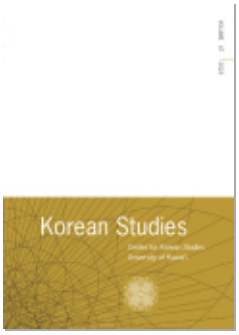
Mapping the Circulation and Use of Korean Tea Bowls in Sixteenth-Century Japan

Sol Jung



Korean Studies, Volume 47, 2023, pp. 66-92 (Article)

Published by University of Hawai'i Press
DOI: *https://doi.org/10.1353/ks.2023.a908618*

Mapping the Circulation and Use of Korean Tea Bowls in Sixteenth-Century Japan

Sol Jung

This essay explores a preliminary attempt to map the circulation and use of Korean ceramics, specifically tea bowls, in sixteenth-century Japan, using the integrated application, Palladio, developed at Humanities + Design, Stanford University. I focus on the diaries kept by sixteenth-century Japanese merchants, who were active collectors and participants of Japanese tea practice called *chanoyu*: a cultural forum where Korean tea bowls became highly valuable items among Japanese elites from 1537 onwards. The four diaries, *Matsuya kaiki*, *Tennōjiya kaiki*, *Imai Sōkyū chanoyu nikki nukigaki*, and *Sōtan nikki*, which document tea gatherings that took place in sixteenth-century Japan, demonstrate the growing popularity of Korean tea bowls among merchants, warriors, and Buddhist monks. While these historical texts are key sources of information on the appreciation of premodern Korean ceramics in Japan, they have been overlooked by scholars of Korean art history, since their renown has been limited to the specialized field of premodern Japanese tea culture. Moreover, the idiosyncratic format of these diaries requires knowledge of premodern Japanese tea practice to understand, and there have been no formal translations into other languages, making them inaccessible to those who do not read Japanese. Palladio presents the opportunity to digitally visualize and map the author's own English translation of more than 600 diary entries from 1537 to 1591 that mention Korean ceramics. I consider how data visualization can expand our understanding of the transnational impact of premodern Korean ceramics, and facilitate the introduction of unfamiliar primary sources to the field of Korean studies.

Keywords: Japanese tea culture, *chanoyu*, tea diaries, Korean ceramics, Palladio

Sol Jung is the Shirley Z. Johnson Assistant Curator of Japanese Art at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Asian Art, United States (jungs@si.edu).

Introduction

In this paper, I explore how the integrated application, Palladio, can be used to map the circulation of ceramic tea bowls from Korea in sixteenth-century Japan. Palladio, developed at Humanities + Design, Stanford University, allows users to visualize their own data sets—uploaded as a.csv file to the open access online platform—with the capacity to incorporate GIS data to geographically map said data. Korean tea bowls are prized for their aesthetic and historic value in the context of Japanese tea culture, where both archaeological and textual evidence point to their earliest use in sixteenth-century Japan. These Korean ceramics were not originally made as tea bowls, but their renown in sixteenth-century Japan was such that in the seventeenth century a Japanese market for order-made Korean tea bowls developed.[1] In the tea diaries, it is evident that Korean tea bowls were valuable objects through which premodern Japanese elites engaged with their ideal of "Korea." My initial analysis of this data focused on broader patterns in the display of Korean tea bowls. A re-examination of the same data through Palladio revealed the geographic nuances in Japanese engagement with Korean tea bowls in the sixteenth century.

The data for this project are entries that mention Korean tea bowls from sixteenth-century Japanese tea diaries. The Japanese merchants who kept these records were practitioners of tea culture, called *chanoyu* 茶湯 (literally hot water for tea) in Japan. These tea men documented the selection of tea utensils that the host prepared for each gathering, thus capturing sixteenth-century Japanese perspectives on Korean ceramic tea bowls, called *kōrai jawan* 高麗茶碗 in Japan. I identified more than 600 diary entries from 1537 to 1591 that mention the use of Korean ceramic tea bowls.[2] I translated all these entries into English for my initial analysis. My goal for this earlier research project was to reconstruct the historical processes that contributed to the Japanese acclaim for Korean ceramic tea bowls in the sixteenth century, and to understand the material and aesthetic aspects Japanese collectors sought in the bowls. I argued that acknowledging the place of *kōrai jawan* in the formation of early collection habits of tea men enables a better understanding of the cultivation and later expansion of interest in Korean tea bowls.

Among Japanese scholars, these Korean tea bowls have received considerable attention in the fields of ceramic history, archaeology, art history, and cultural studies. However, as these Korean tea bowls do not survive intact in Korea, they presently have no place in the historical account of domestic art production nor, in particular, the Korean

consumption of Korean ceramics. An exception has been archaeologist and art historian Katayama Mabi's research: her comparative studies of potsherds from Korean kiln sites and the extant Korean tea bowls in Japan prove that these ceramics were indeed made in Korea. My initial data analysis demonstrated how these diaries reveal much about how these Korean ceramics became increasingly popular in sixteenth-century Japan, even in the absence of material evidence such as intact heirloom tea bowls. Yet, these diaries are little known outside of the highly specialized field of Japanese tea studies. Deciphering these diaries requires knowledge of Japanese tea practice protocols, making them inaccessible to scholars who have not studied the topic. Given the nature of these tea bowls as cross-cultural objects connecting Korea to Japan, these Korean tea bowls merit recognition in the field of Korean studies, where their cultural importance is little known. As an analytical tool, Palladio sheds light on geolocal characteristics of how Japanese elites appreciated Korean tea bowls. Furthermore, the intuitive visualization formats can make the data accessible to Koreanists who do not read Japanese but may be interested in the cross-cultural impact of Korean art and material culture in the East Asian maritime sphere.

What are Tea Diaries?

The tea diaries I examined are records kept by Japanese merchants who attended and hosted tea gatherings in and around the bustling port city of Sakai in the sixteenth century.[3] These diaries are termed the "four great tea diaries" (四大茶会記 *yondai chakaiki*) in the field of Japanese tea studies (See Figs. 1–9).[4] The earliest diary is *Matsuya kaiki* 松屋会記 by Matsuya Hisamasa 松屋久正 (1521–1598) from Nara who often travelled to Sakai. Tsuda Sōtatsu 津田宗達 (1504–1566) of the Tennōjiya 天王寺屋 merchant family based in Sakai kept two diaries: *Tennōjiya takaiki* 天王寺屋他会記 for gatherings he was invited to, and *Tennōjiya jikaiki* 天王寺屋自会記 for gatherings he hosted. In 1565 Sōtatsu's son, Sōgyū 宗及 (d. 1591) began his diaries and continued his father's practice of keeping two separate diaries, as did Sōbon 宗凡 (d. 1612), the grandson, beginning in 1590. The diary kept by Imai Sōkyū 今井宗久 (1520–1593), a Sakai-based merchant, only survives in a fragmentary form known as *Imai Sōkyū chanoyu nikki kakinuki* 今井宗久茶湯日記書抜. In 1568, Matsuya Hisamasa's son, Hisayoshi 久好, started his own tea diary. Last but not least is the *Sōtan nikki* 宗旦日記 by Kamiya Sōtan 神屋宗旦 (1551–1635).

As a Kyushu merchant, Sōtan is an exception as a stranger to Sakai and its environs, but nonetheless he began his diary upon his introduction to Sakai's tea community in 1586. Transcriptions of these diaries are in an edited compendium of important primary sources on Japanese tea culture called *Chanoyu koten zenshū* (茶湯古典全集 Complete Classics of Tea) published by Tankōsha, the publishing arm of the Urasenke School of Tea in Japan.[5]

Kōrai jawan appeared in these diaries as a new object at a time when tea men active in the Sakai area were building their collections and defining their aesthetic. Typically, each diarist disclosed details about the date, host, location, and guests of the gatherings they attended, and usually listed and, at times, described or sketched the tea items employed by the host.[6] The host selected an assemblage of tea utensils that were both essential to the preparation of tea and aesthetically complementary to the other components. Typically, the main components of such of an assemblage were a kettle to boil water, a container to hold fresh water, a tea caddy, a flower container, a mounted calligraphy or ink painting hung in the alcove (*toko* 床), and, of course, one or more ceramic tea bowls. Diarists itemized objects based upon their placement in the tea room, usually beginning with the hearth, then moving onto the alcove, and so on.

Tea diary entries reflect each practitioner's idiosyncrasies in record-keeping as they assessed each assemblage. For example, Tsuda Sōtatsu meticulously listed all components of his own assemblages, usually beginning with the hearth, followed by the alcove display, and moving onto other objects, such as the tea bowl.[7] These lists give the impression that each item is indispensable to the assemblage's total effect. Sōtatsu provided no detailed descriptions of these objects, because, as host, he was familiar with his own collection, and notes on their appearance were unnecessary. When Sōtatsu wrote about the assemblages of other hosts, he employed

Diary	Years	Number of Entries
Matsuya kaiki	1537-1591	92
Tennōjiya takaiki	1549-1585	162
Tennōjiya jikaiki	1554-1585	314
Imai Sōkyū chanoyu nikki kakinuki	1555-1589	21
Sōtan nikki	1586-1590	23
Total:		612

Fig. 1. Table showing number of entries that mention *kōrai jawan* from each diary.

the list-making approach seen in records of his own assemblages, but occasionally provided descriptions of objects.[8] Unlike Sōtatsu, Hisamasa wrote his lists in well-developed prose, and the order in which he noted objects was inconsistent. Hisamasa also dedicated a separate section to dishes served during the *kaiseki* meal, which was part of a formal tea gathering. Imai Sōkyū made easy-to-read lists like Sōtatsu, but sometimes included the *kaiseki* 懐石 dishes served, like Hisamasa.[9] Among all the diarists, Sōkyū included the most illustrations of the ceramic items, focusing on flower containers and tea caddies, also making occasional sketches of paintings.[10] Kamiya Sōtan wrote the lengthy entries, including details on his travel itinerary.[11] Sōtan went to Sakai to meet with merchants, such as Tennōjiya Sōgyū, to forge connections with the warlord and avid tea practitioner Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598), and there, as a novice, he immersed himself in the world of tea practice.[12] The unique characteristics of each diarist reflects the highly personal nature of these records and conveys individualized interests in noting the nuances of tea aesthetics.

The surviving diaries attest to how Sakai was a hub of tea-related activities, as does a catalogue of famous tea utensils called *Karamono oyoso no kazu* (唐物凡数 Compendium of Chinese Things, 1593). Written by a Sakai merchant named Sōro 宗魯, the document is further proof of the prominence of practitioner-collectors in the port city. According to the list Sakai had more than double the objects and collectors in Kyoto, surpassing Nara or any other region in Japan when it came to the concentration of tea practitioners and objects.[13] Nonetheless, diaries show that gatherings were also held in the nearby capital of Kyoto and the former capital, Nara. Sakai was distinctive in that most of the tea men were merchants, whereas in Nara or Kyoto they were mainly Buddhist monks and political elites.[14] In fact, tea gatherings facilitated discourse between these merchants and their social superiors from neighboring cities, which was good for business as well as for establishing the cultural prominence of the port.[15] Archaeological evidence and historical documents show how Sakai facilitated the acquisition of imports from the southern provinces, cultural exchange between merchants and political elites in nearby cities in the region, and the growth of a local style of tea practice that drew the attention of merchants and daimyo as far south as Kyushu.[16] By the end of the sixteenth century, the taste for *kōrai jawan* reached as far south as Hakata, where the daimyo Ōtomo Sōrin (1530–1587) acquired one through a local merchant.[17] The use of *kōrai jawan* arose in this context, and became strongly tied to the sixteenth-century, which many tea practitioners and

chanoyu scholars consider to be a formative period for Japanese tea culture as it is practiced and known today.[18] The famous tea master and Sakai merchant Sen Sōeki 千宗易 (1522–1591), commonly known as Rikyū 利休, and warrior-practitioners such as Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–1598) were active during this time.[19]

What Are *Kōrai Jawan*?

Kōrai jawan (高麗茶碗) are ceramic tea bowls that were made in Korea and brought to Japan, and that in Japan gained appreciation among Japanese tea practitioners beginning in the sixteenth century. The term "*kōrai jawan*" first appeared in 1537, in *Matsuya kaiki* 松屋会記, the tea diary of merchant Matsuya Hisamasa, and from that time Korean tea bowls grew into an established category of tea utensils of considerable renown.[20] By 1588, the tea practitioner Yamanoue no Sōji 山上宗二 wrote in his tea manual, *Yamanoue no Sōji ki* (山上宗二記 Records of Yamanoue no Sōji) that "Chinese tea bowls are being discarded. Presently, it is *kōrai jawan*, newly fired tea bowls, and even down to Seto tea bowls [that are preferred tea bowls]."[21] In just five decades, Korean tea bowls became highly valued objects in Japan, even eclipsing the long-revered Chinese antiques.[22]

Prior to the introduction of *kōrai jawan*, Japanese tea practitioners used tea bowls from China, which came to Japan from the continent along with the custom of drinking whisked powdered tea.[23] The Ashikaga 足利 shoguns, who were early practitioners of tea beginning in the fourteenth century, primarily utilized Chinese objects at their gatherings.[24] The shoguns prominently displayed their prized Chinese paintings, calligraphy, and ceramics in the alcove of their salons, and used Jian ware tea bowls: a preference adopted from China, where these bowls were first used.[25] The contents of their collection, along with a guide on the proper display and arrangement of these Chinese antiques were codified in the *Kundaikan sōchōki* (君台観左右帳記 Manual of the Shogunal Attendant) by the shogunal collection managers.[26] Later sixteenth-century tea practitioners valued these Chinese antiques favored by the Ashikaga shoguns, but began to incorporate non-Chinese items as well, owing to the growing rarity of said antiques and a simultaneous shift in aesthetic inclinations.[27] The acclaim for *kōrai jawan* marked a significant shift in Japanese taste, a move away from Sinocentrism towards an aesthetic syncretism that involved objects from China, Southeast Asia, Korea, and Japan.[28]

In the sixteenth century the term *kōrai jawan* appeared with increasing frequency in tea diaries, indicating their growing popularity among Japanese collectors. The tea bowl was a vital component of an assemblage, since the host and guests all held it in their hands to consume tea. While participants handled and examined the paintings, calligraphy, and vessels of an assemblage, the tea bowl was the only object that touched the lips, adding an extra layer of corporeal engagement. Diarists commented on the clay, glaze, and shape, but equally tangible to the host and guest would have been the color of the green tea in contrast to the bowl's surface, the mouthfeel of the clay body when drinking from it, and the weight, shape, texture, and temperature of a tea bowl held in one's hand.[29] The mechanics of tea practice dictated that all participants engage with tea bowls, such as *kōrai jawan*, with a degree of intimacy that exceeded that of other assemblage objects. Even after the disruption of trade and diplomatic relations caused by Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea during the Imjin War (1592–1598), beginning in the seventeenth century, Japanese patrons began requesting order-made *kōrai jawan*, made possible due to the establishment of a kiln in Pusan, overseen by the Sō 宗 clan of Tsushima 対馬.[30] The order-made boom increased the types of *kōrai jawan* appreciated in Japan. As a result, the *kōrai jawan* corpus expanded to include more than a dozen different sub-categories.[31]

Currently the only Korean object registered as a National Treasure is Japan is a *kōrai jawan* named Kizaemon 喜左衛門, which is a testament to the cultural prominence of these tea bowls in the present day.[32] The contemporary renown of *kōrai jawan* is not due to the wholesale preservation of sixteenth-century tastes, but an ongoing process of appraisal that continued into the twentieth century.[33] Thus, the sustained appreciation for *kōrai jawan* speaks to their status as objects canonical to Japanese tea practice. Counter to the renown of *kōrai jawan* in Japan, the canon of Korean ceramic history does not include *kōrai jawan*. Since *kōrai jawan* are not extant on the Korean peninsula as intact archaeologically excavated bowls or heirloom objects, they presently have no place in the historical account of domestic art production nor, in particular, the Korean consumption of Korean ceramics. Nevertheless, comparative studies of potsherds from Korean kiln sites and the extant *kōrai jawan* in Japan prove that these tea bowls were indeed made in Korea.[34]

The absence of *kōrai jawan* from discussion of Korean art history overlooks concrete evidence of Korean ceramic production.[35] The standard narrative of Korean ceramic history begins with the unglazed earthenware and ash-glazed stoneware of the Three Kingdoms period,

Fig. 2. Kizaemon, *ō-ido* tea bowl. Korea, Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), Sixteenth century. Glazed soft-paste porcelain. H. 8.2–8.9 cm, Mouth D. 15.4 cm, Base D. 5.3–5.5 cm. National Treasure. Kohōan, Daitokuji, Kyoto, Japan.

followed by the celadon-glazed stoneware of the Koryŏ Dynasty, followed by a brief period of heavily slip-coated and densely patterned glazed stoneware of the early Chosŏn dynasty, and finally the plain and painted porcelain of the later Chosŏn dynasty.[36] These ceramics are tied to royal patronage and elite consumption, with additional archaeological evidence from burial and kiln sites that corroborate their use as luxury items. *Kōrai jawan* complicates the current narrative arc of Korean art history, demonstrating that Korean ceramic production was more varied than the main dynastic styles suggest. Textual and material evidence shows, moreover, that Korean ceramics had a direct impact on Japanese ceramic technology and collection practices in the sixteenth century and beyond.[37] However, beyond these art historical concerns, Korean ceramics imported to Japan deserve attention as a case study of how art objects can serve an ambassadorial role, and speaks to issues of cross-cultural exchange and material transfer that expand the geographic sphere of premodern Korean studies.

Initial Analysis of Data on *Kōrai jawan* from Sixteenth-Century Japanese Tea Diaries

The tools that I used for my project were rudimentary, and the data processing was manual. First, I began by reading through the four tea

diaries and marking which entries mentioned the term "*kōrai jawan*" or any other terminology related to Korean tea bowls. I cross-referenced my list with Hayashiya Seizō's *Chawan hensan shiryō* (茶碗編纂資料 Compilation of Tea Bowls), a chart of tea bowls used at gatherings documented in extant tea diaries.[38] The total number of tea diary entries was 612. When I began this project in 2014, OCR technology for Japanese was limited. Furthermore, the published transcriptions of the diaries contained unusual formatting in order to convey the arrangement of text in the original manuscripts. Using Microsoft Word, I first transcribed the diary entries that mention the term *kōrai jawan* and other related terminology in Japanese. Each author wrote "*kōrai jawan*" using a different combination of Chinese graphs and the Japanese *hiragana* and *katakana* syllabaries. Sometimes the term was abbreviated or repeated twice in one entry, which required the deciphering of context clues to determine how many Korean tea bowls were used. Next, I translated all the transcribed entries into English, and typed said translation in Microsoft Word. Each diary entry included information on the date of the gathering, host, location, guests in attendance, and the tea utensils selected by the host. After translating all the entries, I organized data points into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, beginning with reign year, date, author, diary, host, location of tea gathering, *kōrai jawan* terminology, items displayed in the alcove, if any, and if relevant, other tea bowls used at the gathering. I manually cross-checked the transcriptions with the original print text, the translations with the transcriptions, and the spreadsheet data with the translations. Finally, I double-checked the spreadsheet for any errors. The entire process took a couple years alongside research that involved the examination of archaeological artifacts and excavation reports related to Korean ceramics in Japan.

My goal for this initial analysis was to demonstrate how *kōrai jawan* gained the acclaim of tea practitioners through repeated experimentation with their use at tea gatherings. I analyzed tea diary entries to examine how tea practitioners incorporated *kōrai jawan* and distill assemblage patterns, thus identifying common display configurations involving *kōrai jawan*, as well as unusual assemblages. In general, a display's visual impact is not immediately apparent when reading the written entries, which simply list the items the host selected.[39] Even so, a survey of the assemblages involving *kōrai jawan* reveal that patterns of display emerged over time. Tea practitioners actively acquired *kōrai jawan*, using them alongside celebrated Chinese items.[40] Focusing on the *kōrai jawan*'s relationship to other objects

is key to understanding why tea men incorporated these Korean tea bowls into their assemblages.[41]

The text-based aspect of my approach ran counter to extant *kōrai jawan* scholarship, which privileges heirloom tea bowls: objects that have been passed down from generation to generation, which now survive in private or museum collections.[42] However, since the authentication practices meant to verify the provenance of these heirlooms and endow them with historical prestige began in the seventeenth century, their connections to the sixteenth century are unknown and perhaps unknowable.[43] Scholars of Japanese tea culture have referenced tea diaries to incorporate historical perspectives, but chiefly as a supplement to their primary objects of interest, the heirloom *kōrai jawan*.[44] In contrast, I demonstrated how tea diaries are a rich source of not only historical context, but also for information on the period use, aesthetic and material qualities, and reception of *kōrai jawan*.

The aforementioned process of organizing data using a spreadsheet allowed me to recognize that host–guest relationships are crucial in contextualizing patterns of *kōrai jawan* usage. Diaries record the author's perception of the host's assemblage, and thus, are evidence of curatorial practice by the host filtered through the lens of the author. Takeuchi Jun'ichi has stated that tea diaries reflect how tea practitioners of the time were keenly aware of the collections of their peers.[45] The entries betray an eagerness to observe first-hand other's objects, motivated by the diarists' desire to hone their ability to make noteworthy aesthetic contributions. In particular, diarists made concerted efforts to note the details and attributes of famous Chinese objects they saw in gatherings hosted by other tea men, especially those who were socially distinguished, such as nobility and military elites.[46] Recurrent gatherings and reciprocal invitations suggest how tea networks fostered discourse and led to the gradual establishment of aesthetic standards. Through repeated displays to multiple audiences, *kōrai jawan* gradually gained recognition as key objects in tea practice.

After reading and analyzing all the entries, I decided to narrow down my focus to select entries written between 1537 and 1565 that demonstrate how *kōrai jawan* was crucial to aesthetic experimentation by early tea men. I focused on recurring assemblage configurations, as well as those that were unique. I accounted for variables in spatial arrangement and object hierarchies within assemblage-making. First, I began with different alcove display configurations in assemblages that employ *kōrai jawan* as the sole tea bowl. Next, I paid special attention to use of both Chinese Jian ware tea bowls, called *tenmoku* in Japan, and *kōrai jawan* in assemblages, focusing on

display formats unique to specific hosts. I noted discrepancies between tea diary entries by different authors that chronicle the same gathering. Afterwards I examined instances of unique assemblages involving *kōrai jawan*, namely object combinations unseen in other tea gatherings. I provided detailed commentary on these diary entries to parse what these assemblage configurations revealed about the growing popularity of *kōrai jawan*.

Organizing the data into a spreadsheet allowed for more general observations on the appearance of *kōrai jawan* in tea diaries. In the sixteenth century *kōrai jawan* were the first non-Chinese tea bowls that tea men collected, and diaries kept by these practitioners corroborate the substantial use of these unorthodox items. The earliest known tea diary was begun in 1533, and as mentioned earlier, the term *kōrai jawan* appeared soon thereafter in 1537, attesting to how the introduction of Korean ceramics occurred at the nascent stages of sixteenth-century practices of documenting tea gatherings.[47] Of the three tea diaries, the greatest number of entries with *kōrai jawan* comes from the Tennōjiya family diaries, specifically from the volumes that recorded their own assemblages. However, Sōtan's diary provides important evidence about late sixteenth-century Korean ceramic tea bowls that does not appear in the entries by the seasoned Sakai tea men.[48] It seems that his status as an outsider compelled him to take note of details about tea practice that Sakai residents took for granted.

The diaries reveal the development of neologisms regarding *kōrai jawan*, demonstrating that tea practitioners began to group sub-types of Korean tea bowls. Japanese tea men coined these new terms over the course of twenty-plus years, beginning with *mishima* 三島 in 1565, followed by *koyomi* 暦 in 1574, *ido* 井戸in 1578, and *kyōgenbakama* 狂言袴 in 1591.[49] The invention of these neologisms shows that tea practitioners began in these decades to narrowly distinguish between what they perceived to be different types of Korean bowls. Moreover, while diarists continued to use "*kōrai jawan*" as the most common referent for tea bowls from Korea, they sometimes shaded the term with a few key adjectives that defined physical attributes such as shape or size; their repeated use of these modifiers suggests that tea men classified the bowls comparatively, based on shared traits.[50] Tea diarists also began to refer to bowls based upon names of their previous owners, which established the longstanding use of *kōrai jawan*, as well as where they were acquired in Japan, indicating the sources of these objects and how they circulated amongst tea practitioners.

The process of manually transcribing, translating, and tabulating data on *kōrai jawan* from tea diaries yielded crucial information on changes in their use and reception over the course of the sixteenth century. In particular, the identification of gatherings that represented pivotal moments in the use of *kōrai jawan* illuminated how this formative period led to their canonical status in Japanese tea practice: a crucial aspect that had not been closely examined in extant scholarship. Thus, the initial data analysis demonstrated how tea diaries are a valuable source in examining how *kōrai jawan* became integral to sixteenth-century tea aesthetics, especially in the absence of period objects. Organizing the data in a spreadsheet highlighted information on *kōrai jawan* usage rather than other details of each gathering and made it easier for me to identify both common patterns and unique moments. However, despite the benefits of creating a spreadsheet, given the large number of diary entries, the data was pages long and dense for readers to digest. Ultimately, a close reading of select diary entries was conducive to an accessible and streamlined narrative that was well-suited for standard academic prose.

Analysis of Data on *Kōrai jawan* Through Palladio

The main impetus to re-examine my data on *kōrai jawan* from sixteenth-century tea diaries using Palladio stemmed from shortcomings I encountered in the early drafts of my initial analysis. At first, I attempted to analyze the relationship between *kōrai jawan* usage and the location of different hosts, but the sheer number of individuals involved complicated this discussion in a standard prose format. As a result, my analysis was guided by easily identifiable individuals, namely the authors of the diaries, and I focused on how their diary entries captured the relationship between *kōrai jawan* and the objects displayed in the alcove. The introduction of *kōrai jawan* neologisms and the addition of adjectives complicated matters even further for analysis of diary entries written from 1565 onwards. For this data from the latter half of the sixteenth-century I examined the chronological appearance of new *kōrai jawan* terms, and analyzed the use of different adjectives to explore how tea practitioners were beginning to categorize *kōrai jawan* according to different qualities such as size, shape, ornamentation, place of origin, and prior ownership. Therefore, my initial analysis was not driven by an emphasis on host location, even though this data was present in my spreadsheet. Palladio presented an opportunity to visualize and map data on *kōrai jawan* in relation to the host's location with

relative ease of use. My spreadsheet was already machine readable, but I made a couple changes before beginning my analysis using Palladio. Since I was focusing on the relationship between the host's location and *kōrai jawan*, I omitted information about the object displayed in the alcove. There are many different types of alcove objects, ranging from Chinese paintings, calligraphy, tea caddies, and flower containers to Japanese calligraphy, so trimming this information streamlined my spreadsheet. However, I was still interested in what Palladio might reveal about *kōrai jawan* display patterns and host location, so I decided to keep the data about other tea bowls used alongside Korean tea bowls. I converted my data set from.xlsx to the required.csv format, then created a separate.csv file containing information on the listed locations and their geocoordinates. I then proceeded to load the two files onto Palladio and experiment with the different visualization options. My experiences were as follows.

Map

For the Map function, I began by creating a layer that showed the location of tea gatherings that used *kōrai jawan*, and sized each point according to how many of these gatherings took place at each location. Sakai had the largest point with 471 gatherings, followed by Nara with 66 gatherings, and Kyoto in third place with 29 gatherings. Given that most of the diarists were based in Sakai, this was expected. However, the visualization also revealed that the presence of Matsuya Hisamasa as a diarist resulted in his hometown of Nara being well represented in the historical record, more so than the capital city of Kyoto. The ability to see other locations, such as castles and temples, in relation to the three major nodes of Sakai, Nara, and Kyoto, led me to think more critically about the logistics of travel. In my initial analysis, I had noted moments when tea practitioners would travel in pairs or groups to attend multiple gatherings at one destination, but I had not explored this phenomenon in depth. The one gathering that took place in Hakozaki, Fukuoka, sticks out as an anomaly, but is also a reminder of how Toyotomi Hideyoshi's plans to invade China through the Korean peninsula shifted the attention of tea practitioners to Kyushu. Thus, the Map function presented 612 data points in a visually concise format, while highlighting potential avenues for further research.

I first explored the Timeline function in relation to Maps, which produced a visualization that would be useful in discussing how tea diaries document *kōrai jawan* use and circulation. The default setting happened to

Fig. 3. Map visualization showing location of tea gatherings.

Fig. 4. Detail of Map visualization showing Sakai, Nara, Kyoto, and surrounding castle and temple sites.

be the number of *kōrai jawan* mentions grouped by diary, which resulted in a streamlined representation of how these tea bowls increased in popularity

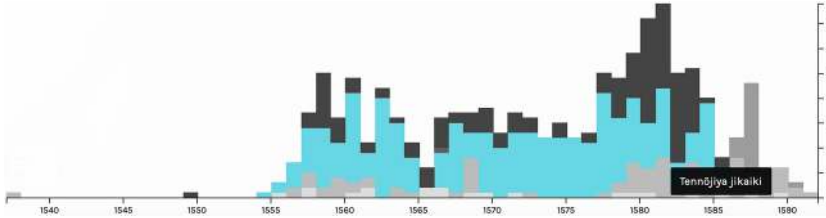


Fig. 5. Timeline showing data from *Tennōjiya jikaiki* highlighted in blue.

over time. The dramatic rise of *kōrai jawan* usage from 1555 onwards, nearly two decades after its first appearance in *Matsuya kaiki*, was apparent in a way that a simple spreadsheet cannot convey. The color-coded bars showed the frequency of *kōrai jawan*-related entries in each diary for each year, revealing that while from 1555 to 1585, the Tennōjiya family diaries provided the most information on *kōrai jawan* usage, thereafter it was Kamiya Sōtan who was the most prolific diarist. The Matsuya family maintained its modest but consistent contribution on *kōrai jawan* through the end of the sixteenth century. Imai Sōkyū's diary, which only survives in an excerpted form, also showed a consistent, though understandably sparse, documentation of *kōrai jawan* usage throughout the century.

Using the Timeline function to narrow down dates for the map revealed that for most of the sixteenth century, the recorded gatherings only took place in Sakai, Nara, and Kyoto. However, these merchants began to attend tea gatherings at castles removed from but in the vicinity of these urban areas from the late 1570s onwards, indicating how tea gatherings became a forum where different classes co-mingled, with the warrior class as hosts. This timeline coincides with the warlord Oda Nobunaga's (1534–1582) rise to power, and the ascent of his successor, Hideyoshi, who shared the former's passion for tea objects.[51] Overall, the Maps and Timeline functions demonstrated that Palladio efficiently visualizes how the circulation of *kōrai jawan* that resonated with period events, and how location revealed class dynamics.

Graph

The Graph visualization was most effective in showing connections between different hosts. This aspect of my data was challenging to outline in my initial analysis. I set "*Kōrai jawan* terms" as the highlighted Source, with "Host" as the Target. The resulting graph showed a large central node

for *kōrai jawan*, from which most of the hosts radiated, expanding into an intricate web showing how *kōrai jawan* terminology connects these individuals. The dizzying array of lines and nodes for hosts in the visualization shows how upon first glance, it is difficult to meaningfully connect these individuals beyond the fact that they all owned *kōrai jawan* at one point. In my initial analysis, I was only able to speak to the use of *kōrai jawan* terminology based upon each author, suggesting that these terms revealed their individual perspectives.

Adjusting timeframes using the Timeline function allowed for a fine-tuned approach to exploring the relationships between hosts using the Graph visualization. Most importantly, it eliminated the density of hosts, but it was still evident that no matter the year, the term *kōrai jawan* remained the most prevalent in the sixteenth century, even with the introduction of neologisms. A closer look at the Graph visualization revealed links between hosts based upon *kōrai jawan* neologisms, hinting at patterns of the use of Korean tea bowls in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The visualization also revealed outliers, namely terms that only connected to one or two individuals, with no links to other hosts.

Shifting the Target from "Host" to "Location" resulted in a streamlined, and less chaotic web compared to the former iteration. The web was closed, since all locations shared the common denominator of the term, *kōrai jawan*. The graph showed that Sakai was the location

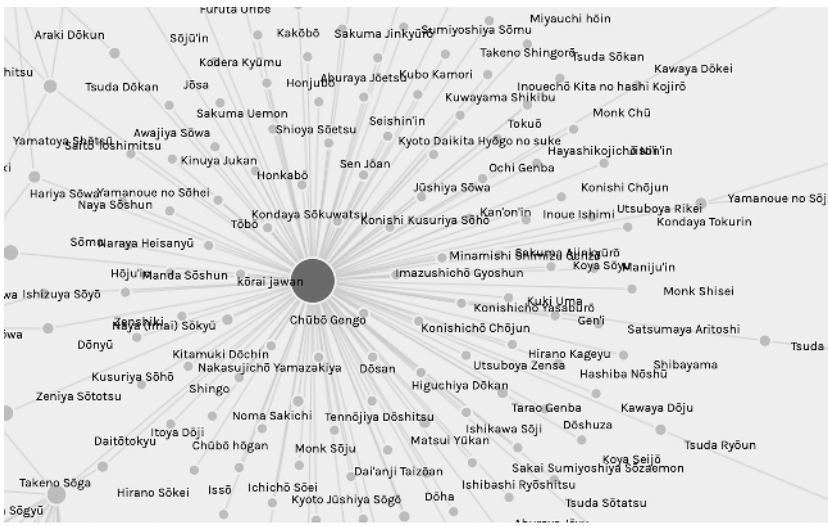


Fig. 6. Detail of Graph visualization showing hosts connected to central *kōrai jawan* node.

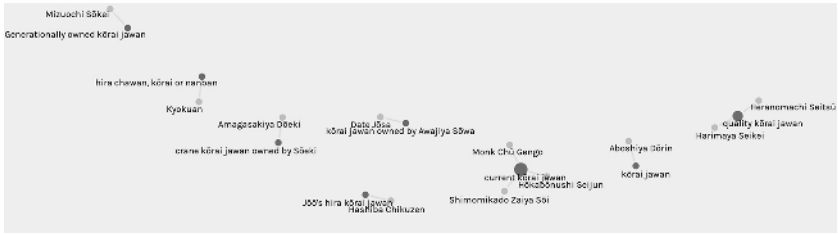


Fig. 7. Detail of Graph visualization showing outlying *kōrai jawan* terms and hosts.

representing the largest variety of *kōrai jawan* terminology, and visualized which terms connected it to other locations. Adjusting the timeline revealed moments when each location had discrete *kōrai jawan* terminology with no connections to one another. The implication of these changes over time would be a fruitful line of inquiry when examined in relation to the hosts, though this would require data analysis beyond what the Graph visualization can accommodate.

The Graph visualization revealed the pitfalls of including all *kōrai jawan* terms in my original data set. Understandably, the most common term was *kōrai jawan*, which was important for my initial analysis since I was identifying every instance in which Korean tea bowls were mentioned in the tea diaries. However, since *kōrai jawan* is so prominent in the data, this meant that it was difficult to visualize how other related terms connected to each other, both with regards to location and host. In the future, it would be helpful to parse the data to focus on other *kōrai jawan* terminology, though this would pertain to data from 1565 onwards, when other terms start to appear. Prior to 1565, when *kōrai jawan* was the only term referring to Korean tea bowls, there is some variation in the orthography. Exploring

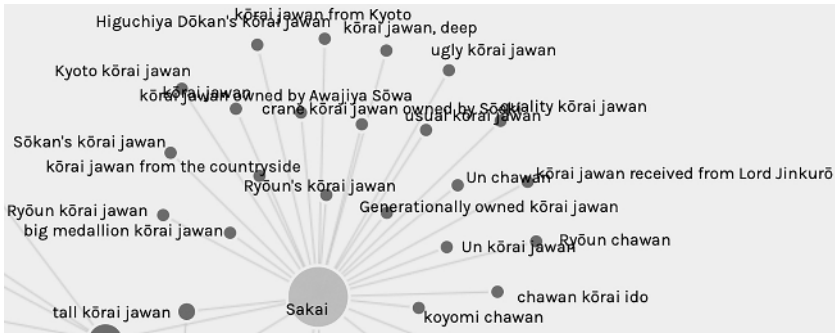


Fig. 8. Detail of Graph visualization connecting *kōrai jawan* terms to location.

Sakamoto castle	Tenmoku	Kōrai jawan, tall Kōrai jawan, hira Kōrai jawan, ido jawan
Sakai	Tenmoku, Shino jawan, Tenmoku, Red tea bowl, Tenmoku, ningyō jawan, Tenmoku, Kokutōsoshi jawan, ningyō jawan	Kōrai jawan, ido jawan, chawan Kōrai ido, ugly Kōrai jawan, big medallion Kōrai jawan, Higuchiya Dōsan's Kōrai jawan, Kyoto Kōrai jawan, hira Kōrai jawan, Kōrai jawan from Kyoto, koyomi chawan, mishima chawan, tall Kōrai jawan, small Kōrai jawan, Kōrai jawan, deep, Kōrai jawan received from Lord Ankoku, Generationally owned Kōrai jawan, Sōkan's Kōrai jawan, upper Kōrai jawan, usual Kōrai jawan, crane Kōrai jawan owned by Sōeki, Ryōun Kōrai jawan, Kōrai jawan owned by Kenjiya Sōsa, Ryōun chawan, Kōrai jawan, Un Kōrai jawan, Un chawan, Ryōun's Kōrai jawan, quality Kōrai jawan, Kōrai jawan from the countryside
Osaka castle	Tenmoku	Ido jawan
Osaka	Tenmoku, Tenmoku, Sujan jawan	Kōrai jawan, ido jawan
Nara	Tenmoku, Tenmoku, Black tea bowl	Kōrai jawan, small Kōrai jawan, current Kōrai jawan, mishima chawan, upper Kōrai jawan
Miki castle		Ido a, hira Kōrai jawan
Kōriyama castle		Kōrai jawan from the Western provinces, Kōrai jawan
Kōriyama		Kōrai jawan
Kōfukuji, Nara	Tenmoku	Kōrai jawan
Kyoto	Tenmoku	Kōrai jawan, ido jawan, deep Kōrai jawan, Dōsetsu Kōrai jawan, hira chawan, Kōrai or namban, upper Kōrai jawan

Fig. 9. Detail of Table visualization of *kōrai jawan* terms and other tea bowls organized by location.

these variants could be a worthwhile endeavor, though it would limit the data's accessibility to audiences who can read Japanese.

Table

The Table visualization showed the potential to explore the relationship between *kōrai jawan* usage with host location. I first set the Row dimension to "Location," and set the Dimension to "*Kōrai jawan* term," which instantly tabulated which terms were associated to each location. I was able to add other data to Dimension, such as "Other tea bowl," which then allowed me to see the types of tea bowls used with *kōrai jawan* based upon location. Although it may seem like this visualization is not much different than the original spreadsheet I created, it was convenient to have Palladio process my data and present it in different ways with a simple click. Being able to quickly group types of *kōrai jawan* and other tea bowls based on location would be helpful in comparison to any archaeological reports of excavated sherds from settlement sites. I can also envision re-incorporating data that I omitted from my spreadsheet for Palladio, such as the alcove display, to see how these objects correspond to *kōrai jawan* based upon host location.

Gallery

The Gallery function had little relevance to the data I used, since my research project centers tea diaries as the primary source in the absence of

kōrai jawan that can be definitively linked to these sixteenth-century records. However, in the future, I could incorporate data on Japanese sites where sherds of Korean ceramics were excavated to provide visual material for the Gallery. Additionally, since some of the paintings and tea caddies used alongside *kōrai jawan* in the sixteenth century survive, if I were to add this data to my spreadsheet, I could add images of these objects in the Gallery as well. I envision that the combination of data from excavations and tea diary entries could create some compelling visualizations, especially as more archaeological remnants of Korean ceramics are unearthed across Japan. It would be powerful to see if sites with the highest concentration of Korean ceramic sherds cohere with where tea gatherings took place as recorded in the tea diaries.

Conclusion

The integrated platform Palladio was a useful tool to re-examine my data on *kōrai jawan* from sixteenth-century Japanese tea diaries and explore which visualization methods could best present information to scholars who are unfamiliar with Japanese tea documents. Palladio's Map, Graph, and Table visualizations all displayed dense data concisely, making information easily digestible compared to reading 612 diary entries, or a spreadsheet with the same number of rows. To further expand accessibility for Korean studies community in particular, the spreadsheet data can easily be translated into Korean, which could also re-introduce some of the Sinitic terms and Chinese graphs employed in the tea diaries.

Palladio's different visualization functions also prompted me to consider new avenues of research. Previously, I connected *kōrai jawan*-related terminology through the lens of the authors who kept these diaries. The Graph and Table visualizations, combined with the Timeline function, revealed new relationships, specifically between hosts and *kōrai jawan*, such as the presence of outlier *kōrai jawan* terms that were specific to one host, and how certain terms connect different hosts and locations. The ability to toggle data based upon time provided a focused glimpse of the larger data set, which is difficult to parse in a prose format. Referencing these visualizations from specific timeframes could facilitate a more streamlined written analysis. Significantly, the Map visualization was an effective means to examining how host location related to *kōrai jawan* usage. This GIS-based function, along with the Table visualization, enabled a streamlined presentation of data on which tea bowls were used with *kōrai jawan* based

on location. Whereas my prose-driven close reading guided the reader through each diary entry, Palladio's visualizations open the possibility for readers to peruse the data at one glance.

While Palladio itself is user-friendly, the obstacle of processing the original data will persist until OCR technology improves for Japanese. The initial transcription process was manual and very time-consuming due to the unusual formatting of the text, which reflected the original appearance of the handwritten documents. Moreover, each author used different orthography and abbreviations for the term "*kōrai jawan*," which required context clues to identify. Perhaps in the future, machine learning can be incorporated to automate this process. However, having cleared the initial stage of data processing and cleaning the spreadsheet, Palladio offered an expedient way to experiment with and recognize the potential of visualization as a means of disseminating said data, as well as identifying new avenues of research.

Notes

1. Chadō Shiryōkan, ed., *Kōrai jawan: Gohon to sono shūhen* (Kyoto: Chadō Shiryōkan, 1992).

2. I have limited my study to diary entries leading up to the Imjin War (1592–1598), since it is unclear to what extent the invasion of the Korean peninsula impacted the Japanese reception of Korean tea bowls. The use of *kōrai jawan* in tea gatherings that took place during the war require special attention.

3. Extant sixteenth-century Japanese tea diaries are mainly from Sakai. There may have been similar documents penned elsewhere, but they no longer survive or have yet to be identified.

4. Kumakura Isao, annot., *Yondai chakaiki: Matsuya kaiki, Tennōjiya kaiki, Imai Sōkyū chanoyu kakinuki, Sōtan nikki*, vol. 3, Chanoyu no koten (Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha, 1984).

5. The *Sōtan nikki*, *Tennōjiya kaiki*, *Matsuya kaiki*, and *Imai Sōkyū chanoyu nikki nukigaki* were annotated by Nagashima Fukutarō and published in *Chadō koten zenshū* edited by Sen Sōshitsu. Sen Sōshitsu, ed., *Chadō koten zenshū*, vols. 6–7, 9, 10 (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989).

6. My theoretical and methodological approach to interpreting tea diaries as evidence of period aesthetic taste is informed by the following article: Takeuchi Jun'ichi, "Chakaiki kara nani wo yomitoru ka," in *Chūsei*, vol. 1 of Kōza: Nihon chanoyu zenshi, ed. Chanoyu Bunko Gakkai (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2013), 109–12.

7. Nagashima, *Tennōjiya kaiki*, in *Chadō koten zenshū*, vol. 7, ed. Sen Sōshitsu (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989), 13.

8. Nagashima Fukutarō, annot., *Tennōjiya kaiki*, in *Chadō koten zenshū*, vol. 8, ed. Sen Sōshitsu (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989), 30.

9. Nagashima Fukutarō, annot., *Imai Sōkyū chanoyu nikki nukigaki*, in *Chadō koten zenshū*, vol. 10, ed. Sen Sōshitsu (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989), 7–8.

10. Nagashima, *Imai Sōkyū chanoyu nikki nukigaki*, 6, 9.

11. Nagashima Fukutarō, annot., *Sōtan nikki*, in *Chadō koten zenshū*, vol. 6, ed. Sen Sōshitsu (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989), 223–24, 226–27.

12. Haraguchi Hiroyasu, *Nagoyajō no nazo: Toyotomi Hideyoshi to Kamiya Sōtan* (Tokyo: Kōyō Shuppansha, 1999), 57, 70–71.

13. Yamada Tetsuya, "'Karamono oyoso no kazu' (Dōshisha Daigaku Sōgō Jōhō Sentā shozō): Kohon meibutsuki – sono kaidai to honkoku," *Bunka jōhō gaku* 4, no. 1 (2009): 21–37.

14. Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Sakai shū: Chanoyu wo tsukutta hitobito* (Sakai: Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan, 1989), 9.

15. Andrew M. Watsky, "Commerce, Politics, and Tea. The Career of Imai Sōkyu," *Monumenta Nipponica* 50, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 47; Nagashima Fukutarō, "Chanoyu no sōsei," in *Sakai shū: Chanoyu wo tsukutta hitobito*, ed. Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan (Sakai: Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan, 1989), 7–8.

16. Nagashima Fukutarō, "Chanoyu no sōsei," in *Sakai shū: Chanoyu wo tsukutta hitobito*, ed. Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan (Sakai: Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan, 1989), 10; Murai Yasuhiko, "Sakai to chanoyu: Rikyū no cha ni furete," in *Sakai shū: Chanoyu wo tsukutta hitobito*, ed. Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan (Sakai: Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan, 1989), 14.

17. *Sakai shishi* (The History of Sakai City) is a rich resource that outlines the archaeological and historical evidence of how the port city flourished in premodern Japan. Kobata Atsushi, ed., *Sakai shishi*, vols. 1–2 (Sakai-shi: Sakai Shiyakusho, 1971–1976).

18. Murai Yasuhiko, "Sakai to chanoyu: Rikyū no cha ni furete," 15.

19. Murai, "Sakai to chanoyu," 15–6.

20. Nagashima Fukutarō, annot., *Matsuya kaiki*, in *Chadō koten zenshū*, vol. 9, ed. Sen Sōshitsu (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989), 2.

21. Yamanoueno Sōji, *Yamanoue no Sōji ki*, in *Yamanoue Sōji ki tsuketari Chawa shigetsu shū*, ed. Kumakura Isao (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006), 240.

22. Tani Akira, "Kōrai jawan gaisetsu," in *Kōrai jawan: Ronkō to shiryō*, ed. Kōrai Jawan Kenkyūkai (Kyoto: Kawahara Shoten, 2003), 77–98.

23. Paul Varley and Kumakura Isao, eds., *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 8.

24. Yamanoueno Sōji, *Yamanoue no Sōji ki*, 219.

25. Murai Yasuhiko, annot., *Kundaikan sōchōki: Okazari no sho* (Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha, 1983).

26. Murai, *Kundaikan sōchōki.*

27. Yamanoue no Sōji's manual captures how sixteenth-century merchant tea practitioners continued to value famous Chinese objects from the Ashikaga collection while incorporating new tea utensils from Japan and Korea. Yamanoueno Sōji, *Yamanoue no Sōji ki*, 7–130, 215–325.

28. Akanuma Taka, ed., *Chatō no bi: Chanoyu no yakimono*, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 2004).

29. Nagashima, *Matsuya kaiki*, 4–5.

30. Akanuma Taka, "Chūmon no kōrai jawan," in *Kōrai jawan: Gohon to sono shūhen*, ed. Chadō Shiryōkan (Kyoto: Chadō Shiryōkan, 1992), 101.

31. Kōrai Jawan Kenkyūkai, ed., *Kōrai jawan: Ronkō to shiryō* (Kyoto: Kawahara Shoten, 2003), 209–11.

32. Bunkachō, "Ido jawan (Mei Kizaemon)," *Kunishitei bunkazaitō dētabēsu*, accessed June 29, 2022, https://kunishitei.bunka.go.jp/heritage/detail/201/312.

33. Research has shown that collectors were re-assessing *kōrai jawan* categories as recently as the early twentieth century. Matsumura Makiko, "Uritate mokuroku ni miru ido jawan: Meishō kara shiru yosō," *Nezu Bijutsukan kiyō shikun* 6 (2014): 113–76.

34. See Chadō Shiryōkan, ed., *Iseki shutsudo no Chōsen ōchō tōji: Meiwan to kōkogaku* (Kyoto: Chadō Shiryōkan, Kansai Kinsei Kōkogaku Kenkyūkai, 1990).

35. Morimoto Asako and Katayama Mabi, "Hakata shutsudo no Kōrai/Chōsen tōji no bunrui shian: Seisanchi hennen wo kanza to shite," *Hakata Kenkyukai shi* 8 (2000): 41–75.

36. Kyŏng Suk Kang, *Hanguk tojasa* (Seoul: Yekyŏng, 2012).

37. Louise A. Cort, "Korean Influences in Japanese Ceramics: The Impact of the Tea Bowl Wars of 1592–1598," in *Technology and Style*, vol. 2, ed. W.D. Kingery (Columbus, OH: American Ceramic Society, 1986), 331–62; Oka Yoshiko, "Kyō-yaki no naka no kōrai jawan: Jūnana seiki o chūshin ni," in *Kōrai jawan kenkyū: Ronkō to shiryō*, ed. Kōrai Jawan Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Kawahara Shoten, 2003), 189–206; Andrew L. Maske, *Potters and Patrons in Edo Period Japan: Takatori Ware and the Kuroda Domain* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

38. Seizō Hayashiya, "Chawan hensan shiryō," 11–227.

39. Takeuchi, "Chakaiki kara nani wo yomitoru ka," 111.

40. Nagashima, *Matsuya kaiki*, 2.

41. Takeuchi, "Chakaiki kara nani wo yomitoru ka," 110.

42. Seizō Hayashiya, *Kōrai jawan*, Tōki zenshū 18 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1958); Tani Akira, "Kōrai jawan gaisetsu," in *Kōrai jawan: Ronkō to shiryō*, ed. Kōrai Jawan Kenkyūkai (Kyoto: Kawahara Shoten, 2003), 77–98.

43. Yukio Lippit, *Painting of the Realm: The Kano House of Painters in 17th-century Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 134.

44. Nagai Masahiro, "Sakai kangō toshi iseki shutsudo no Chōsen ōchō tōjiki wan: Chawan toshite mochiirareta wan no shosō ni tsuite," *Sakaishi Hakubutsukan hō* 26 (2006): 2–16.

45. Takeuchi, "Chakaiki kara nani wo yomitoru ka," 111–12.

46. Ibid., 110.

47. Hayashiya, "Chawan hensan shiryō," 193.

48. Sōtan is the only diarist to specify that a type of tea bowl called *ido* 井戸 is Korean. I discuss the introduction of neologisms related to Korean tea bowls later in this section. Nagashima Fukutarō, annot., *Sōtan nikki*, in Chadō koten zenshū, vol. 6, ed. Sen Sōshitsu (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989), 136–37.

49. Nagashima, *Tennōjiya kaiki*, vol. 7, 118; Tsuda Sōgyū, *Tennōjiya kaiki*, vol. 7, 198; Nagashima, *Tennōjiya kaiki*, vol. 7, 287; Nagashima, *Tennōjiya kaiki*, vol. 7, 425.

50. Some examples of adjectives are "small" and "tall." Nagashima, *Tennōjiya kaiki*, vol. 7, 149–50; Nagashima, *Tennōjiya kaiki*, vol. 8, 169.

51. Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 122.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful for the valuable feedback from participants of the "Publication Workshop: Digital Korean Studies" that took place at the University of Copenhagen from June 26–28th, 2022, and two anonymous reviewers. I also extend my special thanks to Takako Sarai.

References Cited

Primary Sources

Imai Sōkyū chanoyu nikki nukigaki [Excerpts from Imai Sōkyū's Tea Diary]. By Imai Sōkyū. Annotated by Nagashima Fukutarō. Edited by Sen Sōshitsu. Vol. 10. *Chadō koten zenshū* [Complete Classics of Tea]. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989.

Matsuya kaiki [Matsuya Family Tea Diary]. By Matsuya Hisamasa and Matsuya Hisayoshi. Annotated by Nagashima Fukutarō. Edited by Sen Sōshitsu. Vol. 9. *Chadō koten zenshū* [Complete Classics of Tea]. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989.

Sōtan nikki [Sōtan's Diary]. By Kamiya Sōtan. Annotated by Nagashima Fukutarō. Edited by Sen Sōshitsu. Vol. 6. *Chadō koten zenshū* [Complete Classics of Tea]. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989.

Tennōjiya kaiki [Tennōjiya Family Tea Diary]. By Tsuda Sōtatsu, Tsuda Sōgyū, and Tsuda Sōbon. Annotated by Nagashima Fukutarō. Edited by Sen Sōshitsu. Vol. 6–7. *Chadō koten zenshū* [Complete Classics of Tea]. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989.

Yamanoue no Sōji ki [Records of Yamanoue no Sōji]. By Yamanoueno Sōji. In *Yamanoue Sōji ki tsuketari Chawa shigetsu shū*, edited by Kumakura Isao, 7–130, 215–325. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006.

Secondary Sources

Akanuma Taka. "Chūmon no kōrai jawan [Order-made kōrai jawan]." In *Kōrai jawan: Gohon to sono shūhen* [Kōrai jawan: Order-made Bowls and Affiliated Objects], edited by Chadō Shiryōkan, 90–113. Kyoto: Chadō Shiryōkan, 1992.

Akanuma Taka, ed. *Chatō no bi: Chanoyu no yakimono* [The Beauty of Tea Ceramics: Fired Wares of *chanoyu*]. Vol. 1. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 2004.

Akanuma Taka, ed. "Kōrai jawan: Chanoyu ni okeru kōrai jawan no juyō to henyō [Kōrai jawan: The Transformation and Reception of kōrai jawan in Chanoyu]." In *Chatō no bi: Chanoyu no yakimono*, vol. 1, edited by Akanuma Taka, 130–52. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 2004.

Bunkachō. "Ido jawan (Mei Kizaemon)" [Ido Tea Bowl (Named Kizaemon)]. *Kunishitei bunkazaitō dētabēsu* [National Cultural Heritage Database]. Accessed June 29, 2022. https://kunishitei.bunka.go.jp/heritage/detail/201/312.

Chadō Shiryōkan. *Iseki shutsudo no Chōsen ōchō tōji: Meiwan to kōkogaku* [Excavated Chosŏn Dynasty Ceramics: Famous Tea Bowls and Archaeology]. Kyoto: Chadō Shiryōkan, Kansai Kinsei Kōkogaku Kenkyūkai, 1990.

Chadō Shiryōkan, ed. *Kōrai jawan: Gohon to sono shūhen* [Kōrai jawan: Order-made Bowls and Affiliated Objects]. Kyoto: Chadō Shiryōkan, 1992.

Cort, Louise Allison. "Korean Influences in Japanese Ceramics: The Impact of the Tea Bowl Wars of 1592–1598." In *Technology and Style*, vol. 2, edited by W.D. Kingery, 331–62. Columbus, OH: American Ceramic Society, 1986.

Haraguchi Hiroyasu. *Nagoyajō no nazo: Toyotomi Hideyoshi to Kamiya Sōtan* [The Mystery of Nagoya Castle: Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Kamiya Sōtan]. Tokyo: Kōyō Shuppansha, 1999.

Hayashiya, Seizō. *Kōrai jawan*. Tōki zenshū [Complete Collection of Ceramic Vessels] 18. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1958.

Hayashiya, Seizō. "Chawan hensan shiryō" [Compilation of Tea Bowls]. *Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kiyō* [Tokyo National Museum Bulletin], no. 5 (1969): 11–227.

Ikegami, Eiko. *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Kang, Kyŏng Suk. *Hanguk tojasa* [Korean Ceramic History]. Seoul: Yekyŏng, 2012.

Katayama Mabi. "Kankoku tōjishi kara mita kōrai jawan" [Examining *kōrai jawan* From the Perspective of Korean Ceramic History]. In *Chatō no bi: Chanoyu no yakimono*, vol. 1, edited by Akanuma Taka, 153–58. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 2004.

Katayama Mabi. "Kankoku tōjishi ni okeru kōrai jawan" [*Kōrai jawan* in Relation to Korean Ceramic History]. In *Chanoyu meiwan: Aratanaru Edo no biishiki* [Famous Tea Bowls of *chanoyu*: A New Edo Aesthetic], edited by Tokugawa Bijutsukan and Gotō Bijutsukan, 157–69. Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan; Tokyo: Gotō Bijutsukan, 2005.

Katayama Mabi. "Kōrai/Chōsen jidai no tōji seisan to kaigai yushutsu" [Ceramic Production and Importation During the Koryŏ and Chosŏn Dynasties]. In *Ajia no kōkogaku* [Asian Archaeology] 1, *Tōjiki ryūtsū no kōkogaku* [Archaeology of Ceramics Trade], *Nihon shutsudo no kaigai tōji* [Foreign Ceramics Excavated from Japan], edited by Ajia Kōkogaku Shigakkai, 177–98. Tokyo: Kōshi Shoin, 2013.

Katayama Mabi. "Ilbon ch'uldo Kyŏngsannamdo tojagi: 11segi putŏ 18 segi kkaji" [Kyŏngsannamdo Ceramics Excavated in Japan: From the 11th to 18th Century]. In *Kijang toja* [Kijang Ceramics], edited by Chŏnggwan Pakmulgwan, 124–35. Pusan: Chŏnggwan Pakmulgwan, 2015.

Katayama Mabi. "Kōrai jawan no furusato o tadoru: Kankoku ni okeru kōrai jawan no rekishi to kama ato" [Tracing the Path to the Homeland of *kōrai jawan*: *Kōrai jawan*'s Korean History and Kiln Sites]. In *Kōrai jawan: Ido, kohiki, mishima*, 28–33. Tokyo: Abe Shuppan, 2019.

Kobata, Atsushi, ed. *Sakai shishi* [History of Sakai City]. Vols. 1–2. Sakai-shi: Sakai Shiyakusho, 1971–1976.

Kōrai Jawan Kenkyūkai, ed. *Kōrai jawan: Ronkō to shiryō* [Kōrai jawan: Theory and Sources]. Kyoto: Kawahara Shoten, 2003.

Koyama Fujio. *Kōrai jawan*. Tōji taikei [Compendium of Ceramics] 32. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972.

Kumakura Isao, annot. *Yondai chakaiki: Matsuya kaiki, Tennōjiya kaiki, Imai Sōkyū chanoyu kakinuki, Sōtan nikki* [The Four Great Tea Diaries: Matsuya kaiki, Tennōjiya kaiki, Imai Sōkyū chanoyu kakinuki, Sōtan nikki]. Vol. 3, Chanoyu no koten [Classics of *Chanoyu*]. Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha, 1984.

Lippit, Yukio. *Painting of the Realm: The Kano House of Painters in 17th-century Japan*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012.

Maske, Andrew L. *Potters and Patrons in Edo Period Japan: Takatori Ware and the Kuroda Domain*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011.

Matsumura Makiko. "Uritate mokuroku ni miru ido jawan: Meishō kara shiru yosō" [Ido Tea Bowls in Auction Catalogs: Aspects Gleaned from Their Names]. *Nezu Bijutsukan kiyō Shikun* [Nezu Museum Journal Shikun] 6 (2014): 113–76.

Murai, Yasuhiko, annot. *Kundaikan sōchōki: Okazari no sho* [Manual of the Attendant of the Shogunal Collection: Text on Decorating for his Lordship]. Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha, 1983.

Murai, Yasuhiko, annot. "Sakai to chanoyu: Rikyū no cha ni furete" [Sakai and *Chanoyu*: Regaring Rikyū's Tea Pratice]. In *Sakai shū: Chanoyu wo tsukutta hitobito*, edited by Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan, 14. Sakai: Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan, 1989.

Morimoto Asako, and Katayama Mabi. "Hakata shutsudo no Kōrai/Chōsen tōji no bunrui shian: Seisanchi hennen wo kanza to shite" [A Proposal for the Categorization of Koryŏ and Chosŏn Ceramics Excavated from Hakata: From the Perspective of Production Chronology]. *Hakata Kenkyukai shi* [Hakata Research Association Papers] 8 (2000): 41–75.

Nagai Masahiro. "Sakai kangō toshi iseki shutsudo no Chōsen ōchō tōjiki wan: Chawan toshite mochiirareta wan no shosō ni tsuite" [Chosŏn Dynasty Ceramic Bowls Excavated from the Moat City of Sakai: Regarding the Appearance of Bowls Used as Tea Bowls]. *Sakaishi Hakubutsukan hō* 26 (2006): 2–16.

Nagashima Fukutarō. "Chanoyu no sōsei" [The Establishment of *Chanoyu*]. In *Sakai shū: Chanoyu wo tsukutta hitobito*, edited by Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan, 7–10. Sakai: Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan, 1989.

Nezu Bijutsukan. *Ido jawan: Sengoku bushō ga akogareta utsuwa* [Ido Tea Bowls: Vessels Admired by Sengoku Period Warrior]. Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan, 2013.

Oka Yoshiko. "Kyō-yaki no naka no kōrai jawan: Jūnana seiki o chūshin ni" [Kōrai jawan Within Kyoto Ware: Focusing on the Seventeenth Century]. In *Kōrai jawan kenkyū: Ronkō to shiryō*, edited by Kōrai Jawan Kenkyūkai, 189–206. Tokyo: Kawahara Shoten, 2003.

Ōnishi Ringorō. *Kantei bikō Nihon tōji zenshū* [Complete Works on the Analysis of and Remarks on Japanese Ceramics]. Vols. 1–4. Tokyo: Shōzandō, 1913.

Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan, ed. *Sakai shū: Chanoyu o tsukutta hitobito* [Sakai Citizens: The People who Created *Chanoyu*]. Sakai: Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan, 1989.

Sen Sōshitsu. "Kundaikan sōchōki" [Manual of the Attenant of the Shogunal Collection]. In *Chadō koten zenshū* [Complete Classics of Tea Culture], vol. 2, edited by Sen Sōshitsu, 335–404. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1962.

Suzuki Yūko. "Shutsudo shiryō kara mita Chōsen tōji: Jūroku seiki ikō o chūshin to shite" [Korean Ceramics Among Excavated Materials: Focusing on the Sixteenth Century]. *Nezu Bijutsukan kiyō Shikun* [Nezu Museum Journal Shikun] 6 (2014): 67–111.

Takeuchi, Jun'ichi. "'Yamanoue no Sōji' izen to 'Sakai' shugi" ["Sakai"-centricism before "Yamanoue no Sōji"]. In *Cha no koten* [Classics of Tea], *Chadōgaku taikei* [Tea Culture Studies Compendium] 10, edited by Sen Sōshitsu, 45–63. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 2001.

Takeuchi, Jun'ichi. "Chakaiki kara nani wo yomitoru ka" [What to Glean from Tea Diaries]. In *Chūsei* [Medieval Period], *Kōza: Nihon chanoyu zenshi* [Lectures: Complete History of

Japanese Tea Culture], edited by Chanoyu Bunka Gakkai, 109–37. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2013.

Tani Akira. "Kōrai jawan gaisetsu" [Overview of *kōrai jawan*]. In *Kōrai jawan: Ronkō to shiryō*, edited by Kōrai Jawan Kenkyūkai, 77–98. Kyoto: Kawahara Shoten, 2003.

Tani Akira. "Kōrai jawan no seisan jiki to chanoyu ni miru kōrai jawan" [The Production Period of kōrai jawan and kōrai jawan in Tea Diaries]. *Nomura Bunka Zaidan kenkyūkiyō* [Nomura Cultural Foundation Research Bulletin] 24 (2015): 73–99.

Varley, Paul, and Kumakura Isao, eds. *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989.

Watsky, Andrew M. "Commerce, Politics, and Tea. The Career of Imai Sōkyū." *Monumenta Nipponica* 50, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 47–65.

Yamada Tetsuya. "'Karamono oyoso no kazu' (Dōshisha Daigaku Sōgō Jōhō Sentā shozō): Kohon meibutsuki – sono kaidai to honkoku" ["Accounting of *karamono*" (In the collection of Dōshisha University Comprehensive Data Center) Singular Record of Famous Objects – Bibliography and reprinting]. *Bunka jōhō gaku* [Cultural Data Studies] 4, no. 1 (2009): 21–37.