

Recreating China: Design Motifs on Imported Chinese Porcelains and Their Early Japanese Counterparts

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A STRONG UNDERLYING THEME IN EARLY 17TH-CENTURY Japanese art is the employment of Chinese imagery and symbolism. When these images and symbols are examined they reveal not just a direct transference of motifs from China, but a Japanese reconstruction of a specific Chinese aesthetic. Chinese-style imagery appears on all artistic media in the Japanese early modern period, from painted screens and architecture to textiles and ceramics. This paper focuses primarily on motifs painted on early Japanese porcelains in comparison with motifs on Chinese porcelains imported contemporaneously into Japan. The data for this comparison comes almost exclusively from recent archaeological investigations correlated with existing heirloom collections (*denseihin*). Because of the advance state of archaeology in Japan with 20,000 sites excavated on the average each year (25,367 alone in 1989 of which one quarter are from the Edo period [1603-1868]), we can date porcelain almost to the decade of manufacture. We are also able to know how, where and when these ceramics were used. Another advantage in using archaeologically recovered materials, or objects that have been matched in the archaeological record, is that their authenticity is not in question.

Before examining porcelain motifs, a brief discussion about terminology could prove useful. The word 'China' is used in two different ways in this paper. The first is the typical use of the word China, as in Ming period China – or Chinese domestic taste - meaning the taste of the Chinese people. The second use of China, and the one that is mostly utilized in this paper, refers to the Japanese construction of

an idealized China. This idealized China, while readily recognizable to the Japanese of the period, had very little to do with the country called China. Contact and trade were sustained to varying degrees between the two countries since at least the beginnings of the Japanese state by the 5th century. Through Japanese monks, officials and traders who traveled to China and brought back what they had studied, bought and read, China became a wondrous source of amazement, learning, and inventions for the island-bound Japanese populace. Donald Keene, the world renown specialist in Japanese literature goes so far to write 'the central factor of Japanese literature- if not the entire traditional culture - was the love for and the rejection of Chinese influence'.¹ These objects and techniques had a large impact not only on Japanese craft production, but also on Japanese aesthetics.

The element of fantasy incorporated into the concept of China is evident in the Japanese pre-modern term for 'things Chinese'-*karamono*, which literally means Tang period (618-906) objects. There was even a phrase for people with a taste for 'things Chinese', *karamono suki*. By the very wording of the term *karamono*, an archaized and even romanticized vision of China is conjured up in the mind. The fact that this vision was in fact a transformed and not direct translation of China and things Chinese was far from being denied: Motoori Norinaga, the eminent Neo-Confucian scholar of the Edo period who was a specialist on Chinese learning, wrote a poem recording his concern with the subject.



Figure 1. Close-up of a *nanban* screen, beginning of the 17th century, Suntory Museum, Tokyo.

How wretched,
Without understanding our principle
Of the mysterious,
To expound the Chinese
Principle of things.²

Obviously, 'A taste for things Chinese' changed in Japan with different periods, but several underlying themes appear to have remained constant.³ To Japan, China represented what can be called 'the other', or what Japan was thought not to be.⁴ The term most often used in Japanese early modern period documents encapsulating this concept is *ikoku*, which literally means 'other country' or just 'other'. Pre-1868, this term referred to China or the Continent, which included both China and Korea. The Japanese term *ikoku-shumi* meant 'taste for things foreign' and was interchangeable in the 17th and 18th centuries with *karamono suki*, or 'taste for things Chinese', relating the exotic nature in which Chinese objects were viewed. Importantly for this study, the English word 'other' is a relatively neutral word, meaning that which is not the self. The Japanese word *ikoku*, however, has the added dimension of longing for the exotic, for something better than the self, something to be desired and possessed.

In the 17th century this idea of China as romanticized

other (*karamono/ikoku*) manifested itself in fantasy displays on screen painting and in architectural design. It was also harnessed for didactic purposes by the new military ruling elite, the Tokugawa. The Tokugawa used elaborate Chinese-style (*ikoku*) designs to align themselves with Chinese authority and linked Confucian values. In particular, the Kanô painting school, the official painting school of the Tokugawa Shogunate, designed many monuments that have come to epitomize this fictionalized China, in places like the Tokugawa death mortuaries (*Tôshôgu*) of Kunôzan in Shizuoka and at Nikkô, as well as the Tokugawa residence of Nijô Castle in Kyoto.⁵

Fictionalized China, and for that matter all other non-Japanese lands (*nanban* or southern barbarian), was envisioned through the use of bright colors replete in gold detailing. Every inch was covered with symmetrical decoration, including most clothing and even floor tiles. Particularly commonly used motifs for representing *ikoku* designs were *karakusa* or scrolling vine pattern, *karabafu* or Chinese-style archways and *karamado*, or ogival windows. Figure 1 is a close up of a *nanban* screen housed in the Suntory Museum in Tokyo. This painted scene provides a window into the view of how foreigners were imagined to have looked and lived. This early 17th-century Kanô School painted screen, in fact, depicts Portuguese men and women living in what was thought to be their home land. On close inspection, the fact that the scene is based on a fictionalized



Figure 2. (Above) Left screen of a pair of *nanban* screens, beginning of the 17th century, Kobe City Museum, Kobe.



Figure 3. (Left) Close-up of the Sôdôji Screens, c. 1630s, Reimei-kai, Nagoya.

dragon design vaguely reminiscent of Chinese export Longquan celadon ceramics. Every inch of this screen is covered with highly ornate decoration, mostly in a scrolling vine pattern (*karakusa*). The Suntory screen emits a feeling of opulent luxury in everything depicted from the clothing to the leisurely manner of the inhabitants, all rendered in a color palate of gold, red, blue, and green, which fills up all available space with patterns (mostly floral or geometric), and a mixing of motifs that surely seemed coherent in the mind of the painter. Figure 2 is the left screen of a pair of *nanban* screens housed in the Kobe City Museum. This also depicts the land of the *nanban*, presumably the Portuguese. Here the combination of colors, motifs and exotica like Chinese rocks, Indian elephants, European missionaries, and Western dogs combine to make this screen a true depiction of *ikoku*, or the exoticized other.

Another style of screen popular in around the 1630s (Kan'ei period) was the merry making type of screens of which the most famous is the Sôdôji screens housed in the Reimei-kai in Nagoya. The screens, linked from their period of production to the Tokugawa family,⁷ depict a carnivalesque scene in and outside a fantasy mansion. It is a virtual encyclopedia of pleasures of the period, showing 400 people in various states of repose. This close-up scene in figure 3 gives us a slightly voyeuristic peep through a Chinese-style window (*karamado*) at a Japanese *samurai* studying what could be a Chinese scholarly text in a Chinese inspired room with a Southern Song-style ink painting, a Chinese (or Ryûkyû) table and Chinese lion-shaped incense burner. The imagery on the screen reflects the value placed by the governing Tokugawa family in the 1620-40s on what was thought to be Chinese culture. It was just at this period of popularity of the screens, when ideas of Chinese-style

Chinese-style one is readily apparent. The women are loosely depicted as Chinese both in face and in dress, the men are dressed as Portuguese in Chinese silks and sit on Ming period chairs.⁶ The verandah is covered with Chinese floral (*karabana*) decorated tiles, and the Chinese arch (*karabafu*) through which the women and servants walk, separated from the men, is covered with a scrolling green



Figure 4. Exterior of a Hizen porcelain square dish, 'Made in Great Ming Chinghua era' mark, c. 1640-50, The Kyushu Ceramic Museum, Arita.

refinements and pleasures were embraced wholeheartedly by the ruling elite, that porcelain was introduced for the first time in Japan.

The inception of porcelain production in Japan falls at an important moment in East Asian history interrelating China, Korea and Japan. China witnessed the slow fall of the Ming and the rise of the foreign Qing dynasty. The Korean peninsula was devastated by Japan's two invasions of 1592 and 1598 along with the fortunes of certain Japanese military families that were sent over to Korea, and the

coffers of the Ming government which had helped to fund the Korean resistance. And with the close of the Momoyama period in Japan, decades of internecine warfare were brought to an end. A new power structure arose with the Tokugawa military government which took over Japan officially in 1603. The unification was made possible in part by the rapid monetization of the economy that increased economic growth.

The vying between the regional lords in Japan (about 260 lords of *daimyo* in the early Edo period) and the eventual complete unification of Japan finally under the Tokugawa in 1615 helped to establish marketing and distribution centers both central and regional, organization of large military forces, and large scale constructions projects. Studies of silver bullion flow between China and Japan in the 17th century show that most of the domains and the Tokugawa government themselves invested a substantial part of their wealth in foreign trade during the first half of the 17th century.⁸ As a result, Japanese silver exports soared, and Japan along with Mexico became in the early 1600s one of the world's largest silver exporters. In 1603 alone Japan exported 200,000 kilograms of silver, most of which was destined for China.⁹

The high quality of the silver bullion attracted many trading partners to Japan, including the Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, English and Dutch, and trade was stimulated to an extent never before experienced. It is from this milieu that porcelain first began to be manufactured in Japan. With various *daimyo* all vying for status and prestige as well as stockpiling bullion, each domain had to try to

Figure 5. Overglaze polychrome enamel Chinese bowl excavated from the Tominga-cho site, Swatow ware, later 16th century.





Figure 6. An underglaze cobalt-blue Chinese dish, late 16th century, Jingdezhen, private collection, USA.

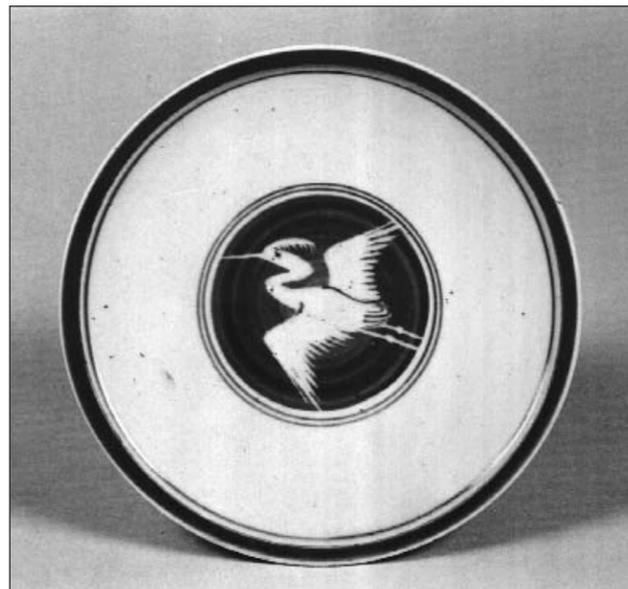


Figure 7. An underglaze cobalt-blue Japanese dish (*shoki imari*), Hizen ware, c. 1630s, private collection, Japan.



Figure 8. An underglaze cobalt-blue Japanese dish (*shoki imari*), Hizen Ware, c. 1620-30, private collection, Japan.



Figure 9. A page from the printed Chinese book *Hasshu gafu* (*Ba Zhong Hua Pu* in Chinese), c. 1610, Keio University Library, Tokyo.

build up its local economy and exploit the natural resources found within it. One of the logistical problems of the newly arisen Tokugawa military government had after 1615 was that once peace was instilled throughout the land, the Tokugawa's prescribed role as peace maker was over. True authority lay only with the emperor in Kyoto thought to have descended in an unbroken line from the Sun goddess Amaterasu-o-mikami. The Tokugawa had to redefine their function in order to keep a legitimate claim to rule Japan in peace time.

Part of this redefinition involved a physical relocation of power. The administrative/judicial center of Japan was shifted away from Kyoto, home of the emperor and traditional power base of the aristocracy, to the newly reclaimed land around Edo which was Tokugawa Ieyasu's powerbase, 1,200 kilometers to the east. A system of balances and checks were set up to ensure continued Tokugawa rule. The Tokugawa loosely based their ideology on a Chinese Neo-Confucian basis. One of their techniques of control over the 260 some regional lords was an enforced system of alternate residence, making the lords leave their family in Edo and spend alternate years between their home province and the Capital.¹⁰ This system placed a premium on processions and possessions, and created the need for a new mutually understandable vocabulary of power. The Tokugawa as well as other powerful lords in emulation or competition chose to overlook the native Japanese artistic vocabulary centered in Kyoto and patronized by the emperor and his circle and the *machishū* (merchants that surrounded them), and imported from China selective aesthetic and cultural elements to substantiate their power. The architectural historian William Coaldrake notes that 'the first three Tokugawa shogun, Ieyasu (1542-1616), Hidetada (1579-1632) and Iemitsu (1604-1651) proved remarkably adept at translating

their political ambitions into physical forms, sharing the universal ambition of rulers throughout the ages to create palpable manifestations of authority.'¹¹ They participated in the construction of an aesthetic system contrasted strongly with the native-Kyoto Imperial-style art, and had the validity of being associated with China. This ruling *samurai* taste manifested itself most vividly through the Kanō school, and in the many official castle buildings and monuments commissioned by the Tokugawa, for example Nijō castle in Kyoto and the death mortuary of Tokugawa Ieyasu, the Tōshōgu at Nikkō. Throughout the Tokugawa period at least two visual systems are seen which could be viewed as Kyoto vs. Edo-based aesthetics, though they were ideologically rather than geographically grounded.

Japanese porcelain production during the early 17th century naturally fits into this Chinese style aesthetic that had come to symbolize the new *samurai* ruling elite. Japanese-made porcelain from the 1630s onwards even sported spurious 'made in Ming (China)' marks written in underglaze cobalt-blue on the inside of the footring on the base of the vessels.¹² Figure 4 show the base of a Japanese Hizen porcelain square dish dated to c. 1640-50 (the front of the dish is illustrated in figure 12) with a spurious 'Made in Great Ming Chenghua era' mark. The delayed introduction of porcelain making techniques into Japan is also telling. Porcelain began to be produced in China by the 9th century during the Tang period, and in Korea during the Koryo period, at least by the 13th century. But porcelain production only started in Japan in the 1610s in the Arita district of Hizen province in northwestern Kyushu. However, 40 years later, by 1655, Japanese porcelain had already reached a high level of sophistication.¹³ From the mid-17th century onward, porcelain production diversified outward not only for the domestic market, but also for the

growing export markets to South East Asia, Middle East, and Europe. Japan's late but rapid development of porcelain can be explained by the political and cultural climate discussed above, but also from the actual location of the kilns and the types of designs depicted, as well as the marketing of the wares by the domain.

Arita is located in Hizen province, within the Nabeshima domain, which is currently part of Saga and Nagasaki Prefectures. Nabeshima Naoshige participated in Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Bunroku and Keichō invasions of the Korean Peninsula (1592 and 1598) and brought back to his domain a number of Korean nationals. Whether the indentured Koreans were skilled potters is not known, but the production of Korean-styled stoneware started in Hizen by at least the beginning of the Bunroku period (1592).¹⁴ These same potters are also attributed with starting the porcelain industry in Japan almost as an undirected *sui generis* pursuit in their new homeland. This officially accepted explanation of porcelain production had benefits for the image of the Japanese nation just at its formative stage in the early modern period. The idea of bringing back the best Korea had to offer almost legitimates the destruction caused to a sustained invasion that ended in a withdrawal of Japanese troops. This issue is, however, beyond the scope of this paper. What is important to note here is that early Japanese porcelain technology, the kilns themselves, the kiln furniture and methods used point to a mixture of Korean, Southern Chinese, and native origins.

Hizen Province was adjacent to the town of Nagasaki, which was a trade entrepot under the direct control of Hideyoshi and later the Tokugawa shogunate. Nagasaki had a particularly deep harbor which made it attractive to the burgeoning Chinese as well as Portuguese and later Dutch trade. Importantly, the lord of Hizen in the late 1500s and

early 1600s, Nabeshima Naoshige, had been one of Hideyoshi's two governors of Nagasaki before the invasions of Korea and must have been intimately familiar with the profit from the international trade taking place in Nagasaki. During this period Chinese ceramics were being imported by the thousands, and are found at affluent living sites throughout Japan, particularly concentrated around the trading ports of Nagasaki, Hakata, Sakai, Osaka. One of the most commonly found type of Chinese ceramic at the turn of the 16th century and early 17th century is southern Chinese Swatow ware (made near Guangdong province) which was mostly produced for export, especially to Japan and Southeast Asia.¹⁵ Figure 5 shows a Swatow bowl that was excavated and reassembled from a recent excavation at the Tominaga-cho site near Kyoto. The color scheme of red and gold as well as the frequent use of symmetrically placed roundels with background geometric patterning appealed to the Japanese reading of Chinese design, and appears to be the aesthetic forerunner of the immensely popular Chinese export ware called Shonzui which is discussed below.

Although Chinese porcelain production was extremely diversified in terms of style and pattern, Chinese porcelain



Figure 10. An underglaze cobalt-blue Chinese dish, Shonzui ware, c. 1635-1640s, private collection, USA.

excavated in Japan tends to fall into a narrower range. Along with Swatow and other southern coastal Chinese styles, Kinrande and Kraak-style wares are also found in some quantity. The three Chinese styles of porcelain, Swatow, Kinrande and Kraak, were all designed solely for export to Asia, the Middle East and Europe, and did not reflect contemporary Chinese taste. Later 16th- and 17th-century Chinese taste in porcelain designs manifested itself more in natural motifs placed in context, or organic floral scroll patterns, as well as Taoist scenes and narrative depiction.¹⁶ In general, the use of gold was kept to a minimum on most domestic bound wares during the Ming period, with underglaze cobalt-blue and delicately colored overglaze enamel porcelains very much in favor at the Imperial court and among the wealthy.

Certain Chinese Wanli period (1573-1619) *wucai* (5 color overglaze) and blue and white pieces are also present in the Japanese archaeological record from the period. The patterns on these ceramics are mostly geometric, nature scenes or Chinese figures. These designs are often static, the edge decorated with some sort of banding. Figure 6 shows a Chinese dish dating to the late 16th century in a private

collection. Identical sherds have been excavated both out of Osaka Castle and the Maeda residential site in Hongo 3-chome, Tokyo. In this dish we have two cranes on a lake side surrounded by peonies and Chinese decorative rocks, banded in by a geometric border. When compared to a Japanese dish made shortly afterwards during the initial stage of production at Arita (1620-30) in figure 7, some interesting differences in design style come to the fore. The Japanese version has stripped away the background isolating and emphasizing the heron, flattening it out and also framing the composition with two sets of bowstring lines, making the central motif easily readable and static in a tightly enclosed space. On the Chinese dish the cranes are in a natural if somewhat simplified setting shifting the emphasis away from a singular motif to a general setting. But this type of design simplification that we see with the Japanese heron dish is not an isolated phenomena, but more a general trend in early Japanese porcelain design.

One of the earlier examples of Japanese porcelain is a small plate with a design of a Chinese boy playing a flute and riding an water buffalo seen in figure 8. The boy and animal are separated from their natural context, like a landscape or even a ground line. This feeling is further enhanced by the stippling effect (*fukizumi*) surrounding the figure, abstracting the image even further. The composition

is enclosed and framed by a circular band of geometricized waves which encircle the rim of the dish. The frame acts as both a border and a device which freezes the composition flattening out the picture frame, almost as if we were looking at it through a telescope. To further enhance the painterly, non-ceramic, origins of the composition, the ceramic designer has added a painter's seal and signature to the work- *histu* and *ga*. For this 'Chinese-styled' work the origins are not in Chinese ceramic, but from a printed book partially reprinted in figure 9. This book is entitled the *Hasshu gafu* [8 volumes of painting] in Japanese, or *Ba Zhong Hua Pu* in Chinese, and was printed in Ming China during the Wanli era around 1610. It soon found its way to the Japanese Arita porcelain kilns. While it later became a standard for Japanese painting especially for the Kanô school, that was not for another 30 or so years, and it was



Figure 11. Detail of the interior rim of figure 10.

finally reprinted in Japan in 1672. The painting manual appear to have been initially introduced into Japan appears to have been through the kilns in Arita.

When the original print and the ceramic plate are compared the differences become clear. There appears to be a purposeful simplification and reorientation of the design to make it more understandable to the owners. The Chinese boy on the water buffalo in a rice field being viewed by a Chinese gentleman and his servant becomes only a Chinese boy on an water buffalo. The end result is that on the Japanese rendition, the Chinese narrative element is completely lost and the composition has become two dimensional, frozen in a frame with a painting-style signature. Narration has been reduced to a static single image.

Other examples include Japanese renditions of Chinese landscape often with a man fishing. This type of design was produced at various Arita kilns including Tenjinmori. The Japanese rendition of a Chinese landscape when compared to an actual Chinese one, even from the simplified Transitional style popular in Japan from the 1620-1640s, has become still and simplified, with the mountains often reduced to two strokes of a brush. The mountains do not recede in the distance, but become abstracted patterns by

the light and dark stroke that compose their form. The man's fishing rod and line have become a calligraphic stroke with a graphic geometric quality, and the composition is often framed by some kind of embellished border.

As Japanese taste for *karamono* or things Chinese took a palpable form in Hizen porcelains, the Chinese porcelain producing center of Jingdezhen and the southern Chinese kilns accommodated the Japanese change in taste, and produced export ware specifically tailored for the Japanese evolving market. And while the Japanese were producing their own porcelains, they were also importing a record number of Chinese porcelains in the first half of the 17th century to meet the new internal demand for these products.

With the end of the Wanli period in 1619, Jingdezhen was without imperial patronage for the first time in over two and a half centuries making it necessary for the potters to actively pursue new markets. In the 1620s a type of ware was produced at Jingdezhen currently called Kosometsuke. Kosometsuke was produced both for the Chinese domestic market and for the export market. It found a large demand in Japan, particularly among tea adepts, and many pieces were special ordered from Japan with specific forms and designs.¹⁷

The Chinese in the mid-1630s had developed a brand new type of porcelain ware designed solely for the Japanese market. This new type of ware, called Shonzui in Japanese, was a singular success. Figure 10 depicts a classical Shonzui dish from a private collection. Shonzui was produced in China from the 1630s to at least the 1640s and was copied and adapted in Japan until the Meiji period. The success of Shonzui ware in the Japanese market was partially due to the fact that it fulfilled the criteria of what was considered Chinese by the Japanese - abstract and floral designs completely filling most of the area with windows (*mado-e*), depiction of animals or roundels breaking up the design (figure 11 is a detail of figure 10). This style appealed to the current Japanese trend of juxtaposing various geometric patterns with occasional representational designs that were carefully framed. This type of design was current on certain styles of clothing during the Kan'ei period (1624-1644).¹⁸ Figure 10 sports a symmetrical rendering of four geometric patterns in the background overlain by a rabbit, and banded by 16 roundels filled with figures, animals, nature scenes and geometric patterns.

It was just at this same time during the late Kan'ei period in the 1640s that Japanese delight in interplay and illusionistic renditions of spatial constructs starts to appear in force on porcelains, which ushers in a new period in Japanese ceramic design. The succeeding Kanbun era (culturally defined as c.1650-80) witnessed play with negative and positive space and the importance of spatial recession. These tendencies made the picture plane appear even flatter.

The ceramics produced during the shift from Kan'ei to Kanbun period reflecting the changing values and shifting markets. Figure 12 is a Japanese Shonzui-style ware produced in during the 1640-50s in the Kyushu Ceramic Museum in Arita. The Shonzui aesthetic of covering the

background with a geometric pattern, as seen in *figure 10*, here has been reduced to half. The individual roundels that appeared around the border in *figure 11*, here, in *figure 12*, have become linked in a geometricized floral shape that is also reminiscent of the *shippo tsunagi* (linked circle) design. To further enhance the geometric spatial play, the alternating interiors of the linked circles are filled in with underglaze cobalt-blue. And while the interior design is a play on circles, the shape of the dish is a square, which is further enhanced by a comb band around the edge and an iron-oxide decorated rim.

In the relatively short period of time, from 1610-1650, new influences can be seen grafted onto the native artistic tradition in Japanese ceramics. In effect, what resulted is a revitalized Japanese aesthetic. The new concepts that were fuelling this vocabulary were intense interest in the other (*ikoku*) and the identification of porcelain as a Chinese product (*karamono*), as well as certain motifs associated with ruling *samurai* taste that had gained currency in other media (screen painting, clothing and architecture). All of these stylistic innovations, regardless of country of origin, were shifted through the Japanese artistic consciousness. The scenes representing a Japanese version of China or things Chinese (*ikoku*-style *nanban* or *yûrakuzu* scenes) were idealized losing their Chinese-based iconographic narration and reflecting a more comfortable view of the exotic. Decorative motifs, just as overall concepts, conform to the responses (or tastes) of the Japanese audience; the system of decoration is internally coherent, with the use of window scenes (*mado-e*), roundels, and frames acting as borders, and as a compositional device, and the overall effect imparts compositional flattening and inherent tension within the picture frame.

Art forms reflect changing political and economic status. From the period examined here, a review of Japanese porcelains in the early 17th century, many from archaeological sites, offers evidence of a new aesthetic both created by and emerging from the changing political reality.

NOTES

- 1 Donald Keene, "Literature," in Arthur E. Tiedmann (ed), *An Introduction to Japanese Civilization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 383.
- 2 Taken from David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 185.
- 3 For an examination of Chinese taste in ceramics in Medieval Japan see Nicole Rousmaniere, "Defining Temmoku: Jian Ware Tea Bowls Imported into Japan," in Robert Mowry (ed), *Hare's Fur, Tortoiseshell, and Partridge Feathers: Chinese Brown- and Black-glazed Ceramics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 1996), pp.42-58. Also see the comprehensive exhibition catalogue *Karamono temmoku-Fukken shô ken'yô shutsudo temmoku to Nihon densei no temmoku: Tokubetsuten* [Chinese Temmoku- Temmoku Wares recovered from the Jian Kilns in Fujian Province and Temmoku Wares Preserved as Heirloom pieces in Japan: A Special Exhibition; organized jointly by the Chado shiryôkan [Tea Ceremony Institute] and the Fukken shô hakubutsukan [Fujian Provincial Museum], held in Kyoto at the Chado shiryôkan in October 1994.
- 4 Specifically there are two main terms in Japanese for 'the other'; *ikai* and *ikoku*. *Ikai* literally means another world and is often used in religious tracts, whereas *ikoku* means another country, i.e. that which is not Japan.
- 5 For a comprehensive look at the ornamentation of the Nikkô Tōshōgu,



Figure 12. An underglaze cobalt-blue Japanese dish, Hizen ware, c. 1640-1650, The Kyushu Ceramic Museum, Arita.

- see Sakada Izumi, *Shogun's Shrine, the Magnificent Nikkô Tōshō-gu* (Tokyo: Graphic-sha, 1994). Two volumes both in English and Japanese.
- 6 Professor Kobayashi Tadashi of Gakushuin University has pointed out that Japanese artists had no opportunity to view western women during the 17th century, and thus tended to render them in a Chinese fashion (personal communication).
 - 7 These type of screens are called *yûrakuzu byōbu*.
 - 8 Iwao Seiichi, *Shuisen bōeki-shi no kenkyū*. (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1958), pp. 4-17.
 - 9 William Atwell, "International Bullion Flows and the Chinese Economy circa 1530-1650," *Past and Present* no. 95 (May 1982), pp. 68-90.
 - 10 This system was call *sankin kōtai* (alternate residence), and was formalized by the 1630s.
 - 11 William H. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 140.
 - 12 Marks on the bases of early Japanese porcelain often are two characters meaning great Ming (*dai min*) or occasionally four or six character marks mostly with spurious Chengua (1465-87) or Wanli (1573-1619) Ming reign marks. See The Kyushu Ceramic Museum (ed), *Shibata korekushon IV* [Shibata Collection, part IV] (Arita-cho: Kyushu tōji bunkakan, 1995), pp. 272-279.
 - 13 The establishment of the Chōkichidani kiln is usually viewed as the high point of porcelain production in the Arita kilns. See Ohashi Koji, *Hizen tōji* (Tokyo: Nyuu siensusha, 1989).
 - 14 This type of stoneware is called Karatsu ware.
 - 15 A joint Chinese and Japanese conference was held on Swatow ware in Kyoto, Japan from 21-22 of February, 1994, chaired by Professor Narazaki during which the large amount of Swatow ware unearthed in Japan was discussed.
 - 16 See Stephen Little, *Chinese Ceramics of the Transitional Period: 1620-1683* (New York: China Institute of America, 1983), for a vivid analysis of 17th-century Chinese porcelain styles.
 - 17 Kyoto National Museum, *Nihonjin ga konda Chūgoku tōji* [Chinese Ceramics: The Most Popular Works Among Japanese] (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1991).
 - 18 Dale Carolyn Gluck and Sharon Sadako Takeda, *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-period Japan* (Los Angeles: The Los Angeles County Museum, 1992).