japanese Photographers” (Moriyama Daido, b. 1938, Shinoyama Kishin b. 1940, Nagashima Yurie b. 1973), “New Japanese Cinema”, philosopher “Akira Asada Interview by Krystian Woznicki”, and “Why Tea?”. A close reading of this magazine’s editorial practices would reveal something of the boundaries and variations of authority in editor-author relationships. This biographical turn would foreground how personal and professional relationships and experiences intersect in the creation and distribution of cultural capital. Speaking as one who edits and has submitted work to editors, reference to the reading practices and expectations of the intended audience by those in the profession of textual spin doctoring often exert a powerful, almost non-negotiable, influence over the content and form of the final text. Mere authors, grateful for the opportunity to be published, often compliantly accept the informed judgements of those higher on the textual production chain. Submission: this is one way
that our current publication practices destabilise the notion of authorship as a solipsistic labour, and by extension, unitary notions of the self.

During the first five years of Tim Cross studying tea, he also translated and copy-edited exhibition catalogues and occasionally interpreted during the installation of exhibitions at the Kitakyushu Municipal Museum of Art. It was on this basis that one of the curators asked him to interpret for the serving of tea at the home of one Museum volunteer. Once the serving of tea started he assumed the roles of first guest and tour guide, giving a running commentary and improvising a critique of his verbal performance of tea culture competence.

Initially published in the September/October 2001 issue of Index Magazine as part of a series about Japan for a general audience with no direct experience of Japan, his “Why tea?” article was made possible because Tim Cross was the designated interpreter for a tea serving given for Peter Halley, New York contemporary artist and Index Magazine publisher, towards the end of his 1998 solo exhibition at Kitakyushu Municipal Museum of Art (Halley 1988, 1997, Kitakyushu Municipal Museum of Art 1998). Halley’s entourage of assistants included the Index Magazine Managing Editor who found the whole tea experience rather wonderful. Cory Reynolds borrowed several Japanese books from Cross’s collection of ceramic tea ware publications. As Editor-in-Chief when the issue went to press a few weeks before 9/11, her guidance was a significant influence on the final form of the article.

Tim Cross made three attempts to explain tea to a New York audience who had never been in a tearoom. While initially encouraging of a piece that read more like a screenplay, Reynolds finally rejected an early draft of a fictionalised tea gathering between three historical figures: Sen no Rikyu, popularly regarded as tea’s patriarch; his descendant, the fifteenth generation Urasenke Grand Master who was also a member of the naval special attack unit; and wartime Prime Minister Tojo Hideki who made an unsuccessful suicide attempt after Japan’s defeat and was subsequently executed after the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal.
A fundamental problem with this first attempt was the issue of background knowledge: how to incorporate the historical explanations of the three figures into the flow of serving tea. A claim can be made for reading this first version as an attempt to politicise representations of tea, thereby reducing the tendency to read accounts of tea through ahistorical Orientalist schema. Reacting against the broad tendency of essentialising tea as a merely aesthetic Japanese identity (Anderson 1991) should have appealed to the intellectual palettes of those who appreciate that variation of contemporary art that was influenced from critical theory from the eighties onwards. Halley’s 1984 essay addressing the representational crisis in geometry specifically drew on Foucault and Baudrillard, and painting titles like “Prison of History” (1981), “Social Distortion” (1992), and “Sociogenesis” (1996) identify intended viewers of Halley’s paintings as literate consumers of social theory (Kitakyushu Municipal Museum of Art 1998). Given that the format, content and advertising mix of Index is modelled on Andy Warhol’s Interview, a significant part of the Index Magazine project appears to be creating a milieu for the critical literati while globally marketing New York as the central scene for the creation and distribution of social, intellectual and cultural capital.40

Although the idea to politicise the representation of tea may have been appropriate to the magazine’s target readership, one problem with the first version remained: aspirations to a more cinematic form for historiographic metafiction while representing the ideological pleasures of tea? Interesting idea for another publication.

The second version was closer to the facts and described the tea experience by using a subtext of the encounter of the global contemporary artist with the

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40 The intended readership would be capable of identifying a preference for the persistence of narrowly defined national identity co-existing with discourses of commodification in this New York Times Review of Murakami Haruki’s collection of short stories, The Elephant Vanisher: ‘I wish the characters … wouldn’t spend so much time at McDonalds, lighting up Marlboros, listening to Bruce Springsteen and watching Woody Allen movies as a prelude to romance. Just when you’re ready for some wisdom from the Orient, the author serves up a Big Mac’ (Mitgang 1993).
pleasures of nationally distinctive cultural practices. Rather than position tea as play of the aesthetically literate, it was more like an encounter between two different forms of cultural capital that respectfully acknowledged the integrity and validity of different ways of legitimating their particular configurations of the authentic. Tea is to National Living Treasure and tradition as Peter Halley is to solo exhibition and museum. Tim Cross opened with an almost autobiographical account that rehearsed the sort of information contained in previous paragraphs of the article.

Although this "I" strategy is typical of the shorter columns towards the back of the magazine, this framing was also rejected by the Editor. No specific reasons for this decision where given during e-mail and phone contact, however it may be reasonable to speculate that the sycophantic tone of Cross’s delight at being confined in a tearoom with a historically significant contemporary artist may have disturbed the modest sensibilities of the publisher. Alternatively there may have been the desire to protect tearoom privacy from the retrospective gaze of those who might enjoy the voyeurist consumption of an article that provided the illusion of sharing that bowl of tea. When (in)famous author Bret Easton Ellis confesses to criticizing and being fascinated by celebrity culture, it reveals the extent to which the magazine, with its interview format and snapshots of current personalities, and its agents and subjects, may have ambivalent positions on celebrity discourse.41

This third attempt took the close description of the tea event from the second venture and became the published version, an imaginary reconstruction of tea

41 Richard: I'm a little surprised that you're choosing to do an autobiography after everything else, because you've been such an enigma. With your body of work, the reader has to wonder, "Well, who is he? Is he crazy? Is he sitting around on drugs?" It's hard to get a sense of who you are through the books.
Bret: Good. That's how it should be. I think you should get a sense of my temperament and my sensibility and my aesthetics. But what's going on in my life - if I see a shrink, if I'm doing drugs, who I'm sleeping with - all of that really shouldn't play a part. The writer's personal life should not interfere with the reader's perception of the novel itself.
Richard: Aren't you interested in the lives of famous people?
Bret: I criticize celebrity culture, but I am also fascinated by it. I mean, I read magazines and wonder, "Well, what really did happen with Meg Ryan and Dennis Quaid?" (Wang 2001, p.40).
gathering that expands the horizons of English representations of the tea world by decentring Kyoto and introducing the regional Nambo Ryu school of tea.

Cross: I would like to answer the question “Why tea?” by making a connection between the way the article positions tea as a code manipulated by the aesthetically literate and the wider function of the magazine itself. One part of the mission of Index Magazine is its self-presentation as an authoritative definition of what it is to know. The attitudes framing of celebrity discourse oscillate from full B4 page cool portraits of the famous on glossy stock, breathless fandom snaps by somebody photographers and sharp criticism of celebrity players by other fame club members. Between the crossfire, the tea article comes in at ground zero with a steady measured tone that contrasts with the final article of the issue: a frenetic account of the variety of social practices and emotional states associated with hotel rooms.42

In the same way that tea is occasionally represented as a space of respite from the shame and indignity of domestic, urban, and corporate life, in the context of the whole issue it can be read as a more introspective moment. The need to choreograph this contrast of tone and rhythm between the tea article and the rest of the magazine was an editorial responsibility. Earlier versions of the text had longer sentences meant to catch the flow of the serving procedure. In the interests of clarity, these were edited into shorter sentences. What isn’t lost in

42 To clarify the role of “Why tea?” in context of the content of the whole issue, it may be useful to consider the following reader response from a former student who took the tea course as part of Kyushu University’s Japan in Today’s World Programme. In the same manner as I employ the embodied knowledge of tea practices in my later analysis of tea films, this extract uses the memory of tea room experience to contrast between the “Why tea?” article and the rest of the magazine.

As I read that magazine I found the writing to be cack. The interviews were all done in question and answer form, which was somewhat lacking in fluidity. I also noticed the advertisements to be cacophonous in their plea for attention. The magazine lacked grace and in its place used blatant references to that which is of vogue to attract readership. Then when I got to your article everything seemed to calm down. As you walked me through the tea garden and into the ceremony I felt a calm. This is the same calm, or perhaps release from pressure, that I find when I go to a real tea garden and really drink tea. When we took the JTW field trip to Rakusuien (I think that is what the big tea garden we went to was called, the one in Fukuoka that all thirty of us went to) before I drank tea I went down to a convenience store and bought some lunch (or was it breakfast?). The walk down the street encompassed me with all the normal noises of the city. These are the noises that we learn not to hear due to their constant presence. It was only once I entered the noise of the tea garden that I noticed these urban sounds. I noticed them because of they were not present. I felt like the silence of the tea garden had lifted a weight from me. Reading your article in the context of that magazine was an allegory for leaving the world and entering the world of tea (Bassage-Glock 2002).
the finer editing is the underlying logic: the text knows, the reader learns. The organising principle of “Why tea?” is the magazine’s bread and butter.

This need for the magazine to be seen as an authoritative knower also shapes the content of articles. While editorial practices emphasise a literal idea of “the truth”, this is a contextual definition that can be modified by reference to considerations of reader clarity and the magazine’s role as taste shaper. In the case of “Why tea?”, the complexity of Tim Cross’s tea study (six years with one teacher from the Urasenke school in one city, four years absence from the tea classroom, one year study with another teacher from the Nambo Ryu school in another city) was too much white noise for the first paragraph. The editor wrote the first paragraph and the first time the author saw it was in the complimentary copy he received. The complications of two schools of tea instruction, seven years, one austere teacher, and one chatty teacher were simplified. The status of Tokushige Sensei as a nationally respected tea practitioner was invented by the editor. The elevation of the host from well known in Fukuoka as a second generation teacher of tea to national notable was not addressed in post publication correspondence between the editor and the author but could be explained by the magazine’s desire to be an authoritative adjudicator of taste. Rather than spotlight a provincial figure, the mission of the magazine demanded a national presence to reinforce its status as global tastemaker.

Rather than subject his teacher to the embarrassment of homegaroshii (literally, killing with praise) the author might have preferred to use the last sentence of the first paragraph to introduce one of his teacher’s preferred rhetorical moves: invoking the accumulated wisdom of the previous generation of tea practitioners. This would mean replacing “His current teacher and mentor is Tokushige Sensei, a woman whose mastery is esteemed throughout Japan.” with “His current teacher is Tokushige Sensei, a woman who follows her mother’s way of living the tea life.”

Additionally, if the author had been given a chance to write the introductory passage, perhaps he might have avoided the published version’s coupling of tea with rigour and the transcendent. As the following paragraph exemplifies, the starting point of the text could have been the possibility that cultural differences have an ideological basis and a focus on the body that frames later
contrasts between verbal and other ways of communicating during the tea moment:

Having grown up surfing before school throughout the year in the subtropical paradise of eastern Australia, all the rhetoric about Japan having four seasons seemed excessive until I experienced the relative severity of Fukuoka winters. Thanks to the patient teatoom laughter of Tokushige Sensei, tea offers my delicate sensibilities an aesthetic complex of serving procedures and utensils that is a distraction from dry cracked skin and numb toes.

Tim: This linking of the tea article with overall strategy of the magazine offers a lead into the sorts of relationships and identities proposed by the intended meanings of the text and the magazine itself. In the case of individual identity, the dominant mode is identification. Uncritically reading the text for its intended meaning offers consumers the pleasure of knowing and an invitation to fashion one’s self as an associate member of the Index worldview. The preferred points of entry are an amalgam of three modes of knowing the self: fan, critic or shopper. While Kate’s recognition of a historically significant incense holder is a genuflection at the official hem of state approved culture, this is not made apparent by the realist presentation of the linear unfolding of tearoom events. The reader is invited to share this act of self-confirmation as “I am one who knows.”

The span of identity implied by the text connects the individual, the local, the national, and the international. Kate’s participation in an account written by an Australian implies that the cultural practice of tea is globally seamless. While a central tenet of tea discourse is the rhetorical flourish towards the hospitality impulse, in the real world of institutionalised tea pedagogy, the Omotesenke school has an active policy of not instructing foreigners.

Although the text acknowledges how individual experiences of aesthetic appreciation can be shaped by the bureaucratically driven formation of
categories like Important Cultural Object by describing the Kamiyaguro tea bowl as "nationally revered", it offers alternative ways of assessing objects. Instead of a collapse into the national narrative preferred by cultural nativists, the reference to Kamiya Sotan (1551-1635) brings into view a distinctive local identity. This is not to deny that local legends of this type are only comprehensible against the background of the modern state.

Cross: The bulk of the previous analysis has moved across certain assumptions about the creation of textual meaning. With the privileging of subjectivity in the biographical turn, there was an assumption that the text's meaning was partially located in visible textual traces. These record the co-operative efforts of the author and editor to transmit certain impressions in a way that was consistent with the magazine's efforts to sell itself to readers and potential advertisers as an omniscient guide to style. Tea was simply another cultural commodity that needed to be evaluated for the benefit of the readership spectrum, and the swings between explanation and description were the most efficient way of reinforce the status of the magazine.

Thus far, neither of us has paid much in the way of explicit attention to the role of values in reading and interpretative practices in exploring the range of meanings that can be ascribed to the text in question. Positioning of the magazine as being relatively informed when compared to the readership was accompanied by mystifying the tea practices described in the article. Specialist tea literature occasionally comments on one stereotypical characteristic of a particular kind of tea practitioner: a compulsion to be competitively orthodox (Anderson 1991, Cross 1998b). Assuming this hypercritical position might be a useful strategy for bringing into view how some of the readings advanced in the previous analysis are implicated in the discourses they seek to criticise.

Tim: The simplest point of entry would be to list the occurrence of heterodox practices. One complication is the relationship between tea schools: while the general grammar of a tea event is consistent enough from school to school to allow the successful performance of tea by members from different schools, the creation of clearly marked tea school identities is partly achieved through distinctive combinations of relatively minor manipulations of tea codes. The
Nambo Ryu school invoke a rhetoric of purity to account for their seated bowing practices by almost making a fist and touching the tatami with the first and/or second joints of the fingers; the Urasenke school has three levels of politeness that can be read off their open palmed bowing conventions. The Yabunouchi school creates a moment of aural accent by dropping one end of the fukusa on the floor; the Nambo Ryu purifies the fukusa by making a popping sound while it is held over the waste water container, ostensibly so the waste water container will catch any dirt. The point being made here is that what constitutes an orthodoxy is specific to each school of tea instruction. With that disclaimer made, I will attempt to unpack how “Why tea?” violates these schools boundaries while aspiring to decentre the Kyoto monopoly of the Sen schools of tea.

The figure of Tokushige Sensei first appears in the outer garden. The practice of wiping tree leaves would probably be performed by diligent members of most schools. However doing so in the pre-dawn winter chill would generally be regarded as excessive, obsessive or masochistic. According to the standards of common sense, this kind of effort belongs in the summer season. Think about tea as positioned by discourses of hospitality and the seasons and then assume the guest’s role: Who wants to sit in a tearoom and listen to the host sniffle as they purify utensils and serve tea?

Although it may work as a device for suggesting the level of cleaning and attention required as preparation for hosting a tea gathering, that image of the host outside is merely an attempt to stage authenticity. We are shown the labour intensive zeal of Tokushige Sensei to reinforce austere images of tea’s zen associations in popular non-Japanese discourse outside the text. Against this background of exophoric references in Orientalist discourse, the otherworldliness of zen’s reputation establishes a set of endophoric references that sustain tea’s spiritual promise: the sekimori ishi, the Short Pledge to the Way of Tea, and the zazen interlude.
Given the text’s interest in decentering Kyoto as tea’s metropole, the inclusion of the Short Pledge to the Way of Tea appears somewhat ironic. Drawn from an account of the Tokyo Shinchakai Tea Gathering (Chanoyu Quarterly 1993), the Short Pledge to the Way of Tea is a concise summary of core tea values that were formulated by Hisamatsu Shinichi (1889-1980). Hisamatsu and the fourteenth generation Urasenke Grand Master Tantansai (1893-1964) were active leaders of the Kyoto University Shinchakai which was established in 1940 to promulgate tea knowledge throughout Japan. While the selection of one means of proselytising tea as cultural nationalism allows later examinations of the political consequences of employing aesthetics as ethical technologies of the self, the interests of the Nambo Ryu school of tea are not advanced by resorting to a Urasenke source. True believers in the Nambo Ryu school would have preferred to read some commentary on the sacred text, the Nampo Roku.

The text also disregards certain school specific conventions associated with the distinction between thin and thick tea. Thick tea is more formal and is typically drunk in silence in the Nambo Ryu school. In the Urasenke school the host proceeds as in the “Why tea?” text. One effect of this breaking of the sacramental silence is to emphasise the interactive nature of tea and the extent to which the tea moment depends on the co-ordinated interaction of sound, speech and action among participants. One possible retort to charges of sloppy reporting is to invoke genre as a strategic defence: the text was not written as a textbook outline of actual practices, it aspired to introduce the central charms of tea in 3,000 words or less to a non-specialist audience.

Cross: One of the problems with pursuing dialogical textual analysis of this sort is how to explicitly foreground subjectivity in the process of text creation, interpretation and distribution. The previous thread has assumed the position of tea insider and criticised the text in terms of the extent to which is can be recognized as an authentic representative of a particular school of tea. Identifying the probable investments justifying a specific textual configuration does bring into view the range of competing discourses that frame texts of this
kind. Exploring alternative designs requires a more active reading. Given current orthodoxies about the limits of interpretation being shaped by the contexts of reception, there does appear to be some risk that idiosyncratic readings emerging from making almost coincidental links between texts and the location of their consumption. Idiosyncrasy as such is a relatively minor concern, provided that it does not distract analysis from issues of power and authority.

Tim: The manoeuvre of critiquing one’s own work published in an international magazine in more academic context can allow for the return of the repressed. By making conscious the metaphors, assumptions and devices that shaped the initial text, the author’s desire to be authoritative is evident in the analytical attention given to the magazine’s strategic positioning as self-designated taste maker.

A Lacanian notion of desire might be useful in reading the article as part of an ongoing project of self-fabrication. The attention to the circumstances of textual production brought into view the tension between being a low intermediate presence in tea classrooms and a hack who reinforces stereotypical notions of the otherness of Japanese cultural practices and a future condition of actually becoming a competent performer of tea rites and a producer of polished historical novels.

The device of splitting subjectivity is a common enough convention in dialogues (Kellgren 1998, Weihe 1998). The Tim-Cross split has been a useful way of assuming the positions of reader and author because it allowed dissenting voices to examine the transmission of the narrative from author to narrator and from narrator to reader. The description of the represented talk of Tokushige Sensei, Kate and Tim is a constrained selection from the scripted dialogue of tea rites. The absence of reported speech in a text purporting to evoke the interactionality of tea practices means that the reader must rely on the narrator’s account. The dominant mode of narratorial presence is a description of the tea event that tends to refrain from explicit commentary. The
description, with its writerly vocabulary, operates to frame reader response. Everything is mediated through the subjectivity of the narrator; beyond the pose of being one who knows, the basis for judgement and interpretation is never revealed. This feature of the text hints of elitism: it does not encourage the sorts of direct experience advocated by zen notions of immediacy. Although this dialogue renders transparent a number of investments organised around subjectivity, what the metaphor of the original text reveals is a tease which reinforces the distinction between those who do and those who do not: "Through me, you can see tea but you can’t touch it." The article is a tour run by a cultural intermediary.

Conclusion

My concern in this chapter is to qualify my argument that private resistance against dominant discourses is autoethnographically possible. I counterpoint the corporeal pleasure of embracing the seasonal and social charms of tea with the analytical joys of a more vigilant posture to the aesthetic caress of tea and its invitation to authentically embody that tradition. In the context of the whole argument, this contrast between two discursive constructions of subjectivity is intended to reinforce the notion that subjectivity is constructed at the intersection of multiple discourses. I would like to emphasise that desire and lack are the means by which discourses train and restrain their legitimate subjects as one way of anticipating the conclusion’s attention to psychoanalytical components of the relationship between individual subjectivity and national identities in global culture.
CHAPTER 7

SPEAKING TRUTH TO KNOWLEDGE/POWER:
IS TEA A CULT? (ANDERSON INTERROGATED)

I usually start with an argument in mind – some view I am criticising, not necessarily an individual, but some assumption or some claim – and develop a little paragraph argument (Sandra Harding, in Olson & Hirsh 1995, p.6).

What makes a reading more or less true is the necessity of its occurrence, regardless of the reader’s or of the author’s wishes … It depends, in other words, on the rigour of the reading as an argument … Reading is an argument … because it has to go against the grain of what one would want to happen in the name of what has to happen (Paul de Man 1978, in Norris 1996, pp.249–50).

By faith is meant not an intellectual assent to, or an unquestioning acceptance of a prescribed code of doctrines and rituals, but a humble openness to an unparaphrasable reality, an openness characterised by vulnerability, dissolution, love, freedom, and abandonment. By power is meant the desire to assert and create a self in opposition to others, by manipulating others, and by mainly relying on external props and means. This power induces narcissism and diminishes the life-possibilities of others. Powerlessness, on the other hand, is a way of being that rejoices in the loss of selfish desire, and in so doing, enhances the life-possibilities of others. This entails ceaseless change in the inner self synchronic with structural change, that is, in the pattern of dominating relationships among groups. By discourse is meant a practice of power through linguistic articulation which delimits a field of objects, legitimizes perspectives and norms for the
elaboration of concepts, and generates texts which are, according to Robert Scholes, appraisive, evaluative, persuasive or rhetorical, bound by rules which govern their social production and exchange. The basis of discourse is hidden from itself. By orthodoxy is meant an understanding of religion mainly based on conformity with established official doctrines and with what discourse holds to be true. By orthopraxis is meant the primacy of right action over right doctrine, action rather than belief; in the context of this paper this necessarily implies solidarity with the oppressed and a commitment to liberative action. By deconstruction is meant a critical dismantling of texts and symbols in order to pinpoint their rhetorical nature, a refusal to recognise any master theory, and an alertness to the element of undecidability in all systems of communication (Franco and Ramanathan 1991, pp.182–183).

Introduction

My concern in this chapter is to submit an interim report from the field which represents my experience at the intersection of the corporeal discourses of tea and the critical discourses of analysis. I advance my argument for the resistant possibilities of autoethnography by performing a critical and effective history which disturbs the self-presentation by tea’s institutional custodians of their tradition as a seamless inevitability. The notion of cult is relevant to my argument addressing the formation of tea subjectivities because I am interested in how nationally distinctive cultural practices are sustained and transmitted: mechanisms of subjectification offer narrow definitions of authentic tea values and practices that are, to varying extents, then internalised by true believers. This interrogation of pedagogic authority lays a foundation for a close reading
of how the voiceover device is used to comment on tea transmission practices in Chapter 8.\textsuperscript{43}

**One context of production: teaching and research connected**

The idea for this chapter had a modest beginning of the sort that Harding mentions, and with the same orientation towards a claim as the focus of my analysis. It materialised in the course of exploring de Man’s assertion about the inevitability of arguments that read texts against the grain of their author’s intentions.\textsuperscript{44} This idea was refined in the process of developing materials which show Japanese students of academic writing how power circulates around texts. By providing an example of reading a specific text against itself and then criticising it from outside to show how power and history can shape texts, this chapter uses de Man’s notion of rigorous reading to assess Anderson’s claim that tea is not a cult.

Anderson’s two paragraphs (which appear at the beginning of the following section) initially seemed a simple example of several keypoints that I thought my students need to understand if they are to develop the sorts of critical

\textsuperscript{43} Poststructural textual theories construct texts as symbols of power and offer readers a range of critical tools for interrogating texts. The 1985 taxonomy of textual strategies proposed by Scholes (reading: text within text; interpreting: text upon text; criticising: text against text) is adapted to answer questions fundamental to critical pedagogy: Who speaks? On whose behalf? Who is textually silenced? The manner in which Jennifer L. Anderson presents her 1991 claim that tea is not a cult is critically examined by reading within her text, reading the text against itself to demonstrate how the text has been shaped by history and power. The purpose of this textual interrogation is to identify through the application of Scholes’ three strategies the sorts of authority Anderson invokes to sanctify and protect the subject of the text, and make explicit what it is that externally endorses her text with additional authority. Scrutiny of the texts Anderson criticises is used to denaturalise her description of the iemoto system, to identify how the institutionalisation of tea practice partially violates espoused tea values, and to argue that the professionalisation of tea discourse marginalises the experience of tea students.

\textsuperscript{44} The mid-war period of the career of de Man was subject to more attention than he probably intended: “Shoshan Felman explicitly addresses self-representation, autobiography and de Man’s aesthetic theory in “After the Apocalypse: Paul de Man and the Fall to Silence” (1992). She carefully reads de Man’s biography, his wartime journalism, and his silence according to his reading of Rousseau’s “Theft of the ribbon” and false of accusation of Marion in the Confessions. Her essay reads his theoretical work and his silence as a conscious and ethical accounting for his wartime writings” (McHugh 2002, p.251).
literacies that allow them to identify the assumptions upon which a particular
text constructs its common sense.

In the course of outlining these points, several questions emerged. What sorts
of accounts can explain the efficiency of tea pedagogy in transmitting tea
values and practices? How is desire, the body, and the subjectivity of individual
tea practitioners implicated in this transmission of a systematic aesthetic
response? Underlying these questions is the fundamental issue of why the
Urasenke iemoto system needs this semantic protection. It is around this set of
questions that I explore how cult members participate in their self-
subjectification.

While I recognise the ironic contradiction of trying to limit the possible
interpretations of this chapter which reads another text against its grain, I
would like to embrace the doctrine of authorial intent and anticipate any
unintentional misreading of this chapter which construes it as a mere personal
attack or a reduction of the value of Anderson’s comprehensive introduction to
Japanese tea ritual. As a student of tea practice, I have found Anderson’s text to
be enormously inspiring as a testament to the notion that culture is something
that is learned, lived, and loved, and not the sole possession of those privileged
with a certain birthright. While nominally addressed to the general reader, it is
an inspiring piece of scholarship that draws on Anderson’s doctoral work in
anthropology at Stanford University and upholds the dignity of the Urasenke
tradition. As a reader of communication studies and cultural theory, the depth
of her scholarship, like the writing of Kondo (1985) has provided me with a
concrete example of the sorts of tensions that can exist in English scholarship
that represent aspects of Japanese cultural life.

**Read the text so closely it alarms its protectors**

Anderson’s argument that tea is not a cult is presented in the following two
paragraphs which appear in the endnotes of the final chapter.
While *chado* is a form of religious practice, learning tea ritual within the *iemoto* system is distinctly different from joining a religious sect or ‘cult.’ Tea is a form of Zen based on the fundamental premise that each person must develop his or her own religious convictions on the basis of personal experience. In contrast, most of the groups popularly identified as religious sects (including those of Japan’s ‘new religions’) require converts to accept specific spiritual beliefs on faith.

Some analysts have recently begun to revive the use of the term ‘cult’ to describe tea ritual (see Kramer 1987, 1988). I feel this is somewhat misleading as both popular and scholarly concepts of what constitutes a ‘cult’ have changed rather dramatically in the eighty years since Okakura Kakuzo first called *chanoyu* ‘a cult founded on the adoration of the beautiful’ (Okakura [1906] 1956, p.3). Therefore, in the interests of academic rigour, I would like to suggest theoreticians refrain from using this emotionally loaded term unless prepared to demonstrate that the *iemoto* and the kinds of organizations recognized as ‘cults’ today share a significant number of common characteristics (Anderson 1991, p.262).

Anderson’s first sentence posits a distinction between learning a religious practice and joining a religious sect or ‘cult’. The distinction is not made strongly but what apparently sustains this difference is the context of the former activity within the confines of the *iemoto* system, a ‘traditional school of instruction in the classical arts’ (Anderson 1991, p.277). In Anderson’s text, the *iemoto* system refers to the Urasenke school of tea. Anderson’s second sentence emphasises the agency of those who learn Urasenke tea practices, and in the third sentence this is contrasted with the cult requirement that certain tenets are accepted in a less rational manner.
Based on a close reading of Anderson’s first paragraph it is possible to summarise the similarities and differences proposed between learning tea and joining a religious sect. Both activities are comparable versions of religious practice but two key points distinguish them in Anderson’s analysis. First, the institutional context of tea pedagogy. Second, the contrast between the rational autonomy of tea practitioners and the centrality of nonrational belief among members of Japan’s new religions. Anderson valorises the learning of tea by expressing its legitimacy in terms of the rationality of its students, and this attribute is implicitly connected with the iemoto system.

A close reading of Anderson’s two paragraphs suggests two problems. First, despite the meaning of cult in popular and academic discourse not being explicitly defined by Anderson, her argument proceeds by creating a binary division between the iemoto system and cults. Second, it is my contention that this binary position is an oversimplification that contains a false dichotomy. To remedy the first shortcoming, an outline of the semantic range of cult is presented early in the chapter to demonstrate the extent to which the second problem has structured a set of contradictions throughout Anderson’s text. This tension undermines the distinction she proposes between the Urasenke iemoto system and Japan’s new religions.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers three definitions of cult: “1. Worship; reverential homage rendered to a divine being or beings. ... 2. A particular form or system of religious worship; esp. in reference to its external rites and ceremonies. ... 3. Devotion or homage to a particular person or thing, now esp. as paid by a body of professed adherents or admirers” (Murray et al. 1970, p.1246 [emphasis in original]). The first two of these three senses are responsibly combined in *The Golden Bough*, where cult denotes the esoteric activities of pre-Christian Greeks and Romans (Frazer 1984). Unless explicitly stated otherwise, throughout this chapter cult will be used as a concept for identifying group identity, in part because of how the deification of Rikyu resonates with the third point of the OED definition. The professionalisation of
the professed adherents is also relevant to my exploration of the formation of tea subjectivities.

What the OED definition fails to catch is the extent of media obsession with cult related incidents like the Jim Jones mass suicide and the Sharon Tate murder around the time of Anderson’s writing. This sort of sensational coverage will be familiar to anyone in Japan after the sarin subway incident, and Anderson wanted to protect the iemoto system from being smeared with these types of sensationalist associations.

Critiques of the rhetorical use of binary arguments are now commonplace in communication and cultural studies, and this confirms that Anderson’s binary reduction of complexities has the effect of denying any possibility of similarities existing between the two categories:

The problem with such binary systems is that they suppress ambiguous or interstitial spaces between the opposed categories, so that any overlapping region that may appear, say, between the categories man/woman, child/adult or friend/alien, becomes impossible according to binary logic, and a region of taboo in social experience (Ashcroft et al. 1998, pp.23–4).

Given that Anderson acknowledges that both activities are comparable versions of religious practice, it is untenable that one religious activity is exclusively rational because of a dialectical relationship between experience and understanding and others are exclusively based ‘on faith’, that is, key tenets are accepted at face value by group members because of their endorsement by the authority of the sect leader. In addition to this overstatement of the rational nature of tea study in contrast to the centrality of faith in Japan’s new religious, Anderson appears to be denying the intuition that faith is an essential component of any religious practice. It is this fact/faith dichotomy that is commonly invoked to support the distinction between those two apparently
antithetical sets of dogma, science and religion. Anderson's first clause acknowledges that the institutionalisation of tea study 'is a form of religious practice', and in the following pages, Anderson's own text will be made to demonstrate that faith is a component of learning tea.\(^{45}\)

Traces of this binary oversimplification are evident throughout Anderson's text. The text itself supplies a significant number of examples of the common characteristics of the iemoto system and the kinds of organizations recognized as 'cults'. My intention is to use these examples as evidence which reveals the basis of tea discourse's success in shaping the sensibilities of tea practitioners: the transmission of orthodox doctrines.

The tendencies common to the iemoto system and new Japanese religions include mass acceptance of key tenets (indelibly internalised official standards, Rikyu's status as an enlightened aesthete, unconditional acceptance of the Grand Master's authority and extra-legal powers). Further, the organizing principle of her 1991 work is predicated on precisely these similarities, and they function to structure a historical narrative that naturalises the vested interests of the Urasenke iemoto system. Anderson's scholarship is shaped by an acceptance of certain specific spiritual beliefs on faith, and by her own definition, this behaviour is characteristic of cult members.

Anderson refers to the internalisation by tea practitioners of the Grand Master's official model of orthodox utensils and flawless performance of tea serving procedures. This model is so pervasive that it mediates the moment to moment experience of tea practitioners, even as they are committed to an ideology of the uniqueness of each encounter.

\(^{45}\) I acknowledge that my use of faith in this paragraph is problematic and requires some clarification. Given that Christian and Islamic religions tend to use faith in their definitions of what constitutes a religion while Judaism actively contests any representation of its practices as being based on faith, the 1991 definition of Franco and Ramanathan appearing at the beginning of this chapter should hopefully eliminates any confusion. While rejecting master narratives their definition of faith has a social orientation towards enhancing the life-possibilities of others.
I cannot emphasise strongly enough that my decision to present a model *chaji* rather than describe an actual gathering is founded on the belief that the model is paramount in the minds of tea practitioners when they attend an actual *chaji*. They are constantly relating their immediate experience to the standards of the tea school (Anderson 1991, p.136).

It is this inculcation of the idealised model of what tea ought to be that has reduced the exhortation ichigo, ichie 一期一会, one chance in a lifetime, attributed to Li Naosuke (1815-1860) (Anderson 1991, p.277) to little more than a formulaic platitude. This hollowing out of Li’s initially powerful insight is a consequence of the institutionalisation of tea practices in the iemoto system. In distinguishing between cults and learning tea ritual Anderson invoked the authority of the iemoto system, but its codification and commodification of tea practices appears to violate some of the values it is nominally sworn to uphold.

Anderson defines cults as those organizations which require converts to simply accept certain spiritual beliefs as true. The following quotations will show that according to the terms Anderson has proposed, learning tea practices in the iemoto system should be considered a cult activity.

The first extract documents Anderson’s elevation of a belief held within the Houses of Sen to the status of a fact which she then uses as a device to structure her narrative of tea’s history.

To fully appreciate Rikyu’s genius, we must place him in the context of tea philosophy as a whole. I believe this can best be accomplished by treating Rikyu’s state of enlightenment as a matter of historical and ethnographic fact (Anderson 1991, p.51 [emphasis added]).
This extract demonstrates that Anderson is requiring readers to accept the spiritual attainment of Rikyu without the customary reference to the rational conventions of academic discourse. This endeavour to legitimate the deification of Rikyu as an article of faith is precisely the sort of strategic manoeuvre that Anderson uses to distinguish Japan's new religions from the supposedly more rational iemoto system. This extract has supplied one clear example of the centrality of faith in the learning of tea practice within the iemoto system, and clearly contradicts Anderson's attempt to deny the cult status of tea practice because of its purportedly rational relationship between religious experience and understanding. Once again, the clarity of the distinction between tea's iemoto system and religious cults appears to be compromised.

What makes this elevation of belief to fact possible is the institutionalisation of tea practices in the iemoto system. The Houses of Sen construct their administrative authority to profit from the codification and commodification of tea practices by reference to the idealised figure of Rikyu (Kramer 1985, Cross 1998a). (The Houses of Sen are not the sole practitioners of this deferential reference to Rikyu as a strategy to advance their own interests. Consider, for example, Miwa Ryusaku's 1996 reference to the interests of Rikyu to justify his case for the presence of the erotic in the tea room.) What makes their reference authoritative is not only their administration of remnants of Rikyu's tea practice that have been appropriated and institutionalised for roughly four hundred years, but the recognition throughout tea-related industries and a general belief held across Japan that this is a valid modus operandi. Kramer identifies the central paradox underlying the history that creates the common sense validity of this deference to Rikyu.

Establishment of a relationship with Rikyu through a series of artistic forbearers was a major preoccupation for those who sought to build a following based upon their claim to an authentic representation of the tradition of tea practice. ... Constant reference
to Rikyu and his activities demonstrated the security of his position and the relative insecurity of those that sought to bask in his aura. ... In the many attempts to substantiate claims to orthodoxy in criticism or merely in interpretation of the tea cult, one impression that surfaces is the nature of Sen Rikyu as the shifting, flickering center. From him is derived the source of legitimacy, to his example is addressed the inadequacies of contemporary practice. Actions and practices are based on knowledge or belief concerning the nature of his practice, even though the substance of that practice is essentially unknowable (Kramer 1985, p.viii, 182, 183).

If Kramer’s assertion that the substance of Rikyu’s tea practice is essentially unknowable is true, this constitutes yet another collapse of the distinction between Anderson’s two categories because Urasenke practitioners must simply accept at face value the pronouncements supposedly made in the interests of Rikyu by the current Grand Master. Extrapolating from Kramer’s final point, it seems that the much revered four hundred year tradition is a piecemeal invention that is remoulded to suit the changing needs of each administration. This strategic combination of omission and emphasis would account for the silently seamless segueing of the use of tea by Japanese ultranationalists during the 1930s to build popular support for the war effort (see Mori 1992, p.14) with the current “Peacefulness through a Bowl of Tea” campaign that Anderson refers to in her 1991 dedication to Hounai, Sen Soshitsu. It is precisely the slippery nature of the Rikyu trope that presents the possibility of a generational renewal of the authentic. This is one mechanism employed by the Houses of Sen to avoid the decline into the fossilised grand narratives of the grand masters.

This deifying of Rikyu is consistent with the deference rendered unto the current Urasenke Grand Master. The following extract from an earlier article by Anderson again illustrates the contradictory nature of the unwarranted claim
that the religious practice of learning tea in the iemoto system is a purely rational endeavour.

As the grandmaster, Sen Soshitsu XV is the ultimate living authority on Tea belief and practice for the members of his school. Accepting his primacy in matters which relate to chado is an inherent aspect of tea school membership (Anderson 1987, p.478).

Given that “chado is a form of religious practice” (Anderson 1991, p.262), and the Grand Master is the embodiment of tea beliefs, Anderson’s earlier text does suggest that his authority requires the acceptance of certain spiritual beliefs on face value. Full participation in Urasenke tea pedagogy also requires the acceptance of the Grand Master’s right to exercise certain disciplinary powers that are unenforceable legally but are supported by the weight of Urasenke convention. These include “the right to allow or prohibit performance and confer instructors’s qualifications, to punish or excommunicate those who break the codes, to control equipment and facilities, to dispose of profits and to teach the secrets of the art” (Mori 1992, p.49).

Finally, I would like to address the way in which Anderson’s textual representation of her subjectivity is implicated in this attempt to sustain a distinction between Urasenke and Japan’s new religions. The following extract suggests a degree of contradiction between the assertion that Urasenke students develop religious convictions on the basis of their own personal experience (Anderson 1991, p.262) and their obligatory embrace of orthodoxy.

As an initiate of the advanced level (okuden) of the Urasenke tea school (those of the ‘secret’ or orally transmitted tea procedures) and an assistant tea instructor, I have accepted an obligation to adhere to the orthodox exegeses of Tea philosophy. This means respecting the interpretations of meaning espoused by my superiors.
in the school hierarchy as well as their right to dictate goals and procedures (Anderson 1991, p.2).

On the basis of the contents of Anderson’s book, it is not clear how this obligation to adhere to Urasenke orthodoxy is different from what happens to less rational souls in Japan’s new religions.

In conclusion, extracts from Anderson’s own texts demonstrate that the faithful acceptance of certain non-negotiable tenets is a component of learning tea in the iemoto system. Based on the previous analysis that read Anderson’s text against itself, the distinction proposed by Anderson’s first paragraph between the rationality of those who learn tea practices and those who join Japan’s new religions is unsustainable. Some readers may conclude that this degree of internal contradiction is inappropriate in a text that makes an explicit appeal to academic rigour.

**Discursive constructions: experience in institutional contexts**

Transposing ‘a religious sect’ for ‘a form of Zen’ yields the following paraphrase of Anderson’s second sentence: “Tea is a religious sect based on the fundamental premise that each person must develop his or her own religious convictions on the basis of personal experience.” Despite a contrastive privileging of the iemoto system in Anderson’s first sentence, what is not made explicit is the fact that the context for this personal experience is an institutional one characterised by the sort of uniform pedagogies and orthodox performances Anderson referred to in justifying her presentation of an idealised model chaji (Anderson 1991, p.136).

By omitting the centrality of orthodoxy in the institutional life of the iemoto system, Anderson collapses the distinction between ‘faith (an experience of the non-linguistic, undifferentiated transcendence) … and discourse (power, practised through linguistic articulation and embodied in institutions)’ (Franco & Ramanathan 1991, p.191). However, according to the following series of
extracts, Anderson notes that this institutional perspective is so strongly internalised that personal experience is only deemed valid to the extent that it reproduces the official script.

There is a great deal of consensus among tea practitioners on the way things ‘ought to be’. The iemoto sets the standards and students uniformly recognize deviations from the norm. Doing something different makes a statement (Anderson 1991, p.136).

This chapter’s first section assertion of the extent to which participants in the iemoto system are obliged to unconditionally accept certain ‘truths’ provides a powerful context for Anderson’s outline of the success of Urasenke tea pedagogy in transmitting orthodox tea values. In popular usage, cult has connotations of mind control and loss of individuality, and this extract raises certain questions that weaken Anderson’s attempt to distinguish the knowledge production activities of the iemoto system from Japan’s new religions. How is this consensus so effectively established? How do individual tea practitioners come to collectively forfeit their private internal aesthetic values and uniformly recognize deviations from the Grand Master’s norm?

On the basis of this quotation, it would appear that tea students inside the iemoto system deeply internalise the official precepts of their tea school. Anderson would have the reader believe that the rationality of tea practitioners distinguishes them from religious cults, and yet that exercise of rationality is directed towards the formation of a group identity that rests on accepting a prescribed range of spiritual and aesthetic values.

Anderson makes no mention of the sorts of statements made by doing something different, but I would like to suggest that they include gentle and/or refreshing aesthetic surprises. These unorthodox combinations of utensils or innovations in tea serving procedures are explicit challenges to the authority of the Grand Master to commodify and codify tea instruction and practices. By
providing guests with an unconventional delight, the host is also presenting themself as an individual who has at least temporarily distanced themselves from the group membership provided by orthodoxy.

This is not to say that guests react to originality in a critical manner. (Though — human nature being what it is — some do.) Most tea people appreciate a little variety, but the truth is that tea people have internalised Tea’s symbolic structure: they cannot avoid employing the cognitive system with which they have been so thoroughly inculcated, and they are most comfortable with variations that fit into familiar patterns (Anderson 1991, p.136 [emphasis added]).

The construction of this critical response to originality is an inevitable consequence of the institutionalisation of tea orthodoxy. The demonstration of being a true believer is mediated through a seniority system of sequential membership numbers, hierarchal relationships between teachers that produces competition inside and between practice groups and is displayed through authoritative mastery of official Urasenke taste. This explains why most practitioners are comfortable with established variations. Staying within the official aesthetic parameters naturalises the established patterns of authority, and negates any necessity to critically assess how the relationship with one’s teacher implicates participants in discourses of power. It also places boundaries on what one is expected to aesthetically know. Instead of the expectation that a tea practitioner have a systematic knowledge of all tea utensils, what is assumed is that practitioners are familiar with the types of work created by the artisans and artists validated by the Grand Master’s hakogaki, the practice of signing the lid of a tea utensil box to designate it as a noteworthy example of ‘authentic’ Urasenke taste. This practice is performed by the Grand Master for a fee paid by the artist or tea ware’s owner and results in the price of the utensil increasing substantially.
The previous two extracts from Anderson have shown something of the iemoto system's successful transmission of tea values. The following quotation shows how even the imagination of tea practitioners serves this inculcation, and this contradicts Anderson's characterisation of the inherent rationality of those who learn Urasenke tea.

In fact, when an important symbolic element is lacking, practitioners often intuitively correct for their [sic] absence — supplying missing features though [sic] their imaginations with the subliminal intent of creating a coherent illusion (Anderson 1991, p.136).

If tea practitioners are the epitome of rationality as Anderson suggests, how do individual students of tea come to intuitively supply those details which confirm to orthodox versions of tea practice? How do the aesthetic preferences of one man come to be so powerfully internalised that practitioners do not see what they see, but instead see what they have been taught to see?

Anderson invokes 'academic rigour' in a strategic move that declares certain representations of the iemoto system off limits. By attempting to control any analysis that denaturalises the authority of the Grand Master, Anderson's text represents an endeavour to conceal the existence of substantial similarities between the iemoto system and Japan's new religions. Once again the implicit dualism of either it is similar to a cult or it is different from a cult is simplistic; a close reading of Anderson suggests that the vested interests of the analyst may result in one category being given more emphasis at the expense of the other. It would be more accurate to acknowledge that the religious practice of learning tea within the iemoto system is both similar to and different from joining a cult. Instead of simply putting the onus on those who use 'this emotionally laden term', Anderson could have acknowledged the similarities before clearly demonstrating how individuals internalising a complex series of embodied interactions and developing aesthetic preferences which give them a
collective identity within the iemoto system is distinctly different from joining a religious cult. That would be in the interests of academic rigour, and would serve the best interests of individual and institutional participants.

Apart from the unwarranted claim that asserts tea is rational, whereas cults are based on faith, Anderson presents no evidence how the iemoto system differs from Japan’s new religions. One implication may be that the difference is merely one of institutional age: a new religion is yet to become a ‘tradition’ that is powerful enough to have itself officially endorsed as a formidable part of national cultural life. The Grand Master of Urasenke has been increasingly vigorous in positioning Urasenke as the practical synthesis that best represents the diversity of Japanese aesthetic and material culture. As the titles of Sen (1979) and Anderson (1991) attest, the interests of Urasenke are conflated with national identity.

**Reading against Anderson from outside: Kramer vs Anderson**

This section reads Anderson from outside, and uses the texts she criticises against her own argument to show the dangers of invoking academic rigour as a strategic device to declare certain topics off limits. The intended effect is to denaturalise her description of the iemoto system, and to use the insights of this section as a context for the chapter’s concluding section.

Anderson cites the work of Robert Kramer as an example of the revived use of the term cult to describe tea practices. Anderson’s use of ‘revive’ suggests that the use of cult by Okakura ([1906] 1964) and Fukukita Yasunosuke (1934) is acceptable because it precedes the semantic shift in both popular and academic discourse that has made cult an “emotionally loaded term”. Their authentic use of the term is untainted by the perjorative associations it has recently acquired, and more importantly, does not impinge the good reputation of the iemoto system.
Anderson’s bibliography lists two conference papers presented by Kramer, “The Cult of Sen Rikyu in Tokugawa Japan: Eighteenth Century Interpretations of the Legacy” (1987), and “Discourse Formation in the Edo Period Tea Cult” (1988). The prominence of cult in the titles of these two papers suggests they are derived from his 1985 PhD thesis, “The Tea Cult in History”, submitted to the Department of Far Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago. Considering the close relationship between these two conference papers and Kramer’s doctoral work, the absence of his thesis from Anderson’s bibliography could be a significant omission. The significance of this omission is ironically compounded by her appeal to academic rigour.

If Anderson is appealing to scholarly integrity as one way to constrain the use of cult, her authority to do so is not reinforced by her survey of the field. While the depth of analysis is supported by a convincing integration from several key sources, it does appear that the breadth of that literature review could have been expanded somewhat. The fact that her own text introduces the Urasenke version of tea ritual demonstrates that English language scholarly discourse about tea is not a vast unmappable literature.

This omission is significant because the second paragraph of Kramer’s 1985 doctoral Preface anticipates Anderson’s 1991 request for scholarly restraint in the indiscriminate use of cult to describe the iemoto system. Six years before Anderson tries to enforce a conditional embargo on cult in scholarly discourse, Kramer demonstrated a significant number of common characteristics between the tea practitioners in the iemoto system and the Japanese Christian church and underworld crime groups.

Like the Japanese Christian church and the yakuza or Japanese organized crime organization, it is a marginal social institution whose most closely identifiable members participate in an eremitic discourse that is essentially closed to non-cognoscenti. Specialized language, manners and activities exist for these groups. The most
dedicated members derive their identity from participation in these organizations. The organization is an entity that exists to promote the members as representatives of its knowledge and practice. Differences between extortion, prostitution, gambling, fortune telling, tea etiquette, Bible study and promotion of Christian values are obvious. The strand that links these social practices is that all are activities promoted from well-organized and well-financed corporate bodies that exist because of the mutual support that members derive from their association (Kramer 1985, pp.ii–iii).

The analysis of the first section of this chapter, entitled "Read the text so closely it alarms its protectors", argues that Anderson does not adequately establish the distinction between the iemoto system and cults. In contrast, Kramer posits an explicit definition of cult resting on group membership being identifiable on the basis of shared language, manners, and activities which tend to be incomprehensible to outsiders. By providing an account of how the iemoto system resembles marginal social groups like Japan’s new religions, Kramer satisfies Anderson’s conditions for the reasonable use of cult.

Kramer’s use of cult is not the emotionally loaded slight that Anderson’s second paragraph suggests, and Kramer’s use of the term is typical of how it has been applied across disciplines ranging from anthropology to communication and cultural studies. Reasonable scholars in these fields have found this concept useful in addressing how registers of language, activities, and relationships are manipulated in the construction of group identities and shared understandings within the boundaries of those group identities. In light of the moderate tone of Kramer’s work, it appears unreasonable of Anderson to request a conditional embargo on the term merely because of semantic shifts in popular and academic discourse. Readers can glean from a text’s multiple contexts (the type of publication, the sentences in question, the author’s apparent intentions) enough clues to determine which register is being used.
and make their own judgment about the extent to which a particular term is being in an emotionally loaded deviation from academic responsibility.

Later in his doctoral Preface, Kramer explains why he selected cult as his preferred term.

I have chosen the expression ‘tea cult’ over ‘tea ceremony’ for simple but, I feel, important reasons. Either expression—overused in the context of political, religious and ritual affairs—can bear the weight of the diverse practice that I describe in this text. However, the tea ceremony has come to represent the very simple fifteen or twenty minute performance in which a single bowl of tea is prepared in a solemn and dignified manner and consumed in relative silence. ... The foreshortened ‘ceremony’ is not without significance, but the abbreviated nature of this most commonly repeated aspect of tea has too often been assumed to be the sole action and purpose of the art of tea. For this reason, I have chosen to refer to the cult of tea or the tea cult (Kramer 1985, p.vi).

This justification appears innocent enough. However, there is another agenda here, and the core of this concern is tacitly addressed by Anderson and explicitly structures the analysis of Kramer. What is at stake in the contestation around the suitability of cult as a term to describe pedagogical life inside the iemoto system is the status of the institutional guardians of tea practice. It is at this point that the subtext of Anderson’s strategy to limit interpretations of Urasenke pedagogy becomes the text of Kramer’s incisive account of the discursal uses of history by the Houses of Sen.

I have argued elsewhere that the texts of English language tea scholars like Anderson and Barbara Lynne Rowland Mori (1992) endeavour to serve two masters, the academy, and Sen Soshitsu XV. It is hardly surprising that research made possible by the sponsorship of the current Grand Master has a tendency
to accept and reinforce the grand narratives of the iemoto system (Cross 1998a). The following paragraphs outline the textual consequences for readers of these seminal texts which naturalise certain aspects of the iemoto system. This will then be contrasted with Kramer's rigorous reading of Urasenke's appropriation of the historical record.

In Anderson's explanatory text, this sponsorship simply means that the reader is treated to an almost official introduction to one particular brand of tea culture: 'Urasenke is the largest tea school in Japan and the most accessible to non-Japanese. My informants are almost exclusively members of that structure. We share its values, symbolic language, and practical lore' (Anderson 1991, p.xiii). Anderson's scholarship is a powerful outline of Urasenke tea values and how they structure behaviour in tea rooms. Given the patronage relationship existing behind the deeply grateful tone of the dedication and acknowledgments, the absence of any identification of non-correspondences between official values espoused (what is said) and actual values in use (what is done) appears to be an almost inevitable silence.

What appears as mute silence in Anderson's text becomes an occasional murmur in Mori's text. Mori is concerned with the national and international transmission of Urasenke tea culture, and prospectively addresses the sorts of problem the current administration may face in using the global 'Peacefulness Through a Bowl of Tea' (Anderson 1991, p.v) campaign to spread this tightly held family business of tea culture across the world. This orientation to Urasenke's future in the real world contrasts with Anderson's unproblematic concern with sharing the depth and meaning of the tradition, and the disembodied analytic voice of the conclusion's final paragraph proves to be the one space from which Mori can serve the best interests of her two textual masters.

If chado is dependent on the iemoto system and the sempai-kohai [... senior-junior] relationship pattern for its perpetuation, this will
not be a problem in Japan but will be a major obstacle to its survival outside of Japan if non-Japanese support is necessary for its propagation. Over time this aspect of chado relationships will either be replaced with structures which non-Japanese are willing to learn and transmit or the nascent development of non-Japanese teachers leaving Urasenke to begin their own organization will be intensified. Unless there are changes in the appeal to non-Japanese in abroad, Urasenke supported groups will diminish when Japanese and Japanese-Americans do not constitute the majority of group membership. While Urasenke has been successful in establishing overseas groups under its control, it is not yet clear that these groups have the ability to sustain and perpetuate themselves without direct support from Kyoto (Mori 1992, p.168, 61).

Fairclough (1995) insists that textual choices are always present for their creators, and the above extract demonstrates that appropriate criticism of the institutionalised present, however veiled in the speculative projections of the second and third sentences, is always possible. Mori goes so far as to use first person quotations to document the tension between institutional rhetoric and actual experience inside the Midori Kai, a Kyoto-based programme designed to transmit Urasenke tea culture to non-Japanese students in Japan.

“This is not tea’ I thought. ‘This is war, a constant battle among people in the group. Tea is people to people. This is every man for himself,’ reflected a Japanese-American student upon completing her third year in the program (Mori 1992, p.106).

This brief survey suggests that Anderson’s text constitutes a stronger version of the tendency to justify the interests of the iemoto system than that of Mori. While the unproblematic histories of both texts naturalise the grand narratives of the Grand Masters, Anderson’s text examination of the question of how current organizational conditions can be improved at the institutional level
concludes by merely emphasising the necessity of the present arrangements. In contrast, these unproblematic approaches highlight how Kramer's use of cult reinforces his nuanced reading of the history of the Houses of Sen as "organizations [which] have built their reputations upon a tissue of idealised representations of the historical record" (Kramer 1985, p.iv). This has been achieved through a strategic combination of omission, emphasis, and simplification; this is tradition as an invention to suit the needs of current generation (Kramer 1985, Cross 1998b).

While Anderson's view, both constrained and privileged from her Kyoto associations with the Grand Master, does acknowledge a range of negative perceptions of tea practice (pp.221–224), the current problem of the distance between tea's values and its institutionalised practices appears to be hermetically sealed in the past. A parodic account of a tea gathering attributed to Matsudaira Fumai (1751-1818) identifies the contradiction between pretension and the rhetorical valuing of simplicity, and Anderson suggests this gap has continued to exist from Rikyu's age into an unspecified present.

While my analysis centres on the administration's need to utilise the insights offered by critical pedagogy, Anderson generally lays the responsibility for shortcomings like the abuse of tea as a normative system on individual practitioners. In the subsection entitled "The Utility of Family-dominated Tea Schools" (pp.89–93) there is some consideration of the possibility that the professionalisation of tea could be improved to overcome some of the failure of tea practice to embody its ideals. While questions of "whether these [structures] are maximally functional ... and whether there are alternative models for various professional practices" (Gunnarsson et al. 1997, p.4) they are addressed from the perspective of the system of tea transmission. Rather than exploring different ways of inhabiting professional practices and tea spaces, the end result is a confirmation of the status quo.
One silence of Anderson’s analysis is its failure to take into account how the success of tea’s transmission results in a contradiction of its expressed values. Given the fact that tea students “cannot avoid employing the cognitive system with which they have been so thoroughly inculcated” (Anderson 1991, p.136), end users might like to be able to enjoy the moment without the intrusion of the official model validating their experience. The interests of consumers of tea knowledge are discounted against those of the tradition’s producer, and this is a consequence of the professionalisation of tea discourse:

When experts voice their version, the dialogue becomes asymmetrical in the sense that those unacquainted with these professionally crafted versions will get marginalized (Gunnarsson et al. 1997, p.4).

The experience of tea students are made mute by Anderson’s institutional concerns. Anderson’s answer to the following two questions is flawed by a circularity. ‘(1) Is a central authority structure prerequisite to the perpetuation of chado? And, (2) Must this authority be vested in a hereditary form of leadership?’ My research leads me to believe the answer to both questions is ‘Yes, if tea ritual as we know it is to survive’ (Anderson 1991, pp.89–90 [emphasis added]). Changing the structure that transmits tea values will obviously change that transmission. The point of my argument is that tea ritual as an end user knows it is less than what it could be, and to frame the problem in terms of the necessity or otherwise of a central authority structure with a hereditary leadership misses the point. Mori’s subsection called “Internal Control” (Mori 1992, p.54) implies a need to reassess the use of competitive relationships inside Urasenke as a personnel management technique. The almost combative uses of impenetrable tea discourse at the displays of orthodoxy called benkyo kai appear to be the antithesis of the hospitality impulse that tea rhetorically embraces.
Anderson attributes the ‘unprecedented atmosphere of openness in chanoyu’ (Anderson 1991, p.224) that crosses boundaries of gender, age, social class, and nationality to the phenomenal efforts of the current Grand Master. At the organizational level, however, the situation is more complex. Mori identifies the existence of cultural chauvinism as a major obstacle to the idea that non-Japanese can make a meaningful contribution to tea life beyond being used to put a foreign face on Japanese cultural practices.

The Urasenke iemoto is an exception to this. He views the inclusion of non-Japanese as essential to maintaining the vitality of chado and to extending it beyond the borders of Japan. Although his encouragement of non-Japanese participation is not openly challenged, neither is it wholeheartedly accepted by all members of the school (Mori 1992, p.166).

While the existence of resistance throughout the organisation undercuts claims of the feudal nature of Urasenke tea, Anderson’s unqualified endorsement of the Grand Master does appear to present a simplified version of a more complicated situation. The following section addresses possible directions the iemoto system could explore in addressing the needs of its students while maintaining the integrity of its tradition.

**The hard reflexivity of future tea**

While this chapter has been inspired by ‘the critical requirement that reading should proceed in accordance with the best, most exacting criteria of logical accountability’ (Norris 1996, p.231), it shares something of Mori’s orientation to future tea practice. As a student of tea, I feel tension between the institutionalised pedagogy which serves its own interests by using a discourse of lifelong study to prevent students from ‘graduating’ and the ambition to perform my ‘own’ tea. Reading tea transmission practices from the literature of critical pedagogy, this tension is most apparent in two curriculum-related points.
First, the rhetoric of ‘Japan has four seasons’ is referred to justify the teaching of seasonal temae (araijakin during the hottest month of summer, and the serving procedure that uses a tall narrow bowl during the coldest month of winter) only during those seasonally appropriate times. From my experience, this arrangement of the tea curriculum meant it took me three years of practice before I felt confident enough to perform these temae which are more interesting for guests. Anderson invokes this discourse of lifelong study to account for this pedagogical convention.

Nothing is taught out of the season in which it is actually performed. This means that the time for practicing a certain variation may pass before the student has mastered it—frustrating to beginners, but logical seen in the context of a lifetime study (Anderson 1991, p.229).

I would like to suggest that this is a logical arrangement for a system that is organised to perpetuate its own authority, relative to those who receive its imprimatur. Implicit in this idea of lifetime study is an immutable hierarchy of those that teach and those listen. This reinforcing of the indelible nature of those status differences inside the iemoto system pervasively mediates the experience of being a tea practitioner.

A more systemic example of this lifelong study discourse is the exhortation to return to the most basic temae to once again learn the whole sequence of tea practices.

After learning more advanced techniques of making tea, experts repeatedly return to the study of hiradenmae [the most basic presentations of thin and thick tea for either ro or furo season] to polish and refine their style (Anderson 1991, pp.229, 276).
If students have passed through the various levels of accreditation, they have presumably mastered the fundamental grammar of tea practice. In a pedagogical system more orientated to equipping students with the means to make a productive contribution to tea life, one might expect a less stringent emphasis on merely reproducing the established vocabulary of the Grand Masters. It is this failure by generations of tea administration to delegate to individual practitioners the means to walk down their own way of tea that produces criticisms of ossification.

While I am grateful that Urasenke’s success in transmitting core tea values makes it possible to receive uniform tea instruction throughout Japan and beyond its national borders, the degree of curriculum control necessary to sustain this institutionalisation does seem to occasionally deny the possibility of other ways of being a tea practitioner, and serves institutional interests ahead of the needs of learners. This is a consequence of a pedagogic emphasis on form which in turn produces formulaic sensibilities which are content to remain tethered to orthodoxy.

For a small minority of dedicated performers, the tea room is an infinitely malleable environment where they can produce quite magical events. The magic that is all but absent from the rule bound forms of the institutional practice still resides in the dedicated practice that destroys or abandons conventions even while conforming to their basic outlines (Kramer 1985, p.189).

It is ironic that the spirit of a number of tea practitioners that includes Rikyu, whose collective efforts established the roots of what we can now conveniently call wabi cha, lies in disregarding the sedimentary formalisation which has been conducted by those who have embellished their reputation by reference to the spectre of his achievements. My experience as a provincial consumer of tea knowledge suggests that the challenge facing the international transmission of tea values is more fundamental than Mori’s structural concern with the sempai-
kohai relationship pattern within the iemoto system. As Anderson’s own text attests, current tea pedagogy has been very successful inculcating fundamental tea values, patterns, and preferences. What is needed now is a more self-confident administration that encourages tea life without the paralysing insistence on orthodoxy, and a more curatorial selection and combination by private practitioners from the diverse offerings of tea’s macha and sencha custodians. This rejection of tea brand loyalty will provide participants with the focus necessary to remain in the moment without constantly mediating their experience through the authoritative filters of iemoto orthodoxy.

These proposals for the future development of tea are tempered by the realisation that:

we are part of what we oppose: we are historically, socially, and emotionally entailed in it, and we can only come to terms with that entailment if we first recognize it. This is a hard reflexivity (Herzfeld 1997, p.182).

By way of acknowledging my historical, social, and emotional investments in researching the connection between desire and the body in tea pedagogy, in earlier chapters I offered autoethnographic accounts of tea’s psychological, domestic, and professional utilities. The spectacle of someone like me taking pot shots at orthodoxy from a position of safe privilege looks cheap when compared with the compassionate social orientation of rescuing religious meaning from “the hardening of discourse into orthodoxy” (Franco & Ramanathan 1991, p.183). In the middle class comfort of my own tea practice which is structured by critical discourses of analysis, I aspire to an orthopraxis more aligned with the production of spontaneous tea spirit, rather than the embodied repetition of prescribed rituals. By outlining the mechanics of how groups manipulate desire to create cult members, these reflective writings aspire to help identify at what points a more productive internalising of tea values as a mode of one’s own consciousness becomes possible.
Conclusion

My autoethnographic concern in this chapter is to demonstrate the extent to which personal experiences were shown to be institutionally shaped along the lines of orthodox definitions of what constitutes the tea life. I extend the interpretation of tea history as national play advanced in Chapter 5 to lift the veil of neutrality from the authority of tea pedagogy. In the context of my whole argument, I build on the earlier review of cultural studies and CDA in Chapter 4, and expand the concern with subjectivity introduced in Chapter 2 by performing a critical and effective history which clearly marked the power of institutions to control the perceptions and conceptual frameworks of its subjects. This interest in the desire to be legitimated by institutional definitions of the authentic is visited again in the close readings of structural devices in Chapter 9.
CHAPTER 8
COMMUNICATING HISTORY IN TESHIGAHARA’S
RIKYU: REPRESENTATIONS, IDENTITIES AND
RELATIONS

Cultural texts do not simply reflect history, they make history and are part of its processes and practices and should, therefore, be studied for the (ideological) work that they do, rather than the (ideological) work (always happening elsewhere) that they reflect (Storey 1996, p.3).

The national essence is, however, by no means fixed in the past, but subject to recurrent reinterpretation (Dittmer & Kim 1996, p.18).

The rekishi-eiga must dedicate itself to the preservation of the Japanese past by building it into a new art form. The rekishi-eiga will then serve the function of training the people in that Culture of Feeling which is our special heritage (Hasegawa Nyozekan, in Anderson & Richie 1982, p.129).

Introduction

In this chapter I sustain the argument that autoethnography offers the possibility of mediating the experience of institutional systems of legitimation. More than merely lifting the veil of neutrality from the authority of tea pedagogy, I use a range of analytical traditions from Chapters 3 and 4 to map the pleasures of reading film in a manner that allows two pauses: one before consuming the pleasures of this film’s generic configurations, and the second precedes the reader being visually seduced by this modernist film’s presentation of tea’s patriarch as the authentic source of tea values and
practices. As a critical and effective history I interrogate the tendency of
tational communities to assert their status as inevitable and unchanging facts
of social life. This interest in how texts structure the desire to be authenticated
as one who embodies key national traits is visited again in the close readings of
postmodern structural devices in Chapter 9.46

The film as a considered historical intervention

This chapter identifies how Teshigahara’s representation of certain incidents
from the life of Sen no Rikyu 千利休, 1522-1591, is implicated in nationalist
discourses of tradition and other sociocultural processes related to the
codification and commodification of Japanese culture. It might be useful for
readers to recall how I situated tea’s utility in my life in the opening chapters,
as one way to counterpoint how tea is used in this chapter. I hope this
objectifies my subjectivity in a way that helps account for my concerns in the
second section. This chapter can be divided into two sections. The first section
uses the written scholarly historical accounts to read anecdotal practices against
the grain of their unqualified celebration of Rikyu’s genius. My intention is to
demonstrate that before Rikyu there were traditions of codified tea practice and
that tea was already clearly associated with political and military power. The
second section outlines how Teshigahara’s treatment of these two versions of
history interacts with issues of representation: the film’s representation of itself

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46 Critical discourse analysis contends that texts are the result of ideational (representations,
recontextualisations), interpersonal (relations, identities) and textual choices, and that media
texts contain both the presence and absence of the discourses and genres that produce their
textual coherence. Films that represent social practices organised around tea are implicated
in nationalist discourses of power and authenticity, and tend to invoke their own authority as
they collapse the distinctions between public and private, and information and
entertainment. Hiroshi Teshigahara situates tea in Rikyu at the nexus of economic activities,
military responsibilities, and aesthetic discernment. His selective use of the scholarly
version of sixteenth century Japanese history and the more anecdotal accounts that circulate
in sites associated with tea pedagogy are analysed in terms of the representations, identities
and relations the film proposes for its global audiences.
as an authoritative source of tea knowledge; and the film’s representation of tea as a “cultural sacrament” (Davis 1996, p.249) located at the nexus of military, commercial and aesthetic authority. This discussion is framed in terms of how the values communicated by the film support the construction of a certain range of subjectivities for its viewers.

History: qualifying the legendary status of Rikyu

There are serious tensions between two representations of Sen no Rikyu: the scholarly historical record, which demonstrates that tea was situated in discourses of economic, military, and aesthetic authority; and the more anecdotal accounts that circulate around sites of official tea pedagogy which valorise the aesthetic aspects of Rikyu’s life while structuring silences that conceal his commercial activities and military responsibilities.

The work of Bodart demonstrates that Rikyu’s duties as “The Tea Master of Japan”, tenka gosado 天下御茶道, included taking custody of Osaka Castle as rusu 留守 while Hideyoshi was absent in August 1585 and being informed of secret military and political matters (Bodart 1977, p.52). Bodart’s primary source for her investigation of the tea room politics established during Nobunaga’s regime and continued under Hideyoshi’s direction, chanoyu seido 茶の湯政道, is the scholarship of Kuwata Tadachika 桑田忠親. His Teihon Sen Rikyu no Shokan 定本利休の書簡 (1971) surveys the contents of more than two hundred and sixty of Rikyu’s letters which document his political use of tea. Extracts like the following from Rikyu’s letter to the general Shibayama Gennai on Tensho 13 (1585) 8.22 that record his need to be “kept informed of the state of the vanguard of the army” (Bodart 1977, p.53) clearly establish the extent to which an extremely selective imagination is required to conjure this apparition of Rikyu as a pure aesthete.

In addition to the documentary evidence assembled by Kuwata that proves Rikyu used tea for commercial, political and military objectives, Watsky’s
reference to the 1575 letter from Nobunaga thanking Rikyu supplying him with a thousand bullets during an Echizen campaign (Watsky 1995, p.62) confirms that Rikyu’s attention was not confined to celebrating Japan’s four seasons.

Watsky offers a powerful retort to another element of Rikyu’s reputation that is conventionally used to justify his deification: his status as the patriarch of tea discourse. Watsky’s focus on the activities of Imai Sokyu 今井宗久, 1520-1593, reveals that Sokyu was extremely successful at using tea for other than aesthetic ends while Nobunaga was his patron. According to the assessment of his contemporaries, the merchant tea master Sokyu was held in higher regard than Rikyu. This documented interpretation of Sokyu as a role model for Rikyu is a significant challenge to the notion that Rikyu should be regarded as being the inventor of tea as we now know it.

Taken collectively, the work of these Bodart and Watsky intimately related to a narrative of national consolidation. Watsky’s scholarship demonstrates that tea was implicated in the invention of a national identity during the time of Nobunaga, and I would argue that the spectre of Rikyu and the imagined nation have been apparitions conjured in acts of mutual constitution. The construction of Rikyu’s persona has been significantly shaped by the Houses of Sen as one way to justify their administration of ‘authentic’ tea practice and pedagogy. In addition, the 1872 petition by the eleventh Grand Master of Urasenke, Gengensai, reinvented the Way of Tea as an agent of the State. In positioning tea as a technology of the self with an explicitly ideological content, his Chado no Gen’i (Basic Principles of the Way of Tea) pleaded with the Meiji government not to “classify tea as mere pastime or enjoyment” (Mori 1992, p.13).

Given the social nature of performances of tea knowledge, it is extremely unlikely that one man singlehandedly produced the most significant innovations. A more probable scenario is a group of practitioners working with a spirit of competitive co-operation. This conception of tea’s development
requires a retreat from the Rikyu-as-aesthetic-genius model, and it accommodates Watsky’s testimony that “[d]uring the Nobunaga era, however, Sokyu’s career was the measure of success” (Watsky 1995, p.65).

This idea of collective improvisation also takes account of the legacy of tea practices in the context of the earlier adaptations of Chinese aesthetics and other emerging Japanese aesthetic schema, and the activities of other members of Sakai’s merchant class who had a direct influence on the young Rikyu. The following paragraphs suggest something of the complexity of tea’s development, and in so doing highlight the degree of simplistic reduction required to valorise Rikyu’s sixteenth century activities.

Ludvig attributes the introduction of the formal daisu 台子 from China in 1267 to Nampo Jomyo 南浦紹明 (also known as 大応国師), who established Sufukuji in Fukuoka. The shelf was stored there until it was sent to Daitokuji’s Muso Kokushi 夢窓国師 1275-1351. Ludvig notes that this movement identifies Zen priest Muso as the man who established the model for the formal Japanese tea ceremony. Muso, who as influential advisor to the Hojo regents, Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐, and finally Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏, and also as a founder of Tenryuji and other temples, did much to gain for his school of Zen Buddhism a favoured place at court and among the military rulers. … [H]e did much to shape the emerging religio-aesthetic synthesis, providing a distinct and pervasive Zen-Neo-Confucian impetus to the practice of the arts in Japan (Ludwig 1981, pp.382-383).

More than a century before the birth of Rikyu, tea etiquette was already complex enough during the reign of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408) to require professional specialists called doboshu 同朋衆 to serve tea according to the Ogasawara tea code (Anderson 1991, p.28). In the apparent absence of clearly decisive documentation Hickman tentatively suggests that one Tanaka
Sen’ami, who may have been Rikyu’s grandfather, prepared tea for Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436-1490) in this capacity (Hickman 1996, p.70).

Innovations in tea practices were influenced by developments in the conventions of noh (yugen 幽玄) and renga (hie 冷え and kare 枯れ) that resulted in their incorporation into the rhetoric of the wabi 侘 aesthetic. In the popular imagination, wabi is generally associated with Rikyu, but Anderson credits Murata Shuko (1422-1502) with introducing wabi style tea and employing “concepts of ‘chill’ (hie) and ‘withered’ (kare) [to suggest] an aesthetic that created an atmosphere of profound subtlety (yugen) (Anderson 1991, p.31). Sokyu’s father-in-law, Takeno Joo 武野紹鷗, 1502-1555 brought Shuko’s wabi style tea to Sakai and Rikyu became Joo’s student (Anderson 1991, pp.34–35). Joo drew from renga a concern with emphasising the social aspect of host-guest interaction, “ichiza 一座” (Ludvig 1981, p.390). Joo drew from the Sasamegoto of Shinkei the idea that renga was “not the art of composing poems, or verses of a poem, but a spiritual exercise to penetrate the talent and vision of another ... [a] way to experience the indecipherable meaning of others” (Ashton 1997, p.167).

This brief overview of tea history hopefully suggests something of the complexity of tea’s history, and why Cadwallader notes that “chanoyu underwent extensive changes in a very short time, and what was true in the late Muromachi period, the early Momoyama, the period of Rikyu’s influence, and the period after his death were as different as chalk and cheese” (Cadwallader 1997, p.72). Against these polyphonic threads of tea’s heritage, I would like to emphasise the improbability of one individual being exclusively responsible for unifying these convoluted aesthetic elements from separate social practices. The example of Muso verifies that there were precedents for the coupling of tea with political and military power prior to Rikyu, and the association popular with some of my fellow students of tea of the daitsu with Rikyu’s tea is seen to be factually dubious. This is perhaps explicable in terms of the presence
of his “recommendations regarding the proper use of the daisu” (Anderson 1991, p.50) in a purported facsimile of the Kissa Nampo Roku 咖茶南方録 which appeared in 1686. As I have argued elsewhere, this reductive simplification of tea history foregrounds the achievements of Rikyu (Cross 1998a), and renders invisible the formative influence of Chinese secular, offertory and commensal tea rituals, and devalues the contributions of Rikyu’s contemporaries.

Hobsbawm’s notion of invented tradition is useful in explaining the distance between the written scholarly record of Rikyu’s use of “aesthetic means to achieve decidedly non-aesthetic ends” (Watsky 1995, p.48) and Rikyu’s subsequent veneration in anecdotes that elide his political, military and commercial applications of tea.

‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past (Hobsbawm 1983, p.1).

Kramer (1985) explores the idea that the invention of historic continuity is often an integral component of sustaining an invented tradition. Genealogical reference to Rikyu as the ideal Person of Tea by Urasenke, Omotesenke, and Mushanokojisenke is a fundamental technique for creating their authority to commodify this cultural practice. These closely held family businesses position themselves as repositories of high culture by creating a discourse of the authentic. The Houses of Sen benefit economically from the dissemination of their particular brand of tea culture while invoking the spirit of Rikyu which they conjure in their own image. When Anderson asserts that “[t]o fully appreciate Rikyu’s genius, we must place him in the context of tea philosophy
as a whole" (Anderson 1991, p.51), I consider the iemoto system to have played a major part in the formation of that context and therefore to have exercised a significant influence on current understandings of Rikyu.

I will now examine the texts of Anderson and Cadwallader as examples of how an institutionalised perspective can valorise a particular vision of Rikyu. As the following extracts show, their work is both an explanation of that version of history and an example of how this persuasion operates by a selective silencing of dissonant ‘facts’. The key strategic move is to insist on an impermeable distinction between Rikyu’s aesthetic achievements and the manner of his death.

Rikyu was not martyred. More likely, he was sacrificed to the totalitarian objectives of a tyrannical regime.

Rikyu’s preeminence should not, however, be attributed exclusively to a misadventure with sixteenth century power politics. The samurai elite retained many tea practitioners and more than one died for apparently unjust reasons. Yamanoue Soji (1544-1590), for example, was brutally executed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1590 and Furuta Oribe (1543-1615) was required to commit seppuku by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1615. Though both men were tea masters of great repute, neither attained a posthumous status even approaching that popularity accorded Rikyu. This suggests the latter is principally venerated for his unparalleled contribution to chado [and] not for the dramatic mode of his demise.

Most scholars and tea practitioners accept the premise that Rikyu significantly altered chado. Controversy develops only when a discussion is confined to the precise nature of the great tea master’s legacy. The problem is that, in the best Zen tradition, Rikyu
personally recorded very little pertaining to either his philosophy or his practice (Anderson 1991, p.49).

There are two significant silences in this extract, and they both impinge upon the pragmatics of tea’s transmission in an institutional context that is characterised by orthodoxy, a hierarchical system of licensing, and the power to pronounce what is and is not tea. While Anderson mentions elsewhere that the historical rise of the ancestor cult gave the Houses of Sen “a mechanism still effective in nurturing the Sen family’s identification with their famous forebear” (Anderson 1991, p.68), here she is mute on the role of the iemoto system in elevating the role of Rikyu above his predecessors (Nampo Jomyo, Muso Kokushi, Murata Shuko), his contemporaries (Takeno Joo, Kobori Enshu), and those that followed him. The veneration of Rikyu has been a key strategy of the vested interests of tea’s institutional gatekeepers. It is this institutionalisation that has helped create the significance of Rikyu’s contribution to tea’s orthodoxy; in turn, the Houses of Sen have reinforced their own status by emphasising Rikyu above all other tea practitioners. Rikyu’s unparalleled contribution is not limited to the innovations that he personally established but includes the appropriation of his reputation as the foundation for tea’s transmission by subsequent generations of Grand Masters.

The second question concerns the nature of Rikyu’s death. Anderson does not address the possibility that his seppuku was simply subsumed by tea’s later custodians into the larger territory of the wabi narrative as a compelling demonstration of ‘authentic’ Sen tea’s otherworldliness. It is my contention that this deification of Rikyu as the embodiment of tea values by the Houses of Sen was accompanied by a celebration of their authentic wabi tea (as opposed to Enshu’s kirei sabi aesthetic, for example), and therefore, Anderson’s attempt to establish a distance between Rikyu’s tea achievements and his death by seppuku is compromised.
Cadwallader’s incisive review of Japan’s Golden Age: Momoyama identifies several misunderstandings of Rikyu prevalent in English language scholarship, and yet, his work also reproduces an image of Rikyu at odds with his documented activity as bullet merchant to Nobunaga:

That “he was sole advisor to Toyotomi Hideyoshi from 1582 until 1595, when Hideyoshi ordered him to commit suicide” (p.205) is inexact on two counts. Firstly, there were other tea advisers to Hideyoshi, but Rikyu was the one at the top. Secondly, there is no documentation that Hideyoshi ordered Rikyu to commit suicide; just who did and how it was done still remains in the realm of speculation. Further down the same page, we find:

Rikyu, by his activities as Hideyoshi’s tea master, gained tremendous political and economic power, with the result that he offended Hideyoshi.” Here again, the statement itself is all too simplistic and misleading. Rikyu undoubtedly had financial means and an amount of political sway with Hideyoshi; yet, he was not as wealthy as other tea masters who were used by Hideyoshi as supply sources, and, as a solitary merchant-class advisor to Hideyoshi, with no troops or retainers, his political power was nowhere near that of the generals who were Hideyoshi’s strength and danger. Indeed, it is now speculated that Rikyu’s “enemies at court” were the generals who favoured a more hawk-like attitude in contrast to Rikyu’s dove-like one (Cadwallader 1997, p.72).

This conception of Rikyu as an agent of peace is not sustained by his own interest in military dispatches revealed in his correspondence and the other historical documents surveyed by Bodart (1977).

If we extend Hobsbawm’s notion of invented tradition to connect the historic with the heroic, the pragmatics of transmission may reveal the mechanics of
this slippage of Rikyu's death into wabi's aesthetic compound. In the course of creating the historic past, certain dramatic incidents are celebrated in anecdotes. Tsutsui (1981) documents the presence of anecdotes in tea pedagogy but does not address the possibility that "[m]ythical stories are narratives of speculation" (Dacre 1998, p.3). These speculative manoeuvres embrace the past and repackage it to serve the needs of the present administration for a seamlessly immutable tradition. The Grand Master's authority is naturalised by these visions of tea's apparently unchanging continuity:

To the extent that this system constructs desiring subjects (those who are legitimate as well as those who are not), it simultaneously establishes them and itself as given and existing outside of time, as the way things work, the way they inevitably are (Scott 1994, p.369).

Controlling interpretations of tea's past by attributing a facticity to these anecdotes is one Sen strategy for adding value to the Rikyu legacy.

Tsutsui's account neglects to identify how these mythical stories establish a threefold distinction between those represented, those who speak, and those who listen. Those who transmit the anecdotes tacitly align themselves with those represented and assume a representative position, superior to the listeners. In merging their subjectivity with those represented, the speakers position themselves as the embodiment of the values contained in the anecdote. The authority to relate the incident implies the ability to pronounce what is and is not tea, and a significant part of the responsibilities of the Grand Master is to determine what is officially recognized as authentic tea practice and who is competent to publicly perform these practices. It is this matrix of desire, authority and subjectivity that demands the historic past be elevated to the heroic.
History into film: consuming the nation

In examining Rikyu, my intention is not to “render historical what has hither to been hidden from history” (Scott 1994, p.365) but to tease out some of the cultural implications of what has been obscured by particular representations of the aesthetic sphere. My interest is not in the film as history but I would like to draw attention to how the film achieves its own ideological work of representation, and how its use of scholarly and anecdotal versions of history normalises certain ‘truths’ and problematicises others. As an example of Japanese national cinema, I assume that this film participates in “a cultural-industrial enterprise which simultaneously imports and indigenises film genres and styles from an international market dominated by Hollywood while seeking to maximise its audiences and the returns on its investments by exporting its own distinctive product to that market” (Bell 1999, p.199).

The image of Rikyu as court aesthete will be examined in the context of the ideological utility of “‘transitive’ Japaneseeseness, a matter of being Japanese for some purpose rather than just being Japanese” (Davis 1996, p.7). This survey of the political application of aesthetics will provide an interpretative frame for my later comments about ‘culture’ as “a device which may be strategically played for political purposes in international relations ... [and] is invoked as a smokescreen by people whose deeper motivations have little to do with culture and everything to do with power maintenance” (Kitley & Mules 1998, p.156). The strategic employment of culture includes the domestic invention of tea’s tradition as an exportable commodity, the conflation of the Houses of Sen with the Japanese nation, and how Zen-related practices were implicated in “the lack of clarity in the distinction between state nationalism and cultural nationalism” (Heisig & Maraldo 1994, p.x) in the years preceding World War Two.

Karatani identifies the central role of the aesthetic sphere in Japan’s movement from nationalism to imperialism. Historians have scrutinized the political discourses surrounding the [1894 Sino-Japanese] war, but
the fact that aesthetic discourses were the motivating moment has been ignored. ... Okakura appreciated crafts as art, and by applying the same measure to all Asian nations, he confirmed the oneness of Asia within an art historical context. ... His books began to be read in Japan in the 1930's, at the time when Japan began to move towards the "Great East-Asian Co-Prosperity." And it was from this moment on that the oneness of Asia, which he had discovered through his aesthetic thinking, came to function as an ideology that added the flourish to Japan's domination of Asia (Karatani 1998, pp.154, 155, 156).

The aesthetic insights of Okakura Kakuzo (Tenshin) 岡倉覚三(天心), 1862-1913, were co-opted by imperialist military interests, and this heightened appreciation of the artistic artefacts of neighbouring countries masked a more colonising intent lurking behind initially egalitarian pronouncements. This international use of the aesthetic sphere to legitimise coercive power relations is similar to the ways tea has served the creation of the national mythology inside Japan. Teshigahara's film addresses the issue of how cultural forms, like tea and noh, both express and define this sense of nationhood by elevating individual efforts to the status of representative texts. The aesthetic sphere embraces this constructed identity of 'the nation', and the national identity is aestheticised to the point of becoming a sacrament. It is at this point that Davis's notion of transitive Japaneseness, drawn from his analysis of what he calls the monumental style in Japanese cinema, accounts for perceptions of the contemporary persistence of Japan's well ordered feudal hierarchy. The existential needs of the individual are subsumed in the highly aestheticised sacramental narrative of nation:

A sacrament is the enacting of a convenant, or spiritual contract, that sets out the responsibilities of people toward their God. The sacrament also promises salvation in exchange for the faithful devotion of the believer. Salvation, in the monumental style, does
not promise mean everlasting life or individual happiness but rather a sense of belonging to a living entity much larger than the lone, often alienated, self. It promises above all a new way of seeing the world and one’s place in it. It penetrates the clutter of ordinary perception to visualize the traces of antiquity and nobility in the slightest movement, in the humblest object. Most profoundly, the monumental style fashions a world where death is not overcome but glorified because it is the best way to show one’s loyalty to the kingdom (Davis 1996, p.249).

Whereas the 1930s version of transitive Japaneseness resulted in a generation sacrificing themselves for a rhetorical aesthetic that used cherry blossoms as an argument for young men making the ultimate contribution to the war effort, current applications merely provide a vocabulary of cultural icons sustained by relationships of consumption and production. The cultural practice of conjuring a seasonally constructed calendar represented by these icons may be divorced from the everyday experience of most citizens, but these icons have a symbolic value that satisfies certain psychological needs of modern citizenry. These icons function as ambiguous spaces that are constructed to allow a mass audience to satisfy their various needs to belong to an imaginary community configured along lines of class and gender. Advertising agencies ensure that these spaces contain enough detail to provide myths and images that structure experience in a way that helps deal with the uncertainties of life during an economic recession. Saito Yuriko notes that a principal strategy is the association of the transience of human and natural life (Kalland & Asquith 1997, p.3), and this is deliberately reinforced by advertisements: “seasonal change forms a rhythm which is continually articulated and actively staged on the market, rather than one to which the market merely responds” (Moeran & Skov 1997, p.199).

With television’s appeal to mass audiences through a standardised Japanese language supported by Monkasho’s emphasis on that standard version in
formal education up to the secondary level, television networks reduce distinctive local identities to program fodder. The implicit subtext of these programmes documents how these local identities differ from the nationally conventional ways of urban living. In the 1930s, transitive Japanese-ness was implicated in the affirmation of the nation, and its cultural, military and economic imperialism. More recently, the sense of Japanese nationhood is not something lived but is increasingly a spectacle witnessed in Japanese popular culture. The experience of belonging is mediated by the Japanese national cinema which is “material reality, imaginative register and formation of knowledge/power” (Bell 1999, p.200). Tom O’Regan argues that all national cinemas perform the role of being “a mobilizer of the nation’s myths and of the myth of the nation” (Bell 1999, p.200). Television and its regular seasons of period and contemporary dramas, and print and screen marketing strategies typically draw from this icon bank as the nation is summoned by a series of consumption decisions. The nation itself has been neatly commodified by these media for domestic and international consumption. It is these discourses of cultural production, reception and transmission that frame the following analysis of Teshigahara’s Rikiu.

Positioning the audience: genres in the national cinema

The film produced by Teshigahara’s production team reinscribes the scholarly and anecdotal versions of history according to certain generic, thematic and narrative conventions. There are four genres that the film draws upon to propose a set of representations, identities and relations for its viewers: Japanese period drama, known as jidai geki or rekishi-eiga; biography; Hollywood narrative; and documentary. I will proceed by outlining the characteristics of these genres in terms of their presence in the film and will conclude this section by commenting on the range of subjectivities that they tend to offer audiences.
While belonging to the monumental style of Japanese national cinema (Davis 1996), Rikyu also exemplifies

the genre of Hollywood narratives, which make everything contingent to narrative and its structuring. ... In these films the narrative constantly constitutes and re-constitutes time-space and point of view in the interest of sustained coherence. The idea is to implicate, position and entertain the spectator. ... In Hollywood the sole aim of a film is to entertain the spectator by telling a good story - linear and closed, realistic and believable (Jaireth 1998, p.65).

While films do have ideological, aesthetic and financial objectives in addition to the narrative considerations outlined by Jaireth, this focus on the linear intent of the Rikyu narrative highlights how Teshigahara has structured the film by combining scholarly and anecdotal versions of history. The opening instants of the film contest a key tenet of Sen tea discourse: the power neutral status of tea as a cultural practice. The first titles clearly present a claim that tea was centrally located in discourses of authority, and this frames the film’s ongoing concern with the relationships between aesthetics and politics, and the individual and the state. The text of these first titles makes visual the sorts of evidence documented in the scholarship of Bodart (1977) and Watsky (1995). The viewer then witnesses preparations for a tea gathering, and here the film’s documentary elements present a role model for tea practitioners of how to put tea values into practice. The pedagogical content of the film’s opening scene is the legendary single morning glory flower incident immortalised in tea anecdotes, and those tea values assume a representative function.⁴⁷ They exemplify tea practitioner’s celebration and reinforcement of the centrality of seasonal transience, and by extension, the nation.

⁴⁷ See Sadler 1998, pp.102-103 for variations of this anecdote.
This strategy of reducing and simplifying Japanese nature is recognisable as part of the penetration of the clutter of the everyday and one component of national sacramentalisation (Davis 1996). This reductive impulse is not confined to tea ceremony, and the following account of the anecdote reenacted in the film’s opening scene demonstrates that it is a common trope in the creation of an idealised Japanese vision of nature.

At times the quantity is deliberately reduced to a minimum. As when Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the sixteenth-century warlord and national unifier, wanting to celebrate the profusion of morning glories in a tea master’s garden, came to the tea ceremony only to find that the master Sen no Rikyu had cut all the flowers, leaving a single one in a vase on the ceremonial shelf (Lee1984, p.92). Another well-known story is the use of a single camellia flower in the Ikenobo School of flower arrangement. In 1816 the fortieth master of the school instructed that only six and a half leaves should be left, the others removed to reveal the pure essence of the flower. His successor went further: only three and a half leaves should be left (ibid., p.96) (Kalland & Asquith1997, p.17).

This movement from a single camellia flower to six and a half leaves to only three and a half leaves is an example of how creative expressions become codified and reduced to formula inside iemoto systems. While the opening scene of the film has a pedagogic role in privileging a certain minimalistic aesthetic above others, it is also what Tom O’Regan calls “a social document recreating popular memory” (Bell 1999, p.200). The purpose of its movement through various interpretations of historical truth is to implicate the spectator in the film’s debate of these issues by positioning the spectator as a consumer of these authentic images which are both entertaining and very persuasive representations of the otherness of Japanese identity.
The documentary elements of the film support the other three genres by a providing a discourse of authenticity. This persuasive notion of the authentic seduces the audience into the willing suspension of disbelief: the distinction between the represented and the real collapses in the face of the intellectual, commercial and cultural capital invested in the film. De Certeau’s comment about the formation of historical discourse is relevant to how audience identification with and reception of the film moment erases the mechanism that manufactures their awe. “[T]his authorized appearance of the ‘real’ serves precisely to camouflage the practice which in fact determines it. Representation thus disguises the praxis that organises it” (de Certeau 1986, p.203). As the following sections demonstrate, the film both naturalises and problematicises the Grand Master’s authority and the corresponding vision of tea’s history.

This representation of authenticity encompasses the co-operation of the Houses of Sen, the appearance of tea utensils of the period, and the use of locations like Daitokuji which were actually frequented by Rikyu. Teshigahara’s own status as the Grand Master of the Sogetsu 草月 School of ikebana, and not “as a noted tea master who presumably wishes to promote his school” (Davis 1996, p.246), becomes significant if the film is conceptualised as one grand master’s celebration of the lived values of The Grand Master.

Dore Ashton uses this notion of authenticity to validate Teshigahara’s efforts to present an idealised aestheticised history.

He was careful to infuse his imagery with a spirit of authenticity. His detailed knowledge of calligraphy and traditional ceramic practices, as well as of the accoutrements in court life of the period, had been built over the years. Like his friend [Isamu] Noguchi, Teshigahara had visited Kyoto’s monasteries and engaged some of the more cultured monks in conversations. He knew the Zen temple settings that Rikyu himself had known. Teshigahara also established contact with the most important schools of tea
ceremony and their iemoto, and when the time came, enlisted them as advisers (Ashton 1997, p.153).

This discourse of authenticity creates for the viewer a powerful engagement of the same magnitude as the film production techniques outlined by Hayward. In cinema studies, suture refers to how the viewer is stitched into the film by continuity editing, and devices like these sustain the seamlessness of the narrative by collapsing the distinction between on and off screen space (Hayward 1997, pp.371–379). In Teshigahara's film, the presentation of the authentic compounds the seductive persuasion of conventional film suturing. This is one way that the film fulfils Bell’s expectation of Japanese national cinema: recontextualising discourses of the nation, appropriating Hollywood genres and returning a nationally distinctive product to the US market (Bell 1999, p.199).

As the film documents Rikyu’s artistic milieu, the aesthetic charms of the documentary elements, as the appearance of the real, endow the plot of the period drama with an authentic glow that supports the film's presentation of the imagined historical causes of Rikyu’s seppuku as the idealised real.

The spectacle of the real time cooling of the black raku teabowl gives the audience a glimpse of the almost living quality attributed to tea utensils by some of tea’s true believers. This emotional identification of the audience with an inanimate object and introduction to a particular way of appreciating tea vessels is drawn on later when an incensed Hideyoshi smashes the black bowl and banishes Yamanoue Soji for relating Rikyu’s comment about the importance of appreciating the black beauty. The creation of the audience’s appreciation of artistic innovation by a reverentially composed shot of the partially smashed tea bowl is how the film reinforces and personalises its concern with the political aspects of aesthetics. The composition has the formality of an exhibition space installation, and yet there is a more intimate
presentation as the bowl is offered to us (individually) in a private (video) viewing.

Similarly, the film's presentation of what we are to believe is the fusama painting of Hasegawa Tohaku (1539-1610) contains marvellously sensual closeups of the brush caressing the gold dusted surface, and again there is no distinction between screen time and real time: the viewer is consumed by this coalescence of on-screen and off-screen time.

These two examples of the pairing of screen time and real time are significant modulations of film's tempo. In the same way that tea is currently represented as a delightful retreat from the bustle of daily concerns, the contrast between these leisurely presentations of aesthetic excellence and the bothersome court intrigues emphasises the escalation of events leading to Rikyu's final walk in the bamboo.

The narrative impulse is a dominant presence in the film, and underpins the tempo of the film's movement to that final bamboo grove. This linear drive is necessary and inevitable, as the outcome of the film is already known to any Japanese high school student of history. Having addressed some of the issues related to authenticity and the genre of Hollywood narratives and the documentary, I would like to turn to Jaireth's outline of how the mechanism of the cinema ensnares the viewer in the narrative form.

Narrative cinema is based on the powerful apparatus of looks and seeings. Seeing a film, we are faced with a series of looks: the look of the camera at the profilmic event, the look of the spectator at the screen, and the looks of characters at one another and objects within on-screen and off-screen time-space. A cinematic narrative thus implicates at every level of its unfolding three participants: the camera, the screen and the spectator. The narrative is constituted and sustained by the continual co-being of these three 'actors'. ...
Thus as the cinematic narrative unfolds it provides, in the form of images composed into shots, sites where the spectator can enter into varying degrees of identification with the camera - the implied shower/narrator - and the protagonists in the narrative. This complicated relationship between seeings and looks in a cinematic narrative is described in cinema theory in terms of the dichotomies between subjective (point of view) or objective (omniscient or voyeuristic), subjective or objective narration, first person or third-person telling (Jaireth 1998, pp.64–65).

I would like to explore more fully some of different types of identification the Rikyu narrative encourages. In the course of previously addressing the question of authenticity and the use of ceramic masterpieces in the film, I presented a case for the viewer being attributed a particular psychological and aesthetic positioning. My exploration of these positionings will go beyond the subjective-objective dichotomy to analyse the relationships being proposed to argue that the dominant mode of identification is mediated by nationalist discourse. While the previous pages may imply that these generic conventions work separately throughout the film, this is not the case. It is in the deliberate conflation of these generic patterns that the film proposes a particular set of relations for its viewers.

Biographies typically celebrate extraordinary lives, and these texts often encourage a blurring of the distinction between the individual and wider social frames (Sommer 1998, Kouvaros 1998). Biographies and history dramas position the viewer as a student of history, and the viewer typically experiences a range of pleasure that may include the willing suspension of disbelief facilitating an identification with key historical figures engaged in important actions in significant locations. The combination of the Hollywood narrative, Japanese period drama and biography places the viewer in an omniscient position, watching the neat unfolding of the historical interpretation constructed by the film.
other-as-self is a line of analysis that accepts "the religion of Japan is Japaneseess, which is best practiced in daily life" (Fields 1992, pp.146–147). Tea culture insiders, as urban Japanese, might recognise their role as sacramental players.

Teshigahara’s Rikyu constructs an exotic other for its domestic and foreign audiences. Both sets of audiences, seduced by discursive construction of generic authenticity, accept the film’s instructive coupling of entertainment and education. The psychological tension between Rikyu and Hideyoshi can be read off as a salaryman’s nightmare: how to live an ethical life within a social framework of vertical relationships between those who employ and their employees. This possible positions are not an exhaustive list, but regardless of the various perspectives from which a viewer may identify and/or contest the content and context of the film, it remains an act of cultural consumption experienced at the intersection of competing discourses of identity, commodity, and the nation. In the following chapter I extend this generic analysis by reference to the postmodern structure of the 1989 Kumai Kei film that questions the modernist assumptions of Teshigahara’s linear narrative.

**Conclusion**

Performances of the vigilant reception of tea pleasures in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 anticipate this chapter’s nuanced reading of the thrills of visual consumption. I employ the analytical traditions from Chapters 4 and 5 to map the pleasures of interrogating the salute of one grand master director to The Grand Master. The pleasures of employing social theory as autoethnography include the sense that analytical attention to the surface features of film loosens the power of institutions to control the perceptions and conceptual frameworks of its subjects. In the context of my argument for the resistant possibilities of autoethnography, this chapter anticipates the following demonstration of the lethal power of narrowly defined ideals.
CHAPTER 9

COMMUNICATING TEA'S NATIONALIST FABLE:
KUMAI KEI'S SEN NO RIKYU: HONKAKUBO IBUN

The history of modern Japan is nothing more but a history in which a national community was formed as the community of “unnatural death” (Sakai 1997, p.99).

What matters is not the finished and edited film but the social processes of meaning production within which the film’s presence is inscribed (Talens & Zunzunegui 1997, p.33).

The costs of visuality cannot be calculated in the abstract, but only in specific local and historical constructs (Kano 1999, p.54).

Every time one sees a film, although it seems as if that experience is autonomous (a private relation between the spectator and images projected on the screen), the experience exceeds itself. It is about the social as much as the individual; about the public just as much as the private. It is ideological. In fact, just as Sohn-Rethel argued that the very exchange act crowds out the possibility of thinking the various relations of money within the social totality, the very act of viewing the film crowds out the possibility of tracking how the grammar affects everyday perception and behaviour (Cazdyn 1999, pp.104–5).

Introduction

In this chapter I conclude my demonstration that autoethnography offers the possibility of mediating the experience of institutional systems of legitimation. By interrogating how power and authority circulate in national aesthetics
operating as technologies of individual and national selves, I clarify the relationship between subjectivity and identity, textual analysis, and nationally distinctive social practices. The final chapter comments on the utility of identities and subjectivity. 49

Film studies, cultural studies: three contexts for reception

This is a tentative exploration of the relationship between the modern formation of Japanese subjectivity and cultural practices like institutionalised tea pedagogy, and how these two elements are represented in popular culture film texts. Tenbruck's 1988 insights are used to "probe into the dynamic and productive constitution of representative culture, locate the origins of the dominant ideas, trace the lines and networks of their spread and reception, [and] study the links between representative culture, political organisation, social institutions, groups, and associations" (Jamrozik, Boland & Urquhart 1995, p.32).

The intention is not to conduct a textual analysis confined to the field of film that privileges the subjectivity of the director or celebrates the aesthetic excellence of the film artefact. I have assumed that film participates in social organisation by performing two interpretive roles. It is an element of "the 'cultural apparatus'—the knowledge-producing industry, academia, research, and so on; and the 'consciousness industry'—the mass media" (Jamrozik,

49 The third section consists of chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. These chapters employ some of the literature outlined in Chapters 3 and 4 and read a range of tea texts in terms of how the nation is constituted by popular culture networks of communication practices. As was demonstrated in Chapter 6, this includes the creation of idealized role models in literature that are then appropriated to serve interests of formal education. Films belonging to national cinema often comment on the political relationship between representative culture, social institutions and groups. Film director Kumai accommodated a request from the Houses of Sen to refrain from a realistic depiction of Sen no Rikyu's ritual suicide. Kumai's use of cherry blossoms as a visual substitute for Rikyu's death locates tea practices in the nationalist discourses that were configured to justify the Pacific War special attack units. Dominant readings of Kumai's 1989 film are sensitive to this use of seasonal scenery as one representation of Japan as the nation of unnatural death. The persistence of this slippage between the natural and the social in nationalist discourses is evident in the range of pop culture texts I examine, including calendar images and advertisements, and continues to be both a central strategy for commodifying the nation and a problematic element of public life.
Boland & Urquhart 1995, p.34). I will address contestation between the field of culture and wider fields of domestic and international power. It is my contention that this struggle is one important subtext for understanding how the film comments on its own participation in mass media and other discourses of cultural transmission.

**Critique of everyday myths: locating Kumai’s work**

The explicitly political content of Kumai’s work has seen it grouped with other postwar directors like Urayama Kiiro and Shinoda Masahiro (Sato 1982, p.225), and Oshima Nagisa and Yamamoto Satsuo (Buehrer 1990, p.220). Directors like Kumai, Oshima and Yamamoto believed in democracy and aspired “to a form of economics not based on exploitation” (Buehrer 1990, p.220), anticipating some of the insights offered by Giddens (1992). The commitment of Kumai, Urayama and Shinoda to democratic values did not prevent their feeling betrayed “by reactionary movements like the red purge and the Self-Defense Force” (Sato 1982, p.225).

The following survey of Kumai’s work draws on Sato (1982) and Buehrer (1990), and demonstrates his concern with how ‘history’ shapes life in postwar Japan. Themes addressed by Kumai include unsolved murder cases purportedly linked to U.S. Army Intelligence (*Nihon Retto, [The Japanese Archipelago]* 1965), the replacement of the nation by the company as the institution requiring the absolute sacrifice (*Kurobe no Taiyo, [Sun Over the Kurobe Gorge]* 1968), prejudice among and against resident Koreans, atomic bomb victims, and burakumin (*Chi no Mure, [The Swarming Earth]* 1969), and the construction of the history of karayuki women sold into overseas prostitution (*Sandakan hachiban shokan: Boukyo, [Sandakan Number 8]* 1975).

Kumai’s territory is the fable of the nation, the individual costs of consuming that tale, and the possibility of being consumed in the name of the nation by

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50 Karayuki were women who worked as prostitutes outside Japan.
that myth. Critics like Sato Tadao have been sensitive to his exposure of the counterfactual elements of the myth of the Japanese nation. Sato's characterisation of these early works listed above as “villain films” with “power structures as the enemies of democracy” (Sato 1982, p.164) allows Sato to use Kumai's films as an opportunity to criticise the individually destructive programme of national (re)construction.

*Kurobe no Taiyo* (1968) appears to be an example of “Michel Foucault's idea of 'effective' history, which is composed of narrational memories of the particular” (Nishiuchi 1999, p.534). While the subject of this film is the exploitation of smaller companies by larger enterprises in the construction of the Fourth Kurobe Dam, the deliberate intrusion of documentary elements prevents a neat collapse into the grand narrative of the Japanese postwar recovery. *Flashbacks* of the Third Kurobe Dam, constructed during wartime by Koreans working like slaves, and the final footage of the monument that lists the names of workers who died building the fourth dam emphasise the centrality of colonial injustice and individual sacrifice in this economic miracle. The device of documentary footage reinforces the film's social agenda.

In analysing this alternative version of the postwar boom, Sato implies the disturbing continuity of individual annihilation in this peacetime national service. The company has replaced the army as the instrument of conscription but the same level of devotion is demanded. Democratic reforms in postwar labour standards did not alter the reality of daily on-site conditions: the job of “workers from a small sub-contracting company ... is little different from what the Koreans had been forced to do, and even resembles the suicidal missions given to kamikaze pilots” (Sato 1982, p.170).

If Sato's use of the wartime experiences of the film's production crew and audiences in his reading of the film is accepted as accurate, then Kumai has presented a public record of particular events that explains the origins of
current injustices. These contemporary social problems are not limited to the aftershocks of symbolic violence inflicted upon Japanese citizens who heeded the call for individual subjection to national objectives and the actual violence endured by those who opposed militarist nationalism. Kumai’s 1968 film draws our attention to ongoing debates about the rights of zainichi migrant communities, whose presence in Japan is a consequence of Japanese colonialism, and the military sexual slavery of “women from the Japanese colonies in Taiwan, Korea, and then China, and later, women from countries occupied by Japan” (Yamazaki 1995, p.51). The following interview extracts document the importance given to questions of historical interpretation, and these sentiments highlight the importance of institutionalising memories of the particular in alternative narratives of the nation.

I am a member of the Yosong Net, or more formally the Uli-Yosong (Korean Women) Network on Comfort Women, which was founded in November 1991. … Our goal is to study and solve the issue of “comfort women,” or forced military prostitutes during the Second World War, by reexamining racism and sexism from our zainichi perspective. … From a zainichi perspective, the Japanese invasion did not begin with the 15 Years War (which began in 1931 with the invasion of Manchuria and ended with the surrender in 1945) but rather started with the Sino-Japanese War (1894) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904). The Japanese need to reexamine their history and take these facts into consideration. After the Sino- and the Russo-Japanese wars, Japan made Taiwan and Korea into colonies, and then invaded China in order to establish the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Consequently, unless Japanese begin to see these two wars as the beginning of colonization, they will not be able to understand the significance of war compensation to Koreans and Taiwanese, nor even why zainichi are in Japan (Kim 1995, pp.86–87).
Viewers of the documentary footage and the spectacle of the monument that lists the workers consumed by the dam building participate in a visual elegy for the memory of particular workers. The intended meaning of these elements underlines a generic element of villain films which portray power structures as the enemies of democracy. We are presented with a cause and effect relationship that positions these concrete events in a narrative of resistance: the costs and dangers of modern Japanese citizenship. Kumai’s didactic cinema uses the technology of popular culture to criticise the government’s rhetorical call for individual subordination to national progress. This outline of the film’s effect is consistent with Sato’s assertion that “the sacrifices themselves inevitably became the result of a fanatical desire for economic development pursued ‘militaristically,’ and the upholding of the double structure of the Japanese economy” (Sato 1982, p.171).

This brief placing of the content and critical reception of Kumai’s work is intended to demonstrate his topical concern with questions relating to history and the modern construction of Japanese subjectivity. The following section provides an overview of the process of using culture as a means of creating a sense of Japanese citizenship from the Meiji period onwards. Connections between this outline of the content of Kumai’s work and wider struggles over specific cultural formations are addressed in later comments about Kumai’s use of a structure of embedded flashbacks to extend the conventional range of the jidai geki.

**Counter Orientalism deconstructed: lethal politics of ‘Japan the beautiful’**

In earlier work I addressed the role of the aesthetic sphere in creating a fatalistic Japanese identity (Cross 2000b) by examining the linking of beauty and death in Meiji literature, and the dizzy oscillations between contemporary self and archaic other required to unify the nation. Those arguments were outlined in Chapter 5, and now I would like to briefly review the role of tea in
creating this readily consumed image of Japan as an aestheticised other. My intention is to "begin by posing the problem of national identity itself, to ask how it might be analyzed and what importance communication practices might have in its constitution" (Schlesinger 1987, p.234). In arguing that the formation of the nation resulted in the Japanese ‘community of unnatural death’ (Sakai 1991), I will suggest that entertainment provided by a distinctive national culture performed an educational role, and these flows from the individual to the national continue to give private pleasures a public significance.

Defining a nationalised cultural canon gave the sphere of culture an explicitly political function. Successive governments created the imaginary community of Japan by weaving aesthetic elements together into a series of intertextual relationships that endorse the exercise of explicit state power against the interests of individuals. Significant changes in education and military regulations buttressed the aestheticising the inevitability of death to make Greater East Asian War demands for absolute loyalty to the state possible.

Institutionalised tea pedagogy positioned itself as an ideological tool of the state with Gengensai’s Chado no Gen’ii (Fundamental Principles of the Way of Tea) an 1872 petition to the Meiji government. While seeking to position itself as the embodiment of ‘Japanese values’, tea also offered a range of discursively prescribed pleasures. These include giving tea students a social position in a hierarchal community of tea practitioners, facilitating progress through a structured curriculum of orthodox tea practices, and an emerging sense of good taste along the lines recommended by the respective schools of tea instruction.

It is important to note that Gengensai’s petition meant that students also received an aesthetic caress of state power. Governmental control defined the parameters of popular culture (Ienaga 1978), and cultural practices were codified, commodified and nationalised as authentic modes of citizenship. The power of the state was affirmed in the intersection of discourses of
consumption and play, and authentic Japanese identity itself became the commodity underlying these ‘traditional’ leisure activities. As Chapter 5 demonstrates, aesthetic play becomes a matter of national life and individual death when the iemoto system of tea instruction was reasserting itself during a period of intense effort to “express, and define, what makes Japanese people and life so Japanese” (Davis 1996, p.2). Two large public gatherings honouring the national convention of wabi cha became part of an ultranational didactic trope that was concerned with the transmission of bushido values to all Japanese men, women and children.\(^5\) Tea’s cherishing of the instant appears to operate as an aesthetic extension of Tojo’s military regulations that demanded individual sacrifice in the name of the nation.

The wartime commemoration of Rikyu’s seppuku gave militarists an ideological text that could be appropriated to justify the divine right of Japan to unify East Asia. Rikyu was no longer merely a historical man of tea conjured in anecdotes, a legendary embodiment of tea values, and a set of aesthetic preferences present in the tea rooms of Meiji and Taisho sukisha and Showa grand tea gatherings; his legacy of tea values was to be subsumed into the larger narrative of the nation. As Chapter 9 suggests, dominant versions of this larger narrative of the nation emphasise the cultural sphere as the keystone of national identity while denying any link between aesthetics, politics and economics.

In Japan today, there exists a conscious will to enhance cultural heritage, which is of value as a representation of Japanese culture in the archipelago and abroad. The constant stream of important people (ambassadors, prime ministers, presidents, etc.) in Konnichian, the headquarters of the Urasenke school in Kyoto

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\(^5\) The two gatherings are: the Showa Kitano Ochanoyu Kinen Okenchakai,昭和北野茶湯記念大祭茶会, (October 8th - 12th 1936) commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Kitano Ochanoyu, an event thought to have given a national prominence to wabi cha (Hisamatsu 1993, p.23); and the Rikyu 350 Nenki Ochakai 利休350年忌大茶会, (April 21st - 23rd 1940) commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyu’s death.
attest to the official character of this heritage (Guichard-Anguis 2000, p.110).

Major players in "the subtle subvention of popular cultural traditions to the national(ist) cause" (Bhabha 1997, p.433), one strategy of which is a silencing of any link between aesthetics, politics and economics, include the Kyoto custodians of tea traditions.

Cinema's resistant and reactionary framing of the nation: Jidai geki

For activist film makers like Kumai, the history drama, jidai geki, has a problematic pedigree. This should not imply that the genre has an immutable reactionary bias or that individual film makers are incapable of subverting the surface grammar of the genre. While its feudal themes and settings implicate it in nationalist discourses that may justify current social inequalities, filmmakers working in this genre could, in the manner of Shakespeare's historical plays, use temporal distance as an obliquely critical strategy to circumvent censorship. This retreat into the past as a form of resistance can be ineffective. The experience of Kobayashi Hideo, author of a series of essays written during the war and published as Miyo to i n Koto ('Transience' 1946), suggests that attempts to criticise present excesses by romanticising a purer more authentic past may simply be coopted to deepen the rhetorical foundation of the current regime. Once a text is publicly disseminated, sincerity of authorial intention does not guarantee textual reception in the mode preferred by its creator, and its 'meaning' will be increasingly determined by a whole barrage of private, historical, national, and intertextual contexts beyond the author's control or anticipation. Kobayashi's work on transience may have been intended to convey "This madness will pass" but the military government's control of the cultural sphere through the "Dai-Nippon Bungaku Hokokukai (Japanese Literature Patriotic Association) and the Dai-Nippon Genron Hokokukai (Japanese Journalism Patriotic Association)" (Ienaga 1978, p.123) took this resistant position and appropriated it to serve the national good: "You are all
expendable in the name of the Emperor." This sort of textual drift became more probable after the 1934 “Rationale for the proposed establishment of a National Policy on Film” which saw in film’s integration of information and education a power more convincing than formal schooling. This recognition of the internal and international propaganda value of film was the basis for an argument that “it is necessary to guide and control the film industry, which has up till now been left without positive guidance or control and been guided purely by the profit motive. It is impossible to depend on private companies alone to project a positive image of Japan abroad” (Genzai Shishiryō, vol. 40, p.263, quoted in Freiberg 1987, p.78).

Examining Sato’s observations highlights the problems the jidai geki posed for Kumai, and how the postwar genre evolved after the lifting of wartime government control of the cultural sphere. Sato notes that while “Kobayashi’s concept of evanescence (mujo-kan) was the most influential ideology during World War II” (Sato 1982, p.224), the distant past depicted meant that these jidai geki gave no direct support to Greater East Asia rhetoric, and the portrayal of an aestheticised historical accuracy was even regarded as progressive. Conventional uses of the genre may continue to have a psychological relevance for contemporary audiences because they were “depicting characters who find themselves in adverse situations and have to cope, whether gallantly, ineptly, or desperately” (Sato 1982, p.46). However, beyond the comfort of this psychological identification and a probable choice between a vicarious combination of admiration, superiority or sympathy is a deeper, more bestial terror. It is this element of the jidai geki that renders the genre problematic to film makers like Kumai who are constructing an alternative to the state centred narrative, and who sometimes invert the hierarchical relationship between individual and nation by foregrounding the mechanics of narrative construction to expose silences and contradictions in the official narrative. What is terrifying about jidai geki is how they “thematically … negated the antiestablishment and escapist tendencies of the nihilistic and liberal period dramas, stressing instead the idea of compliance with the times and the theme of the Japanese people as
a fated, common body. They portrayed individual destinies as mere ripples on
the great wave of history" (Sato 1982, p.43). As small splashes in the great
ocean of East Asia, individuals were rendered by jidai geki in the same manner
as Meiji Genji texts: expendable in the service of Emperor and nation.

Sato captures how the jidai geki was put into national service around the time
of the formation of the National Policy on Film. Given the scope of national
ambition, and considering how commodified cultural practices like tea
expanded those horizons as individuals fashioned their selves along the lines of
the dominant national culture, the jidai geki was both a persuasive contributing
cause and a seductive psychological remedy. This element of representative
culture was both responsible for and necessary to

all those Japanese who, in spite of their lack of strength, put on a
bold face and went off to the Sino-Japanese and Pacific Wars. In
those dark days both the strong, who in reality were few in number,
and the weak calmly acknowledged their combined weakness. It
was believed that as long as there were those who, despite their
weakness, were willing to submit their all to the highest good, it
was possible for Japan to restore order to the world. This was a
terrifying, savage way of thinking and the exact opposite of
humanism. However, rooted in the darkest desires of people, it had
the power to captivate them at a time when the outer veneer of
civilization was being stripped away (Sato 1982, p.44).

Abe draws on Todorov’s 1984 distinction between sacrifice violence and
massacre violence to note that the “former makes a spectacle of society’s
power over its members, while the latter threatens to reveals its essential
contradictions and weaknesses; in cinema sacrifice violence is aestheticised,
while massacre violence must remain hidden from the screens” (Abe 1992,
p.153). Later sections of this chapter identify the ways in which Kumai’s film
problematicises this distinction between sacrifice violence and massacre violence.

The direct representation of sacrifice violence is found mostly in fiction films. Feature filmmaking allowed vast control over lighting, camera movement, and special effects, enabling filmmakers to aestheticize death. Furthermore, sacrifice requires heroes, and the melodrama of fiction film sets the stage for individuals to face death bravely with wonderful music and blazing special effects (Abe 1992, p.155).

Given the ideological baggage embedded in the genre’s heritage, content, and monumental style (Davis 1996), how does Kumai resolve this challenge to his preference for exposing the counterfactual elements of the narrative of the nation? How are the social processes of producing the film’s meaning used to minimise the risk of “complicity with the conventions it subjects to critique” (Baron 1998, p.39)? How useful is the category of villain film for understanding Kumai’s critique of tea’s status as a self appointed representative of Japanese cultural uniqueness?

The following section shows how the film adopts Tenbruck’s strategy and locates tea discourse in representative culture, a configuration that insisted on the primacy of the nation over the individual. Beyond mapping Rikyu’s importance for tea practitioners, I argue that the film insists on Rikyu’s utility to the dominant interests of the state. The film is a considered response to the state’s ideological application of the aesthetic sphere. This includes creating a fatalistic Japanese identity through coercive interpretations of Genji reinforced by the visual propaganda of sensoga (Cross 2000b).
Film as history: Tea’s aesthetic of seppuku and cherry blossoms

The film is a reflexive history that questions our received knowledge of Rikyu. It subverts the genre’s formulaic insistence on the neat illusion of history unfolding. It does this thematically, structurally, and by “inviting the spectator to disassemble and displace the homogenizing effects of sync sound film making” (Waller 1997, p.262). A complex structure of embedded flashbacks which integrate a highly modulated combination of visual elements (integrating a switch from monochrome to colour, slow motion, and the dissynchronisation of sound and image) draws the viewer’s willing suspension of disbelief to two points. First, an awareness of the mechanism of film, and second, the contingent and dialectical nature of the film’s narrative. In addition to expanding jidai geki conventions of theme, structure and visual style, certain elements of archival history are reconfigured to support the meta-historical aspects of the film, including its comments on the role of the authentic in cultural transmission.

Despite the impression created by the English title, ‘Death of a Tea Master’, thematically the subject matter is not the death and life of Rikyu. By setting the film 27 years after the death of Rikyu, there is a focus on the formation of the Rikyu legend. The English rendering of Sen no Rikyu: Honkakubo Ibun as ‘Death of a Tea Master’ is in one sense an effective substitute for a more direct translation because it gives those not literate in Japanese history some of the general knowledge of Japanese audiences. With this title, there can be no slickly edited heightening and release of tension because Rikyu’s death is a public fact. However, what is lost in the English title is the sense that what we are watching is an image of the written account of Honkakubo, a document that remains long after its author has gone. James T. Araki in his translation of the first chapter of Inoue’s novel captures this nuance with the title Memoirs of Monk Honkaku (Inoue 1990). This omission from the film title is regrettable because the principal thematic concern of the film is the connection between event, second-hand hearsay, and myth. The film examines the relationship
between a real or reported event and its subsequent representation in tea history as a precursor to being co-opted into the larger narrative of the nation. Anecdotes are an integral part of tea pedagogy (Cross 1998a), and their use as structure confirms that cultural transmission is among the film’s major concerns.

Honkakubo’s status as the authoritative repository of Rikyu folklore is constructed and confirmed in the film by the persistent questioning about the manner of Rikyu’s death by Uraku, Rikyu’s grandson Sotan, and Furuta Oribe. The Rikyu legend is primarily determined by the pathological fascination of the film Uraku with the seppuku of Rikyu, Yamanoue Soji and Furuta Oribe, and the role of seppuku as the ultimate signifier of an authentic chajin, “man of tea”. It is in the shadow of this obsession that the ramifications of the earlier comments about the ideological use of Genji to establish a lethal link between death, beauty, and national service to an ideal resonate with the film’s examination of the Rikyu legend in terms of the connection between seppuku and the ideological use of the four seasons.

Combining Sato’s earlier analysis of Kumai’s explicit concern with the fable of the nation with Sakai’s 1997 overview of the mechanics of an aesthetic death in the name of the nation suggests a similarity between Rikyu’s resoluteness toward his own death and the sacrifice demanded of wartime Japanese citizens, including the current Urasenke Grand Master who was a member of a special attack unit.52

52 The relevant quotation from Chapter 5 follows: “There is no doubt that, during the fifteen-year war (1931-45), “dissolving into the whole” immediately suggested the physical erasure of the self or kyoshi, which could mean one’s own death. The slogan ichioku gyokusai or “the total suicidal death of one hundred million,” another version of “the final solution,” was propagated all over Japanese territories toward the end of the Second World War, and, in view of the manner in which Watsuji conceptualized authenticity in his ethics, it was no coincidence that the final moment of the total suicidal death was imagined as the aesthetic experience of ultimate communion. Death was appropriated into an experience in which one dissolved and got integrated into the body of the nation: death was transformed into the imagined experience of togetherness and camaraderie; the resoluteness toward one’s own death was translated into the resoluteness toward identification with the totality. Death was consequently aestheticized so that it could mediate and assimilate one’s personal identity into national identity. Finally, the nation was
In the flashback to their final tea, Rikyu rejects Hideyoshi's denial that Rikyu's seppuku is necessary. When Hideyoshi requests another bowl of tea, Rikyu refuses the request and thanks Hideyoshi for the gift of seppuku as an opportunity to understand the real meaning of "person of tea". In contrast to Rikyu's embrace of seppuku as a Phryric retort to determinism, an action we may understand as his attempt to reassert control over his own actions, Ura's anxiety about his inadequacy as a man of tea centres on his untimely failure to achieve an authentic death. Rather than living an individual sense of tea values, the film Ura is convinced that authenticity is mediated by the external authority of tradition.

According to the film Ura's compulsive interest, the bloodstained yardstick of Momoyama period (1568-1600) tea of Rikyu, Yamanoue Soji and Furuta Oribe, who all died by seppuku, demands "the blind submission of the individual to totality through the logic of communalist identification" (Sakai 1997, p.101). In the film, this trinity of the brotherhood of seppuku gather for a tense terse discussion about the ramifications of a hanging scroll's meaning: death 'or nothingness'. The silent conclusive nod that ends the exchange can be read as a shared preference to chose a seppuku death that elevates agency rather than melting into nothingness. The film suggests that seppuku was the rite of entry into this community of ultimate aesthetes, and Sakai's comment from a different context neatly summarises Ura's experience of Rikyu's death as his incorporation into the history of tea and the nation.

It should be mentioned that this is a retrospective imagining, from the viewpoint of one who missed the opportunity of "dying in time," of the death one could have died. But it is because of the retrospective time inherent in this imagining, which is almost

turned into the community of destiny (unmei kyodotai) toward death. To use Watsui's vocabulary, absolute negativity equals absolute totality and was internalized into the finite totality of the nation-state. In this sense, the absolute totality lost its transcendence and infinity and became "expressible." Watsui's ethics of nakayoshi (being on good terms) transformed itself into the ethics of ichioku gyokusai (the total suicidal death of one hundred million)" (Sakai 1997, pp.101-102).
always accompanied by some sense of guilt as well as the yearning for assimilation into the whole, that one’s death can be thematicised as sacrificial devotion that is believed to serve to integrate a part (an individual) into the whole (the nation) (Sakai 1997, p.201).

Sakai’s reading of the collapse of Watsui’s ethics of good companionship into a nationalised aesthetic death implies that the global “Peacefulness through a bowl of tea” campaign is implicated in the sorts of coercive discourses of the nation that reigned during the early Showa period. Tearoom camaraderie, with its vicarious participation in questions surrounding Rikyu’s annihilation, reads as a metaphor for embracing the nation. In the film seppuku is the authentic chajin death; for spectators it signifies the cost of wartime citizenship.

Implicit in this argument for tea’s contribution to the national identification with the community of unnatural death is the claim that Meiji literature, Showa painting, and Meji, Showa and Heisei tea practices constitute a set of intertexts because of their collective celebration of transience as an essentially Japanese destiny: “The Japanese hate to see death met irresolutely and lingerly; they desire to be blown away like the cherries before the wind, and no doubt this Japanese attitude towards death must have gone very well with Zen” (Suzuki 1997, pp.84–5). Beyond this thematic unity, these texts constitute a group because they are examples of how “propagandists using pretended traditionalism to legitimate and mystify a thoroughly contemporary centralized and bureaucratic state” (Ellwood 1999, p.208). While the film addresses the cultural manipulation of national identity, I am not speculating that Kumai has responded to individual literary and visual works referred to in earlier sections of this chapter. I am proposing “an intertextuality that does not require a specific familiarity with the singular texts involved, but is a reading that occurs between texts” (Kraidy 1998, p.56).
While the film is recognisable as the sort of rekishi-eiga valorised by Hasegawa Nyozekan as effective propaganda for Japan’s “Culture of Feeling” (Anderson & Richie 1982, p.129), in documenting the minutiae of Rikyu’s artistic activities, it also implies a student relationship for the tea student viewer. The film contains a model of an authentic Person of Tea, and the business of selecting bamboo and fashioning hana ire, flower container, are important activities for tea practitioners. By extension, the film, in exercising its considerable “ability to mobilise public sentiments, rehearse national myths and identities and produce a favourable self-image to the world” (Bell 1999, p.200) proposes to domestic and international audiences that an idealised sensitivity to nature and the four seasons is a cornerstone of Japanese identity. Rosenberger outlines how this ideological construction of nature functions politically in naturalising a gendered and conservative acceptance of the established social order:

By learning flower-arranging and tea ceremony, higher-class women could teach the future leaders of Japan the way of nature: the obedience, calmness, perseverance and malleability that ideal nature taught (Rosenberger 1997, p.153).

Framing the film as a biography makes the structure of sequential editing more apparent and foregrounds Teshigahara’s integration of the various versions of history, his plotting of Rikyu’s fall from favour, and the consequent necessity of psychologically pitting Rikyu against Hideyoshi as one way to support the art-politics distinction proposed by the film’s opening moments.

The following summary indicates how the whole film is driven by the closure of Rikyu’s death. It starts with Rikyu at the peak of his career, publicly acclaimed as the foremost tea practitioner and teaching Hideyoshi privately. It then flashes back to when, according to Watsky (1995), he was a mere leading member of the tea community who was held in less regard than Imai Sokyu, and chronicles his fall by foregrounding the intrigues of one of Cadwallader’s
so-called hawks, Ishida Mitsunari. The film's final image is Rikyu walking into
the storm lashed bamboo grove where he supposedly kills himself, and then the
following white text scrolls onto the black screen.

On February 28 1591
Rikyu committed ritual suicide.
But his way of tea
influenced the nation forever.
Hideyoshi died six years later
during his invasion of Korea (Teshigahara 1989).

This ending can be read as the film's conclusion on its own proposal of a
binary distinction between art and politics. The existence of the film as an
object of considerable artistry, endowed with a 1989 film prize, almost
guarantees that the aesthetic is valorised as enduring and immortal. In the two
incidents in the plot that specifically address the issue of how the aesthetic
serves the political, the comment is more ambiguous.

The first is Hideyoshi's order for Rikyu to build a golden tea room. This idea
comes to Hideyoshi when he sees the delight of those characterised by Davis as
the "treacherous Portuguese Jesuits" (Davis 1996, p.247) who have come to
Japan to proselytise and profit from the international gun trade, when presented
with the spectacle of gold amassed by Hideyoshi. Rikyu encourages Hideyoshi
as he serves tea to the Emperor. As the following extract from Chronological
Tables prepared by Suzy Sloan Jones suggests, the golden tea room was
important for Hideyoshi as a means of validating his military authority with a
patina acceptable to the delicate imperial sensibilities, and as a seductively
powerful extension of the battlefield in solving regional disputes like those
involving Sorin.46

46 See Watsky 1995 and Cross 1998a for a fuller account of the latter.
1585 Hideyoshi sponsors a program of Noh at the imperial palace in celebration of his appointment to kampaku. Assisted by Sen no Rikyu, he entertains the Emperor Ogimachi at a tea ceremony in the imperial palace (October).

1586 Hideyoshi visits the imperial palace and displays his portable golden tearoom to the emperor; he entertains Otomo Sorin in the same tearoom at Osaka Castle (Hickman 1996, p.305).

If there is an expectation that the aesthetic is valorised as superior to the political, it is rather intriguing that the film suggests the idea for this legendary tea room came not from Rikyu but from Hideyoshi.

The second incident concerns the possible use of tea as a tool of political assassination. I have commented elsewhere on the masterful creation of suspense in the scene where Ieyasu may have been in danger of experiencing the tea room as a close substitute for the battlefield (Cross 1998a). On further reflection, it even appears almost shocking that Rikyu asks Ieyasu a question as he is about to drink Rikyu’s tea, given that the whole reason for the elaborate preparation of food and utensils is to ensure the guest’s profound appreciation at that very instant of partaking.

I would like to turn to the question of the film’s production. Ashton’s prose is not clear on whether the cooperation of the Grand Masters of the Houses of Sen as advisers actually meant they were more than mute observers of how their ancestor was being represented to the global cinema audience.

Rikyu’s often silent presence at momentous events in the film leaves a trace of suspicion in the viewer’s mind, as Testigahara leads him to his first crisis of conscience when he is directed by Hideyoshi to poison a rival daimyo, Ieyasu, and Rikyu tacitly refuses. This crucial scene was filmed again and again, always in
the presence of advisers from Urasenke who monitored each gesture. Teshigahara restrained the actors so that the scene had a slow, almost ritualistic character and focused on the importance of objects, as he had done so often in his previous films, most particularly the objet d'art containing the poison (Ashton 1997, p.158).

The overstatement in Ashton's description points to how art mirrors history. Just as Cadwallader emphasises that the assertion of Hideyoshi's order Rikyu to commit suicide is a speculative stroke, in the film it is not clear that Hideyoshi tells Rikyu to poison Ieyasu during the serving of tea. In the film, it is Ishida Mitsunari 石田三成, 1560-1600 that strongly advocates the use of poison confiscated from a recently executed Christian; Hideyoshi's expression appears deliberately vague. This presentation of the inherent ambiguity of historical incidents like this in the film brings to mind Anderson's comment about the paucity of documents written by Rikyu which record the details of his tea practice and its philosophical underpinnings, and how tea anecdotes fill this factual vacuum: "Our stories order our world, providing the mimetic and mythical structures for experience" (de Certeau 1984, p.87). Custody of Rikyu anecdotes as part of the Houses of Sen pedagogy amounts to a significant form of cultural capital; this imaginative register is the foundation for the discursive formation of tea knowledge and power.

As a Japanese period drama, the film collapses the distinctions between public and private, and information and entertainment. This occurs as the film integrates the written scholarly record with the more anecdotal accounts heard in Sen tearooms. It is in this selective interpretation of histories that the film establishes its own authority, and the overlapping slippage from historical to documentary to anecdotal to period drama occurs in the film's opening moments when the following white titles appear on the black screen:
This is the story of the duel
between art and politics,
of the beliefs of one man
against the ambitions of another.
In 16th century Japan
under a new ruling class,
the arts were flourishing
and at the center ...
the tea ceremony.
A film by Hiroshi Teshigahara
Dedicated to Sofu Teshigahara
Isamu Noguchi (Teshigahara 1989).

Viewers are positioned by Teshigahara’s film making as witnesses to the
unfolding of history, and Rikyu’s tea is represented as being at the centre of
sixteenth century Japanese commercial and military activities. The visual, aural
and psychological pleasures created and satisfied by the sumptuous nature of
the film experience represent the film itself as worthy of our viewing attention.
These private viewing pleasures assume a public significance as the film
presents itself as an image of idealised Japanese identity, a representation
supported by nationalist discourse. The intellectual, commercial and cultural
capital required to produce this aesthetically impressive advertisement for a
specific version of Japanese cultural practices implicitly implies a certain
persuasive authority. This presentation of a historical interpretation becomes
accepted as a source of public information because of the seductive pragmatics
of its transmission by film and video technology. This is reinforced by the
multiple investments of power and desire by the cultural capitalists involved in
the film’s production.

We are presented with an idealised representation of historical individuals and
events are lead by Teshigahara’s combination of cinematic elements (editing,
composition and framing of shots) to accept the validity of certain cause and
effect relationships, and an implied cluster of value hierarchies (aesthetic/political, individual/social). The plot functions as a context for a debate on the relative values of these issues, and this underpins the psychological conflict between the duelling personalities of tea-master Rikyu and Hideyoshi, war lord, patron and student of tea.

Distinctions between the genres of biography and jidai geki are collapsed by “the habit of conflating human culture with the lives of extraordinary individuals” (Sommer 1998, p.110). Kouvaros asserts that the “significance of biographies ... has less to do with what they tell us (or don’t tell us) about their subjects. Their significance resides ... in the way they mark the end point in the canonisation of their subject” (Kouvaros 1998, p.113). In the popular imagination, Rikyu’s canonisation occurred at the precisely the point Anderson claims it does not: his death. His extraordinary achievements were validated with the belief that his aesthetics were redolent with strategic commercial and military concerns, and that these values, in the context of the narrative of the nation, were worthy of the ultimate sacrifice. The simplistic reduction by tea anecdotes of the complexity of the Rikyu subjectivity is a necessary step in the process of designating his tea activities as worthy of supporting the national mantle. As an example of Davis’s monumental style, the film glorifies the death of Rikyu by reminding the viewer of the primary legacy of Rikyu. His gift is not merely the development of innovations which have since frozen into an orthodoxy that valorises an image of life four hundred years ago. Instead it is the pliable nature of the texts that represented his life. In the course of becoming a pillar of orthodoxy, Rikyu’s life has been subject to extreme textual drift. As an earlier chapter suggested, during the 1930s his legacy was invoked to create support for the expansionist activities of the militarist government. One generation later his endowment includes the “Peacefulness through a Bowl of Tea” campaign.
Tea film, tea practice: the critical power of voice-over

In earlier work, I drew attention to how Sen patronage had both enabled and constrained English language tea scholarship (Cross 1998a). I would now like to address that question in terms of how Teshigahara’s film comments on the current institutionalisation of Sen tea practices.

Given the film’s embrace of the notion of the authentic and the questions emerging from Ashton’s account of the cooperation of the Houses of Sen, the assessment is obliquely removed from the narrative driven by Rikyu’s fall. Nonetheless it can be read as a critical review of current tea pedagogy and practices when contrasted with the lived experience of tea students.

Teshigahara employs the device of the disembodied voice-over to have the voice of Rikyu cross four centuries of the institutionalisation of tea practice. While the disembodied voice-over attributes to Rikyu a youthful omniscience, it also allows Teshigahara to provide tea practitioners with the means to contrast their own experience as provincial consumers of tea orthodoxy with one representation of that highly contested construction, the real spirit of tea. In the language of reflective technologies of the self like action research, this slip out of the willing suspension of disbelief is an emancipatory moment because it allows students of tea to sense something of the cost to the core values of tea of its institutionalisation into an ossified pedagogy.

The disembodied voice-over accompanies a sequence of five shots that constitute two scenes. Visually, the film distances itself from its principal concerns with tea rooms and the court with a transition shot of a stream. It then cuts to a closeup of the young Catholic priest Stefano before panning away to a midshot of Rikyu and his assistant as they walk through a sparse scrub of small trees. In the next shot, all three are walking slowly, inspecting trees which Rikyu rejects as inappropriate. In the last shot of the first scene, all three descend to drink water from a stream and Rikyu washes the perspiration from his face. In contrast to the sunlit images of moving through the landscape, the
second scene is much less dynamic in terms of on-screen and camera movement. It is one static long shot of a much darker forest scene with the more monumental presence of a mature stand of trees. Amidst this epic silhouette, the movement of three almost insignificant figures, the last one carrying a tree trunk, is barely discernible. These two scenes are the visual background for the following dialogue between Stefano, Rikyu and his assistant, and the second scene starts with Stefano’s comment about the spiritual content of tea.

Stefano: What does it mean “A fine horse tied to a straw house?”
Rikyu: How would you interpret it, Stefano?
Stefano: Straw houses represent poverty
But tea-ware is expensive.
So it’s a bit like a luxurious game.
Rikyu: Not at all.
The richness is not in the humble tea-house
But in the spirits of those who sit there.
That’s what it means.
Stefano: So what we are talking about is richness of the spirit.
Rikyu: A narrow mind cannot open the door to tea.
Stefano: The tea-ceremony was a great spiritual adventure for me.
Rikyu’s assistant: Will you continue it back home?
Stefano: Yes, but the ceremony is difficult.
Rikyu: Don’t take it too seriously.
It is good to let things happen.
The true way of tea is without expectation (Teshigahara 1989).

It is significant that Rikyu is discussing the meaning of tea’s precepts with a foreigner because this dialogue’s explicitly pedagogical content naturalises the idea that certain cultural practices privilege those with a particular birthright. Stefano’s ethnicity also raises the issue of tea’s international commodification and its self-presentation as the quintessential Japanese practice. As an
emancipatory moment, this dialogue equips the tea practitioner with several criteria with which to assess their participation in the codification of tea practice.

The first point is the contrast between wabi’s aesthetic of poverty that cherishes the well worn and the market premium that these pieces command. The dialogue appears to reassert the centrality of practitioner intention, while devaluing the provenance fetish and the Grand Master’s lucrative hakogaki practice (literally box writing, the signature of the Grand Master identifies on the lid of a tea ware box designates that piece as an authentic item of merit) which is the principal mechanism for maintaining and increasing the value of tea utensils.

The second point concerns the commodification of tea practice. The dialogue’s metaphor of tea’s open door can be extended to argue that the institutionalisation of tea has changed that door into a toll road. Progress is mediated by the licensing system with progressively higher fees for more advanced levels of practice. One of the Grand Master’s responsibilities is to ensure the purity of the tradition and this can be achieved by using his soden powers to authoritatively rule on what practices and which practitioners are appropriate for official tea displays.

The third point concerns the difficulty of tea practice referred to by Stefano. It can be understood as referring to more than the contemporaneous study of tea. Based on my own tea classroom experience, it transparently suggests the attention to perfect form, and increasingly rigid control of higher levels of tea practice that characterises institutionalised tea pedagogy.

The fourth point concerns the place of spontaneity in tea practice. If the real way of tea relies on absence of expectation as the means to advance, then the paralysing insistence on orthodox tea practice that is currently its pedagogical foundation represents a systemic obstacle to students graduating from endless
cycles of formulaic repetition. Spontaneity is the perogerative of the Grand Master. For others elsewhere, there is a choice between following the official guidelines or facing the possibility of being banished under the Grand Master’s fukatsu soden powers.

Tea pedagogy aims to naturalise certain behavioural norms: orthodox ways of acting, reacting, constructing experience and valuing utensils. Karada de oboeru, literally to remember with the body, is a central tenet of tea pedagogy. When received uncritically, this exhortation enlivens the desire of the student to become the embodiment of the tea tradition. By directing the student’s attention to their body, the guardians of that tradition ensure that a range of practices which naturalise their authority to determine what is considered authentic tea are valorised. As the following comment suggests, the end result of tea pedagogy is a student who has internalised this extremely mannered way of experiencing the four seasons of the world and can perform this embodied knowledge in an apparently unrehearsed way.

There is a contradiction between the requirement of expected behaviour and spontaneity (in Japanese culture as in most other cultures), but this contradiction is solved by training to behave ‘spontaneously’ (without thinking) according to expectations. For human beings this means that s/he must be thoroughly socialized, that is instructed or cultivated, so that the expected behaviour can be performed seemingly devoid of artificiality (Kalland & Asquith 1997, p.12).

In examining the implications of the doctrine of Japan’s four seasons for identity formation, Ackermann poses the following rhetorical question: “is the ideology of nature as visualization of a universal Principle not safely in the hands of that stratum of Japanese society that has an interest in creating pliable and dependent personalities?” (Ackermann 1997, p.52). This question is an important one because it foregrounds the possibility that the cultural
construction of four seasons may perform significant ideological work. Kramer suggests that the “majority of practitioners are members of a group who derive pleasure and meaning from membership in a social organization” (Kramer 1985, p.189), and presumably these individuals are a significant presence among those who subordinate their own vision to the slavish performance of textbook-perfect orthodox tea practices. Anderson observes the “ideal student is born to the world of Tea with only a willingness to learn and an unquestioning respect for the authority of the teacher” (Anderson 1987, p.476). This learner profile offers a clue as to how tea pedagogy distinguishes between legitimate and illegitimate desiring subjects (Scott 1994, p.369). The corporeal emphasis in tea pedagogy requires the willing suspension of scepticism towards discourses of authority.

Despite the extent to which these insights may imply an answer to Ackermann in the affirmative, it would be a mistake to underestimate the agency of tea practitioners as they proceed with their hierarchal movement through tea’s organizational structure. Mori (1992) notes that women are empowered by the experience of persisting with tea study. Through tea women learn “how to control the body (to move gracefully, to be well balanced); how to control a situation (physically - what objects to put into the room, and socially - how to manage the human interaction in the room); how to feel self-confident” (Mori 1992, p.93). These skills are useful to all tea students outside the tearoom and help shape a certain type of persona, characterised by a heightened sense of the now. This can be observed in a sensitivity to the instant of nature, or a cherishing of social contacts as once in a lifetime possibilities.

As the Grand Master of the Urasenke School, Sen Soshitsu has a vested interest in the systematic formation of a particular subjectivity through tea pedagogy. The use of hierarchal relationships throughout the Urasenke constellation appears to have been a successful technique for reinforcing the authority of a fifteenth generation tradition. His following remarks suggest that the creation
of an apparently intuitive spontaneity is something achieved because of having embodied some of Urasenke tea’s conventional ways of behaving.

As I was busy working I felt the wish for a cup of tea. Just as if my thoughts had been read, a lady opened the door and brought me some tea. That was perfect timing and ... I felt thankfulness in the depth of my heart ...

I had not noticed the heating being fully on until I felt I was perspiring. Just as that moment the door opened slightly and a young lady remarked, ‘It is hot, isn’t it?’ The lady opened the window a little for me ...

Timing means careful observation of the movements of others, becoming one with others ... When I asked [those who understand how to become one with others] whether they were trained in the tea ceremony [that is, by implication, trained in the observation of nature], the answer was ‘yes’ (Sen 1977, p.202, 204) (Ackermann 1997, p.41[emendations are his]).

Sen’s representation of spontaneity conceals the praxis that makes it possible (de Certeau 1986, p.203). This valorising of the apparently natural impulse (“as if my thoughts had been read”) as an appropriate example of expected behaviour conceals the extent to which a spontaneous action like this is the product of intensive self fashioning along the lines of certain conventions. These conventions are not innocent commonplaces, they are part of a systematic world view that divides the world into those that have been taught how to act spontaneously according to Urasenke rules and those who do not. Kondo suggests how the co-existence of the hospitality impulse with this division of the world into us and them is sustained by the orthodox notion of “proper form.”
The theory is that mere good intentions are insufficient; one must know the proper form in order to express one's feelings of hospitality effectively. … It is important to note the representation of a mental state by an action, and the performative aspect involved: performing these actions is as good as having the right attitude, for it should induce the right attitude (Kondo 1985, pp. 288, 301).

If the true way of tea is without expectation as Teshigahara's Rikyu comment asserts, the question then arises, how is this state of being without expectation to be embodied? Given the global rhetoric of the Peacefulness through a bowl of tea campaign, it appears ironic that the right attitude can only be achieved by following Urasenke rules. It is precisely the repetitive insistence of remember with the body that produces a lack of spontaneity at weekly tea practice and official tea displays. Given that the apparent robustness of the tradition evident in these public exhibitions of orthodoxy requires a certain psychology (Kramer 1985) and a particular learning style (Anderson 1987), the claim to universality of this codification of the hospitality impulse does appear to be problematicised.

Of the four issues raised by the voice-over dialogue, this final point seems to have the most substantial merit as a criticism of tea practice and the Sen attempt to depoliticise, codify, and commodify the aesthetic sphere, and it seems appropriate that this point is made in the second scene when the camera is firmly anchored in the dark depths of the forest, safely removed from the corridors of power.

**No final position: othering the self**

In placing cinematic representations of tea practice in national discourses of cultural production, reception and transmission, I have outlined ways in which viewers are implicated in the on screen spectacle. If the cultural identity of the
viewer is reaffirmed by Rikyu, there is an identification with that representation of a sacramentalised Japanese nationality. Given that this film purports to be a national aesthetic packaged for international consumption, viewers whose cultural identity is not reaffirmed by the film are encouraged to accept an aesthetic identification with the otherness of Japanese material culture.

Given that conventional notions of Japaneseness are based on the trinity of ethnicity, language and culture, I would like to qualify the placement of the film in national discourses of cultural production, reception and transmission. My interest in multiple subjectivities structured by competing discourses compels me to deconstruct simplistic notions of in and out group. One autoethnographic point this thesis makes is the possession of particular forms of intellectual and symbolic capital made possible by a critical perspective does render some aspects of cultural boundaries permeable. The wider critical intent of my project of acquiring tea culture literacy is to test the claim that culture has no citizenship.

One problematic question with the reaffirmation of the cultural identity of the viewer is the problem of how to quantify this affective response. However, rather than engage this methodological point, I am more concerned with how the issue of the reaffirmation of the cultural identity of the viewer operates an arena to expose the ideological connections between ethnicity, language and culture. Urban Japanese with no first-hand experience of tea culture may be able to identify with the cultural spectacle of the film because of personal associations that may include grandparent anecdotes from a period when tea was an element of family practices. Among urban Japanese a more common example of the reaffirmation of the cultural identity of the viewer might simply be a seduction by the film's configuring of genres like period drama and documentary with viewing practices associated with "willing suspension of disbelief" realism. This form of identification would then be a nostalgic recognition of the otherness of sixteenth century masculinist warrior culture as a cultural form of "the changing same" (Gilroy 1994). This imagination of the
Cinema as Meta-history and the Politics of Sen co-operation

Hara Kazuo outlines how the participation of the House of Sen was not unconditional co-operation (1989, pp.94–95). Their request to avoid a realistic depiction of Rikyu’s seppuku, while negating the value of the meeting between actor Mifune and an unnamed seppuku researcher, resulted in the film gaining an additional metahistorical significance. The film’s concerns expand from issues of what constitutes the authentic and questions of cultural transmission in the context of tea. The expressionist use of the almost monochrome sakura sequence breaks the film out of its discourse of tea anecdotes into the fable of the nation. Instead of the blazing special effects referred to earlier by Abe, Kumai used giant fans to propel cherry petals.

In accommodating the Sen desire to respect their internal taboo, Kumai and Hara link seppuku and cherry blossoms, and this gives the film its contemporary resonance to postwar audiences. This reading of the film is consistent with Sato’s earlier comments on the militaristic pursuit of economic development requiring fanatical kamikaze devotion to duty.

The following paragraphs, while not aspiring to a cultural history of sakura as a symbol of the individual sacrifices demanded by the Japanese polity, 国体 kokutai, or denying readings of cherry blossoms as symbols of peace, will offer a brief overview of seppuku and sakura in militarist discourses of the nation.

Sakura Kai was established in October 1930 with the expressed purpose of reconstructing the nation (kokka), and this group openly advocated the violent use of force (Gyousei 1987a, pp.70–71). From 1933 to 1940 elementary school textbooks began with “saita, saita, sakura ga saita” (it has blossomed, it has blossomed, the cherry tree has blossomed) and was followed by text like “susume, susume, hetai susume” (advance, advance, soldier advance)” and “hinomaru hata, banzai banzai” (hinomaru flag, banzai banzai) (Gyousei 1987a, p.110). The sakura motif also appears in the seppuku-related activities
of the Shinou Dan (Let’s Die Group). Seppuku was used as a protest against
government oppression of Nichiren Kai which was established in 1928. One
prominent member, a thirty two year old with the family name Eigawa,
changed his given name to include the sakura character. Certain members of
Shinou Dan formed a specialist group 血盟桜花団 and took up the cry “Waga
sokoku no tame ni shinou! Waga shugi no tame ni shinou! Waga shuukyo no
tame ni shinou! Waga doushi no tame ni shinou!” (Let’s die for our country!
Let’s die for our policy! Let’s die for our religion! Let’s die for our
colleagues!) (Gyousei 1987b, pp.39, 47–49). Sakura 桜花 was taken as a name
by a special attack unit group (Iguchi & Nakajima 1951, pp.272–276), and
sakura featured in some of the death poems composed by special attack unit
group members. Consider how Captain Asakawa 浅川又之, who was 23 years
old when he died on April 6 1945, expresses his pleasure at dying for Japan
and anticipating going to heaven after scattering like sakura petals.

桜花と散り
桜花と散り 九段に還るを夢に見ず 鉄艦らん 我は征くなり

[Dreaming that I will scatter like cherry blossoms and return to the
ninth stage, I conquer the steel bridge.] (Muranaga 1989, p.46)

Kumai’s sakura sequence comments upon these uses of the sakura motif during
early Showa and its presence today. While it may be argued that some of these
elements are of questionable historical importance because of their wartime
brevity, it should not be forgotten that these elements remain part of public life
in Japan, and the film is concerned with the power of an authentic culture to
shape individual desire.

Structural outline: anecdotes as quotation marks

The film has four structural elements: Rikyu as legendary dream; Rikyu the
living legend, Honkakubo’s ‘present’; and the series of flashbacks with its
multiple narrators. These four levels are unified in Honkakubo's subjectivity, and the first two levels are musically marked using the same theme music. Borrowing Baron's analysis of The Player as a strong version of the postmodern film narrative, I would like to suggest that the complexity of these four structural elements, in particular the embedded flashbacks that are occasionally introduced and concluded by different narrators, and the film's meta-historical concerns allow us to categorise it as a relatively weaker but definitely postmodern film. Even as a moderate example of the postmodern film narrative, Kumai's film requires us to reconsider existing conceptions of suture, for it generates a type of postmodern pleasure that does not arise from identification with characters, the camera, or a reality present elsewhere, but instead occurs in the course of making one's one way through continually shifting levels of fiction (Baron 1998, p.22).

There are three appearances of Rikyu as legendary dream. Once past the opening titles of the film, almost monochrome shots of Daitokuji Daisenin lightly dusted with snow that implicate zen in the cherry blossom myth, the legendary dream level frames the rest of the film. The first dream segment is a black and white image of the elusiveness and impossibility of attaining the ideal of Rikyu. The rock garden of the title sequence has become a barren riverside where Honkakubo sees Rikyu ahead in the mist. Despite Rikyu's dismissive wave and imperative to return home, Honkakubo runs after his master in slow motion. The sound of his voice and his physical movements lose their synchronicity before he tumbles out of the frame. The second appearance of Rikyu as legendary dream occurs during Honkakubo's account of his final tea with Rikyu and is a variation of the image of Rikyu dissuading Honkakubo from following him.

The final dream collapses the initial division between the titles and dreaming the impossible dream of attaining Rikyuhood. Honkakubo's resolute movement
alone off into the mist as the titles roll down the screen can be read as a rejection of the constraints of institutionalised tea. This is the film’s closing image.

The second structural element is Rikyu the living legend. Rikyu the living legend appears three times. The first time is in response to the devotional rites and the questions of Honkakubo that arise from Honkakubo’s interrogation by Uraku about Rikyu’s seppuku. Rikyu’s appearance is heralded by what I would like to call the Rikyu theme music, and he appears first as a disembodied voice in the candlelit butsudan. As the funeral tablet then dissolves into the material form of Rikyu’s torso we are made conscious of the film mechanism. Rikyu proceeds to scold Honkakubo for asking questions about the details of the suffering that consumed Rikyu’s life. The second time Rikyu the living legend appears he is seated, waiting for Honkakubo to return after farewelling Uraku, and they both adjourn to the tea room where Rikyu outlines the decline of tea’s history. The final appearance of Rikyu the living legend occurs during Uraku’s deathbed scene. Honkakubo notices the sudden appearance of Rikyu and the next shot is a flashback. Rikyu is resplendent in white as he starts to commit seppuku.

The third structural element is Honkakubo’s ‘present’ and this is the junction point for other levels of the film. Honkakubo has sole access to Rikyu the legendary dream and Rikyu the living legend, and Honkakubo is the custodian of the oral tradition of Rikyu parables. Honkakubo curates the collection and has absolute authority on questions of “knowledge or belief concerning the nature of his [Rikyu’s] practice, even though the substance of that practice is essentially unknowable” (Kramer 1985, p.183).

One effect of four structural elements is to construct multiple versions of time because there is a combination of non-linear, linear and cyclical elements. The edited sequences of embedded flashbacks are obviously non-linear, and the repetition of the spectacle of Rikyu rejecting the attempts of his disciple to
follow him at the beginning and near the end of the film suggests a circular arrangement. At the same time, the changing seasons mark the passage of time, and as Uraku incrementally learns more about Rikyu's final justification there is a sense of moving towards understanding the reasons for Rikyu's seppuku. This implied closure is undercut as the film finishes with Honkakubo moving off to find his own way in the fog that consumed Rikyu. This open-ended endorsement of the merits of what Paolo Freire calls discovering the way by walking (Horton & Freire 1991) can be read as an alternative to the current institutionalisation of tea practice.

Qualifying the narrative

In Kumai's film, it is Honkakubo, the disciple who continues to converse with the deceased Rikyu, whose narration frames other accounts of past events. Honkakubo's use of the past tense is a reminder of the slippery distances between event, second-hand experience and myth, as he glides between those conversations with his master and the obsessive questions of Uraku. He smoothly integrates accounts of tea gatherings at which he was present with events he can, at best, have only second-hand knowledge. In one example of the latter, Kumai uses a long shot of Rikyu's expulsion from Kyoto and his one way boat ride to establish the absence of Honkakubo from the incident that has immortalised the riverside presence of Hosokawa Sansai 細川三斎, 1563-1646 and Furuta Oribe 古田織部, 1544-1615.

One effect of this foregrounding the absence of Honkakubo is to demonstrate how the distinction between first hand experience and hearsay are subsumed by his narrative. With Kumai's cinematography having made this collapse apparent, it is a justifiably critical reading that asserts this mirrors the ease with which sentimentalized accounts come to serve the vested interests of the custodians of tea's grand narrative. While the opening black and white sequence of Honkakubo running after the spectral figure of the mist enshrouded Rikyu in an increasingly disjointed manner before finally tumbling
is a powerfully poetic suggestion of the elusiveness and impossibility of attaining the ideal of Rikyu, the embedded flashback structure reinforces the status of Honkakubo as the omniscient narrator who is the authoritative chief repository of Rikyu folklore. This status is explicitly confirmed in the film by the visit of Rikyu’s grandson, Sen Sotan, to try to discover the reasons for Rikyu’s punishment at the hands of Hideyoshi.

Kumai works with a structure of embedded flashbacks with multiple narrators to create a postmodern conception of “the past as fiction of the present” (Lather 1991, p.32). In most jidai geki death is usually assumed to provide a non-negotiable closure, the English title tells us Rikyu will die, and the film shows us that he is alive despite being dead. Instead of a conventional set of unreflective flashbacks that move the viewer around idealised images of the past, the film is constructed of various levels that suggest Rikyu is alive as a chajin, as a legendary embodiment of values, and a set of aesthetic preferences. Rikyu transcends his past mortality and is immortalised because narrated anecdotes reenact his life. In these nostalgic recollections his identity is attached to holy relics that he once owned or inscribed and to a now institutionalised set of preferences.

This combination of voice-over narration and flashbacks go beyond his use of these devices in Sandakan hachibanshokan: Boukyo, ‘Brothel 8’. In this 1975 production, Kumai used two interlocking narratives, each with their own flashbacks, to achieve two goals. First, to address the historical lacuna of Japanese women who went to countries like Borneo to work as prostitutes before returning to their hometowns. Second, to show how the oral history projects of feminist scholars can supplement the official narrative, and the sorts of ethical and emotional issues involved in the production of this knowledge. It is in this second objective that the film assumes a pedagogical function, and again the English rendering of the title fails to convey that significant element of the original. The title’s last two characters, 望郷, nostalgia or homesickness, are the biggest on-screen and yet they are omitted from the English title. Their
visual impact acknowledges that while the film documents aspects of working in Brothel Number 8, the film also reflects on that experience. While these two films share problems with their English titles, it is their common use of multiple narrators linking flashbacks that is most important for establishing how Kumai appropriates the jidai geki genre. Narrated flashbacks are one device that carries the film’s meta-historical functions.

In Honkakubo Ibun the attention is on anecdotes as discourse, and the oral tradition as a constructor of history: the dead Rikyu is constantly evoked as a spoken fiction of the present. It is in the positioning of anecdotes not as mere structural devices but as discourse that the film encompasses the 1981 distinction of Raymond Williams: “lived culture, of a specific time and place and accessible only to those living in that time and place; recorded culture, ... culture of a particular period; and culture of the selective tradition, connecting the lived and recorded culture” (Jamrozik, Boland & Urquhart 1995, p.29 [emphasis in original]). Kumai uses the structure of his film to chart the distance between experience, verbal transcriptions of events, and myth to emphasise the central role anecdotes have played in the construction of the Rikyu myth and the corresponding depoliticisation of Japanese culture. The structural focus on anecdotes is an additional meta-historical element of the film.

Visually we are presented with a representation of the lived experience of those residing in and around Kyoto who embrace the legacy of Rikyu. This representation of lived culture is mediated by narrated flashbacks. These anecdotes elevate specific incidents, and celebrate them as ideal examples of a wabi tea culture. Anecdotes link lived and recorded culture because they exemplify and celebrate particular ways of experiencing and acting. It is on the basis of their pedagogic utility that they are admitted into tea’s tradition (Tsutsui 1981), and the film’s structural use of anecdotes records how they come to assume the culture of the selective tradition.
As tenets of this oral tradition, the historical Rikyu is deified and tea is essentialised as an apolitical activity. Rikyu is presented as an aesthetic genius, and the glaring silence in this extremely selective canon is his embrace of the tea politics of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi as a means to advance his officially designated status as the preeminent tea practitioner. This manoeuvre of using tea anecdotes as pedagogy to deny the political role of tea in sixteenth century is a necessary precursor to presenting the aesthetic sphere as a depoliticised space since the Meiji period; the nation was created in this denial of the political role of cultural practices at the very time that aesthetic symbols were being used as the seductive grammar of the nation. The pedagogical use of anecdotes naturalises the codification and commodification of institutionalised tea pedagogy by the Houses of Sen and other custodians. The film’s positioning of anecdotes as discourse identifies this selective tradition of tea culture.

**History into film: emphasising transmission and ‘the authentic’**

In adapting the novel of Inoue Yasushi, Kumai changes ‘history’ to raise questions about the place of the authentic in cultural transmission. My discussion will be limited to the film’s principal shift, a realigning of the relationship of Uraku and Honkakubo to Rikyu. Documentary sources suggest that Uraku may be considered to be one of Rikyu’s seven ‘disciples’. Honkakubo was a guest at the September 4th 1588 farewell for Daitokuji abbot Kokei Sochin who was banished to the provincial wilds of Kyushu, and according to the *Rikyu Hyakkai Kī*, Honkakubo was Rikyu’s sole guest on the morning of September 23rd 1590 (Editor, in Inoue 1990, p.57). This cursory information implies that although Honkakubo was one of Rikyu’s trusted intimates, film viewers should expect Uraku to receive Rikyu’s teachings because of his being considered as one of the inner circle of seven.

Historically Oda Uraku 1547-1622, youngest brother of Nobunaga and eleventh son of Oda Nobuhide 1510-1551, gave his full attention to tea after he
retired to Kyoto’s Higashiyama in 1615, and the Uraku chanoyu lineage continued when his son Yorinaga became its second master. Murai Yasuhiko compares fifteen historical sources that list the probable members of Rikyu Shichininshu, the Seven Disciples of Rikyu. Uraku is one of thirteen men named, and his membership is confirmed in seven of those fifteen sources (Murai 1991, pp. 26, 31). However, Murai suggests that Uraku did not act as if he were a disciple of Rikyu. “I would attribute his undertaking of repairs to the Samega well, which is historically connected with Murata Shuko (1423-1501; regarded as the founder of chanoyu), and his erecting of a monument for Takeno Joo (1502-55; a disciple of Murata Shuko), as expressions of his desire to stand above Rikyu and align himself directly with the original forefathers of chanoyu” (Murai 1991, p.27). By arguing that Uraku sought to bypass Rikyu, Murai’s account contradicts the simplification of tea history by anecdotes that celebrate as the founder of tea discourse.

It is significant that the film undercuts this historically based expectation that Uraku be the custodian of the anecdotal Rikyu. Instead of Murai’s assertion of historical Uraku’s independence from Rikyu, the film Uraku is pathologically consumed by the spectacle of Rikyu as an ideal who can at best be aspired to but never exceeded. Throughout the film, Uraku is obsessed with the death of Rikyu, and the role of seppuku as designating an authentic chajin, until his deathbed participation in Rikyu’s final public tea and seppuku. In presenting how seppuku has become a fetish for Uraku because he confusedly uses a part of Rikyu’s life to represent its richly contradictory complexity, the film can be read as a comment on the power of the authentic to inflame the desire to be consumed that brings to mind the warning of contemporary artist Jenny Holzer: “Protect me from what I want.”

In contrast, the film elevates Honkakubo from the historical figure who was an intimate associate of Rikyu. In the film Honkakubo is a person of tea who has a vital connection with Rikyu and comes to achieve similar existential truths to his spiritual master. The portrayal of this relationship as legitimate
demonstrates that Rikyu is alive as a chajin, a legendary embodiment of values, and a set of aesthetic preferences.

With the later repetition of this image of Rikyu dismissing Honkakubo the impression is no longer the futility of attempting to mimic Rikyu. Coupled with the dialogue where Rikyu insists on the existence of that road as his road as a tea person, and the implication that there are different routes for others, it points to how the iemoto system has from the 1740s onwards hollowed out tea’s self image as aesthetically iconoclastic. The following anecdote, “Sho-o divines the intention of his host”, suggests something of tea’s pretensions to a radical finesse.

Sho-o was once going to a Cha-no-yu with Rikyu when he caught sight of a flower vase with two handles in a curio shop. He thought he would go in and buy it on his way back and did so only to find that Rikyu had forestalled him. Being invited to a Tea some while after by Rikyu it occurred to him that this vase would be used, and so it turned out, for there it stood in the Tokonoma, but it had one of its handles broken off. “Ah,” he said “then I shall have no need of the hammer I brought in my sleeve to knock it off, for I could not bear the idea of it being used with both.” (Sadler 1998, p.99).

Considering the self-presentation of tea’s initial impulse as the gentle amazement of chanoyu, the film Rikyu’s rejection of Honkakubo’s diligent devotion suggests a harsh judgement of the descent into the reductive orthodoxy of sado. This sentiment is neatly expressed in the following anecdote which ironically warns provincial consumers of fifteen generations of Kyoto institutionalisation against simply following our leader.

One day he [Oda Uraku] went to visit Rikyu and found the Master fitting a lid to a Tea-caddy. He selected an old one and observed to Yuraku that this suited much better than the larger one it already
had. Yuraku expressed his admiration. Some time after this Yuraku fitted an old lid to one of his own tea-caddies and showed it to Rikyu for his approval. "I don't think much of your discrimination," was the comment. "A new lid would suit this one better. A stork's bill does not fit a duck's neck. Mere imitation without regard for what is harmonious is quite contrary to the spirit of Teaism." (Sadler 1998, p.140).

Multimodal texts: CDA serves critical history

Having outlined how the film can be read as a comment on tea's operation as politicised culture that communicates an ideology of transience that made the special attack units possible, in this final section I would like to address the issue of the contemporary persistence of Showa militarist discourse. In addition to providing supplementary visual evidence that supports my argument for the film's meta-historical concerns, I would like to comment on the topicality of this chapter by making two points. First, the lethally political use of what often appears to outside consumers of orientalist images as nothing more than quaint aesthetic symbols has been leveraged by advocates of Japanese uniqueness and other cultural particularists into a counter-orientalist discourse with disastrous domestic consequences. Second, a similar semantic shift from war to peace in two symbols of Japan: sakura and tea. My intention is to perform the sort of multimodal analysis reviewed in Chapter 4 as one way of deconstructing a nationalised ideology of cultural uniqueness. I examine six figures: Figure 1 is a wall mural from the museum established near the Chiran special attack unit base, and Figure 2 is a shot of the architectural use of cherry trees to line the entrance to that museum. Figures 3 and 4 are from a calendar published by the Group Answering the Glorious Spirits of the War Dead. Figure 5 is an advertisement for a video series that records the battles of young Japanese. Figure 6 is an advertisement for a sword with a sakura hilt.53

53 Black and white versions of these figures are presented in Cross (2001a).
The following six plates clearly locate sakura in the visual vocabulary of militarist discourse. The first two figures feature a museum established near the Chiran special attack unit base by tokkotai 特攻隊 survivors. The use of sakura in Figures 1 and 2 both accounts for the seductive persuasiveness of natural symbols and provides a degree of solace to surviving colleagues, relatives and citizens.

Figure 1
Nature, nation, and gender

Figure 1 is a wall mural which uses sakura in a way that contrasts with the dominant documentary tone of other exhibited items. As the zero-sen victoriously crashes into its unrepresented target, the pilot's body is no longer restrained by the windshield that has flown off at the moment of impact. As the crown falling earthwards suggests the pilot's body has already lost its individuality and is borne aloft by guardian spirits. The blooming sakura and scattering petals function as a metaphor for individual sacrifice in return for national eternity. More literally, it also refers to the use of sakura as the name
taken by a special attack unit group (Iguchi & Nakajima 1951, pp.272–276), and to the practice documented by the Asahi Shimbun photograph of female Chiran high school students literally waving off the departing pilots with branches of blossoms (Muranaga 1989, p.85).

![Image of a path with trees]

**Figure 2** Grief: nationalized nature

*Transience as architectural installation*

In Figure 2 there is a melancholic contrast between the full sakura and the empty stone lanterns of the road leading into Chiran's Tokou Heiwa Kannon Dou. Those who survived the war and the visitors born in the post war period who visit the site during spring may gradually come accept the argument for
inevitable sacrifice made by this highly politicised version of nature. Feeling
the vernal surge of vitality that accompanies the annual appearance of the
sakura and recognizing the inevitability of their fall is an act of social memory.
This spring mourning participates in a mediated recreation of the Showa
psyche of young tokkotai members, and it is precisely this aestheticising of
patriotic death that this installation was designed to evoke and commemorate.
As with any text, the intention of the creators is subject to all manner of textual
drift and resistant readings. While a nationalised discourse of the seasons
valorises spring as the most ‘authentic’ time to visit this sacred site and
memorial practices favour mid summer, a winter visit would not be rewarded
with a fragrant softening of grief’s sting. Even in the relatively mild winters of
Kagoshima, the effect would be more of the hollowness of patriotic claims to
protect the homeland. Given the presence of peace in the name of the museum,
it can be argued that this critical reassessment of the national narrative is
deliberate.

Figure 3  Nature nationalized: spirit triumphs over matter
Heroic ideal as Japeneseness
One month before Prime Minister Mori made his problematic "divine nation" remarks, a calendar used the sakura of Yasukuni Shrine in a photomontage with a sculpture of a tokkotai pilot against the background of the sun rising over the calm ocean which was protected by pilots commemorated in the sculpture in Figure 3. Figures 3 and 4 are from a calendar published by Eirei ni kotaeru Kai 英霊にこたえる会. While literally translated as the Group Answering the Spirits of the War Dead, extrapolating from Tsurumi's rendering of 英霊 supplies something slightly more fervent: the Group Answering the Splendid Spirits of the War Dead (Tsurumi 1986, p.75). The depth of this earnest zeal should not be underestimated, and the following extract documents the extent of the determination to protect the coherence of an ambiguous distinction between religion and state.

On June 1, 1988, a historic 14-1 verdict of the Supreme Court of Japan, overturning the decisions of two lower courts, pronounced the termination in failure of a widow's fifteen year contest of the legality of state participation in the Shinto enshrinement of her deceased husband. ... The significance of the suit brought by Mrs. Nakaya Yasuko lies beyond the merely legal: the case reflects the incommensurateness of judicial capability and judicial will with the challenges she issued to Japanese militarism, to the Japanese treatment of religious minorities, and to the situation of women in Japanese society. ... The elaborate denial of the religious nature of SDF activity reads as a peculiar transmutation into legal terms of a postwar version of Shinto as not so much religion but folk custom. One might fairly ask, what's the difference? Rather than argue the distinction, it is important to point out its usefulness as a strategy for dismissing quibbles over the relationship of state and religion. The "new form" demonstrated by Mr. Nakasone at Yasukuni (flowers and one bow) is a striking example. For all its contortions, the Supreme Court decision is a revealing conformation of the social and political truisms of contemporary Japan: don't be
different; don’t waste energy fighting in the courts against political strategies masquerading as common sense; understand that the religion of Japan is Japanese-ness, which is best practiced in daily life. Cultivated to the point of invisibility by daily practice, this religion is resistant to challenge even in its more concentrated, obtrusive forms as manifested at Yasukuni or the Defense-of-the-Nation Shrines [where Nakaya Takafumi and others like him are forcibly deified] (Fields 1992, pp. 107, 108, 146-147).

This failure of one Japanese Christian to resist a veneration of her husband in the edifice of the nation reveals a persistence in the state-centred view of the world that made the special attack units, and the graphics of Figures 3 and 4, possible and necessary. As Figure 4 shows, the March-April page of this Heisei 12 calendar also combined a photograph of a 24 year old pilot, a photograph of his military issue hat (a sacramentalising of relics, similar to the treatment given Rikyu’s tea utensils but valued by the market quite differently) and text detailing his final conversation with his family. The sakura motif is abstractedly repeated behind the text as a pink moire. The dissolve of the pilot, sakura and the ocean may be read as a persuasive argument for the essential unity of the social and the natural. Considering how "the attack spirit," "confidence in certain victory," "loyalty to the emperor," "love of country,"
'absolute sincerity,' and 'sacrifice one's life to the country, absolute obedience to superiors' were instilled by the Infantry Manual of 1909, the Army Education Regulation of 1913 and the Field Regulations of 1916 (Ienaga 1978, pp.47-8). it also refers to the doctrine of the spirit (Japan) triumphing over matter (USA). The date of the death of the pilot is significant. Selected from among the thousands of young men who departed on missions, he is assigned a representative status because he died while sakura were still blooming.

Sakura: history as education and entertainment

Figures 5 and 6 verify the extent to which this aestheticised death has become part of the commodification of the nation. Figure 5 is an advertisement for a video series that records the battles of young Japanese. It is a repackaging of 12 film texts from 1940 to 1972, and this includes both colour and black and white documentaries and feature films. Sakura appear twice in Figure 5. In the bottom left corner, the following text is superimposed on an image of a naval ship and planes in formation:

貴様も俺も笑って死のう。どうせ散るなら桜の如く。
Kisama mo ore mo waratte shinou. Douse chiru nara sakura no shiku.
You too, me too, let’s die laughing. Anyway if we scatter, we are equal to sakura.

Superimposed over the close up of a soldier saluting in film number 3 is the following text:

桜と鎖の青春譜
Sakura to ikari no sei shun fu
the youth music of sakura and anchor

Given this chapter’s earlier concern with seppuku, it seems appropriate that a sword with a sakura bark hilt and sheath is the final image I examine before linking these figures with my reading of Kumai’s film. Figure 6 suggests that the embrace of transience is a marketable option, even at the lower priced kitsch end of the market. The advertisement’s ambiguous positioning of the impressions created by this sword and the repeated claims of the sword’s beauty assume most coherence in the light of Sakai’s definition of Japan as a community of unnatural death. Even the surname of the craftsman, Sakurai, 桜井 sakura + well, seems made to order.

Figure 6
Lethal national aesthetic as kitsch
While acknowledging that sakura have symbolised both peace and war (Ohnuki-Tierney 1995), this brief survey demonstrates that the persistence of this ideological aestheticising of the nation in pop culture texts continues to provide an important context for film reception. Analysis of the role of film texts in forming individual subjectivities and national identities is an integral part of critical communication studies. Conceptualising Kumai Kei's Sen no Rikyu: Honkakubo Ibun as a villain film suggests the need for a vigilant distance from the various pleasures of viewing national cinema. The intersection of tea and sakura in a historical drama draw attention to the power of a distinctive national culture to appeal to an ideal as one means of shaping desire. The film's debates about historical changes in the essence of tea also emphasise an important continuity between Showa tea for war and Heisei tea for peace. During World War II in Fukuoka's Hakozaki Hachimangu, senshou kigan kencha 戦勝祈願献茶, were tea ceremonies performed as prayers for victory in the Pacific War. This use of tea for war resembles the postwar "peace through a bowl of tea" campaign sponsored by the Urasenke school of tea in that it attempts to shape a particular subjectivity as an expression of the nation. It is important to note the colonising aspect of tea pedagogy outside Japan results in that nation being presented as 'cultural' and this helps structure a discursive silence about imperial Japanese history.

**Conclusion**

This chapter argues that the desire to be validated by a particular power/knowledge configuration is a lethal proposition. With this critical and effective history which clearly marked the costs of identifying with the imaginary community of the nation I end my account of the life of the tea mind. My argument for the autoethnographic possibility of resisting the seduction of institutionally transmitted definitions of what constitutes 'the authentic' consolidated the literature I review in the first half of the thesis. In the final chapter, I comment about the place of desire in the formation of one's tea self against a background of discourses of the nation.

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CHAPTER 10 POST PERFORMANCE

Identities ... arise from the narrativization of the self, but the necessarily fictional nature of this process in no way undermines its discursive, material or political effectivity, even if the belongingness, the 'sutting into the story' through which identities arise is, partly, in the imaginary (as well as the symbolic) and therefore, always, partly constructed in fantasy, or at least within a fantasmatic field (Hall 1996, p.4).

Could it be that a postmodern subject for the nation may be emerging for whom nation as independent nation-state matters somewhat less than nation as culture? If subject were to be constituted in a more open avowal of its dependence on a particular set of signifiers, it would be more dispersed; a different economy could have at work in the correlation of identity and aggression necessary to its formation. An identity might begin to develop which, though still a national identity, held a much reduced potential for moving on to the dark side, into the bad excesses of nationalism (Easthope 1999, pp.228-9).

When we discover that there are several cultures instead of just one and consequently at the same time when we acknowledge the end of a sort of cultural monopoly, be it real or illusory, we are threatened with the destruction of our discovery. Suddenly, it becomes possible that there are just others, that we ourselves an 'other' among others (Ricoeur 1965, p.278).

Introduction

This autobiographical exploration of how my lived experience in and around tea rooms here is intelligible in terms of this range of questions introduced in
Chapter 2: Do we need others to be ourselves? Does our culture make us what we are? Do we live stories or just tell them? (Fay 1996). I have mapped out how the textual production of analysis and tea consumption both operate as ethical practices of self fashioning in my tea life.

The first half of this thesis positions textual analysis as a technology of the intellectual self by charting the emergence of analytical traditions that made the textual interrogation of power and authority possible. The second half of the thesis performs the sorts of analysis reviewed in the first half of this thesis on tea related texts from a specific social and embodied position. This analysis entails consideration of the relationships between institutionalised tea pedagogy, tea as self-fashioning and the representation of tea in national cinema. While the explicit intent of this mapping of how power shapes tea pleasures is to make a considered intervention in English language tea scholarship, my concern here in the final section of the thesis is with how this loosely layered narrative operates as a process of knowing that simultaneously constructs me as knower of other selves and selves which are known.

I make some concluding comments on what it means to have a tea identity as part of one’s individualising repertoire. My strategy throughout this thesis has been to argue that tea functions as a technology of individual and national selves, and that CDA, film studies and cultural studies, like institutionalised tea pedagogy, also tend to structure certain proclivities along the lines of the particular truth claims of their respective discourse communities.

Within the context of the recent rush to cosmopolitanisms (Pollock et al. 2000) and global culture (Brenner 1997, Smith 1997), what does it mean to have identities? A more reflexive set of questions address experience at the intersection of tea and analytical discourses: How does being a true believer of CDA and cultural studies inform my perceptions and accounts of the tea experience? How are those theoretical fingerprints visible on the constructed nature of my accounts of orthodox tea practices? What are the limits of utility
of an awareness of discursive self-construction, and how do these boundaries respond to the theoretical promises of CDA, cultural studies and postcolonial studies?

Examining the utility of an awareness of discursive self-construction will entail a consideration of the role of the reflexivity/ideology dialectic in identity formation. I make a moderate qualification of rationalist claim that “people are generally more aware of their practices, and their practices are pervasively and deeply open to knowledge based transformation” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999, p.93).

**Othering the self: returning to a critical reflection**

Just to get myself started on a gesture in the direction of closure here is something autobiographical about my initiation into the discipline of history. It was in history class that the self/other distinction first came over my conceptual horizon. In my first few years of reading world history at Ballina High School during the seventies we spent a few years trying to understand the contribution made by the great white men of the distant past. Once the School Certificate appeared above the horizon we moved closer to our own time with a less personalised and more thematic examination of the development of the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of liberalism. Up against the Higher School Certificate we tried to integrate these two models as we wrestled with the role of Tojo Hideki in maintaining Japan’s expansionist policy in China while failing to avoid war with the Allies. Bill Watson’s efforts to make a class dominated by surfers sleepy from the morning session at Flat Rock imagine the situation from the Japanese side always impressed me: after all the Japanese were only adapting the model of empire developed by the British, right?

So nearly thirty years later, in my better moments, I still have this habit of trying to take the position of the other. And after more than a decade of living in Japan as a teacher of English, student of tea and noh, and family and
community member with the former enemies of my Kokoda Trail veteran father. I have in several subtle ways blurred that easy distinction between in and out. I have moved towards accepting the inevitability that ‘I is an other.’ (Lacan 1977, p.23). This recognition accommodates both the discordant reality of a roiling subconscious and the persistence of discourses seeking to silence the voices of others branded as discursively illegitimate. The previous 80,000 words have been intended to suggest a particular configuration of the relationship between multiple memberships and a fluid sense of selves (Rosenwald & Ochberg 1992b), and what constraints prevent experience from informing belief (Earnest 1992).

This nostalgic reconstruction of upper secondary life charts a movement from consuming the great men of history model, through the facelessness of history’s great themes, to producing a snapshot from the trenches of tea consumption: a cultural history of the tea mind from below. It can be read as one brief representation as to why my will to knowledge was first intrigued by the role of tea practices in shaping a particular kind of individual identity. My later interest was in how that technology of the self had consistently pursued a strategy of positioning itself as a national symbol as a means of enacting regimes of subjectification.

This paragraph reviews the previous chapters to summarise how I have written an account of my tea present while distinguishing between subjectivity and national identity formation. The previous chapters examined subjectivity and identity formation in both their theoretical guises (primarily Chapters 2 and 5, and to a lesser extent Chapters 8, and 9) and how they are implicated in the machinations of cultural forms that shape and determine limits to identity and subjectivity (Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9). When conceptualised from a sociological perspective, as was introduced and sustained throughout the first half of the thesis, identity operates as a form of social categorisation linking individuals into wider communal networks. Subjectivity was theorised to conduct a more psychological analysis and issues of interiority were argued to
be a necessary element of competent cultural criticism (Chapter 5). The analysis of tea texts and sites of tea identity were intended to be read as broader categories of pedagogies that approach questions of the formation of identity and subjectivity through cultural forms. Two possibilities were examined: the negotiated formation of subjectivity through an internalised other (Chapter 2); and identity as a fabrication requiring a discursively constructed exteriority (Chapters 2 and 5). Reading the resulting subjectivities and identities in terms of how they were constituted by discourses of power (Chapters 7, 8, and 9) clearly located identity and subjectivity formation as effects produced by a dialectic of colonisation and appropriation.

A major goal of this conclusion is to clarify the relationship between writing a reflexive autoethnography and employing various analytical traditions to engage nationalist discourses implicated in ‘Japan the beautiful.’ This takes two steps. First, the following section comments on how social theory constructs ideas about and experiences of identity by referring to a series of dialectics: reflexivity and ideology; colonisation and appropriation; and identity and difference (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). Second, the later section then keeps this series of dialectics in sight while gesturing back towards the psychological aspects of subjectivity and how they are discursively determined by parameters supporting the formation of national identities. The net effect of the following two sections is to review the key idea in this conclusion, the interplay between technologies of the self and human technologies, outlined in terms of the relationship between the three major themes of this thesis: identity and subjectivity formation, textual analysis, and nationally distinctive cultural practices.

**Knower and known: autoethnographical reflection on identity**

I need tea as one means of creating the tearoom ‘me’, and my embodiment of this set of cultural literacies is a portable set of resources that I can strategically perform or invoke in other modes or contexts. As the autoethnographic
components of earlier chapters chronicled, a tea identity has been useful in domestic and professional spheres and the richness of tea experience, including the hierarchical relationships with tea professionals, is a major subjective constraint to leaving 'Japan the beautiful'. At the same time as I need the validating presence of tea room others, tea needs me. I function as a demonstration of tea's status as self-appointed national representative of Japanese material culture: "See, foreigners learn tea to understand Japanese culture." As I exercise agency in the course of achieving partial mastery of certain aspects of tea life, I can make consciously considered decisions about which aspects of tea doctrine to pursue.

I admit to being charmed and repelled by the material culture sustaining Japan the beautiful. As my earlier attention to the formation of aesthetic preferences in Chapter 7 suggests, power and knowledge do operate as limits to the efficacy of rational self-reflection. One such limit is the tension between colonisation and appropriation. On the one hand, tea discourse transforms my lifeworld experience in meaningful ways. Critical social theory reminds me that this realm of meaning can be both definitive and productive. This impulse to define what is appropriate for the tea mind includes a sense of seasonal richness as I move through the tea year cycle: formal variations in serving procedures and utensil combinations, and movements into phases that swing from profoundly earnest to more lightheartedly social. The productive stroke comes when I appropriate an element of tea practice and employ it as a mode of self-expression.

Other limits to rational self-reflection also hinge on the mutual constitution of cultural practices and subjectivity, including the co-existence of contradictory impulses: being seduced by the patina of legitimate tea taste while recognising the discursive construction of the desire to consume authentic taste is a dominant convention of moneyed tea life membership. Knowledge-based transformations often involve some trade-off between being spoken into being by a colonising impulse and appropriating aspects of a particular discourse as
an element of one’s conceptual idiolect. As the remainder of this chapter demonstrates, this tension between colonisation and appropriation is further mediated by telling stories as we live them. Reading narrative as a process of knowing requires examining swings between being the knower, the subject, and the known, the object of knowledge.

The socially-critical tea mind has global concerns with the creation of distinctive national culture and the micro-politics of local tea rooms. I have made reference to the dialectic of identity and difference and how this dialectic is deconstructed by the lived demonstration of the instability of insider and outsider distinctions. When positioning myself as a native ethnographer writing an insider’s account of the various ways tea moments can be experienced (Chapter 7), the primary intended audience is foreign experts of culture but fellow travellers of the way of tea would be able to challenge the accounts and analyses offered with the evidence of their own positioning. When positioning myself as an ethnic autobiographer writing a tale of reflective cultural selves (Chapter 6) that reveal how social theory (Chapters 1-5) make those types of insights possible, again the primary intended audience are tea’s out group members who are literate in the field of social and critical theory. The dialectic of identity and difference encompasses the discursive construction of self and psychological accounts of interiority, both of which were outlined in Chapter 5, and this tension is most productive in autobiographical ethnography which offer deep readings of tea-related texts along the fault lines of social theory (Chapters 7, 8, and 9). Attempting to perform a configuration of these three forms of self-inscription, native ethnography, ethnic autobiography, and autobiographical ethnography, the tendency to reify those aspects of identity most amenable to current forms of cultural studies and CDA remains a major limitation of this work. Having criticised largely masculinist displays of textual analysis that elide close readings of the specific textual features which produce ideologically inflected meanings, I am most clearly implicated in those discourses I wish to critique in Chapter 6.
My subjectivity reads national identity

Identity has psychological and processional aspects, both of which are important components of identity formation (Chapter 2). I would now like to address the issue of different ways of belonging to collective identities as one step towards clarifying how social theory has given a certain distance from which to scrutinise acts of self-representation of tea’s embodied practices and values.

Identities ... arise from the narrativization of the self, but the necessarily fictional nature of this process in no way undermines its discursive, material or political effectivity, even if the belongingness, the ‘suturing into the story’ through which identities arise is, partly, in the imaginary (as well as the symbolic) and therefore, always, partly constructed in fantasy, or at least within a fantasmatic field (Hall 1996, p.4).

Psychological accounts note that the urge to belong to a community is a universal fact of life. The fractured sense of self that emerges from the recognition that the unconscious is an other can be pacified by the balm of social interaction. Across the globe the individual need to be validated by group approval is reconfigured in two principal manners: the extent of the group’s sphere of influence over the lifeworld of its members; and the degree to which association with the group can accommodate multiple affiliations. In the modern period nationalism has been a powerful shaper of individual desires and drives. The edifice of the nation state has been the altar upon which the sacrifice of linguistic and cultural plurality is often consummated. The analytical traditions of cultural studies (Allen & Russo 1997) and CDA (Fuller 2000, Wodak et al. 1999) trace the shadowy territory of the self/other distinction in the construction of imaginary national communities, and their potentially self-destructive aspects (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002).
While the formation of the European Union suggests the possibility of a more fluid experience of life in a trans-national state, America’s addiction to war (Michael Franti’s “Bush War One, Bush War Two” lyric comes to mind) will contribute to a firmer notions of national identity beyond the boundaries of the superpower as state terror continues to intensify. Within this global context, there remain those who accept the inevitability of national boundaries as an element of self-fashioning:

However, there is one form of identity politics which is actually comprehensive, in as much as it is based on a common appeal, at least within the confines of a single state: citizen nationalism. Seen in the global perspective this may be the opposite of a universal appeal, but seen in the perspective of a national state, which is where most of us still live, and are likely to go on living, it provides a common identity (Hobsbawm 1996, p.45).

Hobsbawm’s own notion of the invented nature of national communities as a device for suturing a discordant array of subjectivities into an illusory national polity (Hobsbawm & Range1983) weighs against the relative simplicity of a communal identification of life experienced neatly inside the frame of a national state. Critiques of state-centric epistemic models identify the act of mutual constitution which sustains the false binary of globalisation and the nation as a territorial state: “Territorial states became the politicogeographic blocks in which the temporal dynamic of modernity was widely understood” (Brenner 1997, p.136). Compounding the mutual constitution of spatial and chronological terms are two complications: the role of technology in reconfiguring time/space (de Kerckhove 1995); and arguments for a critical cosmopolitanism aspiring to “negotiate both human rights and global citizenship without losing the historical dimension in which each is conceived today in the colonial horizon of modernity” (Mignolo 2000, p.725).
Hobsbawm’s idea of the national state providing a common identity has a realistic acceptance of certain administrative inevitabilities that bureaucratically sustain the boundaries of geography, political systems, and identity implicated in the formation of national identities. In addressing how these bureaucratic and legal discourses are implicated in the shaping citizen identity, in Chapter 5 I examined how aesthetic discourses were co-opted to serve national interests. In Chapter 7 I demonstrated how tea schools colonise the subjectivity of tea students. My intention in analysing these related sets of material practices was make visible one common point: these discourses of identity assume a coercive momentum that seeks to deny the plausibility of multiple affiliations. This is the reductive simplicity of the post 9/11 dilemma: You are either with me or against me. The illegitimate others of hard versions of the national state include tourists, vagabonds, migrant workers, families with children who, like my son, have dual citizenship and high-flying international careerists.

The major limitation of the embrace of the national state as common identity is the tendency for the state to monopolise the identification of citizens. One obvious problem with identity unified along state lines is how neatly it can slide into the opposite corners of the ideological square that operates through a simple series of polarisations (van Dijk 1998). Another shortcoming of this idea of identifying with a national state is that this monopoly tends to deny the possibility of alternative identification strategies. There are strategies for resisting the coercive aspects of group identification. These possibilities include partial and qualified identification with a national state, and reading one’s social life as being shaped by power and knowledge is one way beyond the morass of “my country, right or wrong.” Migrants like myself “may invoke instead a desire to construct fictional homes without walls, homes which can exist in a present whose boundaries are always deferred, always in translation”

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54 1 Emphasise our good properties/actions.
   2 Emphasise their bad properties/actions.
   3 Mitigate our bad properties/actions.
   4 Mitigate their good properties/actions (van Dijk 1998, p.33).
(Nasta 2002, p.244 [emphasis in original]). This embrace of deferral is one way of accepting that we can engage a communal identity without insisting on explicit definitions of what narrowly constitutes an authentic form of identification.

Readers of identity politics recognise the need to accept the co-existence of opposing values within citizen populations as a more egalitarian form of national identification. The assumption of an identity becomes an act of social responsibility that requires a certain vigilance against the potential emergence of the aggressive excesses of nationalism.

In the domain of collective identification, where what is in question is the creation of a ‘we’ by the definition of a ‘them’, the possibility always exists that this ‘we/they’ relationship will turn into a relation of the friend/enemy type (Mouffe 1993, pp.2-3).

When speaking against the escalation into permanent war caused by state terrorism, Chomsky has offered a simple solution to citizens: if you want to stop terrorism, do not participate in state terrorism (Junkerman 2002). Education and organised action is one alternative technology for community formation because it explores different modes and degrees of identification with the nation state. Without wishing to lapse into a privileging of the uniqueness of the Japanese historical experience, taking Chomsky’s position on board here presents a major challenge.

As I outlined in Chapter 5, nationalist discourses of the cultural nativists conceal their ideological footsteps. A major achievement of this project has been reading ‘Japan the beautiful’ against its aesthetic grain to recover the play of power in the rhetorical celebration of Japan’s four seasons. My intention was to identify how the formation of subjectivities organised around tea sites is implicated in the formation of national identities. The politicisation of nature supported top-down imperatives for sacrifices in the name of the national body,
and transnational corporations demand similar levels of commitment to the mission of global competitiveness. The decision to oppose or simply not participate in objectionable practices imposed upon the citizenry requires a conscious recognition of what is ideologically distasteful, and the salient characteristic of an ideology is that it naturalises relations of power inequalities. What are the discursive positions that would allow one to resist the logic of scattered cherry blossoms?

In extreme cases, including but not limited to the chapter addressing militarised aesthetics, state appropriation of symbols as an act of discursive violence becomes a self-inflicted act of destruction precisely at the point it affirms its discursive power. This is clearly one warning conveyed by the pivotal role of Uraku in Kumai's 1989 film: "It seems to me that unless one resists this logic of communalist identification, one could easily be drawn into a violent jingoistic sentiment. One need not abide by the logic of communalist identification. One need not 'belong' to a national community in this way" (Sakai 1997, p.101). Sakai's solipsistic concern with the relationship between coercive discourses and individual modes of action presents an additional opportunity for reconsidering how the demands and desires of communalist identification can be negotiated.

Social theories like genealogies of subjectification (Rose 1996) open spaces for these kinds of negotiations between the formation of tea subjectivities and national identities. Living with the recognition that pleasure is both an escape from the mundane routines of the everyday and an adhesive net that sutures us into a range of discursive formations allows for a mildly disengaged assessment of how subjectivity is being incorporated into diverse modes of government of the self. Given that a significant portion of the critical intent of this project is to simply progress through the various stages of tea license accreditation in the same manner as my Japanese tea classroom peers, and thereby problematicise the simplistic notion of tea as merely nationally distinctive culture, conceptualising the nation as culturally signified offers
some interesting possibilities to migrants who can perform a range of subcultural practices which coincide with official definitions of high cultural literacy.

Could it be that a postmodern subject for nation may be emerging for whom nation as independent nation-state matters somewhat less than nation as culture? If subject were to be constituted in a more open avowal of its dependence on a particular set of signifiers, it would be more dispersed; a different economy could have at work in the correlation of identity and aggression necessary to its formation. An identity might begin to develop which, though still a national identity, held a much reduced potential for moving on to the dark side, into the bad excesses of nationalism (Easthope 1999, pp.228-9).

The problem with this cultural approach in the Japanese “nontopia” at the end of its five postwars (Gluck 1997) is a historical one. As the outline of the formation of a nationalised discourse that aestheticised nature to compel individual sacrifice in the name of the nation suggests, the appropriation of culture has a legacy of certain lethal possibilities. The arguments of Okakura Tenshin for the aesthetic unity of Asia were co-opted to serve the imperial drive to colonise neighbouring countries (Karatani 1998). The generations of Korean and Chinese citizens who were given Japanese language instruction by “settlers” may be inclined to mis-read any reference to culture as a diversionary synonym for power and military invasion. Back inside Japan, the tension between popular debates about Japanese war responsibility and the official reluctance to resolve problematic issues like the annual Yasukuni Shrine visits by conservative politicians seems unlikely to be resolved in a manner that will result in scare quotes framing the adjectival category of Japanese (Chapter 9).

Struggles around notions of identity and difference will continue to be a marked feature of texts which aspire to unpack ideologies of national
distinctiveness. As the distinction between entertainment and education increasingly breaks down, reflexive accounts of the role of ideologies in identity formation will tend to highlight the gap between objective and subjective constraints on informed social action (Carr and Kemmis 1983). The most effective of these reflexive versions of why knowledge based transformations remain partial will include attention to the mutual constitution of power and pleasure in acts of colonisation and appropriation. The pleasures of partial resistance will be mediated by the simultaneous experience of the power of being legitimated by some institutionalised forms of power while perhaps being deemed invalid by more localised versions of authority. The thrill of transgressing discourses may be replaced by a recognition of the inevitable irrelevance of these lines of power. When ‘in’ and ‘out’ come to operate as close synonyms in power’s vocabulary of legitimation, that frisson may in time become a simple shrug of my shoulders.

**Power as subjectivity: autoethnography as cultural analysis**

The previous section commented on how social theory constructs ideas about and experiences of identity by referring to a series of dialectics: reflexivity and ideology; colonisation and appropriation; and identity and difference (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). This section keeps that series of dialectics in sight while gesturing back towards the psychological aspects of subjectivity and how they are discursively determined. My intention in these two sections is to emphasise the importance of distinctions between national discourse and self-formation by clarifying the relationship between writing a reflexive autoethnography and using various analytical traditions to engage nationalist discourses implicated in the ideological formation of ‘Japan the beautiful.’

I argue autoethnography offers a significant change in the textual relations of power between those who write and those who are represented. The rights and conditions of representation shift once the former objects of representation become subjects consciously reflecting on and intervening in their discursive
representation as other. One consequence of this movement is that ideologically structured silences that sustain social injustice can be made apparent, and once the mechanics of prejudice are visible some considered intervention can be made. In the context of Australia in the early nineties, the vitally accessible pop music videos of the band Yothu Yindi and the reassessment of ‘traditional’ Aboriginal art by international markets were part of a major popular realignment of post-colonial relations between indigenous peoples and the descendants of white invaders. Instead of white ‘experts’ explaining to white audiences the range of social problems afflicting aboriginal communities, bands like Yothu Yindi were able to expound the strengths of their cultures to white audiences. One significant difference from the territory I have mapped out is that activists like Yothu Yindi have used the aesthetic sphere as a political means of addressing a tragic history of attempted cultural genocide. As I have demonstrated, in the context of early modern Japan, the aesthetic sphere was not merely a mode of popular empowerment but was also the means by which citizens were incorporated and immolated into the national edifice. Subjectivity was aligned with a politicised version of nature, and a discursive process of identification transmuted the mortality of the human condition into the vernal renewal of national rapport.

By emphasising the process of identification, autoethnographers can historically scrutinise how “insiders” have been inscribed by “outsiders”. As Chapters 5–9 demonstrated, this may include an account of the political and psychological investments in the mutual constitution of the self-other binary. With their integration of close readings of various texts and the broader concerns of social theory, these chapters could be read alongside other explorations of national identity and global culture (Allen & Russo 1997, Easthope 1999, Nastra 2002). Given the multiplicity of positions that I occupy here in Japan as a migrant member of family, community, work place, and subcultures of tea, noh and windsurfing, one notable component of this project has been to place the illusory certainty of false binaries like insider and outsider under a modest form of erasure. In examining the dialectic of the
discursive process of identity formation and the consequent regimes of subjectification made possible, I traced the lethal discourse of transience to identify how administrative elites politicised nature as one strategy to create a relatively totalitarian version of the state-citizenry relationship (Chapter 5). By totalitarian I mean that a key tenet of the ideology of the nation was that individuals were naturally expendable in their duty of ensuring the longevity of the state. This configuration is not unusual for modern nation states, and the pattern is recognisable across geographic regions and historical periods. In the course of inventing national communities, certain forms of identification are structured as the mechanisms that furnish illusory senses of belonging to these invented communities. Given that the consequent sense of communal identity is at best fleeting, two forms of identification coalesce in this totalitarian hierarchy of state and governed (Rose 1986). Demands directed to the organic simplicity of the lost object of local, that is pre-national, community result in the experience of privation. The experience of frustration comes from the demand to identify with this imaginary community. This demand is one which cannot be given its object because of a complex matrix of factors like gender, class, political and religious affiliation and sociolinguistic attributes defer any reductive identification with the facile spectre of nation. Although we may be psychologically driven to construct tentative links between subjectivity and other semiotic and material networks, there is no object that guarantees one’s bona fide membership of an imaginary club. The desire to identify with national identities emerges from within this forestalled matrix of privation and frustration, and the result is all too often a discontented lunge into the aggressive excesses of nationalism.

Reading Japanese cultural nationalism for its ideological impact on subjectivity has been a central concern of this project. What I have tried to suggest with the multimodal analysis of a range of texts in Chapter 9 is that the Japanese case is interesting because of the persistence of fragments of earlier more explicitly militarised versions of nationalist discourses in contemporary versions of 'Japan the beautiful'. This domestic othering across class boundaries was
framed by the relational distinction between the Japanese, us, and non-Japanese, them. Elements of European practice were reconfigured to become values embedded in the Japanese national edifice. As part of this dizzying oscillation between self and other, the category of western style oil painting was formed by an early modern bureaucratic intervention as part of a deliberate government policy of modernisation (westernisation). As the need to realistically depict the military prowess of imperial Japanese forces became part of the total war programme, the genre of western style oil painting was deemed superior to works executed in the nihonga style (Chapter 5). While identities are constituted according to the changing demands of historical circumstances, one constant in this process is the necessity of an other to highlight our strategic attempts at self-definition. In outlining some of the internal contradictions in the invention of a distinctive Japanese national culture, I have integrated various forms of analysis to critically scrutinise how the aestheticisation of national identity continues to conceal ideologically structured silences about the division between culture, politics and subjectivity.

This concern with how ideologues have aestheticised national identity was a key element in my autoethnographic strategy of interrogating tea texts as subjectivity formation models to be appropriated and resisted. One example of the attention given to subjectivity is my analysis of the role of Uraku in Chapter 9. Uraku’s role in Kumai Kei’s film is given prominence to emphasise the power of discourses to shape experience and desire by invoking narrowly defined, idealistic and generally unattainable versions of the authentic. As the Chapter 7 attention to Rikyu and his institutionalised successors suggests, the authentic was shown to gain its power from the relative impotent and incoherent subject, seeking respite from the incessant duet of desire and lack. Such is the lack of centredness that a subject will embrace the lethal caress of desire, even at the expense of forsaking their mortal autonomy. Uraku’s fate should not merely be read as a warning to those acolytes who worship at the altar of the nation seeking some sacramental unity. With some modification of degree, his self-destructive rite of entry to the exclusive clique of the authentic
can be generalised to account for the tendency of any discourse to colonise the life-world of those entering its sphere of influence.

Given the autoethnographic imperative to reflexively account for one's interpretations of how discourse, practices and organisations configure certain subjectivity events, one concern that needed to be addressed was the extent to which I was implicated in the discourses under scrutiny. One strategy was a type of disclosure of my conscious investments in the project, typical of reflective genres, and this had the effect of objectifying subjectivity by bringing it into view. This approach of taking subjectivity out of its black box also equips readers with the explicit means to list what remains the subject of repression. For example, class issues, such as high cultural literacy as a strategy for upward mobility, tended to be foregrounded; gender, on the other hand, received significantly less attention. Reflexive zoom outs do occasionally allow for the return of the repressed, as does a theoretical orientation to the subjectivity literature that explains demand, desire and lack as being shaped by discursive processes directed at the formation of national identities.

The autobiographical portions of this thesis, as well as loosely structuring a narrative that implies a certain teleological destination, can be read part of a strategy to reflexively account for the preoccupations of this project with lethal aesthetics and other rigorous pleasures. It is from a series of explicitly stated positions, each with its inevitable fictive excesses, that textual analysis proceeded in the direction of mapping out one's subjective investments in the status of tea as high culture. Following Chomsky's *Power and Terror* treatise, in examining the texts of "Tim as tea, and tea as Tim" I posed one deeply generative question: what am I conscious of participating in here? The resulting insights would not be possible without the theoretical foundation of the various analytical traditions mapped out in Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 commenced an examination of how pedagogic sites were analysed, and Chapter 4 charted the integration of social theories and systemic linguistics by critical linguists who were striving to give research a more social orientation.
Chapter 5 integrated autoethnographic concerns with the textual, the social and the subject in sites of tea pedagogy by arguing that a critical and effective history could be written by combining elements from the CDA and cultural studies traditions with discursive and psychological notions of identity and subjectivity formation.

I established the connection between reflexivity and textual analysis in the earlier chapters dealing with autoethnography and stressed those associations by extending that field with the interpretations sustained in Chapters 5-9. In examining the relationship between subjectivity, textual analysis, and cultural practices like tea, my subjectivity was objectified in a variety of voices as one way to make explicit the contradictory breadth of my personal, psychological and professional investments in this project. With these contradictions more clearly in sight, the locatedness of the analysis and the role of subjectivity as a point of entry into the text were more apparent. Rather than offer the slick performance of a well read voice from nowhere, this foregrounding of these contradictory investments allows readers to make richer and more informed assessments of the claims being advanced about how systems of knowledge production like tea legitimate themselves.

Given that the previous paragraphs have reiterated how I have objectified subjectivity in previous chapters, I would like to make some final comments about the experience of subjectivity as an effect that is specifically located by commodity discourse. Speaking from a position of apparent comfort and security (below the spike in suicide rates of Japanese men in their mid-fifties who bought houses at the peak of the bubble economy before being dismissed as part of corporate restructuring and slowly watching their dream homes fall to half of their mortgage face value, and perhaps safely tucked into a tenure track position when most university advertisements for foreigners specify an upper age limit of 35), identity now appears to be less a matter of some stable essentials. Having the readies of economic and intellectual capital may provide some with the ability to experience subjectivity as an effect of power,
technology, and technology. Identity has become another line item purchase decision, a performance mediated by commodity discourse: "The self is the object of sale and consumption. We may be at the end stage of a certain form of mental life (Gagnon 1992, p.241)." The application of economic and intellectual capital to the project of self-fashioning marks this transition by being subject to further categorisation. Identity capital expresses itself most potently when symbolic and material resources can be allocated to the process of constructing multiple subjectivities.

In the context of this thesis, I reconfigured received notions of reliability and validity to tease out a fine grained reading of the process of constructing multiple selves. Reliability was given a polyphonic quality and emotional verisimilitude was argued to be an appropriate adjustment to a notion of autoethnographic validity. My account of how tea and textual analysis construct a range of subject positions assumed a number of multiple perspectives. Chapter 6 opened with a hopefully convincing account of the pleasures of a tea gathering. The implicit positioning was of a cultural intermediary, a tea insider explaining the charms of tea for an uninitiated audience. Later in Chapter 6 that description was deconstructed using questions of critical media literacy, and the dialogue form was also intended to demonstrate certain theoretical concerns with the notion of a single unified authorial self. This bricolage of appearances as a tea student and practitioner and consumer of CDA and poststructualist literature evident in Chapter 6 is intensified across the latter half of the thesis as I map out the ideological pleasures of the life of the tea mind. Chapters 5-9 were considered interventions showing how tea operates as the constructor of mythic selves, national and individual.

The forms of power implicated in the construction of national identities and individual subjectivities have primarily been discursive and pedagogic. Following the literature on power and subjectivity, tea practices and sites of tea reception and representation were read in terms of how the inevitability of
power/knowledge shapes and limits tea experiences. My critique of national culture sifts off the power investments of traditional custodians of cultural practices in their self-presentations as not political or economic. Conventional images of Japanese technology, where there are 1.5 mobile phones per capita, are scientifically high tech. However the technology explored here, while including film and its secondary effects and texts, was notably more elemental: light modified by paper screens, bamboo tea scoops, and the surprisingly percussive sound of water being boiled by charcoal. Nonetheless, with a quick swipe of the credit card, these timeless aspects of the tea moment are all available for rent at high rise hotels throughout Japan. Increasingly reflexive versions of subjectivity position the self as a process, operating as a cultural intermediary located at the intersection of cultural production and consumption. With this discrediting of a notion of a single and stable essentialised identity, comes an imperative to embrace plurality: multiple selves, multiple others, selves as others. During swings through these multiplicities, the perception of self may mediated by a relativising realisation:

When we discover that there are several cultures instead of just one and consequently at the same time when we acknowledge the end of a sort of cultural monopoly, be it real or illusory, we are threatened with the destruction of our discovery. Suddenly, it becomes possible that there are just others, that we ourselves an ‘other’ among others (Ricoeur 1965, p.278).

Living as an other among others is a challenging process of facing one’s own limits to rational change and just action. Variations of reflexive hermeneutics can buffer the real loss of illusory desires of belonging, and technologies of self can provide degrees of satisfaction as those practices reinforce ours efforts to embody certain ideals. As thought strives to be technical, certain aspects of the psyche consider living beyond the emotional constraints of authority. Having charted this unsteady flow of multiple selves, multiple others, and selves as others, what are the aspirations of a reader of cultural theory, whose practices
can be mapped across the insider/outsider topology of language and culture, at this point?

The deepest consequence of this project, and its real world dispersal, would be a certain recognition among my tea peers and seniors. If my tea room presence results in the sense among my partners in tea that we are all just an ‘other’ among others, while down on our knees enjoying a moment of social and aesthetic unity in tea, that would be deeply satisfying. While I recognise that this desire is partially structured by the wish to authentically embody the rhetoric of tea’s global role as deep hospitality, it is not as one colloquium examiner suggested an urge to become Japanese. Ten years ago, this comment would have been true. I was afflicted by the spectre of becoming the other and blind to the power of knowledge to structure desires to consume and be consumed by the authentic. However a decade of reading social theory has given me a certain distance on the desire to transgress the trinity of ethnicity, language and culture and a vocabulary to interrogate the implications for subjectivity when language, social activities, and social relationships are institutionalised as discourse, practice, and organization. Rather than pushing for honorary life membership of the Japanese club, I would like to think that my tea room antics put the category of ‘Japanese’ and the idea of cultural practices as being the possession of those legitimated with a certain birthright under a modest form of erasure. The sort of authenticity I wish to embody is competent sub-cultural literacy in the tea room.

On a more modest and personal level, this account of my life as an other among others can be read as being underpinned by shamelessly utopian hopes for the future: a migrant’s search for national space as culture, with cultural patriotism providing the pride of belonging and a basis for appreciating and accepting differences; and a parent’s hope that national identity will not slide into the excesses of nationalism.
As the previous comment about how I experienced Japan ten years ago attests, I am telling a tale of one life’s trajectory from outside to inside and beyond. The drive to the future configures the desire to be authenticated by tea discourses and to be recognised as a competent practitioner of textual analysis. Clearly I am attempting to appropriate something from both sets of cultures, the mentalities of social theory and the corporeal, social and emotional acts associated with tea rooms. There are desires to share conceptual insights valued by social theory, urges to perform a more embodied orthodoxy as a necessary point of transit towards achieving my own tea somewhere beyond official standards, and these impulses to some extent are mutually constitutive.

What I have written is the outcome of a decade’s work, driven in part by an early impulse to inhabit and a later desire to theorise this territory: “Where does one culture begin and another end when they are housed in the same person?” (Sahgal 1992, p.30).

**Post hoc**

This final chapter can be read as an implicit response to one question: how does one act, knowing that social theory can provide metaphors for movements in tea rooms and other spaces which are little more than attempts to make sense of the white noise of dissonant psychic drives? This report of seduction, sanction and suspicion has been my response to the theoretical promises of CDA, cultural and postcolonial studies. As a final flourish, I would like to return to the endless asymptote of self-creation.

Although subjectivity defeats our efforts to predict the course of its tellings and livings, we may glimpse the scope of its secrets whenever we attend closely to its untiring pursuit of a ceaseless, arduous self-creation (Rosenwald 1992, p.286).
Now that this thesis has been submitted, I am released from rigorous performances of textual self-representation of the changing same. I deserve a reward, but it will not be the action of no action. It will be the relentless task of incessant self-invention, captured in Estragon's "Nothing to be done" (Beckett 1954, p.7): there is nothing to do beyond the compulsion to continue to act and learn.

I am off to learn otsuzumi, the large hand drum played on the noh stage.

**ESTRAGON:** I can't go on like this.

**VLADIMIR:** That's what you think.

**ESTRAGON:** If we parted? That might be better for us?

**VLADIMIR:** We'll hang ourselves to-morrow. *(Pause.)* Unless Godot comes.

**ESTRAGON:** And if he comes?

**VLADIMIR:** We'll be saved.

*Vladimir takes of his hat (Lucky's), peers inside it, feels about inside it, shakes it, knocks on the crown, puts it on again.*

**ESTRAGON:** Well? Shall we go?

**VLADIMIR:** Pull on your trousers.

**ESTRAGON:** What?

**VLADIMIR:** Pull on your trousers.

**ESTRAGON:** You want me to pull off my trousers?

**VLADIMIR:** Pull ON your trousers.

**ESTRAGON:** *(realizing his trousers are down).* True.

*He pulls up his trousers.*

**VLADIMIR:** Well? Shall we go?

**ESTRAGON:** Yes, let's go.

*They do not move.*

*Curtain.*

*(Beckett 1954, p.61).*
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