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# The Multiple Modalities of the Copy in Traditional Japanese Crafts

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## Abstract

Although occupying an important place within Japanese craft traditions, since the late nineteenth century copying has operated within a complex and unstable web of meanings that have invested the practice with overwhelmingly negative connotations. This stigmatization has much to do with over-determined dichotomies that developed between the “arts” (*bijutsu*) and “crafts,” (*kōgei*). Most of all, however, the copy has become burdened with pejorative connotations because of its association with modern methods of mass reproduction that have cut off its analysis from the creative impulses that once stimulated and validated replication. This brief essay moves beyond these frameworks to examine the multiple modalities of copying and the copy in Japanese crafts within the historical and cultural contexts of their production, use and display. It throws light on the complex, contradictory, and changing roles of the copy in transmitting the techniques, styles and values of traditional Japanese crafts from three interrelated perspectives: Buddhist belief, tea culture (*chanoyu*) and Japanese Cultural Properties legislation.

**Keywords:** copy, *utsushi*, Japanese crafts, *chanoyu*, Japanese Cultural Properties legislation

Although occupying an important place within Japanese craft traditions, since the late nineteenth century copying has operated within a complex and unstable web of meanings that have invested the practice with overwhelmingly negative connotations.<sup>1</sup> Today copying is commonly held to signify a lack of imagination and slavish devotion to the past, and the copy, inferiority or fraudulence vis-à-vis a purported original. In Japan, this stigmatization has much to do with over-determined dichotomies that developed between the “arts” (*bijutsu*) and “crafts,” (*kōgei*), aspects of which are discussed in Kida Takuya’s essay in this journal. It has been further inflected by lingering sensitivities about the Euro-American perception of Japan as a nation of imitators rather than originators—also widespread since the late nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Most of all, however, the copy has become burdened with pejorative connotations because of its association with modern methods of mass reproduction that have cut off its analysis from the creative impulses that once stimulated and validated replication.<sup>3</sup>

This short article moves beyond these simplistic associations to examine the multiple modalities of copying and the copy in Japanese crafts within the historical and cultural contexts of their production, use and display. It throws light on the complex, contradictory and changing roles of the copy in transmitting the techniques, styles and values of traditional Japanese crafts from three interrelated perspectives: Buddhist belief, tea culture (*chanoyu*) and Japanese Cultural Properties legislation. In so doing, it emphasizes that the copy should be interpreted as process and practice, and in relational terms. The idea that original and

copy are in contradiction ignores the fact that one cannot exist without the other.

*Utsushi*, the closest equivalent of the word “copy” in Japanese, comes from the verb *utsuru*, meaning to duplicate, copy or reflect, as in a mirror. In its noun form it refers to works that have been faithfully reproduced—in the context of painting and calligraphy, often by tracing.<sup>4</sup> Before the age of mechanical reproduction, *utsushi* were important documents, the copy being the stamp of approval that guaranteed the quality of the original. The word *shahon*, a compound written with the same character as *utsushi*, denotes “a handwritten text, whether the original or the facsimile.”<sup>5</sup> Copies of three-dimensional artefacts such as ceramics, lacquer, basketry or other crafts that aspire to mimetic exactitude to a given model are also characterized as *utsushi*. While absolute fidelity may be their aim, there is of course no way for two craftsmen to produce works that are completely identical. Indeed, it is often the little discrepancies in touch that reveal the originality and, by the same token, the fraudulence of an artefact made as an *utsushi*.

### The Copy in Buddhist Thought and Practice

An *utsushi* can be many things simultaneously: an expression of admiration; an act of rebellion; a demonstration of mastery; a form of creative play; or an activity with profound religious meaning. In Buddhist art and practice, replication, be it of artefacts, sounds or gestures, is a conduit through which to engage and augment the power of the divine. *The Lotus Sutra*, the single most influential Buddhist scripture in East Asian culture, promises countless blessings for “a

good man or woman [who] shall keep, read and recite, explain or copy in writing a single phrase of the Scripture."<sup>6</sup> Devotees who recite prescribed texts or phrases are aware that, by carrying out the same ritual act as thousands of other believers, they are linked to a larger spiritual community that bridges time and space. By the same token, such devotional acts can accrue merit for them and for others. Recitation of mystic phrases may be accompanied by the adoption of prescribed poses and the performance of symbolic gestures (*mudra* in Sanskrit, *in* in Japanese).<sup>7</sup> These stylized ritual movements, through which the divine is internalized, are attributed with the power to bring about change in the practitioner and in the larger world. By analogy, religious meanings may be also ascribed to the positioning of the arms and fingers in the performing and applied arts.

The modern Western duality between the original and copy is destabilized by the Buddhist worldview of life and death as an endless cycle of birth, death and rebirth. Both have equal spiritual power because of the continuous relational process of which they are understood to be a part. Across Japan, hundreds of copies of a sandalwood statue said to have been made—at the order of the Indian King Udayana—after the historical Buddha's likeness are venerated as icons possessing the same charisma as the lost "original."<sup>8</sup> The authority the Udayana image commands in Japan is entirely dependent on reproductions of reproductions.<sup>9</sup> Ascribed the capacity both to see and to be seen, the statue's spiritual power resides in the fact that it brings the devotee into the direct presence of the historical Buddha through physical likeness and through the analogy of

touch: what its creator's hand has formed is completed by the "touch" of the beholder's eye.

### The Copy in Tea Culture

*Utsushi* assume particular importance in sustaining and disseminating the various crafts forms associated with the culture of tea. Faithful copies of ceramic, lacquer, bamboo, wood or metal tea ceremony utensils are often referred to in English as replicas or facsimiles, but neither term accurately captures their aura or the kinds of relationships to a real or imagined original they may embody. Early usages of the term *utsushi* do not refer primarily to copies of utensils made by celebrated craftsmen, but rather to those with distinguished pedigrees deriving from their history of ownership and use by the founders of *chanoyu*, most notably Sen no Rikyū (1522–91). Indeed, in many cases the identity of the maker is unrecorded. A surviving bamboo flower basket, said to have been owned by Rikyū, is a case in point. Its provenance from the sixteenth to the twentieth century had been carefully recorded and handed down as part of its history when, in 1926, five *utsushi* were made by the basket-maker Ikeda Hyōu at the request of the original's then owner, Masuda Don'ō, to give to friends<sup>10</sup> (Figure 1). The value of these copies resided in the fact that they were understood to transmit Rikyū's personal taste (*konomi*). Because Rikyū left his physical imprint on the original through his connoisseurial eye, all the *utsushi* modeled after it were held to be similarly endowed with his spirit and aesthetic taste.<sup>11</sup> Their possession, it was held, conferred on their owners something of these qualities.



**Fig 1** Copy of Rikyū-owned basket made by Ikeda Hyō, c. 1929. Private collection, USA.

Many of the traditional tea utensils used within the official schools of tea are made today by “ten designated craftsmen” (*jusshoku*), who trace their lineage to Rikyū’s lifetime. The forms and styles of Raku wares, made by the most celebrated of these families, are learned and maintained through a system of apprenticeship that involves studying works from the past.<sup>12</sup> This is not simply a matter of formal training nor of making exact copies, but a creative process intended to assimilate the student into the affective structures of familial identity and the forms of discipline and authority associated with them. *Utsushi* of works made by individual potters of the Raku lineage, even as they mark personal and/or familial relationships, also provide artefactual evidence that cannot easily be conveyed in the form of a written text or an image.

If Chōjirō (1516–92) is recognized as the father of a hereditary line of Raku potters which is carried on to this day

by Raku Kichizaemon XV (b. 1949), it is largely because of his followers’ success in creating and maintaining a recognizable range of forms, styles and techniques that can be identified as “Raku.” This has involved reproducing their most distinctive features—hand molding the vessels, predominantly tea bowls, using a limited range of glazes in tones of red, black or white, and then firing them in a kiln at a low temperature that leaves the clay somewhat porous and the glaze partially vitrified. This training, however, can involve contestation and reinterpretation; the copying of familial forms and techniques is also a creative matrix from which individual style emerges. Both products and producers of the canon, *utsushi* confirm the most successful of these styles while at the same time making what is fragile and easily perishable enduring. Chōjirō’s modern reputation has depended on the creation of such copies to establish a reliable representation of his personal style.

Within the Raku workshop, where copying functions as part of a complex, multilayered process of socialization, regulation and commodification, *utsushi* have also been essential to the transmission of forms and styles to founders of branch workshops in new locales. These are often recognizably different from their models. Chōjirō was granted the studio name “Raku” by Hideyoshi because he used clay from the vicinity of the warlord’s Jūrakudai palace in Kyoto. But, as successive generations of Raku potters moved to other parts of the country in search of new patronage, they necessarily made use of local clays with different compositions, giving the resulting works the look but not necessarily the feel of those made in Kyoto.<sup>13</sup> In this way, even

as copying provides the potter access to a real or imagined past, it also assigns to him a mediating role in transmitting it. There is therefore always some interpretive judgment involved; even an apparently faithful copy is also an original.

In some instances both the original and the *utsushi* are kept together, such as in the case of a celebrated red Raku tea bowl made by Chōjirō and its replica made by Joshinsai VII (1705–51), the hereditary head of the Omotesenke tea school. (For a reproduction of the latter work, see Kida's article.) This practice may serve to mark relationships in the tea world, but it is also a reminder of the commodity status of such pedigreed tea bowls. An Old Seto ware tea caddy, named *Yari no Saya* (spear sheath) because of its slender, elongated form and which was once owned by the sixteenth-century warlord Hideyoshi, became so valuable that its eighteenth-century owner Matsudaira Fūmai feared damaging it if he used it for its intended purpose of holding powdered tea.<sup>14</sup> Its *utsushi* was kept together with it to function as a surrogate. In his will, Fūmai listed the pedigreed tea utensil as one of three items in his collection that should be regarded as domainal treasures (*kuni no hōmotsu*), and ordered that it not be used in the preparation of tea.<sup>15</sup>

The *utsushi* may assume many social identities in the culture of tea. In the context of its manufacture, it marks the transmission from master to disciple. In the context of its use, it becomes a commodified record of the multilayered human relationships uniting tea practitioners across time and space. As a surrogate for a tea utensil, it not only guarantees the latter's preservation, but also effectively erodes the functional

capacity of the original, by severing it from the social system of which it was a part. By transforming the original into an artefact for historical and aesthetic appreciation, it enacts a process of change and accommodation analogous to museumification.

### Copying and Japanese National Treasures

Since the late nineteenth century, even as modernism led to a devaluation of the *utsushi*, a new kind of copying based on received conventions of cultural identity has developed among Japanese crafts practitioners. The resulting copies are the bearers of a charged interrelationship of politics, history, art and technology that aims to make Japanese history intelligible and tangible to the public and, by the same token, to foster a sense of shared national identity. The focus of this activity is, for the most part, works canonized as "masterpieces" by the Law for the Preservation of Ancient Shrines and Temples (*Koshaji hozonhō*) enacted in 1897 and by its more comprehensive 1929 replacement, the National Treasures Preservation Law (*Kokuhō hozonhō*).<sup>16</sup>

This legislation, designed to ensure the protection of historically and artistically significant buildings and their contents, made government officials the creators, exhibitors and caretakers of the nation's past, and the copies commissioned by them part of the ideological apparatus of the state. Under their auspices, lacquerers and woodworkers at the newly founded Tokyo School of Fine Arts (*Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku*) made copies of National Treasures for display in museums and exhibitions, both at home and abroad. Although modeled in part on the European use of plaster casts, the creation and display

of replicas in Japanese museums continued in Japan long after the modernist fetishization of originality had led most European and American institutions to abandon it. One reason for this is that copying has been—and continues to be—deployed as a tool of conservation, in a manner and for reasons like those of the tea caddy discussed above. An exact full-scale camphorwood replica of the so-called Kudara Kannon acquired by the British Museum in 1932 is a product of this conservation-driven copying.<sup>17</sup> Niiro Chunosuke (1868–1954), a leading conservator in Japan, made it using the same materials and techniques as were used when producing the seventh-century National Treasure in Nara’s Hōryūji temple. The replica makes possible the simultaneous presence of this iconic image in two locales, thus enhancing its accessibility (Figure 2). While its beholder today is informed by museum-wall labels that it is a replica, its art-historical value derives from an exactness, down to the signs of abrasion and loss of gesso and vermillion, that collapses the distinction between original and copy.

The problem of identity and difference, representation and deception also undermines the work undertaken today by potters, lacquerers, metalworkers and weavers in order to understand and preserve the material, technical and expressive dimensions of their chosen medium. While these practitioners may seek to claim for the copy the status of a serious aesthetic medium in its own right, the public is not generally willing to accept this view, as does the informed practitioner of tea. If the fidelity to the past is what makes the copy of a Karaori Noh costume with a pattern of peonies and undulating lines such as



**Fig 2** Copy of Kudara Kannon made by Niiro Chunosuke, c.1930. The British Museum.

that woven in 1980 by Yamaguchi Yasujirō (b. 1902) valuable, it is also what gives it a troubled relationship with the present (Figure 3).<sup>18</sup> Craftsmen who make copies in a world that celebrates individuality are caught in a contradictory and irreconcilable dilemma: the more skillfully they carry out their task, the more likely they are to be denounced for lack of creativity. For the modern beholder, such works are primarily signifiers of the laborious handcrafting that went into their manufacture.



**Fig 3** Karaori Noh Costume made by Yamaguchi Yasujirō, c.1980. Victoria and Albert Museum.

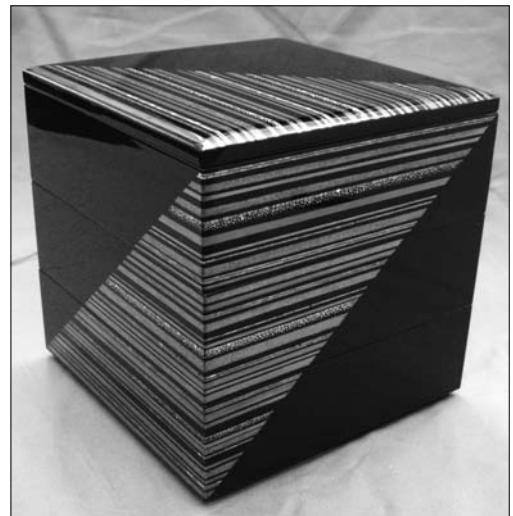
For the lacquer-maker Murose Kazumi (b. 1950), copying constitutes a critical gesture about crafting self. He sees it as a meaningful practice that engages with the very essence of his profession. He developed his individual style, represented by the box illustrated here, by studying traditional lacquer materials and techniques under his father (Figure 4). He makes works of his own design as well as restoring antique lacquer and making reproductions. His declaration “Every time you create a new work of art, restore an old one” conveys his sense of the inextricable bond between these two activities.<sup>19</sup> Between 1995 and 1998, he painstakingly reproduced in every detail a twelfth-century lacquer cosmetic box with plum blossom design, owned by the Mishima Shrine in the modern-day Shizuoka Prefecture, that was registered as a

National Treasure. The replica, now exhibited there, satisfies public desire to see this celebrated masterpiece whose fragility made it impossible to put on view for extended periods.

In a 2005 interview, when asked about his study, conservation and reproduction of such “classics,” Murose responded:

The classics weren't classics; they were original creations. And I could sense that keenly. Those *takamakie* and *hyōmon* techniques—they were truly original and creative works of the time. They weren't classics for the sake of being classics. That's why they seemed so much closer to me. They were filled with ideas.<sup>20</sup>

Murose sees tradition not as received convention but as autonomous and subjectively defined. His need to affirm, retrospectively, the originality and creativity



**Fig 4** Lacquer box made by Murose Kazumi, c.2001. Victoria and Albert Museum.

of works produced as part of a crafts tradition in which such issues were irrelevant underscores his own “anxiety of influence.”<sup>21</sup>

With the enactment of Law for the Protection of Intangible Cultural Properties (Mukey bunkazai hogo) in 1950, the Japanese government extended official recognition from historically and artistically significant artefacts to the techniques of performing and applied arts that risked dying out without government support.<sup>22</sup> Unlike the earlier National Treasure system instituted to protect ancient artefacts deemed to be of documentary, historical, architectural or aesthetic significance, the Intangible Cultural Properties legislation is keyed to the human body, leading its holders to be popularly known as “Living National Treasures” (*ningen kokuhō*). This legislation is notable among international preservation laws for its acknowledgment of the importance of process—the process, replicated time and again, by which human hands transform raw materials and experiences into beautiful objects. While “Living National Treasures” receive stipends, what is more significant is that the national visibility generated by the publicity surrounding their appointment has the potential to attract students who will carry on their endangered craft. Before their designation, many of these men and women—like the Okinawan weaver Taira Toshiko, who specializes in cloth woven from the fibers of the banana plant (*bashōfu*)—practiced crafts little known or appreciated outside their region.<sup>23</sup>

This legislation speaks to the important performative dimensions of traditional Japanese crafts practice. In the Edo period (1615–1868), painters, calligraphers and potters often performed their art in public

in order to promote the sale of their work. The seventeenth-century potter Morita Kyūemon, for instance, traveled from his home in the Tosa domain, taking with him his potter’s wheel and local clay, to demonstrate his artistry in the mansions of feudal lords in Edo. In so doing he was not simply promoting his ceramic wares but also modeling the process of their production.<sup>24</sup> Today, under government auspices, this practice continues as weavers, potters or sword-makers designated by the government as bearers of Intangible Cultural Property likewise travel around the country and abroad to demonstrate their special skills—or, in a modern adaptation, to talk about their work.<sup>25</sup> In essence, these embodiments of Japanese crafts traditions are assigned the task of performing acts of memory for the entire nation.

Much Japanese craft production and consumption is only made intelligible through the intangible social and cultural formations expressed in corporeal form. Handcrafted objects involve three-dimensionality, for which paper models can only serve as approximate references. Manuals can provide information, such as where to find a particular kind of clay, the preferred forms and décor, and the recipes for particular glazes, but cannot guide the kind of experiential process involved in transforming those materials into vessels. Their ultimate success or failure depends on internalization of the cumulative effect of many bodily operations, on watching and reenacting the whole process—bringing mind, eye, muscles and hands together into relationship with materials. Turning a potter’s wheel or knowing just when and how to pull a pot from the kiln requires a somatic



awareness, postures and gestures not easily explained in writing or pictures. This is why “embodied learning,” by copying the actions of a master until these become second nature, looms so large in traditional Japanese crafts practice.<sup>26</sup> Japanese craftsmen rarely talk about such matters and, when they do, they betray a sense of embarrassment, as did Takamura Kōun (1852–1934) recalling in his 1924 memoirs the rote learning demanded of him when apprenticed at age twelve to a woodcarver.<sup>27</sup>

Leila Philip, a young American apprenticed in the 1980s to a potter in Japan, had difficulty adapting to a mode of training modeled rather than explained by her teacher. In a passage in *The Road Through Miyama*, her account of those experiences, she evokes her growing recognition that the gap between her own clumsy efforts and the elegant movements of her teacher can only be bridged by emulation: “Wetting my hands, I try once more, arms locked at the shoulders, my whole body straining to gain control of the clay. A steady forward pressure with the right hand, balanced by the pulling of the left, should force the clay into a rising cone, and pushing it down should leave the clay spinning in beautiful symmetric circles ... But the clay refuses to behave.”<sup>28</sup> By contrast, when her teacher centered a ball of clay: “Within seconds it races on the wheel, spinning smoothly, a planet in orbit. His hands, coated with slip and water, seem permanently stuck to it. They seem not to be in control. Yet beneath his hands the clay visibly relaxes, finds that one still point and spins with the smooth grace of a ballerina, on center.”<sup>29</sup>

Great symbolic importance has long been attached to disciplining the body

by replicating the actions of a master in both the performing and applied arts. The Buddhist belief that language is unreliable informs a general sense that a teacher’s physical authority overrides verbal or written instructions in traditional Japanese arts, including Kabuki, Noh and the tea ceremony. Rupert Cox’s observation that practitioners of such arts “deliberately enter a zone of performance that is intensely sensory and beyond the scope of normal language” may also apply to crafts practitioners.<sup>30</sup> The prescribed aestheticized movements central to these activities, called *kata* or *katachi*, have a prescriptive function, distilling the practices required to carry out a particular activity into its most basic movements. *Kata* produce routine and discipline, but serve only as guides to the reconstruction of a valuable past in which the evidentiary role of the physical object is lacking. As Rupert Cox has observed, “The repetition of a standardized pattern of movement is a physical and visual substantiation of a tradition, connecting the practitioner to aesthetic qualities as well as to others, past and present, who also practice.”<sup>31</sup>

It was the recognition of the fugitive nature of such embodied skills and techniques that prompted the Japanese government to enact legislation to identify and reward individuals possessing special crafts skills. Unlike *utsushi*, which confirm commercial success, designation as a “Living National Treasure” may result from a craft’s failure to compete in the modern marketplace. Early in her career, the above-mentioned weaver of banana fiber cloth, Taira Toshiko, found support among promoters of the Japanese Folk Craft or Mingei movement, whose influential

members brought her work to the attention of government officials in Tokyo. Once highly prized for its airiness and suitability for summer clothing, banana fiber cloth had figured among the tribute goods the Ryūkyū court sent to the Tokugawa shoguns. However, by the time she was “discovered,” this material had been marginalized and had all but disappeared for lack of demand. In this sense, “Living National Treasures” may be understood as strategically deployed instruments of replication. By reproducing and disseminating crafts techniques whose survival is deemed crucial to creating and sustaining belief in the nation, they embody a myth of cultural unity.

The copy carries out many kinds of cultural work in the context of Japanese crafts. While it sustains the authority of the past, those who make copies are not prisoners of that past. To represent the copy and copying as lacking individual expression and freedom of choice ignores the concrete material positioning of crafts makers as well as the various social and collective processes through which their creations are invested with value. If the copy is a realm of public representation and regulation, it is also one through which freedom from those regulations is both figured and resolved. Individual artistic identity is expressed through the copy, but so too is the identity of the community of which the crafts maker is a part. Copying should be understood as a form of production, interpretation and dissemination through which both practitioners and users construct meaningful places for themselves and others by creating a shared set of cultural values.

It is a dynamic practice that makes tradition possible. Although they replicate

something from the past, copies respond to new problems. In this sense, they are cultural forms that have a double temporality, speaking as much to history as to modernity.

### Acknowledgment

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### Notes

- 1 In the context of this article, “copy” is used loosely and synonymously with “replica” and “facsimile,” and “copying” with “repeating” and “reenacting.” For a more capacious definition that includes camouflage, twins, *trompe l’oeil* and deception, see Hillel Schwartz, *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (New York: Zone Books, 1996). Useful studies in the context of Japan are: *The Culture of Copying in Japan: Critical and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Rupert Cox (London: Routledge, 2008); *Copying the Masters and Stealing His Secrets: Talent and Training in Japanese Painting*, eds. Brenda G. Jordan and Victoria Weston (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002); and Kenzō Koga, “Utsushi: The Aesthetics of Imitation,” *Chanoyu Quarterly* 67 (1991): 7–34. On *utsushi* in the context of calligraphy, see Gregory P. A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2005), esp. pp. 165–221.
- 2 The British Japanophile Lord Mitford, writing in 1900, for instance declared: “It must be remembered that Japan never originated anything.” Cited in Schwartz, *The Culture of the Copy*, p. 368.

- 3 The *locus classicus* of this conceptualization is Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1868), pp. 217–51.
- 4 *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Dictionary of the Japanese Language), compiled by Nihon daijiten kankokai (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1984), vol. 1, p. 1363.
- 5 Earl Miner, Hiroko Odagiri, Robert E. Morrell, *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 297.
- 6 *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (The Lotus Sutra), translated by Leon Hurvitz (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 175.
- 7 On *mudra*, see E. Dale Saunders, *Mudrā: A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture* (London: Routledge, Kegan & Paul, 1960).
- 8 The Udayana image is discussed in Donald F. McCallum, *Zenkōji and Its Icon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). See esp. pp. 127–29.
- 9 This invites analogies to the idea of the simulacrum, which lacks substance, is endlessly repeatable and consists primarily of optical effects, but I avoid this term because of the postmodern connotations given it by Deleuze, Baudrillard and other cultural theorists.
- 10 See Christine M. E. Guth, *Art, Tea and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 185–86.
- 11 On this issue see Morgan Pitelka, *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons, and Tea Practitioners in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), pp. 103–9 and also his "Back to the Fundamentals: Reproducing Rikyū and Chōjirō in Japanese Tea Culture," in *The Culture of Copying in Japan*.
- 12 See Morgan Pitelka, *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons, and Tea Practitioners in Japan*.
- 13 For examples of this see Pitelka, "Back to the Fundamentals: Reproducing Rikyū and Chōjirō in Japanese Tea Culture," pp. 132–35.
- 14 Seto ware tea caddies were first made in the fifteenth century as import substitutes for increasingly costly Chinese vessels. They emulate the thinly potted forms, crisply modeled contours and mottled reddish brown glaze of their imported counterparts.
- 15 Kumakura Isao, *Kindai chadōshi no kenkyū* (Study of the History of Tea Culture in the Early Modern Period) (Tokyo: Nihon hōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1980), pp. 74–76.
- 16 See Christine M. E. Guth, "Kokuhō: From Dynastic to Artistic Treasure," *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 9 (1996–97): 313–22.
- 17 See Laurence Binyon, "Replica of a Statue of Kwannon," *British Museum Quarterly* VII (1932–33): ii–1.
- 18 Yamaguchi, who belongs to an active and influential family of Kyoto weavers, donated this robe to the museum. On his background, see Tamara K. Hareven, *The Silk Weavers of Kyoto: Family and Work in a Changing Traditional Industry* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).
- 19 *Urushi: Murose Kazumi sakhinshū/Urushi: Works of Murose Kazumi* (bilingual publication) (Tokyo: Arrow Art Works, 2005), p. 3.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
- 21 This phrase was coined by the revisionist literary critic Harold Bloom in a study about the struggle poets face in coping with their literary precursors. See Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).
- 22 For discussion of this legislation see *Living National Treasures of Japan*, ed. Harada Hiroshi (Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts, 1983).
- 23 On her work, see *Crafting Beauty in Modern Japan: Celebrating Fifty Years of the Japan Traditional Art Crafts Exhibition*, ed. Nicole Rousmaniere (London: The British Museum Press, 2007), plate 55 and pp. 12–14.

- 24** See Louise Allison Cort, "A Tosa Potter in Edo," *The Artist as Professional in Japan*, ed. Melinda Takeuchi (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 103–12.
- 25** The potter Tokuda Yasukichi (b. 1933), designated a "Living National Treasure" in 1997 for his "porcelain with colored glaze," for instance, gave presentations at the British Museum on the occasion of the exhibition "Crafting Beauty in Modern Japan," which included examples of his work.
- 26** Rupert Cox, *The Zen Arts: An Anthropological Study of the Culture of Aesthetic Form in Japan* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), pp. 97–102.
- 27** Takamura Kōun, *Mokuchō shichijūnen* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1967), 29. When Kōun began his apprenticeship in the 1860s, the distinction between arts and crafts and artists and craftsmen did not yet exist; it subsequently became a sensitive issue for those of his generation who were trained in the old manner.
- 28** Leila Philip, *The Road Through Miyama* (New York: Random House, 1989), p. 11.
- 29** *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 30** Cox, *The Zen Arts: An Anthropological Study of the Culture of Aesthetic Form in Japan*, p. 97.
- 31** Cox, *The Zen Arts: An Anthropological Study of the Culture of Aesthetic Form in Japan*, p. 105.